

**THE SCOPE AND ROLES OF HIEROGLYPHIC
AND HIERATIC GRAFFITI IN ANCIENT
EGYPT AND NUBIA**

**Textual Graffiti in the Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Scripts
from the Pharaonic Era: Dynasties I - XXXI**

(c. 3100-332 B.C.)

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements
of the University of Liverpool for the degree of**

Doctor in Philosophy

by

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March 1997

*Dedicated with gratitude to Kenneth A. Kitchen,
eminent scholar and much valued friend.*

'Can two walk together, except they be agreed?'

Amos III, 3

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Abbreviations

<i>ActOr</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Lund and Copenhagen).
<i>After Tut'ankhamûn</i>	C. N. Reeves (ed.), <i>After Tut'ankhamûn: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes</i> (London and New York, 1992).
<i>Ägypten und Kusch</i>	E. Endesfelder et al. (eds.), <i>Ägypten und Kusch</i> (Berlin, 1977).
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> (Baltimore).
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (Chicago).
<i>Anthes, Hatnub</i>	R. Anthes, <i>Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub</i> (Leipzig, 1928).
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> (Berlin).
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální. Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute</i> (Prague).
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> (Cairo).
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> (New Haven).
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i> (New York).
<i>BIÉ</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i> (Cairo).
<i>Bierbrier, LNKE</i>	M. L. Bierbrier, <i>The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.)</i> (Warminster, 1975).
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> (Cairo).
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> (Leiden).
<i>BM</i>	British Museum.
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> (New York).
<i>Botti and Peet, Giornale</i>	G. Botti and T. E. Peet, <i>Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe</i> (Turin, 1928).
<i>Bryan, Thutmose IV</i>	B. M. Bryan, <i>The Reign of Thutmose IV</i> (Baltimore and London, 1991).
<i>BSÉG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève</i> (Geneva).
<i>BSFÉ</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i> (Paris).
<i>Caminos, Buhen, I-II</i>	R. A. Caminos, <i>The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen</i> , 2 vols. (London, 1974).
<i>Caminos, Ibrim</i>	R. A. Caminos, <i>The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim</i> (London, 1968).
<i>Carter, MSS.</i>	Unpublished papers of Howard Carter (1873-1939) in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.
<i>CEDAE</i>	Centre d'études et de documentation sur l'ancienne Égypte (Cairo).
<i>Černý and Sadek et al., GMT</i>	J. Černý and A.-A. Sadek et al., <i>Graffiti de la montagne thébaine</i> , 4 vols. (Cairo, 1969-1983).
<i>Černý, Community</i>	J. Černý, <i>A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period</i> (Cairo, 1973).
<i>Černý, Graffiti</i>	J. Černý, <i>Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la necropole thébaine (Nos. 1060 à 1405)</i> (Cairo, 1956).
<i>Černý, LRL</i>	J. Černý, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> (Brussels, 1939).
<i>Černý, MSS.</i>	Unpublished papers of Jaroslav Černý (1898-1970) in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.
<i>Černý, VK</i>	J. Černý, <i>The Valley of the Kings</i> (Cairo, 1973).
<i>Cd'É</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> (Brussels).
<i>Champollion, Notices descriptives, I-II</i>	J.-F. Champollion, <i>Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1844 and 1889).
<i>Couyat and Montet</i>	J. Couyat and P. Montet, <i>Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât</i> , 2 vols. (Cairo, 1912 and 1913).

- CRIPPEL** *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* (Lille).
- DE** *Discussions in Egyptology* (Oxford).
- De Morgan et al.** J. de Morgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique, Tome premier: De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos* (Vienna, 1894).
- DM** Deir el-Medīna.
- Dunham and Janssen, Semna-Kumma** D. Dunham and J. M. A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts, vol. I: Semna-Kumma* (Boston, 1960).
- Enchoria** *Enchoria. Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie* (Wiesbaden).
- Études et Travaux** *Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'académie polonaise des sciences* (Warsaw).
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- Gardiner, MSS.** Unpublished papers of Alan Henderson Gardiner (1879-1963) in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.
- Gardiner, RAD** A. H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (Oxford, 1948).
- GI** Griffith Institute, Oxford.
- Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna** R. J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna* (Leiden, 1982).
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- GM** *Göttinger Miszellen* (Göttingen).
- Goyon** G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957).
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- Hayes, Scepter, I-II** W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953 and 1959).
- Hein, RBN** I. Hein, *Die ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien* (Wiesbaden, 1991).
- Helck, Zur Verwaltung** W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden-Köln, 1958).
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- Hommages à Jean Leclant, I-IV** C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1994).
- Janssen, Commodity Prices** Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975).
- JAOS** *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore).
- JARCE** *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Princeton).
- JEA** *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London).
- JEOL** *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* (Leiden).

- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago).
- JSSEA* *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* (Toronto).
- Kêmi* *Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes* (Paris).
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- Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III* A. P. Kozloff and B. M. Bryan et al., *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World* (Cleveland, 1992).
- KRI* K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vols. I-VIII (Oxford, 1968-1990).
- Kush* *Kush. Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service* (Khartoum).
- KV* Valley of the Kings' tomb number.
- LÄ* W. Helck, E. Otto and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1972-1992).
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- l.p.h.* "Life, prosperity, health!"
- Lucas and Harris, *Materials and Industries* A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th revised edition. London, 1962).
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- MDAIK* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (Wiesbaden).
- MMA* Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
- NARCE* *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* (Princeton and New York).
- O* Ostrakon.
- OI* Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago.
- Or* *Orientalia* (Rome).
- Oriens Antiquus* *Oriens Antiquus. Rivista del centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del vicino oriente* (Rome).
- P* Papyrus.
- Petrie, *Medum* W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892).
- Petrie, *Season* W. M. F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt, 1887* (London, 1888).
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- PM/PM² B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 1st edition., vols. IV-VII (Oxford, 1934-1952), 2nd edition., vols. I-III, with & by J. Málek (Oxford, 1960-1981).
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London).
- QV Valley of the Queens' tomb number.
- Ranke, H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vols. I-II (Glückstadt, 1935-1952).
- Ratié, *Hatchepsout* S. Ratié, *La reine Hatchepsout: Sources et problèmes* (Leiden, 1979).
- Rd'É *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris).
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- RT *Receuil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris).
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- SAK *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg).
- Säve-Söderbergh T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik* (Lund, 1941).
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- Serapis* *Serapis* (Chicago).
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- Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge* W. Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Nekropolis im Neuen Reich* (Strassburg, 1898).
- Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* J. H. Johnson and E. F. Wente (eds.), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976).
- Thomas, *RNT* E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966).
- TT Theban Tomb.

<i>Urk. I/IV</i>	K. Sethe, <i>Urkunden des alten Reichs</i> (Leipzig, 1933); idem and W. Helck, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> (Leipzig and Berlin 1906-1958).
<i>VA</i>	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i> (San Antonio).
<i>Valbelle, Ouvriers</i>	D. Valbelle, << <i>Les ouvriers de la Tombe</i> >>, <i>Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside</i> (Cairo, 1985).
<i>Vandersleyen, L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil</i>	C. Vandersleyen, <i>L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, Tome II: De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire</i> (Paris, 1995).
<i>Vandersleyen, Les guerres d'Amosis</i>	C. Vandersleyen, <i>Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie</i> (Brussels, 1971).
<i>Ventura, LCD</i>	R. Ventura, <i>Living in a City of the Dead. A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis</i> (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1986).
<i>Village Voices</i>	R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds.), <i>Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium "Texts from Deir el-Medîna and their Interpretation" Leiden, May 31-June 1, 1991</i> (Leiden, 1992).
<i>Weigall, Report</i>	A. E. P. Weigall, <i>A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia (The First Cataract to the Sudan Frontier) and their Condition in 1906-7</i> (Oxford, 1907).
<i>Wildung, Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige</i>	D. Wildung, <i>Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt: Teil I</i> (Berlin, 1969).
<i>Winlock, Rise and Fall</i>	H. E. Winlock, <i>The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes</i> (New York, 1947).
<i>WV</i>	West Valley of the Kings.
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Vienna).
<i>Žába, RILN</i>	Z. Žába, <i>The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia</i> (Prague, 1974).
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> (Leipzig and Berlin).
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Berlin).

Other Conventions

.....	Indicates the omission of non-essential material.
(.....)	Material enclosed is not in the original text but is here inserted in order to provide a clearer translation.
[.....]	Material enclosed is now lost in the original text but is here tentatively restored wherever possible.
<.....>	Material enclosed was anciently omitted by error from the original text.

Preface

The following study is an attempt to collect, describe and evaluate the recorded graffiti texts of Pharaonic Egypt and Nubia that were written in the hieroglyphic or hieratic scripts. It is an opportune moment to undertake such an investigation. Not only have these texts tended to be neglected when compared to larger, more formal, historical inscriptions but it is only in recent years that many important graffiti texts written in these scripts have been published and made accessible to wider scrutiny. Furthermore, a substantial amount of material still exists only in the notebooks of long dead scholars and this being the case I have made every effort to include such unpublished material whenever it was available to me.

Of course I cannot claim to have recorded every last known hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti text from Pharaonic Egypt and Nubia. Such a project would have been impossible in the time available. Indeed in the manner of painting the Forth Road Bridge it would probably have been never ending. New epigraphic discoveries are being made all the time. However, I have endeavoured to survey the majority of all recorded inscriptions and to that end this account might be deemed, if by no means complete, then reasonably comprehensive.

Many individuals merit recognition for their assistance in the preparation of this thesis. My long-suffering parents are due particular thanks for their unflagging support on what has been a very long journey. Likewise my research supervisor Prof. Kenneth. A. Kitchen has aided and encouraged me with his characteristic generosity. It has been a pleasure and a privilege to have worked with such a scholar. My debt of gratitude to him is inestimable. It is also a pleasure to recount here my appreciation for my colleague and friend at Liverpool, Dr. B. G. Davies, both for his companionship and shrewd counsel.

I recall with great affection the kindness shown me by the late Dr. Abdel-Aziz F. Sadek. His untimely death has been a cruel blow to Egyptology. To Jiro Kondo and Takao Kikuchi from Waseda University, Tokyo, special thanks are due for access to new graffiti in the West Valley of the Kings found by these gentlemen. To Said Mohammed Hussein of Gurna village, Luxor, I owe a debt of gratitude for his friendly co-operation during a memorable trip by donkey into the southern wadîs at Thebes in early 1995.

For various data and advice I should also like to express my grateful thanks to the following friends and colleagues: Dr. Dorothea Arnold, New York; Dr. M. L. Bierbrier, London; Khaled Daoud, Liverpool; John and Deborah Darnell, Chicago; Prof. P. F. Dorman, Chicago; † I. E. S. Edwards, Deddington, Oxford; Dr. C. J. Eyre, Liverpool; Annie Gasse, Cairo; Dr. Manfred Gutgesell, Hannover; T. G. H. James, London; Prof. J. J. Janssen, London; John A. Larson,

Chicago; Prof. J. Leclant, Paris; Donald A. Lowle, Liverpool; Drs. Diana Magee and Jaromir Malek, Oxford; Prof. G. T. Martin, Cambridge; Dr. C. Mee, Liverpool; Prof. A. R. Millard, Liverpool; Prof. Jürgen Osing, Berlin; Dr. Nicholas Reeves, London; John Romer, Cortona; Dr. Hassan M. el-Saady, Jeddah; Dr. Regine Schulz, Munich; † Prof. A. F. Shore, Liverpool; Dr. S. R. Snape, Liverpool; Dr. A. J. Spencer, London; Peter Sullivan, Wellington; Dr. John Taylor, Oxford; Prof. C. Vandersleyen, Brussels; R. C. Wilde, Liverpool; Dr. Penny Wilson, Cambridge; last but certainly not least to Miss Patricia Winker of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies at Liverpool University, for her unfailing help and kindness over the years.

March, 1997

Introduction

Egypt has rightly been described as "dem klassischen Lande der Graffiti".¹ Here man has left his most casual and intimate inscriptions in more places and over a longer stretch of time than perhaps anywhere else on Earth. Certainly no other contemporary civilisation in the Near East or Mediterranean basin produced such a rich body of texts.² The early development of a written script coupled with long periods of social and political stability combined in Egypt to produce an unequalled flow of these non-official epigraphs not only in Egypt itself but also in the land immediately to the south of her, in Nubia, a nation whose own history was linked so often to that of Egypt's.³

However, before we proceed any further it is obviously desirable that an attempt be made to define just what is meant by "graffiti" in relation to this study. In its original Italian usage the word literally means "little scratchings", from *graffiare*, "to scratch" (singular graffito) and can apply to both writings and drawings incised or scratched on a variety of surfaces.⁴

In the following account I am concerned solely with written graffiti of Dynasties I-XXXI in ancient Egypt and Nubia (what might be termed loosely the Pharaonic Era) and then only with hieroglyphic or hieratic texts written with ink on tomb and temple walls or columns and those incised with an implement on rock surfaces such as boulders and cliff faces. I have included an inscription on a fragment from a royal statue due to its importance and unusual nature but this example aside I do not consider odd marks or inscriptions on individual objects such as pots as "graffiti". Usually such texts were placed on vessels merely to designate ownership or perhaps

¹ See Klaffenbach in U. Hausmann (ed.), *Allgemeine Grundlagen der Archäologie* (1969), 367 n. 2.

² The only other Bronze or Iron Age societies in this region to produce such large numbers of inscriptional graffiti were those located in modern day Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Cf. Robin in Ch. Robin (ed.), *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions* (1992), 13-24. On Minoan Crete and at several other sites in the Bronze Age Aegean there are a large number of signs incised on building stones that appear to be masons' marks although some examples may have had some religious or magical function: Hood in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10-16 June, 1984* (1987), 205-212. Why there should be no graffiti in the Akkadian cuneiform script, the *lingua franca* of the Late Bronze Age, is particularly puzzling. Perhaps this is due to the unsuitability of its wedge-shaped signs for writing casual texts on rock surfaces or walls.

³ For the basic studies on graffiti inscriptions in ancient Egypt and Nubia (including visitors' graffiti): Helck, *ZDMG* 102 (1952), 39-46; Yoyotte, *Sources Orientales* III (1960), 49-53 and 57-60; Wildung, *LÄ* I (1973), 766-767; López, *LÄ* II (1975), 159-161; and also Thissen, *LÄ* II (1976), 880-882.

⁴ N. Zingarelli, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (1970), 768: "Disegno o scrittura incisi con una punta dura su laterizio, intonaco, pietra, cera, metallo e sim".

the atelier that produced them. In the majority of cases they are identifying marks rather than a true writing system.⁵

Textual graffiti continue to be written, if rarely, in the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts after Dynasty XXXI⁶ but it is best perhaps to recognize the end of Egyptian Pharaonic culture with the Macedonian conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. Graffiti texts written in demotic or Greek towards the end of our period of study must also lie outside the realm of this work. They are for the attention of far more competent hands.

It should also be noted that to keep my study within feasible limits I have excluded what are often termed quarry or mason's marks. These very brief inscriptions (frequently just one or two characters roughly painted or scratched on stone blocks) are known from tombs, temples and a wide range of building sites throughout Egypt. And while some of these *Baugraffiti* do provide valuable information on the organization of labour at construction sites they have already been the focus of quite a number of detailed studies.⁷ Likewise the huge numbers of rock-drawings or petroglyphs from the Pharaonic Era and earlier of humans, animals and all manner of other objects are by their very nature outside the scope of this work, and in any case they have again proved to be a fruitful line of enquiry that others have pursued already.⁸

But why should we study graffiti? Because it is the study of human beings using a form of communication that is usually free of social restraints.⁹ In this regard one can argue that these unostentatious inscriptions are a far more accurate reflection of the character of the society that produced them than more polished artistic or literary works. Besides, the very pervasiveness of graffiti texts throughout the Nile Valley surely entitles them to as much scrutiny as any other record of man's civilization in this part of the world.

⁵ Cf. W. A. Fairervis, *Hierakonpolis - The Graffiti and the Origins of Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing*. The Hierakonpolis Project Occasional Papers in Anthropology, No. II (1983); also van den Brink in R. Friedman and B. Adams (eds.), *The Followers of Horus. Studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman 1944-1990* (1992), 265-296.

⁶ E.g. Devauchelle, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 123-131.

⁷ Nagel, *ASAE* 50 (1950), 93-126; Smith, *JNES* 11 (1952), 113-128; add Haeny in H. Ricke (ed.), *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf*, vol. II (1969), 23-47; Verner in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II (1985), 339-346; F. Arnold, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht, vol. II: The Control Notes and Team Marks* (1990); also cf. P. Posener-Kriéger in G. T. Martin (ed.), *Meidum* (1991), 17-21; and now A. M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization* (1991), passim.

⁸ For essential references, see the useful bibliography by Davis in *GM* 32 (1979), 59-74; also note Redford and Redford, *JARCE* 26 (1989), 3-38.

⁹ See the frank study by E. L. Abel and B. E. Buckley, *The Handwriting on the Wall: Toward a Sociology and Psychology of Graffiti* (1977).

True to some graffiti are "a thankless sort of texts: they are most often badly damaged, they are usually fairly short and desperately stereotyped".¹⁰ But to others they can be "of the highest significance and interest historically, philologically, and in many other ways".¹¹ In fact they can be both.

Inevitably a study such as this draws heavily upon the labours of earlier workers in the field. And there have been many. The work of examining graffiti texts in Egypt has been carried out from the time of the very first scientific expedition to that land under Napoleon through to the present day. Several of Egyptology's most senior figures (Champollion, Lepsius, Mariette and Brugsch) have troubled themselves at one time or another with these intrinsically modest texts and much of their epigraphic work is still of considerable value.¹²

In more recent years concerted efforts were made in the 1950s and 1960s to record those rock graffiti in Nubia threatened with submersion by the building of the new High Dam at Aswan, as well as the large number of important rock graffiti on the Theban West Bank that were still unpublished. The latter inscriptions have benefitted in particular from the work of the scholars and epigraphists of the CEDAE (most notably Černý and Sadek)¹³ who have added immensely to the pioneering efforts by Petrie,¹⁴ Lefébure,¹⁵ Spiegelberg¹⁶ and Carter.¹⁷ Thanks to their diligence there are today nearly four thousand ancient graffiti known among the mountains at West Thebes (these include a sum total of almost five thousand names)¹⁸ and there are further texts still to be recorded.¹⁹ An admirable achievement.

¹⁰ Vleeming, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 84 (1989), 19.

¹¹ Caminos in R. Caminos and H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (1976), 20.

¹² For a useful account of the scientific search for graffiti in Egypt (a tale as old as the science of Egyptology itself), cf. Desroches Noblecourt in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, vol. II (1972), 151-183. In Egyptological literature the term "graffito" was first employed, it seems, by Auguste Mariette in 1850 in a private excavation journal recording his work at the Serapeum (cf. *ibid.*, 154).

¹³ See J. Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine (Nos. 1060 à 1405)* (1956); and also now J. Černý and A.-A. Sadek et al., *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, 4 vols. (1969-1983).

¹⁴ W. M. F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt, 1887* (1888), pl. 18.

¹⁵ E. Lefébure, *Les hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III (1889), 177-187.

¹⁶ See here: W. Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie der thebanischen Necropolis im Neuen Reich* (1898), 14-16; *idem*, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis*, 2 vols. (1921). Also Vleeming, *Enchoria* 11 (1982), 92-93.

¹⁷ See *JEA* 4 (1917), 107-114; and the unpublished Carter, MSS. i. B. 190-191; i. D. 1-73, 176 [A], 177-198, 200-206, 208-209 and 211.

¹⁸ Apparently so according to Ward in L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of Deir el Medina* (1994), 69.

¹⁹ Note Jasnow in H.-J. Thissen and K.-Th. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata Demotika. Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (1984), 87 n. 4.

Finally, I should point out that for the dates used in this thesis I have had the good fortune of being able to consult an as yet unpublished paper on ancient Egyptian chronology by Prof. Kitchen that incorporates all the most recent studies on this controversial topic. In light of the great masses of ink spilled over the chronology of the ancient world in recent years this paper, courtesy of Prof. Kitchen, has been of invaluable assistance.²⁰

²⁰ Kitchen in K. Randsborg (ed.), *Acts of the Verona Congress 1995* (forthcoming). This is essentially a revised and enlarged follow up to his important earlier study in P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th-22nd August 1987*, Part 1 (1987), 37-55.

Chapter One

The Early Dynastic Period: Dynasties I-II

(c. 3100-2700 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Wâdi el-Qash.

Inscribed on a rock in this tributary of Wâdi Hammâmât is a hieroglyphic graffito text preserving the *serekh* of King Narmer of Dynasty I.¹ Although no sweeping conclusions should be drawn from this one inscription its location would suggest that state-sponsored expeditions were being sent to Wâdi Hammâmât in the earliest years of the Early Dynastic Period, presumably to extract the latter wâdi's supplies of *bekhen*-stone (greywacke),² or just to exploit the wâdi as a direct route to the Red Sea coast. Our humble epigraph is also of some distinction in that it is apparently the oldest known textual graffito from the Pharaonic Era.

(ii) The Desert West of Armant.

Located upon the limestone escarpment behind Armant is an example of the Horus name of the early IInd Dynasty ruler Nebre (or Reneb) in a hieroglyphic graffito.³ What this text might be doing in such a peripheral area is not clear especially as the Western Desert bordering Egypt (unlike the Eastern) had little in the way of exploitable resources to offer any royal expedition. One possibility is that this graffito may mark the passing of a trade caravan on its way to the oases of the Western Desert, Armant being the most probable starting and finishing point for such expeditions even at this early period.⁴

(iii) Wâdi Abbâd.

Incised in Wâdi Abbâd, some 25 km. east of Edfu, is a hieroglyphic rock graffito preserving the Horus name of the Ist Dynasty ruler Djnet, as well as the name of an official of his reign, a

¹ H. A. Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, vol. I (1938), pl. 11 (1).

² For the use of such stone during the Early Dynastic Period: E. R. Russmann and D. Finn, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (1989), 10.

³ See H. A. Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, vol. I (1938), pl. 11 (4).

⁴ Note Wilkinson, *JEA* 81 (1995), 208.

certain Hemka.⁵ Perhaps what is most noteworthy about this graffito is its location close to a caravan route to the Red Sea coast. Perhaps it is an indication that by Dynasty I, and possibly even earlier, official trade expeditions were being mounted to this coastline by way of this particular desert route.⁶

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

As might be expected from this early period of pharaonic history, an era of highly restricted literacy (which also accounts in part for the tiny number of textual graffiti from the Egyptian Nile Valley)⁷ and limited penetration beyond the nation's natural borders,⁸ there are hardly any textual graffiti in Nubia which can be securely dated to the Early Dynastic Period.

Two hieroglyphic rock graffiti which can be dated to this epoch, however, are to be found at Gebel el-Girgâwî. These supply the name of the IInd Dynasty pharaoh Nynetjer.⁹ Presumably they record the presence of an expedition to Lower Nubia during his reign, but the precise objectives of any royal activity in the south at this era can only be rather conjectural (a punitive military raid or some form of commercial enterprise?).

⁵ Published by Clère in *ASAE* 38 (1938), 85-93. See also Weill, *Rd'É* 4 (1940) 221-222. The graffito was retraced in the 1960's by the Czech Institute and an improved reading obtained; cf. Zába, *RILN*, no. A 30.

⁶ That commercial relations existed between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea coastline from c. 4000 B.C. onwards, primarily in the form of the obsidian trade, is now clearly established. See Zarins in A. Leonard, Jr. and B. B. Williams (eds.), *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor* (1989), 339-368.

⁷ See Baines in J. Gledhill et al. (eds.), *State and Society. The emergence and development of social hierarchy and political centralization* (1988), 192-214.

⁸ J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, Tome I: Des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire (12000-2000 av. J.-C.)* (1992), 199-244.

⁹ See Zába, *RILN*, nos. 2 and 3.

Chapter Two

The Old Kingdom: Dynasties III-VIII

(c. 2700-2136 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Sinai.

(i) Maghârah.

In the Old Kingdom we begin to find evidence for the exploitation of the turquoise mines in Sinai by Egyptian work parties from Dynasty III onwards. At this time the ancient Egyptians largely directed their efforts in the mines at Maghârah and a number of rock-reliefs and inscriptions dating to the Old Kingdom have been located at this site.¹ Graffiti inscriptions are much rarer. As we shall see, for a variety of possible reasons, such texts are never common in Sinai at any period of Egypt's pharaonic history.

Regarding the textual graffiti at Maghârah datable to the Old Kingdom, only three very short hieratic examples are attested and these can be dated more precisely to Dynasty V/VI. All three texts preserve the name and titles of a quite senior (and presumably literate) expeditionary sent to Maghârah to mine turquoise.²

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Lower Egypt.

(i) Saqqâra.

Scatched on the paving stones of two rooms at the entrance to the pyramid temple of King Djedkare Isesi at Saqqâra are a dozen or so semi-hieratic graffiti inscriptions which preserve the names and titles of some of the personnel who served the temple in the late Vth and early VIth Dynasties. Presumably they left their signatures in this building in the hope that they might benefit spiritually from the sanctity and material offerings accorded to the dead king.³

Also at Saqqâra, written with large ink characters upon a wall adjoining the central sanctuary in the pyramid temple of Pepi II, is a badly worn graffito dated to the year of the 31st count or

¹ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, nos. 2-17, 19 and 22.

² So Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 18 names Khnum, a controller of dragomen (*shḏw*); no. 20 records Sabi, an expeditionary and controller of officials (*mšr shḏ srw*); and no. 21 notes Idu, an expeditionary and overseer of officials (*mšr lmy-r srw*). Also cf. now: E. Edel, *Beiträge zu den ägyptischen Sinaiinschriften* (1983), 11-15.

³ See Fischer, *Or* 30 (1961), 170-175; and now Roccati in V. Maragioglio and C. A. Rinaldi, *L'architettura delle piramidi Menfite*, vol. VIII (1977), 108-117.

census of an unnamed Old Kingdom ruler, presumably that of Pepi II himself. The rest of the text once contained a description of a burial but it is so badly preserved that no real sense is to be had from the remaining script.⁴

Almost a decade ago Goedicke, with typical panache but no good reason, suggested that this graffito once referred to the burial of Pepi II himself and used this text as partial evidence for a reduction of the generally accepted length of reign for this king (94 years) by some 30 years.⁵

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) El-Kâb.

Incised on some large rocks at El-Kâb are a considerable number of hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti inscriptions of Old Kingdom date which have never been properly recorded and published. These preserve the names and titles of some of the members of the local priesthood of the temple of Nekhbet.

Why they chose to record their presence on these particular rocks is apparently never stated; one can only assume it was because the latter provided a convenient and inexhaustible writing-board for these priestly families to scribble on.⁶

(ii) Gebel es-Silsilah.

So far only two rock graffiti are known from this site (at West Silsilah) which can be dated with certainty to the Old Kingdom. One of these preserves the prenomen of King Meryre Pepi I of Dynasty VI⁷ while our second graffito text records the titles of a controller of prophets of the pyramid of Pepi I.⁸

As the Silsilah sandstone quarries were not worked on a large scale until the New Kingdom perhaps these graffiti were left behind by the above-noted controller of prophets who passed by this landscape long before it was visited by royal expeditions. What he might have been doing in such a spot at this time is anyone's guess.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Hatnub.

⁴ See G. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. II (1938), 68-69.

⁵ Note SAK 15 (1988), 111-121.

⁶ See the references provided in PM, V, 190; and add now Janssen and Mekhitarian, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 313-316.

⁷ See PM, V, 214.

⁸ So Petrie, *Season*, pl. 17 (no. 630).

The alabaster quarries of Hatnub were probably explored and worked as early as Dynasties I-II but the earliest attested graffiti inscriptions at this site date to Dynasty IV. From this period come two undated hieroglyphic graffiti texts recording the names of King Khufu.⁹

Dynasty V does not seem to be represented among the Hatnub graffiti texts and there are no further inscriptions to be found at the quarries until Dynasty VI when several hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti were incised or panned during the reigns of Teti,¹⁰ Pepi I,¹¹ Merenre I,¹² and Pepi II.¹³

As probably the main source of alabaster during the Old Kingdom, the quarries at Hatnub no doubt supplied the raw materials for most of the fine vessels and statuettes fashioned from this stone which have survived from the latter epoch.¹⁴

(ii) Wâdi Hammâmât.

Although there had almost certainly been earlier stone-quarrying expeditions to Wâdi Hammâmât in the Old Kingdom,¹⁵ it is only with the coming of Dynasty VI and the reign of Pepi I in particular that we begin to find hieroglyphic or hieratic rock graffiti in this wâdi which we can date with real precision. There was at least one, and probably several, expeditions launched during the long rule of Pepi I for blocks of the wâdi's greywacke stone for temple statuary and the like.¹⁶

The latest textual graffito in Wâdi Hammâmât that can be assigned with clear-cut certainty to the Old Kingdom appears to be an undated hieroglyphic rock text of King Merenre I which presumably marks a further bout of stone-quarrying in the wâdi or perhaps another expedition to the Red Sea coast.¹⁷

That this VIth Dynasty graffito is apparently the latest attested venture to Wâdi Hammâmât during the Old Kingdom is not unduly surprising. Although royal missions were sent to other

⁹ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 13 (= H(atnub) I(nscription) nos. 1-2).

¹⁰ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 18-19 (= H(atnub) G(raffiti) nos. 1-2).

¹¹ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 13-14 (= HI nos. 3-5 and 8).

¹² Anthes, *Hatnub*, 14 (= HI no. 6).

¹³ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 14 and 19-23 (= HI no. 7 and HG nos. 3-8).

¹⁴ And particularly for fine royal pieces such as the Brooklyn Museum statuette of Pepi II on his mother's lap (cf. W. S. Smith and W. K. Simpson, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1981), 144-145), or the seated ape vessel inscribed for King Merenre I: Hayes, *Scepter*, I, 128.

¹⁵ Wâdi Hammâmât is also known to have been used in Dynasty VI (and possibly earlier) as a route to the Red Sea coast and from there to the East African state of Punt. See Kitchen in Th. Shaw et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns* (1993), 587-589.

¹⁶ See Couyat and Montet nos. 32, 61-63, 103, and 107; also Goyon nos. 19-21.

¹⁷ Couyat and Montet no. 60.

mines and quarries in the Nile Valley a little later in Dynasty VI, in the early years of Pepi II, these were apparently suspended during Pepi II's later years when the state seems to have experienced profound economic difficulties, a malaise that will probably have been felt some time before this point (under Merenre I and even Pepi I).¹⁸

However, it should be noted here in closing that there are other hieroglyphic rock graffiti in Wâdi Hammâmât which may date even later than the texts of Pepi I and Merenre I. These are several very curious rock inscriptions which have been known for well over a century now and they record expeditions to Wâdi Hammâmât during the reigns of the unplaced pharaohs Ity and Imhotep.¹⁹ Who these potentates were is quite uncertain as they are unknown from any other source, but it seems most probable that if they were real national kings then they may belong in the VIIth-VIIIth Dynasties at some point.²⁰

(iii) Aswân.

In and around the region of the First Cataract there are very few textual graffiti known from Dynasties III-VIII. Those texts which are recorded preserve only royal names and titles as well as, sometimes, the name and titles of the official responsible for having the graffito cut in the first place. Most of the Old Kingdom graffiti at Aswân are undated and most are fairly crudely inscribed into the rocky surfaces of the region.

Although they usually never allude to such activities these texts no doubt mark a variety of events at Aswân during the rule of the named monarch, notably the sending of stone-quarrying teams to extract the area's fine granites, building work around the Aswân region itself, and the passage of boats through the Cataract, travelling south into Nubia, to carry out state business whether in the cause of commerce or conflict.

Perhaps one of the earliest Old Kingdom graffiti at Aswân is a text located on a rock at the southern end of Elephantine Island. This preserves the name and titles of one Khufuankh who was superintendent of the latter island's fortress. To judge by his loyalist name he perhaps held office under Khufu himself or one of the latter's immediate successors in the IVth Dynasty.²¹

Those royal names captured directly in textual rock graffiti in and around Aswân include the pharaohs Unis²² (Dynasty V), Merenre I,²³ and both Pepi I²⁴ and II (all Dynasty VI).²⁵

¹⁸ See Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 57-63.

¹⁹ See Couyat and Montet nos. 168-169 and 206

²⁰ Note J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, Tome I: Des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire (12000-2000 av. J.-C.)* (1992), 354; Goedicke, *Rd'É* 41 (1990), 65-93.

²¹ See Habachi, *WZKM* 54 (1957), 57-64.

²² Petrie, *Season*, pl. 12 (no. 312).

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

There are very few hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti known from Nubia in the Old Kingdom; and this is not entirely unexpected. Not only was it an era of severely restricted literacy, it was also a period when Egyptian influence in Nubia by way of military activity extended (in terms of settlement) no further south than Buhen, at the northern end of the Second Cataract, where a fortified town was established by the IVth Dynasty. Indeed this centre may have been the only Egyptian settlement in Nubia until the Middle Kingdom and its population was probably very modest.²⁶

Moreover, after what was apparently a major campaign under King Snofru early in the IVth Dynasty our evidence for further military campaigns in Nubia by later Old Kingdom pharaohs is severely limited. Large-scale campaigning may not have been deemed necessary or desirable. The emphasis at this time was on establishing productive trade alliances with the Nubian populations, to gain access to local produce and to those prized goods obtainable only from lands further to the south, rather than regular military progresses and permanent settlement as would later be the case during the Middle and New Kingdoms.²⁷

When trouble did erupt in Nubia, from an Egyptian perspective, it was probably more a case of launching limited punitive raids to protect vital commercial interests rather than conducting widespread military manoeuvres to needlessly intimidate local groups. (Note that two hieratic rock graffiti of Dynasty IV at Khôr el-Aquiba which mention tens of thousands of troops and prisoners of war are almost certainly exaggerated.)²⁸

As such there were, quite simply, very few literate Egyptian officials based in Nubia during the Old Kingdom (for any length of time) who would have had the opportunity to write down textual graffiti. What names we do have are few and far between and because of this the names of Old Kingdom rulers are also found only very infrequently in graffiti texts in Nubia, whether on their own, or as components of personal names.

²³ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 13 (no. 338) = De Morgan et al., 17 (no. 78). Also note Sayce, *RT* 15 (1893), 147.

²⁴ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 12 (no. 309) = De Morgan et al., 115 (no. 1).

²⁵ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 12 (no. 311) = De Morgan et al., 115 (no. 1).

²⁶ Emery, *Kush* 11 (1963), 116-120.

²⁷ See Gratien, *JEA* 81 (1995), 43-56.

²⁸ So López, *Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas*, nos. 27 and 28; cf. the study by Helck in *SAK* 1 (1974), 215-225.

On some rocks at Tomâs there are a small number of hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti texts recording the names of various officials of the Vth and VIth Dynasty (caravan-leaders, scribes, and military officers) who served under Sahure, Isesi, Teti, and Pepi I.²⁹ The location of these texts, and the titles of their apparent authors, suggest that these men wrote out their names for posterity before heading out into the Western Desert, to the nearby diorite quarries which are known to have been visited and worked by the Egyptians during the Old Kingdom, at least in Dynasties IV-V.³⁰

Similarly, two small groups of rock graffiti at Abd el-Qâdir³¹ and Abû Sîr³² preserving the names of a number of Egyptian officials of the Old Kingdom may have been inscribed by men stationed at the nearby and newly founded town of Buhen. To this meagre array of texts can be added a hieroglyphic graffito, probably of Dynasty VI date, on rocks at Abû Simbel that yields the name and titles of one Inkaef, a general and Min-priest.³³

The most southerly attested Old Kingdom graffiti in Nubia are located at Dakke,³⁴ near Dal. These mention two overseers of the prospectors (*lmy-r smntyw*) and a scribe of the prospectors (*sš smntyw*). As it is known that gold was available from riverine deposits between Buhen and Kerma it seems likely that these latter officials (again stationed at Buhen?) were charged with the collection of such mineral deposits from around the area of the Second Cataract.³⁵

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi Allâqi.

Thanks to the efforts of the former Academy of Sciences of the USSR two hieratic graffiti texts, apparently of Dynasty VI date, have been recorded 60 km. from the Nile in Wâdi Allâqi. These record the presence here of the officials Khunes (titled as *smr w'ty hry-ḥbt lmy-r 'w*) and Weni (*šps nsw lmy-r 'w*).³⁶

As the gold-mines near Wâdi Allâqi were not worked during the Old Kingdom perhaps these two senior officers were exploring these bleak desert valleys out of some idle curiosity of their own (but they were perhaps too far from the Nile for this), or else they were engaged on some

²⁹ Weigall, *Report*, pl. 58; also Edel, ZÄS 97 (1971), 53-63; idem, ZÄS 100 (1973), 76.

³⁰ See PM, VII, 274-275.

³¹ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 17, 18, 19, 24, 27 and 28.

³² Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 232, 234, 237 and 290.

³³ See H. G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome: Dynasties VI-XI* (1964), 12.

³⁴ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 597-599.

³⁵ B. G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (1983), 123.

³⁶ See Piotrovsky in *Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963)* (1967), 134-135.

officially sanctioned mission to establish contact with local Nubian tribes in the area, perhaps to initiate or renew commercial ties with the latter.³⁷

³⁷ Note B. G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (1983), 122.

Chapter Three

The First Intermediate Period: Dynasties IX-X

(c. 2136-2023 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Hatnub.

Our information on conditions in Egypt during the brief and troubled era of the First Intermediate Period is derived mainly from the tombs and inscribed monuments of officials based in Middle and Upper Egypt.¹ However, there is an additional source of historical material at our disposal for this time in the form of a small number of hieratic graffiti dating to Dynasties IX-X at the alabaster quarries of Hatnub. These record the names, titles, and families of several of the provincial governors or nomarchs of the XVth Upper Egyptian nome (the Hare Nome with its capital at Hermopolis) during this period.

The graffiti themselves are written in ink and appear to be our only source of textual graffiti from what is a particularly obscure period of Egyptian history.² They are of additional interest in that they lavish epithets and wish-formulae on the provincial governors in a style that had previously been reserved for kings. Remarkable and unique also³ is the way in which some of these quarry graffiti are dated in the regnal years, not of the reigning pharaoh, but of the local nomarchs themselves, the most extreme manifestation of the independent status aspired to by these pseudo-kinglets.

Those Hatnub graffiti which can be dated with some degree of probability to Dynasties IX/X record the nomarch Ahanakhte I and his sons Khnumiqer, Djehutynakhte (IV), and Ahanakhte (II).⁴ From the limited evidence available concerning this family it appears that the latter two men eventually succeeded their father as nomarchs of the Hare Nome.⁵

As we have observed already the few Hatnub graffiti commemorating the provincial governors of this period preserve only their names, titles and families and it is particularly frustrating

¹ Now cf. Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 5-11.

² It should be noted that a rock graffito at Aswân reported by Sayce (*The Academy* 41 (1892), 332-333) to contain the names of the IXth Dynasty king Meryibre Khety I does in fact record the names of two private individuals. The true date of this text is uncertain. See Lorton, *DE* 8 (1987), 21.

³ Note Kitchen, *THIP*, pp. xvii-xviii.

⁴ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 25-31 and 72-73 (= HG nos. 10-12 and 42).

⁵ Willems, *JEOL* 28 (1983-1984), 82.

that their texts leave us none the wiser regarding just how much alabaster was being extracted at this time or what numbers of manpower were available to these regional officials to exploit the quarries.

Chapter Four

Section I

The Middle Kingdom: Dynasty XI

(c. 2116-1973 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Sinai.

The lack of graffiti texts from the Sinai peninsula so evident in the First Intermediate Period appears to extend into the XIth Dynasty. However, both Montuhotep II and III are recorded on a statue from Serâbît el-Khâdim which was probably dedicated by Sesostris I.¹ This raises the faint possibility, perhaps, that it was one of these early Middle Kingdom rulers who first sent expeditions to reopen the mines of Sinai and to re-establish trade routes to southern Palestine after the troubled times of the First Intermediate Period.² Certainly valuable goods from these regions were brought back from at least one expedition in the late XIth Dynasty.³ Nonetheless even if this were the case I know of no hieroglyphic or hieratic graffiti from Sinai which can be assigned to this dynasty with certainty.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Royal Memorial Temples on the Theban West Bank.

(a) The Memorial Temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II.

Scratched along the enclosure-wall of the funerary temple of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri are several hieroglyphic graffiti which seem to preserve the nomen of a King Intef. The significance of these texts remains unclear. Possibly they mark the ownership of a nearby tomb but it is not even entirely certain that they are of XIth Dynasty date.⁴

¹ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 70.

² In this regard it is worth bearing in mind that there is growing evidence for military activity in the Levant under Montuhotep II and that the latter may well have taken the opportunity to exploit the natural resources of Sinai anew. See Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 69-70.

³ Note the stones and minerals brought back to Egypt by the overseer of quarry-work, Khety. These included not only turquoise, copper and galena but also lapis-lazuli which is not found naturally in this part of the Near East. Presumably the latter material was obtained by transaction or force from an established trading centre in Sinai or the Levant: Schenkel, *MHT*, 283-284.

⁴ See Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), 145-146; idem, *Rise and Fall*, 34 and 64-65; noted again by Thomas, *RNT*, 16; also Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 13 n. 2.

(ii) Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl.

Located some 75 km. to the north of Aswân and some 4 km. north of the sandstone quarries at Gebel es-Silsilah Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl is a desolate desert valley best known for its large-scale rock-reliefs depicting the XIth Dynasty ruler Nebhepetre Montuhotep II with members of his family and court. However this site is also important for a series of large rock inscriptions and smaller hieroglyphic graffiti which preserve not only the names and titles of several senior courtiers but also the names of many lesser officials and workmen who seem, by and large, to have been contemporaries of Montuhotep II, although some of the authors who scribbled their signatures around the wâdi must have visited it later in the Middle Kingdom as the cartouches of Montuhotep III, Amenemhat IV and Neferhotep I are also attested here by hieroglyphic rock graffiti. Other "royal" graffiti at this site are of a very uncertain date.⁵

Important and remarkable though these rock texts undoubtedly are it is a sad fact that only a small proportion of them have been published and discussed in any detail.⁶ The vast majority of this wâdi's inscriptions have still to be released to the wider world and until this occurs it is wisest for now perhaps to put aside any involved discussion regarding the possible nature and significance of those rock graffiti among the unpublished material from Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl and their relationship (if any) to those texts which are already available for study, other than to query in a general way why there should be so many historical inscriptions in such an isolated locale.⁷

Those rock-reliefs and graffiti which have been published do not tell us why Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl attracted attention in the Pharaonic Era, especially during the early Middle Kingdom. It was thought that the scenes and texts recording King Montuhotep II and his court commemorated a visit by this monarch to Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl, possibly in his Year 39.⁸ However, there is no evidence for such a sojourn and it is difficult to imagine what circumstances would have prompted a royal progress to this bleak landscape. Indeed as it seems likely that Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl was never used as a quarry in its own right (its sandstone cliffs are damaged by

⁵ For a number of obscure rock graffiti in this wâdi of problematic date, one of which appears to name a Horus *Wjḏ*, cf. Caminos in *LÄ VI* (1986), 1120 and nn. 20-21 and 23-24.

⁶ See generally: Winlock, *AJSL* 57 (1940), 137-161; idem, *Rise and Fall*, 58-76; Schenkel, *MHT*, 207-209, 222-225 and 250; Caminos, *LÄ VI* (1986), 1119-1124; and cf. Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 19-20.

⁷ Any views and conclusions expressed here must be regarded as wholly provisional until the epigraphic field work of Profs. Ricardo Caminos and Jürgen Osing (February-March, 1983) is published as a near definitive account of Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl. It appears that a total of over 800 inscriptions in the form of graffiti texts, royal reliefs, and rock drawings are known from this wâdi and of these only about 160 have been published; cf. Caminos, *JEA* 69 (1983), 3-4; idem, *LÄ VI* (1986), 1119; Leclant, *Or.* 53 (1984), 387.

⁸ See Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 74-76.

faulty seams and other geological flaws) we have to guess that if Montuhotep II did visit this valley in person with some of his senior functionaries then it was for another reason, perhaps to see for himself a wâdi that was the line of an important caravan route to Lower Nubia. But this is still just speculation. The only hope of resolving the reason(s) for the location of these early Middle Kingdom texts in Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl lies with the forthcoming publication of the many new inscriptions located and copied there by Caminos and Osing.

(iii) Gebel es-Silsilah.⁹

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Hatnub.

Although their exact date has provoked heated debate in the past there can be little doubt that the group of hieratic graffiti at Hatnub chronicling the deeds of the nomarch Neheri (I) and his two sons, Kay and Djehutynakhte, are to be assigned to the period just before the accession of Amenemhat I. Indeed several of these texts seem to describe the violent events surrounding the transfer of power from the XIth to the XIIth Dynasty.¹⁰

(ii) Wâdi Hammâmât.

After the upheavals of the First Intermediate Period it appears to have fallen to the energetic Nebhepetre Montuhotep II to reopen the Coptos road to the Red Sea via Wâdi Hammâmât (and perhaps recommence quarrying in the latter wâdi?), but this is not certain. A brief hieroglyphic rock graffito incised in Wâdi Hammâmât probably dates to his rule but as this text gives only the royal nomen (though significantly preceded by the title "Son of Re" *inside* the cartouche, an orthographic feature that points to its belonging to Nebhepetre) it might just date to one of his likenamed successors.¹¹

What is certain, however, is that in Year 8 of Montuhotep II's son and successor Sankhkare Montuhotep III a large expedition of some 3000 men under the command of the Chief Steward

⁹ The late Prof. R. Caminos reported the existence here of several previously unknown XIth Dynasty graffiti incised above the famous specs of King Horemhab at the west bank quarries. Apparently (the material is still unpublished) these record various caravan leaders and travellers who passed by long before quarrying work began at Silsilah. See Caminos in J. Assmann, G. Burkard and V. Davies (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology* (1987), 62-63 and 65.

¹⁰ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 32-66 (= HG nos. 14-29). See Faulkner, *JEA* 30 (1944), 61-63; Willems, *JEOL* 28 (1983-1984), 80-102.

¹¹ See Couyat and Montet no. 112; also now Schenkel, *MHT*, 273; Gundlach, *LÄ* VI, 1104; Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 30.

Henenu was dispatched to the Red Sea coast along the Coptos route with orders to re-establish commercial contact with the state of Punt on the East African coast. When he reached the Red Sea coast Henenu organised the sending of a fleet of ships to Punt. These returned laden with all sorts of goods which were then sent back the 90 or so miles to the Nile Valley by donkey-pack. On the return journey Henenu ordered the inscribing of a long hieroglyphic rock graffito in Wâdi Hammâmât to signal this latest successful mission to the Red Sea ports and also the cutting of blocks of stone in the wâdi for temple statues.¹²

The final expedition of the XIth Dynasty to Wâdi Hammâmât was apparently undertaken in Year 2 of its last ruler, King Nebtowyre Montuhotep IV. This was an even grander affair than that of Sankhkare Montuhotep III and is primarily attested by a group of four remarkable rock stelae.¹³ These recall the auspicious omens which encouraged the huge 10000 man workforce in their official task of quarrying stone for the royal sarcophagus under the Vizier Amenemhat (almost certainly the future King Amenemhat I).¹⁴

In addition to these four stelae there are a number of very short hieroglyphic rock graffiti in Wâdi Hammâmât (dated and undated) which preserve the name of not only Montuhotep IV but also the names and titles of various officials and workmen active in the wâdi under him. These too most probably date to the major expedition in the latter's Year 2.¹⁵

(iii) Aswân.

There are very few graffiti inscriptions datable to the XIth Dynasty in and around Aswân and the area of the First Cataract. This may reflect not only a low level of activity in the region's stone quarries but perhaps also the modest nature of the riverine traffic moving between Egypt and Nubia at this time.

The earliest rock graffito appears to be a hieroglyphic text on Elephantine Island that records the name and titles of the early XIth Dynasty king, Wahankh Intef II.¹⁶ As Intef II is thought to have been responsible for a limited building programme on the island it seems possible that this isolated inscription dates to the period this building work was carried out.¹⁷

¹² Couyat and Montet no. 114; Schenkel, *MHT*, 253-258; Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 243-245; and cf. Kitchen in Th. Shaw et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns* (1993), 589-590.

¹³ Couyat and Montet nos. 110, 113, 191 and 192.

¹⁴ On the nature of these most curious monuments and their historical value: Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 71-75; also Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 37-39.

¹⁵ So Couyat and Montet nos. 1, 40, 55, 105, 205 and 241; Goyon nos. 52-60 and 140. See also Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 245.

¹⁶ See Petrie, *Season*, pl. 12 (no. 310) = De Morgan et al., 115 (no. 1).

¹⁷ See Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 15.

The only other rock graffiti in the region from this dynasty are an undated hieroglyphic text giving the name (nomen with title "Son of Re" enclosed within the cartouche) of Montuhotep II at Konosso¹⁸ and two other hieroglyphic graffiti dating to the regime of this pharaoh (more precisely to his Year 41) located just south of Aswân.¹⁹

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

It seems possible that even before the final defeat of the rival Xth Dynasty at Herakleopolis by Nebhepetre Montuhotep II, and the ending of the civil war of the First Intermediate Period, the earlier dynasts of Thebes may have attempted to impose some of the political and military control over Lower Nubia that a united Egypt had enjoyed during the Old Kingdom. This domination would be necessary not only if the raw materials of the region were to be fully exploited again but also if trade links with lands to the south of Nubia were to be resumed.

Although direct archaeological evidence for a military push south at this time appears not to exist it ought to be noted here that the name of King Wahankh Intef II is known from a hieroglyphic graffito on a large boulder near Amada.²⁰ One swallow does not make a summer; but it is not impossible that this otherwise uninformative inscription may be the marker of some sort of Egyptian military (or commercial) activity in Lower Nubia earlier in the XIth Dynasty than previously imagined.

Despite any such efforts by the early kings of Dynasty XI it also seems likely that until the regime of Montuhotep II most of Nubia enjoyed a period of independence after the collapse of the Old Kingdom, perhaps being ruled by its own dynasty of kings.²¹ Limited knowledge of two of these Nubian rulers is derived from a series of hieroglyphic graffiti inscribed along the cliffs between Gudhi and Abû Simbel. These graffiti preserve royal names and titles similar to those of Egyptian pharaohs on whom the local Nubian dynasts may have modelled themselves in name if nothing else.²² The majority record the Horus Senefertowyef Qakare In(tef) whose

¹⁸ De Morgan et al., 71 (no. 31).

¹⁹ See Petrie, *Season*, pl. 8 (nos. 213 and 243). The latter text is also given as De Morgan et al., 37 (no. 151). In the first graffito (= no. 213) the arrival of the Chief Treasurer Khety and "ships of Wawat" is noted. An appearance at Aswân like this by the head of Egypt's exchequer was perhaps connected with an expansion of trade with Nubia and the arrival of valuable goods from the south.

²⁰ Note Arnold and Grossmann in L. Habachi (ed.), *Actes du IIe symposium international sur la Nubie (février 1-3, 1971)*, Supplément aux ASAE, Cahier No. 24 (1981), 92.

²¹ Säve-Söderbergh, 43-47.

²² Säve-Söderbergh, 47-50.

throne name is identical to that of a Memphite king of Dynasty VIII and whose personal name is the same as that of three kings of the early XIth Dynasty.²³ The other known Nubian ruler, Geregtowyef Iyebkhenre, has a Horus name similar in form to the Horus name (Sankhtowyef) selected by Pharaoh Sankhcare Montuhotep III.²⁴

Once he had secured victory over the forces of his Herakleopolitan rivals, and reunited Egypt under his sole authority, King Montuhotep II was at last in a position to begin the reconquest of Lower Nubia in earnest. However, what his exact military policies regarding Nubia were is rather uncertain. There is no evidence for a full-scale occupation of the region or the establishment of permanent military garrisons during his reign. Possibly Montuhotep II's ambition at this stage was only one of crushing initial opposition to a renewed Egyptian military presence in the south, the recruitment of willing local men for service in his army, and the creation of a protectorate over enough territory to allow a safe passage for Egyptian trading parties as far as the Second Cataract.²⁵

What little there is in the way of textual graffiti from Lower Nubia at this time sheds only a limited amount of light on such processes. Of the small number of graffiti inscriptions datable with some confidence to the late XIth Dynasty the most important are a group of hieratic rock graffiti incised by the Nubian mercenary Tjehemau at Abisko, some 10 km. south of Aswân. These reveal not only that Montuhotep II seems to have fought his way as far south as Buhen at the Second Cataract but also that the Egyptian pharaoh had recruited Nubians into his army. And although these inscriptions are incised with a clumsy scrawling hand that is often difficult to interpret it is also interesting to note that an apparently humble Nubian soldier had become sufficiently Egyptianized during his military service that he was able to record for posterity the events important to him from his career in a foreign language.²⁶

As there is no evidence to suggest that either Montuhotep II, or his two dynastic successors (Montuhotep III-IV), adopted a policy of permanent settlement in Nubia during their respective reigns this may explain in part the lack of textual graffiti in the region attributable to the later XIth Dynasty. Soldiers and officials sent into Lower Nubia during this period do not appear to have been based there for long. Hieroglyphic or hieratic rock graffiti recording the presence and

²³ To the fourteen examples in Säve-Söderbergh, 47, add two other hieroglyphic rock graffiti with his name located just south of Arminna East (= Simpson, *Heka-nefer*, 34 and pl. 18a+b), and also see Zába, *RILN*, no. 141, for a further such graffito in the region of Wâdi el-Arab.

²⁴ Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, 47-48, for the three attested examples of his name at Abû Hôr, Mediq and Tôshka.

²⁵ Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 30-31.

²⁶ So G. Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, vol. I (1911), 103-111; Posener, *ArOr* 20 (1952), 163-166; Schenkel, *MHT*, 274-277; also cf. Brovarski and Murnane, *Serapis* 1 (1969), 11-33; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 70.

lives of such personnel only start to appear in numbers with the coming of the more assertive rulers of Dynasty XII who subdued Lower Nubia to the status of a quasi-province of Egypt by repeated military strikes, large-scale settlement, and the establishment of permanent fortress-garrisons along the Nile from Aswân to the Second Cataract.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi el-Hûdi.

Work in the amethyst mines at Wâdi el-Hûdi is first attested in the Pharaonic Era by a rock stela and a small number of hieroglyphic rock graffiti dating from Years 1 and 2 of Nebtowyre Montuhotep IV. From regnal year 1 of the latter there are at least three²⁷ and perhaps as many as five²⁸ rock graffiti texts in the wâdi which were apparently cut on the orders of the caravan-leader (*Imy-r ʿw*) Intef who appears to have lead the first mining mission. However, other than preserving royal cartouches, a year-date and Intef's title and praises these brief epigraphs reveal nothing of the size of his expedition nor the season of its going.

Nonetheless though the quantity, quality or weight of the gemstones secured on this initial venture are also not revealed (and never are in any of the texts from this site) we may conclude that the results were satisfactory, even encouraging. The following year Intef was sent back to Wâdi el-Hûdi to extract further quantities of amethyst, a semi-precious stone particularly prized by the Middle Kingdom royal court.²⁹ The large rock stela³⁰ recording this new expedition in Year 2 of Montuhotep IV is a little more forthcoming on certain points regarding the caravan-leader's task. In addition to revealing that Intef had apparently been promoted (to be *sdjwty* and *Imy-r pr*) during the interim (a reward for earlier efforts?), it is also claimed that for the second occasion "rank upon rank" (lit. "thousand after thousand") of local Nubians from Wawat were assembled to assist with the new mining project.

It is uncertain whether this levying of local manpower was voluntary or not but taken with the evidence from the Abisko graffiti concerning the recruitment of Nubians as mercenaries by Montuhotep II it is a further indication of the apparent willingness of the pharaohs of the later XIth Dynasty to use labour from Lower Nubia in the interests of the state. And although Wâdi

²⁷ W(âdi el-) H(ûdi texts). nos. 1-3. Now Fakhry, *Wadi el Hudi*, 19-21; Schenkel, *MHT*, 260-261; Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I, 4-9; Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 7-10.

²⁸ WH. no. 26 might also date to Year 1 of Montuhotep IV: Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I, 53. WH. no. 5 certainly belongs to the reign of Montuhotep IV but as it is undated and does not refer to the caravan-leader Intef we cannot be sure if it was inscribed during the Year 1 or 2 expedition (or even during a subsequent visit): Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I, 15.

²⁹ See Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I, 1 and n. 1; Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 143-144.

³⁰ WH. no. 4: Fakhry, *Wadi el Hudi*, 21-23; Schenkel, *MHT*, 261-263; Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I, 10-14.

el-Hûdi lies only 35 km. south-east of Aswân these carefully organized forays south will have whetted the Egyptian appetite for other obtainable riches lying beyond her borders and encouraged the rulers of the XIIth Dynasty to intensify their foreign explorations, by force of arms if necessary.

Section II

The Middle Kingdom: Dynasty XII

(c. 1973-1795 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Sinai.

(i) Maghârah.

By Dynasty XII it seems that the turquoise mines at Maghârah had started to run dry.³¹ The discovery of new sources of the mineral at Serâbît el-Khâdim will also have helped to force the former site into secondary importance. So it is not entirely surprising that there are only three attested hieratic graffiti at Maghârah of probable Dynasty XII date. These record the presence of several stone-masons and workmen.³² There is also a single hieroglyphic rock graffito of this period recording the presence of a serving-man (*wb*) named Senwosret.³³

The precise date of these texts is uncertain but as expeditions under both Amenemhat III and IV are known to have visited the turquoise mines here the above graffiti most probably date to one or other of these two reigns.³⁴

(ii) Serâbît el-Khâdim.

Although the turquoise mines at Serâbît el-Khâdim may well have been visited and explored by Egyptian work parties during earlier periods they do not appear to have been exploited with any intensity until the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty. Monuments such as stelae, statuettes,

³¹ Note here: Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 38. And yet these mines even today are not entirely exhausted. See Lucas and Harris, *Materials and Industries*, 202.

³² Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, nos. 39-41.

³³ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 42.

³⁴ See Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 66.

and minor objects of one kind or another are attested for every ruler of this latter dynasty with the exception of the female pharaoh Sobeknoferu.³⁵

Again it was probably during Dynasty XII that semi-permanent stations were first erected at Serâbît to accomodate miners and their supervisors while groups of Asiatics are also known to have been employed by visiting Egyptian-work parties at this period to assist them with their task.³⁶ And yet despite all this activity there seems to be no attested Dynasty XII graffiti texts in either the hieroglyphic or hieratic scripts at Serâbît. How do we account for this?

There is no doubt that all Egyptian mining expeditions to Serâbît in Dynasty XII contained senior officials who were fully literate. However, this élite group preferred, it would seem, to mark their participation in missions to this inhospitable land with formal public monuments such as stelae and statues rather than graffiti inscriptions (as was later to be the case with their New Kingdom counterparts). Those lower ranking officials and skilled workers who lacked the means to commission such monuments of their own, but who were nonetheless at least semi-literate, may have had their movements at the work place strictly controlled not only to ensure a maximum effort in the turquoise mines, but also to prevent any opportunist prospecting for personal gain. If so the lesser expeditionaries may have had little opportunity for exploring the surrounding landscape and scribbling down their names.

(iii) Rôd el-'Aîr.

If the minor officers and literate skilled workers from the XIIth Dynasty mining expeditions to Serâbît were unable to scribble down their names, titles and requests in graffiti texts at the actual turquoise mines it does appear that they were able to leave such inscriptions when they travelled back or forth from the mines to the coastal plain. The valley of Rôd el-'Aîr seems to be the route which the Egyptian expeditions chose to reach the top of the plateau of Serâbît el-Khâdim after travelling inland from the coast and in 1930, roughly half-way up this wâdi, the joint Harvard and Washington Catholic Universities discovered a number of brief rock graffiti, mostly of probable Dynasty XII date.³⁷ These roughly incised hieroglyphic and hieratic texts preserve the names, titles, and offering requests of some of these middle and lower ranking ex-

³⁵ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 235-236 (index); Murnane, *GM* 15 (1975), 27-33; Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 155-239; also I. Matzker, *Die letzten Könige der 12. Dynastie* (1986), 151-158.

³⁶ See Černý, *ArOr* 7 (1935), 384-389; also note Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 19; R. Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (1978), 53-54; M. Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a* (1996), 14, 17 and 19.

³⁷ Barrois, *The Harvard Theological Review* 25 (1932), 109-110; Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, nos. 501-527.

peditionaries and they supply a welcome additional insight into the social composition of such mining campaigns.³⁸

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Lower Egypt.

(i) Wâdi el-Anqabîya el-Rawyâna.

At Wâdi el-Anqabîya el-Rawyâna, which lies near the Cairo-Suez road, is a single hieroglyphic rock graffito, apparently of XIIth Dynasty date. This badly weathered record preserves the name (in part) and titles of the *[r-]pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜣ wr-mꜣw ꜥwnw*, an official whose compound name consisted of a now lost element and the prenomen of Amenemhat II.³⁹

Apart from adding a rare new Middle Kingdom reference to the title and office of High-Priest of Re at Heliopolis⁴⁰ the real interest of this text lies in its isolated location. The surrounding stone is a poor quality fossiliferous limestone, unsuitable for building work, and there appears to be no trace of any quarrying in the area. What could have brought the author (especially if it was the high-priest himself) of such an inscription into this wâdi is now a mystery.

(ii) The Meidûm Pyramid.

Scratched within the funerary temple of the Meidûm pyramid are a small number of hieratic graffiti, probably of XIIth Dynasty date, which record the personal names of what appear to be visitors to this site or perhaps members of a resident priesthood of the cult of the deified King Snofru (other graffiti in the temple of the same date mention this IVth Dynasty ruler).⁴¹

Whoever the authors of these rough graffiti texts were it is clearly of some interest that the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom may have considered the Meidûm pyramid and its temple to be works attributable to King Snofru (although their graffiti never explicitly state this it must be said), just as pious visitors to Meidûm in the early New Kingdom would also declare many centuries later.⁴²

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Wâdi el-Hôl.

³⁸ The titles mentioned in the Rôd el-'Aîr graffiti include: scorpion-charmer (= Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 502); cattle scribe (= no. 502); foreman (= no. 502); serving-man (no. 507); scribe (no. 508); dragoman (nos. 510-511); stone-mason (no. 513); intendant (nos. 516 and 519).

³⁹ Townsend, *ASAE* 33 (1933), 1-5.

⁴⁰ Unknown to M. I. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (1972), 38-42.

⁴¹ See Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 117-118.

⁴² See pp. 49-50 in Section I of our Chapter Six.

It should be noted that during a recent resurvey of this bleak valley in the Egyptian western desert John and Deborah Darnell have traced some of the Middle Kingdom rock graffiti (largely of Dynasties XII-XIII) at this site which have been known to exist for many years now but are still unpublished. They appear to be connected with a nearby ancient caravan route (perhaps to the western oases?).⁴³

(ii) Medâmûd.

Scratched into two stone blocks found at Medâmûd are several hieroglyphic graffiti recording a king Sesostris. Which ruler of this name they refer to is an open question but Sesostris III is probably the most likely candidate as he is known to have built extensively at the site. One of the blocks also holds a graffito recording an otherwise unknown king named "Mes".⁴⁴

(iii) The Theban West Bank.

With the coming of the XIIth Dynasty we find textual graffiti located on the limestone cliffs at West Thebes for the first time. These relatively few hieratic and semi-hieroglyphic inscriptions are, with only a handful of exceptions,⁴⁵ all to be found in one small area of the Theban necropolis known today in the technical jargon of the CEDAE as the "Vallée de la Cachette Royale". As we shall see this tightly focused grouping is probably significant.

Most of these Dynasty XII graffiti were first copied in the winter of 1895-1896 by Wilhelm Spiegelberg. His efforts were added to by members of the Metropolitan Museum's expedition to Deir el-Bahri in the 1920s and later by epigraphists of the CEDAE.⁴⁶ What they preserve,

⁴³ See the Darnells in *The Oriental Institute 1993-1994 Annual Report* (1994), 43-46; Giddy, *Egyptian Archaeology* No. 9 (1996), 27.

⁴⁴ Note F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud* (1930), Part. I (1931), 95-96; also cf. R. Cottevieille-Giraudet, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud* (1930), Part. II (1931), 46-47. J. von Beckerath has suggested (cf. *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (1964), 186 n. 2) that king "Mes" should be interpreted as Ahmose I. Also cf. now Bennett, *GM* 149 (1995), 26; Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 145 n. 3.

⁴⁵ The only other possible Middle Kingdom textual graffiti at West Thebes known to me are Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 154 (this records the presence of a *wab*-priest named Rensonb and is located in the "Vallée du Puits" at the modern entrance to the Valley of the Kings), and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2580 (a cartouche with the nomen of a king Montuhotep also in the "Vallée du Puits") and 3786, 3787, 3789, 3800, and 3801 (apparently all prenomina of Montuhotep III written on a rocky ridge just north of the "Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne", now CEDAE Section 199). Quite what the significance of these texts is I am at a loss to say other than that they may also be the work of those funerary priests who scratched out a much larger number of texts near the Deir el-Bahri temples.

⁴⁶ Basic sources: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 920-933, 935-937, 939-946d, 947-957a,c,d, 958-970, 972-977, 980a, 981, 982b,c, 983-985, and 1054-1056; Winlock, *AJSL* 58 (1941), 146-

by and large, are the names and titles of some of the funerary priests who attended the cults of the XIth Dynasty kings Nebhepetre Montuhotep II and Sankhkare Montuhotep III. There are also several texts which record the names and titles of priests of Amun (a deity who was only now coming to prominence at Thebes)⁴⁷ as well as the names and titles of what appear to be minor necropolis officials. Perhaps inevitably these Middle Kingdom graffiti have been greatly overshadowed by the much more numerous texts at West Thebes dating to the New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period and this is somewhat unfortunate as the former inscriptions are of considerable interest in their own right.⁴⁸

As with later examples at western Thebes the great majority of the Dynasty XII inscriptions are limited to bare signatures and titles with sometimes the name of a father or grandfather for further identification. Due to their laconic nature assigning them to a specific reign is usually impossible. Unlike the better known New Kingdom graffiti these Middle Kingdom texts were usually written in a smaller hand that is more difficult to see and interpret. All appear to have been scribbled on the various cliff faces with a piece of flint.⁴⁹

Presumably it was for the view from the cliff-tops that these royal funerary priests and their colleagues made their way up the crags just south of the memorial temple of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. Here, on several cliff faces at the "Vallée de la Cachette Royale",⁵⁰ they left us their signatures. Only once, however, did any of them note what it was that they were looking out for in particular, having made the effort to scramble up to their rocky eyries. This event is recalled so:

"The wab-priest Neferabed. Giving praise to Amun, kissing the ground before the Lord of the Gods on his Festival, (on) the first month of Shomu (day 1?), when he appears on the day of Ferrying Over to the Valley of Nebhepetre.

(Written) by the wab-priest of Amun, Neferabed".⁵¹

168; idem, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90; now also see Thomas, *RNT*, 27; D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, Band I (1974), 92-94.

⁴⁷ Daumas, *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 201-214; Wildung, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 212-219.

⁴⁸ Perhaps the most immediate point of interest concerning these graffiti texts is the fact that they exist at all, that the pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty were prepared to continue sponsoring the funerary cults of kings of the preceding dynasty whose power they had probably usurped. It seems they were anxious to stress the continuity of kingship regardless of the political realities of how they had come to that office.

⁴⁹ So Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 85. This is what one might expect considering that the authors of these graffiti were unlikely to have carried alternative implements around with them such as copper tools to scratch out their signatures. It would also help to account for the often clumsy nature of their calligraphy.

⁵⁰ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/5, plans 190-193.

⁵¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 968.

The festival of Amun mentioned here is perhaps the earliest known reference to the Festival of the Valley, a major religious event at Thebes when Amun's sacred image (in its barque) was ferried across the Nile from Karnak and placed overnight within a temple on the Theban West Bank (which temple depends on the period in question). In Dynasty XII such a visit by Amun would have seen, almost certainly, the use of Montuhotep II's funerary temple at Deir el-Bahri for this nocturnal stop over. Therefore it may well have been deemed prudent to have observers stationed on suitable cliff-tops where Amun's crossing over from Karnak could clearly be seen and a warning of the god's impending approach shouted down to priests waiting in the temple of Montuhotep II below.

However, there is a problem with this particular reconstruction. We know from later sources that in the New Kingdom the date of the Valley Festival oscillated within the second month of *Shomu* (according to the occurrence of the new moon) and not the first. While it is not impossible that the Festival of the Valley occurred a month earlier in the Middle Kingdom it is also feasible that what is noted in the above graffito is the earliest attested record of another Theban feast of Amun which is known from Ramesside texts at Medinet Habu to have been celebrated within the first month of *Shomu*.⁵²

(iv) El-Hôsh.

Located at this site just north of Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl there is a short hieratic graffito dated to Year 17 of Amenemhat II. The writer of this text was a scribe of unknown origin and as he gives only the year date and the name of the king, as well as his own, the reasons for his visit to this barren spot remain quite obscure.⁵³

(v) Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl.

To the south of Thebes at Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl there is a single hieroglyphic rock graffito which preserves the prenomen of Amenemhat IV (dated to his Year 3) and this seems to be the only graffito in the wâdi which can be assigned confidently to the XIIth Dynasty, so far. More texts may follow in time. Perhaps it was scribbled by a passing official (on his way to Lower Nubia?) who stopped to see the impressive XIth Dynasty rock-reliefs. In any event he chose to remain anonymous.⁵⁴

⁵² See S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (1950), 104 and 107.

⁵³ So Malek, *GM* 24 (1977), 51-52.

⁵⁴ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 (no. 444); Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 72.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Bahriya Oasis.

During a survey of this oasis in 1972 Fakhry appears to have located a previously unknown mining site near the district of El-Harra. He states that he found there "Three inscriptions from the M(iddle) K(ingdom),.....engraved on boulders in front of mine openings in a particular stratum for the extraction of an unidentified mineral". Unfortunately nothing more appears to be known of these "inscriptions" (are they really textual "graffiti", perhaps from Dynasty XII?) and if they relate to some mining expedition to Bahriya during the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁵

(ii) Hatnub.

In Dynasty XII hieratic and hieroglyphic graffiti recording the presence of mining parties in the alabaster quarries at Hatnub are known only from the reigns of Sesostri I (Year 31)⁵⁶ and Amenemhat II (Year 20).⁵⁷ In addition there appears to have been at least one expedition sent under Sesostri III (year unknown).⁵⁸

Unlike those earlier texts recording local nomarchs the few Middle Kingdom inscriptions are generally uninformative beyond supplying royal names and titles, year dates and the odd name of an expedition member. The only exception is the Year 31 text of Sesostri I which provides us with the important fact that it was during this year that Sesostri I celebrated his first *Sed*-festival.⁵⁹

(iii) Wâdi Hammâmât.

Following the infrequent but very large expeditions sent into Wâdi Hammâmât at the end of Dynasty XI it appears that Amenemhat I and most of his successors in Dynasty XII dispatched stone quarrying missions of their own to the site. One of them would be the largest expedition ever assembled for such a purpose in pharaonic history.

Amenemhat I himself is attested in Wâdi Hammâmât only by a single undated hieroglyphic rock stela.⁶⁰ His son and heir, Sesostri I, is known in the wâdi by a single hieroglyphic rock graffito and four rock stelae. These appear to mark three expeditions into the wâdi's greywacke

⁵⁵ See the paper by Fakhry in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, vol. II (1972), 213. Also note L. L. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases. Bahariya, Dakhla, Farafra and Kharga during Pharaonic Times* (1987), 161-162.

⁵⁶ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 76-78 (= HG no. 49).

⁵⁷ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 78 (= HG no. 50).

⁵⁸ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 17 (= HI no. 13).

⁵⁹ Note Simpson, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 61-62.

⁶⁰ Couyat and Montet no. 199.

quarries in his Year 2,⁶¹ 16⁶² and 38.⁶³ There are also a few undated minor hieroglyphic rock graffiti from the reign of Sesostris I recording the names and titles of various functionaries and no doubt these also date to one or other of these expeditions.⁶⁴

Although the objectives of the first two missions to Wâdi Hammâmât under Sesostris I are not stated, presumably it was for greywacke stone for statues or the like. The third mission (in Year 38) with a work-force of over 18000 men (the largest ever sent to Wâdi Hammâmât as far as we know) was certainly sent under orders to quarry stone; for 60 sphinxes and 150 statues. The two rock stelae noting the activities of this third mission are also of great interest in that they give detailed lists of the personnel engaged in the quarrying work and of the rations issued to them. Material of this nature is extremely rare before the New Kingdom.⁶⁵ Sesostris I may also have sent expeditions (prospecting for gold deposits?) into the neighbouring Wâdis Atolla and Isa as his name has been found in odd hieroglyphic rock graffiti in these two valleys.⁶⁶

From later on in the dynasty an expedition sent under King Sesostris II left behind a solitary hieroglyphic rock graffito dated to his Year 2 which recounts the extraction of some 200 stone blocks.⁶⁷ Sesostris III also appears to have sent just one expedition into Wâdi Hammâmât, in his Year 14 for *bekhen*-stone (greywacke), and this was commemorated by cutting a rock stela and two hieroglyphic rock graffiti naming several officials attached to the venture.⁶⁸

As far as we know the final expeditions to Wâdi Hammâmât in Dynasty XII were sent under Amenemhat III. Several rock stelae and two brief hieroglyphic rock graffiti record no less than four separate missions here, one certainly, and most probably all looking for greywacke in the latter king's Year 2,⁶⁹ 3,⁷⁰ 19⁷¹ and 20.⁷² There is also a single undated hieroglyphic rock graffito naming Amenemhat III and two members from one of these expeditions.⁷³

⁶¹ Goyon no. 67 (hieroglyphic rock graffito with royal names, titles and year date).

⁶² Couyat and Montet no. 123 = Goyon no. 64; note Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 247-248.

⁶³ Couyat and Montet no. 87; and Goyon no. 61. Note too the new but undated rock stela (= inscription no. 3042) which may also belong to the time of the Year 38 expedition; cf. Gasse, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 83-94.

⁶⁴ Couyat and Montet no. 117; Goyon nos. 62-63 and 65-66. There are also a number of very minor rock graffiti consisting of proper names and titles which can only be roughly dated to Dynasty XII. See Couyat and Montet, 123 (index); and Goyon nos. 71-86.

⁶⁵ Mueller, *JNES* 34 (1975), 256-257; Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 248-252; also cf. now Farout, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 143-172.

⁶⁶ See Green, *PSBA* 31 (1909), 322; Bell, Johnson, and Whitcomb, *JNES* 43 (1984), 36 and 42 (no. 8); Bradbury, *JARCE* 25 (1988), 134.

⁶⁷ Couyat and Montet no. 104; Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 253.

⁶⁸ Couyat and Montet no. 47 (rock stela); and Goyon nos. 68 and 69 (rock graffiti). Also cf. Simpson, *JNES* 18 (1959), 32-33.

⁶⁹ Couyat and Montet no. 43; and Goyon no. 70 (rock graffito).

⁷⁰ Couyat and Montet no. 96 (rock graffito).

⁷¹ Couyat and Montet nos. 17, 19, 48 and 108.

Finally, also from Wâdi Hammâmât, and dating in all probability to Dynasty XII, is a most unusual hieroglyphic rock graffito which is one of the earliest Egyptian king-lists. This short inscription, which was clumsily incised by a minor official who appears to have been working in the wâdi, records the names of kings Khufu, Redjedef and Khafre as well as the names (also in cartouches) of the royal princes Hordjedef and Bauefre.

It seems apparent that this quarry-expeditionary showed an interest and knowledge (if flawed in regarding the last two men in his list as actual kings) in the IVth Dynasty court which was by no means untypical for the Middle Kingdom, a period which featured the rulers of Dynasty IV in several literary texts. Why he chose to display his learning in such a barren spot as Wâdi Hammâmât, if not simply to relieve the drudgery of his daily routine, can of course never be known to us.⁷⁴

(iv) Aswân.

To judge by the considerable number of hieroglyphic rock graffiti and stelae inscribed on the cliffs and boulders at Aswân which yield their names, and those of their officials, it seems that nearly all the pharaohs of Dynasty XII were active in this region at one time or another. Only Amenemhat IV and Queen Sobeknoferu at the close of the dynasty are unattested by any such inscriptions.

This high level of activity at Aswân throughout most of the dynasty suggests that not only were there regular stone quarrying expeditions being sent to the region (this is also borne out by the large number of fine architectural elements, altars, and statues dating to Dynasty XII in the attractive red granite of Aswân)⁷⁵ but after the robust military campaigns of Amenemhat I and Sesostri I in Lower Nubia (cf. just below) there was now a steady flow of traffic moving between Egypt and the south via the First Cataract with sizable numbers of Egyptian officials, both military and civilian, on their way to and from postings throughout Nubia. Furthermore, the construction of a long defensive wall between Philae and Aswân early in Dynasty XII will also have brought many skilled and no doubt highly literate officials to this stretch of the Nile Valley who would inscribe their signatures along its rocks and cliffs before moving on to new assignments.⁷⁶

⁷² Couyat and Montet no. 42.

⁷³ Couyat and Montet no. 81.

⁷⁴ Cf. Drioton, *BSFÉ* 16 (1954), 41-49; also Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 164-165; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 25; add R. B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (1991), 47-48.

⁷⁵ Hayes, *Scepter*, I, 174-175, 178-179, 182-183 and 188.

⁷⁶ Cf. Jaritz, *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 67-74.

When it came to writing graffiti around the First Cataract, however, these Middle Kingdom officials concentrated on commemorating only their own name and titles, family relationships, and the names and titles of the pharaohs they served. Only very rarely do they give any information on the missions they were engaged on in Nubia (inspecting fortresses)⁷⁷ or at Aswân itself (opening a new channel at the First Cataract to supply a navigable waterway through the rapids).⁷⁸ In any case these latter activities were all noted with more formal rock stelae rather than rock graffiti.

Hieroglyphic rock graffiti at Aswân preserving the names of visiting XIIth Dynasty officials with the names and titles of the rulers of the day (or just the names and titles of these rulers on their own) are known from the regime of Amenemhat I in his Year 23,⁷⁹ and at unknown periods during his rule;⁸⁰ Sesostris I in his Year 1⁸¹ and 43⁸² and again from unknown dates during his reign.⁸³ Sesostris III, in addition to four undated examples of his names and titles on Sehel Island,⁸⁴ is known in the region by a graffito naming two officials and this is dated to his Year 6;⁸⁵ while Amenemhat III is attested by graffiti left by officials in his Year 14,⁸⁶ 15⁸⁷ and 24.⁸⁸ Presumably some of these graffiti may even mark the presence of the reigning king at the First Cataract.

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

⁷⁷ See De Morgan et al., 25 (no. 178, on the road from Philae to Aswân). Dated to Year 35 of Amenemhat II and Year 3 of Sesostris II.

⁷⁸ In Year 8 of Sesostris III: De Morgan et al., 86 (no. 20).

⁷⁹ De Morgan et al., 34 (no. 81, on the road from Philae to Aswân).

⁸⁰ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 2 (no. 67) = De Morgan et al., 32 (no. 31, on the road from Philae to Aswân); De Morgan et al., 33 (no. 40, on the road from Philae to Aswân); Petrie, *Season*, pl. 12 (no. 308) = De Morgan et al., 115 (no. 1, at Elephantine).

⁸¹ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 10 (no. 271, on the road from Philae to Aswân).

⁸² See Habachi, *WZKM* 54 (1957), 68-69 and Fig. 4 (at Elephantine).

⁸³ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 10 (no. 273); De Morgan et al., 35 (no. 103). Both on the road from Philae to Aswân.

⁸⁴ De Morgan et al., 84 (no. 12) and 85 (nos. 14 and 17); add Delia, *BES* 11 (1991/92), 6.

⁸⁵ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 9 (no. 262) = De Morgan et al., 39 (no. 169, on the road from Philae to Aswân).

⁸⁶ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 7 (no. 151, on the road from Philae to Aswân).

⁸⁷ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 3 (no. 84) = De Morgan et al., 12 (no. 53, on the road from Philae to Aswân); also Petrie, *Season*, pl. 7 (no. 153, on the road from Philae to Aswân).

⁸⁸ So Petrie, *Season*, pl. 4 (no. 98); and De Morgan et al., 27 (no. 211). Both located on the road from Philae to Aswân.

After the rather cautious steps taken by Montuhotep II to re-establish Egyptian domination over Nubia with a view to exploiting the latter's natural resources, it was left to his successors in the XIIth Dynasty to complete this task. We know from a hieratic rock graffito at Gebel el-Girgâwî that in Year 29 of King Amenemhat I an Egyptian army arrived in the south with the clearly stated intention of conquering Wawat (Lower Nubia).⁸⁹ The campaign apparently went well and was swiftly followed up by others under Amenemhat's son and heir Sesostris I.⁹⁰

Thanks to these efforts by the first two kings of Dynasty XII, and those of Sesostris III later on in the dynasty⁹¹ the Egyptian military frontier in Nubia eventually extended as far south as Semna at the Second Cataract where the repeated campaigning resulted in the construction of a chain of fortresses at the latter region. Nothing better illustrates the determination of the XIIth Dynasty pharaohs and their local administrators to militarily occupy the south on a permanent basis, and to exploit it economically, than these remarkable buildings.⁹²

It was during this epoch that the names of some of the pharaohs of Dynasty XII were etched on cliffs and boulders in hieroglyphic or hieratic graffiti at a variety of sites throughout Lower Nubia. In most cases these brief texts are the work of Egyptian officials based in the south at this time although some examples might well be the efforts of Egyptianized Nubians employed in the service of the occupying administration.⁹³

Thus, the names of Sesostris I⁹⁴ and Amenemhat II⁹⁵ have been found in hieroglyphic rock graffiti at Dehmîd while at Gebel el-Girgâwî, some 180 km. south of Aswân, there were once over seventy rock stelae and graffiti most of which could be dated to the time of Amenemhat I and Sesostris I. (These texts are now submerged under Lake Nasser.)⁹⁶ The names of Sesostris I,⁹⁷ Amenemhat II⁹⁸ and Sesostris III⁹⁹ have all been seen in dated hieroglyphic rock graffiti on a large boulder near Amada.¹⁰⁰ The name of Sesostris III is again attested by a hieroglyphic rock graffito at Uronarti dated to his Year 19. This inscription is of particular

⁸⁹ See Zába, *RILN*, no. 4.

⁹⁰ Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 53 and 61-64.

⁹¹ See Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 92-95.

⁹² For an excellent assessment of these structures: B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (1989), 166-178.

⁹³ Leprohon, *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, II, 285-291.

⁹⁴ Weigall, *Report*, pl. 18 (no. 17).

⁹⁵ Weigall, *Report*, pl. 18 (no. 10; dated to his Year 3).

⁹⁶ Now cf. Wegner, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 154-156.

⁹⁷ See Weigall, *Report*, pl. 53 (no. 3; his Year 45).

⁹⁸ Weigall, *Report*, pl. 53 (nos. 4-5; his Year 5 and 22).

⁹⁹ Weigall, *Report*, 101 and pl. 53 (no. 1; year date uncertain).

¹⁰⁰ Note Wegner, *JARCE* 32 (1995), 151.

interest in that it recalls the difficulties of dragging ships through the low spring waters of the Second Cataract after a military expedition against Kush.¹⁰¹

A final and most important source of hieroglyphic graffiti from XIIth Dynasty Nubia which preserves royal names of the period is the series of texts on the rocks at the Semna Gorge (and Askut Island) recording exceptionally high Nile flood-levels (averaging roughly 7.3 m. above their modern counterparts). These concise records span a period of some seventy years between Year 1 of Amenemhat III to Year 1 of Amenemhat VII of the early XIIIth Dynasty.

It seems likely that these high flood levels, which may have begun to occur under Sesostris III,¹⁰² were a natural phenomenon and not the result of any artificial barrier such as a series of dams between Kumma and Semna West as has been advocated by at least one authority.¹⁰³ It also seems probable that only those years with remarkably high floods were so recorded, they being a cause of some concern, and that missing years saw flood levels little or no higher than the earlier years of Dynasty XII.¹⁰⁴

Most of these dated flood texts belong to the reign of Amenemhat III. Presumably very high Nile levels were most frequent under his rule. It has even been suggested that Amenemhat III's extensive work in building dikes and canals for drainage and irrigation around the Faiyûm was directed towards reducing the destruction caused by these floods in Lower Egypt and the effect they could have on the national economy.¹⁰⁵

The following years from Amenemhat III's reign are recorded in these Second Cataract flood inscriptions: Years 1,¹⁰⁶ 5,¹⁰⁷ 6,¹⁰⁸ 7,¹⁰⁹ 8,¹¹⁰ 9,¹¹¹ 13,¹¹² 14,¹¹³ 22, 23,¹¹⁴ 24,¹¹⁵ 31,¹¹⁶ 32,¹¹⁷ 36,¹¹⁸ 37,¹¹⁹ 40,¹²⁰ 41,¹²¹ and 43.¹²² From the close of Dynasty XII we

¹⁰¹ Cf. D. Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts, vol. II: Uronarti Shalfak Mirgissa* (1967), 33-34.

¹⁰² Vercoutter, *Kush* 14 (1966), 164; Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 238 and 244-245.

¹⁰³ See Vercoutter, *Kush* 14 (1966), 125-164; idem, *CRIPEL* 4 (1976), 139-172.

¹⁰⁴ Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 235-236.

¹⁰⁵ So Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 235 and 254-255; and now de Putter, *SAK* 20 (1993), 255-288; Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 104-107.

¹⁰⁶ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 369 (RIK 2).

¹⁰⁷ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 140 (RIK 9).

¹⁰⁸ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 135 (RIS 19) and 162-163 (RIK 112 and 115).

¹⁰⁹ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 140 (RIK 5).

¹¹⁰ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 520 (RIS 1).

¹¹¹ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 164-165 (= RIK 116, 118 and 119a). For RIK 116 cf. also Hintze, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 131-133; Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 499.

¹¹² Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 386 (RIK 33) and 505(?).

¹¹³ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 140 (RIK 7).

¹¹⁴ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 145 (RIK 29).

¹¹⁵ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 139 (RIK 1).

¹¹⁶ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 376 (RIK 27).

¹¹⁷ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 145 (RIK 30).

have flood texts for Amenemhat IV in his Year 5,¹²³ 6,¹²⁴ and 7;¹²⁵ and one from Year 3 of Queen Sobeknoferu.¹²⁶

So much for the "royal" graffiti or graffiti which can be dated with near certainty to Dynasty XII. There is also a mass of more modest hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti from Nubia which are not so easy to date precisely. Nonetheless, these texts are also important to our understanding of how the Egyptian administration operated in the region during the Middle Kingdom and particularly in Dynasty XII.

Repeated epigraphic surveys in the region of Buhen fortress, just above the Second Cataract, have been rewarded with the discovery of a considerable number of rock inscriptions the majority of which are hieratic or semi-hieratic graffiti texts of Middle Kingdom date.¹²⁷ These yield personal names and patronyms or more rarely the title of an Egyptian official from the nearby fortress.¹²⁸ Most of the texts are probably to be assigned to the mid XIIth Dynasty when the Egyptian military occupation of Lower Nubia was firmly established and Buhen fortress fully up and running.¹²⁹ Even so some of these graffiti might date to Dynasty XI¹³⁰ and others to Dynasty XIII.¹³¹

The location of these rock graffiti is significant. The largest single group is found on Gebel Turob (thirty-five texts of Middle Kingdom date),¹³² a small isolated hill to the south-west of Buhen fortress in which the more important officers of the latter town had their tombs cut. On

¹¹⁸ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 132 (RIS 6).

¹¹⁹ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 140 (RIK 6).

¹²⁰ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 140 (RIK 8).

¹²¹ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 380 (RIK 10).

¹²² Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 140 (RIK 4); and now also cf. Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 497 (RIK 114).

¹²³ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 135 (RIS 16).

¹²⁴ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 135 (RIS 19).

¹²⁵ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 135 (RIS 18).

¹²⁶ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 141 (RIK 11).

¹²⁷ Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 25-31; and also cf. Smith, *Kush* 14 (1966), 330-334; idem, *JEA* 58 (1972), 43-58.

¹²⁸ The titles recorded at G(ebel) T(urob): royal acquaintance (GT no. 1), *wab*-priest (GT no. 28); at "H(ill) A": *wab*-priest (= HA no. 5), two examples of scribe (= HA nos. 5-6); at G(ebel) S(heikh) S(uleiman): three examples of dog handler (GS nos. 2, 3, 19), one of scribe (GS no. 5). At "Hieroglyph Hill": army scribe, retainer, herald, and scribe; now in Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 5, 6, 8, 9, and 15.

¹²⁹ See Smith, *Buhen*, 61 and 63.

¹³⁰ Smith, *JEA* 58 (1972), 51-55; Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, vol. I, 14.

¹³¹ There are several graffiti containing theophorous names compounded with Sobek (Smith, *JEA* 58 (1972), 52 and 54-55), and although such names are not uncommon in Dynasty XII it is certainly possible that some of them may date to the following dynasty when their popularity reached a peak.

¹³² Smith, *Kush* 14 (1966), 330-331; idem, *JEA* 58 (1972), 46-51.

the south and west sides of this hill some natural clefts in the rock were used as shelters from the sun and wind and it is around these areas that most of our inscriptions are located.

A second group of eight Middle Kingdom rock graffiti is situated at the south-east corner of a small hill termed "Hill A", which stands about 2.9 km. south-west of Buhén.¹³³ These are cut on the faces of a fallen rock which forms a shelter and along the hillside itself. Both Gebel Turob and "Hill A" are similar in this respect to two other sites in the area which have graffiti from the XIIth Dynasty: Gebel Sheikh Sulciman, positioned behind the town of Kor,¹³⁴ and the so-called "Hieroglyph Hill", to the west of Abd el-Qâdir village.¹³⁵ These sites also have graffiti inscriptions located in rock clefts and shelters just below their summits, for the most part facing south and east.

It seems likely that these hills were employed as strategically placed watch posts for observing the movements of the native populations out on the desert routes and as bases from which signals concerning such movements could be quickly communicated to the Egyptian garrisons at the Second Cataract. How any system of signals operated cannot be known. During the day perhaps some form of heliography or smoke columns were used; at night fires could be lit.¹³⁶ That the Egyptian garrisons of this time kept a strict watch on the desert routes in and around the Second Cataract and compiled notes on even the Nubians' most trivial movements in the region is well established.¹³⁷

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi el-Hûdi.

Following the two apparently fruitful missions sent to mine amethyst at the end of Dynasty XI it appears that most of the pharaohs of Dynasty XII were also eager to send expeditions of their own to Wâdi el-Hûdi, especially Sesostri I. Apart from many new texts a further sign of this renewed interest is found in the form of a stone-built fortress erected near the mines during Dynasty XII for the protection and relative comfort of the visiting work parties.¹³⁸

Unlike earlier missions the expeditions sent in Dynasty XII did not leave behind any graffiti texts dated to a reigning king. Records so dated from this period are found only in the shape of

¹³³ Smith, *Kush* 14 (1966), 331; and *JEA* 58 (1972), 44-45.

¹³⁴ Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 27-31.

¹³⁵ Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 25-27; Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 4-15. Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 20-23, 25-26, 29-34, 36, 38-39, 42, and 49-56, may also record officials engaged on look-out work nearby at this time.

¹³⁶ Smith, *Kush* 14 (1966), 331-332; and *JEA* 58 (1972), 56.

¹³⁷ See Smither, *JEA* 31 (1945), 3-10; also now S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom* (1990), 191-193.

¹³⁸ Shaw and Jameson, *JEA* 79 (1993), 81-97.

stelae.¹³⁹ Nonetheless there were a significant number of very short hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti incised on the rocks and boulders surrounding the mines and it seems most likely that these were left by members of one or other of the regular mining parties sent in Dynasty XII.

These minor epigraphs are undated and usually contain only the names and titles of officials, workmen and special auxiliaries attached to the expeditions.¹⁴⁰ The latter group, interestingly enough, include professional dog-handlers who were presumably brought along to hunt desert game and keep their fellow expeditionaries supplied with fresh meat. These textual graffiti are apparently the commemorative records of those workmen and their overseers who were at least semi-literate, no doubt the minority group in any such expedition. There were also a considerable number of non-inscriptional graffiti or rock drawings scribbled on the rocks and boulders around the mine sites and these are perhaps largely the efforts of their illiterate co-workers.¹⁴¹

Our last records of amethyst mining at Wâdi el-Hûdi in the Pharaonic Era come from an expedition sent in Year 6 of Khaneferre Sobekhotep IV, early in Dynasty XIII. This mission was unusual in that it was dispatched into the Aswân deserts not only to acquire amethyst but also supplies of greenstone(?), white and black quartz, garnet and green felspar. However, it appears the expedition is commemorated only by several rock-cut stelae,¹⁴² unless some of the minor undated rock graffiti noted just above were in fact incised by members of this last forage.

(ii) Wâdi Allâqi.

In 1947 Černý published three hieratic rock graffiti in Wâdi Beiga (a region of Wâdi Allâqi) which he was inclined to date to the Middle Kingdom. These very brief inscriptions are poorly formed and difficult to read. They supply only the names and titles of the following officials: a steward (no. 41); an overseer of scribes Intef (no. 42); a retainer and scribe Hotpef(?) (no. 43); and a caravan-leader (no. 43).¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Most recently and conveniently: Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I-II, passim; also Seyfried, *GM* 81 (1984), 55-63.

¹⁴⁰ WH. nos. 29-31, 33-40, 43/44-49, 51-99 and 150-152. See Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I, 55-79 and 98; Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 77-93.

¹⁴¹ WH. nos. 101-142; cf. Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I, 80-82.

¹⁴² WH. nos. 22, 23, 24, 25 and 155: Fakhry, *Wadi el Hudi*, 40-42; Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 62-73; Sadek, *Wadi el-Hudi*, I, 46-52, and II, 5-7. WH. no. 23 is undated and the date of WH. no. 25 has been restored but there is no good reason to suppose that these texts belong to any other year or expedition.

¹⁴³ See *JEA* 33 (1947), 56. And also note the hieratic rock graffito in the south-eastern desert at Abraç published by de Bruyn (*JEA* 42 (1956), 121-122). This preserves the name and titles of a "reckoner of gold" (*sš ḥsb nbw*), Djehutyhotep, who also appears to have lived during the Middle Kingdom (in Dynasty XII?).

The location of the graffiti on the main route to the gold-mining region of the eastern desert suggests that these personnel may have been involved in the extraction of this precious metal especially as it appears that gold was first mined and processed within Lower Nubia during the Middle Kingdom (though perhaps not until the reign of Sesostris I).¹⁴⁴ If they were involved in this industry then these officials may have been stationed in one of the gold-mining settlements at Wâdi Allâqi whose remains are currently under investigation.¹⁴⁵

Section III

The Middle Kingdom: Dynasty XIII

(c. 1795-1638 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Sinai.

After the many attested mining expeditions to both Maghârah and Serâbît el-Khâdim during Dynasty XII our evidence for activity in the Sinai peninsula comes to an end after the reign of Amenemhat IV.¹⁴⁶ Mining ventures may have continued during the first half of Dynasty XIII of which we know nothing but there is no real evidence for this. Certainly there are no Egyptian graffiti texts known to me which could be dated to this period.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Lower Egypt.

(i) Saqqâra.

Located within the tomb of Queen Khuit at Saqqâra is a graffiti text copied by Loret which seems to preserve the prenomen of the early XIIIth Dynasty ruler Sedjefakare Amenemhat VII. However, whether this unpublished text contains any details of interest such as why it came to be written in this earlier monument is unclear.¹⁴⁷

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Middle Egypt.

(i) Beni Hasan.

¹⁴⁴ Säve-Söderbergh, 73; Vercoutter, *Kush* 7 (1959), 133-134.

¹⁴⁵ Castiglioni et al., *BSFÉ* 121 (1991), 5-24.

¹⁴⁶ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 235 (index); Seyfried, *Expeditionen*, 180-182.

¹⁴⁷ Known to me only from H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. II (pt. 1) (1910), 93 (II).

Penned on a wall in the XIIth Dynasty tomb of the provincial governor Amenemhat at Beni Hasan is a badly preserved hieratic graffito in black ink which appears to record the prenomen of the obscure pharaoh Sekhemre-neferkhau Wepwawetemsaf. The latter's position in the line of succession remains uncertain but he is generally believed to have been one of the last rulers of Dynasty XIII.¹⁴⁸ However, it is not impossible that he belongs in fact to the Theban based line of kings of Dynasty XVII.¹⁴⁹

The author of our brief epigraph does not reveal his identity and the purpose behind his visit to this earlier monument is equally uncertain. Possibly his interest was antiquarian in nature; after all, this Beni Hasan tomb was investigated again by at least one curious party during the New Kingdom.¹⁵⁰ Alternatively this graffito could mark a restoration of the tomb's original burial following its violation (perhaps at the very end of the Middle Kingdom?). We can never know for sure.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) El-Kâb.

Written upon a fallen block of stone in the desert near El-Kâb is a hieroglyphic rock graffito preserving the nomen of Dudumose II, probably the last ruler of Dynasty XIII. This nomen is preceded only by the title "Son of Re"; there is no use of a cartouche. What this short graffito is doing in such a spot is unclear; its author is equally elusive. Perhaps it is the work of some local late Dynasty XIII scribe who wished to practise writing this royal name.¹⁵¹

(ii) Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl.

Written in this desert wâdi are at least two hieroglyphic rock graffiti which can be dated with some certainty to the early XIIIth Dynasty. The first text seems to be an example of the Horus name (*S'nh-twy*) of Sekhemkare Amenemhat V.¹⁵² The second graffito records the names and titles of Neferhotep I and his mother.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ So C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Text. vol. II (ed. and rev. E. Naville, L. Borchardt and K. Sethe) (1904), 76; also cf. J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (1964), 69 and 262.

¹⁴⁹ See Bennett, *GM* 143 (1994), 26; idem, *GM* 149 (1995), 27-28.

¹⁵⁰ See p. 79 in Section II of our Chapter Six.

¹⁵¹ See here: Sayce, *PSBA* 21 (1899), 114; J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (1964), 64 and 257; Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 143.

¹⁵² Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 (no. 466).

¹⁵³ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 (no. 479); Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 72.

The likely significance of these crudely written graffiti is difficult to assess. They may point to continued trade links with Lower Nubia by desert caravan. Or they may be no more than the records of two XIIIth Dynasty visitors who came to Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl to admire the XIth Dynasty rock-reliefs there and who left mementos of their inspection by writing out the name of the ruler of the day.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi Hammâmât.

As with every other mine or quarry of this era the XIIIth Dynasty is very poorly represented at Wâdi Hammâmât. This decline in mining and quarrying inscriptions presumably reflects the national political decline and only two inscriptions of early XIIIth Dynasty date are known to me from this desert valley. These are a stela which dates to Year 7 or 8 of Sobekhotep IV¹⁵⁴ and a hieroglyphic rock graffito containing the name and title of the well-known vizier Iymeru Neferkare.¹⁵⁵ This brief latter inscription is in all probability contemporaneous with the royal stela and with this monument the sole surviving record of what appears to have been the only royal quarrying expedition to Wâdi Hammâmât in Dynasty XIII.¹⁵⁶

(ii) Aswân.

Inscribed on the rocks at Aswân and the First Cataract are a few hieroglyphic graffiti which can be dated to the first half of Dynasty XIII without difficulty. However as these texts merely contain the names and titles of royalty, their families, and a high official, we can only assume that they point to continued quarrying or building work in the region or the movement of river traffic between Egypt and Nubia at this time. Such activities are never explicitly referred to in any of the rock graffiti of this period at Aswân.

Apart from a single text with the name and titles of the vizier Khenmes (temp. Amenemhat V), written along the road from Philae to Aswân,¹⁵⁷ the earliest of these rock graffiti preserve the names and titles of King Khasekhemre Neferhotep I. These are located at Konosso¹⁵⁸ and

¹⁵⁴ Published by Simpson, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 154-158; and cf. Dewachter, *Rd'É* 28 (1976), 66-73; Spalinger, *Rd'É* 32 (1980), 100-101; Gundlach, *LÄ* VI, 1106.

¹⁵⁵ See now Goyon no. 87; Habachi, *Supplément au BIFAO* 81 (1981), 36-37.

¹⁵⁶ Simpson, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 158.

¹⁵⁷ See De Morgan et al., 26 (no. 186). Also cf. D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1-796* (1984), 286 (Dossier No. 461); also Delia, *BES* 10 (1989/90), 48-51.

¹⁵⁸ De Morgan et al., 71 (no. 30).

Sehel¹⁵⁹ and along the road from Philae to Aswân.¹⁶⁰ The name of the future King Sihathor, brother to Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV, as well as the names and titles of other members of the former's immediate family¹⁶¹ are also found in a hieroglyphic graffito at Sehel.¹⁶²

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

The transition from Dynasty XII-XIII probably had little effect on Egypt's domination over Nubia and the south. The names of several Egyptian rulers of early Dynasty XIII have been recovered from fortresses in Lower Nubia¹⁶³ and additional evidence for continued Egyptian rule in the region can be seen in the series of hieroglyphic rock graffiti at Semna marking unusually high flood levels.

These Semna graffiti continue into early Dynasty XIII with three inscriptions dating to the regime of Sekhemre Khutowy Sobekhotep I (his Years 2-4)¹⁶⁴ and one to King Sekhemkare Amenemhat V (Year 4).¹⁶⁵ A further flood text of Sekhemkare, dated to his Year 3, has been located at Askut Island by Badawy.¹⁶⁶ The latest high Nile graffito at Semna belongs to Year 1 of Sedjefakare Amenemhat VII,¹⁶⁷ perhaps the fifteenth king of Dynasty XIII.

¹⁵⁹ So De Morgan et al., 84 (no. 11) and 85 (nos. 15, 16 and 22); and cf. now Delia, *BES* 11 (1991/92), 7.

¹⁶⁰ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 13 (no. 337) = De Morgan et al., 17 (no. 79).

¹⁶¹ See Dewachter, *Rd'É* 28 (1976), 70-73; also now Habachi in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980* (1981), 79-81.

¹⁶² See De Morgan et al., 87 (no. 44).

¹⁶³ Säve-Söderbergh, 117-120; Reisner, *Kush* 3 (1955), 26-69; Vercoutter, *Rd'É* 27 (1975), 222-234; B. G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (1983), 160.

¹⁶⁴ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 130-131 (RIS 2 and 3); Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 229; Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 382A, 508 and 509.

¹⁶⁵ Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 229; now Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 506 (RIS 8?).

¹⁶⁶ See *Kush* 12 (1964), 52-53; Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 233-234.

¹⁶⁷ Dunham and Janssen, *Semna-Kumma*, 132 (RIS 9); Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 229 n. 11; Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 510. An extreme fluctuation in the level of the Nile's flood later in Dynasty XIII (under Sobekhotep VIII) is also known by a Theban stela: Habachi, *SAK* 1 (1974), 207-214; and Baines, *ActOr* 36 (1974), 39-54; idem, *ActOr* 37 (1976), 11-20. However, this deep inundation does not appear to have been recorded at Semna or anywhere else in Nubia, perhaps indicating that those Egyptians still living there felt no great compunction to record such events towards the end of Dynasty XIII.

Chapter Five

The Second Intermediate Period:

Dynasties XIV-XVII

(c. 1638-1540 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Sinai.

As with the First Intermediate Period and the Late Middle Kingdom (Dynasty XIII) there are apparently no graffiti texts in Sinai which can be assigned to the period under discussion here. Presumably the political disunity of the era ensured that all mining expeditions to Sinai were discontinued. This lack of activity in the mines of Sinai appears to extend even to the Hyksos rulers of Dynasty XV. When one considers that the latter's likely point of origin was southern Palestine and that their capital at Tell el-Dab'a in the north-eastern Delta was ideally situated for sending missions to the Sinai peninsula, the Hyksos's reluctance to exploit its resources is perhaps a little more surprising.¹

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Wâdi el-Hôl.

In a recent survey of this valley John and Deborah Darnell have recorded not only the many unpublished Middle Kingdom rock graffiti incised here but also what would appear to be a new and potentially important hieratic rock graffito of Second Intermediate Period date, "describing a struggle against Asiatics". Further details are as yet unavailable.²

(ii) Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl.

Located in this barren desert wâdi is a hieratic rock graffito containing the nomen of a King Sobekemsaf. Theoretically this very short inscription could belong to either of the two XVIIth Dynasty rulers of this name but as the second Sobekemsaf (Sekhemre-wadjkhau) is known to have sent at least one expedition into another desert region (Wâdi Hammâmât, cf. immediately below) it is perhaps more likely that this inscription is the hastily inscribed memento of some

¹ Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 98-101; M. Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a* (1996), passim.

² See the brief report by Giddy in *Egyptian Archaeology* No. 9 (1996), 27.

official from the royal court at Thebes sent to investigate the possibilities of Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl (or the nearby quarries at Gebel es-Silsilah) during Sobekemsaf II's reign.³

To about the same period as this "royal" graffito we might also assign several other hieratic rock graffiti etched elsewhere within Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl. These record the names of various officials who may have come to this wâdi specifically to admire the XIth Dynasty rock-reliefs found there as many others had doubtless done before them.⁴

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi Hammâmât.

There are three recorded hieroglyphic and hieratic rock graffiti in Wâdi Hammâmât which can be assigned with certainty to the era of Sekhemre-wadjkhau Sobekemsaf II. Two of these texts give no more than this XVIIth Dynasty king's names, titles, and a date line (Year 7). The third graffito from his reign is longer and although undated provides an important roll-call of those officials sent to the wâdi on one occasion with some 130 workmen at their command. Judging by the manpower available for this enterprise only a limited amount of *bekhen*-stone will have been removed, perhaps specifically for royal statues.⁵

Although it is not certain it seems most likely that all three of the above texts were incised during the same expedition into the wâdi in Year 7 of Sobekemsaf II. Even if there were more than one mission during Sobekemsaf's rule his regime is the only one attested to date in Wâdi Hammâmât between Dynasties XIV to XVII. That fact alone gives these few rock graffiti texts an added importance. The almost total cessation of mining or quarrying operations throughout the Nile Valley is one of this period's most distinctive features and, like the First Intermediate Period, marks it out as a time of national political decline and economic contraction.

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

As we have seen the names of several Egyptian kings of the early XIIIth Dynasty have been located at various forts in Lower Nubia (and in a few Nile-flood inscriptions) and these would appear to confirm the reality of continued Egyptian domination over the south during the first

³ See Petrie, *Season*, pl. 14 (no. 385); now J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (1964), 292.

⁴ Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 72.

⁵ See Couyat and Montet no. 111; and now Gasse, *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 207-218, for the other two inscriptions seen and copied by Lepsius.

half of the Late Middle Kingdom. However, a complete absence of royal names from the latter half of Dynasty XIII, and from Dynasties XIV-XVII until the regime of Kamose, the last king of Dynasty XVII,⁶ would also suggest that Egypt's rule over Nubia was gradually relinquished or forcibly lost during the intervening period. In addition several Egyptian forts in Nubia show obvious signs of conflagration⁷ and this loss of political control over the region is also made very apparent in certain passages of the famous stelae erected by Kamose at Karnak.⁸

As far as textual graffiti in Nubia from this period are concerned the picture is very bleak. In the 1960s a team from the Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology located six hieroglyphic rock graffiti in Lower Nubia, apparently left by Egyptians, that might be attributable to the Second Intermediate Period. However there are doubts about their age. Two of the texts merely provide a personal name;⁹ another supplies not only the author's name but that of his father and grandfather as well.¹⁰ The three remaining graffiti texts preserve titles as well as names: an overseer of the house of counting people rich in new generations;¹¹ a *wab*-priest of Amun's barque "Strong is the Front";¹² and a butler.¹³

As with the small number of graffiti in Nubia attributable to the First Intermediate Period¹⁴ the above texts, even if unremarkable in content, are of importance in that they may belong to an era when Nubia had again reverted to independence after its subjugation in the Middle Kingdom.¹⁵ The fact that at Buhen and Aniba (perhaps also at Mirgissa) there were Egyptian families who continued to live and work and be buried in Nubia after the close of Egyptian rule in the south (and who served the Nubian king as permanent expatriates) may provide a historical context for explaining such isolated graffiti texts.¹⁶

Finally there are two further hieroglyphic graffiti in Nubia which perhaps belong to the very end of the Second Intermediate Period. These are incised on rocks at Tôshka and Arminna East

⁶ A building inscription at Buhen dated to his Year 3 is known: Smith, *Buhen*, 8-9.

⁷ The evidence at Buhen in particular would suggest an attack by hostile Nubians; cf. Smith, *Buhen*, 80-82.

⁸ B. G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (1983), 162; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 126-127.

⁹ Zába, *RILN*, nos. 1b and 176 (at Er-Riqa and the region of Marîya).

¹⁰ Zába, *RILN*, no. 179 (region of Marîya).

¹¹ Zába, *RILN*, no. 135 (region of Wâdi el-Arab).

¹² Zába, *RILN*, no. 133 (region of Wâdi el-Arab).

¹³ Zába, *RILN*, no. 203 (region of Murwâw).

¹⁴ See pp. 16-17 in Chapter Four of this study.

¹⁵ Sève-Söderbergh, *JEA* 35 (1949), 50-58; idem, *Kush* 4 (1956), 54-61.

¹⁶ See B. G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (1983), 161-162; Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 202-203.

and they preserve the name and titles of King Kamose.¹⁷ However, it is not clear if they were written during Kamose's reign or during that of his successor Ahmose I whose own name and titles are inscribed in the same style next to those of Kamose.¹⁸

¹⁷ See Weigall, *Report*, 127 and pl. 65 (no. 4); and Simpson, *Heka-nefer*, 34 and pl. 17b.

¹⁸ Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 61.

Chapter Six

Section I

The New Kingdom: Dynasty XVIII

(c. 1540-1295 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Sinai.

(i) Serâbît el-Khâdim.

After the final victory of King Ahmose over the Hyksos and the destruction of their cities in the Southern Levant, there followed a concerted effort to establish an Egyptian hegemony over Palestine and Syria.¹ This inevitably involved the regular movement of Egyptian traffic, both military and commercial, along the coastal route of North Sinai the latter being the main link-road to the Levant and beyond.² Work also resumed around this time at the turquoise mines at Serâbît el-Khâdim, the official expeditions dispatched in Dynasty XVIII being perhaps the first to visit and work there since the end of Dynasty XII.³

There are inscriptions on small objects from Serâbît el-Khâdim naming all the pre-Amarna pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Most are from the temple of Hathor which was restored and enlarged by the New Kingdom kings.⁴ The Amarna kings are not definitely attested anywhere at Sinai, all mining ventures to the peninsula apparently being discontinued after Amenophis III. Possibly sufficient turquoise reserves were accumulated in the course of the latter's expedition(s) to the site;⁵ alternatively it may not have been deemed practical to send missions during the troubled days of late Dynasty XVIII.⁶ In any event, with just two very minor exceptions,⁷

¹ See now Kemp in P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (1978), 43-57; Frandsen in M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda. A Symposium on Ancient Empires. Mesopotamia 7* (1979), 174-181; Redford, *JAOS* 99 (1979), 270-287; Weinstein, *BASOR* 241 (1981), 1-15.

² Now see the article by Oren in A. F. Rainey (ed.), *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period* (1987), 69-119.

³ Lucas and Harris, *Materials and Industries*, 203.

⁴ So Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 37-38; and Ratié, *Hatchepsout*, 198 and 216; R. Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (1978), 55; Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 205; add G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (1993), 51.

⁵ There was at least one expedition, in his Year 36, when Amenophis celebrated his third *sed*-festival. Note Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, nos. 211-212; also Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 53.

⁶ Weinstein, *BASOR* 241 (1981), 16. The lack of texts datable to this era in any of the major stone quarries is also noticeable.

I am unaware of any graffiti at Serâbît el-Khâdim in either the hieroglyphic or hieratic scripts which can be dated to Dynasty XVIII or indeed to Dynasties XIX to XX.

This near total lack of textual graffiti at what was the main site for turquoise mining in the New Kingdom mirrors the situation we have in the XIIth Dynasty when these mines also saw an intense level of working. One can only speculate that again there was a lack of opportunity or even desire by the New Kingdom expeditionaries to inscribe such texts on the surrounding rock surfaces after a hard day's work.

More telling, no doubt, was the probably very high rate of illiteracy amongst the Egyptian mining parties in Sinai (and probably also amongst the Asiatic workers employed there by the Egyptians).⁸ The senior officials who headed these expeditions (and who probably were highly literate) appear to have commemorated their presence in the region with formal monuments such as statuettes and free-standing stelae.

(ii) Rôd el-'Aîr.

In among the corpus of Middle Kingdom rock graffiti found roughly half-way up this desert valley by the Harvard and Washington Catholic University joint expedition in 1930 were three hieroglyphic graffiti of New Kingdom date. These yield the common proper names "Sunero"⁹ and "Setnakhte", as well as the names and titles of a sculptor Huy¹⁰ and a draughtsman Pen-sekhmet.¹¹ Limited though the evidence is, it appears that New Kingdom mining parties were still, on occasion, using Rôd el-'Aîr to reach the top of the plateau of Serâbît el-Khâdim.¹²

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Lower Egypt.

(i) Abû Sîr.

From the upper sanctuary of the Vth Dynasty sun-temple of Userkaf come a number of fragmentary limestone wall-blocks which have yielded a number of New Kingdom visitors' graffiti

⁷ Beneath a rock stela of Year 4 of Tuthmosis IV (Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 58) is a contemporary graffito naming Ptahmose, the steward of the Overseer of the Treasury, Sobekhotep: Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 353; and cf. Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 246. Near the latter is another short hieroglyphic graffito of this era which reads "Made by the mason Kheruef". See Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 58 A.

⁸ Note, however, that even if these Asiatic workers were unable to write Egyptian a few were capable of using their own Proto-Sinaitic script: B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.* (1988), 135-144.

⁹ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 520.

¹⁰ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 524.

¹¹ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 525.

¹² Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 13.

written in hieratic with black or red ink. All appear to date from the reign of Tuthmosis III.¹³ When first written the longest of these graffiti (= Fragment US 68) recorded that Tuthmosis III was in Syria (*Djḥ*), on one or other of his many campaigns/military tours of inspection in the region; unfortunately the year date of the text is now lost. The author of the graffito, the royal herald Amunedjeh, is known to have been in post under Tuthmosis III by Year 15 of the latter and he remained there until at least Year 40.¹⁴ Amunedjeh was also overseer of the granary of Upper and Lower Egypt and presumably this accounts for the officials who accompanied him on his sojourn to Abû Sîr. His graffito can be translated as follows:

"[Year w, x month of y, day z, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and] Lower Egypt, Men(kheper)re, Son of Re, Tuthmosis III, may he live forever and ever! Now His Majesty was in Syria, [in the lands of the Fen]khu, laying waste to the Khurru in their place at the command of his father, Amen-Re, King of the Gods.

The Royal Herald Amunedjeh [came (lwt pw lr.n)]¹⁵ to see this pyramid (with) the brewer and the staff of the rations department".¹⁶

Note that Amunedjeh apparently came to Abû Sîr to visit just one pyramid (*mr pn*) and not the small group of completed Dynasty V pyramids there (of Sahure, Neferirkare, and Niuserre). Presumably what the herald is referring to when he speaks of "this pyramid" at the sun-temple of Userkaf is in fact a granite obelisk that is thought to have been added to the original temple enclosure later in Dynasty V, perhaps by Neferirkare.¹⁷ Amunedjeh might even have mistaken the sun-temple of Userkaf for the pyramid complex of the latter at Saqqâra.¹⁸ As we shall see such errors in the identification of more ancient buildings by New Kingdom visitors are by no means rare.

¹³ So Helck in H. Ricke (ed.), *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf*, vol. II (1969), 115-121. Apart from the two best preserved graffiti (Fragments US 67 and 68) there is also a very fragmentary inscription (US 74) which seems to have recorded an excursion to the sun-temple by a schoolmaster (*sbjw n 't-sbj*) and his "class". These latter came "to take a stroll and enjoy themselves on the desert of the district of Memphis".

¹⁴ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 384-386 and 496.

¹⁵ The construction *sdm pw lr.n*, used as an opening formula to outline the purpose of a visit, is very common in such *Besucherinschriften*; cf. Philips, *GM* 89 (1986), 78.

¹⁶ Underneath the main text is a fourth line with a number of secondary epigraphs, several of which are damaged or lost. These appear to name other officials who were also present on this visit. Those names and titles which can still be read include: Amenhotep, scribe Montuhotep, scribe Djehutyemhat, Humesh, and a further unnamed scribe. Cf. Helck in H. Ricke (ed.), *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf*, vol. II (1969), 115 and 118.

¹⁷ I.E.S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (1993), 157.

¹⁸ Helck in H. Ricke (ed.), *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf*, vol. II (1969), 118.

At one time the Vth Dynasty funerary temple of King Sahure at Abû Sîr seems to have held almost a score of New Kingdom hieratic visitors' graffiti; most did not survive. Two that have are available as facsimiles among the Gardiner papers in Oxford.¹⁹ These surviving texts have been published and discussed by Megally.²⁰

The earlier of the two graffiti dates to the regime of Tuthmosis III while the second has been assigned (on palaeographic grounds) to the reigns of either Amenophis II or Tuthmosis IV.²¹ The first graffito, which apparently once consisted of at least five lines, is now badly damaged and incomplete. But the reason for the author's trip is clearly stated:

"[Year w, x month of y, day z, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and] Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, l.p.h., Son of Re, Tuthmosis III, l.p.h., Neferkheperu, l.p.h., may he live for ever and [ever].

[The scribe....., son of the scribe(?)....came] to see the temple (ḥwt-nṯr) of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the deceased (mꜣꜥ-ḥrw)²² Sahure. He found it as though heaven [were within it, Re shining in it(?) (gm.n.f sy ml pt m-ḥnw.s Rꜥ ḥr wbn lm.s)]. [Then he said 'May heaven rain fresh myrrh], may it drip incense (= ḥꜥ.n ḏd.n.f ḥwl pt m ṛntyw wꜣḏ ḏfḏf.s(y) m snṯr)²³ upon the roof of the temple of the deceased Sahure [.....] fresh(?). May I then offer it to the deceased Sahure, [.....]' "

Our second graffito was also written upon several wall blocks of which only four fragments have survived. As such this inscription of at least seven lines is also incomplete and suffering from lacunae, most crucially in the loss of the royal name. The surviving lines most probably read:

¹⁹ Gardiner MSS. 29.60 A and B. They were first traced by Möller for inclusion in the second volume of his monumental *Hieratische Paläographie*, together with several other Tuthmoside *Besucherinschriften* at Abu Sîr, copies of which are now apparently lost. Möller sent Gardiner the two examples discussed here to compare with the visitors' graffiti in the tomb of Antefoqer which Sir Alan was working on at the time. See Megally, *Cd'É* 56 (1981), 218-219.

²⁰ In *Cd'É* 56 (1981), 218-240.

²¹ See Megally, *Cd'É* 56 (1981), 224 and 230.

²² Usually the meaning of *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw* in such contexts, although on occasions the epithet could also apply to living persons: Caminos, *JEA* 38 (1952), 58.

²³ Megally *Cd'É* 56 (1981), 225-227. On these two parallel expressions which are often found in New Kingdom *Besucherinschriften* and which accentuate the literary character of the graffiti, see most recently: A. G. McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (The Colin Campbell Ostraca)* (1993), 29-30.

"Year 2, 3 Akhet 7, under the Majesty [of] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [.....
.....], l.p.h.

The scribe Amenemhat, [son of the scribe(?)] Anath-manata²⁴ came to see the temple of the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the deceased Sahure. He found it extremely pleasing. It appeared to him as great as heaven when the moon is bright. Then he said: 'How fair is [the temple of the ka] of the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the deceased Sahure. [Let?] oxen, fowl and bread [be offered to.....(?)]' "

(ii) Saqqâra.

Throughout the New Kingdom, and in Dynasty XVIII from at least the rule of Amenophis I onward, literate (and doubtless illiterate) citizens from Memphis and further afield²⁵ are known to have visited the Old Kingdom monuments at Saqqâra. Written within several of the ancient buildings at this site are considerable numbers of visitors' graffiti penned in black and red ink. Most of these New Kingdom authors appear to have held no higher station in society than that of ordinary scribe, perhaps attached to a local temple or bureau at Memphis. Others may even have been employed in the construction of private tombs at Saqqâra. Several XVIIIth Dynasty kings are also known to have been active at nearby Gîza and some of our visiting authors may have been based there on various projects.²⁶

To judge by the graffiti inscriptions they left behind it appears that visitors came to Saqqâra for several reasons: to inspect, out of a sense of both curiosity and piety, the great monuments of a distant past; to offer up prayers to the gods of Western Memphis on behalf of themselves and their families; to honour the memories of the legendary rulers of the Old Kingdom, and to ask the latter to intercede with the gods for the benefit of the petitioner.

From the number of graffiti written there it would appear that the Step Pyramid enclosure of King Djoser (easily the most spectacular monument at the Saqqâra plateau) was the main focal

²⁴ Cf. the new study by T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (1992), 72-73, for the correct reading of this West-Semitic name. Megally, in *Cd'É* 56 (1981), 231-232, suggests that scribe Amenemhat and his father were possibly from a colony for settled foreigners at nearby Memphis.

²⁵ At least one XVIIIth Dynasty scribe came from Thebes on a visit: Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 81 (I).

²⁶ Notably with building works near the Sphinx: the brick temple of Amenophis II raised in honour of Haremakhet; the great Dream Stela of Tuthmosis IV; a small XVIII Dynasty palace, and a rest-house of Tutankhamun. See B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (1989), 219-220.

point for much of this complex mixture of antiquarianism and piety, a phenomenon that was also mirrored by the renewal of the royal cult of several of these Old Kingdom rulers.²⁷

The visitors' graffiti at the Step Pyramid complex are concentrated in two areas: the walls of the North and South Chapels where weary visitors may have sought a cool and shady respite from the sun. One Dynasty XVIII party to leave an undated graffiti text (in the North Chapel) was the schoolmaster (*sš-n-ṯ-sb*) Setemhab and his pupil, scribe Ahmose. They marked their sojourn to the pyramid with the following graffiti inscription:

*"The scribe Ahmose, son of Iptah, came to see the temple of Djoser. He found it as though heaven were within it, Re shining in it. Then he said 'Let loaves, oxen, fowl and all good and pure things fall to the ka of the deceased (King) Djoser. May heaven rain fresh myrrh, may it drip incense!' (Written) by the schoolmaster Setemhab, and by the scribe Ahmose".*²⁸

Many XVIIIth Dynasty pharaohs are also mentioned in these texts, some of which are dated, and in both the dated and undated examples which have been tolerably well-preserved the *raison d'être* for making a visit is again to be able to view the temple or pyramid of Djoser. Visitors' graffiti at the Step Pyramid containing royal names are attested from the reigns of: Amenophis I (Year 20),²⁹ Tuthmosis I,³⁰ Queen Hatshepsut (Year 20 of the joint rule of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III),³¹ Tuthmosis III (Years 1 and 39),³² Amenophis II (Year 4),³³ Amenophis III (his Years 10 and 36(?)),³⁴ Akhenaten (Year 14)³⁵ and Tutankhamun (Year 4).³⁶

²⁷ See Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 70-71; Malek in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (1992), 67-73.

²⁸ Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 78 (A); Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 66.

²⁹ Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 79 (A), located in the South Chapel. It reads so: "Year 20, 4 Akhet 19, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djoserkare, Son of Re, Amenophis I, may he live for ever and ever! The scribe Ahmose came to see the temple of Djoser. <I> found it as though heaven were within it, Re shining in it. <I> found it like one of.....".

³⁰ See Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 79 (B), in the South Chapel: "The [scribe] Tjay(?) came.....". Ibid., no. C, dates to Year 1 of either Tuthmosis I or II when "the skilled scribe Mose came to see.....". In both cases the object of attention was presumably the temple of King Djoser.

³¹ Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 80 (F); Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 66; located in the South Chapel. A record of a visit by the scribe Nakht(?) who "came to see the temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the deceased Djoser". He found it "beautiful".

³² See Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 80 (D+E), both in the South Chapel. In text E one finds the expected record of a visit to the pyramid temple so: "Year 39.....under Tuthmosis III, may he live for ever and ever! The scribe Amen-[.....].....of Amun....., the goldsmith of Amun.....came to see [the temple of Djoser]. I found it as though heaven were within it, Re shining in it. Then [I said 'May heaven] rain myrrh, may it drip incense upon it.....Djoser' ". Text D on the other hand is odd in that it reports events at far away Thebes: "Year 1.....under Tuthmosis III, may he live forever! Now His Majesty was in Thebes, making monuments for

Also from Dynasty XVIII at Saqqâra are several hieratic ink graffiti penned by visitors to the pyramid-temple of King Pepi II. These name a craftsman Amenemhab and record the adoration of the god Hapi.³⁷

(iii) Dahshûr.

In 1992 an expedition from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavated part of a papyrus column from the complex south of the pyramid enclosure of King Sesostris III at Dahshûr. This fragment bore several New Kingdom hieratic visitors' graffiti. (As do many of the columns in this complex it seems; they are to be published in due course by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)³⁸ One of the black ink graffiti, terribly damaged but potentially of great importance, has recently been published by Allen³⁹ who advances the following, provisional, reading:

his father Amen-Re, and marvels for Harakhte, and.....his city; Atum who created [him], Lord of [Heliopolis]...his father who begot him, the divine god, self-engendered; Mighty Bull, Lord of the Two Lands, the Son of Atum.....the gods. (Written) by.....Ptahhotep".

³³ Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 80 (G) reads: "The scribe Khaemmenfer came....coming forth of His Majesty to make the.....on the desert to see.....the pyramid. The scribe Khaemmenfer came to see the wonder.....".

³⁴ See Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 81 (H) and (I)(?), both located in the South Chapel. Text H appears to have consisted of just a date-line (Year 10, 3 *Shomu* 13) and the titulary of Amenophis III. Inscription I, apparently of Year 36 of either the latter or Tuthmosis III, is of particular interest in that it records a traveller far from home: "The scribe Baki came, a native of Thebes. Then he said 'Homage to you, O Kings of the Memphite Nome, Kings..... your names every day with the Lords of Heliopolis..... May you receive cakes with them, may your kas be satisfied therewith, may you drink water from the temple with.....forever!' He said to.....". Cf. also Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 67 and 69.

³⁵ See Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 81 (J), South Chapel: "Year 14, 2 Peret 2(?), under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkheperure. The scribe [N] came [to see the temple of Djoser?]. I found it [.....]". For the correct transcription of this text, cf. now Malek in *DE* 32 (1995), 105-106.

³⁶ See Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 78 (B), in the North Chapel, and 81 (K), located in the South Chapel. The latter inscription is undated and seems to consist of just the royal titles of Tutankhamun. In the former text, in Year 4 of Tutankhamun, "The scribe Tjay came to see the temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the deceased Djoser. He said 'Let me come to the West of Memphis, O Osiris, may I serve your ka after a good [burial?].....Osiris.....if you make it well.....reach a good old age like.....' ".

³⁷ See G. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. II (1938), 66; idem, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. III (1940), 44.

³⁸ The earliest such graffiti at Dahshûr apparently date to the mid-XVIIIth Dynasty, cf. Allen, *GM* 140 (1994), 8 n. 2. Several were published by J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin 1894.*, vol. I (1895), 3, 77-80, and figs. 1, 183-186 and 190-195. The latter are generally very fragmentary records of names, titles and year dates.

³⁹ See *GM* 140 (1994), 7-8.

"Year 32(??), month [x of....., day y], under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Nebmare], [corresponding to (hft) Year z under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Neferkheperure-[waenre]. [There came the scribe] Re-[.....]"

The first line of the graffito may preserve a Year 32 of a ruler whose name is now lost. Line two seems to partially preserve the prenomen of Akhenaten. However, the Year 32 cannot belong to the latter (for whom the highest attested date-line is Year 17).⁴⁰ As Allen observes it is highly unlikely that the name of Ramesses II would be associated with that of Akhenaten, and the same can likewise be said for Tuthmosis III, the only other probable candidate for such a high year date; so presumably this Year 32 belongs to Amenophis III. If read and reconstructed correctly what we may have here is the only attested example of a double-dated inscription of Amenophis III and IV. If so then this would certainly help to confirm the alleged joint rule between the pair, and according to this inscription provide for a minimal co-regency period of some 7 years.⁴¹

(iv) The Meidûm Pyramid.

Written with black ink in the small funerary temple on the east face of the Meidûm pyramid are a small number of hieratic visitors' graffiti of the XVIIIth Dynasty. These are primarily of interest to us now in that they reveal that the Meidûm pyramid and its temple were considered by the Egyptians of the early New Kingdom to be works of the IVth Dynasty king Snofru.⁴² However, two of these graffiti are also of considerable historical interest in other respects. One graffito may even allude to a possible co-regency between Amenophis III and IV while another may give a hint of the earliest possible date for the collapse of the Meidûm pyramid.

The earliest dated graffito at Meidûm seems to belong to Year 26 of Tuthmosis III (3 *Peret* 21) and records a visit by the scribe Aba(?).⁴³ A few years later, in Year 41 (4 *Shomu* 12) of Tuthmosis III another visitor left a message in the pyramid temple for posterity. This reads:

⁴⁰ K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs: A Study in Relative Chronology* (1962), 6 nn. 2-3; G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna II. The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Architecture. The Rock Tombs of El-'Amarna VII* (1989), 60-61.

⁴¹ For the latest views regarding this most thorny of Egyptian co-regencies, cf. the references in Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 59-60 and nn. 151-153; Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 47 (1990), 544-545.

⁴² On the likelihood of this: I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (1993), 71-97.

⁴³ Petrie, *Medum*, 41 and pl. 34 (no. viii).

"The scribe Aakheperkare-sonb, son of Amenmesu, the scribe and ritualist of the deceased Tuthmosis I, came to see the beautiful temple of King Snofru. He found it as though heaven were within it, Re rising in it. Then he said 'May heaven rain fresh myrrh, may it drip incense upon the roof of the temple of King Snofru' ".⁴⁴

The graffito terminates with an appeal to passing scribes, literate men or *wab*-priests to read the inscription aloud and recite a *hṭp-dl-nsw* formula for funerary offerings for the *ka* of King Snofru and Queen Meresankh.⁴⁵ Those who do so are assured that their offices will be passed to their children as well as the promise of eventual burial in the Memphite necropolis, after a long life on earth. Whether these early New Kingdom visitors also took it upon themselves to place offerings for the benefit of Snofru upon the small limestone altar in the temple (which shows signs of ancient use at some point)⁴⁶ is uncertain.

The latest dated XVIIIth Dynasty visitors' graffiti at Meidûm are two inscriptions of Year 30 of Amenophis III. The first of these runs as follows:

"Year 30 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmare, Son of Re, Amenophis III, may he live forever as a beneficent king in this whole land. The scribe May came to see the very great pyramid of King Snofru".⁴⁷

This text has been mooted by Edwards⁴⁸ as a possible piece of evidence for determining the *terminus a quo* of the collapse of the Meidûm pyramid. He has reasoned that the scribe May is unlikely to have recorded the monument as "very great" if in fact it was already in a delapidated state by Year 30 of Amenophis III (the ancient Egyptians being quite willing to describe their buildings as ruined if required) and this seems entirely plausible.

If several minor graffiti texts in the pyramid temple do indeed date to Dynasties XIX-XX as suggested by Černý,⁴⁹ then the destruction of the outer layers of the pyramid (the result of an

⁴⁴ Petrie, *Medum*, 40-41 and pl. 33; and also cf. Rowe, *The Museum Journal* 22 (1931), 18; Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 142-143; and now I. E. S. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt* (1993), 78.

⁴⁵ Aakheperkare-sonb is surely referring here to Meresankh I, mother of Snofru. See Simpson in *LÄ* IV (1980), 78.

⁴⁶ Petrie, *Medum*, 8.

⁴⁷ Petrie, *Medum*, 41 and pl. 36 (no. xvii); also see Rowe, *The Museum Journal* 22 (March, 1931), 45; Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 143-144.

⁴⁸ In *JEA* 60 (1974), 251-252.

⁴⁹ See pp. 78-79 and 91 in Sections II and III of this Chapter.

earth-tremor?),⁵⁰ and the covering up of the adjacent funerary temple with the fallen masonry, probably took place at some point in Dynasty XX. However, the collapse could have occurred in late Dynasty XVIII if the disintegration of the pyramid's outer casing was gradual, and if the funerary temple on its eastern face remained accessible until the Ramesside period.⁵¹

The second Year 30 graffito of Amenophis III at Meidûm has been used to advocate the start of a co-regency in that year between Amenophis III and IV,⁵² therefore giving a minimum co-regency of just over 8 years for these two rulers (Years 30-38 of Amenophis III and Years 1-9 of Amenophis IV). This inscription can be rendered so:

"Year 30 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmare, son of Amun, satisfied <with> Maat, Amenophis III, lord of might, ruler of joy, who loves him(?) who hates falsehood; causing the male offspring to sit upon the seat of his father, and establishing his inheritance [in] the land".⁵³

For any co-regency thesis it is obviously crucial that Amenophis III is personally the one, "causing the male offspring to sit upon the seat of his father....". That the father and (younger) male mentioned in the text are indeed Amenophis III and IV is also dependent on the assumption that the divine determinative (= falcon of Horus on a standard; Gardiner Sign-list G7) used with the word "father" denotes royalty here. Given such ambiguities the matter is wide open to various interpretations.⁵⁴

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Wâdi Bîr el-'Ain.

Located in this remote desert valley south-east of El-Salâmûni (near Akhmîm) is a hieratic graffito, apparently of XVIIIth Dynasty date, scratched into a large rock. It marks the presence here (reason unknown) of a chief retainer/letter-carrier named Djehutymose.⁵⁵

(ii) Private Tombs on the Theban West Bank.

(a) TT 60.

⁵⁰ Edwards, *JEA* 60 (1974), 252.

⁵¹ However, this seems less likely; cf. Edwards, *JEA* 60 (1974), 252.

⁵² See Fairman in J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part III (1951), 156-157.

⁵³ Petrie, *Medum*, 41 and pl. 36 (no. xviii).

⁵⁴ For a judicious appraisal of the evidence, see K. A. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs: A Study in Relative Chronology* (1962), 6 n. 4; idem, *Cd'É* 43 (1968), 316.

⁵⁵ See Bouriant, *RT* 11 (1889), 146-147.

Written in the entrance passageway of the tomb of Senet, the mother of the vizier Intefiqer (temp. Amenemhat I - Sesostris I), are a number of hieratic visitors' graffiti and ink drawings. All appear to be of early XVIIIth Dynasty date. In addition to being abandoned and readily accessible, it was presumably the tomb's age (roughly 450 years old by then) that appealed to its New Kingdom admirers (groups of local scribes in the main); indeed several of these visitors' graffiti seem to bear this out.⁵⁶

For the most part these ink inscriptions are all very short and to the point (names and titles and a line that the visitor had come to see the tomb); many are severely damaged. One scribe, however, correctly dated the monument he had come to admire by assigning it to the time of Sesostris I (Graffito no. 29). Two fellow scribes, however, who were also aware of the tomb's age were not so accurate. They evidently mistook the name of Intefiqer's wife (Satsasobek) in the tomb's painted hieroglyphic inscriptions for that of Queen Sobekneferu (see Graffiti nos. 2 and 3). One wonders if this was just a one-off piece of carelessness or if their command of the hieroglyphic script generally was poor.

Finally, one might note that another New Kingdom visitor to pen a graffito (no. 33) in TT 60 was the well-known Amenemhat of TT 82 (temp. Tuthmosis III).⁵⁷ Amenemhat seems to have been particularly impressed with what he saw. Several scenes from TT 60 appear to have served as models for similar depictions in Amenemhat's own sepulchre which lies close by.⁵⁸

(b) TT 63.

Written in ink within the once splendid tomb-chapel of Sobekhotep (temp. Tuthmosis IV) are three badly damaged hieratic visitors' graffiti. Only two are now legible and these seem to date to the time of Amenophis III-IV, in other words a mere 40-50 years after the completion of the tomb. Both the legible graffiti seem to have been written by local scribes one of whom, in addition to recording his name and title, has also penned a prayer for funerary offerings.⁵⁹

(c) TT 71.

⁵⁶ N. de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60)* (1920), 27-29; and now cf. R. B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (1991), 147-148.

⁵⁷ N. de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhat (No. 82)* (1915).

⁵⁸ See N. de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his Wife, Senet (No. 60)* (1920), 27.

⁵⁹ See Burkard in E. Dziobek and M. A. Raziq, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep. Theben Nr. 63.* (1990), 88-91.

In addition to several hieratic mason's marks of cubit measurements there is also an example of the Semitic personal name Ba'al-ka written in hieratic (with ink) on a limestone block from this tomb of Hatshepsut's minister and personal favourite, Senenmut.⁶⁰

(d) TT 139.

The Theban tomb chapel of the *wab*-priest of Amun, Pairi, (temp. Amenophis III) contains one of the most frequently noted graffiti texts from Dynasty XVIII. Located upon the left-hand jamb of the door leading from the hall to the tomb's inner chambers (presumably TT 139 was abandoned and empty when this inscription was written) is a hieratic graffito in black ink dated to Year 3 (3 *Akhet* 10) of a King Ankhkheperure-mer[aten?]⁶¹ Neferneferuaten-merwaen[re]. This is highest year known for this most shadowy of Akhenaten's immediate successors who is usually referred to simply as King Smenkhkare.⁶²

The main graffito itself consists of a penitential prayer to Amun written by a draughtsman on behalf of his brother named Pawah, a *wab*-priest and scribe of the divine offerings of Amun in the Mansion (*hwt*) of Ankhkheperure in Thebes. This latter foundation was in all likelihood the Theban memorial temple of Smenkhkare⁶³ and both this foundation and the Year 3 in the Pawah graffito are frequently assigned to his reign (whether briefly as sole ruler or as co-regent with Akhenaten).⁶⁴ On the other hand, however, recent years have seen the promulgation of a startling new theory that would identify 'King' Smenkhkare with Akhenaten's principal queen, Nefertiti, in a guise of co-regent to Akhenaten and 'husband' to her own daughter Meretaten.⁶⁵ Eccentric as the Amarna interlude was in many aspects, such a scenario seems unlikely.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ So W. C. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mût (No. 71) at Thebes* (1942), 3-4 and 26. One expects the orthography Ba'al-kur ("Ba'al sojourns") for this name by the XVIIIth Dynasty; the form Ba'al-ka appears to be a hangover from the orthography of the Middle Kingdom Execration Texts: J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (1994), 327-328 (473).

⁶¹ Cf. Allen, *GM* 141 (1994), 9 n. 22.

⁶² Scholarly literature mentioning this text is very extensive. The main studies are: Newberry and Gardiner, *JEA* 14 (1928), 3-9, 10-11, respectively; Roeder, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 63-64; Hari, *Horemheb*, 50-59; Redford, *History and Chronology*, 172-175, 178-179, 181; R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (1981), 50-51 and 88 n. 7; add Dodson, *GM* 132 (1993), 24 n. 30; Allen, *GM* 141 (1994), 10 and 13.

⁶³ Kitchen, *Cd'É* 43 (1968), 320 and n. 3.

⁶⁴ Redford, *History and Chronology*, 170-182; Helck, *LÄ* V (1984), 837-841.

⁶⁵ Originally proposed by J. R. Harris and endorsed by Samson among others. See the recent paper by Allen in *GM* 141 (1994), 7-17, for a discussion with full references.

⁶⁶ Note the firm rebuttal by D. B. Redford in his, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (1984), 191-192; also see the remarks of Ray in *GM* 86 (1985), 88-89.

(e) TT 161.

Located within the Theban tomb of the gardener Nakht (temp. Amenophis III?) is a group of six hieratic graffiti (written in different hands it would seem) which may all date to the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty when the tomb was apparently restored under Horemhab after having first suffered damage during the Amarna Period. These short texts were first recorded in the modern era by the Scottish traveller and copyist Robert Hay.⁶⁷

Graffito 1 describes a visit to the tomb by a father and son who may have been related to the tomb owner, the gardener and offering-bearer of Amun Siamun⁶⁸ and Nennesut, the servant of the treasury of Henketankh(?).⁶⁹ Graffito 2 is a short prayer for Re-Harakhti,⁷⁰ while Graffito 3 (some readings are obscure) appears to mention a visit to the tomb by another father (named Amennakhte) and son (name now lost) during a feast of Amun (the Valley Festival?). Graffito 4: only traces survive which list offering goods such as milk, fine oil and meats; the name of the graffito's author has not survived (as with Graffito 2).

Graffito 5, one of the two longer texts from Nakht's tomb, is of greater interest. The right-hand section of this graffito contains one of the highest dates for King Horemhab yet known: Year 12, 2 *Shomu* 16.⁷¹ The graffito was written down by a scribe Amenmose who may have visited TT 161 at this time for a funerary banquet for the dead which were often held in private Theban tomb chapels during the Valley Festival of Amun (the latter event beginning with the appearance of the new moon in the second month of *Shomu*).

The final text, Graffito 6, was left by a scribe of the divine offerings(?) of Amun who came to see western Thebes and found a site which he thought more beautiful than any temple(?) of any town. The author's name is unrecognisable. Cartouches of King Horemhab directly above the text may be contemporary.

(f) TT 319.

The site of Deir el-Bahri contains many important monuments and one of these is the XIth Dynasty tomb of the Princess Neferu. In early Dynasty XVIII, when Hatshepsut's great temple

⁶⁷ Now published with translations and commentary by Quirke: *JEA* 72 (1986), 79-90.

⁶⁸ Note Quirke's remarks (in *JEA* 72 (1986), 79) on Siamun being not just a manual labourer but a minor temple official perhaps capable of writing this graffito by himself.

⁶⁹ If this tentative reading is correct, then a reference to the memorial temple of Tuthmosis III at western Thebes.

⁷⁰ Quirke, *JEA* 72 (1986), 81 and n. 11.

⁷¹ Surpassed only by a wine jar sherd from the Memphite tomb of Horemhab dating to a Year 13 which is probably his; cf. G. T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis* (1991), 98. For a very doubtful bowl text of Year 16: Redford, *BASOR* 211 (1973), 36-49; and von Beckerath, *SAK* 6 (1978), 47-48.

was being built, the entrance to this Middle Kingdom tomb was in imminent danger of being covered over by the work in progress. In order to allow continued access to the princess's tomb (which had long been plundered) a new "tourist" entrance was excavated to the right of the original courtyard doorway before the latter was lost.⁷² It says much for the esteem in which this tomb was held by the New Kingdom Egyptians that they were prepared to go to such trouble to retain access to a monument from their ancient past.

Thanks to this new passageway a number of Dynasty XVIII visitors (mostly scribes) to TT 319 were able to leave their names and titles in seventeen hieratic graffiti on the walls of the tomb chapel after the old entrance had been buried.⁷³ Princess Neferu's 500 year old monument may also have served as an architectural model, in some respects at least, for several of the new female royal tombs which were being excavated at Thebes at this time.⁷⁴

(g) TT 504.

Penned along the walls of a small cave or grotto⁷⁵ high above the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri there are several hieratic ink graffiti of New Kingdom date that have received very little attention until recently. These inscriptions appear to range in date from the early XVIIIth Dynasty to the late XXth.⁷⁶ In 1981 Marciniak published two of the larger texts. Each article prompted an important additional study with alternative interpretations and readings.

The first graffito edited by Marciniak was that of one Neferhotep, a scribe who calculated the rate of work at Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahri temple.⁷⁷ (Neferhotep is probably identical with the son of that name of Reneny, the mayor of El-Kâb under Amenophis I.)⁷⁸ This graffito, which

⁷² See here: Winlock, *BMMA* 21 (1926), 9-13; idem, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911-1931* (1942), 101-104.

⁷³ These graffiti texts are unpublished. Copies of some of them are available in Černý, MSS. 6.21 (after Winlock's notes in New York).

⁷⁴ See Romer, *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 197.

⁷⁵ PM, I², Pt. 2, 658 (D). This chamber is most probably an unfinished tomb of early Middle Kingdom (Dynasty XI) date. See Wentz, *JNES* 43 (1984), 47. The interior is partly published in J. Romer, *Romer's Egypt. A New Light on the Civilization of Ancient Egypt* (1982), 156 and 159.

⁷⁶ Wentz, *JNES* 43 (1984), 47-54, has noted a number of these unpublished jottings. Among the officials and priests attested in graffiti texts in this cave: Nebwa, a *wab*-priest and scribe in the funerary temple of King Tuthmosis I; Pahu, a third prophet of Amun (of Djoser-djeseru?); Aapehty, third prophet of Amun in Djoser-djeseru; Mery, scribe of the god's treasure of Amun; Amenemhat, scribe and second prophet of Amun in Djoser-djeseru; Hepu, the second prophet of Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, [in Djoser-djeseru]; an unnamed stonemason; a scribe Ahmose who twice enclosed his own name and title within a royal cartouche.

⁷⁷ Published: *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 299-305. Later discussed in some detail by Wentz in *JNES* 43 (1984), 47-54.

⁷⁸ Wentz, *JNES* 43 (1984), 50-51.

takes the form of a *ḥtp-dl-nsw* formula, presumably dates to Hatshepsut's rule when work was under way at her temple. No doubt it was during a moment away from this building work that Neferhotep stole a visit to this shady cave and commemorated his activities with a graffito.

In 16 lines of text Neferhotep petitions a diverse group of deities (Amen-Re, Re-Harakhti, Hathor, Mut, Nekhbet, Sekhmet, Edjo, Ptah-Sokar, Tjenenet(?), Anubis, Osiris, Onnophris, and the necropolis gods) for the common funerary offerings of 1000 loaves of bread, ointment, incense, clothing, beer, oxen and fowl; all to come from the very offering tables of the gods. An appeal is then directed to visiting scribes, *wab*-priests, prophets and funerary priests to read his graffito aloud; those who do so are promised the divine favour of the gods and the prospect that their children will inherit their father's office in life.

Neferhotep may also have been responsible for drawing two erotic love-making scenes near his graffito.⁷⁹ These have been considered by Romer⁸⁰ to depict Hatshepsut and her favourite, the high-steward Senenmut, engaged in a manner of sexual activity which Romer interprets as a visual form of political satire by the artist.⁸¹

The second graffito brought to our attention by Marciniak comprises of 11 lines of hieratic text penned in black ink.⁸² This inscription was composed by Nebwa, a *wab*-priest and scribe of the royal memorial temple of Tuthmosis I. His parents are named as Neferhotep and Ray. A date of late Dynasty XVIII seems most probable.⁸³

Like the earlier graffito of the accounting scribe Neferhotep, the text left by Nebwa takes the form of an elaborate *ḥtp-dl-nsw* formula addressed to several prominent deities (Re-Harakhti, Osiris, Anubis, Hathor, Anat, the gods of the necropolis and the deified kings Tuthmosis I and III) who are petitioned by Nebwa for a similar array of goods from the divine offering tables. Where Nebwa's graffito differs from that of Neferhotep is that it also gives the scribe's reason for visiting the chamber (if in somewhat general terms):

"The wab-priest and scribe of the memorial temple of Tuthmosis I, Nebwa, came to see this place, and to enjoy himself in it (sqꜣy-ḥr.f ḥm.s)".

What pleasure there was to be had in such a remote eyrie other than some peace and quiet is not clear; perhaps Nebwa stumbled into the open cave while visiting the Deir el-Bahri temples

⁷⁹ Wente, *JNES* 43 (1984), 53-54.

⁸⁰ See J. Romer, *Romer's Egypt. A New Light on the Civilization of Ancient Egypt* (1982), 157-160.

⁸¹ The strengths and weaknesses of such a view are explored by Wente, *JNES* 43 (1984), 52-54; also cf. now J. A. Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut: The Female Pharaoh* (1996), 188-191.

⁸² So Marciniak, *Supplément au BIFAO* 81 (1981), 283-291. Response by Philips in *GM* 89 (1986), 77-83.

⁸³ Philips, *GM* 89 (1986), 82 n. 25.

and seized the opportunity for some cool shade, and to pen a request for offerings. Marciniak's suggestion that this chamber, or a nearby sanctuary, was the site of a New Kingdom sanatorium (similar to one operating in the Graeco-Roman era at Deir el-Bahri)⁸⁴ is almost certainly to be dismissed.⁸⁵

(iii) Royal Memorial Temples on the Theban West Bank.

(a) The Memorial Temple of King Horemhab.

From the memorial temple of Horemhab at Medînet Habu comes a much discussed hieratic ink graffito. It is written on a fragment of a destroyed statue of Horemhab found at the temple. This short epigraph is dated to a Year 27, possibly that of Horemhab, so:

*"Year 27, 1 Shomu 9. Day of the entering of Horemhab, l.p.h., beloved of Amun, who hates his enemies and loves...."*⁸⁶

What event this badly preserved graffito commemorates is quite uncertain. It has been suggested that it records an inspection visit by Horemhab of his own memorial temple.⁸⁷ Taken in conjunction with the celebrated "Year 59" of Horemhab in the tomb inscription of Mose under Ramesses II (where Horemhab is apparently allotted the reigns of the four discredited Amarna kings),⁸⁸ this Medînet Habu graffito has been advanced as evidence for a reign of at least 27 years by Horemhab rather than the 8-12 years of rule postulated by others.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ See now on this: A. Bataille, *Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari* (1951), vii-xix; E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari III: Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* (1984), 109-113.

⁸⁵ See Philips, *GM* 89 (1986), 77-79; G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (1993), 352.

⁸⁶ See Antnes in U. Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu, vol. II: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty* (1939), 106-108, figs. 89-90; and cf. Hari, *Horemheb*, 353-355. Note that two other hieratic graffiti, cut on a fragment of another statue base from the temple, have been dated to the XXIst Dynasty (cf. Hölscher, *ibid*, 108 and fig. 91). However, with the exception of one group of signs that appear to preserve the nomen of Horemhab, these texts are almost illegible. I would be wary of dating them confidently to this later period and more inclined to assign them to the same era as the Year 27 inscription (late XVIIIth-early XIXth Dynasty).

⁸⁷ See Harris, *JEA* 54 (1968), 96 n. 5; Wente and Van Siclen, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 232.

⁸⁸ R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (1981), 168-169.

⁸⁹ Cf. Quirke in *JEA* 72 (1986), 85 n. 17.

However, such a text is far too fragmentary to settle the matter by itself (indeed some have dated it palaeographically to the regime of Ramesses II⁹⁰ or even III).⁹¹ And the problem of a lack of firmly dated inscriptions for Horemheb as king after his Year 12/13 remains.⁹²

(iv) El-Kâb.

Almost fifty years ago Gardiner reported the existence of an unpublished hieratic graffito in the late Middle Kingdom tomb of Sobeknakhte at El-Kâb (No. 10). It seems to date from Year 2 of Ahmose I and records the names of a dozen visitors to the tomb during this year. Further details concerning this intriguing inscription are as yet unavailable to me.⁹³

(v) Kôm el-Ahmar.

Written in the Late Middle Kingdom tomb of Horemkhauef at Kôm el-Ahmar is a damaged hieratic visitors' graffito, probably of XVIIIth Dynasty date, recording the names and titles of two draughtsmen.⁹⁴ Although they are silent on the matter perhaps these men inspected this rock tomb for artistic inspiration.

(vi) Khârga Oasis.

Despite the renewed economic importance of the oases of the western desert during the New Kingdom, notably from the reign of Tuthmosis III onward,⁹⁵ there is just one hieroglyphic graffito known to me from any of these regions that can be dated with some confidence to this period. Located at the site of Gebel el-Teir, it consists of a crude figure of the god Igai,⁹⁶ *w3s*-sceptre in hand, with an accompanying line of text calling the latter "Lord of the Oasis".⁹⁷

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

⁹⁰ E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (1964), 39; Harris, *JEA* 54 (1968), 96 n. 7.

⁹¹ See Van Dijk, *GM* 148 (1995), 34 n. 25.

⁹² Redford, *BASOR* 211 (1973), 37-38; Van Dijk, *GM* 148 (1995), 29-34; W. J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (1995), 234-235; add von Beckerath, *SAK* 22 (1995), 37-41.

⁹³ See *JNES* 8 (1949), 170 n. 23; also copied by Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 209. I am grateful to Prof. C. Vandersleyen for several valuable details regarding this text of which he has a photograph.

⁹⁴ So W. Wreszinski, *Bericht über die photographische Expedition von Kairo bis Wadi Halfa zwecks Abschluß der Materialsammlung für meinen Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (1927), 83.

⁹⁵ Redford, *JSSEA* 7 No. 3 (1977), 2-6.

⁹⁶ See Fischer, *JNES* 16 (1957), 230-235.

⁹⁷ Now cf. Osing in *GM* 92 (1986), 81.

(i) Hatnub.

Simpson, in his entry in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, clearly believed that the lack of New Kingdom inscriptions at Hatnub was an indication that quarrying work had moved from here at the end of the Middle Kingdom to other quarries nearby.⁹⁸ However, a new reappraisal of the archaeological remains (notably the large number of New Kingdom huts and pottery sherds) by Shaw has shown that all four of the larger Hatnub quarries continued to be worked in Dynasty XVIII. The scale of these operations is unclear but the surviving material evidence suggests a relatively prolonged activity.⁹⁹

What is also unclear is whether the quarries were employed throughout the whole of Dynasty XVIII. On this point there are a number of inscriptional records from the site (including one graffito) which may show that quarrying was carried out from roughly the reign of Hatshepsut until well into the Amarna Period, but perhaps not any later.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, it seems likely, if only on the grounds of convenience, that much of the alabaster used at the city of Akhetaten would have been taken from Hatnub.

(ii) Wâdi Hammâmât.

For many years our earliest inscriptional evidence for XVIIIth Dynasty activity within Wâdi Hammâmât dated to Year 4 of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten. However, during a recent resurvey of the wâdi two new lines of hieroglyphic graffiti were traced and these give the name and titulary of Ahmose I. Clearly, such a text hints at a much earlier interest in the site by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom than was once suspected. Whether it was the greywacke quarries of Wâdi Hammâmât, the goldmines of the eastern desert, or perhaps just the Red Sea coast that was the objective of any official expedition at this time is uncertain.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ LÄ II (1977), 1044.

⁹⁹ See Shaw in B. J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports III* (1986), 201-204; and also in B. J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports IV* (1987), 162-167.

¹⁰⁰ Shaw in B. J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports III* (1986), 202-203, discusses first the very short H(atnub) G(raffito) no. 14 (in Quarry P) which records a certain Any who can be dated to the early New Kingdom primarily on the grounds of his title *hry-s'nh*. Secondly, a heart scarab of the reign of Akhenaten which records its owner, Apy, as chief of works (*hry-k'wty*) at Hatnub; lastly a reference in Queen Hatshepsut's Speos Artemidos inscription (line 28) which refers to the building of a temple with gates of Hatnub alabaster. To these examples one might also add an inscription from the El-Rizeiqât tomb of the Overseer of the Treasury Sobekmose (reign of Amenophis III). Here he is once described as "*the one who brought monuments for the king of his age of pure Egyptian alabaster of Hatnub*". Cf. Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 52-53. Prior to Hatshepsut, alabaster may have been acquired from the quarries of Wâdi Asyût where Weigall saw a hieroglyphic graffito consisting of a cartouche of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari. See *ASAE* 11 (1911), 176.

¹⁰¹ Reported by Gasse in her preliminary study in *BSFÉ* 110 (1987), 16.

Our next records for work in or travel through Wâdi Hammâmât are the aforementioned texts of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten, but there is good reason to believe that the wâdi was also used in the preceding reigns of Queen Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III, as well as during the later rule of Horemhab, as the main route to the Red Sea coast and from there to the East African state of Punt.¹⁰² There is, however, no inscription in the wâdi which can be dated with firm certainty to the era of any of these monarchs.

As far as the Year 4 inscriptions of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten are concerned these consist of two very brief hieroglyphic rock graffiti.¹⁰³ Both mention the high-priest of Amun at Thebes and one records him as having been sent to fetch *bekhen*-stone for a royal statue.¹⁰⁴ Evidently the high-priesthood of Theban Amun was still functioning at this point in time, although not for much longer.¹⁰⁵

(iii) Wâdi Barramîya.

To judge from the graffiti inscriptions so far located in Wâdi Barramîya it seems likely that the gold-mines in the latter wâdi were first exploited during the early to mid XVIIIth Dynasty, particularly under Amenophis III.¹⁰⁶ Those hieroglyphic graffiti inscriptions recorded here by the Czech Institute's epigraphic team have revealed the ancient presence in this wâdi of a wide range of officials (and their servants) who were presumably involved in supervising the actual gold-mining process or the supply of the work parties. The ordinary miners, who were almost certainly illiterate in the main, do not appear to be represented in our corpus of texts.

The following can be dated to Dynasty XVIII: "Prince of Miam, Overseer of Sandalmakers, Heqanufer, Great One of Wawat";¹⁰⁷ "God's father and master of the secrets Bay";¹⁰⁸ "Groom

¹⁰² The relevant material (apart from the famous scenes in Queen Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri, these are mainly reliefs in the private Theban tomb chapels of high-officials of the time which depict Puntites bringing exotic products) is discussed by Kitchen in Th. Shaw et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns* (1993), 591-600.

¹⁰³ Goyon nos. 90 and 91. In the first of these texts the king is still referred to as Amenophis and not Akhenaten. The early nomen was still in use in papyri in the north of the country as late as regnal year 5. See here: Wentz, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 209. Perhaps it was during this same expedition that cartouches with the king's early name were left in rock graffiti by two military officers in the near by Wâdi Abû Qwei. See Redford and Redford, *JARCE* 26 (1989), 44-48.

¹⁰⁴ Named in the graffiti as May and identified by Redford (= *JAOS* 83 (1963), 240-241) with the shadowy Ptahmose, one time southern vizier and probable high-priest of Amun during the final years of Amenophis III. See also Redford in *JARCE* 17 (1980), 22.

¹⁰⁵ D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (1984), 175-176.

¹⁰⁶ Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 55.

¹⁰⁷ Zâba, *RILN*, no. A5.

¹⁰⁸ Zâba, *RILN*, no. A12.

Heqanufer";¹⁰⁹ "Scribe Nebansu (and) scribe Khnumnakhte";¹¹⁰ "Scribe of the divine booth, Ameny";¹¹¹ "Scribe of the gold of the hill-country, Saishek";¹¹² "Scribe Meh. The scribe of the gold of the Two Lands Meh, may he repeat life. The *wab*-priest of Horus, Lord of the Hill-Country, Praemhab, may he repeat life, son of(?) Sobekmose, may he repeat life";¹¹³ "Scribe of the Viceroy [of Nubia] Mery<mose>, Herunufer";¹¹⁴ and "Scribe of the Viceroy of Nubia Merymose, Mayor of Elephantine User".¹¹⁵

(iv) Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl.

As we have seen already Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl is best known to scholars for its important Dynasty XI rock-reliefs and texts. By early Dynasty XVIII the wâdi was being visited anew by Egyptian officials who appear to have been working in the newly opened sandstone quarries at Silsilah, although only three graffiti texts in Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl can be dated with certainty to the early New Kingdom at present.¹¹⁶

The first of these graffiti, written in two short lines of hieroglyphs, gives only the titles and prenomen of Amenophis I.¹¹⁷ The other two graffiti (again both written in hieroglyphs) note the presence of Peniaty,¹¹⁸ the celebrated overseer of works of the Estate of Amun who served five successive rulers (Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I and II, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III).¹¹⁹

Perhaps Peniaty (and other, unattested, New Kingdom visitors) were attracted to the desolate Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl solely by its splendid XIth Dynasty royal reliefs.¹²⁰ This is probably the case although there is some evidence for limited stone quarrying (or at least prospecting) in the wâdi in the New Kingdom. But as the latter amounts to the cutting of only three sandstone

¹⁰⁹ Zába, *RILN*, no. A13.

¹¹⁰ Zába, *RILN*, no. A14.

¹¹¹ Zába, *RILN*, no. A15.

¹¹² Zába, *RILN*, no. A16.

¹¹³ Zába, *RILN*, no. A17.

¹¹⁴ Zába, *RILN*, no. A18.

¹¹⁵ Zába, *RILN*, no. A19.

¹¹⁶ Caminos, *LÄ VI* (1986), 1120.

¹¹⁷ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 15 (no. 480); F.-J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I. Versuch einer Darstellung der Regierungszeit eines ägyptischen Herrschers der frühen 18. Dynastie* (1978), 123-124.

¹¹⁸ Ratié, *Hatchepsout*, 270.

¹¹⁹ Petrie, *Season*, pls. 14 (no. 357) and 15 (no. 476); but also cf. Caminos, *LÄ VI* (1986), 1123 nn. 18-19.

¹²⁰ Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 73.

blocks it seems to be no more than a trial-working.¹²¹ After the early Tuthmoside era there is no evidence of any further visits or activity at the site until the Late Period.¹²²

(v) Gebel es-Silsilah.

Although epigraphic evidence in the form of graffiti texts is known to date back to the Old Kingdom at Silsilah it was not until the early XVIIIth Dynasty that the site really began to be exploited as a vast quarry.¹²³ Under the Tuthmosides sandstone replaced limestone and granite as the main building material for temples.¹²⁴ Silsilah, blessed with almost unlimited reserves of fine sandstone and with its favourable location on the edge of the Nile (for shipping the cut stone blocks away) came to be intensively worked throughout the New Kingdom and later.¹²⁵

During Dynasties XVIII-XX this activity left its mark at both Silsilah East (main quarries) and Silsilah West in the form of inscribed rock shrines, royal stelae, rock drawings (= the great mass of the recorded epigraphic material), quarry marks and various graffiti.¹²⁶

On the east bank there are some forty hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti texts, most of which have never been published (or very inadequately).¹²⁷ Of the estimated 300 graffiti inscriptions and rock drawings at Silsilah West some of the former are certainly written in hieroglyphic or hieratic. Again, however, for the most part these remain unpublished.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 73; Caminos, *LÄ VI* (1986), 1120.

¹²² See Caminos, *LÄ VI* (1986), 1120, who notes (with references) a small number of Carian and Greek graffiti and one inscription in an unidentified script.

¹²³ See Caminos, *JEA* 41 (1955), 51 and 54.

¹²⁴ See Lucas and Harris, *Materials and Industries*, 55-56. P. F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (1988), 116, has suggested that large scale quarrying was commenced at Gebel es-Silsilah during Tuthmosis III's co-regency with Hatshepsut.

¹²⁵ So R. A. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I. The Shrines* (1963), 1 and 8.

¹²⁶ Excellent summary given by Caminos: *LÄ II* (1976), 441-447. Additional studies on the Silsilah material by Caminos are found in *JEA* 73 (1987), 207-210; A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (1992), 52-56.

¹²⁷ For an outline of the current state of affairs, see Caminos in J. Assmann, G. Burkard and V. Davies (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology* (1987), 60-61. It was Caminos's wish that full accounts of the graffiti at Silsilah (and at Wâdi el-Shatt el-Rigâl) should be published in successor volumes to his and James's *Gebel es-Silsilah I. The Shrines* (1963). Thanks to the detailed records left by Prof. Caminos at his death such tomes will hopefully be available in the near future. On this prospect: James, *JEA* 79 (1993), 232-233 (also personal communication from James of 15. 3. 1994).

¹²⁸ Five very minor hieratic texts of the New Kingdom at Silsilah West were published by F. Preisigke and W. Spiegelberg in their, *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften und Graffiti aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile (Oberägypten) nach den Zeichnungen von Georges Legrain* (1915), 7 and pl. 1. These record the scribe Hori (No. 1); Djehutyemhab (No. 3); a *wab*-priest (No. 4); the God's Father of Horus Amenmose (No. 5); and a certain Penusihe (No. 8). A few other New Kingdom graffiti from here had been published by Griffith in *PSBA* 12 (1890), 92 and 95. These record a treasury scribe Djehutymose and the prenomen of Sethos I.

(vi) Aswân.

Among the many hundreds of rock graffiti recorded in the region of the First Cataract a large proportion date to the New Kingdom, most notably to Dynasties XVIII-XIX. The reasons for this seem to be twofold: the large amounts of granite being quarried for monumental building projects during this period, and also the steep rise in the number of Egyptian officials passing through Elephantine on their way south, either to further commercial contacts between Egypt and Nubia, to take up administrative appointments in the south, or as members of the frequent military expeditions sent to the region during the New Kingdom.¹²⁹ Most rock graffiti in and around Aswân commemorate officials rather than kings. Most graffiti are undated and make no mention of a royal master although some can be assigned to a definite reign by other means.

In Dynasty XVIII the names of Tuthmosis I (Year 3),¹³⁰ Tuthmosis II,¹³¹ Hatshepsut¹³², Tuthmosis III,¹³³ Amenophis II,¹³⁴ Tuthmosis IV,¹³⁵ and Amenophis III¹³⁶ are all known from hieroglyphic rock graffiti at Aswân (as well from rock stelae and large-scale rock reliefs). Among the graffiti at Aswân commemorating senior officials of the day, those attributable to the long reigns of Queen Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III are most prolific. This

¹²⁹ Note Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 198.

¹³⁰ De Morgan et al., 41 (no. 185, between Mahattah and Aswân) and 85 (nos. 13 and 19, at Sehel).

¹³¹ De Morgan et al., 90 (no. 87, at Sehel) and 91 (no. 103, Sehel).

¹³² De Morgan et al., 41 (no. 181bis, between Mahattah and Aswân). The graffito records the quarrying of a pair of obelisks by order of the queen, the work being supervised by the Steward of Amun Senenmut, who is also named in the text: Habachi, *JNES* 16 (1957), 92 and 94-95; C. Meyer, *Senenmut: eine prosopographische Untersuchung* (1982), 129-132; P. F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (1988), 115-116. Habachi proposed that these obelisks are to be identified with the pair erected by Hatshepsut behind the *Akh-menu* shrine of King Tuthmosis III. Also to be dated to the era of Hatshepsut is a second graffito at the First Cataract published by Habachi (*JNES* 16 (1957), 99-104). This is a text left by the Hereditary Prince, Governor, and Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, Ty, who claims to have witnessed a military campaign against Nubia during the queen's reign. Also of interest regarding this graffito is that the man who actually cut its text also added his own signature: "*Made by (I.r.n) the draughtsman of Amun, Amenmose*". For the formula *I.r.n.* "made by", see here Caminos, *Ibrim*, 28 n. 1, who comments that it can also have the nuance of someone ordering a scene or a graffito as well as being an indicator that an author was personally responsible for his work.

¹³³ See De Morgan et al., 85 (no. 18, at Sehel, recording the clearance of the First Cataract in his Year 50). Presumably parties of men must also have been sent to Aswân under Tuthmosis III to quarry granite for the pairs of obelisks erected at Karnak and Heliopolis on the occasion of the king's three *Sed*-festivals in his Years 30, 33 and 36. See Breasted, *ZAS* 39 (1901), 55-61; and Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 181-186.

¹³⁴ De Morgan et al., 102 (no. 228, at Sehel).

¹³⁵ See De Morgan et al., 69 (no. 3, at Konosso).

¹³⁶ See Petrie, *Season*, pl. 13 (no. 334, at Bîgeh); De Morgan et al., 41 (no. 181, on the road from Philae to Aswân). For this latter graffito, cf. Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 259-260.

is to be expected. These stable regimes encompassed the periods of greatest quarrying work in the region.¹³⁷ The reign of Amenophis III is the best attested of all in this regard.

Senior ministers of state of King Amenophis III who left rock graffiti in the area include the Vizier Ramose;¹³⁸ the Memphite High Steward, Amenhotep-Huy;¹³⁹ the Chief Steward of Queen Tiye, Kheruef;¹⁴⁰ the Governor of Memphis, Heby;¹⁴¹ the Steward, Overseer of the Treasury, and Overseer of the Royal Scribes of the Lord of the Two Lands, Merymose;¹⁴² and the Overseer of the Treasury Sobekmose.¹⁴³

Aswân was not only the country's principal source of red and black granite but also the final stopping place for the viceroy of Nubia and his retinue before travelling south to take up their functions in Nubia. While in Aswân the viceroy was sometimes directed to supervise building projects and perhaps also some quarrying work.¹⁴⁴ The viceroy of Nubia is the senior official most frequently attested in the graffiti of the First Cataract in Dynasty XVIII. In scenes which often accompany their rock graffiti, the figure of the reigning king (or more likely in Dynasty XVIII his cartouches)¹⁴⁵ is frequently depicted being honoured by the viceroy while the ruler presents and receives offerings to and from various gods and goddesses, usually Khnum, Satis and Anukis, the regional deities.¹⁴⁶

It is hard to imagine the viceroy himself inscribing such texts although in some instances it is not impossible. Generally speaking, however, it seems much more probable that a viceroy's presence among the Aswân rock graffiti is due to a local scribe or mason or possibly someone in the viceregal retinue who happened to be a competent lapicide.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁷ Habachi, *JEA* 36 (1950), 13-18.

¹³⁸ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 13 (no. 334), De Morgan et al., 90 (no. 79); *Urk.* IV, 1791-1792; also cf. Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 49.

¹³⁹ Habachi, *Rd'É* 26 (1974), 29-33. For this official: Hayes, *JEA* 24 (1938), 9-24; Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 323-325; and most recently Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 54.

¹⁴⁰ Known by at least two rock graffiti texts: De Morgan et al., 44 (no. 4) and 39 (no. 177). Note Habachi, *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 68-69. Petrie, *Season*, pl. 13 (no. 347), may also record this Kheruef.

¹⁴¹ See De Morgan et al., 28 (no. 8); now as *Urk.* IV, 1793. Also cf. Topozada, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 156.

¹⁴² De Morgan et al., 39 (no. 177); also see Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 403.

¹⁴³ De Morgan et al., 44 (no. 2); *Urk.* IV, 1889; now Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 247. As he was also an overseer of works Sobekmose would quite probably have been involved in organizing quarrying expeditions to sites like Aswân: W. C. Hayes, *The Burial Chamber of the Treasurer Sobk-mose from Er-Rizeikât* (1939), 23-24.

¹⁴⁴ Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 13-14.

¹⁴⁵ See Habachi in W. Helck (ed.), *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (1968), 69 n. 29.

¹⁴⁶ Delia, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 71.

¹⁴⁷ One text marking a visit to Sehel Island by a viceroy notes that the graffiti was cut by an accompanying overseer of works: De Morgan et al., 86 (no. 31); Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 26.

The viceroys recorded in such graffiti at the First Cataract range from Turo, who records the clearance of a canal east of Sehel Island and a campaign against Nubia in Year 3 of Tuthmosis I,¹⁴⁸ through to either Hori (I) or (II) who served under Ramesses III and IV.¹⁴⁹ Other king's sons of Kush of Dynasty XVIII attested in graffiti (all undated) upon the rocks and cliffs of the First Cataract include Nehi (reign of Tuthmosis III);¹⁵⁰ Usersatet (reign of Amenophis II);¹⁵¹ Amenhotep (under Tuthmosis IV);¹⁵² Merymose (reign of Amenophis III);¹⁵³ Djehutymose (under Amenophis IV/Akhenaten);¹⁵⁴ and Paser (reigns of Ay and Horemhab).¹⁵⁵

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

After successful campaigns in the Delta which secured the permanent expulsion of the Hyksos invaders, Ahmose I was left free to turn his attention to the reconquest and reoccupation of

¹⁴⁸ See Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 15-16; idem, *Kush* 7 (1959), 58.

¹⁴⁹ Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 35-36; and *KRI*, V, 381-382.

¹⁵⁰ Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 16-17. In his sole graffito in the region, at Sehel, Nehi is named with his son Nakhtamun, an official of the memorial temple of Tuthmosis III at West Thebes. Nakhtamun may have been on a visit to the island in search of building material for this institution.

¹⁵¹ Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 17-22. Usersatet is attested by no less than eight graffiti. Six are on Sehel with some giving his name and principal titles (viceroy and overseer of the Southern Lands). Usersatet had his seventh graffito cut on the island to the south of Sehel at Ras Sehel where he records his devotion to Anukis and the digging of five canals; cf. here Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 21. Usersatet's eighth graffito text, recording the viceroy and his deputy Meh giving praise to Khnum, is inscribed at Gebel Tingar on the west bank opposite Aswân. For a small temple erected by Amenophis II on Elephantine Island and Usersatet's possible involvement in its construction, see Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 22.

¹⁵² See Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 22-23. As well as being "overseer of southern and northern works" Amenhotep was the first viceroy of Nubia to bear the full title of "king's son of Kush" and not just "king's son" as had previously been the case. This Amenhotep was also the first viceroy to receive the honorary office of Fan-Bearer on the Right Hand of the King, reflecting the close relationship between the pharaoh and his principal officier in the south: Wolf, *ZÄS* 59 (1924), 157-158; and Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 250-254.

¹⁵³ Cf. Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 23-25; and idem, *LÄ* III (1979), 637 n. 62. Merymose also served King Amenophis III as an overseer of the treasury and he is denoted as such in another rock graffito at Aswân; cf. Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 53.

¹⁵⁴ See Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 25-26. One of his two graffiti at Sehel (= De Morgan et al., 86 no. 35) contains the important additional titles of "overseer of the gold-producing land(s) of Amun" (*imy-r ḥst nbw n ḏmn*) and "overseer of builders". These supply some idea of the viceroy's other administrative responsibilities in the south. For the gold lands of Amun (in Nubia and Upper Egypt), and the mining personnel attached to the latter's temple at Karnak: Ziegler, *Rd'É* 33 (1981), 125-132.

¹⁵⁵ See *Urk.* IV, 2112; also Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 26. The latter inscription was carved on Sehel by an overseer of works who may have been on the island with the viceroy to supervise the removal of granite blocks for building projects.

Nubia.¹⁵⁶ The impetus behind this desire to reconquer the southern lands was largely economic: Egypt's growing dependence on valuable commodities often obtainable only in Nubia and the lands to the south of her. Most important amongst these was Nubian gold,¹⁵⁷ and perhaps also the copper found in the eastern desert,¹⁵⁸ though goods such as ivory and ebony, ostrich feathers, apes, African gums and perfumes, semi-precious stones and other such exotica were also much desired. The domination of Nubia (albeit with some integration of the Egyptian and Nubian economies) and the trade routes further to the south was vital to ensure their continued supply.¹⁵⁹

The successful campaigns of Ahmose I into Nubia¹⁶⁰ permitted this king to penetrate as far south as perhaps the island of Sai. He may have erected the first New Kingdom settlement on the island.¹⁶¹ At Buhen, Ahmose appears to have repaired the Middle Kingdom fortifications after their destruction during the Second Intermediate Period,¹⁶² and to have founded the site's Northern Temple.¹⁶³ Buhen would become one of the most important centres for the administration of the newly reconquered Nubian lands.¹⁶⁴ To administer the territories a new and all-important office had been established, probably during the reign of Kamose, the viceroyalty of Nubia.¹⁶⁵ Its first holder was apparently an official named Teti. The latter was followed by a certain Djehuty¹⁶⁶ and then Ahmose Sa(ta)iyet.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁶ Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 17-48; idem, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, 221-226.

¹⁵⁷ Vercoutter, *Kush* 7 (1959), 120-153. Janssen in *SAK* 3 (1975), 153-156, presents reasons for believing that the amount of gold extracted from Nubia during the early New Kingdom was less than that mined in Egypt at this period. However, by Dynasties XIX-XX gold production within Egypt (= "the gold of the desert of Coptos") had declined sharply, accentuating the need to extract as much as possible from the south.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Lucas and Harris, *Materials and Industries*, 209.

¹⁵⁹ Kemp in P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (1978), 21-43; also Frandsen in M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda. A Symposium on Ancient Empires. Mesopotamia* 7 (1979), 168-174; now see Berg, *JSSEA* 17 No. 1/2 (1987), 1-14; Smith, *GM* 122 (1991), 77-102; also Säve-Söderbergh, *Orientalia Suecana* 41-42 (1992-1993), 254-272; Morkot, *CRIPEL* 17 (1995), 175-189.

¹⁶⁰ Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 49-87.

¹⁶¹ So Vercoutter, *Kush* 4 (1956), 77-78; questioned by Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 71-72; but cf. Vercoutter, *CRIPEL* 1 (1973), 12 and 25-27; Berg, *JSSEA* 17 No. 1/2 (1987), 1-6.

¹⁶² Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 73-74; and Smith, *Buhen*, 207.

¹⁶³ Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 106.

¹⁶⁴ Smith, *Buhen*, 207; W. Y. Adams, *Nubia: Corridor to Africa* (1977), 218-220.

¹⁶⁵ Basic studies on the post: Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), 28-55, 73-88; Gauthier, *RT* 39 (1921), 179-238; also cf. now B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-Nj3wt "Königsson"* (1976), 267-275; Habachi, *LÄ* III (1979), 630-640, can also be consulted with profit.

¹⁶⁶ The King's Sons Teti and Djehuty are recorded in two hieroglyphic rock graffiti at Tôshka and Arminna East beside the names and titles of Kamose and Ahmose I (Weigall, *Report*, 127 and pl. 65 (no. 4); also Simpson, *Heka-nefer*, 34 and pl. 17b). This tends to suggest that the

Under Amenophis I new military initiatives in Nubia are attested but these were probably of a very limited nature. The thrust of Egypt's Nubian policy at this time was essentially one of consolidation.¹⁶⁸ If not established by Ahmose I then certainly by the era of Amenophis I the island of Sai marked the furthest extent of Egypt's advance into Nubia.¹⁶⁹ This is also suggested by the textual graffiti attributable to the rule of Amenophis I in Nubia. These comprise of two dated hieroglyphic graffiti naming the Viceroy of Nubia Turo (the governor of Buhen fortress under Ahmose I) on the island of Uronarti (Year 8)¹⁷⁰ and at Semna (Year 9).¹⁷¹ (Other graffiti inscriptions naming Turo before he became viceroy are also known from Nubia.)¹⁷²

Tuthmosis I was probably content to maintain the boundary of Egypt's rule in Nubia at Sai Island,¹⁷³ but at one point he may have advanced south and reached beyond the Fourth Cataract, greatly increasing Egypt's sphere of influence, even if only briefly. His name is recorded on rocks at Kurgus (Hagar el-Merwa), next to graffiti texts in red ink which preserve the name of his spouse Queen Ahmose and several officials.¹⁷⁴

His son and successor Tuthmosis II smashed a rebellion in Kush with notable ruthlessness in his first year, no doubt further enforcing Egyptian domination over its southern territories. (These perhaps still extended no further south than Sai Island.)¹⁷⁵ Other than this relatively minor conflict Tuthmosis II's activities in Nubia are largely unknown.¹⁷⁶ The name of Seni,

viceroyalty was established in late Dynasty XVII after Kamose's Nubian campaign. Habachi's objections in *LÄ III* (1979), 630, were later dropped in *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, 173.

¹⁶⁷ Habachi, *Kush* 7 (1959), 45-62; idem, *LÄ III* (1979), 630.

¹⁶⁸ See now F.-J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I. Versuch einer Darstellung der Regierungszeit eines ägyptischen Herrschers der frühen 18. Dynastie* (1978), 193-204.

¹⁶⁹ Vercoutter, *CRIPPEL* 1 (1973), 27-28; Berg, *JSSEA* 17 No. 1/2 (1987), 6-7.

¹⁷⁰ *Urk.* IV, 78; Habachi, *Kush* 7 (1959), 57-58; D. Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts, vol. II: Uronarti-Shalfak-Mirgissa* (1967), 34; now Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 368.

¹⁷¹ Habachi, *Kush* 7 (1959), 57; Hintze, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 137-138; and Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 512.

¹⁷² See Habachi, *Kush* 7 (1959), 57; idem, *LÄ III* (1979), 631 nn. 7-8 (texts located at Abû Simbel; on rocks near the temple of Horemhab at Abahûda; and on a doorjamb from Buhen).

¹⁷³ Cf. O'Connor, *JEA* 73 (1987), 115 n. 74 and 125; Berg, *JSSEA* 17 No. 1/2 (1987), 2-4. Also note the hieroglyphic rock graffito of Year 2 of Tuthmosis I at Tangûr which records the overthrow of Kush; now as Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 561.

¹⁷⁴ Säve-Söderbergh, 146-151; Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 36-39; idem, *A History of the Sudan. From the Earliest Times to 1821* (1955), 84; also cf. Vercoutter, *Kush* 4 (1956), 68-70; Berg, *JSSEA* 17 No. 1/2 (1987), 1-2. Those officials recorded with the king and queen: "child of the *kꜣp*, Iry"; "the overseer of the Northern and Southern Palace, Horiu"; "the *wab*-priest of Amun, Amenemhat"; and "the *wab*-priest of Re, Senhotep".

¹⁷⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, 150-151; now cf. Lorton in *Lichtheim Studies*, II, 668-679.

¹⁷⁶ It is just possible he played a hand in founding the South Temple at Buhen; cf. Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 4-5; also Smith, *Buhen*, 210.

who served Tuthmosis I and II as viceroy of Nubia, has also been noted in at least one undated hieroglyphic graffito at Kumma temple.¹⁷⁷

A hieroglyphic rock graffito on Sehel Island dating to the reign of Hatshepsut mentions the overthrow (*shr*) of bedouin or nomads (*lwntyw*) by the queen in person. The first editor of this text, Habachi,¹⁷⁸ felt that this was firm proof of a Nubian war during Hatshepsut's rule (when taken in conjunction with several other allusions to such an event). Today this graffito is now thought to be a record of one of at least three campaigns in Nubia undertaken by the queen, or on her behalf.¹⁷⁹ A hieroglyphic rock graffito at Tangûr dating to Year 12 of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III mentions a campaign against Kush during the joint rule of these two rulers.¹⁸⁰ Tuthmosis III is also known to have quelled an uprising in Miu (the latter is a region perhaps to be placed along the Nile between Karoy and Abû Hamad)¹⁸¹ late in the reign of Queen Hatshepsut.¹⁸²

Also to be dated to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III is the rock graffito of a Year 20 at Tombos (first copied and published by Breasted; later republished and discussed by Säve-Söderbergh)¹⁸³ which has been erroneously dated by some to the reign of Tuthmosis IV.¹⁸⁴

Nehy, the far-travelled viceroy of Nubia under Tuthmosis III (in office from the latter's Year 23)¹⁸⁵ has left (or had inscribed on his behalf) three undated hieroglyphic graffiti in the South Temple at Buhen.¹⁸⁶ These do not reveal the purpose of his visit to the temple but perhaps it was no more than to inspect building work in progress, particularly the re-organisation of the temple's courtyard.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁷ See Breasted, *AJSL* 25 (1908), 105; Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), 29; Gauthier, *RT* 39 (1921), 187.

¹⁷⁸ See *JNES* 16 (1957), 99-104.

¹⁷⁹ See Redford, *History and Chronology*, 57-62; Ratié, *Hatchepsout*, 219-221; also Reineke in *Ägypten und Kusch*, 369-376; O'Connor, *JEA* 73 (1987), 126 and n. 118.

¹⁸⁰ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 562.

¹⁸¹ Kitchen, *RITANC*, I, 89.

¹⁸² See now: O'Connor, *JEA* 73 (1987), 123 and n. 102.

¹⁸³ Säve-Söderbergh, 207-210.

¹⁸⁴ See Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 6-9, who tentatively restores the name of the viceroy of Nubia mentioned in this graffito as Inebny; also cf. el-Sabbahy, *GM* 129 (1992), 99-102; but note too Pamminger in *GM* 131 (1992), 97-100.

¹⁸⁵ Caminos, *Ibrim*, 43; and now Habachi, *LÄ* III (1979), 631-632.

¹⁸⁶ Caminos, *Buhen*, I, 23 (pl. 23), 76 (pl. 88), and 78 (pl. 92).

¹⁸⁷ Most of the South Temple was the work of artists and architects of Queen Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. See Caminos, *Buhen*, I, 3, 11; also vol. II, 4-5; Redford, *LÄ* VI (1985), 543. Note too that Nehy seems to have resided at Buhen on occasion (as did other viceroys: Smith, *Buhen*, 209) even though the permanent administrative headquarters of the viceroy and most of his senior staff was located at Aniba.

By Year 47 of Tuthmosis III the district of Karoy (just below the Fourth Cataract) had been occupied and the strategic town of Napata founded. By now the furthest extent of Egyptian rule in the south had been reached.¹⁸⁸

Tuthmosis III's son and heir, Amenophis II, may have undertaken a campaign into Nubia at some point but references to the region during his regime are meagre. It seems clear, however, that he was also content to leave Napata as his southern frontier.¹⁸⁹ Later, an army dispatched in either Year 7 or 8 of Tuthmosis IV routed a confederation of nomads from Wawat in Lower Nubia who may have been threatening the Egyptian gold mining stations east of Edfu,¹⁹⁰ and this king may also have conducted a policing action in Kush at some point.¹⁹¹

The (probably)¹⁹² sole military venture undertaken by Amenophis III in Nubia, in the district of Ibhet in his Year 5, saw a summary crushing of desert tribesmen,¹⁹³ most probably at the hands of Merymose, the viceroy of Nubia.¹⁹⁴ After Amenophis III our records concerning Egypt's relations with its Nubian territories in Dynasty XVIII are far fewer.

The successful campaign waged by the viceroy Djehutymose on behalf of Akhenaten against various tribes in the district of Akayta (probably to defend Egyptian gold-mines in the region of Wâdi Allâqi) is well known.¹⁹⁵ However, of graffiti in Nubia I know of none which can be dated with certainty to the reign of Akhenaten and only a very few are known from the regimes of his dynastic successors in spite of evidence of renewed military activity under Tutankhamun (probably a minor disciplinary affair to coincide with the investiture of Huy, the new viceroy

¹⁸⁸ Säve-Söderbergh, 153-155; Redford *LÄ VI* (1985), 543 n. 59; Morkot in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* (1991), 294-298. For the possibility of a further minor campaign in Nubia in Year 49 of Tuthmosis III, cf. Redford, *LÄ VI* (1985), 543-544 and nn. 82-83.

¹⁸⁹ Säve-Söderbergh, 155-156; also P. der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (1987), 92-97.

¹⁹⁰ Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 332-336.

¹⁹¹ O'Connor, *JEA* 73 (1987), 128 n. 126; Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 332-333.

¹⁹² O'Connor, *JEA* 73 (1987), 128 and nn. 129-130, advocates two separate campaigns. One against Ibhet and another against Kush; also see Topozada, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 153-164.

¹⁹³ See Säve-Söderbergh, 158-162; Vercouter, *CRIPPEL* 1 (1973), 23; Topozada, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 164; H. Goedicke, *Problems concerning Amenophis III*. (1992), 37-48; Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 55.

¹⁹⁴ Dehler, *SAK* 11 (1984), 77-83; Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 55.

¹⁹⁵ So Smith, *Buhen*, 124-129; Helck, *SAK* 8 (1980), 117-126; Schulman: *L'égyptologie en 1979: axes prioritaires de recherches*, vol. II (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, No. 595) (1982), 299-316.

of Nubia),¹⁹⁶ and building work under both Ay (at Soleb)¹⁹⁷ and Horemhab (the excavation of a rock temple at Gebel Adda).¹⁹⁸

On the whole Nubia seems to have been largely unaffected by the Amarna episode and there is no good evidence of any major disturbance in either Wawat or Kush during the final years of Dynasty XVIII (the scene of a military victory over Kush in the Speos of Horemhab at Gebel es-Silsilah is probably mere convention or at most a limited policing action).¹⁹⁹

The few textual graffiti (mostly hieroglyphic) which can be assigned with some certainty to the later XVIIIth Dynasty are found on rocks at Ellesîyah,²⁰⁰ Gebel el-Shams²⁰¹ and Tôshka East (a part of the ancient locality of Miam).²⁰² Those at Tôshka East preserve the name and titles of the Prince of Miam, Heqanufer,²⁰³ who appears to have served in office from the end of the regime of Amenophis III through to the reign of Horemhab.²⁰⁴ Another rock graffito at Tôshka East records the name of Rehotep, another prince of Miam. He seems to have preceded Heqanufer as local ruler.²⁰⁵

The existence of these graffiti at Tôshka East, and the importance accorded to the site by the princes of Miam, may be due to its being the birthplace of these local dynasts as Simpson has suggested (it is also the site of several of their rock-cut tombs). It is also possible that Tôshka possessed an administrative centre and some sort of residence for the princes.²⁰⁶

In addition to the above rock graffiti which for the most part can be dated comfortably to the XVIIIth Dynasty there are many other more minor texts in Upper and Lower Nubia whose attribution to this period is uncertain. Since the 1960's several major epigraphic expeditions have

¹⁹⁶ Hari, *Horemheb*, 64-68; and cf. D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (1984), 219-220; O'Connor, *JEA* 73 (1987), 128.

¹⁹⁷ Edwards, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 26 (1939-1940), 3-9.

¹⁹⁸ PM, VII, 119-121; Hari, *Horemheb*, 370-374.

¹⁹⁹ Säve-Söderbergh, 163-167; Hari, *Horemheb*, 359-370.

²⁰⁰ Here, a three line graffito was cut by one Amenemope who records service as a scribe and overseer of works under the viceroys of Nubia Merymose (reign of Amenophis III), Djehuty-mose (reign of Akhenaten), and latterly Huy (reign of Tutankhamun), when he had risen to the position of deputy of Kush. See *Urk.* IV, 1935; Habachi, *LÄ* III (1979), 633 and n. 71; idem, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, 142-143.

²⁰¹ A single rock graffito naming the deputy of Wawat, Katja: Gauthier, *RT* 39 (1921), 235; J. Černý and E. Edel, *Gebel esh-Shams* (1961), pl. 6 (B); and Zibelius, *LÄ* II (1976), 440.

²⁰² Caminos, *Ibrim*, 7 and n. 9.

²⁰³ Five graffiti naming Heqanufer were relocated and studied by Simpson in his *Heka-nefer*, 24-27, figs. 2, 20-21 and pl. 13.

²⁰⁴ Simpson, *Heka-nefer*, 27.

²⁰⁵ Note Simpson, *Heka-nefer*, 25, 27 and fig. 20.

²⁰⁶ Simpson, *Heka-nefer*, 27; B. G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* (1965), 107-108.

been launched in a concerted effort to trace as many of these rock graffiti as possible in an area encompassed by what is present day southernmost Egypt and northern Sudan.

These efforts have provided us with a vivid cross section of the names and titles of Egyptian officials (and doubtless also those of Egyptianized Nubians employed in the administration of the region)²⁰⁷ who were based in Nubia in a variety of administrative and military capacities throughout the New Kingdom. The following lists of these names and titles cannot hope to be complete, merely comprehensive. Those individuals listed below probably lived and worked in Nubia during the XVIIIth Dynasty although some may in fact have been active in the Ramesside era. Dating this sort of graffiti precisely has always presented severe difficulties.

The Czech Institute's epigraphic team traced the following names and titles in rock graffiti in Lower Nubia: "Scribe of the divine booth Turo" (region of Es-Sinqârî);²⁰⁸ "Child of the *kꜣp*, Tirur" (region of Wâdi el-Arab);²⁰⁹ "Scribe Djehutymose, son of the mayor Tetnufer" (region of Wâdi el-Arab);²¹⁰ "Hotep and Anupe. Letter-carrier of his lord on his travels, scribe Rau(?), may he repeat life (and be) a possessor of joy" (region of Murwâw);²¹¹ "Letter-carrier Hatia" (Murwâw);²¹² "Dispatch-writer of Thebes...." (region of Kalâbsha).²¹³

To these we can add the rock graffiti traced in Lower Nubia (between Korosko and Ibrîm) by the Misión Arqueológica Española in 1964. The names and titles recovered: "Scribe Huy son of Kha";²¹⁴ "Scribe Nebamun";²¹⁵ "Letter-carrier Merihor [son of] Mes";²¹⁶ "Prophet Hor-hotep";²¹⁷ "Scribe of the temple Khay";²¹⁸ "Letter-carrier of Miam Nai";²¹⁹ and "Wab-priest Harmose son of the prophet Mes(?)".²²⁰

Most recently painstaking fieldwork by the German Academy of Sciences has been rewarded with the discovery of a number of new hieroglyphic and hieratic rock graffiti in Upper Nubia, between the Second and Third Cataracts. The following officials (with titles) are perhaps to be

²⁰⁷ See Säve-Söderbergh, *Orientalia Suecana* 41-42 (1992-1993), 258; also Morkot in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* (1991), 298-299 (for Nubian officials serving in Wawat).

²⁰⁸ Zába, *RILN*, no. 92.

²⁰⁹ Zába, *RILN*, no. 95.

²¹⁰ Zába, *RILN*, no. 96.

²¹¹ Zába, *RILN*, no. 195.

²¹² Zába, *RILN*, nos. 197-198.

²¹³ Zába, *RILN*, no. 233.

²¹⁴ López, *Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas*, nos. 1-2.

²¹⁵ López, *Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas*, no. 4.

²¹⁶ López, *Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas*, no. 5.

²¹⁷ López, *Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas*, nos. 9 and 13.

²¹⁸ López, *Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas*, nos. 10 and 15.

²¹⁹ López, *Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas*, no. 19.

²²⁰ López, *Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas*, no. 20.

dated to Dynasty XVIII although again, in most cases, it is impossible to be totally confident: "Scribe Nen" (at Sahaba);²²¹ "Letter-carrier Hat" (Tangûr);²²² "Viceroy and overseer of the Southern Lands Amenemnekhu" (found at Tangûr);²²³ "Scribe Resy" (Tangûr);²²⁴ "Scribe of the treasury Smakhasut" (Tangûr);²²⁵ "Scribe Amenhotep, (son of) Betjau" (at Tangûr);²²⁶ "Army scribe Nakhtsobek" (Tangûr);²²⁷ "Army scribe Hormose" (Tangûr);²²⁸ "Wab-priest of Amun Shay" (Tangûr);²²⁹ "Scribe Seba" (found at Tangûr);²³⁰ "Royal sandal-maker Meshay" (Tangûr);²³¹ and "Army scribe Meh" (Tangûr).²³²

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi Allâqi.

A hieroglyphic rock graffito preserving the name and titles of Merymose, the much travelled viceroy of Nubia under Amenophis III, has been recorded at Wâdi Allâqi.²³³ It seems possible then that this wâdi was being actively explored no later than mid Dynasty XVIII as a potential route to the gold mining regions between the Nile and the Red Sea.²³⁴

²²¹ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 551.

²²² Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 556.

²²³ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, nos. 558 and 564.

²²⁴ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 559.

²²⁵ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 569.

²²⁶ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 572+572a.

²²⁷ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 575.

²²⁸ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 578.

²²⁹ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 580.

²³⁰ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 581.

²³¹ Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 583.

²³² Hintze and Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, no. 586.

²³³ See Piotrovsky in *Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963)* (1967), 136, pls. 27-29. Note also that the graffito text was actually inscribed by (*lr.n*) a scribe Meh, presumably one of the viceroy's minions.

²³⁴ When one considers the importance of gold in financing foreign commerce and diplomatic relations at this time, and especially during the rule of Amenophis III, attempts to increase its production and to find new sources are only to be expected. Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 55, have also noted that it was under Amenophis III that the viceroy of Nubia's authority over the southern gold mines was extended to include not only those of Kush (the riverine stations between the Second and Third Cataracts) and Wawat (the Wâdis Allâqi and Gabgaba), but also the Barramiya mines in the desert to the east of Edfu. Presumably this was done in an attempt to maximise gold-prospecting, mining and production. Finally, note too that a rock graffito in eastern Lower Nubia (in Wâdis Allâqi or Gabgaba, or their tributaries) naming the late XVIIIth Dynasty Prince of Miam, Heqanufer, has been published quite recently by Angelo and Alfredo Castiglioni in *Egyptian Archaeology* No. 4 (1994), 20. This brief inscription clearly reads: *wr (n) M'rm Hqj-nfr*. Presumably Heqanufer was in this desolate region with a party of workmen prospecting for new gold-mines.

Chapter Six

Section II

The New Kingdom: Dynasty XIX

(c. 1295-1186 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Sinai.

With the exceptions of Amenmesse and Siptah every ruler of the XIXth Dynasty is attested at Serâbît el-Khâdim by small monuments such as glazed objects, stone blocks and stelae left by visiting mining parties.¹ However, I know of no graffiti texts in either the hieroglyphic or hieratic scripts of Dynasty XIX date at this site or at any of the other locales in the peninsula known to have been mined at this time. As was the case in Dynasty XVIII literate members of these expeditions clearly preferred to commemorate their work at the mines in Sinai with more prestigious monuments.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Lower Egypt.

(i) Abû Sîr.

Two visitors' graffiti are known to me from Abû Sîr of XIXth Dynasty date. More precisely both can be comfortably assigned to the reign of Ramesses II. The first commemorates a visit to see the Vth Dynasty funerary temple of King Sahure (specifically the Sekhmet chapel) by a royal scribe of the Ramesseum named Djehutyhirhesef.² Evidently the latter was a long way from home and as his graffito is silent on the matter one can only speculate on the reason for his absence from Thebes. Was it a visit home to see family in the north or to attend to temple business such as the extensive vineyards owned by the Ramesseum in the Delta?³

¹ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 235-236 (index). Also now: *KRI*, I, 1, 62-64; *KRI*, II, 339-343, 384, 401-402; *KRI*, IV, 41-42, 242-243, 351; and *KRI*, VII, 104, 127, 217.

² L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'as̄u-re'*, vol. I (1910), 124; also cf. now *KRI*, III, 378.

³ Regarding these vineyards: Kitchen in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (1992), 115-123. One might also note that it was not unknown for much more humble citizens to travel between Thebes and Memphis at this time. Note the case of a woman from the tombworker's settlement at Deir el-Medīna who is recorded making such a journey in the unpublished P. München 19 (818), rt. 2 (= Černý, MSS. 17.35, p. 52).

Our second visitors' inscription, dating to Year 50 of Ramesses II, is written in the mastaba tomb of the Vth Dynasty vizier Ptahshepses.⁴ It is similar in form to other visitors' graffiti of this period found at Saqqâra (see below). It appears that not only had a party of scribes come to see an ancient mastaba tomb but also the Abû Sîr pyramids and the Sekhmet sanctuary in the funerary temple of Sahure. A possible translation of the damaged text runs:

"Year 50, 1 Peret 16. There came the scribe Ptahemwia with his father the scribe Yupa to see the shadow of the pyramids (at Abû Sîr), when they had come and voiced praise, to offer [...] [to Sekhm]et-of-Sahure⁵ on this day together with the scribe Na[shuy?].

Do good, do good, O Sekhmet-of-Sahure! Do good, do good, to the scribe Ptahemwia and the scribe Yupa. Let there be brought [.....] for us, as we stand before you again, O Terrible One, [...], and as we say: 'May she endure <like> Re!'

We are (here) before our Mistress, and we are again [leaving?] an inscription to seek a reward from you, that we should reach 110 years (of age), as we request them from you.

It is as we (stand) drunk in front of you that we voice our petitions, like a favoured one who sings(?) what [.....] him(?). We are the scribes of Ptah, our Father, to whom we say it; we have come to [sing] his praise(s) [.....] Ptah [...Rest Lost....]"

(ii) Saqqâra.

Dating to the early Ramesside period there are a number of hieratic visitors' graffiti written in ink on several earlier monuments at this site. All these Dynasty XIX texts appear to date to the reigns of Sethos I and Ramesses II. This is probably due to the long and prosperous nature of both these reigns and also to the fact that Saqqâra was the site of an ambitious private tomb building programme during this period.⁶ Presumably such activity would have resulted in the regular presence of considerable numbers of workmen and their superiors near the ancient monuments. (However, I am not aware of any visitors' graffiti at Saqqâra which can be confidently dated to Dynasty XX even though there was continual activity at this site with the building of private tomb-chapels there until at least the regimes of Ramesses III⁷ and IV.⁸) Saqqâra's close

⁴ See Daressy, *BIÉ* 5 (1894), 107-113; Spiegelberg, *RT* 26 (1904), 152-154; now in *KRI*, III, 437.

⁵ A cult of Sekhmet, probably established under Tuthmosis IV, and based in the southern part of the Sahure temple. See Baines, *GM* 4 (1973), 12-13; Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 156.

⁶ See Malek in *SAK* 12 (1985), 45-47.

⁷ Posener-Kriéger, *Rd'É* 33 (1981), 47-58.

⁸ So Malek, *SAK* 12 (1985), 43-60; add idem, *JEA* 74 (1988), 125-136. Although evidence is currently lacking, it seems likely that Memphis-based officials of the later XXth Dynasty also

proximity to Memphis (with its major population base) would also explain its popularity as a place for pleasure-walks or pilgrimages among the better informed of Egyptian society at this time.

Again most of the early Ramesside authors were ordinary scribes who had made the effort to visit the site for the same reasons as their predecessors in the XVIIIth Dynasty: to inspect the monuments of earlier ages; to offer up prayers to the gods of Western Memphis (notably Ptah) on behalf of themselves and their families; to honour the memory of long dead monarchs, now ranked as deities, and to ask for their favour also.

The earliest visitors' graffiti at Saqqâra from Dynasty XIX are located at the Step Pyramid of Djoser. Here there are two short and damaged hieratic graffiti preserving the names of Sethos I. One merely provides the king's prenomen and nomen;⁹ the other yields not only royal names and titles but is clearly dated to his Year 4.¹⁰ Presumably both texts were scribbled down by a visiting official during Sethos's reign. This author's name, if ever written, is now lost.

After these limited sources we can turn to the regime of Ramesses II from whose reign there are several particularly interesting visitors' graffiti available to study. These range in date from his Years 10(?) to 48. There is also an undated graffito text that probably belongs to his reign. Located at the Step Pyramid this records the name of Hat, a goldsmith (*nby*) who was perhaps attached to the memorial temple of Ramesses II at Memphis.¹¹

The earliest of the dated visitors' graffiti from the reign of Ramesses II are also located at the Step Pyramid. These are two texts penned by a scribe from Memphis named Amenemope. The latter came to see the pyramid of King Djoser on at least two occasions. During his first visit he left a graffito dated to Year 10(?) of Ramesses II.¹² The text is of interest in that it uses the *Ir nfr Ir nfr* or "Do good, do good to N" formula to petition Osiris for divine intervention. The latter formula is widely used in New Kingdom graffiti, notably in the visitors' inscriptions at the Amun temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri.¹³

owned tomb-chapels somewhere at the Saqqâra necropolis which still await discovery, perhaps in the unexplored segment of plateau southeast of the Userkaf pyramid.

⁹ Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 82 (Q); Gunn, MSS., XIII, 4. 11; and *KRI*, I, 237: 5.

¹⁰ Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 82 (R); reconstructed text provided in *KRI*, I, 237: 6-7.

¹¹ So Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 84 (u); Gunn, MSS., XIII, 4. 11; add *KRI*, III, 439. On the Memphite memorial temple of Ramesses II, cf. W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, Teil I (1961), 138-139 (but omit the reference to Louvre C. 94 which is a Heliopolitan shrine). It is interesting that such a craftsman was apparently literate to some extent.

¹² Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 84 (v); Gunn, MSS., XIII, 4. 12; add *KRI*, III 439 and VII, 166-167.

¹³ See the study by Marciniak, *Études et Travaux* 2 (1968), 26-31.

On his second trip Amenemope enjoyed the companionship of two fellow scribes. Another graffito was scribbled down to commemorate the visit, this time dated to Year 14 (4 *Peret* 21) of Ramesses II. Here the three companions are merely named and their intention of seeing the Djoser complex is stated.¹⁴ Also perhaps to be assigned to the reign of Ramesses II is another graffito of a Year 10. Located within the First Courtyard of the Memphite tomb of Horemheb this hieratic visitors' graffito is unusual among such texts in that it is incised and not penned in ink. It preserves the names of two scribes, Amenemhab and Payemsaamun, who came "*and walked about in the west of Memphis*". Apparently a trip to this splendid tomb-chapel was part of their itinerary.¹⁵

There are at least three other dated visitors' graffiti at Saqqâra from the era of Ramesses II (to Years 34, 47 and 48).¹⁶ These employ richer literary forms and the first two texts also furnish greater detail about the visiting party. They are worth quoting in full. The third text, of Year 48, is a twin inscription written by scribes in the South Chapel of the Step Pyramid complex. Unfortunately it is badly preserved and adds nothing new.¹⁷

What these graffiti fail to reveal, unfortunately, is the actual state of the visited monuments. But even if these buildings were dilapidated by the early Ramesside era, it seems clear that the names of their royal builders were still known to some members of the educated or professionally skilled élite of Memphite society.

The first of our longer dated visitors' graffiti of the era of Ramesses II belongs to the latter's Year 34 and is to be found in the funerary temple of the Dynasty XIII pyramid of Khendjer.¹⁸ What is of particular interest is that this graffito mentions the pyramid of "Djoser-Discoverer-of-Stoneworking", a reference to the ancient association of King Djoser with the inauguration of building in stone. Note further that the author of this text chose to petition the gods of the west of Memphis and the ancient kings on the feast day of Ptah of Memphis; was this perhaps a public holiday? Our first graffito appears to read so:

¹⁴ See Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 79 (d); Gunn, MSS., XIII, 5. 1; also now *KRI*, III 439 and VII, 166.

¹⁵ G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamûn*. I (1989), 157-158.

¹⁶ It should be noted here that the pyramid-temple of Pepy II also appears to have been visited in Year 37 of Ramesses II. There is a hieratic graffito written in ink here giving just the year date of the king but no details whatever on the author. See G. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. II (1938), 66 (fig. 8).

¹⁷ So Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 83-84 (T); Gunn, MSS., XIII. 4. 11; *KRI*, III, 438; and Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 68.

¹⁸ See G. Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire* (1933), 14-15 and fig. 12; add *KRI*, III, 436; Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 72-74; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 148.

"Do good, do good, O Teti-beloved-of-Ptah,¹⁹ do good to the scribe Nashuy the servant (of) your servitor, Nedjemmerut. Do good, do good, O (King) Djoser-Discoverer-of-Stoneworking. Do good, do good to the scribe Nashuy.

The scribe Nashuy came to the area of the pyramid of Teti-beloved-of-Ptah and the pyramid of Djoser-Discoverer-of-Stoneworking. He says to all the gods of the West of Memphis: 'I am near you, for I am your servitor'.

Year 34, 4 Shomu 24. Day of the festival of Ptah, South-of-his-Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, when he appears outside the temple(?) at time of evening. (Written) by the scribe Nashu<y>".

The second of our extended dated visitors' graffiti of this era was penned in the South Chapel of the Step Pyramid complex by a treasury scribe named Hednakhte in Year 47 of Ramesses II.²⁰ A possible translation might be:

"Year 47, 2 Peret 25. There came the treasury scribe Hednakhte son of Sunero, his mother being Twosret, to stroll (swtwł) and to enjoy (sdꜣy-ḥr)²¹ (himself) on the West of Memphis, together with his brother, Panakhte, the scribe of the vizier, saying: 'O (all) you gods, Lords of the West of Memphis, the Ennead at the head of the necropolis, Osiris, Isis, and the great glorified dead of the West of Ankhtawy, grant a happy lifetime following your will and a good burial after a happy old age, to (be able to) see the West of Memphis as a greatly favoured one like yourself!'

(Written) by the treasury scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, Hednakhte, justified, and the scribe Panakhte".

However this interest in the great monuments and rulers of the past was not just confined to a handful of inquisitive scribes and craftsmen. In the early XIXth Dynasty this enthusiasm for the Old Kingdom monuments at Saqqâra is further demonstrated by the activities of the fourth son of Ramesses II, the *sem*-priest of Ptah at Memphis, prince Khaemwase. The prince was a man with a genuine interest in his country's past²² and it was he who saw to the "restoration"

¹⁹ Teti is also referred to by this title on stela Marseille Château Borély 211 (of late XVIIIth-early XIXth Dynasty date) which depicts him being worshipped within his pyramid at Saqqâra as part of a royal cult functioning at this time. See Wildung, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 36 (1985), 31-33.

²⁰ Originally in Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 82-83 (S); now *KRI*, III, 148. Also note Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 68; and Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 148.

²¹ Cf. Philips, *GM* 89 (1986), 79-80, on the use of these closely associated verbs.

²² Regarding his work at the Memphite necropolis generally: Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 170-171; F. Gomaà, *Chaemwase, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*

or "embellishment" (*smnh*)²³ of several major monuments of Dynasties III-V at Abû Ghurâb, Abû Sîr and Saqqâra,²⁴ as well as the revival of their cult installations.²⁵ According to a brief hieratic graffito in the South Mastaba of the Step Pyramid complex, this programme of refurbishment (at least at this site) may have begun in Year 36 (3 *Shomu* 10) of Ramesses II.²⁶

Sponsored under royal patronage, this programme of work on the Old Kingdom monuments at the Memphite necropolis helped to emphasise the links between the state's earliest dynasties and the very new dynasty of Ramesses II and his family.²⁷ Khaemwase, based at Memphis as High-Priest, and with his interest in the buildings and grandees²⁸ of the past, must have been first choice for royal supervisor. Furthermore, on a purely practical note, unlike the scribes of Memphis, a son of Ramesses II was someone with access to the men and materials required to carry out such a project.²⁹

(iii) The Meidûm Pyramid.

In the small funerary temple on the east face of the Meidûm pyramid there are two black ink visitors' graffiti, written in the hieratic script, which were assigned by Černý to Dynasty XIX.

(1973), 61-66; Gitton, *Cd'É* 51 (1976), 296; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 103-107; and now Malek in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (1992), 61 and 65-66.

²³ Recently, Malek (see here A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (1992), 65) has questioned what form this "restoration" took. He suggests that it may have amounted to little more "than an act of adding an inscription which contains the name of the owner of the monument and thus identifies it". Certainly it must be admitted that there seems to be no archaeological evidence for Ramesside restoration activities in the manner of corrective building work on any of the structures labelled by Khaemwase.

²⁴ Such work is attested by inscriptions on one face of the pyramid or sun-temple of Djoser, Shepseskaf (Mastabat Fara'ûn), Userkaf, Sahure, Niuserre and Unis. The surviving texts: *KRI*, II, 873-875; now Kitchen, *RITA*, II, 566-567. The extent of Khaemwase's restoration work is conveniently mapped by Kitchen in E. Bleiberg and R. Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium of Ramesses the Great* (1991), fig. 1. Khaemwase may also have had a restoration-inscription cut at the Great Pyramid of Khufu at Gîza which was later "read" to Herodotus (Book II. 125) by his cicerone; note Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 170.

²⁵ See Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 298 n. 4.

²⁶ Noted as: "The first (day) of the work of the stone-hewers(?) from the quarry". Cf. Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 85; *KRI*, II, 875: 10-11; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 107.

²⁷ Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 298.

²⁸ Note his restoration of the Old Kingdom statue of Prince Kawab: F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis* (1973), 67-69; *KRI*, II, 872-873; Kitchen, *RITA*, II, 566.

²⁹ Note that Khaemwase erected an elegant stone building on a small hilltop at Saqqâra (some 1.5 km north-west of the Serapeum), perhaps during his father's middle years. This enigmatic structure overlooks the necropolis and the sites of the royal "restoration" work. A preliminary report: Yoshimura and Takamiya in *Egyptian Archaeology* No. 5 (1994), 23.

They seem to name a certain May(?) and the jeweller, Tjeri.³⁰ On the ceiling of the pyramid's entrance passage (which must have been open at this time to allow access) there are three other hieratic graffiti texts. These record the presence of the scribes Amenmose and Sekri. They were also dated by Černý to Dynasty XIX.³¹ Whether the latter epigraphs are evidence of an official inspection of the interior of the pyramid by various Ramesside authorities³² or are merely the result of curious visitors is unknown.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Middle Egypt.

(i) Beni Hasan.

Penned with black ink in the XIIth Dynasty tombs of the provincial governors Amenemhat (Tomb 2) and Khnumhotep II (Tomb 3) at Beni Hasan are several hieratic *Besucherinschriften*, apparently of XIXth Dynasty date. In Amenemhat's sepulchre there is one visitors' graffito, a short text commemorating a trip to the tomb by someone (his name is now lost) who thought he had actually come to see a temple of King Khufu.³³

Likewise within the tomb of Khnumhotep II there are three very similar visitors' graffiti and these record the presence of four scribes who had also come to see a temple of King Khufu.³⁴ It appears these visitors mistook the ancient name of Beni Hasan (Menat-Khufu)³⁵ written in this tomb's wall inscriptions for the name of a rock-cut temple of the celebrated IVth Dynasty ruler. Such incompetence in identifying earlier monuments is by no means unknown in other New Kingdom visitors' graffiti.³⁶

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Private Tombs on the Theban West Bank.

(a) TT 51.

³⁰ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 34 (no. xi); Rowe, *The Museum Journal* 22 (1931), 45; Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 144-145.

³¹ See Newberry, *PSBA* 27 (1905), 102-103; Rowe, *The Museum Journal* 22 (1931), 18, 22 and 46.

³² Agents of Ramesses II may have employed the Meidûm pyramid (perhaps by now partially collapsed?) as a stone quarry. See Rowe, *The Museum Journal* 22 (1931), 22-23; Lauer, *Cd'É* 51 (1976), 83.

³³ Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 430.

³⁴ See Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 423-424; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 98-99; Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 171-173.

³⁵ See Lloyd in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (1992), 32 n. 13.

³⁶ See p. 52 in Section I of this Chapter.

During the reign of Ramesses II the tomb of the High-Priest of the royal *ka* of Tuthmosis I, Userhat called Neferhabef (temp. Sethos I), was entered by Kyiry, a *wab*-priest and guardian of the Ramesseum. Kyiry scribbled a single hieratic graffito to commemorate his visit. What lay behind his inspection is unknown, but it can hardly have been due to any form of "antiquarianism" on Kyiry's part.³⁷

(b) TT 93.

Within the tomb-chapel of the chief steward of Amenophis II, Qenamun, at Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, the well-known southern vizier of Ramesses II, Paser son of Nebnetjeru,³⁸ has penned an undated hieratic graffito to mark a visit to the tomb, principally it would seem, to admire a wall scene with a troupe of girl musicians.³⁹

This vizier may have had antiquarian leanings for older Theban tombs. He is also known to have visited the Deir el-Bahri tomb of the XIth Dynasty chancellor, Khety (TT 311), in Year 17 of Ramesses II (cf. below). Alternatively, perhaps these visits were conducted as part of an official tour of inspection of the abandoned private tombs in the Theban necropolis rather than due to any individual pinings on Paser's part, though one might have expected lesser officials to have been assigned the task if that were the case.

(c) TT 112.

Penned in large red ink characters is a hieratic graffito in the inmost chamber of the Theban tomb of Menkheperasonb (temp. Tuthmosis III). This obscure text teems with difficulties but it seems to consist of a prayer for a long life for an unnamed friend by an anonymous author. The graffito is later in date than TT 112 and was probably left in the Ramesside era when this tomb was usurped for the benefit of one Ashefytemwase.⁴⁰

(d) TT 178.

³⁷ N. de Garis Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes* (1927), 28 n. 3 and pl. 19 (2); *KRI*, III, 389. On the other hand even though the tomb in question was not an "ancient" monument from the Old Kingdom, it was perhaps "old" enough to interest Kyiry. Just how differently an ancient Egyptian viewed a building built 1500 years before his own age compared to one constructed a mere generation before is perhaps more difficult to judge than is first apparent; note McDowell, *Village Voices*, 105.

³⁸ Donohue, *JEA* 74 (1988), 106-107.

³⁹ N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, vol. I (1930), 22 and pl. 68; now as *KRI*, III, 22 (16). Also note Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 148.

⁴⁰ See N. de Garis Davies and Nina M. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and another* (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226) (1933), 25-26 (after a copy by Gardiner).

Written in the Theban tomb of Neferronpet called Kenro, scribe of the treasury in the Estate of Amen-Re (reign of Ramesses II), are three faint hieratic graffiti inscriptions with the names of at least three scribes (only one name is still legible, that of a certain Nudjem). If they were not involved with the decoration of the tomb then presumably these men were later visitors to this monument.⁴¹

(e) TT 311.

The aforementioned vizier Paser paid a visit to the ancient Deir el-Bahri tomb of Chancellor Khety (temp. Montuhotep II), in Year 17 of Ramesses II, to see the tomb of his "ancestor" (in high office). Here he wrote a short hieroglyphic graffito to record the sojourn. What really lay behind this visit if it was not conducted out of some genuine interest in the monuments of the past can only be guessed at now.⁴²

(ii) Royal Memorial Temples on the Theban West Bank.

(a) The Memorial Temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II.

Incised into a column in the Lower Colonnade of this XIth Dynasty temple are two hieratic graffiti preserving the names and titles of the scribes Sethos and Userhat, two XIXth Dynasty visitors.⁴³

(iii) Royal Sanctuaries at Deir el-Bahri.

(a) The Amun Temple of Tuthmosis III.

Situated in the north-western corner of the Deir el-Bahri temple of Montuhotep II is a small shrine erected by Tuthmosis III during the last decade of his reign.⁴⁴ It is attested in Egyptian sources as *Dsr-ḥt*, "Sacred of Horizon". Although originally consecrated in honour of Theban Amun (the temple had an important role in the Valley Festival of Amun),⁴⁵ Hathor was also worshipped in the chapel. By the XIXth Dynasty the cult of Hathor (with the title, "Mistress of Djoseret") had assumed precedence in the sanctuary over that of Amun.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Now cf. *KRI*, III, 331: 2-4.

⁴² See *KRI*, III, 23 (17); Winlock, *BMMA* 18 (1923), 16 and fig. 9; Kitchen, *JEA* 61 (1975), 267; idem, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 148.

⁴³ E. Naville and H. R. Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Part I. (1907), 24.

⁴⁴ Lipińska, *JEA* 53 (1967), 25-31; G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (1993), 9-12.

⁴⁵ See Marciniak, *Études et Travaux* 5 (1971), 54-64.

⁴⁶ Compared to Hathor, Amun is less frequently invoked among the shrine's visitors' graffiti. The decline of Amun's cult in favour of that of Hathor was probably due to the desecration of the shrine during the Amarna period when the names and reliefs of Amun were obliterated. See Lipińska, *JEA* 53 (1967), 29. Hathor had links with Deir el-Bahri reaching back to at least the

It is largely in honour of these two deities that some 500 hieratic graffiti (penned in ink)⁴⁷ were written mainly on the columns of the temple's hypostyle hall by visitors and pilgrims, some of whom appear to have travelled considerable distances to visit the site.⁴⁸ All of these graffiti inscriptions appear to belong to Dynasties XIX-XX, as do a number of votive objects found at the site.⁴⁹ The latest graffiti date to the period of Ramesses V⁵⁰ and Ramesses VI,⁵¹ and the temple of *Dsr-ḥt* is last attested during the rule of Ramesses IX.⁵² Shortly afterwards the temple was destroyed by a rock-fall (as was the temple of Montuhotep II located below it), and the Deir el-Bahri cults of Amun and Hathor were discontinued. (Both temples were further devastated by later quarrying work.)⁵³

Compared to the XXth Dynasty few of these visitors' graffiti can be dated with confidence to Dynasty XIX. And with one exception⁵⁴ these latter all appear to date to the very long rule of Ramesses II⁵⁵ when restoration work was undertaken in the shrine to repair damage inflicted upon wall reliefs during the Amarna period.⁵⁶ It appears that visits to the Deir el-Bahri temple of Amun only reached their peak in Dynasty XX, notably under Ramesses III.

(b) The Hathor-Cow Shrine of Tuthmosis III.

XIth Dynasty; note S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (1963), 59.

⁴⁷ One hundred and forty-two of the best preserved texts recorded by the Polish Archaeological Mission working at Deir el-Bahri were published by Marek Marciniak as *Deir el-Bahari I: Les inscriptions hiératiques du Temple de Thoutmosis III* (1974); corrections in the latter volume: Allam, *BiOr* 33 (1976), 172-176; handy translations and brief notes on these published graffiti are provided by A. I. Sadek in *GM* 71 (1984), 67-91, and *GM* 72 (1984), 65-86; also cf. idem in his *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (1988), 52-58.

⁴⁸ See Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, D(eir el) B(aḥri) G(raffito) no. 4, written by one Pakatjena, a scribe from a settlement at Baki (modern Qûbân) in Lower Nubia; also see DBG nos. 23-24, which appear to have been left by a couple from the north of the country, perhaps Memphis. On all these examples: Sadek, *GM* 71 (1984), 77-78 and 86-77.

⁴⁹ Lipińska, *JEA* 53 (1967), 29.

⁵⁰ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 2, 92 and 137 (all *KRI*, VI, 235-236).

⁵¹ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 4, 29 and 45 (= *KRI*, VI, 361-363).

⁵² In the tomb of Imiseba (TT 65); see now *KRI*, VI, 549: 16.

⁵³ So Lipińska, *JEA* 53 (1967), 29-30; G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (1993), 10-11.

⁵⁴ So Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 3, dated to Year 7 (2 *Shomu* 28) of Siptah/Queen Twosret. It mentions the now devastated funerary temple of the latter.

⁵⁵ So Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 13 and 94. Both attest the arrival at the shrine of a treasury-scribe of the Estate of Amen-Re, Amentaynakhte; now *KRI*, III, 347-348. Also no. 17 (Year 32, 4 *Akhet* 1), a visit by the treasury-scribe of the Ramesseum, Amenemheb called Nakhtamun (*KRI*, III, 374); and no. 106, a visit by the royal-scribe and [high?] steward of the Ramesseum, Khaemtir (= *KRI*, III, 365: 12-15).

⁵⁶ Lipińska, *JEA* 53 (1967), 29 and n. 10; idem, *Deir el-Bahari IV: The temple of Tuthmosis III, Statuary and votive monuments* (1984), 21-24, 26-29 and 56. There may have been earlier restoration work under Horemhab.

Located next to the *Dsr-šht*-temple is another shrine built by Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Baḥri. This is a small but very handsome chapel dedicated by the king to Hathor and Amun. Written upon the rear wall of the shrine in black ink are several hieratic graffiti dating from the XIXth Dynasty. These brief texts were penned by a scribe Praemhab who may have entered the shrine and left his name (somewhat irreverently under the circumstances) when various painted scenes within the chapel were being restored after their effacement during the Amarna period.⁵⁷

(iv) Tôd.

Inscribed upon several walls of the temple dedicated to Montu by Tuthmosis III at Tôd there are a number of minor hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti which appear to date to Dynasty XIX. These give the names and titles of Hory, a *wab*-priest of Amen-Re; of Painudjem, a *wab*-priest of Maat; of another Painudjem, this time a *wab*-priest of Anubis of Cynopolis; of Amenkhau, a craftsman of the House of Gold; of one Djchutyhay; and of a servant(?) (*šdmy*) whose name is lost. What connection, if any, these men had with this temple is quite uncertain.⁵⁸

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi Hammâmât.

There are very few graffiti (or inscriptions of any kind) which can be dated with certainty to the XIXth Dynasty in Wâdi Hammâmât. The reasons for this are uncertain. Sethos I is attested here by a rock stela and two bas-reliefs, but not by textual graffiti.⁵⁹ While these monuments may hint at a resumption of *bekhen*-stone quarrying during his reign they could equally commemorate a commercial party on its way to or from the land of Punt via the Red Sea,⁶⁰ or a group of gold miners on their way to Bîr el-Fawâkhîr.⁶¹

Relevant material from the regime of Ramesses II is again striking by its absence; from his exceptionally long rule only one set of the king's cartouches (early prenomen form) have been

⁵⁷ E. Naville and H. R. Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, Part I. (1907), 65 and pl. 28(f).

⁵⁸ All published by Barguet in *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 103-104; now also cf. *KRI*, VII, 123 and 141.

⁵⁹ Couyat and Montet nos. 94, 213 and 214. Now cf. *KRI*, I, 64; Kitchen, *RITA*, I, 55; and idem, *RITANC* I, 60.

⁶⁰ Possible contact with Punt under Sethos I, suggested primarily on the basis of a passing reference to the myrrh of Punt in Sethos I's Nauri decree, is discussed by Kitchen in Th. Shaw et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns* (1993), 600-601.

⁶¹ See Gundlach in *LÄ* VI (1986), 1107.

located in a hieroglyphic rock graffito at the wâdi to date.⁶² There may have been quarrying or gold prospecting missions sent here early in his reign, or perhaps even another trip to Punt in search of exotica.⁶³

In any event the only other inscriptions securely of XIXth Dynasty date in Wâdi Hammâmât consist of two rock stelae and several minor hieroglyphic rock graffiti from the rule of Sethos II. It seems that the vizier Praemhab directed at least one quarrying expedition here in search of *bekhen*-stone in Year 5 of Sethos II.⁶⁴

(ii) Gebel es-Silsilah.

Of those graffiti inscriptions published so far from West Silsilah among the most important are six hieroglyphic texts at the Speos of Horemhab. These record the proclamation of Prince Khaemwaset and the Vizier Khay that Ramesses II was to celebrate a fourth jubilee in his Year 40.⁶⁵ It seems likely that these graffiti were inscribed not only to commemorate the jubilee, but also perhaps to mark the presence of a quarrying expedition at Silsilah, sent here to extract sandstone for work on those buildings at Qantîr (Pi-Ramesse)⁶⁶ which were to be used during the king's *Sed*-festival. It is also possible that Silsilah was selected as a site in which to record the royal jubilee because of its religious importance (its shrines and special festivals for Hapi related to the Nile inundation).⁶⁷

Several other hieroglyphic rock graffiti at the Speos of Horemhab have preserved the names of three scribes who accompanied the Vizier Khay on a later mission to West Silsilah (in Year 45 of Ramesses II), this time to announce King Ramesses II's sixth jubilee, and perhaps also to quarry some more sandstone for the impending ceremonies.⁶⁸

⁶² See Couyat and Montet no. 22; now in *KRI*, II, 554. The prenomen is the simple *Wsr-mjst-r* form (with the epithet *ḥqj-Wjst*) which was used by Ramesses II as prince-regent under Sethos I and in his first regnal year as sole ruler: Kitchen, *ASAE* 71 (1987), 133.

⁶³ As under Sethos I there is but one brief reference to the land of Punt under Ramesses II (at his Abydos temple) that may hint at relations with Egypt: Kitchen in Th. Shaw et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns* (1993), 601.

⁶⁴ Goyon no. 95 (rock stela of Year 5). For the undated stela and graffiti giving Praemhab's name and titles (these probably date to the Year 5 expedition as well): Couyat and Montet nos. 46, 129, 221, 239 (undated rock stela), 246 and 247; Goyon nos. 96 and 99; also cf. *KRI*, IV, 279-281.

⁶⁵ See Habachi, *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 64-67; also *KRI*, II, 392-393.

⁶⁶ Moulds referring to the third (Years 36-37) and sixth (Year 45) *Sed*-festivals of Ramesses II are known from here. See now *KRI*, II, 386 (B) and 395 (C). The West Hall of the Memphite temple of Ptah may also have been employed for these ceremonies.

⁶⁷ See Habachi, *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 66. For the many other deities honoured at Silsilah (notably Sobek): Caminos, *LÄ* II (1976), 443.

⁶⁸ See *KRI*, II, 395 (B).

(iii) Aswân.

From the mass of hieroglyphic rock graffiti, and rock stelae, found inscribed in the region of the First Cataract, and which can be dated confidently to Dynasty XIX, it appears clear enough that during this era not only were there regular quarrying parties sent to the area for its red and black granites, and building work in the region itself, but there were also frequent movements of troops and officials through the Cataract on their way to and from military and commercial assignments in the south. Considering the politics of the dynasty, and the challenges it faced, this is only to be expected.

Most of the XIXth Dynasty pharaohs are named by at least a few rock graffiti in and around Aswân. Those royal names traced so far include: Sethos I,⁶⁹ Ramesses II,⁷⁰ Merenptah,⁷¹ Sethos II⁷² and Siptah.⁷³ In addition to these rulers two of the sons of Ramesses II are also attested in the graffiti of the region. One inscription preserves the name of Prince Ramesses, second son of Ramesses II (on Sehel Island),⁷⁴ while four other graffiti at Bîgeh Island record the name of the latter's fourth son, Khaemwase.⁷⁵ Khaemwase is also known by a badly worn rock graffito on Elephantine Island where the prince proclaims the fifth jubilee of Ramesses II (held in the latter's Year 42).⁷⁶

Needless to say there are also a considerable number of less formal graffiti texts on the rocks at Aswân dating to the XIXth Dynasty and in most cases these inscriptions probably mark the passage (and temporary stop overs) of the officials named in them as they made their way south into Nubia or back north into Egypt. Most notable among these high officers are the viceroys

⁶⁹ Petrie, *Season*, pls. 5 (nos. 109-110, Philae to Aswân road; no. 110 later as De Morgan et al., 20 (no. 123)) and 6 (no. 130, Philae to Aswân road, later as De Morgan et al., 28 (no. 5)); and De Morgan et al., 20 (no. 124).

⁷⁰ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 10 (no. 275, Philae to Aswân road; = De Morgan et al., 27 (no. 205)); and De Morgan et al., 27 (no. 207bis, Philae to Aswân road), 28 (nos. 3+4, Philae to Aswân road), 84 (no. 8, at Sehel), 88 (nos. 62+63, both Sehel), 94 (no. 138, Sehel), 95 (no. 149bis, Sehel), 96 (nos. 153, 157 and 161, all Sehel), 97 (nos. 173+174, at Sehel Island; for no. 173, cf. also *KRI*, III, 32; for no. 174: *KRI*, III, 86), 99 (nos. 197+198, at Sehel, for 197, cf. now *KRI*, VII, 111-112, and for no. 198: *KRI*, III, 78), 102 (no. 230, Sehel) and 103 (nos. 27+33, at Sehel; for no. 27, cf. also *KRI*, III, 86: 12-13).

⁷¹ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 2 (no. 70, Philae to Aswân road, later De Morgan et al., 18 (no. 87), and *KRI*, IV, 94) and De Morgan et al., 91 (no. 93, at Sehel Island, now in *KRI*, IV, 76). For the limited building work at Aswân under Merenptah: H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah* (1989), 199-200.

⁷² De Morgan et al., 95 (no. 146, at Sehel, now in *KRI*, IV, 274).

⁷³ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 10 (no. 278, Philae to Aswân road, later De Morgan et al., 27 no. 208, and *KRI*, IV, 358); De Morgan et al., 86 (no. 29, also cf. *KRI*, IV, 363, for this graffito of Year 3 on Sehel Island).

⁷⁴ De Morgan et al., 103 (no. 51); now *KRI*, II, 870 (B).

⁷⁵ Cf. *KRI*, II, 385-386 and 892.

⁷⁶ See now Habachi in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979* (1979), 227-230.

of Nubia and the following officebearers from the XIXth Dynasty are all attested by hieroglyphic rock graffiti in and around the area of the First Cataract: Amenemope (temp. Sethos I);⁷⁷ Huy (temp. Ramesses II);⁷⁸ Setau (also temp. Ramesses II);⁷⁹ Messuy (temp. Merenptah);⁸⁰ Sethos,⁸¹ and Hori son of Kama⁸² (both under Siptah).

Rock graffiti recording these high officials seem to span most of the dynasty. However, the great majority of Aswân graffiti naming officials and administrators other than the viceroys of Nubia appear to date to the very long reign of Ramesses II or to that of his son and successor, Merenptah, an era when the stone quarries of the region were most actively exploited and when military and commercial activity in Nubia was at its busiest since the mid XVIIIth Dynasty.

Officials from the reign of Ramesses II or Merenptah who have been identified so far in the First Cataract graffiti are: Khnumemweskheth, Mayor of Elephantine;⁸³ Amenemope, Stable Master of the Great-Stable-of-Ramesses-Meriamun-of-the-Residence;⁸⁴ the Overseer of Works, Minemhab;⁸⁵ the Troop-Commander and Overseer of Works in the temples of Re, Amun and Ptah, May;⁸⁶ the Overseer of Works, Fortress Commander, and Troop-Commander, Nebnakhte;⁸⁷ and also the Troop Commanders of Kush, Anhurnakhte⁸⁸ and Nakhtmin.⁸⁹

⁷⁷ See Habachi, *Kush 5* (1957), 26-27; *KRI*, I, 302-303. Having succeeded his father Paser as king's son of Kush, Amenemope had four hieroglyphic rock graffiti incised along the Shellal Road (old road from Philae to Aswân). These are probably related to the campaign of Sethos I against the land of Irem, in Nubia, almost certainly in his Year 8. On the latter event, see now Kitchen, *RITANC*, I, 81-90.

⁷⁸ See Habachi, *Kush 5* (1957), 28-31; idem, *LÄ III* (1979), 633 nn. 79-81 and 634; also in *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, 107-108 and 149-150; now *KRI*, III, 77-78.

⁷⁹ Habachi, *Kush 5* (1957), 31-33; idem, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, 126-127; also cf. *KRI*, III, 85-86, and Schulman, *JSSEA* 8 No. 2 (1978), 42-45.

⁸⁰ Habachi, *Kush 5* (1957), 33; idem, *LÄ III* (1979), 634.

⁸¹ Cf. Habachi, *Kush 5* (1957), 33-34.

⁸² Habachi, *Kush 5* (1957), 34-35; now as *KRI*, IV, 365 (3).

⁸³ De Morgan et al., 88 (no. 62, on Sehel Island; now see *KRI*, II, 384).

⁸⁴ So De Morgan et al., 88 (no. 63, Sehel). The graffito notes that Amenemope was sent on a mission (*wpwt*) to Nubia on behalf of pharaoh. See Habachi, *JEA* 54 (1968), 107-113; and now *KRI*, III, 250. Also see Habachi in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979* (1979), 234-237, for a hieroglyphic rock graffito on Elephantine Island naming Nakhtmontu, another official of Ramesses II with this same title.

⁸⁵ *KRI*, III, 282. Inscribed on Hassanawarti Island, near Elephantine. Minemhab is known to have been responsible for the quarrying of a colossus of Ramesses II. So L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (1969), 26.

⁸⁶ A rock graffito on Sehel Island. First published as De Morgan et al., 100 (no. 203; now as *KRI*, III, 281), and to be dated to the reign of either Ramesses II or possibly Merenptah. May was perhaps in the region in search of granite or quartzite for building work. Note too that this graffito was apparently engraved on his behalf by the controller of sculptors of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khnumhotep; cf. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 62-63.

⁸⁷ Cut on the west side of Hassawanarti Island; cf. Habachi in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979* (1979), 231-234. As an overseer of works and military officer Nebnakhte was presumably engaged in quarrying or building work for some of his time

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

The upheavals of the Amarna period seem to have had but little effect on Egyptian rule over Nubia. There appears to have been no serious military challenges in the region during this era. The objectives of the XIXth Dynasty pharaohs and their officials were the established ones of political consolidation and a renewed exploration of the eastern deserts for untapped sources of gold. As in earlier times those graffiti inscriptions in Nubia dating to Dynasty XIX provide us with a limited but useful additional insight into such processes.

It is most unlikely that Ramesses I undertook a Nubian campaign during his brief reign.⁹⁰ His son and successor Sethos I concerned himself with only a relatively modest action against a group of five wells occupied by people from the land of Irem,⁹¹ almost certainly in his Year 8.⁹² In addition to this activity Sethos I is noted for his attempts at opening up the arid gold fields of the eastern desert (most successfully those east of Edfu)⁹³ and the digging of wells to supply water for the gold-miners.⁹⁴ Under Sethos I Egyptian rule in Nubia continued to reach as far south as Gebel Barkal (Napata) at the Fourth Cataract.⁹⁵

After the failure of his father's well in Wâdi Allâqi Ramesses II (in his Year 3) ordered a new attempt. Thanks to a combination of divine favour and Ramesses's personal knowledge of the desert regions (gained in his youth) water was soon struck and the routes to the gold mines of Wâdi Allâqi were opened up (cf. below).⁹⁶

at Aswân as well as being responsible for the government of either the fortress on Elephantine or Bîgeh Islands.

⁸⁸ See Habachi, *JEA* 54 (1968), 109; and *KRI*, III, 116 (written on Sehel Island).

⁸⁹ Attested by a graffito at Bîgeh Island. See now Habachi, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, 116-118; and *KRI*, III, 115.

⁹⁰ The captive slaves recorded in his Buhen endowment stela of Year 2 were probably Asiatics captured by the future Sethos I. See Kitchen, *Ägypten und Kusch*, 213-214; idem, *RITANC* I, 2-5. On his very limited building work in Nubia: Zivie, *LÄ* V (1983), 103.

⁹¹ For Irem, see O'Connor, *JEA* 73 (1987), 99-136; and Kitchen, *RITANC* I, 87-90.

⁹² Recorded on stelae at Amârah West and Sai. Now cf. Kitchen, *RITANC* I, 81-90.

⁹³ Kanais temple inscriptions of Year 9; cf. now Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 31-35; idem, *RITANC* I, 60-64.

⁹⁴ In addition to a well sunk in Wâdi Miâ for gold-miners working the Edfu desert Sethos dug a well in the eastern desert of Nubia, at Wâdi Allâqi, but this project met with failure and was abandoned. Ramesses II later experienced greater success in the region.

⁹⁵ Here Sethos raised a hypostyle hall of sandstone in honour of Amun: Kitchen, *RITANC* I, 65-66.

⁹⁶ See Qûbân stela and Aksha inscription: *KRI*, II, 353-360; and Kitchen, *RITA*, II, 188-193; idem, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 49-50; Eyre, *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 182.

In his Year 44 Ramesses II commanded the Viceroy of Nubia Setau to carry out a raid in the south oases of the western desert from Lower Nubia, in order to capture Libyan tribesmen for use as slave-labourers on the king's pet building projects in the region, notably the temple at Wâdi es-Sebûa.⁹⁷ This same viceroy is attested by two small hieroglyphic graffiti texts in the Southern Temple at Buhen which yield his name and titles. Perhaps Setau visited the fortress-town before or after this *razzia*.⁹⁸

Also in Nubia during his reign, Ramesses II ordered restoration work in the small temple at Amada⁹⁹ and decorative work at the rock-shrine at Ellesîyah,¹⁰⁰ while a number of Egyptian officials based in the region during his reign are attested by short hieroglyphic graffiti inscriptions at Tonqâla¹⁰¹ and Abû Simbel.¹⁰²

Merenptah (or more likely his viceroy Messuy)¹⁰³ is known to have suppressed a rebellion in Wawat (Lower Nubia) in his Year 5-6 with particular severity.¹⁰⁴ Another of his viceroys,

⁹⁷ See Yoyotte, *BSFÉ* 6 (1951), 9-14; Helck, *SAK* 3 (1975), 85-112; and Kitchen, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7 (1975/76), 295-302; idem, *Ägypten und Kusch*, 221; Wente in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II (1985), 347-359.

⁹⁸ See Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 22 and 62-63; now *KRI*, III, 107. Cf. also Caminos, *ibid.*, 88 (= *KRI*, III, 107-108), for two other possible graffiti of Setau at the South Temple. Further north in Nubia Setau is known from a hieroglyphic rock graffito to the south of Tomâs (cf. Leclant, *BSFÉ* 42 (1965), fig. 1; *KRI*, III, 101-102), and from another in a quarry at Tomâs (cf. Helck, *SAK* 3 (1975), 112: 28).

⁹⁹ *KRI*, III, 101: 7-10. Amada also contains three hieroglyphic graffiti texts with the names and titles of two viceroys of Nubia who served under Ramesses II. Perhaps these are records of viceregal progresses to the site to oversee the restoration work, though none of these brief inscriptions actually mentions such a project. The viceroys in question include Heqanakhte (now *KRI*, III, 70) and Setau (= *KRI*, III, 101). Also at the Amada temple (on a rear wall surface and perhaps contemporary with the restoration work undertaken during his reign), are two graffiti inscriptions (in hieratic) of the prenomen and nomen of Ramesses II; see P. Barguet et al., *Le Temple d'Amada*, vol. III (1967), 58.

¹⁰⁰ See *KRI*, III, 103 (partly attested by twin hieroglyphic graffiti with the name and titles of the viceroy of Nubia Setau on the inner side-walls of the shrine). Also at Ellesîyah (*KRI*, III, 129) are hieroglyphic rock graffiti with the names of the chief craftsman Bakenwemuro and the *wab*-priest Huy (the former perhaps being responsible for some of the decorative work executed here under Ramesses II), and also the temple scribe Ahmose and his father Hatiay: *KRI*, III, 129: 10-11.

¹⁰¹ *KRI*, III, 122: 1-3, for the scribe Kha son of Seba (after Weigall, *Report*, pl. 64 (no. 5)).

¹⁰² For a rock graffito of Hornakhte, the deputy of Wawat and mayor of Miam: *KRI*, III, 118: 12-14 (after a personal copy by Kitchen). Also cf. *KRI*, III, 129: 12-16, for a twin graffito of the temple scribe Ahmose and his father, the first prophet Hatiay.

¹⁰³ So Krauss, *SAK* 5 (1977), 131-143; add Habachi, *LÄ* III (1979), 634; Spalinger, *BiOr* 39 (1982), 275-277. For a short hieroglyphic graffito of this Messuy at the temple of Ramesses II at Beit el-Wâli, see H. Ricke et al., *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, vol. I (1967), 23; add *KRI*, IV, 94. Also note three other hieroglyphic graffiti giving this viceroy's name and titles at Amada temple: *KRI*, IV, 94-95; also Gutgesell and Schmitz, *SAK* 9 (1981), 131-135; Hein, *RBN*, 22.

¹⁰⁴ The Amada stela and parallel texts. Cf. *KRI*, IV, 33-37; Kitchen in *Ägypten und Kusch*, 221-224.

Khaemtjetri,¹⁰⁵ had two hieroglyphic graffiti inscribed in the Southern Temple at Buhen,¹⁰⁶ perhaps to commemorate a personal visit to the fortress.¹⁰⁷ Khaemtjetri's name was willfully erased in these texts at some point,¹⁰⁸ and this *damnatio memoriae* has often been interpreted that Khaemtjetri fell into disgrace (with Sethos II) either during his lifetime, or after his death, perhaps after having given loyal service to the discredited King Amenmesse, first as viceroy of Nubia and later as one of his viziers.¹⁰⁹

Later on in the dynasty, Buhen saw a sudden upsurge in activity under Siptah (evidence of a reorganization of the Nubian administration?),¹¹⁰ whose name is attested at the South Temple by several hieroglyphic graffiti.¹¹¹ Among these is a text dating to Year 1 where it is recalled how one Sethos, the newly appointed viceroy of Nubia,¹¹² visited Buhen as part of his first official tour of the southern territories.¹¹³ Escorting this Sethos on his journey was Neferhor, a king's envoy and scribe of the dispatch office of Pharaoh, who turned up with largesse (presumably from Siptah) for unnamed senior officials (*ḥwtyw*) stationed in Nubia.¹¹⁴

According to another of the hieroglyphic graffiti, this time of Year 3 of Siptah, Pyiay, fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, royal scribe, overseer of the treasury, royal scribe of the dispatch office of Pharaoh, steward of the Mansion in the House of Amun, arrived at Buhen "to receive the produce (*bkw*) of the land of Kush".¹¹⁵ The king's envoy and first charioteer of His Majesty (and future viceroy of Nubia), Hori son of Kama,¹¹⁶ was also present on this occasion,¹¹⁷ as may have been the all powerful Chancellor Bay.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁵ Habachi, *LÄ III* (1979), 634; idem, *MDAIK 34* (1978), 57-67.

¹⁰⁶ Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 16-17 and 25; *KRI*, IV, 97; Smith, *Buhen*, 150-151 and 213.

¹⁰⁷ Probably also to be dated to the rule of Merenptah at Buhen is a fragmentary hieroglyphic graffito in the South Temple which records an officer named Rekhpahtef; this latter is perhaps to be identified with a likenamed First Charioteer of His Majesty known from a rock stela at Abû Simbel (*KRI*, IV, 362: 9) dating to the reign of Merenptah: Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 19-20.

¹⁰⁸ Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 17 n. 4; but cf. Spalinger *BiOr* 39 (1982), 275 and n. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Habachi, *MDAIK 34* (1978), 57-67; Spalinger, *BiOr* 39 (1982), 273-276.

¹¹⁰ Krauss, *SAK 5* (1977), 145 n. 55; Spalinger, *BiOr* 39 (1982), 281; Hein, *RBN*, 45-46.

¹¹¹ See Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 46-47, 69 and 72; also *KRI*, IV, 348.

¹¹² See Habachi, *LÄ III* (1979), 635. Also cf. Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 26 n. 2, for a rock stela at Abû Simbel (= *KRI*, IV, 362) confirming Sethos' installation as viceroy in Year 1 of Siptah. Also note Maspero, *ASAE* 10 (1910), 131-132; Gardiner, *JEA* 44 (1958), 12-14.

¹¹³ Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 26-27; *KRI*, IV, 374.

¹¹⁴ Smith, *Buhen*, 214; Spalinger, *BiOr* 39 (1982), 281 n. 53.

¹¹⁵ See now Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 28-30; also *KRI*, IV, 368. Pyiay is almost certainly further commemorated in the South Temple by a similar graffito, also of Year 3 of Siptah, for which cf. Caminos, *ibid.*, 33-34; *KRI*, IV, 368. He may well have been accompanied on his mission by a certain Aipy, son of Nayebo, a king's envoy and first charioteer of His Majesty recorded in yet another hieroglyphic graffito from Year 3 of Siptah at Buhen. See Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 75; Smith, *Buhen*, 214; also *KRI*, IV, 374-375.

¹¹⁶ Habachi, *LÄ III* (1979), 635.

¹¹⁷ Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 35-36; *KRI*, IV, 364.

Year 6 of King Siptah saw a further visit to Buhen by a high official, this time by the new viceroy of Nubia, Hori son of Kama, who had perhaps only just been confirmed in office.¹¹⁹ Again he marked his progress to the fortress-town with a small hieroglyphic graffito text.¹²⁰ Thereafter, our securely dated records in Nubia are at an end until the early XXth Dynasty.¹²¹

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi Allâqi.

In his article on the inscriptions at Wâdi Allâqi, Černý published a group of rock graffiti¹²² containing the personal names and titles of those Ramesside officials responsible for the production of gold in the eastern desert.¹²³ These brief epigraphs, mainly from the sites of Huqâb Karrâr and Huqâb el-Askar, were dated to Dynasties XIX-XX by Černý on palaeographic grounds.¹²⁴ One of the graffiti can be firmly assigned to Year 40 of Ramesses II;¹²⁵ another, not seen by Černý, to his Year 52.¹²⁶ Be that as it may, the real value of these brief hieroglyphic

¹¹⁸ See Smith, *Buhen*, 214.

¹¹⁹ Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 42 and pl. 54; *KRI*, IV, 365; Smith, *Buhen*, 214.

¹²⁰ Executed on his behalf by his son Webekhsenu, a king's envoy and first charioteer of His Majesty; the latter also performed a similar service for Hori on a rock at Sehel Island (perhaps on his way south to Buhen?); cf. Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 34-35.

¹²¹ Note, however, from the rule of either Siptah or Twosret, three hieroglyphic graffiti texts (undated) of the Troop-Commander of Kush, Piay. Two are at Amada temple (a double inscription on the jambs of a doorway) and the other at Abû Simbel (both *KRI*, IV, 366). And for a hieroglyphic rock graffito of Amenemhab, steward in the Temple of Ramesses II in the Estate of Re, and a son of the viceroy of Nubia Sethos (temp. Siptah), near Derr, see Habachi, *LÄ* III (1979), 635 n. 123; idem, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, 180-182 and fig. 50.

¹²² See *JEA* 33 (1947), 52-57; also cf. Piotrovsky in *Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963)* (1967), 133-140.

¹²³ Titles recorded: *ldnw*, "deputy" (no. 36 = *KRI*, III, 117); *wrw*, "soldier" (no. 17); *wpwty-nsw n ḥꜣswt nbt*, "royal envoy to all foreign lands" (no. 22); *ḥꜣsty-ꜣ*, "mayor" (no. 31); *ḥm-nꜥr*, "prophet" (no. 31); *ḥꜣry*, "chief of(?)" (no. 1); *ḥꜣry-ḥꜣ*, "chief of the stable" (no. 13); *ḥꜣry-šmsw*, "chief retainer" (nos. 15, 22, 23); *sš*, "scribe" (nos. 2 = *KRI*, III, 123; 4 = *KRI*, III, 122; and 5 = *KRI*, III, 123; 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 20, 21, 28, 32, 33, 34, 40). Nos. 11, 20, 21 and 28, all mention a Nebnetjeru son of Baki who is also known from rock graffiti at Hindaw, Mediq, and Tonqâla (= *KRI*, III, 121); *sš pr-ḥꜣ ḥsb nbw*, "scribe of the treasury who counts the gold" (no. 27; *KRI*, III, 123); *sš ḥsb nbw*, "scribe who counts the gold" (no. 30; = *KRI*, III, 123); *sš spꜣt*, "district scribe" (no. 25); *sqꜣmy*, "servant" (nos. 19 and 26; also now cf. *KRI*, III, 123); *šmsw*, "retainer/letter carrier" (nos. 9 = *KRI*, III, 124; and 12).

¹²⁴ See *JEA* 33 (1947), 56; also cf. Caminos, *Ibrim*, 46 n. 3; Hein, *RBN*, 15-16.

¹²⁵ No. 27 (= *KRI*, III, 123: 5-7). Expeditions for gold in the eastern desert, and the appalling conditions endured by the miners, are attested in Dynasty XIX under both Ramesses II (Qûbân and Aksha texts: *KRI*, II, 353-360) and Sethos I (Kanais temple texts: *KRI*, I, 65-70); also see Kitchen, *RITA*, I, 56-62; idem, *RITANC*, I, 60-64; now cf. Zibelius-Chen, *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, II, 411-417.

¹²⁶ Piotrovsky in *Fouilles en Nubie (1961-1963)* (1967), 136 and pl. 31 (a scribe Pentawer); also cf. Hein, *RBN*, 16 and n. 53.

texts is that they reveal how a presumably typical gold-mining party in the eastern desert was directed and staffed during the early Ramesside period.¹²⁷

Section III

The New Kingdom: Dynasty XX

(c. 1186-1069 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Sinai.

Stelae, stone blocks, lintels, door-jambes and other smaller objects, have preserved the names of the first five rulers of Dynasty XX at Serâbît el-Khâdim. Inscriptions of King Ramesses IV are most common, the latter having founded a cult chapel at the Hathor temple.¹²⁸ However, as in Dynasty XIX, I know of no graffiti texts in the hieroglyphic or hieratic scripts from this site that could be assigned to the later Ramesside era. After the reign of Ramesses VI (the last Ramesside pharaoh attested at Serâbît) it seems likely that any Egyptian mining interests still in Sinai were finally abandoned.¹²⁹

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Lower Egypt.

(i) The Meidûm Pyramid.¹³⁰

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Karnak Temple.

¹²⁷ Gold continued to be mined in the eastern desert under both Ramesses VII and IX. On the composition of these later Ramesside expeditions (apparently not attested in any graffiti), see Koenig in J. Vercouter (ed.), *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. I (1979), 185-220; idem, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 249-255; Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 140-143.

¹²⁸ Gardiner et al., *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 236 (index); *KRI*, V, 1, 248-249, 257; *KRI*, VI, 26-30, 33-34, 221, and 279.

¹²⁹ See now Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 290. Likewise the Egyptian copper mines at Timna were probably closed down soon after the reign of Ramesses V; cf. B. Rothenberg, *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna* (1988), 277.

¹³⁰ In the early 1930's Černý dated at least one visitors' graffito found in the pyramid temple at Meidûm to Dynasty XX (Rowe, *The Museum Journal* 22 (1931), 22-23, 29-30), indicating that access to the temple was still possible for the curious (and pious) at this time, even if the adjacent pyramid was by now largely ruined by an earth-tremor (see Edwards, *JEA* 60 (1974), 251-252).

Within the vast confines of Karnak Temple there is a substantial number of textual graffiti dating from Dynasties XIX-XX; these are written in both the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts. By 1979 a team from the Centre Franco-Égyptien de Karnak had recorded textual graffiti which gave the names or titles of roughly 186 Temple personnel of the Ramesside era.¹³¹ However, these remain unpublished for the most part.

Those graffiti texts recorded by the Centre Franco-Égyptien at Karnak seem to have been left by the Temple's minor officials; usually they give only the names and titles of these authors. Their inscriptions are located in two main areas: the South Approach and the exterior walls of the Temple of Ptah. In the former case the graffiti are discreetly inscribed on court and pylon facades and within internal pylon staircases.

Of the 109 individuals recorded so far the following statistics are currently available: 25 are without titles of any kind; 54 of the graffiti (the largest single group) record scribes; 15 record *wab*-priests while 9 other texts are described as belonging to middle and upper ranking priests ("les prêtres de moyen et de haut rang"); the remaining 6 graffiti apparently preserve the names of temple artisans.¹³²

No doubt, in many instances, these brief textual graffiti (as well as the many rough pictures drawn around them) are the results of an idle moment during temple work or services. But they also appear to be largely the work of low or middle ranking officials¹³³ who for the most part probably did not possess the influence or resources necessary to secure their eternal memory in that great religious institution they served by means of private statues or stelae.

By furtively inscribing a small devotional graffiti or *ex voto* within the Temple walls these officials were able to perpetuate their names and request divine assistance from the Karnak triad of Amun, Mut and Khons. Indeed this penchant for leaving one's signature at a sacred place is a feature of many of the graffiti of the Ramesseside age; it is perhaps another manifestation of the heightened sense of personal piety that some observers have seen as a distinctive feature of this period.¹³⁴

(ii) Private Tombs on the Theban West Bank.

¹³¹ Cf. now Traunecker, *BSFÉ* 85 (1979), 22-31; but also cf. P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse* (1962), 264.

¹³² So Traunecker, *BSFÉ* 85 (1979), 24.

¹³³ Note, however, the twin hieroglyphic graffiti from the end of Dynasty XX with the name and titles of the High-Priest of Amun, Herihor, at the South Approach: P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse* (1962), 257 (now *KRI*, VI, 846: 3-5). On the other hand it seems highly unlikely that Herihor himself would have inscribed these short texts when he had agents at hand to carry out such tasks with or without his knowledge.

¹³⁴ Williams, *JSSEA* 8 No. 4 (1978), 131-137; also cf. Schott, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 100-106.

(a) TT 113.

The only graffito inscription known to me of certain XXth Dynasty date in a private Theban tomb-chapel (outside of Deir el-Medīna) is an artist's signature in the tomb of Kynebu, a prophet in the funerary temple of Tuthmosis IV. This brief epigraph is dated to Year 1 of Sethirkhopshef Ramesses VIII and records the time needed to decorate a modest Theban tomb in the late XXth Dynasty. In this case it took 3 months and 19/20 days (from 1 *Akhet* 13 to 1 *Peret* 2 or 3).¹³⁵

As this period apparently fell entirely within regnal year 1 of Ramesses VIII our graffito has also allowed us to place the accession date of the latter within the limits of 1 *Peret* 3 or 4 to 1 *Akhet* 12.¹³⁶

(iii) Royal Memorial Temples on the Theban West Bank.

(a) The Memorial Temple of Ramesses III.

Written in hieratic on doorsills from the second palace of Ramesses III at Medīnet Habu are twin graffiti inscriptions containing the name and titles of Ramessesnakhte, the High-Priest of Amun.¹³⁷

(iv) Royal Sanctuaries at Deir el-Bahri.

(a) The Amun Temple of Tuthmosis III.

Penned in ink on pillars in the hypostyle hall of the Amun temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri are a considerable number of hieratic graffiti left by XXth Dynasty visitors to the site. These greatly outnumber the corpus datable to Dynasty XIX and it seems that there was a significant upsurge of interest during Dynasty XX in both the Deir el-Bahri cult of Hathor and in services at the temple connected with the Valley Festival of Amun. Why this should be is not clear nor is the reason why these visitors were so keen to scribble down graffiti texts recording their presence at the site.

¹³⁵ Compare this with the 1 year, 8 months, and 14 days taken by the Deir el-Medīna crew to complete the tomb of a prince of Ramesses III in the Valley of the Queens: O. Strassburg H. 112 (see *KRI*, VII, 288-289). For the distinct possibility that certain members of the Deir el-Medīna work-force were responsible for decorating the tomb of Kynebu: McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 48, 51 and 53.

¹³⁶ See the discussion by Amer, *GM* 49 (1981), 9-12; now as *KRI*, VI, 441: 12-14.

¹³⁷ Now cf. *KRI*, V, 399. Ramessesnakhte assumed office at some point between Year 26 of Ramesses III (O. DM 148 rt. 13: *KRI*, V, 505: 15) and Year 1, 1 *Shomu* 14, of Ramesses IV (see O. DM 161 rt. 3: *KRI*, VI, 114: 12). Perhaps these twin inscriptions record a visit to the palace to confirm his appointment.

There would appear to be no good reason to suppose that the original Tuthmoside sanctuary was anything other than largely intact in early Dynasty XX. It may, nonetheless, have suffered enough general neglect to encourage casual visitors or pilgrims into thinking that by marking the site with short graffiti texts commemorating a visit they had not added significantly to the defacement of the shrine.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the cults of Amun and Hathor at Deir el-Bahri had clearly been populist in the Ramesside period and the writing of devotional inscriptions at this sanctuary by largely common folk may not have been considered inappropriate.¹³⁹

Impassioned appeals for a number of deities are included in a large proportion of the visitors' graffiti. Prayers seeking to secure divine intercession are written for the hearing of Hathor,¹⁴⁰ Amun,¹⁴¹ Mut,¹⁴² Khons-Neferhotep,¹⁴³ Sobek¹⁴⁴ Maat,¹⁴⁵ Meretseger,¹⁴⁶ Re¹⁴⁷ and Osiris.¹⁴⁸ It can also be noted that these petitions are often expressed with the very common *ir nfr ir nfr* or "Do good, do good to N" formula.¹⁴⁹

Most of the XXth Dynasty graffiti at the shrine date to the reign of Ramesses III and particularly to the first years of his second decade as pharaoh. Inscriptions dating to his Years 7,¹⁵⁰ 18,¹⁵¹ 20,¹⁵² 21,¹⁵³ 22¹⁵⁴ and 23¹⁵⁵ have all been recorded along with a couple of undated

¹³⁸ Lipińska, *JEA* 53 (1967), 29-30.

¹³⁹ A remarkably similar phenomenon is found in medieval Russia where ordinary Orthodox worshippers defaced the walls of churches and cathedrals by scribbling thousands of devotional graffiti for the attention of the Almighty and the Saints. Cf. for all this: J. Bushnell, *Moscow Graffiti: Language and Subculture* (1990), 1-18.

¹⁴⁰ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 1, 2, 4-6, 11, 15-17, 19-20, 22-33, 35-38, 40-48, 52-53, 58-59, 60(?), 61(?), 62-63, 66, 71-77, 79-80, 82-83, 85-90, 114, 125, 134 and 139.

¹⁴¹ See Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 1, 2, 4, 13, 17, 21, 34, 36, 49, 54, 67(?), 72, 90, 135-136, 139 and 142.

¹⁴² Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 1.

¹⁴³ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 1, 7 and 65.

¹⁴⁴ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 12.

¹⁴⁵ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 8 (as Great Peak of the West) and 119(?).

¹⁴⁶ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 39.

¹⁴⁷ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 117.

¹⁴⁸ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 14, 70(?) and 134.

¹⁴⁹ Study by Marciniak, *Études et Travaux* 2 (1968), 26-31.

¹⁵⁰ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 10. It mentions the presence of the statue of Amun in the funerary temple of Medinet Habu during the Valley Festival; now also cf. *KRI*, V, 337.

¹⁵¹ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 23-24 (*KRI*, V, 423-424). Two inscriptions asking for blessings from Hathor. They were written on the same day by a *wab*-priest of the Estate of Ptah (in Memphis?) who was accompanied by a chantress of the Lady of the Noble Sycamore.

¹⁵² Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 1 (= *KRI*, V, 433-434): a hymn in praise of Amun, Hathor, Mut, and Khons, set over 34 surviving lines. Written by two scribes during a visit to the sanctuary for the festival-procession of Hathor, they ask for divine protection, good health, a long lifespan, and material benefits for family members and friends. And no. 7 (see *KRI*, V, 435): a short encomium in praise of the god Khons-Neferhotep by a scribe Bakenkhons).

¹⁵³ See Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 36 (= *KRI*, V, 422). A graffito left by a scribe Meryptah asking for good health from Amun and also to commemorate a visit by himself and

texts that can also be assigned to his time.¹⁵⁶ The reason for this is probably because his was quite simply the longest reign of Dynasty XX. There is no evidence that Ramesses III himself showed any particular interest in the sanctuaries at Deir el-Bahri.

Graffiti from the reigns of Ramesses IV,¹⁵⁷ V,¹⁵⁸ and probably VI¹⁵⁹ are also represented among these Deir el-Bahri texts; whether any of the unattributable texts belong to the reign of a later king is unknown.¹⁶⁰ The temple seems still to have been functioning under Ramesses IX but was apparently destroyed by a rock-slip shortly afterwards.¹⁶¹

From the hieratic graffiti penned on its columns and walls it appears that the majority of the callers to this temple were local scribes, professional men of some social standing, for whom a high degree of literacy would have been a prerequisite for them holding office.¹⁶² Even very senior figures¹⁶³ are known to have come and left a record of their movements, requests, and

a one Usermont, steward and *sem*-priest in the memorial temple of Amenophis III at Kôm el-Hêtân.

¹⁵⁴ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 31 (now in *KRI*, V, 417-418). A visit to the shrine by the scribe of the Estate of Khons and Amun of Opet Ashakhet with the chantress of Amun, Tainudjem, to offer (*smꜣr*) to Lady Hathor, Mistress of Djoseret, during the Valley Festival of Amen-Re.

¹⁵⁵ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 119 (= *KRI*, V, 431-432). Fragmentary graffito that once recorded a request by a prophet for some form of assistance from Hathor and Maat.

¹⁵⁶ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 51 (ritual threat left by the Vizier Hori; now *KRI*, V, 377: 14-16) and 102 (a severely damaged graffito partially naming a scribe of the memorial temple of Ramesses III; now in *KRI*, V, 420).

¹⁵⁷ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 9 (a graffito left by a scribe visiting Thebes for the Valley Festival in Year 6, 3 *Shomu* 9, when the image of Amun was housed in the memorial temple of Ramesses IV; cf. the unexpected use of the latter's early prenomen form in this text, i.e. *Usimare* Setepenamun: *KRI*, VI, 102), 96 (written by Penamun, chief archivist at Medînet Habu, on a visit in Year 2, 3 *Peret* 13; now *KRI*, VI, 97: 11-12), and 129 (a short graffito left by a small party of *sem*-priests from the memorial temples of Ramesses II, III, and IV, and a companion).

¹⁵⁸ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 2 (a prayer in honour of Amun and Hathor, either Year 1, [x] *Shomu* 4, of Ramesses V or VI), 92 (a short, undated, encomium by a scribe who praises the king's building work in Heliopolis) and 137 (royal prenomen). All are included in *KRI*, VI, 235-236.

¹⁵⁹ See Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 4 (a prayer to Amun and Hathor for a long and healthy life, dated to Year 2), 29 (the same request by the same scribe, dated to Year 7), and 45 (short prayer to Hathor probably by the same author as DBG nos. 4 and 29); all now in *KRI*, VI, 361-363.

¹⁶⁰ See here: Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 14-16, 18-22, 26-28, 30, 33-35, 37-44, 46-50, 52-91, 93-95, 97-101, 103-105, 107-118, 120-128, 130-136, 138-142.

¹⁶¹ So Lipińska, *JEA* 53 (1967), 29-30; G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (1993), 10.

¹⁶² So Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 1-3, 7-9, 26, 28-29, 31, 34-37, 46, 49, 52, 54, 57, 66, 71-72, 74, 76, 79, 102-103, 120, 123, 128, 130 and 131.

¹⁶³ Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG nos. 51 (Hori, vizier under Ramesses III), 69 (a general, *Imy-r mšꜣr*), and 129 ("the general of Pharaoh").

ritual threats.¹⁶⁴ But there will also have been illiterate visitors from time to time who were unable to add to the inscriptional evidence but who might well have left behind a votive object of some sort.¹⁶⁵ Sometimes wives accompanied their husbands on visits to the Amun shrine. These female visitors were often chantresses in one of the great Theban temples, usually that of Amun at Karnak.¹⁶⁶ They were most probably illiterate; their presence in the Amun shrine graffiti due to the courtesy of their husbands or some other literate male acquaintance.¹⁶⁷

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi Hammâmât.

After the reign of Sethos II some forty years may have passed before expeditions were once again sent to Wâdi Hammâmât. It is only with the accession of Ramesses IV that firmly dated graffiti inscriptions are found once more at the greywacke quarries. (A rock graffito consisting of the prenomen and nomen of Ramesses III in the adjacent Wâdi Atolla¹⁶⁸ was possibly left by a member of a trade mission during the latter's rule which passed through Wâdi Hammâmât on its way back from the Red Sea coast and the East African territory of Punt.)¹⁶⁹

In all, four missions seem to have been sent to Wâdi Hammâmât during the first three years of Ramesses IV's rule. These were marked by large and small rock stelae and by several minor graffiti texts. All these quarrying expeditions were apparently concerned with the acquisition of *bekhen*-stone for monuments, primarily at the Theban temples; it also seems likely that these were the final quarrying ventures to Wâdi Hammâmât until the early XXIst Dynasty. Possibly sufficient supplies were procured under Ramesses IV to render future missions by his dynastic successors unnecessary;¹⁷⁰ or more likely perhaps these later rulers were simply preoccupied

¹⁶⁴ So the Vizier Hori during the reign of Ramesses III: Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 51 (*KRI*, V, 377). Hori warns anyone who might be tempted to wipe away his freshly written name, "Amun will be his enemy!"; likewise cf. the very similar DBG nos. 50, 65 and 67-68.

¹⁶⁵ See Lipińska, *ASAE* 59 (1966), 68-72.

¹⁶⁶ See Sadek, *GM* 71 (1984), 68 n. 8.

¹⁶⁷ But also cf. Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I*, DBG no. 27, which reads: "Do good, do good, O Hathor, Mistress of Djoseret, <to> the citizeness Tamit". Although it is likely Tamit had the services of a literate male companion to pen this request for her (cf. DBG nos. 1 (line 31), 30, 52, 55, 61, 82, 118, 121 and 131), the text could be taken as another if rather dubious piece of evidence for limited female literacy. On this thorny problem, see most recently Bryan in *BES* 6 (1985), 17-32; also Sweeney, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 523-529.

¹⁶⁸ See *KRI*, V, 272: 10-11.

¹⁶⁹ P. Harris I, 77, 8 - 78, 1. On this commercial trip (the first since Ramesses II?), see most recently P. Grandet, *Ramsès III: Histoire d'un règne* (1993), 306-308; idem, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*, vol. I (1994), 338.

¹⁷⁰ Note Harrell and Brown, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 91.

with more pressing matters (the growing political and military worries) to concern themselves with such luxuries.

The work in Year 1 may have extended to two successive missions. The first (with 408 men and commemorated by a rock stela)¹⁷¹ was dispatched just five months after the accession of Rameses IV and was under the command of Usimarenakhte, High-Priest of Horus and Isis at Coptos.¹⁷² This initial venture was followed up four and half months later with a visit by the High-Priest of Montu at Thebes, Turo. However, as the brief hieroglyphic rock graffito noting Turo's presence in the wâdi merely records his own arrival there (and no-one else), it is perhaps doubtful that we are dealing with a separate expedition here. Possibly it amounted to no more than a quick reconnaissance trip to pave the way for future parties.¹⁷³

To the activities during Year 1 we might also assign several other hieroglyphic rock graffiti. These record the presence in the wâdi of a *wab*-priest of Isis, Praemhab and a troop-commander of the Estate of Amun, Amenmose;¹⁷⁴ Khonsu, a chief of works;¹⁷⁵ and also Ashakhet, the deputy chief of Medjay-police for the Southern Region.¹⁷⁶

Year 2 of Ramesses IV saw another expedition to the wâdi (size unknown). Members of this party inscribed a fine rock stela¹⁷⁷ and six lines of hieratic graffiti.¹⁷⁸ According to the stela the objective of this second visit was *bekhen*-stone for a monument for the "Place of Eternity" (the Theban necropolis generally or a specific area of it).¹⁷⁹ One of the accompanying lines of graffiti is of particular interest in that it may record the dimensions of this monument.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷¹ Goyon no. 89; and now in *KRI*, VI, 1.

¹⁷² So Montet, *JNES* 9 (1950), 25-27; and Simpson, *JNES* 18 (1959), 34. Note that the date recorded on this stela, day 14 of the second month of *Peret*, would have fallen in about mid-November in the Gregorian calendar, the beginning of the coolest season of the year for work in the desert quarries. Usimarenakhte is later mentioned in the great stela of Year 3 of Ramesses IV at Wâdi Hammâmât as a member of the three-man committee appointed by the king to look into the reopening of the greywacke quarries: *KRI*, VI, 13: 14-15. And also cf. *KRI*, VI, 15-16, for Usimarenakhte's small rock stela of Year 3 (Coyat and Montet no. 238). And note Steinmann, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 30-32.

¹⁷³ Coyat and Montet no. 86 (= *KRI*, VI, 2: 6-12). Also see Christophe, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 151-154; and Montet, *Kêmi* 15 (1959), 101.

¹⁷⁴ Goyon no. 98 (now in *KRI*, VI, 2).

¹⁷⁵ Coyat and Montet nos. 219-220 (*KRI*, VI, 3: 6-8). Possibly one of the unnamed chiefs of works for the quarrymen listed in the great Year 3 stela; cf. *KRI*, VI, 14: 8.

¹⁷⁶ Goyon no. 101 (= *KRI*, VI, 2-3). He is perhaps to be identified with the unnamed deputy chief (of Medjay-police?) listed in both the Year 1 stela of Usimarenakhte and the great Year 3 stela of Ramesses IV. See *KRI*, VI, 1: 12 and 14: 7.

¹⁷⁷ Coyat and Montet no. 240 (now as *KRI*, VI, 9-11).

¹⁷⁸ Coyat and Montet nos. 231-236; now in *KRI*, VI, 11.

¹⁷⁹ See Černý, *Community*, 78-79; Ventura, *LCD*, 51.

¹⁸⁰ Coyat and Montet no. 235 records an object 5 cubits, 4 palms x 2 cubits, 3 palms x 2 cubits, 1 palm. If these epigraphs do indeed refer to the desired block then it was clearly over 5

Year 3 witnessed the fourth and certainly the largest quest for *bekhen*-stone under Ramesses IV.¹⁸¹ Most of the data regarding this huge venture (perhaps over 9000 workmen and officials involved)¹⁸² has been gleaned from a great rock stela dated to 2 *Shomu* 27.¹⁸³ The operation was led by Ramessesnakhte, High-Priest of Amun,¹⁸⁴ and on this occasion *bekhen*-stone was sought for the "Place of Truth" at Thebes.¹⁸⁵

The great venture was also commemorated by the inscribing of a number of short hieroglyphic graffiti which record the names and titles of the charioteer Peniyi-Ramesses, a servant of the High-Priest of Amun, Ramessesnakhte,¹⁸⁶ and also the Chief Taxing-Master of the Estate of Amun, Amenmose.¹⁸⁷ Another rock graffito notes the transportation of the required stone back to the Place of Truth.¹⁸⁸ A papyrus map drawn by a senior Deir el-Medīna scribe of the period probably also records this project.¹⁸⁹

(ii) Gebel es-Silsilah.

Among the limited number of graffiti texts published to date from the sandstone quarries at Gebel es-Silsilah none are so interesting as the quarrying inscriptions of Year 5 (1 *Shomu* 1) of Ramesses III at Silsilah West. Recording as they do an expedition of some 3000 men sent to hew sandstone blocks for the king's memorial temple at Medīnet Habu, these short lines of incised hieratic text are of unique interest.

The mission was led by the royal scribe and overseer of the Treasury of Medīnet Habu Paury called Setemhab. Of the 3000 or so men at his command a surprisingly high proportion were professional stonemasons (some 500). This, with the large number of transport ships brought

m. in length and perhaps destined to become a statue in the king's memorial temple at western Thebes.

¹⁸¹ For there being just one mission in his Year 3, see A. J. Peden, *The Reign of Ramesses IV* (1994), 26 n. 1.

¹⁸² Christophe, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 24-26.

¹⁸³ Couyat and Montet no. 12; now in *KRI*, VI, 12-14. See the major study by Christophe, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 1-38; also Steinmann, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 32-35; Eyre, *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 181-182. There is also a fragmentary stela from Coptos recording this expedition, Coptos being the starting and finishing base for all Wâdi Hammâmât expeditions. Now: *KRI*, VI, 16.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 138-139; Bierbrier, *LNKE* 9-13; and Eyre, *SAK* 11 (1984), 205-206.

¹⁸⁵ On this much discussed toponym (it probably refers to the Theban necropolis proper), see Černý, *Community*, 59-67; Ventura, *LCD*, 38-63.

¹⁸⁶ Couyat and Montet no. 223 (= *KRI*, VI, 12).

¹⁸⁷ Goyon no. 104 (= *KRI*, VI, 16: 3-5).

¹⁸⁸ See Couyat and Montet no. 222; (now in *KRI*, VI, 15).

¹⁸⁹ See Harrell and Brown, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 81-105.

along (40 in all with another 4 barges), no doubt reflects the large scale nature of the quarrying work carried out on this occasion.¹⁹⁰

As the temple of Medīnet Habu appears to have been very largely completed by Year 12 of Ramesses III these Silsilah epigraphs might then date to a period when building work on that great institution had only just begun.¹⁹¹

(iii) Aswân.

Of the XXth Dynasty pharaohs only Ramesses III¹⁹² and VI¹⁹³ are actually mentioned by name among the hieroglyphic rock graffiti of the region of the First Cataract, though there are a number of texts which can be dated to the regimes of Ramesses IV to VII on other grounds. One can only assume that the occasional expedition was still being sent to the Aswân quarries for granite and quartzite throughout most of the dynasty.¹⁹⁴ Further, as in the rest of the New Kingdom, at least one of the XXth Dynasty graffiti at Aswân probably commemorates a north or southward bound journey through the First Cataract by a viceroy of Nubia and his staff.

This latter rock graffito records either the king's son of Kush Hori (I) or (II).¹⁹⁵ The former Hori is known to have been in office by Year 6 of Siptah¹⁹⁶ and to have served until perhaps the early years of Ramesses III.¹⁹⁷ His son, Hori (II), then served during the middle and latter years of Ramesses III¹⁹⁸ and on throughout the reign of Ramesses IV and probably also that of Ramesses V.¹⁹⁹ To the reign of Ramesses III there can also be assigned a graffito at Sehel Island preserving the name and titles of the Chief Archivist and Treasury Scribe Penpato.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁰ Now cf. *KRI*, V, 227-229; also note *KRI*, V, 419. See further the excellent account in P. Grandet, *Ramsès III: Histoire d'un règne* (1993), 102-104, who observes that Setemhab's name was probably deliberately effaced in one of these graffiti (so *KRI*, V, 228: 3) on account of his involvement in the conspiracy against Ramesses III many years later (= *KRI*, V, 356: 15-16).

¹⁹¹ Wente, *JNES* 20 (1961), 254 n. 5; Spalinger, *JARCE* 28 (1991), 24 n. 15; P. Grandet, *Ramsès III: Histoire d'un règne* (1993), 132.

¹⁹² De Morgan et al., 41 (no. 183, between Mahattah and Aswân), 95 (no. 150bis, at Sehel) and 97 (no. 170, Sehel). The latter graffito was left by a certain Nufer, a chief transport officer (*ḥry-mškb*) who was perhaps concerned with transporting quarried stone from the region of the First Cataract; cf. Habachi, *BIFAO* 73 (1973), 122.

¹⁹³ De Morgan et al., 93 (no. 132, at Sehel, naming Bakenkhons, High-Priest of Khnum at Elephantine; now *KRI*, VI, 360-361). See Delia, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 75; and Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 135.

¹⁹⁴ Certainly under Ramesses IV for his red granite sarcophagus (cf. Černý, *Community*, 66).

¹⁹⁵ Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 35-36.

¹⁹⁶ See *KRI*, IV, 364-365.

¹⁹⁷ *KRI*, V, 381; also see Peterson, *ActOr* 27 (1963), 3-8; and Smith, *Buhen*, 119.

¹⁹⁸ Habachi, *LÄ* III (1977), 2 nn. 3-4.

¹⁹⁹ A. J. Peden, *The Reign of Ramesses IV* (1994), 62.

²⁰⁰ De Morgan et al., 95 (no. 149); and *KRI*, V, 384.

To these limited examples we can add a series of unusual graffiti inscriptions on the rocks at Aswân and Sehel dating to the middle of the XXth Dynasty and more precisely to the period of Ramesses IV-VII.²⁰¹ These record the names, titles and relationships of three generations of a family originally from the area of Armant but two of whose members held important priestly offices at Aswân.²⁰²

The earliest of these graffiti (six in all, reign of Ramesses IV-V) record Pendjerty,²⁰³ high-priest of the Elephantine Triad of Khnum, Satis and Anukis; his wife Nefertari, a chantress of Montu;²⁰⁴ the overseer of prophets Pennut;²⁰⁵ and Pakharu,²⁰⁶ commander of the fortress at Bîgeh. One of Pendjerty's sons and his eventual successor as the high-priest of the Elephantine Triad, Nebwenenef, is also attested by six graffiti texts at the First Cataract (five on the rocks of Sehel Island and one on Gebel Tingar); all have been dated to the time of Ramesses VII.²⁰⁷ Also documented in these graffiti inscriptions are Nebwenenef's wife Tamutnofret, a chantress of the god Khnum.²⁰⁸

Both Pendjerty and Nebwenenef are also known on Sehel from a rock graffito on the top of Husseintagug. Executed on successive occasions by members of the family it has been divided into eight scenes.²⁰⁹ One of these names another of Pendjerty's sons, Hatiay, the overseer of the prophets of all the gods;²¹⁰ a further records the scribe and *wab*-priest of Khnum Djehutyemhab, a regional official associated with the Pendjerty-Nebwenenef family.²¹¹ Also mentioned is a certain Amenhotepeniby, a sculptor of Amun, and possibly the craftsman responsible for cutting the seventh graffito in the scene (Habachi's No. 13, section G).²¹²

The Nebwenenef graffiti (reign of Ramesses VII) are apparently the latest from Dynasty XX attested at the First Cataract. The total lack of graffiti or rock stelae at Aswân from later in the

²⁰¹ Generally: Sauneron, *Rd'É* 7 (1950), 54-60; also Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1951), 123-136.

²⁰² Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 133-135.

²⁰³ Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 123-126; also now cf. *KRI*, VI, 100-101.

²⁰⁴ Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 124; and *KRI*, VI, 100 (C).

²⁰⁵ Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 125; *KRI*, VI, 101 (F).

²⁰⁶ Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 124-125; and *KRI*, VI, 100 (D).

²⁰⁷ See Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 126-128; also *KRI*, VI, 422. Nebwenenef is recorded in P. Turin 1887 (Turin Indictment Papyrus, temp. Ramesses V), as a serving *wab*-priest of Khnum before his promotion to high-priest of the triad; cf. Gardiner, *RAD*, 75: 9-10.

²⁰⁸ Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 127-128; and *KRI*, VI, 422 (F).

²⁰⁹ Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 128-130 and fig. 6; also *KRI*, VI, 423.

²¹⁰ Cf. Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 129; also mentioned here are Hatiay's wife, Iuy, a chantress of Montu, and one of his grandsons. Also cf. now: *KRI*, VI, 360.

²¹¹ Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 128; and *KRI*, V, 234. Djehutyemhab is further known from De Morgan et al., 128 (no. 13, on Gebel Tingar). He may also be recorded in P. Turin 1887 as a temple scribe; cf. Gardiner, *RAD*, 82: 7.

²¹² Habachi, *JEA* 51 (1965), 130; and *KRI*, VI, 423: 6.

XXth Dynasty might be taken as an indication that quarrying in the region had come to an end by this period. It might also be taken as a symptom of Egypt's loss of military influence over its former Nubian dependencies, there being a substantial reduction in the number of officials travelling between the two lands who had the opportunity now or, more importantly perhaps, the desire to leave graffiti texts in and around the First Cataract.

An additional hint at this malaise in graffiti-writing at Aswân during the late XXth Dynasty is demonstrated by the fact that although there was sustained military activity in Lower Nubia under Ramesses XI (the campaigns against the rebel viceroy Panehsy),²¹³ even this protracted episode has left no surviving mark on the rocks at the First Cataract (Aswân being the natural campaign headquarters for this war),²¹⁴ or on those in Nubia as far as I know.²¹⁵

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

While Egypt's authority over its territories in Canaan had been greatly weakened early on in the XXth Dynasty by military conflict with the newly resident Sea Peoples (the last Egyptian garrisons in southern and western Palestine were withdrawn or destroyed no later than the reign of Ramesses VI),²¹⁶ her southern dependencies of Upper and Lower Nubia (Kush and Wawat) appear to have remained under Egyptian rule for most of the XXth Dynasty.²¹⁷ There was, it would seem, a grim determination to hold on to these economically important regions.

Evidence for a continued Egyptian occupation of Nubia during Dynasty XX is provided by a mass of small objects from a wide range of sites and also by various tomb and temple inscrip-

²¹³ See Niwiński in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck (eds.), *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (1992), 241-258; Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 26-31; and now Niwiński, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 333-348.

²¹⁴ Černý, *Community*, 377. For the limited building work at Aswân under Ramesses XI, cf. *KRI*, VI, 731.

²¹⁵ Among the officials compelled to participate on this bitter campaign was the well-known Deir el-Medīna scribe, Djehutymose. When one considers the latter's liking for writing graffiti along the cliffs of western Thebes (cf. p. 154 in Chapter 7) then the apparent unwillingness of even this scribe to make his mark on the rocks of Lower Nubia is perhaps a little surprising at first sight. On the other hand Djehutymose clearly disliked his new military appointment and no doubt had better things to do than wander around in what he considered a strange and hostile environment; cf. Černý, *Community*, 377-380.

²¹⁶ W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (1979), 141; Weinstein in W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C.* (1992), 142-150; Yurco, *JARCE* 23 (1986), 214-215; also Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 290 and n. 26; and R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe CA. 1200 B.C.* (1993), 19.

²¹⁷ Hein, *RBN*, 102-106.

tions.²¹⁸ Evidence for this continued Egyptian presence in Nubia during Dynasty XX is also found by way of a fairly small number of textual graffiti incised throughout the Nubian stretch of the Nile Valley. As in earlier times these again record the names and titles of a wide variety of expatriate Egyptian administrators and their officials.

Two of perhaps the earliest rock graffiti of Dynasty XX date in Nubia are located just above Wâdi es-Sebûa, at Nagr-Abîdîs. These brief hieroglyphic inscriptions record the presence of the Viceroy of Nubia, Hori (II). Both graffiti remark that the viceroy wrote the texts in his own hand (lit. *l.r.f ḏs.f*, "he made (this inscription) himself").²¹⁹ These autographs probably date to the reign of Ramesses III.²²⁰

Further south, in the South Temple at Buhen is a hieroglyphic graffito preserving the name and titles of Bakenseth, Fan-Bearer on the Right of the King and Troop-Commander of Kush, possibly under King Ramesses III.²²¹ Moving down the Nile once more, to the Soleb temple of Amenophis III is another hieroglyphic graffito from the reign of Ramesses III, this time recording the presence of a Prince Ramesses (here titled *Imy-r mšr wr* and *sš-nsw*) who is almost certainly the future Ramesses IV.²²² Perhaps the latter was in the region on a military tour of inspection for his father; it seems possible that Ramesses III sent a military expedition (in his

²¹⁸ The name of Setnakhte has been found at Amârah West (= *KRI*, V, 2); that of R(amesses) III at Qasr Ibrîm (cf. Hein, *RBN*, 31), Faras (Hein, *RBN*, 37), Buhen (*KRI*, V, 346 and 381), Semna (Hein, *RBN*, 50), Amârah West (*KRI*, V, 382-383; also cf. Grandet, *JEA* 69 (1983), 108-109, Hein, *RBN*, 56), and at Soleb (unpublished graffito); small objects of officials of his reign have been located at Anîba (*KRI*, V, 384) and Kawa (*KRI*, V, 383). RIV is known at Gerf Hussein (Hein, *RBN*, 11), Anîba (*KRI*, VI, 63), Buhen (*KRI*, VI, 63, 80-81), Dorginarti (Hein, *RBN*, 48), and Amârah West(?) (*KRI*, VI, 63-64). RV at Buhen (*KRI*, VI, 225). RVI at Anîba (*KRI*, VI, 350-357) and Amârah West (= Hein, *RBN*, 56). RVII at Kawa (*KRI*, VI, 389: 6). RIX at Qûbân (*KRI*, VI, 527-528), Buhen (see *KRI*, VI, 559: 14-16), Amârah West (*KRI*, VI, 461; Hein, *RBN*, 57), and Gebel Barkal (*KRI*, VI, 528); and note fragments naming officials of his reign at Serra East, Buhen, Semna West, and Sai Island (*KRI*, VI, 526-527 and 530; Hein, *RBN*, 51). RX at Qûbân (PM, VII, 82) and Anîba (*KRI*, VI, 679). RXI at Anîba and Buhen (cf. *KRI*, VI, 842).

²¹⁹ Originally Žába, *RILN*, nos. 112-113. Now in *KRI*, VII, 274.

²²⁰ Apparently related to these two inscriptions are thirteen other rock graffiti inscribed close by which name persons who appear to have been travelling with the viceroy. Cf. Žába, *RILN*, nos. 101 (title: *šmꜣw*, "musician"), 102 (*wšbt R-gr*, "wailing-woman Roger"), 103 (*sš*), 104 (*šmꜣw*), 105 (*sš*), 106 (*sš*), 107 (*sš*), 108 (*šmsw*, "letter-carrier"), 109 (*ît-nꜥr*, "god's father"), 110 (*lry-ḥꜣt*, "pilot"), 111 (*ḥry-šmsw* and *ḥm n ḥm-nꜥr*, "chief letter-carrier and servant of the prophet"), 114 (*sš*) and 115 (*ît-nꜥr*); all now in *KRI*, VII, 275-276. Žába has suggested that the graffiti texts recording the presence here of a boat's pilot (= no. 110), musicians (nos. 101 and 104) and a professional wailing-woman (no. 102) may indicate that a ship which was bringing the body of a senior Egyptian official north for burial in Egypt was halted at Nagr-Abîdîs. Was this dead man none other than Hori (II)'s father and predecessor in office viceroy Hori (I) son of Kama?

²²¹ Text: *KRI*, V, 383; Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), 76; also note Caminos, *Buhen*, I, 44-45, for general remarks and the problems of dating this inscription accurately.

²²² Now cf. *KRI*, V, 372: 13-16.

Year 5?)²²³ against a most persistent offender against Egyptian rule in the south, the land of Irem.²²⁴ No doubt a limited policing campaign of this type would have presented an ideal opportunity for the future ruler to win his spurs. Note also that there is an unpublished hieroglyphic graffito at Soleb recording the name and titles of a viceroy of Nubia, Hori, most probably the second official of that name. It may commemorate a visit to the temple by the viceroy in question, as so many of these Nubian temple graffiti seem to do.²²⁵

Back again at the South Temple at Buhen is a hieroglyphic graffito of the rule of Ramesses IV which records the name and titles of his viceroy of Nubia, Hori (II). Possibly it was cut to commemorate a visit by the latter to the fortress-town.²²⁶ Also from this time is a badly preserved hieratic graffito in the Great Temple at Abû Simbel which names a garrison-commander Ramessesnakhte who is known to have served Ramesses IV.²²⁷ This king's later prenomen (= Heqmare setepenamun) is also attested in a hieroglyphic graffito at Temple A at Kawa which again mentions a garrison-commander (*Imy-r İw'yt*) called Ramessesnakhte; these two men are probably identical.²²⁸

From the region of Gerf Hussein Jacquet-Gordon has published a rock graffito mentioning a scribe of the treasury, Herunufer son of Penanuket, of Miam (Anîba).²²⁹ He may have been a collateral member of the family of the celebrated Penne of Anîba, deputy of Wawat under King Ramesses VI,²³⁰ one of whose sons (Herunufer) was also a treasury scribe.²³¹ Perhaps to be assigned to the same reign is a further brief hieroglyphic rock graffito noted by Jacquet-Gordon near the Herunufer inscription. This records a scribe Hatnefert of Miam.²³² However, as far as I am aware nothing more is known concerning the latter.

Also from the rule of Ramesses VI is a hieroglyphic graffito within the temple of Ramesses II at Wâdi es-Sebûa. Inscribed by an official of the day it is now almost completely destroyed. Virtually all that remains are the cartouches of Ramesses VI.²³³ Finally, also from this reign

²²³ P. Grandet, *Ramsès III: Histoire d'un règne* (1993), 75-76.

²²⁴ For possible allusions to this conflict in a preface to the Medinet Habu Festival Calendar and the Rhetorical Stela in Oratory 'C' south-west of Deir el-Medîna: Kitchen in *Ägypten und Kusch*, 224-225; O' Connor, *JEA* 73 (1987), 131-133.

²²⁵ For a copy of this graffito (designated Soleb R 38a) I am indebted to Prof. Jean Leclant of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.

²²⁶ *KRI*, VI, 80; also see Caminos, *Buhen*, I, 23-24.

²²⁷ See *KRI*, VII, 326 (after a transcription by Černý).

²²⁸ Now *KRI*, VI, 880.

²²⁹ In *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 228-229.

²³⁰ Helck, *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 1 (1986), 24-37.

²³¹ Cf. *KRI*, VI, 354: 15.

²³² *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 229.

²³³ See now: *KRI*, VII, 359: 9-12 (after a transcription by Černý).

are four identical hieroglyphic graffiti inscriptions located much further south at Temple A at Kawa. These give the name and titles of a certain Nebmarenakhte, Troop-Commander of Kush under Ramesses VI.²³⁴

Textual graffiti from Nubia that can be comfortably dated to the end of the Ramesside period are even rarer. In the temple of Ramesses II at Wâdi es-Sebûa there are the remains of a hieroglyphic graffito (only parts of the royal cartouches survive) apparently written during the reign of Ramesses IX.²³⁵ At the Great Temple of Abû Simbel there are two hieratic graffiti written in ink which name two officials who were also active in Nubia under the ninth Ramesses. The first of these short inscriptions records a visit to the temple by Panaho, scribe of the viceroys of Nubia Wentawat and Ramessesnakhte. He remarks that he penned the graffito with his own hand (*lr.n(.l) m sš.l ds.l*).²³⁶ The second inscription marks the presence of the charioteer of the Residence, Nahiho, a son of the viceroy of Nubia, Wentawat.²³⁷

Our final evidence for the occupation of Buhen by Egyptian forces during the New Kingdom is provided by a hieroglyphic graffito on a pillar at the North Temple. This records Ramesses XI and one of his viceroys (perhaps called "Tjeni"(??)²³⁸). This text is also the most southern record of the last pharaoh of Dynasty XX found in Nubia.²³⁹ With the unsuccessful campaign conducted by Piankh (the last real king's son of Kush)²⁴⁰ against the rebel viceroy of Nubia, Panehsy, Egypt's political and military domination over Nubia was effectively brought to an end for good.

²³⁴ Now cf. *KRI*, VI, 358.

²³⁵ See *KRI*, VII, 371: 3-5 (after an original transcription by Černý).

²³⁶ Cf. Černý, *Kush* 7 (1959), 71-75; add *KRI*, VI, 526: 12-16. The viceroy Ramessesnakhte is also known from a hieroglyphic graffito preserving his name and titles on a column in the South Temple at Buhen. See Caminos, *Buhen*, I, 73; and now: *KRI*, VI, 527: 1-5.

²³⁷ *KRI*, VI, 530. The graffito was actually written for Nahiho by Amenkhau, his scribe.

²³⁸ This name presents us with a real problem. Breasted's original reading of it as "Panehsy" (see *AJSL* 23 (1906), 15) is apparently impossible and yet a viceroy of Nubia named Tjeni is otherwise unattested. See *KRI*, VI, 842: 5-12; and remarks by Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 110 n. 2.

²³⁹ Caminos, *Buhen*, II, 109-110.

²⁴⁰ The title survived until Dynasty XXI when Neskhons, one of the two principal wives of the High-Priest of Amun Pinudjem II, revived it, possibly to claim any revenues still coming in from estates in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia that belonged to the office. See H. Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit* (1964), 17. Also note the title's survival in one of the Dynasty XXI letters from El-Hîbeh (P. Strassburg 32) published by Spiegelberg in *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 4-5 and 19-20.

Chapter Seven: Part I

West Theban Graffiti of the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medīna and Other Officials of the Theban Necropolis in Dynasty XVIII

(c. 1540-1295 B.C.)

General Remarks

Following the presumed abandonment by Amenophis I of the XVIIth Dynasty site at Dra' Abû 'I-Naga' as the main royal cemetery at western Thebes,¹ subsequent New Kingdom rulers selected the rather more discreet cliffs and hills of Wâdi Bibân el-Mulûk (hereinafter Valley of the Kings or Valley) as their burial place.² Amenophis himself was not interred in the Valley of the Kings but in a tomb elsewhere in the West Theban mountains.³ (In part due to practical considerations and partly for security reasons, Amenophis I was probably also the first ruler to

¹ G. Steindorff and W. Wolf, *Die thebanische Gräberwelt* (1936), 30-32. The site of the tomb of the founder of Dynasty XVIII, Ahmose I, is unknown and while it may have been located at Dra' Abû 'I-Naga', this is by no means certain: Thomas, *RNT*, 70; Dodson, *ZĀS* 115 (1988), 118-120. Note that nothing is known of the body of men responsible for Ahmose's tomb, the royal tombs of Dynasty XVII at Thebes, nor for those tombs within the Valley of the Queens dating from the end of Dynasty XVII. Cf. here: PM, I², Pt. 2, 755-756.

² The official ancient name for the Valley of the Kings is uncertain. In the Ramesside administrative documents from Deir el-Medīna it is most commonly referred to as the "Field" (*shṯ*) or "Great Field" (*shṯ ʿt*) but this might just be a local colloquial term used not only for the main Valley but also for that region immediately surrounding it that was regularly frequented by the Deir el-Medīna workforce (notably the settlement on the col and the path leading from Deir el-Medīna to the east Valley). It may also have included the West Valley of the Kings; cf. Černý, *Community*, 90-91; also Ventura, *LCD*, 153, 164 n. 110, 184-186.

³ Serious difficulties remain over the location of this tomb (as is also the case with the tombs and memorial temples of the first four New Kingdom rulers). The paper by Dodson, *ZĀS* 115 (1988), 110-123, is an important contribution to resolving the problems; also note Reeves, *VK*, 3-9; Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 49 (1992), 707-709; Polz, *Egyptian Archaeology* No. 7 (1995), 7-8.

separate his tomb from his royal memorial temple;⁴ henceforth, these latter foundations would be erected on the fringes of the cultivated land along the West Bank.)⁵

The first royal burial in the Valley of the Kings is thought to have been that of Amenophis I's successor, Tuthmosis I.⁶ And while it may have been Amenophis I⁷ who first assembled a pool of skilled and semi-skilled labourers to excavate the Valley tombs, it was Tuthmosis I⁸ who built the walled settlement known today as Deir el-Medīna⁹ in a small valley behind the hill of Qurnet Mura'i. Although this village was situated in an isolated section of the Theban necropolis it did allow relatively easy access to the main centres of work:¹⁰ the Valley of the Kings and Wādi Bibān el-Ḥarīm (hereinafter Valley of the Queens).¹¹ (Note also that although

⁴ The location of this structure is also undetermined with any real certainty. The well-known Meniset at Gurna is perhaps the most likely candidate: Reeves, *VK*, 3-5; but also see Dodson, *ZĀS* 115 (1988), 112. And it can only be assumed that Amenophis I's royal memorial temple was the first to be separated from its tomb as we lack any evidence regarding the arrangements made for the obsequies of Ahmose I in this regard. Whether one of the latter's "Mansions of Millions of Years" (mentioned in a stela of Year 22 at Masara: *Urk.* IV, 25) was located at western Thebes is not known.

⁵ Most recently: Haring, *GM* 132 (1993), 39-48.

⁶ In either KV 20 or 38, the work being directed by the chief architect Ineni (see *Urk.* IV, 57): Bradbury, *JARCE* 22 (1985), 81-95; Dodson, *ZĀS* 115 (1988), 116; Reeves, *VK*, 13, 16-18; der Manuelian and Loeben, *JEA* 79 (1993), 122-127.

⁷ Amenophis is commonly credited with the foundation of the community solely due to the cult that he and his mother Queen Ahmose-Nefertari enjoyed among successive generations of workmen at the village: Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 1-2; Ventura in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (1985), 278-288; idem, *LCD*, 63; Černý in R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (1962), 41.

⁸ His name was stamped upon the mud-bricks of the wall that enclosed the first settlement; cf. Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 2.

⁹ The ancient name of the settlement is unknown. In the surviving records it is rendered only as "the village" (*pj dmi*): Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 89 and 114. Ventura (see *LCD*, 184 n. 44; idem in *JEA* 73 (1987), 152) suggests that *ṯ whyt*, "the settlement" (often qualified with (*n*) *pj hr*) was a more official term for the community.

¹⁰ Apart from this quite obvious advantage the relative isolation of the settlement ensured that movement to and from the site could be monitored to some extent if required. Although there is no evidence from our Ramesside sources for draconian restrictions being placed on occasional travel by the villagers outside their community, or of their contact with relatives and friends who lived elsewhere (McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 41-59, contra the unrealistic segregation envisaged by Ventura, *LCD*, 175-179), the situation may have been rather different in Dynasty XVIII. The obvious disadvantage of the site was its lack of a water source and thus the need to transport regular supplies to the settlement even though it was only a relatively short distance (1.3 km.) from the fertile cultivation. Note Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 448-449; also idem, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979), 9-15; McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 57; Eichler, *SAK* 17 (1990), 135-175; idem, *SAK* 18 (1991), 173-205.

¹¹ PM, I², Pt. 2, 749-771; add Leblanc, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 131-146; idem *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 227-247. The ancient name for this royal wādi was *ṯ st nfrw*, usually translated as "the Place of Beauty": Černý, *Community*, 88-89. However, just what *nfrw* meant in this context is not clear. See Ventura, *LCD*, 186 and n. 45; add also Ch. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. I (1989), 14-19.

these workmen appear to have been drafted together principally to excavate the sepulchre of the ruling pharaoh¹² they may have been "lent" on occasion to cut and decorate the private tombs at western Thebes of certain favoured officials.)¹³

From the richly documented Ramesside dynasties the Deir el-Medina workmen have left us thousands of inscribed ostraca and textual rock graffiti (and to a lesser extent papyri) recording many aspects of their daily lives.¹⁴ Facts concerning the settlement in Dynasty XVIII are far fewer.¹⁵ A limited number of ostraca are known¹⁶ but graffiti relating to the activities of the tombworkers and other necropolis officials are extremely rare. Indeed XVIIIth Dynasty recorded rock graffiti among the royal wâdis are virtually non-existent¹⁷ and the reason for this is still quite obscure.¹⁸

¹² In Dynasty XVIII they were presumably also responsible for the Valley tombs assignable to close friends of the royal family, for the tombs of sacred animals or royal pets in the Valley (see Reeves, *VK*, 272), and for several tombs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty in the Valley of the Queens (= QV 30, of the head of the stable Nebiri; QV 46, of the vizier Imhotep (temp. Tuthmosis I), and an unnumbered tomb of princesses of the regime of Amenophis III), for KV 41 in the Vallée du Puits (Gabolde, et al. *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 173-189), for cliff-tombs such as Bâb el-Muallaq and TT 320 (cf. Reeves, *VK*, 187 n. 50; Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 49 (1992), 714; and Gabolde et al., *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 173-259), and finally for those other cliff-tombs in the lonely desert wâdis to the south (Wâdis Sikket Tâqet Zaid and Qubbânet el-Qirûd): PM, I², Pt. 2, 591-592, 749, 755, 769-770; Helck, *LÄ* III (1978), 468-472; Leblanc, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 227-237. Whether the Deir el-Medina crew was also used on other royal building works at the West Bank (the Deir el-Bahri temple of Queen Hatshepsut and the nearby tomb of Senenmut?) during Dynasty XVIII is still unclear. See Reeves, *VK*, 281 n. 89.

¹³ Note Kozloff in W. F. Reineke (ed.), *First International Congress of Egyptology. Acts (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients 14)* (1979), 395-402, for the tomb of Menna (TT 69, temp. Tuthmosis IV-Amenophis III); but cf. Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 271. Romer, *VK*, 209-210, suggests that the Qurna tombs of vizier User (TT 61; temp. Tuthmosis III) and of Sennufer (TT 96), mayor of Thebes under Amenophis II, were decorated by members of the Deir el-Medina workforce. Also note Romer in B. M. Bryan and D. Lorton (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke* (1994), 211-232.

¹⁴ See Černý in S. Donadoni (ed.), *Le Fonti Indirette della Storia Egiziana* (1963), 39-40.

¹⁵ For what is known from this age: Černý, *Community*, 72-74; also Valbelle, *LÄ* I (1974), 1029-1030; and add Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 429-446; *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 317-342; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 1-26; Ventura, *LCD*, 53-54.

¹⁶ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 21-23; and cf. Kemp, *JEA* 73 (1987), 45-46. The XVIIIth Dynasty O. Glasgow D. 1925. 87 (= O. Colin Campbell 21) and the literary O. Glasgow D. 1925. 92 may also come from Deir el-Medina. Cf. A. G. McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (The Colin Campbell Ostraca)* (1993), 1, 27-29, 32, pls. 30-30a and 32-32a. Papyri concerning the village in Dynasty XVIII are apparently non-existent; cf. Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 26.

¹⁷ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 24 n. 5, tentatively assigns Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1670 and 2170 to the XVIIIth Dynasty. Graffito no. 1670 reads as "royal scribe Kha" and this could be the same man as the well-known royal scribe and architect of that name who was active at Deir el-Medina in the mid XVIIIth Dynasty. With text no. 2170, however, Valbelle has apparently misread the prenomen of King Ramesses VI (= Nebmare Meriamun) for that of Amenophis III (= *KRI*, VI, 365: 7-8). The lack of rock graffiti in the East Valley of the Kings datable to Dynasty XVIII also extends to the West Valley of the Kings with just one possible exception: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 132. This seems to preserve the prenomen of Amenophis

The size of the Deir el-Medīna tomb-workforce in Dynasty XVIII is unknown (although we can assume that it was smaller than that of Dynasties XIX-XX)¹⁹ as is the full range of skills possessed by its inhabitants.²⁰ It is thus impossible to speculate on the probable numbers of fully and semi-literate members of the community at this period (as has been attempted for the Ramesside dynasties)²¹ who would have been capable of executing textual rock graffiti in and around their routine places of work and residence.²²

Perhaps the movements of the tomb-workforce from Deir el-Medīna to and from the Valleys of the Kings and Queens were more strictly controlled in Dynasty XVIII than in the Ramesside era,²³ the regime at the village itself being perhaps more quasi-military; again, however, I can find no real evidence to confirm this.²⁴

III whose tomb is cut in the West Valley. However as Spiegelberg admitted the reading of this graffito is extremely doubtful.

¹⁸ In a conversation with the late Dr. A.-A. Sadek the latter was unable to offer any definitive explanation for this lack of XVIIIth Dynasty rock graffiti. Dr. Sadek further informed me that the late Prof. Jaroslav Černý was also uncertain as to the reasons for this situation on the rare occasions when they discussed the matter.

¹⁹ Note how the village was expanded, presumably to accommodate more workmen, under both Horemhab (to allow for perhaps 53 houses) and Sethos I (possibly 68 homes). Cf. Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 161 and 164-165.

²⁰ The organization of the community in the early XVIIIth Dynasty is largely undocumented. It may have worked with two separate gangs (one each for the right and left sides of the tomb) as in the Ramesside era; see now Kozloff and Bryan, *Amenhotep III*, 283 n. 18. The ordinary workmen termed themselves "servant (*sdm-rš*) in the Great Place" (Černý, *Community*, 72-74) and they were under the command of at least one foreman, the "overseer of work in the Great Place" (*lmy-r kst m st 'st*): Černý, *Community*, 72-73, for this title and variants. In addition to other skilled workers such as carpenters, draughtsmen, and stonemasons who must have been present in the village, one can only assume that there were one or two professional scribes attached to this corps of workmen. Note that in the mid XVIIIth Dynasty the foreman Kha (TT 8) calls himself *sš-nsw*, "royal scribe" on two walking sticks found in his tomb and also that a "royal scribe in the Great Place Amenemope" is known; cf. Černý, *Community*, 73 n. 4, 74. From the site of the sanctuaries near Deir el-Medīna are the XVIIIth Dynasty O. Cairo 25667 and 25669 which mention the scribes Ameneminet and Neferhotep, respectively. See Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 22; and from the Main Chapel at the workmen's village at Amarna has come a wall text naming a scribe Sennufer: Kemp, *JEA* 73 (1987), 33 and 45.

²¹ Baines and Eyre, *GM* 61 (1983), 90, estimate that on average as many as 25 to 30% of the adult male population of the village may have been fully literate at this time. Janssen, *Village Voices*, 82, has since argued that the figure may even have been as high as 40%.

²² In the Ramesside dynasties it was not only the professional scribes of the community that could write down such inscriptions. Some of the ordinary workmen, and certainly the village draughtsmen, appear to have had a basic knowledge of the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts that allowed them to scribble down their names and titles in rock graffiti during their leisure hours. See Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 258; Černý, *Community*, 196-197 and 225; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 7.

²³ Movement in and out of the village could be easily monitored as it originally only had one entrance, to the north, facing the main area of the Theban necropolis. The purpose of the mud brick wall surrounding Deir el-Medīna in Dynasty XVIII is uncertain (cf. Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 436-440). It appears unlikely that it served as a defence mechanism against determined outside interference (a later stone wall proved inadequate against bands of marauding

It might also be remarked that with the accession of Amenophis IV the opportunity for the villagers to traverse the Theban hills (and scrawl graffiti) would have been curtailed if some of them at least²⁵ were taken to Middle Egypt to build the tombs of Akhenaten and his family in the desolate Wâdi Abû Ḥasâh el-Bahri to the east of Akhetaten.²⁶ If so then it was presumably only under Tutankhamun that these skilled workmen were finally brought back to begin work on the latter's Theban tomb (perhaps initially located in WV 23 and then in the adapted private tomb KV 62).²⁷

By Year 7 of Horemhab at the latest (c. 1316 B.C.)²⁸ the settlement of Deir el-Medîna was again occupied by the workmen and their families, the crew apparently having been reorganized and enlarged by one Djehutymose, chief-steward of Thebes,²⁹ and construction work was

Libyans in the XXth Dynasty). Rather, it may have had some role in helping to confine the inhabitants to their households at night or perhaps in providing the village women with some sort of basic protection when most of their menfolk were away working on the royal tomb on the other side of the Theban mountain. See Eyre, *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 170; also Ventura, *LCD*, 175-176.

²⁴ Even if this were the case judging by the lavish tomb contents of the foreman Kha (temp. Amenophis II-Amenophis III) the senior workmen of Dynasty XVIII seem to have enjoyed as high a standard of living as any of their Ramesside colleagues. See on this: E. Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori della missione archeologica italiana in Egitto (anni 1903-1920). Volume secondo: La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha della necropoli di Tebe* (1927); and now cf. Curto and Mancini, *JEA* 54 (1968), 77-81; Curto et al., *Oriens Antiquus* 19 (1980), 147-150; also Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 12-13; and Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 193-214, 223, 226. Compare these grave goods with those of Sennedjem (reign of Sethos I) and those of the Deir el-Medîna tomb recorded in O. Vienna Aeg. 1+O. IFAO 628: Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 294-299; Zonhoven, *JEA* 65 (1979), 89-98.

²⁵ Černý, *Community*, 50-52; C. A. Keller, *The Painters of Deir el-Medina in the Ramesside Period* (1978), 21-26; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 25; and Kemp, *JEA* 73 (1987), 44-45. Keller, *ibid.*, 24, suggests that perhaps only the more skilled workmen (= painters, sculptors, draughtsmen) were transferred to Amarna while unskilled labourers were conscripted locally.

²⁶ As at Thebes these workmen appear to have left no rock graffiti along the cliffs of this new Valley of the Kings despite evidence for them having a work settlement near the royal tomb itself.

²⁷ For the various theses concerning the design and original owners of KV 62 (the tomb of Tutankhamun) and WV 23 (tomb of Ay), cf. Reeves, *VK*, 61; Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 47 (1990), 555. Presumably the Deir el-Medîna crew was also employed on several other projects around this time. For KV 55, the only other Valley tomb known to have been used for a royal burial at the end of Dynasty XVIII (probably that of King Nefemeferuatén/Smenkhkare), see Reeves, *VK*, 42-49; Bell, *JARCE* 27 (1990), 97-137; Dodson *GM* 132 (1993), 21-28. KV 54 (a small pit with refuse from the embalming of Tutankhamun) and KV 58 (eventually a cache for some of the funerary equipment of King Ay) might also have been cut at the end of Dynasty XVIII; cf. Reeves, *VK*, 69 and 72-75.

²⁸ O. BM 5624 vs. 1-5 (now *KRI*, V, 475-476); Blackman, *JEA* 12 (1926), 176-177; Hari, *Horemheb*, 400-401; Bogoslovsky, *ZAS* 107 (1980), 89-90; and Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 160-161. An earlier occupation is just possible if a jar docket (DM 6399) from the site mentioning the memorial temple of King Ay dates to Dynasty XVIII and is not a later Ramesside reference to this institution (e.g. assigned by Kitchen to *KRI*, VII, 65).

²⁹ Hall, *The Egyptian Bulletin* (March, 1986), 5-7, for this official.

doubtless underway on the royal tomb in the Valley.³⁰ Deir el-Medīna itself was rebuilt about this time, expanded to accommodate additional tombworkers, and enclosed by a stone wall.³¹

An additional reform of the village's administration was later carried out by the vizier Paser under Sethos I and the number of workmen may have been further increased under the latter.³² All of this was done, no doubt, to meet the challenges in providing ever grander royal tombs which were now to be decorated, whenever possible, in coloured low relief, a much more complex and laborious decorative process than the painted scenes found in the royal tombs of the early and mid XVIIIth Dynasty.³³ It is from this point onwards that our documentary evidence (especially in the form of graffiti) for the denizens of Deir el-Medīna greatly increases.

The Topographical Distribution of Textual Graffiti in Western Thebes from Dynasty XVIII

Section A: Rock Graffiti in and around the Vallée des Carrières.

Etched upon a rock in the so-called Vallée des Carrières (CEDAE Section 233),³⁴ just north of Wâdyein, is a curious graffito first copied by Howard Carter.³⁵ It consists of a cartouche of Queen Ahmose-Nefertiri, wife of Ahmose I and mother of Amenophis I, and a small group of hieroglyphs that appear to read, *mnl*.³⁶ The latter are accompanied by an equally enigmatic T-shaped sign that most resembles perhaps the door or gateway determinative (Gardiner Sign-list

³⁰ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 162.

³¹ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 161 and 164-165.

³² The south-west end of the village was enlarged during his regime: Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 164-165.

³³ Cf. Grapow, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 12-39; and Piankoff, *BSFÉ* 28-29 (1959), 7-14; Romer, *VK*, 226-228; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 4-5. Note also Reeves, *VK*, 276, who raises the possibility that reorganizations of the royal workforce were perhaps also prompted by a desire to weed out nefarious officials and workers involved in the thefts in the Valley in the late XVIIIth Dynasty.

³⁴ See now Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/6, plan 215.

³⁵ Originally Graffito no. 1571, for which see Carter, *MSS. i. D.* 211 (a); also Černý, *MSS.* 6.13, 27-28; now assigned by the CEDAE as Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3490. In *PM*, I², Pt. 2, 594, this text is said to be in Wâdi Sikket el-Agala, a topographical error due to the misreading of Carter's papers. Likewise, several other Carter graffiti are also incorrectly placed in *PM*, I², Pt. 2, for the same reason and I am grateful to John Romer for first bringing this matter to my attention.

³⁶ Written in front of these hieroglyphs is a badly formed sign that looks most like the lotus bud (Gardiner Sign-list M 10) or perhaps the pot with flowing purified water (= Sign-list A 6, but without the adoring man). What its relationship is to the rest of the graffito in question, if any, is quite uncertain. For a very similar group of characters in Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd, near the suspected tomb of the princess Nefrure (WC A), note Carter graffito no. 1545.

O 32)³⁷ or the house determinative (Sign-list O 1).³⁸ Černý, in one of his private papers,³⁹ felt that this might be a word or marker for a tomb.⁴⁰ I cannot offer a better interpretation.⁴¹

Although the date of the graffito is not certain it may have been written in the early XVIIIth Dynasty, perhaps by necropolis officials searching for a suitable tomb site for the queen along these isolated rocky ridges.⁴²

*Section B: Rock Graffiti in and around the East Valley of the Kings.*⁴³

Section C: Graffiti Inscriptions in the Royal Tombs in the East and West Valleys of the Kings.

(i) KV 12: If, as appears likely, this extraordinary tomb does indeed date to the later XVIIIth Dynasty, then we might note for the sake of completeness a possible graffito in the tomb that was reported by Burton in the 1820's as "writing on wall" (of room Ga).⁴⁴ However, the latter text, whatever its form and content, has not been located in modern times and its date therefore remains quite uncertain.⁴⁵

³⁷ This sign appears with other graffiti (or it can be written on its own) at other West Theban sites and in a number of cases it can indicate the presence of a nearby tomb. For example, note Carter graffiti nos. 1536a+b which occur beneath the cliff-tomb of Queen Hatshepsut in Wâdi Sikket Tâqet Zaid: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/6, plan 201.

³⁸ An extreme abbreviation of *m'ḥ't*, "tomb"?

³⁹ Cf. Černý, MSS. 6.13, 28.

⁴⁰ Perhaps related to the word *mnī*, "death"; cf. *Urk.* IV, 64: 16 and 405: 8.

⁴¹ Carter, *JEA* 4 (1917), 111; and Romer, *VK*, 232, also suggest this.

⁴² The location of Ahmose-Nefertiri's tomb is not certain. She may have been interred (with or without her son) in a tomb (AN B) some way off from the Vallée des Carrières at Dra' Abû 'I-Naga'. What relationship, if any, the graffito may have had with such a burial is unclear; see Reeves, *VK*, 3-5; Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 49 (1992), 707-708.

⁴³ For a possible example from the XVIIIth Dynasty (written presumably temp. Amenophis II-Amenophis III) of the royal scribe Kha, and which is located in the valley of the tomb of Ramesses XI (Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan. 5), cf. n. 17 above. It should be noted that the nomen of Amenophis I (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 676; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1851, 2152; written in the valleys with the tombs of Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II, and Sethos II), and the prenomen of Tuthmosis IV (Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2417; in the valley with the tomb of Tuthmosis III), are also found among the rock graffiti of the Valley. However, the date of these cartouches is very uncertain, especially as Amenophis I enjoyed a popular cult among the royal workmen extending over many generations.

⁴⁴ Thomas, *RNT*, 148-149; Reeves, *VK*, 130-131.

⁴⁵ Romer, *VK*, 105.

(ii) WV 22: On the east wall between room I and stairway H of the tomb of Amenophis III is a newly located black ink hieratic graffito consisting of the date line "Year 3, 3 Akhet 7".⁴⁶ This text appears to date palaeographically to the mid XVIIIth Dynasty. It is unlikely that it is a record of work in progress at WV 22 under Amenophis III as one would have expected this tomb's excavation to be further advanced after three years of effort, especially as work on WV 22 was begun by Tuthmosis IV.⁴⁷

During a recent visit to WV 22 Jiro Kondo suggested to me the possibility that the graffito could date to Akhenaten and relate to the burial of either Queen Tiye or Queen Sitamun in the tomb (in rooms Jd and Je) during the reign of the former king. Our new graffito might then be a further piece of evidence for the interment of at least one of the royal ladies with Amenophis III, something long suspected on the basis of the fragmentary tomb furnishings recovered from WV 22 bearing the names of Tiye and Sitamun.⁴⁸

(iii) KV 30⁴⁹

(iv) KV 43: Inscribed upon the south wall of chamber I in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV are two large, finely executed, hieratic graffiti in black ink. The longer of these texts is dated to Year 8 of Horemhab and both relate to the restoration of the burial of King Tuthmosis IV within KV 43, following a break-in by robbers. It seems to be the earliest known record of such activities within the Valley of the Kings. These important texts, written beside one another on the tomb chamber wall, can be rendered so:⁵⁰

(1) "Year 8, third month of Akhet, day 1, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Djoserkheperure Setepenre, the Son of Re, Horemhab Merenamun. His Majesty, *l.p.h.*, commanded that the Fan-Bearer on the Right Hand of the King, Royal Scribe, Overseer

⁴⁶ Noted by Kondo and Yoshimura in *Seventh International Congress*, 102; and also *Egyptian Archaeology* No. 7 (1995), 18.

⁴⁷ Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 194-195; Kondo, *After Tut'ankhamun*, 43.

⁴⁸ Thomas, *RNT*, 84, 87; Romer, *VK*, 240; Reeves, *VK*, 39, 43. New evidence in favour of a multiple burial (or an intended multiple interment) has been found by the team from Waseda University, Tokyo, during their recent clearance of WV 22: Kondo, *After Tut'ankhamun*, 46-47, 52; also cf. Ziegler in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, I, 545-548. I am grateful to Jiro Kondo for additional information on this matter during a visit to the West Valley in January 1995.

⁴⁹ The "red characters in chamber of pit" reported in this probable XVIIIth Dynasty pit tomb by James Burton are seemingly no more than contemporaneous mason's marks. See Thomas, *RNT*, 157; Reeves, *VK*, 166.

⁵⁰ Th. M. Davis et al., *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (1904), 33-34; Hari, *Horemheb*, pl. 60; *Urk.* IV, 2170-2171; Romer, *VK*, 191 (Maya text only); Reeves, *VK*, 36-37.

of the Treasury, Overseer of Works in the Place of Eternity and Leader of the Festival of Amun in Karnak, Maya, son of the dignitary Iawy, born of the lady of the house Weret, be entrusted to renew the burial (wḥm qrs) of King Menkheperure, justified, in the Noble Mansion upon the West of Thebes".

(2) *"His assistant (ḥry-r), the Steward of Thebes, Djehutymose, son of Hatiay, whose mother is Iniuhe of Thebes".*⁵¹

From these graffiti it is clear that within 100 years of the death of Tuthmosis IV thieves had located and penetrated his tomb within the Valley. After the break-in had been detected the two senior necropolis officials recorded above, Maya and Djehutymose, were assigned to restore the damage in KV 43 as best they could.⁵² This robbery was the first of two despoliations suffered by KV 43; the second illicit entry probably did not occur until the end of Dynasty XX.⁵³ Whether the first break-in actually occurred in Year 8 of Horemhab or a slightly earlier (during the troubled times at the end of the Amarna period) is uncertain.⁵⁴

At least one other Valley tomb was inspected, found plundered, and restored at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, that of Tutankhamun (KV 62).⁵⁵ The latter's burial was briefly violated on two separate occasions during the rule of either Ay or Horemhab.⁵⁶ Furthermore, there is clear evidence that the very same steward of Thebes, Djehutymose, was also involved in the renewal of Tutankhamun's burial and that the chief treasurer Maya may have played a supervisory role once more.⁵⁷

The possibility that just one gang was responsible for robbing both tombs, and at roughly the same time, seems compelling. The discovery of even one intrusion in such a sensitive site is likely to have triggered a detailed inspection of all the known graves in the Valley.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Cf. Hall, *The Egyptian Bulletin* no. 16 (March, 1986), 5-7.

⁵² Maya and Djehutymose appear to have been unusually assiduous in their mission. Note the mending of several faience pieces from the burial; such repairs are not attested from any other king's burial at New Kingdom Thebes: Reeves, *VK*, 37 and nn. 46-48.

⁵³ Reeves, *VK*, 34-38.

⁵⁴ Reeves, *VK*, 36 and n. 40.

⁵⁵ There is also reason to suspect that KV 46 (the tomb of Yuya and Tuya; temp. Amenophis III) was robbed of its small portable valuables (most notably cosmetics) within a few years of its final closing: Reeves, *VK*, 148-153; but also cf. Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 49 (1992), 713.

⁵⁶ Reeves, *VK*, 61-69; idem, *The Complete Tutankhamun: The King, the Tomb, the Royal Treasure* (1990), 95-97. Note, however, that the very presence of tomb-robbers within KV 62 in antiquity has been questioned by Krauss: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 118 (1986), 165-181.

⁵⁷ Reeves, *ibid.*, 31, 97; Harris, *After Tut'ankhamun*, 55.

⁵⁸ Thomas, *RNT*, 264 n. 89.

Also in KV 43 are a number of unpublished (and untranslated) graffiti inscriptions recorded by Romer. These also probably date to Dynasty XVIII and include a text on the south wall of chamber I, detailed check lists scratched into the jambs of one of the side rooms off the burial chamber, and black ink inscriptions in the same location (one might contain a date). The latter texts were covered in plaster at the time of the side rooms' sealing.⁵⁹

Section D: Rock Graffiti in "La Vallée de l'Aigle" and "La Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep".⁶⁰

Section E: Rock Graffiti in and around the Cliffs and Hills of the South-West Wâdis at Western Thebes.

(i) Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd.

1. Central Bay.

One possible example of a Dynasty XVIII graffito from this valley (CEDAE Section 220B) is a cartouche naming the princess Nefrure (daughter of Hatshepsut) on a large block of fallen limestone which Carter noted in 1916 (cf. in *JEA* 4 (1917), 109).⁶¹ As the inscribed rock was positioned just below the cliff-tomb WC A, Carter tentatively ascribed the latter sepulchre to the princess and in this attribution he has usually been followed.⁶²

It should be remarked, however, that it is by no means certain that this Nefrure cartouche is contemporary with WC A (which certainly dates to early Dynasty XVIII) and the graffito may have been cut much later by one of the inspection parties who are known to have visited these remote cliff-tombs in the late XXth and early XXIst Dynasties, as a means of identifying what was by then an ancient monument.

(ii) Wâdi el-Gharbi.

1. Cirque de Hérihor.

⁵⁹ All these data are taken from Reeves, *VK*, 51 n. 41, who cites a letter of 26. 7. 1982 from John Romer for the details. And cf. Romer, *VK*, 191, for the initial mention of some of these tantalizing epigraphs.

⁶⁰ Note the presence of another rock graffito of the nomen of Amenophis I, this time upon a cliff in the "Vallée de l'Aigle": Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3541; vol. II/3, plan 53bis (CEDAE Section 62). However, as with other examples of the nomina of Amenophis I, it is difficult to say whether this text does indeed date to early Dynasty XVIII, as Amenophis's cult among the Deir el-Medîna workmen extended over several centuries.

⁶¹ Graffito no 1544. See now Černý, *MSS*. 6.13, 23 (after a copy from the Carter papers).

⁶² Romer, *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 192-193; idem, *VK*, 241-243; Reeves, *VK*, 19; but also cf. Thomas, *RNT*, 196-197.

Near the head of this valley (CEDAE Section 226C) are two newly located rock graffiti; one consists of a kingly figure dispatching a fallen foe and this is accompanied by the prenomen of Tuthmosis III (preceded by the title, *nb twy*). The other graffito records what appears to be the prenomen and nomen of Amenophis II.⁶³

As far as I am aware there are no known building works of either of these two kings in this remote wâdi and if the cartouches do indeed date to Dynasty XVIII then I can only suggest that they were left by officials or workmen scouring this area for a suitable spot in which to cut a royal cliff-tomb similar to those excavated in Wâdis Sikket Tâqet Zaid and Qubbânet el-Qirûd for Queen Hatshepsut, princess Nefrure(?), and three Asiatic wives of Tuthmosis III.⁶⁴

⁶³ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, nos. 3884 and 3883.

⁶⁴ PM, I², Pt. 2, 591-592; Thomas, *RNT*, 194-198; Romer, *VK*, 241-243; and add Lilyquist, *Seventh International Congress*, 109-110.

Chapter Seven: Part II

West Theban Graffiti of the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina and Other Officials of the Theban Necropolis in Dynasty XIX

(c. 1295-1186 B.C.)

General Remarks

Following the reorganizations and enlargements of the Deir el-Medina crew under Horemhab and Sethos I, the royal workmen cut large and, in the case of Sethos I, magnificently decorated sepulchres for both rulers in the East Valley of the Kings.¹ (The intervening 16 month regime of Ramesses I had not given the tomb-workforce any opportunity to demonstrate its new work practices² within the latter's tomb, KV 16.)³

The high official now responsible for the tombworkers was not the chief-steward of Thebes as under Horemhab but Sethos I's southern vizier, Paser son of Nebnetjeru.⁴ This new arrangement of placing Deir el-Medina and its artisans under the control of the southern vizier⁵ was a managerial reform probably ushered in by Paser.⁶ Henceforth, it was the southern vizier who approved all appointments and dismissals to and from the village on behalf of the ruling king;

¹ See Reeves, *VK*, 75-79 and 92-94. Although both tombs are very largely complete in terms of excavation, that of Horemhab (= KV 57) lacks most of its decoration. However, the scenes that have been laid out in KV 57 are of excellent quality; presumably such work had only just begun when the king's death brought it to an end. Cf. Romer, *VK*, 227-229; E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity* (1990), 50, 52-54, and 66-70.

² For the work involved in quarrying out royal tombs in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens and the labour intensive new decorative technique of painted bas-relief used in the first Ramesside royal tombs: Černý, *VK*, 11-12, 15-22, 35-54; E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Horemhab im Tal der Könige* (1971), 32-37; add Bogoslovsky, *ZÄS* 107 (1980), 91-93. The quality of this raised relief work can also be seen in the entrance corridor of the tomb of Ramesses II (KV 7); cf. now E. Porter and W. Stern, *Monuments of Egypt* (1990), pl. 49. Later royal tombs were generally decorated with coloured *relief en creux*: Černý, *VK*, 12.

³ So Piankoff, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), pls. 1-9; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 163; Reeves, *VK*, 91-92. Note that the tomb of Queen Sitre (QV 38), wife of Ramesses I, is also very small and unfinished: PM, I², Pt. 2, 751; Leblanc, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 238-239.

⁴ Donohue, *JEA* 74 (1988), 103-123.

⁵ Until the mid XXth Dynasty when the high-priest of Amun took over the prerogative; now cf. Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 139 and 142-143.

⁶ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 139-140.

it was the vizier who, at least in principle,⁷ supervised the community of royal workmen, and with the senior officers of the village, ensured the construction of the ruler's sepulchre in the Valley of the Kings,⁸ as well as all those hypogea in the Valley of the Queens required for the ruler's spouses and close relatives.⁹ (As in Dynasty XVIII there is little evidence for the crew working on private tomb-chapels in the Ramesside period.)¹⁰

Of particular concern to us here is the fact that from Dynasty XIX onwards the mass of textual graffiti at western Thebes begins to increase dramatically. How do we explain this? As we have noted already Paser, like the steward of Thebes Djchutymose, seems to have increased the numbers of workmen at Deir el-Medīna. New houses were added to the village during the reign of Sethos I, presumably to accommodate additional tombworkers and their families,¹¹ and it is entirely possible that many of these new artisans were literate to varying degrees and therefore capable of writing textual rock graffiti in the Theban hills if they were so inclined to do so and

⁷ In practice it was the southern vizier's local representatives who will have done much of the day to day regulating, the vizier being away much of the time in the north at Memphis or Pi-Ramessé. The vizier could, of course, send and receive essential messages by way of letters. It ought to be stressed that the Deir el-Medīna workmen will have formed a relatively small part of the vizier's over-all responsibilities; note G. P. F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* (1988), 310-331; McDowell, *JWC*, 10.

⁸ Unlike Dynasty XVIII, burial in the Valley of the Kings in the Ramesside period was now strictly reserved for royalty; the only exception appears to have been the provision of a small tomb (KV 13) for chancellor Bay at the end of Dynasty XIX: Reeves, *VK*, 133; Altenmüller, *GM* 107 (1989), 43-54; idem, *SAK* 19 (1992), 15-36; *SAK* 21 (1994), 1-18; also *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 1-12.

⁹ There is also a small number of documents recording that the royal workmen were employed on short-term projects outside the Theban necropolis from time to time. Some may even have been sent as far afield as Wâdi Hammâmât and Gebel es-Silsilah to extract choice stone. Note Černý, *Community*, 21 and 65-67; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 92, 176, 197-198; Ventura, *LCD*, 105 n. 100; Brock, *After Tut'ankhamûn*, 137; McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 44-45.

¹⁰ Note, however, that at the end of the XXth Dynasty some members of the Deir el-Medīna crew were employed to cut (*sd*) the tomb (*m'ḥr't*) of a high-priest of Amun during the reign of Ramesses IX (see O. Cairo 25243, rt. 14 = *KRI*, VI, 871: 1 & *KRI*, VII, 462: 7) and also to work in the tomb (*m'ḥr't*) of the army scribe of the temple of Medīnet Habu Pentahutnakhte in Year 3 of Ramesses X (Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 56, 5-7 = *KRI*, VI, 694: 16 - 695: 1). As far as the construction of a private tomb for an unnamed high-priest of Amun is concerned this is presumably an example of one of the perks enjoyed by a late Ramesside pontiff in return for his support of the workmen: Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 143. It is also known that the high quality of the painted scenes in the tomb of Imiseba, the chief of archives of the Estate of Amun (TT 65, temp. Ramesses IX), is due to the efforts of a leading village draughtsman named Amenhotep and his son (note the famous graffito in the tomb of Ramesses VI = *KRI*, VI, 658-659). The special subject matter evident in some of its scenes (a statue cult of one XVIIth Dynasty king and those of eleven New Kingdom rulers) again suggests that Imiseba's tomb was decorated by a royal tombworker. Another private Theban tomb-chapel that may also have been painted by this same draughtsman is that of Kynebu (TT 113, temp. Ramesses VIII); now cf. McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 48, 51 and 53.

¹¹ Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 328; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 164.

had the opportunity.¹² Further, it is also possible that some sort of school to train scribes and draughtsmen may have been founded in the Ramesside era, if not earlier,¹³ and it is surely significant that it is from the XIXth Dynasty onwards that papyri, ostraca, and graffiti relating to the tombworker's activities begin to appear in increasing numbers, though surprisingly few¹⁴ such texts are datable before the middle years of Ramesses II.¹⁵

Such an imbalance in surviving data may be due to chance but it may also be remarked that because of the relative brevity of the later XIXth Dynasty regimes this was a particularly busy epoch for the Deir el-Medina workmen. Under Siptah no less than three tombs were apparently worked at the same time; one for the pharaoh and two others for Queen Twosret and chancellor Bay.¹⁶ Likewise, the political woes that beset the nation at the end of Dynasty XIX appear to have left their particular mark at Deir el-Medina with a sharp drop in the number of dated documents emanating from the community during the first years of Dynasty XX; such records only become regular again in the middle years of Ramesses III.¹⁷

The Topographical Distribution of Textual Graffiti in Western Thebes from Dynasty XIX

¹² As we shall see the widespread distribution of rock graffiti at western Thebes provides good evidence that compared to their XVIIIth Dynasty predecessors, the Ramesside royal workmen were allowed much greater freedom of movement within the Valleys of the Kings and Queens (and elsewhere), at least in their leisure hours.

¹³ The evidence for this is largely based on the many literary ostraca recovered from the *Grand Puits* and the Valleys of the Kings and Queens that appear to have been copied out as school-boy exercises. However, no fixed building for such an establishment has ever been identified at Deir el-Medina and the actual business of teaching may have been conducted in the home. The sole Ramesside reference from the village records to *ḥt sbj* "the school" (cf. Černý, *LRL*, 10: 13-14) probably refers at this period to a scribal college within the walls of the great memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. See Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 245-246, 336-338, 340 n. 1.

¹⁴ In the case of Ramesses I, the dearth of administrative documents will be due to the brevity of the reign (Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 163); with Sethos I, judging by the size and artistic splendour of his tomb, it is presumably due to chance that his rule is not better represented in the village records. See here Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 27-29 and 164. It is possible, however, that under Sethos I record-keeping was not as detailed as under later reigns. Differences in the amount of records kept could even be the result of the personal work habits of different scribes; cf. Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), 117; idem, *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 169.

¹⁵ On the ostraca: Janssen, *Village Voices*, 86 n. 24.

¹⁶ And work on these sepulchres may have begun within a year or so of one another. That of Siptah (KV 47) in his Year 1, 4 *Peret* 21 (see O. Cairo 25515 vs. IV, 5, vs. V, 1-2: *KRI*, IV, 382: 11-14); Twosret (KV 14) in Year 2, 1 *Peret* 8, of Siptah or Sethos II (O. Cairo J. 72452 = *KRI*, IV, 404), that of Bay (= KV 13) by Year 3, 4 *Akhet* 20, of Siptah (O. Cairo J. 72451: *KRI*, IV, 404: 14-16); note also Gardiner, *JEA* 44 (1958), 19; and now Altenmüller, *SAK* 11 (1984), 45-47; idem, *After Tut'ankhamun*, 147-149; and *SAK* 21 (1994), 27-28.

¹⁷ There is a very significant gap in our records from the community for the first fifteen or so years of King Ramesses III: Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 18-21. Data from the preceding two year reign of Setnakhte is almost non-existent (so Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 186).

Section A: Rock Graffiti in Wâdyein.

There are relatively few graffiti texts to be found within this long, winding, track that leads up to the East and West Valleys of the Kings from the Nile plain to the north of Dra' Abû '1-Naga' (now CEDAE Sections 142-144 and 202-203).¹⁸ The earliest graffiti in this area appear to be two undated inscriptions etched¹⁹ upon a large boulder not far from the entrance to the West Valley.²⁰ These preserve the name and titles of Paser son of Nebnetjeru, the celebrated southern vizier of Sethos I and Ramesses II. In the accompanying scenes it is the prenomen of the latter ruler that is adored along with Hathor, goddess of the Western Mountain, by a kneeling figure of the vizier.²¹

Considering his pivotal role in the reorganization of the workmen's community at Deir el-Medîna, Paser's occasional presence in the royal necropolis is only to be expected. And though otherwise wholly uninformative these graffiti may commemorate a personal visit by the vizier to inspect the work in progress in the tomb of Ramesses II.²²

Also to be assigned to the era of Ramesses II is a graffito at a ravine in Wâdyein, some 900 m. from the modern gate of the East Valley of the Kings.²³ This yields the name and title of the Deir el-Medîna foreman Nebnufer, son of Neferhotep the Elder,²⁴ who held the office of chief-workman of the right side of the crew during much of Ramesses II's reign.²⁵ Just 35 m. to the right of this text²⁶ are two other undated graffiti from the regime of Ramesses II. These

¹⁸ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pl. 2.

¹⁹ One would like to know more about the implements used to incise the rock graffiti at West Thebes. Long ago, Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge*, 9 n. 1; suggested "einem Stichel oder spitzen Feuerstein" as possible tools. In a recent private letter Prof. Jac. J. Janssen expressed the view that most of the rock graffiti had probably been cut with a copper tool (also note here: Černý, *Community*, 339) or a sharp piece of flint. And although the very great majority of the West Theban rock graffiti were written in hieratic, lightly scratched along the rock face, a few were scribbled in the hieroglyphic script or in hieratic with red or black ink; cf. for example, Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1140, 1299; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, III/1, pl. III, no. 1625, etc.

²⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pl. 11; I/2, iv-v; II/2, plan 123.

²¹ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1-2; also now cf. the greatly improved readings in Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, pls. 130-131; also *KRI*, III, 22.

²² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, v. It is less likely that they mark Paser's presence at the obsequies for Sethos I. The prenomen of Ramesses II employed in these graffiti is the fully developed form of *Usimare setepenre* and not the plainer *Usimare* used by Ramesses as prince-regent under Sethos I and during his first regnal year. See Kitchen, *ASAE* 71 (1987), 133.

²³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/3, plan 124.

²⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2869; *KRI*, III, 587: 1.

²⁵ Černý, *Community*, 285-288; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 21.

²⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/3, plan 124.

name the royal scribe in the Place of Truth Amenemope and the guardian in the Place of Truth Khawy.²⁷

The chief-workman Nebnufer, son of Neferhotep, is also attested in a group of six unpublished rock graffiti first noted by Carter during the Carnarvon excavations of 1915.²⁸ These are "on face of cliff, at the top of small valley upon the plateau of Draḥ Abou'l Negga, above and opposite the mouth of the Wadiein Valley of the Valley of the Kings".²⁹

From a slightly later period is a rock graffito of particular interest from Year 7 of Merenptah in a grotto at Wâdyein some 1400 m. from the modern entrance to the Valley of the Kings.³⁰ This reads:

"Year 7, 3 Akhet 1. On this day dragging of the eternal monuments of Baenre-[meri]amun".³¹

What this text apparently records is the movement of some of the royal funerary furniture of Merenptah into the East Valley of the Kings several years before the ruler's death.³² Not only is this of interest in itself³³ but our graffito also exposes Wâdyein's function as a route for the transport of certain "eternal monuments" (*mnw nḥḥ*)³⁴ into the Valley of the Kings. No doubt

²⁷ See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 95 and 97 (*KRI*, I, 388: 15; *KRI*, III, 700: 12). For details of Amenemope and Khawy at Deir el-Medīna, see Černý, *Community*, 194-195 and 152-153. Graffito no. 95 names both Amenemope and Khawy (no. 97 merely records Khawy) and this may suggest that the pair were on friendly terms, especially as they are also attested by a rock stela originally in the West Valley of the Kings (now MMA 14.6.183) where they are shown together worshipping the ram's head of Amun with two other colleagues: Kitchen, *RITANC*, I, 284 (§497). Note also that the royal scribe Amenemope was not the senior scribe at Deir el-Medīna under King Ramesses II but a subordinate of the famous scribe of the Tomb Ramose. Amenemope appears to have assisted the latter in routine administrative work; cf. McDowell, *JWC*, 73.

²⁸ Graffiti nos. 1527-1532. Nebnufer is attested in no. 1531. The five other graffiti record the names and titles of several Deir el-Medīna workmen of Dynasties XIX-XX such as Penamun, son of the chief-workman Baki (temp. Ramesses II): Černý, *Community*, 291-292.

²⁹ So Carter, MSS. i. D. 70-73; Černý, MSS. 6.13, 20; and now cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/5, plans 186-187, for the exact location of each inscription.

³⁰ CEDAE Section 203. Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/5, plan. 185.

³¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 83; now in *KRI*, IV, 154.

³² The Year 10, 4 Akhet 7 recorded in P. Sallier I, 3, 4, is still the highest possible date for Merenptah; cf. Wente and Van Siclen, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 235-236; also J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* (1994), 70.

³³ These events are probably connected with the funerary preparations in Year 7-8 of Merenptah recorded in O. Cairo 25504 (*KRI*, IV, 155-158). See Thomas, *RNT*, 109-110; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 177-178; Ventura, *LCD*, 165-167.

³⁴ Possibly the royal sarcophagi: Brock, *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 137. Janssen suggests statues. See *Rd'É* 43 (1992), 111 and n. 18.

these were oversize objects³⁵ that would have proved far too cumbersome to manoeuvre over the steep and treacherous western mountains.³⁶

Further, for the royal funerary corteges, Wâdyein was the most practical and processionally spectacular route to the Valley of the Kings.³⁷ The Deir el-Medîna workforce, and most West Theban officials in general, probably had little reason to frequent this region except on special occasions such as royal funerals and during the movements of large objects through Wâdyein; this may help to account for the dearth of New Kingdom graffiti in this section of the Theban necropolis.³⁸

Section B: Rock Graffiti in and around the

East Valley of the Kings.

Not surprisingly it is in the East Valley of the Kings that the majority of the known graffiti texts relating to the tombworkers are to be found. This, after all, was the workmen's principal place of labour for some four hundred years, though as we have already seen, it was only from Dynasty XIX onwards that textual rock graffiti began to appear in any numbers.

Within the Valley there were clearly several favourite places³⁹ where successive generations of scribes and literate (and semi-literate) workmen came to scribble down their names and titles and, more rarely, an observation (mention of a visiting dignitary etc.).⁴⁰ Most rock graffiti are undated. In some cases these authors were seemingly attracted to a certain spot by the writings of contemporaries, former colleagues, or long-dead ancestors. In this way, as in societies of all

³⁵ This is indicated by the use of the verb *stj*, "to drag", "to haul"; it appears that some degree of force was required to move these monuments along. See the references in L. H. Lesko (ed.), *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. III (1987), 113.

³⁶ And note that it was back through Wâdyein that Giovanni Belzoni removed the great stone sarcophagus of Ramesses III some three thousand years later; cf. Romer, *VK*, 52-53.

³⁷ However, bringing bulky objects into the Valley of the Kings via Wâdyein must still have caused difficulties. Until the last century or so the ancient entrance to the Valley was barred by a natural rock screen that had to be mounted by a steep narrow passage some 3 m. high; note Černý, *VK*, 3; Romer, *VK*, 33 and 40.

³⁸ Cf. Ventura, *LCD*, 143-144.

³⁹ Notably the so-called "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II": Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 8-10; "Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah": Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 11-12; "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI": Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II, plans 5, 13, 134-143; the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II": Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 15, 34-44, 47; and "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III": Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 45-46 and 63-74. Their popularity was undoubtedly due to the shade to be had in these sections of the royal wâdi.

⁴⁰ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 245 and 247 (= *KRI*, V, 380); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 11.

ages, graffiti gradually attracted more graffiti.⁴¹ The accessibility of a rock face also appears to have been a factor in deciding where to inscribe a text. A convenient, smooth, writing surface often means a mass of graffiti, one on top of another.⁴² A few solitary inscriptions, normally scratched in remote sections of the Valley not usually frequented by the crew of workmen, are also evident.⁴³

Groups of graffiti can vary from one or two texts to as many as thirty or more.⁴⁴ They can be thinly spread over long patches of rock or clustered tightly together in a small "nest".⁴⁵ In the majority of cases the workmen appear to have been in a standing or sitting position when they cut their graffiti throughout the various areas of the Theban necropolis and many of these texts can be reached and read today in a similar pose.⁴⁶

However, there are some graffiti texts in the Valley of the Kings that are over 10 m. above the present ground level while others are situated at the very base of the cliffs.⁴⁷ These graffiti reveal just how much the topography of the East Valley of the Kings has been altered over the centuries not only by archaeological activity in the modern era but by flashfloods both ancient and modern. The same effects can also be seen in the Valley of the Queens, though to a lesser extent.⁴⁸

Flood waters could raise or lower whole sections of the Valley's floor level and alter its very landscape by loosening, and redepositing in new locations, the royal wâdi's small mountains of tomb chippings, boulders, and old flood debris.⁴⁹ These mounds of rubble and sand were constantly changing height throughout antiquity and inevitably this affected the level at which one graffiti was executed compared to another written earlier. A section of cliff face accessible during one reign might not be available under the next.⁵⁰

A further general observation to be made concerning the West Theban graffiti, is that most of these texts are located in shadow either all of the time or for at least part of the day. Presumably this was done in most cases to ensure that a text was clear and legible to its author and

⁴¹ For example, cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 6 and 37.

⁴² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 11, 37, 43.

⁴³ So Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 1, 3, 4.

⁴⁴ For example: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 1, 8, 37.

⁴⁵ E.g. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 2, 7, 14, 43, 64, 65.

⁴⁶ Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), 109-110.

⁴⁷ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 15, 43, 72.

⁴⁸ E.g. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/4, plan 48bis.

⁴⁹ J. Romer in Appendix Two of J. and E. Romer, *The Rape of Tutankhamun* (1993), 146.

⁵⁰ For example: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 11; now: Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), 110.

to future passers-by. In some locations this siting also pin-points a cool rock shelter offering shade from the blazing sun.⁵¹

In the Valleys of the Kings and Queens it was perhaps during the midday break⁵² (or on a free afternoon) that many of the graffiti were inscribed by the scribes and workmen when they were not actually labouring in the royal tomb in progress.⁵³ Other graffiti may have been scribbled down early in the morning, just before work began, or in the late afternoon, before darkness fell, when the men retired to their nearby temporary settlement on the col above the Valley of the Kings.⁵⁴

Thanks to the diligence of Carter, Spiegelberg, Černý, and most recently the epigraphers of the CEDAE, we can trace the presence of many of the senior scribes and men of Dynasty XIX Deir el-Medīna in the Valley of the Kings (and elsewhere) by the graffiti that they themselves wrote or by their mention in inscriptions left by colleagues. A few of these personalities occur quite frequently in graffiti texts (and are also known from monuments at Deir el-Medīna), their names having been traced in many regions of the Theban *gebēl*. Other workers are known only from their graffiti. And although the majority of these texts are undated they have often proved invaluable in reconstructing the genealogies of several Deir el-Medīna families.⁵⁵

Unremarkably, the most frequently attested titles in the West Theban graffiti relating to the Deir el-Medīna workmen are those of "scribe" (or else "royal scribe", "scribe in/of the Place of Truth", "scribe of the Tomb", etc.), "draughtsman" (again with variants), and also "servant in the Place of Truth".⁵⁶ In most cases the holders of the first two offices, by the nature of their

⁵¹ Note here: Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1400, which marks "the sitting-place (*ḥt st sḏr*) of the scribe Qenḥirkhopshef", a niche in the bay left of the tomb of Merenptah (KV 8). Here, in comfort, this scribe could supervise the work in the royal tomb: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pl. 43. The shade to be found in this particular bay was appreciated by other scribes and workmen: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 11. Three more "sitting-places" are all located among the cliffs of the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III". For these: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 423, 431 and 438; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 45.

⁵² Note how one XXth Dynasty workman, 'Apatjau (= *KRI*, VI, 212-213), staked out a small stretch of the cliff face in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II" with a graffito indicating where his jar (*mnt*) - presumably for water or beer - was kept awaiting its owner's use as required; cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2188.

⁵³ See Černý, *VK*, 48-53, for a plausible reconstruction of the men's daily work routine.

⁵⁴ On their free days, the provision for which was usually very generous, the royal workmen probably spent most of their time back at Deir el-Medīna, resting with their families, working on their own tombs in the village cemetery, or engaged in their lucrative sideline of manufacturing funerary furniture for private clients: Janssen, *SAK* 8 (1980), 132-135 and 144-145.

⁵⁵ E.g. Černý, *Community*, 138, 346 and 362; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 15-16.

⁵⁶ See Černý, *Graffiti*, Index, 36-37; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, Index, 89-91; IV/2, Index, 140; IV/3, Index, 171-172; IV/4, Index, 213; IV/5, Index, 236; IV/6, Index, 256.

work, were probably fully literate.⁵⁷ But there are also a number of graffiti texts which record the names and titles of ordinary workmen, craftsmen, guardians and doorkeepers of the Tomb, and some of these men were apparently also capable of reading and writing their own names if not much else.⁵⁸ In some cases they may have asked a friendly scribe or draughtsman to write down their name and titles for them.⁵⁹

One would also like to know more about the complex motivations of the authors of graffiti texts at western Thebes. In many instances it was surely more than just vanity or as a way of alleviating boredom that the royal workmen inscribed their names, prayers, spells and even the figures of their gods and goddesses on rocks, especially in sacred landscapes such as the Valley of the Kings.⁶⁰ A votive graffito may have been considered all the more potent if written in a royal cemetery.⁶¹ Perhaps it was this sense of awe for the royal dead that discouraged the men from writing out a single line from any of the classical Egyptian literary texts in their graffiti, despite the popularity of these stories at Deir el-Medīna either as reading matter for pleasure or as by-products of school exercises.⁶² Perhaps the effort of scratching out even a small excerpt from such works, as a cumbersome way of practicing one's proficiency in reading and writing, was just not worth the bother on the rock surfaces of the Valley, especially when flakes of the very same limestone cliffs were so readily available for use in the shape of ostraca.⁶³

Turning to the rock graffiti in the Valley of the Kings datable to the XIXth Dynasty, and to specific individuals from this period who are mentioned in the texts, it is to be noted that there

⁵⁷ Černý, *Community*, 191-192.

⁵⁸ There is also the real problem that the bare title "scribe" was often used loosely by certain individuals who held no such administrative post but who wished to claim a degree of literacy for themselves: Černý, *Community*, 196-197; Baines and Eyre, *GM* 61 (1983), 87-88; also McDowell, *JWC*, 70. Most recently, Janssen (*Village Voices*, 81-91) has forcefully advocated that the number of fully and semi-literate ordinary workmen at the village was greater than has generally been assumed.

⁵⁹ Note Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1230 (= *KRI*, V, 657: 11-12).

⁶⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 780 and 800; B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh* (1930), 233, fig. 120 (= Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1218); also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1635, 2054, 2300 and 2431.

⁶¹ Note that Keller has recently suggested (in *Seventh International Congress*, 97-99) that the large figured ostraca found in several Ramesside royal tombs in the East Valley of the Kings (notably those of Kings Ramesses VI and IX) were placed there by Deir el-Medīna workmen as votive objects in a special, spiritually charged, royal environment that could act as a powerful conduit for their prayers and requests.

⁶² Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 336-340.

⁶³ To my knowledge one never finds even the smallest fragment of any of the great Egyptian literary compositions in any form of graffiti (even ink graffiti penned on a relatively smooth writing surface such as a plastered wall) anywhere in Egypt (or ancient Nubia) at any period.

are very few graffiti inscriptions that can be dated with any confidence to earlier than the reign of Ramesses II.⁶⁴ With the latter's accession, our corpora of material steadily increase.

Among the most prominent members of the royal workmen's community from this time is the earliest senior administrative scribe of the Tomb for whom any substantial evidence is available, Ramose, son of Amenemhab, who held this office from Year 5 of Ramesses II⁶⁵ until at least Year 38 of the latter.⁶⁶

For a man who left behind so many public monuments, and who clearly enjoyed a long and distinguished career, it is curious that, as yet, Ramose is known from just one rock graffito in the Valley of the Kings.⁶⁷ As is so often the case with these texts, it is a laconic inscription with just his name and the plain title "scribe", on a cliff face above the tomb of Merenptah.⁶⁸ In fact, Ramose seems to have left just two other graffiti in the entire Theban necropolis.

Compared to the enthusiasm displayed by several later senior scribes of the Tomb (including Ramose's own adopted son or pupil) for scribbling their names all over the West Theban hills, this is a very meagre tally for such an important figure. It appears that autographing a mass of rock graffiti did not appeal to him. Ramose preferred to immortalize his name and family with grander works, and he commanded the economic resources to do just that.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Kitchen, in *KRI*, I, 370, 391, 395, 402, 409, 410, knows only Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 721b (the prenomen of Sethos I and perhaps the personal name Nebnufer), no. 817 (cartouches of Horemhab, Ramesses I, and Sethos I written by the draughtsman Pay and his colleague the sculptor Paiy; presumably both men served all three kings), no. 819 (name of the workman Pashed and his father Heh-nekhu); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2614 (the name and title of the draughtsman Pashed); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1930 (the name of the chief craftsman Huy), 2134 and 2187 (the name and title of the workman Nebdjefa son of Amennakhte). All these men are datable to the reign of Sethos I. See now: Kitchen, *RITANC*, I, 264 (§ 467b), 286 (§ 506), 289 (§ 511), 295 (§ 525), 300 (§ 532), and 301 (§ 534).

⁶⁵ Ramose, being an outside appointment, was evidently proud of his new post and carefully noted the date of his elevation (Year 5, 3 *Akhet* 10) on O. Cairo 25671 (= *KRI*, III, 636), and again in a red ink graffito (Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1140) painted on rocks behind tomb 54 in the Valley of the Queens; now cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 19. He was not the last scribe of the Tomb to mark his appointment with a graffito in the Queens' Valley.

⁶⁶ On Ramose's career: Černý, *Community*, 317-327; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 20; also McDowell, *JWC*, 74, 88-89, for the slight possibility that there were two contemporary senior scribes of the Tomb (Ramose and a certain Tjay) in the early years of Ramesses II's rule.

⁶⁷ Note that an untitled Ramose is mentioned in the Valley in three other graffiti: nos. 2530 (inscribed on a cliff face 20 m. south of the entrance to KV 32 at the head of the wâdi) and 507 and 2539 (cut low on the stretch of cliff between the tomb of Bay and the tomb of Maiherpri). For the location of these texts: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 74 and 37. However, it seems unlikely that they were left by the famous scribe of the Tomb of that name: Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 351; also note Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1210.

⁶⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 352b (= *KRI*, III, 639: 14-15); for its location, see Černý, *MSS*, 6.15, 6.

⁶⁹ See J. Černý, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection* (1958), Bankes Stela No. 4; idem, *Community*, 322; also Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 163-164.

Also to be dated to this period are several graffiti in the Valley of the Kings written by the scribe in the Place of Truth Huy, son of Djehutyhirmaketef. The latter appears to have acted as one of three junior scribes engaged in routine administrative work for the senior scribe of the Tomb, Ramose, in the middle years of Ramesses II's reign.⁷⁰

Ramose was followed as senior scribe of the Tomb by his protégé Qenḥirkhopshef, son of Panakhte, no later than Year 45 of Ramesses II.⁷¹ Qenḥirkhopshef held the post until perhaps Year 1 of Siptah,⁷² a career as scribe of the Tomb of at least 42 years.⁷³

From his lengthy term of office, few monuments have survived; but unlike Ramose, scribe Qenḥirkhopshef clearly had a penchant for writing his name, in his distinctive hand, in graffiti texts all over the Theban mountain; it is a practice that has established him as one of the three most prolific ancient "Kilroys" of the West Bank.⁷⁴ Whether this trait was due to vanity⁷⁵ or force of habit, or boredom, or a mixture of all these factors can never be known.

In the Valley of the Kings, over the course of a long career, scribe Qenḥirkhopshef inscribed his name and titles (and sometimes the names of colleagues who were with him at the time)⁷⁶ over a wide area.⁷⁷ There does not seem to have been any special purpose for composing these brief epigraphs. He seems merely to have left his signature whenever he was at a site for work

⁷⁰ See Černý, *Community*, 215-216; *KRI*, III, 645-646; McDowell, *JWC*, 73-74. For Huy's Valley graffiti: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 419; Carter graffiti no. 1459; add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1722 (of Year 37 of Ramesses II), 1730, and 2816.

⁷¹ See Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1401. Qenḥirkhopshef first appears for certain in the documents of the Tomb in an ostrakon of Year 40 of Ramesses II (note O. BM 5634, vs. 11) but he is not explicitly termed there as scribe. It is not impossible, however, that he held the post as early as Year 40, especially if Ramose died in Year 38-39; cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 26. Presumably he was taught to read and write by Ramose as his intended successor (note here: Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), 101-102). Qenḥirkhopshef certainly held a filial affection toward Ramose; on some of his later monuments he names the latter as his "father" rather than Panakhte (= *KRI*, III, 640). However, this is never the case in rock graffiti where it is Panakhte who is invariably termed "father". See conveniently: *KRI*, III, 644 and 756: 16; also *KRI*, IV, 180-181, 185-186, 337: 7.

⁷² See Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 26-28.

⁷³ Aspects of his character and career: Černý, *Community*, 329-337; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 26-29.

⁷⁴ For the full range of his inscriptions: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, Index, pp. 145-147; add Černý, *Graffiti*, Index, p. 34; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, Index, 84; IV/2, Index, 138; IV/3, Index, 170; IV/5, Index, 235; *KRI*, III, 644-645; *KRI*, IV, 158, 180-181, 185-188, 239, 337.

⁷⁵ So Černý, *Community*, 337.

⁷⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 656a+b, 712a, 735a+b; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1698; and IV/2, no. 2609: 4.

⁷⁷ E.g. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 187 and 189 (written near the tomb of Amenophis II), nos. 320, 324, 334, 338 (all inscribed on a cliff behind the tomb of Merenptah), nos. 552a+b (on a cliff near the tomb of Setnakhte), nos. 598, 604, 637, 750b (on cliffs near the tomb of King Tuthmosis III), and nos. 734, 735a+b, 737, 738, also Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1401, which are all located in the isolated wādi behind the tomb of Ramesses VII; see for this: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 3.

or at rest; this also appears to have been the case with the great majority of the graffiti inscriptions left by other scribes and workmen.⁷⁸

In addition to these two relatively well-attested senior scribes, Qenḥirkhopshef's successor as senior scribe of the Tomb, Bay (temp. Sethos II-Ramesses III?), has incised his name in rock graffiti throughout the Valley.⁷⁹

Also in the Valley are a limited number of rock graffiti that may have been written by two scribes of the vizier from the XIXth Dynasty: Paser I (temp. Merenptah-Ramesses III),⁸⁰ and Pashed (temp. Sethos II-Siptah).⁸¹ Significantly, there are far fewer graffiti texts in the Valley attributable to these "outside" scribes and this is what one might expect for officials who lived away from Deir el-Medīna and who appear not to have counted as official members of the crew of workmen. As such they probably had little reason to visit the royal cemeteries as opposed to their visits to the workmen's village and its immediate environs.⁸²

⁷⁸ Presumably, some of the graffiti scratched by Qenḥirkhopshef in the wâdi behind the tomb of Merenptah (see Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 291, 309, 310, 320) will date to the period when that tomb was under construction, a project that Qenḥirkhopshef jointly supervised. Likewise, several of his graffiti texts on cliffs near the tomb of Sethos II probably date to the cutting of that monument and mark Qenḥirkhopshef's regular presence in the area. See here: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 552a+b; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1 nos. 2045, 2212; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plans 38-39.

⁷⁹ So Černý, *Community*, 201-202; *KRI*, V, 640-641; also cf. McDowell, *JWC*, 74. Graffiti recording the name of Bay in the Valley: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 206, 516, 602, and 638; add Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1402; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1678, 1682, 1695, 1697e, 1699, 1701, 1897, 1905, 1906, 2011c, and 2019.

⁸⁰ Janssen, *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, 133-147, clearly demonstrated that there were two scribes of this name, possibly of the vizier's office. One is known from Year 8 of Merenptah to Year 17 of Ramesses III, and a second from Year 2 of Ramesses V to Year 2 of Ramesses VI. As the earlier of the two is the better documented I have assigned those graffiti mentioning a scribe Paser to him, although some or all may in fact date to the second Paser instead. Note McDowell, *JWC*, 76-77. Graffiti naming a scribe Paser in the East Valley are few in number: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 44, 459, 481f, 533; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2880. Graffiti nos. 481f and 533 are both located in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II" where most of the late XIXth Dynasty royal tombs are excavated. Possibly they record the scribe's visit(s) to the labouring workmen.

⁸¹ A number of graffiti in the Theban necropolis record the name of a "scribe" Pashed (= *KRI*, IV, 439); and there are grounds for assigning such texts to a scribe of that name who appears to have been active on behalf of the southern vizier in the late XIXth Dynasty. However, the name "Pashed" was a popular one in Dynasty XIX and at Deir el-Medīna a chief-draughtsman and one or more ordinary draughtsmen are also known to have held it. Some of these graffiti, therefore, may be the work of a draughtsman loosely using the title "scribe" rather than of any local agent of the vizier. See Černý, *Community*, 205-206; add McDowell, *JWC*, 80-81. For graffiti of a "scribe" Pashed in the Valley of the Kings: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 227a, 229, 232, 338, 544a, 560; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1591, 1608, 1654, 1896, 2133, 2304, and 2803.

⁸² McDowell, *JWC*, 71-72.

Of course it was not only the necropolis scribes who left their mark within the Valley; the names and titles of several chief-workmen of Dynasty XIX (of the right side of the gang: the well-known father and son, Nebnufer⁸³ and Neferhotep the Younger;⁸⁴ the latter's successor Paneb, son of Nefersene;⁸⁵ of the left side: Qaha son of Huy⁸⁶ and the chief-workman Hay)⁸⁷ are attested by graffiti in the Valley. The names of at least three draughtsmen,⁸⁸ and a sculptor (Ipuu, temp. Ramesses II) can also be firmly assigned to the XIXth Dynasty Valley graffiti.⁸⁹

⁸³ Having succeeded his father, Neferhotep the Elder, as chief-workman during the early years of Ramesses II, Nebnufer seems to have served for most of the latter's reign. See here: Černý, *Community*, 286-288; add Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 21-22. At present Nebnufer is known from eight widely dispersed graffiti in the Valley: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 263 (in the wâdi behind the tomb of Merenptah), 636 (on a cliff near the tomb of Tuthmosis III), 651 (ditto), 726 (in the wâdi with the tomb of Ramesses VII); Carter graffito no. 1468 (= on "Rocks below Tomb of Thothmes III"); also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1655 (same as 726), 1721 (in the "Vallée du Scribe Houy" at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings), 1883 (on the cliff above the tomb of Amenophis II). All these inscriptions are now: *KRI*, III, 586-587. Note, however, that Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 998, which is assigned by Kitchen to Nebnufer, son of Neferhotep the Elder, probably belongs to another foreman Nebnufer of the XXIst Dynasty: Černý, *Community*, 312 n. 9.

⁸⁴ In office from the latter part of Ramesses II's rule to at least Year 1 of Sethos II when he is last firmly attested. See Černý, *Community*, 288-290; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 21-22; idem, *JSSEA* 8/No. 1 (1977), 35. Only two rock graffiti mentioning Neferhotep are known from the Valley: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 735b (on a cliff behind the tomb of Ramesses VII); also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, no. 2604 (in the so-called "Vallée du Scribe Houy" at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings). See also: *KRI*, III, 598.

⁸⁵ First attested as chief-workman in Year 5 of Sethos II, Paneb is last firmly attested in Year 2 of Siptah although he may have survived to the end of Dynasty XIX: Černý, *Community*, 301-305; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 22-23; idem, *JSSEA* 8/No. 4 (1978), 138-140; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 184. For Paneb's sole Valley graffito as foreman: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 476 (located in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II", on a rock face opposite the tomb of Siptah); *KRI*, IV, 436: 16. A Paneb, without title, is also known from three other graffiti in the Valley of the Kings and these may date to the period when the future foreman was serving as an ordinary workman. See here: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1818 and 1847 (both are inscribed some 4 m. above the door of the tomb of Amenophis II, indicating that by Dynasty XIX the entrance to this sepulchre had been covered over by mounds of sand and rubble), and 3838 (near the tomb of King Horemhab).

⁸⁶ In office during the first half of Ramesses II's reign; now cf. Černý, *Community*, 294-295; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 21, 37. It seems that Qaha is known from just one text: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, no. 2609: 4 (in the "Vallée du Scribe Houy"); now: *KRI*, III, 608: 11-12.

⁸⁷ First attested in office in Year 1 of Amenmesse and still active in Year 19 of Ramesses III. See Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 37. Surprisingly, only one graffito text in the entire Theban necropolis can be safely assigned to this long-serving official; cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1960a (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Also cf. *KRI*, V, 625.

⁸⁸ Pay (temp. Ramesses II): Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 3814a (inscribed at the entrance to the Valley, now as *KRI*, III, 646: 14-16); Nebre (temp. Ramesses II): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 584 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"; also now: *KRI*, III, 659: 4); and Neferhotep (reigns of Merenptah-Siptah): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 209 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1956 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Also see *KRI*, IV, 440.

On the other hand, graffiti attributable to deputies of the crew during Dynasty XIX are notable by their virtual non-existence.⁹⁰

That these men should have left graffiti inscriptions within the Valley of the Kings is of little surprise; by the nature of their work most of these men were probably literate to a high degree. Two guardians of the Tomb under Ramesses II are also safely attested from graffiti in or near the Valley.⁹¹ Whether guardians were literate is unclear; but one can certainly imagine that an able man could acquire the skills from a sympathetic scribe or draughtsman.⁹²

Also noteworthy are the considerable numbers of graffiti within the Valley which record the names of ordinary workmen from Dynasty XIX.⁹³ Just how many of these men were able to scratch anything other than their own names and titles is extremely difficult to say.

At the other end of the social spectrum, there are four undated graffiti in the Valley⁹⁴ which preserve the names of two high-ranking officials from the XIXth Dynasty, the vizier Hori⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 293 ("Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah") and 660 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2796 (on a boulder some 20 m. west of the tomb of Thutmosis IV); also cf. *KRI*, III, 665.

⁹⁰ There are no texts attested from the Valley of the Kings; indeed there seems to be only one inscription from the rest of western Thebes that can be securely assigned to a XIXth Dynasty deputy: Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1072 (*KRI*, III, 612), of the deputy Anuy (temp. Ramesses II), on one of the cliff faces of Mt. "Černabru" at Deir el-Medīna.

⁹¹ The guardians Penbuy: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2391-2392 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), and Khawy: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2389 (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), and 2783-2786. These four latter texts are all written in the so-called "Vallée du gardien Khaouy", a long wādi lying just behind the West Valley of the Kings; cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, 18, pls. 135, 168. For Penbuy and Khawy: Černý, *Community*, 152-155; Bierbrier, *Village Voices*, 6-7 (on Penbuy).

⁹² Janssen, *Village Voices*, 82 n. 9.

⁹³ E.g. Irynufer (temp. Ramesses II): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 469a-b ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), so *KRI*, III, 644: 6-8, 719: 8-9; Nebamentet (temp. Ramesses II): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 70 (in "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), 270 (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"), and 590 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1884a (in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"); Nebnufer (temp. Ramesses II): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 649-650 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), now: *KRI*, III, 757; Nebnakhte (temp. Ramesses II): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 654 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), also in *KRI*, III, 766; Kasa (temp. Ramesses II): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 264, 269, 273 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"), Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2605 ("Vallée du Scribe Houy"), also now see: *KRI*, III, 833-834; Hesysunebef (temp. Sethos II-Ramesses III): Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 585 (in "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1974 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); now in *KRI*, IV, 443.

⁹⁴ Note that there is one other graffito, again undated, on a cliff face near the crew's settlement on the col, that may mark a visit by the vizier Panehsy (reign of Merenptah) to the Valleys of the Kings or Queens: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 764a-i (*KRI*, IV, 158); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 76. For Panehsy: Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 325-326 and 458.

⁹⁵ See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 497, 505a+b (= *KRI*, IV, 358: 10-11). Note how both texts are written on a stretch of the cliff face just to the right of the tomb of the chancellor Bay (KV 13) and almost opposite the tomb of Siptah. Perhaps the vizier stopped in this very section of

(temp. Siptah-Ramesses III)⁹⁶ and the royal butler Bay (temp. Sethos II-Siptah).⁹⁷ Although none of the graffiti actually describes a visit to the Valley of the Kings by these men, one can only assume that they do mark inspections of work in the royal tomb by those court functionaries charged with its construction and the other preparations necessary for the royal funeral.⁹⁸ And while it is a little surprising that there are so few graffiti recording high-level inspections there are several contemporaneous ostraca which do mention such progresses to the Valley of the Kings by the vizier (no doubt accompanied by a bevy of officials).⁹⁹

Finally, a few brief observations might be made regarding the royal cartouches found among the graffiti of western Thebes. These are located mainly in the Valley of the Kings,¹⁰⁰ but are occasionally written in other areas of the necropolis.¹⁰¹ From the XIXth Dynasty rock graffiti consisting of a prenomen or nomen, or both, in the Valley of the Kings are attested for Sethos

the Valley to see the work in these tombs for himself. For the location of these graffiti: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 37.

⁹⁶ See Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 328-329 and 460-462; also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 23; and Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 183 and 187.

⁹⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1700 (on a section of rock face just to the right of the tomb of Ramesses XI, in the so-called "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"); now *KRI*, IV, 285-286. Note that this graffiti text was apparently written (*Ir.n*) by Bay himself, rather than by a scribe of the latter's party or by one of the Deir el-Medīna crew after the royal butler had departed. This Bay is thought to be identical with the well-known chancellor of that name who dominated the end of the XIXth Dynasty. See Černý, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 35-39; and Posener in J. Assmann, E. Feucht and R. Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur (Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto)* (1977), 385-397; also Kitchen, *Ancient Egypt and Kush: In Memoriam Mikhail A. Korostovtsev* (1993), 237-241. It is interesting that the Deir el-Medīna workmen are known to have presented a chair (*qnt*) and a bed (*h'rt*) to a certain Bay in Year 2 of Siptah (recorded in O. Gardiner 118; cf. now *KRI*, VII, 252-253). Might the Bay mentioned in this ostrakon be our royal butler and future chancellor?

⁹⁸ Ventura, *LCD*, 159-160 and 165-167; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 177-178 and 183.

⁹⁹ In Year 6, 2 *Shomu* 16, of Sethos II by the vizier Praemhab (cf. O. Cairo 25538, 1-2, and again in O. Cairo 25515, rt. I, 1-3 = *KRI*, IV, 315: 3-4 and 322: 3-4).

¹⁰⁰ Curiously, most of the XIXth Dynasty royal names are inscribed upon the cliffs and rocks near the tomb of Tuthmosis III, the so-called "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"; this is particularly true of the many cartouches of King Sethos II. There are only a few cartouches in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II" (nos. 469a, 558, 2105a-b, and 2106, of Ramesses II and Sethos II) and in the "Vallon de la tombe de Menepthah" (= nos. 310a and 321, of Amenmesse) where one might have expected to find more of these graffiti considering the close proximity of the latter sites to the tombs of the XIXth Dynasty pharaohs. The odd cartouche is also to be found in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II" (nos. 1821 and 1885, of King Ramesses II), some 20 m. from the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI" (= nos. 20, 23, 3819 and 3821, of Merenptah, Ramesses II and Sethos II), in the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès VII" (no. 721b, of Sethos I), and in the "Vallée du Puits" (no. 2599, of Ramesses II).

¹⁰¹ E.g. on the cliffs of el-Qurn at the workmen's settlement on the col (see nos. 817, 850a, 854b, 863, 2654a: 1 and 2654a: 3, of Sethos I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, and Amenmesse); on the path between the settlement on the col and the Valley of the Kings (= no. 2540, of Sethos II); and slightly further afield on the path between the "Vallée de la Cachette Royale" and the "Vallée d'Hékanakht" (see no. 978, of Merenptah).

I,¹⁰² Ramesses II,¹⁰³ Merenptah,¹⁰⁴ Amenmesse,¹⁰⁵ and Sethos II.¹⁰⁶ Presently, no such graffiti are attributable to the reigns of Ramesses I,¹⁰⁷ Siptah, or Queen Twosret.

One unexpected feature is the very large number of examples of the prenomen and nomen of Sethos II in the Valley of the Kings. Royal cartouches of the latter are remarkably numerous for a king who ruled for just under six full years¹⁰⁸ (forty-three examples currently attested), outnumbering by far even those of Ramesses II (nineteen examples at present).

Possibly this is but chance; but the plethora of cartouches of King Sethos II may reflect the disturbed conditions at Thebes alluded to in a number of Deir el-Medīna documents¹⁰⁹ when Sethos II is thought to have engaged in a dynastic struggle for the throne with a Theban-based rival, Amenmesse, during the first four or so years of his reign.¹¹⁰ Sethos, probably relegated to the north of Egypt for much of any such civil conflict, eventually succeeded Amenmesse by one means or another, and was back in Thebes by his Year 5 at the latest.¹¹¹ Possibly it was

¹⁰² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 721b.

¹⁰³ See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 454b, 469a, 542, 569b-c, 570d, 718, 724b; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1821, 1885, 2106, 2363a, 2461, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2599, 3819; now see: *KRI*, III, 511, 575, 644, and 709.

¹⁰⁴ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 20, 23, 758b, 2296 and 2427; now in *KRI*, IV, 177.

¹⁰⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 310a, 321, 634, 635; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2334a, 2372, 2395; *KRI*, IV, 238-239. As intact cartouches of Amenmesse are a great rarity, these graffiti are a welcome addition to our small corpus of texts with the undamaged name of this king. Randomly incised on the Valley rock, they escaped the attentions of the emissaries of Sethos II who otherwise did a fairly thorough job of purging Amenmesse's name from the visible standing monuments (cf. Yurco, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 14 (1980), 15-31; also Dodson, *JEA* 81 (1995), 118 n. 12). Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 321, is particularly interesting. Although the reading is very doubtful it may contain the only known reference to the Theban memorial temple of King Amenmesse (the *ḥwt-Mn-mī-r stp.n-r*), an institution that is otherwise totally obscure.

¹⁰⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 454a, 458, 468, 558, 568, 569a, 570a-c+e, 605, 621b, 631, 659, 662, 663, 664, 665, 751, 752, 755, 756; Carter no. 1467; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2105a-b, 2220, 2346b, 2351a, 2352, 2357, 2374, 2379, 2386, 2402, 2403a, 2418, 2445, 2446, 2463, 2479, 2509, 2516, 2517, 2520, 3821; now: *KRI*, IV, 311: 12, 335-336.

¹⁰⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 817, which gives the prenomens of Horemhab, Ramesses I and Sethos I, clearly dates from the reign of the latter; see now Kitchen, *RITANC*, I, 286 (§ 506). For a similar graffito, also associated with a private name, listing the cartouches of Ramesses II, Merenptah, and Sethos II: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 753-756.

¹⁰⁸ Wente and Van Siclen, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 235.

¹⁰⁹ P. Salt 124, rt. 1, 2; O. Nash 1 and 2; O. DM 319, 5; Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 244, 247; idem, *Community*, 289-290; also Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 180 and n. 10.

¹¹⁰ The arguments for and against a civil war: Krauss, *SAK* 4 (1976), 161-199; idem, *SAK* 5 (1977), 131-174; Osing, *SAK* 7 (1979), 253-271; also Spalinger, *BiOr* 39 (1982), 273-278; Dodson, *DE* 2 (1985), 7-11; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 180-181; add Kitchen, *GM* 99 (1987), 23-25; Dodson, *GM* 117/118 (1990), 153-154; idem, *JEA* 81 (1995), 115-128.

¹¹¹ Helck, *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 86-87; also cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2463.

to mark their interest¹¹² at Sethos II's return to the Thebaid, that the Deir el-Medina workmen scribbled such a surfeit of rock graffiti displaying the king's name.¹¹³

Section C: Graffiti Inscriptions in the Royal Tombs in the East Valley of the Kings.

(i) KV 5: Recently, a new hieratic ink graffito was found on the ceiling of the sixteen-pillared hall (Chamber 3) in the Valley mausoleum of the sons of Ramesses II. Unfortunately only the reading, "Year 10, first month", is still preserved.¹¹⁴

It is far from certain that this text dates to the rule of Ramesses II but if it does it may once have recorded the burial of one of the latter king's many sons within KV 5.

(ii) KV 14: This sepulchre, unique in the Kings' Valley in having been built for a Ramesside royal female (Twosret),¹¹⁵ and its inscriptions have been the subject of detailed epigraphic and architectural study in recent years, notably by Altenmüller.¹¹⁶ In addition to new data gleaned regarding the excavation, decoration, and ownership of this tomb, much attention has been focussed on several hieratic graffiti found in the tomb and their possible significance regarding its construction and use as a royal burial place.

The earliest of these graffiti texts, located on a rock just above the tomb entrance, dates to Year 1, 3 *Peret* 11, of Siptah and notes the burial of the latter's predecessor, Sethos II, on that

¹¹² Whether individual workmen favoured one contender for the throne over another is simply not known. Scribe Qenḥirkhopshef had no qualms about scratching a graffito of the name and titles of the ultimately discredited Pharaoh Amenmesse in his favourite Valley haunt, the bay behind the tomb of Merenptah (so Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 310a), while rumours, apparently false, were spread by four villagers that their chief-workman Hay had once cursed the reigning king, Sethos II (so O. Cairo 25556); cf. McDowell, *JWC*, 251-253.

¹¹³ Alternatively, one wonders if some of these cartouche-graffiti may not date to the beginning of the reign and represent trial attempts at setting down the hieroglyphic signs of the new royal name in an aesthetically pleasing manner. However none of the known rock graffiti with Sethos II's cartouches seem to show any clear signs of this. For scribal experimentation with the name of Ramesses X on several unofficial West Theban ostraca, cf. *KRI*, VI, 700: 1-4.

¹¹⁴ As announced by Weeks in the popular art and archaeology journal *Minerva*, vol. 6/no. 5 (September/October, 1995), 3. I understand now that this graffito may in fact read, "Year 19.." (personal communication from P. Sullivan of 2. 8. 1996).

¹¹⁵ Twosret was also exceptional in owning a memorial temple for her cult along the edge of the western desert. Cf. R. Drenkhahn, *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnacht und ihr historischer Hintergrund* (1980), 23-26. The funerary needs of those royal wives buried in the Valley of the Queens may have been accommodated in the Theban memorial temples of their royal husbands; cf. Černý, *Community*, 13 n. 2.

¹¹⁶ See (with earlier references) Altenmüller, *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 141-164.

day,¹¹⁷ not as one would expect within Sethos' own Valley tomb (= KV 15), but within KV 14, putatively on the orders of Twosret, King Sethos II's widow.¹¹⁸

It has been suggested that after the accession of Setnakhte, who made determined efforts to extirpate all trace of Twosret's rule,¹¹⁹ this double burial of Sethos II and Twosret within KV 14 was dismantled, Setnakhte appropriating KV 14 for his own use. Queen Twosret's mummy and her funerary equipment were then removed to an unknown location (or destroyed)¹²⁰ and Sethos II reinterred in KV 15, the decoration of the latter tomb being hastily completed for the occasion with crude painted scenes rather than the fine relief carving evident in the tomb's first passages.¹²¹

Also within KV 14 are two large, black ink, hieratic graffiti first noted by Caminos in the side-chambers now numbered as Ka and Kb.¹²² Ka reads: "Year 6, 2 Akhet 18"; Kb: "Year 6, 2.....".¹²³ As Eaton-Krauss has noted these graffiti probably mark new building work within KV 14 under Queen Twosret;¹²⁴ possibly the third of the tomb's four discernible building phases during the lifetime of the queen.¹²⁵ This Year 6 will then date to the regime of Siptah. The texts perhaps refer to an alteration in the tomb's plan exactly where they were penned.¹²⁶

¹¹⁷ That Year 1, 3 Peret 11, of Siptah was indeed the date of the funeral of Sethos II has been fortuitously confirmed by Altenmüller who (with the assistance of Christiane Preuß) recently re-examined Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 551 (cf. now SAK 21 (1994), 19-28). Although largely illegible to Spiegelberg's eyes, Altenmüller has been able to glean the following new reading: (i) "Year 1. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usikheperure meri-[amun], [the Lord of Diadems?], Sethos II. (ii) Third [month] of Peret, day 11. Day of burying the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Lord of the Two Lands], Usikheperure [meriamun], [the Lord of Diadems?, Sethos II]". This graffito is of additional interest in that it appears to have been scribbled by the scribe of the Tomb Qenḥirkhopshef who may have witnessed the actual royal funeral.

¹¹⁸ See Altenmüller, SAK 11 (1984), 37-47; idem, GM 84 (1985), 14; *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 147-149.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Altenmüller, JEA 68 (1982), 107-115.

¹²⁰ Reeves, VK, 111 and 131-132. Note that Twosret's sarcophagus (when queen-consort) has recently been discovered in the tomb of the chancellor Bay (KV 13); see Altenmüller, SAK 21 (1994), 4-7.

¹²¹ Reeves, VK, 103 and 111.

¹²² Gardiner, JEA 40 (1953), 43; Reeves, VK, pl. 7; Altenmüller, *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 149-154.

¹²³ Note that Caminos's original reading of "Year 7" for Kb is to be corrected to "Year 6": Altenmüller, SAK 11 (1984), 44 n. 27; idem, GM 84 (1985), 9-10.

¹²⁴ BiOr 49 (1992), 711. An alternative theory (= Reeves, VK, 109-110) that would interpret these graffiti as references to the establishment of a cache within KV 14 at the end of the New Kingdom seems rather less likely: Eaton-Krauss, *ibid.*

¹²⁵ See Abitz, SAK 9 (1981), 1-8; and Altenmüller, BSÉG 8 (1983), 3-11; also idem, *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 145-147 and 159-161.

¹²⁶ So Eaton-Krauss, BiOr 49 (1992), 711; and Altenmüller, GM 84 (1985), 9-10; idem, GM 145 (1995), 29-36.

Recently, three other date-line graffiti of uncertain reigns have been located within KV 14 by Altenmüller, all in the furthestmost corridor now numbered K2. Two are dated to 3 *Akhet* 4 and 6 while the third dates to a Year 1, 4 *Shomu* 3. Altenmüller has suggested that the former epigraphs, written much further down in the tomb, might be interpreted as dating to the final stages of construction and decoration within the tomb under Twosret regnant.¹²⁷

The third graffito he would date to Year 1 of Ramesses III, so providing a possible chronological peg for any last minute alterations carried out to the royal cartouches and painted tomb scenes in order to prepare KV 14 for the impending burial of the latter's father, Setnakhte.¹²⁸

Section D: Rock Graffiti in the West Valley of the Kings.

There appears to be just one graffito text in the entire West Valley that can be securely dated to Dynasty XIX and this preserves the name of the ubiquitous senior scribe of the Tomb Qenħirkhopshef.¹²⁹ Such a lack of material is not entirely unexpected as there seems to have been very little official activity in the West Valley during Dynasties XIX-XX.¹³⁰

Section E: Rock Graffiti along the Path from the East Valley to the West Valley of the Kings.

Only two graffiti inscriptions are known to me on this route (CEDAE Section 16) that can be definitely dated to Dynasty XIX. These give the names and titles of the workman Nebnakht and the junior administrative scribe Huy, son of Djehutyhirmaketef.¹³¹

The dearth of texts along this section of pathway is no doubt due to the abandonment of the West Valley as a royal burial site at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty. In the Ramesside era, the Deir el-Medīna crew should have had scant reason to use the path linking the East and West Valleys of the Kings via the work settlement on the col.¹³²

¹²⁷ Altenmüller, *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 154-160; idem, *GM* 145 (1992) 32 and 34.

¹²⁸ Altenmüller, *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 158-159.

¹²⁹ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, 2625 (= *KRI*, IV, 186: 4), located on a cliff face some 12 m. from the tomb of King Ay.

¹³⁰ Note, however, that the tomb of King Ay (WV 23) may have been desecrated early in the XIXth Dynasty; cf. now Dodson in S. E. Orel (ed.), *Death and Taxes in the Ancient Near East* (1992), 53-56. Presumably the royal workmen would have been employed to locate and open this monument. Also note that a faience ring bezel with what is presumably the prenomen of King Ramesses II (*Wsr-mꜣt-rꜣ stꜣ.n-rꜣ*) was recovered by Carter in the well-room of the tomb of Amenophis III (WV 22). This may hint at post-burial activity in the latter tomb (for an as yet unknown purpose) in the early Ramesside era: Thomas, *RNT*, 84; and Reeves, *VK*, 39-40.

¹³¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1370 and 1373 (*KRI*, III, 766: 6 and 646: 10); for the location of the graffiti: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 14.

¹³² For the exact route of the pathway, cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pl. 4.

As already noted at least one scribe of the Tomb of Dynasty XIX did visit the West Valley and presumably other scribes and workmen will also have come here now and again but have left no record. At this time any such sojourns were probably the result of idle curiosity during a break in the work in the Valley of the Kings; access to the West Valley on these occasions could most easily be attained by the main entrance at the end of Wādycin.

Section F: Rock Graffiti along the Workmen's Path from the East Valley of the Kings to the Settlement on the Col.

Rising up from the centre of the East Valley of the Kings is a narrow path that eventually leads to the tombworkers' temporary settlement on the col. This is the track that was used by the Deir el-Medîna workmen to descend to the Valley below from their huts on work days. On a bank of rock to the left of this route, and some 70 m. from the col settlement itself, are several graffiti left by villagers in the Ramesside period who must have stopped at the spot while travelling up and down the pathway (now CEDAE Section 87).¹³³ All but one of those texts from Dynasty XIX belong to that most active of authors, the scribe Qenḥirkhopshef who has left us seven examples of his name and titles here.¹³⁴ The only other XIXth Dynasty graffito on this section of rock surface names Bay,¹³⁵ Qenḥirkhopshef's successor as senior scribe of the Tomb.

Scribe Qenḥirkhopshef was also busy close by, on a rock spur 60 m. north east of the col settlement and just to the right of the Valley of the Kings pathway (now CEDAE Section 88). Here he wrote his name and titles a further eleven times.¹³⁶ A draughtsman, Neferhotep,¹³⁷ and two workmen, Ipuy¹³⁸ and Hesysunebef,¹³⁹ are also known in the Dynasty XIX graffiti on this particular rock face.

Section G: Rock Graffiti near the Workmen's Settlement on the Col.

There are a number of rock graffiti of Dynasties XIX-XX written just west of the tombworkers' temporary settlement on the col (now CEDAE Sections 131-141). Most of these are spread along the lower reaches of a rock spur on the east face of el-Qurn for a distance of about

¹³³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 75.

¹³⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2541a, 2545a, 2546, 2549, 2550c, 2552, 2553.

¹³⁵ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2550a (= *KRI*, V, 641: 8-9).

¹³⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 761b, 762a, 763a+b, and 764b+c+g.

¹³⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 764i (= *KRI*, IV, 158: 13).

¹³⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 764d (*KRI*, IV, 158: 10).

¹³⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2564 (= *KRI*, IV, 443: 9).

150 m. The remainder are rather more sporadically spaced on an lower rock face over a distance of some 70 m.¹⁴⁰ The rocky surfaces employed for these inscriptions were no doubt selected because they constituted the most convenient "writing boards" in the immediate vicinity of the workmen's huts.

For the most part these col graffiti preserve only the names and titles of certain well-known Deir el-Medīna scribes and workmen, although there is also an important group of texts located here that record the date of the inundation of the Nile (see below). Like the workmen's graffiti in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens, one can only assume that the majority of these texts were scrawled during the crew's leisure hours, either very early in the morning before leaving the settlement for work in the Valley, or in the early evening, after the day's labours, but before sunset.

Of those inscriptions that can be dated with confidence to the XIXth Dynasty no fewer than seventeen record the name of the prolific scribe, Qenḥirkhopshef.¹⁴¹ Indeed, Qenḥirkhopshef appears to be the only senior administrative scribe of Dynasty XIX to have inscribed his name in the immediate area, although two graffiti naming the suspected scribe of the vizer, Pashed (temp. Sethos II-Siptah) can also be cited.¹⁴²

In addition to texts with the names of seven ordinary workmen who are known to have been active in Dynasty XIX,¹⁴³ other graffiti name the chief-workman Nebnufer¹⁴⁴ and the future chief-workman Paneb;¹⁴⁵ the guardian of the Tomb Khawy, the draughtsman Nebre,¹⁴⁶ and the sculptor Ipuuy.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, pl. 172.

¹⁴¹ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 799a, 802, 844, 849b+e, 850a, 851c, 853a, 855, 866, 867, 869, 881b; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2656, 2734a, 2737, and 2740.

¹⁴² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2757: 1 (= *KRI*, IV, 439: 6) and 2743.

¹⁴³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 807 and 808 (no. 808 = *KRI*, IV, 443: 8), of Hesysunebef and Maanakhtef, the former is again known from Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2741, 2750 and 2753b; Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 784a, 788, and 823, of one Anuy (now Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 39), also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2664d+e, 2686, 2687, 2693; Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 819 (now *KRI*, I, 409: 12), of Pashed son of Heh-nekhu, and 875a, 876, and 880, all of Nebamentet; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2736, of the servant in the Place of Truth, Nebnakhte (note *KRI*, III, 766: 8); and nos. 2744 and 2753a, of Meryre (the latter text now as: *KRI*, IV, 443: 7).

¹⁴⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2782 (*KRI*, III, 586: 16).

¹⁴⁵ Here Paneb is recorded without the title of "foreman" and this inscription may date to the period when the latter served as an ordinary member of the crew: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2696 (= *KRI*, IV, 193: 12).

¹⁴⁶ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 816a (Khawy alone) and 849f (Khawy and Nebre together); now: *KRI*, III, 700: 13 and 659: 5-6.

¹⁴⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 875d; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2697 (= *KRI*, III, 665: 8-9).

Also to be noted here are a group of graffiti on a rocky ridge located some 40-50 m. higher up on el-Qurn than the latter inscriptions (now CEDAE Sections 148-150). These again record the names of several Deir el-Medīna personnel from Dynasty XIX (scribe Qenḥirkhopshef,¹⁴⁸ the sculptor Ipuy,¹⁴⁹ and the workmen Any,¹⁵⁰ Pendua,¹⁵¹ Meryre,¹⁵² Nebamentet,¹⁵³ and Kasa).¹⁵⁴ Perhaps these graffiti mark the progress of the villagers during an ascent or descent of el-Qurn (some of the texts lie very close to the path leading to the summit of this peak) or a visit to the miniature shrines erected by the workmen on a nearby slope (the so-called "High Place at Thebes").¹⁵⁵

The "Nilinschriften".

Situated within the Theban royal necropolis are at least eight, and possibly eleven,¹⁵⁶ rock graffiti texts which mention the day on which the annual inundation of the Nile began and was observed at western Thebes.¹⁵⁷ Although the authors of these epigraphs are anonymous, from their locations they appear to have been written during moments of leisure by the scribes or literate workmen from Deir el-Medīna in the Ramesside dynasties.¹⁵⁸ In the majority of cases the texts follow a standard pattern with minor variations:

"Year w, x month of y, day z.

¹⁴⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 869a; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2775 and 2776.

¹⁴⁹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 875d (= *KRI*, III, 665: 8).

¹⁵⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 875e; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3265.

¹⁵¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2765.

¹⁵² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 879.

¹⁵³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos 875a, 876, and 880.

¹⁵⁴ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos 875b+f.

¹⁵⁵ N. de Garis Davies, *Mélanges Maspero I: Orient ancien* (1934), 241-250; and A. I. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (1988), 75-76.

¹⁵⁶ In his valuable study of these inscriptions, Janssen (cf. *JNES* 46 (1987), 129) eventually assigned Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 850b, 856, 862, 881c+d, also Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1064, 1158, 1159A, to this class of graffiti. He rejected from his analysis the now largely illegible Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1159B and 1160, as well as three related graffiti collected in Spiegelberg, *Zwei Beiträge*, 16 (nos. 17 to 19), the latter on the grounds that they are absent from Spiegelberg's final publication (*Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis* (1921), 69-72) and their readings are of doubtful accuracy. The day on which the Nile flooded the fields is also recorded on four Deir el-Medīna ostraca: O. DM 436, O. DM. 588, O. Cairo 25306bis, O. Cairo 25801; cf. Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 129-136.

¹⁵⁷ Note that I include in this section two graffiti that are actually at the Valley of the Queens and another at the northern entrance of the valley of Deir el-Medīna, as they contain data very closely connected with the more numerous texts located near the col settlement. Also note that several of these graffiti may date to Dynasty XX rather than Dynasty XIX but, again, I feel it preferable to include them here as a single, special, group of texts.

¹⁵⁸ Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 134; also personal communication from Prof. Janssen (14. 6. 1995).

*On this day the water came to inundation".*¹⁵⁹

Thanks to the dedicated field work of the CEDAE we now know that the Spiegelberg graffiti were scratched near the tombworkers' settlement on the col, beside the sanctuary constructed against the side of el-Qurn.¹⁶⁰ And this location is significant. It is from just such a vantage point that a keen observer would have been able to spot in the distance the Nile's inundation creeping over the plains below. There seems no good reason to doubt that these texts, short and factual, were written down at this particular moment or very soon thereafter.

The three further "Nilinschriften", those inscriptions published by Černý, do not enjoy such favourable locations. No 1064 is sited, quite high up on the rock, behind the temple of Hathor at the northern entrance to the valley of Deir el-Medīna.¹⁶¹ It is not impossible that a scribe positioned here would have been able to see the first flows of water from the irrigation canals over the soil of the basin.¹⁶²

Graffiti nos. 1158 and 1159A on the other hand are, as noted above, to be found high up on a rocky ledge at the rear of the Valley of the Queens (now CEDAE Section 24).¹⁶³ The view from here is not so favourable and it is uncertain whether these two inscriptions were executed while their authors watched the actual inundation. Instead they may have been inscribed some time after the spectacle by suitably impressed or interested witnesses.¹⁶⁴

Only four or five of our "Nilinschriften" can be utilised to establish the probable date for the Nile inundation; the others lack a regnal year date, and with one exception,¹⁶⁵ the texts do not mention a royal name.¹⁶⁶ Several graffiti texts can be roughly dated on the basis that only the regimes of either Ramesses II, III, or XI are possible due to the high year-dates involved.¹⁶⁷

Accepting 1279 B.C. as the most likely accession year of King Ramesses II¹⁶⁸ Janssen has calculated that Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 862 of Year 1 (1212 B.C.) 3 *Akhet* 3, of Merenptah,

¹⁵⁹ *Dateline + hrw pn hꜣyt lr.n pꜣ mw r hꜣpy/hꜣpy ꜣ*. Note the detailed discussion by Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 130-133.

¹⁶⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/2, plan 117.

¹⁶¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 52.

¹⁶² See Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 130 and 133.

¹⁶³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 18.

¹⁶⁴ In O. DM 436, even the exact hour that the flood "came" was carefully noted: *hr tr n mrtt*, "at the time of midday". Cf. Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 132.

¹⁶⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 862, = Year 1, 3 *Akhet* 3, of Merenptah.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 134.

¹⁶⁷ See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 881d, = Year 22, 2 *Akhet* 5; also Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1158, = Year 18, 3 *Akhet* 4. The two other texts that are of use (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 856, = a Year 7, 3 *Akhet* 5; O. Cairo 25801 = a Year 4, 3 *Akhet* 20) could belong to almost any king of Dynasties XIX-XX; cf. Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 134.

¹⁶⁸ Wentz and Van Siclen, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 223-234.

corresponds to 23rd August in the Julian calendar¹⁶⁹ and to 12th August in the Gregorian.¹⁷⁰ Interestingly enough, this is exactly the day given in the major study on Egyptian irrigation by Willcocks and Craig as the average date for opening the canals in the 19th century A.D.¹⁷¹

For the other fully dated Nile graffiti Janssen has calculated possible Gregorian dates of 26th July,¹⁷² 2nd August,¹⁷³ and also 13th or 5th August, or possibly 26th July.¹⁷⁴ Again these would correspond well to the dates recorded in more recent times¹⁷⁵ for the start of the filling of the basins; clearly then the exact date for the start of the annual inundation varied quite considerably from year to year.¹⁷⁶

Section II: Rock Graffiti in "La Vallée de l'Aigle" and "La Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep".

A number of textual rock graffiti preserving the names and titles of various Deir el-Medina workmen of Dynasty XIX are known from the so-called "Vallée de l'Aigle" and the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" (cf. now CEDAE Sections 62-74, 89-92, 146-147 and 212-213). These desolate wadis, to the south of the great Deir el-Bahri temples and next to the early Dynasty XVIII cliff-tomb usually referred to as Bâb el-Muallaq (WN A),¹⁷⁷ should have held but little official interest for the early Ramesside tombworkers. One can only assume that they ventured

¹⁶⁹ To convert Egyptian months and days into the Julian calendar Janssen employed unpublished tables supplied by Pestman.

¹⁷⁰ See Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 135. Between 1301 and 1101 B.C. a period of 11 days are subtracted from the Julian date to obtain the corresponding Gregorian; note R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (1950), 8. This particular text recording the seasonal Nile-flood in August is of additional importance in that it demonstrates that the civil calendar coincided with the natural seasons under Merenptah, an event that occurred only every 1460 years or so, and as the next time the calendar was temporarily correct again was in the 2nd century A.D. Merenptah's reign must have fallen within the 13th century B.C. as has long been accepted, and not several centuries later as some radical new studies in Late Bronze Age chronology would like to claim (e.g. P. James et al. in C. Scarre (ed.), *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 1:2 (1991), 228-235). Further, attempts to read the prenomen in the graffito no. 862 as that of "Ba<en>re <merinetjeru> (Nepherites I)", the only conceivable alternative to "Ba<en>re (merinetjeru/meriamun) (Merenptah)", are also doomed, for 3 *Akhet* 3 at the beginning of the fourth century B. C. fell in early December and for the seasonal Nile-flood to have occurred so early is a physical impossibility. See also the revised 2nd edition of Kitchen, *THIP*, pp. xlv-xlv.

¹⁷¹ Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 133, who quotes from W. Willcocks and J. I. Craig, *Egyptian Irrigation* (3rd edition. London and New York, 1913), 304.

¹⁷² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 881d (Year 22, 2 *Akhet* 5, most probably of Ramesses II).

¹⁷³ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1158 (Year 18, 3 *Akhet* 4, probably of Ramesses III).

¹⁷⁴ See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 856 (Year 7, 3 *Akhet* 5, either of Merenptah, Ramesses III, or Ramesses VI).

¹⁷⁵ Pre 1903 A.D. at any rate, before the influence of the first high dam at Aswân.

¹⁷⁶ Depending on the start of the monsoon rains in the Ethiopian highlands. Cf. Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), 134 n. 53; K. W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt* (1976), 13.

¹⁷⁷ Reeves, *VK*, 190-192; also Gabolde et al., *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 173-259.

into the two wâdis during periods of inactivity in the Valley of the Kings when they felt like stretching their legs¹⁷⁸ (several sections of the "Vallée de l'Aigle" are located very close to the cliff-top path linking Deir el-Medîna with the workmens' settlement on the col).¹⁷⁹

As is so often the case at this period, it is the irrepressible scribe Qenḥirkhopshef who has been most active in leaving his autograph on the accessible cliff faces in the region. A total of seven graffiti with his name and titles are at present attested.¹⁸⁰

Fellow visitors to the valleys in Dynasty XIX included two chief-workmen of the right hand side of the crew, the grandfather and grandson Neferhotep the Elder¹⁸¹ and Younger;¹⁸² also present at one time were the scribe in the Place of Truth Huy son of Djehutyhirmaketef,¹⁸³ the draughtsmen Nebre¹⁸⁴ and Rahotep,¹⁸⁵ and also the crewmen Amenemwia,¹⁸⁶ Anuy,¹⁸⁷ Irynufer,¹⁸⁸ Pahripedjet,¹⁸⁹ Nebamentet,¹⁹⁰ Nebnakht,¹⁹¹ Neferhotep,¹⁹² and Kasa.¹⁹³

Section I: Rock Graffiti in and around the Valley of the Workmen's Settlement at Deir el-Medîna.

Written along the terrace halfway up the south-east face of Mt. "Černabru" at Deir el-Medîna there are several rock graffiti recording the names and titles of royal tombworkers of the XIXth Dynasty (CEDAE Section 61). Why this particular area should have attracted any attention is

¹⁷⁸ Note here: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 988 (in the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep") of the scribe Huy son of Djehutyhirmaketef, who clearly states that he made an excursion (swtwf) to the area.

¹⁷⁹ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/I, pl. 119.

¹⁸⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1078, 1085A, 1088, 1101A; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 3249, 3256, and 3540.

¹⁸¹ See now: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3305 (*KRI*, III, 576: 15). For the elder Neferhotep (temp. Horemhab to the early years of Ramesses II), cf. Černý, *Community*, 285-286; also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 21.

¹⁸² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 999, 1-2 (= *KRI*, III, 598: 1), written in the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep".

¹⁸³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 988 and 1005 (these texts, written on the same day in Year 35 of Ramesses II, are both cut in the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep"); add Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1106 (in the "Vallée de l'Aigle"). Now cf. *KRI*, III, 645-646, for all three texts.

¹⁸⁴ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1045a and 1050 (= *KRI*, III, 659: 7+9).

¹⁸⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1047 (= *KRI*, III, 650: 1).

¹⁸⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1046 (= *KRI*, III, 706: 5).

¹⁸⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1045b (= *KRI*, III, 659: 8).

¹⁸⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1049a (= *KRI*, III, 719: 10-11).

¹⁸⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3103, 3, in the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" (CEDAE Section 90); also see here: Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 80.

¹⁹⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1050c and 1051b (= *KRI*, III, 659: 9 and 756: 13-14).

¹⁹¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1079 (= *KRI*, III, 766: 6).

¹⁹² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1050c (= *KRI*, III, 659: 9).

¹⁹³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1050b (= *KRI*, III, 659: 9).

not entirely clear but the site is close at hand and dominates the village below.¹⁹⁴ It provides an excellent viewing platform overlooking the latter, its cemeteries and the chapels located at the northern entrance of the valley of Deir el-Medīna.¹⁹⁵ Individuals attested along the terrace include the deputy of the gang Anuy;¹⁹⁶ the draughtsman Rahotep;¹⁹⁷ and also the crewmen Amenemwia,¹⁹⁸ Ptahshed¹⁹⁹ and Kasa²⁰⁰ (all can be dated to the regimes of Ramesses II or Merenptah).

*Section J: Graffiti Inscriptions in the Houses
and Tombs at Deir el-Medīna.*

There is only one surviving graffito text known to me from the houses or tombs at Deir el-Medīna that may date to Dynasty XIX. This is a hieratic inscription penned in black ink at the so-called "Spéos du Nord". It partially preserves the title(s) and name of a draughtsman Pashed. Due to its close proximity to TT 323 the graffito is perhaps to be ascribed to the draughtsman owner of that tomb, Pashed son of Amenemhat (temp. Sethos I).²⁰¹

*Section K: Rock Graffiti along the Path from Deir el-Medīna
to the Valley of the Queens.*

Hewn in the rock to the left of the path leading from Deir el-Medīna to the Valley of the Queens is a sanctuary dedicated to Ptah and Meretseger.²⁰² At Chapel A of this oratory is a single graffito recording the name of the scribe Qenḥirkhopshef. It is the only such inscription that can be dated with certainty to Dynasty XIX.²⁰³ As this sanctuary was apparently established only towards the end of the latter dynasty, the lack of graffiti to be assigned to this period is understandable enough.²⁰⁴

Section L: Rock Graffiti in and around the

¹⁹⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pls. 119 and 128.

¹⁹⁵ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 326-328.

¹⁹⁶ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1072 (= *KRI*, III, 612: 3); also cf. Černý, *Community*, 133-135.

¹⁹⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3535 (= *KRI*, III, 650: 2).

¹⁹⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1060 and 1062 (= *KRI*, III, 706: 6).

¹⁹⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1061 and 1069 (cf. now *KRI*, IV, 337: 14)

²⁰⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1073 (= *KRI*, III, 833: 13-14).

²⁰¹ See B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1922-1923)* (1924), 62.

²⁰² PM, I², Pt. 2, 706-709; also Ch. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. I (1989), 6-7.

²⁰³ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1114: 4.

²⁰⁴ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 315; now cf. Dodson, *JEA* 81 (1995), 120-125.

Valley of the Queens.

Compared to the Valley of the Kings there are relatively few graffiti in the Queens' Valley relating to the Deir el-Medīna workmen. This smaller body of material presumably reflects the limited amount of time that the tomb-workforce spent labouring at the Valley of the Queens.

The general term "Valley of the Queens" refers not only to the central wādi where the royal tombs were excavated but encompasses also the cascade at the head of the valley, the so-called "Vallée de la Grande Cascade" (cf. now CEDAE Section 26), as well as the two extensive side valleys north of the main wādi and often known today as the "Deuxième Vallée Latérale" (now CEDAE Sections 29-39, 180) and the "Vallée de la Corde" (CEDAE Sections 25, 55-60, 181-182). It is along the limestone cliffs of these two wādīs that the bulk of the Ramesside graffiti are found and not in the central wādi of the Valley of the Queens.²⁰⁵ Why this should be the case is unclear; there appears to be no obvious attraction²⁰⁶ for the scribes and workmen who frequented these barren areas for other than the shade to be enjoyed beneath certain stretches of the cliff face.²⁰⁷

As far as the graffiti in the main valley are concerned these are invariably situated at the rear of the latter, next to various tombs or high up on the rocks overlooking the wādi (cf. CEDAE Sections 20-24, 27, and also 184-189), where they were inscribed by workmen who must have scrambled up the hillside for a view over the royal cemetery.²⁰⁸

Two final general remarks that should be made concerning the Valley of the Queens and its graffiti in Dynasty XIX are that there are no inscriptions yielding the names of senior officials of the time to be found in this valley nor are there any royal cartouches on their own with the names of Ramesside queens and princesses. Indeed there is only one example of even a kingly cartouche from Dynasties XIX-XX.²⁰⁹ Why the Deir el-Medīna workmen failed to set out the names and titles of the principal ladies of the court in their graffiti is something of a mystery, especially of those royal mothers, wives and daughters destined to be buried in tombs built by

²⁰⁵ For the geography of the Queens' Valley: a recent study by Ch. Leblanc in *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. I (1989), 4-12; Leblanc and Fekri, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 259-268.

²⁰⁶ Note, however, that several small tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty have been found in these side valleys; perhaps similar tombs were prepared here in the Ramesside period and have yet to be located. Note Ch. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. I (1989), 9, 64-65 (n. 30); also Leblanc and Fekri, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 261-262.

²⁰⁷ It would be odd if the workmen did wander over to these cliffs simply for shelter from the sun as they had their own small settlement of huts in the Queens' Valley, between QV 56 and 80: Ch. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. I (1989), 5; Leblanc and Fekri, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 263; also note Černý, *Community*, 89.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pl. 6, and II/5, plans 167-168 and 171.

²⁰⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1239 (the prenomen of Ramesses IV).

the crew, when they had shown such enthusiasm for the practice in the Kings' Valley with the names and titles of many of the ruling Ramesside pharaohs.

(i) The Rear Section of the Valley of the Queens.

From the XIXth Dynasty, scribe Ramose is the only senior scribe of the Tomb to have left his signature in the Queens' Valley (the absence of scribe Qenḥirkhopshef's unmistakable hand in the various wâdis that make up this region of the royal necropolis is particularly striking): one graffito is on the cliffs at the rear of the Valley of the Queens (CEDAE Section 21) where the royal tombs are sited²¹⁰ while a second is in a grotto below the cascade at the head of the wâdi.²¹¹ One of the junior administrative scribes during the reign of Ramesses II, Huy son of Djehutyhirmaketef, has also left his name in two rock graffiti at the rear of the Queens' Valley (cf. CEDAE Section 187).²¹²

In addition to these scribal graffiti at the rear of the Queens' Valley texts are also attested for the foreman Nebnufer,²¹³ the draughtsman Maanakhtef,²¹⁴ and the workman Neferabu.²¹⁵ It is interesting that all these graffiti can be dated to the rule of Ramesses II when tomb-building in the Queens' Valley was at its apogee in Dynasty XIX.²¹⁶

During the later regimes of Dynasty XIX tomb-building for royal relatives may have ceased completely in the Queens' Valley²¹⁷ for reasons that are not entirely clear. Possibly concerns about security at the site during the troubled years at the end of the dynasty were a factor.²¹⁸

²¹⁰ See Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1140. This is the famous inscription penned in red ink on rocks behind tomb 54 where Ramose records the day of his appointment as scribe of the Tomb (Year 5, 3 *Akhet* 10 of Ramesses II). Also see now *KRI*, III, 636, and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 19, and II/5, plan 167.

²¹¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3010d.

²¹² See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, nos. 3635a and 3642, both written in Year 39, 3 *Akhet* 23, of this king's reign. Now also see: *KRI*, III, 645-646.

²¹³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, nos. 3637-3638 (= *KRI*, III, 587: 2-3).

²¹⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3650. For the draughtsman Maanakhtef: Černý, *Community*, 192; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 38-39; Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 24-25.

²¹⁵ For the hieroglyphic rock graffito naming Neferabu near QV 55: J. Vandier and J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *La Tombe de Nefer-abou* (1935), 54 (after a copy by Farina); for its location: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, plan 167, where it is given the CEDAE no. 3322. Note that the reading of this text is incorrectly presented in Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, p. 187; see the transcription in Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, III/5, pl. 225. The entry in *KRI*, III, 780: 2, should be corrected accordingly.

²¹⁶ The excavation of QV 60 (Nebettawy), 66 (Nefertari), 68 (Merytamun), 71 (Bentanta), 73 (Henouttawy), 74 (for an unknown princess), and 75 (Henutmire), can all be confidently dated to the reign of Ramesses II; cf. Leblanc, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 131-146.

²¹⁷ In addition to Twosret, consort of Sethos II, being provided with a tomb in the Valley of the Kings, the limited evidence seems to imply that Istnofret, wife of Merenptah, was interred with her husband in KV 8 while Tiaa, mother of Siptah, appears to have been buried with her

(ii) "Vallée de la Grande Cascade".

In a shelter below the cascade at the rear of the Valley of the Queens²¹⁹ is a notable rock graffito from the time of Merenptah.²²⁰ It records a relatively unusual phenomenon at western Thebes, a shower of rain:²²¹

*"Year 4 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Baenre, l.p.h.,
1 Shomu 27. On this day coming down by
the water of the sky".*²²²

This inscription is one of only four graffiti recording rain at Thebes in the Ramesside period and judging by its situation it perhaps describes the movement of rainwater off the high desert, down the rocky cascade to form a waterfall.²²³ Such a torrent must have been an uncommon and noteworthy spectacle for the inhabitants of the West Bank as the paucity of these "water of the sky" graffiti would seem to suggest.²²⁴

son within his Valley tomb (KV 47). The badly decayed burial found by Ayrton in KV 56, the "Gold Tomb", was most probably that of a child, evidently female (cf. Aldred, *JEA* 49 (1963), 176-178), of Sethos II and Twosret. See now Reeves, *VK*, 97-98, 107 n. 52, and 131-133.

²¹⁸ In P. Salt 124, vs. 1, 11-12, the chief-workman Paneb is accused of robbing the tomb of Henutmire, daughter-wife of Ramesses II (QV 75), during this period: Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 246; Théodoridès, *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité. 3e série.* 28 (1981), 55-56; add Leblanc, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 131-132. Paneb was also accused of taking objects from the tomb of Sethos II in the East Valley of the Kings (= P. Salt 124, rt. 1, 4-14, rt. 2, 5-6), and even of conducting illicit excavations in the Valley (P. Salt 124, rt. 1, 15-16). Note that the XVIIIth Dynasty burial of Maiherpri (KV 36) may have been discovered and partially plundered in Dynasties XIX-XX. See Reeves, *VK*, 140-147.

²¹⁹ For the exact location, see Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 22.

²²⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3012; Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), 112-113, 117-119. A second graffito (no. 3013) recording rain is located 50 cm. to the right of no. 3012; however, as it probably dates to Year 2 of either Ramesses IV, V, or VI it is considered with two other "water of the sky" inscriptions in Part III of this Chapter.

²²¹ To the best of my knowledge no records of rainfall in the Valleys of the Kings or Queens have ever been kept. But rain at modern day Luxor, though rare, is not unknown, and judging by the damage done to many of the tombs, and from changes to the Valley's topography, there is no doubt that rainstorms came to these royal wâdis from time to time throughout the Pharaonic Era as they continue to do so today. For a convenient survey of these events: J. Romer in Appendix Two of J. and E. Romer, *The Rape of Tutankhamun* (1993), 144-152.

²²² Note that Year 4 (= 1210 B.C.), 1 *Shomu* 27, of Merenptah corresponds to 4th March in the Gregorian calendar (employing unpublished tables supplied by Prof. K. A. Kitchen), a date within the occasional rainy season at present day Luxor that usually falls from March through May (so Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), 117-118).

²²³ Waterfalls have been identified by graffiti texts only in the Queens' Valley and the western branch of the Kings' Valley. But note the prominent waterfall at the head of the East Valley of the Kings, in the cliffs around the tomb of Tuthmosis III (so Romer, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 318-321). For another apparent waterfall in the East Valley of the Kings: O. Cairo *JdE.* 72460 vs. 3; cf. Thomas, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 209-216; and Reeves, *VK*, 97.

²²⁴ See Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 177. For the miraculous nature of rain for the ancient Egyptians: Posener, *Revue de Philologie* 25 (1951), 162-164.

When rain did appear, however, it was worthy of comment not just for its rarity but because of the ruinous effects cloudbursts (with attendant water and debris seepage) could have on the hypogea in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens (particularly in the tombs under construction with their open doorways)²²⁵ as the flood waters raged through the Theban mountain. In both royal wâdis there are the remains of ancient dams built as breakwaters to deflect sudden floods away from vulnerable entrances.²²⁶ Clearly, the Deir el-Medîna workforce were well aware of this ever-present threat.²²⁷

In addition to this "rainfall" graffito the names of a Deir el-Medîna scribe and four workmen of Dynasty XIX have also been traced in accompanying graffiti in the same shelter. The names recorded are: the senior scribe of the Tomb, Ramose;²²⁸ the foreman of the right hand side of the crew, Nebnufer,²²⁹ and the workmen Anuy, Hesysunebef, and Hornufer.²³⁰

(iii) "Deuxième Vallée Latérale".

Several Deir el-Medîna personnel of the XIXth Dynasty have left their names and titles on the cliffs of this wâdi (now CEDAE Sections 29-39 and 180). Those attested in the recorded

²²⁵ The XVIIIth Dynasty royal tombs, normally excavated in and by those rocky clefts that define the Valley of the Kings, and where rainwater would flow most freely when it fell, were effectively protected by dry-stone walls covered with a hard impervious plaster. The tombs of early Dynasty XIX were mainly located in the central areas of the Valley which are particularly susceptible to the effects of flash floods. This problem was exacerbated by the abandonment of the plaster sealing for hinged cedar doors that allowed greater accessibility but also provided an inadequate defense to the intrusion of rainwater. As a partial response to this problem, several Dynasty XX royal tombs were cut in the ends of rock spurs away from the trouble spot of the lower central Valley. These tombs retained their wooden doors, however, and were not invulnerable to periodic floods and to rainwater entering through rock-faults in their ceilings. See J. Romer in Appendix Two of J. and E. Romer, *The Rape of Tutankhamun* (1993), 145.

²²⁶ One such dam was built with large stones and filled with sand and rubble roughly 80 m. down the valley from this very cascade to protect the tombs in the Valley of the Queens (note Černý and Sadck et al., *GMT*, I/1, plan 6; and II/5, plan 167; add Ch. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. I (1989), 4-5). In Dynasty XVIII and early Dynasty XIX additional protection against the destructive effects of flood detritus was afforded by the deep pit or well cut in several royal tombs. And whilst this "Hall of Waiting" or "Hall of Hindering" (*wsht lsq*) may have had some cultic role it also served, intentionally or otherwise, as a defence mechanism against floodwaters and, to a lesser extent, tomb-robbers: Černý, *VK*, 29; Thomas, *JEA* 64 (1978), 80-83; Romer, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 324; idem, *VK*, 280.

²²⁷ One wonders if it was fear of storm waters, boulders and talus crashing through the Valley that in part prompted the men to establish their main "on-site" living quarters on the col high above the Valley, well away from any immediate danger. On the other hand the crew are also known to have used huts inside the East Valley of the Kings such as the Ramesside examples excavated by Carter above the tomb of Tutankhamun; cf. now Romer, *VK*, 247, 253-256.

²²⁸ Černý and Sadck et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3010d.

²²⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3015a.

²³⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 3009, 3010b and 3010a.

graffiti are the scribe Huy son of Djehutyhirmaketef,²³¹ the crewmen Paneb (a later foreman), and Pashed,²³² Meryre,²³³ and also Nebamentet.²³⁴ Interestingly, the suspected scribe of the vizier, Pashed (temp. Sethos II to Siptah), has left his name in three different sections of this locale (see CEDAE Sections 30-32).²³⁵

(iv) "Vallée de la Corde".

Only one graffito is known to me from this section of the Valley of the Queens (in CEDAE Section 55) that may date to Dynasty XIX. This merely consists of the untitled personal name "Paneb". Possibly it was written by the notorious foreman of that name while still employed as an ordinary crewman.²³⁶

Section M: Rock Graffiti in the "Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne".

From this wâdi just south of the Valley of the Queens (now as CEDAE Sections 161-179) there appears to be just one graffito that may conceivably date to Dynasty XIX, a text giving the common personal name "Anuy" without title.²³⁷ Several Deir el-Medīna workmen of this name are attested from the dynasty²³⁸ and this graffito may have been written down by one or other of them while passing these cliff faces for whatever reason.

Also, on a rocky ridge just north of the "Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne" (= CEDAE Section 200), is another graffito inscription that may have been written by this Anuy. Here, however, the author styles himself "servant in the Place (of Truth)".²³⁹ The workmen Irynufer and Kasa (both temp. Ramesses II) also appear to have left solitary graffiti texts closeby in this remote region (cf. CEDAE Section 199).²⁴⁰

²³¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1210 (*KRI*, III, 646: 9).

²³² Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1233 (= *KRI*, IV, 193: 11-12).

²³³ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1211.

²³⁴ Černý and Sadek, *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3618 (*KRI*, III, 756: 12).

²³⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1211, 1234, and 1241 (cf. *KRI*, IV, 439).

²³⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3088b; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 71-72.

²³⁷ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3601. For the precise location of the graffito: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/4, plan 150 (CEDAE Section 166).

²³⁸ See Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 71; Bierbrier, *JSSEA* 8/No. 1 (1977), 36-37.

²³⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, no. 3804.

²⁴⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, nos. 3798 and 3799.

Chapter Seven: Part III

West Theban Graffiti of the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina and Other Officials of the Theban Necropolis in Dynasty XX

(c. 1186-1069 B.C.)

The Topographical Distribution of Textual Graffiti in Western Thebes from Dynasty XX

Section A: Rock Graffiti in Wâdyein.

As in Dynasty XIX rock graffiti texts etched along the winding desert route of Wâdyein are a considerable rarity. Of those inscriptions from the XXth Dynasty which have been located all can be assigned to the time of Ramesses III to VI. None are dated. The most frequently attested author in this wâdi is the well-known senior scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte son of Ipy who served in this office from Year 16 of Ramesses III¹ until his death, most probably during the rule of Ramesses VI.² Although he has left behind very few public monuments³ Amennakhte clearly liked the sight of his own name and was responsible for a good many rock graffiti; like scribe Qenḥirkhopshef he might be termed as another ancient "Kilroy" of the Theban West Bank.⁴

Amennakhte son of Ipy is known from five graffiti inscriptions in Wâdyein; these are located some 900 and 1400 m. from the modern entrance to the Valley of Kings (CEDAE

¹ Two graffiti inscriptions at or near the Valley of the Queens, and most probably written by Amennakhte himself (Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1111, 1143), record his appointment by the vizier To. Amennakhte followed the example of an earlier office-holder as senior scribe, Ramose son of Amenemhab (cf. Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1140), by announcing his good fortune in the Queens' Valley.

² Černý, *Community*, 339-352; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 39-41; Janssen, *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 149-153; Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 28-30; McDowell, *JWC*, 75 and 81-82.

³ Černý, *Community*, 350.

⁴ His graffiti inscriptions: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, Index, pp. 99-101; Černý, *Graffiti*, Index, p. 30; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, Index, 71; IV/2, Index, 134; IV/3, Index, 167; IV/4, Index, 210; IV/5, Index, 234; also see: *KRI*, V, 379-380, 460, 468, 474, 541, 560, 643-644, 646-653, and *KRI*, VI, 105, 129, 132, 141, 202-203, 366, 376, 424-425. To these one can now add a new rock graffito of Amennakhte (= no. 3980a) found recently by Takao Kikuchi of Waseda University within the West Valley of the Kings. This new text will be released to the wider academic world in a future volume of *MDAIK*.

Sections 143-144, 203).⁵ In all these texts Amennakhte links his name with that of the vizier of the day, To, who is now firmly attested in office under Ramesses III between Year 12 and 32 of the latter.⁶ As Amennakhte was appointed senior scribe of the Tomb by this vizier it is not surprising that he often wrote the name of his powerful benefactor beside that of his own as a mark of his special gratitude. There are many graffiti linking the two men throughout the Theban mountain.⁷ Amennakhte even named one of his many sons after the vizier.⁸

Next to the graffiti texts we have just been interested in are two other inscriptions that give only the name and title of the vizier To.⁹ It is not certain that Amennakhte was also responsible for these graffiti or if they are the work of another villager.¹⁰ In view of our foregoing remarks, however, Amennakhte would seem to be the most likely candidate.

It would be interesting to know if there is any significance in the number of graffiti inscriptions in Wâdyein naming vizier To and scribe Amennakhte. Considering its primary function in antiquity as the processional route to the Valley of the Kings, one wonders if Amennakhte set down these graffiti to commemorate the vizier's presence at the funeral of Ramesses III.¹¹

Also to be assigned to this period is a nearby graffito,¹² one of many at West Thebes that preserves the name of Hay,¹³ the deputy of the left side of the crew in the mid XXth Dynasty, here recorded with two of his sons, Amennakhte and Amenemhab.¹⁴ A solitary graffito some 1400 m. from the modern gate to the Valley of the Kings (cf. CEDAE Section 203) that gives

⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 82, 84, 87, 93 and 96 (= *KRI*, V, 647-648).

⁶ So Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 330-333 and 462-463; Kitchen and Ockinga, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 99-103; add Carter graffito no. 1450 for Year 32.

⁷ See conveniently: *KRI*, V, 379-380, 560, and 647-648; add Carter graffito no. 1450.

⁸ Černý, *Community*, 340-341 and 346; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 25 and 74.

⁹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 88a and 92 (= *KRI*, V, 380: 14).

¹⁰ Note here: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 91 (= *KRI*, V, 380: 15) which preserves the name and titles of the vizier To next to those of the Dynasty XX workman Ptahshed (for whose other West Theban graffiti see: *KRI*, V, 666).

¹¹ If To was still in office for this event. Due to the unpublished Carter graffito no. 1450 (see Černý, *MSS.* 6.13, 10) it is known that To was still in his post as late as Year 32, 3 *Shomu* 3, of Ramesses III, just 12 days before the latter's death (so Černý, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 109-118; also Janssen, *Village Voices*, 94). However, it is not impossible that To's successor as vizier, Neferronpet, was appointed immediately after the demise of Ramesses III and before the royal funeral took place: Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 195-196.

¹² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 94 (= *KRI*, V, 635: 7-8).

¹³ Cf. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, Index, pp. 135-136; Černý, *Graffiti*, Index, p. 33; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, Index, 81; IV/2, Index, 137; now also cf. *KRI*, V, 634-639.

¹⁴ Attested in office between Year 27 of Ramesses III and Year 2 of Ramesses VI: Černý, *Community*, 137-140; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 98; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, I, 227-229; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 65-66.

the name of a scribe Wennufer¹⁵ may date to the early or middle years of Ramesses III when a man by that name is suspected as having been senior scribe of the Tomb immediately prior to the appointment of Amennakhte son of Ipuu.¹⁶

Section B: Rock Graffiti in and around

the Vallée des Carrières.

Only one rock graffito is known to me from this section of the Theban necropolis (CEDAE Section 233, located just north of Wâdyein)¹⁷ that might be dated with some certainty to the XXth Dynasty. This is a solitary text giving the name and title of a scribe Nakhtsobek¹⁸ who might be identical with an official of that name who is known to have been active in the royal necropolis in the middle of Dynasty XX, perhaps working as a scribe of the vizier's office.¹⁹

Section C: Rock Graffiti in and around the

East Valley of the Kings.

From the very brief reign of the founder of the XXth Dynasty, Setnakhte, there is only one graffito text known to me from the Valley of the Kings that may date specifically to his rule. This undated epigraph is of interest as it constitutes what may be termed a "technical" graffito and is apparently unique among the Valley's many inscriptions. Situated 3 m. above the right hand door jamb of Setnakhte's tomb (KV 14), the damaged text appears to denote the location of this tomb's entrance so:

*"The northern corner (q'ḥ)
of Usikhau[re-setepenre-meriamun]".²⁰*

It seems most likely that this graffito served as a marker for the entrance to the royal tomb. What is less clear, however, is whether it was inscribed during the rule of Setnakhte when the Deir el-Mêdina crew were busy preparing KV14 for the burial of the latter²¹ or possibly by a

¹⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 86. Kitchen (in *KRI*, VI, 874: 8) assigned this graffito to a later scribe of the Tomb, Wennufer son of Ankhtu (temp. Ramesses XI). See Černý, *Community*, 200; but as it is written next to two other graffiti (nos. 82 and 84) from the rule of Ramesses III, Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 86 is perhaps more likely to date to early Dynasty XX. Certain orthographic considerations also hint at this period: Černý, *Community*, 201.

¹⁶ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 70; McDowell, *JWC*, 81-82.

¹⁷ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/6, plan 215.

¹⁸ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3506 (*KRI*, VI, 267: 11); cf. Černý, *Community*, 213 and 219; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, I. 235-236.

¹⁹ So McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 54-55.

²⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 557 (= *KRI*, V, 624: 4).

²¹ Reeves, *VK*, 109-111.

visiting official early in the XXIst Dynasty when many of the Valley's royal burials appear to have been systematically dismantled by the local authorities, partly for reasons of security and partly as a means of raising badly needed revenues.

Passing from this isolated text to graffiti from the reigns of Setnakhte's dynastic successors, particularly those of Ramesses III-IV, the corpus of rock graffiti texts within the Valley of the Kings from Dynasty XX begins to swell. Figuring prominently among these inscriptions are the names of all the known senior scribes of the Tomb during Dynasty XX.

The earliest possible office-holder to have added his name to the Valley's rock graffiti is the scribe of the Tomb Wennufer²² who, as we have previously noted, may have been the senior administrative scribe at Deir el-Medīna during the early-middle years of Ramesses III and the immediate predecessor of Amennakhte son of Ipuu.²³ This "scribe" Wennufer, as he is usually denoted, is sometimes difficult to distinguish from a later Deir el-Medīna scribe of that name, but several rock graffiti in the Valley of the Kings can, due to orthographic factors²⁴ and their location in relation to other texts, be hesitantly ascribed to the earlier of the two scribes.²⁵

Among the scribal graffiti at western Thebes from Dynasty XX the name of one man occurs more frequently than that of any other: Amennakhte son of Ipuu the senior scribe of the Tomb under Ramesses III-VI. Even before his appointment in Year 16 of Ramesses III, Amennakhte had already left his name in graffiti texts in a limited number of West Bank sites,²⁶ including the Valley of the Kings (other locations include a stretch of cliff close to the sanctuary of Ptah near the Valley of the Queens,²⁷ the Valley of the Queens itself²⁸ and rocks at the workman's settlement on the col).²⁹ In all these inscriptions Amennakhte calls himself "draughtsman",³⁰

²² So-called in only one graffiti inscription (Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1676a) in the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI".

²³ McDowell, *JWC*, 81-82.

²⁴ See Černý, *Community*, 201.

²⁵ The known inscriptions: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 573 and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2334b ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1676a and 1693f (the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), nos. 1724, 1727 and 1731 (all in the "Vallée du scribe Houy"), no. 1823 (in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), nos. 1984 and 1986 (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Also see: *KRI*, V, 627: 1-2 and 643.

²⁶ Generally, see now: *KRI*, V, 643-644.

²⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1125, 1126 and 1131.

²⁸ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 3011 and 3127.

²⁹ Note Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 770, 799f, 817c, 827, 840; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2661: 4-5, 2705, 2757: 2.

³⁰ His graffiti as "draughtsman" in the Valley of the Kings: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 63 (in the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI") and 597 (in "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2003 (in "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II") and 2532 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III").

denoting his career prior to being appointed senior scribe of the Tomb.³¹ Once he had attained this office Amennakhte seems to have gone on a graffiti-writing spree for most of his 30 or so years in the post.³² Throughout this period he scribbled down his name and titles on rocks all over the Theban West Bank³³ and it is a notable feature of Amennakhte's graffiti that he often includes a dateline in his texts.³⁴

In the Valley of the Kings Amennakhte's name is found in all the most regularly frequented areas of the royal wādi³⁵ and again in some of its more remote sections;³⁶ no one area seems to have had a particular attraction for him. Amennakhte's obvious pleasure at seeing his name immortalised in graffiti is a personal trait he passed on to his sons, most notably Paneferemdjed.³⁷ In these private texts his male offspring liked to style themselves as "scribe" or "royal scribe".³⁸ And while this may have been true enough to the extent that all were at least semi-literate³⁹ only one of Amennakhte's sons, probably his eldest, Horisheru, would actually go on to become senior scribe of the Tomb.

Also to be dated to this era are a number of rock graffiti in the Valley of the Kings recording the names and titles of the scribes Neferhotep son of Neferhotep (known from the second half

³¹ Thanks to Carter graffito no. 1451 (now published in *KRI*, V, 646: 1-2), it is known that Ipuw, Amennakhte's father, was a foreman of the crew during the early years of Ramesses III; why Amennakhte was singled out by the vizier To to become the scribe of the Tomb can only be guessed at now. Presumably he was the most promising draughtsman and trainee scribe. So Černý, *Community*, 345.

³² The latest securely dated graffito giving his name is one of Year 1 of Ramesses VI (Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2876); now see *KRI*, VI, 366: 10-11.

³³ One wonders if this zeal for writing rock graffiti is another manifestation of Amennakhte's creative character. For the latter's literary efforts preserved on several West Theban ostraca, see Černý, *Community*, 348.

³⁴ E.g. note Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 99+100, 245+247, 253, 508, 524-525+(Černý-Sadek) 2538; also Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1111, 1143, 1149, 1165, 1296, 1405; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1928, 2042, 2577, 2578b, 2609, 2629, 2872, 2873, 2876, 3021; add Carter graffito no. 1450.

³⁵ Particularly on the shaded cliffs of the "Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah" (e.g. graffiti nos. 245+247, 248, 249, 251, 253, 258, 1405, 1412), the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II" (nos. 483b, 508, 520, 524-525+2538, 1450, 1928, 2015, 2026, 2042, 2116, 2117), and the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III" (nos. 580, 581, 582, 591, 595, 599, 606, 697a, 708, 2232, 2369, 2412, 2413).

³⁶ See Carter graffito no. 1462 (upon a rock above the tomb of Tuthmosis IV); add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1723 and 2609 (in the "Vallée du Scribe Houy").

³⁷ See generally: *KRI*, V, 653-656; *KRI*, VI, 203, 377: 2-3; add Carter graffiti nos. 1425 and 1446. Like his father, the great majority of Paneferemdjed's graffiti within the Valley of the Kings were written on the cliff faces of the "Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah", the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II", and the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III".

³⁸ For example: *KRI*, V, 641-642, 650-657; *KRI*, VI, 203 and 426; also Černý, *Community*, 345-346.

³⁹ Janssen, *Village Voices*, 91 n. 64.

of Ramesses III's rule)⁴⁰ and Hori (attested from late in the rule of Ramesses III to Year 17 of King Ramesses IX).⁴¹ The evidence is sometimes puzzling, but on the whole these men seem to have been junior administrative scribes at the village under the presiding senior scribe of the Tomb.⁴² What the status of the scribe of the Tomb Amenkhau was is even more problematic (attested only once, during the last days of Ramesses III).⁴³

Having performed an apprenticeship as a draughtsman and scribal assistant to his father,⁴⁴ Horisheru succeeded Amennakhte on the latter's death, probably during the reign of Ramesses VI.⁴⁵ Horisheru held the post of main administrative scribe at Deir el-Medīna until at least Year 17 of Ramesses IX⁴⁶ but during these 25 or so years in the job he left only a handful of rock graffiti in the Valley of the Kings and none at all at any other location in western Thebes it would seem.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Černý, *Community*, 211-212; McDowell, *JWC*, 79-80. Neferhotep's graffiti in the Valley: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 61 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), 179 and 207 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), 312, 317, 318b, 326, 327b ("Vallon de la tombe de Menephtah"), 478 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 609a ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), 729b and 731 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès VII"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1706 and 2809 (in "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), nos. 2095 and 2159 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2521 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"). Cf. *KRI*, V, 659-661 and *KRI*, VI, 136: 14-16.

⁴¹ Černý, *Community*, 216-219; Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 29; and McDowell, *JWC*, 82-85. His small number of graffiti in the Valley of the Kings: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 511, 532, and 543 (all in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1624b ("Vallon de la tombe de Menephtah") and 1805 ("Vallée du Puits"); now: *KRI*, V, 658.

⁴² Note also that Pentwere, another necropolis scribe of this period (c. Year 6 of Sethos II to Year 29 of Ramesses III; see McDowell, *JWC*, 78-79), may be indirectly attested in a curious graffito written by an unknown author at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 18'b': *KRI*, V, 531: 14). This badly preserved text seems to record the death of an untitled man called Pentwere in Year 29, 4 *Akhet* 20(?) of King Ramesses III. Unfortunately our rock graffito is sharply at odds with the Turin Strike Papyrus (see Gardiner, *RAD*, 58: 9) which gives 1 *Shomu* 3(?) of Year 29 of Ramesses III as the date of "scribe" Pentwere's death.

⁴³ In O. DM 38, 2 (see *KRI*, V, 551: 3), which is dated to Year 32, 2 *Shomu* 1, only a few weeks before the king's death. Our scribe Amenkhau might be the same man as the one named in Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 163 (in "Vallée du Puits"). See on all this: Černý, *Community*, 198; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, I, 39; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 113 n. 6; McDowell, *JWC*, 77.

⁴⁴ O. Gardiner 132, 5 (*KRI*, V, 526: 11); Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 886f (= *KRI*, V, 652: 10-11). See further: Černý, *Community*, 352-353; and McDowell, *JWC*, 69-70, 75, 84.

⁴⁵ Černý, *Community*, 352-355; Janssen, *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, 149-153; add Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 28-30.

⁴⁶ Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 13, 4 (= *KRI*, VI, 570: 1).

⁴⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 234a, 308 ("Vallon de la tombe de Menephtah"), and 484b ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2073, 2111, 2168 (all located in "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). These graffiti are conveniently given in *KRI*, VI, 669-670.

Horisher's son, Khaemhedje, who succeeded his father,⁴⁸ first holds the title of "scribe of the Tomb" in Year 13 of Ramesses IX⁴⁹ and is recorded as "scribe" in Year 17 of the latter.⁵⁰ Thus between Year 13 and 17 of King Ramesses IX it appears that Khaemhedje and Horisher acted together as senior administrative scribes of the Tomb. Presumably Horisher was grooming Khaemhedje as his designated successor during this period.⁵¹

Khaemhedje is next mentioned as scribe of the Tomb in Year 3 of Ramesses X⁵² when he may have become the sole senior scribe.⁵³ He was apparently still in office in Year 1 of King Ramesses XI.⁵⁴ By Year 12 of Ramesses XI at the latest he had in turn been replaced by his son, Djehutymose.⁵⁵ During the brief term he served as senior scribe Khaemhedje, like his father before him, appears to have had little appetite for graffiti-scribbling; indeed he has left just three recorded rock graffiti (name and titles only) within the Valley of the Kings.⁵⁶ Similarly, both Horisher and Khaemhedje have left very few surviving public monuments of their own at Deir el-Medina or anywhere else.⁵⁷

A further group of rock graffiti in the Valley of the Kings that most probably dates to the first two decades of Ramesses XI's rule are those texts⁵⁸ (they amount to a not inconsiderable

⁴⁸ By now the position of senior scribe of the Tomb was firmly in the hands of the family of Amennakhte son of Ipuw and would remain there until the early XXIst Dynasty. See Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 39-42.

⁴⁹ P. Turin 167+2087/219 (198), vs. 6 (now *KRI*, VI, 640: 10-11).

⁵⁰ Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 14, 2 (now in *KRI*, VI, 570: 12).

⁵¹ Černý, *Community*, 356; McDowell, *JWC*, 70 and 75.

⁵² Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 53, 21 (= *KRI*, VI, 691: 13-14).

⁵³ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 41.

⁵⁴ Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 63, 10 (*KRI*, VI, 851: 1); also Wente, *LRL*, 2 n. 7; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 41 n. 208.

⁵⁵ See Gardiner, *RAD*, 36: 6. Prior to this date it is uncertain when Djehutymose did become senior scribe of the Tomb. A "scribe" Djehutymose is known from a Year 3 (most probably of Ramesses XI) in P. Turin Cat. 2003, rt. 1:1 (= *KRI*, VII, 388: 5). In Year 8 of Ramesses XI our man is recorded as scribe of the left side of the crew while a little known scribe called Pawero is in charge of the right: P. Turin Cat. 2018, vs. A 2:4-2:5 (*KRI*, VI, 855: 7-8). Note further: McDowell, *JWC*, 89.

⁵⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2059, 2183, 2185 (all located in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Also see generally: *KRI*, VI, 700: 12-14.

⁵⁷ Černý, *Community*, 354-355; also cf. *KRI*, VI, 669. Note that in both cases this dearth of monuments or widely-dispersed rock graffiti might not be due to a lack of ostentation or desire for immortality on the part of these two scribes, but to the fact that the tombworker's village was probably in the process of being abandoned for the safety of Medinet Habu by the reign of Ramesses IX: Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 25; plus McDowell, *JWC*, 84-85.

⁵⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 157 ("Vallée du Puits"), 190, 192 and 194 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), 487a, 488, 492, 509, 514, 547 (all "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 617 (in "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1674 and 1692 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), 1834, 1837, 1845 (all in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), 1973, 2011d, 2099 (all "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2344a, 2350c+d, 2354, 2365 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), and 3838 (near the tomb of Horemhab).

tally) that record the name and titles of the scribe Wennufer son of Ankhtu who is known to have been in charge of the service staff of the right side of the crew under Ramesses XI.⁵⁹

The senior scribe of the Tomb Djehutymose (also known by the sobriquet Tjaroy),⁶⁰ born to scribe Khaemhedje by the lady Tentkhenuemhab, is known from a good many documents and inscriptions, including a sizeable number of rock graffiti located mainly in the Valley of the Kings.⁶¹ Djehutymose is also frequently attested in many of the numerous graffiti texts of his son and successor, Butchamun.⁶²

Within the Valley of the Kings those graffiti that appear to have been inscribed by Djehutymose himself while senior scribe of the Tomb are concentrated along the cliffs of the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"⁶³ although his signature is also found in some of the Valley's quieter stretches.⁶⁴

Far removed as they are from the region of the tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4, the site where he will have served as senior scribe of the Tomb)⁶⁵ one can imagine Djehutymose etching the mass of his graffiti texts in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II" while hiding from the sun,⁶⁶ perhaps during a work break, assuming that these graffiti inscriptions are indeed attributable to

⁵⁹ Černý, *Community*, 200-201; McDowell, *JWC*, 90-91. By contrast, Wennufer's colleague in office, Efnamun (cf. Černý, *Community*, 193-194), scribe of the staff of the left side at this time is apparently quite unknown from the West Theban graffiti.

⁶⁰ Regarding this call-name: Černý, *Community*, 363-366; Jac. J. Janssen, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum VI: Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* (1991), 19-20.

⁶¹ For Djehutymose generally: Černý, *Community*, 357-383, passim; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 41-42; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 220-225; also *KRI*, VI, 875-877, and *KRI*, VII, 398-399. For those rock graffiti that were probably inscribed by Djehutymose on his own behalf (these give only the latter's name and titles or identify him as a son of scribe Khaemhedje), see conveniently: *KRI*, VI, 877-878

⁶² E.g. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 408b+d-f; Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1285b, 1287, 1311a, 1359a. The problem of which graffiti were originally inscribed by Djehutymose is complicated by the fact that his son Butchamun had a tendency to add his name to earlier texts: Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 130 n. 218.

⁶³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 377, 405, 484a, 486, 502; Carter graffito no. 1436a; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1938, 1954, 1970, 1975, 2011b+f, 2024, 2031, 2034, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2077: 2, 2210. Other graffiti of Djehutymose in the main areas of the Valley are: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2289, 2297, 2298 (all "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III").

⁶⁴ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 66 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), 145 and 146, and also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1789 (all "Vallée du Puits"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1734 ("Vallée du Scribe Houy").

⁶⁵ Prior to his appointment as sole senior scribe between Year 1 to 12 of King Ramesses XI Djehutymose is known to have served as an ordinary crewman in Year 17 of Ramesses IX (cf. Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 11, 2 = *KRI*, VI, 568: 9). He probably served in a similar capacity during the building of the tomb of Ramesses X (note P. Turin Cat. 1932+1939, vs. 3: 6 = *KRI*, VI, 687:1).

⁶⁶ For a good idea of the shade afforded by such cliffs: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pls. 40 and 50; also see the plates in Romer, *VK*, between pp. 26-27.

the time when the sepulchre of King Ramesses XI was under construction.⁶⁷ Alternatively the graffiti texts under consideration here might date to a slightly later period (the last decade of so of Ramesses XI) when work in KV 4 seems to have been abandoned for the time being⁶⁸ and Djehutymose was busy locating and salvaging earlier royal burials in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens.⁶⁹

During his incumbency as senior scribe, like Amennakhte son of Ipuw and Horisheru before him, Djehutymose appears to have associated his son and heir with himself as a colleague or assistant.⁷⁰ By Year 20 of King Ramesses XI both men are named together in a papyrus as "scribe".⁷¹ As with previous tutelages of this nature, Butchamun no doubt assisted with his father's routine duties and at this moment such an arrangement was all the more necessary as Djehutymose was often away from Thebes on important business⁷² and Butchamun was left to attend to the village affairs during his father's absences.⁷³

⁶⁷ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 219-221.

⁶⁸ Work on the unfinished and unused KV 4 was resumed in early Dynasty XXI, probably on the orders of the High-Priest Pinudjem I, who seems to have shown an interest in employing the tomb for his own burial (a scheme later abandoned); cf. Reeves, *VK*, 121-123. The site of Ramesses XI's eventual tomb is not known but presumably it was constructed in the north of the country, perhaps in a subterranean complex at Saqqâra.

⁶⁹ Note Reeves, *VK*, 276-278; Taylor, *After Tut'ankhamûn*, 187-190; Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 62-78.

⁷⁰ Cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 41-42; McDowell, *JWC*, 75.

⁷¹ So P. Turin Cat. 2094, vs. 1:4-1:5 (*KRI*, VI, 867: 6-7). Prior to this Djehutymose may have been assisted in his duties by the scribe of the Tomb Nesamenope (cf. Černý, *Community*, 213-214; and Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 41-42). What the status of Penparei was, another late Ramesside "scribe of the Tomb", is rather less clear (= Černý, *Community*, 206-207; also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42). This Penparei is known by a considerable number of rock graffiti in the Valley of the Kings, the majority of them cut in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II" (cf. nos. 366, 367(?), 369, 373b, 389a(?), 391b, 501, 529, 544b, 644a, 1940: 1, 1947b,c(?)+e, 1951, 1957, 1963, and 1977). Other Valley graffiti naming a "scribe" Penparei include nos. 14 (in *CEDAE* Section 183), 316 ("Vallon de la tombe de Menepthah"), 1683(?) and 1684 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI") and 2584: 1 and 2585 ("Vallée du Puits").

⁷² On these journeys (to various towns south of Thebes to collect grain for the Tomb, to cities in Middle Egypt for reasons now unknown, and finally to Elephantine and Nubia to aid the General Piankh in his military campaign against Panehsy, rebel viceroy of Nubia): Černý, *Community*, 360, 377-380; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 225. One can only speculate if the number of graffiti attributable to Djehutymose at western Thebes would have been all the greater if it was not for these extended absences. Likewise Djehutymose may have been diverted from forays into the desert wâdis while at Thebes by responsibilities for his family's agricultural interests at the cultivation: Černý, *Community*, 382, McDowell, *JEA* 78 (1992), 196.

⁷³ Note here Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 714 (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"; now *KRI*, VI, 849), a Valley graffito from just this time with Butchamun apparently acting in loco parentis. Translated it runs: "3 Shomu 23(?). <Day> of starting work in this place by the crew <of the> Tomb while the scribe Butchamun crossed over <to> Thebes to see the arrival of the General in journeying north". Although a year date is lacking this graffito can be dated with some confidence to Year 10 of the Renaissance Era or *wḥm-mswt* (= Year 28 of King Ramesses XI) on the basis of Late Ramesside Letter no. 9 (cf. Wente, *LRL*, 11-12) which was

Djehutymose was still in office in Year 28 of King Ramesses XI⁷⁴ but probably died soon afterwards, prematurely in his son's view,⁷⁵ early in the reign of Smendes I.⁷⁶ Butchamun is securely recorded during this era between Year 6⁷⁷ to 13⁷⁸ of the latter. By Year 16 of Smendes I Butchamun himself may have been dead and replaced by Ankhefenamun, one of his many sons and presumably his intended successor.⁷⁹

In addition to those graffiti inscriptions inscribed in the Valley of the Kings by the senior administrative scribes, and their junior scribal colleagues, several chief-workmen of the XXth Dynasty have also left their names and titles in rock graffiti throughout the Valley. From the right side of the crew, in chronological order, the earliest graffito text is apparently that of the foreman Ipuu (the father of the senior scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte);⁸⁰ this is followed by rock graffiti attributable to the well-attested father, son and grandson trio of Nekhemmut the Elder,⁸¹ Khonsu,⁸² and Nekhemmut the Younger;⁸³ and perhaps another foreman Ipuu (father

written in Year 10 (of *wḥm-mswt*), 1 *Shomu* 25, when General Piankh was still campaigning in Nubia (with the help of the scribe Djehutymose). Here, two months later, Piankh is back at Thebes and being greeted by one of his senior local officials, Butchamun. See Kitchen, *THIP*, § 380 (No. 5). At this late date it seems a reasonable guess that the work referred to is that of the dismantling of the known tombs in the Valley of the Kings rather than to any work on the tomb of Ramesses XI.

⁷⁴ See Černý, *LRL*, 17-21 (= Letter no. 9, P. BM 10326); for the date: Wente, *LRL*, 11-12; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 16 n. 89.

⁷⁵ So according to Carter graffito no. 1573, a prayer written by Butchamun in honour of the deity Amennestitowi where he claims his deceased father did not attain a satisfactory old age: Černý, *Community*, 373-374; and Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 41 and n. 212.

⁷⁶ Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42; also Kitchen, *THIP*, § 16 n. 89.

⁷⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1358; and see Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 130 n. 218.

⁷⁸ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 914. Butchamun is also known to have been involved in the restoration of the mummy of Ramesses III in this year: Reeves, *VK*, 231, 235 (No. 20), 249.

⁷⁹ In this year Ankhefenamun is attested alone with the High-Priest of Amun Masaharta in Carter graffito no. 1572. See Černý, *Community*, 374; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 34. Shortly before this, in Year 12 of Smendes I, Ankhefenamun is noted in another graffito working closely with Butchamun in Wādi Sikket Tāqet Zaid over two days (so Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1393).

⁸⁰ Ipuu appears to have succeeded Paneb son of Nefersene as chief-workman of the right side at the end of Dynasty XIX or during the early years of Ramesses III: Černý, *Community*, 305, 345. His sole Valley graffito (= Carter graffito no. 1451) is located on the rock spur separating the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II" from the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III" (cf. now CEDAE Section 51). Ipuu is known to me from only one other rock graffito at West Thebes: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2664a (by the workmans' settlement on the col). Also see *KRI*, V, 646: 1-2, and 650: 8-9.

⁸¹ First attested in the post in Year 11 of Ramesses III and last mentioned in Year 15 of the latter: Černý, *Community*, 305-306; add Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 32. For his probable graffiti in the Valley of the Kings: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 140 ("Vallée du Puits"), 318a (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Menephtah"), 729a ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès VII"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1783 ("Vallée du Puits") and 2351b ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); also cf. *KRI*, V, 626-627.

of the foreman Khonsu son of Ipu),⁸⁴ Bakenmut⁸⁵ and Penparei.⁸⁶ From the left side of the crew only the foremen Hay⁸⁷ and Amennakhte⁸⁸ are currently known in rock graffiti as likely authors.

As in Dynasty XIX, graffiti texts attributable to deputies of the crew are generally very rare. However, in the middle of Dynasty XX one incumbent did enjoy scribbling his name in rock graffiti: Hay son of Amennakhte of the left side of the crew.⁸⁹ The overwhelming mass of

⁸² Securely attested in office between Year 16 to 31 of Ramesses III; cf. Černý, *Community*, 306-307; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 32. For Khonsu's Valley graffiti: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 546 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 610c, and 613a ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2043 and 2100 (in "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Now also cf. *KRI*, V, 625-626.

⁸³ First attested as chief-workman in Year 2 of Ramesses IV and last appears in Year 17 of Ramesses IX; so Černý, *Community*, 307-310; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 33-34. For Nekhemmut the Younger's small number of rock graffiti in the Valley: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 612 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); add Carter graffito no. 1424 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès VII"); also cf. *KRI*, VI, 201: 14.

⁸⁴ Černý (*Community*, 310-311) has identified Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 176: 2 (this text in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II" notes a "chief-workman in the Place of Truth Ipu") with the father of the foreman Khonsu son of Ipu (temp. Year 8 of King Ramesses XI). The second chief-workman Ipu would presumably then have served during the first few years of the last Ramesses; cf. Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, II, 478. However as Bierbrier has pointed out (= *LNKE*, 127 n. 137) the Ipu named in the Spiegelberg graffito might refer instead to the earlier foreman of that name who was father to the senior scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte. In any case the reading of this graffito is none too certain and one should be very cautious about either attribution.

⁸⁵ His tenure of office fell within the second and possibly third decade of Ramesses XI's rule: Černý, *Community*, 311; also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 35-36. For foreman Bakenmut's two Valley graffiti: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 22a (located near the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI" at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings: CEDAE Section 183), and Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1404 (= Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 406; sited in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). See also *KRI*, VI, 872.

⁸⁶ In office during the last decade of Ramesses XI; cf. Černý, *Community*, 311-312; and also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 35-36. For Penparei's Valley graffiti: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 18'a' (near the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), 141 and 149 ("Vallée du Puits"), 409 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1946a (in "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Also see *KRI*, VI, 872-873.

⁸⁷ Recorded first in office in Year 1 of King Amenmesse and still alive and active in Year 19 of Ramesses III (a term of foremanship of some 40 years): Černý, *Community*, 295-306; and Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 37. For Hay's sole Valley graffito (indeed the only graffito that can be safely assigned to this long-lived official anywhere at West Thebes), see now: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1960a ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Now also in *KRI*, V, 625: 5-7.

⁸⁸ Only one West Theban graffito might be attributed to this Amennakhte as foreman (temp. Ramesses X), although it is not certain that the foreman actually wrote this inscription: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1860a ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"); now cf. *KRI*, VI, 681: 5-10. On the foreman Amennakhte: Černý, *Community*, 310; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 38.

⁸⁹ Hay is securely recorded in office between Years 27 to Year 31 of Ramesses III and again in Year 2 of Ramesses VI (cf. P. Turin Cat. 2081 + 2095); so Černý, *Community*, 137-140; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 98; add Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, I, 227-229; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 65-66.

Hay's graffiti are located in the East Valley of the Kings,⁹⁰ the West Valley of the Kings or the Valley of the Queens. Judging by this distribution pattern our deputy did not care to stray too far from these royal wâdis when not resident at Deir el-Medîna.⁹¹ Or if he did go on such forays he made less effort to mark his visits to the more isolated spots in western Thebes.⁹²

In addition to the many attested examples of Hay's signature, at least two and possibly three other Dynasty XX deputies of the left side have also left their names and titles on the Valley's cliffs and rocks. These are: To⁹³ and either Amenhotep son of Pentwere (temp. Ramesses IX) and/or Amenhotep son of 'Apatjau (temp. Ramesses XI).⁹⁴

Graffiti are also known from the Valley that give the names of eleven draughtsmen or chief draughtsmen who are datable with certainty to Dynasty XX, a much larger corpus of material than is presently available for this class of tombworker in the Valley graffiti of Dynasty XIX. Those draughtsmen attested are: Amenwa;⁹⁵ Amennakhte son of Ipuy;⁹⁶ Amennakhte son of

⁹⁰ These are very widely spread throughout the Valley and no one location stands out as a favourite. See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 217, 219+220+221, 230b-e, 261 ("Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"), 420, 421, 423, 425, 438, 448a, 622, 623a, 626, 627 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), 483a and 642a+b ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 725 and 733a ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès VII"); and add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1631, 1635 and Carter graffito no. 1422 ("Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"), 1640, 1645, 1656, 1657, 1663, 1666 (all "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès VII"), 1686, 1711, 1712, 1714, 1717, 1718, 2825, 2826 (= "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), 1799 and 2574 ("Vallée du Puits"), 1836, 1880, and 1892 (= "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), 2001: 1, 2079, 2097, 2140b, 2165 (all in "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2215 and 2218 (on the rock spur separating the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II" from the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), also 2225, 2454, and 2455 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"). See also *KRI*, V, 634-639.

⁹¹ Note conveniently, D. Valbelle, *La tombe de Hay à Deir el-Médineh [No 267]* (1975), 33-35 and fig. 19.

⁹² Outside of the Valleys of the Kings and Queens and the cliffs near the tombworkers' col settlement (the latter texts: graffiti nos. 2554, 2562, 2563, 2734c), the only other rock graffiti attributable to the deputy Hay appear to be: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 94 (in Wâdyein); Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1087 and 1089 (both "Vallée de l'Aigle"), 1120, 1121, 1124, 1129 and 1132 (all along the path between Deir el-Medîna and the Valley of the Queens), 1361, 1363, 1368 (on the path between the East and West Valleys of the Kings).

⁹³ Apparently in this post sometime after Year 3 of Ramesses V and before the second half of Ramesses IX's rule: Černý, *Community*, 141. To is recorded in Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1973: 1, perhaps also in Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 481a (both located in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Now also see: *KRI*, V, 640: 1-4.

⁹⁴ A deputy Amenhotep is known from two Valley graffiti: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 549 and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2016 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); and *KRI*, VI, 668. It is uncertain which of the two known deputies called Amenhotep left these graffiti or if both men wrote one graffito each. Amenhotep son of Pentwere is known to have served from at least Year 15 of Ramesses IX; by Year 17 of the latter he had been removed from his post thanks to his involvement in plundering the tomb of Queen Isis in the Valley of the Queens. Amenhotep son of 'Apatjau is securely noted in office between Year 8 to 18 of Ramesses XI. On all these matters: Černý, *Community*, 141-142.

⁹⁵ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2306 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III") and 2798 and 2837: 2 (in the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"). Now also cf. *KRI*, VI, 208.

Amenhotep;⁹⁷ Amennakhte son of Hay (called Pawonesh);⁹⁸ Amenhotep;⁹⁹ Pauer;¹⁰⁰ Menna;¹⁰¹ Nebnufer;¹⁰² Nekhemmut;¹⁰³ Hori;¹⁰⁴ and Hormin.¹⁰⁵ However, unlike the XIXth Dynasty there is only one rock graffito known to me from the Valley of the Kings that seems to have been written by a guardian of the Tomb of the XXth Dynasty.¹⁰⁶

Finally, as in Dynasty XIX, a considerable number of Valley graffiti preserve the names and titles of some of the ordinary men of the crew. The known graffiti of this type from the XXth

⁹⁶ See pp. 150-151 in this Part of Chapter Seven.

⁹⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 642c ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II") and 697b ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1 nos. 1925b and 1931 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2260, 2273, 2274'b', 2356, 2421 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); and cf. *KRI*, VI, 670-671.

⁹⁸ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 223 ("Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah") and 647 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1610 and 1611 ("Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"), 1965 and 2119 (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2348: 1-2 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), 2839 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"). Also cf. *KRI*, V, 639.

⁹⁹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 609b ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); also now *KRI*, V, 528: 11. See also Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 122 and n. 41, regarding this text.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 526, and also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1 no. 1947d (both in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). Also cf. *KRI*, VI, 670: 7-9.

¹⁰¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 686 and 701 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1795 (Vallée du Puits"). All now in *KRI*, VI, 218.

¹⁰² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 288 ("Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah") and 450 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); add also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1 nos. 2189 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2222 and 2359 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"). Now cf. *KRI*, VI, 208-209.

¹⁰³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1968 (located in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); now in *KRI*, VI, 434: 12. On this draughtsman and his graffito, note Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 34-35 and n. 128.

¹⁰⁴ See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 19 (near the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI") and 200 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2400, 2401, 2447 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"). Hori is also known from a stela found in the Valley of the Kings by Th. Davis in 1906 (Cairo Jd'E. 38792). See further: *KRI*, V, 658: 11, and *KRI*, VI, 204-206.

¹⁰⁵ Note Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 138 (in the "Vallée du Puits"), 199 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), 259, 277, 279, 305 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1592, 1594, 1595 (in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), 1636 ("Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"), 1782 and 1788 (in the "Vallée du Puits"), 1959 and 1982 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2847 and 2848 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"), 2870 and 2874 (near to the "Vallée du Scribe Houy"); Carter graffiti nos. 1407 (= *KRI*, VII, 419: 11-14, "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II") and 1454 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"). And also cf. *KRI*, VI, 206-207.

¹⁰⁶ See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 679b (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III") of the guardian Pekhoir (temp. Ramesses IX; cf. Černý, *Community*, 152 and 157). Only one other Dynasty XX guardian is even mentioned in a Valley rock graffito: Penmennufer (c. Ramesses III-IV; see here: Černý, *Community*, 156-157), in a text probably written by the senior scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuy (= Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2578b, in the "Vallée du Puits"; also cf. *KRI*, V, 460: 15-16).

Dynasty can be dated with certainty to the reigns of Ramesses III to Ramesses IX.¹⁰⁷ Again, however, just how many of these workmen could read or write anything other than their own names is difficult to say.

The periodic sojourns made to the Valley of the Kings by the state's highest office-holders are perhaps noted in some of the XXth Dynasty graffiti from the latter site.¹⁰⁸ However, with one exception,¹⁰⁹ the rock graffiti that preserve the names of such dignitaries do not actually describe visits to the Valley by high officials, never mind the purpose of any progress.¹¹⁰ As in Dynasty XIX we can only assume that in the majority of cases it was to observe the work being undertaken in the royal tomb.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ E.g. Payam: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 588 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), now as *KRI*, V, 664: 1; Neferhor: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 601 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), now cf. *KRI*, V, 668: 13; Pashed: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 151, 153 (both "Vallée du Puits") and nos 233, 236 ("Vallon de la tombe de Menephtah"), now *KRI*, VI, 214: 2-5; Minkhau: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 370, 372, 373a ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), also cf. *KRI*, VI, 215: 7; Maanakhtef: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1637-1639 (all "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès VII"), now see *KRI*, VI, 270: 5+10; Khaemnun: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 172 and 173 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), also see *KRI*, VI, 274: 12; Qenḥirkhopshef: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2496 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), also in *KRI*, VI, 277: 10; Ipuuy son of Neferhor: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1932, 1933, 1937, 1976 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); now cf. *KRI*, VI, 674-675, to which one should add the unpublished Carter graffito no. 1476 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III").

¹⁰⁸ On occasion visiting courtiers in Dynasty XX are also known to have marked their visits to West Thebes with more substantial monuments such as the stela dedicated to Meretseger by the overseer of the treasury Montuemtowy (temp. Ramesses III-VI) at the worker's settlement on the col: *KRI*, VI, 82; McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 55. Note also the small votive stela of the royal butler Ramesses-Sethirwonmef from the Valley of the Kings: Reeves, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 234 and pl. 34a (= *KRI*, VII, 419).

¹⁰⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1756 (= *KRI*, VI, 681: 1-2).

¹¹⁰ It is particularly regrettable that the West Theban rock graffiti provide no clear mention of the visits paid to the necropolis by various high officials in Dynasty XX when the latter were busy tackling serious disorders in the region such as the periodic "strikes" or "demonstrations" held by the royal workmen during much of the XXth Dynasty (Janssen, *BSEG* 16 (1992), 41-49; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 195-219), or the scandals of the major tomb-robberies under Ramesses IX and XI (see T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, 2 vols. (1930); Caminos, *LÄ* II (1976), 862-864; also Aldred, *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 92-99; and McDowell, *JWC*, 189-200).

¹¹¹ As is clearly recorded in O. Cairo 25565, 3-4 (= *KRI*, VI, 142-143) of Year 5, 4 *Akhet* 7, of Ramesses IV, an inspection by the vizier Neferronpet; or in O. Cairo 25274 (*KRI*, VI, 145: 11-13) of Year 6, 1 *Akhet* 12, of Ramesses IV, a visit by the vizier Neferronpet and the royal butler Sethirwonmef. Another known occasion that finds officials of this standing actually in the Valley was when the time had come to determine the site for a new royal tomb: O. DM 45 rt. 15-17 (*KRI*, VI, 120: 11-13). Note also that in Year 26, 3 *Akhet* 19, of Ramesses III the Valley of the Kings *may* have been examined by a high ranking commission that included the overseer of the treasury, the high-priest of Amun and the mayor of Thebes, following some apparent irregularities by the workmen (O. DM 148 = *KRI*, V, 505-506): Christophe, *BIFAO* 52 (1953), 113-127; Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 28-38; and now McDowell, *JWC*, 209, 217-219.

Perhaps the earliest graffito of this type is a short text noting the arrival of the royal butler Sethhirwonmef (presumably at the Valley) in regnal year 6 (2 *Akhet* 7) of Ramesses IV.¹¹² Interestingly enough, this Sethhirwonmef (also called Ramesses-Sethhirwonmef) is known to have been a frequent visitor to the West Bank between 1 *Akhet* 9 and 4 *Akhet* 21 in Year 6 of Ramesses IV; perhaps he held an important commission in liaising with the tomb-workforce during this period, to supervise preparations for the eventual burial of Ramesses IV.¹¹³ Also to be assigned to this period is a single rock graffito naming another royal butler, Amenkhau (temp. Ramesses IV-V).¹¹⁴

The name of the vizier Khaemwase (temp. Year 16 of Ramesses IX to Year 3 of Ramesses X)¹¹⁵ is given in three Theban rock graffiti; and although these texts are in fact located in the West Valley of the Kings¹¹⁶ they are presented here for if, as appears likely, these graffiti do record a visit by the vizier, then it is far more likely that Khaemwase concerned himself with activity in the East Valley of the Kings where the tombs of Ramesses IX and X were cut.¹¹⁷ Two of the inscriptions consist of no more than the vizier's name and titles (*Imy-r nltwt ꜥty*). These are undated.¹¹⁸ The third example is rather more helpful as it is dated to 3 *Peret* 18 of a Year 3 (almost certainly that of Ramesses X)¹¹⁹ and mentions Khaemwase's coming into "the Valley" (*ꜥ Int*).¹²⁰

¹¹² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2056a (cut just above the entrance to the tomb of Sethos II): *KRI*, VI, 146: 2-4. Sethhirwonmef is also recorded with the vizier Neferronpet in a rock graffito near the worker's settlement on the col (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 790 = *KRI*, VI, 145) which is dated to Year 6, 1 *Akhet* 9, of Ramesses IV. This too might mark an inspection visit to the Valley of the Kings or Queens.

¹¹³ Note Malek, *JEA* 74 (1988), 135; Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 49 (1992), 715 and n. 43.

¹¹⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2576 (located in the "Vallée du Puits"); and now cf. *KRI*, VI, 148: 8. Amenkhau is known to have been a member of the three man committee sent into the Valley of the Kings to chose the excavation site for the tomb of Ramesses IV in Year 2 of the latter; just possibly this brief text was written during this special event. See O. DM 45 rt. 16 (= *KRI*, VI, 120: 12); and Černý, *VK*, 17; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 196.

¹¹⁵ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 336-340 and 465; add Černý, *BiOr* 19 (1962), 143-144.

¹¹⁶ It is worth noting that these texts are the *only* rock graffiti in the entire West Valley that preserve the name and titles of a high-ranking official. Similarly examples of royal cartouches, so common in the East Valley, are still quite unknown in the West Valley of the Kings at any period.

¹¹⁷ Reeves, *VK*, 14-15 and 119-120.

¹¹⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 111 and 113 (cf. *KRI*, VI, 524: 3). If these epigraphs date from the reign of Ramesses IX then it is possible that they can be assigned to Year 17, 3 *Peret* 23 (so Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 25, 6-7 = *KRI*, VI, 580: 3-5), of the latter when Khaemwase is known to have visited the Valley of the Kings with several other high officials.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1756 (*KRI*, VI, 680-681). What is intriguing about this graffito is that the Tomb work journal for this date (cf. Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 50, 11 = *KRI*, VI, 688: 7) notes that the crew were idle and not at work in the Valley on this particular day "because of the desert dwellers" (*r-ḥꜣt nꜣ ḥꜣstyw*), i.e. hostile Libyan tribesmen. Perhaps the vizier (who would surely be accompanied by a retinue of guards and officials) had

The latest known rock graffito attesting the presence of high dignitaries in the Valley of the Kings in the XXth Dynasty seems to be no. 1860a, a particularly problematic text over which a considerable amount of ink has already been spilled.¹²¹ I will therefore try and keep my own remarks as germane as possible. The text in question might best be translated so:

"Year 8, 3 Akhet 6. On this day closing (*ḥnt*)
the tomb (*pꜣ ḥr*) by the High-Priest Ramessesnakhte,
the royal butler Prehirwonmef, the mayor of Thebes
Amenmose, [*Pamose and*]¹²² the chief-workman Amennakhte
likewise".

The episode chronicled here appears straightforward enough: the sealing of a royal tomb in Year 8 of an unnamed pharaoh, under the direct supervision of three high ranking officials and two members of the Deir el-Medīna workforce.¹²³ What has provoked most discussion is the likely date for this event.

Bierbrier was first to point out the important historical implications inherent in our graffito. In a nutshell he suggested that as there is no solid evidence for a village foreman called Amennakhte before the reign of Ramesses X, and as there is no room for an officer of this name on either side of the crew in Year 8 of Ramesses XI, then graffito no. 1860a most probably dates to the rule of Ramesses X. This would provide a regnal year 8 for Ramesses X whose highest recorded year previously known is Year 3.¹²⁴

Equally important for the history of Dynasty XX, the high-priest mentioned in line 2 of the graffito could not then be the well-known High-Priest of Amun Ramessesnakhte who is noted

come to the royal necropolis to see these local disorders for himself. And note Haring, *Village Voices*, 76.

¹²⁰ For *ḥnt* as a colloquial term for the Valley of the Kings: Černý, *Community*, 92-94; but cf. Ventura, *LCD*, 145-168. Note also that *ḥnt* could mean West Valley of the Kings in this context: Eyre, *Cd'É* 67 (1992), 279.

¹²¹ So Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1860a ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"); now in *KRI*, VI, 681.

¹²² For the problematic group of signs evident at this point in the inscription I have adopted the reading suggested by Reeves (in *VK*, 233); this is in preference to those given by Bierbrier (*JEA* 58 (1972), 195) or Bell (*Serapis* 6 (1980), 7-8).

¹²³ The foreman Amennakhte (temp. Ramesses X): Černý, *Community*, 310; also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 38. For Pamose: Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 8; add Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, I, 74, vol. II, 342. Whether the "scribe" Pamose of the adjacent Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1861, is the same man is open to question. This "scribe" is also attested in graffito no. 2211. A *wab*-priest Pamose is recorded in graffito no. 2056c: 2.

¹²⁴ Prior to this Parker (see *Rd'É* 11 (1957), 163-164) had calculated a reign of nine years for Ramesses X on astronomical grounds; and also cf. Wente and Van Siclen, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 235, 247. Most recently von Beckerath, *SAK* 21 (1994), 29-33, has again advocated Year 3 as the highest attained by Ramesses X but his arguments are not conclusive.

in office from Year 1 of Ramesses IV to Year 2 of Ramesses IX. Ramessesnakhte is known to have been eventually succeeded as first prophet by one of his sons, Amenhotep, by Year 10 of Ramesses IX. The high-priest of Year 8 of Ramesses X must therefore be a second Ramessesnakhte, most likely a grandson of the first.

Similarly, Bierbrier demonstrated that if graffito no. 1860a does date to Year 8 of Ramesses X then it would be utterly impossible for the mayor of Thebes Amenmose noted in lines 3-4 of the graffito to be identical with the official of that name who is mentioned in Year 3 of Ramesses IV (Wâdi Hammâmât rock stela: *KRI*, VI, 14: 3). Even in Year 3 of Ramesses IV this Amenmose had probably past his seventieth year and it is inconceivable that he could still be alive and active some fifty years later. Further, during the intervening period, a certain Paser is recorded in office as mayor of Thebes in Year 16 of Ramesses IX. We would have to imagine an exceedingly aged mayor Amenmose relinquishing his post at some point between Year 3 of Ramesses IV and Year 16 of Ramesses IX only to return to public life in Year 8 of Ramesses X. The only realistic conclusion to draw is that if graffito 1860a is to be assigned to Year 8 of Ramesses X then we are also dealing with a second mayor of Thebes Amenmose and like the high-priest Ramessesnakhte (II), he was quite likely a grandson of his namesake.¹²⁵ The royal butler Prehirwonmef remains otherwise unknown.¹²⁶

In 1982 Bell produced a number of stimulating but ultimately unconvincing arguments that would posit the chief-workman Amennakhte listed in our text as a new foreman of that name who held office between Year 4 to 8 of Ramesses VI, the immediate successor to Anherkhawi the Younger on the left side of the crew.¹²⁷ This would then date graffito no. 1860a to Year 8 of the latter pharaoh.¹²⁸ This hypothesis is attractive in so far as it would obviate the need to identify a new high-priest of Amun and a new Theban mayor¹²⁹ with only one piece of rather uncertain evidence.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ On all this: Bierbrier, *JEA* 58 (1972), 195-199; idem *JEA* 61 (1975), 251; also *LNKE*, 5-6, 13, 126 n. 119. Kitchen, *THIP*, § 208, also accepts Bierbrier's arguments regarding the date of the graffito.

¹²⁶ Schulman, *Cd'É* 61 (1986), 201.

¹²⁷ I am indebted to Prof. K. A. Kitchen and Dr. M. L. Bierbrier for data in private communications rebuking Bell's dating of key Deir el-Medîna documents used in his paper, notably O. DM 133, the dating of which to Year 4 of Ramesses VII can hardly be regarded as a theoretical matter. See also Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), 168-170.

¹²⁸ Cf. Bell's paper in *Serapis* 6 (1980), 7-27. Ventura, *LCD*, 182-183, and also Reeves, *VK*, 233, have followed Bell's conclusions as has Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 32-33.

¹²⁹ Nonetheless Bell (*Serapis* 6 (1980), 15 n. 98) fails totally to grapple with the problem of the minimum possible age of the mayor Amenmose even if graffito 1860a does date to Year 8 of Ramesses VI. In all likelihood Amenmose would still have been c. 87-97 years of age in the latter's Year 8 and his active participation in Valley work, even in the capacity of a senior

However, until it can be proved beyond all reasonable doubt that under Ramesses VI a workman named Amennakhte was able to interpolate the hereditary tenure of the two families who held the post of chief-workman at this period (this Bell has failed to do to my mind), then it is extremely difficult to see how graffito no. 1860a can belong to regnal year 8 of Ramesses VI. On balance therefore, Bierbrier's original explanation is still the most satisfactory although, as ever, difficulties do remain.¹³¹

Examples of a royal prenomen or nomen on its own among the West Theban rock graffiti are much rarer in Dynasty XX. Only a handful of examples can be cited and all but one¹³² of these are located in the Valley of the Kings. Names preserved among the Valley graffiti are of Ramesses III,¹³³ VI¹³⁴ and XI.¹³⁵ Prince Ramesses-Montuhirkhopshef (temp. Ramesses IX)

advisor, also seems unlikely even at this earlier date. See here: Bierbrier, *JEA* 58 (1972), 196-197; idem, *LNKE*, 5-6, 15.

¹³⁰ However, one should remember that several very senior dignitaries of the late Ramesside era are attested in only one or two minor documents, notably the vizier Ramessesnakhte (reign of Ramesses VI) who is known only from O. Cairo 25344 (= *KRI*, VI, 350); cf. Černý, *BiOr* 19 (1962), 143.

¹³¹ As Bierbrier (*JEA* 58 (1972), 195) and Bell (*Serapis* 6 (1980), 15-16) have both noted the sealing of *pꜣ hr* in question may only have been of a temporary nature. It may well be that the royal tomb referred to here had been very largely completed and was being provisionally sealed (to avoid damage from floodwaters etc.) in anticipation of the king's death, his funeral and the final closure of the royal tomb. If Ramesses X did attain a eighth year of rule then "the tomb" noted in the graffito might date to either him or to Ramesses VI as the latter certainly reigned into his eighth year. On the other hand our text is quite ambiguous about the ownership of the grave mentioned. Possibly it was one of an earlier ruler that had just been inspected for some reason in the late Ramesside era (on *pꜣ hr* as a term for earlier royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings and Queens and not just for the royal tomb under construction: Černý, *Community*, 8-11). Perhaps the location of the graffito (just above the entrance to the tomb of Amenophis II = KV 35) in this regard is significant. See Reeves, *VK*, 199 and 222 n. 139 who suspects that graffito 1860a marks an official inspection of KV 35 under Ramesses VI. Whatever the reason the ceremony described must have been one of some importance to have warranted the presence on site of such high status officials.

¹³² Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1239 (now as *KRI*, VI, 154: 5), an example of the later prenomen of Ramesses IV located in the "Deuxième Vallée Latérale" at the Valley of the Queens.

¹³³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 15 (+Petrie, *Season*, pl. 18 (no. 681), placed at the entrance to the Valley, CEDAE Section 183), 454a,b (not found in recent years but most probably cut in the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"; see Černý, *MSS*. 6.15, 8) and 594 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"). Also now see *KRI*, V, 624: 5-8.

¹³⁴ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2169 and 2170 (both of the royal prenomen only and both in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); *KRI*, VI, 365: 7-8 and 366: 8-9.

¹³⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 17 (nomen only, located at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings and not far from the tomb of Ramesses XI, now as CEDAE Section 183); also cf. *KRI*, VI, 869: 12-13. This appears to be latest royal cartouche known from the West Theban rock graffiti. Such inscriptions are as yet unattested in the region for later royal dynasties and this would seem to confirm the suspicion that the Deir el-Medīna workmen were the sole authors of these graffiti.

is also attested by a single graffito where the prince's name is enclosed inside a cartouche.¹³⁶ Finally it should be noted, for the sake of completeness, that there is a rock graffito (but with no cartouche) in the East Valley of the Kings with what appears to be an example of the name of the High-Priest of Amun Herihor (temp. Ramesses XI).¹³⁷

Why there should be far fewer of these "cartouche-graffiti" from Dynasty XX is not readily apparent. Perhaps the large numbers of cartouches written in Dynasty XIX naming Ramesses II and Sethos II are the labours of only one or two determined enthusiasts who enjoyed setting out the names of their nation's ruler, a bent not shared to any great degree it would appear by later generations of village scribes or workmen.

Section D: Graffiti Inscriptions in the Royal Tombs in the East Valley of the Kings.

(i) KV 2: Of considerable interest is a newly traced hieratic graffito in the tomb of Ramesses IV. Located high up¹³⁸ on the right hand jamb leading into the burial chamber, this short text appears to read as follows:¹³⁹

*"1 Shomu 4. Bringing the cloth¹⁴⁰
to the Great Field. It was
added to the tomb equipment (ḥry-mrḥ). 5...."*

As this graffito records the arrival of certain grave goods at the Valley of the Kings, and was presumably written by one of the village scribes during the final provisioning of KV 2 for the royal funeral, we seem to have a welcome new piece of evidence for the events surrounding the burial of Ramesses IV.

A related source of data for the funeral of Ramesses IV is provided in a section of P. Turin 2002 rt.¹⁴¹ which apparently dates to Year 1, 2 *Shomu* 7, of Ramesses V.¹⁴² This document

¹³⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1597 (*KRI*, VI, 465: 3) which is inscribed at the entrance to the prince's Valley tomb (KV 19). Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/I, plan 13.

¹³⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1876 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II").

¹³⁸ Note that whoever wrote this graffito must have used a ladder or scaffolding placed in the tomb for final decorative work or perhaps the erection of the great golden shrines around the sarcophagus. The fact that he chose to pen his memorandum in such a discreet spot might also be significant. See now Warburton in E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (1990), 133 n. 9.

¹³⁹ So Warburton in E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* (1990), 132-133.

¹⁴⁰ The form is not certain; Warburton suggests ḥbsyt, "(cloth) covering" as "shroud".

¹⁴¹ Partly transcribed in *KRI*, VI, 244-245; additional fragments: Černý, MSS. 3. 571, 723-731. New sections of this document have recently come to light and await final publication by Dr. R. J. Demarée (personal communication from Prof. Jac. J. Janssen of 12. 8. 1992).

¹⁴² Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 36 n. 2.

lists objects planned for the royal tomb as well as giving a report on some last-minute work on several shrines also destined for the tomb.¹⁴³

If the Turin papyrus was written within a few days of the actual burial of Ramesses IV then our KV 2 graffito (putatively dating some 33 days earlier) will note the entry of several cloths into the sepulchre (for reasons that can only be guessed at) during an earlier stage of the burial preparations.¹⁴⁴

(ii) KV 6: In KV 6 are two hieratic graffiti on both the left and right hand walls of the tomb's third corridor (C).¹⁴⁵ These inscriptions consist of religious invocations for the benefit of the tomb's intended occupant, Ramesses IX. They were perhaps written in place of the more usual carved and painted wall decorations at the final funeral preparations for the king. Unfortunately both texts are undated and their authors remain anonymous.

If not written by one of the Deir el-Medīna scribes or draughtsmen when the decoration of the passage was being rapidly completed following the king's demise (perhaps the most likely explanation considering the nature of the inscriptions),¹⁴⁶ then presumably these wall graffiti were left by a member of one of the inspection parties who must have visited the tomb in the early XXIst Dynasty.¹⁴⁷

(iii) KV 9: High up upon the ceiling of the burial chamber (J)¹⁴⁸ of the tomb of Ramesses V/VI¹⁴⁹ is a black ink hieratic graffito of Year 9 (2 *Peret* 14?) of Ramesses IX written by the

¹⁴³ Cf. McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 45.

¹⁴⁴ Placing the funeral of Ramesses IV c. 2 *Shomu* 7 of Year 1 of Ramesses V would tie in nicely with the proposed death of the former ruler during the middle or final months of *Peret*; cf. A. J. Peden, *The Reign of Ramesses IV* (1994), 76-77; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 36 n. 2; Helck in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday (Studia Aegyptiaca 14)* (1992), 272 n. 32; von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 97-98; Altenmüller, *SAK* 21 (1994), 26.

¹⁴⁵ For the position of these graffiti: PM, I², Pt. 2, 503 (17) + (18); for the texts themselves: E. Lefébure, *Les hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III (1889), 23 (left hand wall), pl. 9 (B) and now *KRI*, VI, 460-461 (right wall graffito).

¹⁴⁶ Abitz, *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 168.

¹⁴⁷ See Reeves, *VK*, 250.

¹⁴⁸ The location of this graffito is very odd. One wonders why Amenhotep went to the bother of penning it on the roof of the burial chamber. Possibly he wanted to be discreet in leaving a private record in a royal tomb. For Amenhotep, KV 9 was not only a site of recent labour but now that a royal funeral had taken place it may also have been a place of religious potency and worthy of respect (note Ventura, *LCD*, 185). Presumably he utilised items of the royal burial equipment (stacked chests etc.) to bring himself within reach of the chamber's ceiling.

¹⁴⁹ It is still uncertain as to whether these two kings shared KV 9: Reeves, *VK*, 117; but cf. F. Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI.* (1989), 35-48.

well-known Deir el-Medina draughtsman Amenhotep son of Amennakhte.¹⁵⁰ It records that Amenhotep, with his son the scribe and deputy of draughtsmen Amennakhte, visited this royal tomb after decorating the private tomb-chapel (TT 65) of the chief of archives of the Estate of Amun, Imiseba.¹⁵¹

This graffito is of considerable interest not only for confirming that skilled members of the crew of workmen could be employed on private commissions outside their work on the royal tombs¹⁵² but also because it demonstrates that KV 9 had been located, entered,¹⁵³ and almost certainly robbed within 20 years¹⁵⁴ of the latter having been sealed for the last time after the funeral of Ramesses VI.

(iv) KV 11: On each side of the first corridor of the huge hypogeum of Ramesses III are four small chambers. Added to the architecture of this tomb only as an afterthought,¹⁵⁵ these cells have their own special names apparently referring to the goods once stored within. Champollion copied several brief hieratic graffiti giving these names above the chamber doors.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ See Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 119-129.

¹⁵¹ Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 635; Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, 92-93; *KRI*, VI, 658-659; Reeves, *VK*, 125 n. 40, 233; now cf. Bács, *GM* 148 (1995), 9-10. A further graffito in KV 9 (unpublished) with the same date and draughtsmen is noted in Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, I, 137. For details concerning this inscription I am most grateful to Dr. M. Gutgesell (private communication, 22. 10. 1992).

¹⁵² McDowell, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 48, 51 and 53.

¹⁵³ Perhaps via a small hole in the end-chamber of an earlier tomb (= KV 12) that the ancient quarrymen had inadvertently collided with when excavating the tomb of Ramesses V/VI. Note Romer, *VK*, 104-105; and cf. F. Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI.* (1989), 28-31; Reeves, *VK*, 130-131.

¹⁵⁴ An account of the investigation into thefts from KV 9 is preserved in the fragmentary P. Mayer B (now as: *KRI*, VI, 515-516). As the beginning and end of P. Mayer B are lost we are uncertain when exactly the robbery took place but Aldred has suggested (*Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 92) placing the event around Year 9 of Ramesses IX on the basis of the Amenhotep graffito. He felt, probably correctly, that these royal workmen had entered and inspected KV 9 soon after its desecration had been detected.

¹⁵⁵ They were cut through wall texts already completed in the first passage. It may have been for work in these very rooms that gypsum plaster was delivered to the Deir el-Medina crew in Years 24, 25, 29 and 31 of Ramesses III (= O. DM 171, 6; O. DM 32, vs. 5, 6; O. DM 330; O. DM 37, 7 = *KRI*, V, 490: 7, 499: 4-6, 534 and 549: 4), as all such work in the rest of KV 11 should have been completed by then. Alternatively this plaster may have been used within KV 3 (cf. Reeves, *VK*, 133-134) or sent to the Valley of the Queens where the crew were very busy building and decorating tombs for the sons of Ramesses III during the last decade or so of the latter's rule. Cf. F. Abitz, *Ramses. III in den Gräbern seiner Söhne* (1986), 9-49; Ventura, *LCD*, 131 n. 73

¹⁵⁶ *Notices descriptives*, I, 407-410. Those chambers still identifiable are the 2nd cell on the right hand side as the: "treasury"; the 3rd cell on the right side as: "fields Iaru"; the 1st cell on the left side as: "the hall(?)"; 2nd cell on the left as the: "house of food(?)"; the 4th left hand cell as the: "(Hall of) the Two Truths". Cf. Černý, *VK*, 32-33; Marciniak, *Études et Travaux* 12 (1983), 304-305.

(v) KV 19: Inscribed upon the entrance wall leading to the Valley tomb of the late Ramesside prince, Ramesses-Montuirkhopshef (temp. Ramesses IX), are three hieratic graffiti probably of late XXth or early XXIst Dynasty date.¹⁵⁷ The text on the right hand wall records the name of an otherwise unknown scribe of the Place of Truth, Ptahemwia.¹⁵⁸ The other two graffiti (on the left wall) yield the names of the tomb's owner prince Ramesses-Montuirkhopshef¹⁵⁹ and also the overseer of the workshop of the Mansion of Gold, Ser-[dje]huty.¹⁶⁰

In addition to these graffiti, on each side of the entrance to KV 19's first corridor is a hieratic graffito written in black ink. These are magic spells (I have been unable to find exact parallels) designed to assist the prince on his journey through the underworld.¹⁶¹ Presumably they were penned soon after the death of Rameses-Montuirkhopshef, there being insufficient time to set such texts out in a more elaborate painted form before the prince's funeral.¹⁶²

(vi) KV 34: In the antechamber (on its west wall; graffiti nos. 1-2) and the cartouche-shaped burial chamber (south wall; graffiti nos. 3-5) of the tomb of Tuthmosis III are five hieratic ink graffiti. Two of these (nos. 3-4) can be dated in all probability to late Dynasty XX and name a scribe Amenhotep.¹⁶³ The other graffiti appear to belong to the same period.¹⁶⁴

As a series these brief epigraphs probably mark a visit to the tomb by an inspection party at the end of the New Kingdom. KV 34 had been heavily looted by this time;¹⁶⁵ any remaining valuables may well have been appropriated by the necropolis authorities.¹⁶⁶ One of the scribe Amenhotep's graffiti texts is of particular interest as it preserves his impression of a scene on the burial chamber wall. Here he passes judgement as one of antiquity's earliest art critics:

"A thousand times beautiful

¹⁵⁷ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 13.

¹⁵⁸ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1596.

¹⁵⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1597.

¹⁶⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1598.

¹⁶¹ E. Lefébure, *Les hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III (1889), pls. 71-73; now *KRI*, VI, 676-677.

¹⁶² Building work within the truncated KV 19 shows every sign of having been brought to a hasty conclusion; cf. Reeves, *VK*, 135.

¹⁶³ Osing, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 349-351. Although the name is very common a scribe Amenhotep is known from the Late Ramesside Letters and in view of his apparent connections with the community of workmen (or what remained of them), perhaps he is the most likely author; cf. now Černý, *Community*, 198; Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 128-129.

¹⁶⁴ No. 1 gives the personal name Khepri; no. 2: a group of unintelligible signs; no. 5: the eye sign (Gardiner Sign-list D 4).

¹⁶⁵ Reeves, *VK*, 23.

¹⁶⁶ Reeves, *VK*, 276.

*is the picture to the right below!"*¹⁶⁷

(vii) KV 57: Written in ink at the entrance to the Valley tomb of King Horemhab are several unpublished hieratic graffiti, copied and transcribed by Sir Alan Gardiner, which might date to the Renaissance Era or *wḥm-mswt* under Ramesses XI.¹⁶⁸ One of these short texts consists of a hymn in honour of Amen-Re; the others note phases of official activity within the tomb at the end of the New Kingdom or early XXIst Dynasty. The first visit is described so:

*"Written in Year 4, 4 Akhet 22, by the army scribe Butehamun,¹⁶⁹
after he came to cause the order to be carried out in the pr-qt¹⁷⁰ in the
tomb of
King Djoserkheper(u)re setepenre, l.p.h".*

The scribes Butehamun and Djehutymose, and the scribe of the general Kysen seem to have been present when KV 57 was visited again just two years later:¹⁷¹

*"Year 6, 2(?) Akhet 12. Day of removing(?)/investigating(?)¹⁷² the burial(?) of
King Djoserkheper(u)re setepenre, by the vizier,
general and chief of the...."¹⁷³*

Reeves has interpreted the first graffito as a record of burial restoration within KV 57, after its having been plundered, possibly at a period when the burials of Sethos I and Ramesses II are also thought to have been renewed for the first time.¹⁷⁴ His alternative theory that the text

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Romer, *VK*, 165.

¹⁶⁸ Preserved in Gardiner MSS. Notebook 70, 68-69; the most recent study: Reeves, *VK*, 77-79. Also cf. the remarks of Eaton-Krauss *BiOr* 49 (1992), 715; and Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 70.

¹⁶⁹ See Černý, *Community*, 372 n. 2.

¹⁷⁰ Perhaps here with the meaning of burial chamber: Reeves, *VK*, 78.

¹⁷¹ The names of these men are preserved in single line graffiti texts on the left entrance door wall.

¹⁷² In his notebook Gardiner was clearly uncertain whether to read *f3l* or *šnl*.

¹⁷³ If the graffito does date to Year 6 of the *wḥm-mswt* then this high official can presumably only be the High-Priest of Amun Herihor. See Kitchen, *THIP*, § 379 and 381 (8).

¹⁷⁴ Reeves, *VK*, 94, 234, for dating the first restoration of these royal mummies to Year 6 of the Renaissance Era.

is a record of transfer of the body of King Ay from his tomb in the West Valley of the Kings to KV 57 is not so convincing.¹⁷⁵

Depending on the correct reading of the crucial verb, our second inscription records either the removal of Horemhab's body from KV 57, presumably for reburial elsewhere at Thebes (if it escaped the attentions of the ancient robbers it has yet to be identified), or a further inspection of the sepulchre and its remaining contents by the necropolis administration,¹⁷⁶ apparently on the orders of Herihor.

Section E: Rock Graffiti in the West Valley of the Kings.

Compared to the solitary rock graffito datable with certainty to Dynasty XIX (written by the omnipresent scribe Qenḥirkhopshef)¹⁷⁷ our evidence by way of textual graffiti for activity in the West Valley during Dynasty XX is more substantial although there are still relatively few texts known. The reason for this is not far to seek: as was the case under the first Ramessides, the XXth Dynasty did not see the cutting of any new tombs in the West Valley of the Kings and this will have affected the numbers of workmen who frequented the latter at this time on a regular basis, and hence the amount of graffiti written in the region.¹⁷⁸ Nonetheless, there are still one or two surprises.

The earliest graffiti in the West Valley from Dynasty XX are those naming the well-known scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte son of Ipuw, either on his own,¹⁷⁹ or with a colleague¹⁸⁰ or with several of his large brood of sons.¹⁸¹ (The most famous of the latter texts describes the

¹⁷⁵ See here Reeves, *VK*, 75 and 78. Whoever was responsible for mutilating the tomb of Ay (probably agents of Horemhab, Ramesses I, or Sethos I) appears to have made a thorough job of it. I am highly sceptical that Ay's mummy would have escaped such a *damnatio memoriae*; cf. now Dodson in S. E. Orel (ed.), *Death and Taxes in the Ancient Near East* (1992), 55-56.

¹⁷⁶ Reeves, *VK*, 78-79.

¹⁷⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2625.

¹⁷⁸ On the basis of two references (= P. Geneva MAH 15274, vs. III and O. Berlin 12654) to individual tombworkers being ordered to "*break stone in the Place of Truth*" (*qhqh m st-mrt*), Janssen (see *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, 138-139) has suggested that these workmen may have been sentenced to forced labour in one of the West Valley's flint quarries (cf. here Debono in Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, 43-47) as a punishment. However, it seems unlikely that any of the known graffiti in the West Valley could be attributed to workmen sentenced to such a fate. Those villagers would surely be under some form of supervision and their movements controlled. Further, considering their circumstances, they would probably not be too inclined to inscribe a commemorative graffito of any sort even if they had the opportunity.

¹⁷⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2624 (*KRI*, V, 649: 11), 2626 and 2629 (*KRI*, VI, 132: 1-4), also no. 2627.

¹⁸⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 99+100 (= *KRI*, V, 380: 7-10).

¹⁸¹ Carter graffiti nos. 1505-1506; add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1736 (= *KRI*, VI, 203: 1-4). Note also that a new rock graffito (= no. 3980a, located some 250 m. west of the tomb of Amenophis III) recording Amennakhte in the West Valley in a Year 2, 2 *Shomu*

aftermath of a shower of rain;¹⁸² for convenience sake it is discussed below with other graffiti which appear to record the same event). One of scribe Amennakhte's sons, To (who frequently styles himself "scribe" Tjay in his own graffiti),¹⁸³ has written five rock graffiti in the West Valley, but well away from those left by his father.¹⁸⁴

Also to be assigned to the early and middle years of Dynasty XX are a few widely dispersed rock graffiti that presumably mark the occasional presence of various other workmen from this time. The names of the chief-workman Nekhemmut the Elder¹⁸⁵ and the deputy Hay are both known from different spots in the wâdi. Indeed, the deputy Hay appears to have found a ravine with a natural rock chamber at the rear of the West Valley¹⁸⁶ so attractive that he personalised the surrounding area with three rock graffiti.¹⁸⁷ One of these texts (= no. 1517) proclaims the chamber to be, "The hut (ḥt)¹⁸⁸ of the deputy Hay, his son scribe Amennakhte, his son scribe Amennakhte (sic), his son Nebnufer" (this is the so-called "Chambre du Hay").

The total absence of textual graffiti naming other workmen in the immediate vicinity of this shady grotto (now CEDAE Sections 113 and 114) would suggest that Hay held this area of the wâdi to be his own. One can easily imagine the deputy taking refuge in this private sanctuary, away from the sun and his fellow man, whenever the opportunity arose.¹⁸⁹

A single graffito of the personal name "Anuynakhte" (no title)¹⁹⁰ has also been preserved in the West Valley and this epigraph may belong to the future deputy of that name while still engaged as a workman (= temp. Ramesses III-V).¹⁹¹ Further, a "scribe" Maanakhtef, who was

1 (either of Ramesses IV, V, VI), is to be published soon by Takao Kikuchi in a forthcoming volume of *MDAIK*.

182 Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1736.

183 See *KRI*, V, 641-642. Similarly, a royal secretary under Merenptah calls himself both To and Tjay in his Theban tomb-chapel (TT 23); cf. *KRI*, IV, 107: 10 and 109: 9. Also note the remarks by Sethe in *ZÄS* 44 (1907-1908), 92.

184 Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 115 and 117 (= *KRI*, V, 642: 12), 120 (*KRI*, V, 641: 13), 125 and 126 (*KRI*, V, 642: 12+15). For their approximate location: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, p. viii.

185 Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1735 (= *KRI*, V, 627: 3).

186 Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, pp. 13-14.

187 Carter graffiti nos. 1517 and 1518; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1780b (*KRI*, VI, 634: 10).

188 See Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 160; Černý, *Community*, 89; and Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 252-253.

189 D. Valbelle, *La tombe de Hay à Deir el-Médineh [No 267]* (1975), 35.

190 Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 129.

191 See Černý, *Community*, 141; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 50; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, II, 326-327.

in all probability an ordinary workman (temp. Ramesses IV-IX),¹⁹² is known from two rock graffiti inscriptions in the West Valley.¹⁹³

The two latest graffiti datable to Dynasty XX in the West Valley give the name and titles of the senior administrative scribe of the Tomb, Djehutymose.¹⁹⁴ (Note that Djehutymose's son and successor, Butehamun, is also known from a number of rock graffiti in the West Valley, and that in reality some of these inscriptions may also date to the final years of Dynasty XX. However, for practical considerations, Butehamun's texts are assigned to Dynasty XXI in our study and examined in Part IV of this Chapter).

Section F: Rock Graffiti along the Path from the East Valley to the West Valley of the Kings.

Rock graffiti of the XXth Dynasty along the pathway linking the East and West Valleys of the Kings are surprisingly numerous considering the apparent lack of activity within the West Valley. One can only now speculate on the attractions of this desert route for the royal tomb-workers of the time.¹⁹⁵ The preserved graffiti are written on three rock surfaces adjacent to the ancient path. The texts range in date from the reign of Ramesses III to Ramesses XI. As usual they generally give only the author's name and title.

Prominent village figures recorded along the pathway include the senior scribe of the Tomb Djehutymose;¹⁹⁶ the chief-workmen Nekhemmut the Elder¹⁹⁷ and Penparei;¹⁹⁸ and also the deputy Hay son of Amennakhte.¹⁹⁹ Lesser village names that can be assigned with confidence to this period are those of the workmen Amenpanufer,²⁰⁰ Amenpahapy,²⁰¹ Usihatmose,²⁰²

¹⁹² Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 24-25.

¹⁹³ See Carter graffito no. 1509 and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2620 (*KRI*, VI, 270: 14).

¹⁹⁴ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 134 (= *KRI*, VI, 874: 5; named here with a colleague, the chief-workman Qenna which would roughly date this graffito to Year 8-10 of Ramesses XI: Černý, *Community*, 310; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 38-39) and Carter graffito no. 1499.

¹⁹⁵ In the case of the deputy Hay the latter may have used the path quite regularly to reach his private grotto in the West Valley.

¹⁹⁶ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1386 (*KRI*, VI, 878: 1).

¹⁹⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1379 (*KRI*, V, 626: 15-16).

¹⁹⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1375: 1 (now *KRI*, VI, 873: 9).

¹⁹⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1361, 1363 and 1368 (see *KRI*, V, 634: 16 and 636: 5).

²⁰⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1375: 2 (*KRI*, VI, 873: 10) and 1387. See Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, II, 431-432.

²⁰¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1376. See Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 43; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 38.

²⁰² Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1364, 1367 and 1384 (all *KRI*, VI, 213: 3-5).

Pawaamun,²⁰³ Paneferemdjed (called "scribe"),²⁰⁴ Neferho,²⁰⁵ and also Tjay (To, self styled "scribe", and a son of the senior scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuw).²⁰⁶

Aside from these rather prosaic inscriptions there is one very curious rock graffito of greater interest.²⁰⁷ This text, dated to a Year 4 (reign of Ramesses V/VI?), may be translated so:

"Year 4, 2 Peret 11. Bringing the doorkeeper Khay to the Tomb. They gave him the West in a beautiful old age...."

Now this graffito appears to be one of only two rock graffiti from western Thebes that even mentions a village doorkeeper.²⁰⁸ Not only is this of some interest in its own right but the text would seem to imply that Khay was buried by the crew within the general vicinity of the royal necropolis, presumably at the Deir el-Medina cemetery. This would be an unprecedented honour for a doorkeeper.²⁰⁹ And even if, as Černý thought likely, the doorkeeper Khay²¹⁰ is to be identified with the guardian of this name (and guardians did possess tombs in the village cemetery)²¹¹ we are still confronted with the mystery of why his former work colleagues used Khay's less prestigious title at his funeral.²¹²

Section G: Rock Graffiti along the Workmen's Path from the East Valley of the Kings to the Settlement on the Col.

Written on the banks of inscribed rock next to the footpath leading up from the centre of the East Valley of the Kings to the tombworkers' settlement on the col (CEDAE Sections 87-88) are several pockets of graffiti that can be dated to Dynasty XX. These texts span the reigns of Ramesses III to XI and would appear to demonstrate that this steep track was in regular use by the workmen as an entry and exit passage to and from the Valley throughout the dynasty.

²⁰³ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1380 (= *KRI*, VI, 675: 5-7).

²⁰⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1365 (*KRI*, V, 656: 6), 1366 (*KRI*, V, 654: 10) and 1389. See here: Janssen, *Village Voices*, 91 n. 64.

²⁰⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1360 (*KRI*, V, 668: 5); cf. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 42-43.

²⁰⁶ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1377, 1383 and 1385 (cf. *KRI*, V, 642: 1).

²⁰⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1381 (now in *KRI*, VI, 253: 4-6).

²⁰⁸ The other is Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1155 (cf. *KRI*, V, 665: 2-3) which names the doorkeeper Penmennufer (temp. Ramesses III).

²⁰⁹ Černý, *Community*, 170; McDowell, *JWC*, 42-43.

²¹⁰ Černý, *Community*, 168-169.

²¹¹ See Černý, *Community*, 152-155.

²¹² McDowell, *JWC*, 43. If graffito no. 1381 does record the burial of the guardian Khay then the Year 4 in our text is perhaps most likely to be that of Ramesses V or VI as Khay is last attested in either Year 6 of Ramesses IV (= Turin Lovesongs vs. II, 15; Černý, *MSS*. 3. 651. 45) or possibly in Year 1 of Ramesses V (O. Gardiner 182, rt. 6 = *KRI*, VI, 103: 11; also see Gutgesell, *Die Datierung*, I, 239-240).

Graffiti inscriptions with the names and titles of the following top Deir el-Medina personnel from this age have so far been traced by the path: the senior scribes of the Tomb Amennakhte son of Ipuy²¹³ and Khaemhedje;²¹⁴ the junior administrative scribes Neferhotep son of Neferhotep²¹⁵ and Wennufer son of Ankhtu;²¹⁶ the chief-workmen Nekhemmut the Elder²¹⁷ and Khonsu;²¹⁸ the prolific deputy of the crew Hay son of Amennakhte.²¹⁹ The names and titles of several more minor village figures may also be assigned with confidence to this period: the draughtsmen Amenwa,²²⁰ Amenhotep,²²¹ and Hori;²²² and the workmen Panferemdjed,²²³ Maanakhtef,²²⁴ Minkhau,²²⁵ and Tjay (= To).²²⁶

Section II: Rock Graffiti near the Workmen's

Settlement on the Col.

As in the preceding dynasty there are several groups of rock graffiti written on the cliffs just west of the tombworkers' small settlement of stone huts overlooking the Valley of the Kings (cf. CEDAE Sections 131-141). The graffiti from Dynasty XX also record the names and titles of a wide range of village scribes and workmen who were drawn to the same group of rocks as their predecessors due to the convenience of these cliffs in relation to the col settlement and no doubt too because of the presence (if in name only) of the men's ancestors and predecessors in the earlier rock graffiti.

Most of the inscriptions come from the early and middle years of the XXth Dynasty; graffiti that can be assigned with any likelihood to the final reigns of the period (Ramesses IX-XI) are

²¹³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 761a (*KRI*, V, 649: 10), 771 (written when Amennakhte was a draughtsman: *KRI*, V, 644: 7); add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2544 and 2557 (again written when Amennakhte was still a draughtsman: *KRI*, V, 644: 7-8).

²¹⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2556: 4 (= *KRI*, VI, 700: 14).

²¹⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 773c+e (now as *KRI*, V, 661: 4-5).

²¹⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 764h (= *KRI*, VI, 874: 12); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2541b (= *KRI*, VI, 874: 9), 2550e (*KRI*, VI, 874: 12), 2551 (*KRI*, VI, 875: 2), and 2560 (*KRI*, VI, 874: 12).

²¹⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2545(b) and 2556: 1-2 (= *KRI*, V, 627: 7-8).

²¹⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 765 (now in *KRI*, V, 626: 4).

²¹⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2554 (*KRI*, V, 638: 4), 2562 (*KRI*, V, 637: 3), and 2563 (*KRI*, V, 635: 13-14).

²²⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 770 (*KRI*, V, 644: 9).

²²¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2550b (cf. *KRI*, V, 656: 14).

²²² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 773d (now cf. *KRI*, V, 658: 11).

²²³ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2548, 2550d (now *KRI*, V, 653: 4+16), and 2565 (*KRI*, V, 656: 1).

²²⁴ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 762b (= *KRI*, VI, 269: 14) and 776 (*KRI*, VI, 270: 13).

²²⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 774 a+b (= *KRI*, VI, 215: 8-9).

²²⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 764f.

generally far fewer. Those names preserved by the col settlement include: the senior scribes of the Tomb Wennufer²²⁷ and Amennakhte son of Ipuy;²²⁸ and the junior administrative scribes Neferhotep son of Neferhotep,²²⁹ Hori,²³⁰ and Wennufer son of Ankhtu;²³¹ the foremen Ipuy²³² and Khonsu;²³³ the deputy Hay;²³⁴ the draughtsmen Amenwa,²³⁵ Amennakhte son of Hay,²³⁶ Hori,²³⁷ Hormin,²³⁸ and Horisheru;²³⁹ the workmen Ipuy son of Neferhor,²⁴⁰ Paneferemdjed,²⁴¹ Pashed,²⁴² Ptahshed,²⁴³ Maanakhtef,²⁴⁴ Neferhotep,²⁴⁵ Khaemnun,²⁴⁶ Qenḥirkhopshef²⁴⁷ and Tjay.²⁴⁸

Situated on a ridge some 40-50 m. higher up on el-Qurn than the previous texts are several additional graffiti inscriptions (= CEDAE Sections 148-150). These yield the name and title of the chief-workman Khyrenef (under Ramesses XI)²⁴⁹ as well as further examples of the names

²²⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2654b, 2664f, 2666 (cf. *KRI*, V, 643: 11-12).

²²⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 799f (written as a draughtsman), 817c (as a draughtsman), 827 (as a draughtsman), 837, 840 (draughtsman), 886b; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2705 (as a draughtsman), 2739, 2740: 2, 2747, 2757: 2 (as a draughtsman). Cf. also *KRI*, V, 644, 649, and 652.

²²⁹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 832, 885, 888; and also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2654d, 2667, 2676 (= *KRI*, V, 660-661), and 2677 (= *KRI*, VI, 136: 14-16).

²³⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 886c; and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2662, 2758. Also now see: *KRI*, V, 658: 7.

²³¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 792, 793, 795b, 851a, b+d; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2653, 2657-2659, 2717, 2742b, 2749. Now see *KRI*, VI, 874.

²³² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2664a (= *KRI*, V, 650: 8-9).

²³³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2661 (= *KRI*, V, 626: 5-7).

²³⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2660 and 2734c (*KRI*, V, 639: 15 and 638: 9).

²³⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 839 and 841b (= *KRI*, VI, 208: 2-5).

²³⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 814 (now see *KRI*, V, 639: 9).

²³⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 833; add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2656b, 2663, 2716b and 2729a. Now also see *KRI*, V, 658: 12-13 and *KRI*, VI, 206: 7, 9-10.

²³⁸ Cf. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 834; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2699, 2742a. And now: *KRI*, VI, 207: 2 and 12.

²³⁹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 886f (= *KRI*, V, 652: 10-11).

²⁴⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2777 and 2780; now cf. *KRI*, VI, 675: 3-4.

²⁴¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 887 and 891: 1 (*KRI*, V, 656: 1 and 654: 13).

²⁴² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 825 and 831; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2698 and 2707 (see *KRI*, VI, 214).

²⁴³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 800 (= *KRI*, V, 666: 6-8).

²⁴⁴ Cf. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 782, 786 and 852; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2701. Now in: *KRI*, VI, 269-270.

²⁴⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 884 (= *KRI*, VI, 273: 6-7).

²⁴⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 859b (= *KRI*, VI, 274: 14).

²⁴⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 803, 812c, 830, 860a; add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2760. All now in *KRI*, VI, 276-277.

²⁴⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 785, 787 and 838; now cf. *KRI*, V, 642: 5-6, 12.

²⁴⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2764.

and titles of the deputy Hay²⁵⁰ and the royal workmen Qenḥirkhopshef²⁵¹ and Tjay.²⁵² As in Dynasty XIX the graffiti written along this stretch of rock presumably plot the movements of these workmen on their way up and down the face of el-Qurn or to and from their miniature rock chapels constructed on a nearby ascent.

Section I: Rock Graffiti in the "Vallée de la Cachette Royale".

Inscribed on a wall in the natural rock chimney that holds the entrance to the *cachette royale* (TT 320), just south of Deir el-Baḥri, is a graffito consisting of a short prayer to Amun by the enigmatic late Ramesside necropolis scribe Penparei son of Pahirentahatnakhte.²⁵³

Also written on the rocks and cliffs around TT 320 (now CEDAE Sections 93-96, 206-209 and 211) are two other textual graffiti from the very end of Dynasty XX. One yields the names of the senior administrative scribe Djehutymose and his son Butehamun;²⁵⁴ the other records the presence of the chief-workman Khyrenef.²⁵⁵

The fact that these graffiti seem to be the earliest in date anywhere near the entrance shaft to TT 320 (a tomb probably first cut in late Dynasty XVII/early Dynasty XVIII)²⁵⁶ may imply that knowledge of the tomb's existence was lost for much of the New Kingdom. It seems that TT 320 was only relocated at the very end of Dynasty XX, perhaps during a careful inspection of the royal necropolis.

Section J: Rock Graffiti in "La Vallée de l'Aigle" and "La Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep".

There are a fair number of rock graffiti relating to the Deir el-Medīna crew of Dynasty XX on the boulders and cliffs of these two extensive wādis south of Deir el-Baḥri. As with earlier periods these graffiti are largely undated. And as they generally record only the names and titles

²⁵⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2771 (= *KRI*, V, 639: 4).

²⁵¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 868 and 869b (now see *KRI*, VI, 277: 4-7); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3264.

²⁵² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, nos. 2773+2774 (*KRI*, V, 642: 7-8).

²⁵³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 904. On Penparei: Černý, *Community*, 206-207; also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42.

²⁵⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3651 (= *KRI*, VI, 879: 8-9).

²⁵⁵ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 2943: 2.

²⁵⁶ Most recently, Niwiński (*JEA* 70 (1984), 73-81) has suggested that TT 320 was first cut in Dynasty XXI. But cf. Thomas, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 85. Perhaps Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1310, a short graffito text inscribed next to the tomb's entrance shaft (dated to a Year 11, 2 *Shomu* 6-2 *Shomu* 15) which notes days when work was or was not carried out upon an unnamed project, records a period during the original excavation of TT 320 or possibly a later phase of enlarging the sepulchre for eventual reuse.

of certain workmen from throughout the dynasty they are usually silent on the reasons for the author's presence in the area. One can only assume that the shady cliffs and ridges of the wâdis retained their popularity as accessible sites to wander along and explore during work breaks in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens.²⁵⁷ Whether any of the rock graffiti in the region reflect the renewed interest shown by the necropolis authorities in the early Dynasty XVIII cliff-tomb known as Bâb el-Muallaq (located between CEDAE Sections 65-66)²⁵⁸ is also uncertain.²⁵⁹

Dating to the XXth Dynasty the names and titles of the following tombworkers are attested by graffiti in these amber coloured valleys: the senior scribes of the Tomb Amennakhte son of Ipuu²⁶⁰ and Djehutymose;²⁶¹ the necropolis scribe Penparei;²⁶² the foremen Penparei,²⁶³ Nekhemmut the Younger²⁶⁴ and Khyrenef;²⁶⁵ the deputy chief-workmen Amennakhte son of Hay²⁶⁶ and Hay;²⁶⁷ the draughtsmen Amenwa,²⁶⁸ Amenhotep,²⁶⁹ Nebnufer,²⁷⁰ Hori,²⁷¹ and Hormin;²⁷² the ordinary workmen Amenpahapy,²⁷³ Paihuwedja,²⁷⁴ Paneferemdjed,²⁷⁵ Painudjem,²⁷⁶ Merysekhmet son of Menna (called Paury),²⁷⁷ and Tjay.²⁷⁸

²⁵⁷ Note Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1110 (written in the "Vallée de l'Aigle") of the necropolis scribe Penparei who records that in a Year 12 (either of Ramesses XI or possibly Smendes I) he came "to see this valley".

²⁵⁸ Cf. now Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/I, pl. 123.

²⁵⁹ The textual graffiti from this time that are spread along the rock faces directly below Bâb el-Muallaq (= CEDAE Sections 65 and 66) invariably give only the names and titles of certain tombworkers. The latter were probably well aware of the chamber cut in the rock face some 45 m. above them but they could just as easily have been attracted to these particular cliffs by the shade to be found there.

²⁶⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1031 (*KRI*, V, 644: 9; written when still a draughtsman); also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3302; now see *KRI*, V, 651: 11.

²⁶¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1023 and 1026; Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1107 and 1109 (the latter text clearly dates from Year 18 of Ramesses XI: *KRI*, VI, 864: 11-14); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2952, 2954, 2979b, 3094, 3100, 3102, and 3301 (= *KRI*, VI, 879: 6).

²⁶² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1009 and 1015; Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1110.

²⁶³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1013 (= *KRI*, VI, 873: 7-8).

²⁶⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1093 (cf. now *KRI*, VI, 201: 15).

²⁶⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 995; and Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1403. See *KRI*, VI, 873-874.

²⁶⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 989 (cf. *KRI*, VI, 668-669) and 1035a, α. This Amennakhte is also known from graffiti in both "La Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" (Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1022: 2-4 = *KRI*, VI, 207: 5) and "La Vallée de l'Aigle" (Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1086 = *KRI*, V, 639: 9), written when he was still a draughtsman.

²⁶⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1087 (= *KRI*, V, 634: 15) and 1089 (*KRI*, V, 636: 10).

²⁶⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1092 (see now *KRI*, VI, 208: 6).

²⁶⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1081; and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3542(?). See now: *KRI*, V, 656: 8+10.

²⁷⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1094 (cf. now *KRI*, VI, 207: 7).

²⁷¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1082 (*KRI*, VI, 204-205).

²⁷² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1022: 1; Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1095. Now: *KRI*, VI, 207: 5+7.

²⁷³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1034; now see *KRI*, VI, 436: 12.

²⁷⁴ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1010.

In addition to these texts there is a solitary rock graffito inscribed in the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" (CEDAE Section 92) which may be an example of the name of the late Rameside High-Priest of Amun Herihor (no title is evident).²⁷⁹

Section K: Rock Graffiti in and around the Valley of the Workmen's Settlement at Deir el-Medîna.

In addition to those rock graffiti left by various royal workmen in Dynasty XIX there are a few other graffiti texts inscribed at the terrace halfway up the side of Mt. Černabru, again with the names of certain Deir el-Medîna crewmen, and this time probably all from the mid XXth Dynasty.²⁸⁰ Those individuals who left their names and titles at the site are: the draughtsmen Amennakhte son of Hori,²⁸¹ Nebnufer²⁸² and Hormin;²⁸³ the simple workmen 'Apatjau,²⁸⁴ Pashed,²⁸⁵ and Khaemnun.²⁸⁶

As with Dynasty XIX the tally of rock graffiti that can be dated to Dynasty XX at this spot is surprisingly modest considering Mt. Černabru's close proximity to the tombworkers' village and the commanding views to be had from its terrace over the latter settlement and its adjacent buildings. For some reason this platform seems not to have been particularly popular with the Deir el-Medîna workforce at any period.

Section L: Graffiti Inscriptions in the Houses and Tombs at Deir el-Medîna.

²⁷⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1017a+b, 1019, 1020 (cf. *KRI*, V, 653 and 655), 1022: 5 (cf. *KRI*, VI, 207: 6), and 1035b (*KRI*, V, 656: 1); Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1090 (= *KRI*, V, 655: 5); also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 3105, 3111 and 3299 (= *KRI*, VI, 203: 10).

²⁷⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1007 (*KRI*, VI, 872: 12). Cf. Černý, *Community*, 311 n. 3.

²⁷⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 990-994 (= *KRI*, VI, 271: 14-16; see Janssen, *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, 116-117). Perhaps also in Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1012a: 4-7 (*KRI*, V, 542: 6-8; but cf. Černý, *Community*, 203 n. 2).

²⁷⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1101 (*KRI*, V, 641: 14-15); also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3250 (= *KRI*, V, 642: 15).

²⁷⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 2977.

²⁸⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3534bis, of the well-known draughtsman Hormin son of Hori, possibly dates to a little later (reign of Ramesses IX?; note Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 23-24).

²⁸¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3534 (= *KRI*, V, 659: 5-6).

²⁸² Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1076: 3 (see *KRI*, VI, 208: 14).

²⁸³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3534bis (= *KRI*, VI, 268: 7).

²⁸⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1066 (now cf. *KRI*, VI, 212: 16).

²⁸⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1075 (= *KRI*, VI, 214: 8).

²⁸⁶ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1074; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3539. See now: *KRI*, VI, 274: 14-15.

Dynasty XX saw the penning of the largest number of graffiti texts in the homes and tombs at Deir el-Medīna in the course of the village's occupied history. The number of inscriptions is still nonetheless limited and this is a pity as some of the graffiti texts left in these homes and tombs appear to have been very different in nature to those left elsewhere at West Thebes.

No doubt a lot more material once existed on whitewashed walls that have since peeled or in tomb-chapels that have collapsed. But this can only be conjectured now and we must deal with what we do have. Suffice it to say that graffiti-scribbling within village homes and tombs was probably more widespread in both Dynasties XIX and XX than is first apparent.

I. The Houses.

Two hieratic graffiti of Dynasty XX date are known from the houses at Deir el-Medīna. One of these texts is penned with black ink on the west wall of House C.IV. and is now in a very fragmentary condition. However, it still mentions a scribe Amennakhte and this is probably the famous scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuw.²⁸⁷ Whether House C.IV. was the latter's home at the village is less certain.²⁸⁸

Our second inscription is written in three lines (with red ink) on the west wall of the main hall of House S.O. II. and it preserves the name and title of the senior administrative scribe of the Tomb Horisheru as well as the name and titles of Ramesses IX.²⁸⁹ Again the graffiti may identify the house as belonging to the scribe named therein although there is no firm guarantee of this.

II. The Tombs.

No. 215: The name of a scribe Djehutymose (the senior scribe of the Tomb of that name?) is preserved in a damaged hieratic graffiti written in the tomb-chapel of the junior administrative scribe Amenemope (temp. Ramesses II).²⁹⁰

No. 321: North of the entrance to the chapel of tomb 321 is a hieratic graffiti painted in black ink. Though damaged it seems to record the transfer of tomb 321 (the burial place of the work-

²⁸⁷ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)* (1939), 303-304.

²⁸⁸ See Černý, *Community*, 349; also J. Romer, *Ancient Lives: The Story of the Pharaohs' Tombmakers* (1984), 207; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 122.

²⁸⁹ See B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)* (1939), 315-316 (= *KRI*, VI, 658: 1-5). See too Černý, *Community*, 229 n.7 and 354. A wooden label naming Horisheru was also recovered from House S.O. II. (cf. *KRI*, VI, 669: 3-5).

²⁹⁰ See J. Vandier d'Abbadie and G. Jourdain, *Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh. I. La chapelle de Khâ. II. La tombe du scribe royal Amenemopet* (1939), 38.

men Hori(?) and Khaemope) to the woman Taweretherti in a Year 4 (perhaps that of Ramesses VII) by the senior scribe Horisheru.²⁹¹

No. 1194: The name of the XXth Dynasty workman Neferho appears in two black ink hieratic graffiti in this tomb. Once with just his name and the title *ḥm-nṯr tpy n nb tšwy*,²⁹² and in a second text, again using the same title, but this time dated to a Year 4.²⁹³

No. 1258: Written in this tomb in black ink is a single graffito inscription naming its owner, the XXth Dynasty draughtsman Amenwa.²⁹⁴

No. 1338: Penned in black and red ink on a group of stone blocks by the side of a road leading to this anonymous Ramesside sepulchre are seven graffiti inscriptions. These record the names of the senior scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuu, some of the latter's sons and grandsons, as well as the names of the draughtsman Amenwa and the workman Qenna son of Ruti. Two of these graffiti (nos. 3 and 6) are dated to a Year 3 (most probably that of Ramesses VII).²⁹⁵

It seems that tomb no. 1338 had a pylon prefixed to its courtyard. This structure is noted in the two Year 3 graffiti as the "pylon of the scribe Amennakhte" and due to this reference tomb 1338 has been posited as the possible burial place of the scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuu.²⁹⁶

Section M: Rock Graffiti along the Path from Deir el-Medîna

to the Valley of the Queens.

On either side of the rock-hewn oratory dedicated to Ptah and Meretseger there are two small clusters of rock graffiti naming tombworkers of the XXth Dynasty (CEDAE Section 18).²⁹⁷ The most important of these inscriptions is one dated to Year 16 of Ramesses III which notes the appointment by the vizier To of Amennakhte son of Ipuu as senior scribe of the Tomb in

²⁹¹ Černý, MSS. 17. 21, 9 (now in *KRI*, VII, 368); also Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 288 and n. 10.

²⁹² B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)* (1939), 360 (= *KRI*, V, 667: 11); also cf. B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1929)* (1930), 7.

²⁹³ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1929)* (1930), 46; also Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 42-43.

²⁹⁴ So B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1931-1932)* (1934), 28-31.

²⁹⁵ Cf. B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1933-1934)* (1937), 75-77 (= *KRI*, VI, 424-425).

²⁹⁶ Černý, *Community*, 349-350.

²⁹⁷ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pl. 85.

that year.²⁹⁸ Other villagers preserved in these graffiti are the suspected senior administrative scribe Wennufer;²⁹⁹ the draughtsmen Menna³⁰⁰ and Hormin son of Hori;³⁰¹ and the ordinary workman Neferhor.³⁰²

In addition to the above texts a further group of graffiti is known from this locale. These are inscribed on a wall of rock next to the workmen's path linking Deir el-Medīna with the Valley of the Queens, some 100 m. west of the Ptah sanctuary (now CEDAE Section 19). The tomb-workers recorded here are: the scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuy (while still a draughtsman);³⁰³ the deputy foreman Hay;³⁰⁴ the draughtsman Nebnufer;³⁰⁵ and the workman Telmont.³⁰⁶

All the XXth Dynasty graffiti in this region can be assigned to the early or middle years of that dynasty,³⁰⁷ when work at the Ptah oratory was at its most intensive (under Setnakhte and Ramesses III).³⁰⁸ There is no evidence for any building activity at this site in the second half of Dynasty XX/early Dynasty XXI and a lack of graffiti from this epoch is not unexpected.

Section N: Rock Graffiti in the "Vallée du Dolmen".

Located in a boulder-strewn wādi some 210 m. north of the sanctuary dedicated to Ptah and Meretseger (now CEDAE Section 28) are a number of rock graffiti that preserve the names and titles of several Deir el-Medīna scribes and workmen of the early to mid XXth Dynasty. Those names recorded so far are as follows: the senior scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuy;³⁰⁹ the junior

²⁹⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1111 (= *KRI*, V, 379: 1-2). This graffito is supplemented by another in the Valley of the Queens (= Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1143) which again describes Amennakhte's elevation to the post in this year. Also see Černý, *Community*, 340.

²⁹⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1114: 3+5 (= *KRI*, V, 643: 3-4).

³⁰⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1112 (cf. *KRI*, VI, 218: 8).

³⁰¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1117 and 1118 (now also *KRI*, VI, 206: 16).

³⁰² Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1113 (*KRI*, V, 668: 12).

³⁰³ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1125, 1126 and 1131 (= *KRI*, V, 643: 15-16).

³⁰⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1120, 1121 (*KRI*, V, 637: 7), 1124 (*KRI*, V, 634: 11), 1129 (*KRI*, V, 638: 9) and 1132 (*KRI*, V, 634: 11).

³⁰⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1135; perhaps also no. 1128 (cf. Černý, *Community*, 211 n. 4).

³⁰⁶ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1133 (= *KRI*, V, 671: 6).

³⁰⁷ Note, however, that the two graffiti (= Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1117 and 1118) recording the draughtsman Hormin son of Hori could date as late as the reign of Ramesses IX.

³⁰⁸ See PM, I², Pt. 2, 706-709; Dodson, *JEA* 81 (1995), 120-125.

³⁰⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1185.

administrative scribe Neferhotep son of Neferhotep;³¹⁰ the scribe Nekhemmut;³¹¹ the village draughtsman Nebnufer;³¹² and the workmen Minkhau³¹³ and Khnummose.³¹⁴

The above men were presumably attracted to the wâdi by the shady grotto next to a group of large rocks that resemble a dolmen (hence the modern name)³¹⁵ and also because of the wâdi's close proximity to the path leading from Deir el-Medīna up to the Valley of the Kings.³¹⁶

Section Q: Rock Graffiti in and around the

Valley of the Queens.

In Dynasty XX, as in Dynasty XIX, the majority of the recorded rock graffiti relating to the Deir el-Medīna tombworkers at the Valley of the Queens are located not in the main or central wâdi where the royal tombs were constructed, nor in the steep cascade at the head of the valley ("Vallée de la Grande Cascade"), but in the two lengthy side valleys to the north of the central wâdi which are commonly known today as the "Deuxième Vallée Latérale" and the "Vallée de la Corde". Again, the reason for the location of these inscriptions is uncertain.

One might argue that when they had been released from their daily duties in the centre of the Queens' Valley, certain workmen decided to stretch their legs and take in some fresh air with a hike along those shady cliffs which were most accessible to the place of work but which were also situated well away from the immediate environment of the tomb that they happened to be working on (which must have been a dusty and cluttered site during the initial work processes of excavation and plastering).³¹⁷

The graffiti listed below date from throughout Dynasty XX but most can be assigned to the early or middle years of the period (reigns of Ramesses III-Ramesses VI) when tomb-building at the Queens' Valley was at its peak in Dynasty XX.³¹⁸ During the last reigns of the dynasty

³¹⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1179, 1180, 1182 and 1183.

³¹¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1175. This "scribe" Nekhemmut (Černý, *Community*, 212-213) was not a scribe of the Tomb but probably a former village draughtsman and later scribe of a local temple (temp. Ramesses III-V). See Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 34.

³¹² Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1177 (= *KRI*, VI, 208: 16).

³¹³ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1176 (= *KRI*, VI, 215: 9).

³¹⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1178 (now cf. *KRI*, VII, 352: 10-12).

³¹⁵ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/1, pl. 82.

³¹⁶ Note also Leblanc and Fekri, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 260-261.

³¹⁷ Note graffito no. 1291 which actually states that the draughtsman Hormin came to stroll (*swtwf*) in the "mountains of (the) West" with several draughtsmen companions. Similarly in Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1298; both graffiti are scratched upon cliffs in the "Vallée de la Corde".

³¹⁸ Under Ramesses III the princely QV nos. 42, 43, 44, 53, and 55 were excavated for sons of the latter. Also constructed during Ramesses III's rule was QV 51 (Queen Isis) and perhaps also the anonymous QV nos. 41, 45 and 54. See Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 189; Ventura, *LCD*, 131 n. 73; Leblanc, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 239. Ramesses IV later converted QV 74 (originally built

all such construction work for royal mothers, spouses, daughters, and other noble relatives in the Valley of the Queens appears to have been drastically curtailed.³¹⁹

The latter decision was perhaps borne out of a mixture of growing economic constraints,³²⁰ a lack of suitable sites for excavating new tombs,³²¹ increased security concerns regarding the movements of marauding Libyan tribesmen or mercenaries at West Thebes,³²² and the age old problem of tomb-robbing which had begun to manifest itself in earnest at the royal necropolis by the time of Ramesses IX-XI.³²³ The appearance of these two latter evils in particular may have prompted the local authorities to locate most of the final royal burials at Thebes, male or female, in one heavily guarded wâdi (= the East Valley of the Kings) which would be easier to defend against the predatory.³²⁴

(i) The Rear Section of the Valley of the Queens.

under Ramesses II) for the burial of his wife Tentopet; now Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman, *Rd'É* 42 (1991), 147-169. Finally, in addition to completing at least some of the decorative work in QV 51, Ramesses VI also seems to have commanded the construction of no less than six new tombs in the Queens' Valley: P. Turin 1923, vs. 17 (*KRI*, VI, 367: 14). The latter sepulchres, if ever completed, are now unidentifiable. See Ventura, *JEA* 74 (1988), 147-156; and Leblanc and Fekri, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 263.

³¹⁹ Definite post Ramesses VI work within the Queens' Valley is currently lacking. The date of QV 52 (Queen Tyti) has been much discussed recently (cf. Grist, *JEA* 71 (1985), 71-81 and also Dodson, *JEA* 73 (1987), 227-229) and it may date as late as Ramesses X-XI, but there are doubts about this. Note also that the tomb of a Queen Baketwerel, wife of a King Menmare (= Sethos I or Ramesses XI), is recorded as robbed in Year 1 of the *wḥm-mswt*. See P. Mayer A, rt. 4: 2 - 4: 4 (*KRI*, VI, 811: 1-4). Presumably it is now one of the anonymous graves in the Valley of the Queens: Černý, *Community*, 9 and 19. If the "King Menmare" is Ramesses XI then this monument would surely be one of the very last ever built in the Queens' Valley. Cf. also now P. Vernus, *Affaires et scandales sous les Ramsès: La crise des valeurs dans l'Égypte du Nouvel Empire* (1993), 42.

³²⁰ Reeves, *VK*, 276-277.

³²¹ Note Leblanc, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 229-230.

³²² Cf. Haring, *Village Voices*, 71-80; idem, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 159-165; Jansen-Winkel, *Biblische Notizen* 71 (1994), 86-91.

³²³ Even before this, during the reign of Ramesses III, an apparent robbery by a workman in the Valley of the Queens is recorded in the Turin Strike Papyrus: Gardiner, *RAD*, 58: 11-12; also cf. Baer, *Or* 34 (1965), 435-438. Perhaps this break-in is related to an attempt to illicitly enter the tomb of Ramesses II in the Valley of the Kings by two Deir el-Medîna workmen in Year 29 of Ramesses III (again noted in the Turin Strike Papyrus: Gardiner, *RAD*, 57: 10-12). The Kings' Valley tomb of Yuya and Tuya (KV 46) also seems to have been lightly plundered under Ramesses III (= Reeves, *VK*, 151-153).

³²⁴ Note that Dodson has suggested that the Kings' Valley tomb of Amenmesse (KV 10) was usurped and redecorated under Ramesses IX for the burials of the *mwt-nṯr mwt-nsw wrt* Takhat and the *ḥmt-nsw wrt nbt twy* Baketwerel who may have been the mother and wife respectively of the ninth Ramesses: Dodson, *DE* 2 (1985), 9-11; idem, *JEA* 73 (1987) 224-225; and *JEA* 81 (1995), 128; Reeves, *VK*, 104-105; Schaden, *NARCE* 163 (1993), 2 and 7.

On the rocks at the rear of the Valley of the Queens (now CEDAE Sections 20-24, 27, 184-189) those names from the XXth Dynasty so far recorded in graffiti inscriptions are: the senior administrative scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuuy;³²⁵ the junior administrative scribe Neferhotep son of Neferhotep;³²⁶ the deputy Hay son of Amennakhte;³²⁷ the draughtsman Nebnufer;³²⁸ the workmen Paneferemdjed³²⁹ and Qenymin;³³⁰ and the doorkeeper Penmennufer.³³¹

In addition to the above rock graffiti at the rear of the Queens' Valley, there is also a graffito known of probable XXth Dynasty date painted with black ink on a stone block from the centre of this wâdi. It names a certain Khaemwase and his father Wennufer.³³²

(ii) "Vallée de la Grande Cascade".

Next to the "waterfall" graffito of Year 4 of Merenptah below the cascade at the head of the Queens' Valley (= CEDAE Section 26)³³³ there is another such inscription, this time dated to Year 2 of an unnamed king, most probably Ramesses IV, V or VI.³³⁴ Again, it records either a shower of rain or perhaps, in view of its location, a waterfall:

"Year 2, 4 Shomu 23. On this day
coming down by the water of the sky".

Two other graffiti at West Thebes (although at different sites) also appear to recall this same downpour. The first is scribbled on a cliff wall some 140 m. beyond the tomb of Amenophis III in the West Valley of the Kings.³³⁵

³²⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1136, 1140A, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1145, 1146, 1149(?), 1156, 1157, 1165 and 1170; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 3020, 3021, 3022, 3744, 3745, 3746 (now see: *KRI*, V, 379, 468, 541, 647-651).

³²⁶ See Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1139, 1144 and 1148 (= *KRI*, V, 659-660). Scribe Neferhotep is known from quite a few graffiti inscriptions throughout the Valley of the Queens. Perhaps all or many of these texts were written late in the rule of Ramesses III when Neferhotep is known by a letter (= O. OI 16991) he wrote to the vizier To to have been hard at work in the Queens' Valley preparing the tombs of several princes. See Černý, *Community*, 212; Wente, *JNES* 20 (1961), 252-257; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 189;

³²⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1147, 1151, 1161, 1162 and 1173 (now in *KRI*, V, 637-638).

³²⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1137 and 1152 (cf. *KRI*, VI, 208: 15-16)

³²⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1150 (= *KRI*, V, 654: 16).

³³⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1153 (= *KRI*, V, 670: 6).

³³¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1155 (cf. now *KRI*, V, 665: 2-3). See also Černý, *Community*, 168-169, regarding this inscription.

³³² Noted in F. Ballerini, *Notizia sommaria degli scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto* (1903), 31 n. 1. For a copy of this rare publication I am grateful to Dr. John Taylor, Griffith Institute, Oxford. For a XXth Dynasty workman named Khaemwase son of Wennufer (temp. Ramesses III), see also *KRI*, V, 669: 5-10.

³³³ See p. 144 in Part II of our Chapter Seven.

³³⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3013.

³³⁵ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/2, plan 85.

"Year 2,

4 Shomu 24.

At the water of the sky.³³⁶

The scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuu;

his son Paneferemdjed;

his son Khaemhedje;

his son Painudjem".³³⁷

The second graffito is located at the entrance to a shelter some 900 m. from the modern gate of the Valley of the Kings:³³⁸

"Year 2, 4 Shomu

(2)4.³³⁹ Coming down by the water,

(it) being the upper (ḥry) water from the sky.

The servant in the Place of Truth Amenpahapy

(and) his brother the scribe [.....]".³⁴⁰

On the basis of the men recorded in the latter two graffiti the anonymous regnal year 2 must surely be that of either Ramesses IV, V or VI³⁴¹ while the occurrence of rain on 4 Shomu 24 in both inscriptions makes it highly likely that they are referring to one and the same event.

Our initial rainfall text, below the cascade at the end of the Valley of the Queens, is dated to 4 Shomu 23. As it differs by only one day from the other Year 2 "water of the sky" graffiti it may also record the same shower. If so, there were either two consecutive days of rain or else the heavens opened up on the 23rd but it was only on the following day that Amenpahapy and his brother, as well as scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuu with his three middle sons, came to see the results of this wonder for themselves at different parts of the necropolis.³⁴²

³³⁶ The precise wording of this sentence may be significant. When the graffito was first traced Černý suggested that what scribe Amennakhte had brought his children to see was not a waterfall as such but the rainwater that had accumulated in rock pools on the wâdi floor the day after the shower. See Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), 117.

³³⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1736.

³³⁸ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/3, plan 125.

³³⁹ For this reading, see Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), 115.

³⁴⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2868.

³⁴¹ For the scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuu and his sons: Černý, *Community*, 203-204, 340-353. An Amenpahapy is known from O. Cairo 25607 rt. 6 (now *KRI*, VI, 261: 3), O. Cairo 25650, 4 (= *KRI*, VI, 172: 7), and O. Cairo 25660, 13 (= *KRI*, VI, 169: 3), which can all be assigned to the middle of the XXth Dynasty. A workman (*rmf-ḥst*) Amenpahapy is also known from several other documents of mid XXth Dynasty date including O. DM 223 (*KRI*, VI, 433: 5), O. Gardiner 171 (*KRI*, VII, 332: 13-14), and the will of Naunakhte (Document I, 1, 16 = *KRI*, VI, 237: 9). See Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 43 and 57; also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 38.

³⁴² Cf. Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), 117.

Also to be noted here is a single graffito written above a rock cave just north of the "Vallée de la Grande Cascade" (= CEDAE Section 201). This preserves the name and title of a chief-workman Nekhemmut (either the "Elder" or "Younger") who presumably frequented this grotto from time to time.³⁴³

(iii) "Deuxième Vallée Latérale".

A considerable number of graffiti are known along the cliffs and rocks in this wâdi (now as CEDAE Sections 29-39 and 180) which were apparently written by the Deir el-Medîna scribes and workmen of the XXth Dynasty. The names traced so far include: the senior scribes of the Tomb Amennakhte son of Ipu^y³⁴⁴ and Djehutymose;³⁴⁵ also the junior administrative scribe Neferhotep son of Neferhotep;³⁴⁶ the foreman Nekhemmut the Younger;³⁴⁷ the draughtsmen Amennakhte son of Hay (also called Pawonesh)³⁴⁸ and Hormin son of Hori;³⁴⁹ the sculptor Pashed;³⁵⁰ the simple workmen Ipu^y,³⁵¹ Paneferemdjed,³⁵² Pahemnetjer son of Panufer,³⁵³ Pahemnetjer son of Neferhor,³⁵⁴ Penniut,³⁵⁵ Pentwere,³⁵⁶ Merysekhmet,³⁵⁷ Neferhor,³⁵⁸ Hori,³⁵⁹ Qedakhtef,³⁶⁰ and To (or Tjay);³⁶¹ and also the fisherman Amenemone.³⁶²

³⁴³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, no. 3743 (= *KRI*, V, 627: 9).

³⁴⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1195, 1200-1201 (= *KRI*, V, 649: 6 and 652: 12-13), 1208A, 1225 and 1235; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3615 (= *KRI*, V, 650: 4).

³⁴⁵ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 3153 and 3170.

³⁴⁶ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1186 and 1207 (= *KRI*, V, 661: 10).

³⁴⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1269 (dated to Year 1 of Ramesses VI; now in *KRI*, VI, 364: 11-14) and 1273 (= *KRI*, VI, 200: 11-13); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, nos. 3174b and 3189.

³⁴⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1244 (= *KRI*, V, 639: 10).

³⁴⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1194, 1196, 1197, 1199, 1208 and 1212 (= *KRI*, VI, 206-207).

³⁵⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1209 (= *KRI*, VI, 199: 2).

³⁵¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1240 (= *KRI*, VI, 154: 6-7).

³⁵² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3184a.

³⁵³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3628 (= *KRI*, VI, 675: 8-10).

³⁵⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1227, 1238 and 1250 (= *KRI*, V, 668: 8 and 11-12).

³⁵⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1237 (= *KRI*, V, 665: 7).

³⁵⁶ See Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1230, 1247, 1248, and 1252 (= Year 2 of Ramesses V). Also cf. *KRI*, V, 657, and *KRI*, VI, 246.

³⁵⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1241A (= *KRI*, VI, 272: 8-9); but see Černý, *Community*, 203 n. 2.

³⁵⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1236 (= *KRI*, V, 668: 10).

³⁵⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1221-1221A (= *KRI*, VI, 199: 3-5).

³⁶⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1202, 1213 and 1228 (cf. now *KRI*, V, 670).

³⁶¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1254 (= *KRI*, V, 651: 4)

³⁶² Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1357 (= *KRI*, V, 455: 1-4). This inscription is particularly intriguing and is worth translating in full: "Year 12, 3 Peret 19. The day when the fisherman Amenemone came. The workman Ptahshed being with him". The Year 12 is almost certainly that of Ramesses III (cf. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 50-51). What is of such especial interest here is that this appears to be the only rock graffito in western Thebes that even mentions a member

(iv) "Vallée de la Corde".

Inscribed along the cliffs in this sector of the Queens' Valley (cf. now CEDAE Sections 25, 55-60 and 181-182) are several more graffiti texts with the names and titles of various Deir el-Medīna scribes and workmen from Dynasty XX. These include the senior scribes of the Tomb Amennakhte son of Ipuy³⁶³ and Djehutymose;³⁶⁴ the junior administrative scribe Neferhotep son of Neferhotep;³⁶⁵ the scribe (of the vizier's office?) Nakhtsobek;³⁶⁶ the village draughtsmen Amenhotep,³⁶⁷ Hori³⁶⁸ and Hormin son of Hori;³⁶⁹ and the workmen Pahemnetjer³⁷⁰ and Maanakhtef.³⁷¹

Section P: Graffiti Inscriptions in the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Queens.

To date there are very few graffiti texts in the tombs at the Valley of the Queens which can be assigned to Dynasty XX. However, the small number of Dynasty XX texts so far traced are of unusual interest in as much as they seem to be visitors' inscriptions in an area where casual comings and goings by those who had no official business there were clearly discouraged.³⁷²

Another class of graffiti from this age which is equally remarkable because of its absence in the Queens' Valley is that of the restoration inscription: those graffiti texts left by members of the official commissions who collected and restored the New Kingdom royal mummies at the end of Dynasty XX/beginning of Dynasty XXI. Such graffiti are to be found in the tombs and on the limestone cliffs of the Valley of the Kings but apparently not at all in the Valley of the

of the tombworker's outside service staff or *smdt*. Further, this text is inscribed in the heart of the royal necropolis, a region that ordinarily seems to have been out of bounds to such village servants (cf. now Ventura, *LCD*, 172). What we cannot know is whether Amenemone actually wrote the graffiti himself or whether it was inscribed by another witness.

³⁶³ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1296 (Year 18 of Ramesses III with the deputy Anherkhawi: *KRI*, V, 468: 3-5); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3128b (as a draughtsman).

³⁶⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1266 and 1293; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 3056 and 3073.

³⁶⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1263, 1265 and 1284; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3128a(?) (= *KRI*, V, 660: 6)

³⁶⁶ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1267 and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3083.

³⁶⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1288, 1289 (= *KRI*, VI, 130: 1-5), and 1355.

³⁶⁸ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3128c.

³⁶⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1291, 1292, 1298, 1349, 1354, 1399b (cf. *KRI*, VI, 130, 206-207); add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 3114 and 3128f.

³⁷⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1294 (= *KRI*, V, 668: 9).

³⁷¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1283 (= *KRI*, VI, 270: 8).

³⁷² Ventura, *LCD*, 169-186.

Queens.³⁷³ And though allegations of theft in the Queens' Valley were certainly investigated, the ultimate fate of the cadavers of those mothers, wives, daughters and sons of the Ramesside kings interred there is a mystery. One wonders if there is yet another large *cachette royale* still to be discovered.³⁷⁴

(i) QV 31: Painted upon a wall in this anonymous tomb of the early XIXth Dynasty³⁷⁵ are several graffiti texts apparently dating to Ramesses III.³⁷⁶ It would seem, therefore, that both QV 31 and the following tomb (QV 40), which is situated nearby, were known and accessible for inspection in the early XXth Dynasty.

(ii) QV 40: Upon an antechamber wall in the anonymous QV 40 (intended for a queen of the early Ramesside era) are two black ink hieratic graffiti probably dating to the reign of Pharaoh Ramesses III. These were penned on a finely executed scene of the goddess Hathor by a stable master (*ḥry lh*) who in his first text mentions the inhabitants (*dmlwt*) of the memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medînet Habu. This official composed a short invocation to the god Amun for his second graffito.³⁷⁷

These graffiti appear to be *Besucherinschriften* rather than records of an official inspection of a tomb in the Valley of the Queens. In any case one would hardly expect a stable-master to be entrusted with such a responsibility. It appears then that by one method or another this stable-master was able to gain access to the Queens' Valley and to visit what was probably an unused royal tomb at a time when one would have expected movements within the royal necropolis to have been closely monitored. Perhaps the stable-master's visit was unofficially sanctioned by one or other of the royal workmen for some reason.

³⁷³ The only possible exception is perhaps Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3123a in the "Vallée de la Corde" (CEDAE Section 59). See p. 214 n. 116 in Part IV of this Chapter.

³⁷⁴ Leblanc in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses München 1985*, Band. II (1989), 96-97; and idem, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 133 and n. 8. One might also note the newly identified royal cache in a (reused) private tomb on Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, established in Year 27 of Psusennes I, and comprising the reburials of several Dynasty XVIII princesses; cf. Dodson and Janssen, *JEA* 75 (1989), 125-138.

³⁷⁵ Prepared in advance for a *sst-nswt ḥmt-nswt* (so Thomas, *RNT*, 211; Leblanc, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 238-240), but apparently never occupied. The cartouches were intentionally left blank.

³⁷⁶ Merely noted without any references by Thomas, *RNT*, 211; now cf. Leblanc, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 238 n. 21. To the best of my knowledge these texts remain unpublished and I have been unable to glean further details. Perhaps they were written by the same official responsible for the graffiti texts within QV 40 which was also apparently standing open.

³⁷⁷ Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 392; Ch. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire*, vol. I (1989), pl. 77; idem, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 238 n. 5.

Section Q: Rock Graffiti in the "Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne".

Written upon certain rocks and cliffs in this wâdi (= CEDAE Sections 161-179) south of the Valley of the Queens are small numbers of graffiti texts from the XXth Dynasty. These range in date from the regimes of Ramesses III to IX and the following Deir el-Medîna personnel are recorded by name in the area: the senior scribes of the Tomb Amennakhte son of Ipyu³⁷⁸ and Wennufer;³⁷⁹ the junior administrative scribe Hori;³⁸⁰ the draughtsmen Amenhotep³⁸¹ and Hormin son of Hori;³⁸² the workmen Payam,³⁸³ Montupahapy,³⁸⁴ and Nesamun.³⁸⁵

Curiously all the inscriptions are concentrated in just two small bays in this valley or along a path leading up to them (= CEDAE Sections 161-165). As the graffiti themselves give only the workmen's names and titles the attractions of these particular bays are not readily apparent other than perhaps the shade to be had there. It appears that the "Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne" was visited only periodically in the New Kingdom and no doubt its isolated location and harsh environment did not encourage frequent exploration or habitation in the Pharaonic Era. (Later, however, these same geographical qualities were to prove very attractive to the early Christian hermits at Thebes.)

Also to be noted here are a number of graffiti inscribed along a rocky ridge just north of the "Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne" (= CEDAE Sections 194-195). These texts preserve the names of the workmen Paneferemdjed³⁸⁶ and Neferhotep son of Amennakhte.³⁸⁷ This stretch of cliff appears to have been a favourite vantage point for Paneferemdjed who has written his name no less than fourteen times in the area. Perhaps he appreciated the view or he may have frequented a small man-made shelter cut in the cliff face during his idle moments (note, however, that the precise date of this grotto is unclear and it may have been constructed much later by one of the many Coptic anchorites who are known to have traversed these hills).³⁸⁸

³⁷⁸ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, nos. 3581 and perhaps 3610 (now cf. *KRI*, V, 652: 3 and 650: 5).

³⁷⁹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1340 (= *KRI*, V, 643: 5).

³⁸⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3612 (= *KRI*, V, 658: 7).

³⁸¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1321 (cf. *KRI*, VI, 209: 11).

³⁸² Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1323, 1324 and 1338. See also *KRI*, VI, 207: 8-10.

³⁸³ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1332 and 1335 (cf. also *KRI*, V, 664: 2).

³⁸⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1339 (= *KRI*, V, 666: 11-14).

³⁸⁵ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3613 (= *KRI*, V, 669: 4).

³⁸⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, nos. 3703a, 3705, 3711, 3722, 3724: 2, 3725, 3727, 3728, 3729, 3730, 3732, 3733, 3734, 3736. Now also cf. *KRI*, VI, 203, for all these texts.

³⁸⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, no. 3698 (= *KRI*, VI, 676: 3-5).

³⁸⁸ H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, Part I (1926).

*Section R: Rock Graffiti in and around the Cliffs and Hills
of the South-West Wâdis at Western Thebes.*

It is well known that a number of royal tombs of the early XVIIIth Dynasty were excavated in these most isolated sections of the Theban mountain. Despite this there are but a handful of textual graffiti of the period recorded in these wâdis.³⁸⁹ The dearth of such graffiti turns into a complete absence throughout Dynasty XIX and for most of Dynasty XX, although this is not so unexpected, being an era when there appears to have been no tomb-building activity in any of the south-west valleys.³⁹⁰ From the very end of Dynasty XX, however, a small number of textual rock graffiti have survived, hinting at a resurgence of official interest in the region.

These latter graffiti preserve not only the names of senior Deir el-Medîna personnel such as scribe Djehutymose and the deputy Montuseankh, but also that of the de facto ruler of Thebes for most of the last decade of Ramesses XI's reign,³⁹¹ the High-Priest of Amun, Herihor. The name of the latter pontiff is to be found in several of the south-west wâdis at West Thebes but is most frequent in the so-called Wâdi el-Gharbi ("the Westernmost Valley").

The repeated occurrence of Herihor's name within this wâdi, together with a number of other clues (notably the remains of stone huts on the floor of the valley and broken water jars dating to this period, a stairway cut in a cliff chimney that leads to a water channelling system on the plateau above and an extensive network of ancient desert paths leading to and from the site that would have allowed the supply of any settlement by porter or pack-animal),³⁹² have led John Romer³⁹³ to the conclusion that Wâdi el-Gharbi is quite possibly the last resting place of the

³⁸⁹ See pp. 114-115 in Part I of this Chapter.

³⁹⁰ The only royal funerary object known to me from the region assignable to either Dynasty XIX or XX is an Osirid figure of King Merenptah found under a boulder in Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd and now in New York (MMA 26.7.1451). Even this could have been transported here at a later date; cf. Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 354-355; H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah* (1989), 184. Perhaps this piece is related to the curious New Kingdom shabti burials found by Carter under several large rocks on the bed of this valley (cf. *JEA* 4 (1917), 110).

³⁹¹ Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 14-20.

³⁹² As Romer has further observed it is surely significant that Howard Carter, the first man in modern times to systematically explore this desolate canyon, also found a huge pile of ancient tomb chippings in a wâdi where there is no known tomb, as well as four crystalline sandstone bosses used, presumably, to transport a sarcophagus to the site; cf. Carter, *JEA* 4 (1917), 111, for a description of these discoveries. Note too Thomas, *RNT*, 198-199 and 201.

³⁹³ See here Chapter 24 (= "Kings and Wadis") in J. Romer, *Ancient Lives: The Story of the Pharaohs' Tombmakers* (1984), 191-201. General speculation on the location of Herihor's lost tomb has been continued most recently by Clayton in *Minerva* 6/no. 4 (1995), 14-15.

High-Priest Herihor, and perhaps too the site of the tomb³⁹⁴ of the latter's immediate successor as Amun's High-Priest at Karnak, Piankh.³⁹⁵

While only a very detailed archaeological investigation of Wâdi el-Gharbi could ever hope to establish the validity of Romer's thesis, it does seem highly probable that with their personal experiences of the vulnerability of the Theban necropolis, Herihor and his successor³⁹⁶ would have been anxious to secure a new site for their own tombs; one well away from the old royal burial grounds which were now being dismantled by the local authorities, partly it seems in an effort to protect the royal dead from further despoilation by grouping their burials into a small number of carefully concealed hiding places which were easier to guard, and partly out of sheer economic necessity.³⁹⁷

In the selection of such a location no doubt Herihor and Piankh turned to those persons with the most detailed practical knowledge of the Theban necropolis and its landscape: the Deir el-Medîna workforce, a body of skilled men who also happened to be the sole remaining experts in large-scale tomb construction in the region.

By way of the graffiti they have scrawled in long lines along certain cliffs at western Thebes (particularly in the south-west valleys) it seems clear that a number of necropolis officials, including Djehutymose and Butehamun, visited and examined most of the early XVIIIth Dynasty cliff-tombs (these having been excavated in the main for queens and princesses of that age) that were then known and available to them. In the course of these inquiries it cannot have escaped their attention that such discreetly placed monuments, some cut in natural rock faults hundreds of feet from the ground, would offer a much greater chance of long-term security than any rock cut tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

It may well be then, despite the considerable logistical problems involved in supplying such an operation,³⁹⁸ that Djehutymose and Butehamun supervised the construction of a cliff-tomb

³⁹⁴ Of course there might only be one tomb if Herihor and Piankh were interred together in a single cache.

³⁹⁵ Note that the attempt by Jansen-Winkel (in *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 22-26) to reverse the usual order of these two pontiffs is decisively refuted by Kitchen, *THIP*, pp. xiv-xvii.

³⁹⁶ Indeed from one of the Late Ramesside Letters (= P. BM 10375) it is known that by Year 10 of *wḥm-mswt* Piankh had even ordered subordinates at Thebes to uncover an ancient tomb for his return. Cf. Černý, *LRL*, 47: 12-14; Wente, *LRL*, 61; also idem, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (1990), 195. It is possible that Piankh used any valuables recovered from such work to finance not only his military adventures against the viceroy Panehsy in the south (see Reeves, *VK*, 277), but also a tomb and burial equipment of his own.

³⁹⁷ See Reeves, *VK*, 276-278; Taylor, *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 187-190; Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 62-78.

³⁹⁸ Note that Carter graffiti no. 1566 may even list some of the supplies brought to the men labouring in Wâdi el-Gharbi from outside. These appear to have included bread and grain (*nfr*) among other items.

for Herihor and Piankh in Wâdi el-Gharbi, one that is unmolested to this day.³⁹⁹ Or they may only have appropriated (and enlarged?) an old vault for the same end.⁴⁰⁰

When it came to caching many of the New Kingdom royal mummies (and their own human remains and funerary goods) during Dynasties XXI-XXII, later high-priests also recognised the advantages in employing such tombs, although they evidently felt confident enough to select ones much closer to the bustling West Theban metropolis (= TT 320 and perhaps also the Bâb el-Muallaq).⁴⁰¹

(i) Wâdi Sikket Tâqet Zaid.

In this wâdi there are no textual graffiti known to me that could be dated with clear certainty to Dynasty XX. There is, however, a damaged rock graffito preserving the title of an unnamed official, a royal butler "in the Estate (*pr*) of Horus(?)".⁴⁰² Given the especial prominence of these royal manservants in the Ramesside era (and particularly in Dynasty XX)⁴⁰³ this broken text is perhaps best listed here.

(ii) Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd.

1. Central Bay (= CEDAE Sections 219B+C and 220A, B, C).

Preserved in a single graffito on a cliff face close by the suspected tomb of the early XVIIIth Dynasty princess Nefrure (at CEDAE Section 220A) is the name and title of the senior admin-

³⁹⁹ This may be inferred from the fact that neither the mummies nor one item of the funerary equipment of either Herihor or Piankh (or Menkheperre for that matter) has ever come to light. This would suggest that their original burials remain intact. When one considers that members of these high-priests' families are known to have received lavish burials (note that of Nodjmet, spouse of Herihor, from the *cachette royale*: Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 38-39; Reeves, *VK*, 201, 213 and 255), it seems inconceivable that such senior officials would not also have made elaborate funeral provisions for themselves somewhere at Thebes. Note also A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies* (1988), 29.

⁴⁰⁰ There would appear to be just one possible reference to such a tomb in the village records. In P. BM 10375 (= Černý, *LRL*, 47: 3-5) there is mention of a (building) task or commission (= *shn*) that is to be carried out for the High-Priest of Amun Piankh by the workmen and their superiors. On *shn* as an expression for work in the royal tombs: Černý, *Community*, 84-85; and cf. now Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 67-69. It might also be noted that the reference in P. Ambras (Vienna 30) II, 8 (*KRI*, VI, 837: 9), to the "examination of the tomb (*hr*) of the *Generalissimo*", in Year 6 of the Renaissance Era (= Year 24 of Ramesses XI), is probably a record of inspection of the grave of a royal prince (Ventura, *LCD*, 2 n. 12), or even that of the Kings' Valley tomb of Ramesses II (see here: Reeves, *VK*, 94), rather than that of a lost tomb of Herihor or Piankh as was once thought possible (note Černý, *Community*, 9).

⁴⁰¹ See now: Reeves, *VK*, 183-268; Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 49 (1992), 713-714; Dodson, *Cd'É* 69 (1994), 275-276; Gabolde et al., *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 228 and 230-231.

⁴⁰² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3942 (in CEDAE Section 231B).

⁴⁰³ Cf. now Malek, *JEA* 74 (1988), 134.

istrative scribe of the Tomb Djehutymose.⁴⁰⁴ (Note that this text may in fact date to the early XXIst Dynasty as there are several graffiti in Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd that were written out by Djehutymose's son Butehamun and his family at this time.)

2. North Bay (= CEDAE Sections 221A, B, C and 222A+B).

Written on a cliff face at Section 221A is the personal name Herihor (curiously preceded by the *ms* sign).⁴⁰⁵ Most probably this graffito denotes the late Ramesside High-Priest of Amun of that name.

(iii) Wâdi el-Gharbi.

1. Cirque de Hérihor (CEDAE Sections 226A, B, C, D, E, 227A+B and 229).

Etched into boulders and banks of rock in the middle of the great circle of rock at the head of Wâdi el-Gharbi are five graffiti texts giving the name of Herihor, High-Priest of Amun.⁴⁰⁶ In addition to these inscriptions there is another graffito in this natural amphitheatre that may also date to the XXth Dynasty. This preserves the name and title of the otherwise unknown deputy of the crew Montuseankh (= reign of Ramesses XI to early Dynasty XXI) as well as those of a workman(?) called Painudjem.⁴⁰⁷

(iv) Wâdi Sikket el-Agala.

Located some 2 kms. north-west of Wâdi el-Gharbi is Wâdi Sikket el-Agala (now CEDAE Section 232), the largest and most remote of the southern wâdis at West Thebes that is known to have been frequented in Pharaonic times.⁴⁰⁸ To date, however, evidence for such visits by way of rock graffiti is limited to two⁴⁰⁹ hieroglyphic texts on the huge cliffs at the end of the eastern arm of this valley.⁴¹⁰ As these inscriptions are not located too far apart they may have

⁴⁰⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3929 (= Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1305). Now also cf. *KRI*, VI, 878: 1.

⁴⁰⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1299.

⁴⁰⁶ Carter graffiti nos. 1547 (precise location not found by the CEDAE), 1551, 1565, 1567; and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3913b.

⁴⁰⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1259. Note that this graffito is the only record we have of the deputy Montuseankh (Černý, *Community*, 144 n. 4) and because of this it is all the more unfortunate that 1259, found and copied by Černý, was not relocated by the epigraphers of the CEDAE. Its general location, however, is not in any real doubt.

⁴⁰⁸ Carter, *JEA* 4 (1917), 111; also note Thomas, *RNT*, 201-203.

⁴⁰⁹ PM, I², Pt. 2, 594, erroneously locates Carter graffiti nos. 1571-1577 in Wâdi Sikket el-Agala. These graffiti are actually in the Vallée des Carrières.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/6, plan 214.

been scribbled down on the same occasion. One appears to record the name of the High-Priest of Amun Herihor;⁴¹¹ the other consists of a *nfr* sign and a geometric pattern.⁴¹²

One can only speculate on what might have brought visitors (expeditions led by the scribes Djehutymose or Butehamun?) to this inhospitable landscape in the dying days of Dynasty XX. Perhaps they examined the wâdi's suitability as a site for new high-status tombs as appears to have been the case with the other southern wâdis in late Dynasty XX and early Dynasty XXI. Or perhaps they came to explore the remains of what may have been an early XVIIIth Dynasty royal burial ground in the plain opposite the entrance to the wâdi for any salvagable goods.⁴¹³

⁴¹¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3876.

⁴¹² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3877. On the possible meanings of *nfr* in such a context (the sign often occurs on its own or in combination with other hieroglyphs or designs in the Theban graffiti), cf. the remarks by Gardiner (as editor) in *JEA* 4 (1917), 110 n. 1.

⁴¹³ Note Carter, *JEA* 4 (1917), 111-112.

Chapter Seven: Part IV

West Theban Graffiti of the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medīna and Other Officials of the Theban Necropolis in Dynasty XXI

(c. 1069-945 B.C.)

The Topographical Distribution of Textual Graffiti in Western Thebes from Dynasty XXI

Section A: Rock Graffiti in Wādyein.

Dating from the very end of Dynasty XX/beginning of Dynasty XXI are three rock graffiti¹ on a cliff face above the entrance to Wādyein (= CEDAE Section 204).² These record the name and title of the senior administrative scribe of the Tomb, Butehamun, who like his distant predecessors in the post, Qenḥirkhopshef and Amennakhte son of Ipuy, was a particularly prolific author of West Theban rock graffiti.³

It is of little surprise that these seem to be the only graffiti of Dynasty XXI at Wādyein, for the last royal funeral procession to wind its way up this track to the Valley of the Kings was probably that of Ramesses IX or X some 30-40 years earlier.⁴

Section B: Rock Graffiti in and around the Vallée des Carrières.

There would appear to be just four textual graffiti among the cliffs and rocks of this isolated sector of the Theban necropolis north of Wādyein (now CEDAE Section 233) that certainly or most probably date to the early XXIst Dynasty.

¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, nos. 3463, 3464 and 3467 (= *KRI*, VI, 879: 2-6).

² Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/5, plans 186-187.

³ For the extent of Butehamun's graffiti at West Thebes: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, Index, pp. 109-110; Černý, *Graffiti*, Index, p. 31; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, Index, 74; IV/2, Index, 135; IV/3, Index, 168; IV/4, Index, 210; IV/5, Index, 234; IV/6, Index, 254; *KRI*, VI, 878-879. Note also the important new rock graffiti of Butehamun (= no. 3981a) traced by Kikuchi in the West Valley of the Kings. Hopefully this will soon be published in forthcoming issues of *GM* and *MDAIK*. The improbable paper by Niwiński (see *SAK* 11 (1984), 135-156) which sought to establish three different Butehamuns in Dynasties XIX-XXI has been demolished by Jansen-Winkel in *GM* 139 (1994), 35-40.

⁴ Reeves, *VK*, 119-123.

Two of these graffiti, which preserve the name of the senior scribe of the Tomb Butchamun, have only recently been traced,⁵ while a third text written in the area by this official was first copied by Carter some 80 years ago and is of rather greater interest in that it notes the death of Butchamun's father, the scribe Djehutymose, probably early in the reign of Smendes I.⁶

The fourth text, another Carter find, is also of particular note in that it is dated to Year 16 of Smendes I and mentions together the royal scribe in the Place of Truth Ankhefenamun (scribe Butchamun's son and successor) and the High-Priest of Amun Masaharta.⁷

Section C: Rock Graffiti in and around the East Valley of the Kings.

With the relinquishing of Wâdi Bibân el-Mulûk as a royal burial place by Ramesses XI, and the dispersal of many of the Deir el-Medîna workmen during the last years of his reign,⁸ it is little wonder that the number of rock graffiti in the Valley of the Kings that can be dated with some degree of certainty to the XXIst Dynasty is far less than during the preceding Ramesside dynasties when work at the site was at its zenith.

However, with our sources of administrative ostraca and papyri drying up almost completely by the end of Ramesses XI's reign,⁹ the relatively small number of Dynasty XXI graffiti texts we do possess from the Valley (and elsewhere at West Thebes) assume a new degree of importance. Frequently they are all we have to go on.

Among the graffiti inscriptions that are known from this era in the Valley of the Kings one name stands out: that of the senior scribe of the Tomb Butchamun. He has scribbled his name and titles in nearly every section of the Kings' Valley, although the majority of his graffiti are found in the so-called "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II". The texts themselves name Butchamun

⁵ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, nos. 3485 (= *KRI*, VI, 879: 7) and 3492. The latter graffito, apparently dated to Year 11 of Smendes I, is damaged but it seems to describe a stroll to see the mountains.

⁶ Carter graffito no. 1573 (not found by the CEDAE). Also cf. Černý, *Community*, 373-374; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42.

⁷ So Carter graffito no. 1572. Cf. Černý, *Community*, 374; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42. Like Carter graffito 1573 the precise location of this important record has not been traced by the CEDAE. According to PM, I², Pt. 2, 590 and 594, and information kindly communicated by Dr. R. J. Demarée, Černý was planning a paper for the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* on some of the West Theban graffiti texts copied by Carter; unfortunately, for one reason or another, nothing ever came of the proposal.

⁸ See p. 245 in our Conclusions.

⁹ O. Cairo 25574-25577 (= lists of workmen) appear to be the only such documents datable to the early XXIst Dynasty. See Černý, *Community*, 120 and n. 3; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 49 and n. 5, 54 and 346; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 535; also Reeves, *VK*, 107 and nn. 55-58.

on his own,¹⁰ with a work colleague,¹¹ or else they link him to his father Djchutymose¹² or to one or other of his many sons.¹³ And on at least one occasion they list some of his scribal ancestors¹⁴ or apparently associate him with a high official of the day.¹⁵

Unfortunately, however, Butehamun is generally uninformative regarding the precise reasons for his visits to the Valley at this time;¹⁶ we can only assume that for the most part he was

¹⁰ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 3: 1 and 13 (CEDAE Section 183: located near the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI" at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings), 49 and 51 (in the "Vallée du Puits"), 231'a', 238, 252, 282 and 318a (all "Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"), 378, 399, 408a, 411a+c and 412 (all "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); Carter graffito no. 1430 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1725 (in the "Vallée du scribe Houy"), 1919, 1939, 2036: 1, 2040, 2044, 2057, 2058: 2, 2177, 2193 (all "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2275 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"), 2853 and 2854: 2 (= "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI").

¹¹ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2285 (inscribed in the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III", at Section 77). Here Butehamun is recorded with a (necropolis?) scribe named Amen(hir)khopshef who is also known from several other graffiti inscriptions (= nos. 691a+b, 698, 2267(?), 2287, 2290 and 2291) in this same small section of the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III". This Amen(hir)khopshef is otherwise unknown to me.

¹² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 48 (in the "Vallée du Puits"), 408b (located in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II") and 685b ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1726 (in the "Vallée du scribe Houy"), 1806 ("Vallée du Puits"; note here the mention in this text of a hitherto unknown draughtsman of the time named Pabia[nakhte]: Sadek, *VA* 6 (1990), 120), 1830b, 1831, 1868, 1870 and 1878 (all in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), 1940: 2, 2038, 2048, 2107 and 2194 (all "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2217 (cf. "Éperon séparant le Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II (No. 15) du Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III (No. 34)"), 2425, 2486 (both located "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III") and 2807 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI").

¹³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 250 ("Vallon de la tombe de Meneptah"), 408d-f (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 417+418 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III"); Carter graffito no. 1455 ("Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1894 (located in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II"), 2055 and 2056b ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), and 2216 ("Éperon séparant le Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II (No. 15) du Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III (No. 34)").

¹⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, no. 3837 (= *KRI*, VI, 879; located in the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"). What is also notable about this graffito is that in its last line it names a "scribe Amenhotep" who appears to be a previously unidentified son of either Butehamun or of Butehamun's son Manenufer.

¹⁵ The damaged Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2144 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II") may record a visit by Butehamun and the High-Priest of Amun and "King" Pinudjem I. It should be remembered here that, for a while at least, Pinudjem appears to have been interested in usurping the abandoned Valley tomb of Ramesses XI for his own use.

¹⁶ Two of his graffiti (= Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 48 and 51; both in the "Vallée du Puits") are dated to within a few days of one another in a Year 11 (almost certainly of Smendes I) and these describe Butehamun coming "to see mountains". Cf. Černý, *Community*, 372; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 382 (Nos. 18+19). Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 48 is also of interest as it names a chief-workman Nebnufer and his father the chief of bowmen Bakenmut. A foreman Nebnufer of the early XXIst Dynasty (attested in Years 6 and 11 of Smendes I) is known by several graffiti in western Thebes but the question of his paternity is still in some doubt as the filiation given in graffito no. 48 is partly destroyed and may not be correct. Further if Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 18'a' refers to a foreman Nebnufer *son of* (not restoring *si[f]* as in *KRI*, VI, 873: 1) a foreman

present when supervising the dismantling and clearance of the Valley's known sepulchres (see below).

Scribe Butehamun's son and successor in office, Ankhefenamun, has also inscribed his name in most of the central areas of the Valley of the Kings although his graffiti are even more curt and to the point: name and titles only¹⁷ and occasionally a mention of his father or his grandfather Djehutymose.¹⁸ There is also a very clear example of Ankhefenamun linking his name to that of his long-dead ancestor, scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuu.¹⁹

None of scribe Ankhefenamun's graffiti are dated or state the reason for his presence. Again we can only assume that if he did not venture up into the Valley on some business of his own in later life then perhaps he scrawled many of his graffiti when helping his father at his work.

Another of Butehamun's sons, the scribe Manenufer, is also known to have accompanied his father into the Valley of the Kings. In addition to his presence in two royal tombs (KV 11 and 19, cf. below) Manenufer is attested in at least one and quite possibly two rock graffiti therein. The first of these, inscribed just to the right of the Valley tomb thought to have been prepared for Tuthmosis I by Tuthmosis III (= KV 38), preserves only Manenufer's name with the titles, "wab-priest of Amun" and "scribe".²⁰ The second graffito, of an unspecified year, is altogether more informative. Located roughly 20 m.²¹ to the right of the entrance to KV 38, the restored text runs so:

*"1 Akhet 13. Coming (by?) Manenufer
(to) open (the tomb of?) (King) Aakheperkare.
(With him): Userhat, Pa....., Amenhotep,
and Ef(n)amun".²²*

Penparei then we are apparently faced with two different chief-workmen Nebnufer of the XXIst Dynasty. See Bierbrier, *Cd'É* 59 (1984), 219 n. 6.

¹⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 481g(?) (= "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2047 (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"), 2281 ("Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III") and 2855 (in the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI").

¹⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 41'a' and 43 (in the "Vallée du Puits"), 255 and 344 ("Vallon de la tombe de Menephtah"), 401 and 407 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); also Carter graffito no. 1434 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"); and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2865 (written in the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI").

¹⁹ Cf. Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1405 (= Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 225; located in the "Vallon de la tombe de Menephtah"). Note also Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 41 (in the "Vallée du Puits").

²⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2037 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II").

²¹ Cf. Černý and Sadek, *GMT*, I/1, xviii.

²² Černý and Sadek, *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2061 (written in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II", Section 48).

As several authorities have already noted, it seems likely that this graffito commemorates an official inspection of KV 38 at the end of Dynasty XX/beginning of Dynasty XXI with an eye to removing any portable remains of the royal burial within, a burial which had evidently been heavily plundered at some time.²³ The first official listed in the party, Manenufer, is probably one or other of the two sons of Butchamun of that name.²⁴

A final link with this family is provided by another Valley graffito (probably one of the last incised in the Kings' Valley in the Pharaonic Era), one written by the scribe Qashuti a son of the senior scribe of the Tomb Nebhepe and therefore a grandson of scribe Butchamun.²⁵

Textual graffiti inscriptions in the Valley of the Kings attributable to workman and officials outside this most active of scribal families in Dynasty XXI are far rarer. Individuals of this era who are known by rock graffiti within the Valley include: the chief-workman Horemqenese²⁶ and the suspected ordinary workmen Padikhons,²⁷ Nainudjem,²⁸ Sawipaankh²⁹ and Dikhonsiry.³⁰ A further possible necropolis official of early Dynasty XXI attested in the Valley's rock graffiti is the royal scribe Kha.³¹ Presumably some of these men helped the scribe Butchamun

²³ Most recently: Reeves, *VK*, 18 and 244; also cf. Černý and Sadek, *GMT*, I/1, xviii.

²⁴ Černý, *Community*, 359 and 362; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42.

²⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 447 (in the "Vallon de la tombe de Thoutmosis III").

²⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2138 (written in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). This inscription of Horemqenese is particularly intriguing as it describes the arrival of the chief-workman and several workmen companions and their making an initial inspection of the Valley. Furthermore as it is dated to Year 20 of Smendes I this text provides us with the latest date known (from the rock graffiti) for official activity in the Valley of the Kings in the XXIst Dynasty; cf. Kitchen, *THIP*, § 383 (No. 32). The nature of this inspection can only be guessed at now. Horemqenese is an interesting character in his own right and is known by a number of other rock graffiti at western Thebes. A short but illuminating biography of his life and times has recently appeared by J. H. Taylor in *Unwrapping a Mummy. The Life, Death and Embalming of Horemkenesi* (1995).

²⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 170 and 178 (in the "Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II").

²⁸ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, nos. 3816 and 3817 (here "scribe of the Tomb"); both texts: CEDAE Section 183 at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings.

²⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2109 ("Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II").

³⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1879 ("Vallon de la tombe d'Amenophis II") and 2207 (= "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II"). This Dikhonsiry is perhaps identical with a man of that name attested by a graffito at the *cachette royale* (= Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 908) and by several other texts in Wâdis Qubbânet el-Qirûd and el-Gharbi (= Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1257 and 1258; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, nos. 3856, 3864, 3893, 3896 and 3955). Note also Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 397 (17). He appears to have been connected in some way with the crew at the beginning of Dynasty XXI (perhaps employed as an ordinary workman?).

³¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1670 (in the "Vallée de la tombe de Ramsès XI"). Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 24 n. 5, tentatively assigns this graffito to Dynasty XVIII and it may have been written by the well-known Deir el-Medîna official of that name who was alive and active in the mid XVIIIth Dynasty. However there appears to be another possibility. Dodson recently published (*JEA* 77 (1991), 180-182) a hieratic label in Durham University's Oriental Museum (N. 1454) that records the reburial of a private person at Thebes in early Dynasty XXI. One of

and his sons with whatever work remained to be done in the Valley of the Kings (and at other sites throughout the royal necropolis).

In addition to some restoration work in the tomb of King Ramesses XI (cf. below) it seems increasingly likely that the nature of this work in the King's Valley in early Dynasty XXI was one of locating and clearing out not only those tombs that were already ransacked and open but also those (apparently the majority) that were still substantially intact. The objective seems to have been one of a systematic dismantling of the original burial (or what remained of it), and the extraction of as much bullion and other valuable raw materials as possible for the state's coffers. Those royal mummies which had largely survived the attentions of tomb-robbers were subjected to a dedicated but limited restoration programme and reburied throughout the Theban necropolis.³²

This officially sanctioned policy was apparently adopted after the civil unrest that had rocked Thebes at the end of the XXth Dynasty,³³ events that had probably led to the desertion of the Valley of the Kings as a royal burial site in the first place. There must also have been a growing realisation that the royal burials by their very richness would always tempt the mercenary no matter how rigorous the surveillance over the necropolis was; in any case the buried wealth that the Valley contained needed to be put to better economic use.

The twin task of asset-stripping and restoration was probably given to the direct supervision of senior necropolis officials such as Butehamun due to their intimate and expert knowledge of the royal wâdis and the most likely sites for long-buried tombs not obvious to the eye (especially those of the XVIIIth Dynasty).³⁴ Graffiti of this period naming Butehamun or his sons is attested not only from within a number of the royal tombs themselves (KV 11, 19, 49 and 57) but also from directly around the entrances to several other of these monuments.³⁵ Other key

the officials responsible for organising the reinterment is named as the "royal scribe Kha" who might conceivably be the same man as the author of graffito no. 1670.

³² Now: Reeves, *VK*, 276-278; Taylor, *After Tut'ankhamûn*, 187-190; Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 62-78.

³³ See p. 243 in our Conclusions.

³⁴ The recent discovery in Turin by Dr. R. J. Demarée of a map of the Valley of the Kings, apparently dating to the late Ramesside period and showing the entrances to many of the royal tombs, may prove to be closely related to such work by Butehamun and others. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. B. G. Davies for bringing this new discovery to my attention.

³⁵ So Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 1830b, 1831, 1868, 1870, 1878 and 1894 (all by the entrance to KV 35); 2036: 1, 2037, 2038 and 2040 (all next to the entrance to KV 38); 2044, 2047, 2048, 2055, 2056b, 2057, 2058: 2 and 2061(?) (all located next to KV 15); also note Carter graffito no. 1455 next to the entrance to KV 43.

players in this programme like the chief-workman Horemqenese may have continued the work in the Valley until at least Year 20 of Smendes I.³⁶

Section D: Graffiti Inscriptions in the Royal Tombs in the East Valley of the Kings.

(i) KV 2: Written on the east wall of the first passage of the tomb of Ramesses IV is a hieroglyphic graffito recording the presence of a scribe called Penamun.³⁷ It is known from a coffin docket that a scribe of this name was involved in the second restoration of the burial of King Amenophis I in Year 16 (4 *Peret* 11) of Smendes I.³⁸ It seems possible that they are one and the same man. Perhaps Penamun helped in the removal of the mummy of Ramesses IV to its final resting place until modern times, the royal cache in the tomb of Amenophis II.³⁹

(ii) KV 4⁴⁰

(iii) KV 11: Within the Valley tomb of Ramesses III there are four hieratic visitors' graffiti, which although undated, are certainly to be assigned to the late XXth or early XXIst Dynasty. Champollion recorded three of these texts while the fourth, later noticed by Lefébure, remains unpublished to this day.

³⁶ So graffito no. 2138. Explicit references in the rock graffiti to actual work in the Valley of the Kings in Dynasty XXI are extremely rare. The only other example I know of is the anonymous Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2137 (found next to no. 2138 in the "Vallon de la tombe de Sethi II") which is datable to Year 12 (4 *Akhet* 17) of Smendes I and describes the going up (to the Valley) by six young men (*ꜥꜥꜥ*). Also cf. Kitchen, *THIP*, § 382 (No. 21). In addition to these two graffiti, O. Cairo 25575 records, "Year 7, 2 *Akhet* 1. Going up to start work in this place by the crew: (then a list of 35 workmen)". The Year 7 appears to be that of Smendes I and as the ostrakon was discovered in the Valley of the Kings it presumably records work done there by the crew. Again, however, just what that work was is a moot point. Note Reeves, *VK*, 107.

³⁷ E. Lefébure, *Les hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III (1889), 190.

³⁸ Reeves, *VK*, 5 and 236 (No. 23).

³⁹ Reeves, *VK*, 117 and 196-198.

⁴⁰ Positioned roughly half way down the north wall of corridor B in the tomb of Ramesses XI is a human size figure of the god Amen-Re-Harakhti and six columns of hieroglyphic text. In this scene the god awards the kingship of Egypt to Pinudjem I. Although it has been described as a "graffito" by its editors (cf. now M. Ciccarello, *The Graffito of Pinutem I in the Tomb of Ramesses XI* (1979)), due to its size and content, I would prefer to classify this ensemble as a restoration inscription. It might denote the usurpation of KV 4 by Pinudjem I for his own use (however, like Ramesses XI, the high-priest seems eventually to have dropped any plans for a burial in the Valley); alternatively this inscription may have been cut to honour Pinudjem as a major sponsor of much of the restoration work in the royal necropolis in early Dynasty XXI. Cf. Ciccarello, *ibid.*, 3; also Reeves, *VK*, 121-123.

The first two inscriptions are located on the east wall at the entrance to the first corridor of the sepulchre. One of these graffiti, although much erased, still preserves the name of a scribe Iynutef⁴¹ (also known from another graffito deeper in the tomb, cf. below). The reading of the other graffito is again only partially legible but seems to record the presence of a God's Father by the name of Hori.⁴²

The other two graffiti in KV 11 are located on a pillar in the burial chamber. These preserve the names and titles of several necropolis officials of the era including the senior scribe of the Tomb Butehamun with two of his younger sons, Manenufer and Pakhynetjer, and the scribes Iynutef and Paury.⁴³ The two latter men are otherwise unknown to me.

Reeves has suggested that these brief texts probably record the presence of inspection parties in KV 11,⁴⁴ no doubt salvaging Ramesses III's burial, and this would seem entirely plausible especially as scribe Butehamun is known to have been involved in the restoration or "osirification" (*rdlt wslr*) of the king's mummy in Year 13 (2 *Shomu* 27) of Smendes I.⁴⁵

(iv) KV 19: Etched into the plaster one third of the way down the single corridor of the tomb of prince Ramesses-Montuirkhopshef, at the top of the south wall, is a large hieratic graffito of six lines. This inscription preserves the names and titles of the senior scribes Djehutymose and Butehamun as well as those of five of the latter's sons (= Ankhefenamun, Nebhepe, Manenufer, Amenmose and Pakhynetjer).⁴⁶ Presumably the graffito marks a visit to KV 19 by one or other of these senior scribes in late Dynasty XX or early Dynasty XXI, perhaps in search of the prince's mummy (now lost) and his burial equipment.⁴⁷

(v) KV 35: As is well-known the Kings' Valley tomb of Amenophis II was employed by the necropolis authorities in the late XXth or early XXIst Dynasty as a hiding-place for a number of the New Kingdom royal mummies. The larger group of corpses was deposited in one of the burial chamber's four side-rooms (the south-west chamber, commonly numbered 'Jb').⁴⁸

⁴¹ Unpublished, but this graffito is described in E. Lefébure, *Les hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III (1889), 190.

⁴² Published twice by Champollion in *Notices descriptives*, I, 571 and 811.

⁴³ Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 414; also note E. Lefébure, *Les hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III (1889), 190; Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, 93 (nos. III & IV).

⁴⁴ Reeves, *VK*, 115 and 248-249.

⁴⁵ G. Maspero, *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî* (1889), 563-564; also Reeves, *VK*, 231 and 235 (No. 20).

⁴⁶ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/1, plan 13, and IV/1, no. 1599.

⁴⁷ Reeves, *VK*, 135.

⁴⁸ Reeves, *VK*, 193 and 195-199. For a photograph: Romer, *VK*, 117 (opposite page).

Written on several of the limestone blocks used to close the entrance of this side-room are a number of hieratic signs which had clearly been written when the stones were assembled differently. When the inscribed blocks are rearranged into what is probably their original order they appear to form a short graffito; a record of examination in a Year 13 that reads so:

*"Year 13..... This day.....inspection (slpty?)....."*⁴⁹

Opinions vary concerning the significance of this inscription. Some have seen it as referring to an inspection of the contents of the cache in side-room 'Jb', the graffito having been written just after the limestone blocks were first erected to seal off the chamber, perhaps in Year 13 of Smendes I.⁵⁰ This blocking wall had subsequently been dismantled and rebuilt with the same stones, but this time the blocks were re-erected in a different order (so jumbling up the hieratic graffito).

More recently,⁵¹ as it now seems that the blocks used to seal off the cache in side-room 'Jb' originally closed the entrance to the main burial chamber in KV 35, it has been suggested that it is to an inspection of the latter doorway in Year 13 of an unknown reign (perhaps one of the later XXth Dynasty)⁵² that the graffito refers. The true answer remains uncertain⁵³ as does the date of the establishment of the royal cache within KV 35.⁵⁴

(vi) KV 49: Penned in red ink over the entrance to this small and anonymous monument are two hieratic graffiti texts.⁵⁵ These record successive visits to KV 49 by a group of officials in the reign of either Ramesses XI or Smendes I,⁵⁶ and the provisioning of this tomb with large numbers of fine linen garments. They read as follows:

(1) *"1 Peret 25.*

Coming and bringing the royal linen, 20 (cloths?).

⁴⁹ These signs were first published in any detail by Van Siclen, *JEA* 60 (1974), 129-133.

⁵⁰ So Wente, *JNES* 31 (1972), 139.

⁵¹ See Reeves, *VK*, 197-199.

⁵² The hieratic signs appear to date palaeographically to this era (Van Siclen, *JEA* 60 (1974), 130). If this is so, owing to the high year date involved, it limits the possible rulers to Ramesses IX or XI.

⁵³ Note, however, that there is at least one graffito in KV 35 that might date to the establishment of the cache in side-room 'Jb'. This is a small hieratic text noted by Van Siclen (cf. *JEA* 60 (1974), 133) on the soffit of the doorway of chamber 'Jb'. It simply reads "53 digits" (= c. 99 cm.) and appears to record exactly the depth of the latter doorway. It may have been penned by an official to mark the depth of blocking material which would have to be extracted in order to re-enter the cache.

⁵⁴ Reeves, *VK*, 198; Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 49 (1992), 714.

⁵⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1282. See Reeves, *VK*, 169.

⁵⁶ Cf. Reeves, *VK*, 230.

*Mixed hyrr, 5; shawls, 15:
total, 20. The scribe Butehamun,
Pakhoir, Pennesttawy son of Nesamenope,
Hori, Takany, Amenhotep, Kaka,
Nakhtamenwase, Amen(neb)nesttawynakhte".*

*(2) "Finishing on the second occasion; bringing clothing, 3 Peret 5. The men who brought
(it): Pait,
the scribe Butehamun,
Iyamennuef,
Pakhoir,
Tjauemdi.....,
Hori son of Kadjadja,
Takairnayu,
Nesamenope.
Royal linen, shawls, 45; long shawls, 5: total, 50".*

In the most recent discussion of these graffiti, Reeves suggests that they are connected with the refurbishment work carried out in the Valley of the Kings at the end of the New Kingdom. He argues persuasively that KV 49 (presumably by now abandoned) may have been employed as a storeroom by the various reburial parties who repaired the damaged royal mummies (hence the large numbers of byssus items recorded) before they were stored in one of the royal caches in use at the time.⁵⁷

Section E: Rock Graffiti in the West Valley of the Kings.

Unlike the Eastern Valley the West Valley of the Kings had long been abandoned as a royal burial ground by the early XXIst Dynasty (the last such funeral apparently being that for King Ay at the end of Dynasty XVIII); not surprisingly then there are very few recorded graffiti texts of this date in the latter wâdi. Those scribes and workmen of Dynasty XXI who have left their names and titles (and little else it seems) in rock graffiti at the West Valley include: the senior

⁵⁷ Reeves, VK, 230-231 and 249.

scribe Butehamun;⁵⁸ the latter's son Pakhynetjer;⁵⁹ the necropolis scribe Mehaftho;⁶⁰ and the ordinary workmen Nainudjem son of Akhay⁶¹ and Hori.⁶²

Like the small number of graffiti texts in the West Valley from the XXth Dynasty, without corroborative evidence these Dynasty XXI inscriptions can imply no more than that the above listed men liked to explore the West Valley from time to time as a diversion from other duties in the Theban necropolis. Indeed most of the rock graffiti of this period in the West Valley are inscribed along a section of cliff face (= CEDAE Section 98) at the end of the path linking the East and West Valleys of the Kings.⁶³ Further, it is an area offering a very reasonable amount of shade for most of the day and is clearly attractive to the passer-by looking for a spot to stop at and rest for a while.

More significantly perhaps, it is a spot 170 m. west of the tomb of Amenophis III (WV 22) and it is quite conceivable that at least some of the Dynasty XXI graffiti written at Section 98 were left by the officials charged with salvaging any surviving royal mummies or worthwhile funerary furnishings from the West Valley for restoration and then reburial in one of the newly established royal caches.⁶⁴ It may have been the commencement of such work in the tomb of Ay (WV 23)⁶⁵ at the start of Dynasty XXI (or very end of Dynasty XX) that prompted scribe Butehamun⁶⁶ and a small group of workmen⁶⁷ to scratch out their names and titles on some rocks by the entrance to this sepulchre.

⁵⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 136 and 137; also Carter graffiti nos. 1483, 1487, 1491, 1500, 1502; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 1740, 1771, 2633a+b. In addition to these texts a new and most interesting rock graffito (= no. 3981a), apparently written by Butehamun, has recently been located by Takao Kikuchi on a cliff face opposite the tomb of Amenophis III. In it Butehamun records the name of his father not only as Djehutymose but he also refers to the latter by his call-name, "Tjaroy". This is the only known example of the use of this sobriquet in the West Theban graffiti (one should correct Černý, *Community*, 363-364, accordingly). A full publication by Kikuchi of this and several other new rock graffiti from the West Valley of the Kings will appear in future issues of *GM* and *MDAIK*.

⁵⁹ Carter graffiti nos. 1484, 1489, 1490, 1492 and 1498.

⁶⁰ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 1739. Also cf. Černý, *Community*, 211.

⁶¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 743. In this inscription Nainudjem lists the names of three workmen colleagues who were presumably with him in the West Valley at the same time: Nespautytawi, Ity and Sawipaankh.

⁶² Carter graffiti nos. 1493, 1494, 1495 (with the necropolis scribe Mehaftho), 1496, 1501.

⁶³ See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, pl. 139.

⁶⁴ Reeves, *VK*, 39-40 and 245.

⁶⁵ Reeves, *VK*, 70-78 and 246; also Eaton-Krauss, *BiOr* 49 (1992), 715.

⁶⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2633a+b (inscribed in CEDAE Section 118).

⁶⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 743 (in CEDAE Section 116). Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, I/2, pls. 161 and 164 for the location of this graffito (and also no. 2633a+b) in relation to the tomb of Ay.

Section F: Rock Graffiti along the Workmen's Path from the East Valley of the Kings to the Settlement on the Col.

Only two graffiti from the XXIst Dynasty have been traced on the banks of rock adjacent to the footpath leading out of the Valley of the Kings and up to the tombworkers' settlement on the col. These preserve the names of two of scribe Butehamun's sons, Pakhynetjer⁶⁸ and Nebhepe⁶⁹ (both are titled here "scribe").

Section G: Rock Graffiti near the Workmen's Settlement on the Col.

Graffiti at this spot dating from early Dynasty XXI consist of three texts naming the senior scribe of the Tomb Butehamun⁷⁰ while another text gives the name of Pakhynetjer,⁷¹ one of Butehamun's many sons. Perhaps also to be assigned to late Dynasty XX/early Dynasty XXI are two further graffiti on the rocks by the settlement. These preserve the names of [Pen]hiribtahutnakhte⁷² and a scribe Padikhons,⁷³ two individuals who may have been connected to the crew in some way during its final dissolution (employed as ordinary workmen?).

Evidence from graffiti for continued activity in the region of the col settlement just after the fall of the Ramessides is evidently meagre. It is not impossible that these huts continued to be inhabited from time to time after the last royal tomb had been cut in the Kings' Valley below; but there is no good evidence for this. The few surviving inscriptions on the surrounding rock surfaces seem to indicate no more than the passing presence of the senior scribe Butehamun,⁷⁴ one of the latter's sons, and perhaps several contemporary workmen.

⁶⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 772.

⁶⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2542.

⁷⁰ Cf. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 853b(ii) and 854a; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2664c.

⁷¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 841a.

⁷² Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2755. For this rare personal name: Černý, *JEA* 26 (1940), 129; Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 280 (24). Penhiribtahutnakhte's name is also attested from three rock graffiti in Wâdi el-Gharbi (= Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1261; add Carter graffito no. 1561).

⁷³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/2, no. 2734b; also note Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 125-126. He is perhaps identical with a man of this name recorded in the East Valley of the Kings (cf. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 170 and 178).

⁷⁴ One wonders if Butehamun (among others) came up to the col around this time in order to pray to "Amun of the Good Encounter" whose shrine may have been located nearby (cf. here: Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 314, 326 and 328). In doing so he would have been enacting the request of his father the scribe Djehutymose who is known from several Late Ramesside Letters to have asked his son to intercede with this deity so that he might enjoy a safe and speedy return home to Thebes from Nubia; Wente, *LRL*, 20 and 83. If so, Butehamun may have scribbled down his col graffiti on just such an occasion.

Section II: Rock Graffiti in the "Vallée de la Cachette Royale".

From the beginning of Dynasty XXI there are a number of graffiti located in and around the rocks and cliffs of the celebrated *cachette royale* (TT 320), to the south of the great temples at Deir el-Bahri; with only two exceptions all of these inscriptions are undated.⁷⁵

Graffiti from the "Vallée de la Cachette Royale" name the scribe Butehamun on his own (or as a son of scribe Djehutymose),⁷⁶ with a colleague (a "scribe" Amennakhte),⁷⁷ and with two of his sons.⁷⁸ Rock graffiti naming the scribes Pakhynetjer,⁷⁹ Manenufer,⁸⁰ and Nebhepe⁸¹ (all sons of Butehamun) are also attested over a widely dispersed area.

The only rock graffiti in the region from Dynasty XXI that do not mention Butehamun or a member of his family seem to be a text naming the *wab*-priest of Amun of Karnak Horemqenese (a later chief-workman)⁸² and another inscription in the rock chimney holding the entrance shaft to TT 320 (= CEDAE Section 94). This preserves the name of the suspected necropolis workman of the late XXth or early XXIst Dynasty, Dikhonsiry (as usual with this individual, no title is given).⁸³

The interest shown by the scribe Butehamun and his family in the cliffs of the "Vallée de la Cachette Royale" was perhaps due to the reappearance of TT 320 among the accessible monuments of the Theban necropolis. It is even possible that it was scribe Butehamun or his father who was responsible for relocating this tomb. Of course Butehamun (and his sons) may have lingered in this area from time to time for no other reason other than to enjoy the shade offered by the towering cliffs overhead,⁸⁴ and also for the excellent views across the river to the East

⁷⁵ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 914, a brief prayer to Amun of Karnak by the scribe Butehamun who had come "to see mountains" in Year 13 (2 Akhet 15) of Smendes I (so Kitchen, *THIP*, § 382 (No. 24)); also Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1311a+b which lists Butehamun with five of his sons and is dated to Year 11, 3 Shomu 13, of Smendes I (once again consult Kitchen, *THIP*, § 382 (No. 20) for the correct date of this text).

⁷⁶ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 914, 915, 938 and 971 (the latter two inscriptions were written by Butehamun next to priestly graffiti of the XIIth Dynasty); Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1315.

⁷⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 2931.

⁷⁸ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 905 (with Amenmose); and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 2942a+b (with Pakhynetjer).

⁷⁹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 2929 and 2930.

⁸⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1317.

⁸¹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 911; and Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1316.

⁸² Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1313.

⁸³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 908.

⁸⁴ Note Romer, *VK*, 134.

Bank afforded by these cliffs, just as small groups of Middle Kingdom funerary priests had discovered nearly a thousand years earlier when they too stood upon these same rocky terraces.⁸⁵

Ink Graffiti in the "Vallée de la Cachette Royale".

Aside from the rock graffiti by TT 320 there were three important hieratic graffiti written in black ink within the latter tomb. These texts, located at the bottom of the tomb-shaft, recorded the burial within TT 320 of Neskhons, younger of the two principal wives of the High-Priest of Amun Pinudjem II, in Year 5 of King Siamun (c. 974 B.C.), and also the burial of Pinudjem II himself five years later in Year 10 of the same reign.

The earliest inscription, that describing the burial of Neskhons was penned on the right door jamb of the corridor leading to the burial-chamber. According to the imperfect facsimile given by Maspero this event was narrated so:⁸⁶

"Year 5, 4 Shomu 21.

Day of burial of the Chief of Ladies, Neskhons,

by the God's Father of Amun, the Overseer of the Treasury, Djedkhonsefankh son of.....;

the Prophet of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Ankhefenamun;

the [Elder(?)] of the Portal, Nespay.....;

the God's Father of Amun, the General of the Army, Nespaqashuty.

The seals which are upon this place:

the seal of the Overseer of the Treasury, Djedkhonsefankh;

the seal of the Scribe of the Treasury, Nes....."⁸⁷

The second and third graffiti are in fact two copies of the same text. The first copy consists of only two lines as the scribe was forced to abandon his initial attempt due to a lack of space on the rocky wall.⁸⁸ He then wrote out his full text a little lower down on the left jamb. This second inscription relates the interment of Pinudjem II by a small group of necropolis officials and priests as follows:

⁸⁵ See pp. 22-24 in our Chapter Four.

⁸⁶ When Černý inspected the entrance shaft to the tomb early in 1938 this graffito was found to have perished in its entirety. See *JEA* 32 (1946), 25.

⁸⁷ Consult: G. Maspero, *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî* (1889), 520-521; Černý, *JEA* 32 (1946), 25-26; Reeves, *VK*, 188 and 237 (No. 36).

⁸⁸ G. Maspero, *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî* (1889), 522 (fig. 4). This inscription is also now lost forever (cf. Černý, *JEA* 32 (1946), 25-26).

"Year 10, 4 Peret 20. Day of burial of the Osiris, the High-Priest of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, the Great Chief of the Army, the Leader, Pinudjem, by the God's Father of Amun, the Overseer of the Treasury, Djedkhonsefankh; the God's Father of Amun, the Scribe of the Army, the Chief Inspector, Nespaqashuty; the Prophet of Amun,enamun; the God's Father of Amun, Wennufer; by the Royal Scribe of the Place of Truth, Bakenmut; the Chief-Workman, Pediamun; the Chief-Workman, Amenmose; the God's Father of Amun, the Chief of Secrets, Pediamun son of Ankhefenkhons".⁸⁹

For our purposes these much discussed graffiti⁹⁰ are of particular note on two fronts. First, the epigraph recording the burial of Neskhons seems to mark the establishment of the *cachette royale* as the family vault of Pinudjem II in Year 5 of Siamun, and indeed there is no evidence for TT 320's use in Dynasty XXI prior to this. It would appear, therefore, that if the scribes of the Tomb Djehutymose and Butehamun did relocate this tomb at the end of Dynasty XX or in first decade of Dynasty XXI then presumably TT 320 lay unused for almost one hundred years before being employed for the interment of Neskhons.⁹¹

Secondly the Year 10 graffito of Siamun is of interest here as it contains the last dated attestation of officials holding titles associated with the workmen of Deir el-Medīna. Whether the scribe Bakenmut and the chief-workmen Pediamun and Amenmose were the sole remaining members of such a workforce at this very late date we do not know.⁹² We are equally ignorant regarding the background of these men, if they were related in any way to the families of those scribes and workmen who are last attested in office early in Dynasty XXI. Finally, it might be

⁸⁹ So G. Maspero, *Les momies royales de Déir el-Baharî* (1889), 522-523; add Černý, *JEA* 32 (1946), 26-27; Reeves, *VK*, 188 and 239 (No. 45). For an ancient photograph of this inscription: Wilson, *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 34 (1887), 5; also Romer, *VK*, 142. What happened to the photographs taken of this graffito in 1938 by Mlle. Jourdain is unclear (note Černý, *JEA* 32 (1946), 25).

⁹⁰ Most notably: Černý, *JEA* 32 (1946), 24-31; Thomas, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 85-92; Reeves, *VK*, 183-192.

⁹¹ It has been suggested that Pinudjem I founded a family burial vault in another cliff-tomb (= the Bâb el-Muallaq) by Year 7-8 of Psusennes I and therefore long before Pinudjem II adopted TT 320 later on in the dynasty; note Reeves, *VK*, 189, 244-245 and 255. Perhaps Pinudjem I opted for the Bâb el-Muallaq over TT 320 due to the former tomb's much greater distance from ground level and its more remote location generally, factors which may have conspired to give it an appearance of greater impregnability.

⁹² Cf. Černý, *Community*, 124, 202 and 312-313.

remarked, this Year 10 text is also the last known dated graffito inscription in the hieroglyphic or hieratic scripts at western Thebes.⁹³

Section I: Rock Graffiti in "La Vallée de l'Aigle" and "La Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep".

A limited number of textual graffiti can be dated with confidence to the very end of Dynasty XX or early Dynasty XXI among the cliffs and rocks of these desolate valleys. As is often the case with the remoter areas of the Theban necropolis at this period it is the names of the scribe Butehamun and his sons that dominate the corpus of recorded inscriptions.

In the "Vallée de l'Aigle" and the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" the name and title of the scribe Butehamun is found written on its own,⁹⁴ alongside that of a high official⁹⁵ or a close colleague,⁹⁶ or with one or other of the scribe's sons.⁹⁷ The most frequently attested of these progeny is Butehamun's direct successor as scribe of the Tomb, Ankhefenamun. Here the latter is known from texts in which his name appears on its own,⁹⁸ or he recalls his father or grandfather⁹⁹ or Ankhefenamun records himself with companions.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Note that Černý, *Community*, 202 n. 1, ascribed the undated Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 10 and 146: 2 to the aforementioned royal scribe Bakenmut. Kitchen (in *KRI*, VI, 872: 9 and 878: 3-4) assigns these graffiti to the chief-workman Bakenmut under Ramesses XI.

⁹⁴ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1008 and 1037; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2979a: 1 and 3369-3370.

⁹⁵ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1001 (in the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" with the High-Priest of Amun Pinudjem I "to see mountains" in Year 10 (1 *Akhet* 3+x) of Smendes I). Butehamun returned to the same region, again "to see mountains", in Year 11 (2 *Akhet* 13) of Smendes I after a further visit by the High-Priest Pinudjem I: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1021. For these graffiti see also Černý, *Community*, 372 and n. 3; now Kitchen, *THIP*, § 382 (Nos. 15+17). These inscriptions are not located by the early XVIIIth Dynasty Bâb el-Muallaq tomb which may have been employed in the XXIst Dynasty to cache a number of the New Kingdom royal mummies and perhaps even the mummy of Pinudjem I himself (= Reeves, *VK*, 190-192 and 255). Whether these two graffiti are connected with such future work cannot be proved one way or the other. Perhaps they commemorate visits by Pinudjem to inspect a potential family vault that was being investigated by his man in the field, the scribe Butehamun.

⁹⁶ His father the scribe Djehutymose: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV, nos. 2959 and 3368 (also see *KRI*, VI, 879: 1).

⁹⁷ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 980b, 999: 3-4, 1016, 1028-1029; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3252 (all with Ankhefenamun); add Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3101 (with Nebhepe); Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1011 (six sons?: Černý, *Community*, 362 n. 14).

⁹⁸ So Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1004 and 1012b; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 2965b, 2968-2970, 2975 and 2976.

⁹⁹ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 1000, 1006, 1012a: 1-3, 1018; and Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1099.

¹⁰⁰ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1052 (his son Amennakhte: Černý, *Community*, 362 and n. 8); Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1085 (with the workman Painudjem); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3251 (the scribe Nespanuferho: Černý, *Community*, 214; Ventura, *LCD*, 165 n. 111).

In addition to those texts pertaining to this most prolific of scribal families, graffiti are also known from sectors (CEDAE Sections 92 and 215C) of the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" which preserve the names and titles of the XXIst Dynasty foreman Nebnufer,¹⁰¹ the "scribe" Horemqenese (later chief-workman),¹⁰² and a virtually unknown necropolis scribe of the time called Paynebenadjed.¹⁰³

Section J: Graffiti Inscriptions in the Houses

and Tombs at Deir el-Medīna.

There are four undated graffiti texts known to me from the tombs at Deir el-Medīna that can be assigned without much doubt to the early XXIst Dynasty. All these inscriptions are written in the hieratic script (in black ink or scratched with a point) by descendants of the senior scribe Amennakhte son of Ipuy.

The first graffito, written in black ink, is located in the chapel of Deir el-Medīna tomb no. 290 and consists merely of the signature of scribe Butehamun.¹⁰⁴ Two other graffiti, lightly scratched in the north chapel of the anonymous Ramesside tomb no. 1331, preserve the name of one of Butehamun's sons, Pakhynetjer, as well as a short verse by the latter describing his return to the tomb after a year's interval to deliver a prayer to Amun.¹⁰⁵

Our final inscription is a rather moving epitaph written in black ink upon the north wall of the chapel of Deir el-Medīna tomb no. 291 by another of Butehamun's sons, Ankhefenamun, who as his father's successor in office, recorded the passing of Butehamun as follows:¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ See Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 998 (on the dating of this text: Černý, *Community*, 312 n. 9); Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 2946. In the latter graffito Nebnufer also holds the title of *wab*-priest of Amen-Re of Medīnet Habu where presumably he served as a minor priest from time to time: Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 329 and n. 3. Two other prominent members of what remained of the workmen's community in early Dynasty XXI are also known to have served as *wab*-priests of Amun at Medīnet Habu (and behind whose walls both they and Nebnufer were probably living): the senior scribe of the Tomb Ankhefenamun (note graffiti nos. 1006, 1012a 1016, 1018, 1099, 1260, 1306, 2281, 2855) and another chief-workman, Horemqenese (cf. J. H. Taylor, *Unwrapping a Mummy. The Life, Death and Embalming of Horemkenesi* (1995), 17). As work in the royal necropolis in Dynasty XXI, in the form of tomb-building, probably amounted to no more than an occasional commission these officials may have found that even a low-ranking post among the clergy at Medīnet Habu provided a welcome source of additional family income.

¹⁰² Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1012c.

¹⁰³ Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1002; also see Černý, *Community*, 206.

¹⁰⁴ See B. Bruyère and Ch. Kuentz, *Tombes thébaines. La nécropole de Deir el-Médineh. La tombe de Nakht-min et la tombe d'Ari-nefer*, vol. I (1926), 75-76.

¹⁰⁵ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1933-1934)* (1937), 68.

¹⁰⁶ Černý, MSS. 17. 21, 19; B. Bruyère and Ch. Kuentz, *Tombes thébaines. La nécropole de Deir el-Médineh. La tombe de Nakht-min et la tombe d'Ari-nefer*, vol. I (1926), 56-62 and pls.

*"Yours is the West, prepared for you, all blessed ones are hidden in it,
evil-doers do not enter nor any unjust.*

The scribe Butehamun has landed at it after an old age,

his body being sound and intact. Made by the scribe of the Tomb Ankhefenamun".

Unlike scribe Djehutymose, Butehamun appears to have attained a satisfactory tally of years on earth before dying.

Quite probably the lack of graffiti from this era reflects the loss of interest in the village and its cemeteries at the end of Dynasty XX and in early Dynasty XXI, after the move by the royal workmen away from Deir el-Medīna to the greater security of Medīnet Habu. Casual visits to the village and its monuments were no doubt few and far between after this transfer. The scribe Butehamun and his two sons may even have composed their graffiti during official inspections of the village cemeteries.¹⁰⁷

Section K: Rock Graffiti in the "Vallée du Dolmen".

Written in this valley to the north of the rock sanctuary built in honour of Ptah and Meret-seger (= CEDAE Section 28) is a single graffito preserving the name of one Sawipaankh (no title)¹⁰⁸ who appears to have been an ordinary workman of the early XXIst Dynasty.¹⁰⁹

Section L: Rock Graffiti in and around the
Valley of the Queens.

There are even fewer recorded graffiti in the Valley of the Queens from Dynasty XXI than in either the East or West Valley of the Kings. No doubt this reflects the former site's status as a long abandoned royal burial ground (since the reign of Ramesses VI?) and the subsequent lack of official building work in the area.

Of those graffiti that have been recorded in the Queens' Valley all but one are undated. Most were apparently inscribed by that well-known senior scribe of the Tomb, Butehamun, either to record his own name for posterity or to recall the names and titles of his father and sons. And

6+9; Černý, *Community*, 373. A photograph of the text (now destroyed by modern thieves) may be found in *BIFAO* 71 (1972), pl. 52.

¹⁰⁷ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 225 and n. 11.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1179.

¹⁰⁹ Note the presence at this time of a Sawipaankh in both the East (Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, nos. 2109 and 2138: 5) and West Valleys of the Kings (cf. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 743: 3).

while several of Butehamun's graffiti are of considerable genealogical interest, none provide us with any definite reason for his presence in these wâdis.

Scribe Butehamun was certainly active in inspecting the known tombs in the Kings' Valley at the very end of Dynasty XX/beginning of Dynasty XXI, and also in renewing several looted royal burials at the site. One can only assume that on most occasions at least he frequented the Queens' Valley for much the same reasons.¹¹⁰ (Note also that there is one graffito (3123a) in the Valley of the Queens, left by a colleague of Butehamun, that might relate an inspection of the latter site early in Dynasty XXI.)

(i) The Rear Section of the Valley of the Queens.

To date only one graffito is known to me from the cliffs at the rear of the central wâdi of the Queens' Valley that might be assigned to the XXIst Dynasty. This is an undated text recording the scribe Ankhefenamun, the latter's younger brother scribe Nebhepe, as well as the father and grandfather of these two men, the scribes Butehamun and Djehutymose.¹¹¹

(ii) "Deuxième Vallée Latérale".

Only a few graffiti dating to Dynasty XXI have been recorded on the cliffs in this area of the Queens' Valley, and all but one of these yields the name and title of either the senior scribe of the Tomb Butehamun¹¹² or those of his son Nebhepe.¹¹³ The only other name attested here from this period is that of the problematic necropolis scribe Nespanuferho.¹¹⁴

(iii) "Vallée de la Corde".

¹¹⁰ Is it possible that a gang of workmen under scribe Butehamun's direction were responsible for removing the red granite sarcophagus of Queen Henutmire from her tomb in the Valley of the Queens (QV 75) in late Dynasty XX or early Dynasty XXI, perhaps for one of the contemporary High-Priests of Amun (mind the appropriation and redecoration of the two outermost coffins of Tuthmosis I by Pinudjem I for his own use; cf. now Reeves, *VK*, 18; Taylor, *After Tut'ankhamûn*, 191)? Admittedly this sarcophagus was not used until the XXIInd Dynasty, by the High-Priest of Amun Harsiese, in his tomb in the precinct of Medînet Habu (U. Hölscher, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 15 (1932), 33-36; Leblanc, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 132-133), but there is no good reason why it could not have been taken from QV 75 two centuries earlier and stored. Furthermore, one wonders if the third granite sarcophagus removed from the Kings' Valley tomb of Merenptah (KV 8), for reuse in the Tanis burial of Psusennes I (so P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (1951), 126-127; Brock, *After Tut'ankhamûn*, 127), was not also extracted at roughly the same period as the Henutmire box when the lifting gear for this tricky assignment would have been readily at hand.

¹¹¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1138.

¹¹² Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1270, 1277 and 1278.

¹¹³ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3215.

¹¹⁴ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3165.

The names of several necropolis officials of early Dynasty XXI have been traced among the rock graffiti of this valley. These are: the senior scribe Butchamun and various members of the latter's family;¹¹⁵ the "scribe" Horemqenese (later foreman); the chief-workman Nebnufer;¹¹⁶ and, it seems, the necropolis scribe Paynebenadjed.¹¹⁷

Section M: Rock Graffiti in the "Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne".

From Dynasty XXI there are only three rock graffiti on the cliffs of this barren wâdi that can be assigned to this era with any confidence. The first of these inscriptions preserves the names of the necropolis scribe Nebhepe and several companions (now at CEDAE Section 164B).¹¹⁸ Scribe Nebhepe was a son of scribe Butchamun and the apparent successor to his elder brother Ankhefenamun as senior scribe of the Tomb.¹¹⁹ As the graffito is dated to Year 20 (2 *Shomu* 6) of Smendes I it is one of the last known dated rock graffiti inscribed by this prolific family. What brought Nebhepe and his colleagues up this spot is uncertain but they may have stopped off to examine earlier rock graffiti in the region (these include graffiti by scribe Amennakhte son of Ipu, Nebhepe's great, great, great grandfather).

Also to be found in the Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne from early Dynasty XXI are two rock graffiti of a *wab*-priest of Amun named Horemqenese.¹²⁰ He is almost certainly identical with a known Dynasty XXI chief-workman of that name and these graffiti may have been inscribed before he was promoted to the latter post (no later than Year 20 of Smendes I).

Section N: Rock Graffiti in and around the Cliffs and Hills

of the South-West Wâdis at Western Thebes.

The reason why various necropolis officials and their workmen continued to visit the south-west wâdis at Thebes well into the XXIst Dynasty (the latest texts date to Year 21 of Smendes

¹¹⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1285a-d+1286 (an important genealogy of Butchamun's family dated to Year 10 of Smendes I), 1287, 1295a-b, 1350, 1352, 1399a; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, nos. 3037, 3075, 3089 and 3119.

¹¹⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3123a. This inscription is of unusual interest as it once recorded some sort of official activity within the Valley of the Queens in early Dynasty XXI. Unfortunately the graffito is badly damaged and a full reading is impossible. However, it still records Horemqenese acting alongside the chief-workman Nebnufer in a Year 2(?): presumably that of Smendes I. Perhaps they were investigating one of the early XVIIIth Dynasty tombs known in this side valley (cf. Leblanc and Fekri, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 262).

¹¹⁷ Cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/3, no. 3076b.

¹¹⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1337; note Kitchen, *THIP*, § 383 (No. 31).

¹¹⁹ See Černý, *Community*, 375; and Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42.

¹²⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1322 and 1343.

I) is a mystery. Two of the recorded rock graffiti in Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd vaguely mention an inspection and a mission in that wâdi in Years 6 and 21 of Smendes I but the precise objectives of these ancient expeditions are now lost.

Perhaps, as in late Dynasty XX, it was no more than to locate and inspect any earlier tombs in the wâdi (such as that thought to belong to princess Nefrure). Interestingly, Wâdi el-Gharbi also seems to have been visited in Year 21 of King Smendes I.¹²¹ On this occasion, however, the task at hand was perhaps to check on the condition of a much more recent project in this valley: the tomb of Herihor and Piankh?

(i) Wâdi Sikket Tâqet Zaid.

Written along the sides of several cliff faces not far from the spectacular cliff-tomb of Queen Hatshepsut are a number of rock graffiti that certainly or most probably date to early Dynasty XXI. The authors of these generally concise epigraphs include the ever-active senior scribe of the Tomb Butehamun who has penned his name on its own¹²² or else linked it with that of his son and successor, the scribe Ankhefenamun.¹²³ In the latter case the graffito notes that the pair stayed in the wâdi (on their own?) for two consecutive days in Year 12 of Smendes I after they came "to mountains to see them". Other than that the purpose of their visit is not revealed.¹²⁴ In another text, this time undated, Butehamun again describes coming, "to see mountains".¹²⁵

The only other persons known by graffiti to have been active within Wâdi Sikket Tâqet Zaid at this time are the workmen Amen(neb)nesttawynakhte,¹²⁶ Nainudjem,¹²⁷ and perhaps also

¹²¹ If the reading of Carter graffito no. 1563 is correct (cf. Černý, *Community*, 375 n. 4).

¹²² So Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1392; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3848. In these examples, however, he does describe himself as a son of scribe Djehutymose.

¹²³ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1393. Cf. Černý, *Community*, 372; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 382 (no. 23).

¹²⁴ Note, however, that graffito 1393 is located very close to an early Dynasty XVIII corridor-tomb that the two scribes may have investigated. See Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/6, plan 200. Also cf. Baraize *ASAE* 21 (1921), 183-187; Thomas, *RNT*, 194-195.

¹²⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1396+1396a.

¹²⁶ Carter graffito no. 1534b.

¹²⁷ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1394 and 1397. Graffito 1394 poses a problem or two. After a short prayer to Amun Nainudjem remarks that he is "in the mountains"; he appears then to ask the god, "grant me a gmy (find?) (of) two coffins (wt) in them (= the mountains)". What might lie behind such a request is unclear. Černý, *Graffiti*, Index, p. 40, evidently regarded "gmy" as one word, the gland sign (Gardiner Sign-list Aa2) and the two accompanying vertical strokes being considered by him parts of the same word. I have been unable to find another example of such a noun. Further, I can only assume that this is the inscription referred to in J. Romer, *Ancient Lives: The Story of the Pharaohs' Tombmakers* (1984), 196, where Romer states that there is a graffito, written by the scribe Butehamun?!, recording the latter finding "some coffins from a plundered tomb lying out in the sunlight of a distant valley".

ity.¹²⁸ Whether any of these men were responsible for etching three examples of the curious T-shaped sign¹²⁹ that might signify a word for "tomb" along a cliff just below Hatshepsut's sepulchre, as a marker of its location, is obviously impossible to say.¹³⁰

(ii) Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd.

1. Central Bay (= CEDAE Sections 219B+C and 220A, B, C).

A small number of graffiti from the very end of the XXth or early XXIst Dynasty have been found and copied in the area of Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd holding the cliff-tomb thought to have belonged to princess Nefrure, daughter of Hatshepsut. Those ancient visitors who have written their names and titles on nearby rock-faces are: scribes Butchamun¹³¹ and Ankhefenamun;¹³² the necropolis scribe Mehaftho;¹³³ and also the workman Nainudjem son of Akhay.¹³⁴ In the absence of further evidence we can assume perhaps that these officials stopped here not only to examine or observe the tomb above but also to take advantage of the limited shade provided by overhanging rock-surfaces.¹³⁵

2. North Bay (= CEDAE Sections 221A, B, C and 222A+B).

In addition to a single example of the rare personal name Dikhonsiry (perhaps a workman of the early XXIst Dynasty?),¹³⁶ written on a boulder, and a brief text outlining the ancestry of the senior scribe Ankhefenamun,¹³⁷ there are two particularly interesting graffiti etched along the cliffs at the head of Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd.

These are dated to Years 6 and 21 of Smendes I. They were written out by the senior scribes of the Tomb Butchamun¹³⁸ and Nebhepe¹³⁹ respectively. Butchamun states that he came in

¹²⁸ Carter graffito no. 1535a

¹²⁹ For these characters, see pp. 110-111 in Part I of our Chapter Seven.

¹³⁰ Carter graffiti nos. 1536a+b.

¹³¹ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1301a+b (in the wâdi with some workmen in Year 1 of Smendes I), 1307 (with his son scribe Pakhynetjer), 1308 (with Pakhynetjer), 1309 (again accompanied by Pakhynetjer); and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, nos. 3926 (= Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1304) and 3931 (with a son whose name is now lost).

¹³² Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1306.

¹³³ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1300.

¹³⁴ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1303 and 1348 (here titled "scribe").

¹³⁵ See conveniently: Romer, *VK*, 242 (below left).

¹³⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3955.

¹³⁷ A facsimile of this text was first given in H. E. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (1948), pl. 40B+C. Later recorded as Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1359a.

¹³⁸ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3951 (= Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1358). For assigning this inscription to Year 6 of Smendes: Černý, *Community*, 312; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 42 and 130 n. 218; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 381 (No. 11).

Year 6 (3 *Shomu* 11) of Smendes I to inspect (*slp*) in the company of at least two others: the foreman Nebnufer and the workman Amenpanufer.¹⁴⁰ The text left by scribe Nebhepe records coming to the wâdi (again with several workmen) to perform a task or mission (*wpwf*) in Year 21 (1 *Akhet* 20) of Smendes I, although the precise nature of this undertaking is not revealed. What is also noteworthy is the location of each inscription.

Like the ancestor graffito (no. 1359a) left by his brother Ankhefenamun, Nebhepe's graffito is written directly below the cleft in the rock hiding the entrance to the celebrated cliff-tomb of the three Asiatic wives of King Tuthmosis III; that of Butehamun is penned along a rock-face some 75 m. west of this crevice.¹⁴¹

As this monument and its rich burials were apparently intact when discovered in the modern era by a band of Qurnawis in the summer of 1916,¹⁴² it appears at first sight that neither Butehamun nor his son Nebhepe some fifteen years later, managed to locate and enter the tomb in antiquity, assuming that they were still under orders to open any ancient royal tombs that they came upon and to retrieve any disposable wealth therein.

However, with their expert knowledge of the West Theban landscape and the likely locations of ancient tombs, and also to judge by the very close proximity of their graffiti inscriptions, it would be rather surprising if Butehamun and Nebhepe were totally unaware of the presence of this sepulchre, well hidden though it is.¹⁴³ If they did find the tomb but determined to leave it undisturbed out of some sense of piety it is surely an indication of the degree of influence that the scribes must have wielded over their workmen to insure the latter's complicity and silence; human nature being what it is this would have been no easy task.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, per-

¹³⁹ First copied by Carter in 1916 and partially published in H. E. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (1948), pl. 40A. Now as Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, no. 3945 (= Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1359). See also Kitchen, *THIP*, § 383 (No. 33).

¹⁴⁰ For this Amenpanufer, cf. Černý, *Community*, 250.

¹⁴¹ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, II/6, plans. 206-207.

¹⁴² So H. E. Winlock, *The Treasure of Three Egyptian Princesses* (1948); also PM, I², Pt. 2, 591-592; Thomas, *RNT*, 197-198; T. G. H. James, *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun* (1992), 184-185.

¹⁴³ Notably as this tomb, sited high in a crevice at the end of the wâdi floor, is in a position in the landscape that greatly resembles the near-contemporary Kings' Valley tomb of Tuthmosis III, a topographical feature that would probably have alerted these scribes (and the more experienced workmen) to the possibility of a tomb as soon as they approached this area of Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd. Cf. Thomas, *RNT*, 197; Romer, *VK*, 157 and 241-243.

¹⁴⁴ Regarding the use of fear to suppress such sensitive matters one should mind the involvement (whether willing or unwilling) of the senior scribe of the Tomb Djehutymose in the proposed secret liquidation of two over-talkative Medjay-police at Thebes in late Dynasty XX. Cf. Gardiner, *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 1912-1913 (1913), 57-64; Wente, *LRL*, 53-54 and 69; Černý, *Community*, 381.

haps both Butehamun and Nebhepe kept any suspicions or knowledge they may had about the site to themselves.

(iii) Wâdi el-Gharbi.

1. Cirque de la Petite Pyramide (= CEDAE Sections 223A, B, C, D, E).

In the western side-branch of Wâdi el-Gharbi the only name of this time that has so far been traced seems to be that of the suspected workman Dikhonsiry who has written down his name (as usual without a title) on several cliff-faces, at least four times.¹⁴⁵ Note also that there are two examples of the enigmatic T-shaped sign inscribed into a section of the cliff-face here (no. 223E)¹⁴⁶ and this led Carter to speculate on the possibility of hidden tombs in this area of the wâdi.¹⁴⁷

2. Moyenne Vallée (CEDAE Sections 224, 225 and 228A+B).

Likewise, only one name of the early XXIst Dynasty has been located so far in a graffito in the middle area of Wâdi el-Gharbi (written along the base of a prominent rock bank at Section 225), that of the chief-workman Nebnufer.¹⁴⁸

3. Cirque de Hérihor (CEDAE Sections 226A, B, C, D, E, 227A+B and 229).

Scratched on the walls of the narrow canyon leading up to the head of Wâdi el-Gharbi, and on randomly strewn boulders at its end, are a small number of graffiti recording the names and titles of the senior administrative scribes of the Tomb Butehamun,¹⁴⁹ Ankhefenamun¹⁵⁰ and

¹⁴⁵ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1257 and 1258; also Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, nos. 3856 and 3864.

¹⁴⁶ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, nos. 3865a-b.

¹⁴⁷ See *JEA* 4 (1917), 111; also Thomas, *RNT*, 198-199 and 201.

¹⁴⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1262; cf. also Černý, *Community*, 312 n. 9.

¹⁴⁹ Carter graffito no. 1559 (not found again in recent years).

¹⁵⁰ Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1260 (not located by the CEDAE); also Carter graffiti nos. 1549 (not traced again in recent years), 1555 and 1556. Graffito no. 1549 is remarkable in that it appears to be virtually identical to another graffito (= 1359a) left by Ankhefenamun in Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd (under the cliff-tomb of the three Asiatic queens of Tuthmosis III) where he names his father and grandfather.

Nebhepe;¹⁵¹ the workmen Amen(neb)nesttawynakhte¹⁵² and Nespautytawi;¹⁵³ and also the suspected workmen Penhiribtahutnakhte¹⁵⁴ and Dikhonsiry.¹⁵⁵

151 So Carter graffito no. 1563. Possibly dated to Year 21 of Smendes I: Černý, *Community*, 375 n. 4.

152 Carter graffiti nos. 1548 (not traced by the CEDAE) and 1558.

153 Carter graffito no. 1557. Also recorded in this text are the "scribe" Horemqenese (almost certainly the future foreman of that name) and what appears to be the chief-workman Nebnufer.

154 Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1261 and Carter graffito no. 1561.

155 Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/6, nos. 3893 and 3896.

Chapter Eight

The Third Intermediate Period: Dynasties XXI-XXV

(c. 1069-664 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Abydos.

Located at the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, on the south wall of the Ptah sanctuary, there is an undated hieratic graffito, in red ink, which recounts the titulary of a king and high-priest of Amun Psusennes. This latter, under the name of Psusennes II, is customarily considered to be the last king of Dynasty XXI. The rather jumbled graffito is now best rendered so:

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tyetkheperure Setepenre, <beloved of> Amen-Re, King of the Gods; High-Priest of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Military-Leader, Psusennes (II) Meriamun, [l.p.h.?, of] the Army.

The High-Priest of Amen-Re, King of the Gods, who makes good laws [for Egy]pt, the Military-Leader, Pharaoh Psusennes (II) Meriamun".¹

This Abydos graffito is one of only a very few documents pertaining to King Tyetkheperure Setepenre Psusennes Meriamun, and it has been the focus of much recent discussion regarding the true status of this figure, whether he was a real king of all Egypt, the successor of Siamun who ruled for some 14 years before being succeeded by his cousin-in-law, Shoshenq I, founder of the XXIInd Dynasty, or as Dodson has posited a mere shadow king-priest under Shoshenq I, (much as Pinudjem I acted under Smendes I and Psusennes I) who succeeded Siamun directly.

Lengthy arguments for and against these theories are to be found elsewhere² suffice it to say that one point on which both sides tentatively agree does appear increasingly likely; that 'king' Psusennes II is identical with the like-named high-priest of Amun at Thebes who held office at the end of Dynasty XXI (the so-called Psusennes "III"). Certainly this would help explain the Abydos graffito's rather curious hybrid mixture of royal, religious and military titles. Recently

¹ Initial copies: Daressy, *RT* 21 (1899), 9-10; M. A. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos* (1904), pl. 21; now cf. the improved reading (after Černý) presented in J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (1984), 99-100.

² See Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 237-240, 445, 506, and now pp. xix-xxii; and also Dodson, *Rd'É* 38 (1987), 49-54; idem, *JEA* 79 (1993), 267-268; von Beckerath, *GM* 130 (1992), 17-19.

it has been suggested that this graffito might mark a personal visit to Abydos by Psusennes II and the future Shoshenq I to attend the ceremonies for the inauguration of the Abydene statue-cult of Shoshenq's father Nimlot.³

Also located on the walls of the Osireion at Abydos are a series of hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti of apparent Third Intermediate Period date (mainly Dynasties XXII-XXIII according to their editor with one or two probable early Saite texts). These inscriptions, all penned in black ink, recall the names and titles (usually just scribe) of some of the pilgrims who came to visit the shrine of Osiris during this period.⁴

Some may have travelled from the Thebaid and at least one visitor appears to have come all the way from the northern Delta.⁵ One of the more noteworthy of these visitors' graffiti (No. 12), left by two scribes, makes an interesting reference to invoking, "Isis of the Birthhouse", a cult recorded at Abydos from the Ramesside period onwards.⁶

Also found at Abydos, but this time dating from the late XXVth or early XXVIth Dynasty, are two curious hieroglyphic graffiti etched into limestone boulders at the entrance to the wâdi leading to the royal tombs at Abydos.⁷ These short epigraphs preserve the name (and titles) of Montuemhat, the celebrated Fourth Prophet of Amun and Mayor of Thebes under Taharqa and Psammetichus I. Other than pointing to the extent of Montuemhat's influence north of Thebes the significance of these graffiti is uncertain.⁸

Montuemhat is known to have renewed the sacred barque of Osiris at Abydos in the reign of Taharqa and the graffiti may have been inscribed then.⁹ Of course they may have been executed before or after this work and commemorate a visit to Abydos or even, considering the location of the texts, an inspection of the Archaic royal tombs there by Montuemhat.

(ii) Karnak Temple.

An important and much used source of hieroglyphic graffiti at Karnak is the series of Nile-level texts engraved on the quay before the Temple. These texts, in a brief formula, record the maximum heights reached by the Nile inundation in certain given years. They have proved in-

³ Kitchen, *THIP*, p. xxi.

⁴ Published and discussed by Gunn in H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. I (1933), 87-91; also cf. the remarks by Leahy in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 B.C.* (1990), 165-167.

⁵ Graffito No. 1; a hieroglyphic text naming a prophet of Amun in Tell el-Balamûn, probably of Saite date.

⁶ So de Meulenaere in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata*, vol. II (1982), 25-29.

⁷ Now: J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon prince de la ville* (1961), 187.

⁸ See Kitchen, *THIP*, § 358.

⁹ See J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon prince de la ville* (1961), 60-61.

valuable in reconstructing the chronology of Dynasties XXII and XXIII. Several texts also date to rulers of Dynasties XXV and XXVI.¹⁰

The authors of these graffiti never identify themselves but we are probably correct in assuming that priests from Karnak Temple were responsible for them. Whether they were ordered to compile such records by a higher authority is not known. An element of compulsion may not have been necessary. The consequences of an excessive flood or of one significantly lower than the average would have been of a matter of sufficient concern to all those who owned or even administered arable land along the Nile Valley for them to have taken a professional interest in the height of each year's inundation, and this will have included senior priests at Karnak.¹¹

Those dated flood level inscriptions which can be assigned to rulers of the Third Intermediate Period include: Shoshenq I (Years 5 and 6);¹² Osorkon I (Year 12);¹³ Takeloth I (Years 5, 8, 14);¹⁴ Osorkon II (Years 12, 21, 22);¹⁵ Shoshenq III (Years 6 and 39);¹⁶ Pedubast I (Years 5, 16, 18, 19, 23);¹⁷ Shoshenq VI (Year 6);¹⁸ Osorkon III (Years 3, 5, 6, 28);¹⁹ Takeloth III

¹⁰ First published inadequately by Legrain: *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 111-118. Cf. the revised editions and commentary provided by von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 43-55. Flood-level marks may have been recorded in this way at Thebes since at the least the late-Ramesside era (and are now lost). Note the isolated inscription on the quay at Medinet Habu temple of Year 7 of Ramesses IX: *KRI*, VI, 459: 1-3.

¹¹ S. P. Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt. An Egyptian Land List from the Tenth Century B.C.* (1993), *passim*.

¹² F(lood) T(ext) nos. 1 and 3; cf. von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 44 and 49.

¹³ FT no. 2; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 44 and 49.

¹⁴ FT nos. 16-19; see von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 46 and 50-51. On the dating of these texts: Kitchen, *THIP*, § 96.

¹⁵ FT nos. 8-9 and 11-12; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 45 and 49-50. It is not impossible that these texts may in fact date to the reign of Osorkon III; see Kitchen, *THIP*, § 75.

¹⁶ FT nos. 22 and 23; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 46 and 51.

¹⁷ FT nos. 24, 26-29; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 46-47 and 51-52; Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 98 and 106.

¹⁸ See FT no. 25; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 47 and 52. This is the 'old' Shoshenq IV (= Usimare Meriamun Shoshenq Meriamun). On the change in his ordinal and the status of the new Shoshenq IV (= Hedjkheperre Setepenre/amun Shoshenq Meriamun Sibast Netjerheqaon), see Dodson, *GM* 137 (1993), 53-58; and Kitchen, *THIP*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

¹⁹ FT nos. 5-7 and 13; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 44-45 and 49-50; Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 73-74 and 100; Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 101.

(Year 6);²⁰ Shabako (Years 2, 4(?) and another year lost);²¹ Shebitku (Year 3);²² and Taharqa (Years 6, 7, 8, 9).²³

Within Karnak itself the vast majority of the recorded graffiti texts attributable to the Third Intermediate Period are located within the precinct of the Khonsu Temple, and particularly on the upper surfaces of the sandstone roofing-blocks of the latter edifice. Here some 300 graffiti inscriptions both textual and non-textual (drawings of animals, gods and various objects) have been recorded by Mme. Helen Jacquet-Gordon of the French Institute. These range in date from Dynasty XXII right through to the Christian era.²⁴ However, pending full publication, only a few examples from the corpus are available for scrutiny at time of writing and any conclusions drawn here must be strictly provisional.

Nonetheless, thanks to several preliminary reports, it seems clear enough that almost without exception those textual graffiti of Dynasties XXII-XXV on the roof of the Khonsu Temple were left by low-ranking priests of this temple, or of the neighbouring temple of Amun. They seem to date mainly to Dynasties XXII-XXIII when activity at the Temple was probably at its greatest. Most are written in the hieratic script; a few others in hieroglyphic. The outlines of a pair of feet (no doubt those of the priestly author) usually accompany names and titles. Presumably it was the view over the surrounding temples that enticed the various writers up to the Khonsu Temple roof. Perhaps they scribbled down their names and titles while waiting for the arrival of a visiting barque from another sanctuary.

The identity of these authors and artists (some of the roof-terrace drawings surely date to this period also) is hardly surprising. When these priestly graffiti were set out the Khonsu Temple would have been in full activity. It seems improbable that outside visitors or "tourists" would have been admitted to the inner areas of the building without good reason. And particularly not

²⁰ FT no. 4; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 44 and 49; also Kitchen, *THIP*, § 76.

²¹ FT nos. 30-32; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 47 and 52-53.

²² FT no. 33; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 47 and 53; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 137. Now cf. von Beckerath, *GM* 136 (1993), 7-9; T. Eide et al. (eds.), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*, vol. I (1994), 128-129.

²³ FT nos. 34-38; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 47-48 and 53-54. The inundation in Year 6 of King Taharqa was exceptionally high. It rose to some 84 cm. above the present pavement of the Hypostyle Hall. Normally such a flood would have been regarded as a total catastrophe, but on this occasion the great inundation was accompanied by four miraculous events, granted by Amun, which combined to ensure a particularly good harvest: Leclant and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 22-24; Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 243-244; and cf. T. Eide et al. (eds.), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*, vol. I (1994), 145-158.

²⁴ See *NARCE* 141 (1988), 5-6.

to the roof-terrace where access at that time was gained by means of a stairway whose entrance lies in the corridor surrounding the very barque shrine of the god.²⁵

In addition to their own names and titles the priests also wrote a few royal names (with year dates) of Dynasties XXII-XXIII next to theirs on the roof-terrace of the Khonsu Temple. Royal names with year dates are so far attested in such graffiti for Year 4 of Shoshenq VI(?) and Year 5 of a ruler whose identity is uncertain (a king Iny Siese Meriamun²⁶; perhaps a "nickname" for Osorkon III);²⁷ Year 13 of Osorkon III;²⁸ and also Years 9 and 12(?) of Iuput II.²⁹ There is also a dated hieratic graffito naming Osorkon II with the actual year date now lost.³⁰

In view of the many uncertainties still surrounding the chronology of the Third Intermediate Period it is to be hoped that, when published in full, the Khonsu Temple graffiti may provide important new evidence concerning this era. An excellent example of the potential material yet to be released is provided by two graffiti texts of the XXIIIrd Dynasty which were formerly on the roof of the Khonsu Temple. These are a pair of genealogical texts attributable to Year 7 of King Takeloth III.³¹

A fairly recent reappraisal of these hieroglyphic graffiti has revealed that the grand-parents of Pharaoh Shoshenq I, that is the Great Chief of the Ma Shoshenq and his wife Mehtenweskheth, had another son in addition to the already identified Nimlot 'A'. This new son is termed as the Pharaoh Osorkon. It has now almost certain that this King Osorkon son of a Mehtenweskheth is to be identified with the King Osochor of Manetho, the third-last king of Dynasty XXI.³²

Finally, it is not only the roof-terrace of the Khonsu Temple that contains graffiti from the Third Intermediate Period. A poorly preserved hieroglyphic inscription of Osorkon I is known in the Temple forecourt. It apparently commemorates the commissioning of some ornamented

²⁵ Jacquet-Gordon, *NARCE* 141 (1988), 6. For the fullest account of the Khonsu Temple roof graffiti, see Jacquet-Gordon in J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. I (1979), 167-183. A few further examples of these priestly texts can be seen in Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 240-243.

²⁶ Cf. Jacquet-Gordon in J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. I (1979), 169-183, for both these texts.

²⁷ See Kitchen, *THIP*, § 303 n. 551; M.-A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (1987), 225; Aston, *JEA* 75 (1989), 152-153.

²⁸ H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. III (pt. 2) (1914), 336 (No. IV).

²⁹ See M.-A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (1987), 213.

³⁰ So Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 242 (No. 8); partial transcription in H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. III (pt. 2) (1914), 335 (No. I)

³¹ See Daressy, *RT* 18 (1896), 51-52.

³² Brilliantly analysed by Yoyotte, *BSFÉ* 77-78 (1977), 39-54; also cf. E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit, Band I: Katalog und Materialsammlung* (1981), 112-114.

conifer [doors?] by the king for use in the Temple; unfortunately the year date in the graffito is only partly preserved (Year 2+x) and a variety of readings is possible (= Year 4, 5, 6 or 12).³³

Also at Karnak, but away from the Khonsu Temple altogether, are two undated hieroglyphic graffiti inscribed on a slim sandstone roofing-block recovered within the court of Pylon X. Its original provenance is unknown. Incised upon this slab are the names and titles of the XXIst Dynasty High-Priest of Amun Menkheperre (these texts are cut within the outlines of a pair of feet), as well as those of the latter's wife, Istemkheb, and his son the High Steward of Amun, Smendes (the future Theban pontiff, Smendes II).³⁴

Another sandstone roofing-block with a hieroglyphic graffito written upon it, this time originally from the Akh-menu temple of Tuthmosis III (now in the Louvre), can also be cited. In the course of seven lines this text, which is clearly dated to Year 11 (1 *Shomu* 11) of Takeloth II, records a successful personal petition to the newly appointed Theban High-Priest of Amun, the Crown Prince Osorkon, by a local priest named Hori to secure his father's place in temple services.³⁵

We may add a further Karnak graffito of the XXIInd Dynasty located within the Temple of Amun (traced in Room XIV). This is a hieratic text left by one Horkhebi son of Amenemope, a chief porter at the Temple of Amun.³⁶ Horkhebi's inscription is not only one of the longest graffiti of its kind attested from the Third Intermediate Period it is also a remarkable, if semi-fictitious,³⁷ genealogy stretching back some seventeen generations to the early Ramesside era.

(iii) Luxor Temple.

The Luxor Temple holds a number of important priestly graffiti from Dynasties XXI-XXV. The earliest appear to be three undated inscriptions (with scenes) from the time of Pinudjem I. The first, a graffito cut in hieroglyphs in the forecourt of Ramesses II, depicts the High-Priest of Amun Piankh, already dead, facing a figure of Amun with four of his sons standing behind

³³ W. J. Murnane et al., *The Epigraphic Survey. The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. II: *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall* (1981), 20-21; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 511.

³⁴ See Goyon in *Cahiers de Karnak VII 1978 - 1981* (1982), 275-280.

³⁵ H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, vol. V (1891), 1071-1073; Daressy, *RT* 35 (1913), 130-131; R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (1958), 176 n. 1; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 292 and n. 486.

³⁶ Spiegelberg, *PSBA* 24 (1902), 320-324; an improved reading in Černý, *MSS. 17.139*, pp. 24-25; also cf. D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten* (1977), 280-281.

³⁷ In this regard it is similar to the later, and equally improbable, genealogy claimed by Khnumibre, superintendent of works for all Egypt, in one of his graffiti in Wâdi Hammâmât. See G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (1936), no. 14; also Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 83-84

him. The latter group, who perpetuate the name of the deceased pontiff, are headed by the new High-Priest of Amun, Pinudjem I.³⁸ Behind Pinudjem are Piankh's other sons: Heqanefer (the Second Prophet of Amun), Heqamaat and Ankhafenmut. Behind Amun stands the chief of the harim of Amun, Nodjmet, wife of the former High-Priest of Amun, Herihor.³⁹

A second hieroglyphic graffito, just west of the first, commemorates the High-Priest Pinudjem I with three of his daughters: the God's Wife of Amun Maatkare and the "princesses" Henttawy and Nedjemmut. In an accompanying scene all four are depicted worshipping two forms of Amun, Mut and Khonsu.⁴⁰

The third Pinudjem I graffito at Luxor Temple is a badly preserved hieratic text written on a column in the court of Amenophis III. This epigraph is of considerable importance as it once recounted the name of Pinudjem I's mother.⁴¹ And although several restorations have been attempted it appears most probable that the lady once mentioned here was the so-called Hrerer 'B', possibly a daughter of the High-Priest of Amun Herihor and his wife Nodjmet.⁴²

Next in date are two graffiti inscriptions from the reigns of Osorkon I and III. The first text, which is undated, preserves the name of Osorkon I's son (probably his eldest), the High-Priest of Amun, Shoshenq, who was appointed pontiff and effective military ruler of Upper Egypt on the death of Osorkon I's brother, Iuput.⁴³ This brief hieroglyphic text, poorly preserved, is the only record which Shoshenq as high-priest of Amun has left us at Luxor although he is further known at his principal power-base, Karnak Temple, by three finely crafted statues.⁴⁴

Our second text, that from the reign of Osorkon III, is a revealing eye-witness account of an unusually high inundation of the Nile during his Year 3. This is preserved in a hieratic graffito upon an inner wall of the Luxor Temple. It vividly recalls the flooding of the Theban temples and the breaching of local dykes.⁴⁵ Note too that the extreme height of the Nile in its annual

³⁸ Daressy, *RT* 14 (1892), 32; Wente, *JNES* 26 (1967), 166; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 37 (iii); also M.-A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (1987), 36-37. New editions of the Ramesside forecourt graffiti are due to be published by the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey. For additional details on these texts I am indebted to Prof. Peter Dorman and John Darnell of Chicago House, Luxor.

³⁹ Nodjmet may have died shortly after the graffito was cut (an accompanying legend implies she was still alive at this point), if a Year 1 recorded on a mummy bandage from her foot is of Smendes I. See Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 215 and 498.

⁴⁰ Daressy, *RT* 14 (1892), 32; Niwinski, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 51-52; and also Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 40 (i), 46 (i), and 215.

⁴¹ See Daressy, *RT* 32 (1910), 185; Wente, *JNES* 26 (1967), 160; and now Kitchen, *THIP*, § 45 (ii) and (iv).

⁴² Bierbrier, *JNES* 32 (1973), 311; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 438.

⁴³ Daressy, *RT* 35 (1913), 133 (III); Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 264-265.

⁴⁴ See Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 265 and 511. Ostraca from Abydos also attest to his interest in that sacred site.

⁴⁵ Daressy, *RT* 18 (1896), 181-186; also cf. Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 244.

inundation in Year 3 of Osorkon III is also marked in the flood text for that year at the quay of Karnak Temple.⁴⁶

What would seem to be the latest graffito attributable to the Third Intermediate Period at the Luxor Temple is a much damaged record of the induction of a local priest into temple services. This hieroglyphic inscription is dated to a Year 4, most probably that of Tanwetamuni (= 661 B.C.), last of the Nubian pharaohs of Dynasty XXV.⁴⁷

(iv) Private Tombs on the Theban West Bank.

(a) TT 192.

Written along the east wall of the Second Columned Hall in this West Theban tomb-chapel are several lines of hieratic graffiti in black ink, apparently of XXIst Dynasty date. These note the names and titles of a scribe Khaemope, as well as those of three *wab*-priests and draughtsmen of the Temple of Amun and, more interestingly, of a *wab*-priest and draughtsman of the Temple of Hathor at Denderah.

These concise graffiti never reveal what brought these men to this XVIIIth Dynasty tomb. It may have been sheer curiosity with a monument of the distant past (and the reliefs in TT 192 were particularly splendid). However, TT 192 also once contained evidence of several reburials during the Third Intermediate Period and the above officials may have visited this tomb in connection with this activity, on behalf of relatives or friends, rather than for any purely aesthetic reasons.⁴⁸

(b) TT A.18.

In the last few years a happy rediscovery has been made of an original copy of a graffito first made long ago by Sir J. G. Wilkinson in a private tomb-chapel of Ramesside date at Dra' Abû 'l-Naga' that, like the graffito, is now lost from view (= TT A.18). This badly preserved hieroglyphic text, apparently penned in ink at the tomb's doorway, clearly contained a copy of King Psusennes II's nomen as well as at least one other royal cartouche that has been compellingly restored as the prenomen of Shoshenq I.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ See n. 19 in this Chapter.

⁴⁷ Cf. H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor* (1977), 87-89. This graffito contains royal cartouches which would have confirmed its date. However these were hacked out in antiquity, most probably by the agents of Psammetichus II who is known to have obliterated the monuments of the Kushite kings in Egypt: Yoyotte, *Rd'É* 8 (1951), 215-239.

⁴⁸ See Fakhry, *ASAE* 42 (1943), 498; Habachi, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 350; also cf. Wente in *The Epigraphic Survey. The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192* (1980), 76-77.

⁴⁹ See Dodson, *GM* 106 (1988), 15-19; idem, *JEA* 79 (1993), 267-268.

Whatever the reason for its author's visit to this Ramesside monument, the graffito he scribbled there has provided us with another example of the close association of the two rulers who spanned the transition from the XXIst into the XXIIInd Dynasty.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) A Quarry near Abydos.

Last century a rock graffito dated to Year 17 (1 *Shomu* 10+x?) of King Siamun was recorded in a quarry near Abydos. No further details are known to me at present.⁵⁰

(ii) Wâdi el-Gasûs.

Located in this wâdi by the Red Sea coast is a vexing and much discussed hieroglyphic rock graffito of considerable importance for the chronology of the XXIIIrd Dynasty. This brief text records the names of the God's Wife of Amun Shepenupet I and her adopted daughter the God's Adoratrix Amenirdis I. It also preserves two date-lines, a Year 12 (linked with Amenirdis) and a Year 19 (associated with Shepenupet), almost certainly those of two contemporary kings. It still seems most probable that these dates pertain to regnal years 12 and 19 of Py and Iuput II respectively.⁵¹

(iii) Wâdi Hammâmât.

For activity at Wâdi Hammâmât during the Third Intermediate Period our records, by way of hieroglyphic or hieratic graffiti, are restricted to a very few texts that can be assigned with certainty to Dynasties XXI and XXV. The earliest inscriptions consist of five examples⁵² of the name of Menkheperre, High-Priest of Amun. In all cases Menkheperre's name is enclosed in a royal cartouche, once again demonstrating his persistent if modest claim to a shadow-kingship in much the same manner as his predecessors Herihor and (to a lesser extent) Pinudjem I.⁵³

It is not known if Menkheperre sent teams of workmen to hew stone in Wâdi Hammâmât or if these few graffiti texts commemorate some commercial expedition to the Red Sea coast but

⁵⁰ Daressy, *BIÉ*, 3e série, no. 9 (1898), 286.

⁵¹ See Christophe, *BIÉ* 35 (1954), 141-152, and the detailed arguments in Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 143-145 and 450; also Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 102-103. However, this attribution has recently been questioned. See here: Aston and Taylor in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 B.C.* (1990), 144-145, who would prefer to attribute the Year 19 date line to another of the successors of Osorkon III.

⁵² Couyat and Montet nos. 58, 65-66, 98, 132 and 212.

⁵³ Cf. Kitchen, *THIP*, § 501, for Menkheperre's use of such prerogatives of kingship.

clearly the wâdi, the nearby towns and all river and overland traffic routes were well within the Theban pontiff's sphere of influence.⁵⁴

To these brief inscriptions we can only add a rock graffito (cut in hieroglyphs) dated to Year 12 of the Nubian king Shabako that also names his sister, the God's Wife of Amun Amenirdis I,⁵⁵ as well as two examples of the nomen of another XXVth Dynasty king, Taharqa.⁵⁶

Judging by such meagre records it seems clear that there was a marked decline in the number of quarrying and trade expeditions being sent through Wâdi Hammâmât during Dynasties XXI-XXV. However, it is entirely likely that a commercial interest of sorts was maintained in the Red Sea coast region. Contacts with valued trading partners such as the land of Punt may have continued unrecorded during this period.⁵⁷

(iv) Aswân.

Graffiti inscriptions datable to Dynasties XXI to XXV in and around Aswân are very few in number. This hints not only at a decrease in quarrying or building work in the region but also at a decline in the flow of river traffic moving to and from Nubia on commercial and military enterprises after the end of the XXth Dynasty when Egyptian hegemony in the south came to a close.

Our earliest rock graffito is located on Sehel Island and preserves the name of Pinudjem I as High-Priest of Amun and military commander.⁵⁸ Another graffito, at Bîgeh Island, records the name and titles of a later XXIst Dynasty High-Priest of Amun Menkheperre.⁵⁹ The only other prominent names from this long period in hieroglyphic or hieratic graffiti at Aswân are those of the XXVth Dynasty Nubian king Kashta and his daughter Amenirdis I, on rocks just to the south of the town.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ See Kitchen, *THIP*, § 226.

⁵⁵ Couyat and Montet no. 187.

⁵⁶ Couyat and Montet nos. 176 and 189.

⁵⁷ See Kitchen in Th. Shaw et al. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns* (1993), 602-603.

⁵⁸ H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. III (pt. 2) (1914), 245 (No. VII); also Kitchen, *THIP*, § 215 n. 73.

⁵⁹ H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. III (pt. 2) (1914), 266 (No. VII).

⁶⁰ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 9 (no. 263) = De Morgan et al, 38 (no. 164). Kashta is also attested at Aswân by a damaged stela; he may have ruled (or been accepted as ruler) as far as north as the Thebaid. Cf. Leclant, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 74-81; Priese, *ZÄS* 98 (1970), 16-32; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 122.

Part II.**Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.**

There are almost no Egyptian inscriptions or monuments in Nubia from Dynasties XXI to XXV. This no doubt reflects Nubia's new-found independence from Egypt after the rebellion of the viceroy of Nubia Panehsy and the loss of Egyptian political control over its southern territories at the end of the XXth Dynasty although peaceful contacts of one kind or another (diplomatic, trade and cultural) certainly continued. Evidence of military conflict is much more limited⁶¹ and it is not entirely surprising therefore that there seems to be a complete lack of hieroglyphic or hieratic graffiti from Nubia which can be securely dated to the period in question.

⁶¹ Zibelius-Chen, *SAK* 16 (1989), 329-345; also D. A. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush. The Napatan and Meroitic Empires* (1996), 15.

Chapter Nine

The Saite and Late Periods: Dynasties XXVI-XXXI

(664-332 B.C.)

Part I.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Lower Egypt.

(i) The Gîza Plateau.

For reasons set out in our conclusions the sources of hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti dating to the Saite or Late Periods from Lower Egypt, or the whole of Egypt generally, are extremely limited. However, at the Gîza temple of Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids (a small sanctuary originally constructed in Dynasty XXI by Psusennes I at the mortuary temple of the third queen's pyramid by the Great Pyramid of Khufu)¹ there are fourteen hieroglyphic graffiti inscriptions dating from the XXVIth Dynasty (temp. Psammetichus I to Amasis). These crudely inscribed texts give the names, titles, and ancestors of successive generations of a local priesthood who served not only Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids, but also the revived mortuary cults of the IVth Dynasty kings, Khufu, Radjedef, Khafre, and Menkaure.²

A further hieroglyphic graffito of Saite or First Persian Period date at Gîza is incised on the south face of the Great Pyramid of Khufu. This somewhat garbled visitors' inscription appears to preserve the name of a certain Psammetichus.³

(ii) Abû Sîr.

The Vth Dynasty mortuary temple of King Sahure at Abû Sîr is the site of one of the latest visitors' graffiti known from pharaonic Egypt. This late hieratic graffito, penned in black ink, is dated to Year 5 of Amasis and records the presence of a certain Khaemwaset, son of Pami, a prophet of Sekhmet of Sahure.⁴ This cult, established in the mid-XVIIIth Dynasty, appears to have been based in the southern part of the Sahure temple. Our partially preserved late hieratic

¹ So PM, III², Pl. 1, 17-19; and now C. M. Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire. Autour de Temple d'Isis, Dame des Pyramides* (1991).

² See the discussion in Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 177-181 and 186-188.

³ L. Borchardt, *Längen und Richtungen der vier Grundkanten der grossen Pyramide bei Gise* (1926), 16.

⁴ See G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. III (1912), 8 and Tafel II. Also note Leahy in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (1992), 151 (26).

text is the final dated evidence for this devotion and for visitors of any kind to the temple until the Graeco-Roman era.⁵

(iii) Saqqâra.

At Saqqâra there is a hieratic ink graffito at the North Building of the Step Pyramid of King Djoser which reads:

*"May Pharaoh Necho (II), l.p.h., live for ever and ever!"*⁶

It seems possible that this brief inscription is related to an occasion when the IIIrd Dynasty Step Pyramid was entered in Dynasty XXVI and royal reliefs on panels in the eastern subterranean gallery were covered with grids for copying by Saite artists,⁷ there being a keen interest in the monuments of the past at this time and in the accomplishments of the Old Kingdom in particular.⁸ These reliefs may have been used as models for some of the *Heb-sed* scenes on a gateway in the Memphite palace of Apries.⁹ Whether the above graffito indicates that the IIIrd Dynasty panels were actually first copied and used under Necho II is another matter.¹⁰

Further examples, if few in number, of hieroglyphic and late hieratic graffiti at Saqqâra have been noted on fragments of masonry from the blockings of the burial vaults at the Iseum, the burial place of the Isis-cows, the Mothers of Apis, which appears to have been in use from the sixth century B.C. (reign of Amasis) until the era of Cleopatra VII and her co-regent Ptolemy XV Caesarion.¹¹ Our evidence for the obsequies of Mothers of Apis ends with the arrival of the Roman imperial administration in Egypt.

These short texts, mostly written in ink, have yet to be published in full but from the preliminary reports available they appear to name the officiating priests responsible for burying the sacred cows. Only one possible graffito of the Late Period (Dynasty XXVII) can be noted here

⁵ Baines, *GM* 4 (1973), 12-13; and also cf. A. I. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (1988), 29-36.

⁶ See Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 79 (H).

⁷ The grids used here are based on a revised canon of proportions introduced at about this time: W. S. Smith and W. K. Simpson, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1981), 400 and n. 13.

⁸ Brunner, *Saeculum* 21 (1970), 151-161. For the most recent and detailed study of "archaism" at this period in Egyptian history: P. der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (1994), passim.

⁹ Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 77-78.

¹⁰ Leahy, *JEA* 74 (1988), 196.

¹¹ Smith, *Rd'É* 24 (1972), 176-187; idem in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (1992), 201-225; and D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (1988), 192-193.

so far from the Iseum catacomb; this apparently dates to the regime of either Darius I, II or III (year date now lost).¹²

(iv) Dahshûr.

Scratched in the Northern Entrance Passage of the Bent or Rhomboidal Pyramid at Dahshûr are two hieroglyphic visitors' graffiti of Saite or Late Period date. These record the names and titles of the God's Father of Ptah Pairptah and a wab-priest Neferhor. Presumably they gained access to the pyramid to satisfy an interest in what was even by then an ancient monument.¹³

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Upper Egypt.

(i) Karnak Temple.

The previously noted series of Nile-level graffiti inscriptions at the quay of Karnak Temple (dating from Dynasties XXII-XXIII and XXV) continues briefly into Dynasty XXVI with four flood levels recorded in Years 10, 11, 17 and 19 of Psammetichus I.¹⁴

Although these texts are as laconic as the earlier examples they are not without importance as the cutting of the first of these graffiti in his Year 10, just one year after Psammetichus had secured the adoption of his daughter, Nitocris, as God's Wife of Amun at Thebes, would seem to confirm the general opinion that the authority of the Saite ruler over Upper Egypt was fully established by this date, following the retreat of Tantamani south to Napata.¹⁵

Three hieroglyphic graffiti cut into a stone block near Pylon V preserve the names and titles of a prophet Peditherresnet, a prophet of Amun Montuemhat and a wab-priest Amenemope (the latter text is dated to a Year 24). All three inscriptions appear to be of Saite date.¹⁶

To these can be added at least one hieroglyphic graffito on the roof of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak. Dated to Year 22 of Psammetichus I it seems to have been written by a wab-priest of Khonsu named Horkhebi son of Djehutyhotep and is accompanied by a drawing of an outline of a pair of feet (presumably those of the author). Such a graffito, to judge from its location,

¹² Cf. Smith, *Rd'É* 24 (1972), 181, Table 2. (source H. 5-2881). This late hieratic inscription contains the pleonastically spelt cartouche of a Darius; but to which Persian ruler of this name it belongs is quite uncertain.

¹³ See Petrie, *Season*, pl. 19 (nos. 695 and 696).

¹⁴ Legrain, *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 116-117; now von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 54-55 (nos. 39-42).

¹⁵ Caminos, *JEA* 50 (1964), 71-101; Kienitz in E. Cassin, J. Bottéro and J. Vercoutter (eds.), *Fischer Weltgeschichte. Die altorientalischen Reiche III. Die erste Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends* (1967), 253-259; Kitchen, *THIP*, § 364.

¹⁶ Legrain, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 41; but also cf. Redford, *LÄ* VI (1985), 547 n. 79.

may well have been incised while Horkhebi waited on the roof of the Temple for the arrival of a visiting barque from another sanctuary.¹⁷

(ii) Luxor Temple.

On a fragment of one of the huge roofing blocks from the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple are fifteen newly discovered graffiti left by temple priests. Although they have still to be fully published it seems that some of these inscriptions consist of no more than the carved outlines of priestly feet or sandals inscribed, perhaps, as their artists stood upon the temple roof while waiting for the arrival of the processional barques from Karnak during the Opet festival.

A number of these "feet graffiti" have names and titles inscribed in hieroglyphs within their outlines. One of them contains the name of the second prophet of Amun-of-Opet, Pedihorpa-khered son of Horsiese who seems to have lived in late Dynasty XXV/early Dynasty XXVI.¹⁸ What is also notable about these graffiti is the clumsy nature of their execution. It is clear that many of these priests were not used to writing hieroglyphs, just as one would expect at a time when late hieratic and, increasingly, demotic were the scripts of every day use.¹⁹

Also at Luxor Temple, written vertically on a column, is a hieroglyphic graffito first copied over a century ago by Bouriant.²⁰ This very brief epigraph preserves the name and title of one Pedineferhotep called Minre, a prophet of Maat. However I know of no other references to this official who most probably lived in Dynasties XXV-XXVI.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Egyptian Mines and Quarries.

(i) Wâdi Sannûr-Wâdi Moathil.

Written on a cliff face in the calcite-alabaster quarries at Wâdi Moathil/Sannûr (located some 60 km. south-east of Beni Suêf) is a hieroglyphic graffito recording a short prayer to Osiris by one Wahibre who, to judge by his name, probably lived during the XXVIth Dynasty.²¹ These quarries seem to have been worked at this time and Wahibre (no title) may have been involved in some capacity at the site.

¹⁷ See Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 243 (No. 11). A photograph of this text is to be found in Jacquet-Gordon, *NARCE* 141 (1988), 6. The year date alone is given in H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. IV (pt. 1) (1915), 71 (No. XX).

¹⁸ See now Vittmann, *SAK* 10 (1983), 325-332.

¹⁹ Cf. what is only a preliminary publication by Dorman in *The Oriental Institute 1993-1994 Annual Report* (1994), 20-21.

²⁰ See *RT* 9 (1887), 85.

²¹ See R. Klemm and D. D. Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche im Alten Ägypten* (1993), 204.

(ii) Bîr Wasîf.

Located near a ruined village one and a half hours on foot from Bîr Wasîf (which is close to Wâdi el-Gasûs on the road to the Red Sea coast)²² is a (hieroglyphic rock?) graffito consisting of the nomen of a King Darius.²³

(iii) Wâdi Hammâmât.

The renewed interest shown by several rulers of the XXVth Dynasty in the quarries of Wâdi Hammâmât, and the Coptos route to the Red Sea, was to continue intermittently for much of the Saite and Late Periods, graffiti inscriptions dating from the first Persian occupation being particularly numerous.

From Dynasty XXVI there are several minor and undated graffiti naming Psammetichus I or officials of his reign in Wâdi Hammâmât.²⁴ His successor Necho II is known by a single rock graffito dated to his Year 8.²⁵ The name and titles of Psammetichus II are also attested by a sole graffito, one that perhaps records an expedition in his Year 3.²⁶ Apries may have sent a mission of his own to Wâdi Hammâmât. What might be an example of his name (but disturbingly with no cartouche) has been found written there side by side with that of Amasis (again no cartouche) in a hieroglyphic rock graffito.²⁷ The final expedition(s) of the dynasty were seemingly ordered by Amasis and commemorated with three graffiti texts, two of which are undated²⁸ while the third was written in his Year 44.²⁹

The XXVIIth Dynasty witnessed a level of quarrying activity in Wâdi Hammâmât not seen since the New Kingdom.³⁰ Dated graffiti texts in the hieroglyphic script are known for all of

²² See PM, VII, plan IV.

²³ Now as G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (1936), no. 35.

²⁴ Couyat and Montet nos. 2, 51-54, 57 and 59.

²⁵ So Couyat and Montet no. 99. Note that in addition to this expedition to Wâdi Hammâmât (and perhaps the Red Sea?) Necho II is also known for his attempts to reach the Red Sea by an alternative route: the excavation of a great canal from Bubastis, via Wâdi Tumîlât, to the Gulf of Suez, presumably with the objective of reviving commercial contacts with the land of Punt as well as enhancing his naval capacity. So Posener, *Cd'É* 13 (1938), 259-273; Lloyd, *JEA* 63 (1977), 142-155.

²⁶ Couyat and Montet no. 100.

²⁷ So Goyon no. 107. See also Simpson, *JNES* 18 (1959), 35-36; Goyon in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (1985), 65-70; and A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary*, 99-182 (1988), 180.

²⁸ Couyat and Montet no. 88; and Goyon no. 108.

²⁹ Couyat and Montet no. 137.

³⁰ The Persian authorities not only took a very keen interest in removing what were probably large amounts of cut stone from Wâdi Hammâmât with the aid of Egyptian workers, they were also eager to employ skilled Egyptian artisans (and other nationalities) at various sites within Persia itself. Cf. Roaf, *Iran* 18 (1980), 70-71.

the major Persian kings who ruled Egypt with the exception of Darius II.³¹ The dated texts of the Achaemenid rulers include: Cambyses (Year 6);³² Darius I (Years 26, 27, 28, 30, 36);³³ Xerxes I (Years 2, 6, 10, 12, 13);³⁴ and Artaxerxes I (Years 5, 16 and 17).³⁵

In addition to these royal texts there are a number of interesting rock graffiti relating to three prominent officials of the era who were active in the wâdi at one time or another. One of these men is Khnumibre, superintendent of works for all Egypt, whose graffiti in Wâdi Hammâmât range in date from Year 44 of Amasis to Year 30 of Darius I.³⁶ One of his inscriptions is particularly remarkable, being a long and probably fictitious genealogy of Khnumibre's family.³⁷

The other graffiti texts in Wâdi Hammâmât relating to magnates of the age are those of the brothers Atiyawahi and Ariyawrata. The former, who describes himself as the son of a certain Artames and the lady Qanju, was a Persian *saris* and governor of Coptos. His graffiti cover the years 486-473 B.C.; those of his younger brother span the years 461-449 B.C. during the reign of Artaxerxes I.³⁸ Ariyawrata also added to his Persian name the Egyptian one of Djcho and in doing so provided a notable example of the Egyptization of a high-ranking foreigner.³⁹

At the other end of the social scale there is also at least one hieroglyphic rock graffito written in Wâdi Hammâmât that is probably the work of a Persian stone mason.⁴⁰

After the extensive quarrying in the Persian dynasty there is a complete break in our inscrip-tional evidence for Dynasties XXVIII-XXIX (unless some of the minor unplaced graffiti in the wâdi can be assigned to this period).⁴¹ Our next confirmed record is a bas-relief from Year 3 of Nectanebo I.⁴² The intervening regime of Tachos appears not to be represented at all in Wâdi Hammâmât and the latest graffiti from the site dating to the XXXth Dynasty are written not in

³¹ Who never visited Egypt; cf. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 73. Artaxerxes II only ruled Egypt at the very start of his reign if at all: Depuydt, *JEA* 81 (1995), 171 ('o').

³² Couyat and Montet no. 164.

³³ Couyat and Montet nos. 18, 91 (also of Year 26 is Goyon no. 109), 193, 14, 134, 186 and 190, 13, 146 and 164. A newly discovered statue of Darius I at Susa was almost certainly one of two such statues whose stone was quarried and worked in Wâdi Hammâmât and then sent to Persia by way of Darius's newly completed canal to the Red Sea perhaps as part of its opening ceremonies. On this: Bianchi, *LÄ* IV, 944.

³⁴ Couyat and Montet nos. 50, 266, 106, 148, 164 and 13.

³⁵ Couyat and Montet nos. 144, 145 and 72.

³⁶ G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (1936), nos. 11-12, 14-16 and 18-23.

³⁷ G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (1936), no. 14; also cf. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 83-84.

³⁸ G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (1936), nos. 24-34.

³⁹ See G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (1936), no. 33.

⁴⁰ Goyon no. 109; and cf. Briant in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History III. Method and Theory* (1988), 168.

⁴¹ Couyat and Montet, 123 (index list); and Goyon nos. 106 and 112-129.

⁴² Couyat and Montet no. 26; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 200.

the hieroglyphic or hieratic scripts but the demotic, one of which is dated to Year 3 of Nectanebo II.⁴³

(iv) Gebel el-Hammâm.

Inscribed in the sandstone quarries at Gebel el-Hammâm (located just to the north of Aswân) is a single hieroglyphic rock graffito preserving the cartouches of Apries. Possibly this minor inscription marks some stone quarrying expedition here during the latter's reign and concerning which we have no further knowledge.⁴⁴

(v) Aswân.

There are few graffiti at Aswân, royal or otherwise, which can be assigned with certainty to Dynasties XXVI-XXX. It appears that only three Saite monarchs have left any rock graffiti in and around the region and these consist of just their royal cartouches and titles in the hieroglyphic script.

Presumably these inscriptions commemorate the presence not only of quarrying parties sent for the locale's red and black granite but perhaps also stop-over visits by the king in person or his retinue while pursuing military campaigns,⁴⁵ or perhaps trade missions into Africa via the First Cataract.⁴⁶

The earliest graffiti appear to date to the regime of Psammetichus II at the islands of Bigeh, Konosso and Elephantine.⁴⁷ The other royal names recorded here are: Apries (at Konosso);⁴⁸ and Amasis (at Elephantine, Schel and Bîgeh).⁴⁹

⁴³ See now: Thissen, *Enchoria* 9 (1979), 63-92 (Year 3 of Nectanebo II: text no. 2).

⁴⁴ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 12 (no. 321) = De Morgan et al., 207 (no. 21).

⁴⁵ Note that for his Nubian expedition of Year 3 Psammetichus II is thought to have accompanied his army as far as Elephantine (where he stayed for the duration of the campaign) before handing over command to his principal field commanders, Potasimto and Amasis; cf. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 41-42; also A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Introduction* (1975), 21-22.

⁴⁶ P. Berlin 13615 records a caravan travelling under military protection to Nubia in Year 41 of Amasis. However, pending a full publication of the text by Zauzich, the true nature of this convoy is still unclear. It may have been of a commercial or diplomatic character rather than a purely military expedition. See Erichsen, *Klio* 34 (1941), 56-61; and now cf. Zauzich in J. H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (1992), 361-364.

⁴⁷ So H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. IV (pt. 1) (1915), 94 (No. IX); De Morgan et al., 69 (no. 14) and 114.

⁴⁸ De Morgan et al., 69 (no. 2).

⁴⁹ Petrie, *Season*, pl. 11 (no. 302) = De Morgan et al., 115 (no. 2); and De Morgan et al., 84 (no. 10); H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, vol. IV (pt. 1) (1915), 121 (No. XXXI).

Part II.

Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Graffiti from Nubia.

Despite the fact that the military action known to have been undertaken in Nubia during the Saite Period was of a relatively limited nature the complete lack of graffiti in the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts in the region from this period is curious. Possibly much of the answer lies with the nationalities of the soldiers and functionaries who were sent into Nubia at this time.

It is possible that Psammetichus I not only stationed a strong garrison of native troops and foreign mercenaries on the island of Elephantine but that he also sent an expedition with these men into northern Nubia to counter a possible threat from one of the successors of Tantamani of Napata although the evidence for this is rather slender.⁵⁰

Some fragmentary evidence exists for what seems to have been an armed riverine expedition into Nubia by Necho II, probably late in his reign, but the geographical extent and eventual outcome of this undertaking remain uncertain.⁵¹ By Year 3 of Psammetichus II (= 593 B.C.), however, the Kushite ruler Aspelta appears to have constituted a major threat to Egypt⁵² and a substantial force was sent southwards by the Egyptian king to thwart any invasion attempt.⁵³ Records of the latter expedition are partially preserved on triumphal stelae from Tanis, Karnak and Shellâl.⁵⁴ Additional data is forthcoming from a mass of graffiti texts left at Abû Simbel temple by the Carian, Greek and Phoenician mercenaries employed in the pharaoh's service.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Cf. here: H. de Meulnacre, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie* (1951), 38-40; idem, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 29-36; also Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 201.

⁵¹ See now: Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 462.

⁵² A text commemorating the coronation of Aspelta refers to a Nubian army near Abû Simbel at the time of the death of King Anlamani, Aspelta's predecessor; see H. Schäfer, *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopienkönige*, I (1905), 86. The gathering of such a force may have been provocation enough for King Psammetichus II to have launched a pre-emptive raid not only to prevent a Nubian invasion but also to protect vital trade routes to the south. On this latter aspect, note Habachi, *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 321-326.

⁵³ Basic works: Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 157-207; Bakry, *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967), 225-244; Habachi, *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974), 317-326; A. J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (1982), 17 n. 27; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary*, 99-182 (1988), 167-168.

⁵⁴ Sauneron and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50 (1952), 157-207; Bakry, *Oriens Antiquus* 6 (1967), 225-244. Translation of the Shellâl stela: M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, vol. III: The Late Period* (1980), 84-86; for new studies of these monuments: P. der Manuelian's *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (1994), 337-371; also T. Eide et al. (eds.), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*, vol. I (1994), 279-286.

⁵⁵ Note A. Bernand and A. Aly, *Abou-Simbel: Inscriptions grecques, cariennes et sémitiques des statues de la façade* (1959); also Masson in J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. II (1979), 35-49. Some of these mercenaries were probably responsible

(Again, however, no hieroglyphic or hieratic graffiti from this campaign appear to be known even from here despite the fact that Egyptian conscripts constituted a large part of the invading army.) These men appear to have met with considerable military success and probably penetrated beyond the Fourth Cataract.⁵⁶

This victory of Psammetichus II appears to have been total with the Nubians retiring south to Meröe and posing no further threat to Egyptian interests.⁵⁷ Within Egypt itself the victory was followed up by a ruthless policy of obliterating the names and monuments of the Kushite kings.⁵⁸ The soldiers and officials who participated on these campaigns, whether Egyptian or foreign, and who were familiar with the old hieroglyphic and hieratic hands appear not to have been inclined to scribble down any texts in these scripts in Nubia for whatever reason.

for the Carian graffiti left at the South Temple at Buhen; cf. Caminos, *Buhen*, I, 3, 5 n. 4, 55 and n. 1, 59 n. 3, 71; also note O. Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen* (1978), vii-viii, 50-54 and pls. 27-29. And perhaps also for the newly located Carian graffiti at Luxor Temple: Jasnow, *Chicago House Bulletin*, Volume V, No. 2 (April 15, 1994), 3.

⁵⁶ But this has been questioned recently; cf. now D. A. Welsby, *The Kingdom of Kush. The Napatan and Meroitic Empires* (1996), 65.

⁵⁷ One of the very few surviving Egyptian records concerning Nubia from later in the dynasty is recorded on a statue of a certain Nesuhor, an official who served both Apries and Amasis in a capacity equivalent to that of viceroy of Nubia in the New Kingdom. His biographical text mentions suppressing rebellion in the south but this is possibly a mere convention: E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (1954), 162-164.

⁵⁸ See Yoyotte, *Rd'É* 8 (1951), 215-239.

Conclusions

Relatively few textual graffiti have survived from ancient Egypt and Nubia from Dynasties I to X and the reasons for this are undoubtedly manifold. However, generally, it seems apparent that during this era even a restricted literacy had yet to disseminate itself widely within Egyptian society as it would later do.

Those temple institutions which bore the responsibility for producing the literate members of society had perhaps still to be organised on a national basis.¹ Literacy, and what might be termed "high culture", would always remain the prerogative of an educated élite, but this was no doubt even more so the case at the outset of the Pharaonic Era.

Those with the ability to write graffiti were never so few and far between and nearly always belonged to the professional scribal classes or were privileged royal officials holding secular or religious posts. Most of the texts we do possess from the 3rd millennium B.C. are to be found in the mines and quarries exploited at this era and this fact, along with the formal nature of the graffiti inscriptions themselves, exemplifies the primary role of graffiti at this time as records of official missions or expeditions to remote places that required determination and effort by an organized state bureaucracy. What can be described as visitors' or tourist graffiti do not seem to exist at this early stage in Egyptian history.

There are rather more textual graffiti dating from the Middle Kingdom and again there are several probable reasons for this. Foremost, perhaps, was the fact that the decentralisation and cultural decline of the First Intermediate Period had served as a stimulus for the proliferation of temple schools for training scribes, so gradually increasing the numbers of literate individuals within society as a whole during Dynasties XI to XIII.²

Those mines and quarries worked by the Egyptians throughout the Middle Kingdom saw the presence of literate officials in ever increasing numbers and it was the latter who left behind a considerable mass of hieroglyphic and hieratic rock graffiti (and stelae) recording the missions sent at this time. The increased size and complexity in the layout of these rock graffiti mirror the increased size and social complexity of the royal expeditions now being sent to the mines and quarries.

The textual graffiti in Nubia dating to the Middle Kingdom (the first time significant numbers of such texts are found there, reflecting Egypt's new military ambitions in the south) tend

¹ There is evidence for "schools" and organised teaching from the late First Intermediate Period onwards but the situation before this era is uncertain; cf. H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (1957), 10-13.

² Baines and Eyre, *GM* 61 (1983), 68.

to preserve only royal names and titles, or the names and titles of Egyptian administrators and their Nubian allies based in the south, though a few texts also provide us with data concerning the climate of the period and the occasional military campaign.

The Second Intermediate Period clearly produced very few graffiti texts. Yet it was hardly an era of widespread illiteracy for some of our most important evidence for earlier literary documents, particularly those of a scientific nature, comes from copies penned at this time.³ Rather the lack of textual graffiti available for study from Dynasties XIV to XVII is due in large part it seems to the wide spread, but not universal,⁴ cessation of mining and quarrying operations during this troubled period. It demonstrates just how reliant we are on the remoter desert wadis and valleys for so much of our datable material.

With the coming of the Egyptian New Kingdom we encounter an unparalleled number of graffiti inscriptions in both the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts throughout the length of the Nile Valley in both Egypt and ancient Nubia. These graffiti texts reveal a significant broadening of the social classes who were now able to write at least their own names and titles. Not only do we find considerable masses of such inscriptions in the established mines and quarries but also we see for the first time the widespread appearance of *Besucherinschriften* or visitors' graffiti. The mature Egyptian state now had an ancient "past" worth examining, even if that involved some effort and expense.

These tourist graffiti are found throughout New Kingdom Egypt but not generally, it seems, in the newly reconquered Nubia where our inscriptions by way of graffiti are again confined to royal names and titles, details of southern-based officials and their flunkies, and various records of military action. What little we have in the way of visitors' graffiti in Nubia are found in the major temples of the region where any visits by an author were perhaps due to a sense of piety rather than one of antiquarianism. The impressive buildings of New Kingdom Nubia were just too new to command any curiosity in that respect.

At this point in our summary we ought now to turn to our largest single source of graffiti inscriptions dating to the New Kingdom, the Theban West Bank, and to those responsible for the great bulk of these texts, the royal workmen of Deir el-Medina. In Chapter Seven we noted possible reasons for the appearance and dramatic increase in the numbers of these inscriptions at the end of Dynasty XVIII/beginning of Dynasty XIX. What we must do here is identify the

³ Most notably the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (P. BM 10057 and 10058) dated to Year 33 of King Aweserre Apophis. P. Westcar (P. Berlin 3033) may also date to the Hyksos era.

⁴ In addition to the quarrying expedition(s) sent into Wadi Hammamât under Sobekemsaf II it is becoming increasingly clear that mining expeditions were also sent to the site of Gebel Zeit on the Red Sea coast throughout the Second Intermediate Period in search of galena. See now: G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (1993), 71-77.

causes of the decline and final disappearance (in late Dynasty XX/early Dynasty XXI) of what has been for us an extraordinary pool of material.

Compared to the community of workmen active under King Ramesses II (when the village experienced its heyday) the Deir el-Medina crew of Dynasty XX have generally left behind far fewer monuments than their predecessors.⁵ However, one body of material that is just as rich under the later Ramessides is graffiti. Graffiti inscriptions relating to the crew are particularly abundant from the time of Ramesses III-V but are far less copious by the regimes of Ramesses IX-XI.⁶ To account for the decline in the number of West Theban graffiti several likely factors can be proposed. The first is the arrival of hostile Libyan tribesmen or mercenaries.

Although there is some evidence for the presence of Libyans at Thebes as early as Year 28 of Ramesses III (O. DM 35) and also in Year 1 of Ramesses V (P. Turin Cat. 2044 vs.)⁷ it is administrative papyri from parts of the reigns of Ramesses IX (from his Year 8 and 10-15) and Ramesses X (Year 3) which most clearly reveal that work at the Valley of the Kings was often disrupted by marauders who were feared by both the crew and the outside authorities.⁸ As such it is conceivable that these Libyans (termed "Meshwesh", "Rebu" or "desert dwellers (*hꜥstyw*)") affected the amount of graffiti written in the Valley of the Kings by the tomb-workforce under Ramesses IX and X by hindering the crew from attending their place of work, sometimes for prolonged periods.⁹

The effect of these unwelcome visitors may have been even more detrimental to the amount of graffiti jotted in the more remote areas of the Theban necropolis. Rock graffiti which can be dated with any certainty to the reigns of Ramesses IX-X outside the immediate vicinity of the Valleys of the Kings or Queens (these are likely to have enjoyed a degree of guarded protection during even the most troubled of times) are a considerable rarity.¹⁰ Idle strolls along exposed

⁵ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 173-174; McDowell, *JWC*, 84 and n. 278.

⁶ One need only peruse *KRI*, VI, 668-671, 674-676, 681, 700, 849, 864, 872-875, 877-879, for a valid survey of the situation. Also note that after the reign of Ramesses IX our supply of ostraca from the village also dries up (the very few known examples later than this originate it seems from the Valley of the Kings); a number of long administrative papyri from the end of the dynasty have survived, however. Cf. Eyre in *BiOr* 44 (1987), 25; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 207, 226 and n. 3; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 21.

⁷ See Kitchen, *Rd'É* 36 (1985), 177-179; idem, in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 B.C.* (1990), 22.

⁸ Cf. most recently: Haring, *Village Voices*, 71-80; idem, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 159-165; add Jansen-Winkel, *Biblische Notizen* 71 (1994), 86-91.

⁹ Haring, *Sesto Congresso*, II, 161; idem, *Village Voices*, 76.

¹⁰ Those inscriptions known to me are: Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, nos. 989 (*KRI*, VI, 668-669) and 1035a, α, of the deputy foreman Amennakhte son of Hay, within the so-called "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" (CEDAE Section 147) and "Vallée de l'Aigle" (in CEDAE Section 65) respectively; Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/5, no. 3698 (*KRI*, VI, 676: 5) of the workman Neferhotep son of Amennakhte at the "Versant Sud de la Cime Thébaine" (in CEDAE Section

desert paths on rest days may have been considered too hazardous at this time. Under Ramesses XI, when the Libyan threat appears to have abated (at least in the Thebaid),¹¹ graffiti relating to the royal workforce are again found in some of the more isolated wâdis in West Thebes although the authors of these texts are usually senior necropolis scribes or village foremen who may have been in the area on an official assignment rather than just casually strolling around with no definite purpose.¹²

Secondly, perhaps early in the reign of Ramesses IX,¹³ and certainly by the first decade of Ramesses XI, the crew and their officers were moved from Deir el-Medîna and resettled behind the higher walls of Medînet Habu.¹⁴ This transfer was undoubtedly prompted by the growing instability on the West Bank (most notably the Libyan presence, the unfolding scandal of the Theban tomb-robberies and the military strife created by the suppression of Amenhotep, High-Priest of Amun).¹⁵ Now that the workmen were housed in an administrative complex near the cultivation, the Theban cliffs were not as accessible as they had once been.¹⁶ Those villagers with a habit for strolling in the early morning and evening may have gone elsewhere for their

194). It is also quite possible that Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 1022: 1 (in the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep"), Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1095 (in the "Vallée de l'Aigle"), 1323, 1324 and 1338 ("Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne"), and Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, nos. 3571 and 3578 (in the "Versant Sud-Est de la Cime Thébaine": CEDAE Section 205), which all preserve the name of the well-attested Deir el-Medîna draughtsman Hormin son of Hori (cf. Eyre in *BiOr* 44 (1987), 23-24) date from this time as the latter was apparently still alive and active in Year 17 of Ramesses IX (Botti and Pect, *Giornale*, pl. 10, 9; now = *KRI*, VI, 568: 6). Similarly Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1093, which records the presence of a foreman Nekhemmut in the "Vallée de l'Aigle" (CEDAE Section 65) may also have been written under Ramesses IX if it refers to the second village official of that name (cf. Černý, *Community*, 307-310). Further, the junior administrative scribe Hori is also known from several rock graffiti in the quieter regions of the Theban necropolis: Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, nos. 3576b (in "Versant Sud-Est de la Cime Thébaine": CEDAE Section 205) and 3612 ("Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne"), as are the draughtsman Amenhotep: Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1321 ("Vallée des Pèlerins d'Espagne"), and the workman Maanakhtef; cf. Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3568a: 2 ("Versant Sud-Est de la Cime Thébaine": CEDAE Section 205). The latter three men all probably lived well into the reign of Ramesses IX and their graffiti could also date to the latter's rule.

¹¹ So Haring, *Village Voices*, 78.

¹² E.g. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 995 (cf. *KRI*, VI, 873: 15) of the chief-workman Khyrenef in the "Vallée du Dernier Mentouhotep" (CEDAE Section 147); Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1109 (= *KRI*, VI, 864) of the scribe of the Tomb Djehutymose in the "Vallée de l'Aigle" (see CEDAE Section 67). Also note the presence of scribe Djehutymose in Wâdi Qubbânet el-Qirûd: Černý, *Graffiti*, no. 1305 (*KRI*, VI, 878: 1).

¹³ Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 25; McDowell, *JWC*, 84.

¹⁴ Černý, *Community*, 189-190 and 370-371; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 123-125; McDowell, *JWC*, 90-91.

¹⁵ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 208-215; also Reeves, *VK*, 273 and 276-278.

¹⁶ Note, however, that individual workmen and scribes continued to pay odd visits to Deir el-Medîna until at least the early XXIst Dynasty (Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 29 and 225). Its abandoned houses and tombs seem to have been used as storerooms for various goods and materials (most famously the family papers of the scribe Djehutymose: Černý, *LRL*, 18: 12-19: 1).

recreation and inevitably this could have affected the volume of graffiti written in the Theban mountain.

Although never a favourite spot for graffiti scribbling by the royal workmen it is perhaps notable that there is just one graffito at the main terrace halfway up the side of Mt. "Černabru" at the northern entrance of the valley of Deir el-Medīna (now CEDAE Section 61) that might date to the reign of Ramesses IX or a little later¹⁷ and this was a site particularly close to the village. At the rock-hewn oratory dedicated to Ptah and Meretseger which lies between Deir el-Medīna and the Valley of the Queens (now CEDAE Section 18) there are apparently only two graffiti texts recorded here that might date to Ramesses IX-XI.¹⁸

Likewise, from the time of Ramesses IX-XI there are very few graffiti along the cliffs at the workmen's settlement on the col (CEDAE Sections 131-141 and 148-150) possibly indicating that it too had been largely abandoned with the move to Medīnet Habu. On-site living quarters such as these had no doubt served as a handy base camp from which an inquisitive tombworker could explore the local wādis before and after a day's work in the Valley. Now, however, these stone huts, and the cliffs around them, were apparently but rarely visited.¹⁹

Finally, the size of the crew of workmen seems to have been abnormally low under the last few reigns of Dynasty XX.²⁰ In Year 17 of Ramesses IX a total of 62 ordinary workmen were employed in the gangs;²¹ by Year 19 of the latter this had fallen to 29 workmen (assisted by 18 youngsters or *mnḥw*).²² The same size of crew is apparently also recorded in Year 3 of Ra-

¹⁷ Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/4, no. 3534bis (now *KRI*, VI, 268: 7) of the well-known draughtsman Hormin son of Hori.

¹⁸ Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1117 and 1118 (*KRI*, VI, 206: 16), again of the draughtsman Hormin son of Hori.

¹⁹ Of the graffiti in this region that can be assigned with some degree of certainty to the era of Ramesses IX-XI most preserve the name of the junior administrative scribe Wennufer son of Ankhtu: nos. 792, 793, 795b, 851a,b+d, 2653, 2657-2659, 2717, 2742b, and 2749. The only other names attested at the col settlement which are or might be from this era are those of the junior administrative scribe Hori (= nos. 886c, 2662, 2758); the chief-workman Khyrenef (no. 2764); the draughtsmen Amennakhte son of Hay (no. 814) and Hormin son of Hori (nos. 834, 2699, 2742a); and the workman Ipuy son of Neferhor (= nos. 2777 and 2780). Whether any of the known rock graffiti at the col mentioning the "scribe" Maanakhtef (in all probability just an ordinary crewman: Eyre, *BiOr* 44 (1987), 24-25) date as late as Ramesses IX is not certain (= nos. 782, 786, 852, 2701). This Maanakhtef is last securely attested in Year 3 of Ramesses V (the Will of Naunakhte, Document I, 3, 2 and IV, 2 = *KRI*, VI, 238: 3-4 and 242: 13) but appears to have still been alive under Ramesses IX when he wrote a letter to the vizier Nebmarakhte (P. DM 13 = *KRI*, VI, 524). He was probably dead by Year 17 of Ramesses IX at the latest (cf. Bierbrier, *LNKE*, 29).

²⁰ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 105 and 108-109.

²¹ Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 11, rt. 12 (= *KRI*, VI, 568: 15)

²² Column II of P. Turin 1932+1939 rt. (= *KRI*, VI, 685); Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 67 and 105.

messes X (here the number of *mnḥw* deployed, if any, is not known).²³ By Year 8 of Ramesses XI the crew was down to 16 workmen²⁴ although this number, as in earlier reigns, may have varied from year to year.

The reduction in the strength of the Tomb workforce was perhaps due as much as anything to concerns regarding the continued suitability of the Valley of the Kings as a burial ground in light of the recent social and political disturbances at Thebes. The sepulchre of King Ramesses XI was the final royal tomb to be excavated in the Valley. Thereinafter, the sepulchres for the new royal dynasty would be built far away in the north, at Tanis in the Delta.²⁵

Once the final decision to disband the crew of workmen had been taken (perhaps at the very end of Ramesses XI's rule)²⁶ many of the ordinary crewmen still in post were presumably left to fend for themselves, although some are known to have been drafted for military service in Nubia or to have fled Medinet Habu to avoid this fate.²⁷ The result in either case was a sharp drop in the number of rock graffiti at western Thebes attributable to men of such status.

On the other hand because of their special knowledge of the topography of western Thebes, the senior administrative scribes of the Tomb, the chief-workmen, at least one guardian²⁸ and some of the more skilled ordinary workmen²⁹ were retained in early Dynasty XXI by the new rulers of Thebes (the High-Priests of Amun) to effect the latter's own tomb-building projects, to supervise the recaching of the New Kingdom royal mummies, and to see to various general administrative duties at Thebes.³⁰ Rock and ink graffiti texts tracing the presence of a number of these officials continue to appear in the Theban tombs and hills well into Dynasty XXI.³¹

Turning now to the final periods discussed in this work perhaps the most striking aspect of the textual graffiti from Dynasties XXI-XXV is just how much of the material is found in the great temples of Amun at Karnak and Luxor. These inscriptions can be divided into two types:

²³ Botti and Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 60, 15 (now *KRI*, VI, 698: 7).

²⁴ P. Turin Cat. 2018 (= *KRI*, VI, 851-863); now cf. Černý, *Community*, 108; and Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 105 and 219.

²⁵ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 226; Dodson, *Cd'É* 63 (1988), 221-233.

²⁶ Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 221.

²⁷ Černý, *Community*, 380; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 225.

²⁸ The guardian Karo (= Černý, *Community*, 158-160; add Ward, *Pharaoh's Workers*, 84) who is apparently quite unknown from the West Theban graffiti.

²⁹ Even as late as Year 7 of *wḥm-mswt* or Smendes I it was still possible to assemble a gang of some 35 workmen for one project or another in the Kings' Valley (so O. Cairo 25575); see Reeves, *VK*, 107 and nn. 55-58. Note also that Černý and Sadek et al., *GMT*, IV/1, no. 2138, from Year 20 of Smendes I, refers to the "members of the crew" (*wḥw n lst*) as if an organized body of workmen of some size was continuing to function even then.

³⁰ McDowell, *JWC*, 198 n. 36.

³¹ For the last dated inscription (Year 10 of King Siamun): Černý, *Community*, 124, 202 and 312-313.

formal scenes with hieroglyphic texts of the High-Priest and "king" Pinudjem I and his family at Luxor Temple, which were clearly cut with a eye to being viewed by a fairly wide audience, and the much more private graffiti texts scrawled by various priests on the roof of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak in Dynasties XXII and XXIII, probably as they waited for temple services to begin.³²

By way of contrast it is remarkable that there seems to be a complete lack of textual graffiti from Lower and Middle Egypt at this period. The reasons for this are not clear; presumably it is just a matter of chance. Whether there was a fall in literacy in certain parts of the country at this time of decentralisation is uncertain. Among the graffiti texts which are attested in Upper Egypt both the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts continue to be employed as before.

Away from the Theban temples we are also faced with a sharp drop in the number of textual graffiti in the quarries of the Nile Valley. This lack of texts can be understood in terms of the continued weakness of royal authority, a weakening begun in the middle of the XXth Dynasty and which had seen a marked decline in the large-scale buildings so characteristic of the earlier Ramesside era, and therefore a falling off in the number of quarrying expeditions being sent for raw materials. (It should be remembered that in spite of its political weakness the state was far from being bankrupt in the Third Intermediate Period and could have funded such enterprises if it had chosen to do so.)³³

This decline in monumental building continued into the Third Intermediate Period with the major temples in the north of the country at Tanis and Bubastis being built with materials not always obtained first hand from the stone quarries but from earlier structures, notably those of Ramesses II at Pi-Ramesses.³⁴ The Khonsu Temple at Karnak was finished in Dynasty XXI and Shoshenq I later built the great court in front of the Second Pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak;³⁵ but little else of major architectural importance is known in Egypt for most of this period. Even with a new stimulus for building that came from the south with the Nubian

³² No doubt the roofs of the temples of Amun and Mut at Karnak were similarly once covered by these minor records which were lost along with the stone roofing blocks.

³³ Egyptian craftsmen (particularly in Dynasty XXII) continued to produce fine gold and silver funerary jewellery and elegant bronze statuettes. After the collapse of Egypt's empire in Nubia and Western Asia the raw materials required for such goods were presumably acquired by trade with her former dependencies. Additional sources were obtained by recycling bullion from the Valley of the Kings (so Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 62-78) and through the Solomonic treasures secured by Shoshenq I from Rehoboam after his Palestinian campaign. See Kitchen, *THIP*, §§ 253 and 262; Ziegler in J. Yoyotte et al. (eds.), *Tanis: L'or des pharaons* (1987), 85-101, 225-272; also Kitchen, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 15 No. 3 (1989), 30.

³⁴ Roemer, *LÄ* VI, 200-201; and Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 285-287.

³⁵ See the account in Kitchen, *THIP*, § 260.

invasion of Egypt under King Piye, royal construction work was largely concentrated in Nubia at the temples at Gebel Barkal, Kawa and Sanam.³⁶

As in the Third Intermediate Period there are far fewer hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti texts dating to the Saite and Late Periods when compared to the New Kingdom, inscriptions being particularly sparse after Dynasties XXVI-XXVII. There appears to be several likely reasons for this but perhaps the most significant was the emergence and wide dissemination of demotic as the new administrative script throughout Egypt in place of hieratic.

First used in Lower Egypt under King Psammetichus I as an administrative script, demotic became established at Thebes by Year 12 of Amasis; by Year 22 of Amasis it had replaced the Upper Egyptian equivalent to demotic, abnormal hieratic.³⁷ Ultimately the widespread use of demotic meant an end to hieratic for legal and business practices while hieroglyphs were now employed only for monumental purposes. We may assume that there was a gradual decline in the knowledge of both the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts.

To the principal factor may be added the additional phenomenon of the large numbers of new foreigners (notably the Greeks and Carians) who came to settle in Egypt from Dynasty XXVI onwards.³⁸ Such groups generally wrote their inscriptions in their own tongues.³⁹ What little we have in the way of hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti from the period appears to be the work of the indigenous population (notably from the small Isis temple at Gîza or the inscriptions at Wâdi Hammâmât and Aswân) or of those foreigners who acculturated selectively over a period of time (e.g., the Hammâmât texts of the Persian brothers Atiyawahi and Ariyawrata).

To summarize; from the outset of the Pharaonic Era graffiti texts could act as formal records that an official project had been completed at a mine or quarry as well as informal records that a private visit to a tomb or temple had been accomplished for whatever reason. In either case a discreetly composed graffiti inscription, in whatever script, was an ideal way of ensuring that the name of its author (in Egyptian eyes an essential element in the make up of an individual)

³⁶ Ruzsyczyc, *Archeologia* 24 (1973), 12-30.

³⁷ F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. III (1909), 12-14; also cf. M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiératique 'anormal' et en démotique (XXVe-XXVIIe dynasties)*, I (1953), xvii-xxi; and Vleeming, *Cd'É* 56 (1981), 31-48.

³⁸ Generally: A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Introduction* (1975), 13-32; O. Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen* (1978); Ray, *JEA* 68 (1982), 181-198; idem in A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and power in the ancient world* (1994), 54-58.

³⁹ There are many sites around Egypt with examples of very brief Aramaic, Carian, and Greek graffiti (often no more than a personal name) of Saite/Late Period date or later. For those sites with such graffiti inscriptions, cf. the convenient list given by Yoyotte, *Sources Orientales* III (1960), 59 n. 133, to which one can add Kornfeld, *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse* 7 (1978), 193-204, for the Aramaic and Phoenician graffiti left by visitors and pilgrims to the temple of Osiris at Abydos.

would be preserved for eternity.⁴⁰ In most cases the authors of graffiti inscriptions during the Pharaonic Era also recorded at least one of their official titles when they wrote out their texts, not only out of a sense of self-aggrandizement but as a means of identifying a particular writer among his like-named contemporaries. This would have been most desirable if an author had composed a graffiti text for divine intervention to remedy a personal crisis in his life; it would also have been helpful if a writer wished his descendants to know of some achievement he had accomplished in his career, one that could even now shed prestige on his surviving family. In the majority of cases titles from the textual graffiti of the Pharaonic Era reveal their authors to be upper or middle ranking state officials or skilled craftsmen (often they appear to be attached to a local administrative bureau, temple complex, or military base) who would have been not only the recipients of a basic scribal training in their youth, but members of society who, by virtue of their work commitments or social status, would have had ready access to the tombs, temples, and quarries where we find today the great bulk of the graffiti from the Pharaonic Era.

Whether these persons had the unspoken approval of society, or even formal permission in the case of family tombs, to scribble their names, titles, and curt observations in all the places they have actually done so is another matter. Generally, it seems, if a monument was ancient, abandoned, dilapidated, or otherwise released from its original function(s) then there appears to have been no great problem with regard to the propriety of visiting such a place and leaving a graffiti inscription to mark the occasion. Similarly, in the isolated regions beyond the narrow confines of the Nile Valley, such as the mines and quarries in the desert, there were clearly few constraints when it came to inscribing one's name and titles in graffiti, if there was a suitable rock surface at hand (note here the activities of the Deir el-Medīna workmen in their everyday work environment); with buildings still in regular use the situation was more complex.

For example, the graffiti left by priests and officials at the major Theban temples may well have been frowned upon as little more than vulgar defacements in certain quarters. But as long as the culprits were temple employees, and reasonably furtive when it came to where they left their signatures (within internal pylon staircases, on roof-terraces, or generally well away from the temple's main processional routes), then it seems that the practice was tolerated as a means of allowing minor temple officials the opportunity to perpetuate their memory within the precincts of the great religious institutions they served in without having to go to the trouble and expense of having a private statue or stela erected for the same purpose. As in all societies, expediency and opportunism, rather than any strictly enforced social mores, guided for the most part humanity's activities in Pharaonic Egypt.

⁴⁰ Vernus, *LÄ* IV (1980), 320-326.

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