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which he rarely published. It was Harris, for instance, who recorded the rock-drawings of Qau el-Kebir (notebook 11, 17–18) more than 35 years before they were published by Golenischeff,<sup>23</sup> and the demotic quarry-inscription at Sheikh el-Haridi on 21 February 1856 (notebook 5) 55 years before Spiegelberg.<sup>24</sup>

GOTTFRIED HAMERNIK

### P. BM EA 10052, Anthony Harris, and Queen Tyti

Recently rediscovered text copies of what is now P. BM EA 10052, 6.22–23 by Anthony Harris from his Notebook 5, in conjunction with surviving unpublished fragments from this section of the papyrus, identify a Queen Tyti as a King's Wife of Ramesses III, helping to resolve a long-standing conundrum in the study of the Twentieth Dynasty royal family.

ANTHONY Harris was not simply a collector, he had an intellectual interest in the antiquities he possessed. This is attested amply not only through publications issued during his lifetime, but also now in his Notebooks, lodged since 1896 in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, and studied for the first time by Hamernik.<sup>1</sup> In Notebook 5, Harris made notes on the tomb robbery papyri then in his possession, labelled by him Papyrus No. 1 (now P. BM EA 10053), Papyrus No. 2 (now P. BM EA 10052), and Papyrus No. 3 (now P. BM EA 10054).<sup>2</sup> In these notes, Harris provided a brief description of the documents as a whole, focusing on the division into pages and lines, and also copied the hieratic of brief sections of interest to him, usually focusing on dates or royal names which he was able to spot. One such copy, from P. BM EA 10052, 6.22–23, preserves a section of the papyrus not seen by Peet and now only partially preserved in fragments. This provides data that helps to resolve a long-standing conundrum in the study of the Twentieth Dynasty royal family.

P. BM EA 10052 was first published in transcription and translation by T. E. Peet in 1930. Peet's pioneering work was outstanding, and the quality of his transcription work in particular leaves little room for improvement. However, the papyrus as seen by Peet was lacking approximately a quarter of the lower section across the papyrus, as well as the completion of the lines for the final page of the verso (Peet's page 16). More than two decades later, apparently in 1953,<sup>3</sup> I. E. S. Edwards identified a significant number of additional fragments from the Harris tomb robbery papyri in the British Museum's papyrus collection. For P. BM EA 10052, Edwards found additional fragments from all 16 pages of the papyrus (7 pages recto and the 9 pages verso),<sup>4</sup> allowing a closer reconstruction of the papyrus as a whole and its series of testimonies.<sup>5</sup> In his Notebook 5, Harris provides an overview of his

<sup>23</sup> W. S. Golenischeff, 'Über zwei Darstellungen des Gottes Antaeus', *ZÄS* 20 (1882), 135–45.

<sup>24</sup> W. Spiegelberg, 'Eine Urkunde über die Eröffnung eines Steinbruchs unter Ptolemaios XIII.', *ZÄS* 51 (1913), 65–75.

<sup>1</sup> G. Hamernik, 'On the Rediscovery of Anthony C. Harris's Books and Manuscripts at Alexandria', this volume.

<sup>2</sup> For the original account from Harris's Notebook of the find, see Hamernik, this volume. By the time Harris was writing his Notebook, seemingly 1855–1857, he had clearly sold what became known as P. Abbott to Henry Abbott.

<sup>3</sup> Edwards refers to the date of his identification of the fragments in a later letter of his, now in his papers at the British Museum (AES Ar.76). However, it is clear that the additional upper left fragment from page 16, with the endings of lines 1–6, 8–13, and 16 had already been discovered in 1948 (though not the vertical central connecting fragments from lines 8–21, nor the lower fragments now in place). This fragment was seen and transcribed by Černý (Černý, Notebook 8, 26–7). His Notebook has the note: 'new frgt. identified on 28.12.1948'.

<sup>4</sup> Convenient low-resolution image available from the British Museum on-line collection database: <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx)>. Incidentally, it was these additional fragments located by Edwards which were published from page 2 of P. BM EA 10054 in A. Gasse, 'Panakhtempipet et ses complices (à propos du papyrus BM EA 10054, ro 2, 1–5)', *JEA* 87 (2001), 81–92 with pl. xi. Harris records page 2 of his Papyrus No. 3 (= P. BM EA 10054) as having 18 lines, agreeing exactly with Gasse's 2 additional lines (numbered -1 and -2, to preserve Peet's numbering) added to the 16 lines seen by Peet.

<sup>5</sup> Reading of the additional fragments, as well as collation of the main body of the papyrus and archival work

Papyrus No. 2 (= P. BM EA 10052), providing clear evidence that the papyrus as seen by him was substantially complete at that time, including the lower quarter of the document now preserved only in fragments.<sup>6</sup> Harris's overview also confirms that initial work on fragment placement undertaken by Edwards and his conservator, whilst broadly accurate, is not yet definitive;<sup>7</sup> in like manner the additional fragments confirm in specifics the general overview of the papyrus provided by Harris.

Harris records the height of the papyrus as 17<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> inches (= c.45.4 cm), thus towards the higher end of the range for the standard full sheet (and thus roll);<sup>8</sup> this is to be contrasted with Peet's recording of the height of the papyrus, without its additional fragments, at 36 cm. Harris's enumeration of the pages and lines of the papyrus can be compared to the papyrus as transcribed by Peet:

TABLE 1 *Comparison of lines recorded by page for P. BM EA 10052 by Peet and Harris*

P. BM EA 10052 recto	Peet	Harris	P. BM EA 10052 verso	Peet	Harris
Page 1	23	28	Page 8 = Harris verso 1	26	36
Page 2	34	41	Page 9 = Harris verso 2	8	15
Page 3	28	34	Page 10 = Harris verso 3	20	25
Page 4	31	32	Page 11 = Harris verso 4	24	25
Page 5	28	36	Page 12 = Harris verso 5	28	32
Page 6	21	32	Page 13 = Harris verso 6	26	30
Page 7	17	17	Page 14 = Harris verso 7	27	30
			Page 15 = Harris verso 8	25	30
			Page 16 = Harris verso 9	21	28

Harris did not count elements he noted as 'marginal notes', including Peet's page 2A. Excepting these elements, Harris counted 471 lines, compared to the 387 comparable lines seen by Peet—an additional 84 lines of text.

Page 6 is one of the pages for which the additional fragments provide an extensive addition to the papyrus as seen by Peet, amounting to an extra 11 lines according to Harris and confirmed by the extant fragments. This additional material is part of the second testimony of Nesamun called Tjaybay (lines 6.17–32) and is the concluding testimony to the first section of P. BM EA 10052. It had already been established through Collier's initial work on the surviving fragments that in this section of the papyrus Nesamun called Tjaybay was relating the robbery of a royal tomb of a queen, the surviving initial signs of whose name suggested the reading 'Tyti'. By a piece of considerable good fortune, page 6 lines 22 to 23<sup>9</sup> was one of the limited number of sections copied by Harris in his Notebook 5 (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup>

on papers held in the British Museum, has been undertaken by Collier as part of ongoing work on the later group of tomb robbery papyri with Chris Eyre, and he would like to record his gratitude to R. B. Parkinson, Patricia Usick, and Tania Watkins for their help and assistance. To date no record of Edwards' own transcription of this particular papyrus has surfaced in his papers.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps it is to be presumed that the subsequent damage to the Harris tomb robbery papyri is reflected in the issue of the tale of the explosion close to the Harris house discussed in W. Dawson, 'Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri', *JEA* 35 (1949), 164–6.

<sup>7</sup> It is also clear that some of the fragments moved from their placements during transport for photography; Edwards refers to this issue in letters preserved in his papers at the British Museum (AES Ar.76).

<sup>8</sup> J. Černý, *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt: An Inaugural Lecture delivered at University College, London, 29 May, 1947* (London, 1952), 16.

<sup>9</sup> Harris's main copy simply states 'N° 2 6th page'; however, he also copied the cartouche separately on another page of his Notebook with the annotations 'page 6' and 'line 23'. The last line of page 6 of P. BM EA 10052 (= Harris 6.32) is clear on the main surviving fragment and counting back along this fragment agrees exactly with this line numbering.

<sup>10</sup> Most of the brief copies come from sections of the main body of the papyrus later published in transcription by Peet. However, a small number cover those areas now preserved only in the fragments relocated by Edwards.

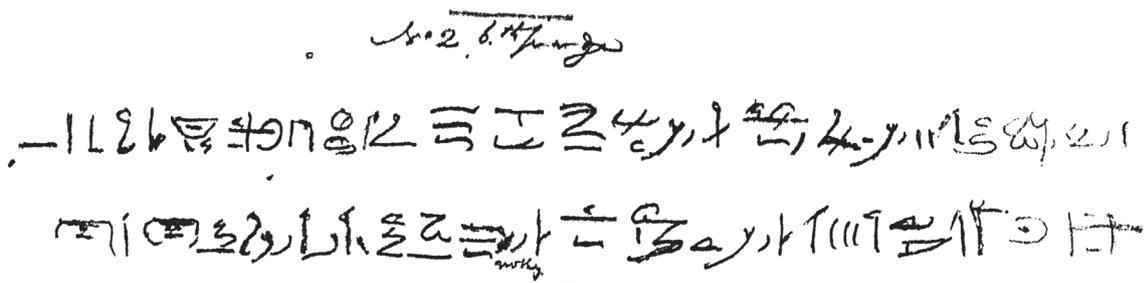


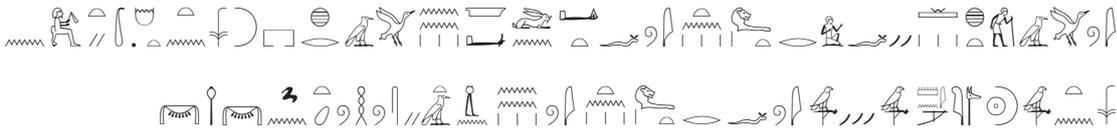
FIG. 1. Copy from P. BM EA 10052, 6.22–23 from Harris, Notebook 5 (courtesy of the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria).<sup>11</sup>

The accuracy of Harris’s copy can be checked against the surviving fragments:<sup>12</sup>



FIG. 2. Unpublished fragments from P. BM EA 10052, 6.22–23, from a set of working photographs (© Trustees of the British Museum) taken by Chris Eyre.

The passage reads:



<sup>6.22</sup> *iw p3-wr-ht=f r-hst=n iw=f dit wn=n p3 hr hmt-nsw tity n* <sup>6.23</sup> *nsw wsr-ms<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup>-mry-immn r.w.s.*  
*iw=f r hst=n iw=n in tzy swht n nbw hd*

[...] <sup>6.22</sup> with Pawerkhetef leading us. He had us open the tomb of the King’s Wife Tyti of <sup>6.23</sup> King Usermaatremiamun l.p.h., with him leading us, and we took that mummy-case of gold and silver.

**Notes:**

- 6.22. Harris seems not to have held away from embellishing his copy, probably in the light of his own experience of working with his own papyri, as indicated by his fuller copying of *hr* in 6.22.
- 6.22. As the fragments show, Harris disconnected the elements in *r-hst=n*.
- 6.22. The prestige determinative for the Queen’s name is that also used in the name of Queen Iset in 1.16.

<sup>11</sup> The image has been digitally cleaned and enhanced from a photocopy of the Notebook original.

<sup>12</sup> The fragments show their current position in the frame. As can be seen the fragments are not spaced with complete precision at present.

- 6.23. As can be seen from the fragments, only the final signs of the *r.w.s.* epithet now survive of the king's name. As recorded by Harris, the expected *m3t*-feather appears in a somewhat abbreviated form and might at first sight be taken to be an *s*-complement to *wsr*. Harris also copied the cartouche alone in a second, shorter memo on this line (see n. 10), showing a similar form:



However, the same abbreviated *m3t*-sign appears in the writing of the name of Heqamaatre in line 4.27:<sup>13</sup>



In addition, no extant version of any 'Usermaatre' cartouche (whether Ramesside or Third Intermediate Period) has such a complement. As such, the king named would therefore appear to be Usermaatre-miamun (Ramesses III).<sup>14</sup>

- 6.23. Harris seems to have made a slip with his pen in copying *iw=n* and noted this as 'nothing'.
- 6.23. The determinative of *swht* shows the same additional element as in 1.18.

It is noteworthy that this clarifies the flow of testimony in this part of the BM EA 10052 case and casts new light on the persistent claim of the interrogating panel that Nesamun Tjaybay was attempting to minimize his involvement in the robberies by focusing on various ancillary items stolen from a tomb which the investigators seem to have suspected was a separate tomb, and that the principal theft of the coffin and mummy-case from the tomb of Queen Tyti was the main aim of their investigations all along.

Although it is of course possible that the tomb of this Queen Tyti remains undiscovered —as does that of 'King's Wife Baketwerel of King Menmaatre',<sup>15</sup> mentioned in P. Mayer A, 4.3–4—a tomb in the Valley of the Queens has long been known whose owner was the *sst-nszw snt-nszw mwt-nszw hmt-nszw-wrt nbt-t3wy* Tyti (QV 52).<sup>16</sup> However, in spite of her extensive list of titles, there is nothing in the tomb to identify the kings who were her father, husband, brother, and son.

Her tomb lying open since the first days of Egyptology, various suggestions have been made as to Tyti's affiliations. Leaving aside her early confusion with Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III,<sup>17</sup> there have been two basic proposals. One places Tyti in the late Twentieth Dynasty, as daughter of Ramesses IX, wife of Ramesses X, and mother of Ramesses XI.<sup>18</sup> This has essentially been based on the paucity of information on late Ramesside queens, thus giving a 'space' in which to fit Tyti. The other associates Tyti with Ramesses III.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The more articulated form appears, for example, in ll. 1.4, 4.1, 4.24, 8.17, and 15.3.

<sup>14</sup> The only other option would be Ramesses VII, if *stp-n-r* had been omitted, but this is rather unlikely.

<sup>15</sup> There have been attempts to link her with Ramesses XI, but this is unlikely, as the living king would be called in such a context 'his person' or 'pharaoh', not by his prenomen, which should in any case include the epithet '-setepenptah'. Naming the king would indicate a deceased monarch, in this case Seti I. Another Queen Baketwerel, for whom KV 10 (Amenmesses) was usurped, remains a lady of uncertain affiliations, cf. A. Dodson, *Poisoned Legacy: The Fall of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Cairo, 2010), 48–51.

<sup>16</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 756–8.

<sup>17</sup> C. Campbell, *Two Theban Queens, Nefert-ari and Ty-ti, and their Tombs* (London, 1909), 85–111.

<sup>18</sup> K.A. Kitchen, 'Family Relationships of Ramesses IX and the Late Twentieth Dynasty', *SAK* 11 (1984), 127–34, seconded by Dodson, 'The Takhats and Some Other Royal Ladies of the Ramesside Period', *JEA* 73 (1987), 227–9.

<sup>19</sup> E. Schiaparelli, *Esplorazione della 'Valle delle Regine' nella necropoli di Tebe* (Turin, 1924), 155–6; B. Bruyère, 'Nebnerou et Hery-Mâat', *BIFAO* 53 (1952), 31–2; J. Grist, 'The Identity of the Ramesside Queen Tyti', *JEA* 71 (1985), 71–81.

A dating within or soon after the reign of Ramesses III is supported by many points of similarity between the decoration of QV 52 and the tombs of Ramesses III and his sons. It also has some potentially significant deviations from the decoration of QV 51, that of Iset D, decorated at least in part under her son Ramesses VI.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, the equation of QV 52 with the tomb mentioned in P. BM EA 10052 seems highly probable.

Nevertheless, identifying Tyti's husband as Ramesses III still leaves her other affiliations to be resolved. It has been suggested that Tyti could have been Ramesses III's daughter-wife, based on the use of her *sst-nsw* title in the dedicatory texts in QV 52, together with her affectation of an alleged 'daughter-wife headdress'.<sup>21</sup> However, the former point is highly subjective, while the headdress in question can be paralleled in contexts that lack any suggestion of such a meaning.<sup>22</sup>

More reasonable, perhaps, is to seek Tyti's royal father in an earlier generation. If she were to be a daughter of Sethnakhte this would neatly make her his *sst-nsw* and *snt-nsw* of her brother-husband Ramesses III. Alternatively, one could seek her father amongst the kings of the late Nineteenth Dynasty, perhaps Seti II, the last monarch to be regarded as legitimate prior to Sethnakhte.<sup>23</sup>

As for the identity of Tyti's royal son, since Ramesses VI was the son of Iset D, only Ramesses IV and VIII remain as candidates. Given that Ramesses VIII only reigned briefly some 25 years after his father's death, it is hardly likely that the decoration of QV 52, with the *mwt-nsw* title intimately mixed with Tyti's other titles, could have been delayed this late to refer to him. This leaves Ramesses IV as the only credible primary 'subject' of the *mwt-nsw* title in the tomb. As for which—if any—of the other sons of Ramesses III were borne to Tyti, no unequivocal data is available, other than the fact that Amenhirkhopeshef B, buried in QV 55,<sup>24</sup> was *ms n hmt-ntr mwt-ntr hmt-nsw-wrt*, paralleling Tyti's titles so closely that he may with some confidence be proposed as her son.

The addition of Tyti to the known family of Ramesses III as a Great Wife and possibly as mother of Ramesses IV (and probably Amenhirkhopeshef B) complicates the generally accepted picture of the king's spouses, which has assumed children borne to two women, Iset D—the Great Wife—and another of lower status.<sup>25</sup> It has on occasion been suggested that the latter was none other than Tiye C, the principal female protagonist of the Harem Conspiracy and mother of the pretender Pentaweret,<sup>26</sup> but with Tyti, also a *hmt-nsw-wrt*, involved as well, more permutations are available.

Assessment is complicated by the paucity of named mentions of royal wives during the reign of Ramesses III. A handful of monuments survive of Iset D,<sup>27</sup> but the depictions of a *hmt-nsw-wrt* at Medinet Habu are all accompanied by blank cartouches.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that both Iset and Tyti lived into the reigns of their sons—given the appearance of the *mwt-nsw* title in both tombs—it seems clear that Ramesses III imitated Ramesses II in having at least two simultaneous Great Wives. Whether the ill-fated Tiye was also a Great Wife is a moot point and beyond the scope of the present paper.

<sup>20</sup> Grist, *JEA* 71, 71–8. On the other hand, the lack of later comparanda and the relatively short periods of time involved potentially lessen the impact of such observations.

<sup>21</sup> Grist, *JEA* 71, 79.

<sup>22</sup> See Dodson, *JEA* 73, 227–8. The headdress criterion is also used by Grist to make Iset D also a daughter-wife—in spite of the latter nowhere bearing the title of *sst-nsw*. Cf. also A. J. Peden, *The Reign of Ramesses IV* (Warminster, 1994), 5.

<sup>23</sup> As evidenced by the Festival of Min reliefs in the memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 500).

<sup>24</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 759–61.

<sup>25</sup> K. A. Kitchen, 'Ramesses VII and the Twentieth Dynasty', *JEA* 58 (1972), 186–92; id., 'The Twentieth Dynasty Revisited', *JEA* 68 (1982), 124–5, based in part on the existence of two sons with the title *ss-nsw tpy n ht=f*.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. S. Redford, *The Harem Conspiracy* (DeKalb, 2002), 34–47.

<sup>27</sup> Statue at Karnak/Mut and Berlin stela 3422 (KRI V, 367).

<sup>28</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 500, 504–5. This parallels a similar lack of primary labelling of the various figures of princes and princesses in the temple (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 502, 505), although some of the princes received secondary label-texts under Ramesses IV and VI, with a final addition by Ramesses VIII; cf. Kitchen, *JEA* 58, 182–9; *JEA* 68, 120–4.

The material discussed here once again demonstrates how vital it is to preserve and study the records of our Egyptological predecessors. By his conscientious recording of key elements of his collection, Anthony Harris has enabled the solution to one of the minor mysteries of Egyptian history.

MARK COLLIER, AIDAN DODSON, and GOTTFRIED HAMERNIK

### Two overlooked oracles

New readings proposed for two Late Period stelae reveal additional evidence for divine oracles. In JE 72130, Nectanebo I relates how the goddess Nehmetaway proclaimed his future kingship through an oracle, not a public *hieros-gamos* ritual as Roeder had suggested. JE 53147 (Bucheum Stela 9), informs us that the new Buchis was chosen by the statue of Amenope during a ritual procession in Luxor, possibly from among a pool of qualified taurian candidates.

#### JE 72130 Hermopolis Stela of Nectanebo I

The Thirtieth Dynasty began when Nectanebo I from Sebennyptos rose to power and succeeded the Mendesian Twenty-ninth Dynasty. However, the precise details of the dynastic shift have remained shrouded in mystery. Only two classical historians allude to the actual transition. Theopompos of Chios briefly remarked that ‘Nectanebo assumed the kingship of Egypt’ (καὶ ὡς Νεκτενίβιος παρειληφότος τὴν Αἰγύπτου βασιλείαν).<sup>1</sup> Cornelius Nepos, meanwhile, noted that ‘for, having gone forth to help Nectanebo, he (the Athenian general Chabrias) established his kingship’ (*nam Nectenebin adiutum profectus, regnum ei constituit*).<sup>2</sup> Most scholars have concluded that Nectanebo seized the throne from Nepherites II by military force.<sup>3</sup> As A. B. Lloyd recently summarized, ‘Given such an ancestry [referring to Nectanebo I’s military family] and the extreme brevity of Nepherites’ reign, the advent of the new dynasty looks suspiciously like a military coup’.<sup>4</sup>

The only native Egyptian source to mention the succession is a stela Nectanebo I erected at Hermopolis, now in the Egyptian Museum (JE 72130).<sup>5</sup> Although the text contains several philological difficulties, Roeder was able to reconstruct the basic course of events:

- (1) Nectanebo, general under Achoris or Nepherites II, leads an expedition to Hermopolis to quell a local rebellion.
- (2) Successful in his campaign, Nectanebo earns the support of the Hermopolitan officials, and the favor of the goddess Nehmetaway.
- (3) With this local support, Nectanebo seizes the crown from the young Nepherites II.

<sup>1</sup> F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, II/B (Berlin, 1929), 558, F103, 10; cf. F. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953), 89, 173. Note that the phrase παραλαμβάνω βασιλείαν has neutral connotations, corresponding to Egyptian *šsp nsw.t* (var. *šw.t wr.t*), ‘to receive kingship’ (var. ‘the great office’) in Ptolemaic trilingual decrees; LSJ, 1315; F. Daumas, *Les moyens d’expression du grec et de l’égyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis* (SASAE 16; Cairo, 1952), 205–6, 236.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Chabrias* II, 1; noted by Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte*, 89. This statement may simply imply that Chabrias supported Nectanebo against the Persians.

<sup>3</sup> E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L’Égypte* (Paris, 1962), 608–09; J. H. Johnson, ‘The Demotic Chronicle as an Historical Source’, *Enchoria* 4 (1974), 11; H. de Meulenaere, ‘Nektanebos I’, *LÄ* IV, 450; C. Traunecker, ‘Essai sur l’histoire de la XXIXe Dynastie’, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 436; J. D. Ray, ‘Egypt: Dependence and Independence (425–343 B.C.)’, in H. Sancisi-Weerenburg (ed.), *Achaemenid History*, I: *Sources, Structures, and Syntheses* (Leiden, 1987), 82–3; N.-C. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 375; J. A. Josephson, ‘Nektanebo’, in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, II (Oxford, 2001), 512; J. Kahl, ‘Zu den Namen spätzeitlicher Usurpatoren, Fremdherrscher, Gegen- und Lokalkönige’, *ZÄS* 129 (2002), 33; A. I. Blöbaum, ‘„Denn ich bin ein König, der die Maat liebt“: Herrscherlegitimation im spätzeitlichen Ägypten. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Phraseologie in den offiziellen Königsinschriften vom Beginn der 25. Dynastie bis zum Ende der makedonischen Herrschaft (AegMonast 4; Aachen, 2006), 18.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Lloyd, ‘Egypt, 404–337 BC’, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> VI, 340–1.

<sup>5</sup> G. Roeder, ‘Zwei hieroglyphische Inschriften aus Hermopolis’, *ASAE* 52 (1953), 375–442; sections of this stela have been discussed recently by K. Myśliwiec, *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 2000), 166, 168;