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Richardstraße 47
D-22081 Hamburg
SAK@buske.de

**Herausgeber:**

**Prof. Dr. Jochem Kahl**
Ägyptologisches Seminar
Freie Universität Berlin
Fabeckstr. 23-25, Raum 0.0056
D-14195 Berlin
jochem.kahl@fu-berlin.de

**Dr. Nicole Kloth**
Sondersammelgebiet Ägyptologie
Universitätsbibliothek
Plöck 107-109
D-69117 Heidelberg
kloth@ub.uni-heidelberg.de

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Prof. Dr. Hartwig Altenmüller (Hamburg)
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Three solar hymns from Dra Abu el-Naga

Jose M. Serrano

(Taf. 60–63)

Abstract

Publication of three small epigraphical fragments, possibly belonging initially to stelophorous statues. They were found in the central area of Dra Abu el-Naga, in the surroundings of the tombs of Djehuty (TT 11) and Hery (TT 12). Every fragment has been studied, allowing an essay of reconstruction of the text and an interpretation. All the three can be dated to the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and they can offer valuable contributions for the knowledge of the solar hymns of the New Kingdom in the field of the private funerary cults and beliefs.

The excavation of the courtyard and the area surrounding the tombs of Djehuty (TT 11) and Hery (TT 12) in Dra Abu el-Naga has allowed the recovery of an abundance of archaeological material, including the fragments inscribed with solar hymns that we present here. The value of this type of text towards understanding the evolution of religion during the New Kingdom has given rise to an important line of research over the last few decades. This research has been based on the analysis and consideration of hundreds of texts, usually very brief or often incomplete. The addition of new documents can aid us in improving our knowledge of these texts, thus allowing more appropriate integration into their historical and religious context.

In this regard, the study of each one of the three inscribed fragments concerned here poses interesting contributions to the topic. Fragment A contains what is possibly one of the earliest versions of a hymn that would end up as part of the funerary repertoire of the Book of the Dead. Fragment B is especially interesting, due to the fact that it allows for the practically complete reconstruction of the text of a stelophorous statue found in 1899. It provides new information about the composition of this type of hymn and the adaptation of the text to the inscribed space of the stela. Furthermore, this piece provides new and fundamental information about the person recorded, and his career as servant of the domain of Amun. Fragment C is a rare example of a hymn dedicated to the moon deity Nh-th or Nh-dhwty, which interestingly integrates expressions and clichés normally found in hymns to the sun.

1 This work was carried out as part of the Spanish-Egyptian archaeological mission in the Dra Abu el-Naga, and inside the Research Project HAR2014-52323-P of the Spanish National Program for Scientific Research, Technology and Innovation. We would like to express our gratitude to all the members of the so-called “Proyecto Djehuty”, especially its director, Dr. José M. Galán, whose suggestions and recommendations have been important for the final result of this article. I insist that all the ideas, proposals, and errors are the exclusive responsibility of the author.

**Fragment A:**

It is a fragment of a stela made of high-quality limestone, measuring 9.10 x 11 x 3.30 cm. Up to six lines of horizontal text have been carved (Taf. 60), the height of each register being 2.2 cm. It was found at a distance of 25 m to the southwest of the left side wall of the courtyard of the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11), amidst the debris, in the area where, until 2007, had been located the houses of the modern village, and therefore outside of an original archaeological context. The hieroglyphics are simply traced, without remaining colour, and appear well-grouped. They have been carved with shallow incisions, with an interior section in V.

What remains of the text allows us, without any doubt, to place it within the classification and typologies of the solar hymns of the New Kingdom, more specifically as an example of the so-called Morning Hymns. Thanks to these parallels, we can provide a partially reconstructed text:

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X+1 [...] ind hr.k R² m wbn.k Itm] hr-3hty
+2 [dw3.i t]w nfrw.k m irty.(i)
+3 [hpr 3hw.k hr šn]bt.i wd3
+4 [.k htp.k m msnbr] ib.k šw
+5 [m m³ndt nml.k hrt
+6 [m htp]…
```

“…(X+1) [Hail, O Re, at thy rising, Atum]-Harakhty. / (+2) [I worship] thee, thy beauty being in (mine) eyes, / (+3) [when thy sunlight comes into being over] my breast. Thou crossest (the sky) / (+4) [and goes to rest in the night-barque], thy heart having being glad / (+5) [in the day-barque. Thou traversest] heaven / (+6) [in peace]…”

**Commentary**

Line X+1: Our reconstruction follows the standard version of the beginning of the text provided by Stewart and Assmann. The bottom of sign N27 (Canopic jar) can be identified with relative clarity, as well as the falcon G5 (falcon) that comes before it. It is highly likely that it was preceded by the introductory formula of worship that includes the mention of the titles and name of the deceased. This formula invariably appears in all the preserved copies of this hymn (cf. n. 5). According to the version closest to our piece, the copies of the Book of the Dead from the Any and Greenfield papyri, the introduction would sound like this: *dw3 R²*

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3 As can be seen in the photo, the fragment preserves part of the right side of the object, with the beginning of the lines.
4 The demolition of the houses and the relocation of its population has made it possible for the “Proyecto Djehuty” team to expand archaeological activity towards the south and west, in what has come to be called “Sector 10”, where important documentary contributions have been made, specially related with the XVIIth Dynasty (www.excavacionegipto.com).
5 Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 58–9 (Text nº VII); Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 281 ff. (Text III 2 A); id., Sonnenhymnen, xxiv-xxiv (Text C’); id., Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, Zürich/München 1975, 135–136, nº 31.
6 Cf. for the translation: Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 58.
7 Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 58; Assmann, Sonnenhymnen, xxiv (C, 1 and 2).
Lines X+2 / +3: It is the best preserved part of the inscription, and one of the most interesting passages. Instead of the salutation or the mention of the rising solar deity upon its morning appearance in the eastern sky, as is to be expected in this type of hymn, we find a prayer in a strongly pious and devotional style. This prayer introduces the cliché of "seeing the good/divine beauty" and joining with its light, something that fits well with the appearance of the rising sun. The origin of the cliché can possibly be found in the liturgical texts of the temples, which are adapted to funerary rites in the form of a plea, appeal, or prayer that is placed in the mouth of the deceased. The expression _irt Snbt_ is employed to make reference to these pectorals. As well, in a literary text from the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty the pectoral, _irt Snbt_, is compared to "Akhty when he manifests himself in the morning". This could be related to our text, where this formula is included following a passage that precisely finishes with the mention of Horakhty.

Lines X+4 / +5 / +6: A reconstruction of these lines can be proposed thanks to the complete versions that have been preserved (cf. n. 5). It is clear that the parallel that best fits with this text is a hymn preserved on three funerary papyri and included in chapter XV of the Book of the Dead. If the stela was including originally the entirety of the text, it would be missing a little less than half of the canonical version, about four or five additional lines, which would add up to a total of about 10-12 lines.
This fragment conceivably formed part of a stelophorous statue. This type of statue is especially appropriate for containing hymns to the sun. The dimensions of the piece, the size and carving style of the signs, and the fact that the text is organised in horizontal lines are all elements that suggest this proposal. It is difficult to estimate a date for the fragment, although it would obviously fall within the New Kingdom. Stelophorous statues with solar hymns are especially common starting from the middle of XVIIIth Dynasty (Thutmose III-Amenhotep II) to the beginning of the Ramesside period (Sety I or the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II). The palaeography of the text does not permit a more specific dating, it is however worth noting that the signs and the arrangement of the text is similar to the stela of Nefer-Menu, in the Pushkin Museum of Moscow, from the middle of XVIIIth Dynasty. If this is the case, our document would contain one of the oldest preserved copy to-date of this type of solar hymn. This hymn could also be a good example of the insertion of texts originally designed for temple liturgy, and later transferred to a funerary context. During this process it would undergo modifications to get adapted to a more expressive context of personal piety and devotion to sun worship, occurring during the transition from XVIIIth Dynasty to XIXth Dynasty.

Fragment B:
Fragment B was found in front of the façade of the tomb of Djehuty, in the debris above the right wall separating the courtyards of TT 11 and Kampp 399, outside of a clear ancient archaeological context. It is a fragment of what originally would have been a stelophorous statue, measuring 9.5 x 9 x 14.5 cm (Taf. 61). We have the bottom left corner of the stela, including part of the base and the original left side of the piece. It preserves the last four lines of a text containing a solar hymn. The registers are 2 cm high. The signs are written in cursive style, with a shallow incision and without interior details. The lines that separate each row of text, as well as those that define the area of the inscription, are highlighted in red. There is also coloration in yellow at the background and inside the signs.

This fragment is interesting because it completes a statuette found in 1899 by the archaeological team directed by Newberry and Spiegelberg who excavated in Dra Abu el-Naga in the area around the tombs of Djehuty and Hery, under the sponsorship of the Mar-
quis of Northampton.\textsuperscript{21} In the Spiegelberg's field journal (\textit{Fundjournal}), currently preserved at the Griffith Institute (Oxford), he records, on 9 February 1899, the discovery of this statuette among the debris of the courtyard of the tomb of Djehuty. He also makes a note of the fact that the separating lines were colored red and the signs in yellow.\textsuperscript{22} This piece, as appears in the definitive report of the excavation, is described as a stelephorous statue missing the bottom left part, with the name of the "Chief of the storehouse of Amun Ab-em-usekh (sic)."\textsuperscript{23} The Fragment B concerned here belongs to this piece without a doubt, allowing for a confident reconstruction of almost the entirety of the text (Taf. 62):

\begin{verbatim}
Line 1:  dw\textdegree{} Ra xft wbn.f r \\
2:  hpr(t) htp.f m ʿnḥ in ḥry šn[f] \\
3:  n] Inmn ʿb-m-wšh(t) \\
4:  [... i]nd hr.k R° wbn.k (f)m \\
5:  [m] htp.k nfr wbn.k psd.k hr psd \\
6:  mwt.k h°.ti m [ḥ]t[ ]t]b(t) d β. \\
7:  k hr(t) ib.k šw [mr nhšwy]ḥ pr(w) \\
8:  m htpw sib hrw n [R° ʿwy.fy ksw]
\end{verbatim}

“(1) Adoring Re when he rises in the horizon until / (2) there occurs his setting in life, by the chief of the storehouse / (3) [of] Amun Ab-em-usekhe(t) / (4) [He says]: Hail to you, Re when tu risest, Atum, / (5) [when] you settest beautifully. When thou appearest, thou shinest upon the back / (6) of thy mother, thou having appeared in glory in the eastern [horizon]. Thou travellest / (7) the sky, thy heart glad, [the Sea of the Two Knives] having become / (8) at peace, overthrown the enemy [of Re, his arms bound]”\textsuperscript{25}

\textit{Commentary:}

The hymn can be easily identified as a Morning Hymn.\textsuperscript{26} It fits with an ideal model that is considerably longer. The piece concerned here is basically limited to the first part, possibly in order to be adapted to the reduced space of the stela.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{22} W. Spiegelberg, Fundjournal Theben, vol. I (7 November 1898 -27 Januar 1899), vol. II (27 Januar- 9 Februar), 115.
\textsuperscript{23} “Small Stela from before a kneeling figure. The inscription names a “Chief of the Storehouse of Amon Ab-em-usekh” and gives a hymn to Ra” (Northampton, Spiegelberg/Newberry, Report on Some Excavations, p. 18).
\textsuperscript{24} We have adopted the transliteration \textit{mr nhšwy} instead of the old reading of \textit{mr dswy}. Cf. the commentary by Stewart (Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 48f.) presenting the old reading, and Assmann (Liturgische Lieder, 271) who adopts the new reading (following H. Altenmüller, Messersee, gewundener Wasserlauf und Flammensee, in: ZÄS 92, 1966, 86–95).
\textsuperscript{25} For the translation, cf. Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 48f.
\textsuperscript{26} Assmann Stewart labels it as II (Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 47–50; our specific document is collected as II J). AssmaNn classifies it as III 1, and offers a slightly different canonical structure (Liturgische Lieder, 263ff.).
\textsuperscript{27} It is most common that these texts appear in an abbreviated format. As Stewart points out, “because of his short winded, the Egyptian hymnic style was ideally suited for filling given amounts of inscriptive space” (Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 41, 49). For this reason, Assmann includes our version (in the incomplete form published by Northampton) in the category III 1 B-\textit{Kurzfassung} (Liturgische Lieder, 264, n. 22).
Lines 1-3: This section does not belong properly to the solar hymn. Its fundamental purpose is to introduce the central theme of the worship of Re, while at the same time allowing for the presentation of the person honoured by the monument, through his name and position. The formula “Adoring Re when he rises until there occurs his setting in life” expresses the daily cycle of the sun and is related to the idea of the permanent worship that the deceased aims to offer to the deity, one of the core reasons of this type of stelophorous statue.\footnote{Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 40 (“From the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty the form \( dw\text{R}^c \) \( hft \) \( wbn.f \) \( r \) \( hprt \) \( htp.f \) \( m \) \( nh… \) become very common on funerary monuments such as stelophorous statuettes…”); id., in: JEA 46, 1960, 84; Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 267f., highlighting the conceptual adaptation of this type of monument to the funerary beliefs of the New Kingdom.}

The name and personality of "b-m-ws\( t \) (Ab-em-usekhet), his place in the administration, and the possibility of relating him to other figures with the same name will be discussed later on.

Line 4: The beginning is lost. The lacuna may be reconstructed with \( m3\text{R}^c \) \( hrw \), following the name of the deceased that appears at the end of the previous line, or rather \( ddf \), which is very common in this type of texts to introduce the solar hymn itself, and placed in the voice of the deceased leads to direct speech, “hail to you…” \( (\text{ind } hr.k…) \).\footnote{Stewart, in: JEA 46, 1960, 86; id., Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 48.}

The three first lines of the text are separated in this way, with the presentation of the deceased (as a worshipper of Re, with his name and position), apart from the solar hymn that takes up the rest of the stela.

Lines 5-6: The reconstruction of the sign Aa13 ( \( ) \) seems indisputable, due to the preserved traces as well as the context and the fact that it is used twice more in the stela for the phoneme \( m \), in lines 6 and 8. Nor is there any doubt about completing sign N27, \( zht \) \( (\sim) \), followed by R15, \( ibtt \) (\( \uparrow \)), in line 6 (cf. n. 32 below). These two lines contain a stanza that begins with \( wbn.k \) and ends precisely with \( zht \) \( ibtt \), which forms a coherent set itself and presents some notable features.\footnote{This peculiarity was already pointed out by Stewart, in: JEA 46, 1960, 97 n. 3, and by Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 267 h (where he erroneously writes \( ibtt pt – “im Osten des Himmels” \). However, neither author makes a comment on the issue.}

It is striking that the formula that is almost always used, \( hjt \) \( m \) \( nsw \) \( psDt \)\footnote{It is one of the texts closest to the one studied here. Cf. F. von Bissing, in: ZÄS 64, 1929, 113–17, Tf. 4; M. Sandman, Texts from the time of Akhenaten, Bruxelles 1938, 144; Stewart, in: JEA 46, 1960, 86 (E); id., Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 47 (H); Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 263 n. 6.} is replaced here by \( hjt \) \( m\) [\( ibtt \)] \( ib(tt) \).\footnote{This parallel is the stela of Nakht-Min from the time of Amenhotep IV,\footnote{Stewart, in: JEA 46, 1960, 86 (E); id., Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 47 (H); Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 263 n. 6.} which is interesting due to the fact that the mention of the "Eastern Horizon" could fit well with the religious environment of Amarna. In any case, being a hymn to the morning sun, this expression fits well with the funerary function of the piece. It is possible that this parallel helps us to propose a chronological context for the stela (cf. below).

Lines 6-7: In this type of hymn, the verb that is normally used is \( nmi \).\footnote{Stewart, in: JEA 46, 1960, 86; id., Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 41.} The only parallels to \( d3\text{R}^c \) \( hr(t) \) are found in a stelophorous statue in Berlin from the second half of...
XVIIIth Dynasty,\textsuperscript{35} and in the hymn of the tomb of Amenemhat-Surer, from the time of Amenhotep III.\textsuperscript{36} This could be another chronological indication to keep in mind.

Line 7: The writing that we propose for “the Sea of the Two Knives” is almost certain, due to the space left between \textit{ib.k} \textit{3w} and \textit{hpr(w)}, as well as the fact that the word written with the dual suffix is exceptional.\textsuperscript{37} In this way we get closer to the text of the stelophorous statue of Nakht, another clear parallel to our stela, and again to that of the tomb of Amenemhat-Surer (time of Amenhotep III).\textsuperscript{38} As for the composition of the our text, which immediately introduces the motif of the “enemy” (of Re), it is interesting to point out that “the Sea of the Two Knives” is the name of a mythical place included in the references to the victory in battle of the solar deity against Apophis.\textsuperscript{39}

Line 8: We propose the reconstruction \textit{hrw n R}, which is also somewhat peculiar. It differs from the great majority of versions of this hymn, given that it is normally written \textit{hr(w)}, as well as due to the fact that the name of the solar deity is included. Furthermore, although it is a reference to Apophis,\textsuperscript{40} it does not commonly appear in the solar hymns of the New Kingdom, when the use of the expression \textit{hfty} or \textit{hfty n R} is almost consistent,\textsuperscript{41} applied to the mythological enemy of Re. The expression \textit{hrw n R} only becomes generalized later, especially during the Greco-Roman period, where it is frequently used to refer to Apophis, for example, as can be seen on the Bremner-Rhind papyrus.\textsuperscript{42} The final part of the last line of the text is completely lost. Although it is true that these texts often differ from the canonical version in the conclusion, in order to adapt to the space of the inscription,\textsuperscript{43} the expression \textit{awy.fy qsw} is a formula that normally follows the mention of the “fallen enemy (of Ra)”, as if it were an epithet, integrating the same textual context.\textsuperscript{44} It also fits rather well into the space remaining beneath the last line of our stela.

It is important to point out that the message and the internal structure of the hymn, as it appears on the monument of Ab-em-usekhet, seems to correspond with the way in which it has been written and adapted to the space for the inscription on the stela. Thus, we can differentiate three clearly separated sections: 1) Lines 1-3: it includes the introductory formula, and the titles and name of the deceased. 2) Lines 4-6: it possibly begins with \textit{dd.f}, clearly

\textsuperscript{35} Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften Berlin II, 51, n. 2314.
\textsuperscript{36} Th. Save-Söderbergh, Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, Oxford 1957, 46–7, pl. LII.
\textsuperscript{37} Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 49 n. 3.
\textsuperscript{38} N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes, New York 1917, 38, fig. 6; Save-Söderbergh, Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, 46–47, pl. LII. The writing on the stela of Nakht-Min (cf. n. 33 above) is without a doubt an error of the scribe or copyist, similar to others found in this text, and shouldn’t be taken into consideration.
\textsuperscript{39} For this mythological reference see Stewart, in: JEA 46, 1960, 87ff.; id., Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 49f.; and especially the commentary of Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 271–73.
\textsuperscript{40} This fits very well with the passage of our text where it is located, as will be shown below.
\textsuperscript{41} In the stelophorous statue of the British Museum BM 1304, to provide an example, the expression \textit{shr w hfty n R} is included (Stewart, in: JEA 53, 1967, 37f.). It is significant that in the solar hymns of the Theban tombs, the expression \textit{hfty} for “enemy” appears often, (cf. Assmann, Sonnenhymnen, 391) while the term \textit{hrw} only appears in one text from a tomb dating to the Late Period (id., 35–36, Text n° 27).
\textsuperscript{42} WB III, 321.8. In the Papyrus Bremner-Rhind we often find it in the list of names and appellations of Apophis: cf. R.O. Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind -British Museum N. 10188-, Brussels 1933, 32, 13ff.; in 24 (19) appearing precisely the combination \textit{hrw sbi(w)}.
\textsuperscript{43} Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns, 42 (“owing, however, to modification to fit a given space, the original forms of the endings is more uncertain”).
\textsuperscript{44} Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 273.
marking a new stanza. In this section is located the hymn itself, containing the salutation to the solar deity, accompanied by phrases expressing the appearance of the morning sun.

3) Lines 7–8: actually beginning with the verb $d(i)$, still on the 6th line, the end of the hymn is dedicated to one of the most common topics in this type of text, the successful navigation of the solar boat. This is only possible with the defeat and annihilation of the enemy of the solar deity, Apophis.

This coherence and adaptation of the content of the hymn to the physical arrangement of the text within the space of the inscription is remarkable, given that it reflects coordination between the scribe who composes the text and the artist who works on the statue, and the stela. It is well known that, among the particular features of Egyptian art, we must emphasize the rich dialectic between the written message and its material context (sculpture, architecture, or painting). It is a practice that is easily demonstrated in many stelophorous statues similar to those presented here.\(^{45}\) It is a subject, that can only be touched upon here, that without a doubt deserves more general and broad attention, but that clearly exceeds the objectives of our study.

In regards to the person honoured by the stela, his name and position appear in lines 2 and 3 of the text: $hry\ sfn\ [n]\ Imn\ \textit{ab-m-wsxt}$ (sic). The name has been transcribed and read in two different ways, depending on whether the suffix $-t$ is considered to be missing or not.\(^{46}\) Actually, the reading of the second part of this compound name doesn't present difficulties: $wsxt$ (“hall”, “court”), which has a wide semantic field within a religious and funerary context.\(^{47}\) Omission of the final $-t$ is common, even in the writing of this word. Furthermore, it is a feature that is frequently repeated throughout our stela.\(^{48}\) Thus, this name would form part of a relatively common group of the type $Imn-m-wsht$, $R^c-m-wsht$, $dhwty-m-wsht$, and similar.\(^{49}\) The first component of our name would be a participle,\(^{50}\) meaning that the transla-

\(^{45}\) For example, the inscription of Nakht (Davies, The Tomb of Nakht, 38), which we have already pointed out as one of the closest parallels to our document, also fits to three-way division of the text: line 1 begins with $dwA\ Ra$, line 3 begins with $ind\ hr.k$, and in the sixth, this time halfway through, the last section begins with $nm1.k$. Also in one of the stelophorous statues of Berlin (Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften Berlin II, 29, n. 2313), the introductory formula and the statement of the name completely take up the first three lines, and starting with line 4, which similarly begins with $dd.f$, the hymn itself is introduced; from line 4 until the end of the text, all the lines begin with a verb that introduces a phrase or verse of the hymn.

\(^{46}\) The reading Ab-em-usekh in the original publication of the larger fragment (Northampton, Spiegelberg/Newberry, Report on some excavations, 18) is maintained by Assmann ($\textit{ab-m-wsxt}$, in: Liturgische Lieder, 264 n. 22), while recent studies opt for the form $\textit{ab-m-wsht}$, based above all on the parallels of the funerary cones that will be discussed below (s. S. Eichler, Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun” in der 18. Dynastie, BSAK 7, Hamburg 2000, 262, n. 159).

\(^{47}\) The place where the judgment of the deceased before Osiris takes place is called the “The Room (wsht) of the Two Truths” (WB I, 366.15); the space in the temple where statues or images of the distinguished dead are placed is also called by this name (WB I, 366.9). This is even occasionally the name of the divine boat with which the deceased aspires to join in the Afterlife (WB I, 365.4).

\(^{48}\) $\text{ybr(t)}$ in line 2, $\text{hr(t)}$ in line 7, and also possibly $\text{lbh(t)}$ in line 6.

\(^{49}\) H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen III, Glückstadt 1935, 44.

\(^{50}\) Parallels: $\textit{h}^c\ m\ wsh(t)$ “He who rises in glory in the (Great) Chamber” (Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, 263, 20), or $\textit{h}^c\ m\ wsh(t)$, which Ranke translates as “He who rises (as witness) in the Chamber (of Judgment)” (cf. Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, 417, 12 n.4). For the funerary cones that mention $\textit{h}^c-m-wsh(t)$, cf. infra n. 52.
tion \( \text{'}b-m-wsht \) would depend on the interpretation of the verb \( \text{'}b \), or \( \text{'}i\text{'}b \), which allows for various equally-viable options.\(^51\)

The profile of this person is completed with the mention of his position, \( hry\ sn^r\ n\ Imn \) (“Chief of the Storehouse of Amun”). Difficulties appear because up to four cones with the name of \( \text{'}b-m-wsht \) are preserved.\(^52\) Although none of them include the previously mentioned title, they make reference to a series of positions that generally can be related with the domain of Amun, and also with the administration of the storehouse-\( sn^r \). For this reason they have been considered as a single person who had accumulated up to seven positions, mostly of middle or inferior rank within the structure of the domain of Amun in Thebes.\(^53\) It is now necessary to add an eighth position, that of \( hry\ sn^r\ n\ Imn \), given that our document had not been previously taken into consideration.\(^54\)

It is of course possible that all this documentation actually refers to the same individual. However, it is striking that none of the four different seal impressions on the cones mention the title of \( hry\ sn^r\ n\ Imn \), which is without a doubt the highest rank of the series.\(^55\) On the other hand, it is not common to create more than one cone for a single individual, and it is very uncommon for one person to accumulate four of them. These cases normally concern very high-ranking people at the upper levels of the hierarchy.\(^56\)

Considering this in detail, we can see that all the other positions accumulated by this – supposedly – single person with the name \( \text{'}b-m-wsht \) are of middle, or even lower, rank: 

- \( hry\ mrw\ n\ Imn \), chief of the \( mrw \)-workers of Amun;
- \( imy-r\ sn^r\ n\ hmt-ntr\ Nfrt-iry \), overseer of the storehouse of the God’s Wife Amhes-Nefertary;
- \( imy-r\ hbrmwn\ n\ Imn \), overseer of the poultry(? ) of Amun;\(^57\)
- \( iry-\text{'}f\ n\ snwt \), guardian of the door of the granary;
- \( h\text{'}byw\ tpy\ n\ Imn \), first grain counter of Amun;
- \( iry-\text{'}t\ n\ Imn \), chamber keeper of Amun; \( \text{'}thwn\ n\ Imn \), brewer of

\(^51\) Probably equally appropriate are the verbs \( \text{'}i\text{'}b \) (“meet” or “join”), \( \text{'}b \) (“boast”), or even \( \text{'}i\text{'}b\text{’}b \) (“appear”, “shine”). Less likely are \( \text{’}b \) (“be pure”, “purify”, actually a form of \( w\text{’}b \)). In any case, Ranke records our name just on the base of the funerary cones (without including the Northampton fragment), correctly reading it as \( \text{’}b-m-wsht \) (Die ägyptischen Personennamen II, 416, 24). Nevertheless he presents a very doubtful meaning and translation (“\( \text{’}b \) ist in der Halle”) relating it to a possible goddess \( \text{’}hwt \), practically unknown (Die ägyptischen Personennamen II, 402).

\(^52\) N. de G. Davies/M. F. Macadam, A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones, Oxford 1957, nº 439, 487, 513, 543.

\(^53\) Eichler, Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”, 262, n. 159, 375 (for references), and specially 111–12, where he comments in extenso on the cursus of \( \text{’}b-m-wsht \). The supposedly accumulated positions are: \( iry-\text{’}f\ n\ snwt\ htp-ntr\ n\ lmn, imy-r\ sn^r\ n\ hmt-ntr\ Nfrt-iry, h\text{’}by\ tpy\ n\ lmn,\ hry\ mrw\ n\ lmn, iry-\text{’}t\ n\ lmn, imy-r\ h(\text{’}r)mw\ n\ lmn, \text{’}thwn\ n\ lmn \). On these titles, see the comments in the text and below.

\(^54\) Eichler does not include it (cf. Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”, 108, 263).

\(^55\) Eichler classifies it among the “mittlere Ränge” within the administration of the \( sn^r \) –storehouses of Amun. Until now, only three holders of this position were known (Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”, 108). Curiously in these three cases no other position is mentioned, as occurs with \( \text{’}b-m-wsht \), which now must be added to the list.

\(^56\) For example, Amenhotep, son of Hapu (Davies-Macadam, Funerary Cones, nº 10, 40, 65, A11), Senemih (nº 446, 447, 494, 514, 556), Ineni (nº 424, 425, 426, 480, 481), Min-Nakht (nº 87, 89, 91, 113, 147, 177), Suemniut (nº 143, 156, 163, 181), Pabasa (nº 92, 468, 469, 470), or Montuemhat (nº 411, 418, 419, 4120, 449, 461, 472). As we can see, it concerns individuals of the courtly and governmental elite, far above the social and administrative level of Ab-em-usekhet.

\(^57\) Even the two titles of \( imy-r\ sn^r\ n\ hmt-ntr\ Nfrt-iry \) and \( imy-r\ h(\text{’}r)mw\ n\ lmn \) are also of middle-rank, far from the similarly-named positions belonging to the elite of the administration of the domain of Amun, such as \( imy-r\ thwn\ n\ lmn \) or \( imy-r\ prwy\ h\text{’}f\ nbw\ n\ lmn \) (cf. Eichler, Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”, 111).
Amun. Moreover, it is not common to have such a precise and complete set of information about the career or positions accumulated by a public servant who hasn’t achieved a higher rank. All things considered, this leads us to think that it could concern two or even more individuals of the same name, possibly related, each of them servants of the domain of Amun. Furthermore, there are various additional elements that could reinforce this proposal. If we closely analyze the positions described in each one of the above mentioned funerary cones, ḫry šn(w) n ḫmn ṭ-b-m-wšḥ(t), the title and name of the person honoured by our stelophorous statue could be related to its counterparts expressing very similar and related positions on cones no 513 (imy-r šn n hmt-ntr ḫřt-airy) and 487 (ḥry mṛw n ḫmn). A possible relationship seems more distant with ṭ-b-m-wšḥt of cone no 543, which reads ḫywy ṭpy n ḫmn, “first grain counter of Amun”, corresponding to another department of the domain of Amun, the granary. Finally, on cone no 439 we have an ḫḥw n ḫmn, (“brewer of Amun”), holding the position of imy-r ḫ(m)r ṭm n ḫmn, “overseer of the poultry(?) of Amun”, not contained in any other document. Although it is true that their duties could correspond to the storehouse-šn as part of the administration of the domain of Amun, it is worth pointing out that on this cone the name appears written with a graphic composition that is different from the other three, and also from our stelophorous statue.

Fragment C

It is a small irregular fragment of fairly compact limestone, found on the slope of the hill above the façades of the tombs of Hery and – 399 – on the level of shallow surface debris, outside of the ancient archaeological context. The piece measures 12 x 9 x 7 cm. Only fragments of five lines from the inscription have been preserved, and in four of them some text can be read (Taf. 63). The height of the registers is about 2 cm. The signs have been lightly carved and filled with blue color, in the same way as the horizontal lines that separate the registers. There are remains of the originally white background. The way in which it has been carved on the back points to the possibility that it formed part of a stelophorous statue, as it is the case for fragments A and B. Part of the right-hand side of the stela has been preserved, allowing the reading of the end of the last three lines of preserved signs (Lines X+3, X+4 and X+5).

Line X+1: […]
+2: […] n p[t] (?) īnd [ḥr].k ṭ[Tśḥ](?) …r…
+3: […] n ḫnt.k m
+4: […] ḫd t’r
+5: […] ḫḥ

58 For these positions, see Eichler, Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”, 111–2.
60 The supervisor of workers mṛw is the other middle-ranking position of the administration of the storehouses (šn) of the domain of Amun, along with ḫry šn n ḫmn (cf. Eichler, Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”, 108ff.)
61 Eichler, Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun”, 42ff.
62 The main difference is the use of the horn-sign F16 ( ), for the reading ṭb.
“(X+2) …of the sky. Hail to you, Iah… / (X+3) …your sailing in (?) / (X+4) … illuminat-
ing the earth to (?) / (X+5) …life”

Commentary:
Line X+2: The reconstruction of pt is only hypothetical.\(^{63}\) However, there is not doubt that what follows is the typical formula for the beginning of what would be the hymn itself (\textit{ind hr.k}…). It is possible that there may previously have been an introductory text (of the type \textit{dwA R′}…) expressing the votive offering, the prayer to the god, as well as the name and titles of the person honoured by the stela, as in Fragment B above. Immediately afterwards we find the most striking element of the piece: the reference to the deity to whom the hymn is dedicated, written with the sign of the lunar disc N62 (\(\ces\)). It’s not common, but the identification and reading of the sign does not leave any doubt. It refers to the lunar deity \(T\h\), or as frequently called in hymns, \(T\h-dhwy\).\(^{64}\) Although this part of the piece is deteriorated, the beginning \textit{yodh} can be easily read.

+4: The navigation is a recurring central theme in the solar hymns of the New Kingdom, but it would also be appropriate for a hymn to \(T\h-dhwy\), who is referred to in texts as "he who is on the great sacred boat".\(^{65}\) It is also apparent that the role played by the lunar deity, Thoth or Iah-Thoth, is well known as companion of Ra in the solar boat. He is of great importance in the nocturnal and daytime journeys of the solar deity, even occasionally replacing Seth as the avenger of Ra who annihilates Apophis.\(^{66}\)

X+5: The expression “illuminate the earth (with his rays)” is once again a very common cliche applied to Ra in hymns from the New Kingdom. It is also appropriate for the lunar deity, and fits well with the epithets and attributes that characterize the deity in these religious texts. In this manner, we find a hymn from the time of Amenhotep III that venerates \(dhwy\ T\h\) as he “whose rays illuminate the Two Countries” (\textit{stwt.k sHd.n.s t\(\w\)w}y).\(^{67}\) As writ-

\(^{63}\) It would mean a change to the correct order of the signs (phonemes \(p\) and \(t\)), but this occurs frequently with this word.

\(^{64}\) See parallels in: G. Maspero, Rapport sur une mission en Italie, in: Recueil des Travaux 4, 1883, 143: regarding a stela featuring a lunette with the divine barque; inside of which appears the disc framed by the lunar horns, like in our piece, and above it the mention of \(T\h-dhwy\ ntr \textit{t\(\w\)ty}\) (translation and brief commentary in A. Barucq/F. Daumas, Hymnes et Prières de l’Egypte Ancienne, Paris 1980, n° 102 and Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, n° 151); G. Maspero, Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et d’histoire, in: Recueil des Travaux 2, 1880, 119 (Barucq/Daumas, Hymnes et Prières, n° 103 and Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, n° 157); G. Maspero, in: Recueil des Travaux 4, 1883, 168 (Barucq/Daumas, Hymnes et Prières, n° 104 and Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, n° 156). Cf. as well the texts cited on nn. 65–67 below.

\(^{65}\) It concerns a hymn inscribed on a statue of Kheruef, from the time Amenhotep III; Roeder, Ägyptische Inschriften Berlin II, 39, n. 2293 Text A 1 (cf. Barucq/Daumas, Hymnes et Prières, 354, n° 96).

\(^{66}\) For the relationship between the lunar deity and Ra and the solar barque, see P. Boylan, Thot: The Hemes of Egypt, London 1922, 58–61, 81–82; C.J. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth: two key figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion, Leiden 1973, 119–21. In the celebrated hymn to Thoth-Iah carved into the statue of Horemheb, preserved in the Metropolitan Museum, part of the text is dedicated to these functions, linked to the navigation of the solar boat; cf. H.E. Winlock, A Statue of Horemheb before his accession, in: JEA 10, 1924, 1–5; Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, n. 222.

ten in the great hymn of the statue of Horemheb, also dedicated to Thoth-Iah as the lunar deity (\textit{dhwty-\textit{Th}}), it even goes as far as to say that “the day dawns” (\textit{hd t\textit{h}}) thanks to the direct intervention of Thoth.\footnote{Winlock, in: JEA 10, 1924, 3.}

It is evident that the fragment is very small and the text too fragmentary to extract firm conclusions, and to try to identify it with one of the known models of hymns. In regards to dating, the parallels that we have used seem to point towards the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, or maybe the beginning of the Ramesside period (cf. nn. 65, 66). In any case, the simple fact that we find ourselves with a votive piece apparently dedicated to \textit{Th}, \textit{Th-dhwty}, is noteworthy. It would also be uncommon that it had possibly formed part of a stelophorous figure, given that this type of sculpture was mostly used for solar hymns. Actually, it is also important to emphasize that we have here a text dedicated to the lunar deity that makes use of the motifs and topics derived from the hymn literature of Ra and solar deities from the New Kingdom in general. In this way, it could be even related with some texts that begin with an invocation to Iah-Thoth and proceed to a solar hymn dedicated to Ra.\footnote{Maspero, in: Recueil des Travaux 2, 1880, 168f. Cf. Baruqc/Daumas, Hymnes et Prières, n° 104 y Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, n° 156.}

\textbf{Conclusion}

Along this paper we have tried to value together three small fragments of inscription, belonging to different types of solar hymns, and dated to the New Kingdom (XVIIIth-XIXth Dynasties). Each of them offers elements of interest, worth to be studied and highlighted. The Fragment A can be an example of the transfer of hymnic texts from the temple to the funerary context; in addition it includes some notable expression that could be related to the personal piety. The Fragment B is especially interesting: it allows to reconstruct almost completely the hymn of a stelophorous statue found at the very end of the 19th century. Besides offering noticeable lexical variants, and being a good example of the adaptation of a canonical text to the epigraphical field of the stela, this inscription also gives the name and title of an important official of the domain of Amun, previously only known throughout some funerary cones. The last fragment (Fragment C) offers the particularity of being a hymn dedicated to Iah (the moon), including nevertheless expressions and topics coming from the solar hymns.
Fragment A
(Photo J. Latova-Proyecto Djehuty)
Fragment B

(Photo Proyecto Djehuty)
Left, in drawing, stelophorous statue (Northampton, Spiegelberg and Newberry, Report on Some Excavations, pl. 17, 2);
lower right, Fragment B (Photo Proyecto Djehuty),
Fragment C

(Photo J. Latova-Proyecto Djehuty)
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