



EGITTOLOGIA 5

# EGYPT IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TALES, TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS

STUDIES PRESENTED TO MARILINA BETRÒ

edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Christian Greco,  
Paolo Del Vesco, Mattia Mancini, Cristina Alù

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1° vers. = Primo Versamento [First Deposit]  
2° vers. = Secondo Versamento [Second Deposit]  
AA = Archäologische Anzeiger (Berlin)  
ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)  
AAA = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)  
AAE = Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy (online)  
AAL Cl. Sc. mor. st. filol. = Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Roma)  
AASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)  
ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Münster)  
ABoT = Balkan K., Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri, Istanbul 1948  
Acc. Sc. Torino - Memorie Sc. Mor. = Accademia delle Scienze di Torino – Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Torino)  
ACE Reports = Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports (Sydney)  
ACE Studies = Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies (Sydney)  
AcOr = Acta Orientalia; Societas Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica (Leiden-Copenhagen)  
ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK). Ägyptologische Reihe (Glückstadt-Berlin)  
ADAJ = Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (Amman)  
Aeg = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia (Milano)  
Aegaeum = Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège (Leuven-Liège)  
ÄF = Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt)  
AegLeo = Aegyptiaca Leodiensia (Liège)  
AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia (Aachen)  
ÄgLev = Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete (Wien)  
AERA = Ancient Egypt Research Associates (Brighton, MA)  
AERAGram = AERA biannual newsletter (Boston)  
ÄuAT => ÄAT  
Aevum = Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche (Milano)  
Africa = Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Roma)  
ÄgAbh => ÄA  
AH = Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Geneva-Basel)  
AHAW = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse (Heidelberg)  
ÄHK = *siglum of the letters between Egyptians and Hittites published by E. Edel, Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band I: Umschriften und Übersetzungen, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 77, Opladen 1994  
AIIN = Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica (Roma)  
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology (Chicago)  
AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago) [after 1941: JNES]  
AKB = Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)  
Aldrovandiana = Aldrovandiana. Historical Studies in Natural History (Bologna)  
Am Antiquity = American Antiquity (Cambridge)  
AnAe = Analecta Aegyptiaca (Copenhagen)  
Anal Bioanal Chem = Analytical and Bioanalytical Chemistry (Berlin-Heidelberg)

- AncEg = Ancient Egypt Magazine (London-New York)
- AncSoc = Ancient Society (Leuven)
- AnnHistScSoc = Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales (Aubervilliers-Cambridge)
- Annu Brit Sch Athens = Annual of the British School at Athens (Athens)
- ANPM = Annals of the Náprstek Museum (Prague)
- ANSMI = Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Cattolici Italiani (Roma)
- Anthropol Forum = Anthropological Forum (online)
- Antiquity = Antiquity: quarterly journal of archaeological research (Cambridge)
- AntK = Antike Kunst (Basel)
- AO = Der Alte Orient (Berlin)
- AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- AOF = Altorientalische Forschungen (Bern)
- APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) [after 1945: ADAW]
- ARAAFU = Association des Restaurateurs d'Art et d'Archéologie de Formation Universitaire (Paris)
- ARC = Archaeological Review from Cambridge. Univ. of Cambridge (Cambridge)
- ARCE Bulletin = Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt (San Antonio, TX)
- Archaeol Prospect = Archaeological Prospection (online)
- Archéo-Nil = Archéo-Nil: Bulletin de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil (Paris)
- ARM = Archives royales de Mari (Paris)
- ArtB = The Art Bulletin (online)
- ArOr = Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies (Prague)
- ARWAW = Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Opladen)
- ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo)
- ASAtene = Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente (Roma)
- ASBR = Archivio Storico Generalizio del Centro Studi Storici PP. Barnabiti (Roma)
- ASOR = American Society of Overseas Research (Alexandria, VA)
- ASR = L'Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses (online)
- ASSic = Archivio Storico Siciliano. Soc. per la stor. patria (Palermo)
- ASTENE Bull. = Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East: Notes and Queries (Durham-Cambridge)
- ASTo = Archivio di Stato, Torino
- Athenaeum = Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità (Pavia)
- AttiAccTorino = Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino (Torino)
- Atti STSN = Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali (Pisa)
- AUB = American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum (Beirut)
- AUC = American University in Cairo (Cairo)
- AulaOr = Aula Orientalis. Revista de Estudios de Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Barcelona)
- AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin-Mainz)
- B = Busta [Envelope]
- BA = Biblical Archaeologist [now: NEA] (Ann Arbor-New Haven)
- BAAL = Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises (Beirut)
- BACE = Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (Sydney)
- BAEE = Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología (Madrid)
- BAEFE = Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (online)
- BAH = Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique (Paris)
- BAJA = Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (Berlin)
- BaM = Baghader Mitteilungen (Berlin)
- BAR IS = British Archaeological Reports International Series (London)
- BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)
- BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (Ann Arbor)

- BBf = Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde (Berlin-Cairo-Zurich-Wiesbaden-Stuttgart)
- BCM = Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland)
- BdA = Bollettino d'Arte (Roma)
- BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude (IFAO, Cairo)
- BdÉ, B d'E => BdE
- BE = Bibliothèque égyptologique (Paris-Cairo)
- BEHE SSR = Bibliothèque de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Section des Sciences Religieuses (Paris)
- B Eng Geol Environ = Bulletin of Engineering Geology and the Environment (online)
- Berytus = Berytus: Archaeological Studies (Beirut)
- BES = Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (Ann Arbor)
- Bessarione = Bessarione: Pubblicazione periodica di Studi Orientali (Roma)
- BESTud = Brown Egyptological Studies (Providence)
- BEUMo = Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena
- BG = Bibliothèque Générale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BiAeg = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- Biblica = Biblica (Roma)
- BIE = Bulletin de l'Institute d'Égypte (Cairo)
- BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BIN = J.B. Nies, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, Yale 1917
- BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
- BM = British Museum, London
- BMB = Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth (Paris)
- BME = British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt (London)
- BMFA = Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
- BMH = Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts (Budapest)
- BMJ = British Medical Journal (London)
- BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (New York)
- BMonsMusPont = Bollettino dei Monumenti, Musei e gallerie Pontificie (Roma)
- BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BMSAES = British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
- BnF = Bibliothèque national de France, Paris
- Bo = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy/Hattuša
- Boğazköy-Hattuša = Boğazköy-Hattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen (Darmstadt-Berlin-Wiesbaden-Erbenheim)
- Brit J Hist Sci = British Journal for the History of Science (London)
- BRM = A.T. Clay (ed.), *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Piermont Morgan* (New Haven), New York-New Heaven 1923
- BRT = Biblioteca Reale di Torino
- BSA => Annu Brit Sch Athens
- BSAE = British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London)
- BSAE/ERA = British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account (London)
- BSEG = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève (Geneva)
- BSFE = Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie; Réunions trimestrielles, Communications archéologiques (Paris)
- BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
- BTMn = Biblioteca Teresiana di Mantova
- BUPi = Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa
- BzÄ = Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Wien)
- C2RMF = Centre de Recherche et Restauration des Musées de France (Paris)
- CAA = Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum (Mainz)
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols, Chicago 1956-2010
- CAENL = Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant. Acad. autrich. des sc. (Wien)
- CAJ = Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge)
- CAMS = Centro di Ateneo per i Musei Scientifici, Perugia
- CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Cairo)

- CC = *Clavis Coptica* o *Clavis Patrum Coptorum, unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna opera copta nell'ambito del Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari
- CCdE = Les Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie (Martinique)
- CCE = Cahier de la céramique égyptienne (Cairo)
- CChEM = Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Wien)
- CdE = Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles (Bruxelles)
- CdÉ, CdEg => CdE
- CED = J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976.
- CGT = Catalogo Generale del Museo di Torino (serie)
- CENiM = Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (online)
- CeROArt = Conservation, exposition, Restauration d'Objets d'Art (Liège)
- CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)
- CLES = Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Brooklyn Museum (New York)
- CLM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna unità codicologica letteraria copta nell'ambito del progetto *PAThS* e del suo principale prodotto scientifico, l'*Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* (<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>)
- ClQu = The Classical Quarterly (Cambridge)
- CMET = Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino (Torino)
- CNI => CNIANES
- CNIANES = Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNIP = Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNR = Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
- CollHell = Collectanea Hellenistica (Bruxelles)
- Comp Stud Soc Hist = Comparative Studies in Society and History (Cambridge)
- CP = Classical Philology (Chicago)
- CRAI => CRAIBL
- CRAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Paris)
- CRBC = Conservation-Restauration des Biens Culturels (Sorbonne)
- CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (Paris-Lille)
- CRUI = Conferenza dei Rettori delle Università Italiane (Roma)
- CSEG = Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève (Geneva)
- CSIS = Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid)
- CSCT = Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition (Leiden-Boston)
- CTH = E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971 (with Supplements in RHA XXX, 1972, 94–133 = CTH Suppl., and RHA XXXIII, 1973, 68–71 (<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>)
- Curr Anthropol = Current Anthropology (Chicago)
- D3T = Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives
- DAAM = D. Schwemer, E. Rieken (eds), *Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris*, Wiesbaden
- DAIK = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo (Cairo)
- DAIK S = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Sonderschrift (Cairo)
- DBH 46/2 = R. Akdogan, *Hethitische Texte Bo 4658 – Bo 5000. Teil 2: Autographien*, Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 46/2, Wiesbaden 2016.
- DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Roma)
- DDbDP = Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (<https://papyri.info>)
- DE = Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)
- DELc = W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1984
- DemStud = Demotische Studien (Leipzig-Sommerhausen)
- Der Antike Sudan = Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin (Berlin)
- DFIAO = Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
- DGÖAW = Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)

- DPDP = Demotic Palaeographical Database Project (<http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html>)
- DS = Detroit Statue
- EA = Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) (London)
- EAO = Égypte, Afrique et Orient (Paris)
- EAT = *siglum* of the edition of the cuneiform tablets unearthed at Tell el-Amarna
- EDAL = Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries (Milan)
- EtudTrav = Études et Travaux (Warsaw)
- EEF = (Publications of the) Egypt Exploration Fund => MEEF
- EEF Memoir => MEEF, EES EM
- E&G Quaternary Sci. J. = Eiszeitalter und Gegenwart Quaternary Science Journal (online)
- EES EM = EES Excavation Memoirs (London) [earlier names: MEEF/MEES]
- EES GRM = EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs (London)
- EES TM = EES Texts from Excavations, Memoirs (London)
- EgAT = O. Neugebauer, R.A. Parker, *Egyptian astronomical texts*, Providence (vol. 1) 1960, (vol. 2) 1966, (vol. 3) 1969
- EGE = Revista de Expresión Gráfica en la Edificación (Madrid)
- EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
- EI = Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (Jerusalem)
- Eidola = Eidola. International Journal of Ancient Art History (Pisa)
- EME = Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie (Paris)
- Enchoria = Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie (Wiesbaden)
- ENiM = Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (Montpellier)
- EPRO = Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (Leiden) [later RGRW]
- EQÄ = Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie (Münster)
- ERA = Egyptian Research Account (London) [after 1906: BSAE]
- ERUV = S.H. Aufrère (ed.), *Encyclopédie Religieuse de l'Univers Végétal : Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, 4 vols, Montpellier 1999-2005
- EtudTrav => ET
- ET = Études et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences (Warsaw)
- EU => EgUit
- EVO = Egitto e Vicino Oriente (Pisa)
- [ExSaq] = Excavation at Saqqara (SAE, Cairo)
- FAT = Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2<sup>nd</sup> series (Tübingen)
- FÄW = J. Kahl, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2002)
- FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports préliminaires (Cairo)
- FoRa = Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt. Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir – Pi-Ramesse (Mainz)
- FR => FoRa
- FuB = Forschungen und Berichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
- Geol Survey Israel Rep No GSI = Geological Survey of Israel, Report No. G.S.I. (Jerusalem)
- GFA = Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (online)
- GHE = Golden House Egyptology (London)
- GHP Egyptology = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)
- GM = Göttinger Miszellen (Göttingen)
- GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen (Wiesbaden)
- Greek Roman Byzantin = Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham)
- GrHL = H.A. Hoffner, H.C. Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar; Part 2: Tutorial*, Winona Lake, IN 2008.
- GRM => EES-GRM
- GSI = Geological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem)
- HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
- HAT = *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches* (Wiesbaden)
- Hb Orient St Sect = Handbook of Oriental Studies Section (Leiden)
- HdO = Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie (Leiden)

- HGV = Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (<http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start>)
- Hist Reflections = Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques (New York)
- HKM = S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 6/34, Ankara 1991
- HPBM = Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (London)
- HR = History of Religions (Chicago)
- HSCP = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Cambridge MA)
- HZL = Ch. Rüster, E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Bogazköy-Texten*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 2, Wiesbaden 1989
- IAMS = Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies (London)
- IAWA = International Association of Wood Anatomists (Leiden)
- IBAES = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (online)
- ICE = International Congress of Egyptologists
- IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal (Jerusalem)
- IFAO BG = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque Générale (Cairo)
- IFROA = Institut Français de Restauration des Œuvres d'Art (Saint-Denis)
- IJNA = International Journal of Nautical Archaeology (online)
- ILC = Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo (Madrid)
- Info DaF = Information Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Göttingen-Bonn)
- Int As Sed = International Association of Sedimentologists Special Publication (Gent)
- IOS = Israel Oriental Studies (Leiden)
- Iran = Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies (London)
- ISIMU = ISIMU. Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad (Madrid)
- ISMEO = Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma)
- JAC = Journal of Ancient Civilizations (Changchun)
- JACF = Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum (online)
- JAEA = The Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture (online)
- JAEI = Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (Tucson)
- JANER = Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions (Leiden)
- JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore-Boston-New Haven)
- JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston-Princeton-New York-Cairo)
- J Archaeol Res = Journal of Archaeological Research (New York)
- JAS = Journal of Archaeological Science (Tucson)
- JbZMusMainz = Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (Mainz)
- JCH = Journal of Cultural Heritage (online)
- JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies (Chicago-New Haven-Cambridge)
- JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (EES, London)
- JEgH = Journal of Egyptian History (Swansea)
- JEMAHS = Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies (Philadelphia)
- JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
- JES = Journal of Egyptological Studies (Sofia)
- JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)
- JfAC = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (Münster)
- J Glass Stud = Journal of Glass Studies (New York)
- JHA = Journal for the History of Astronomy (Chalfont St. Giles)
- J Hist Collect = Journal of the History of Collections (Oxford)
- J Hist Ideas = Journal of the History of Ideas (Philadelphia)
- JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies (London)
- JJP = Journal of Juristic Papyrology (Warsaw)
- JMA = Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (online)
- JMC = Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes (Saint-Germain-en-Laye)
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
- JRAI = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London)

- JSAH = Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (Philadelphia)
- J Soc Archaeol = Journal of Social Archaeology (online)
- JSSEA = Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA) (Toronto)
- JWCI = Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (London)
- JWP = Journal of World Prehistory (New York)
- Kadmos = *Kasmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und früh-griechische Epigraphik* (Berlin-New York)
- KARNAK = *Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak* (Cairo)
- KAW = *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt* (Mainz)
- KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Berlin)
- Kemi = *Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes* (Paris)
- KMT = KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt (San Francisco)
- KRI = K.A. Kitchen (ed.), *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, 7 vols, Oxford 1969-1990
- KUB => KBo
- Kush = *Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service / Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM)* (Khartoum)
- KuT = *siglum of the tablets and fragments excavated at Kuşaklı/Šarišša*.
- LÄ = W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, Wiesbaden 1972/5-
- LACMA = Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles)
- [LDA] = Les Dossiers d'Archéologie (Dijon)
- LDAB = *Unique identifier attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del Leuven Database of Ancient Books*
- LEAD = Late Egyptian Artefact Database (<https://lead.ifao.egnet.net/>)
- LETIAM = Laboratoire d'Étude des Techniques et Instruments d'Analyse Moléculaire (Paris)
- Levant = *Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem)
- Lexis = Lexis. Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica (Abano Terme)
- LGG = Chr. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, OLA 110-116, 7 vols, Leuven 2002.
- LingAeg = Lingua Aegyptia. *Journal of Egyptian Language Studies* (Göttingen)
- LingAeg SM => LinAeg – StudMon
- LingAeg – StudMon = *Linguae Aegyptia – Studia Monographica* (Hamburg)
- LNS = Late New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1240-1180 BC)
- LRMF = Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France
- M = Mazzo [Bundle]
- MA = Musée des Antiquités (Rouen)
- MAAO = *Münchener Abhandlungen zum Alten Orient* (Gladbeck)
- MACA = Mantova Collezioni Antiche (Mantova)
- MAE = Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie (Torino)
- MAECI = Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale (Roma)
- MÄS = *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin-Munich-Mainz)
- MÄSB = Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
- MAFTO = Mission Archéologique Française de Thèbe-Ouest
- MAI = Missione Archeologica Italiana
- MAM = Museo Archeologico, Milano
- Mar Geol = Marine Geology (Amsterdam-New York)
- Marmora = *Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology, History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stones* (Pisa)
- MASCA = Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology (Philadelphia)
- MascaP = MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology (Philadelphia)
- MBA-Dijon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon
- MBA-Lyon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon
- MDAI = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran (Leiden-Paris)
- MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz-Cairo-Berlin-Wiesbaden)
- MdS = Musées de Sens
- MedA = Mediterranean Archaeology (online)

- MEEF = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund [later: MEES] (London)
- MEES = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (London)
- MEFRA = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Antiquité (Paris)
- MEFRM = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge (Paris)
- MemAcInscr = Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Toulouse-Paris)
- Memnonia = Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum (Cairo-Paris)
- [Mem.Phil.] = Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge (Philadelphia)
- MemPontAc = Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia. Memorie (Roma)
- MGC = Museo “Gaetano Chierici” di Paletnologia (Reggio Emilia)
- MH = Middle Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1500-1350)
- MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Caire (Berlin-Cairo)
- MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)
- MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London)
- MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
- MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire (Paris) [later MIFAO]
- MMJ = Metropolitan Museum Journal (New York)
- MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- MonPiot = Monument et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot (Paris)
- MPER = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)
- MRE = Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Bruxelles-Turnhout)
- MS = Middle Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1500-1350 BC)
- MSAE = Materiali e Studi Archeologici di Ebla (Roma)
- Msk = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Meskene/Emar
- MUP = Musei dell'Università di Pisa (Pisa)
- Mus = Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme (Leuven)
- Muséon => Mus
- MUSJ = Mémoires/Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beirut)
- MVCAE = Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt (Atlanta)
- NARCE = Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) (New York-Cairo)
- Nat Sci Arc = Natural Science in Archaeology (New York)
- NEA = Near Eastern Archaeology [formerly: Biblical Archeologist (BA)] (Boston)
- NeHeT = NeHeT. Revue numérique d'Égyptologie (Paris-Bruxelles)
- NH = New Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1350-1180 BC)
- NML = National Museum, Liverpool
- NS = New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1350-1240 BC)
- Numen = Numen: International Review for the History of Religions (Leiden)
- OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg-Göttingen)
- Ocnus = Ocnus. Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici (Bologna)
- OH = Old Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1650-1500 BC)
- OIAR = Oriental Institute Annual Report (Chicago)
- OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
- OJA = Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford)
- OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)
- OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Münster-Berlin-Leipzig)
- OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- Or = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Ortaköy/Šapinuwa
- ORA = Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient (Tübingen)
- OrAnt = Oriens Antiquus (Roma)
- OrArch = Orient-Archäologie, DAI (Berlin)
- OrChrPer = Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Roma)
- OREA = Oriental and European Archaeology (Wien)
- Orientalia => OrNS

- Orient Christ Analec = Orientalia Christiana Analecta (Roma)
- OrMonsp = Orientalia Monspeliensia (Montpellier)
- OrNS = Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series (Roma)
- OS = Old Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1650-1500 BC)
- PÄ = Probleme der Ägyptologie (Leiden-Boston-Köln)
- PalHiéro => PH
- PALLAS = Pallas. Revue d'études antiques (Toulouse)
- PALMA = Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, Egyptology (Turnhout)
- PAM = Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean (Warsaw)
- P Am Philos Soc = Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia)
- Palamedes = Palamedes: A Journal of Ancient History (Warsaw)
- PalArch => PJAAE
- PBF = Prähistorische Bronzefunde (München-Stuttgart)
- PBSEA = Publications of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology (London)
- PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement (London)
- PEQ = Palestine Exploration Quarterly (London)
- PH = Paléographie Hiéroglyphique (Cairo)
- Philippika = Philippika: Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)
- PHRP = The polychrome hieroglyph research project, ed. by D. Nunn (<https://phrp.be/About.html>)
- PIA = Papers from the Institute of Archaeology, UCL (London)
- PIHANS = Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul (Istanbul)
- PJAAE = PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology (Leiden)
- Plant Biosyst = Plant Biosystem - An International Journal Dealing with all Aspects of Plant Biology (online)
- PLB = Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava (Leiden)
- PLOS ONE = Public Library of Science (online)
- PLUp = Papyrologica Lupiensia (Lecce)
- PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols, Oxford 1927-1951 (1960-)
- PMMA = Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition) (New York)
- PN = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt 1935-1977
- PSAS = Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies (Oxford)
- PSG = Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Bonn Statue
- PSI = Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto (Firenze)
- PT = K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums, neu herausgegeben und erläutert*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1908-1922
- QuadTorino = Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte (Torino)
- RANT = Res Antiquae (Bruxelles)
- Rass. Ita. pol. lett. art. = Rassegna Italiana politica, letteraria e artistica (Roma)
- RB = Revue Biblique (Jerusalem-Paris)
- RdE = Revue d'Égyptologie (Paris)
- RE = Rites Égyptiens (Bruxelles)
- REAC = Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte (Imola-Bologna)
- REG = Revue des Études Grecques (Paris)
- RevEg = Revue égyptologique (Paris) [later: RdE]
- Rev Louvre = Revue du Louvre et des musées de France (Paris)
- RGRW = Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (Leiden)
- RGTC VI = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1978
- RGTC VI/2 = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1992.
- RHA = Revue Hittite et Asianique (Paris)
- RHR = Revue de l'Histoire de Religions (Paris)
- Ric Stor Arte = Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte (Roma)

- RIDA = Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité (Bruxelles)
- RIMA = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods*
- RIME = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*
- RiME = Rivista del Museo Egizio (Torino)
- RITA = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, Oxford 1993
- RITANC = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments*, Oxford 1993
- Riv. Mil. = Rivista Militare (Roma)
- RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- RoczMuzWarsz = Rocznik Muzeum narodowego w Warszawie (Warsaw)
- RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Roma)
- RT = Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)
- RVO = Religion in Vorderen Orient (Wiesbaden)
- SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Padova)
- SAAC = Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization. Jagiellonian Univ. (Cracovia)
- SaarBeitr = Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Saarbrücken)
- Saeculum = Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte (Freiburg)
- SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
- SAK = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)
- SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur – Beihefte (Hamburg)
- SANER = Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin-Boston)
- SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)
- SAT = Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch (Wiesbaden)
- SARS Newsletter = The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter (London)
- SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung (München)
- SBS = Stuttgarter Bibelstudien (Freudenstadt-Loßburg)
- ScAnt = Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia (Roma)
- SCO = Studi Classici e Orientali (Pisa)
- SDAW = Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin)
- SEAP = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- SEL = Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Roma)
- Serapis = Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology (Chicago)
- SGKAO = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berlin)
- SHR = Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden)
- SIMA = Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology (Lund)
- SiMa = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SiMuA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- Sitzber K Preuss Aka = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin)
- SMA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SMAAR = Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes (Roma)
- SMEA = Studi Mediterranei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma)
- SÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Wien)
- SRaT = Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach)
- SSR = Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion (Wiesbaden)
- StädelJb = Städel Jahrbuch (München)
- StBoT = Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden)
- StEgAntPun = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- StMatStorRel = Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni (Roma)
- StudAeg = Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest-Roma)
- StudPAP = Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina (Paris)
- Stud Piemontesi = Studi Piemontesi (Torino)

- Sudan & Nubia = Sudan & Nubia: Bulletin of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (London)
- StudDem = Studia Demotica (Leuven)
- StudGener = Studium Generale. Zeitschrift für die Einheit der Wissenschaften im Zusammenhang Ihrer Begriffsbildungen und Forschungsmethoden (Berlin-Heidelberg-New York)
- SVB = Studia Varia Bruxellensia (ad orbem graeco-latinum pertinentia) (Leuven)
- Symbolon = Symbolon. Jahrb. Für Symbolforsch (Cologne)
- Syria = Syria: Revue d'art orientale et d'archéologie (Paris)
- Talanta = TalAnta: Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society (Hoofddorp)
- TbT = Totenbuchtexte (Basel)
- T C S Peirce Soc = Transactions of the Charles S Peirce Society (Indianapolis)
- TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt (Puerto de la Cruz)
- TEL AVIV = TEL AVIV: the Journal of the Institute of Archaeology (Tel Aviv)
- THEBEN = Theben (Mainz)
- TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>, Web app version 2.0.2.1, 8/8/2023, ed. by T. S. Richter, D. A. Werning, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, P. Dils
- TM = Unique identifier attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del database *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of the ancient world* (<https://www.trismegistos.org/>)
- TPOP = Turin Papyrus Online Platform (<https://collezionepapiro.museoegizio.it>; <https://papiro.museoegizio.it/Login.aspx>)
- TSL = Thot Sign List <http://thotsignlist.org>, ed. by Université de Liège and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
- TTR = Tanis, travaux récents sur le Tell San El-Hagar (Paris)
- TUAT-NF = B. Janowski, G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*, vols 1-10, Gütersloh 2004
- TVAT = Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico (Brescia)
- UAVA = Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Berlin)
- UC = University of California
- UCLA = University of California, Los Angeles
- UF = Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim-Leipzig-Berlin)
- UIT d'Orsay = Université Paris-Saclay
- UMAA = University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge)
- UMI = University of Michigan
- UPMJ = University Pennsylvania Museum Journal (Philadelphia)
- [UPMM] = University Pennsylvania Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)
- USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology (Uppsala)
- UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)
- VA = Varia Aegyptiaca (San Antonio)
- VBoT = A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazkōi-Texte*, Marburg 1930
- VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii [Revue d'Histoire ancienne] (Moscow-Leningrad)
- V&A = Victoria and Albert Museum (London)
- VIAÄ = Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Wien)
- VisRel = Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography (Leiden)
- VO = Vicino Oriente (Roma)
- VRAMK = Voronezh Regional Art Museum of I.N. Kramskoy
- VT = Vetus Testamentum (Leiden)
- WA = Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta)
- Wb = A. Erman, H. Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der Agyptischen Sprache*, Berlin 1926-1961
- WdO = Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Göttingen-Wupoertal)
- WorldArch = World Archaeology (online)
- World Literature Tod = World Literature Today (online)
- WSEA = Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology (New York)

WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen  
der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft (Leipzig-  
Berlin-Saarbrücken-Saarwellingen)

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des  
Morgenlandes (Wien)

YES = Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven)

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasia-  
tische Archäologie (Leipzig-Berlin)

ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Al-  
tertumskunde (Berlin-Leipzig)

ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Ver-  
eins (Leipzig-Wiesbaden)

ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und  
verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig)

## INTRODUCTION

GIANLUCA MINIACI, CHRISTIAN GRECO, PAOLO DEL VESCO, MATTIA MANCINI, CRISTINA ALÙ

As former students of Prof. Marilina Betrò, on the occasion of her retirement, we decided to gather contributions from colleagues and friends on the topics she has significantly contributed to during her academic career. The outcome of this collaborative effort is the creation of six volumes that celebrate and honour her scholarly achievements.

The first volume, *The Sacred and the Secular in the Theban Necropolis*, is a collection of 18 papers that explore various aspects of life in the Theban Necropolis on the western bank of the Nile at modern-day Luxor. These papers encompass religious, ritual, material, and profane elements. The Theban Necropolis has been a focal point of archaeological research carried out by Marilina Betrò, who first became acquainted with this site at the beginning of her career while working in the ‘Temple of Millions of Years’ of Thutmose IV under the supervision of Edda Bresciani. In 2003, Marilina Betrò initiated and directed an ongoing archaeological expedition to investigate the Ramesside tomb of Huy (TT 14), located in the northern sector of the Theban Necropolis (Dra Abu el-Naga). Subsequently, in 2004, the Italian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga (M.I.D.A.N.) discovered a previously unknown early Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb called M.I.D.A.N.05 and, in 2010, two other smaller tombs cut into the northern side of its courtyard. The archaeological fieldwork in Thebes has shaped the careers of many of her students and produced significant results, published in several scientific articles and a monograph titled *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu El-Naga* (2009).

The second volume, *A Matter of Religions: Gods and People in Ancient Egypt*, gathers 18 papers that explore the complex dimensions of Egyptian religions, fostering a dialogue between gods, landscapes, animals, and people. Marilina Betrò’s seminal work, *Saqqara III: I testi solari del portale di Pascherientaisu* (BN 2) (1989), represents an important milestone in the studies of ancient Egyptian religion. The entrance portal of Pascherientaisu, discovered in the Saqqara necropolis during archaeological fieldwork directed by Edda Bresciani, was inscribed with a version of the cult-theological treatise studied by Jan Assmann in his work *Der König als Sonnenpriester*. Before the discovery of Pascherientaisu’s portal, only half of this religious composition was known, which concerned the sunrise and the king’s knowledge of the ‘arcana’ of the sun’s course. The portal inscription preserves the other half of the composition, translated and commented by Betrò, which is dedicated to the night journey of the sun. This ancient Egyptian religious text, discovered by Professor Betrò, represents a bridge between the ‘esoteric’ hymns of the solar cult and the so-called underworld books and was later quoted and incorporated by Assmann in his volume *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom* (1995). Betrò later presented a synthesis and critique of the religious system of ancient Egypt in a chapter of “Egittologia” (2005), edited by Alessandro Roccati, which has influenced the latest generations of Italian students of Egyptology.

The third volume, *Digging for Ancient Egypt and Egyptology in the Archives*, contains 14 articles exploring previously unpublished letters, notes, diaries, and other documents from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These documents preserve a vast amount of information essential for reconstructing the history of ancient Egypt and the evolution of the discipline of Egyptology. Marilina Betrò has led several research projects on this subject, with a particular focus on the rich documentation of Egyptian monuments and sites produced by Champollion, Rosellini, and other members of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in 1828-29. This valuable documentation is now preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. She has directed an important national project called “Progetto Rosellini”, which led to the discovery in the National Archives in Prague of two lists of the antiquities Ippolito Rosellini brought to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, now part of the Museo Archeologico in Florence. The

project's objective was to digitize all the documents (drawings, manuscripts, notebooks, and diaries) of the members of the *Spedizione* held in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. This culminated in an important publication on Egyptological archives titled *Talking along the Nile* (2013). As part of the project, she curated two exhibitions – one in Pisa and another in Cairo – of manuscripts and drawings of the *Spedizione*. The exhibition held in Cairo, 2009-2010, also facilitated the return of a selection of the original documents to Egypt, some 200 years after their composition in that country. Through her archival research, the powerful chief steward of Perunefer under Amenhotep II, Qenamon, owner of TT 93, was able to reclaim his material identity. His body and original coffin have since been reunited and are now part of the Collezioni Egittologiche 'Edda Bresciani' in Pisa (Betrò, *Kenamun: l'undicesima mummia*, 2014).

The fourth volume, *The Materiality of Ancient Egypt: Objects and Museums*, consists of 19 articles that explore the diverse stories hidden within museum objects and collection archives, fostering an ongoing dialogue between ancient materials, texts, and modern interpretation and methodologies. Professor Betrò has played a significant role in museum and object studies, introducing the first course in Egyptian Epigraphy in Pisa, utilising the material preserved in the National Archaeological Museum in Florence. She served as the director of the 'Sistema Museale di Ateneo' of the University of Pisa from 2012 to 2014, and since 2017, has been the head of the scientific committee of the Museo Egizio in Turin. She also organized two international conferences, both held in Pisa, focusing on the materiality of texts in ancient Egypt and other societies, resulting in a volume titled *The Ancient World Revisited: Material Dimensions of Written Artefacts* (2024). Additionally, Professor Betrò has played a vital role in advancing Egyptology by integrating new technologies into object studies. From 2005 to 2009, she led a research unit in the FIRB project *Tecnologie integrate di Robotica ed Ambienti Virtuali in Archeologia*.

The fifth volume, *Egypt in Ancient and Modern Tales, Travels and Explorations*, brings together 12 articles that explore Egypt not only as a land of wonders but also as a place that resonates with its ancient societies and their perspectives, captivating the imagination through its literature, tales, and accounts from both ancient and modern explorers. Professor Betrò's career has been shaped by her passion for travel, whether physical or intellectual. This passion has been applied to Egyptology with a project called "Egypt in India", exploring Egyptian antiquities beyond the traditional borders, culminating in the publication *Egypt in India: Egyptian antiquities in Indian museums* (2004), edited by Edda Bresciani and Marilina Betrò. In addition, she authored the monograph *Racconti di viaggio e di avventura dell'antico Egitto* (1994), presenting a collection of ancient Egyptian tales about travels and adventures. Her interest in the forms of expression of ancient Egyptian thought and narrative led to her co-editing the volume *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC)* (2017), an exploration of ancient Egypt through its images.

The sixth and final volume of this series, *Ancient Egypt and the Surrounding World: Contact, Trade, and Influence*, focuses on the complex cultural interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and North-East Africa, spanning from the 3rd millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria. This theme has been a constant throughout Professor Betrò's academic career. The early part of her career as an Egyptologist was marked by significant publications of demotic texts on ostraca and papyri, such as contracts, accounts, and memos, which have made a major contribution to our understanding of daily life in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Greek and Egyptian elements coexisted within society, such as "Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco. Comunicazioni d'affari e conti vari", *EVO* 2 (1979); "Due tavolette demotiche e il p.gr. Amherst II 31", *EVO* 7 (1984); "Il p.dem. Lille 119: un'offerta d'affitto con relativo contratto", in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani* (1985). She also organised a conference in Pisa called 'Egitto e Vicino Oriente Antichi: Tra passato e futuro' that brought together Italian scholars of ancient Oriental Studies, fostering dialogue between different fields and disciplines, and which has now become a tradition in Italian studies (EVOA meetings). The resulting publication of the conference was *Egitto e Vicino Oriente antichi: tra passato e futuro. Studi e ricerche sull'Egitto e il Vicino Oriente in Italia*, I Convegno Nazionale, Pisa, 5-6 giugno 2017 (2018) edited by Marilina Betrò, Stefano De Martino, Gianluca Minci, and Frances Pinnock. In addition, she has been member of the Consiglio Direttivo della Consulta Universitaria per gli Studi sull'Asia e Africa (CUSTAA), demonstrating her commitment to integrating and connecting Egyptology with other neighbouring disciplines.

INTRODUCTION



# A NEW READING OF AN OLD KINGDOM ADMINISTRATIVE TITLE (𓇋) RELATED TO QUARRY EXPEDITIONS

ANDRÉS DIEGO ESPINEL\*

## Abstract

This study focuses on a carved block from an Old Kingdom false door currently kept in a private art gallery. It had previously been a part of the antiquities collected by the gallerist Joseph Altunian. The relief mentions the titles of an official named Seshemnefer. However, its specific provenance is uncertain, but it is most likely from the Memphite region and may be roughly dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> dynasties. Among Seshemnefer's titles is the unattested office *shd hr(y.w) šzp*, 'inspector of the ones in charge of the šzp'. This title is matched with comparable references to it and the office of *ḥry šzp*, 'the one in charge of the šzp', in some unusual Old Kingdom graffiti in the Wadi Hammamat. Besides, different interpretative proposals for the meaning of šzp in quarrying contexts are presented and discussed.

Como las letras de Egipto  
son las que celoso escucho,  
que hablan poco y dicen mucho.

(Like the letters of Egypt  
are the words I jealously listen to,  
they say little and mean much)

Tirso de Molina, 1635, *La Peña de Francia*, act 1, scene 2.

Some years have passed since I had the good fortune to attend Marilina's classes on the top floor of the former Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche del Mondo Antico in Via Luigi Galvani 1, in Pisa. Among the fond memories I have of those years are the ones of her accessibility, kindness, and affection and her demanding and erudite lessons, always on unusual topics that were little known to those beginning the study of ancient Egypt. I still treasure the documentation of her seminar on the so-called stela of the daughter of Khufu, which, for me, was a kind of academic 'fall from the horse'. Likewise, her interest in plants and aromata, as well as in the travels and travellers of ancient Egypt, always made it into her classes and served,

even without my knowing it, as coordinates to set my course for Punt and other distant lands.

These pages examine an Old Kingdom relief (Figs 1-2) that sheds some light on the reading – but not the understanding – of an obscure administrative office and, perhaps, on the interpretation of an elusive hieroglyph. Though a few aspects of this paper deviate from the core subjects that Marilina has addressed, I hope it will be to her liking.

## THE 'ALTOUNIAN BLOCK'<sup>1</sup>

Only by chance was this relief discovered on the website of the Austrian art gallery *Christoph Bacher Archäologie|Ancient Art* (ref. 1330) in late 2022.<sup>2</sup> It is a limestone fragment from an Old

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<sup>1</sup> For convenience, the relief will be referred to hereafter by the name of its first owner. I am very grateful to Christoph Bacher, its current owner, for providing all the information and pictures and for permission to publish the object. My thanks also go to Annie Gasse for information on the inscriptions of Wadi Hammamat, to Ana García Martín for the drawing of the object and to the editors for inviting me to participate in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.cb-gallery.com/en/produkt/kalkstein-fragment-einer-scheintuere/> <accessed 13.12.2022>.

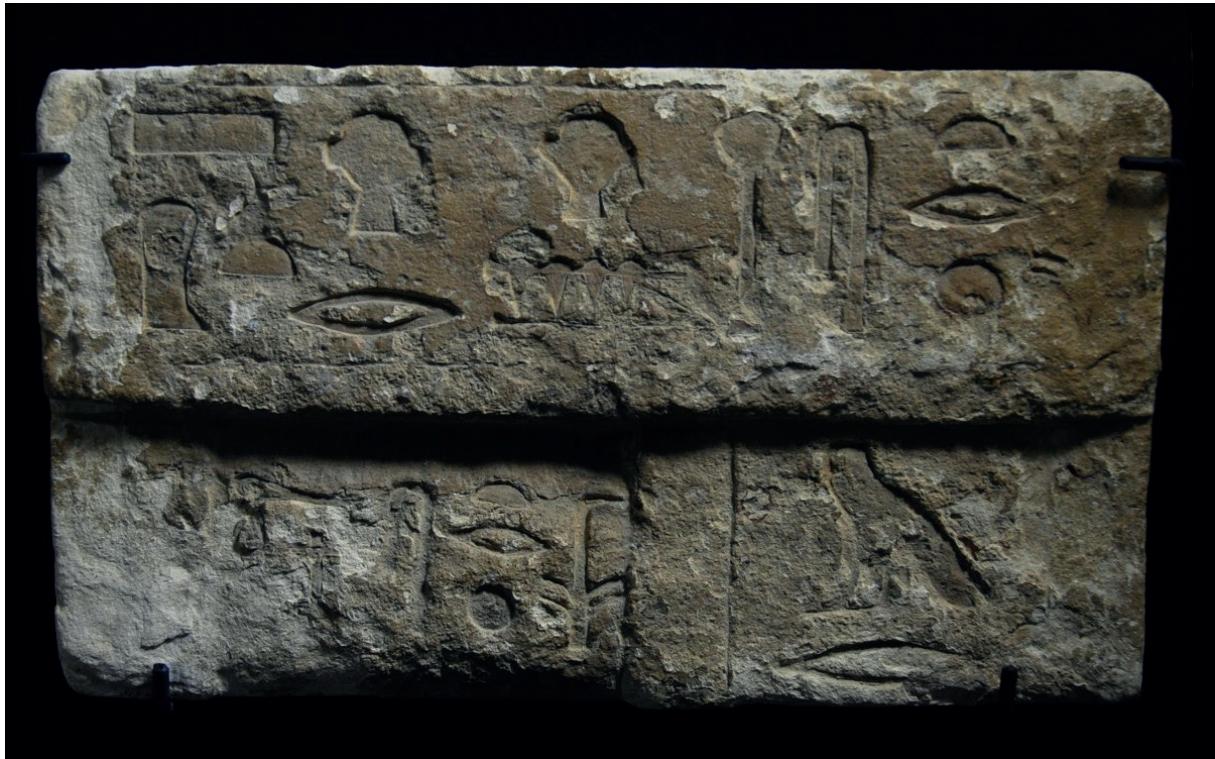


Fig. 1 - Picture of the Altounian block (taken from <https://www.cb-gallery.com/en/produkt/kalkstein-fragment-einer-scheintuere/>, with permission of Christoph Bacher).

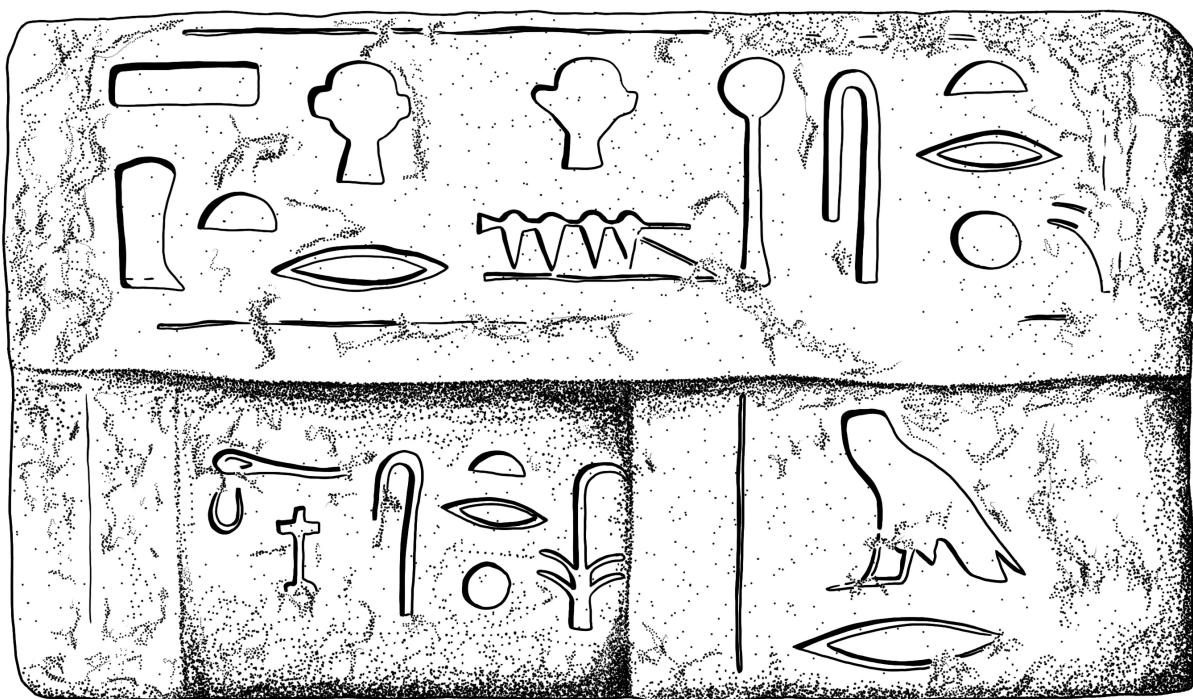


Fig. 2 - Drawing of the Altounian block (drawing by Ana García Martín).

Kingdom false door, supposedly from Saqqara.<sup>3</sup> It formed part of the antiquities acquired by Joseph Altounian (1889-1954). After his death, it was auctioned at least twice in Paris: at the Tajan Gallery (13<sup>th</sup> November 2001) and at the Artcurial Gallery (17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> September 2019).<sup>4</sup>

Joseph Altounian (or Altunian) was born into an Armenian family from Constantinople who emigrated to Egypt in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> He was a renowned art collector and antiquities dealer, known for being a key supplier of pharaonic antiquities to Auguste Rodin until 1914. Moreover, he purchased certain objects from the auctions of the Amherst and Macgregor Egyptian collections in 1921 and 1922, respectively.<sup>6</sup> Regarding this topic, the Metropolitan Museum obtained a significant group of Amarna artefacts in 1957 from his daughter, Jacqueline Rousset (1925-2019), *née* Altounian-Lorbet (1925-2019), which originally came from the Amherst collection. The relief under study may have the same provenance. Specifically, it may be the false door auctioned among the Amherst antiquities laconically described as “a *Ka*-door in limestone”.<sup>7</sup>

The block left Egypt prior to 1937 when Joseph Altounian moved to Mâcon, France. It appears that he regarded the relief as a permanent part of his private collection, which included works of art from various regions and ages. In this sense, it is marked on the reverse with a reddish brand “AN-NEXE N°445”, possibly referring to a storage register of his collections.<sup>8</sup>

The following description of the relief is not based on direct examination but on information from auction catalogues, supplemented by data and detailed pictures kindly provided by the current owner. This limestone block is 17.8 cm high x 30 cm wide x 3.9/4.0 cm deep. Despite its thin

thickness, the rough surface of its back side shows no traces of having been sawn. The inscribed surface is poorly preserved. The hieroglyphs are carved in sunk relief and lack inner details. A few small patches observed in the pictures may indicate they could have been painted, but this is not certain.

The block (Figs 1-2) includes a significant portion of the lower lintel, the internal jambs, the drum and the central niche of a false door. Some inscriptions are carved on the lintel, the drum, and the right jamb.<sup>9</sup> Given the use of sunk relief, it may have been placed outside a tomb chapel or, at least, was conceived as an external element.<sup>10</sup> This fact, combined with the absence of inner details in the hieroglyphs and the preserved administrative titles, suggests that the block was part of a modest mortuary monument for a middle or lower-ranking official called Seshemnefer.<sup>11</sup> The use of sunk relief could favour a general date range of the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>12</sup> No other evidence allows for a more precise dating.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS

### *Transcription:*

Lintel (←)	
Drum (↔)	
Right jamb (↓→)	

### *Transliteration:*

Lintel:	<i>iry-ht n[sw]t<sup>(a)</sup> shd hr(y.w) šzp<sup>(b)</sup> hry-sšt3</i>
[...](?)	<i>[Sšm-nfr]<sup>(c)</sup></i>
Drum:	<i>iry-ht nswt Sšm-n[fr]<sup>(d)</sup></i>
Right jamb:	<i>imy-r [...]<sup>(e)</sup></i>

<sup>3</sup> According to TAJAN COMMISSIONNAIRES 2001, 8 [lot 38].

<sup>4</sup> TAJAN COMMISSIONNAIRES 2001, 8 [lot 38]; ARTCURIAL 2019, 60 [14]. The relief may have still been owned by the Tajan Gallery when it was auctioned by Artcurial, given the former appears on the Artcurial auctioneers' list.

<sup>5</sup> On J. Altounian, see BIERBRIER 2012, 16; BRUGÉAT 2019; GARNIER 2019.

<sup>6</sup> SOTHEBY, WILKINSON, HODGE 1921; SOTHEBY, WILKINSON, HODGE 1922.

<sup>7</sup> SOTHEBY, WILKINSON, HODGE 1921, 29 [275]; another false door of a certain ‘Per-neferu’ is mentioned on p. 19 [187]. According to the supplementary material (‘Appendix 1’) from HARDWICK 2011, Joseph Altounian did not buy any similar object from the MacGregor collection.

<sup>8</sup> A Greek *lekythos* from his collection was also labelled with this number (ARTCURIAL 2019, 70 [lot 27]). The false door does not figure in the pictures of the Altounian collection kept in the Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles, California). I owe this information to Mrs Tracey Schuster, head of Permissions and Photo Archive Service at the Getty Research Institute.

<sup>9</sup> On the different elements of a false door, see STRUDWICK 1985, 11; CHERPION 1989, 73, fig. 67.

<sup>10</sup> CHAUDET 2008, 44-5.

<sup>11</sup> LACAU 1967, 48-50 [27-9].

<sup>12</sup> STRUDWICK 1985, 24.

*Translation:*

Lintel: The custodian/administrator of the royal property, the inspector of the ones in charge of *šzp*, the one in charge of the secrets [...] (?) [Seshemnefer]

Drum: The administrator of the royal property, Seshemne[fer]

Richt jamb: The overseer [(of) ...]

*Notes:*

<sup>a)</sup> The title *iry-h<sub>t</sub> nswt* is visible, notwithstanding the worn surface. It appears again on the drum, possibly being one of the highest or most valued titles held by Seshemnefer. Indeed, this office, also read as *r<sub>h</sub> nswt*, ‘one who is known to the king’, often figures at the head of the titulary of middle/lower-ranking male and female officials.<sup>13</sup> It is not clear whether this is a rank or an actual title. In any case, it seems to have been a distinctive feature of palace officials and provincial agents of the state.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>b)</sup> The last sign of the title, which is heavily eroded, is , Gardiner’s hieroglyph O43, a phonogram representing the phonetic sequences *šzp* and, less often, *ss̪p*. The title is not listed in any catalogue of Old Kingdom titles. On the other hand, although no further interpretations can be drawn from this observation, it is noteworthy that the ‘inspectors’ (*shd*) are often in charge of *hry*-officials,<sup>15</sup> whereas the ‘overseers’ (*imy-r*, see n. <sup>c)</sup>) are not.

<sup>c)</sup> Given the probability that the lintel had a symmetrical arrangement, the remaining space hardly leaves room for more than one and a half squares in which the name of the tomb owner, Seshemnefer, would be expected. Moreover, it is possible that there was still space left for the final 3-phonogram of the title *hry-sšt<sub>3</sub>* (). In general, these officials were in charge of classified

information and/or were qualified or specialised in a particular activity.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>d)</sup> The name of Seshemnefer is visible, although the last part is badly damaged. This mostly male anthroponym is common throughout the Old Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> So far, no connection has been established between the person mentioned in the relief under study and any of his numerous namesakes.

<sup>e)</sup> There are no traces left for the restoration of the inscription following the administrative rank *imy-r* ‘overseer’.

**THE TITLE** 

So far, the Altounian relief is the only sure evidence for the title  *shd hr(y.w) šzp*. However, graffiti in the Wadi Hammamat probably mention the same title and the subordinate office  *hry šzp*.<sup>18</sup> These examples include a netted pattern after the sign  that, in light of the title on the Altounian relief, is probably the hieratic rendering of  (Fig. 3). In these attestations, the sign has no phonetic complements or additional classifiers that could clarify its reading. For this reason, it has previously been read in different ways. Couyat and Montet transcribed the sign as  (sign N24), but did not offer a precise translation. Later, Goyon, following an earlier study by Schäfer,<sup>19</sup> considered it to be  (sign O38) and interpreted the whole title as  *shd hry tm(3)* ‘inspector of the officials of the cadaster (?)’.<sup>20</sup> This idea was subsequently accepted by other authors.<sup>21</sup> In 1991, Fischer reconsidered the evidence and concluded that it was the ideogram  (sign N31) for *w<sub>3</sub>t* ‘road/way’ and read the title as  *shd hry(w) w<sub>3</sub>(w)t* ‘inspector of the master(s) of the way(s)’.<sup>22</sup> However, he acknowledged that *hry šzp* might well be the correct reading.<sup>23</sup> The Altounian block confirms

<sup>13</sup> JONES 2000, 327-8 [1206]; BAUD 1999, 107-18; FISCHER 2000, 30.

<sup>14</sup> MARTINET 2019, 336-7; DE CENIVAL 1975, 68.

<sup>15</sup> JONES 2000, 946-7 [3488-92]. Only in two instances is the *imy-r* position related to *hry*-officials, but indirectly (JONES 2000, 212 [790] (*imy-r zš.(w) pr hr(y.w) wdb*); 213 [791] (*imy-r ss̪(w) pr hr(y.w) wdb m pr.wy hr(y.w) wdb rhyt*)).

<sup>16</sup> JONES 2000, 609 [2233]; RYDSTRÖM 1994; BALANDA 2009.

<sup>17</sup> SCHEELE-SCHWEITZER 2014, 663-5 [3229] (*ss̪m-nfr*); 481-2 [1984] (*nfr-sšm*).

<sup>18</sup> COUYAT, MONTET 1912, 74-5 [107], 93 [160], 100 [195]; GOYON 1957, 68 [39], 70-1 [44]. They correspond (apart from [160]) to EICHLER 1993, 74-5 [133], 79 [149], 64 [102], and 65 [106], respectively.

<sup>19</sup> GOYON 1957, 68-9 [39]; SCHÄFER 1902. A later Wadi Hammamat inscription includes the title *hry tm(3)* (GOYON 1957, 69 [41]; HELCK 1959, 19 [41]; FISCHER 1991, 62, n. 6).

<sup>20</sup> JONES 2000, 646-7 [2369] (*hry(n) tm(?)*). Jones (2000, 947) writes *tm* with the *w<sub>3</sub>t* logogram.

<sup>21</sup> EICHLER 1993, 74-5 [133], 79 [149], 64 [102], 65 [106]; JONES 2000, 646-7 [2369], 947 [3492].

<sup>22</sup> FISCHER 1991; JONES 2000, 946 [3488] (*shd hry(w) w<sub>3</sub>(w)t*), 600 [2199] (*hry w<sub>3</sub>.wt*).

<sup>23</sup> FISCHER 1991, 62, n. 9; 64; FISCHER 2002, 29 [2199].

Wadi Hammamat	𓁵 (O43)	𓁷 (N24)	𓁸 (N31)	𓁻 (O31)	𓁹 (U15)	𢓃 (O38)
CM 107						
CM 160a						
CM 160b						
CM 195						
G 39						
G 44						

Fig. 3 - Hieratic renditions of in the Wadi Hammamat inscriptions (taken from FISCHER 1991, 59) and Old Kingdom hieratic examples of signs O43, N24, N31, O31, U15, and O38 (taken from GOEDICKE 1988, 30a, 25a-b, 26a, 29a, 39a, 30a; POSENER-KRIÉGER 2004, 34; POSENER-KRIÉGER, VERNER, VYMAZALOVÁ 2006, 446-7; TALLET 2021, 217, pl. 13 [D27]; TALLET 2020, 71; DOBREV, VERNER, VYMAZALOVÁ 2011, 34). Signs not at the same scale.

Place	Document	shd hr(y.w) šzp	hy šzp	iry-ht nswt	imy-r [...]	hmwt	imy-r hmwt(y.w)	Period
Ssm-nfr	Saq.?	Altounian block					?	OK
Hw	WH	CM 107						6th dyn -Pepy I
K3(=i)-nfr.w	WH	CM 160a						OK
Pth-?	WH	CM 160b						OK
Hnp/Hng-n-sw	WH	CM 195						OK
H3w-nfr	WH	G 39						OK
Ny- <sup>c</sup> nfr-pth	WH	G 44						OK

Tab. 1 - List of *hr(y) šzp*-officials and related titles during the Old Kingdom (OK) according to the evidence from Saqqara (?) (Saq.) and Wadi Hammamat (WH).

Fischer's suspicions. Despite other possible identifications of the reticulated signs of Wadi Hammamat, such as 𓁻 (sign O31), 𓁷 (sign N24), or less plausibly 𓁸 (sign N31), 𓁹 (sign U15), or 𢓃 (sign O38), by far the most probable candidate is 𓁵 (sign O43) (Fig. 3).

Given that these graffiti were created using various carving techniques such as engraving, scratching, and even pecking, and lacking defining features for accurate paleographic dating, most of them can only be broadly categorised as Old Kingdom inscriptions. Only the inscription

CM 107 is well-dated (Tab. 1). Moreover, none of them provide any information about the role of these officials or the meaning of šzp, a term that is hardly present in other administrative titles. Generally, these graffiti are very short. Only the inscription CM 107 refers to one of these officials in a longer list of members of an expedition. Therefore, the possible interpretation of šzp can only be implicitly inferred from the few titles attained by their holders, the limited context in which they are attested, and, above all, the possible meaning(s) of šzp.

Four of the seven officials related to the *hr(y.w) šzp* were also craftsmen (Tab. 1). Two of them had the title  *hmwty* ‘craftsman’, and the other two were  *imy-r hmwt(y.w)* ‘overseer of craftsmen’.<sup>24</sup> In this respect, it is plausible that the fragmentary title  on the Altounian block could be restored . The involvement of *hmwty*, craftsmen, in quarry work, as seems to have been the case with the *šzp*-related officials, strongly suggests a close link between both groups of workers.<sup>25</sup> Although less relevant, it is also interesting to note that two of the three *shd hr(y.w) šzp*, including Seshemnefer, were also *iry-ht nswt*. This title may have meant access to various state resources.

Going deeper into the matter, these circumstances and other data presented below lead to different interpretations of *šzp* and the administrative offices that mention it. These ideas are listed in order of plausibility (according to the author):

First, the *hry.w šzp* could be in charge of a specific administrative branch related to resources for expeditionary and/or stoneworking activities. This possibility is suggested by the position of a *shd hr(y.w) šzp* called  *H3w* ‘Hau’ in the inscription CM 107 in the Wadi Hammamat, which lists several officials of a quarry expedition sent in the year after the 18<sup>th</sup> cattle count of Pepy I. They seem to be grouped according to their duties. The upper lines show the date and the titles of the expedition’s leaders. Below them is a register of the officials involved in the quarrying activities: six  *imy-ht hmwt(y.w)*, ‘under-supervisor(s) of crafts-

men’, and two  *iry-ht nswt imy-r kd(.w)* ‘administrator(s) of the royal property and overseer(s) of builder(s)/mason(s)’.<sup>26</sup> Finally, another register at the bottom lists several administrative and juridical officials. They are grouped as three  *z3b shd sz(.w)* ‘inspector(s) of scribe(s) of the state’, two  *smsw h(3y)t* ‘elder(s) of the court’, and three  *iry-md3t* ‘keeper(s) of documents’.<sup>27</sup> Apparently, Hau would belong to this group of officials since he is mentioned after them at the end of this last register.<sup>28</sup>

In this administrative or juridical context, the meaning of *hry šzp* might derive from the triliteral verb *šzp*, ‘to receive’, ‘to take possession of’,<sup>29</sup> here interpreted as an active perfective participle (‘the one who receives’ or ‘the one who takes possession’).<sup>30</sup> In this line of reasoning, the coetaneous expression  *šzp nh* /  *šzp r nh* for ‘statue’ has been interpreted literally as ‘receiver for living/in order to live’.<sup>31</sup>

Consequently, the *hry.w šzp* could be officials in charge of receiving or taking some kind of supplies, tools or people, as also seems to be the case with some analogous titles in later times, such as  *iry šzpt* ‘keeper of (the department of) received goods (?)’ during the Middle Kingdom,<sup>32</sup> or  *hry šzp.tw n htpt-ntr n Wsir*, ‘the one in charge of what has been received for the god’s offerings to/of Osiris’, in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> dynasty.<sup>33</sup>

Some Old Kingdom papyri from the archives of the mortuary temples of Neferirkare and Reneferef at Abusir associate the verb *šzp* (generally

<sup>24</sup> JONES 2000, 595 [2179] (*hmwt(y)*), 179-80 [680] (*imy-r hmwt(y.w)*).

<sup>25</sup> EICHLER 1993, 185-7.

<sup>26</sup> JONES 2000, 293-4 [1071] (*imy-ht hmwt(y.w)*), 327-8 [1206] (*iry-ht nswt*), 258-9 [935] (*imy-r kd(.w)*).

<sup>27</sup> JONES 2000, 814 [2978] (*z3b shd sz(.w)*), 902-3 [3313] (*smsw h(3y)t*), 317-8 [1167] (*iry-md3t*). The coetaneous inscription G 21 presents a similar order, but only among its highest officials (GOYON 1957, 55, pl. 8 [21]).

<sup>28</sup> Wadi Hammamat inscription CM 195 mentions   *hry šzp Hnp/Hng-n-sw* ‘the one in charge of the *šzp*, Henepnesu/Henegnesu’. This graffiti is related because of its proximity and similar patina, technique and palaeography to the unpublished rock inscription   *sm(h)r pr Rf/sm(h)r Šrf* ‘companion of the house Ref/the companion Sheref’ (JONES 2000, 891-2 [3263] (*sm(h)r*); 896 [3287] (*sm(h)r pr*); PN 1 222, 8 (*r-f*, a New Kingdom name); Neither Šrf, nor *Hnp/Hng-n-sw* are attested as personal names.

<sup>29</sup> TLA lemma no. 157160; HANNIG 2003, 1316-9 {33451-522}.

<sup>30</sup> EDEL 1955, 303-5 §§ 627-8; ALLEN 2000, 324-5.

<sup>31</sup> FISCHER 1963, 24-8; EATON-KRAUSS 1984, 85-8 [§103].

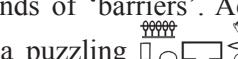
<sup>32</sup> Quirke (2004, 70) translates “keeper of the outgoing goods (?)” cf. FRANKE, MARÉE 2013, 100-1 [BM EA 239, n. 3, 13, 21].

<sup>33</sup> Stela Florene inv. no. 2585; BOSTICCO 1965, 17-9 [7]; PM VIII 70 [803-048-956] (‘Head of the reception of provisions for the god’s offerings’). The title appears in *Wb* IV 534, 8. The same title in *Wb* IV 534, 7 from the Ramesside stela London BM EA 167 actually refers to  *hry rhty*, ‘chief of laundrymen’ (JAMES 1970, 29, n. 6, 30, n. 1, pl. 25 [167]).

written as  instead of  (see Fig. 3 for an example) with the receipt of irregular incomes consisting of different goods, taxes or dues.<sup>34</sup> These include cloths, tools for the libation, papyrus, wheat ‘received as food’, gifts, travel fares or ‘good things’ for the morning offerings.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, the terms  šzpt and  šzpt nswt, which appear in a few administrative titles, perhaps refer to the reception of clothes for the king<sup>36</sup> and not to a homonymous type of linen, as has generally been interpreted.<sup>37</sup> Actually, apart from the aforementioned titles, the šzpt-linen only appears during the Old Kingdom in an early unusual offering list and an epigraph from a 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty provincial tomb scene<sup>38</sup> and is virtually absent from the accounts, except for two doubtful examples.<sup>39</sup>

Alternatively, since Hau’s colleagues in CM 107 seem to be involved in legal and archival activities, the hry.w šzpt-agents could be receivers of royal commands and reports. In this sense, šzpt is related to this task in a fragmentary papyrus of the 4<sup>th</sup> dynasty that mentions  šzpt wh3 (?) m hw=f-[w(i)] [...] ‘the reception of an official order (?) from [...] (of) Khu[fu]’, and in a late 6<sup>th</sup> dynasty royal decree which mentions a person  šzpt.t=f srw zš.t=f wd.w ‘who receives an order of recruitment, and writes commands’.<sup>40</sup>

In conclusion, it is conceivable that the ‘receptions’ managed by the hry.w šzpt, whether of materials or commands, were related to quarrying and/or stonework, because almost all of these officials were linked to these activities, and some of these agents had other titles associated with craftsmen. As ‘officials in charge of the reception’, whatever lies behind this translation, they may have played a similar role, albeit limited to the quarrying expeditions, to other hry-officials in charge of goods obtained through different administrative procedures, as is the case of  hry skr ‘the one in charge of the skr-offering’ and, above all,  hry wdb, ‘the one in charge of the reversion of offerings’.<sup>41</sup>

A second set of interpretations of the šzpt-related titles derives from the literal interpretation of the hieroglyph  as a logogram. Unfortunately, there is no agreed and unambiguous interpretation of what it represents. The sign has a large number of variants.<sup>42</sup> It has generally been considered a fence or, more precisely, a “fence outside primitive shrine  O 19” (Fig. 4.1d).<sup>43</sup> Despite the lack of clear evidence of a \*šzpt-word for referring to a fence, the word may exist and could be extrapolated to other kinds of ‘barriers’. According to Wallet-Lebrun, a puzzling  šzpt hrt ‘upper (?) šzpt-chamber’ in the mortuary complex of King Merenre could be the granite blocking plug and frame in the upper part of the

<sup>34</sup> POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976, 223-4. According to New Kingdom administrative papyri, šzpt would refer to the act of checking and verifying the delivery of goods at the very moment of their reception, see MEGALLY 1977, 247-9.

<sup>35</sup> POSENER-KRIÉGER 1976, 358 (clothes), 19, 21 (tool for the libation, šzpt kbhw), 17, 529 (papyrus, šzpt ss), 223, 336-8 (wheat received as food, zwt šzpt m šbw), 332-3, 223, 368, 633, n. 3 (gifts, šzpt 3wt); 461 [t], n. 3 (travel fare, šzpt hmt); POSENER-KRIÉGER, VERNER, VYMAZALOVÁ 2006, 148-9, 283, pls 62/62a [b4] (reception of the morning offering (consisting) in good things, šzpt.n=f ht-dw3t m ht nfr).

<sup>36</sup> JONES 2000, 220 [820]=257-8 [931] (imy-r šzpt nt nswt), 775 [2817] (htm(w) šzpt nswt), 965 [3559] (shd zš(.w) šzpt nswt). Another title mentions clothes received from a temple (JONES 2000, 650 [2379] (hry-tp d3t šzpt m hwt-ntr)).

<sup>37</sup> SCHEELE 2005, 42-3.

<sup>38</sup> See, respectively, BROVARSKI 1996, 119, fig. 1, 125 [x + 2]; FISCHER 1976, 11, fig. 4. Later, two *Coffin Texts* spells also refer to šzpt as a kind of cloth: CT VII 333a (sp. 1069); 517e (sp. 1179).

<sup>39</sup> POSENER-KRIÉGER, VERNER, VYMAZALOVÁ 2006, 52-3, 228, pls 14/14a [e<sup>2</sup>], 196-7, 312, pls 86/86a [I].

<sup>40</sup> See, respectively, TALLET 2021, 61-2, n. b-c, 217, pl. 13 [D 27]; GOEDICKE 1967, 88 [VIII], 106 [42] (Coptos B); on srw, ‘order for the recruitment of people/transfer order’, see GOEDICKE 1967, 99-100 [22] (Coptos B); TLA lemma no. 139270; HANNIG 2003, 1172 {28968} (*Verlegungsbefehl*).

<sup>41</sup> FISCHER 1991, 61 [12]; JONES 2000, 646 [2367] (hry skr); FISCHER 1991, 61 [5]; JONES 2000, 603-6 [2212-2218] (hry wdb); see also FISCHER 1991, 62 [5’]; JONES 2000, 947 [3489] (shd (n) hry.(w) wdb).

<sup>42</sup> FISCHER 1963, 26, fig. 1.

<sup>43</sup> GARDINER 1957, 497 [O42/O43]; BADAWY 1948, 54-5; FISCHER 1963, 25-6; BETRÖ 1996, 214; FISCHER 1999, 37 [O42/O43]; BORGHOUTS 2010, 108 [O42]; TSL\_1\_4814 at <http://thotsignlist.org> <accessed 17.09.2023>; PHRP O42 at <https://www.phrp.be> <accessed 17.09.2023>; MATHIEU 2021, 147-8. There are dummy stone fences in the chapels of the *heb-sed* court of the Step Pyramid (FIRTH 1925, 155-6, figs 1-2, pl. IV [3]; LAUER 1936, 133, pls. 55, 59, 65 [3]; MATHIEU 2021, 148, figs 8 [a-b]).

pyramid's gallery.<sup>44</sup> Returning to the original idea of 'fence', some examples of  seem to depict wooden stockades, sometimes consisting of wooden stanchions with a cord or a strip of wood passing through the holes at the top of the posts (Fig. 4.1a-c). In other examples, however, and in its later variant  (sign O42),<sup>45</sup> these stakes seem to be cords because of the loops at their ends (Fig. 4.2a-c). Actually, according to Griffith, the hieroglyph depicts "a number of threads, regularly spaced, each looped at one end, and at the other attached to a horizontal bar of wood; a thread passes through the loops parallel to the bar, and from near one end of the latter there projects a short curved handle (?)"<sup>46</sup> Given these circumstances

 and the fact that there is a word    šzpt that means 'cordage' from the Middle Kingdom,<sup>47</sup> it seems plausible that the word šzp mentioned in the titles under consideration, which are primarily related to quarrying activities in the Wadi Hammamat, could refer to a group of devices related to stone-cutting and/or transport activities. Since the extracted blocks were most likely dropped from their place of origin to the bottom of the aforementioned wadi,<sup>48</sup> the logogram might refer to some devices made of ropes and wood for 'receiving' large quarried stones on sledges by which they would be transported. Although almost all the Old Kingdom objects made of greywacke from Wadi Hammamat were easy-to-handle statues, bowls and jars, a few were considerably bigger blocks that required more care and attention, such as sphinxes,<sup>49</sup> pyramidions and royal sarcophagi.<sup>50</sup>

What would these hypothetical šzp-devices look like? Maybe, they had different forms depending, for instance, on the shape, size, or weight of the stones. Sometimes, they could be made by wooden stanchions with a transversal rope or beam that would serve as a parapet, as shown in some transport boats in the Unas causeway (Fig. 4.1e).<sup>51</sup> On other occasions, they could be cord-based fastening systems or cargo nets (Fig. 4.2a-c),<sup>52</sup> similar to the 'sticks-and-ropes' system for hanging mat works depicted on certain false doors (Fig. 4.2d-e), or the truss girdle made of ropes that strengthens the seafaring ships (Fig. 4.2f).<sup>53</sup> Alternatively, they might be combined wood and cord frames set on transport sledges.<sup>54</sup> In this regard, some Old Kingdom hieroglyphs of the *hnw*-bark of Sokar (Fig. 4.3d-f) already depict its peculiar base that resembles the later variant  (Fig. 4.3a-c). Later elaborated reliefs reveal that it was made using wooden stakes and ropes (Fig. 4.3f).<sup>55</sup> They recall similar attaching devices for carrying great stone blocks (Fig. 4.4a-c). Finally, they could be various systems of beams, ropes and 'bearing stones' (a type of pre-pulley) to effectively move the sledges with heavy blocks, such as the system placed in the ramp of Quarry P at Hatnub or the devices employed on the Giza plateau.<sup>56</sup>

As a result, it is possible that the *hr(y.w)* šzp oversaw the creation and operation of these systems involving ropes and wooden structures. In rather different contexts, there were some *hry*-officials also in charge of materials or goods, as is the case of     *hry ht.w*, 'the one in charge of

<sup>44</sup> Urk. I 107, 5-6; WALLET-LEBRUN 1989, 56-8. This hapax is attested in Weni's biographical text.

<sup>45</sup> The oldest example of this variant I know so far is on stela BM EA 574 (reign of Amenemhat II) ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA574](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA574) <accessed 11.10.2023>).

<sup>46</sup> GRIFFITH 1898, 45-6 [fig. 53].

<sup>47</sup> JONES 1988, 188 [165]; WILLEMS 1996, 431, n. s; TLA lemma no. 157290; HANNIG 2006, 2488 {33561-62} (\*Seilbindungen und Verschnürungen).

<sup>48</sup> GOEDICKE 1964, 48-50; LEPROHON 1989.

<sup>49</sup> FAY 1996, 63 [12] (is 'schist' = greywacke?); D[ELVAUX] 2006, 51, 219 [cat. 64].

<sup>50</sup> NOVÁKOVÁ 2018, 338. WISSA 1994; KLEMM, KLEMM 2010, 7-10; WISSA 2011. Some sarcophagi of queens are also made in this material (CALLENDER 2011, 238, 262). Weni's biographical text mentions the pyramidion and sarcophagus of King Merenre coming from this area (WISSA 2011, 223); another greywacke pyramidion from the pyramid of a queen is also known (CALLENDER 2011, 290). On the damage to the sarcophagus of Teti possibly caused by extraction activities, see LABROUSSE, ALBOUNY 1996, 65.

<sup>51</sup> GOYON 1969, 24-5.

<sup>52</sup> FISCHER 1963, 26, fig. 1 [IA B6 = PT §812<sup>P</sup>]; PIERRE-CROISIAU 2001, pl. I [P/F/W inf A 25] (fig. 4.2a).

<sup>53</sup> LANDSTRÖM 1970, 64-5, fig. 191 [1].

<sup>54</sup> LEHNER, LACOVARA 1985; DELVAUX 2018, 48-9, fig. 4.

<sup>55</sup> This base is reproduced in three dimensions in a Saite gold pendant (Cairo CG 53310); see MASPERO 1902, 3-4, pl. III [1].

<sup>56</sup> See GOURDON 2019 and LEHNER 2021, respectively.

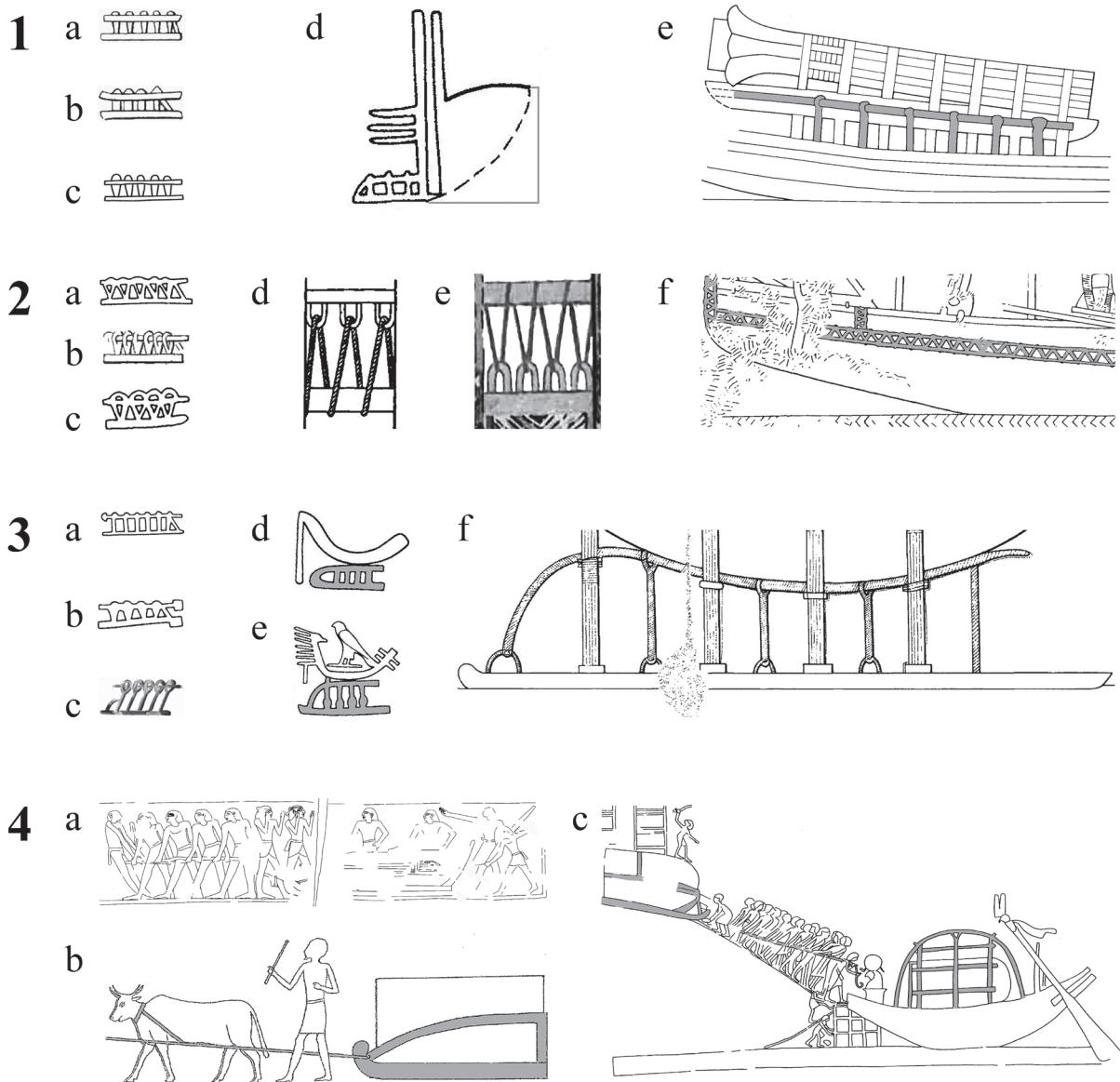


Fig. 4 - Possible interpretations of the sign O42. 1a-e) The sign O42 as fence: a-c) examples from hieroglyphs (VON BISSING, KEES 1923, pl. 16 [39] [41]; BARTA 2015, 138, fig. 3); d) an example of a *pr-wr* chapel (sign O19) preceded by a fence (PIERRE-CROISIAU 2001, pl. 9, col. 34); e) parapet in a transport boat from the Unas causeway (ARNOLD 1991, 277, fig. 6.37). 2a-f) The sign O42 as a fastening system made of cords and wooden sticks: a-c) examples from hieroglyphs (PIERRE-CROISIAU 2001, pl. 1, col. 26A; ÉPRON, DAUMAS 1939, pl. 37; PIERRE-CROISIAU 2019, pl. 11, col. 2); d-f) mat hanging systems depicted in false doors, and truss girdles of cords on boats (taken from BORCHARDT 1937, 38; BORCHARDT 1907, pl. 24; BORCHARDT 1913, pl. 13). 3a-f) Sign O43 as complex fastening devices for transporting loads: a-b) examples from hieroglyphs (PIERRE-CROISIAU 2001, pls. 3, col. 16; 2b, col. 91); c) a later development of the sign (sign O42) (GRIFFITH 1898, pl. 5 [53]); d-e) transporting or supporting devices under the *hnw*-boat (PIERRE-CROISIAU 2001, pls. 1, col. 31; 2b, col. 68); f) a later detailed depiction of such device in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1940, pl. 221). 4a-c) Different devices for transporting stone blocks made of cords and wooden beams of the late Old Kingdom (a) and New Kingdom (b-c) (MOSTAFA 2014, 82, fig. 13; DARESSY 1911, 263; MARTINEZ 2009, 163, fig. 5). Figures not at the same scale.

wood', or *hry hkr.(w)/hkrt nsw* 'the one in charge of the (royal) luxuria'.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, there is a much more contrived interpretation of in the title . The hieroglyph also served as the logogram for 'hand's width' (*šzp*),<sup>58</sup> a unit of length divided into four fingers (*db*). Consequently, it could be a sportive writing for *ifd* 'four' or, in some contexts, 'rectangle/rectangular block', or 'rectangular area'.<sup>59</sup> Thus, the *hry.(w)* *šzp* could be officials responsible for the stone blocks extracted from the quarries or, alternatively, in charge of an area that could be related to the living or working spaces of labourers. Regarding this 'spatial' option, there are, again, some *hry*-officials in charge of spaces or, more precisely, buildings, as the early title *hry (w)d3* 'the one in charge of the magazine', or *hry pr* 'the one in charge of the house'.<sup>60</sup>

As an aside, but still in the context of quarrying, there are other less feasible interpretations of in the title , which illustrate the (too) wide variety of alternative readings that the sign may inspire either as a pictogram/logogram or phonogram. The sign could represent a ladder,<sup>61</sup> or, considering the sign as a fence again, it could be a kind of barrier or palisade made with wooden stakes and rope nets, as in the case of some

detailed depictions of hunting grounds named *ht*.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, considering the phonetic value of the sign, could be related to *šzpt* 'šzpt-tent', a kind of temporary hut or kiosk attested from the Middle Kingdom or later.<sup>63</sup> Another possibility is that the office could refer to *šzpw/zšpw/sšpw* 'sphinx', only attested, again, from the Middle Kingdom.<sup>64</sup> However, this word could derive from *sšp*, 'bright', 'light',<sup>65</sup> rather than *šzp*, 'to receive', because this origin would be far more in accordance with the solar connotations of these hybrid beings in ancient Egypt.<sup>66</sup> Actually, a passage in the *Pyramid Texts* (PT 515 §1178a-b<sup>PMN</sup>) mentions two obelisks along with the dual hapax *sšpw* that might be interpreted as 'two sphinxes'.<sup>67</sup>

All these interpretations of the title probably run parallel to the presence of the hieratic version of on several Old Kingdom building blocks from private tombs (Ptahshepses and Wer-kare at Abusir, and Akhethetep at Saqqara) and a royal mortuary complex (Pepy I at Saqqara South) (Fig. 5). These signs have been identified with the hieroglyph , but they are actually much closer to (Fig. 3).<sup>68</sup> These building marks were painted on the blocks before they were set in their

<sup>57</sup> FISCHER 1991, 61 [9]; JONES 2000, 608 [2229] (*hry ht.w*); FISCHER 1991, 61 [10]; JONES 2000, 608 [2230-1] (*hry hkr/hkr nswt*); see also JONES 2000, 947 [3490] (*shd hry.(w) ht*).

<sup>58</sup> TLA lemma no. 157200; HANNIG 2003, 1319 {33538}.

<sup>59</sup> TLA lemma no. 24560; 850571; HANNIG 2003, 70 {1617}; 489-90 {1611} {11809} (4); TLA lemma no. 24570; HANNIG 2006, 171 {1625} (rectangle); TLA lemma no. 24600; HANNIG 2006, 171 {1625} (rectangular area). For examples of sportive writing, see GOEDICKE 1965; see also, to a lesser degree, *m'b3*, 'harpoon' (TLA lemma no. 68700; HANNIG 2003, 516 {12531}), that was homonymous to *m'b3* '30' (TLA lemma no. 68690; HANNIG 2003, 516 {12525}).

<sup>60</sup> JONES 2000, 601-3 [2202-9] (*hry (w)d3*); FISCHER 1991, 61 [6]; JONES 2000, 606-7 [2220-5] (*hry pr*); see also FISCHER 1991, 62 [6']; JONES 2000, 294 [1075] (*imy-hr hry.(w) pr*).

<sup>61</sup> BOREUX 1924, 514, n. 3. On Old Kingdom ladders, see BLOK 1928; LIPTAY 2017, 284.

<sup>62</sup> On these palisades, see e.g. HERB, FÖRSTER 2009, 27-8, fig. 10; DAVIES 1920, pls 6-7; NEWBERRY 1895, pl. 7. On *ht*, see TLA lemma-no. 39870; HANNIG 2003, 283 {5655}.

<sup>63</sup> TLA lemma no. 157250; HANNIG 2006, 2487 {33541}.

<sup>64</sup> TLA lemma no. 157210; HANNIG 2006, 2487 {33549} (two attestations occur in the Wadi Hammamat). For other Middle Kingdom examples, see POSTEL, RÉGEN 2005, 237, 268-70 [nn.], 288-9, figs 5-6, col. x + 18; ALTMÜLLER 2015, 168 [AnnP x + 4], pl. 5. During the Old Kingdom, the only known term with this meaning is *m3(i)* 'lion/sphinx?', see TLA lemma no. 66380; HANNIG 2003, 500 {12074}.

<sup>65</sup> TLA lemma no. 144850; 144860; HANNIG 2003, 1235 {30498} {20502}.

<sup>66</sup> OCKINGA 1984, 339.

<sup>67</sup> TLA lemma no. 157210; HANNIG 2003, 1319 {33549}; FAULKNER 1969, 190. On the contrary, ALLEN (2015, 163) translates it as "the two dazzling ones" and MATHIEU (2018, 463) as "deux lumières".

<sup>68</sup> DOBREV, VERNER, VÝMAZALOVÁ 2011, 52 [U15]; VÝMAZALOVÁ 2014, 261-75 (Wer-kare); VERNER 1992, 163-4, 166 (Ptahshepses); CIAVATTI 2022 (Akhethotep).

Mortuary temple of Pepy I, South Saqqara



Mastaba of Werkare, Abusir



Mastaba of Akhethetep, Saqqara



Mastaba of Ptahshepses, Abusir

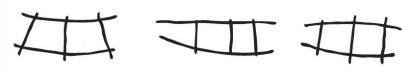


Fig. 5 - *šzp*-like building marks from the Memphite necropolis (not at the same scale)  
(taken from DOBREV *et al.* 2011, 52 [U15]; CIAVATTI 2022, 356 [docs. 2-3; 5].

final position. Therefore, they are probably related to extraction, shaping and/or transport operations. They are also related to other hieroglyphic-like signs and non-textual marks. According to Andrassy and Ciavatti, they might refer to subdivisions of a phyle of workers.<sup>69</sup> Alternatively, Verner has proposed that they could be topographical indications of the precise provenance of the blocks in the quarries.<sup>70</sup> Be that as it may, it is evident that this hieroglyph was part of a ‘non-writing system’ employed to identify a particular group or workers, a place of origin, or a destination, among other possibilities.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, in this case, probably has no direct relation with the title outlined in these pages.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Altounian relief, with its mention of a *shd hry(.w)*, is an important document for reading an enigmatic sign attested in several administrative

titles in the Wadi Hammamat. This identification, however, raises new questions about the precise meaning of these offices and, above all, of the term *šzp* and its logogram. The word can refer, among other possibilities, to a specific administrative practice that took place on the occasion of quarrying expeditions, or it could be connected to the creation of one or more types of fixing or transporting devices of great loads or to the control or management of an area or settlement.

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<sup>69</sup> ANDRÁSSY 2009; CIAVATTI 2022, 348, 353.

<sup>70</sup> VERNER 1992, 163-4, 166, 168-9.

<sup>71</sup> VAN DER MOEZEL 2015; For a list of signs of this kind, see ANDRÁSSY 2009.

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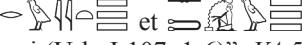
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Egypt has long captivated the imagination through its literature, tales, and accounts from ancient and modern explorers. In antiquity, it served as the realm of pharaohs, steeped in myths that intertwined gods and humanity. Herodotus marveled at its wonders, while Napoleon's expedition unearthed its mysteries. The stories passed down to us also offer insights into various facets of everyday life in ancient Egypt—human emotions, connection with nature, and the desire to discover unknown lands. This volume, presented to prof. Marilina Betrò, delves into Egypt's history, weaving ancient and modern narratives. It explores Egypt not only as a land of wonders but also as a place that resonates with its ancient societies and their perspectives.

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