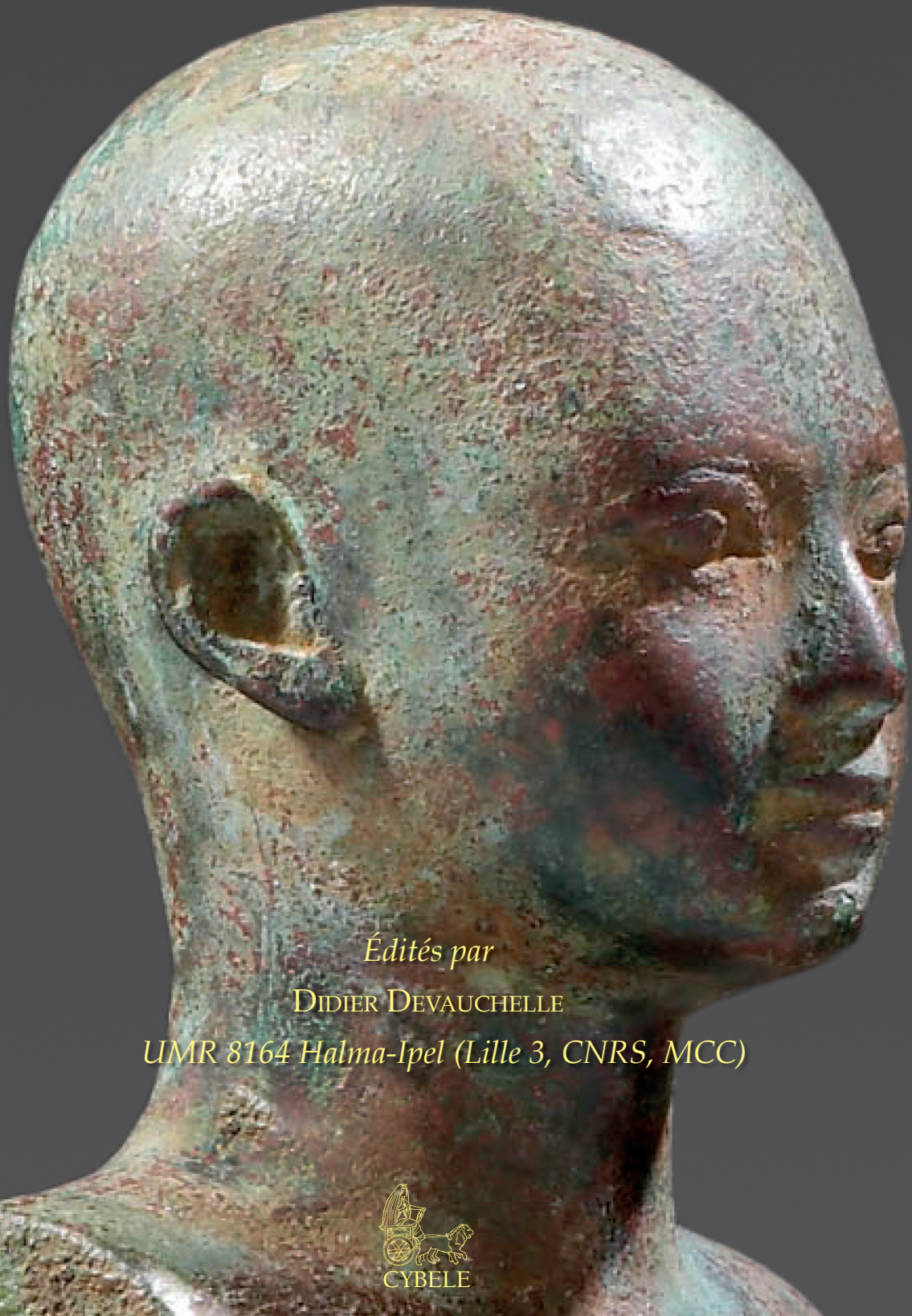


# La XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie continuités et ruptures

*Promenade saïte avec Jean Yoyotte*



*Édités par*

DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE

*UMR 8164 Halma-Ipel (Lille 3, CNRS, MCC)*



# **La XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie**

## **continuités et ruptures**

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Tél. (0)1 43 54 16 26 Fax. (0)1 46 33 96 84 Email : cybele5@wandoo.fr  
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Maquette : Camille De Visscher

ISBN 978-2-915840-30-8  
EAN 9782915840308

# La XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie continuités et ruptures



Actes du Colloque international  
organisé les 26 et 27 novembre 2004  
à l'Université Charles-de-Gaulle - Lille 3



*Promenade saïte avec Jean Yoyotte*

édités par

DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE

UMR 8164 HALMA-IPEL (Lille 3, CNRS, MCC)







Tout le monde applaudit à la proposition de Didier Devauchelle, à la fin du brillant colloque qu'il avait organisé, d'en faire hommage à Jean Yoyotte et de lui en dédier les Actes.

Consacrer la vocation de ce recueil, qui doit tant à sa présence discrète auprès des jeunes chercheurs d'aujourd'hui, est, pour ses vieux amis, grand honneur et plus grand plaisir encore.

Les journées de l'automne 2004 à Lille nous ont restitué quelques instants les anciennes connivences de 1950, quand Jean Yoyotte accueillait à la Salle Champollion deux jeunes congénères belges, qui venaient s'instruire auprès des maîtres qui étaient déjà les siens. Autour des photographies du papyrus Jumilhac, que d'heures fiévreuses les trois complices ont-ils passées ! Que de palabres entre eux, d'échanges, de discussions, là ou à la pâtisserie d'en face... L'égyptologie était à nous. Il restait à la faire... Il y a largement contribué. Il était notre initiateur aux usages parisiens, et là commença l'amitié qui dure encore. À notre âge, on ne rend pas hommage au copain d'alors, mais on est heureux de lui dire le bonheur éprouvé à chacune des rares rencontres que la vie nous a ménagées, et que le flot de souvenirs fait affleurer au gré du métier.

Herman De Meulenaere, Philippe Derchain

## Note de l'éditeur

En organisant le colloque *La XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie : continuités et ruptures* à l'Université Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3 les 26 et 27 novembre 2004, mon intention était d'inviter quelques collègues et amis autour d'un sujet qui nous tenait à cœur et le nom de Jean Yoyotte était, bien évidemment, présent dans mon esprit : c'est ainsi que germa l'idée de rassembler autour de ce savant, et de manière un peu informelle, une petite communauté intéressée par cette époque de l'histoire de l'Égypte ancienne ; Jean Yoyotte avait alors commencé à élaborer une synthèse sur le pouvoir saïte et en entretenait régulièrement quelques-uns d'entre nous dans des conversations autour d'un café.

Aussi, lors de la séance de clôture de cette rencontre, il fut décidé, d'un commun accord, de lui dédier les *Actes* qui concrétiseraient le résultat de nos travaux<sup>1</sup>. Il ne s'agissait pas de publier des *Mélanges* — d'autres sont plus légitimes que moi pour réaliser ceux-ci —, mais d'éditer nos contributions sur la XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie à la suite de celle de Jean Yoyotte. Celle-ci paraît aujourd'hui en article liminaire.

Les textes que Jean Yoyotte a bien voulu me confier se présentaient à l'état d'ébauches : certaines parties étaient rédigées, tandis que d'autres n'étaient qu'esquissées et les renvois, seulement suggérés ou faits de mémoire. Il a donc fallu opérer des choix, en essayant de conserver un maximum des idées développées, mais certaines sections n'étaient visiblement que de simples aide-mémoire préparatoires de la rédaction finale. J'ai vérifié, corrigé et complété les notes quand celles-ci avaient été prévues, sans systématiquement actualiser toutes les références : quiconque écrit un article de synthèse sait que l'on laisse cette tâche fastidieuse pour la fin et si Jean Yoyotte, dont les connaissances bibliographiques étaient vastes, avait fort avancé sa réflexion synthétique sur un sujet qui lui tenait à cœur, il avait aussi laissé de côté nombre de vérifications qu'il comptait effectuer par la suite. Le lecteur devra donc parfois faire confiance au savant et il sera indulgent sur ses raccourcis et sur les imperfections de l'édition : la fatigue de Jean Yoyotte était perceptible à de nombreux endroits du manuscrit et il ne m'a pas toujours été possible de la cacher !

Je me suis donc limité dans le travail de restructuration, mais j'ai cependant éliminé les paragraphes qui s'éloignaient trop du sujet, pensant que Jean Yoyotte aurait sans doute fait de même. Enfin, j'ai souhaité reproduire le texte concernant Manéthon en Annexe, même si celui-ci peut paraître moins élaboré, car il m'a semblé être un écho de la pensée de Jean Yoyotte, toujours en « recomposition » et telle qu'elle s'exprimait dans les discussions que les uns et les autres ont pu avoir avec lui.

Ce travail a été plus long que je ne le pensais (des tâches moins nobles accaparant l'essentiel de mon temps) : cela explique en partie le retard qu'a pris la publication de ces *Actes*. Aussi j'adresse mes excuses aux collègues qui ont participé à cette entreprise et je les remercie de leur patience. J'espérais que ce volume paraîtrait du vivant de Jean Yoyotte, malheureusement cela n'a pas été possible. Je remercie ses « vieux amis », Philippe Derchain et Herman De Meulenaere, qui avaient accepté, dès le projet lancé, de rédiger un petit mot introductif, simple, que j'ai conservé tel qu'il avait alors été écrit. Je reste le seul responsable des choix qui ont été faits pour la présentation de ce travail.

La préparation matérielle du manuscrit a, elle aussi, connu des moments difficiles. C'est grâce à la compétence et à la gentillesse de Camille De Visscher que la mise en page de ces *Actes* a pu finalement être menée à bien. La réalisation de ce volume a bénéficié du soutien de Ghislaine Widmer tout au long de cette entreprise. Enfin, je n'aurai garde d'oublier dans ces remerciements Jean-Pierre Montesino qui publie aujourd'hui ce volume : il a été patient, compréhensif et m'a aidé à la conception de la couverture.

Didier Devauchelle  
Printemps 2011

\* Au moment de remettre le manuscrit à l'imprimeur, nous apprenons avec tristesse le décès d'Herman De Meulenaere qui nous avait accompagnés avec enthousiasme dans ce projet de Colloque : que son nom demeure auprès de nous !

1. Quelques collègues qui n'avaient pu prendre part au colloque ont également envoyé leur contribution.

## Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis. The art and politics of self-commemoration in the seventh century BC

Anthony LEAHY

University of Birmingham

Although Somtutefnakht, ‘master of shipping’, has been recognised for over a century as a man of some importance in the early years of the reign of Psammetichus I, little is actually known about him<sup>1</sup>. Our perception of him has largely been shaped by two sources : the Nitocris adoption stela (J) and P. Rylands IX (L)<sup>2</sup>. The stela provides an official and closely contemporary statement that it was he who, as ‘sole companion, governor of the Heracleopolitan nome, great army commander and master of shipping’, escorted the king’s daughter south to Thebes in March of 656 BC for her induction as heiress to the God’s Wife of Amun. An embassy that was to prove decisive in the making of Saite Egypt must have been among the major diplomatic missions of his life, yet the focus of attention is on the king and the princess, and the stela records no more than the fact of Somtutefnakht’s participation. The document today called P. Rylands IX was composed some 150 years

later, at the end of the sixth century BC. It relates the grievances of Petiese (III), a scribe of the temple of Teudjoi in the Heracleopolitan nome, tracing back to the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty his family’s claim to a share of revenues from the temple. Its passing references to Somtutefnakht in that context (10/4-14/14) suggest that he followed in the footsteps of an earlier Petiese, both as the master of shipping and as patron of the writer’s ancestors.

Both texts associate Somtutefnakht securely with the region of Heracleopolis and with the office of master of shipping. Beyond that the information they provide is limited and divergent ; one deals with a single event, the other is a doubtful guide to early Saite history, and Somtutefnakht is a peripheral figure in both. Other sources, principally the numerous statues that, in the course of his career, he dedicated in temples from the Delta to Thebes, offer insights into his own presentation of himself,

1. E.g. K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, Warminster, 1972, p. 234-239 ; L. LIMME, *LdÄ* V, col. 1081-1082 ; G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9 (ÄAT 38)*, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 708-713. I retain the traditional rendering of the title  $\epsilon\varsigma n mr$ , more literally ‘chief of the harbour’ or ‘harbourmaster’.
2. Capital letters in bold type refer to the annotated summary of the sources for Somtutefnakht given in an appendix at the end of this paper. Partial earlier listings can be found in Fr.Ll. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* III, Manchester, 1909, p. 72-74 ; G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 18 (1919), p. 29-33 ; J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), p. 233 n.3 ; H. DE MEULENAERE, *CdE* 31 (1956), p. 251 n. 1 ; H. BAKRY, *Kémi* 20 (1970), p. 19-34 ; K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, p. 235 n. 173 ; G. el-Din MOKHTAR, *Ihnâsya el-Medina (Heracleopolis Magna) (BdE 40)*, Cairo, 1983, p. 131-134 ; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque*, Paris, 1985, p. 82-83 doc. 107 ; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit (GOF IV Reihe : Ägypten, 21)*, Wiesbaden, 1991, p. 207-211 no. 48 ; D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten. Die Verwaltung in der 26. Dynastie in Ägypten (664-525 v. Chr.)*, Frankfurt, 1998, p. 194-198 no. B 31.1-8.



to his contemporaries and to posterity, and thus allow a more rounded appreciation of his impact. I first discuss the least known but most informative of those statues, then explore its wider contexts<sup>3</sup>.

### Richmond, Virginia 51-19-4 + 64-60 (A)

The statue (figs. 1 – 8), of the stone traditionally called alabaster in Egyptological literature<sup>4</sup>, is broken in two across the middle. It depicts a man in the cross-legged position, without back pillar. It is 74.4 cm high and rests on a base 46.6 cm wide by 41.4 deep by 16.2 high. The lower part — with the main inscriptions, including the name of the owner — was first noticed in print in the early 1950s, when it was reported to have been on the art market in Luxor between 1926 and 1934, and was recognised as coming originally from Karnak<sup>5</sup>. The upper part — dated by a cartouche on each shoulder to the reign of Psammetichus I — was already in the Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, Virginia (no. 51-19-4) when it was published in *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* in 1960 as belonging to ‘a scribe’s statue’<sup>6</sup>. On the basis of the pose and the unusual stone used, Bothmer there surmised that it made one with the Luxor piece. This was confirmed in an addendum in the 1969 Arno reprint of *ESLP*, in which it was reported that the two pieces had been reunited in Richmond<sup>7</sup>. The lower part was accessioned there on 30 November 1964, under the number 64-60. Although there was press coverage

when the statue was put on display in April 1965, an occasion on which Bothmer lectured in Richmond, this very successful reunion of the *membra dispersa* of an ancient Egyptian sculpture — one of only two statues of Somtutefnakht on which the head has survived (G is the other) — has gone largely unnoticed<sup>8</sup>.

Statues of high officials sitting cross-legged were briefly fashionable in the later Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth Dynasties, after a hiatus of some four centuries<sup>9</sup>. The earliest examples at Thebes date to the end of the eighth century BC<sup>10</sup> and show the influence of the New Kingdom. In Somtutefnakht’s case, fifty years later, that is apparent only in the double wig, which had continued in vogue in the first half of the first millennium BC. His pose and costume draw instead on the Old Kingdom and perhaps a specifically Memphite source. The finely carved head is distinctively of the mid-seventh century BC.

In recent years, it has been argued that the term ‘scribal’, traditionally used of the Richmond statue and others like it, is best reserved for statues on which scribal activity is explicit. The cross-legged pose in itself might signify no more than a man waiting patiently or engaged in contemplation<sup>11</sup>. In the present case, the arms rest on top of the kilt and the hands grasp the hem of the garment so that the knuckles face outward. This hand position,

3. I am very grateful to Margaret E. Mayo, then Curator of Ancient Art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, Virginia, for the opportunity to study the statue during a visit to Richmond in 1996 and for permission to publish it; to Richard Fazzini and Donald Spanel for access to the files of the CLES in Brooklyn; and not least to the late Bernard V. Bothmer for the set of photographs published here, courtesy of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture and the Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. For information from the files of the Topographical Bibliography, I am similarly indebted to Diana Magee and Jaromír Malek.
4. Geologists seem agreed that the term ‘alabaster’ is inappropriate, but not whether the stone should hence be called ‘calcite-alabaster’ (Th. DE PUTTER, Chr. KARLSHAUSEN, *Les pierres utilisées dans la sculpture et l’architecture de l’Égypte pharaonique*, Brussels, 1992, p. 44; R. KLEMM, D. KLEMM, *Steine und Steinbrüche im alten Ägypten*, Berlin, 1993, p. 199) or ‘travertine’ (B.G. ASTON, J.A. HARRELL, I. SHAW, in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 59-60).
5. J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), p. 233 n. 3. A copy made by K. Sethe was utilised by E. Otto, who cited a number of passages in *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit (PdÄ 2)*, Leiden, 1954, p. 127 no. 21.
6. *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, New York, 1960, p. 25-26 no. 22, pl. 20 fig. 47 (hereinafter *ESLP*).
7. The arrival of the lower part of the statue in the United States had already been signalled by H. DE MEULENAERE, *OG* 1 (1964), p. 101 n.17; for a fuller account, see the same author in *Spiegel Historiae* 7 (1972), p. 497-500.
8. This is evident from the vagueness of citations of the statue in the lists (n. 2 above) of Chevereau and Rößler-Köhler, and its absence from that of Pressl. For bibliography, see PM VIII, 797, adding the *New York Times*, March 25, 1965 and *Time*, April 23, 1965, p. 66-67. The statue is also mentioned by E.R. RUSSMANN, *MMJ* 8 (1973), p. 39 n. 28, in a brief discussion of the revival of the ‘scribal’ pose. [A translation of the texts on the top and front of the base has since been published by J. HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken. Aspekte der biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (OBO 226), Fribourg-Göttingen, 2007, p. 148-149].
9. *ESLP*, p. xxxvi-xxxvii and p. 23, comment on no. 20. For an extensive survey of the statue type, see G.D. SCOTT, *The History and Development of the Ancient Egyptian Scribal Statue*, PhD thesis, Yale, 1989. His catalogue items 186-201 are approximately contemporary with the statue published here (no. 197), which is discussed in his volume I, p. 396-397 and III, p. 549-551.
10. O. PERDU, *RdE* 51 (2000), p. 176 n. 4, cites Louvre E 26022, the lower part of a statue belonging to a contemporary of Shabako. The statue of Peshuper, British Museum EA 1514, published by J. LECLANT, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoxes et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l’époque dite “éthiopienne”* (*BdE* 17), Cairo, 1954, pls. XVIII-XX, is probably as early: for dating of the official, see E. GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit* (*ÄA* 37), Wiesbaden, 1981, I, p. 85-86. Both are earlier than the statue Cairo T. 22.10.48.16, cited by BOTHMER (*ESLP*, p. 23) in favour of northern primacy in the revival of the form, and both also predate the statue fragment of Harmachis regarded as the earliest by G.D. SCOTT, *History and Development* I, 1989, p. 392-396, who emphasises the New Kingdom influence on the revival of the cross-legged statue at Thebes.
11. G.D. SCOTT, *History and Development* I, 1989, p. 417-418; O. PERDU, *RdE* 51 (2000), p. 176.

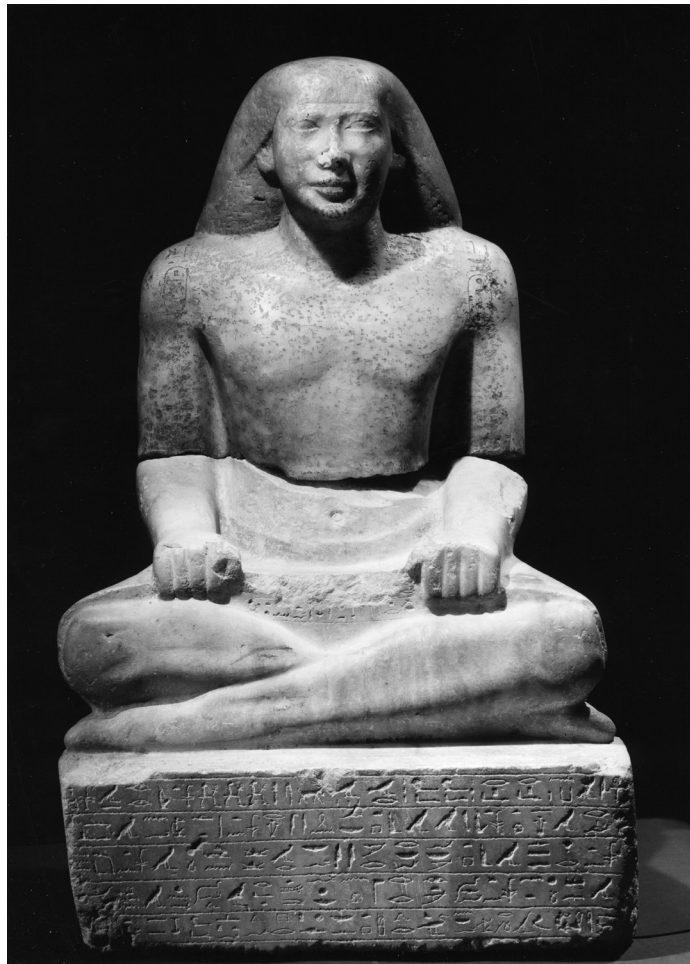


Fig. 1 • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60



Fig. 2 • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, right side

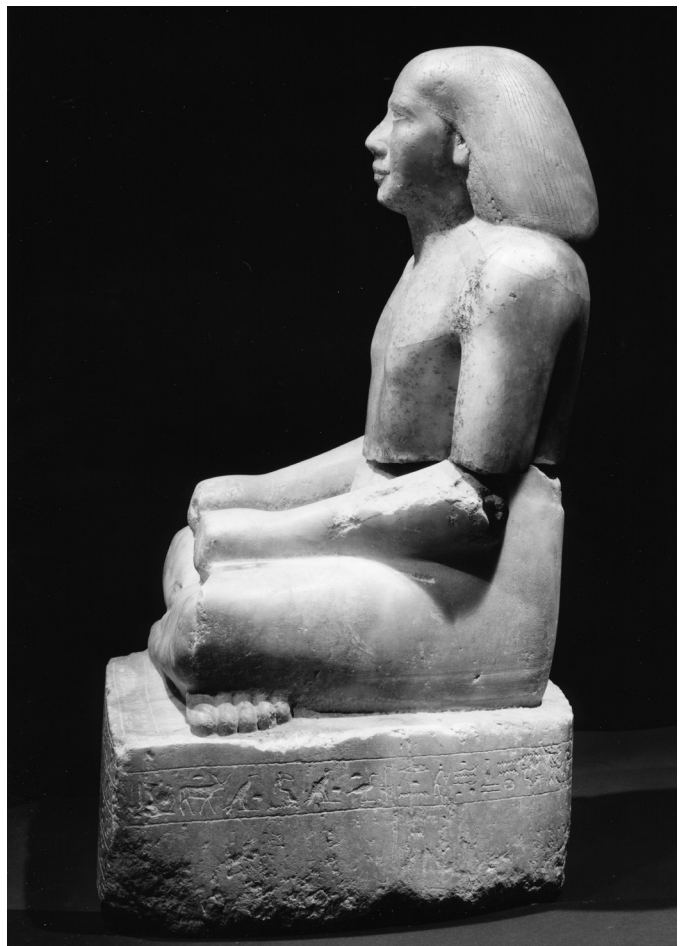


Fig. 3 • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, left side

which has only one known antecedent, from the Fifth Dynasty<sup>12</sup>, is characteristic of a small number of sculptures of the mid-seventh century BC<sup>13</sup>. The Richmond statue is probably the earliest of these and in its turn an inspiration for others<sup>14</sup>. As lines of text are incised on the lap, and as the clenching of the hem has no obvious intrinsic significance, the figure should be understood as holding a sheet of papyrus<sup>15</sup>. The exceptional treatment of the space between the kilt and the legs supports this interpretation. Instead of the triangular recess in shadow usually found on cross-legged statues with lower legs exposed, a flat vertical plane has been created and inscribed in a way that suggests an overhanging document (fig. 1)<sup>16</sup>.

Furthermore, the inscription on the lap has been carved to face outward, for the convenience of someone viewing the statue from the front,

while the text itself is an ‘appeal’, and so explicitly intended to engage a defined audience. The occurrence of this combination on almost all the extant examples of this pose confirms that it is meaningful<sup>17</sup>. On broadly contemporary statues on which the individual overtly holds a *roll* of papyrus, the text faces inward towards the scribe<sup>18</sup> and a more introspective interpretation remains appropriate. Here, conversely, the figure physically invites the passing priest to inspect what Somtutefnakht has written. The outward orientation of the text would have facilitated both casual reading and more formal recitation. This version of the cross-legged statue thus retains a scribal dimension, depicting the final stage in the process of composition, the submission of the author’s completed text for perusal by those for whom it was intended<sup>19</sup>.

12. This is ‘scribal pose’ F in Scott’s classification : *History and Development*, I, p. xvii ; cf. earlier J. VANDIER, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne* III, Paris, 1958, p. 72 f. Both list only Cairo CG 127, a statue of Rahotep from Saqqara, no. 31 in Scott’s catalogue. The pose is not attested in either the Middle or the New Kingdom.
13. *ESLP*, p. 22-23. G.D. SCOTT, *History and Development* I, 1989, p. 396-397, lists five examples from the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty in addition to the one in Richmond : 1. Cairo JE 36662 (his no. 188 = Cairo CG 48634, J. JOSEPHSON, M.M. EL DAMATY, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties* [CGC 48601-48649], Cairo, 1999, p. 79-82, pl. 34, with extensive bibliography, to which may be added E.R. RUSSMANN, D. FINN, *Egyptian Sculpture, Cairo and Luxor*, Austin, 1990, p. 180-181 and Fr. TIRADRITTI [ed.], *The Cairo Museum : Masterpieces of Egyptian Art*, London, 1999, p. 350-351, where the statue is misdated to the reign of Apries). 2. Palermo 145 + Cairo CG 1233 (no. 189). 3. Vienna AS 5750 (no. 190, see also E. ROGGE, *Statuen der Spätzeit* [CAA Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, *Ägyptische-Orientalische Sammlung* 9], Mainz, 1992, p. 42-48). That the statue derives from the excavations of Joseph Hekekyan at Memphis, as suggested by J. MALEK, *JEA* 72 [1986], p. 103 and 109 no. 9, is confirmed by a drawing in the former’s papers, MS 37459.554 Ro. 28, as presented in D.G. JEFFREYS, *Written and Graphic Sources for an Archaeological Survey of Memphis, Egypt : from 500 BCE to 1400 CE, with Special Reference to the Papers of Joseph Hekekyan*, PhD thesis, UC London, 1999, fig. 44 and p. 216. 4. Berlin 2291 (no. 191 ; PM VIII, 796-797). 5. Philadelphia E 13648 (no. 203). To these may be added : 6. Cairo CG 915 (L. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten von Konigen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* III [CGC], Berlin, 1929, p. 151-152, personal observation). 7. Cairo JE 37398 (G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*, Vienna, 1978, pl. 1 ; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 24 [1997], p. 103-114). 8. The lower part of a statue published by Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, in P. BRISSAUD, Chr. Zivie-Coche (ed.), *Tanis. Travaux récents sur le tell Sân el-Hagar*, Paris, 1998, p. 513-519.
14. The examples of the pose listed in the previous note show a wide geographical distribution. Only 1 and 7 are Theban and both are close in date to Somtutefnakht. No. 1 belongs to the vizier Nespaqashuty D, who held that title by year 14 of Psammetichus I at latest (H. DE MEULENAERE, *CdE* 38 [1963], p. 71-77). No. 7 bears a date of year 18, which must be of the same king, as shown by G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte*, 1978, p. 74.
15. Cf. E. ROGGE, *Statuen der Spätzeit*, 1992, p. 42. In keeping with its period, the Fifth Dynasty prototype (n. 12) is not inscribed on the lap, so the position of the hands may not have had the same meaning.
16. It is thus a variation on Cairo JE 36662 and 37398 (see n. 13), on which the ‘papyrus’ text extends laterally beyond the hands and over the thighs in a more conventional fashion. For the treatment of the space between the legs, cf. Cairo CG 48615, J.A. JOSEPHSON, M.M. EL DAMATY, *Statues*, 1999, p. 31-35, pl. 15, a ‘writing’ scribe statue of Petamenophis : his name appears in that space, facing the viewer, whereas the brief text on the papyrus roll on top of the kilt faces inwards (just visible in the photograph in Fr. TIRADRITTI [ed.], *The Cairo Museum*, 1999, p. 352).
17. Of the statues listed in n. 13, the text faces outwards on all (except perhaps Berlin 2291, orientation not known to me), while the text contains an appeal on all but Berlin 2291 (brief identification of owner) and Philadelphia E 13648 (offering formula). The same distinction in conception may be traced back at least as far as the late Eighteenth Dynasty. On the explicitly ‘scribal’ statues of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, the text faces inwards, whereas on those where he is cross-legged with hands resting flat, it faces out : A. VARILLE, *Les inscriptions concernant l’architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (*BdE* 44), Cairo, 1968, pls. I-II.
18. E.g. Cairo CG 48613 (which includes an appeal) and JE 37327, for which see K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (*ÄAT* 45), Wiesbaden, 2001, nos. 1 and 8. The same can apply to asymmetrical scribal statues such as Florence 7245, on which the text on a tangible papyrus roll also faces in : E. BRESCIANI, in P. POSENER-KRIÉGER (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (*BdE* 97), Cairo, 1985, I, p. 109-116.
19. The wider picture requires more exploration than is possible here. Outward orientation of text also occurs on statues on which both hands rest flat on a garment that covers the lower legs completely and over which the text flows, e.g. O. PERDU, *RdE* 51 (2000), p. 178, pl. XXIX (the text cascades from the legs onto the top of the base and then its front) and Cairo JE 43711, a statue of Padihormeden from the Delta. A photograph of the latter appears in M. AZIM, G. RÉVEILLAC, *Karnak dans l’objectif de Georges Legrain* II, Paris, 2004, p. 260, where it is wrongly identified as Cairo JE 37395/K.271, a block statue of the same man from Karnak, for which see further n. 34 below. Cf. also Louvre E 26022 (n. 10 above), on which one hand rests flat while the other holds an ear of grain. The two concepts seem to be combined on British Museum EA 1514 (n. 10 above). There, the text on a papyrus, visibly held as it is being written on, faces inwards, whereas the lower portion of the long kilt that covers the legs is inscribed with a quite separate outward-facing inscription. Both texts are offering formulae.



Fig. 4a • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, head from right



Fig. 4b • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, head from left

[Thanks to photographs kindly provided by Claus Jurman, I can add two further examples to those listed in n. 13. Both are granite statues belonging to the Memphite high priest Padipep, preserved only from the waist down. The first is Aberdeen 21473 (R.W. REID, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum*, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, 1912, p.181), the second Cairo CG 525 (L. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, II, Cairo, 1925, p. 81; J. MALEK, *JEA* 72 (1986), p.107-108). On each, a short text with names and titles faces outwards between the hands grasping the papyrus].

### The texts

#### *Shoulders* (figs. 1 – 3)

Right arm : ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt Psammetichus’.

Left arm : ‘The good god, lord of the two lands, Wahibre’<sup>a</sup>.

#### *Lap* (figs. 5a – 5b, 6)

Six short lines were originally carved on top of the kilt and a further two continued the inscription

onto the flat plane below its hem and between the legs of the figure :

‘O prophets, god’s fathers and *wab*-priests of Amun in Karnak, as you praise your god and make libation to him so shall your heirs be established upon your seats. May you pronounce the name<sup>b</sup> of the army commander of Heracleopolis, Somtutefnakht ; may you give me an offering of fresh water and incense... [one line lost]... honoured before the gods of Thebes, Somtutefnakht.’

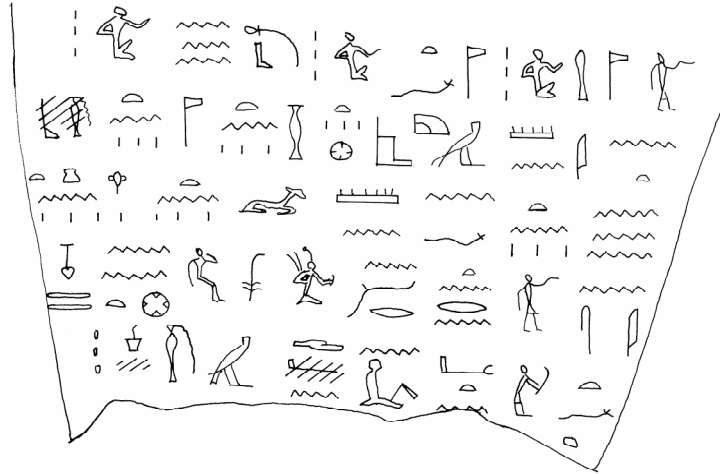


Fig. 5a • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, top of kilt

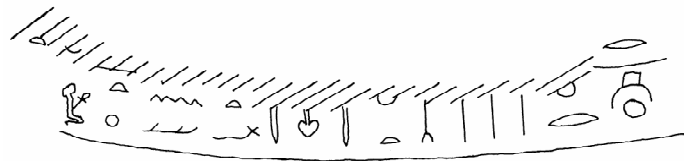


Fig. 5b • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, front edge of kilt

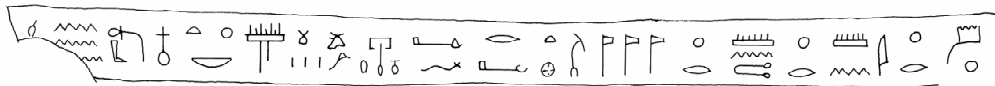
Top of kilt



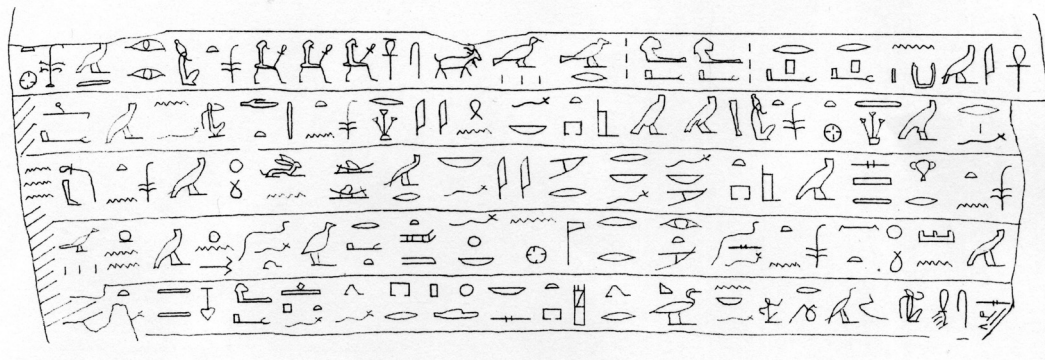
Below hem



top

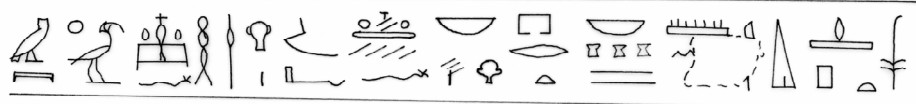


Base

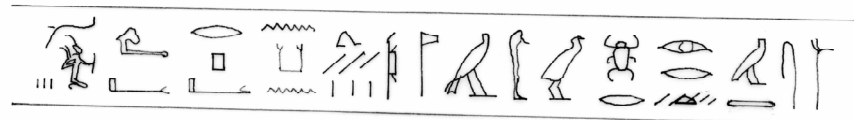


front

right side



back



Base

left side

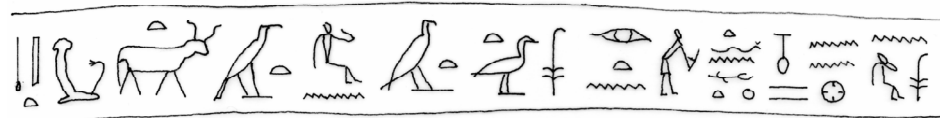


Fig. 6 • Texts on statue Richmond, Virginia 51-19-4 + 64-60

*Base* (figs. 6, 7a – 7b)

A further six lines are inscribed on the top and front of the base :

‘The one honoured before Amun, before Montu and before the (other) gods of Thebes as well<sup>c</sup>. May he give invocation offerings of bread and beer, meat and poultry, alabaster and cloth, everything good and pure, sweet [and pleasant ?]<sup>d</sup>, on which [a god] lives, for the *ka* of the count of counts, prince of princes, chief of chiefs, noblest of courtiers, eyes of the king in Upper Egypt, his spokesman in Lower Egypt<sup>e</sup>, herald of the king in his every place<sup>f</sup>, a member of the inner circle of the king<sup>g</sup>, one to whom the king speaks in private<sup>h</sup>, master of the secrets of the king in his every place, who loves his lord and who is beloved of his lord, overseer of northbound and southbound river traffic<sup>i</sup>, who is dressed as a pure one of the king in the king’s own cloth<sup>j</sup>, who does daily what the god of his town

loves, who does not allow a prisoner to languish in misery<sup>k</sup>, who introduces to his lord one who reports a misfortune<sup>l</sup>, who enters every (part of the) palace<sup>m</sup>, and who brings it about<sup>n</sup> that he (i.e. the petitioner) comes forth and that he is satisfied, the prince Somtutef[nakht].’

A single line begins on the right side of the base and continues on the back and left side (figs. 6, 8a, 8b and 8c) :

‘An offering which the king gives, and Amun-[Re] lord of the thrones of the two lands, (consisting of) everything which comes forth upon his offering table, and which is presented on his altar, the status of an effective spirit in the sky and of a powerful one on earth, and the assumption of a place in the divine retinue<sup>o</sup>, for the *ka* of the count and prince, army commander of Heracleopolis Somtutefnakht, born to the king’s daughter Tasherientaihet<sup>p</sup>, justified.’

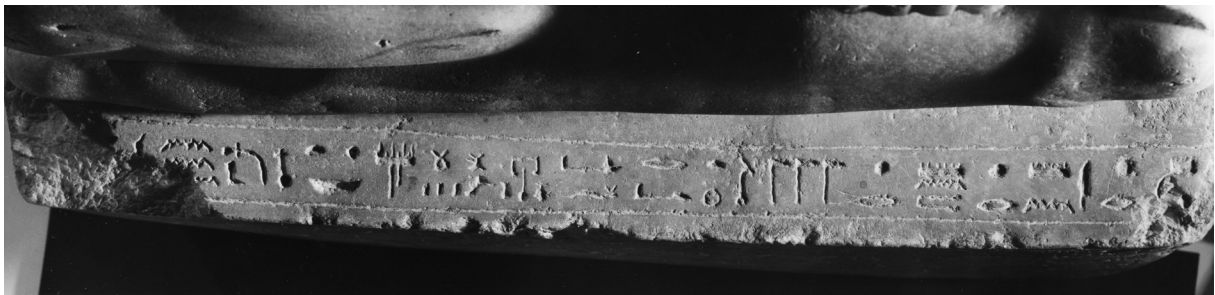


Fig. 7a • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, top of base at front



Fig. 7b • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, front of base

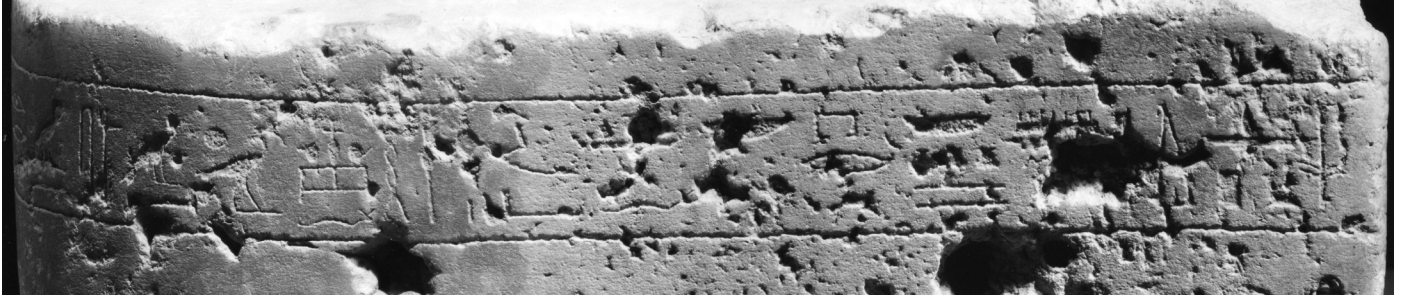


Fig. 8a • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, right side of base



Fig. 8b • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, rear of base



Fig. 8c • Richmond 51-19-4 and 64-60, left side of base



## Notes to the translation

(a) For statues with the cartouches of Psammetichus I, see H. DE MEULENAERE, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), p. 20 n.1, who observes that the prenomen is usually found on the right arm and the nomen on the left. Some statues of Somtutefnakht do follow that pattern (**G** below, probably **I**), whereas the Richmond statue and **E** below show the reverse arrangement. Similar lack of consistency has been noted for statues bearing the cartouches of Apries: E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, *ZÄS* 82 (1958), p. 93.

(b) For a variety of phrases inviting an audience to invoke a name in this way, see P. VERNUS, *Athribis (BdE 74)*, Cairo, 1978, p. 204 (g). Here and in the next line, the suffix pronoun is written without plural strokes.

(c) The group  $\overline{\text{sm}}$  after *w3st* is unexpected. Since alternatives such as the divine name ‘Re’ or part of an aberrant writing of *rdi* are more problematic, I take it as (*m*)-*r*-*r* (Wb. II, 395, 6).


(d) The formula requires the word *ntr* in honorific transposition at the end of the first line, but there may also be room for *ndm*.

(e) The surface of the stone at the start of line 2 is damaged. Although there is space for a narrow, upright group, the fact that nothing seems to be lost from the beginnings of the following lines, where the text is ‘indented’, suggests that the same may be true of line 2: *r.f* alone also yields perfect sense (Wb. II, 390, 1).

(f) For the title ‘herald of the king’ in the Saite period, see D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten. Die Verwaltung in der 26. Dynastie in Ägypten (664-525 v. Chr.)*, Frankfurt, 1998, p. 19-21, where its links to the military and judicial spheres are discussed. To the four examples given there may be added H. DE MEULENAERE, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque*, Istanbul, 1966, p. 16 no. 50. For the New Kingdom, see M. VALLOGGIA, *Recherche sur les “messagers” (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*, Genève, Paris, 1976, p. 261-262. The application of ‘in his every place’ to this title seems to occur only here, and the emphasis on ubiquity may have been added, whether consciously or not, by analogy with the ancient title ‘overseer of secrets of the king in his every place’, which occurs later in the present text. Four of the five Saite officials boast a basiliphorous *rn nfr* proclaiming their closeness to the ruler.

(g) *šny r-ḥ3 nsw*, literally ‘one who circles behind the king’, may have a more precise nuance, connoting protection or control of access, but its essence is proximity to the ruler. Cf. *šmw nsw*, ‘entourage of the king’, Wb. IV, 511 and D. M. DOXEY, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom (PdÄ 12)*, Leiden, 1998, p. 161-163.

(h) For *mdw n.f nsw m wʿw*, see G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9 (ÄAT 38)*, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 526; the source for one of his examples, Cairo JE 37332, has since been published by K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 50, 354, pl. 22. Although the arrangement of signs here allows Somtutefnakht to be understood as ‘one who speaks to him (i.e. the king) in private’, parallels suggest that it is rather the king who is the active party. The same frontal placement of the *nsw*-sign in this epithet is encountered in e.g. G. VITTMANN, *SAK 5* (1977), p. 250 no. 15; O. BERLEV, S. HODJASH, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, Moscow, 1982, p. 172-175 no. 115. In the latter instance, the position of the *nsw*-sign is also influenced by the vertical disposition of the hieroglyphs, while here the transposition allows a single  $\overline{\text{f}}$  sign to function as part of both this and the preceding epithet.

(i) The title *imy-r* followed by two boats seems to have no exact parallel. D. JONES, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, London, New York, 1988, p. 56 no. 30, has only this example, which he reads *imy-r w3wy* or *imy-r ḥʿwy*, and translates ‘commander of the two barks (?)’. P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque*, Paris, 1985, p. 83, takes it as a variant of *imy-r ḥʿw*, encountered on another statue of Somtutefnakht (**H** below)<sup>20</sup>, and it might indeed be simplest to accept it as an archaizing plural, defectively written. Still, the position of the expression in the midst of a series of epithets describing the general character of Somtutefnakht’s influence, rather than in a formal title sequence, makes further reflection desirable. The boats in the Richmond inscription face in opposite directions () and this is surely as significant as the fact that there are only two of them. It is tempting to read *hd* and *hnt*, since the latter can be written with the sail-less boat determinative as early as the Middle Kingdom (R. O. FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford, 1962, p. 195), and the inclusion of a sail might have been felt to diminish the symmetry of the group. H.G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Studies, 2. Part 1. Reversals. The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, New York, 1977, p. 114 n. 328, cites a Middle Kingdom example of such opposition in a compact, abbreviated writing of the phrase *m hdi(t) m hnti(t)* (Cairo CG 20569). Understanding both words as participles here, the title would signify ‘overseer of what goes north and what goes south’, with particular reference to river traffic. It might then correspond broadly to ‘master of shipping’ (*ʿ3 n mr*), a title that does not occur on any of Somtutefnakht’s statues (see below). A graphic analogy common in the Saite period is the use of  $\overline{\text{f}}$  to convey the idea of  $\overline{\text{f}}$  motion ( $\overline{\text{f}}$  and *pr*) in opposite directions: for a convenient clustering of examples, see K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK 21* (1994), p. 113 ff.

20. Olivier Perdu has kindly drawn my attention to the puzzling occurrence there, in an apparent writing of that title, of the boat hieroglyph followed by four strokes!

(j) *wnh m w<sup>c</sup>b nsw* appears without *m mnh(t) nt nsw ds.f* on two other statues of Somtutefnakht (F, G below). On the second, the word *w<sup>c</sup>b* has a cloth determinative, which doubtless influenced the translation of H. BAKRY, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), p. 27 ('clad in royal linen'), and that of P. VERNUS, *Athribis*, 1978, p. 91 ('celui qui est revêtu du linge pur royal'), in his commentary on F. In the present case, *m mnh(t) nt nsw ds.f* serves to identify the apparel, so I suggest rendering *w<sup>c</sup>b nsw* as 'pure one of the king' and understanding it as the title that has been recognised for the Saite period as denoting a court association with the king : see P. VERNUS, *Athribis*, 1978, p. 103 n. b ; D. BERG, *JARCE* 24 (1987), p. 51-52 ; P. MUNRO, in J. Osing, G. Dreyer (ed.), *Form und Mass (ÄAT 12)*, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 326-327. The conventional translation 'wab-priest' is inappropriate here : we can infer only that holders of the title belonged to a privileged group close to the ruler, whose status was marked by distinctive dress. If the 'cloth' translation of *w<sup>c</sup>b* is preferred, the allusion should still be understood as a reference to this group.

(k) *tm rdit wdf hnr m šn(n)w* : E. OTTO, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit (PdÄ 2)*, Leiden, 1954, p. 98, noted as a close parallel for this rare characterisation a passage from an autobiographical text of an official of the time of Ptolemy II found at Coptos : W. M. F. PETRIE, *Koptos*, London, 1896, pl. XX line 8<sup>21</sup>. The last word in the epithet there is *hnj*, a late writing of *hnr(t)*, 'prison' (*Wb.* III, 296, 14), hence Otto's rendering, 'Einer der den Gefangenen nicht zulange im Gefängnis zögern lässt', followed in essence by Ph. DERCHAIN, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation. Littératures d'hiérogammates*, Brussels, 2002, pl. VI line 9, p. 51, p. 92 n.44, and I. GUERMEUR, *BIFAO* 103 (2003), p. 283-284 (line x+9). In the present text, the bottom of the first sign is slightly obscured by surface damage, but it seems to be the *šn*-ring rather than *h*, while the sparrow determinative and plural strokes also favour the reading *šnw* (*Wb.* IV, 495, 1-5). This gives the passage a slightly different nuance from its solitary echo at Coptos some 400 years later.

By a curious coincidence, one of the references to Somtutefnakht in P. Rylands IX, 12/3-4, presents him as using his authority in a rather different manner with regard to anyone who might be implicated in the murder of his relatives : 'any man of Teudjoi you find, let him be brought to me in order that I may let him die in the prison (*štjk*) of Heracleopolis<sup>22</sup>. There, it is a rhetorical device of the author to allow the threat of dire punishment to be aired by someone other than

Petiese (I), who can then be presented as a model of forgiveness and conciliation by contrast. The passage provides no better guide to Somtutefnakht's actual comportment than the present text.

(l) *s<sup>c</sup>r smi m<sup>c</sup>r n nb.f*. E. OTTO, *Die biographischen Inschriften*, 1954, p. 105, rendered 'Der den Elenden seinem Herrn meldet'. The primary sense of *s<sup>c</sup>r* is 'elevation' to a higher plane in the search for justice but it might connote the physical journey to a high-lying palace.

(m) One could read 'every palace', since Sais and Memphis at least will have possessed royal residences, even early in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. However, the sense is rather unrestricted access to all *areas* of the king's accommodation : cf. the statement in P. Rylands IX, 16/15-16, in which the assistance of an advocate said to have the king's ear, even in his most private quarters (*knh*), is sought : G. VITTMANN, *Rylands 9*, 1998, p. 526-527.

(n) The reading *shpr* can be justified either by assuming the omission of the weak final consonant (*Wb.* IV, 240-242) and taking an apparent *d* as a malformed papyrus roll determinative, or by regarding the *d* as a misunderstanding of an *r* in a cursive draft. This last line of the base inscription thus asserts that Somtutefnakht, having introduced a petitioner, takes every opportunity to exert his influence with the king to ensure a positive outcome.

(o) Exact parallels for this phrase occur in other Theban inscriptions of the period, e.g. J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole (AV 6)*, Mainz, 1973, p. 15 (slightly misunderstood by the author) ; statue Cairo JE 36662 (n. 13 above).

(p) This is the sole extant record of the name of Somtutefnakht's mother, originally also carved on statues B and C below, which now preserve only her royal title of *sst nsw*. It is an early example of a name that seems more common after the Saite period : see *PN* I, 370, 3 and 5 (with H. DE MEULENAERE, *RdE* 12 [1960], p. 73) and *Demot. Nb.* I, 15, 1997, p. 1132. The reading *t3-šrit-n-t3-ih* is preferable to the *t3-hrd-n-t3-ih*-[wrt]\* proposed by E. OTTO, *Die biographischen Inschriften*, 1954, p. 10 and followed by e.g. K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, Warminster, 1972, p. 235 and R. MORKOT, *The Black Pharaohs*, London, 2000, p. 275.

21. For the courtier in question, see also B. LEGRAS, *Revue historique* 307 (2002), p. 963-991.

22. On the sense of the passage, see M. CHAUVEAU, *Méditerranées* 6/7 (1996), p. 238 n. 5.

### Somtutefnakht and Thebes : *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*

The references to Theban deities and the appeal to the priesthood of Amun ‘in Ipet-sut’ leave little doubt that the Richmond statue was set up at Karnak<sup>23</sup>, and it was probably also carved there. Complementary perspectives on Somtutefnakht’s relationship with Thebes are provided by the Nitocris stela and the Mut temple blocks depicting the arrival of the princess at Karnak (J, K)<sup>24</sup>. Similarities in his titles as given in the three sources suggest that the statue was commissioned at that time, even if the absence of explicit allusion leaves other possibilities open<sup>25</sup>. In any case, the rapprochement between Thebes and the north provides the historical backdrop the monument was created to address and against which I interpret it.

Its original setting is unknown, but is unlikely to have been left to chance. A position beside the Nitocris stela in the first court<sup>26</sup> would have supplied the context to which Somtutefnakht himself does not openly allude, while the statue sketched the relationship with Psammetichus I that explains the king’s choice of ambassador. The deployment of the scribal pose shows an awareness of the prestige to be derived from emulation of canonical figures such as Amenhotep son of Hapu and Paramessu, whose statues, still accessible in the temple precinct at that time, formed part of the sculptural history on which the social memory of Karnak rested<sup>27</sup>. An image of wisdom, the pose was also a visual reminder that, like them, Somtutefnakht had been — and could continue to be — an intermediary : in his case in a secular sense, between the priesthood who had

long dominated the Theban elite and the Saite state embodied in the monolithic granite stela. There is no explicit invitation to address petitions to him, but the whole tenor of the array of titles and epithets to be discussed below is that of ‘a hearing ear’. A case in point is ‘herald of the king in his every place’ (n. f above), a post that involved forwarding to the ruler representations received. The fact that it does not occur on any other monument of Somtutefnakht suggests that it may have a special significance here, and the sense of ‘intercessor’ would suit the context<sup>28</sup>. Stela and statue thus complemented each other and a common location near the main entrance to the sacred space would have ensured that temple personnel were constantly reminded of their import.

Although the statue is less than life-size, its high and broad base will have given it prominence, and the stone utilised must also have lent distinction. Egypt’s principal alabaster quarries lie between Helwan and Assiut<sup>29</sup>. Somtutefnakht at Heracleopolis would have been well placed to exploit these as northern authority slowly percolated into Middle Egypt, and he may have been personally responsible for the reintroduction of the stone at Thebes<sup>30</sup>. Rarely used for sculpture in Egypt, alabaster had associations with purity and rebirth, as well as aesthetic appeal, and may have been felt to be particularly suitable for a statue that drew explicitly on the past<sup>31</sup>. It is at least an intriguing coincidence that the only known ancestor of the Richmond statue was also —and similarly unusually for its time<sup>32</sup> — of alabaster. The material made a powerful statement about the status and resources of the person depicted.

23. See n. 5 above. Its inclusion in PM VIII, 797, as of ‘provenance not known’ is methodologically correct.

24. There may be a second Theban statue of Somtutefnakht (I, see Appendix), but as this is not certain I draw on it sparingly here in order to avoid circularity of argument.

25. The author of P. Rylands IX (e.g. 6/7-8) evidently thought that tours of inspection in Upper Egypt might form part of the responsibilities of the master of shipping, even if often delegated to a subordinate.

26. G. LEGRAIN, *ZÄS* 35 (1897), p. 12 ; R.A. CAMINOS, *JEA* 50 (1964), p. 71 ; A. LEAHY, *JEA* 82 (1996), p. 153.

27. See E.R. RUSSMANN, *MMJ* 8 (1973), p. 39 with n. 28 on the possible influence of these statues. For a recent discussion of their location and function, see J.M. GALÁN, in Z. Hawass, L. P. Brock (eds.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century (Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000)* II, Cairo, New York, 2003, p. 221-229. As Galán notes, Amenhotep himself may have been inspired by earlier models such as the vizier Mentuhotep, who left several scribal statues at Karnak in the early Twelfth Dynasty. Amenhotep’s prestige in Saite court circles early in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is evident from the inscription published by H. WILD, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), p. 406-413, whether or not it relates to a Theban cult.

28. *Wb.* I, 344, 8 ; E. OTTO, *ZÄS* 78 (1967), 33 ; J.J. CLÈRE, *JEA* 54 (1968) p. 135-148, esp. p. 143-144 ; J.M. GALÁN, in Z. Hawass, L. P. Brock (eds.), *Egyptology at the Dawn* II, 2003, p. 223.

29. See B.G. ASTON, J.A. HARRELL, I. SHAW, in P.T. Nicholson, I. Shaw (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 2000, p. 8-9.

30. See H. DE MEULENAERE, *Égypte* 28 (2003), p. 64 n. 30, for its absence from Theban sculpture during the Kushite Period. Even if the Saite date proposed there for the alabaster statue of Amenirdis I (Cairo CG 565) is not accepted, approximately half a century separated her death from Somtutefnakht’s Theban mission.

31. P. PAMMINGER, *RdE* 51 (2000), p. 161 ; J. BAINES, Chr. RIGGS, *JEA* 87 (2001), p. 104-105. See *ESLP*, p. 25 no. 22, on the rarity of alabaster statues, and O. PERDU, *RdE* 51 (2000), p. 177, for the suggestion that more easily obtainable limestone may sometimes have been used as a substitute.

32. G.D. SCOTT, *History and Development* II, 1989, p. 81-82.

The statue is different from the others (B-I) dedicated by Somtutefnakht, in ways that suggest the conscious fashioning of an image for its Theban audience. Despite the lack of narrative content in its texts, this is the only one to offer any personal characterisation : the rest are limited to titles and formulae. It cannot be chance that a strong personal stamp is discernible in this instance alone, and it may be inferred that Somtutefnakht attached particular importance to this statue. He should be seen not merely as commissioner of his monument, but as its 'author', as influential in the composition of its texts as in the various aspects of display already discussed<sup>33</sup>. Further evidence of its individuality is provided by comparison with those dedicated by other northern officials at Karnak in the reign of Psammetichus I, which are all variations on the conventional block statue in hard stone<sup>34</sup>.

The texts are carefully arranged. While the various passages are discrete and no particular order of reading imposes itself, the attention of the passer-by would naturally have been drawn down from the cartouches on the arms to the appeal displayed so prominently on the lap, and then on to the longest text, on the top and front of the base. The cartouches asserted Somtutefnakht's affinity with the king whom the Thebans had agreed to acknowledge. As the first such demonstration of allegiance at Karnak, it underlined the status of Psammetichus I as well as that of his emissary. The appeal identified the man commemorated and his desire to communicate, while the main text elaborated on his rank and qualities. The *hṭp-di-nsw* formula was relegated to

the least accessible place on the sides and back of the base.

Human motivation is usually complex, and considerations of both piety and religious self-interest may well have played a role in the dedication of the statue at Karnak, yet there is an unmistakable political dimension to its engagement with the contemporary Theban elite. Its outwardly bland texts combine standard epithets with some less usual ones to impart a nuanced message to those for whom it was intended : '*O prophets, god's fathers and wab-priests of Amun in Karnak...*'. The tone of what follows is emollient but uncompromising. The single title by which Somtutefnakht is identified in the appeal text is 'army commander of Heracleopolis' and that is also the only functional title in the offering formula. The weight to be given to the military reference here, and to its recurrence on both the Nitocris stela and the blocks from the temple of Mut, is underscored by its absence from statues dedicated by Somtutefnakht in temples in other parts of the country, with the possible exception of I. Acceptance of the Saite regime in the south may have been achieved peacefully<sup>35</sup>, but the warrior image thus evoked served as a reminder that force remained an option. The reference to Heracleopolis, a base for campaigns against Thebes by earlier army commanders such as prince Osorkon<sup>36</sup>, made this explicit.

In the longer text below, the image presented is benign. Somtutefnakht's paramount status (*the count of counts, prince of princes, chief of chiefs, noblest*

33. Regardless of its historicity, a passage in P. Rylands IX, 7/13-19, nicely illustrates personal initiative in the acquisition of stone and in choice of monument. On a visit to Aswan in or just before year 14 of Psammetichus I, Petiese (I), a lower-ranking official than the master of shipping, is said to have organised the quarrying and delivery to Teudjoi of two blocks of a particular stone for commemorative statues of himself. He subsequently decided on their naophorous form and their placement at the entrances to the shrines of Osiris and Amun.
34. See H. DE MEULENAERE, *Égypte* 28 (2003), p. 63, who cites a Heracleopolitan official Pakhras, a general Djedptahefankh and a high priest of Heliopolis, Haroudja, son of Harwa, in addition to Somtutefnakht. The statues of all three have been included in the recent *Catalogue Général* volume : J.A. JOSEPHSON, M.M. EL-DAMATY, *Statues*, 1999, Cairo CG 48642, 48637 and 48626 respectively. To these may be added a statue of Padihormeden, also published there : Cairo CG 48640 = JE 37395. De Meulenaere suggests that Pakhras, previously assumed to be a successor of Somtutefnakht some decades later (S. PERNIGOTTI, *RSO* 44 [1969], p. 259-271 ; O. PERDU, *RdE* 40 (1989), p. 196-197 ; G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 710), was actually his contemporary, who also accompanied Nitocris to Thebes, and the latter explanation might possibly apply to the other statues. However, their texts are mute on this point and there must have been further opportunities in this period for northerners to dedicate monuments at Karnak.
35. For the favourable political circumstances that allowed diplomacy to triumph at the start of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, see e.g. O. PERDU, *Égypte* 28 (2003), p. 6-7 and H. DE MEULENAERE, *Égypte* 28 (2003), p. 61-62. W. HELCK, in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985 IV*, (SAK-Beihefte 4), Hamburg, 1990, p. 7-8, suggested that the leisurely southward progress to Thebes described on the Nitocris stela is not compatible with the mere 16 days it is said to have taken, and that the version of events given on the stela conceals a day-and-night dash to take Thebes by surprise. This is not persuasive and has rightly been challenged by Fr. BREYER, *Tanutamani. Die Traumstele und ihr Umfeld* (ÄAT 57), Wiesbaden, 2003, p. 344. We can choose to believe (or not) the stela's statement that Nitocris was greeted with an effusion of joy—the orchestration of a reception was not beyond the wit or the purse of the ancients—but the king is hardly likely to have dispatched his daughter unless the ground had been thoroughly prepared, in which case there would have been no need for speed.
36. On *imy-r mšꜥ n Nn-nsw* as the characteristic title of the rulers of Heracleopolis between Sheshonq I and Pefjauawybast, see J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 39 (1988), p. 173-174.

of courtiers') is established at the outset<sup>37</sup>, followed by his role as royal representative ('...eyes of the king in Upper Egypt, his spokesman in Lower Egypt... master of the secrets of the king in his every place'). Thereafter, the principal themes are the privileged relationship that he enjoyed with the king ('a member of the inner circle of the king, one to whom the king speaks in private... who loves his lord and who is beloved of his lord... who is dressed as a pure one of the king, in the king's own cloth) and his sympathetic management of others' access to the ruler ('herald of the king in his every place... who introduces to his lord one who reports a misfortune, who enters every [part of the] palace, and who brings it about that he [i.e. the petitioner] comes forth and that he is satisfied...')<sup>38</sup>. These attributes are largely absent from his other monuments, although ever-presence at the king's side was probably once asserted quite vividly by '[who goes in first and comes out] last' on statue **I**.

If the power to punish the recalcitrant is obliquely hinted at through the statement that he is 'one who does not allow a prisoner to languish in misery', the emphasis is nevertheless on the exercise of clemency, and on Somtutefnakht's readiness to use his influence with the king in that regard. Just as Psammetichus I gave reassurance in the Nitocris stela (**J**, lines x+3-4) that he would not subvert the succession to the office of God's Wife, so his senior adviser on Theban affairs set out his own moral standard ('who does daily what the god of his town loves'). The single remaining designation ('overseer of northbound and southbound river traffic'), which sits oddly among the more abstract phrases, may have been intended to recall an element in his authority that brought him into regular contact with the Thebaid.

Somtutefnakht was not a random choice as the leader of the northern delegation nor was he a figurehead. The Richmond statue portrays an experienced statesman, a mature and trusted confidant of the king, who could boast a royal

connection through his mother. His appointment may also have rewarded a role in the conciliation of the elite in Middle and Upper Egypt, essential to any unification process and through which he had gained the confidence of all sides. If Montuemhat remained pre-eminent in the Thebaid, cautiously continuing to acknowledge Kushite suzerainty, further north other rulers had been recognised by the Assyrians a few years earlier, at Thinis, Assiut and Hermopolis<sup>39</sup>. They or their successors will have retained some local autonomy. Somtutefnakht's Heracleopolitan base allowed him to shape southern perceptions of the emerging Saite power in a way that secured gradual acceptance of its authority in the years prior to 656 BC, and enabled Psammetichus I to dispose of land as far south as Dendera even before Nitocris arrived in Thebes<sup>40</sup>. The qualities of patience and attention inherent in the pose of the Richmond statue provided reassurance. In their insistence on essential values rather than transient events, its inscriptions gave enduring form to a message that had been delivered in person.

The third component of the Theban record of the episode comprises the five blocks from the nearby temple of Mut that celebrate in synoptic form the arrival of Nitocris at Karnak (**K**)<sup>41</sup>. With the different location went a different agenda. On one block, a man standing at the centre of a vessel labelled 'the great boat of Sais' is identified by an adjacent hieroglyphic text as Somtutefnakht. A slightly — but decisively — larger figure stands in the same pose in the centre of 'the great boat of Amun carrying gold', just in front on the same block. No personal caption survives on this block or the one that probably continued the scene to the right<sup>42</sup>. Nonetheless, in view of its greater size, its association with Amun, its position in the leading boat and the fact that it is masculine and non-royal, the figure can only represent Montuemhat who, having gone forth to greet the flotilla, now leads it into harbour<sup>43</sup>. If he was not named in the immediate

37. An indication of the grandeur thus asserted is provided by a comparison with Montuemhat, who claimed to be no more than *wr wrw s'h s'hw/ s'h smrw*: J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville (BdE 35)*, Cairo, 1961, p. 254.

38. If the emphasis here is notable, and some of the phrasing distinctive, closeness to the king was an age-old source of pride in Egypt: for the immediately preceding period, see e.g. the epithets listed in K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie [ÄAT 8]*, Wiesbaden, 1985, p. 317-334. The importance of a sympathetic ear in gaining a hearing is a recurrent theme in P. Rylands IX.

39. See H.-U. ONASCH, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens (ÄAT 27)*, Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 55-57.

40. R.A. CAMINOS, *JEA* 50 (1964), p. 99-100.

41. This seems now to be the accepted interpretation (see bibliography to **K**), pending full publication. I have not seen the discussion of Luc Limme, cited by H. DE MEULENAERE, *Égypte* 28 (2003), p. 63 with n. 15, in which the author apparently maintains the older idea that the blocks date from the time of Piye and were usurped by Somtutefnakht. Traces of an earlier use of the blocks need not be incompatible with what is proposed here.

42. K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, p. 238-239.

43. The same conclusion as to the man's identity has been reached independently by Olivier Perdu, who discusses the significance of these blocks more fully, and on the basis of first-hand examination, elsewhere in this volume.

vicinity, it may have been because his identity was felt to be evident from the wider context of the wall or the building. The fact that Somtutefnakht *is* named, and in a secondary position, supports the view that the scenes represent a Theban gloss, both on the events described on the Nitocris stela and on the relative importance of the two men<sup>44</sup>. If the Heracleopolitan had been responsible for the creation of the record, or usurpation of an earlier one, a different hierarchy of scale might have been expected<sup>45</sup>.

The blocks probably derive from a portico in front of the hypostyle hall in the temple of Mut<sup>46</sup>. In a room just behind the hypostyle, Montuemhat had recorded his benefactions under Taharqa<sup>47</sup>. While adjacent reliefs acknowledged the Kushite king, the inscriptions make it clear that Montuemhat saw himself as the real author of the additions made to the temple in the seventh century BC<sup>48</sup>. The discovery in Mut's precinct of several chapels belonging to his family suggests that it had become something of a personal religious domain for him<sup>49</sup>. If the flotilla blocks are accepted as the work of Montuemhat, the nature of the record becomes more comprehensible. His acceptance of the authority of Psammetichus I is shown by the innovatory depiction of the king in the privacy of his new subject's tomb<sup>50</sup>. In the more public context of 'his' temple, and in a kind of interregnum, the Theban grandee asserted his own regional supremacy, and that of Amun, by having himself depicted as the major figure in the reception of Nitocris. That role is tacitly acknowledged on the Nitocris stela, where Montuemhat, his son and his wife dominate the endowments provided by local worthies.

Allowing for the constraints of space and context on the Mut precinct blocks and the Nitocris stela, the presentation of Somtutefnakht in both is remarkably similar to that on the Richmond statue. He is a courtier, holds a post associated with Nile shipping and is a soldier from Heracleopolis. The differences are minor. On the Nitocris stela, he is called *smr wꜣty ḥꜣty-ꜥ n Nꜣrt ḥnt imy-r mšꜥ wr ʕꜣ n mr*, while on the Mut block he is *r-pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜥ imy-r mšꜥ n Nn-nsw ʕꜣ n mr*. The stela's substitution of the adjective 'great'<sup>51</sup> for the geographical 'of Heracleopolis' found in the other two sources is unlikely to imply a distinction in rank since both *imy-r mšꜥ Nn-nsw* and *imy-r mšꜥ wr Nn-nsw* occur on the only other statue to include a military title (**I**)<sup>52</sup>. The omission of *n Nn-nsw* on the stela might have been influenced by its prior — and unique — identification of him as governor of the Heracleopolitan nome. The stela and the statue preserve an image tailored by Somtutefnakht and the Saite court to the historical context of Thebes in 656 BC, and the Mut temple inscriptions embody a local acceptance of that construct.

### The wider significance of Somtutefnakht

It is natural, in the light of these Theban sources and P. Rylands IX, to think of Somtutefnakht as essentially an Upper Egyptian figure, but that is merely to submit to the orientation of those sources. A further seven statues and one statuette commemorating the man himself (**B-I**) allow the perception to be tested. The extant statues represent an unknowable proportion of a substantially greater original number. An assumption that 50% have survived would imply an ancient total of nearly 20, and that may well err on the low side, given that most

44. Cf. a fragment in Aberdeen, said to be from Tell el-Yahudiya, which depicts Montuemhat as a subordinate figure behind a king who can only be Psammetichus I : J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 1961, p. 133-134 doc. 25, pl. XLIV.
45. A plausible interpretation of the sistrophorous statue **I** is that it was dedicated in the temple of Mut in this connection.
46. M. BENSON, J. GOURLAY, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, London, 1899, p. 257-258 ; R. FAZZINI, in H. De Meulenaere, L. Limme (ed.), *Artibus Aegypti. Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer a Collegis, Amicis, Discipulis Conscripta*, Brussels, 1983, p. 55 n. 36 ; D. ARNOLD, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, New York, Oxford, 1999, p. 55-56 fig. 27.
47. J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 1961, doc. 44.
48. In addition to the remarks of J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 1961, p. 193-228, and the studies listed by him, see U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, p. 175, for a possible chronology of the decoration.
49. R. FAZZINI, in H. De Meulenaere, L. Limme (ed.), *Artibus Aegypti*, 1983, p. 51-62 ; Cl. TRAUNECKER, *JARCE* 20 (1985), p. 65-92 ; R. FAZZINI, in K.A. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, 1999, London, New York, p. 397-400 ; R. FAZZINI, in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* II, Cairo, 2001, p. 455-457.
50. E.R. RUSSMANN, *JARCE* 31 (1994), p. 15-19. J.A. JOSEPHSON, in M. Eldamaty, M. Trad (ed.), *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World*, Cairo, 2002, p. 622, is mistaken in interpreting a depiction of the king wearing the red crown in Montuemhat's tomb as 'perhaps a limited sign of his acknowledgement of Psamtik's royal status', because the figure sits back to back with an image of the king wearing the white crown : K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX*, Mainz, 1988, pl. L1a.
51. P. DER MANUELIAN, *Living in the Past*, London, New York, 1994, p. 93 n. 533 and p. 300, understands *wr* as a noun qualified by *ʕꜣ*, and translates 'great chief of the harbor', but such a formulation is not known elsewhere.
52. Modern authorities tend to distinguish *imy-r mšꜥ* and *imy-r mšꜥ wr*, cf. P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 260, but the observation of J. YOYOTTE, *Mélanges Maspero* I<sup>4</sup> (*MIFAO* 66), Cairo, 1961, p. 123, that there is no distinction between *wr* and *wr ʕꜣ* among the chiefs of the Meshwesh offers an instructive parallel.

of those we have are from sites other than Thebes. It is also impossible to know in what ways the extant 'sample' might or might not be representative. Of the nine monuments, seven depict Somtutefnakht, one is a statue of Osiris and one a statuette of Somtous. Six bear the name(s) of Psammetichus I while two (**C**, **F**) have lost the upper arms on which cartouches were normally placed. Only the statuette (**D**) can be said with confidence not to have had any royal association and that is not surprising as it represents a different type of dedication. A close connection with the king is emphasised by the epithet *imꜣḥ hr* followed by royal name on **B**<sup>53</sup>, and perhaps by the association of names, even the statue itself, in the case of **H**.

The majority are in granite or other hard dark stone, with single examples in alabaster (**A**) and limestone (**B**). There is a marked preference for the naophorous form (**B**, **C**, **F**, **G**) that was to become a characteristic of Saite sculpture. The use of sistrophorous (**I**), cross-legged (**A**) and asymmetric squatting (**E**) poses, but not the block statue characteristic of the Libyan Period, demonstrates Somtutefnakht's promotion of the renewed diversity in sculpture that has long been recognised as a feature of the seventh century BC. All the monuments will have been temple dedications. The tradition of tomb statuary had vanished with changes in burial practice during the Libyan period, and there is little sign that the reappearance of decorated tombs in the seventh century BC brought with it a major revival in that respect<sup>54</sup>.

In any case, neither inscribed architectural elements nor funerary equipment have come to light to suggest that Somtutefnakht's tomb has been located in modern times. In the Heracleopolitan

region, Abusir el-Meleq, where the master of shipping Petiese is said in P. Rylands IX (10/10) to have been laid to rest, is a more likely location than Ehnasiya<sup>55</sup>. However, in view of Somtutefnakht's court status and the fact that notable contemporaries such as the vizier Bakenrenef had tombs there, Saqqara cannot be discounted. A temple rather than tomb setting is also apparent from the widespread distribution of the statues, which are known to derive from, or may be ascribed to, Thebes (**A**, possibly **I**), Abydos (**B**), Heracleopolis (**C**, **D**), Memphis (**E**) and different parts of the Delta (**F**, **G**, **H**). This speaks to lifetime activity, not posthumous remembrance, and it may be assumed that all these statues were carved at their owner's behest<sup>56</sup>. None bears a *sꜣḥ rn.f* formula, no offspring are named and indeed none are known<sup>57</sup>. The epithet *mꜣꜥ-hrw* found on **B** and **F** thus has prospective sense, whereas the description of Somtutefnakht's mother as *mꜣꜥ-hrw* on **A** should correspond to 'deceased' since it is not applied to her son.

With the partial exception of the one in Richmond, the statues are consistently uninformative about the man who dedicated them. Narrative biography, records of endowment or temple repair, even assertions of personal merit, are all lacking, and none of the inscriptions offer any explanation for the presence of the statue in a particular locality. The texts display a variety of standard formulae rather than a coordinated programme of self-promotion of the kind that can occasionally be discerned elsewhere<sup>58</sup>. Nonetheless, the geographical diffusion of the statues suggests a common purpose. Not since Paser and Khaemwese<sup>59</sup>, 500 years earlier, had anyone dedicated so many statues over such a wide geographical area<sup>60</sup>. The statues of Montuemhat, his

53. U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *SAK* 16 (1989), p. 255-274 : this example is noted on p. 258 and discussed on p. 273. The suggestion there, that he only attained this status at the end of his career, is debatable.
54. For the diversity of statues placed in tombs at Saqqara in the Rameside period, see J. MALEK, *RdE* 38 (1987), p. 117-127. The reappearance of niche-statues carved out of the rock with Montuemhat (E.R. RUSSMANN, *JARCE* 31 (1994), p. 14-15 fig. 11) allows the possibility that freestanding ones were once again placed in tombs, but unimpeachable evidence that this happened is hard to find.
55. Ehnasiya may have been in decline as an elite cemetery by this time : M.C. PEREZ-DIE, in H. Guksch – D. Polz (ed.), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, Mainz, 1998, p. 473-483. On the location of Petiese's burial, see G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 452.
56. This 'default' position is the reverse of that adopted by others. Cf. the assumption of M.L. BIERBRIER, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.)*, Warminster, 1975, p. xv, that 'all statues were set up after the decease of the individual concerned unless proof to the contrary is forthcoming'.
57. G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 710.
58. For very similar texts on different Karnak statues of the same person, see e.g. B. GUNN, R. ENGELBACH, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), p. 793 nos. vi-vii, p. 802-810 and K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *MDAIK* 60 (2004), p. 93-98. More intriguing still is the close resemblance in layout of inscriptions on two statues of a northern official Neshor, dedicated at sites as far apart as Elephantine and Abydos, which also have in common pose, stone and text content : see O. PERDU, *BSFE* 118 (1990), p. 38-49 ; P. VERNUS, *RdE* 42 (1991), p. 241-249 ; O. PERDU, *RdE* 43 (1992), p. 145-162.
59. For Paser, see V.A. DONOHUE, *JEA* 74 (1988), p. 108-109 ; for Khaemwese, M. FISHER, *The Sons of Ramesses II (ÄAT 53)*, Wiesbaden, 2001, p. 93-94.
60. J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 34 (1982-1983), p. 145, has compared Somtutefnakht with two northern officials of Psammetichus I, Padihormeden and Haroudja, son of Harwa (nn. 19 and 34 above), for distribution of monuments across the whole country. A later example is Neshor (n. 58 above), whose statues are known from Sais and Mendes in the Delta as well as Abydos and Elephantine in Upper Egypt.

most powerful non-royal contemporary, manifest an interest in variety and renewal comparable to that of Somtutefnakht, albeit with different emphases<sup>61</sup>. However, like other Thebans, he was content to commemorate himself within his city and there is little trace of him beyond its limits<sup>62</sup>.

This contrast may be due in part to the greater movement on the part of its officials that the Saite reunification of Egypt both allowed and required. It also highlights Somtutefnakht's more active exploitation of the political potential inherent in the dedication of a statue in a temple. The repetition of ritual associated with it, as well as the endowment to maintain its offerings, would have helped to nurture the goodwill of local priesthoods, for himself and for the king whose authority he represented<sup>63</sup>. The deities whose cults he supported include Bastet, Isis, Neith, Osiris and Somtous, as well as Amun. Of particular weight, especially given the poorer survival and recovery rates typical of the north of the country, is the fact that as many statues were dedicated north of Heracleopolis as south of it. The pivotal importance of Somtutefnakht to Psammetichus I lay in the fact that his contacts and influence extended into the Delta as well as up the valley. Opportunities for the dissemination of new developments in sculpture and culture generally will not have been lacking<sup>64</sup>.

### The titles of Somtutefnakht

Any further analysis has perforce to focus on titles, with all the problems attendant on the interpretation of such material. Excluding most of the epithets which occur only on the Richmond statue and which have been discussed above, twenty-three titles or epithets are attested in twelve sources (see table). No text has all of them. Indeed, only two (**A** and **I**) list as many as seven. Eleven occur

just once, and eight more only two or three times, so that only four out of twenty-three are found more than three times, and just two more than four times. Only the status markers, *r-pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜥ*, occur on the majority. There are also anomalies such as the absence of 'master of shipping' from Somtutefnakht's own monuments and the use of the nomarch title only on the Nitocris stela. It is important to acknowledge that just two of the statues (**A**, **E**) preserve all their text, and conclusions therefore need to be drawn with caution. Even so, the presentation appears uneven and inconsistent.

One approach to differences in lists of titles is to explain them as governed by career progression. This offers the potential for relative dating of the monuments on which they occur, and a precision that other analysis of the statues, none of which bears a date, could not provide. On this basis, Somtutefnakht's monuments have been grouped in three phases<sup>65</sup> :

*Before 656* : **D** and **E**.

*Between 656 and 647* : **A** and **I**.

*After 647* : **B**, **C**, **F**, **G** and **H**.

This hypothesis rests on two considerations. The first is the list of titles on the Nitocris stela of year 9 (656 BC). The second is the deduction from P. Rylands IX, 9/20-10/6, that Somtutefnakht did not become 'governor of Upper Egypt' until Petiese died in year '18' (647 BC). The more precise understanding of Upper Egypt in the early years of Psammetichus I that this promises is tempting, and a scenario in which an apprenticeship at court was followed by a provincial administrative role that led eventually to appointment as 'governor of Upper Egypt' is both coherent and plausible<sup>66</sup>. There is also an *a priori* case for placing **B** and **F**, on which Somtutefnakht is 'overseer of prophets of Heryshef', later than **D**, **H** and **I**, on which he

61. J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 1961, p. 3-107 ; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, no. 39. His statues show a decided liking for the stelephorous form.
62. Montuemhat might have recorded his restoration work at Abydos on a statue dedicated there, but our knowledge of that activity derives from Theban sources (J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 1961, p. 61) and the only trace of him at Abydos is provided by two now-lost graffiti : *ibid.*, p. 187. The statues of men such as Harwa and Petamenophis are all Theban (U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, nos. 35, 36), as are those of Akhamenru, for which see M. LICHTHEIM, *JNES* 7 (1948), p. 163-179.
63. Cf. the suggestion of Chr. BARBOTIN, *RdE* 45 (1994), p. 13-15, that the distribution of numerous statues of the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhonsu (II), within Theban temples indicates an attempt to assert his authority over those sanctuaries on behalf of the newly-installed Twentieth Dynasty.
64. Cf. e.g. W.K. SIMPSON, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), p. 331-340.
65. U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, p. 204-211, especially p. 204-205, followed by D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 194-198 ; cf. earlier G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte*, 1978, p. 192-193. **H** and **I** are not included in Rössler-Köhler's study. The first belongs after 647 BC on her analysis, as it bears the title of governor of Upper Egypt, while the second should date to between 656 and 647 BC because Somtutefnakht is '(great) army commander of Heracleopolis', but not governor of Upper Egypt.
66. If the question of date is ignored, there is general support for this in P. Rylands IX, 10/7, which suggests that Somtutefnakht's appointment as master of shipping led to his departure from court and his arrival in Heracleopolis.



is a simple ‘prophet’. Yet even if the selective focus on just two datum points, one of which derives from a source written nearly a century and a half later, is overlooked, the outcome is the dating of the majority of Somtutefnakht’s monuments after 647 BC. Given his eminence a decade earlier, this would be surprising, and reflection suggests that both the general premise and the specific application are problematic<sup>67</sup>.

One difficulty is the underlying assumption that full lists of all titles held at the relevant time, or at least those deemed most important, were inscribed on each monument. For example, Rößler-Köhler places **D** first because, apart from the honorific *r-pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜣ*, Somtutefnakht is only called ‘prophet of Heryshef’: it must then date to the beginning of his career when he was not yet a court figure and is even discussed in terms of the unsettled political situation at the start of Psammetichus I’s reign. However, the object in question is a small faience statuette on which the space devoted to inscription is very limited. As the dedication is to Somtous, it would be natural to give priority to the fact that the donor was a priest of Heryshef, regardless of other positions held<sup>68</sup>. Spatial constraints or a sense of irrelevance might explain the omission of the priestly title from the brief mention of Somtutefnakht on the Nitocris stela. Its absence from the Mut block and the Richmond statue suggest rather that priestly status was not part of Somtutefnakht’s Theban presentation.

The alternative is to suppose that he was not yet prophet of Heryshef in year 9. By that measure, the absence of the provincial governor title, and that of master of shipping, from his own monuments might, with as little validity, be taken to signify that all the statues were produced before 656 BC.

A further weakness is the reliance on P. Rylands IX and especially the year 18, which has long been recognised as inaccurate<sup>69</sup>. Even if it was marked by the death of Petiese, it would be an illusory point from which to date Somtutefnakht’s assumption of the title of governor of Upper Egypt, since the former had never held that office. The authority he is said to have exercised south of Heracleopolis derived from a different position. P. Rylands IX (5/14-15) describes the situation in year 4 thus: ‘Upper Egypt was under the authority of Petiese, son of Ankhsheshonq, master of shipping, from the southern limit of Memphis as far as Aswan’. Even that cannot have been a reality, because Thebes still dated by the Kushite Tantamani in year 8<sup>70</sup>. Somtutefnakht was master of shipping in the following year at latest, so P. Rylands IX’s attribution of that appointment to year 18 is as unfounded as its portrait of the king as unaware of the existence at court of someone his own advisers recognised as a ‘marvel of a man’ (10/3-6). Worse, a reference to him as master of shipping in year 31 (11/2-21) is trumped by the incompatible statement that Petiese still held that post in year 34 (22/9-11), sixteen years after the latter’s reported demise. Confidence in P. Rylands IX on specific historical points in the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty is utterly undermined. The only secure date from which to reconstruct Somtutefnakht’s career is year 9 of the Nitocris stela.

In the light of these difficulties, and the absence of clear patterns in the data set out above, other explanations for variation in titles from one monument to another should be considered. This is not to deny that differences may have chronological value. Officials did record promotions, and such advancement could involve transfer from one part of the country to another<sup>71</sup>. It is less certain that titles

67. Cf. the reservations of P. R. DE SMET in a review of Rößler-Köhler’s book in *CdE* 71 (1996), p. 83-84.

68. For Somtous as a form of Heryshef, see e.g. J. QUAEGBEUR, *CRIPPEL* 13 (1991), p. 113-121.

69. See R. DRENKHahn, *MDAIK* 23 (1968), p. 115-116, for a trenchant dismissal of P. Rylands IX in this respect, and K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, p. 234-235. It is worth recalling that what is written is ‘year 8’. The accepted emendation to ‘18’ is based on the position of the date between references to year 15 and year 19. If ‘8’ is correct, and somehow misplaced, then the direct conflict between P. Rylands IX and the Nitocris stela on this chronological point disappears: W. WESSETSKY, *ZÄS* 88 (1962), p. 71. K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, p. 234-235, 402-403, suggests that the retirement of Petiese in year 4, as recorded in P. Rylands IX, 5/19, marks the point at which Somtutefnakht became master of shipping.

70. Year 8 is still the highest certain date: see Fr. BREYER, *Tanutamani*, 2003, p. 14-15, correcting his reading to ‘third month of Peret’. On p. 358-359, the same author attributes to Tantamani the rather oddly-carved year 9 at the end of a graffito in the temple of Luxor. Since Nitocris travelled south in the first and second months of Akhet in year 9 of her father, it could alternatively refer to Psammetichus I, as noted by G. VITTMANN, *SAK* 10 (1983), p. 331, and may even be deliberately ambivalent.

71. For instances of promotion, see e.g. U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *SAK* 16 (1989), p. 271-272; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *JNES* 52 (1993), p. 221-225; O. PERDU, *RdE* 48 (1997), p. 167. For the transfer of an official from the Mediterranean coast to a similar role on the southern frontier, see O. PERDU, *BSFE* 118 (1990), p. 38.

Titles of Somtutefnakht as listed in sources A-L (with variants in brackets)													
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
ϵ̣ n mr										X	X	X	
imy-r ϵ̣pr(w) ϵ̣ḥw nsw					X								
imy-r ϵ̣ḥw (šṃt/nsw?)								X					
imy-r ḥd ḥnt	X												
ḥ̣ty-ϵ̣ ṇrt ḥntt										X			
imy-r šṃt		X	X			X	X	X					
imy-r ṃṣ̌ (wr) (n nn-nsw)	X								X	X	X		
wr ịzbt							X						
r-p̣t ḥ̣ty-ϵ̣ ḥ̣ty-ϵ̣ alone	X	X X	X	X	X	X	X X		X		X		
smr ẉty (n mrwt)		X					X		X	X			
sḍwty bity		X							X				
rḥ nsw ṃṣ̌ mr.f		?			X								
ḥrp ϵ̣h						X	X						
ḥry ṣṣ̌ṭ nsw m st.f nbt	X				X				X				
wḥ m ẉb nsw	X					X	X						
iṛty nsw ϵ̣nhwy bity									X				
iṛty nsw m ṭṣ̌ šṃt r.f m ṭṣ̌ mḥw	X												
wḥm nsw m st.f nbt	X												
ḅṣ̌k.f ṃṣ̌ n st-ib.f					X								
ḥm-ṇtr ḥry-ṣ̌.f (nsw ṭṣ̌wy)				X				X	X				
imy-r ḥmw-ṇtr ḥry-ṣ̌.f (nsw ṭṣ̌wy)		X				X							
....ḍḥwty nb ḥmnw								X					
[ϵ̣k ḥr-ḥ̣st pr] ḥr-ph									X				

once held ever ceased to be part of potential display, and there are instances in which the conclusion that a full rehearsal of titles was intended seems inescapable<sup>72</sup>. The episode in P. Rylands IX (13/15-18) where Petiese (I) insists on his need for a new stela to prove his entitlement to offices not previously recorded is nonetheless exceptional, as contracts on papyrus would normally have constituted such proofs. For someone of Somtutefnakht's standing, 'complete' listing was not necessary : presentation might be selective and governed by a variety of considerations, including space, purpose, context and audience, that are inaccessible to us<sup>73</sup>. Ancient and modern views of which titles are 'important' may not coincide. Any reconstruction of the reasons for the choice in particular instances, as offered above for the Richmond statue, depends on knowledge of the historical circumstances, and that, given the nature of our sources, is usually lacking.

Against that background, I briefly highlight some further issues. The title displays of Somtutefnakht are essentially secular and, except at Thebes, not military<sup>74</sup>. By contrast, Petiese, master of shipping, is credited by P. Rylands IX with a number of benefices, and the presentation on the statues attributed to him is decidedly that of a priest<sup>75</sup>. It seems unlikely that Somtutefnakht would not have inherited at least some of them, yet apart from a partially preserved title attaching him to Thoth on a statue from the Delta (H), only 'prophet' and 'overseer of prophets' of Heryshef are attested. As this priesthood was closely associated with the governorship of Heracleopolis<sup>76</sup>, attributed to Somtutefnakht on the Nitocris stela, it would be remarkable if he had not held that at least.

'Governor of the Heracleopolitan nome' is curiously absent from his own monuments, as is the title 'master of shipping'. The latter post is unique to the area of Heracleopolis and to this period and Somtutefnakht is the only incumbent attested in hieroglyphic sources<sup>77</sup>. In the light of Esarhaddon's statement in the Senjirli stela that his appointments included harbour overseers<sup>78</sup>, a plausible explanation is that its origin lies in the brief period of Assyrian intervention in Egypt and reflects the strategic importance of the region in conflicts between north and south. Although it made sufficient impression at Heracleopolis for it to be immortalised in P. Rylands IX, it quickly disappeared from the Saite administrative structure. It may be that the rather inconsistently worded 'overseer' titles associated with shipping (A, E, H) are in some sense equivalents<sup>79</sup>, yet its occurrence on the Nitocris stela and the Mut block shows that it was not confined to cursive texts. It is thus both puzzling that Somtutefnakht never described himself as 'master of shipping', and ironic that the title by which he is best known today is one he never used. Later memories of him in this capacity may perhaps be found in personal names from Upper Egypt<sup>80</sup>.

The other designation apparently bestowing authority over the south is that of 'governor of Upper Egypt', attested on statues from Abydos (B) and Heracleopolis (C), as well as three times in the Delta (F, G, H). Its absence from Somtutefnakht's Theban image might result from an agreement reached during the negotiations with Montuemhat, who also claimed this title. The latter's definition of his authority as extending from Aswan to Hermopolis<sup>81</sup> is likely to refer to a period prior to

72. See K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *MDAIK* 60 (2004), p. 98-105, for a fourth century BC statue from Karnak on which a Theban priest proclaims nearly 40 titles.
73. Cf. the remark of D. FRANKE, *JEA* 87 (2001), p. 198 : 'The display of rows of titles, including ranking titles, was optional for the higher ranks in the Middle Kingdom ; a vizier or royal treasurer could display them on some of his monuments, while on others he might not, for unknown reasons or just to save space.'
74. Cf. in contrast, the comments of J. BAINES, in D. O'CONNOR, D. Silverman (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship (PdÄ 9)*, Leiden, 1995, p. 40, on the generally priestly character of temple statue presentation in this period.
75. See G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 711.
76. See J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 39 (1988), p. 173-174, for the association of these posts in the Libyan Period.
77. G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 708-713.
78. H.-U. ONASCH, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 1994, p. 24 ; A.B. LLOYD, in G.J. Oliver *et al.* (ed.), *The Sea in Antiquity*, Oxford, 2001, p. 81.
79. For the riverine and commercial nature of the titles, see J.C. DARNELL, in J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multicultural Society : Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, (SAOC 51), Chicago, 1992, p. 82-83 nn. 61, 66. For possible military associations, see A.B. LLOYD, in G.J. Oliver *et al.* (ed.), *The Sea in Antiquity*, 2001, p. 81.
80. This is conjectural and based on the absence of other holders of the title who could have had comparable impact in the south. The names are *ps-ʿs-n-mrt* (?), *Demot. Nb.* I, 18, 2000, p. 174, and an apparently theophorous name known only in Aramaic, transcribed *Ns-ps-ʿs-mr*, for which see B. PORTEN, in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies (CNI 27)*, Copenhagen, 2002, 312. The ushabtis and canopics of an 'Ankhsomtutefnakht' from the cemetery at Ehnasiya, reported in *EA* 26 (2005), p. 28, seem in fact to name only an 'Ankhsomtut' : M.C. PÉREZ DIE, *Ebnasya el Medina, Excavaciones 1984-2004*, Madrid, 2005, p. 39. I am grateful to Carmen Pérez Die for very kindly sending me a copy of this volume.
81. J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, 1961, p. 63-64.

656 BC, but the Nitocris stela (lines 20-21) does express the Saite court's acknowledgement of him as 'governor of Upper Egypt in its entirety' (*imy-r šm't mi ḳd.s*). Despite its unequivocal appearance, such a formulation was susceptible of different interpretation, preserving Theban esteem while allowing a gradual expansion of Saite control up the Nile valley<sup>82</sup>. Since other broadly contemporary bearers of the title are known, it is probably wrong to envisage a single linear succession of holders<sup>83</sup>. However, it may not be chance that Somtutefnakht displayed this title mainly in the Delta and northern Nile valley.

The only title that suggests authority north of Heracleopolis is a rare one, *wr ištbt*, 'chief of the East', which occurs just once in Somtutefnakht's inscriptions, on a statue found at Balkim near Tanta (G)<sup>84</sup>. Another hieroglyphic example occurs on a scarab inscribed for the vizier Montuhotep of the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty, whose political base was indeed in the eastern Delta<sup>85</sup>. This was also the title assigned to Pakruru, chieftain of Pisopdu, in the demotic Pedubast cycle, which probably preserves the memory of the eponymous ruler who was recognised by both the Assyrians and Tantamani as local potentate at Pisopdu, and who became the leader of Delta opposition to the Kushites<sup>86</sup>. An indication that the title reflects the rather fluid political situation of the late Third Intermediate Period is provided by the analogous *wr (ʿs) n imntt*, '(great) chief of the west', attributed to Tefnakht in the Piye stela<sup>87</sup>. The implication is that Somtutefnakht had some temporary authority in the south-eastern Delta early in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty following the demise of Pakruru, and one might hazard a guess that this title appeared on

the Balkim statue in order to emphasise continuity in that region in a period of turmoil. Like the dedication of statues at Delta shrines, it does at least underline that his influence extended north as well as south of Heracleopolis.

### The family background of Somtutefnakht

One point scarcely touched on in Somtutefnakht's inscriptions is his parentage. The royal status of his mother, Tasherientaihet, is confirmed by three statues (A, B, C) but she is called only 'king's daughter', without amplification. That she is not mentioned in P. Rylands IX is neither surprising nor significant, as the text offers no context in which she might be expected to appear. She is generally assumed to have been a member of the Saite royal family, and thus an older relative of Psammetichus I, yet there are chronological difficulties in seeing her as the daughter of any of the proto-Saite kings who reigned from c. 685 BC onwards<sup>88</sup>. As a senior courtier in 656 BC, Somtutefnakht cannot possibly have been born after c. 680 BC, and ten or twenty years earlier seems more appropriate. If his mother was fifteen when she bore him, her own birth could have occurred as early as 715 BC, and she could have been still older<sup>89</sup>. On that scenario, Bocchoris of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty is a possible parent.

An alternative is that Tasherientaihet was the daughter of a Heracleopolitan king<sup>90</sup>. Although Peftjauwybast been seen as too remote chronologically, we know little beyond the fact that he was on the throne at the time of Piye's invasion, c. 730 BC, and that he reigned at least nine years<sup>91</sup>. A daughter born c. 725 BC is quite conceivable and there is also the possibility that he had a successor as king who is as yet unknown to us. A frustrating

82. It is clear that *t3*, 'land', often means rather less than Egypt from the Mediterranean to Aswan. Cf. the description of Tefnakht as 'great chief of the land in its entirety (*t3 dr.f*)' on a donation stela of year 38 of Sheshonq V, in a historical context in which it can refer at most to the western Delta : J. YOYOTTE, *Mélanges Maspero* I<sup>4</sup>, 1961, p. 152 § 47. No doubt the same flexibility could be applied to *šm't*.

83. See D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 63-69, for a discussion of those who claimed this title.

84. The title is attested as a personal name in cursive texts from Upper Egypt in Ptolemaic and Roman times : *Demot. Nb.* I, 3, 1983, p. 178 ; R.A. CAMINOS, in *Ancient Egypt and Kush. In Memoriam Mikhaïl A. Korostovtsev*, Moscow, 1993, p. 108 n.16.

85. L. Habachi, in E. Endesfelder et al. (ed.), *Ägypten und Kusch (SGKAO 13)*, 1977, p. 165-170. The title *wr m niwwt ištwt* on a stela of Montuhotep published there may be a fuller form. His wife was a Kushite princess, and the marriage was interpreted by Habachi as a political move on the part of Taharqa to establish an alliance with a potentate in the Eastern Delta. See further G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte*, 1978, p. 145, where the occurrence of the title on Somtutefnakht's statue and in the Pedubast cycle is noted.

86. K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, p. 455-461 ; Fr. BREYER, *Tanutamani*, 2003, p. 293-302.

87. N. GRIMAL, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire (MIFAO 105)*, Cairo, 1981, p. 210.

88. See the discussion of O. PERDU, *CRAIBL* 2002, p. 1232-1233, with references. Perdu argues for Stephinates or Nechepso rather than Necho I as the royal father in order to accommodate the chronological problems. The description of Tasherientaihet's putative husband, Petiese, as a 'Schwiegersohn' of Psammetichus I by G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 669, is evidently a slip.

89. Cf. the case of Taimhotep, married at fourteen, who bore her fourth (and first male) child at the age of twenty-six : M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1980, p. 59-65.

90. R. MORKOT, *The Black Pharaohs*, London, 2000, p. 275 : the illustrious ancestry postulated there for her husband Petiese is not, however, supported by any evidence known to me.

91. K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, p. 371, 485 ; A. LEAHY, *JEA* 78 (1992), p. 235-236.

gap in the evidence is the apparent absence of the city from the cuneiform lists of local rulers named as vassals by the Assyrians. Hininši (*ḥwt-nn-nsw*) has been taken in recent decades to refer to Heracleopolis Parva in the eastern Delta<sup>92</sup>. If a revival of the old identification with Heracleopolis Magna is correct<sup>93</sup>, then at least from 671 to 667 BC, only a few years before Somtutefnakht became master of shipping, Heracleopolis was governed by an individual called *Nḥ-kz*, who has left no trace in the hieroglyphic record<sup>94</sup>. It remains uncertain whether the master of shipping was a Heracleopolitan who became an ally of Sais, or a member of the Saite royal family installed at Heracleopolis.

P. Rylands IX has been accepted since its first publication as identifying Somtutefnakht's father in the person of Petiese, son of Ankhsheshonq, who appears there as his predecessor in the office of master of shipping. However, the fact that Somtutefnakht never named his father on his own monuments cannot be chance, given their number, and the omission is rare enough to give pause for thought<sup>95</sup>. Even if his mother was of higher status, her husband must presumably have been of good stock or marked by substantial personal achievement in order to have secured an alliance by marriage into a royal family<sup>96</sup>. The traditional interpretation of P. Rylands IX rests on a statement (10/3-4), placed just after Petiese's death, and couched in unusual terms, that 'Petiese, the son of Ankhsheshonq, the master of shipping, has his (*sic*) "son" (*wn m dt... pꜣy.f šri*)<sup>97</sup>. This is followed by two references to Petiese as the 'father' (*it*) of Somtutefnakht (10/5 ; 10/7). It might seem that a father-son relationship

is the natural inference from these data and that it is idle to challenge it. Nevertheless, the wide range of meaning attached to *šri* and *it* makes it a fragile assumption<sup>98</sup>, and one that the remainder of P. Rylands IX singularly fails to confirm. The use of patronymics is standard throughout the text and Petiese is often designated 'son of Ankhsheshonq', even when that is rendered otiose for purposes of identification by the presence of his title, master of shipping. Yet Somtutefnakht is not once called 'son of Petiese'. The author of the text ignored numerous opportunities to express the filiation<sup>99</sup>, on each occasion being content with the title.

P. Rylands IX's version of the way in which Somtutefnakht acquired the position of master of shipping may be relevant here. He is said to owe his eventual succession to Petiese's post, and even the king's knowledge of him, to the intervention of the former's cousin, another Petiese (10/3-6), who — it is claimed — had effectively done the job for the fourteen years that appear to have elapsed between the former's retirement and his death. It is hard to believe that, in a society characterised by patrilineal heredity of office, Petiese would not have ensured the immediate succession of his own son. If Somtutefnakht was old enough to be entrusted with Nitocris in year 9, he could not have been too young to be advanced by his father in year 4. The distortion produced by the marginalisation of Somtutefnakht might be explained in terms of a desire to bolster the tenuous position of Petiese (I) and the patron to whom he is said to owe his advancement<sup>100</sup>. It might also add to doubts about the supposed father-son relationship.

92. H.-U. ONASCH, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 1994, p. 52.

93. H. VERRETH, *JAOs* 119 (1999), p. 234-247 esp. 240, 244. The argument that the position of the name at the end of Prism C, the shorter and earlier list, 'favors the identification' with Heracleopolis Magna, is not compelling. In prism A, Hininši is completely 'embedded' among Delta cities, and Verreth acknowledges that the list is 'not strictly geographical', while in Prism C, the other cities named are all in the Delta.

94. Perhaps to be equated with demotic (*pꜣy-nḥk*), ruler of a Heracleopolis in the Pedubast cycle : H.-U. ONASCH, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, 1994, I, 52, with references.

95. Cf. the broadly contemporary, albeit arbitrary and essentially Theban, sample provided by the statues published in J.A. JOSEPHSON, M.M. EL DAMATY, *Statues*, 1999. Of 43 private monuments with sufficient text preserved, 25 name both parents and 16 just the father. The only two to name the mother alone both belong to the Theban dignitary Petamenophis, whose other statues (see n. 62 above) follow the same practice. A comparably convenient index is lacking for the north, but L. GESTERMANN, *RdE* 52 (2001), 129 n. 12, suggests a tendency for Memphite tombs of the Saite period to omit the name of the father, or at least to favour that of the mother.

96. The fact that Somtutefnakht did not name his father led Fr. LI. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri* III, 1909, p. 72, to doubt '...whether Petiese was ever really of much importance'.

97. On the curious possessive adjective, see G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 451.

98. For a convenient summary of kinship terminology, see D. FRANKE, in D.B. Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* II, 2001, p. 245-248. Within P. Rylands IX itself, both terms are applied to a lineal ascendant/descendant more than a generation removed : at 3/14-16, the petitioner Petiese (III) refers to his grandfather as *pꜣy.i it*, while at 15/4 *šri* is used for 'grandson'. A metaphorical usage is also identifiable : at 10/18, Somtutefnakht describes his father's cousin, Petiese (I), as 'our father' (*pꜣy.n it*), where the reference is simply to a source of paternal advice, perhaps spiritual guidance. Cf. Chr. CANNUYER, in Chr. Cannuyer, J.-M. Kruchten (ed.), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès*, Ath, Brussels, Mons, 1993, p. 59-86 ; G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 455.

99. 10/6, 10/7, 10/16, 11/1, 11/16-17, 11/20, 12/3 and 14/12. Instances in which Petiese is identified solely as 'the master of shipping' and those in which 'son of Ankhsheshonq' is inserted are equally common.

100. K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, p. 235.

If Petiese was a historical figure, therefore, Somtutefnakht may have been a ward or other protégé, rather than his biological offspring. But was he? The monumental persona he has acquired through his identification with the ‘Petiese, son of Ankhsheshonq’, known from one or perhaps two fragmentary statues<sup>101</sup>, is not beyond question. That individual was a priest whose admittedly incomplete inscriptions have left no trace of secular office. The name Petiese was a very common one and that of his father is also well attested in the north of Egypt<sup>102</sup>. A second ‘Petiese, son of Ankhsheshonq’ has even come to light in an Elephantine inscription of year 25 of Psammetichus I<sup>103</sup>. Both the identity of Somtutefnakht’s father and the historicity of the

Petiese of Rylands IX are thus questions to be kept open : at present, no monumental text connects Somtutefnakht with anyone called Petiese, and no text of any kind links Tasherientaihet with any Petiese. At the heart of the problem is the nature of P. Rylands IX, which has long been assumed to preserve an accurate account of the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, except where it glaringly does not. Recent descriptions of the text as a ‘family chronicle’ or ‘chronique familiale’ have opened the way to a less restricted understanding of it than the traditional one and its literary characteristics have also been noted<sup>104</sup>. The next step might be to explore the possibility that it is a piece of historical fiction.

101. H. DE MEULENAERE, *CdE* 31 (1956), p. 251-253 ; G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 387-388.

102. To the examples of Ankhsheshonq listed by the present author in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, London, 1992, p.149-151, add Brussels MRAH E 8326 (unpublished donation stela, my copy) and Louvre E 3831 (H. DE MEULENAERE, *BMAH* 61 [1990], p. 71 no. 18), as well as the Elephantine example in the next note.

103. G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 387, 449. The single title recorded for him, *rh nsw*, suggests court status.

104. W.J. TAIT, in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature (PdÄ* 10), Leiden, 1996, p. 178 and M. CHAUVEAU, *BiOr* 61 (2004), p. 19-42 ; G. VITTMANN, *EVO* 17 (1994), p. 301 and *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. x ; J.R. BAINES, in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1996, p. 172-173 ; R. JASNOW, in E. Teeter – J.A. Larson (ed.), *Gold of Praise : Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (SAOC 58), Chicago, 1999, p. 201-202 n.39.

## Appendix : the sources for Somtutefnakht

The establishment of a corpus is not quite straightforward, since, as discussed above, Somtutefnakht never named his father and his titles vary from one monument to another. Furthermore, his name<sup>105</sup> was common in the regions of both Heracleopolis— where it was borne by at least two later local notables<sup>106</sup> — and Memphis<sup>107</sup>. In the light of these considerations, two attributions of objects to him are problematic. The first, Brussels MRAH E.1874, is a leg of a basalt standing statue found by Petrie at Ehnasya<sup>108</sup>. The only surviving hint of a title is ...*dr.f* immediately before the owner's name. Petrie identified the dedicator with the man discussed here without comment. He was followed by Griffith, who suggested restoring '[The Master of the Shipping of the] whole [land]', and Daressy, who offered '[chef des troupes de la terre] entière'<sup>109</sup>. '[Overseer of Upper Egypt in] its entirety' would also be possible. However, the qualification is not attested for any title of Somtutefnakht on other monuments<sup>110</sup>, whereas a fourth century individual of the same name, also Heracleopolitan, was 'overseer of the wab-priests of Sekhmet *m t r dr.f*'<sup>111</sup>. The latter is as plausible a candidate for ownership of the Brussels fragment and I therefore exclude it from further consideration. Since both object and inscription are so fragmentary, it makes little difference. The second, potentially more important, case is provided by a set of unprovenanced canopic jars, Cairo CG 4118-21<sup>112</sup>, which bear only one title, *sš nsw*. As it seems unlikely that a title not found on *any* of his other monuments would appear as the only one on funerary equipment presumably prepared near the end of an official's life, I omit these too<sup>113</sup>.

In the following list, Somtutefnakht's own monuments are placed first (A-I), followed by the other sources (J-L). In each case, a description of the source is followed by discussion of provenance, a select bibliography, an account of the titles and other relevant information contained in the texts, and a brief assessment of the inscription. A forward slash serves to differentiate separate title sequences on the same statue.

**A. Richmond Va 51-19-4 + 64-60.** See above.

### B. Cairo city

*Description* : fragment of a kneeling naophorous statue. Limestone, dimensions unknown. The shrine contained a figure of a goddess, presumably Isis.

*Provenance* : seen by Spiegelberg in Sharia Wagh el Birket, Cairo in 1905, but originally from Abydos to judge from the reference to Isis *hry-ib zbdw* in the text.

*Principal publication* : W. SPIEGELBERG, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), p. 112.

*Other bibliography* : W. SPIEGELBERG, *RT* 33 (1911), p. 176 ; PM IV, 71 ; H. KEES, *NAWG* 1934-36, p. 98 n.4 ; J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), p. 233 n. 3 ; E. OTTO, *Die biographischen Inschriften*, 1954, p. 10 ; H. BAKRY, *Kēmi* 20 (1970), p. 33 ; G. el-Din MOKHTAR, *Ihnāsyā el-Medīna*, 1983, p. 134 (f) ; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 83 doc. 107.VII b) ; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit (GOF IV Reihe : Ägypten, 21)*, Wiesbaden, 1991, p. 211 no. 48g ; D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 198 B.31.8.

*Texts and titles* : fragmented. In a complex inversion in a vertical text on the shrine, Somtutefnakht is said to be 'honoured before the Horus "Great of heart", King of Upper and Lower Egypt Psammetichus, beloved of Isis, residing in Abydos'. In a horizontal line below, only *sst nsw n ht.f* survives of a reference to his mother. E. OTTO's assumption, *Die biographischen Inschriften*, 1954, p. 10, that a father was named after the mother is not supported by Spiegelberg's presentation of the text fragments. There is no further expression of filiation and all the titles should be understood as belonging to Somtutefnakht. Those preserved are : *hsty-ꜥ imy-r šmꜥt* (on shrine) ; *imy-r hmw-ntr n hry-š.f nsw tꜣwy/ r-pꜣt hsty-ꜥ sꜣꜣwty bity smr wꜣty/ ...mr.f ...nsw...* (in unspecified positions). The epithet ...*mr.f* might be the ending of *rh nsw mꜣꜥ mr.f*, attested on another statue, E, below. The owner is also described as *mꜣꜥ-hrw*.

105. *PNI*, 296, 13 and *Demot. Nb.* I, 12, 1993, p. 926. Pace K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Herr Beider Länder*, Mainz, 1998, p. 267 n. 53 and *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt: First Millennium B.C.E.*, Ithaca, 2000, p. 114 n. 1, the first part of the name is that of the god Somtous, not the abstract 'Die Vereinigung der Beiden Länder'.
106. One is known from a headless naophorous statue (G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 21 [1921], p. 141-143), the other from the 'Naples' stela (O. PERDU, *RdE* 36 [1985], p. 89-113). Demotic examples also occur at el-Hibeh or in adjacent nomes : *Demot. Nb.* I, 12, 1993, p. 926.
107. For the name in the Memphite area, see G. VITTMANN, *Rylands* 9, 1998, p. 710 with n. 2116, adding e.g. Louvre SN 72, IM 4107 and IM 4066 (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 801, 803, 812 respectively). It is encountered above all on Serapeum stelae associated with the burial of year 34 of Darius, and it also occurs in P. Rylands IX, 3/5, as the name of a Memphite official in the reign of that king.
108. W.M.F. PETRIE, *Ehnasya*, 1905, p. 22-23, pl. 27, 4 ; L. SPELEERS, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1923, p. 83 no. 314 ; PM IV, 119.
109. Fr.Ll. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri* III, 1909, p. 74 ; G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 18 (1919), p. 32 ; G. el-Din MOKHTAR, *Ihnāsyā el-Medīna*, 1983, p. 134 (g) ; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 83 doc. 107.VII e.
110. 'Master of shipping of the entire land' is ascribed to Petiese, but only in the fictitious stela text appended to P. Rylands IX, 21/15 and 22/11.
111. O. PERDU, *RdE* 36 (1985), p. 97 n. i.
112. G. REISNER, *ZÄS* 37 (1899), p. 69, and *Canopics (CGC)*, Cairo, 1967, p. 80-84. P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, doc. 107.VII c) assigns the jars to the subject of this paper, as had, tentatively, J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), p. 233 n. 3.
113. Also excluded is Cairo CG 42203, erroneously ascribed to Somtutefnakht by P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 82 doc. 107.VII a), following G. el-Din MOKHTAR, *Ihnāsyā el-Medīna*, 1983, p. 133 (c), based on G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 18 (1919), p. 29 n.2, corrected by U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, p. 204 n. 161.

**C. Cairo Museum T 31.3.18.7**

*Description* : base of a kneeling statue, originally holding a naos of Bastet. Black granite, dimensions unknown.

*Provenance* : the reported provenance of Ehnasiya is supported by the offering formula preserved on the base.

*Principal publication* : G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 18 (1919), p. 29.

*Other bibliography* : PM IV, 121 ; J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), p. 233 n. 3 ; H. BAKRY, *Kēmi* 20 (1970), p. 33 ; G. el-Din MOKHTAR, *Ihnâsya el-Medina*, 1983, p. 133 (d) ; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, p. 209 no. 48d ; D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 195-196 B.31.3.

*Texts and titles* : the surviving inscriptions are mainly confined to the front and right side of the base, although there was once a dorsal inscription with the Saite *iwny pw* formula. Any texts there may have been on the naos are lost. The offering text invokes 'Bastet [lady of/residing in] Nennesu'. Somtutefnakht is given the titles *r-p<sup>t</sup> ḥzty-<sup>c</sup> imy-r šm<sup>t</sup>*, while only *s[<sup>t</sup>] nsw [...]* remains of the filiation. No royal names are preserved.

**D. Cairo Museum CG 38214**

*Description* : statuette of the seated child god (Har)somtous. The lower part of the throne and divine legs are lost, as is the base. Faience, preserved height 0.15 m.

*Provenance* : unknown but probably Heracleopolis on the basis of the god depicted.

*Principal publication* : G. DARESSY, *Statues de divinités (CGC)*, Cairo, 1906, p. 61-62, pl. 11.

*Other bibliography* : G. DARESSY, *RT* 11 (1889), p. 81, no. xxvi ; G. el-Din MOKHTAR, *Ihnâsya el-Medina*, 1983, p. 133 (e) ; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, p. 207 no. 48a ; D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 194-195 B.31.1 ; PM VIII, 1039.

*Texts and titles* : texts survive on the back of the throne only. A 'Somtous gives life' formula is followed by the titles *r-p<sup>t</sup> ḥzty-<sup>c</sup> ḥm-ntr ḥry-šf nsw tšwy*. There is neither filiation nor royal name. Given this limited evidence, it cannot be certain that this object belongs to the individual under discussion. However, the epithet *snb* is most common in the early Saite period and the statuette is therefore retained here : e.g. L.M. LEAHY, *GM* 65 (1983), p. 53 nn. 24-25 ; Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, in Ph. Brissaud, Chr. Zivie-Coche, *Tanis. Travaux récents sur le tell Sâh el-Hagar. Mission française des fouilles de Tanis 1987-1997*, Paris, 1998, p. 479 (b) ; L. COULON, *RdE* 52 (2001), p. 94 (s) ; G. VITTMANN, *SAK* 29 (2001), p. 361 n. m.

**E. Cairo Museum CG 653**

*Description* : headless asymmetric squatting statue, shorn off across the shoulders. Black granite, preserved height 0.54 m.

*Provenance* : Memphis. Although reported by Mariette as from Kom el-Qalah, the statue has been attributed to Sais by Daressy and others, presumably because it invokes the 'gods and goddesses who are in the temple of Neith'. However, a cult of Neith at Memphis is well documented (R. EL-SAYED, *La déesse Neith de Sais (BdE 86)*, Cairo, 1982, p. 39-41) and it seems preferable to accept the reported provenance.

*Principal publication* : L. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum zu Kairo II (CGC)*, Cairo, 1925, p. 197, pl. 120. I have also been able to consult photographs in the archive of the *Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture*.

*Other bibliography* : A. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, Paris, 1892, pl. 34 [gl] ; Fr.L. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester III*, Manchester, 1909, p. 74 ; G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 18 (1919), p. 29-30 ; PM IV, 46 ; K. BOSSE, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII. bis zur XXX. Dynastie*, Hamburg, New York, 1936, p. 24 no. 37 ; J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), p. 233 n. 3 ; H. BAKRY, *Kēmi* 20 (1970), p. 34 ; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 861 ; R. EL-SAYED, *Documents relatifs à Sâis et ses divinités (BdE 69)*, Cairo, 1975, p. 279 §91 ; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 82 doc. 107. II ; G.D. SCOTT, *The History and Development of the Ancient Egyptian Scribal Statue III*, PhD thesis, Yale, 1989, p. 637-639 no. 239 ; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, p. 207-208 no. 48b ; D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 195 B.31.2.

*Texts and titles* : prenomen of Psammetichus I on left shoulder, nomen on right. Offering formula on base. Largely intact inscriptions around and on top of base yield the titles *r-p<sup>t</sup> ḥzty-<sup>c</sup> rh nsw m<sup>z</sup>c mr.f ḥry sšz nsw m st.f nb(t)/ bšk.f m<sup>z</sup>c n st-ib.f r-p<sup>t</sup> ḥzty-<sup>c</sup> imy-r ḥr(w) ḥ<sup>w</sup> nsw<sup>114</sup>*. No filiation.

**F. Cairo Museum, no. unknown**

*Description* : kneeling naophorous statue, lacking the head, most of the torso and the upper arms. Black granite, preserved height 0.61 m.

*Provenance* : found at Ashmun el-Rumman, but an original dedication at Athribis may be inferred from the invocation of the incumbent form of Osiris, *ḥnty-ḥty*.

*Principal publication* : H. BAKRY, *Kēmi* 20 (1970), p. 22-32, pls. IV-V.

*Other bibliography* : P. VERNUS, *Athribis*, 1978, p. 90-92 doc. 98 ; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 83 doc. 107.VII d) ; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, p. 210-211 no. 48f ; D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 196-197 B.31.5.

*Texts and titles* : no royal names are preserved. Offering formula on shrine and Saite formula on the dorsal column. The title sequences are : *r-p<sup>t</sup> ḥzty-<sup>c</sup> ḥrp ḥ/wnh m w<sup>c</sup>b*

114. The last title has been read as simply *imy-r ḥr(w) nsw*, e.g. J.C. DARNELL, in J.H. JOHNSON (ed.), *Life in a Multi-cultural Society (SAOC 51)*, 1992, p. 83 n. 66 and G. VITTMANN, *Rylands 9*, 1998, p. 711. The orthography favours the fuller version, as in D. JONES, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, London, New York, 1988, p. 51-52.



*nsw/imy-r hmw-ntr hry-š.f.* (on the front of the shrine) and *r-pꜣt hꜣty-ꜥ imy-r šmꜣt* (on the partly preserved base). The upper part of the dorsal column is missing. The owner is described as *mꜣꜥ-hrw*. No filiation.

### G. Tanta Magazine 694

*Description* : kneeling statue holding offering table, base lost. Grey granite, preserved height 0.86 m.

*Provenance* : found at Balkim, near Tanta, its original provenance is uncertain. In the offering formula, only initial  $\text{𓆎}$  survives of the name of the deity invoked, so Isis and Osiris are both possible restorations. Athribis, Busiris, Sais and Behbeit el-Hagar are among the major shrines of these deities closest to the find-spot.

*Principal publication* : H. BAKRY, *Kēmi* 20 (1970), p. 19-22, pls. II-III.

*Other bibliography* : P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 83 doc. 107.VIID ; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen*, 1991, p. 209-210 no. 48e ; D. PRESSEL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 196 B.31.4.

*Texts and titles* : prenomen of Psammetichus I on right shoulder, nomen on left. Offering formula and Saite formula. Title sequences are *r-pꜣt hꜣty-ꜥ imy-r šmꜣt wr izbt wnḥ m wꜣb nsw* (dorsal column) and *r-pꜣt hꜣty-ꜥ smr wꜣty n mrwt/hꜣty-ꜥ imy-r šmꜣt smr wꜣty hrp ḥ* (on offering table). There is no filiation.

### H. Cairo Museum S.R. 286

*Description* : lower part of seated mummiform statue of Osiris, head, torso and back of statue lost. Hard dark stone, preserved height 0.85m.

*Provenance* : found at Abusir Bana so perhaps from Busiris, although the particular form of the god named, ‘Osiris of the riverbank (*mryt*)’, could suggest an original dedication at Kom el-Ahmar in the western Delta : J. YOYOTTE, *BSFE* 151 (2001), p. 81.

*Principal publication* : O. PERDU, *Recueil des inscriptions royales saïtes I*, Paris, 2002, p. 114-115 no. 23.

*Other bibliography* : P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 82 doc.107. IV. D. FRANKE (ed.), *Photographs of Egyptian Art and of Egypt. The Hans Wolfgang Müller Archive*, Leiden, 1992, fiche 33, 48 photo 38/73. This may be the statue described by H.-W. MÜLLER, *SAWM Phil.-hist. Klasse* 1966, p. 18, as ‘...ein kürzlich ausgegrabenes Sitzbild des Osiris (ohne Kopf) von bester bildhauerischer Qualität...’, although the statue was already known as early as 1954, according to O. PERDU, *Recueil des inscriptions royales saïtes I*, 2002, p. 114 n. 1.

*Texts and titles* : the cartouches of Psammetichus I, ‘beloved of Osiris of *mryt*’ occur prominently on the front of the throne, on either side of the god’s legs. Somtutefnakht is named in three short, self-contained and oddly disposed texts, carved without framing lines on the front, right and left sides of the base. The lost back probably bore another. Although the statue is included by Perdu in his catalogue of the monuments of Psammetichus I, it may not have been commissioned for the king. The presence of Somtutefnakht’s name might better be un-

derstood if it were a private dedication, on which the opportunity was taken to honour the sovereign by association (cf. the presentation on **B** above). Since the texts relating to the king and those naming Somtutefnakht occupy different surfaces, an alternative possibility is that they are not directly related and that the latter are secondary, perhaps inscribed on a statue gifted by the king. The titles are : (left side)...*dhwtw nb hmnw imy-r šmꜣt* ; (right side) *hm-ntr hry-š.f nsw tꜣwy imy-r ḥꜣw* (the last word ends with four strokes, see n. 20 above). The only title preserved on the front, according to the published copy, is the puzzling  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ , ostensibly a combination of the two distinct ‘overseer’ titles on the other sides. I know of no parallel for ‘overseer of the boats of Upper Egypt’, and understanding  $\text{𓆎}$  as an error for  $\text{𓆎}$  would at least yield a title recorded elsewhere, albeit not for Somtutefnakht. As for his otherwise unattested attachment to a cult of Thoth, if the Delta find-spot allows Hermopolis Parva as the shrine in question, the divine epithet and the official’s background may favour Hermopolis Magna. There is no filiation.

### I. Louvre E 25388

*Description* : a kneeling sistrophorous statue. The head and left arm are missing. Black granite, preserved height 0.39 m. The statue has a curious half-dorsal pillar and the man wears a long robe from the chest down. This may be evidence of revival of a New Kingdom style (E.R. RUSSMANN, *MMJ* 8 (1973), p. 38 n.19), or of the reuse of a New Kingdom original (Olivier Perdu, personal communication).

*Provenance* : unknown. The part of the text where a deity was invoked is lost and there are no decisive pointers, but a case can be made for Thebes. The military title and the reference to Heracleopolis occur consistently in the Theban sources for Somtutefnakht, but not elsewhere, and an epithet relating to private audience with the king (‘who goes in first and comes out last’) provides a link with the Richmond statue (**A**). The sistrophorous image has contemporary parallels on a block statue of the Heracleopolitan official Pakhrat from Karnak (n. 34 above) and on one of Montuemhat : J. LECLANT, *Montuemhat, quatrième prophète d’Amon, prince de la ville (BdE 35)*, Cairo, 1961, pl. XVI (Cairo CG 646). The latter comes from the temple of Mut, which might also be an appropriate place of dedication for this statue.

*Principal publication* : unpublished : my observations derive from study of the statue on a visit to the Louvre, courtesy of Jean-Louis de Cenival and Geneviève Pierrat.

*Other bibliography* : FR. LENORMANT, *Description des antiquités égyptiennes...composant la collection du feu M. A. Raifé*, Paris, 1867, p. 2 no. 5 ; K. LEVIN, *AJA* 68 (1964), p. 22, 26, pl. 9 fig. 16 ; J.-L. DE CENIVAL, *BSFE* 51 (1968), p. 11 ; B.V. BOTHMER, *Kēmi* 20 (1970), p. 45 n. to xvi ; J.J. CLÈRE, *ZAS* 96 (1969), p. 2 n. 6 ; E.R. RUSSMANN, *MMJ* 8 (1973), p. 37 n. 14, 38 n.19 ; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 82 doc. 107.V.

*Texts and titles* : prenomen of Psammetichus I on right shoulder, left one broken. Nomen preceded by ‘the

good god, lord of the two lands' on the sistrum support between the knees. No formula is preserved and no filiation. Title sequences are : *r-p<sup>t</sup> ḥsty-<sup>c</sup> ḥry sštz nsw m st.f nb(t) imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> Nn-nsw ḥm-ntr ḥry-š.f* (intact short dorsal slab) and ...*sdzwtj bity smr w<sup>c</sup>ty n mrwt irty nsw <sup>c</sup>nḥwy bity [k hr-ḥst pr] hr-ph<sup>115</sup> imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> wr Nn-nsw* (right side and back of the base inscription. The front is completely lost and only traces of hieroglyphs survive on the left side).

### J. Cairo Museum JE 36327

*Description* : the Nitocris Adoption stela, year 9 of Psammetichus I.

*Provenance* : Karnak.

*Principal publication* : R. A. CAMINOS, *JEA* 50 (1964), p. 71-101.

*Other bibliography* : Fr.Ll. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri* III, 1909, p. 72 ; G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 18 (1919), p. 30-31; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 27 ; G. el-Din MOKHTAR, *Ibnâsya el-Medina*, 1983, p. 132 (a) ; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 82 doc. 107. I ; P. der MA-NUELIAN, *Living in the Past*, London, New York, 1994, p. 297-321 ; D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 197 B.31.6 ; O. PERDU, *Recueil des inscriptions royales saïtes* I, 2002, p. 17-26 no.1 ; A.I. BLÖBAUM, in A. Blöbaum, J. Kahl, S. Schweitzer (ed.), *Ägypten-Munster*, Wiesbaden, 2003, p. 33-44.

*Titles* : *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty ḥsty-<sup>c</sup> n N<sup>c</sup>rt ḥnt imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> wr <sup>c</sup>z n mr.*

### K. Cairo Museum JE 31886

*Description* : five sandstone blocks, on one of which Somtutefnakht is depicted standing at the centre of a boat called *p<sup>3</sup> d<sup>3</sup>y <sup>c</sup>z n s<sup>3</sup>w*.

*Provenance* : the temple of Mut at Karnak.

*Principal publication* : M. BENSON, J. GOURLAY, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, London, 1899, p. 257-258, pl. xx, 375.

*Other bibliography* (select) : Fr.Ll. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri* III, 1909, p. 73 ; G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 18 (1919), p. 31 ; J. YOYOTTE, *RdE* 8 (1951), p. 232-233 ; J. LECLANT, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite éthiopienne* (*BdE* 36), Cairo, 1965,

p. 114-116 ; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 257-258 ; G. el-Din MOKHTAR, *Ibnâsya el-Medina*, 1983, p. 132-133 (b) ; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie*, 1985, p. 82 doc. 107.III ; K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, §§ 202-205, 364 ; D. PRESSL, *Beamte und Soldaten*, 1998, p. 197-198 B.31.7 ; D. ARNOLD, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, New York, Oxford, 1999, p. 55 ; R. MORKOT, *The Black Pharaohs*, 2000, p. 300, fig. 115 (with slightly inaccurate copy of relevant text) ; A. CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes* (*OLA* 97), Leuven, 2001, p. 595-597 no. 7 ; Fr. BREYER, *Tanutamani. Die Traumstele und ihr Umfeld* (*ÄAT* 57), Wiesbaden, 2003, p. 335-344, especially p. 338-339 fig. 32-33 (reproduces Morkot's drawing) ; O. PERDU, *Égypte* 28 (2003), p. 4 fig. 1.

*Texts and titles* : *r-p<sup>t</sup> ḥsty-<sup>c</sup> imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> n Nn-nsw <sup>c</sup>z n mr.*

### L. Papyrus Rylands IX

*Description* : the petition of Petiese. Somtutefnakht is mentioned in columns 10/4-7, 16, 17 ; 11/1, 16 ; 12/3 and 14/12, in connection with events ascribed to years [1]8, 19 and 31.

*Provenance* : el-Hibeh.

*Principal publication* : Fr.Ll. GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri* I-III, 1909 ; G. VITTMANN, *Rylands 9*, 1998.

*Other bibliography* (very select) : V. WESSETSKY, *ZAS* 88 (1962), p. 69-73 ; R. DRENKHahn, *MDAIK* 23 (1968), p.115-116 ; K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 1972, p. 234-239 ; V. WESSETSKY, in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, R. Grieshammer (ed.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 499-502 ; E. BRESCIANI, in E. Bresciani et al. (ed.), *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevicchi*, Bologn, 1981, p. 59-71 ; G. VITTMANN, *EVO* 17 (1994), p. 309-310 ; M. CHAUVEAU, *Méditerranées* 6/7 (1996), p. 233-248 ; M. DEPAUW, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, Brussels, 1997, p. 102, 154-155 ; J.D. RAY, *Reflections of Osiris. Lives from Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2002, p. 97-112 ; M. CHAUVEAU, *BiOr* 61 (2004), no. 1-2, p. 19-42 ; M. SMITH, in D.B. Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* III, Cairo, 2000, p. 24.

*Titles* : *<sup>c</sup>z n mr*. Since the papyrus is only concerned with Somtutefnakht in this capacity, the absence of other titles need not be significant.

115. I restore this epithet, 'who goes in first and comes out last', on the basis of contemporary parallels, primarily in texts of the officials of the God's Wives. Known from the Middle Kingdom onwards, it is attested in Dynasties Twenty-five and Twenty-six for Harwa (B. GUNN, R. ENGELBACH, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), p. 803), for Akhamenru (M. LICHTHEIM, *JNES* 7 [1948], p. 169 D, 177, pl. XIV 1D) ; for Ibi (K. KUHLMANN, W. SCHENKEL, *Das Grab des Ibi. Theben Nr. 36* [AV 15], Mainz, 1983, pls. 13 = 82 = 155 and 65) ; for Pabasa (MMA photograph T 753 ; see also G. VITTMANN, *SAK* 5 (1977), p. 250) ; and for Mutirdis (J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Mutirdis* [AV 13], Mainz, 1977, p. 18 (3.3) ; E. GRAEFE, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun*, 1981, p. 95 m21). It is recorded for other Thebans of the period, such as Petamenophis (*LD Text* III, 288 TT 223), and on a Karnak statue dedicated by a northern official, Padipep (Cairo JE 37332 : K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften*, 2001, p. 50, 354, pl. 22). It is also found outside Thebes, e.g. on a statue in Athens of another prominent early Saïte courtier, Haroudja son of Harwa (G. LEGRAIN, *RT* 30 [1908], p. 17 ; PM VIII, 841).

## Table des matières

Note de l'éditeur .....	VII
<b>Jean YOYOTTE</b> .....	1
Les fondements géopolitiques du pouvoir saïte	
Annexe - Manéthon et ses dynasties : quelques réflexions	
<b>Michèle BROZE</b> .....	33
De Nephôtès au roi Psammétique (PGM IV 155-285) : la lettre d'un helléniste égyptien à un roi hellénophile	
<b>Michel CHAUVEAU</b> .....	39
Le saut dans le temps d'un document historique : des Ptolémées aux Saïtes	
<b>Frédéric COLIN</b> .....	47
Le « Domaine d'Amon » à Bahariya de la XVIII <sup>e</sup> à la XXVI <sup>e</sup> dynastie : l'apport des fouilles de Qasr 'Allam	
<b>Laurent COULON</b> .....	85
Les <i>urai</i> gardiens du fétiche abydnien. Un motif osirien et sa diffusion à l'époque saïte	
<b>Catherine DEFERNEZ</b> .....	109
Les témoignages d'une continuité de la culture matérielle saïte à l'époque perse : l'apport de l'industrie céramique	
<b>Herman DE MEULENAERE</b> .....	127
Les desservants du culte des rois saïtes	
<b>Philippe DERCHAIN</b> .....	133
Un érudit thébain du VII <sup>e</sup> - VI <sup>e</sup> siècle. Contribution à l'histoire du Dieu caché ?	
<b>Didier DEVAUCHELLE</b> .....	139
La XXVI <sup>e</sup> dynastie au Sérapéum de Memphis	
<b>Khaled EL-ENANY</b> .....	153
Clergé saïte et protocole royal	
<b>Erhart GRAEFE</b> .....	159
Le « <i>Tempelbauprogramm</i> » du roi Amasis	
<b>Ivan GUERMEUR</b> .....	165
Saïs et les Thèbes du nord	
<b>Karl JANSEN-WINKELN</b> .....	175
Der Charakter als Erbschaft: Die Inschriften der Kniefigur des Gemnefhorbak	
<b>Françoise LABRIQUE</b> .....	185
La salle aux Bès géants à Ayn el-Mouftella : une lecture de pieds	
<b>Anthony LEAHY</b> .....	197
Somtutefnakht of Heracleopolis. The art and politics of self-commemoration in the seventh century BC	

<b>Olivier PERDU</b> .....	225
Les « blocs de Piânkhi » après un siècle de discussions	
<b>Sergio PERNIGOTTI</b> .....	241
Qualche riflessione sul Fayyum della XXVI dinastia	
<b>Christophe THIERS</b> .....	247
L'an 44 d'Amasis sur la grande stèle ptolémaïque d'Héracléion	
<b>Christiane ZIVIE-COCHE</b> .....	253
Tanis à l'époque saïte. Une période de renouveau	
<b>INDEX</b> .....	265

*La XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie: continuités et ruptures*, colloque organisé à l'Université Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3, les 26 et 27 novembre 2004, avait pour but de réunir quelques collègues et amis autour d'un sujet qui tenait à cœur à Jean Yoyotte : le développement du pouvoir saïte au I<sup>er</sup> millénaire avant notre ère. Aussi, lors de la séance de clôture, fut-il décidé de dédier à ce savant les Actes de cette rencontre.

La publication a pris plus de temps que prévu, car nous voulions y intégrer le travail de synthèse que Jean Yoyotte préparait sur la question, mais qu'il n'a pu terminer. Peu de temps avant sa mort, il nous avait généreusement confié ses notes, certaines déjà rédigées, d'autres moins achevées, que nous avons mises en forme tout en essayant d'en garder l'esprit. Cet essai, intitulé « Les fondements géopolitiques du pouvoir saïte », paraît en tête du volume ; il est suivi de dix-huit articles portant sur l'Égypte du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère ou sur le souvenir que cette période laissa aux époques postérieures.

Les Actes rassemblent des études consacrées à l'oasis de Bahariya, au Fayoum, aux Thèbes du Nord, à Tanis ou encore au Sérapéum de Memphis ; plusieurs épisodes ou personnages marquants de cette époque sont aussi évoqués, comme les relations de Psammétique I<sup>er</sup> avec les Kouchites, le programme de construction d'Amasis, la place de Semataouyefnakht d'Hérakléopolis durant les premières années du règne de Psammétique I<sup>er</sup> et la carrière du prêtre Gemenefhorbak. On notera également des contributions consacrées aux protocoles royaux saïtes, au fétiche abydnien et à sa diffusion à l'époque saïte, ainsi qu'une présentation de la salle aux Bès d'Ayn el-Mouftella. Trois articles qui illustrent la continuité avec les périodes suivantes concernent la persistance de la culture matérielle saïte durant la domination perse, l'érudition d'un prêtre égyptien de l'époque perse ou encore les desservants du culte des rois saïtes. Enfin, la lettre de Néphôtès adressée au roi Psammétique sur un papyrus magique grec daté du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, la mention de l'an 44 d'Amasis sur une stèle datée du règne de Ptolémée Évergète II et un ostracon démotique ptolémaïque contenant un recensement des ressources de l'Égypte effectué par Psammétique I<sup>er</sup> témoignent de la marque laissée par les dynastes saïtes dans l'esprit des générations qui leur ont succédé.



Conception couverture Jean-Pierre Montesino