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TAMÁS A. BÁCS

*It is the Custom of 'Accept the Eye of Horus, ...'
Yet Again a Pyramid Texts Inspired Ritual Text
in an Eighteenth Dynasty Theban Tomb*

Given the central role of the offering ritual in mortuary cult, the accentuated featuring of it in the decoration programme of the chapels of the Thutmoseid non-royal elite makes perfect sense. It is equally clear that the constituent rites and their pictorial visualization represent a tradition going back millennia.¹ Of these the most conspicuous was the so-called ‘great Offering list’ or the type A resp. A/B list that has its origins in the royal and elite mortuary sphere of the Old Kingdom and which in the offering ritual of Unis corresponds to ninety Pyramid Texts.² Mostly appearing in conjunction with its younger counterpart, the ‘small Offering list’ or the type C list, its use is mostly, but not exclusively confined to tombs dating to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.³ While the cases of use of Pyramid Text utterances *per se* in the textual (ritual) programme of Theban tombs is more numerous and varied,⁴ that of the type A/B list is limited to eight known examples so far.⁵ Setting aside the two later attestations, these include⁶ TT 81 (Ineni),⁷ TT 39 (Puiemre),⁸ TT 20 (Montuherkhepeshef),⁹ TT 82 (Amenemhat),¹⁰ TT 99 (Senneferi)¹¹ and TT 100 (Rekhmire).¹² The clustering of the list’s inclusion in tomb chapels within the said temporal framework is decidedly suggestive – but a direct correlation with Hatshepsut’s programme, who is known to have used at least two type A/B lists at Deir el-Bahari (or by extension

¹ See generally J. SPIEGEL, Die Entwicklung der Opferszenen in den Thebanischen Gräbern, *MDAIK* 14, 1956, pp. 190–207.

² W. BARTA, Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche, *MÄS* 3, Berlin 1963 [= Altäg. Opferliste], pp. 47–50, 72–79; see also more concisely in W. BARTA, s.v. Opferliste, *LÄ* IV, 586–589.

³ Not only does it appear in Ramose’s tomb (TT 55 – AIII/IV – N. DE G. DAVIES, The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose, *Mond Excavations at Thebes I*, London 1941, Pl. XX), but a redacted Type A/B list was also adapted for the non-mortuary context of temple cult in Luxor temple dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, see H.M. HAYS, The Worshipper and the Worshipped in the Pyramid Text, *SAK* 30, 2002, pp. 153–167.

⁴ For Pyramid Texts in Theban tombs, see T.G. ALLEN, Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of These and Other Egyptian Mortuary Texts, *SAOC* 27, Chicago 1950, pp. 38–40; for a discussion, see H.M. HAYS, W. SCHENCK, Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representation: Pyramid Texts in Dynasty 18 Theban Tombs, [in:] P.F. Dorman, B.M. Bryan (Eds), Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes, *SAOC* 61, Chicago 2007 [= Intersection of Ritual Space and Representation], pp. 97–115; earlier H.M. HAYS, A New Offering Table for Shepenwepet, *JARCE* 40, 2003, p. 99 n. 66.

⁵ BARTA, Die altägyptische Opferliste, pp. 162–163. It includes the list on a certain Kainefer’s offering-table dated with uncertainty to either the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty in O. KOEFOED-PETERSEN, Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens, *Publications de la Glyptothèque NY Carlsberg* 6, Copenhague 1956, p. 62 No. 86, Pl. LXXXV.

⁶ The lists of Useramun in TT 61 may also be added; for a Type A/B list, see E. DZIOBEK, Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun: Theben Nr. 61 und 131, *AV* 84, Mainz a/Rhein 1994, p. 98, Pl. 44; for a Type C (?) one, *ibid.*, p. 98, Pl. 43.

⁷ E. DZIOBEK, Das Grab des Ineni: Theben Nr. 81, *AV* 68, Mainz a/Rhein 1992, pp. 74–77, Pls 20–23.

⁸ N. DE G. DAVIES, The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes II. The Chapels of Hope, *RPTMS* III, New York 1923, Pls XLIX–L.

⁹ N. DE G. DAVIES, Five Theban Tombs, *ASE* 21, London 1913, Pl. XI.

¹⁰ TT 82 has two 2 lists, see N. DE G. DAVIES, A.H. GARDINER, The Tomb of Amenemhêt (No. 82), *TTS* 1, London 1915, Pls XVIII and XXI.

¹¹ I wish to thank Nigel Strudwick here for pointing me this example. For the reference, see: <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/paintings/wall14.html>.

¹² N. DE G. DAVIES, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re’ at Thebes II, *PMMA* 11, New York 1943, Pl. XCI.

with Thutmose III), however tempting it would be to see them as a form of emulation – is difficult to prove conclusively.¹³

It is within this context then that the offering-list presented here should be understood and evaluated.

THE TOMB OF UDJA[...] ('MOND TOMB')

Excavation in the area immediately east of the forecourt of TT 66 (the vizier Hapu, temp. Thutmose IV) and north of that of TT 67 (the High Priest of Amun Hapuseneb, temp. Hatshepsut) was originally started in order to clarify the contextual situation of the recently uncovered burial place of a 'King's Son' and 'Overseer of the Southern Countries', Penre (Shaft '3') situated here.¹⁴ In course of removing the spoil heap covering the area, a hitherto unknown *saff*-tomb and a tomb-chapel bordering it on its north were discovered. The survey of this yet unexcavated northern tomb (accessible from the *saff*-tomb through an ancient breach) confirmed that it is identical to the tomb reported by R. Mond to have been found by him in 1905/6. The erstwhile discovery was briefly described by L. Collins, based on Mond's notes, as follows:¹⁵

TOMB OF DJA (?), Noble and Man of the Following (no number)

To the north of Hepusomb and on the same level, this small tomb was discovered. The inscriptions on the ceiling were copied (fig. 40), and also a partially defaced inscription from the south wall, the lower register of which was destroyed (fig. 41). The following were found in the tomb:

3 defaced statues. Table of offerings (fig. 42).

Subsequent to his activities in the area the tomb quickly came to be reburied by debris and thus forgotten and left unnumbered by A.H. Gardiner and A.E.P. Weigall (and PM as a consequence as well).¹⁶ The area was apparently also left unexplored by the Metropolitan Museum expedition as is clear from the brief description of H.E. Winlock related to their work here:¹⁷

The tombs between nos. 65 and 67 had been cleared in recent years, but enough remained around the edges of the former excavations to warrant further digging in 1914 for the purpose of recovering what might be left of the Coptic ruins.

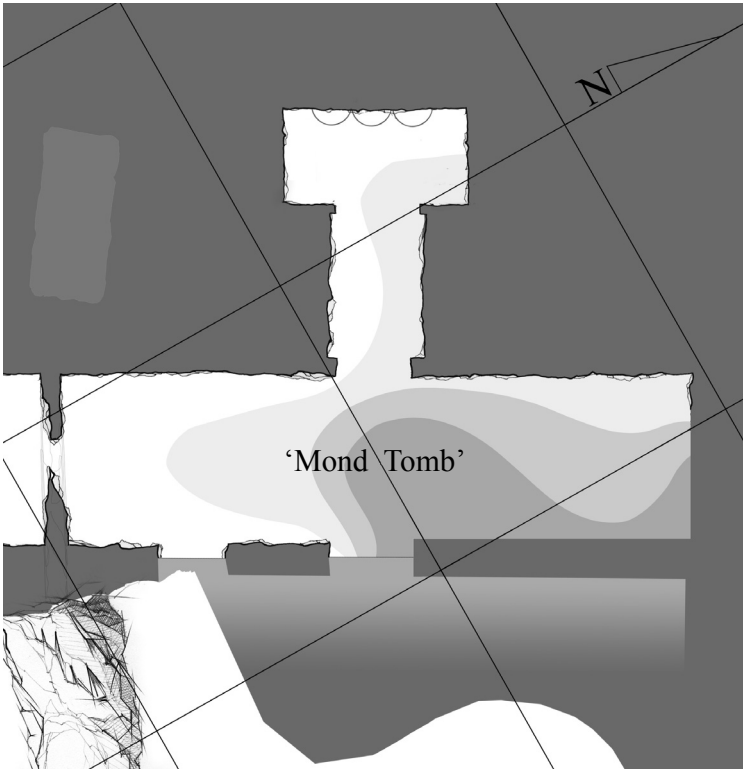
¹³ For type A/B and type C lists at Deir el-Bahari, BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, pp. 163, 165; also for the two type A/B lists, see E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari, Part IV. The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, *EEF Memoir XIX*, London 1901, Pls CIX–CX and CXII–CXIII; for the eight (!) type C lists, E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari. Part I. The North-western end of the Upper Platform*, *EEF Memoir XIII*, London 1895, Pls VI–VII; E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari. Part V. The Upper Court and Sanctuary*, *EEF Memoir XXVII*, London 1906, Pls CXXXV–CXXXVI; *LD III*, Pl. 19.

¹⁴ For this burial place, see T.A. BÁCS, *A name with three (?) orthographies: The case of the 'king's son, overseer of southern foreign lands, Penre'*, *SudNub* 13, 2009, pp. 30–37.

¹⁵ L. COLLINS, *The private tombs of Thebes: excavations by Sir Robert Mond 1905 and 1906*, *JEA* 62, 1976, p. 36, and Figs 40–42.

¹⁶ A.H. GARDINER, A.E.P. WEIGALL, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, London 1913, Pl. VI.

¹⁷ H.E. WINLOCK, W.E. CRUM, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes I*, New York 1926, p. 16.



1. Sketch plan of the 'Mond Tomb' (Drawing M. Nagy).



2. The Statue Chapel of the 'Mond Tomb' (Phot. M. Nagy).

Mostly filled with debris, the T-shaped chapel does not show the same marks of burning as the neighbouring *saff*-tomb, but was apparently looted long before Mond entered it. Comprising a transverse hall, an axial corridor (**Fig. 1**), and a statue chapel containing the '3 defaced statues' referred to by Mond (**Fig. 2**), it probably dates to the first third of the Eighteenth Dynasty based on the few remaining decorative elements (i.e. remains of wall painting).¹⁸ It is equally apparent from these surviving elements that in a rather unusual fashion the decoration was mostly left unfinished in the front parts of the tomb-chapel.¹⁹

An initial survey of the two inscriptions copied by Mond from two ceiling bandeaux and published by Collins,²⁰ as well as that of the scene of the 'Table of offerings', actually the painted offering-scene the list of which shall be discussed below, could correct some of his readings but the owner's name, only partially preserved as Udja[...] (*Wd3*[...]), still remains unknown. According to the improved reading, the tomb-owner's string of titles run as follows: 'Hereditary Prince' (*r-p^ct*), 'Count' (*h3ty-^c*), 'Man of the Future' (*z n m-ht*), 'Traverser of the Desert' (*z3b n dšr.t*), 'Ancestor Royal Architect' (*krh.t n.t jkd-nsw*).²¹

The statue chapel with the plaster moulded statues of two males and a female embracing one another seem to represent what has been described as 'half'-statue rooms and as such provides a new example of this type that belongs to an early stage in the evolution of statue niches in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs.²² While at this point a more closer dating of the tomb seems premature, it may be pointed out that this links it to the nearby tomb chapel of User (TT 21) that has been tentatively dated to the reign of Thutmose II based on the style of its painted decoration.²³

The south wall of the chapel was originally painted with an offering-table scene retaining most of the original vividness of its colours and comprising the seated couple before an offering-table above which are piled various groups of offerings organised loosely into (four?) registers.²⁴ In the scene, labelled as a *hṭp-di-nsw* to the owner and his wife, they

¹⁸ At present, its closest parallel appears to be the nearby TT 21 (User), which may be dated tentatively to the reign of Thutmose II, see B. ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie. Analyse von Position, Grundrißgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber, ADAIK 15*, Berlin 1999 [= *Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs*], p. 86.

¹⁹ As far as it could be observed under present conditions, the preparation of the walls of the transverse hall only reached a point where in most places only plaster had been applied.

²⁰ The texts given in L. COLLINS, *JEA 62*, 1976, Figs 40, 41, 42 can be now identified as 'Fig. 40: Ceiling texts' = Transverse hall – ceiling bandeau; 'Fig. 41: S. Wall' = Chapel – south wall, offering-scene; and 'Fig. 42: Table of Offerings' = Chapel – central ceiling bandeau.

²¹ I would like to express my gratitude here to Gábor Takács to whom I am indebted for the interpretation of the rarer titles.

²² B. Engelmann-von Carnap has suggested an evolutionary trajectory of statue niches that starts with statue rooms, citing TT 60 (Senet) and TT 81 (Ineni) as examples, then followed by 'half'-statue rooms as displayed by TT 21 (User) and TT 318 (Amenmose), ultimately to result in niches that either start from floor level as in TT 112 (Menkheperreseneb) or in ones of small dimensions as in TT 87 (Minnakht), ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs*, p. 50 n. 1.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

²⁴ Unfortunately enough, the corresponding decoration on the northern wall has been completely destroyed.

are faced by a tabular list of offerings divided into an upper and a lower section with each containing fourteen columns.²⁵

‘MOND TOMB’ OFFERING-LIST (Fig. 3)

While the tabulated offering ritual texts found in Eighteenth Dynasty cult-chapels with the exception of Khaemhat’s (TT 57)²⁶ comprise only the name of the item followed by the quantity that of the ‘Mond Tomb’ shows a different form. It uses the standard formula of the Pyramid Text utterances *m n=k ir.t Hr* ‘accept the eye of Horus,’²⁷ which is then followed by its corresponding phrase.²⁸ Each column starts, however, with the phrase *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir šhr pw n m n=k ir.t-Hr*,... (except those of columns 11 and 12 of the upper register and that of column 13 of the lower one) in which it clearly differs from both the Pyramid Text version and the standard List A/B pattern. In contrast to these, it makes Osiris the speaker,²⁹ on the one hand, and by inserting the intriguing assertion ‘it is the custom of’ (*šhr pw n*) it refers to and emphasises the traditional and normative character of the rite, on the other.

The list is obviously an extract.³⁰ It starts the second phase of the ritual³¹ following the small offering-meal (A/19-26) that was intended to represent the full offering-meal (A/29-87). The last two partially preserved columns of the lower register have the recitations for items A/72 and A/74, while omitting A/73 (= W116-PT 154, also a kind of wine: *ʿbš irp*). In List A there are altogether thirteen items of drink from A/64 to A/76, but which of these were featured here remains unknown. The structure of the list is then the following:

- Preparation of the Offering-table (originally 15 utterances): W69 (A/26)
- Cleansing the Mouth (originally 3 utterances): W70-72 (A/27-29)
- Bread and Onions (originally 15 utterances): W 73-82 (A/30-39)

²⁵ On the typology of offering scenes in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, see ENGELMANN-VON CARNAP, *Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs*, pp. 215–224.

²⁶ V. LORET, *La tombe de Kha-m-Ha*, *MMAF* 1, Le Caire 1884, pp. 117–119; also in HAYS, SCHENCK, *Intersection of Ritual Space and Representation*, p. 108 Fig. 7.2.

²⁷ For the association of offering types with the Eye of Horus, see G. RUDNITZKY, *Die Aussage über “Das Auge des Horus”. Eine Altägyptische Art Geistiger Äußerung nach dem Zeugnis des alten Reiches*, *Analecta Aegyptiaca* 5, Copenhagen 1956, pp. 25–28.

²⁸ See in general, H.M. HAYS, *Old Kingdom Sacerdotal Texts*, *JEOL* 41, 2008–2009, p. 53; ID., *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts: Typology and Disposition*, *PdĀ* 31, Leiden 2012 [= *Organization of the Pyramid Texts*], p. 268.

²⁹ It seems less likely from the text layout that a form *Dd-mdw <h> Wsir* (*Recitation: Oh, Osiris ...*) was meant, as in TT 57.

³⁰ For convenience, the translation closely follows that of Allen in J.P. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, *Writings from the Ancient World* 23, Leiden-Boston 2005, pp. 24–26. In brackets W. Barta’s numbering of the List A/B items (BARTA, *Altäg. Opferliste*, pp. 47–50, and p. 181 Abb. 4), the spell number in the corpus of Isis (W), and the traditional PT number have been added.

³¹ BARTA, *Altäg. Opferliste*, p. 69.



3. The Offering-list (Phot. M. Nagy).

- Beef and Poultry (originally 15 utterances): \emptyset
- Bread (originally 4 utterances): \emptyset
- Drinks (originally 12 utterances): $x + W$ 115, 117 (A/72, 74).

The text, then, provides an eloquent example of how even in a context where a highly formalised usage and a strictly set standard would be expected, texts could be creatively approached and treated.³² And this is irrespective of whether the redactor was

³² That the offering meal related to the Pyramid Texts was also tailored to temple cult is shown by both Amun's cult at Karnak as attested from the Ramesside period and its adaptation the so-called Ritual of

actually aware or not of the fact that he was working with what were originally Pyramid Texts.³³

Upper register:

- 1) *Dd-mdw* <in> *Wsir šhr pw n m n=k* *RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom*
sw.t.t ir.t-Ḥr *of 'accept the one of the shank, the eye of*
sw[.t.t ḥn.t I] *Horus.'*
 [1] ¹BOWL WITH A SHANK OF MEAT.¹
 (A/B 26-W69-PT 96)
- 2) *Dd-mdw* <in> *Wsir šhr pw n m n=k ir.t-* *RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom of*
Ḥr i^cb n=k mw im(i)=s *'accept the eye of Horus, gather to yourself*
mw ḥn.t [2] *the water that is in it.'*
 [2] BOWLS OF WATER.
 (A/B 27-W70-PT 108)
- 3) *Dd-mdw* <in> *Wsir šhr pw n m n=k ir.t-* *RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom of*
Ḥr bd.t r=k *'accept the eye of Horus, which cleaned*
bd ḥn.t [2] *your mouth.'*
 [2] BOWLS OF CLEANSING NATRON.
 (A/B 28-W71-PT 109)
- 4) *Dd-mdw* <in> *Wsir šhr pw n m n=k ir.t-* *RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom*
Ḥr i^cb n=k s(i) r r=k *of 'accept the eye of Horus, join it (for*
(i^cw-)r3: *yourself) to your mouth.'*
šns I d_wiw I *THE 'MOUTH(-WASHING) MEAL':*
I LOAF OF BREAD, I JUG (OF BEER).
 (A/B 29-W72-PT 110)
- 5) *Dd-mdw* <in> *Wsir šhr pw n m n=k ir.t-* *RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom*
Ḥr ti.t Stš *of 'accept the eye of Horus, which Seth*
<t> ttw I *trampled.'*
I LOAF OF 'TRAMPLED' BREAD.
 (A/B 30-W73-PT 111)
- 6) *Dd-mdw* <in> *Wsir šhr pw n m-n=k ir.t-* *RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom of*
Ḥr iḥ.t.n=f *'accept the eye of Horus, which he pulled*
t-rḥ ḥn.t [1] *out.'*
 [1] BOWL OF rḥ-BREAD.
 (A/B 31-W74-PT 112)

Amenhotep I. For the latter discussed in the context of re-evaluating an ostracon text (LACMA ostrakon), see most recently K.M. COONEY, J.B. McCLAIN, The Daily Offering Meal in the Ritual of Amenhotep I: An Instance of the Local Adaptation of Cult Liturgy, *JANER* 5, 2006, pp. 41–78.

³³ As fittingly noted by Cooney and McClain: *It is unlikely that these statements were borrowed directly from the Pyramid Texts, or that the ritualists even knew what the Pyramid Texts were, cf. IDD., JANER* 5, 2006, p. 65 with further pertinent comments in n. 128.

- 7) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir sḥr pw n m n=k ir.t-Hr ḫt n=k r ḥr=k*
*t-ḫt*³ [2]
 RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: *It is the custom of 'accept the eye of Horus, acquire (it) for yourself to your face.'*
 [2] LOAVES OF ḫt³-BREAD.
 (A/B 32-W75-PT 113)
- 8) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir sḥr pw n [in(=i) n=k nḥr.w] r ḥr=k*
*nḥr*¹ [2]
 RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: *It is the custom of '[I have gotten for you those that resemble] your face.'*
¹ LOAVES OF CONE-BREAD.
 (A/B 33-W76-PT 114)
- 9) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir sḥr pw n m n=k ir.t-Hr dp.t=f*
dpt 4
 RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: *It is the custom of 'accept the eye of Horus, which he has tasted it.'*³⁴
 4 LOAVES OF 'TASTE'-BREAD.
 (A/B 34-W77-PT 115)
- 10) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir sḥr pw n m n=k ir.t-Hr ḥwi p³s=f ḥr s(i)*
psn 4
 RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: *It is the custom of 'accept the eye of Horus, prevent him from suffering³⁵ from it.'*
 4 LOAVES OF FLAT BEER-BREAD.
 (A/B 35-W78-PT 116)
- 11) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir sḥr pw n šsp n=k tp=k*
šns 4
 RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: *It is the custom of 'receive that which is on you.'*
 4 LOAVES OF šns-BREAD.
 (A/B 36-W79-PT 117)
- 12) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir sḥr pw n (i)m ir.t-Hr ḫt n=k s(i)*
ḫn.t imy-t 4
 RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: *It is the custom of 'take the eye of Horus, acquire it for yourself.'*
 A BOWL WITH 4 LOAVES OF 'IN THE EARTH'-BREADS.
 (A/B 37-W80-PT 118)
- 13) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir sḥr pw n m n=k ir.t-Hr ḫnf.t.n=f*
ḫn.t ḫnfw 4
 RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: *It is the custom of 'accept the eye of Horus, which he has baked.'*³⁶
 A BOWL OF 4 ḫnfw-BREADS.
 (A/B 38-W81-PT 119)

³⁴ Or optative as understood originally by ALLEN, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 62 n. 21: *which he should taste*.

³⁵ Written as *p³n=f* for *p³s=f*.

³⁶ ALLEN, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 24 has: ...*which he carried off*. The translation ...*which he has baked(?)*, follows R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969 [= *Pyramid Texts*], p. 25; also followed by HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts*, p. 334. G. Takács (personal communication), however, has drawn my attention to the fact that *the meaning of the underlying ḫnf root is dubious, the sense 'to*

14) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir šhr pw n m n=k ir.t-
Hr m s:hbnn s(i)
hn.t hbnn.t 4*

*RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom of
'accept the eye of Horus, do not let it jump
around.'*³⁷

*A BOWL OF 4 hbnn-t-BREADS.
(A/B 39-W82-PT 120)*

Lower register:

1) – 4) [... ...]

1) to 4) *lost*

5) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir [... ...]*

RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: [... ...]

6) – 11) [... ...]

6) to 11) *lost*

13) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir šhr pw n wp r3=k
im=s*

*RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom of
'part your mouth with it.'*

[irp hn.t 2]

*[2 BOWLS OF DELTA WINE.]
(A/B 72–W115-PT 153)*

14) *Dd-mdw <in> Wsir šhr pw n m n=k
hwn.t imy.t ir.t-Hr [wp r3=k im=s]
[irp im.t hn.t 2]*

*RECITATION <BY> OSIRIS: It is the custom of
'accept the pupil in the eye of Horus: [part
your mouth with it].'*

*[2 BOWLS OF BUTO WINE.]
(A/B 74–W117-PT 155)*

Tamás A. Bács
Department of Egyptology
Institute of Ancient Studies
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest
tambacs@gmail.com

bake' is hardly fitting the context, cf. rather hnf-h3nf Verbum im Opferritual im Wortspiel mit hnfw 'Kuchen' (Wb III, 291, 15).

³⁷ Faulkner tentatively translated: *when it springs up(?)*, based on his understanding of *a formation with prefixed h of the reduplicated stem bbn, itself derived from the simplex wbn 'rise'*, see FAULKNER, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 30 with n. 1.