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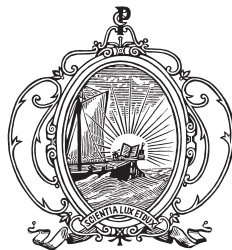
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# A TRUE SCRIBE OF ABYDOS

Essays on First Millennium Egypt  
in Honour of Anthony Leahy

edited by

CLAUS JURMAN, BETTINA BADER  
and DAVID A. ASTON



PEETERS  
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## CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . . .	VII
A. Leahy's Bibliography . . . . .	XI
DAVID A. ASTON, "The Third Cache" – Myth or Reality? . . . . .	1
MARTIN BOMMAS, The Unpublished Stela of Hunefer. Remarks on Glo- rification Texts on New Kingdom Funerary Stelae . . . . .	27
GERARD P.F. BROEKMAN, Suggesting a New Chronology for the Kushite Twenty-fifth Dynasty and Considering the Consequences for the Preceding Libyan Period . . . . .	39
JULIA BUDKA, Kushites at Abydos: A View from Umm el-Qaab . . . . .	53
MARIA CANNATA, From the Embalmers' Cabinets of Curiosities . . . . .	65
MÉLANIE CRESSENT, Nouveau raccord memphite: la statue d'Horsema- taouyemhat Vienne Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5775 + Caire Musée Égyptien CG 888 . . . . .	77
DIDIER DEVAUCHELLE, Les enterrements d'Apis au temps des Nectané- bos . . . . .	95
ROBERTO B. GOZZOLI, Chronology and Royal Succession in the Kushite Kingdom (664–593 BC) . . . . .	119
STEVEN R.W. GREGORY, On the Horus Throne in <i>dt</i> and <i>nhh</i> : Changeless Time and Changing Times . . . . .	143
BENJAMIN HINSON, Dead Ringers: The Mortuary Use of Bells in Late Pharaonic Egypt . . . . .	179
KARL JANSEN-WINKELN, „Libyerzeit“ oder „postimperiale Periode“? Zur historischen Einordnung der Dritten Zwischenzeit . . . . .	203
CLAUS JURMAN, Impressions of What is Lost – A Study on Four Late Period Seal Impressions in Birmingham and London . . . . .	239
ALAN B. LLOYD, Saite Warfare: The Resurgence of Military Ambition . . . . .	273
ANTONIO J. MORALES, Aggregation with the Gods . . . . .	287
MICHINORI OHSHIRO, Searching for the Tomb of the Theban King Osorkon III . . . . .	299
FRÉDÉRIC PAYRAUDEAU, Nesptah, père de Montouemhat, à Karnak-nord . . . . .	319
OLIVIER PERDU, Les origines du précepteur royal Ânkhefensekhmet, le nom ancien de Kôm Firîn et le fief Libou dans l'Ouest du Delta . . . . .	327

CAMPBELL PRICE, The 'Admiral' Hor and his Naophorous Statue (Manchester Museum acc. no 3570) . . . . .	369
TROY L. SAGRILLO, King Djehuty-em-hat in Swansea: Three Model Scribal Palettes in the Collection of the Egypt Centre of Swansea University . . . . .	385
CYNTHIA M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, Some Theban Choachytes of the Third Intermediate Period . . . . .	415
JOHN H. TAYLOR, Two Lost Cartonnage Cases of the Early Twenty-second Dynasty . . . . .	445
GÜNTER VITTMANN, An Abnormal Hieratic Letter from Dakhleh Oasis (Ostrakon Amheida 16003) . . . . .	491

KING DJEḤUTY-EM-ḤAT IN SWANSEA:  
THREE MODEL SCRIBAL PALETTES IN THE COLLECTION  
OF THE EGYPT CENTRE OF SWANSEA UNIVERSITY

Troy Leiland SAGRILLO\*

It is with the greatest pleasure that I dedicate this article as a tribute to Tony Leahy, whose work on the Third Intermediate Period has helped further establish it as a significant field of enquiry within Egyptology. My earliest direct contact with Tony was when he was kind enough to send me an offprint of his fundamental article, “The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation” (*Libyan Studies* 16 [1985]), while I was a doctoral student in Toronto and my own fascination with the Libyan dynasties was only just forming. This was later followed by his participation in my 2007 *doctoraatsverdediging* at KU Leuven as an external examiner of my dissertation on Shoshenq I. Tony has never hesitated to offer generous help, insightful critique, and apt advice, often at great length, for which I am grateful. I hope this article will be of some interest to him, and at least hint at the great deal of thanks I owe him.

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Non-functional (or at least non-used<sup>2</sup>) model scribal palettes made of wood, ivory, stone, or glazed composition (“faïence”<sup>3</sup>) are well-attested from ancient Egypt, but surprisingly understudied. Until recently, Glanville’s 1932 article, which examines selected palettes — both functional and non-functional — in the collection of the British Museum,<sup>4</sup> there have been few significant studies attempting to catalogue and synthesize this class of objects, although there are

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<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank Carolyn A. Graves-Brown, the curator of the Egypt Centre, for permission to publish these objects and clarifying various points as to their histories; the assistant curator, Wendy Goodridge, is also thanked for her aid. Marleen De Meyer, Ken Griffin, Martina Minas-Nerpel, Kasia Szpakowska, and Katharina Zinn are thanked for their thoughtful comments and suggestions. Jan Moje offered significant recommendations on an earlier draft, for which he is thanked. Finally, the author would like to thank Jenny Cashman for providing a copy of her 2015 article in advance of its publication.

<sup>2</sup> The distinction is not always clear as some unused palettes made of wood or ivory and intended for a funerary context in the tombs of elite individuals are not precisely “functional” but are clearly more than models.

<sup>3</sup> For difficulties surrounding the use of the term “faïence” in the Egyptological literature, see NICHOLSON and PELTENBURG 2000: 177–178.

<sup>4</sup> GLANVILLE 1932.

several reports concerning individual palettes.<sup>5</sup> However, PINARELLO's 2015 attempt to "deconstruct" Egyptological notions of a scribal class also includes an extensive catalogue of writing equipment from both archaeological contexts and museum collections. Nevertheless, the use(s) of these model palettes remains unclear, with their attribution to mortuary goods in elite burials being often mooted,<sup>6</sup> while their use as votive offerings is likewise probable.<sup>7</sup>

Although it is not the intent of this contribution to address this gap in the Egyptological literature, the Egypt Centre of Swansea University contains three model scribal palettes (Egypt Centre W216, W1328, and EC2018) as part of its collection, and they are presented here in turn.

All three are fragmentary, but they are not without interest. In particular, EC2018 is inscribed with the only known depiction of the late Third Intermediate Period king of al-Ašmūnayn (ancient Hermopolis),<sup>8</sup> Djehuty-em-ḥat,<sup>9</sup> and may help to refine the relative chronology of the kings reigning at the site during the transition from the Twenty-third to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and afterwards.

### Egypt Centre W216

Egypt Centre W216 (Fig. 1–2). Provenance: al-Zaqāzīq<sup>10</sup> (presumably Tall Bastah [Bubastis]); 65 × 54 × 11 mm. Collected by Eleanor Frances Berens (wife of Rev. Randolph Humphrey Berens [1844–1922])<sup>11</sup>; purchased *via* Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge on 31 July 1923 by Henry Solomon Wellcome (21 August 1853–25 July 1936).<sup>12</sup> The object is the upper portion of a

<sup>5</sup> For example, see HAYES 1937; HAYES 1938; HAYES 1959: 275.

<sup>6</sup> CASHMAN 2015: 615. PINARELLO catalogues a large number of scribal palettes from archaeological contexts, primarily burials, but his main concern "is to deconstruct the category of the Egyptian scribe" (2015: 23), and therefore does not focus on the issue regarding the uses of model palettes. The majority of those palettes included in the catalogue are functional; the only stone palettes included are three examples that come from an Eighteenth Dynasty context (tombs T1 and T14) on Ġazīrat Sāy ["Sai Island"], the Sudan (PINARELLO 2015: 67–68; see MINAULT-GOUT and THILL 2012: 19–24, 80–87).

<sup>7</sup> The presentation of scribal palettes in Graeco-Roman temple offering scenes is discussed in DE MEYER 1998, which remains unpublished.

<sup>8</sup> Generally speaking, Arabic is transliterated following the DIN 31635 convention (in principle, see BROCKELMANN, FISCHER, HEFFENING and TAESCHNER 1935), rather than the *ad hoc* methods favored in most Egyptological publications. Modern Arabic toponyms are preferred over Greek after the first instance.

<sup>9</sup> For this king, see note 67, *infra*.



<sup>10</sup> For an inked label on the reverse side of the object, see Fig. 2.


<sup>11</sup> BIERBRIER 2012: 55.

<sup>12</sup> Collection records, Egypt Centre, Swansea University (C.A. GRAVES-BROWN [personal communication]); see also BIERBRIER 2012: 571–572. For a general history of the Egypt Centre's collections, see GRAVES-BROWN 2004; GILL 2005.

metasiltstone<sup>13</sup> model scribal palette. The even bottom edge indicates that it was sawn off the complete palette, leaving a smooth surface, probably by means of a metal saw in modern times.

The scene is set within a rectangular perimeter frame surmounted by a *p.t*-sign; however, based on analogous scenes from offering stelae, the expected *w3s*-scepters supporting the *p.t*-sign are not present. Within the frame the god Thoth is depicted being praised by the palette's owner. A table with a spouted *nms.t*-vessel<sup>14</sup> and a lotus flower are placed between the two figures. Thoth is portrayed with a lunar disk upon his head and holding an *'nh* and *w3s*-scepter.<sup>15</sup>

Directly in front of the lunar disk is the horizontal text  *Dḥw.ty* "Thoth." A line of horizontal — rotating to vertical — text runs above the depiction of the owner, which gives his name as  *Dd-Mw.t-jwz-f-'nh* "Djed-Mut-iw-ef-ankh." His two hands are raised in a gesture of making praise (*rdj.t j3.w* or *dw3*),<sup>16</sup> while he is clothed in a long, flowing garment.<sup>17</sup> His lack of hair is indicative of a priestly role.<sup>18</sup>

Immediately in front of the owner's name is an occupational title. While the signs are relatively clearly carved as , it is not entirely certain how they are to be read. Although the sky hieroglyph is doubtlessly intended for *hr.y* "chief," and *Dḥw.ty* "Thoth" for the seated ibis-headed deity, it is neither clear what the small, round sign is, nor how the entire unit is to be interpreted. Daringly, *hr.y njw.t Dḥw.ty* "chief of the city of Thoth" might be suggested, but this title is not attested, nor are there similar titles structured as *hr.y njw.t* + DIVINE NAME. An alternative possibility is to read the text as a cryptographic writing<sup>19</sup> of *hr.y sh3.w* "chief of the scribes"<sup>20</sup> or *hr.y s3t3* "chief of the secrets; privy councilor."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>13</sup> ASTON, HARRELL and SHAW 2000: 57–58; cf. DE PUTTER and KARLSHAUSEN 1992: 87–90, pl. 54d:16, pl. 54e:17.

<sup>14</sup> For which, see EATON 2013: 166–168.

<sup>15</sup> A broadly similar scene appears on palette British Museum EA 12778, which is dated to the Ramesside Period (GLANVILLE 1932: 38, plate 8/1; PARKINSON 1999: 60). The top of this metasiltstone palette has a depiction of the dedicant with his hands raised in praise, standing before Osiris, Isis (?), and Thoth; a table with a spouted *nms.t*-vessel and a lotus stands before the palette owner and the gods.

<sup>16</sup> BRUNNER-TRAUT 1977: 575, 577–578.

<sup>17</sup> A New Kingdom-style sash-kilt, in combination with either a sash over the shoulders or a bag tunic. See, for example, VOGELSANG-EASTWOOD 1993: 40, fig. 3:11d, 81.


<sup>18</sup> MÜLLER 1980; see also VERNUS 1976: 9; CLÈRE 1995.



<sup>19</sup> Suggested to the author by Jan MOJE (e-mail received 10 August 2016).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. TAYLOR 2001: 164, nos 1609, 1610; AL-AYEDI 2006: 407–409, nos 1379–1388.

<sup>21</sup> TAYLOR 2001: 164, no. 1611; AL-AYEDI 2006: 409, no. 1389.



A column of text below Djed-Mut-iw-ef-ankh's upraised hands states that he is a  *sh3.w{t} n Jmn* [ . . . ] "scribe [?] of Amun."<sup>22</sup> There is a small, slightly rectilinear sign immediately after *sh3.w* "scribe" that has been transcribed here as an otiose *t*-hieroglyph. If the palette is dated to the Third Intermediate Period, as seems likely (see below), it is not uncommon for the singular masculine indirect genitive to be written as *nt*,<sup>23</sup> with the small *t* appearing before the broad, flat *n* for calligraphic reasons. Considerably less likely, it might be argued to read the text as *sh3.w qdw.t n Jmn* "outline scribe of Amun,"<sup>24</sup> with an exceptionally abbreviated form of *qdw.t*, but this does not seem to be especially probable.

At the bottom of this fragment are traces of at least two vertical columns of text. They are heavily damaged (see Fig. 1), but a cluster on the left side, beneath the offering table, seems to be  *dd mdw* "words spoken," while to the right traces of a necked  *nw*-jar are clear.<sup>25</sup>

It is difficult to give a precise date to this palette. Stone model scribal palettes are most common from the New Kingdom onwards, particularly as prestige objects appropriate in elite burials, which CASHMAN argues is "perhaps ultimately influenced by the practice of gift-giving in international diplomacy" during the New Kingdom.<sup>26</sup> In the case of this particular palette, the long, flowing style of clothing worn by the owner becomes pervasive from the Ramesside Period — particularly from the Twentieth Dynasty — and afterwards. Similarly, the form of the owner's personal name, *Dd-Mw.t-jwz-f-nh*, is most common from the Twenty-second Dynasty onwards,<sup>27</sup> although it does occur earlier. Given these iconographic and onomastic tendencies, it is probably reasonable to date the palette generally to the Third Intermediate Period, recognizing that a slightly earlier or later date is not out of the question.

It is clear that the palette has been used for a secondary purpose as the obverse face has been heavily abraded with a deep horizontal score, essentially at knee-level of the two figures. From this declivity run three vertical lines, also cut secondarily. A similar set of marks are found on the reverse side (Fig. 2).

<sup>22</sup> TAYLOR 2001: 208, no. 2029.

<sup>23</sup> JANSEN-WINKELN 1996: 239, § 398.

<sup>24</sup> TAYLOR 2001: 217, no. 2125; AL-AYEDI 2006: 580, no. 1943. This title is more commonly associated with the scribal staff involved in tomb decoration (for examples, see BOGOSLOVSKI 1980), such as at Dayr al-Maḍīnah, so its use here does not seem to be particularly appropriate, regardless of the difficulties in justifying such an abbreviated writing.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. palette British Museum EA 12778 (see note 15, *supra*), which has a column of text consisting of the *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula running down either side.

<sup>26</sup> CASHMAN 2015: 615; see also GLANVILLE 1932.

<sup>27</sup> RANKE 1935: 410, no. 15; RANKE 1977: 244.

It is not certain what the cause of these marks may have been, but one suggestion might be that the palette fragment was used as a polishing block for stone beads or similar items that abraded these marks into the surface. Alternatively, the scores are perhaps sprue wells for pouring molten metal or wax into a two-part mold, with the scribal palette fragment being reused as the backing to a relief mold cavity located on a now-missing matching section.<sup>28</sup> The deep, horizontal score may have been a gating duct to rapidly carry cast material over a wider area before it was able to cool. Arguing against this is a lack of scorch marks, which might be expected if molten metal were poured. However, it might be the case that wax antetypes were produced in order to be used in a lost-wax technique,<sup>29</sup> or for the production of wax amulets;<sup>30</sup> in either case, scorch marks on the stone would not be present.

A similar mold face with a gating system is found on another rectangular stone object (Fig. 3), also in the Egypt Centre's collection (W915 = Mac Gregor 1545). On this object, the sprue wells undoubtedly run to cavities for cast objects, such as a *wd3.t*-eye and botanical objects; these are connected by horizontal incisions acting as either gating ducts or perhaps channels for wire in order to create threading holes if the cast objects were used as beads. In order to be used in casting (rather than press molding) — which is certain given the presence of sprue wells — this mold face would need a matching backing face, which would very likely resemble palette fragment Egypt Centre W216.<sup>31</sup>

### Egypt Centre W1328

Egypt Centre W1328 (Fig. 4). Provenance: unknown but probably Tall Atrīb (ancient Athribis; 10th Lower Egyptian nome), northeast of Banhā; 50 × 45 × 9 mm. Collected by Rev. William Mac Gregor;<sup>32</sup> purchased *via* Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge in July 1922<sup>33</sup> by Henry Solomon Wellcome. This object is the middle section of a metasiltstone<sup>34</sup> model scribal palette, with rough breaks at both the upper and lower extremities.

<sup>28</sup> For examples, see LACOVARA, TROPE and D'AURIA 2001: 99–101. This was initially suggested by C.A. GRAVES-BROWN (personal communication).

<sup>29</sup> For which see OGDEN 2000: 158, 165.

<sup>30</sup> For an example of such a wax amulet, *cf.* a Graeco-Roman amulet of a bovine deity from Dandarah now in the Petrie Museum of the University College London (UCL 52991); see PETRIE, GRIFFITH, GLADSTONE and THOMAS 1900: 32.

<sup>31</sup> There is, of course, no evidence whatsoever that the palette fragment W216 was ever used for casting with the molding block W915, nor is this being argued for here.

<sup>32</sup> 16 May 1848–26 February 1937 (BIERBRIER 2012: 347).

<sup>33</sup> Collection records, Egypt Centre, Swansea University (C.A. GRAVES-BROWN [personal communication]).

<sup>34</sup> See note 13, *supra*.

Two columns of neatly inscribed hieroglyphic text flank a central depression that models the compartment for reed pens. The surviving text reads:



1 [*hṭp-dj-nsw*<sup>35</sup>] [ . . . ] [*Hr.w<sup>2</sup>-Hnt.y-ḥ.*] *ty nb 'Km-wr*<sup>36</sup> [ . . . ]

1 [An offering that the king gives to (?)] [ . . . ] [(Horus?)-Khenty-kh]ety, Lord of the 10th Lower Egyptian nome [ . . . ]

2 [*hṭp-dj-nsw*<sup>37</sup>] [ . . . ] [*Dḥw.ty*] *k3 m3<sup>c</sup>.t sr* [ . . . ]

2 [An offering that the king gives to (?)] [ . . . ] [Thoth], Bull of *Ma'et*,<sup>38</sup> Prince [ . . . ]

The writing of *nb km-wr* “Lord of the 10th Lower Egyptian nome”<sup>39</sup> is clear, with the preceding traces almost certainly from the name of [*Hr.w<sup>2</sup>-Hnt.y-ḥ.*] *ty*<sup>40</sup> “[Horus?)-Khenty-kh]ety,”<sup>41</sup> the chief deity of Athribis.<sup>42</sup> Although it is not uncommon for the god to continue appearing as an independent deity after the Middle Kingdom, from about the Twelfth Dynasty onwards, *Hnt.y-ḥ.ty* is most often synchronized with Horus,<sup>43</sup> as is probably the case here. A less likely option is to take this as a reference to *Wsjr-Hnt.y-ḥ.ty* “Osiris-Khenty-khety,”<sup>44</sup> who is attested from the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>35</sup> For comparable palettes that have parallel texts commencing with the *hṭp-dj-nsw* offering formula, cf. British Museum EA 5512, EA 12778, and EA 12779 (GLANVILLE 1932); Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 30.7.1 (HAYES 1937; HAYES 1938: pl. 1/2) and MMA 37.2.1 (HAYES 1959: 275); Hirriyat Raznah, al-Šarqīyah National Museum H735 (BAKR, BRANDL and KALLONIATIS 2014: 146–147, doc. 26).

<sup>36</sup> VERNUS 1978: 344–355; GOMAA 1987: 148–152; the name is sometimes read as *k3 km* (MONTET 1957: 119–122).

<sup>37</sup> See note 35.


<sup>38</sup> LEITZ 2002, VII: 257–258.

<sup>39</sup> LEITZ 2002, III: 765; see also VERNUS 1978, *passim*; VERNUS 1980. Vernus (1978: 351) notes (*contra* GAUTHIER 1928: 200–202) that from the Middle Kingdom onwards, the name — including forms written with a nome standard — may refer to either the 10th Lower Egyptian nome or to its capital city of Athribis, often interchanging within the same context.

<sup>40</sup> For the orthographic development of this name, see VERNUS 1978: 367–372.

<sup>41</sup> Greek Ἀρκεντεχθαι (LEITZ 2002, V: 279).

<sup>42</sup> VERNUS 1972; VERNUS 1978, *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> For example, cf.  *Hr.w-Hnt.y-ḥ.ty nb Km-wr* “Horus-Khenty-khety, Lord of Athribis” (Victory Stela of Piye [Cairo JE 48862, line 109 (GRIMAL 1981: 40\*, line 7; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 347, line 109)]). For discussion, see VERNUS 1978: 386–391.

<sup>44</sup> VERNUS 1978: 419–424.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. statue Firenze 1510 (VERNUS 1978: 26–28, doc. 27, line 1).

*K3 m3<sup>c</sup>.t* “Bull of *Ma<sup>c</sup>et*” is the name of a god who rides in the solar barque as it travels through the Netherworld,<sup>46</sup> but the term is also used as a divine epithet, often for Osiris or Horus, Lord of Mesen.<sup>47</sup> Most often, however, it is associated with Thoth,<sup>48</sup> which is the case here; the <sup>ⲓ</sup> standard that precedes this epithet on the palette is for <sup>ⲓ</sup> *Dḥw.ty* “Thoth,” but with the ibis now almost wholly destroyed save for traces of one foot.

Immediately after *k3 m3<sup>c</sup>.t* “Bull of *Ma<sup>c</sup>et*” is the word *sr* “prince; official,” followed by a break. Thoth is described as a *sr* in Pyramid Text 698C,<sup>49</sup> so such a usage would perhaps not be unusual here despite the difference in time. However, the *lacuna* may have held an extended epithet beginning with *sr*,<sup>50</sup> most probably *sr* + TOPONYM,<sup>51</sup> or something comparable to *sr ntr.w* “Prince of the Gods,” an epithet of Osiris-Iah-Thoth used in a text from the reign of Ptolemaios XII Neos Dionysos at Biḡah.<sup>52</sup>

Although it is not possible to date the palette precisely, the palaeography of the incised hieroglyphic text strongly resembles cursive hieroglyphic forms on Nineteenth Dynasty Ramesside funerary papyri. For example, all hieroglyphs present on the palette can be matched closely with nearly identical forms on the Nineteenth Dynasty *Book of the Dead* belonging to the Chief Taxing-master [*3 n šf*] and Overseer of the House [*jm.y-r3 pr*] Sutekh-nakht.<sup>53</sup>

## Egypt Centre EC2018

Egypt Centre EC2018 (Fig. 5). Provenance: al-Ašmūnayn (ancient Hermopolis); 95 × 65 × 16 mm. This object is the upper portion of a glazed composition model scribal palette; serrations on the bottom edge indicate that the upper part of the palette was purposefully sawn off.<sup>54</sup>

A rectangular perimeter frame, surmounted by a *p.t*-sign and flanked by two *w3s*-scepters, surrounds the scene. This is located above two pigment wells,

<sup>46</sup> E.g., HORNUNG 1963 and 1967: 1:10 no. 48, 69 no. 297, 85 no. 362, etc.; see also LEITZ 2002, VII: 257–258.

<sup>47</sup> LEITZ 2002, VII: 258.

<sup>48</sup> KESSLER 1995: 237–239; LEITZ 2002, VII: 258; For other aspects of Thoth as a bull, see especially KESSLER 1995.

<sup>49</sup> P/V/E 64 Pepi I (BERGER-EL NAGGAR, LECLANT, MATHIEU and PIERRE-CROISIAU 2001: 186, 320 fig. 47 = ALLEN 2015: 196).


<sup>50</sup> For which, see LEITZ 2002, VI: 414–423.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *sr-Dp* “Prince of Dep” for Osiris (pGreenfield [British Museum EA10554] [WALLIS BUDGE 1912: pl. 86, col. 4,18; LEITZ 2002, VI: 422]).



<sup>52</sup> BLACKMAN 1915: 27; LEITZ 2002, VI: 419–420.


<sup>53</sup> Papyrus Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 35.9.19 (PIANKOFF 1974: pls 36–40).

<sup>54</sup> As with the majority of the Egypt Centre’s collection, this object was probably acquired by Henry Wellcome (C.A. GRAVES-BROWN [personal communication]).


each encircled by a *šn*-sign<sup>55</sup>; only traces of the lower pigment well survives. On the left-hand side of the scene the god Thoth is depicted wearing a divine-kilt and carrying an *nh* and *w3s*-scepter. Above the god's head is the text  *nb Hmn.w dj nh* “Lord of al-Ašmūnayn,<sup>56</sup> given life.”

On the right-hand side of the scene is (presumably) the palette's owner or dedicant wearing a simple kilt. He is depicted with one hand on his shoulder, while his other arm is extended downwards, holding a thin, rectangular object, most probably either a scribal palette or a papyrus roll. Immediately in front of this individual is a column of text giving his occupational title:

 *sh3.w-s{r}<t>n pr-3* “document<sup>57</sup> scribe of Pharaoh.” The *.t* in *s{r}.t* is written as an *r*, perhaps as the result of interference from poorly written cursive hieroglyphs or hieratic.<sup>58</sup> The personal name of the man is located directly above his head, reading  *P3(y)ef-t3w-(.wy)-3s.t*<sup>59</sup> “Pa(y)-ef-tjaw<sup>60</sup>-a(wy)-Iset.” Although *t3w* is not clearly written (see Fig. 5), the reading is secure on the basis of the other elements of the name.<sup>60</sup>

The central figure is that of a king wearing a *nms*-cloth and a New Kingdom-style kilt with a flared apron; both arms are hanging down, at his side. A single column of text before the king reads  *dw3 ntr sp-3* “adoring god, three times” [*sic*]. Although the strokes for “3” are clear, this is an error (or a spatially determined “abbreviation”) for the expected phrase *sp-4* “four times,”<sup>61</sup> referring to the king making adorations to the god in all four cardinal directions.<sup>62</sup>

Above the king are a series of rather ill-defined hieroglyphs — including a name in a cartouche — albeit they can be read with some degree of confidence.

The first group is probably  *ntr nfr* “(the) ‘perfect’ god,” emphasizing the king's divine legitimization.<sup>63</sup> The *nfr* is particularly poorly formed, calling to

<sup>55</sup> CASHMAN (2015: 617–618) notes that *šn*-rings encircling the pigment well are first attested during the reign of Thutmose III, and that they emphasize a connection with the king, even if only in the abstract sense of “acting on behalf of the king and enjoying royal favour.”

<sup>56</sup> LEITZ 2002, III: 716–717.

<sup>57</sup> Probably specifically letters (SCHOTT 1990: no. 1611).

<sup>58</sup> MÖLLER 1936: nos. 91 and 575; VERHOEVEN 2001: D21 and X1. The use of *t* to write *r* is also encountered in Third Intermediate Period texts (JANSEN-WINKELN 1996: 30, § 42).



<sup>59</sup> For the writing of the dual *.wy* with a single arm, see RANKE 1935: 127/23–128/6; JANSEN-WINKELN 1996: 94, § 147.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. RANKE 1935: 127/23; generally 127/23–128/6.

<sup>61</sup> The phrase *dw3 ntr sp-4* “adoring god, four times” commonly appears on funerary stelae (e.g., Berlin, stela ÄMP 7287 [SIMPSON 1974: ANOC 65.4]; New York, stela MMA 21.2.69 [HAYES 1953: 346, fig. 227]; Burnley, stela Towneley Hall Museum 100 [LEAHY 1981: 29, 30]; cf. Cairo stela JdE 39755 [FRANKE 2003: 101]), as well as Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions (see generally LABRIQUE 1992: 213–220, *passim*, pl. 15).

<sup>62</sup> LABRIQUE 1992: 218, as well as 102 note 477; see also DE WIT 1957: 34.

<sup>63</sup> For this epithet, see below, page 397, including note 108.

mind a *st*-throne, but the context in front of a royal cartouche makes this reading clear. Following this is a vertical cartouche with three hieroglyphs. The first is evidently a bird, followed by an *m*-owl, and then a horizontal sign. On the basis of a broad Third Intermediate Period or Late Period date owing to the name of the owner of the palette being Pay-ef-tjaw-*ʿ*awy-Iset (which is typical for the onomastica of these periods<sup>64</sup>), the only royal name of the period<sup>65</sup> that fits the signs is  *Dḥw.ty-m-ḥ3.t* “Djeḥuty-em-ḥat”; indeed, although the first and third signs in his name are not entirely distinct, the overall tenor of the marks fit admirably.<sup>66</sup> Following the cartouche is the phrase . Thus, the entire text above the king’s head can be read *ntr nfr Dḥw.ty-m-ḥ3.t dj nḥ* “(the) ‘perfect’ god, Djeḥuty-em-ḥat, given life.”

Djeḥuty-em-ḥat was a local king at al-Ašmūnayn,<sup>67</sup> and is attested on three other documents. The first, a stamp seal in the form of a miniature bronze shrine containing a bronze statue of Amun,<sup>68</sup> is notable for providing the king’s Horus name (*Hr.w ḥ<sup>c</sup>-m-Wn.t* “Horus: appearing in the 15th Upper Egyptian nome); it was obtained by the British Museum in 1836 from the Giovanni Anastasi collection.<sup>69</sup> The second is a reused Twelfth Dynasty statue formerly in the Mallawī museum,<sup>70</sup> but now lost; it was discovered at *ʿ*Izbat al-Idārah, the north-western part of Tall al-Ašmūnayn.<sup>71</sup> The third attestation occurs on the shoulders of a *Würfelhocker* of a private individual named *T3-n-Ḥsr.t*, purchased in Luxor, *circa* 1908; besides the king’s two cartouches, the statue is also inscribed with a genealogical stemma centred around Thebes.<sup>72</sup>

Unlike these previously recognized documents, Egypt Centre palette EC2018 provides the only attested representation of Djeḥuty-em-ḥat. His depiction in a royal kilt and wearing a *nms*-cloth and uraeus, as well as the presence of part of his titulary, makes clear that Djeḥuty-em-ḥat was truly a king, albeit a highly

<sup>64</sup> See note 60.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. BONHÈME 1987; VON BECKERATH 1999: 178–231, *passim*.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. WILD 1972: 213, fig. 1; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 367; MOJE 2014: 404, fig. 164.

<sup>67</sup> For whom, see BONHÈME 1987: 218–220; KITCHEN [1996]: 371, § 331; PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 86–88, § 5.3.1, 91–92, § 5.3.5; MEFFRE 2015: 352–353, § 7.1.2; and especially MOJE 2014: 25–26, 203–204, 402–404, [Hrm/02].

<sup>68</sup> British Museum EA 11015 (SPENCER and SPENCER 1986: 198–199; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 367, doc. 37.1; MOJE 2014: 402–403, doc. Hrm/02/MRe/01; MEFFRE 2015: 140–141, doc. 54; see also BONHÈME 1987: 219–220).

<sup>69</sup> SPENCER and SPENCER 1986: 199.

<sup>70</sup> WILD 1972: 209.

<sup>71</sup> Generally, see WILD 1972, as well as JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 367, doc. 37.2; MOJE 2014: 403–404, doc. Hrm/02/MRe/02; MEFFRE 2015: 139–140, doc. 53.

<sup>72</sup> Cairo CG 42212 (LEGRAIN 1909; LEGRAIN 1914: 32–33; WILD 1972: 214, fig. 2; BIERBRIER 1975: 83–85; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 367–368, doc. 37.3; BECKER 2012: 159, 316–317, doc. G16; MOJE 2014: 404, doc. Hrm/02/Bev/01; MEFFRE 2015: 141–142, doc. 55; see also BRANDL 2008, I: 127–128; BRANDL 2008, 2: plate 57a, doc. O-5.2.14; PAYRAUDEAU 2014, II: 500, 581). This statue and its stemma is discussed further below.

localized one, rather than (for example) a local governor who may have utilized a cartouche, or a “national” pharaoh based at Napata or Tanis.<sup>73</sup> The title of Pay-ef-tjaw-ʿawy-Iset, the palette’s dedicant — *sh3.w-š{r}⟨.t⟩ n pr-ʿ3* “document scribe of Pharaoh” — similarly points in this direction.<sup>74</sup> Further, Pay-ef-tjaw-ʿawy-Iset stands before the deity, preceded by Djehuty-em-ḥat. The king acts (*i.e.* performing *dw3 ntr sp-[4]*) on behalf of Pay-ef-tjaw-ʿawy-Iset, parallel to rulers offering land donations on behalf of private individuals on donation stelae; even if a ruler’s domain was quite limited, for cultic and religious purposes he acts as if he were king of all Egypt.<sup>75</sup>

The chronological position of Djehuty-em-ḥat is challenging to establish with certainty, but the palette may help refine it somewhat. Following the death of Osorkon III of the Twenty-third Dynasty,<sup>76</sup> Osorkon’s coregent and son, Takelot III, ascended to the throne over Middle and Upper Egypt, ruling independently for about eight years.<sup>77</sup> At Takelot’s death, the Twenty-third Dynasty evidently fractured between his (half-?) brother Rud-Amun, who seems to have been based in the Thebaid,<sup>78</sup> and Rud-Amun’s son-in-law, Pay-ef-tjaw-ʿawy-Bastet, based at the dynastic “home” of *Ihnāsīyā al-Madīnah*.<sup>79</sup> This split may have occurred slightly later, during the reign of the Theban king Iny II<sup>80</sup> (a son of Rud-Amun?).<sup>81</sup> At some point before the Kushite invasion of Egypt during Regnal Year 20 of Piye (*circa* 734/733 BC),<sup>82</sup> another dynasty — perhaps another collateral branch of the Twenty-third Dynasty royal family? — was in place at al-Ašmūnayn under King Nimlot D,<sup>83</sup> whose chief wife was

<sup>73</sup> In MOJE’s (2014) terminology, *Lokalregenten* as opposed to *dynastischen Königen*.

<sup>74</sup> For extensive discussion of this, see MOJE 2014: particularly 104–110, § 2.3.

<sup>75</sup> MOJE 2014: 140–146, §§ 3.2–3.4.

<sup>76</sup> ASTON (2009: 24–26) argues this was minimally *circa* 777/775 BC or as late as *circa* 766/761 BC.

<sup>77</sup> The highest attested date for Takelot III is Regnal Year 13 (KAPER and DEMARÉE 2005), which includes the five years of coregency with his father (PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 84–86, § 5.2); see also MEFFRE 2015: 327–329, § 6.2.

<sup>78</sup> KITCHEN [1996]: 360, § 322; PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 86–88, § 5.3.1; MEFFRE 2015: 328–330, §§ 6.2–6.3; see also BONHÈME 1987: 200–203; FUJII 1995; PERDU 2002.

<sup>79</sup> MOJE 2014: 197, 378–382, [Her/09]; PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 88–89, § 5.3.3; MEFFRE 2015: 353–359, § 7.2; see also BONHÈME 1987: 200–203.

<sup>80</sup> JACQUET-GORDON 1979; YOYOTTE 1989; JACQUET-GORDON 2003: 55–56, doc. 146; KITCHEN 2009: 189, § 70; PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 89–90, § 5.3.4. See also VON BECKERATH 1979, *passim*.

<sup>81</sup> KITCHEN (2009: 189, § 70) would place Iny’s five years of rule at Thebes to the period after Piye’s return to Kush but before Shabaqo’s invasion during his Regnal Year 2 (however, see below). PAYRAUDEAU (2014, I: 86–88, § 5.3.1) likewise adopts this view, and further notes that bricks stamped with the name of Iny discovered at Elephantine argue that the king’s authority was recognized throughout Upper Egypt, extending at least as far north as Abydos; for these bricks, see RAUE, ARNOLD, KOPP and VON PILGRIM 2011: 194–195, pl. 13.

<sup>82</sup> JANSEN-WINKELN 2006: 262, note 190.

<sup>83</sup> KITCHEN [1996]: 352, § 313, 364, § 325; KITCHEN 2009: 189, § 70; MOJE 2014: 25, 129–132, 202–203, 400–402, [Hrm/01]; PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 91–92, § 5.3.5; MEFFRE 2015: 348–352, § 7.1.1.

Nes-ta-net-Meḥu,<sup>84</sup> the daughter of an unidentified king.<sup>85</sup> Such is the political situation in Upper and Middle Egypt at the establishment of Kushite rule.

At the other end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the political situation is likewise confused. In addition to the Kushite kings Taharqo and his follower, Tanwetamani, the Neo-Assyrian rulers Aššur-aḥḥe-iddina (Esarhaddon) and Aššur-bāni-apli (Ashurbanipal) recognized several other “kings” (Sumerian LUGAL; Akkadian *šarru*<sup>86</sup>). Some of these clearly were installed by the Assyrian rulers, while others (e.g. Montu-em-ḥat,<sup>87</sup> the governor of Thebes [*ḥ3.ty-<sup>c</sup> n Njw.t*] and Overseer of Upper Egypt [*jm.y-r3 Šm<sup>c</sup>.w*]<sup>88</sup>) were probably already in place under the Kushite regime. The Assyrians may have been merely recognizing the *Realpolitik* of Upper Egypt before the eventual fall of Thebes in 663 BC,<sup>89</sup> including areas over which they did not have direct control. In terms of al-Ašmūnayn, Aššur-bāni-apli, on the list given on the later Prism A,<sup>90</sup> indicates its ruler was <sup>1</sup>*la-mi-in-tu šarr uruḥi-mu-ni*<sup>91</sup> “Nimlot E, ‘king’ of Ḥimuni [al-Ašmūnayn],” perhaps a grandson of Nimlot D.<sup>92</sup>

As there are no known absolutely-dated texts naming Djehuty-em-ḥat, it is impossible to suggest more than a relative chronological framework for his reign, but with no clear consensus. KITCHEN argues that he succeeded Nimlot D “very soon” after Piye’s campaign, but also concedes that “whether he was in fact the predecessor or the actual successor of Nimlot remains uncertain.”<sup>93</sup> He also identified Djehuty-em-ḥat’s possible immediate successor as “Menkheperre

<sup>84</sup> *Apud* KITCHEN [1996]: 357, § 319, note 658; RITNER 2009: 482, 491, note 13.

<sup>85</sup> She is described as a *s3.t nsw* on the Victory (see n. 43) Stela of Piye (Cairo JdE 48862, line 34 [GRIMAL 1981: 18\*:13; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 341]). PAYRAUDEAU (2014, I: 130–132, § 7.3.3) argues she is the daughter of Rud-Amun, whom the king used to maintain a strategic alliance with Middle Egypt. While certainly possible, there is no definitive evidence to bolster this contention.

<sup>86</sup> REINER 1992: 17/2: 111 [meaning 2c]; PARPOLA and WHITING 2007: 113; for discussion of the term, see SEUX 1980–1983: 141 A, § 2.

<sup>87</sup> For whom, see LECLANT 1961. He is listed in Prism A i 109 as <sup>1</sup>*ma-an-ti-me-an-eh-e šarr uruḥi-i* (BORGER and FUCHS 1996: 21; see also ONASCH 1994, I: 36, 57, 118–119, II: 111); *šarr* is the genitive form of *šarru*, written in the text with the Sumerogram LUGAL.

<sup>88</sup> For example, see LECLANT 1961: 197, doc. 44, line 1; JANSEN-WINKELN 2009: 192, doc. 25.48.142, line 1; RITNER 2009: 558, 559, line 1.

<sup>89</sup> SPALINGER 1974: 295; GRAYSON 1980: 231; ONASCH 1994, I: 36; KITCHEN [1996]: 394–395, § 355; VERRETH 1999: 235, note 6; KAHN 2006: 264.

<sup>90</sup> Neither Nimlot E, nor any other ruler of al-Ašmūnayn, is mentioned in the text of the earlier Prism C (BORGER and FUCHS 1996: 21), which lists only six, delta-based rulers (C ii 85–90 [ONASCH 1994, I: 118–119, II: 106–111; BORGER and FUCHS 1996: 20]). VERRETH (1999: 234) writes that “the elaborate list of Prism A is probably a combination of the list of kings appointed by Esarhaddon in 671 and another list of kings appointed by Assurbanipal after the revolt of 667.”

<sup>91</sup> A i 107 (BORGER and FUCHS 1996: 21; see also ONASCH 1994, I: 36, 56, 118–119, II: 111; MOJE 2014: 26, 405, [Hrm/04]).

<sup>92</sup> On the whole, Libyan rulers made use of the principle of paponymy (also known as “avonymy” [VAN LANGENDONCK 2007: 275]), naming sons after grandfathers, rather than patronymy, naming sons after fathers.

<sup>93</sup> KITCHEN [1996]: 371, § 331.



‘Khmun’y,’ citing stela Louvre C100.<sup>94</sup> Following VON BECKERATH,<sup>95</sup> KITCHEN later “corrected” this name to “Piye,”<sup>96</sup> but it is now known that stela Louvre C100 in fact refers to Iny II,<sup>97</sup> a point now accepted by KITCHEN.<sup>98</sup>

Despite this earlier hesitation, KITCHEN still advocates his initial view that Djehuty-em-ḥat was the successor of Nimlot D, dating him to *circa* 725–720 BC.<sup>99</sup> He also contends that Djehuty-em-ḥat was himself succeeded by Iny II,<sup>100</sup> arguing that the latter king was based initially at al-Ašmūnayn and later attempted to foster his recognition at Thebes following Piye’s departure from Egypt, but prior to Shabaqo’s invasion. However, there does not seem to be any particular reason to associate Iny with al-Ašmūnayn directly, making this proposal unlikely.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, J. MOJE’s fundamental study of *Lokalregenten* during the Third Intermediate and Late Periods presents Djehuty-em-ḥat as the successor of Nimlot D, and followed in turn by Nimlot E.<sup>102</sup>

Conversely, while admitting that Djehuty-em-ḥat’s reign “floats” somewhere between those of Rud-Amun and Shabaqo, PAYRAUDEAU argues that the king is probably to be regarded as the predecessor of Nimlot D, rather than his successor.<sup>103</sup> He bases this argument on the genealogical text of statue Cairo CG 42212,<sup>104</sup> which was written during the reign of Djehuty-em-ḥat — and who is named on the statue — and evidently dedicated at least a generation after the coregency of Osorkon III and Takelot III (and thus also after the reign of Rud-Amun<sup>105</sup>) by the God’s Servant of Amun in Karnak (*ḥm-ntr m Jmn m jp.t-s.wt*), Tja-en-Ḥesret, a descendant of the Fourth God’s Servant of Amun, Nakht-ef-Mut B. PAYRAUDEAU interprets this as evidence for a brief recognition of Djehuty-em-ḥat’s authority at Thebes, *contra* Nimlot D, for whom PAYRAUDEAU sees no direct link with Thebes.

In this latter view, he is probably mistaken, as Nimlot is named on a reused Third Dynasty stone vessel,<sup>106</sup> along with the Theban-based Divine Adoratrice

<sup>94</sup> KITCHEN [1996]: 371, § 331; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 382–383, doc. 42.2.

<sup>95</sup> VON BECKERATH 1979: 10, § 3.

<sup>96</sup> KITCHEN [1996]: 582, § 525.

<sup>97</sup> YOYOTTE 1989; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 382–383, doc. 42.2.

<sup>98</sup> KITCHEN 2009: 189, § 70.

<sup>99</sup> KITCHEN 2009: 189, § 70.

<sup>100</sup> See note 80, *supra*.

<sup>101</sup> As noted above (note 81), a series of bricks stamped with the name of Iny II discovered at Elephantine (RAUE, et al. 2011: 194–195, pl. 13) indicates that his rule was far more broadly based than merely at Thebes, even without the inclusion of al-Ašmūnayn as part of his territory.

<sup>102</sup> MOJE 2014: 51, 201–204.

<sup>103</sup> PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 91–92, § 5.3.5.

<sup>104</sup> For which, see note 72, *supra*.

<sup>105</sup> BRANDL (2008, 1: 127–128) dates the statue to the late Third Intermediate Period; see note 128, *infra*.

<sup>106</sup> Roma, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco MB 277 (FANFONI 1987; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 366, doc. 36.1; MOJE 2014: 402, doc. Hrm/01/MRe/02; MEFFRE 2015: 137–139, doc. 52). For the Early Dynastic date of the stone vessel itself, see MEFFRE 2015: 137, doc. 52.

(*dw3.t-ntr*), Shep-en-wepet I, daughter of Osorkon III, and her adopted heir, the Hand of God (*dr.t-ntr*), Amen-ir-di-es I, daughter of Kashta. PAYRAUDEAU (following FANFONI 1987) regards a text inscribed on the vessel as *ntr nfr Rmrt* [*sic*] *m3'-hrw*, “the Perfect God, [N]imlot, true of voice,” as posthumous, and therefore not evidence for a connection between Thebes and al-Ašmūnayn during Nimlot’s lifetime. There are two objections to this. Firstly, the term *m3'-hrw* “true of voice” was widely used for living individuals during the Third Intermediate Period, and is therefore not a valid criterion.<sup>107</sup> Secondly, and more decisively, *ntr nfr* “the Perfect God” was applied to *living* kings as a characterization of their cultic legitimacy as divine sovereigns.<sup>108</sup> Thus, there is no reason to doubt the text of this vase was inscribed during Nimlot D’s lifetime — which is not surprising, given his capitulation to Piye and probable desire to ingratiate himself with the Kushite regime — and consequently it does not serve as indirect evidence for Djehuty-em-ḥat proceeding Nimlot D at al-Ašmūnayn.<sup>109</sup> It does, however, provide evidence to support the notion that Nimlot D’s rule continued for at least a short period of time following Piye’s campaign.

The difficulties concerning the placement of Djehuty-em-ḥat’s reign within the relative chronology are likewise recognized by MEFFRE.<sup>110</sup> While acknowledging that others have argued for the reverse,<sup>111</sup> she suggests that Djehuty-em-ḥat’s rule briefly preceeded that of Nimlot D. She reaches this conclusion based on the genealogical data from statue Cairo CG 42212,<sup>112</sup> which is held to be a generation or two after the coregency of Osorkon III and Talelot III.<sup>113</sup>

One aspect of the available evidence that suggests the reign of Djehuty-em-ḥat was after that of Nimlot D is the use of a simple, non-“imperial” form of titulary — *Nfr-hpr-R' Dhwt.y-m-ḥ3.t*.<sup>114</sup> This form tends towards “archaizing”

<sup>107</sup> As an example, cf. Karnak Priestly Annals Fragment 4B (KRUCHTEN 1989: 49–50, pls 3, 18; JANSEN-WINKELN 2007: 36, doc. 12.46), which is dated to Regnal Year 2 of Shoshenq I, and who is labelled with *m3'-hrw*; the king enjoyed a reign of at least twenty-one years.

<sup>108</sup> For discussion, see STOCK 1951; as well as PRESSL 1993: 226–227; TÖRÖK 1997: 273–274. MOJE (2014: 46–54, § 1.2.4, *passim*) emphasizes that the cultic legitimization indicated by *ntr nfr* is often paralleled by the use of *nb t3.wy* “Lord of the Two Lands,” signifying a king’s temporal legitimization.

<sup>109</sup> It should be noted, however, that PAYRAUDEAU (2014, I: 91–92, § 5.3.5) does not completely rule out the reverse, but rather on balance, he regards Djehuty-em-ḥat as being the earlier of the two kings.

<sup>110</sup> In particular, see MEFFRE 2015: 348–353, § 7.1.

<sup>111</sup> MEFFRE 2015: 253, § 1.2.3, note 625.

<sup>112</sup> For which, see note 72, *supra*.

<sup>113</sup> See also WILD 1972: 215.

<sup>114</sup> Recorded on statue Cairo CG 42212 (note 72, *supra*) and partially on the reused Middle Kingdom statue (note 71, *supra*); see also BONHÈME 1987: 220–221; VON BECKERATH 1999: 204–205.

pre-New Kingdom standards,<sup>115</sup> rather than the complex, Ramesside-inspired “Imperial”-style favored by earlier Libyan rulers,<sup>116</sup> such as (for example) Osorkon III,<sup>117</sup> Talelot III,<sup>118</sup> and Rud-Amun,<sup>119</sup> although simple, archaizing titularies were already in use on occasion by these three rulers.<sup>120</sup> Temporally closer to Djehuty-em-ḥat is Pay-ef-tjaw-‘awy-Bastet of Ihnāsīyā al-Madīnah — historically known to be contemporary with Nimlot D<sup>121</sup> and Piye — whose titulary *Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> P3(y)-f-t3w-(.wy)-B3s.t.t*<sup>122</sup> is likewise archaizing, as is that of Iny II.<sup>123</sup> With the probable exception of Iny II, all of these kings with archaizing titularies are contemporaneous with, or following, Piye, and it is credible that such archaizing tendencies entered into Egypt under Kushite rule.<sup>124</sup> If so, Djehuty-em-ḥat would similarly fall into such a chronological position.

Another piece of evidence pointing to a relatively later date for Djehuty-em-ḥat’s rule is statue Cairo CG 42212,<sup>125</sup> on which the king is named. As noted above, several scholars<sup>126</sup> have argued that the statue is to be dated within a generation or two of Osorkon III and Takelot III as the supposed dedicant of the statue, the God’s Servant of Amun in Karnak (*ḥm-ntr m Jmn m jp.t-s.wt*), Tja-en-Ḥesret, was a descendant of the Fourth God’s Servant of Amun, Nakht-ef-Mut B, who is known from other evidence to date to the reigns of Osorkon III

<sup>115</sup> It might even be suggested that Djehuty-em-ḥat’s *nomen* was inspired by the names of some of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty nomarchs of the 15th Upper Egyptian nome, namely “Djehuty-nakht” and “Djehuty-ḥotep” (WILLEMS 1984: 102; WILLEMS 1988: 71). Alternatively, it might have been composed following the general format of the titularies of the Twelfth Dynasty kings named Amen-em-ḥat, only recast in a form honoring Thoth, the chief deity of the nome. On archaism generally, see (among many others) DER MANUELIAN 1994; JOSEPHSON 2001; MORKOT 2003; TIRADRITTI 2008; KAHL 2010; MORKOT 2014; JURMAN 2015.

<sup>116</sup> BONHÊME 1987: 114, 135, 139, 237, 272–273; KITCHEN [1996]: 313–314, § 271, 334, § 295, 349, § 309; see also BECKER 2012: 37–55.

<sup>117</sup> *Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> Wsrkn s3-3s.t mr.y-Jmn* (BONHÊME 1987: 170–176; KITCHEN [1996]: 349, § 309; VON BECKERATH 1999: 194–195).

<sup>118</sup> *Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> Tkl t s3-3s.t mr.y-Jmn* (BONHÊME 1987: 188–192; VON BECKERATH 1999: 194–195).

<sup>119</sup> *Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-Jmn Rwd-Jmn mr.y-Jmn* (BONHÊME 1987: 200–203; VON BECKERATH 1999: 196–197).

<sup>120</sup> JURMAN 2006; 2015: 193 (as well as 191–193 generally).

<sup>121</sup> Unfortunately, the *praenomen* of Nimlot D is not attested as of yet.

<sup>122</sup> BONHÊME 1987: 216–218; VON BECKERATH 1999: 204–205.

<sup>123</sup> *Mn-ḥpr-R<sup>c</sup> Jn.y* (YOYOTTE 1989; VON BECKERATH 1999: 196–197; JACQUET-GORDON 2003).

<sup>124</sup> TÖRÖK 1997: 198–201, 207–208; TÖRÖK 2002: 339–342; however, see now JURMAN 2015. Possible exceptions to this trend are the titularies the delta-based kings who capitulated to Piye, Iput II (*Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-Jmn Jwpt mr.y-Jmn s3 B3s.t.t* [BONHÊME 1987: 213–216; VON BECKERATH 1999: 204–205; DODSON 2012: 208]) and Osorkon IV (*Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup> Wsrknw* [DODSON 2014]), albeit the latter king’s titulary is simplified in comparison to Ramesside models.

<sup>125</sup> See note 72, *supra*.

<sup>126</sup> WILD 1972: 214–215; KITCHEN [1996]: 222–224, §§ 187, 189; PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 91–92, § 5.3.5; MEFFRE 2015: 348–353, § 7.1.

and Takelot III.<sup>127</sup> However, on art historical grounds, BRANDL notes features such as a smooth wig, outstretched hands on both sides, and text without borderlines, are indicative of a date in the late Third Intermediate Period.<sup>128</sup>

This seemingly contradictory evidence — genealogical *versus* art historical dates — is perhaps misleading. The tendency has been to take the statue — which clearly *is* to be associated with the reign of Djehuty-em-ḥat — as having been dedicated by Tja-en-ḥesret on the grounds that his name is evidently the latest, and last, of the genealogical stemma. However, BIERBRIER emphasizes that the stemma is, in fact, quite broken, with *lacunae* at the beginning, and also, perhaps, at the end. Consequently “it is not at all certain that this statue represents Tjanhesret,” and that it may have listed his descendants, “one of whom might have been the true owner of this statue.”<sup>129</sup> If Tja-en-Ḥesret was not the statue’s dedicant, there is no reason to assume he was a contemporary of Djehuty-em-ḥat. With this caveat in mind, a slightly later art historical date for both the statue and the king, perhaps as late as the mid-Twenty-fifth Dynasty, is not to be ruled out on purely genealogical grounds.

Returning to the king’s representation on scribal palette EC2018, it is notable that his proportions, as well as those of Pay-ef-tjaw-‘awy-Iset, are based on the eighteen-square compositional grid, with the shoulders being about five and a quarter squares wide.<sup>130</sup> This gives the over-all build of the figures one of gracileness, reflecting Ramesside sensibilities.<sup>131</sup> Conversely, early Kushite<sup>132</sup> representations tend to have a stockier build, with wider shoulders, inspired by Old and Middle Kingdom models.<sup>133</sup> However, this tendency in Kushite art seems to have been preceded initially by the works of Libyan rulers from the delta, at the time of the Kushite invasions, who had access to artistic models from the Memphite region. For example, the archaistic representation of the delta-based king, Iuput II, found on a glazed composition plaque in the Brooklyn Museum (Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund 59.17),<sup>134</sup> has a shoulder width of

<sup>127</sup> BIERBRIER 1975: 83–85; KITCHEN [1996]: 222–224, §§ 187, 189; PAYRAUDEAU 2014, I: 141–144, § 8.2.1, II: 500, no. 136.

<sup>128</sup> BRANDL 2008, 1: 127–128.

<sup>129</sup> BIERBRIER 1975: 84. See also the pertinent comments of BECKER 2012: 159, as well as 316–317, doc. G16.

<sup>130</sup> IVERSEN 1975: pls 13, 14; DAVIS 1989: 12, fig. 2.4, 20–22; ROBINS 1992; ROBINS 1994: 160–169.

<sup>131</sup> ROBINS 1992: 537; MORKOT 2014: 379; see also note 1.

<sup>132</sup> RUSSMANN 1974: 22–24; FAZZINI 1988. These tendencies are already detected in Libyan art at the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty (JURMAN 2009: 129–132), as well as the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (notably a glazed composition vase from Tarquinia [Museo Archeologico Nazionale Tarquiniense] mentioning Bak-en-ren-ef [MORET 1903: fig. 1; RIDGWAY 1999: 144, fig. 1b]).

<sup>133</sup> See generally RUSSMANN 1974: 22–24; MORKOT 2003; PISCHIKOVA 2008: 83–84. At the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Kushite art seems to have made use of a twenty-one square grid, which carried on into the Late Period (IVERSEN 1975: pls 27, 28; BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982: 230–231; ROBINS 1992: 537; ROBINS 1994: 160–164).

<sup>134</sup> FAZZINI, ROMANO and CODY 1999: 121 no. 71.

six and a quarter squares, with a very low waistline, broad shoulders, long torso, and heavily muscled legs, probably drawing upon Early Dynastic (*viz.*, Djoser<sup>135</sup>) and Old Kingdom approaches to art.<sup>136</sup>

Given that Djehuty-em-ḥat is not mentioned by Aššur-bāni-apli at the time of his first invasion of Egypt in 667 BC, he probably lived before Nimlot E (who appears in the Prism A list of *šarru*).<sup>137</sup> The iconography of Djehuty-em-ḥat's representation on the scribal palette EC2018, which calls to mind Rameside art rather than archaizing models such as seen in representations of Iuput II, also suggests he lived during a period closer to Nimlot D than Nimlot E, before such artistic conventions were widely adopted in Upper Egypt. On balance of the evidence, it seems he was most probably contemporary with Shabaqo (*c.* 722–707 BC) and/or Shebitqo (*c.* 707–690 BC), rather than Taharqo (690–664 BC).<sup>138</sup> And, although direct evidence is lacking, it seems probable that Djehuty-em-ḥat was the son of Nimlot D and the father of Nimlot E, thus arguing he was of Libyan ancestry himself.

If this relative date for Djehuty-em-ḥat's period of rule is correct, it is significant that the Kushite rulers of Egypt in power after Piye's campaign were tolerant of local rulers to a certain degree,<sup>139</sup> provided they did not challenge Kushite hegemony.<sup>140</sup> This goes against the Kushite claims of political unity in Egypt.<sup>141</sup> There is little reason to doubt this was the case for Nimlot D, who is named with Amen-ir-di-es I, daughter of Kashta, on one known object,<sup>142</sup> and thus presumably after Piye's campaign. Another local king who may have reigned in Middle Egypt contemporaneously with the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is Pa-di-Nemti,<sup>143</sup> who is attested as ruling at Asyūṭ, later to be followed in Assyrian records by a Djed-ḥor,<sup>144</sup> a contemporary of Taharqo and Tanwetamani.

<sup>135</sup> See MORKOT 2003: 85–88, as well as BAINES and RIGGS 2001.

<sup>136</sup> ROBINS 1992: 537; MORKOT 2003: 85–88; JURMAN 2009: 129–130.

<sup>137</sup> See note 90, *supra*.

<sup>138</sup> Dates after HORNUNG, KRAUSS and WARBURTON 2006: 494, 496.

<sup>139</sup> The Twenty-second Dynasty king, Osorkon IV, who as “Šilkani, king of Egypt” (*šī-ilkani-šarru kur mu-ur-ri*, TADMOR 1958: 78), ruled at Tanis as late as 716 BC (WEIDNER 1941–1944; TADMOR 1958: 78), should also be considered in this light. See also DODSON 2014.

<sup>140</sup> Thus *cf.* Shabaqo's execution of Bak-en-ren-ef, the final ruler of rival the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, as recorded by Manethōn (WADDELL 1940: 166–169).

<sup>141</sup> *Cf.* stela Sūdān National Museum, al-Khartūm 1851 (Sandstone Stela of Piye, Regnal Year 3 [EIDE, HÄGG, PIERCE and TÖRÖK 1994: 55–62; RITNER 2009: 461–464]); see GOZZOLI 2006: 51–53.

<sup>142</sup> See note 106, *supra*.

<sup>143</sup> WEILL 1950; BONHÉME 1987: 226; LEAHY 1999; MOJE 2014: 405–406, Siu/01.

<sup>144</sup> Prism A i 106: *šī-ḥa-a šarru uru-ši-ia-a-tū* (BORGER and FUCHS 1996: 21; see also ONASCH 1994, I: 55, 118–119, II: 110; MOJE 2014: 406, Siu/02).

## Conclusion

CASHMAN has pointed out that inscribed model scribal palettes were evidently given by doubtlessly literate elite individuals to each other, “perhaps to honour or commemorate their relationship,”<sup>145</sup> or as part of gift exchanges between Egyptian officials and foreign dignitaries.<sup>146</sup> It might be wondered if palettes, such as the ones in the Egypt Centre, were publically displayed (perhaps in a temple context?) before their owners had died and were interred in their tombs. If so, in some ways this would parallel the practice of imperial Chinese scholars (who formed the core of the state bureaucracy). Throughout Chinese history, the “four treasures of the study” [文房四寶 *wénfáng sì bǎo*] — namely “brush” [筆 *bǐ*], “stick-ink” [墨 *mò*], “paper” [紙 *zhǐ*], and “ink-stone” [硯 *yàn*] — were emblematic of the cultured, educated elite, and therefore worthy for giving as gifts.<sup>147</sup> Highly ornate inkstones, used for grinding stick-ink and serving as palettes during the writing process, were particularly valued (and still are) by Chinese intellectuals. These were often made solely for ornamentation and display rather than functionality (some examples are well over a meter in length and are not readily moved due to their weight<sup>148</sup>), and both Chinese inkstones and Egyptian scribal palettes were exchanged as gifts but also included as part of mortuary assemblages upon the deaths of their owners.<sup>149</sup>

Of course Chinese inkstones are not ancient Egyptian scribal palettes, and there is no firm evidence for connoisseurship among the ancient Egyptian scribal class<sup>150</sup> as was practiced by Chinese *literati*. Nevertheless, such a comparison does at least suggest further possibilities for the interpretation of model palettes from Egypt. Although the three examples in the Egypt Centre of Swansea University are probably not to be judged as the aesthetically finest of their type, it could be that they were valued for more than merely being expected components in the burials of literate, elite Egyptians.

Although fragmentary, all three of these model scribal palettes from the Egypt Centre’s collection are individually interesting. Egypt Centre W216 not only adds to a corpus of such palettes that can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period, but it also demonstrates a noteworthy secondary usage as part of a mold.

<sup>145</sup> CASHMAN 2015: 622–623.

<sup>146</sup> CASHMAN 2015: 624–630.

<sup>147</sup> LAI 1976; ZHANG 2004. Additionally, such inkstones were often assembled into extensive collections by connoisseurs (*cf.* LI 1995: 287; LI and XŪ 2006).

<sup>148</sup> For examples, see LI and XŪ 2006, *passim*; SHANGHAI MUSEUM 2015, *passim*.

<sup>149</sup> WATT, ĀN, HOWARD, MARŠÁK, SŪ and ZHÀO 2004: 108.

<sup>150</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that PINARELLO 2015 goes to an extreme and regards any notion of a “scribal class” as an Egyptological phantom resulting from the “Orientalist” historical background of academic Egyptology.

Although palette W1328 is missing its top section, it is not unreasonable to propose that it also may have had a scene depicting an offering, similar to W216 and EC2018,<sup>151</sup> particularly if it is Ramesside in date.<sup>152</sup> As discussed above in the case of EC2018, the depiction of offerings being made to god(s) at least suggests that these particular palettes were intended more for a votive purpose than a funerary usage,<sup>153</sup> though perhaps it is possible to consider that both roles may have been intended.

Finally, EC2018, with its depiction of the late Third Intermediate Period king Djehuty-em-ḥat, significantly adds to a very limited body of evidence for regional rulers during the Kushite occupation of Egypt, and potentially helps clarify the relative chronology of the post-Twenty-third Dynasty rulers of al-Ašmūnayn.

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<sup>151</sup> Cf. palette British Museum EA 12778, which dates to the early Ramesside period as well; see note 15, *supra*.

<sup>152</sup> CASHMAN (2015: 625) points out that the depiction of offering scenes at the top of model scribal palettes is a Ramesside innovation.

<sup>153</sup> For an example of a palette being included in an inventory of a tomb at Dayr al-Madīnah during the reign of Ramesses III, see ostrakon Wien Aeg. 1:7 (ZONHOVEN 1979: 91). For the presence of functional scribal palettes as part of burial assemblages, see SMITH 1992, *passim*; PINARELLO 2015, *passim*.

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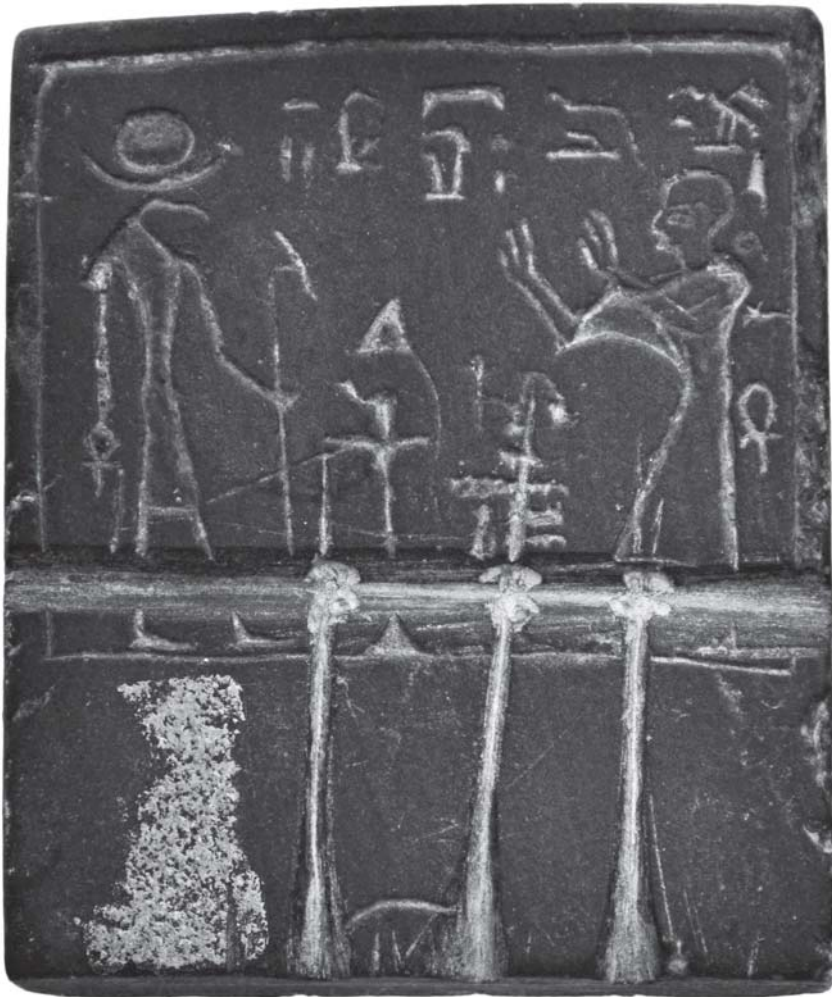


Fig 1. Egypt Centre W216, obverse  
(photograph: Troy Leiland Sagrillo).

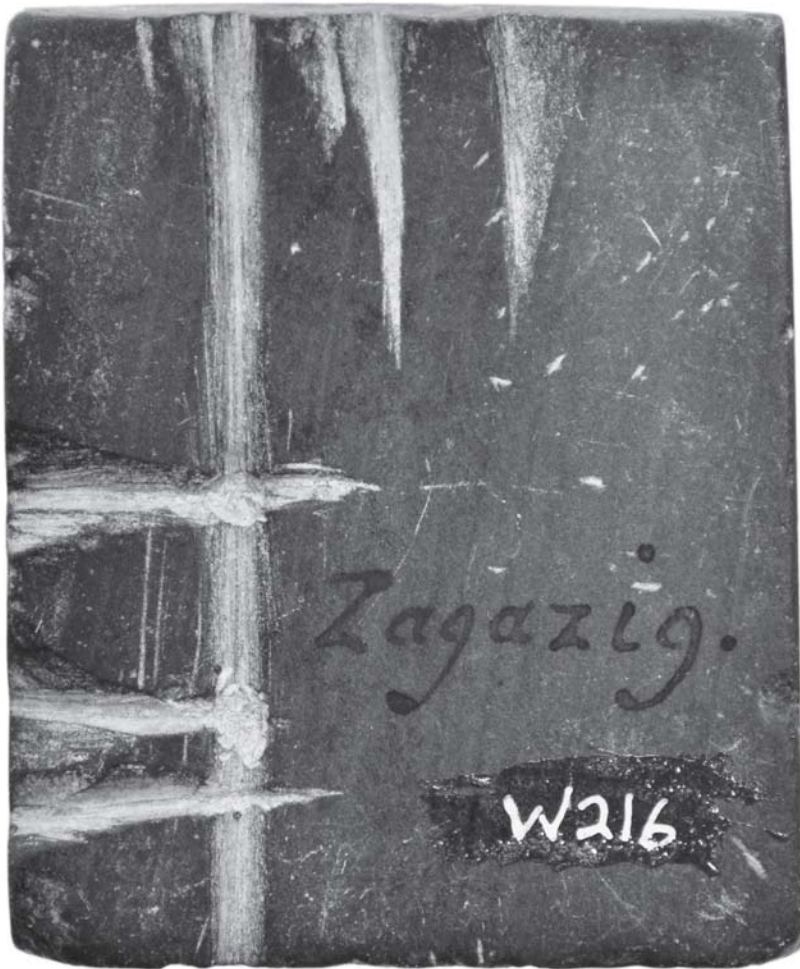


Fig. 2. Egypt Centre W216, reverse  
(photograph: Troy Leiland Sagrillo).





Fig. 3. Egypt Centre W915  
(photograph: Carolyn A. Graves-Brown;  
© Egypt Centre, Swansea University).



Fig. 4. Egypt Centre W1328  
(photograph: Troy Leiland Sagrillo).



Fig. 5. Egypt Centre EC2018  
(photograph: Troy Leiland Sagrillo).