

LADISLAV BAREŠ

ABUSIR IV



The shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir



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The Shaft Tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir

By
LADISLAV BAREŠ

With a chapter on pottery by
Květa Smoláriková
and an appendix by Eugen Strouhal

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PREFACE

The investigation of the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet commenced in 1980 and was concluded in 1993. In the meantime, between 1985 and 1988, the work was interrupted because of a decision taken by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization authorities which temporarily stopped any excavation being conducted in tafl layers in the Saqqara region.

Most of the preliminary reports dealing with excavations in the tomb of Udjahorresnet have been published in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* between 1982 and 1996.

The present volume puts the results of the excavation of the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet in somewhat broader context. Chapter I gives a survey of the actual knowledge about the history and development of this type of tomb, traditionally designated as “Saite-Persian shaft tombs”. Chapter II sketches, on the basis of the available sources, the life and posthumous destiny of Udjahorresnet, who certainly ranks as one of the leading personalities of Egypt around the mid-first millennium BC. Chapter III deals with the actual results of the archaeological excavation in the tomb of Udjahorresnet. It also contains a description of the tomb and an enumeration of finds. Because various reasons, demotic graffiti discovered in the tomb of Udjahorresnet were not included in the volume and will be published elsewhere (see my paper in the conference volume of the 7th International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27th August 1999). Chapter IV traces the connection between Udjahorresnet and the shaft tomb built for him at Abusir. In the opinion of the authors, Udjahorresnet has indeed been buried here, though definitive proof of this is still missing.

In a separate chapter, written by Květa Smoláriková, pottery from the tomb of Udjahorresnet is evaluated. Besides the Egyptian pottery, a number of Greek and Aegean imports are studied here.

In an Addition, the single small fragment of human bones found in the tomb is examined by Professor Eugen Strouhal. Without any doubt, the fragment in question is intrusive and does not come from the skeletal remains of Udjahorresnet.

Ladislav Bareš

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Chapter I:

LARGE SAITE-PERSIAN¹⁾

SHAFT TOMBS

Large shaft tombs certainly represent a very specific type of Egyptian funeral architecture around the middle of the first millennium BC. Although known from at least 1830's,²⁾ they have so far aroused only a very limited interest among Egyptologists and historians of the Egyptian architecture.³⁾ In a more general way, the development of those tombs, limited more or less to the Memphite necropolis during Dyn. 26,⁴⁾ has been briefly reviewed by W. el-Sadeek only.⁵⁾ Moreover, just one among those tombs, namely that of the Admiral Tjannehebu, has been so far thoroughly studied and published in a monographic form.⁶⁾ Otherwise, only some features of those tombs and, above

all, the way in which they have been protected against the tomb robbers, have aroused some attention.⁷⁾

Usually, the main feature in these tombs is a huge burial chamber,⁸⁾ built of limestone blocks at the bottom of a rather deep (up to 30 metres) and wide (often measuring 8 by 10 metres or even more) shaft and covering a similarly huge sarcophagus. It is mainly through the large dimensions of the shaft that this type of tomb can be distinguished from the much more usual type of tomb with a burial chamber also situated deep under the ground but hewn out of the bedrock directly and accessible through a narrow shaft connected with the burial chamber proper by means of a short passage.

Quite often, a double sarcophagus is found in the large shaft tombs. In most cases, the box-shaped outer sarcophagus fills all the lower portion of the burial chamber (the lateral walls of the chamber adjoining the sarcophagus on all its four sides) or, at least, a major portion of it. Inside the lower portion of the outer sarcophagus, the inner one (often made of basalt) is located in a cavity modelled according to its anthropoid shape. In some cases, only wooden coffins⁹⁾ or

¹⁾ In fact, none among the tombs designated in such a way can be so far quite unambiguously dated to Dyn. 27, ie into the Persian period proper. In spite of that fact, this designation has been preserved here, since the tomb of Udjahorresnet at least, though started under Amasis, could have been used only under Darius I.

²⁾ Perring 1842, pp. 21–24 and pls. XIX–XXII.

³⁾ The very existence of this type of tomb is mentioned by a single phrase in the otherwise relatively extensive entry dealing with the development of the Egyptian funeral architecture and published in the fundamental *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Arnold 1977, col. 825) with reference to four articles. See also Arnold 1991a, pp. 213–214, Arnold 1994, p. 225, Zeidler 1994, p. 272, and Aufrère — Golvin 1997, pp. 95–97.

⁴⁾ The only exception known so far is represented by the tomb S 14 unearthed by the mission of the University of Tübingen at Kom el-Ahmar near Sharuna in the vicinity of el-Minyeh, see Gestermann et al. 1988, pp. 68–70. It should be noted, however, that the dating of that tomb is still far from certain (a personal communication by L. Gestermann, dated September 2, 1998).

⁵⁾ El-Sadeek 1984, pp. 162–164. Quite recently, the architecture of Late Period tombs, including the huge shaft tombs, has been discussed by L. Gestermann in connection with her study about the use of the Coffin texts in Late Period tombs (Chapter 2.3.1. of her manuscript prepared for publication — a personal communication dated September 1998).

⁶⁾ Bresciani et al. 1977.

⁷⁾ See, eg, Spencer 1982, pp. 106–108 (orientated more to the general public), and Arnold 1991a, pp. 229–230.

⁸⁾ In just one case, the huge outer sarcophagus made of limestone was simply put at the bottom of the main shaft without any further protection: the tomb of Udjahor, see Barsanti 1902.

⁹⁾ The tombs of Udjahor (Barsanti 1902, p. 210, see also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 503), Wahibre-men (Firth 1929, p. 70, Lauer 1951, see also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 586–587), Hekaemsaf (Barsanti 1904, p. 75, see also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 650), Setirbeni (Barsanti — Maspero 1900a, p. 162, see also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 649), and Padineith (Barsanti —

simple mummies,¹⁰⁾ otherwise unprotected, have been found inside the huge box-shaped sarcophagi.

Prior to concluding building activities in the tomb, the main shaft was filled with sand again to enable work to proceed in the uppermost part of the tomb, situated above the ground level. Free access to the burial chamber proper and to the sarcophagus was secured by means of a much smaller shaft ending in a horizontal or only slightly sloping corridor which led directly to the chamber. Quite often, the floor of this corridor was situated at the same level as the upper edge of the chest of the outer sarcophagus. This horizontal corridor, usually vaulted, was partly cut into the bedrock and partly (ie in places where it passed through the main shaft) built of stone blocks or mudbrick. With some exceptions,¹¹⁾ the small lateral shafts giving access to the burial chambers were situated in the east or south according to the religious ideas prevailing at that time and the orientation of the burials.¹²⁾ In that way, these shafts in fact adjoined the feet of the mummies.

Until the very moment of the burial, free access to the inside of the sarcophagus had to be secured. To keep the massive lid in the necessary position above the sarcophagus's chest until the very last moment of the burial ceremonies, a rather simple but very effective device has been developed using the pseudo-hydraulic qualities of pure sand.¹³⁾ The most important portion of such a device consisted of vertical channels (square or oblong in section) situated in two pairs on the opposite sides of the sarcophagus. Longer or shorter sides of the sarcophagus made no difference. In those channels, huge wooden beams stood upright on which projections protruding from the lid of the sarcophagus rested. The lowermost portion of the vertical channels, situated under the wooden beams, was filled with pure soft sand. Up to the very moment of the burial, the

channels were filled with sand almost completely, thus keeping the wooden beams (and the lid of the sarcophagus) in their upper position. In some cases, at least, the lid of the outer sarcophagus rested on several (usually six) pillars roughly built of stone blocks.¹⁴⁾ After finishing the burial ceremonies, at the moment when the mummy has been put inside the (inner) sarcophagus, special holes previously closed would have been opened in the lower portion of the vertical channels. As the sand poured from those channels, the wooden beams as well as the lid supported by them slowly descended. Rather probably, the speed of the descent could have been regulated by either enlarging or diminishing the size of the holes. To ensure the exact position of the lid towards the chest, stone pillars may have been added to the corners of the burial chamber. In that case, all four corners of the lid would have been carved with vertical grooves.¹⁵⁾ The procedure, continuing the experience of two thousand of years,¹⁶⁾ seems to have been quite efficient.¹⁷⁾

To bring the much lighter and easily manipulated lids of inner sarcophagi into their eventual position, less complicated procedures seem to have been used which unfortunately left no traces and remain so far unattested. It is quite probable that ropes made of papyrus or other plant fibres would have been used in lowering the lids of these inner sarcophagi. Four such ropes consisting of several plies each and measuring up to 10 cm in diameter have been unearthed in an otherwise empty oblong pit in front of the eastern façade of Udjahorresnet's tomb at Abusir, only some three metres to the south of the small shaft giving access to the burial chamber. Such ropes, capable of carrying several tonnes, may well have been used to lower an inner sarcophagus or a wooden coffin.¹⁸⁾

To keep the lid of the inner sarcophagus higher up, supports made of stone or wooden blocks or

Maspero 1901, p. 102, see also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 649).

¹⁰⁾ The tomb of Hor Neferibre-em-akhet (Saad 1942, pp. 391–393 = Saad 1947, pp. 11–13, see also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 587).

¹¹⁾ The tomb of Pakap at Giza, see Perring 1842, pp. 21–24 and pls. XIX–XXII and, lately, es-Sadeek 1984, pp. 126–132, Arnold 1994, p. 47, Zivie-Coche 1991, pp. 283–287; and the tomb of Hor Neferibre-em-akhet, see Saad 1942, p. 391 (= Saad 1947, p. 11). The burial chamber in the tomb of Iufaa, recently excavated at Abusir, was entered from the west as well, see Bareš — Smoláriková 1997, pp. 10–11.

¹²⁾ The orientation of the burials and its changes during the first millennium BC have been briefly discussed, eg, by Lauer 1954, p. 134, note 2.

¹³⁾ For the first time, this device was discussed by O. Rostem (Rostem 1943). See also Curto 1991b, pp. 598–599 (with two sketch-drawings), Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 23–24, Arnold 1991a, pp. 75–76, Arnold 1994, pp. 232–233.

¹⁴⁾ Barsanti — Maspero 1900a, pp. 163–164 and fig. 1.

¹⁵⁾ This is perhaps the best explanation for the existence of four pillars built of stone blocks and erected in all corners inside the burial chamber of Udjahorresnet (see further, p. 50).

¹⁶⁾ Similar protrusions can be observed on the lids of stone sarcophagi from at least the Old Kingdom onwards. A device almost alike in its principle was used for lowering the lid of the sarcophagus in the pyramid of Khendjer (early Dyn. 13) at South Saqqara, see Jéquier 1933, pp. 32–33 and pl. VIII. See also Spencer 1982, pp. 88–89.

¹⁷⁾ The total weight of the lid of the outer sarcophagus in the tomb of Udjahorresnet can be estimated at about 40 tonnes. This had to be manipulated in the restricted space of the burial chamber. To handle this enormous weight would represent a rather difficult problem even now.

¹⁸⁾ On the production and use of ropes in ancient Egypt in general, see now Ryan — Hansen 1987 and Teeter 1987.

even wedges may have been used. By removing the singular pieces and using wooden levers, the lid would descend into its final position. Such a method is still used nowadays; its utilization in antiquity cannot be, however, archaeologically proven in an unequivocal way.¹⁹⁾

To manipulate the massive lids of sarcophagi inside the restricted space of the burial chambers was certainly not easy. Most lids were not laid quite precisely on their respective chests, the difference reaching in some cases up to 15–20 cm — remarkably little in view of the difficulties met in such an operation.

Only after the lid of the sarcophagus or, perhaps, the two sarcophagi had been lowered to the provisional position above the chest, was it possible to conclude the construction of the burial chamber and, consequently, to fill all the remaining space inside the main shaft (ie above the burial chamber and around it) with sand again. In that way, the main shaft was completely closed and only afterwards the construction of the uppermost portion of the monument could have started.

Without any doubt, some structures existed above the huge shafts. As a rule, however, the superstructures of these tombs have been so badly damaged in later times that any attempt to reconstruct their original shape remains purely hypothetical. In case of the first excavated monument of this kind, the tomb of Pakap at Giza (the so-called “Campbell’s tomb”), a possible existence of a small pyramid constructed above the mouth of the main shaft has been suggested.²⁰⁾ Anyway, the present state of the monument does not enable one to verify such a hypothesis. Later on, the question of the superstructures of huge shaft tombs has been completely neglected for a long time by both excavators²¹⁾ and historians dealing with the development of ancient Egyptian funeral architecture.

Only around the middle of this century, J.-Ph. Lauer raised a new hypothesis, based on the very limited remains of a structure found above the double tomb of Neferibre-sa-Neith and

Wahibre-men situated inside the mortuary temple of Userkaf. In his opinion, a chapel with perhaps several columns stood directly above the mouth of the central shaft, the walls of the chapel being identical with those of the shaft.²²⁾

The assumption²³⁾ presented by Lauer is based upon a rather limited number of archaeological finds consisting of several fragments of capitals coming from a limestone column or columns and of some relief blocks unearthed in the area of the mortuary temple of King Userkaf, ie in the vicinity of the mouth of the shaft tomb in question. In spite of rather meagre archaeological evidence, or perhaps, even because of it, this opinion has been accepted almost automatically.²⁴⁾ Anyway, the preserved remains of the superstructure unearthed in the tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir,²⁵⁾ in itself perhaps the best preserved example of superstructure found so far in any of these tombs, almost completely exclude a possibility that such a chapel or even portico could have been erected here. Without any doubt, no traces of any inclined ramp or staircase have been attested above the mouth of the small adjacent shaft. Also the remains of a structure above the mouth of the central shaft do not resemble a chapel in the slightest way.²⁶⁾

According to the preliminarily published results, remains of a structure were unearthed above the mouth of at least one of the shaft tombs at Kom el-Ahmar/Sharuna dating back to the first millennium BC²⁷⁾ and excavated by the mission of the University of Tübingen. This structure seems to correspond with the masonry lining at the mouth of the shaft in both its dimensions and thickness. Its exact shape remains, however, unknown.

The area surrounded by the enclosure wall in the newly excavated tomb of Iufaa at Abusir was almost completely destroyed.²⁸⁾ However, in view

¹⁹⁾ In many cases, the lid of the inner sarcophagus does not adjoin its chest quite precisely, showing the difficulties in handling it inside the limited space under the raised lid of the outer sarcophagus.

²⁰⁾ Perring 1842, p. 22.

²¹⁾ No attention was paid to this question by A. Barsanti (see in this respect also J.-Ph. Lauer, in: Drioton — Lauer 1951, p. 471, note 2), J.-E. Quibell, C. M. Firth or Z. Y. Saad who in about the first half of this century have examined the largest group of such tombs known so far and situated around the pyramid complexes of Kings Unas and Userkaf at North Saqqara.

²²⁾ J.-Ph. Lauer, in: Drioton — Lauer 1951, pp. 470–471. Quite hypothetically, the existence of such chapels was expected even sooner, as in Hermann 1938, p. 147, see also George 1979, p. 22.

²³⁾ In fact, this suggestion was expressed in only four phrases and one simple sketch plan. Lauer may have been perhaps inspired by tombs resembling a small chapel or temple which were quite common in the Memphite region during the New Kingdom (see, eg. G. T. Martin 1992, fig. 10) and also later, until at least Dyn. 30 (Kitchen 1979).

²⁴⁾ See, eg. Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 21 and 24, and Spencer 1982, p. 241.

²⁵⁾ Verner 1982, p. 163f.; see also p. 46.

²⁶⁾ See further, pp. 47–49.

²⁷⁾ Gestermann et al. 1988, p. 60. According to L. Gestermann (a personal communication of September 2, 1998, quoting Chapter 2.3.1. of her just finished work dealing with the use of the Coffin Texts in Late Period tombs), the exact date of that monument is still uncertain.

of the rather well preserved lower portion of the enclosure wall, showing no traces of any opening, ramp or staircase, no kind of chapel or any similar structure could have been erected here above the central shaft.

Until some other, preferably much better preserved, tombs of this kind are known,²⁹⁾ any attempt to establish the shape of the portion of the shaft tombs situated above the ground level remains a pure hypothesis, or even speculation.

According to all information available on this matter at present, the completion of a huge shaft tomb of this kind must have represented a rather complicated task demanding the concentration of a relatively large amount of materials and work-force. The decision to build such a tomb may have resulted from various reasons, the most important among them having been perhaps an attempt to gain the best protection possible for the mummy of the deceased. It seems probable that other reasons, religious above all, have only modified this basic idea in view of various details, such as the orientation of the burial chamber, etc. Very probably, even the building procedure was deeply influenced by this final goal, namely the protection of the deceased.

The building process can perhaps be divided into the following stages:

1) The choice of the place,³⁰⁾ the performing of the foundation rites³¹⁾ and the preparation of the ground.³²⁾

²⁸⁾ Bareš 1996b, pp. 7–10.

²⁹⁾ At least three huge shaft tombs remain so far completely unexcavated at Abusir. The partly revealed and until now anonymous tomb situated east from the Mastaba of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at North Saqqara which literally pierces the causeway of Unas has yielded no conclusive information concerning its superstructure so far.

³⁰⁾ By far the largest number of tombs of this type known so far are concentrated around the mortuary complexes of Kings Userkaf (the founder of Dyn. 5) and Unas (the oldest structure of its kind inscribed inside with the Pyramid Texts). This fact certainly cannot be a pure chance. Moreover, pyramid complexes of both Userkaf and Unas are, in fact, only adjacent to the mortuary complex of King Djoser which, therefore, seems to represent the ideal centre-piece of the Saite-Persian cemetery at North Saqqara. The absence of any Late Period shaft tomb in the pyramid complex of Djoser may have been explained by the respect towards the traditional sacred state of this area, well attested also during the Late Period — see Wildung 1969, pp. 77–84.

³¹⁾ Only rarely, the existence of foundation rites has been attested by the presence of foundation deposits, see Gauthier 1933, pp. 36–37. Three sets of foundation deposits came to light also in the tomb of Udjahorresnet (see below, p. 65). On foundation rites in general, see Letellier 1977b and el-Adly 1981. The problem has been recently discussed anew by D. Magdolen in his unpublished dissertation prepared at the Charles University in Prague in 1997, see also Verner 1997, p. 434.

³²⁾ Interesting details concerning the preparation of the area for building activities seem to have been attested around the

2) Excavating the central shaft and the small adjacent shaft (shafts), joined at their foot³³⁾ by means of a horizontal or only slightly sloping corridor. Only exceptionally, a kind of a tunnel was also completed under the foundations of the burial chamber proper.³⁴⁾

3) Filling the central shaft with sand again. Not until the sand reached the upper end of the central shaft, could the chest of the (outer) sarcophagus have been dragged here.³⁵⁾ There is no way to ascertain whether the possible inner sarcophagus or at least its chest had been put inside the outer sarcophagus prior to this moment or later, ie separately.

4) Lowering of the (outer) sarcophagus or, possibly, both sarcophagi by means of removing the sand around and under it/them through the smaller adjacent shaft and/or through vertical niches at the sides of the central shaft.³⁶⁾

shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet. Here, a single limestone block has always been set into the harder layers of gravel under the sandy desert surface in front of both western and southern sides of the enclosure wall at a distance of about three metres. A shallow incision on the flat upper surface of both blocks seems to give the axis of the central burial shaft in this complex. No similar blocks have been so far discovered on two other sides of the complex, however.

³³⁾ Usually, the floor of this corridor was situated at the same level as the upper edge of the chest of the outer sarcophagus, ie relatively high above the bedrock at the bottom of the main shaft. In some cases, the smaller adjacent shaft continued some more metres below the level of the corridor. According to J.-Ph. Lauer (Drioton — Lauer 1951, p. 472), such a free space may have enhanced the safety of the workmen or priests who left the subterranean rooms at the very last moment of the burial rites, after they had pierced the apertures in the ceiling of the burial chamber or the corridor. The sand pouring from these openings could have fallen into this empty space and left enough time for those who quit the tomb to escape. Other explanations seem possible, however, namely that this lower portion of the smaller adjacent shaft, filled later on with sand again, should enhance the protection of the tomb from below the corridor, or that it was used to check the lowermost layers of bedrock. L. Gester mann (a personal communication of September 2, 1998, quoting footnote 779 on p. 137 of her manuscript dealing with the use of the Coffin Texts in Late Period tombs) suggested that the extended bottom parts of those smaller shafts may have had a religious meaning. — It cannot be ascertained whether both shafts have been dug simultaneously or one after another (regardless of the sequence).

³⁴⁾ In all probability, such an underground passage would only enhance the protection of the sarcophagus against possible attacks from below. Because of the amount of work needed and in view of the danger of instability, this procedure was used quite exceptionally (J.-Ph. Lauer, in: Drioton — Lauer 1951, p. 477 and pl. I).

³⁵⁾ The same method was used for lowering the huge sarcophagi intended for the burials of sacred Apis bulls in their respective chambers in Serapeum, see Vercoutter 1975, col. 342.

³⁶⁾ On this method in general, see Arnold 1991a, p. 75 with note 77. According to Arnold 1994, p. 333, such a method is, however, nowhere proven archaeologically.

5) Building of the lower portion of the side walls of the burial chamber, adjacent to the sides of the (outer) sarcophagus put into its eventual position with as much precision as possible. In the course of this operation, the device for the lowering of the lid of the sarcophagus also had to be completed, including the massive vertical wooden props upon which the lid should have rested until the very moment of the burial.

6) Refilling of the central shaft with sand upon which the lid of the (outer) sarcophagus had to be dragged.

7) Lowering of the lid of the (outer) sarcophagus, done in the same way as in the case of its chest. At the end, the lid would have rested upon the wooden beams or rough stone pillars at a necessary distance above the chest of the sarcophagus.

8) Completion of the lateral walls and ceiling of the burial chamber and of the corridor connecting this chamber with the smaller adjacent shaft. Quite exceptionally, smoothing or even decorating of the outer walls of the burial chamber.

9) Filling of the central shaft around and above the burial chamber,³⁷⁾ completing of the possible superstructure above and around the central shaft. Simultaneously with that, the inner walls of the burial chamber would have been completed, ie partly or completely smoothed and decorated with inscriptions and scenes, and possibly also the burial goods prepared into their eventual position.³⁸⁾

³⁷⁾ A rather strong possibility exists, however, that at least in one case, namely in the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir, the central shaft remained open until the moment of the burial and was refilled with sand only afterwards. According to the archaeological evidence unearthed in this tomb, only vertical mats, made probably of reeds, lined the otherwise free space between the western side of the central shaft and the entrance to the burial chamber situated somewhat exceptionally in its western wall. This space represented the only access to the burial chamber and for that reason certainly had to remain open until the burial ceremonies had been finished. A similar situation is attested in the tomb of Horkheb which, however, has no lateral shaft — see Daressy 1903 and, quite recently, also Arnold 1997, pp. 31–33.

³⁸⁾ It cannot be said for sure whether the burial goods or at least part of them were put into the burial chamber during the finishing works here or only shortly before the burial (ie perhaps during the mummification of the deceased) or just during the burial ceremonies proper. In the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir, eg, some minor pieces of the burial goods (above all, magical bricks and amulets) were found inside a rather thick layer of sand which filled the burial chamber up to about a half of its relatively considerable height. It is quite probable, therefore, that at least those objects would have been placed inside the burial chamber prior to the burial. On the other hand, a number of limestone blocks found scattered on the surface of the sand layer around the sarcophagus may have served as supports for the still raised lid or during its lowering. As some pieces of the burial equipment were laid upon those blocks, they could have been put there only after the sarcophagus had been closed.

In an ideal case, the tomb would have been finished before the death of its owner. After finishing the mummification and the necessary burial rites, then followed:

10) Carrying of the mummy of the deceased to the burial chamber through the still free small access shaft and the corridor connecting this shaft with the burial chamber; then the mummy was put into its definite position inside the sarcophagus.

11) Closing of the sarcophagus (sarcophagi) by lowering the lid(s).

12) Securing of the interior of the burial chamber, closing of the entrance to the burial chamber and refilling of the small shaft giving access to it.³⁹⁾

To secure the precious contents of the burial chamber and, perhaps also to enhance its stability, as much as possible of its inner space and of the connecting corridor leading to it was filled with sand after the burial. To complete this operation, a rather simple and effective method was invented and improved in the course of time. Originally, a small rectangular aperture was sometimes left in the ceiling of the burial chamber, leading directly into the central shaft and closed until the last moment with a rather thin slab of stone. After the burial, this slab was smashed from below and sand filling the main shaft could thus pour into the burial chamber. In an improved form, several (usually three) vertical channels were left in the ceiling of the burial chamber and closed with large pottery jars whose bottoms protruded into the chamber.⁴⁰⁾ After the body of the deceased had been put into its position and the sarcophagus closed, the very last workmen or priests smashed the bottoms of the jars before leaving the site and the sand from the central shaft, perhaps cleared of the larger pebbles, fragments of stone or other admixtures, gradually filled all the free space inside the burial chamber or at least its larger portion.⁴¹⁾

In some cases, a similar aperture (closed again by a thin slab of stone) was also left in the ceiling of the corridor connecting the small access shaft

³⁹⁾ For the first time, this procedure was summarized by E. Bresciani (Bresciani et al. 1977, p. 20–21). In her opinion, however, the walls of the burial chamber would have been completely built only after both parts (ie the chest and lid) of the sarcophagus had been lowered into their eventual position. Such a possibility stands in clear contradiction to the situation revealed in the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet (see later, p. 50).

⁴⁰⁾ This device is best illustrated in Spencer 1982, figs. 37 and 38 on p. 107.

⁴¹⁾ See also our footnote 33 for a possible explanation of the lower portion of the small access shaft serving as a security measure thus enabling the workmen or priests to leave the burial chamber safely.

with the burial chamber. More often, however, the walls and vaulted ceiling of this corridor have been built in mudbrick in that very place where it crossed the central shaft, ie between the bedrock side of central shaft and the outer face of the burial chamber. In that case, the last people leaving the tomb simply pierced the ceiling of the corridor in this special place and thus opened the way for the sand. In spite of the fact that the sand completely filled the free space inside the burial chamber and the corridor only exceptionally, this procedure certainly represented a rather effective obstacle for any future tomb robbers.

According to the prevailing religious ideas, the walls of the burial chambers and sarcophagi would have been more or less decorated with inscriptions and scenes. As a rule, only the inner walls of the burial chambers were decorated. Just in one case the burial chamber bore the inscriptions only on its outer walls.⁴²⁾ Among the texts attested on the walls of the burial chambers, excerpts from the Pyramid Texts,⁴³⁾ the Coffin Texts,⁴⁴⁾ Book of the

Dead and other religious texts⁴⁵⁾ are most common. Quite usually, offering lists of varying length also appear here. Only exceptionally, however, are there religious scenes and images depicted on the walls of the burial chambers.⁴⁶⁾

In most cases, the outer and inner sarcophagi were inscribed with various religious texts, intended to provide magical protection for the deceased. The outer sarcophagi, usually much less decorated, contained almost without exception⁴⁷⁾ only short formulae on their lids or on the sides of their chests.⁴⁸⁾ The inner sarcophagi or coffins, anthropoid in most cases, usually bore the beginning (lines 1–9) of Chapter 72 from the Book of the Dead or portions from the Pyramid Texts (Spells 225–230 and 637–643).⁴⁹⁾

The burial equipment, best attested in the intact tombs of this kind,⁵⁰⁾ is usually rather limited

⁴²⁾ The burial chamber of Hor called also Neferibre-em-akhet, found in his tomb near to the pyramid complex of Userkaf at North Saqqara, see Saad 1942, p. 391–393, Saad 1947, 11–13, and also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 587. It may be argued whether this special position of the decoration did perhaps imitate the Upper Egyptian type of wooden coffins attested at the end of the Third and the beginning of the Second mill. BC whose main feature is also the decoration put on the outside wall (see Lapp 1993, p. 250–252). At least in one another case, that of Iufaa at Abusir, the outer walls of the burial chamber started to have been smoothed. Anyway, no traces of any painted or sculptured decoration have been disclosed there.

⁴³⁾ In most cases, the texts seem to have been copied from the oldest set of the Pyramid Texts found in the tomb of King Unas at Saqqara. It is probable, therefore, that the burial apartments of Unas were accessible during Dyn. 26 for a short period of time at least. This assumption seems to be corroborated by the fact that activities dating back to the Saite times are clearly attested inside the pyramid of Menkaure at Giza (Porter — Moss — Málek 1974, p. 33) and the pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara (see, eg, Lauer 1936, p. 41–46; Lauer 1972, p. 12–13 and figs. 40–41, etc). On the other hand, W. Schenkel has suggested that the Late Period copies may have been reproduced from the original sources preserved on papyri kept in temple archives (Schenkel 1977, pp. 417–421 and esp. pp. 440–441). — In general, the use of the Pyramid Texts in later times was summarized by Allen 1950, p. 12–47, see also Soukiasian 1982. Quite recently, the use of the Pyramid Texts in the area of the Memphite necropolis during the Saite times was studied by P. de Smet (a project entitled “SPPT — Saite Period Pyramid Texts”, a personal communication, see also van der Plas 1996, p. 106 with footnote 2 and Bulletin de la Soc. d’Égyptologie, Genève, Vol. 19, 1995, p. 128 and Vol. 20, 1996, pp. 112–113), M. Patané (Patané 1987, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1993), and R. Buongarzone (Buongarzone 1993). A quasi-exhaustive bibliography of studies dealing with the Pyramid Texts has been published by N. Guilhou and B. Mathieu (Guilhou — Mathieu 1997).

⁴⁴⁾ For a recent discussion on the topic see Gestermann 1992. See also Buongarzone 1991–1992, esp. p. 32, and Gestermann

1994, note 14 on p. 94. A voluminous work entitled *Die Überlieferung ausgewählter Texte altägyptischer Totenliteratur* (“Sargtexte”) in spätzeitlichen Grabanlagen has been recently finished for publication by L. Gestermann (a personal communication dated June 17, 1998).

⁴⁵⁾ Lacau 1908, see also Drioton 1954. The use of all these sets (Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead) and other religious texts not included here during the Saite times was briefly discussed by E. Bresciani (Bresciani et al. 1977, p. 28–29). See also Buongarzone 1991–1992, esp. pp. 40–42, and Gestermann 1994.

⁴⁶⁾ In the tomb of Padineith (Barsanti 1901, p. 99–100) a scene depicting the deceased in the presence of Osiris was found on the northern, ie in this case frontal, wall. A similar scene is attested in one Memphite painted mud brick chapel dating to the New Kingdom at least (Schneider et al. 1993, p. 2 and pls. I,3 and II,1). On the western and eastern walls of the tomb of Padineith, Anubis protecting the canopic jars is depicted. In the tomb of Hor, called also Neferibre-em-akhet (Saad 1942, 391–393), the deceased appears sitting in front of the offering table delineated in black on the eastern (in this case frontal) wall. Quite recently, a number of religious scenes and images has been discovered also on inner walls in the burial chamber of Iufaa at Abusir. A number of blocks with texts and representations in sunk relief, now kept in the British Museum (BM 536–547) and sometimes believed to come from the tomb of Pakap at Giza (de Meulenaere 1966, p. 10: no. 27; de Meulenaere 1981, p. 89), have probably no link with this special tomb and their origin remains unknown, see Montagno Leahy 1989.

⁴⁷⁾ A notable exception is represented by the limestone outer sarcophagus in the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir. The chest of this sarcophagus is almost completely covered with vertical columns of hieroglyphic texts in low relief.

⁴⁸⁾ On the distribution and contents of the texts found on the outer sarcophagi see, eg, Drioton 1954, p. 105–106 and 125–127. Many individual features certainly appear here.

⁴⁹⁾ The texts appearing on the stone anthropoid sarcophagi during the Late Period through Ptolemaic times have been briefly discussed by M.-L. Buhl (Buhl 1959, p. 178–180).

⁵⁰⁾ The tombs of Padineith (Barsanti — Maspero 1901, pp. 97–101, Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 649), Psammetik (Barsanti — Maspero 1900a, pp. 161–188, Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 649), Padinese (Barsanti — Maspero 1900b, pp. 230–261, Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 649), Tjannehebu (Barsanti — Maspero 1900c, pp. 263–282, Bresciani et al. 1977, Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981,

concerning the number of objects, their value and, sometimes, also their quality. Almost without exception, all objects among the burial goods were connected with a protective religious meaning. The canopic jars, guarded by the Four Sons of Horus, were most often situated into recesses on either side of the sarcophagus.

Another protective measure is represented by the so-called magical bricks made usually of Nile silt and situated in small recesses in all four sides of the burial chambers.⁵¹⁾ The protective meaning was also attributed to various pieces of jewellery and amulets made of precious metals, semi-precious or other stones, faience or bronze, and, in most cases, attached directly to the mummy wrappings. Among the amulets, the sacred *udjat*-eye, the hieroglyphic sign of *ankh*, heads of snakes, symbolic knots, *djed*-pillars symbolizing eternity, miniature pectorals and figures of various deities appear most often, though the variety of forms was much broader.⁵²⁾

In some tombs, sets of instruments used in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony are also attested, being an integral part of the funerary rites since the third millennium BC.⁵³⁾ The same protective force was attributed also to the symbolical images of Osiris and other deities, models of barks used for ritual or funeral purposes, statuettes of di-

vinities guarding the deceased, models of canopic jars, etc.⁵⁴⁾

A specific group among the burial equipment is represented by various objects in which the meaning of preparing a better posthumous existence of the deceased was given. Perhaps the most typical among them are the shabtis made most often of faience, although other materials appear as well.⁵⁵⁾ During Dyn. 26 and later, the number of shabtis in one single tomb could exceed 400.⁵⁶⁾ Also the symbols of certain professions or rank insignia may perhaps be included here, among them in the first place staves and sceptres of various kinds,⁵⁷⁾ and models of boats intended to enable the transport of the deceased in the netherworld.⁵⁸⁾

The building of those huge shaft tombs, limited as to their distribution in time and area, remained a rather isolated episode in the long history of non-royal funerary architecture in ancient Egypt. Without any known exception, all monuments of this kind date to Dyn. 26 or, perhaps, to the very beginning of Dyn. 27 at the latest. According to a rather plausible suggestion made by J.-Ph. Lauer, the arrangement of the subterranean rooms in these tombs imitates the position of the main burial chamber under the Step pyramid of King Djoser built also of massive blocks of stone at the foot of a huge and rather deep shaft.⁵⁹⁾ At some moment during the first half of Dyn. 26, the shaft under the Step pyramid was made accessible by means of a newly dug tunnel leading from the south. At the same time, if not earlier, also the main shaft was cleared of its filling.⁶⁰⁾ The reason for imitating the position of the burial chamber at the foot of a deep shaft might have been the very high degree of protection thus attained but, in view of the prevailing religious atmosphere of the time, faith was expressed in the magical power of the traditional royal funerary monument. Per

p. 648), Hekaemsaf (Barsanti — Maspero 1904, pp. 70–84, Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 650), Amunefnakht (Saad 1942, pp. 382–391, Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 650), and Hor Neferibre-em-akhet (Saad 1942, pp. 391–393, Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 587). The tomb of Iufaa, recently excavated at Abusir, can be added to this list, see Bareš — Smoláriková 1997.

⁵¹⁾ Because of their rather fragile nature, the magical bricks could have been very easily destroyed by any intruders. They are, therefore, only rarely found and documented in the original context, see, eg, Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 70 and 75 and Pl. XXVII. The use of magical bricks is attested in the Book of the Dead, Chap. 151 dealing with the protection of the deceased during the process of mummification and later on — see Hornung 1979, pp. 320 and 508 and Heerma van Voss 1986, col. 1402. Similar bricks presumably with a protective function are attested in the axes of all four sides of the burial chambers in some Dyn. 4 mastabas at Dahshur (personal communication by R. Stadelmann). Generally speaking, the use of the magical bricks is best attested during the New Kingdom. They appeared again in Dyn. 26, perhaps in imitation of the traditional rites. A dissertation dealing with the use of magical bricks is being prepared by Isabelle Régen, Centre F. Daumas, Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III (a personal communication, April 1999).

⁵²⁾ See the amulets found in the tomb of Tjannehebu (Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 81–85). Similar sets of amulets were discovered also in the tombs belonging to Setirbeni (Barsanti — Maspero 1900a, p. 162), Padinese (Barsanti — Maspero 1900b, pp. 230–234), Khonsuirdis (Chaban 1920, pp. 212–215) and Amunefnakht (Saad 1942, p. 390).

⁵³⁾ A complete set of instruments for this ceremony was, among other things, discovered adjacent to the sarcophagus of Tjannehebu inside his burial chamber (Barsanti — Maspero 1900c, p. 263, see also Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 68–69 and pls. XXV–XXVII).

⁵⁴⁾ The use of these categories of objects in the Saite tombs was briefly discussed in Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 70 and 73.

⁵⁵⁾ Forms, function and types of shabtis are best discussed in Aubert, J.-L. and F., 1974 and Schneider 1977. See also Schlögl 1986 and Stewart 1995 for the most recent summaries.

⁵⁶⁾ On the number of shabtis in Saite tombs, see Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 53–55.

⁵⁷⁾ See, eg, Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 70–72 and pls. XXVI and XLIX–LII. In general, the use of staves as professional and rank symbols is discussed in A. Hassan, 1976.

⁵⁸⁾ See, eg, Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 73–74 and pls. XXVII and LV–LVI.

⁵⁹⁾ Lauer 1972, pp. 12–13.

⁶⁰⁾ L. Gestermann (a personal communication of September 2, 1998, quoting p. 144 of her manuscript dealing with the use of the Coffin Texts in Late Period tombs) even suggested that those activities may have been done in connection with the intended burial of one of the Saite rulers here.

analogiam, the same protective power was expected to extend to other funerary monuments similar in their shapes.

The huge shaft tombs of Saite and perhaps also early Persian times represent in fact only one type, although rather spectacular, technically complicated and offering perhaps the best protection, among the funerary monuments of the high dignitaries during the Late Period, ie between the 7th and 4th centuries BC. For a comparison, other types may be shortly listed.

A rather similar arrangement of the burial chamber proper can be found in some tombs unearthed so far here and there on the broad area of the former Heliopolis at the north-eastern outskirts of Cairo.⁶¹⁾ The central feature of these tombs is again represented by a vaulted burial chamber accessible through a rather shallow shaft and decorated inside with religious texts and representations and lists of offerings. Also here the inner space was almost completely filled by the sarcophagus. In a rather similar way, the canopic jars were usually put into recesses made in the lateral walls of the chamber. As the subsoil layers in Heliopolis consisted of muddy Nile sediments, those tombs were constructed from stone blocks in rather shallow pits, reaching a depth of several metres at the maximum.⁶²⁾ In some cases, such tombs were built inside a rectangular or oval pit lined with mudbrick.⁶³⁾

This type of tomb usual in Heliopolis (ie tombs with a burial chamber built of stone or mudbrick and situated in shallow pits located very probably inside the dispersed residential agglomeration and not in the specialized areas — cemeteries), greatly resembles the type of royal tomb prevailing from Dyn. 21 onwards. In a more general form, this type of tomb might be designated as a tomb inside the temple courtyard.⁶⁴⁾

In view of the protective measures taken, another type of private funeral architecture comes very near to that of these huge shaft tombs. The

main feature in this other type of tomb is represented by a rather narrow and, at the same time, deep shaft⁶⁵⁾ with one or several burial chambers attached to its foot and hewn directly out of the bedrock. Here, the sarcophagi or coffins were put directly into these chambers.⁶⁶⁾ Rather often, such burial chambers were dug in several storeys above each other, sometimes connected through other shafts. Many among them represent family tombs used by members of a single family for several generations.

The upper parts of these tombs, ie those situated above the level of the ground,⁶⁷⁾ might in some cases show a certain resemblance to another type of tomb, namely those imitating a small temple. Such tombs were quite common in the broader area of the Memphite necropolis during the New Kingdom⁶⁸⁾ and are attested throughout the Late Period until Ptolemaic times.⁶⁹⁾ Those tombs were concentrated around an open courtyard, orientated east — west, with cult rooms situated on their western sides; they were decorated with religious texts and scenes in low relief. Further still to the west, a small pyramid may have been constructed. The single burial chamber or several of them was accessible through a shaft usually

⁶⁵⁾ In this case, the inner dimensions of the shaft had to be large enough to enable the lowering of the sarcophagus (anthropoid in most cases) to the bottom. It seems probable that the sarcophagi were in this case lowered by the same procedure as in the huge shaft tombs, ie by removing the sand from below the sarcophagus in the refilled shaft.

⁶⁶⁾ See, eg, S. Hassan 1944, p. 193, Porter — Moss — Málek 1974, pp. 289–290 (King's son Ahmose and his mother Nakhtubastau, wife of Amasis), Chaban 1917 (General Ankhwahibresaneith), Chaban 1920, Porter — Moss — Málek 1978, p. 566 (Psammetik-Nebpehty).

⁶⁷⁾ Quite often, the upper parts of the tombs were so badly damaged that their original shape has completely disappeared. It cannot be excluded, moreover, that the parts lying originally above the ground may have differed even in case of tombs with an identical or similar substructure.

⁶⁸⁾ See the pioneering work of G. T. Martin, 1992.

⁶⁹⁾ A rather exhaustive summary of the development of such tombs in the Memphite area was presented by Kitchen 1979. It seems probable, however, that the number of such tombs once existing here was much larger. Many of them may still await their unearthing or may have completely disappeared in later times. A great number of those tombs, identified in the course of the last century and left unpublished or only partly published, has vanished since and cannot be located at present (eg the tomb of Wennefer at North Saqqara, see now Arnold 1997, pp. 33–35). In this respect, the maps of the necropolis prepared by de Morgan can be consulted (de Morgan 1897) where several dozens of such tombs are recorded for the area of North Saqqara only (Pls. 9 and 10). In spite of the notoriously known inaccuracy of those maps, the number of New Kingdom and Late Period tombs noted here cannot be simply dismissed as pure fantasy. See also el-Sadeek 1984, pp. 165 and 11–100, 205–257 for a similar tomb excavated in Giza.

⁶¹⁾ Gauthier 1927, pp. 1–18, Gauthier 1933, pp. 27–53, Bakry 1971, pp. 27–53, Bakry 1972, p. 66, see also Leclant 1951, p. 349, Leclant 1952, p. 244, Leclant 1961, p. 103, Leclant 1964, p. 342, Leclant 1972, p. 252. See also a brief discussion in el-Sadeek 1984, pp. 183–185. Quite recently, also the tomb of Psammetik unearthed in 1988 at el-Matariya was published (el-Sawi — Gomaà 1993). For a preliminary summary of the present knowledge about the Saite cemetery at Heliopolis, see Bickel — Tallet 1997 (especially pp. 88–89).

⁶²⁾ Gauthier 1927, pp. 1–18.

⁶³⁾ Gauthier 1933, pp. 27–53.

⁶⁴⁾ Stadelmann 1971, see also Arnold — Hornung 1980, cols. 509–511, Spencer 1982, p. 241, Taylor 1992, p. 186.

situated in the courtyard. In some cases, a small pylon-like structure was erected in front of the tomb.⁷⁰⁾

Another type of the funeral architecture of that time is represented by rock cut tombs situated on various levels in the cliffs above the Nile valley. Here, the burial chamber is accessible through a deep shaft dug in the floor of one of the inner rooms.⁷¹⁾ Such tombs vary a great deal in their dimensions, arrangement of the inner rooms, and decoration.

Still another type of large Late Period tomb, ie huge funeral complexes built in Western Thebes (especially at Assasif) during dynasties 25 and

26 and partly constructed in mudbrick above the ground with subterranean rooms dug into the bedrock,⁷²⁾ remain so far unattested in the Memphite region.⁷³⁾

Quite often, older tombs or funeral complexes have also been reused, either more or less adapted anew or left untouched. Additional works aiming at reusing the existing tombs are also attested in monuments dating to Saite times. In this case, however, one has to differentiate between the reuse of older tombs, abandoned and plundered a long time ago, and the adaptation or enlargement of existing tombs for the burials of successive generations of one family.⁷⁴⁾

⁷⁰⁾ The shape of these tombs during the New Kingdom and the degree of identity between their representations and the actual archaeological situation was discussed by Barthelmeß 1992, pp. 130–144.

⁷¹⁾ A well-known example of this category is the large and complicated tomb of the vizier Bakenrinf (LS 24) cut into the rock cliff to the east of the mortuary complex of Djoser at North Saqqara — see Bresciani et al. 1988, also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978, pp. 588–591 and el-Sadeek 1984, pp. 156–159. For more simple tombs dating back to the Dyn. 26 see, eg, Porter — Moss — Málek 1974, pp. 291 (Padibast and Ptahirdis) and 297 (Padieset and Tairi) and el-Sadeek 1984, pp. 133–140.

⁷²⁾ These tombs were recently studied by D. Eigner (Eigner 1984), see also Zeidler 1994. On the individual monuments of this kind see, eg, Assmann 1973, Assmann 1977, Kuhlmann —

Schenkel 1983 and Bianchi 1982b, col. 991, note 1. See also el-Sadeek 1984, pp. 166–182, and Arnold 1994, pp. 187–188.

⁷³⁾ Some affinities can perhaps be found between those tombs and their Memphite counterparts in the shape of a small temple. In 1997, C. M. Sheikholeslami (a personal communication) suggested that huge Memphite shaft tombs may have followed those Theban funeral complexes in time, showing the shift of the political and economic power from Upper Egypt to the north.

⁷⁴⁾ Among the best examples of such adaptations, the tomb of Bakenrinf at North Saqqara mentioned above can count. In this tomb dating back to the first half of Dyn. 26, a new gallery was cut during Dyn. 30, some 200 years after the original structure had been completed (Bresciani et al. 1983). See also Jansen-Winkeln 1997.

Chapter II:

UDJAHORRESNET AND HIS TIME

Original Egyptian sources dealing with the first years of the Persian occupation of Egypt are quite scarce. The reason might perhaps be the rather short and turbulent period of Cambyses' reign.⁷⁵⁾ This epoch certainly was not suitable for writing history and annals or keeping administrative records and other written material in either Egypt or Persia. Another reason might have been the traditionally negative Egyptian approach towards foreigners,⁷⁶⁾ certainly much stronger in case of the foreign conquerors of the country. Also the fact that the administrative, cultural and military activities of the Persians concentrated for the most part in the Delta might have added to this, especially in view of the much worse conditions for preserving records of any kind and our much more restricted knowledge of this part of Egypt when compared to the Upper Egyptian region.

For all these reasons, only a few contemporary Egyptian monuments dealing with this crucial moment in the history of the country are known so far.⁷⁷⁾ The most important among them certainly is a rather long and relatively well preserved biographical inscription⁷⁸⁾ found on the statue of the

dignitary Udjahorresnet now kept in the Museo Gregoriano in Vatican.⁷⁹⁾ The statue represents Udjahorresnet standing, wearing a long robe and holding a small naos with the figure of Osiris in front of him.⁸⁰⁾ The figure of Udjahorresnet stands on a rectangular plinth. Behind it, a back pillar is added. The missing parts of the statue, ie the head and a piece of the left arm, were added in recent times in a rather unsatisfactory manner.⁸¹⁾ At present, the head has been removed again.

The statue came to the museum only relatively recently. It perhaps arrived at Rome in the 2nd century AD to become part of the collection of Emperor Hadrian in Villa Tivoli.⁸²⁾ Its original location thus remains unknown. Because of repeated references to Sais and gods residing in this town, as well as in view of the appeal addressed to the passers-by which is situated on its plinth, it seems feasible that the statue stood in one of the temples of Sais, most probably in the main temple of the goddess Neith.⁸³⁾ The dating of the statue is

⁷⁵⁾ On Cambyses's reign in general see, eg, Briant 1996, pp. 60–72 and Kuhrt 1998, pp. 661–664.

⁷⁶⁾ The attitudes of ancient Egyptians towards foreigners were recently briefly summarized by E. Hornung 1993, pp. 90–91 (with a short bibliography). See also Assmann 1992, pp. 11–12, Vernus 1994 and, though orientated rather to the general reader, also Valbelle 1990.

⁷⁷⁾ The fundamental work by G. Posener (Posener 1936) is still valid. See also Grimal 1988, pp. 472–476, Bianchi 1982, Shaw — Nicholson 1995, p. 221.

⁷⁸⁾ Autobiographies varying in their form and length count among the oldest and at the same time the best attested literary genres in Egyptian writings, see van de Walle 1975, cols. 815–816 and bibliography on col. 821, and also Jansen-

Winkeln 1985, Lichtheim 1988. Late Egyptian autobiographical sources (between the 9th cent. BC and the 2nd cent. AD) have been collected and studied by E. Otto (1954).

⁷⁹⁾ Botti — Romanelli 1951, pp. 32–40 and pls. XXVII–XXXI (Inv. no. 196), see also Posener 1936, pp. 1–26 with the bibliography. On the person of Udjahorresnet, see furthermore Spalinger 1985, Chevereau 1985, pp. 330–331 and, recently, also Burkard 1994a, pp. 42–46.

⁸⁰⁾ On naophorous statues in general, see O'Rourke 1992, note 4 on pp. 109–110.

⁸¹⁾ As remarked by Posener 1936, p. 1, and repeated, eg, by Thiers 1995, p. 498. The previous restorations of the statue were discussed and, for the most part, criticized by A. Tulli (Tulli 1941, pp. 211–230). See also Ziegler 1994, p. 48.

⁸²⁾ Posener 1936, p. 1. See, however, the information about the way of its acquisition for the Vatican Museum given by C. Pietrangeli in Botti — Romanelli 1951, p. 137.

difficult as well, especially in view of the absence of any regnal years. G. Posener suggested that the statue comes from year 3 of Darius I (the last king mentioned in the text),⁸⁴ ie about 519 BC.⁸⁵ Recently, A. Spalinger suggested postponing the date to around 514 BC or even slightly later.⁸⁶

Except for the head,⁸⁷ upper part of the torso with arms, sides and bottom of the plinth, and the inside of the small naos with the figure of Osiris, all the remaining surface of the statue is almost completely covered with hieroglyphic text in sunk relief. The individual sections of the text are rather strictly separated, so that their exact ordering is not always clear and has been disputed.⁸⁸

The front face of the naos:⁸⁹

1) A boon which the king gives to Osiris — Hemag:⁹⁰ 10 000 loaves of bread, jugs of beer, bulls, geese — all things good and pure for the *ka* of the one revered by all gods of the Saite nome, the Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet.

2) A boon which the king gives to Osiris who is in the Palace of the bee:⁹¹ the funerary offering consisting of bread, beer, bulls, geese, all things good for the *ka* of the one revered by all gods, the Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet.

3) O, Osiris, Lord of the Eternity. The Chief Physician,

4) Udjahorresnet laid his hands upon you, to protect you.

⁸³ This location is widely recognized, see, eg, Ranke 1943, footnote 2 on p. 118, and Burkard 1994b, pp. 97–98. Generally speaking, most Late Period naophorous statues probably come from temples and not graves, see Ranke 1943, p. 108.

⁸⁴ Posener 1936, pp. 1–2. One should bear in mind, however, that this dating is mainly based on an argument *ex silentio*. The same date is accepted by Thiers 1995, p. 498. With reference to Posener, loc. cit., Bianchi 1982, col. 947 dates the statue into year 4 of Darius.

⁸⁵ On the chronology of the first years of the Persian rule in Egypt, see now Depuydt 1996 and more generally, also Depuydt 1995.

⁸⁶ Spalinger 1985, col. 823.

⁸⁷ Certainly the head has been restored only recently. It is, however, hardly conceivable that it could have been inscribed.

⁸⁸ For the translation of the text, see Botti — Romanelli 1951, pp. 35–39, Posener 1936, pp. 3–25 (with a thorough discussion of various philological problems), see also Lichtheim 1980, pp. 36–41. The translation given here follows the ordering established by G. Farina (Farina 1929) and accepted by Posener. Another arrangement of the text has been suggested by U. Rössler-Köhler (Rössler-Köhler 1985). Quite recently, the question of the correct order has been thoroughly discussed by J. Baines again (Baines 1996).

⁸⁹ A somewhat different reading of the lines 3–6 has been recently proposed by I. Nagy (Nagy 1989). See also Ranke 1943, pp. 109–110.

⁹⁰ On this deity, see now Zecchi 1996.

⁹¹ On this temple in general, see el-Sayed 1975, pp. 199–213. See also Bakry 1968b, pp. 2–3, and Lichtheim 1980, note 2 on p. 40.

5) Let your *ka* order that everything beneficial⁹² would be made for him⁹³

6) in the same way as he⁹⁴ keeps your chapel protected forever.

Under the right arm:


7) Revered⁹⁵ by Neith the Great, Mother of the God, revered by the gods of Sais, the Hereditary Noble, Prince, Seal-bearer of the King of the Lower Egypt, Sole Friend,

8) the True King's Acquaintance,⁹⁶ Who loves him, Scribe, Inspector of Council Scribes,⁹⁷ Overseer of the Scribes of the Great Hall,⁹⁸ Director of the Palace,

9) Overseer of the Royal *Kbn.wt*-vessels⁹⁹ under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khnemibre,¹⁰⁰ Overseer of the Royal *Kbn.wt*-vessels under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

10) Ankhkare¹⁰¹ Udjahorresnet, engendered by the Director of the Palaces,¹⁰² Headman of Pe,¹⁰³ (the priest) *mp*,¹⁰⁴ (the priest) *hpt* Udjat,¹⁰⁵ Prophet of Neith who is in front of the Saite nome, Pef-tjaumeauineith,

11) he says: The Great Ruler of All Foreign Lands,¹⁰⁶ Cambyses came to Egypt¹⁰⁷ and the

⁹² The word  *3hw* appears several times in the text. In this context, the translation “beneficial” with the connotation of “the necessary (things)” seems to be the most appropriate. For another possible meaning in a somewhat different context, see line 19. See also Nagy 1989, pp. 377 and 381.

⁹³ ie Udjahorresnet.

⁹⁴ ie Udjahorresnet.

⁹⁵ The use of *jm3h* was recently discussed by Jansen-Winkel 1996.

⁹⁶ On this title, see de Meulenaere 1965, p. 20, note a), and Zivie-Coche 1991, p. 112 (with reference to literature dealing with the topic).

⁹⁷ On this title, see now Allam 1991, p. 116.

⁹⁸ On this title, see Seidl 1968, p. 12.

⁹⁹ The meaning of this rather specific term has been recently discussed by J. C. Darnell (1992). Against the older interpretation of *kbn.wt* as the marine, Darnell came to the conclusion that this term described seaworthy vessels, be they vessels of war, trade, or exploration (1992, p. 89).

¹⁰⁰ ie Amasis.

¹⁰¹ ie Psammetik III.

¹⁰² On this title, see Jelínková 1950, Jelínková 1955, el-Sayed 1976. See also Kern Lillesø 1978, 100 with footnote 2, Vernus 1978, p. 99, note a), and Kessler 1989, p. 223.

¹⁰³ On this title, see de Meulenaere 1964, pp. 166–167.

¹⁰⁴ On this title, see de Meulenaere 1964, pp. 151–165. See also Pernigotti 1982, pp. 9–10 with note 1 on p. 13.

¹⁰⁵ On this title, see Lacaze — Masson — Yoyotte 1984, p. 131 (note b), and Jansen-Winkel 1998b, p. 161, referring to de Meulenaere 1964, pp. 157 and 165.

¹⁰⁶ This special expression seems to be the equivalent of the Persian title “King of Kings”.

¹⁰⁷ The hieroglyphic sign used in the text (Botti — Romanelli 1951, pl. XXVIII left) resembles more the sign of a mound of

foreigners from all foreign countries (came) with him. When he took all this land,

12) they took up residence there. He was the great ruler of Egypt,¹⁰⁸ sovereign of all foreign lands. His Majesty entrusted the office of Chief Physician to me

13) and left me to stay beside him as his friend and Director of the Palace who made his titulary¹⁰⁹ in his name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mesutire.¹¹⁰ I let His Majesty recognize the greatness of Sais,

14) the seat of Neith, mother who gave birth to Re and started the births¹¹¹ when birth still did not exist, and (I let him recognize) the nature of greatness of the temple of Neith, and it equals the sky in what concerns its complete nature, and the nature of greatness of the Palaces of the Red Crown,

15) and of all gods and goddesses existing there, as well as the nature of greatness of the Palace of the bee, and this is the seat of the ruler, lord of heaven, and the nature of greatness of the Southern (sanctuary), Northern (sanctuary), House of Re and House of Atum, and that is the mystery of all gods.

Under the left arm:

16) Revered by the god of his native town¹¹² and by all gods, the Hereditary Noble, Prince, Seal-bearer

earth (N 31 in Gardiner) than the expected sign of the piece of the crocodile skin (I 6 in Gardiner). Both signs are rather similar in their shape and it may be argued, therefore, that it is only an error of the scribe. The shape of the sign remained unnoticed by the translators (Posener 1936, pp. 6–7, Botti — Romanelli 1951, p. 36, Lloyd 1982, p. 169). The word *i3wt* (in plural form) is anyway attested from the Ptolemaic times, meaning “(Sacred) places”, ie Egypt (Wb. I, 26, 13). Was perhaps the shape of that sign on the statue of Udjahorresnet the oldest example of such a use?

¹⁰⁸ The same sign is used here again as in the line 11 (see above).

¹⁰⁹ The role of Udjahorresnet in the composition of the royal titulary has been recently stressed by Török 1997, pp. 153 (note 208) and 199. In spite of Török’s statement, however, Udjahorresnet never held the title of the lector-priest.

¹¹⁰ Interestingly enough, this “Egyptian” hieroglyphic form of Cambyses’s name appears only once in this rather long text. In all other cases (lines 11, 18, 25), the name of this ruler is written in the hieroglyphic transliteration of its original Persian form. It may be noted, however, that in all cases the name of this ruler, expressed in either form, follows the epithet “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”. In this respect, both names seem to be interchangeable.

¹¹¹ These words certainly allude to the hieroglyphic form of the name as composed by Udjahorresnet.

¹¹² On the beginning of the so-called “Saite formula” see now F. Junge (Junge 1983, cols. 357–358) who prefers the translation “Heimatlicher Gott (des NN)” instead of “Der Stadtgott (des NN)”. On the so-called Saite formula in general, see O’Rourke 1992, pp. 111–112.

of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Friend, the True King’s Acquaintance, Who loves him,

17) Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet, born to Atemirdis, he says:¹¹³

I made a petition in front of His Majesty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Cambyses against all foreigners who had settled in the temple of Neith, 19) to expel them from there and to let the temple of Neith reappear in all its power¹¹⁴ as before. His Majesty ordered the expulsion of all

20) foreigners who had settled in the temple of Neith and the destruction of all their houses and all their penetrations that were in the temple. When they carried

21) ... (all their things?) themselves to the gates and walls of this temple, His Majesty ordered the ritual purification of this temple of Neith and the provisioning of it with all personnel,

22) ... and with the temple priesthood. His Majesty ordered the presentation of the god’s offerings to Neith the Great, Mother of god and the great gods residing in Sais, as before. His Majesty ordered

23) ...¹¹⁵ all their feasts and all their ceremonial appearances¹¹⁶ as was done before. His Majesty did that when I let His Majesty recognize the greatness of Sais, that is the city of all gods that are firm on their thrones there forever.¹¹⁷

On the base of the naos and on the pillar under it — the left side:

24) Revered by the gods of Sais,

25) the Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet, he says: the King of the Upper and Lower Egypt, Cambyses came to Sais. His Majesty himself went into the temple of Neith, touched the earth with

¹¹³ Recently, this passage was translated anew and commented upon by Burkard 1994b, p. 98ff and Thiers 1995, pp. 498–500.

¹¹⁴ The possible ways of translating the word *i3wt* (Wb I, 15) have been recently discussed by A. B. Lloyd (Lloyd 1982, p. 169, n. 10). Lloyd himself prefers the translation “beneficial powers” which perhaps contains more assessment than necessary. The powers attributed to the temple in its “normal” state could have perhaps been as much beneficial as, eg, menacing. See also Meeks 1980, p. 8 (no. 77.0073) and Meeks 1981, p. 7 (no. 78.0060).

¹¹⁵ A damaged and emended place, perhaps “to celebrate”?, see Posener 1936, p. 16.

¹¹⁶ This expression seems to designate the ritual procession as one of the main features of the religious feasts, the only time when the cult image of the god appeared to the broader public.

¹¹⁷ According to these lines, it is the King who deserves praise for re-establishing of the cult in the temple of Neith. Contrary to that, Udjahorresnet speaks about his own merits of the same kind in lines 31 and 32. Interestingly enough, also Ptahhetep, another well-known Egyptian collaborator with the Persian rulers, mentions only his own activities in maintaining temples and cults on his statue — see Jansen-Winkeln 1998b, p. 165 (lines 2 and 3 of the translated text).

the forehead for Her Very Great¹¹⁸⁾ Majesty¹¹⁹⁾ as each king had done. He presented great offerings

26) consisting of all things good to the Great Neith, Mother of God, and to all gods residing in Sais as each devoted king has done. His Majesty did this because I let His Majesty recognize the greatness of Her Majesty

27) who is the mother of Re himself.

On the base of the naos and on the pillar under it — the right side:

28) Revered by Osiris — Hemag,

29) the Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet, he says: His Majesty did all that was beneficial¹²⁰⁾ in the temple of Neith. He established the presentation of libations for the lord of eternity inside the temple of Neith as each king has done before.

30) His Majesty did that because I let His Majesty recognize all beneficial things done to this temple by each king because of the greatness of this temple which is the seat of the gods established forever.

On the left side of the naos and on the garment above the right hand:

31) Revered by the gods of the Saite nome, the Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet, he says: I have established god's offerings for the Great Neith, Mother of the God, according to

32) the order of His Majesty in the length of eternity. I made a monument for Neith, Lady of Sais, consisting of all things good, as is done by each servant

33) devoted to his lord. I am a good man in his town.¹²¹⁾ I saved its people from the very great turmoil

34) that occurred in all the land and nothing similar had occurred in this land. I protected one who was a pauper

35) from one who was mighty, I saved the one who was afraid when his affair occurred. I made for them all that was beneficial when the

36) moment came to work for them.

On the right side of the naos and on the garment above the left hand:

37) Revered by the god of his native town, the Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet, he says: I am the one revered by his father, praised by his mother,

38) loved by his brothers.¹²²⁾ I established the offices of a priest for them, I gave a profitable field to them according to the order of His Majesty for

39) the length of eternity. I made a beautiful coffin to one who was without a coffin, I fed all their children, I established all their houses, I made

40) everything beneficial for them, as the father does for his son, when the turmoil occurred in

41) this nome during the very great turmoil that occurred

42) in this entire land.

Dorsal pillar:¹²³⁾

43) The Hereditary Noble, Prince, Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Friend, priest of those who give life¹²⁴⁾, Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet, born to Atemirdis, he says:¹²⁵⁾ His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius, may he live forever, ordered me to come to Egypt¹²⁶⁾ — and His Majesty was in Elam¹²⁷⁾ at the moment and was the great ruler of all foreign lands and the great

¹¹⁸⁾ As opposed to G. Posener (1936, 17) who translated this expression adverbially as "très grandement", the adjectival meaning of both words (in this case certainly relating to "Her Majesty") seems to be preferable, in spite of the omitted endings *-t*. One may compare line 14 where the final *-t* is omitted five times altogether, among them in the same epithet *wr(t)*.

¹¹⁹⁾ ie Neith.

¹²⁰⁾ See line 5.

¹²¹⁾ It should be noted that, especially starting from the Late Period, the Egyptians felted themselves very closely associated with their towns, see, eg, Vittmann 1998, p. 71 and his footnote 69. This locally based patriotism represents a specific form of Egyptian nationalism, strengthened perhaps by the rather unfavourable state of things in the country during the supremacy of foreign rulers.

¹²²⁾ Examples of similar formulae, showing the filial piety, have been collected and briefly commented upon by R. el-Sayed 1985, see esp. his pp. 284 (no 86) and 285 (no 97a) for parallels. Similar phrases appear in the autobiographies since the second half of the Old Kingdom, see Urk. I, 47, 1–3 (Werkhuu), Urk. I, 109,17–110,1 (Uni).

¹²³⁾ See also Gardiner 1938, pp. 157–159.

¹²⁴⁾ Literally "those through whom one lives".

¹²⁵⁾ A new translation of this passage, together with a commentary on Udjahorresnet's activities, was presented by G. Burkard (Burkard 1994a, p. 98ff).

¹²⁶⁾ See line 11 concerning the discussion of the hieroglyphic sign used here.

¹²⁷⁾ The reasons for Udjahorresnet's journey to Elam, as well as the time setting of this event, remain rather obscure so far. The suggestion brought by G. Cameron (Cameron 1943, pp. 310–311), namely that Udjahorresnet left Egypt in company with the Persian satrap Aryandes during the disturbances following the death of Cambyses, is perhaps too much influenced by Udjahorresnet's seemingly unequivocal support for the Persian cause and is, therefore, hardly acceptable. We can only speculate whether Udjahorresnet went to Elam of his own free will or has been forced into this long and difficult journey. See also Briant 1996, pp. 489–490.

sovereign of Egypt¹²⁸⁾ — to establish the office¹²⁹⁾ of the House of Life¹³⁰⁾

44) ... after the destruction. The foreigners carried me from one foreign country to another and conveyed me to Egypt according to the order of the lord of the two lands. I acted according to the order of His Majesty. I furnished it with all its scribes¹³¹⁾ from the sons of (the distinguished) men and there was no son of a humble man. I put them under the guidance of all wise men

45) ... for all their works. His Majesty ordered that everything good should be given to them according to the(ir) wish so that they might do all their works. I provided them with everything beneficial for them according to their requirements that were mentioned in the writings as was the state at the beginning. His Majesty did that because he has recognized the benefit of this skill to keep alive those suffering from any disease and to keep firm the names of all gods, as well as their temples, their god's offerings and the conducting of their feasts forever.¹³²⁾

The upper surface of the plinth at the right:

46) The Chief Physician, Udjahorresnet, he says: I am the one revered by all his lords,¹³³⁾ I became established,¹³⁴⁾ they gave me decorations of gold and did everything beneficial for me.

¹²⁸⁾ The stress put on this fact may perhaps show that the text was written in a relatively short time after King Darius came to power under rather turbulent circumstances.




¹²⁹⁾ It may be disputed whether the real material office is meant, as the determinative seems to suggest, or the institution. Burkard 1995, pp. 35–36 argues that, because of the following plural pronoun, the “institution of the House of Life”, comprising in fact all institutions of that kind in any temple in Egypt, is intended.

¹³⁰⁾ G. Burkard (1994a, p. 48) puts all these activities into year three of Darius (519 BC). In fact, nothing speaks in favour of such a time setting as virtually nothing in the text on Udjahorresnet's statue refers to the time when he has really returned to Egypt (see, however, our footnote 127). Udjahorresnet simply states that he has been ordered to return during Darius's stay in Elam and though it is well conceivable that this event preceded the journey of the Persian king to Egypt, it is certainly not definitely sure.

¹³¹⁾ This word seems to designate the personnel of the House of Life in broader sense. It is clearly derived from the basic meaning “those dealing with the papyrus roll”. See also Cruz-Uribe 1999, cols. 63–64.

¹³²⁾ The importance of this passage mentioning, among other things, the re-establishing of the House of Life was for the first time stressed by Schäfer 1899. Quite recently, this passage has been discussed also by Burkard 1994a, p. 43.

¹³³⁾ On the meaning of this passage, see now U. Rössler-Köhler 1989, pp. 266–267 and 274. According to her, all four kings mentioned by Udjahorresnet previously are meant here.

¹³⁴⁾ This group consisting of four rather roughly incised signs is difficult to read. Posener (1936, p. 25) hesitates between the readings  and  with the following , translating





The upper surface of the plinth at the left:

47) Revered by Neith is the one who says: O, great gods residing in Sais

48) remember all the beneficial deeds done by Chief Physician Udjahorresnet that you may do all the beneficial things for him and make his name good and firm in this land forever.¹³⁵⁾

The biographical inscription of Udjahorresnet, being more or less the only known original Egyptian source dealing with the occupation of Egypt by Persian armies in 525 BC and the beginning of the Persian rule, aroused much deserved attention even in the last century. Its relative brevity and ambiguity of its expression is typical for the usually rather stereotyped way of expression in Egyptian sources, above all the historical ones.¹³⁶⁾ For that reason, the assessments of the role played by Udjahorresnet himself differ profoundly and may be even completely contradictory.

Older opinions considered the attitude of Udjahorresnet to be a conscious betrayal of the Egyptian ruler, caused by some personal motives, especially by the loss of some important and economically profitable offices held presumably by his forefathers.¹³⁷⁾ These opinions have been rightly criticized by G. Posener.¹³⁸⁾ In his view, such attitudes result from the completely unattested identification of Udjahorresnet's father with one of his namesakes who held some important offices under Apries, one generation before Amasis.¹³⁹⁾

“(tant que j'ai vécu) (?)”. Botti and Romanelli (1951, p. 39) translate this as “(mentre mi trovai) in mezzo a loro”, i.e. “in (the middle of) the prosperity”. Judging from the somewhat unclear photograph (Botti — Romanelli 1951, pl. XXXI, 17), the first sign could perhaps be read as  (S 23 in Gardiner's list) in the sense of “to unite, to assemble, etc.” (Wb V, 457f.) with the phonetic complement  (D 46) and two determinatives  (Y 1) and  (F 36). Even though the meaning of this expression is still far from clear, some connection with financial matters may perhaps be supposed, especially in view of the following mention of the jewellery of gold. Could it be that “unifying”, i.e. inclusion in the pay-lists of the state officials, etc., is meant?

¹³⁵⁾ This last sentence clearly represents an appeal to living, very probably to those passing by in that sector of the temple where this statue seems to have been standing. See also Perdu 1998, pp. 132–133, note d) and pp. 146–149.

¹³⁶⁾ This question has been thoroughly discussed by A. B. Lloyd (1982, p. 167) who used some methods and results of general psychology.

¹³⁷⁾ Revillout 1880, p. 40, see also Mallet 1888, p. 144.

¹³⁸⁾ Posener 1936, p. 164.

¹³⁹⁾ The name Pefthauemaueineith was rather common during Dyn. 26 and shortly later. R. el-Sayed (1982, vol. II) collected 17 dignitaries of such a name: p. 407 (doc. 454), pp. 432–433 (doc. 501 b,i,j,k,m), p. 433 (doc. 502a), pp. 435–436 (doc. 509 a,c = father of the Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt Udjahorresnet), p. 436 (doc. 510 a,b,c,d), p. 436 (doc. 511

W. Helck¹⁴⁰⁾ rather cautiously suggested that it was possible to see in the activities of Udjahorresnet, himself a member of the Egyptian military upper class, an attempt to curb the power of the priesthood, much increased and supported under the Saite rulers and certainly much restricted under Cambyses. Anyway, such a strict differentiation between various groups of Egyptian nobility and the search for possible antagonisms between them seems to be far from actuality. Generally speaking, individual members of the ruling class and all their families as well quite fluently combined administrative, priestly and military offices and posts.¹⁴¹⁾ Even Udjahorresnet himself held various titles typical for all three categories mentioned above, although his most important activities under Dyn. 26 seem to have been the military ones. The shift of his activities under the Persian kings, as it appears in his titles, was certainly caused by the change in the general situation in the country. Udjahorresnet's father held, on the contrary, only priestly titles of a rather mediocre rank.¹⁴²⁾

A similar assumption saying that Udjahorresnet defected to the Persians at the very beginning of the conflict and even surrendered the Egyptian fleet to the enemy has been presented by E. Drioton and J. Vandier.¹⁴³⁾ Both authors, however, did not even try to explore Udjahorresnet's possible motives for such treachery. Instead of that, they simply used the obvious favour given to Udjahorresnet by the new Persian rulers as an argument for his betrayal. G. Posener also came to the conclusion

that Udjahorresnet's role during the Persian attack upon Egypt was rather dishonourable in relation to Egyptian national interests. He has even suggested that the behaviour of Udjahorresnet may have influenced the course of events during the conflict.¹⁴⁴⁾ A. Klasens points out that Udjahorresnet gives an apology of himself.¹⁴⁵⁾ The presumably treacherous behaviour of Udjahorresnet is stressed still more, perhaps being rather exaggerated, in the writings presented by non-Egyptologists, above all in more general historical studies.¹⁴⁶⁾

The difficult question of the presumable treachery of Udjahorresnet has been recently examined by A. B. Lloyd.¹⁴⁷⁾ In his otherwise cautious standpoint, he rather unequivocally called the biographical inscription on the statue of Udjahorresnet "a collaborator's testament" but, on the other hand, avoided any attempt to solve the most crucial and, at the same time, most difficult question, of precisely when Udjahorresnet defected to the Persian side. Lloyd tries to find some other reasons, perhaps more psychological in their nature, for Udjahorresnet's attitude towards the new rulers.¹⁴⁸⁾ According to him, the shift in Udjahorresnet's behaviour (from original hatred towards unequivocal acceptance) was caused by the readiness of Cambyses to accept the role of an ideal Egyptian king with all its attributes, which thus became the fundamental feature in preserving the continuity of the world according to the traditional national ideology of the kingship.¹⁴⁹⁾ Formally, this willingness was expressed by the acceptance of the traditional full titulary of Egyptian kings compiled personally by Udjahorresnet and concentrated around the

a,b), p. 438 (doc. 524), p. 439 (doc. 525), p. 439 (doc. 526), p. 440 (doc. 536), p. 440 (doc. 537), p. 520 (doc. 775), p. 520 (doc. 776), p. 520 (doc. 777), p. 520 (doc. 778), p. 520–521 (doc. 779), p. 521 (doc. 780). Two other are mentioned by Basta 1979, and Jansen-Winkel 1998b, pp. 159–163 (stela Cairo 16/6/24/1).

At the same time, at least 15 officials named Udjahorresnet are attested from about the same time, see R. el-Sayed (1982, vol. II), pp. 434–435 (doc. 507a,e), pp. 435–436 (doc. 509a,b,c), p. 436 (doc. 511b), p. 441 (doc. 540), p. 447 (doc. 586), p. 506 (doc. 730), p. 507 (doc. 731), p. 507 (doc. 732a,b,c), p. 507 (doc. 733), p. 508 (doc. 734), p. 508 (doc. 735), p. 508 (doc. 736), p. 509 (doc. 737), p. 537 (doc. 846), p. 540 (doc. 853). Other dignitaries of this name are mentioned on a canopic jar in Naples, inv. no. 1044 (see *La collezione egiziana del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*, p. 74 and pl. XII) and on a naophorous statue kept in the County Museum and Art Gallery at Truro, Cornwall (Edwards 1992, p. 48).

¹⁴⁰⁾ Helck 1968, pp. 258–259.

¹⁴¹⁾ On the stratification of Egyptian society in the course of the first millennium BC in general see Lloyd 1983, pp. 301–318 and 331–337. See also Vasojević 1990.

¹⁴²⁾ According to an isolated suggestion brought by H. Brunner (Brunner 1975, col. 719), Udjahorresnet may have taken over the medical profession from his father. Such a suggestion seems to be completely unsubstantiated.

¹⁴³⁾ Drioton — Vandier 1984, p. 600.

¹⁴⁴⁾ Posener 1936, pp. 165 and 167. In slightly different words, his opinion was repeated by B. Menu (Menu 1998, p. 257).

¹⁴⁵⁾ Klasens 1948, pp. 343–344. His formulation implies a negative assessment of Udjahorresnet's behaviour. Perhaps the same attitude was expressed also by H. de Meulenaere (de Meulenaere 1956, p. 253, note 4).

¹⁴⁶⁾ Ghalioungui (1983, p. 81) quotes in this respect the assumption of A. T. Olmsted (*The History of the Persian Empire*, Chicago 1948, p. 88) that "the naval commander Udjahorresnet treacherously brought about the surrender of the strategic city of Sais". On the other hand, Briant 1996, p. 65, considers such a hypothesis rather weak.

¹⁴⁷⁾ Lloyd 1982, pp. 166–167.

¹⁴⁸⁾ In this respect, Lloyd (1982, p. 167) quite unequivocally stresses the necessity of considering the interpretative problems in the evaluation of Egyptian historical sources. He would rather exclude all traditional patterns and stereotypes pertaining to this genre and to evaluate only what remains, should anything be left.

¹⁴⁹⁾ A much more appropriate opinion has been offered by E. Otto (1954, p. 145, footnote 2). According to him, the rule of a foreigner was still preferable to the absence of any ruler in the traditional Egyptian ideology. See also U. Rössler-Köhler 1991, pp. 370–371 and B. Menu 1998, p. 223.

royal name Mesutire, ie "The offspring of Re".¹⁵⁰⁾ In the opinion of Lloyd, the attitude of Udjahorresnet thus represents only an attempt to maintain the traditional cultural peculiarity of Egypt in respect to her foreign rulers.¹⁵¹⁾

Recently, B. Menu came to about the same conclusion. According to her, the opportunistic behaviour ascribed to Udjahorresnet was justifiable on grounds of the personal and, still more important, royal piety which was considered indispensable for the well-being of Egypt.¹⁵²⁾

The presumed deliberate collaboration of Udjahorresnet with the Persian conquerors of his native land is sometimes derived from the fact that he may have been in personal contacts with the Persian kings before their attack upon Egypt and may have even been part of their court. This assumption, based on the account given by Herodotus about an Egyptian oculist on Cambyses's court,¹⁵³⁾ was originally suggested by E. Revillout¹⁵⁴⁾ but strongly refuted by H. de Meulenaere¹⁵⁵⁾ later on. A short time ago, this idea has been revived and supported by additional arguments by G. Godron,¹⁵⁶⁾ although even Godron admits some doubts.¹⁵⁷⁾ Recently, such assumptions were discussed anew by G. Burkard.¹⁵⁸⁾ Sharing Godron's opinion, Burkard admits the possibility that the name of Udjahorresnet may be hidden in the name of the native counsellor to Cambyses appearing in the much later Coptic novel about the Persian ruler.¹⁵⁹⁾

The negative attitude of this Egyptian oculist sent to the Persian court by Amasis is mentioned by Herodotus. Such an attitude would be certainly favourable for a possible cooperation with the enemies of Egypt. Except for the account of Herodotus, however, nothing so far corroborates the very existence of an Egyptian oculist in the vicinity of the Persian king.¹⁶⁰⁾ Moreover, the identification of this presumed Egyptian oculist is purely hypothetical and is nowhere confirmed.¹⁶¹⁾ Udjahorresnet himself mentions only administrative and military titles in connection with his activities under Dyn. 26 kings and none of his titles pertaining to that epoch may be in any way connected with any kind of medical activities.¹⁶²⁾ Against the perhaps exaggerated credibility of the account given by Herodotus about the Egyptian oculist (III,1), another of his stories may be perhaps mentioned (III,3) dealing this time with the presupposed Egyptian origin of Cambyses. Both accounts are connected with the alleged marriage of an Egyptian princess to a foreign ruler.¹⁶³⁾

The rather surprising fact why and how Udjahorresnet, with all his previous career, suddenly became "Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt" under the Persian King Cambyses, has only recently been touched upon by P. Ghalioungui. According to his very plausible suggestion, this function may have been in some way related to the finances of the state.¹⁶⁴⁾ The position of Udjahorresnet in the

¹⁵⁰⁾ On this name, see Gauthier 1916, p. 138f. and von Beckerath 1984, p. 113.

¹⁵¹⁾ The feelings of their own superiority over the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries are as typical for the ancient Egyptians as for any of the other ancient civilizations (the Greek attitude towards the foreigners, that is "barbarians", can be quoted in this respect). Especially from the point of view of the ideology of the Egyptian kingship, the attitude of the Egyptians towards foreigners, best expressed in the typical scenes of Pharaoh smiting his (or, better to say, his land's) enemies (cf Hall 1986, reviewed by Van Siclen 1987), remained strictly hostile. The later views of Egyptians on Ptolemy I are discussed by Lloyd 1982, pp. 175–176. Generally speaking, the attitude of Egyptians towards their Persian and, later on, Greek sovereigns has certainly differed from their feelings towards their almost completely egyptianized Libyan and Nubian rulers. See also our footnote 184.

¹⁵²⁾ Menu 1998, p. 258.

¹⁵³⁾ Herodotus III, 1. Rather typically, no name is given for the oculist. See also Burkard 1994a, p. 38.

¹⁵⁴⁾ See Godron 1986, p. 289 and his footnote 14.

¹⁵⁵⁾ De Meulenaere 1951, p. 127 and his footnote 16.

¹⁵⁶⁾ Godron 1986, pp. 289–292.

¹⁵⁷⁾ According to his own words (1986, p. 292), he hesitates between "le possible" and "le probable" being more inclined to accept the latter of both eventualities.

¹⁵⁸⁾ Burkard 1994a, p. 46.

¹⁵⁹⁾ The discussion is summarized in Godron 1986, p. 296 and note 40.

¹⁶⁰⁾ The medical care on the Persian royal court was recently discussed by P. Briant, 1996, pp. 276–278 and 944. In general, Egyptian physicians were indeed famous throughout the ancient Near East as a whole. For that reason, they were often invited to royal courts outside Egypt, see, eg, Edel 1976 and Ghalioungui 1983, pp. 76–80.

¹⁶¹⁾ Even Godron admits that Udjahorresnet was appointed to the post of the Chief Physician only by Cambyses (Godron 1986, p. 289).

¹⁶²⁾ Against such an *ex silentio* evidence Godron (1986, p. 292) argues that according to H. Grapow any dignitary appointed to the post of Chief Physician (*wnw swnw*) had to have been already a practising physician (*swnw*) — see also our note 142. In view of the rather turbulent political situation in Egypt in times following the Persian occupation of the land, such an assumption remains again a pure hypothesis. Even if this were correct, the very fact would not prove the identification of the physician mentioned by Herodotus with the person of Udjahorresnet. Moreover, the very special position of Udjahorresnet should be taken into account.

¹⁶³⁾ See Ghalioungui 1983, pp. 80–81. Ghalioungui argues for this using the account given by Herodotus about the destruction of Amasis's tomb by Cambyses. Though this event may have some truth in it, it is, however, by no means attested archaeologically (see de Meulenaere 1951, pp. 122 and 155).

¹⁶⁴⁾ Ghalioungui 1983, p. 84. See also Verner 1994, p. 203 stating that Udjahorresnet's office (the chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt) roughly corresponded to the position of a chancellor.

Persian administration of Egypt may have been so extraordinary that it was, in fact, beyond the scope of the traditional titulary.¹⁶⁵⁾

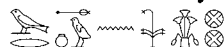
Other sources pertaining to the person of Udjahorresnet and known so far are either scarce, incomplete or, at least for a part of them, also somewhat vague:

1) A naophorous statue presumably seen in Cairo in 1828–1829 by Italian Egyptologist Ippolito Rosellini and lost since. Rosellini copied (completely or only partially) the text preserved on the statue which consisted of five columns of hieroglyphic signs. His copy is almost identical with some passages of the biographical inscription covering the statue of Udjahorresnet. Because of that fact, G. Posener identified the owner of the now lost statue with Udjahorresnet.¹⁶⁶⁾ This identification has been until now more or less accepted,¹⁶⁷⁾ in spite of the fact that it is based only on royal cartouches identical with those on the statue of Udjahorresnet, as there are no other details in the account written by Rosellini about the owner of this statue or his profession, titles, etc.¹⁶⁸⁾

2) A fragment of a statue made of granite. Very probably, the fragment comes from the inscribed front face of a plinth of the statue, perhaps a naophorous one.¹⁶⁹⁾ Remains of two lines of hieroglyphic inscription are preserved on the fragment, one of them identical with the appeal to the living appearing frequently on the temple statues. The other line contains the name of Udjahorresnet and the title “Chief Physician” (*wr swnw*). According to G. Michaélidis who published it, the fragment was given to him by B. Grdseloff and presumably comes from the Memphite region. Its exact provenance remains unknown.¹⁷⁰⁾

3) The tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir. The following titles are preserved on the walls of the burial chamber and on the sarcophagi:

— “Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt”



— “Overseer of the foreign mercenaries”



— “Sole friend”

— “Overseer of the scribes of the Great Hall”



— “Sole friend of the one who loves him”



— “True judiciary scribe in the Great Palace”



— “Overseer of the royal *kbn.wt*-vessels”



4) An indirect source:

Torso of a statue unearthed at Mit Rahina¹⁷¹⁾ and presumably erected 177 years after Udjahorresnet gives the following titles in connection with his name:

— “Director of the palace”

— “Overseer of the scribes of the Great Hall”



— “Overseer of the royal *kbn.wt*-vessels”



The preserved sources certainly enable one to follow the career of Udjahorresnet along rough lines. At the same time, they do not give even the slightest hint concerning his possible attitudes and behaviour in the crucial period shortly before the Persian attack and during it. For that reason, Udjahorresnet could hardly be simply labelled as “a traitor”.¹⁷²⁾ On the other hand, the bare fact of

¹⁶⁵⁾ On this relatively rare title, see recently Ghalioungui 1981, p. 12 with note 4 and p. 17. See also Ghalioungui 1983.

¹⁶⁶⁾ Posener 1936, pp. 26–29 including the bibliography.

¹⁶⁷⁾ See, eg, el-Sayed 1975, p. 235 (no. 15b), el-Sayed 1982, p. 435 (no. 509b), Godron 1986, p. 289 and footnote 17.

¹⁶⁸⁾ See also Bresciani 1985, pp. 2–3.

¹⁶⁹⁾ Michaélidis 1943, pp. 101–102, see also el-Sayed 1975, p. 235 (no. 15c), el-Sayed 1982, p. 436 (no. 509c). The identification of this fragment with a piece of the base of a statue is based on parallels dating back to about the same time, see, eg, Bothmer et al. 1960, pl. 58, fig. 143 (Horwedja, about 520–490 BC) and pl. 62, fig. 155 (Psammetik-sa-Neith, about 500 BC).

¹⁷⁰⁾ The presumable provenance is mentioned so vaguely that it may have come from North Saqqara or even Abusir, ie from the vicinity of Udjahorresnet's tomb situated on the south-western outskirts of the Abusir necropolis. Rather plausibly, the

fragment comes from the cemetery rather than from the city of Memphis itself. Godron (1986, p. 290) suggests, on the basis of the similar material, that the fragment may have formed part of another, in this case much later, statue of Udjahorresnet unearthed at Mit Rahina in 1955 (Anthes 1965, pp. 98–100 and pls. 36 a-b and 37 a-c). The material of this fragment is, however, mentioned by Michaélidis only vaguely as “granite”, so that this identification is by no means sure.

¹⁷¹⁾ Anthes 1965, pp. 98–100 and pls. 36 a-b and 37 a-c. On the statue, see now also Bresciani 1985.

¹⁷²⁾ T. Holm-Rasmussen (1988, p. 29) protested against the modern use of such a pejorative designation, in connection with Udjahorresnet. It may be noted, however, that in none of the works quoted in Holm-Rasmussen's footnote 1 Udjahorresnet is labelled in such a way. See also Morschauser 1988, p. 218 (“the Persian sympathizer and collaborator”) and, more recently, Burkard 1994a, p. 43.

Udjahorresnet's cooperation with the new rulers of Egypt can scarcely be doubted.¹⁷³⁾ In a way, he even represents a classic example of an Egyptian cooperating with the foreign conquerors of his native land.¹⁷⁴⁾

It seems clear that Udjahorresnet was one of the leading men in the Egyptian military hierarchy at the end of Dyn. 26. During all the Dyn. 26, only eight holders of the title "admiral" are attested¹⁷⁵⁾ beside him. Three among them¹⁷⁶⁾ can be dated back to the time of King Amasis and were thus contemporary with Udjahorresnet. In addition to that, only one "Overseer of the foreign mercenaries [from Hau-nebu]"¹⁷⁷⁾ appears beside Udjahorresnet during this period.¹⁷⁸⁾

The negative evaluation of Udjahorresnet's behaviour and deeds, especially concerning his seemingly too close cooperation with the Persian conquerors, may have been to some degree influenced by the almost completely negative picture of Cambyses. This negative attitude towards Cambyses, well attested in Egyptian sources and adopted perhaps too readily by Greek authors with

all their anti-Persian hatred, is perhaps only partly correct and, in most cases, much exaggerated.¹⁷⁹⁾

The assessment of the activities of Udjahorresnet should place more reliance on the information he himself gives even though it is very subjective. As such, it enables a broad spectrum of explanations, even completely contradictory ones. His presumed contacts with the Persian kings prior to their attack upon Egypt or, again, his presupposed defection to the Persian side in the course of the campaign (or even in the crucial battle) can be in no way proven; though it is only an argument *ex silentio*. The presumed treachery or defection of Udjahorresnet is also not mentioned by Herodotus, who otherwise gives a lot of details concerning the Persian campaign and even the decisive battle in the vicinity of Pelusium.¹⁸⁰⁾

Judging from all that is known, the cooperation of Udjahorresnet with Persians, as indisputable as it was, served Egyptian interests, be it the adaptation of the new Persian rulers to the traditional features of Egyptian Pharaohs,¹⁸¹⁾ or the expulsion of the foreigners from the temple of Neith at Sais. Certainly the gaining of the new ruler's material support for this temple, the main city temple, was a pro-Egyptian move. Above all, Udjahorresnet's part in arranging the personal visit of Cambyses to the temple of Neith, accompanied by his gesture of respectful deference towards the goddess,¹⁸²⁾

¹⁷³⁾ As a bare fact and without any attempt to evaluate it in any way or to find reasons for it, the cooperation of Udjahorresnet with the Persian rulers is mentioned in the majority of historical outlines dealing with this epoch, eg, Kienitz 1953, p. 56, Gardiner 1961, pp. 366–367, Bresciani 1965, pp. 312–313, Wolf 1971, p. 175, Grimal 1988, p. 441, etc.

¹⁷⁴⁾ See, eg, Vernus 1994, p. 64.

¹⁷⁵⁾ Chevereau 1985, pp. 235–236. It should be noted, however, that holders of four differing titles are grouped here. Among them, only Udjahorresnet was *imy-r3 kn.wt nswt*, those others being *imy-r3 h'w nswt* (three examples), *imy-r3 h'w nswt* (three examples) and *imy-r3 qqw* (two examples). Rather interestingly, one among them, dated generally to Dyn. 26, combined the titles of Admiral and Chief Physician as well (Psammetikseneb, see Chevereau 1985, pp. 134–135). See also Spalinger 1977, pp. 235–236.

¹⁷⁶⁾ Hekaemsaf (see Chevereau 1985, p. 100), Tjannehebu (Chevereau 1985, p. 133, see also Bresciani et al. 1977, pp. 15–19), Psammetikseneb (Chevereau 1985, pp. 134–135). See also Goyon 1969, pp. 159ff. It may be noted that two of these dignitaries (Hekaemsaf and Tjannehebu) have been buried in huge shaft tombs similar to that of Udjahorresnet and situated near to the pyramid of Unas. The last one, Psammetikseneb was buried in Heliopolis. The distribution of their tombs clearly reflects the position of Memphis as the main naval base of Egypt under Amasis.

¹⁷⁷⁾ *imy-r3 h3styw h3w-nbw*. This toponym was discussed by C. Vandersleyen 1971, pp. 143–174, and 1977, see also Meeks 1982, p. 183 (no. 79.1870).

¹⁷⁸⁾ Iuf[a], known from his sarcophagus now kept in Vatican (no. 8), see Botti — Romanelli 1951, pp. 3–4 and pls. VI and LIV (dated here, probably by mistake, to the reign of Psammetik III), de Meulenaere 1966, p. 4, and Chevereau 1985, pp. 129–130 (with a bibliography). Because of his beautiful name Neferibremerineith, this dignitary might have been contemporary with Udjahorresnet. See also Chevereau 1985, p. 313, where only two more commanders of foreign mercenaries (*imy-r3 h3styw*) are mentioned from this period.

¹⁷⁹⁾ The literature dealing with Cambyses's behaviour in Egypt is very extensive. Good summaries of the topic are given by I. Hofmann (Hofmann 1981) and, recently, by G. Burkard (Burkard 1994b, pp. 93–99) and A. B. Lloyd (Lloyd 1994). Only lately, G. Burkard (1995, pp. 35–37) has tried to substantiate at least some charges traditionally made against Cambyses. On the other hand, Briant 1996, pp. 66–68, completely refutes any accusations laid against the Persian ruler. See also Briant 1996, p. 915, and Briant 1997, pp. 47–50, with a short annotated bibliography of titles pertaining to the topic and published in 1995–1997, and Kuhrt 1998, p. 662.

¹⁸⁰⁾ According to Herodotus (III, 4), the defection of Phanes of Halicarnassus, the Greek commander in Egyptian services, had happened before the battle started — see also Briant 1996, pp. 63–64. Herodotus also mentions the activities of the Sinai bedouins who greatly helped in the success of the Persian campaign. Herodotus visited Egypt some 70 years after the battle of Pelusium and, in an ideal case, may still have met some eyewitnesses of that turbulent time. In any case, some of his informants would have certainly met them.

¹⁸¹⁾ In a general way, this question was touched upon by J. Baines 1995, especially pp. 35–39. See also Briant 1996, p. 68.

¹⁸²⁾ Certainly, except for the words of Udjahorresnet, the visit of Cambyses to the temple of Neith is not attested elsewhere, and surely not the gesture of respect towards the goddess. Because the statue of Udjahorresnet seems to have been freely exhibited in one of the temples, it would be perhaps inconceivable that it could have mentioned an event that had not happened before. Although the facts quoted on Udjahorresnet's statue seem to have been very carefully selected (one is even

brought about a most beneficial result. Last but not least, the re-establishment of the House of Life, an institution so important or even crucial to the education of new generations of priests cannot be underestimated. When looked at from such a standpoint, the activities of Udjahorresnet perhaps might be better designated as the pragmatic and realistic behaviour of a man reconciled with fate and one who was trying to promote, in the sphere of the possible, not only his personal but also more general ambitions and gains.¹⁸³⁾

The cooperation of Udjahorresnet with the new, Persian rulers of Egypt was not as exceptional as it would perhaps seem.¹⁸⁴⁾ The practice of co-operation with local élites and maintaining existing local administration in the subdued countries in lower positions was typical of Persian rule, certainly only as long as the subdued countries remained at peace.¹⁸⁵⁾

From the early period of the Achaemenid rule over Egypt, at least several Egyptians seem to have been attested in relatively high administrative posts.¹⁸⁶⁾ The first of them is General (*imy-r3 mšw*, later on *imy-r3 mšw wr*) Ahmose, attested on two stelae found in the Serapeum.¹⁸⁷⁾ According to his own words, this dignitary arranged a burial of the sacred Apis bull. On this occasion, he invited all the "town mayors" and "provincial administrators"

to attend this feast. The dating of this official into the beginning of Dyn. 27, although not without problems,¹⁸⁸⁾ is nevertheless generally accepted.¹⁸⁹⁾ This dignitary may be perhaps identified with a certain Amasis who according to Herodotus¹⁹⁰⁾ led a military campaign against Barca in Cyrene, ordered by the Persian satrap Aryandes.¹⁹¹⁾ The important military titles of Ahmose show, without any doubt, his high social status. It has to be noted, however, that they are attested only on stelae found in Serapeum, certainly well hidden from the daily life and, perhaps, also from Persian officials. For that reason, the stelae may not reflect the reality in all its completeness.¹⁹²⁾ According to the rather trustworthy accounts of Herodotus, Egyptian units were engaged in the Persian campaigns against Greece in 480 BC.¹⁹³⁾ The participation in the burial of the Apis bull, as stated by Ahmose, corresponds to the traditions of the Saite and later times when this important procedure was personally controlled by the king. On behalf of the ruler, the act may have been supervised not only by higher priests but also by high military officials.¹⁹⁴⁾

Another pre-eminent dignitary closely connected with Persian rule in Egypt was Ptahhetep who held the important office of "Overseer of the treasury" under Darius I.¹⁹⁵⁾ As such, he might have been one of the highest Egyptian officials in Persian services. Judging from a standing statue which shows him wearing the Persian costume and a typical Persian necklace,¹⁹⁶⁾ his position seems

tempted to say "censored"), there is little or no doubt about their veracity. Dr V. G. Callender has kindly brought my attention to the fact that the Persians of Cambyses's times and earlier did have a most enlightened religious policy and honoured gods other than their own (eg Marduk of Babylon was a key example of giving honour to a foreign god).

¹⁸³⁾ See also Wessetzky 1991, pp. 85–86 and Menu 1998, p. 258. Briant 1996, pp. 92–93, rightly observes that, in spite of his many traditional and honourably titles, Udjahorresnet in fact kept no post of real importance.

¹⁸⁴⁾ A similar situation is well documented during the short period of the second Persian domination in Egypt when a number of high dignitaries, including perhaps the eldest son of the last indigenous ruler, the Pharaoh Nectanebo II, cooperated with the foreign rulers — see, eg, Spalinger 1978, pp. 153–154, Lichtheim 1980, pp. 41–44, Wessetzky 1991, p. 85. In a more general way, the co-operation of Egyptian dignitaries with their Persian rulers has been discussed by P. Briant 1996, pp. 497–499 (with additional notes and references on pp. 974–975), and B. Menu, 1998.

¹⁸⁵⁾ Holm-Rasmussen 1988, p. 33, Briant 1996, pp. 69 and esp. 91–94 (with additional notes and references on p. 921), see also Bianchi 1982a, col. 946, and Kuhrt 1998, pp. 663 and 670.

¹⁸⁶⁾ On the administration of the Egyptian Satrapy during the Persian Period see, in general, Lloyd 1983, pp. 333–334 and Cruz-Uribe 1994, pp. 45–47 (with an idealized scheme in fig. 3.3 on p. 47). See also Zivie-Coche 1991, pp. 92–93 and Briant 1996, pp. 488–500 (with additional notes and references on pp. 972–975) and *passim*.

¹⁸⁷⁾ Posener 1936, pp. 41–47 (documents nos. 6 and 7), see also pp. 177–178. See also Chevereau 1985, pp. 148–149 and 331, and Briant 1996, p. 498.

¹⁸⁸⁾ Posener 1936, p. 41, footnote 3.

¹⁸⁹⁾ Kienitz 1953, pp. 63–64, Holm-Rasmussen 1988, p. 34, Wessetzky 1991, p. 85.

¹⁹⁰⁾ Book IV, 167, 201 and 203.

¹⁹¹⁾ This suggestion, raised by Wiedemann (1880, p. 237) has been, with some reluctance, refuted by Posener (1936, p. 177). See also Briant 1996, p. 153.

¹⁹²⁾ A parallel may perhaps be found in the tomb of Udjahorresnet where his high military titles are mentioned without any limitation on his inner sarcophagus, while they are accompanied by a carefully added time restriction ("under King ... Amasis and King ... Psammetik III") on his famous statue now kept in Vatican. Almost certainly, Udjahorresnet had nothing to do with military matters under the first Achaemenids.

¹⁹³⁾ Herodotus VII, 89, VIII, 17. The involvement of Egyptian units in the Persian army in general has been discussed by Kienitz 1953, p. 64.

¹⁹⁴⁾ Vercoutter 1962, pp. 128–129. In general, the rather favourable attitude of Darius I towards Egyptian religious traditions seems to corroborate the dating of this Apis burial into his reign.

¹⁹⁵⁾ P. Briant (1996, p. 498) is quite right, however, to remark that we don't know his real position inside the Persian administration.

¹⁹⁶⁾ Torso of a naophorous statue of the Brooklyn Museum no. 37.533, published by J. D. Cooney 1953, see also Bothmer et al. 1960, pp. 76–77 and figs. 151–153 on pls. 60–61, and Fazzini et al. 1989,

rather extraordinary. According to another source, Ptahhetep also gained a special Persian title,¹⁹⁷ very probably for his excellent services in the administration of the Egyptian satrapy of the Persian empire.¹⁹⁸ It is likely that two monuments now kept in the Ashmolean Museum also belonged to this man.¹⁹⁹ No more details about the life and activities of Ptahhetep, however, can be gained from the texts on his preserved monuments.²⁰⁰

An "Overseer of all royal works" called Khnemibre is well attested especially in the quarrying activities in Wadi Hammamat where he left a number of graffiti.²⁰¹ While Khnemibre held only two military titles, most of his titulary is connected with his administrative and sacerdotal offices. This dignitary also spent the greater part of his career under Darius I.

Generally speaking, the appearance of Egyptians wearing Persian dress²⁰² or pictured in a typical Persian gesture²⁰³ is considered to

prove that these men were collaborators who tried to demonstrate their loyalty to the foreign rulers.²⁰⁴

The maintenance of certain traditional structures of the Egyptian society is attested on a papyrus dated to the beginning of the Ptolemaic era.²⁰⁵ According to this account, Darius I summoned in his fifth regnal year the best and wisest men from among the Egyptian soldiers, priests and scribes and gave them the task of recording the traditional law observed in the land up to the end of the reign of Amasis.²⁰⁶ It is perhaps worth mentioning that this summary of law, written down in demotic, was subsequently translated into Aramaic, ie into the official language of the vast Persian empire.²⁰⁷ Those Egyptians who took part in this procedure can, however, hardly be designated as voluntary collaborators with the Persian power.²⁰⁸ More probably, they may have been summoned to fulfil this task without regard to their own feelings or persuasions.

The assessment of the general attitude of Egyptian people towards those among their compatriots who deliberately cooperated with the Persian power is so far hardly possible because of the somewhat meagre evidence.²⁰⁹ The unique exception may be represented by Udjahorresnet or, more precisely, by his statue found at Mit Rahina and claiming to come from the time 177 years after this dignitary.²¹⁰ This rather small torso, mediocre in its workmanship and reused later on in a pillar-like structure, bears on its dorsal pillar remains of four badly damaged columns of hieroglyphic text.²¹¹ The inscription starts with the usual enu-

no. 75; see also Jansen-Winkel 1998b, pp. 163–168. This necklace of the Persian type, in fact a torque, remains so far unattested in Egypt except for this single example. Quite recently, the inscription on this statue was briefly discussed also by U. Rössler-Köhler (1991, pp. 274–275). According to Josephson (1997, p. 1 and footnote 11), the statue of Ptahhetep, together with the statue of Udjahorresnet discussed above, represent the most typical examples of traditional Egyptian statuary during the first Persian dominance in Egypt.

¹⁹⁷ A Serapeum stela (now kept in Louvre, no IM 1244) with the title in question written in hieroglyphs, first published by Chassinat 1899, pp. 67–68, see also Bothmer et al. 1960, p. 77, and Posener 1986. The identification, proposed by Cooney, is very probable but not definitely sure.

¹⁹⁸ The administrative history of Egypt as a Persian satrapy was discussed by Bresciani 1965, pp. 316–322, Bresciani 1985b, and Ray 1988; see also Bresciani 1985a, note 2 on p. 4 for a short list of literature pertinent to the topic. See also Kuhrt 1998, pp. 656–701 (with a bibliography on pp. 756–762) for a more general picture.

¹⁹⁹ The basalt lid of a sarcophagus (No 1947.295), see Porter — Moss — Málek 1974, p. 290, and a shabti (No 1974.368), see Málek 1976, pp. 150–151. See also Zivie-Coche 1991, p. 285.

²⁰⁰ According to V. Wessetzky (1991, p. 84), Ptahhetep deliberately kept silent about his connection with the Persian rulers. Independent of Wessetzky, Rössler-Köhler (1991, 274) came to a very similar conclusion. Besides, she speculates about the possible change of Ptahhetep's attitude towards the Persian king from a certain reserve to a cooperative acceptance. Though Ptahhetep certainly had no reason to boast of being in close cooperation with the Persian rulers, the absence of any details about his activities might have been caused rather by the religious nature of the texts more concerned with his afterlife. See also Bianchi 1982a, col. 946. On the personality of Ptahhetep, see also Briant 1996, pp. 498–499 and 974.

²⁰¹ Posener 1936, pp. 88–116, see also p. 179. On the personality of Khnemibre, see also Chevereau 1985, pp. 147–148), and Briant 1996, p. 497.

²⁰² A brief bibliography of titles dealing with the Persian dress is given by A. R. Schulman 1981, footnote 4 on p. 104, see also his pp. 107–108.

²⁰³ Schulman 1981, especially p. 104 with footnote 3.

²⁰⁴ Cooney 1953, pp. 12–15, Bothmer et al. 1960, pp. 76–77. See also Schulman 1981, p. 108.

²⁰⁵ This text, the so-called Demotic Chronicle, was briefly summarized by Depauw 1997, pp. 97–98, where the basic bibliography is also given.

²⁰⁶ Spiegelberg 1914, pp. 30–32. See also Burkard 1994a, p. 43 discussing the possible motives of Darius's decision, and Vittmann 1998, p. 71 and footnote 90.

²⁰⁷ The use of Aramaic in Egypt has been rather thoroughly discussed by Shirun 1975. To the publications mentioned by her, one may now add Porten — Yardeni 1986–1993, Porten et al. 1996. See also Briant 1996, *passim*, and Briant 1997, p. 94, on the general use of Aramaic in the Persian Empire.

²⁰⁸ Holm-Rasmussen (1988, p. 34) considered their work clear evidence of the close cooperation of leading Egyptian officials, military commanders, and priests with the Persian satrap. Bianchi 1982, col. 946, remarks in this respect rightly that they did not collaborate, to the detriment of their heritage.

²⁰⁹ See now Devauchelle 1995 and, from another point of view, also Menu 1998.

²¹⁰ Anthes 1965, pp. 98–100 and pls. 36 a-b and 37 a-c. See also Bresciani 1985.

²¹¹ The badly preserved inscription on the statue has been read and tentatively translated with assistance provided by H. de

meration of Udjahorresnet's titles and genealogy, identical to those appearing on his statue kept in Vatican. Next to this, an otherwise unknown priest Minirdis is mentioned together with the beginning of a formula spoken by him and addressed to those passing by. The most crucial portion of the text is contained in the partly illegible column three where Minirdis claims to "have caused the name of Chief Physician Udjahorresnet to live, who has completed 177 years after his time, after [he, ie Minirdis] has found that his [Udjahorresnet's] statue was falling into (decay?)"²¹² In the fourth column, another appeal to the officials and priests appears.

This inscription clearly shows that the priest Minirdis has restored²¹³ a statue of Udjahorresnet, certainly the man famous because (or in spite of?) his cooperation with Persians. Rather probably, the original statue stood in one of the many temples in the Memphite area.²¹⁴ Judging from its finding place — a closely unidentified pillar-like stone structure, dating back probably to Roman or only slightly younger times and unearthed in the place where the former south-western corner of the mighty Ptolemaic enclosure wall of the Ptah temple stood²¹⁵ — the statue may have been originally exhibited in one of the smaller sanctuaries adjacent to the temple of Ptah. The reference to 177 years, mentioned in the text, led the excavators to put the time when the statue originated into the short epoch of the second Persian dominance in Egypt.²¹⁶ According to them, though the idea remained unspoken, only during this time a statue of a dignitary collaborating so closely with the eternal enemies of Egypt²¹⁷ might have been raised. In fact, nothing in the text corroborates such an

assumption. Both types of Udjahorresnet's titles are mentioned on the statue, namely those he held under the last kings of Dyn. 26 (without mentioning their names, however) as well as the title of Chief Physician conferred upon him only by Cambyses.

Quite recently, the general meaning of the statue has been discussed by G. Burkard.²¹⁸ In his opinion, the positive evaluation of Udjahorresnet after such a relatively long span of time should be connected with his medical activities at the royal court of Persia. According to him, the political influence of Udjahorresnet thus resulted mainly from his medical skill.

The reference to the very fact that the statue has been restored after its probable destruction did not arouse much attention so far. The text gives no information whether the presupposed older statue of Udjahorresnet was intentionally damaged or only bore traces of its age. It is less probable that such a statue could have been deliberately harmed at the end of Dyn. 30, ie still prior to the second Persian occupation of Egypt.²¹⁹ Such an accident may perhaps appear more likely at the beginning of this turbulent era when a number of older monuments were damaged quite deliberately by the Persian conquerors.²²⁰ Another possible time setting might perhaps be the era of the short-lived last anti-Persian revolt led by the rather enigmatic King Khabbash²²¹ sometime between 340 and 335 BC. If this assumption is correct, the statue of Udjahorresnet might have been renewed even after Egypt was conquered by Alexander the

Meulenaere.

²¹² Anthes 1965, p. 100. It is completely unclear whether the 177 years mentioned here refer to the moment of Udjahorresnet's death or to any other important event in his life connected, eg, with the ascension of Persian kings Cambyses or Darius to the Egyptian throne, nomination of Udjahorresnet to his most important office, etc. On the date in question, see also Bresciani 1985, p. 3.

²¹³ There seems to exist at least one similar case where the cult pertaining to a statue exhibited perhaps in a temple has been restored after some time, see Maystre 1992, pp. 137 and 273–277. In addition to that, at least one Saite tomb might have been partly restored during Dyn. 30, see Jansen-Winkel 1997, esp. pp. 176–177.

²¹⁴ Anthes (1965, p. 100) rather reluctantly quotes the suggestion raised by H. de Meulenaere and based on the inscription upon this statue that Udjahorresnet may have been perhaps venerated as a local deity in the Memphite area during the fourth century BC.

²¹⁵ J. Jacquet, in: Anthes 1965, p. 34. See also Jeffreys 1985, fig. 7 for the exact location.

²¹⁶ Anthes 1965, p. 100.

²¹⁷ See also Verner 1989, p. 288 where such a presupposition is openly formulated and, recently, also Burkard 1994a, p. 44. E. Bresciani (1985, p. 3) is much more reserved in this respect. See also Briant 1996, pp. 1075–1076, who is more inclined to accept the opinion of E. Bresciani.

²¹⁸ Burkard 1994a, pp. 44–46. See also Bresciani 1985 for a somewhat different opinion.

²¹⁹ The deliberate mutilation and destruction of the monuments of people considered traitors by the bulk of the Egyptian population was discussed by Cooney 1953, p. 15. See also Schulman 1981, p. 108, and Wessetzky 1981, p. 84.

²²⁰ See, eg, Bresciani 1965, p. 328, Kienitz 1953, pp. 107–108, and Briant 1996, p. 706. Notwithstanding the fact that Udjahorresnet has in his time cooperated with the Persian rulers, his statue may have been destroyed together with a structure where it stood.

²²¹ The somewhat mysterious personality of this king was recently discussed by A. Spalinger (1978, 1980) and K. Rittner (1980). See also de Meulenaere 1975 with the bibliography pertaining to the topic, Schneider 1996, p. 37, Briant 1996, pp. 738 and 1043–1044, von Beckerath 1997, pp. 82–83, and Briant 1997, p. 58 (quoting a study by D. Devauchelle, *Réflexions sur les documents égyptiens datés de la deuxième domination perse*, Transeuphratène 10, 1995, which came to my attention too late to be included).

Great, around the year 330 BC or somewhat later. In this respect, also the efforts made by Alexander and his immediate successors on Egyptian soil to restore the monuments and traditions damaged or destroyed under the second Persian occupation²²²⁾

should be considered. In that case, the moment of Udjahorresnet's death could be put to the time after 509 BC, ie much deeper into the reign of Darius I.²²³⁾

²²²⁾ See, eg, Kienitz 1953, p. 148. The same policy was pursued by Ptolemy, son of Lagos (the later Ptolemy I) who, among other things, brought statues and other monuments robbed by the Persian kings back to Egypt (Bianchi 1984, col. 492 and footnote 8). The same was repeated also by Ptolemy III (Passignoni dell'Acqua 1976, pp. 178–179). Egyptian sources dealing with the restoration of sacred images transported from Egypt by Persian kings are briefly summarized by Morschauer 1988,

pp. 216–217, see also Briant 1996, p. 1075, and Briant 1997, p. 48 with his footnote 101. For the sources written in Greek, see Bagnall — Derow 1981, pp. 49–50 and 222.

²²³⁾ See also Bareš 1996a, p. 6, footnote 22. The traditional dating of Udjahorresnet's death to about 515 BC (eg, Spalinger 1985, col. 823) has been recently repeated by Burkard 1994a, p. 44. See also Bresciani 1985, p. 3.

Chapter III:

THE TOMB OF UDJAHORRESNET

Situation

Until a very brief time ago, the south-western sector of the Abusir necropolis (being at the same time the south-western sector of the Czech archaeological concession at Abusir — South Field) was considered to be an almost unimportant portion of the vast Abusir plateau, deserving in fact no attention (Figs. 1 and 21). At the same time, the Abusir necropolis as a whole remained in the shadow of its certainly much more famous neighbours at Saqqara and Giza.

Although the scientists and cartographers who accompanied the expedition of Napoleon prepared a rather detailed map of the surroundings of the ancient Memphis, the Abusir plateau was left almost unattended by them. No wonder, therefore, that in this map the south-western portion of the Abusir necropolis is rendered only schematically and with some omissions. Because of that, no monuments are mentioned here.²²⁴⁾

Rather understandably, this portion of the Abusir necropolis was completely omitted by Perrier and Vyse who concentrated their efforts on the pyramids only.²²⁵⁾

A little bit more attention to this portion of the Abusir plateau was paid by the Prussian expedition led by C. R. Lepsius. On the map traced by Erbkam, remains of several buildings can be found here. The most prominent among them, considered by Lepsius to have represented a small and completely destroyed pyramid, was given the

number XXVII,²²⁶⁾ while the others were sketched as mere ground formations.

This portion of the necropolis is completely omitted on the map prepared by J. de Morgan where it appears only as a part of the wide blank margin.²²⁷⁾

Also L. Borchardt and his team working at Abusir for eight consecutive years at the beginning of this century left out this portion of the necropolis as being too far-flung and yielding too little interest when compared with pyramid complexes of the Dyn. 5 kings and larger Old Kingdom tombs around them.²²⁸⁾

In the years following Borchardt, the Abusir necropolis as a whole fell into oblivion for about half a century. Czech or, at that time, Czechoslovak excavations started here in 1960, concentrated on the Mastaba of Ptahshepses far in the north. In this way, the south-western outskirts of the plateau were left untouched in spite of the remains of limestone walls clearly appearing under the sand.²²⁹⁾

The archaeological exploration of this portion of the Abusir necropolis thus begun only in the year 1980.²³⁰⁾ Since the very first day of the surface survey it became clear that at least four or five roughly squared monuments were to be found here, and certainly, they were not pyramids. These

²²⁴⁾ *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. V, pl. 1. See also Gillispie — Dewachter 1987.

²²⁵⁾ See Vyse 1842, pp. 12–22 and the map opposite p. 13.

²²⁶⁾ Lepsius 1848–1856, vol. I, pl. 32, Lepsius 1897, p. 137 (the description is rather brief, without any further details).

²²⁷⁾ De Morgan 1897, pl. 11.

²²⁸⁾ See, eg, Borchardt 1907, Blatt 2, Borchardt 1910, pp. 145–147.

²²⁹⁾ The suggestion made in 1978 by M. Zemina, the photographer of the Czech Inst. of Egyptology, should be noted here. According to him, these traces might have represented another of the yet unidentified sun temples.

²³⁰⁾ Verner 1982, pp. 163–166.

structures formed a rather isolated group, for the most part arranged in a straight line atop a low hill sloping in the south-eastern direction to the shallow valley ending in the former "Lake of Abusir".²³¹⁾ In the same year 1980, the results of the preliminary surface examination were confirmed by means of a geophysical survey. During this survey, numbers of other, usually much smaller structures were identified in the rather flat terrain, shown by perceptible geophysical anomalies.²³²⁾ The most detailed archaeological inspection carried out in this area was finished in 1990 during the preliminary works connected with preparation of the complete archaeological map of the Abusir necropolis made at a scale of 1:2000. At that time, at least five or six larger and about ten smaller structures were identified, presumably the Late Period tombs according to the surface finds of pottery and their overall ground plans tending to a square shape.²³³⁾

The excavation was started on the westernmost structure lying at the same time at the highest place. This proved to have been a huge shaft tomb belonging to the very famous historical personality, Chief Physician of the Upper and Lower Egypt Udjahorresnet. According to the horizontal stratigraphy, his tomb being the westernmost and the highest situated among its neighbours seems to be also the oldest one. Nothing so far contradicts the hypothesis that other structures in this group represent larger or smaller shaft tombs dating back to about the mid-first millennium BC. The duration of use for this cemetery, preliminarily designated as the "Saite-Persian cemetery at Abusir",²³⁴⁾ cannot be ascertained with precision so far.²³⁵⁾

Description of the tomb

The structure, interpreted as perhaps a mastaba before the excavation, proved to have been a Late Period tomb shortly after the archaeological works commenced (Fig. 20). In the years 1981 and 1984, the main portion of the superstructure was unearthed and removing of the sand filling in the complex of shafts was started.²³⁶⁾ During the archaeological seasons of 1988/1989 and 1990, the subterranean parts of the tomb were explored, among them the burial chamber with a huge double sarcophagus, small adjacent shaft situated to the east and serving as an access to the burial chamber and the horizontal corridor connecting this and the main shaft.²³⁷⁾ In 1993, the closest surroundings of the tomb were examined.²³⁸⁾ Following the earthquake in autumn 1992, the main shaft as well as the peripheral shafts had to be refilled with sand for safety reasons though no signs of any damage appeared in the tomb.

The superstructure of the tomb is formed by a relatively massive enclosure wall built of rather roughly worked, medium-sized blocks of local limestone (Figs. 2–4). Here and there, also small fragments of white Turah limestone are used, coming probably from the reused older structures in the vicinity, above all the casing of Dyn. 5 pyramids.²³⁹⁾ The enclosure wall is roughly square, measuring about 25.5 by 26 metres. The inside is an almost regular square measuring 24 × 24 metres. In its highest place preserved so far, namely in the south-eastern corner, the wall reaches a height of 2.5 metres above the ground. Because of the sloping terrain, the wall is at present only some 1 metre high in its western portion. In about its western half, the wall is embedded in a shallow foundation trench, only 0.3 m deep (Fig. 12). In the east, the wall is founded directly on the bedrock formed here by a very thick layer of marl clay called *tafi* in local Arabic. On its eastern and southern sides, the lower portion of the wall reaching about 1.4 metres above the bedrock

²³¹⁾ Those monuments are quite clearly visible also on the aerial view of the Abusir necropolis (Ricke 1965, frontispiece) with the most prominent among them being in the west. Three more structures are visible to the south-east and another one to the north-east.

²³²⁾ Hašek — Verner — Obr 1983, p. 195 and the plan on p. 194, Hašek — Obr — Přichystal — Verner 1988, pp. 26–28 and fig. 11.

²³³⁾ Verner 1992, pp. 122–123 with a map on p. 122 (fig. 4), see also Vachala — Švec 1989.

²³⁴⁾ Verner 1989. See also Aufrère — Golvin 1997, p. 144 and Briant 1997, p. 35.

²³⁵⁾ Up to this time, only one other tomb has been excavated beside that of Udjahorresnet. This other tomb belonged to a certain Iufaa, very probably otherwise unknown. In spite of the fact that its burial chamber had been found intact, the tomb still cannot be dated with precision. It is, however, seemingly younger than that of Udjahorresnet. On the tomb of Iufaa, see Bareš 1996b, Bareš — Smoláriková 1997.

²³⁶⁾ Verner 1982, pp. 122–123, Verner 1986, pp. 155–160, Bareš 1989, Verner 1989.

²³⁷⁾ Verner 1991, pp. 162–167, Bareš 1992. Between the years 1985 and 1987, the work in the tomb had to be stopped because of the decision issued by the Egyptian authorities on account of some problems concerning the stability of the *tafi* bedrock in the area of Saqqara.

²³⁸⁾ Bareš 1996a.

²³⁹⁾ Rather probably, larger and smaller blocks of local limestone used here come from the nearby-situated older monuments as well, although a definite proof of their reuse is still missing. In a rather general way, the problem of the destruction of the ancient Egyptian pyramid complexes, including those at Abusir, has been briefly summarized by Dieter Arnold (1991b).

level was strengthened inside to a total thickness of about 3 metres.

Originally, the outer face of the wall was cased with smaller blocks of white Turah limestone. Of the original casing, only a few separate blocks from the lowermost layer have been preserved on the northern and western sides, their average thickness being about 0.4 metre. No traces of a smoothed outer surface have been observed on any of these casing blocks which were probably lying under the level of surrounding terrain and therefore left rough. For that reason, it cannot be said with certainty whether or not the outer face of the casing was completely finished, ie smoothed and whether or not it was battered in the shape usual on the outer walls of monuments during that time. Because of its relatively limited thickness in its lowermost part, the outer face of the casing may have perhaps remained perpendicular. The outer faces of the enclosure wall were cased at least to their preserved height, as offprints of casing blocks in preserved mortar joining the ashlar of the core masonry clearly prove. In addition to it, marks of mortar on the tafl bedrock and, in an indirect way, also traces of their quarrying are clearly attested alongside the eastern and southern sides; these well may be probable on the north and west, although it is difficult to determine this.

After the outer face of the enclosure wall was covered with sand, narrow (only about one metre wide) trenches were dug here (Figs. 13–15), protected by a dry-laid stone wall from outside, near the south-eastern corner. This later wall, built of rough fragments of limestone and tafl adjoined a plateau made of trampled mud and bricks, clearly serving to cut limestone blocks into smaller pieces, as a rather thick layer of white limestone dust shows. All these activities clearly attest that quarrying of the much-appreciated white limestone was done here. Besides, a number of smaller fragments of white limestone with clear marks of sawing were unearthed near to the north-eastern and south-eastern corners, clearly in preparation for later burning in lime kilns. Though it cannot be proved with certainty that those fragments come from the proposed white limestone casing of the tomb, it is none the less very probable.

The original height of the enclosure wall can be estimated only hypothetically.²⁴⁰⁾ Near to its north-western corner, a group of five blocks lying originally upon one another was found; these had

slid from the wall towards the north. This portion of the wall was, therefore, originally 1.2 to 1.5 metres higher than at present, thus reaching a height 2.2 to 2.5 metres above the bedrock surface at this spot at least. As the wall is preserved practically to the present surface level of the desert, the original level of the ground surrounding the wall could hardly have been higher. Obviously, therefore, the enclosure wall stood out above the ground. In the preserved portion of the wall, however, no traces of any possible entrance were found and no remains of any staircase or ramp were discovered around it which could have led to any entrance in a higher portion of the wall, not preserved today. It seems clear, therefore, that the interior of the enclosure was completely closed from the outside.²⁴¹⁾

All the inside seems to have been originally covered with a pavement made of stone blocks of which only a small portion of the uneven foundations has been preserved in the south-western corner (Fig. 23). This layer was made of very roughly worked blocks of local limestone with some pieces of white limestone. Under it, a relatively thick layer of pure yellow sand was found used here perhaps to level the ground, ie the unevenly cut surface of the bedrock. On the inner faces of the enclosure wall, the existence of the pavement is attested by remains of roughly worked blocks protruding into the now empty space beyond the wall. A separately standing wall (Fig. 26), built of relatively large unworked blocks of local limestone, runs along the eastern portion of the inside, roughly parallel to the northern half of the eastern side of the enclosure and at a distance of about 2 metres from it.²⁴²⁾

In the centre of the enclosure, a structure stood to the height of about 2 metres above the level of the presumed pavement. This superstructure was built of somewhat roughly worked ashlar of local limestone completed here and there by much smaller blocks of white limestone (Fig. 27). Inside this structure, an empty space measuring about 5.5 by 5.5 was found, almost identical in its dimensions with the size of the mouth of the central shaft. The inner sides of this superstructure were inclined to the centre, thus imitating a corbelled vault (Fig. 28).

²⁴¹⁾ A similar situation with a completely closed enclosure in the superstructure is attested in some roughly contemporary tombs in the Western Thebes, eg in the tomb of Shoshenk (personal communication by D. Eigner whom I thank for this reference).

²⁴²⁾ The top of this shorter wall was lying under the level of the presupposed pavement. It seems, therefore, that this wall was intended to strengthen the foundations of this pavement or, perhaps, served as a retaining wall during the building of the eastern portion of the enclosure wall.

²⁴⁰⁾ In a more general way, this problem has been touched upon by Arnold 1991a, p. 9 and note 5.


The four inner corners were all strengthened by always one diagonally laid oblong block.²⁴³⁾

The structure above the mouth of the central shaft was so badly damaged from the outside that its outer faces could not be ascertained with precision. When unearthing this portion of the tomb, a layer of crushed tafl was found adjacent to the preserved outer face of this structure in about the level of the presumed pavement (Fig. 22), covered in the north and west by remnants of completely destroyed mudbrick masonry. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that the outer face of the superstructure, perhaps battered in the same way as its interior, may have been cased with a layer of mudbrick. No definite signs of any limestone casing came to light in this place.²⁴⁴⁾

The reconstruction of the possible outer shape of this superstructure situated in the centre of the enclosure remains a difficult problem because of the very limited amount of available data. In 1981, M. Verner, basing his ideas on the inclined outer walls of this structure, suggested that perhaps a small pyramid might have been raised here.²⁴⁵⁾

On the basis of a small corner fragment of a white limestone concave cornice, another explanation is perhaps possible. The rather badly weathered fragment, measuring 30.5 by 20.5 cm and 30.5 cm high, was found in a thick layer of crushed tafl and destroyed mudbricks sloping from the present top of the limestone superstructure above the central shaft to the west. Owing to erosion, it seems probable that the fragment had been exposed to weathering for rather long a time, most probably because it had been lying at the very surface.²⁴⁶⁾ Moreover, because of its position, the fragment most probably came from the structure itself, for it is rather improbable that it could

have come from either the subterranean rooms or even the outside. It seems conceivable, therefore, that it formed part of the casing of the central superstructure, in this case one of its upper corners.

The main shaft, as well as the interior of the stone structure above its mouth, was found filled with blown sand. No signs of any possible floor or ceiling were observed in either the central shaft or inside the structure above it. For that reason, even the interior of the structure above the central shaft seems to have been originally filled with sand only.²⁴⁷⁾ Because of the inclined faces of its inner walls, it may be supposed that its outer walls were also battered in roughly the same way. The vertical corners of such a structure might well have been decorated with a torus²⁴⁸⁾ and ended with a flat ceiling bearing a concave cornice on its edges. In such a case, the structure would represent an imitation of a shrine in the shape of the hieroglyphic sign  (O 21 according to the Gardiner's list)²⁴⁹⁾ or, perhaps, another structure or monument similar in shape, eg a mastaba,²⁵⁰⁾ a sarcophagus²⁵¹⁾ or a naos.²⁵²⁾

²⁴⁷⁾ A rather considerable number of loose blocks of local limestone, varying in their sizes, were found inside the central shaft at a depth of about 9 metres. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that these blocks originally filled the mouth of the central shaft or the space above it (in a loose way). The blocks in question might otherwise come from the upper layers of the structure above the central shaft as well. Starting from the New Kingdom, the concave cornice may have decorated the massive buildings with no space inside (Arnold 1977, col. 1264).

²⁴⁸⁾ A small fragment of the torus made of white limestone and measuring 14 by 9.3 cm (excavator's no 88/H/89) was found above the bottom of a trench orientated north-south and situated between the central shaft and the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft (Fig. 48). Although the connection of this fragment with the structure above the central shaft is not clearly proven, it seems very probable, as there was hardly any other structure inside the enclosure decorated with the torus. The purpose of the trench where the fragment has been found is still to be explained.

²⁴⁹⁾ A certain parallel, though somewhat remote in time and place, could perhaps be represented by the central portion of the superstructure ("Kernbau") in the mortuary temple of King Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari as reconstructed by Dieter Arnold (1974, pp. 27–32, frontispiece and pl. 28). It should be noted, however, that this portion of Mentuhotep's temple was very probably destroyed prior to the end of Dyn. 20. Theoretically, even such a structure might have imitated the primeval hill (see K. Martin 1985, col. 874, Brinks 1980, col. 1215).

²⁵⁰⁾ This idea might have been influenced by the shape of the funeral monument belonging to King Raneferef (the so-called Unfinished Pyramid) which is situated at the distance of about 200 metres from Udjahorresnet's tomb. This monument seems to have been remodelled into a huge mastaba following the premature death of Raneferef (Verner 1994, pp. 138–139). The presupposed casing of the Unfinished Pyramid seems to have been dismantled, at least on the eastern side, prior to Dyn. 26, the overall outer shape of this structure remained but almost unchanged. According to R. Stadelmann (1971, pp. 121–122), the shape of a mastaba might have also influenced the very late type of royal funerary monuments, namely the tombs in the temple precincts.

²⁴³⁾ It is because of these diagonally laid blocks that it seems certain that the interior of this superstructure was originally filled only with sand or, much less probably, left completely empty.

²⁴⁴⁾ It should be noted, however, that a corner piece of the concave cornice of white limestone, found between this structure and the western portion of the enclosure wall, might have come from a possible casing. This fragment (excav. no. 44/H/84) is discussed later.

²⁴⁵⁾ Verner 1982, p. 164. Similar pyramids, built in this case of mudbrick, usually crowned the cult chapels in Memphite tombs imitating small temples. In this type of tomb, the existence of such pyramids may be supposed even in cases where they had completely disappeared, see G. T. Martin 1992, pp. 85–87.

²⁴⁶⁾ Excavator's no. 44/H/84. The erosion especially affected the bottom of the block, ie the part originally embedded in the wall. It seems probable, therefore, that the fragment fell out of the masonry rather early, before other blocks of the same material had been dismantled for a secondary use. Except for this single fragment, no other piece of the concave cornice was found here.

The appearance of the upper ending of the structure above the central shaft can be estimated only hypothetically. Besides a flat roof,²⁵³⁾ over which a small pyramid could perhaps have been raised,²⁵⁴⁾ another possibility has recently been suggested by M. Verner,²⁵⁵⁾ namely that the structure might have been crowned with a flat mound of sand or clay, thus symbolically imitating a primeval hill²⁵⁶⁾ or, perhaps, the tomb of Osiris.²⁵⁷⁾ The height of the structure raised above the central shaft cannot be ascertained more precisely, though it probably rose above the top of the enclosure wall.²⁵⁸⁾ Rather theoretically, also an altar might have been decorated with a concave cornice or even with an Egyptian mould, though a monolithic altar could perhaps be more probable in such a case.²⁵⁹⁾ Moreover, with

our present knowledge it seems hardly conceivable that an altar would have existed inside the completely closed enclosure and it is still less probable that the fragment could have been brought from outside. On a purely hypothetical level, we might also consider that the enclosure wall might have been decorated with the Egyptian mould, even though this is again rather improbable.²⁶⁰⁾

Since the subterranean parts of the tomb, above all the burial chamber proper, were left partly unfinished, the possibility cannot be excluded that the structure above the central shaft was left without final touches. In no case, however, could it have been prepared in the shape of a porticoed chapel, ie to the shape suggested by J.-Ph. Lauer for the superstructures of the huge Late Period shaft tombs.²⁶¹⁾

The substructure of the tomb, dug into a very thick complex of strata of soft and only partly petrified marl clay (tafl), is somewhat more complicated than usual in this type of tomb (Fig. 6). A central shaft measuring about 5.5 by 5.5 metres represents its main part. In the axes of its northern and southern sides, recesses (about 1.4 metre wide and going about 1 metre deep into the bedrock) are preserved that continued to the roof of the burial chamber at the foot of the shaft. According to parallels attested in other tombs of a similar type, these recesses should continue upwards from the bottom of the shaft and serve for removing the sand filling of the shaft in the process of the lowering the massive sarcophagus into the still unfinished burial chamber.²⁶²⁾

The central shaft seems to have been originally filled with clear soft sand from which all the bigger pebbles, fragments of stone, etc had been removed so that the sand could move freely in this shaft and eventually pour into the subterranean rooms through the prepared openings. In this rather common way, the attacks of the tomb robbers should have been blocked. At the time of its unearthing, however, the central shaft was for the most part filled with soft windblown sand, mostly yellowish in colour and containing clear traces of having drifted

²⁵¹⁾ A parallel might be seen, eg, in the box-shaped sarcophagus CGC 29323 (Maspero — Gauthier 1939, pp. 138–147 and pls. XLII–XLIII) where a flat lid is ended with a concave cornice.

²⁵²⁾ The use of structures imitating naos in the funeral architecture is attested at least in the Theban region during the Third Intermediate Period (Hassanein et al. 1985, p. 90).

²⁵³⁾ Cf. Bareš 1989, p. 156. See also above.

²⁵⁴⁾ This would be rather improbable, though small pyramids or pyramidia formed an integral part in one of the usual types of tombs used in the Memphite area from the New Kingdom onwards (Kitchen 1979, p. 275). A similar pyramid may be found also in a number of the large Late Period tombs in the Theban region where it perhaps served as a surface sign for the burial hidden deeply in the ground (Eigner 1984, p. 105). The use of pyramids or pyramidia has not been attested, however, in other types of large Late Period tombs, namely tombs in the temple precincts and the huge shaft tombs, even if only because of the fact that the superstructures of those monuments had been completely destroyed before they were unearthed. In these types of tombs, the very existence of a pyramid is at times disputed (Stadelmann 1971, p. 122) or, at least, remains unconsidered (Kitchen 1979, p. 281). Should a small pyramid be raised above the ceiling of the structure crowning the central shaft in the tomb of Udjahorresnet, it could have been only a very light construction, maybe even empty inside. The use of the pyramid shape in the Egyptian private tomb architecture has been in general discussed by S. Curto (1981a), again without mentioning even the hypothetical possibility of a small pyramid raised above a shaft tomb of the Late Period type.

²⁵⁵⁾ A personal communication.

²⁵⁶⁾ A similar mound of sand representing the primeval hill appears also in the burial ritual of the sacred Apis bulls, see Vos 1993, pp. 69–70. On this concept, see also Wilkinson 1974, p. 392. See also Arnold 1994, p. 272.

²⁵⁷⁾ See Griffiths 1982, col. 630, on that concept.

²⁵⁸⁾ In view of the dimensions of the fragment belonging to the concave cornice, the overall height of the structure can perhaps be estimated at about 2 to 2.5 metres above the presumable pavement. On the ratio of the concave cornice to the overall height of the structure in about the same time see, eg, Eigner 1984, p. 42 and fig. 16, see also p. 64, Lefebvre 1924, p. 15 and pl. III. It should be noted, anyway, that estimating the height of buildings from the loose blocks and architectural pieces still poses a problem, see Arnold 1991a, p. 9 and footnote 5. See also Arnold 1994, p. 108.

²⁵⁹⁾ Altars crowned with a concave cornice were in use at least in Ptolemaic times, see Varille 1942, p. 39.

²⁶⁰⁾ In that case, the fragment would have been brought into the enclosure from outside which idea seems almost excluded in view of its position. Moreover, though the original shape of the outer faces of the enclosure wall can be assessed only theoretically, it seems more probable that they were perpendicular and as such they could hardly bear the torus and the concave cornice.

²⁶¹⁾ Lauer 1951, pp. 470–471. See also Bareš 1992, p. 114 and footnote 28.

²⁶²⁾ See Daressy 1903, p. 76. For safety reasons, the very bottom of the central shaft could not have been reached in the tomb of Udjahorresnet.

into position by the wind; this was especially so for a considerable number of darker microlayers consisting of organic remains (wing sheaths and other parts of insects, remains of leaves, etc) and particles of the eroded tafl. The signs of wind erosion could be clearly observed on the sides of the central shaft, especially in the south.²⁶³ All this demonstrates that the central shaft, as well as the structure covering originally its mouth, had to remain open for a rather considerable period of time.²⁶⁴ At some moment during this time, a layer of roughly worked limestone blocks accumulated to the thickness of about 1 to 1.5 metres at a depth of 9 metres under the present level of the bedrock surface around the mouth of the central shaft.²⁶⁵ Above this layer, at the depth of about 6 metres, remains of one young and two mature camels were unearthed near the southern side of the central shaft.²⁶⁶

At the foot of the central shaft, a burial chamber was built of relatively well worked,²⁶⁷ medium-sized blocks of white Turah limestone (Fig. 8). The chamber, orientated east — west,²⁶⁸ ended in a vaulted ceiling consisting of three layers of blocks.²⁶⁹ The total thickness of the ceiling reached up to 1.2 metres.²⁷⁰ In the ceiling of the chamber, three openings were left (Figs. 32–33), each of them being about 30 cm wide. These were later closed by means of big pottery jars whose bottoms protruded inside the burial chamber. The jars closed the

opening until the very end of the burial ceremonies and were smashed from below afterwards, thus enabling the sand from above to pour into the chamber.

The outer sides of the burial chamber were adjacent to the sides of the central shaft. To enable the work and, perhaps, also to make space free for the rather thick walls of the burial chamber, the lowermost portion of the central shaft was somewhat widened on all its four sides (Fig. 31). The remaining free space between the outer faces of the burial chamber and the bedrock in the niches in both the northern and southern sides of the shaft was filled with loose blocks and fragments of stone and hard pieces of tafl.

The lowermost part of the burial chamber was almost completely filled with a huge box-shaped sarcophagus of white limestone. The lid of this sarcophagus thus almost represented a floor in the chamber. The lateral northern, western and southern sides of the burial chamber adjoined the chest of this sarcophagus so tightly that they could have been built only after this portion of the sarcophagus had been lowered into its ultimate position.²⁷¹

In each of the four inner corners of the burial chamber, always one low pillar was added, perhaps for guiding of the lid of the sarcophagus (provided with a vertical groove in each of its corners) in the procedure of its lowering into the final position (Figs. 34 and 38). The rather surprisingly differing dimensions of these corner posts²⁷² can perhaps be best explained as a result of somewhat inaccurate position of the lid towards the chest caused by its separate lowering. The pillars reached the level of the 8th course of blocks above the upper edge of the chest of the sarcophagus, ie very probably to the level of the top of the lid of the sarcophagus in its raised position before it was lowered. The pillars are to some degree embedded directly into the masonry on the sides of the burial chamber and are, therefore, contemporary with the building of its walls. As such, they could have been built only after the lid of the sarcophagus had been moved to the bottom of the shaft but was still lying on the supports at some distance above the chest. Another function, in this case perhaps religious,

²⁶³ This might perhaps be connected with the prevailing winds of northerly direction.

²⁶⁴ The exact time during which the previously emptied central shaft could have been filled with the windblown sand again can be hardly established with at least some precision. In the southern wing of the peripheral shaft of the tomb of Udjahorresnet, an accumulation of a layer about 30 cm thick and consisting of windblown sand and rubbish was observed in the course of two consequent years.

²⁶⁵ Less probably, such a layer of blocks might have been originally amassed in the central shaft on purpose, eg to protect the burial chamber from above.

²⁶⁶ As the bones were found almost exactly in their anatomical position, it is less probable that the skeletons alone could have been thrown into the shaft. On the other hand, however, there is no obvious reason for throwing the corpses of three camels into a hole situated far away into the desert. Was it that the camels lost their way during a sandstorm and fell into the shaft left open by the tomb robbers?

²⁶⁷ For the methods of dressing of the blocks in the stone masonry see Arnold, 1991a, pp. 133–135.

²⁶⁸ On the orientation of large Late Period shaft tombs see Lauer 1954, p. 134 and footnote 2.

²⁶⁹ According to Dieter Arnold (1991a, p. 201, note 257) the vault in the tomb of Udjahorresnet, being about 2.8 metres wide, reaches the maximum span attested in the Pharaonic examples of a true stone vault.

²⁷⁰ It may be added, for comparison, that the vault of the burial chamber in the nearby tomb of Iufaa consisted of a single course of blocks only 36–38 cm thick.

²⁷¹ It would be hardly conceivable that such a heavy chest of the sarcophagus, weighing some 40 tonnes or even more, could have been lowered with such precision into the partly prepared masonry of the burial chamber. See also p. 25.

²⁷² North-western corner: 26 × 51 cm, north-eastern corner: 27 × 36 cm, south-western corner: 26 × 34 cm, south-eastern corner: 23 × 36 cm.

cannot be excluded for the pillars as they, together with the sarcophagus, represent a traditional image of a shrine or chapel, attested since prehistoric times²⁷³⁾ and imitated also by some Late Period coffins.²⁷⁴⁾

Almost exactly in the axes of all four sides of the burial chamber, small irregular recesses have been additionally cut, measuring about 15–20 cm in both their height and width and about 20 cm deep. Marks of work implements clearly show that the recesses had been cut into the existing masonry of the chamber only after it had been almost finished, i.e. at least partly smoothed. The recesses are situated at about the same level as the tops of the corner posts. No traces of any mortar, plaster or walling up were discovered in the recesses. Remains of soot, clearly visible inside the recess in the northern wall and above it, are most probably later and come obviously from the tomb-robbers using this recess for a lamp or such. According to the parallels known so far,²⁷⁵⁾ the recesses seem to have been made for the so-called magical bricks. Five badly damaged fragments of the magical bricks²⁷⁶⁾ made of Nile silt were in fact discovered in the sand and debris above the burial chamber, probably thrown out by the tomb-robbers.

In the axes of each of the northern, western and southern sides of the burial chamber, deep niches opened reaching down to the lower edge of the chest of the sarcophagus and ending about 1.5 metres above the upper edge of the chest. The niche in the northern wall was 64 cm wide and 47 cm deep, the niche in the southern wall was 78 cm wide and 50 cm deep. The western niche was 76 cm wide and only 41 cm deep. Rather probably, the niches in both the northern and southern sides were intended to house the canopic jars,²⁷⁷⁾ though no trace of any canopic jar was found in the tomb. The niche in the western wall was certainly used in the process of lowering the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

²⁷³⁾ To the shape of this shrine and its imitations in applied arts see Arnold 1982, col. 932–933.

²⁷⁴⁾ See, eg. Niwiński 1983, cols. 449–452, Taylor 1989, pp. 53–54.

²⁷⁵⁾ Similar recesses added subsequently to the already existing walls were discovered, eg. in burial chambers I and II in the so-called Gallery of Padineith in the tomb of the vizier Bakenreref, see Bresciani et al. 1983, pp. 44–45). In some of these recesses, the original magical bricks were still found untouched.

²⁷⁶⁾ Excavator's nos. 78/H/89 and 89/H/89a-d (see below).

²⁷⁷⁾ See, eg. the joined burial chambers of Neferibre-sa-Neith and Wahibre-men (Lauer 1951, p. 476 and plan I) and the burial chamber of Hor (Lauer 1954, p. 134 and plan I).

The inner sides of the burial chamber were apparently left unfinished. The front faces of the blocks in both the northern and southern walls, especially in upper layers, were only roughly worked and not smoothed, thus imitating a bossage.²⁷⁸⁾ The remaining western and eastern walls were, on the other hand, well dressed by the typical serrated hammer.²⁷⁹⁾ In many places of the vault, lumps of dark grey mortar with clear marks of fingerprints were left at the joining of the blocks, serving probably to keep the individual pieces of stone in the necessary position in the process of assembling the vault.²⁸⁰⁾ In addition to that, remains of rather watery greyish mortar are still visible poured between the courses of the blocks in many places.

All four sides of the burial chamber were decorated with inscriptions, left again unfinished, i.e. only predrawn in single red lines and not cut in the intended incised relief. On the northern, western and southern walls, the predrawn inscriptions were partly improved in black over the existing signs. No traces of such a procedure were observed on the eastern wall, much worn and less preserved because of the tomb-robbers' activities.

The choice of texts inscribed on the walls is rather typical for the period, using some passages from various spells of the Pyramid Texts. Very probably, the passages quoted here come from the oldest set of this kind preserved in the pyramid of Unas at nearby North Saqqara.²⁸¹⁾

On the western, or front wall, spell 213 and the beginning of the following spell 214 was written in 15 columns of an uneven length, with the necessary changes concerning the person of the tomb owner (Fig. 35):²⁸²⁾

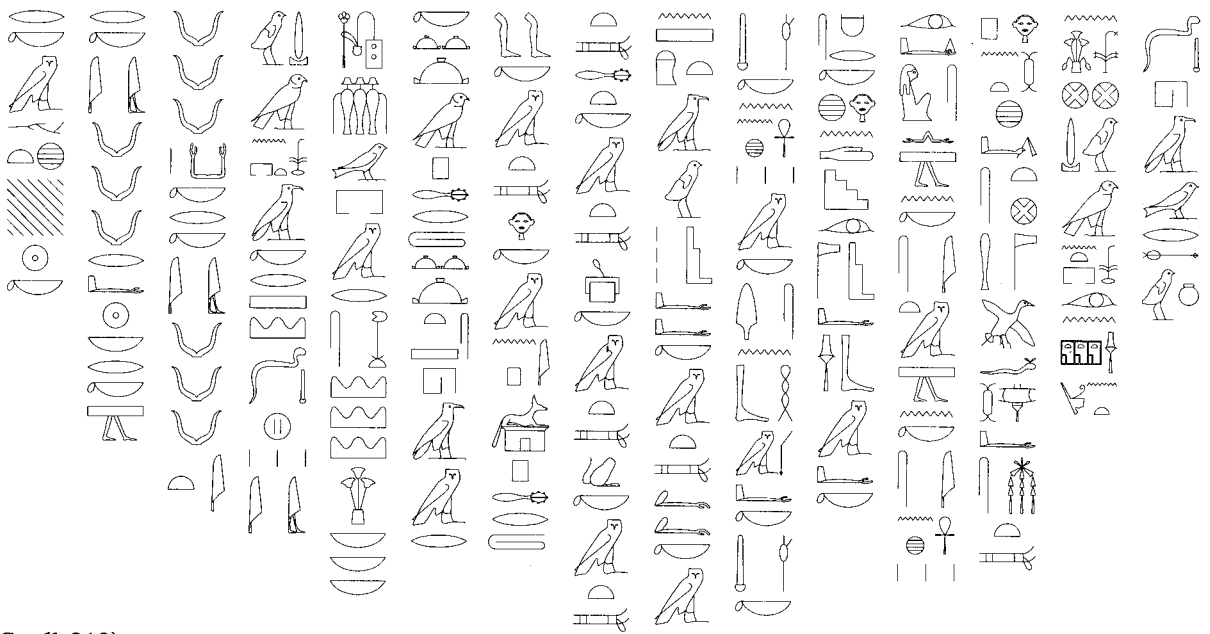
²⁷⁸⁾ On the use of the bossed blocks in the architecture of Ancient Egypt, see Arnold 1991a, p. 132ff. See also J.-Cl. Golvin in Zivie, C. M. et al. 1992, p. 75 and note 1, and Arnold 1994, p. 43.

²⁷⁹⁾ The use of this type of hammer, being the most common tool used even now for the dressing of the stone blocks, was discussed by Arnold 1991a, p. 258.

²⁸⁰⁾ This explanation was suggested by M. Verner and approved, among others, by Dieter Arnold, J.-Ph. Lauer and S. an-Naggar who were able to visit the burial chamber.

²⁸¹⁾ The area around the pyramid of Unas certainly became a very popular burial ground during the first millennium BC. This fact is clearly proven, among other things, by the density of tombs found during Barsanti's excavations at the very beginning of this century (Barsanti — Maspero 1901, map on p. 246).

²⁸²⁾ Variants of the Pyramid Texts (see Sethe 1908) paragraphs 134a–137a and a part of 247b. The use of the Pyramid Texts in the Late Period shaft tombs was discussed in Chapter I above (note 43). Changes in the traditional set of these texts were quite common during the Late Period, see Graefe 1991, p. 148.



Spell 213):

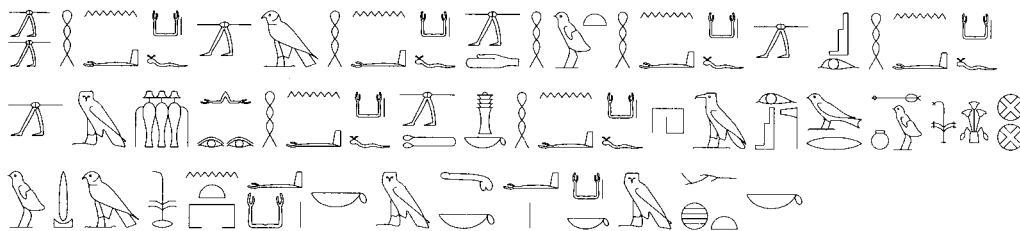
- 1) Say words: O, Chief Physician
- 2) of Upper and Lower Egypt Udjahorresnet, engendered by Director of the Palaces of the Red Crown,
- 3) Headman of Pe, Prophet of Neith protecting Sais, Peftjauemauneith, born by Atem-
- 4) irdis, you have not departed dead, you have departed alive;
- 5) sit upon the throne of Osiris, your sceptre in your hand
- 6) that you may give orders to the living; your lotus-bud sceptre in your hand, that you may give orders
- 7) to those whose seats are hidden. Your arms are Atum, your shoulders are
- 8) Atum, your belly is Atum, your back is Atum, your hinder-parts are Atum,
- 9) your legs are Atum, your face is Anubis. You are surrounded²⁸³⁾
- 10) by the Mounds of Horus, you are surrounded by the Mounds of Seth²⁸⁴⁾

(Spell 214):

- O,
- 11) Overseer of the scribes of the Great Hall, Commander of the foreign mercenaries
 - 12) Udjahorresnet, beware of the lake! Recite four times.
 - 13) The messengers of your *ka* come for you, the messengers of your (father) come for you,
 - 14) the messengers of Re come for you,
 - 15) so go after your sun.

On both the northern and southern walls of the chamber, always one line of the text was written in a prepared, much better dressed band.

On the northern wall, a shortened version of Spell 25 of the Pyramid Texts is preserved (Figs. 39–40):²⁸⁵⁾



²⁸³⁾ The more literal translation of this word, influenced also by its determinative, seems to me more appropriate in this place than the translation suggested by Sethe (1935, p. 4) and accepted also by Faulkner (1969, p. 40). See also Faulkner 1962, p. 93, and Wb I, pp. 544–545.

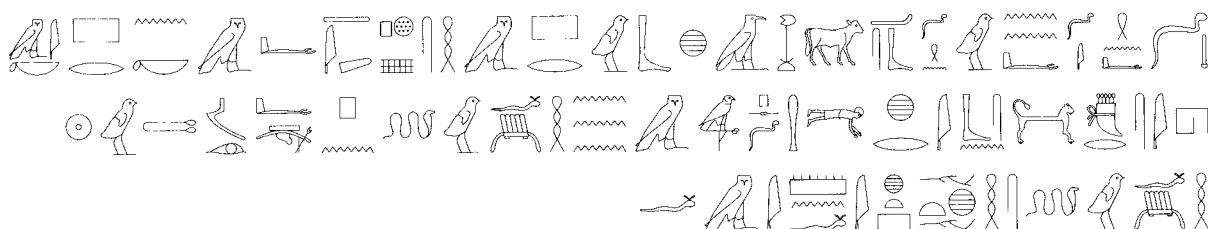
²⁸⁴⁾ The exact meaning of this metaphor is not quite clear, though it certainly refers to the duality of Upper and Lower Egypt. The explanation suggested by Faulkner, namely “the respective realms of the gods” (1969, p. 41 and footnote 4) seems to be only one among a number of possibilities. — On the reading of Seth’s name in this place, see now Patanè 1990, p. 70.

²⁸⁵⁾ Sethe 1908, paragraphs 17a, 17b (only a part), 17c, 18a.

(Spell 25:)

One who has gone has gone²⁸⁶⁾ with his *ka*, Horus has gone with his *ka*, Thoth has gone with his *ka*, Osiris has gone with his *ka*, Mekhenti-irti has gone with his *ka*, you also having gone with his (sic!) *ka*. O Osiris, Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt Udjahorresnet, the arm of your *ka* is in front of you, the arm of your *ka* is behind you!

On the southern wall, Spell 226 of the Pyramid Texts has been written together with a small part of Spell 242 (Figs. 41–42):²⁸⁷⁾



(Spell 226:)

Say words: One snake²⁸⁸⁾ is enveloped by another when the toothless calf which came forth from the pasture is enveloped. Earth, swallow up what went forth from you. Monster, lie down, crawl away! The Majesty of the Pelican has fallen into the water. O snake, turn round, for Re sees you.

(Spell 242:)

The biting snake pervades the house and it dwells in it.

On the eastern side of the chamber, more damaged by the activities of the tomb robbers and by weathering caused by a hole in the ceiling above it as well as by sand pouring through this hole, only sparse remains of an offering list were found, arranged into the usual tabular form. Because of the damage, most items are now illegible (the list goes from above right):

Line one:

1) illegible



2) *sntr hr ht* incense upon fire



3) *st hb* festival incense



4) *š..* cedar oil



5) illegible

Line two:



1) *w3dt* green eye-paint



2) *dm(?)* ?

²⁸⁶⁾ Grammatically speaking, the second one of both the identical hieroglyphic signs could be best explained as a perfective active participle, left usually without any ending in the Old Egyptian (Edel 1955, pp. 303–304). The translation “someone”, suggested by Faulkner 1969, p. 40, is therefore perhaps too free, as the phrase definitely refers to the deceased and not rather generally to “someone”.

²⁸⁷⁾ Sethe 1908, paragraphs 225a-c, 226a-b, 247b.

²⁸⁸⁾ This place was shortened almost to incomprehensibility in the tomb of Udjahorresnet.

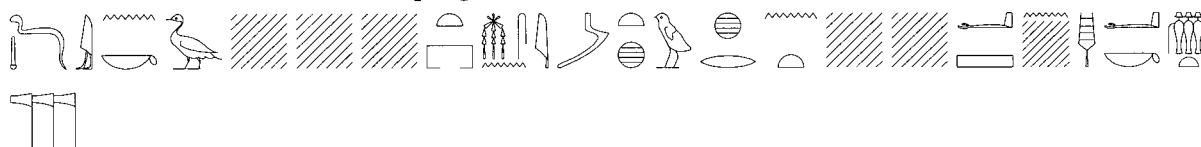
channels that could have come from the heavy beams intended to support the lid in its upright position.²⁹⁰⁾ The openings on the lateral sides of the vertical guiding channels opened at a distance of 94 to 112 cms under the base of the “handles” protruding on both ends of the lid. The possible height of the lift could thus be estimated at about 80 to 90 cm.²⁹¹⁾ The upper end of the niche situated to the west of the sarcophagus lies only 42 cm above the upper side of the sarcophagus. Prior to lowering the lid, therefore, the niche and the respective part of the device for moving the lid were accessible only through the sarcophagus itself, ie under the still lifted lid. The edges of the lid, being moved slightly to the south-west, were not exactly adjacent to the edges of the chest of the sarcophagus.

Parallel with the upper edge of the chest, being at the same time the joint between the chest and the lid, runs a shallow groove that is cut into the floor of the chamber on its eastern and western sides. The meaning of this groove has still to be explained: perhaps it was intended to facilitate the moving of the lid.

The chest of the outer sarcophagus, 5.10 m long,

2.75 m wide and cut again from a single massive piece of white limestone, was somewhat better dressed only on its upper side where it adjoined the lid. The lateral sides were only roughly worked while the bottom side seems to have been only broken off.²⁹²⁾ In the accessible places in the axes of all four sides, the total height of the chest varies between 2 and 2.1 metres. At about the middle of this height, runs a single line of the text in a somewhat better dressed band. The text consisted of two inscriptions, both starting behind the head, ie in the west, and ending at the foot of the chest. Both inscriptions were left partly unfinished — the signs were predrawn in red and very roughly cut or, in some cases, merely incised.²⁹³⁾ Because the burial chamber adjoined the sarcophagus so tightly, the texts were accessible only from the niches in the north, west and south and along the greater part of its eastern side. Here, in the eastern side, the inscription was partly damaged by the tomb robbers. The texts represent the usual variants of religious or, more properly, protective texts well attested during Dyn. 26 and somewhat later.

The southern half of the sarcophagus:²⁹⁴⁾



Say words: (Your) son comes to youborn from the revered by Neith...groan. You will arise in front of the gods.

The northern half of the sarcophagus:²⁹⁵⁾



Say words: (Horus) came to (you)... . . .to the heaven. You were born by Nut, mother... .

Into the chest of the outer sarcophagus, a cavity of roughly anthropoid shape was made for the inner

²⁹⁰⁾ It is indeed probable that these beams had been used by the tomb robbers who made a fire on the sarcophagus to be better able to smash it. Because of the relatively high humidity and the presence of insects and small rodents in the burial chamber it is, however, possible that one or all of those agents may have destroyed the wooden beams or their remains.

²⁹¹⁾ At least in one case where the lid was found in the upright position, its lower edge was fastened almost one metre above the upper edge of the sarcophagus's chest (Barsanti — Maspero 1900a, pp. 163–164).

²⁹²⁾ The bottom of the chest of the sarcophagus, lying upon a thick layer of pure whitish sand, was accessible only from the three niches (on the north, west and south sides respectively) and from a small shaft in front of its eastern side. In other places it tightly adjoined the sides of the chamber.

293) A similar inscription, also unfinished and in this case only predrawn, was published by Drioton 1954, p. 106. The rather limited attention paid to the outer sides of the outer sarcophagi is quite understandable, as the walls of the burial chamber usually adjoined their sides so tightly that the greater parts of their outer faces were left inaccessible.

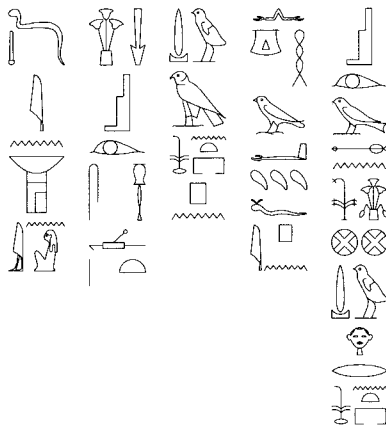
294) It is a shortened and somewhat corrupted version of Spell 367 of the Pyramid Texts (Sethe 1908, paragraphs 634a-d). A certain parallel, although not completely identical in all the signs, was published by Drioton 1954, p. 126.

²⁹⁵) The text is well attested on many sarcophagi of the Saite Period. It was, for the first time, published by G. Maspero (Barsanti — Maspero 1900b, p. 261). The source of the text is unknown. A certain parallel was published by Drioton 1954, p. 126.

sarcophagus. The remaining space between the sides of both the outer and inner sarcophagi was filled with limestone chips strengthened by three layers of thick gypsum mortar. Only the top of the lid of the inner sarcophagus has thus remained free.

The inner sarcophagus was cut from basalt into an anthropoid shape (Fig. 43). Unlike the outer sarcophagus, the inner one was completely finished in the best traditions of Saite decorative art. The head was decorated with a striped wig ending in long lappets and with a plaited Osirian beard.²⁹⁶⁾ The chest is covered with a *was*-collar ended on both shoulders with a clasp in the shape of falcon's head crowned with a sundisc. Below the collar, the goddess Nut is kneeling in the centre, looking left, with extended arms and wings, her head again crowned with the sundisc. To the right and left of Nut, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are depicted respectively, kneeling and turned towards her. Both Isis and Nephthys are accompanied with always five short columns of hieroglyphic inscriptions:²⁹⁷⁾

Left side:



- 1) Words spoken by Nephthys: I have come
- 2) to encircle my brother, Osiris Sole Friend
- 3) Udjahorresnet,
- 4) that those his limbs are not weary.²⁹⁸⁾
- 5) Osiris, Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt, Udjahorresnet.

Right side:



- 6) Osiris, Sole Friend
- 7) Udjahorresnet. I am
- 8) Isis, your sister. I have come
- 9) that I may be your magical protection,

²⁹⁶⁾ See Staehelin 1975, cols. 627–628.

²⁹⁷⁾ Variants coming from Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead, see Budge 1898, pp. 385–388 for the hieroglyphic text, Allen 1974, p. 148, Hornung 1979, p. 319 for the translation.

²⁹⁸⁾ Parallel texts can be found, eg, on the sarcophagi of Psammetik (Barsanti — Maspero 1900a, p. 184), Horkheb (Daressy 1903, p. 79) and Tjannehebu (Bresciani et al. 1977, p. 49 and pl. XV).

10) Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt Udjahorresnet.²⁹⁹⁾

Below the representations of the deities, the beginning (lines 1–9) of Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead is written in incised signs arranged into 15 columns. This part of the Book of the Dead appears quite often on the Late Period anthropoid stone sarcophagi:³⁰⁰⁾



- 1) Words spoken by Osiris, Commander of the Foreign Mercenaries who are loyal to His Majesty,
- 2) Overseer of the Royal *Kbn.wt*-vessels Udjahorresnet, born by Atemirdis, justified:
- 3) Hail to you, possessors of spirits, void of sins, who exist forever (for)
- 4) the two periods of eternity. I have penetrated to you since I am blessed in my forms and I was given
- 5) the magic. I am loaded with the blessings. Rescue me from
- 6) the aggressor who is in this land of the righteous. Give to me my mouth that I may speak therewith. Let
- 7) the funerary gifts be given to me in your presence because I know you
- 8) and know your names and know the name of this great god at whose nose you place provisions.
- 9) *Tekem* is his name. When he penetrates, he travels in the eastern and western horizons of the sky. [If he departs, I depart.]
- 10) If I prosper, he prospers. I will not be ejected from the Milky Way, rebels shall not prevail over me. I will not be kept from your gates,
- 11) You will not close your doors on me, for my bread is in *Pe*, my beer is in *Dep* and the booty of my hands is in the temple.

²⁹⁹⁾ The text appearing on the inner sarcophagus of Udjahorresnet is somewhat corrupted. A parallel text appears, eg, on the sarcophagus of Tjannehebu (Bresciani et al. 1977, p. 49 and pl. XV).

³⁰⁰⁾ See Buhl 1959, p. 178. For the text see Budge 1898, pp. 159–160, translations are given by Allen 1974, p. 65, Hornung 1979, pp. 152–153, etc.

- 12) My father Atum has given to me and established for me my house that is on earth, with innumerable barley and wheat therein, provided for me there for
 13) (my) feast by (my) son of (my) body. May you give me a mortuary offering (consisting of) bread, beer, oxen, incense, geese, ointments, all things good and pure on which a god lives
 14) that I may exist living and continuing and be mighty and firm forever in any form I desire.
 15) I journey downstream and upstream in the Fields of Rushes and I attain the two fields of Hotep, for I am Ruty.

Always two pairs of mortuary genii standing above each other flank this larger text on both sides. On the right side, mummiform Amset and mummiform and jackal-headed Duamutef stand above while mummiform *Hry-b3q.f* and mummiform and falcon-headed *Hr-hnty-irty* are depicted below. On the opposite, ie left side, mummiform and ape-headed Hapi and falcon-headed Qebehsenuf are above. Below them two genii in mummiform shape are depicted, for the most part damaged by the tomb robbers so badly that only remains of the inscriptions *M3^c* and *Ir.n.f* are clear. The name of each of the genii is always written in shallow hieroglyphs above their respective heads.

Between the figures of the genii and the text of Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead, always one column of text is written containing the relatively common protective formula often appearing on the sarcophagi during this period:³⁰¹⁾

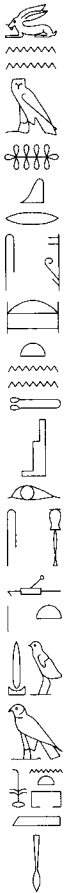
Right side:



Say words: I became the magical protection of this sarcophagus of Osiris, Overseer of the scribes of the Great Hall, Udjahorresnet, justified.

³⁰¹⁾ See, eg, the arrangement of the texts and images on the inner sarcophagus of Padinese found at North Saqqara (Barsanti — Maspero 1900b, p. 260). The formula represents, in fact, a variant for Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead.

Left side:



I became the magical protection of this sarcophagus of Osiris, Sole Friend, Udjahorresnet, justified.

On the lateral sides of the chest of the inner sarcophagus, under its upper edge, two lines of inscription are written in shallow hieroglyphic signs. In both inscribed bands, always two separate texts are written starting behind the head and ending at the foot of the sarcophagus.

The upper line contains a modified variant of Spell 369 of the Pyramid Texts.³⁰²⁾

Left (the northern) side of the sarcophagus:

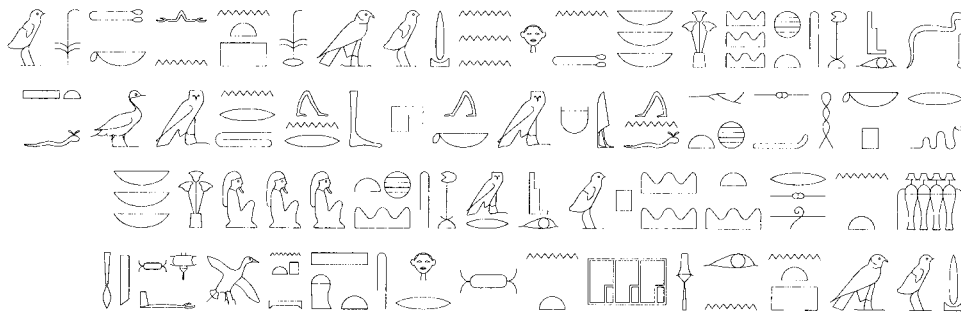
Line 1:



Say words: Osiris, Inspector of Scribes, Scribe ...(?), Udjahorresnet. Horus has given you both your eyes that you may see with them. Horus has given your things under you that he may lift you there, do not let go of him. You shall come to your (former) condition, for the gods have knit your face for you. Horus has split open both your eyes that you may see with them in your name of "Opener of Roads", Osiris, the beloved Sole Friend, Overseer of the Scribes of the Great Hall Udjahorresnet, justified.

³⁰²⁾ Pyramid Texts (Sethe 1908), paragraphs 642c, 643a, 641b, 642a,b.

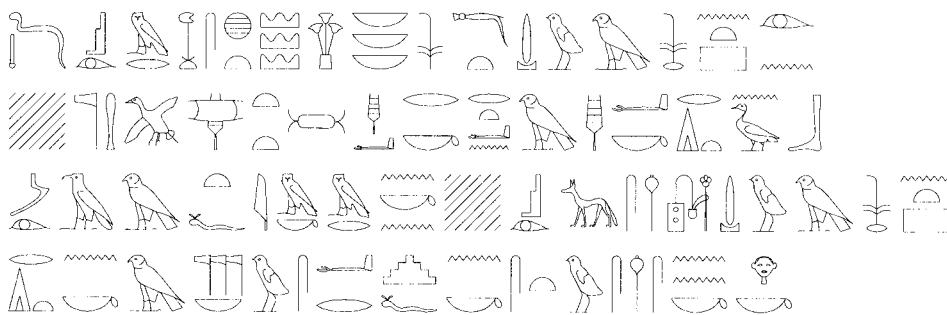
Line 2:



Say words: Osiris, Overseer of the Foreign Mercenaries, who are loyal, Udjahorresnet. ... He is the First of Rostau, Osiris, Overseer of the Foreign Mercenaries Udjahorresnet, engendered by Director of the Palaces (of the Red Crown), Secretary of the Heavenly Neith, Peftjauemauneith, justified.

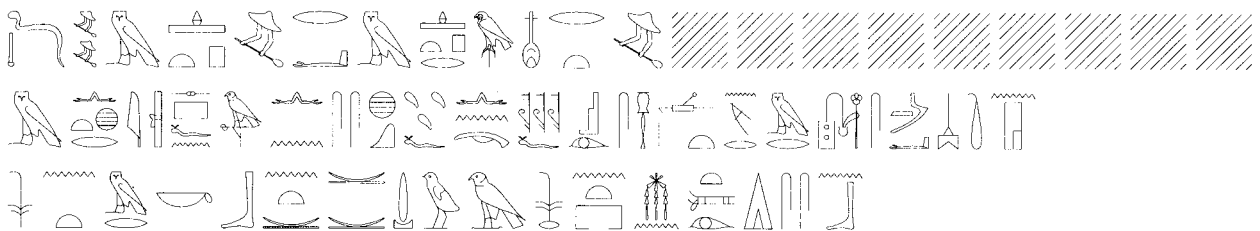
Right (the southern) side:

Line 1:³⁰³⁾



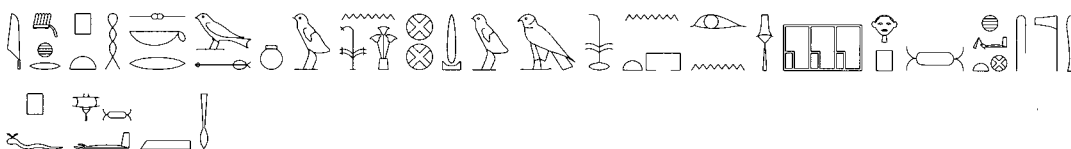
Say words: Osiris, Overseer of the Foreign Mercenaries, (Chief Physician) of Upper and Lower Egypt Udjahorresnet, engendered by Prophet of Neith Peftjauemauneith, stand up. Horus has caused you to stand up, for Geb has caused Horus to see his father in you in your name of "Mansion of the Monarch". Osiris, Senior Inspector of the Scribes, Udjahorresnet. Horus has given to you all the gods, he has caused them to go up to you that they may make you glad.

Line 2:



Say words: Row in peace, row in peace to the beautiful West(?), ..., he will not see his tomb in the necropolis, he will not ... his body, he will not ... (?) his bones, Osiris, Sole Friend of whom he loves, Overseer of the Scribes, the True Judicial Scribe of the Great Palace, Overseer of the *Kbn.wt*-vessels Udjahorresnet, born to Atemirdis, given health, justified.

At the foot of the chest of the inner sarcophagus, is still another, ie third line of inscription that was added below, written from right to left:



³⁰³⁾ Fragment of the Pyramid Texts, Spell 369 (Sethe 1908, paragraphs 640–641).

Revered by Ptah-Sokar, Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt Udjahorresnet, engendered by Director of the Palaces (of the Red Crown), Headman of *Pe*, Prophet of Neith protecting the Saite nome, Peftjauemaueith, justified.

All the texts and representations on the inner sarcophagus were cut in a rather shallow incised relief. The individual signs are usually well worked and show the typical features of Saite orthography. Unlike the outer sarcophagus, the inner one was finished showing a very high level of workmanship. Similarly to the outer sarcophagus, there was also the lid of the inner sarcophagus that does not adjoin its chest quite exactly. The small difference may have been caused by the difficulties during the moving of the lid in the limited space below the raised lid of the outer sarcophagus.

Until the very moment of the burial, access to the burial chamber was kept open through the rather wide corridor leading from the foot of the small shaft situated in front of the eastern side of the enclosure. The corridor was slightly inclined starting from the small shaft and ending in a vaulted entrance opening in the eastern side of the burial chamber. In this place, the floor of the corridor was placed at the same level as the upper edge of the chest of the outer sarcophagus. At the western end of this corridor, a small shaft or a mere hole opened in its floor, measuring 71 by 75 cm, which was adjacent to the eastern side of the chest of the outer sarcophagus. Small apertures connected with the vertical channels serving as parts of the lowering device ended in both the northern and southern sides of this miniature shaft. It seems clear, therefore, that this miniature shaft, about 1.2 metre deep and ending in the thick layer of pure whitish sand, had to remain open until the moment of lowering the lid of the outer sarcophagus into its final position. The thick layer of sand went to the west under the chest of the outer sarcophagus and to the east under the vaulted entrance to the burial chamber. Neither the dimensions of the space filled with this sand nor the thickness of the layer of sand can be measured because of safety reasons. Still in antiquity, the mouth of this small shaft had been destroyed by tomb robbers who used this place, perhaps the most suitable for smashing the sarcophagus. It cannot be said for sure, therefore, whether the small shaft had been closed after the burial ceremonies and if so, in which way. Judging from some parallels, the box containing the shabti figures could have been put here³⁰⁴) or perhaps other parts of the burial

equipment. When discovered, however, the shaft contained only sand mixed with limestone chips.

The corridor leading into the burial chamber was built in a rather complicated way. Its western part, adjacent to the burial chamber and ending 1.85 metre to the east of it, has a vaulted ceiling similar to that of the burial chamber (Figs. 36 and 37). This vault, consisting of low oblong ashlar of white limestone, was put on prepared blocks forming the floor of the corridor. The last blocks of the floor adjoin the chest of the outer sarcophagus rather tightly and had to be set, therefore, only after the outer sarcophagus had found its definite position. Judging from the blocks visible in the eastern side of the burial chamber, this vaulted part of the corridor is covered with two courses of the blocks with rather undressed faces.

Rather surprisingly, an opening intended for bringing the sand from the central shaft to the corridor was found here, at a distance of 1.3 metres from the western end of the corridor. This opening, in fact the fourth channel for the sand leading from the central shaft, remains so far without any parallel attested in other tombs of this kind. At its upper end, the fourth channel ended in an opening cut into the side of the bedrock walls of the central shaft in the place where the roof of the burial chamber joined it (Fig. 31). At the lower end, it was closed again with a large pottery jar whose bottom was found broken off. It was a piece of bad luck, however, that the tomb robbers used the upper end of this channel to break a hole through the otherwise massive roof of the burial chamber.

The northern side of the finished corridor was recut and widened in its lower part at some later moment. This widening, reaching up to 7 cm, is clearly attested by the traces of the original mortar on the blocks of the floor. The reason for such a procedure is not clear, maybe it was caused by an attempt to make the corridor straighter after the small vertical shaft had been finished. In its western, vaulted part, the floor of the corridor is made of rather small and relatively well dressed blocks of white limestone.

closed by a single stone block, in the tomb of Neferibre-sa-Neith (Lauer 1951, pp. 466–467 and p. 480, plan X). Another possible location for the shabti-box was perhaps the niche in the western side, see el-Sadeek 1984, p. 163.

³⁰⁴) A shabti-box was found in a similarly shaped small shaft, adjacent to the feet of the outer sarcophagus and later on

Further east from the vaulted entrance to the burial chamber, the sides of the corridor were built of roughly dressed oblong and flat ashlar of white limestone. The ceiling was made of wide and flat (only 16 to 20 cm high) blocks, again of white limestone. In this portion of the corridor, the ceiling blocks were laid horizontally. The lateral sides of the corridor are not exactly upright, narrowing to the ceiling. In its eastern part adjacent to the small access shaft (Fig. 44), both the ceiling and the floor of the corridor were slightly raised at one end, perhaps to enable the moving of the mummy during its transportation to the burial chamber.³⁰⁵⁾ The floor of this part of the corridor, ie to the east from the vaulted entrance to the burial chamber, is formed of oblong blocks of white limestone, laid crosswise and only adjoining the lateral sides of the corridor. The width of the corridor varies between 1.1–1.15 m in its western part and 1.4 m in the eastern part, its height varies between 1.56 and 1.64 metres.

In about the middle of its length, the limestone lateral walls of the corridor are interrupted. Here, ie exactly under the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft, the walls of the corridor are built of mudbrick.³⁰⁶⁾ Inside, another mudbrick wall was built adjacent to each of the lateral sides of the corridor and put on the blocks of the floor (Fig. 11). Those smaller and later walls³⁰⁷⁾ represent in fact only the foundations for a vault, made in this place of three courses of mudbrick. The remaining space between these two later walls was only about 1.1 metres wide and thus corresponds to the width of the eastern part of the corridor. This change in the material of the masonry in about the middle of the corridor from limestone to mudbrick is rather usual in this type of tomb.³⁰⁸⁾ From the technical

point of view, the mudbrick masonry seems to be more effective than the limestone walls when “bridging” a free space filled with soft and unstable sand was needed. Moreover, the mudbrick masonry represented another protective measure, enabling one to make a hole in the ceiling quite simply through which sand could easily start pouring into the corridor. Judging from the imprints on the mortar, the mudbrick parts of the walls were finished earlier than the limestone masonry adjoining them from both east and west. It cannot be excluded, though, that these limestone parts of the lateral walls of the corridor (ie those between the mudbrick masonry and the vaulted entrance to the burial chamber and between the mudbrick masonry and the entrance to the small access shaft), were the last constructed pieces finished in the substructure of the tomb.³⁰⁹⁾

Another small shaft or mere hole was unearthed under the floor of the corridor exactly in the place where it was built of mudbrick (Fig. 7). This small shaft was dug directly into the tafl bedrock. Both the northern and southern walls of this shaft came to a depth of 1.8 metres below the floor of the corridor. They were lined with mudbrick representing in fact a continuation of the outer lateral mudbrick walls of this part of the corridor. The sides of this small shaft were well dressed, with a series of small holes, serving perhaps for workmen climbing up and down,³¹⁰⁾ in the centre of its eastern face. The small shaft ends rather abruptly at a depth of six metres below the floor of the corridor. The shaft was filled with clean sand containing only a few coarse pebbles and a single sherd coming from the body of a big storage jar.³¹¹⁾

The meaning of this small shaft is not yet completely clear. It is situated exactly under the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft and its northern and southern walls adjoin the walls of the corridor leading to the burial chamber. For that reason, this shaft is either contemporary with the corridor or even older and certainly contemporary with the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft. Due to considerations of safety, the mutual relation between this small shaft and the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft could not be examined

³⁰⁵⁾ The mummy itself certainly must have been rather small. One may compare the mummy of Iufaa (1.63 m long, 0.36 m wide and 0.23 m high) found recently in his intact tomb situated nearby. Anyway, up to the very last moment the mummy was perhaps transported on a bier or a funeral lit, certainly demanding much more spatial room. Unfortunately, this moment during the funeral ceremonies is not well attested in the pictorial sources — see Settgaest 1962, Barthelmess 1992 (especially pp. 114–122 and 157–170 where the scenes of the transportation of the deceased are discussed up to the moment of the arrival at the tomb).

³⁰⁶⁾ The total thickness of the mudbrick lateral walls in this place certainly exceeds 1.1 metres though it could not have been measured exactly as the outer face of the masonry was inaccessible. This part of the corridor in fact represents a “bridge” going through the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft.

³⁰⁷⁾ The thickness of both these walls corresponds to two widths of the mudbrick used here, ie about 37 cm.

³⁰⁸⁾ See, eg, Lauer 1951, p. 477 and plan I, Lauer 1954, p. 176 and plan I.

³⁰⁹⁾ In some places, the blocks in those parts of the corridor were simply put together without any mortar. This may have been due to haste.

³¹⁰⁾ On this way of climbing the shafts, see Arnold 1991a, p. 214.

³¹¹⁾ Similar large sherds, usually with clearly visible marks of grinding on their edges, were found on several occasions in the sand filling of the shafts. Very probably, these sherds were used as a working implement replacing a shovel or a hoe, etc.

further. Rather probably, the peripheral shaft ends at about the level of the foundations of the northern and southern walls of the small shaft, ie about 1.8 metres below the level of the floor of the corridor in this place. The possibility cannot be excluded that the peripheral shaft reached the level of the foot of the smaller shaft, ie six metres under the floor of the corridor. In that case, the small shaft would have been intended to enhance the protection yielded by the peripheral shaft. Less probably, the smaller shaft represents only the first and later rejected stage in building a system of tunnels under the burial chamber.³¹²⁾ Theoretically speaking, even a religious meaning cannot be excluded completely, as such a shaft much resembles the somewhat enigmatic shafts situated under the approach corridors of some New Kingdom royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.³¹³⁾

The corridor leading to the burial chamber started at the foot of the small access shaft measuring about 2.5 by 2.5 metres and 17 metres deep (Fig. 4). The entrance to the corridor has been walled-up by limestone blocks (Fig. 45). The shaft opened in front of the eastern face of the enclosure, almost adjoining it. The sides of this shaft were left in their original state, without any plastering or lining. Only the bottom of the shaft was strengthened by a single layer of oblong limestone blocks almost identical with those in the pavement of the eastern part of the corridor. Beneath the blocks at the bottom of the shaft, only a thin layer of sand mixed with limestone chips and pieces of crushed tafl was found together with a few pottery sherds coming perhaps from one bigger storage jar. Though the tafl bedrock surrounding the mouth of this small shaft was partly cut off, no traces of any construction lining or strengthening of this opening were unearthed. It seems probable, however, that the mouth of this shaft had to be closed and covered, perhaps by stone blocks fitting into the depression in the surface of the bedrock, after

the burial. No traces of any other construction were found in the vicinity of the mouth of this shaft.

On all its four sides, a peripheral shaft resembling more a narrow and deep trench surrounded the central shaft of the tomb.³¹⁴⁾ In several places, pieces of the original tafl bedrock have been left in position, serving perhaps as partitions or struts intended to enhance the stability of the walls against the lateral pressures up to the moment when the peripheral shaft was filled with sand again (Fig. 10). Some of them may have been also used as "bridges" or supports during the digging of the shaft (Figs. 24 and 25). The number of those partitions and struts, situated at varying depths and differing greatly in their dimensions, originally reached nine or even more. The three largest among them, reaching to the level of the ground, were situated in the northern wing of the peripheral section, divided in this way in its upper part (up to a depth of about 9 metres) into two parts. Always one low strut was found in the axes of both the eastern and western wings of the peripheral shafts near to the surface level. Two struts were situated in the south-western corner, leading to the west and south respectively. Two more struts went in a parallel way from the south-eastern corner to the south. Tiny traces of another strut, evidently cut off prior to the refilling of the shaft, were found in the axis of the southern wing of the peripheral shaft.

At varying depths, all wings of the peripheral shaft were connected by means of openings covering the complete width of the peripheral shaft, ie about 2.1 metres. In the north and north-western partitions, the openings start at a depth of 7 and 9 metres respectively, in the axis of the western wing at a depth of 2.5 metres. In the south-western corner, the western strut was destroyed in antiquity so that only remains of crushed tafl were found at a depth from 4.5 to 6 metres. The strut going from the south-western corner to the south was situated

³¹²⁾ A similar shaft, situated in exactly the same place (under the floor of the mudbrick part of the corridor leading to the burial chamber) was found in the tombs of Neferibre-sa-Neith (Lauer 1951, pp. 476–477 and plans I-II) and Hor (Lauer 1954, p. 135 and plans I-III). In the tomb of Neferibre-sa-Neith, this miniature shaft opened into a system of tunnels constructed under the floor of the burial chamber.

³¹³⁾ See, in general, Abitz 1974, Vandersleyen 1975 and Thomas 1978. Recently, E. Brock (Brock 1996) identified these wells with a symbolic burial shaft for Sokar. L. Gestermann (a personal communication of September 2, 1998, quoting footnote 779 on p. 137 of her manuscript dealing with the use of the Coffin Texts in Late Period tombs) came to the conclusion that also the extended bottom portions of the secondary shafts in the Late Period shaft tombs may have had religious meaning.

³¹⁴⁾ The only parallel to this system of peripheral trenches among the Late Period shaft tombs is represented by the tomb of Pakap at Giza, see Perring 1842, pp. 21–24 and pls. XIX–XXII, Porter — Moss — Málek 1974, pp. 290–291; see also el-Sadeek 1984, pp. 126–132. A remote analogy can be seen also in the bedrock core left at the bottom of the shaft in the tomb of Horkheb, see Daressy 1903 and, recently, also Arnold 1997, p. 32 and fig. 1 on p. 40. — In 1996, H. S. Smith remarked (a personal communication) that the peripheral shafts resemble the situation in the cenotaph of Sethi I at Abydos imitating the tomb of Osiris. In this respect, the report of Herodotus about the water channels surrounding the alleged tomb of Khufu under his pyramid in Giza should be considered as well. On this concept in general, see Wilkinson 1994, pp. 392 and 395. The question was furthermore discussed by J. Kerisel 1991, pp. 78–81 (I thank Dr V. G. Callender for this reference).

in the same depth. In the south-eastern corner, the struts are left at a depth of 2.5 to 11 metres (the eastern one) and 3 to 4.5 metres respectively. The strut in the axis of the eastern wing is only 1.5 to 2.5 metres deep.

East of the central shaft (ie between it and the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft), another trench was dug in a north — south direction. Originally, this trench was covered with a layer of crushed tafl. The trench, about 4.5 metres deep, reaches on both its ends almost to the peripheral shaft and is separated from it only by thick walls of roughly dressed limestone blocks. In the north, this stone wall is only 0.6 metre high and represents, in fact, only a continuation of a block of the original tafl bedrock left between this trench and the peripheral shaft (Fig. 29). In the south, the stone wall reaches up to the foot of this trench (Fig. 30). The trench was found filled with yellowish sand mixed with pebbles, limestone chips, pieces of tafl and pottery sherds, clearly representing the desert surface at the time of the construction of this tomb. The original meaning of this trench is far from clear. Judging from its filling, the trench seems to have lost any intended purpose long before the tomb was finished. Maybe this trench formed part of the first plan, rejected later on, and was planned as a starting point for the entrance to the subterranean rooms?

Originally, the inner edge of the peripheral shaft was lined with a continuous row of oblong stone blocks. On the flat upper face of these blocks, a shallow incision has been observed forming, according to the preserved parts, a square. The meaning of this device remains unknown, perhaps it was used during the building of the superstructure above the mouth of the central shaft.

The original filling of the peripheral shaft is represented by clear sand,³¹⁵ whitish in colour and very probably sifted so that all admixtures (especially the bigger pebbles) were removed and the sand could have moved freely inside it. In that way, any possible penetration of the central shaft from outside was blocked.³¹⁶ The original filling was found almost untouched in the western and southern wings of the peripheral shaft, in the

north it was only partly disturbed by tomb robbers' activities in the north-eastern corner.

A completely different situation was found in the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft (Fig. 7) where several phases of tomb robbers' activities are attested. Still in antiquity, the central part of this wing of the peripheral shaft was perhaps cleaned up to the ceiling of the horizontal corridor leading through this peripheral shaft into the burial chamber. Rather probably, the tomb robbers penetrated the burial chamber in such a way at least once.³¹⁷ In the eastern side of the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft, almost exactly above the ceiling of the horizontal corridor, a tomb robbers' tunnel opened. Due to safety reasons, it was impossible to follow it.

At a much later moment, certainly still in antiquity, however, the upper portion of the southern half of the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft was cleaned from its sand filling again. Following that, the surface of the sand filling was shaped into two ramps sloping to the deepest point — about half the distance between the axis of the eastern wing and the south-eastern corner of the peripheral shaft, at a depth of about five metres. At this depth, another tomb robbers' tunnel was dug into the western side of the peripheral shaft. The tunnel, only about 1 metre wide, went directly down, touching the side of the peripheral shaft again at a depth from 9 to about 12 metres. Once again, because of safety reasons, the tunnel could not be followed further.

In the north-eastern corner of the peripheral shaft, a small corridor leading to the north was dug at a depth of 10 metres. This corridor ends in a small room, roughly square. In the floor of this room, another shaft was dug, rounded and measuring about 1.1 in diameter. This shaft ends after 8 metres at a roughly cut base. The room and the small rounded shaft were filled with sand without any further admixtures and contained no finds. The meaning of both the room and shaft is far from clear. In their present shape, they had to be finished either before the peripheral shaft was filled with sand, which is more probable, or only after the peripheral shaft was partly cleaned by the tomb robbers. Judging from some parallels, remote as they are, another burial chamber was perhaps intended here either before the works in the tomb had been stopped³¹⁸ or, much less probably, a long

³¹⁵ Such a kind of sand can be easily found at several places of the Abusir plateau where remains of older coral reefs pierce the later alluvial sediments. One of such places is situated only some 150 to 200 metres eastwards of the tomb of Udjahorresnet. — The funeral aspect of sand was recently discussed by Aufrère (1991, pp. 666–667, with a bibliography), see also Ritner 1995, pp. 156–157, and George 1979, pp. 19–21.

³¹⁶ See Verner 1982, p. 164, Verner 1989, p. 286.

³¹⁷ See Verner 1989, p. 290.

³¹⁸ Similar smaller chambers serving for burials of the members of the owner's family were discovered, eg, in the tomb of Pakap (Porter — Moss — Málek 1974, pp. 290–291),

time later.³¹⁹) In any case, the work in this place was left unfinished. Rather certainly, tomb robbers' activities might be excluded here as lacking any sense.

No traces of any other construction works were unearthed in the close vicinity of the tomb of Udjahorresnet. Rather interesting details were, however, found in front of both the western and southern sides of the enclosure. In both cases, always one single block of white limestone was unearthed firmly set into the bedrock in about the axis of its respective side of the enclosure, at a distance of some three metres.³²⁰) On the better dressed upper faces of both the blocks, one single line was always incised (not exactly in their centres, in fact), showing rather precisely the axis of the enclosure.

In the surface of the tafl, about three metres to the west of the north-western corner of the enclosure, a roughly elliptic depression was unearthed: it had been dug into the bedrock. The bottom of the depression, measuring about 4.5 by 4 metres and about 1.25 metres deep, was accessible by means of a primitive staircase consisting of three pieces of mudbrick arranged into a line and put in its north-western part. The bottom of the depression was cut to form a roughly rounded elevated ring measuring about 1.5 metres in diameter and about 0.3 m high. No traces of clay or firing were found at the bottom.³²¹) Below the surface, the depression was filled with yellowish sand in which several limestone blocks forming an uneven line were found orientated approximately north — south. The lower part of the depression was filled with sand mixed with crushed tafl. The purpose of the depression remains unclear; perhaps it served during the survey or, possibly, during the construction of the upper part of the tomb.³²²)

Hekaemsaf (Barsanti — Maspero 1904, pp. 70–84), Psammetik (Barsanti — Maspero 1900a, pp. 167–168) and Padineith (Barsanti — Maspero 1901, pp. 97–100).

³¹⁹) A subterranean room with several sarcophagi was added to the tomb of Bakenrinf almost three centuries after the tomb has been finished and used for the burial of this dignitary, see Bresciani et al. 1983.

³²⁰) The block in front of the western side measured about 48 by 37 cm, its height reached 29 cm. The block in south was of about the same size.

³²¹) For that reason, it certainly does not represent a workshop for making mudbrick or remains of a kiln.

³²²) Was the rounded structure in the centre of the depression intended as a water basin for levelling or did the depression serve in some way for cleaning of the sand? Dr V. G. Callender suggested a possible ritual purpose as well.

The finds

Certainly the most important single type of find unearthed in the tomb of Udjahorresnet is represented by three sets of foundation deposits³²³) found under the north-eastern, north-western and south-western corners of the enclosure (Fig. 9). No signs of any foundation deposit were so far unearthed in any other of the huge Saite-Persian tombs of this kind.³²⁴) It has to be admitted, however, that they probably were never looked for.

Sets of objects forming the foundation deposits under the corners of Udjahorresnet's enclosure are not completely identical, varying in both their contents and the way of placing the objects. The two deposits found in the north were put into relatively well cut square-shaped pits measuring 33 by 28 cm (30 cm deep) under the north-western and 43 by 36 cm (25 cm deep) under the north-eastern corners. The pits, dug directly into the tafl bedrock, were filled with clean yellow sand. The remaining deposit, situated close to the south-western corner, was found lying in a shallow elliptic depression only about 9 cm deep and measuring ca 36 by 20 cm. Only the north-eastern deposit was situated under the now destroyed core masonry, the remaining two sets came to light under the presumed casing of the outer face of the enclosure.

The largest set of objects, according to their number, was situated in the north-eastern corner (Fig. 59) and consisted of:³²⁵)

— a small tablet (3.3 by 1.6 by 1 cm) of blue-green glazed Egyptian faience, inscribed on both sides with always one cartouche of Amasis (*Hnm-ib-R^c*

³²³) On foundation deposits in general, see B. Letellier 1977, cols. 906–912. Perhaps the most complete study pertaining to the topic (Weinstein 1973) has unfortunately remained inaccessible to me.

³²⁴) Up to the time of Amasis, only two sets of foundation deposits can be dated so far, found 1) by Petrie in the temple of this king at Tell Nebesheh (Petrie 1888, pp. 14–15 and Pls. V–VI, now kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JdE 27395) and 2) by the Brooklyn Museum mission at Mendes (Hansen 1967, pp. 8–9 and Pls. IX–X, figs. 10–12, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JdE 97155). Other known Dyn. 26 foundation deposits came to light in a fort at Tell Defenneh (Petrie 1888, pp. 54–55 and Pl. XXII — temp. Psammetik I, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JdE 27385), in a temple at Tell el-Balamun (Spencer 1996, pp. 47–49 and 84–87, pls. 90–91 — temp. Psammetik I), in the temple of Anta at Tanis (Montet 1942, pp. 204–205 and fig. 60, see also Montet 1952, pp. 138–139 and fig. 32 — temp. Apries, one of the sets is now kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JdE 60375–60417), and in a tomb at Heliopolis (Gauthier 1933, p. 37). See also Kirby et al. 1998, p. 26, footnote 19 for a foundation deposit of Psammetik III.

³²⁵) Excavator's no. 209/H/93 (Fig. 60), see also Bareš 1996a and Verner 1994, p. 303. This and other sets of foundation deposits are now kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

and *Iḥ-msw, s3 Nt*), black inscription under the glaze,

- another faience tablet, incomplete and uninscribed (4.5 by 3.5 by 1.5 cm),
- two smaller faience tablets (1.6 by 1 by 0.8 cm and 1.2 by 1 by 0.6 cm) with dark green glaze turning black,
- a bell-shaped cup of red ware (diameter 8.2 cm, 5 cm high), Pl. 17: 29b
- a small red ware dish (diameter 12.9 cm, height 2.6 cm),³²⁶⁾
- 13 miniature dishes of red ware (diameters from 6 to 7 cm, heights from 2.1 to 2.5 cm),
- a wooden tablet with tiny traces of gilding (2.1 by 1.1 by 0.6 cm),³²⁷⁾
- four more tablets of plain wood (6.5 by 1.2 by 0.6 cm, 7.5 by 1.1 by 0.6 cm, 3.6 by 1.8 by 1 cm, 2.3 by 1.3 by 0.8 cm),
- a tiny remnant of some completely corroded copper artefact, now unidentifiable.³²⁸⁾

The foundation deposit near to the north-western corner (Fig. 57) contained:³²⁹⁾

- a blue-green glazed faience tablet with cartouches of Amasis (3.1 by 1.4 by 0.4) similar to that found in the north-eastern corner,
- one larger (4.8 by 1.7 by 1 cm) and three smaller (measuring about 1.5 by 1.1 by 0.5 cm each) faience tablets with dark green glaze turning black,
- a corroded copper or bronze tablet (about 2 by 1 by 0.5 cm),
- another tablet of badly corroded metal, perhaps silver or lead? (about 1.7 by 1 by 0.5 cm),
- a delicate barrel-shaped cup of grey pottery (diameter about 6 cm, height 5.8 cm),³³⁰⁾ Pl. 17: 29a
- 11 miniature dishes of red ware (diameters from 6 to 6.8 cm, heights from 1.9 to 3.2 cm),
- a fragment of a wooden tablet with tiny traces of gilding (1.7 by 0.9 by 0.3 cm),
- another fragment of a wooden tablet, plain this time (2.8 by 1.3 by 1 cm).

The foundation deposit near the south-western corner (Fig. 61) consisted of:³³¹⁾

- a blue-green glazed faience tablet with only

one cartouche of Amasis (*Hnm-ib-R*^c, 3.1 by 1.4 by 0.8 cm),

- a fragment of another blue-green glazed faience tablet, uninscribed (1.3 by 1.2 by 0.6 cm),
- a delicate barrel-shaped cup of grey pottery (diameter about 6.7 cm, height 6.3 cm), similar to that found in the north-western corner,
- 11 miniature dishes of red ware (diameters from 6.1 to 6.8 cm, heights from 1.9 to 2.4 cm), two of them partly broken off,³³²⁾ Pl. 17: 29c
- a wooden tablet with traces of gilding (1.6 by 0.9 by 0.5 cm),
- another wooden tablet, plain this time (3 by 1.4 by 1 cm),
- two tiny fragments of blue-green glazed faience.

Both the north-western and north-eastern foundation deposits were accompanied by short demotic texts written in black on one of the core blocks of the enclosure and on a now loose fragment respectively. No such graffito was observed in the south-western corner. It cannot be excluded, however, that such a graffito might have been originally written upon one of the core blocks (as was the case in the north-west) and is, therefore, now destroyed or still hidden in the masonry.

Rather unexpectedly, no foundation deposit was unearthed in the area of the south-eastern corner of the enclosure, either under the still existing core masonry or under the presupposed casing (Fig. 63). Not even a pit or depression proving the very existence of it was found in the tafl bedrock. A single miniature red ware dish was, however, found in a somewhat higher layer of dark sand and limestone chips. The dish is almost identical with those discovered in the foundation deposits under the three remaining corners. In the same layer, a badly corroded copper or bronze tablet (almost identical with that found in the deposit in the north-western corner) and tiny remnants of blue-green glazed faience came to light. It seems, therefore, rather probable that a set of objects forming a foundation deposit was also originally put in the south-eastern corner and destroyed later because of the dismantling of the presupposed limestone casing or other activities. The absence of the foundation deposit cannot be explained otherwise.

The remains of the burial equipment of Udjahorresnet are surprisingly few even though,

³²⁶⁾ Similar miniature dishes were published by Petrie 1888, Pl. V, no. 17, see also Kelley 1976, pl. 86.1

³²⁷⁾ The gilded surface of the tablet was certainly intended to imitate a miniature block of gold.

³²⁸⁾ A corroded tablet of copper or bronze was among the objects found in the north-western corner.

³²⁹⁾ Excavator's no. 204/H/93 (Fig. 58). On its present location, see above.

³³⁰⁾ See Petrie 1888, Pl. XXXV, no. 76 and p. 65 (dated "perhaps to the end of the sixth century B. C." on p. 67), see also Kelley 1976, Pl. 87.1.

³³¹⁾ Excavator's no. 213/H/93 (Fig. 62), see also above.

³³²⁾ Judging from the breaks, old without any doubt, the dishes were destroyed before being laid into the pit. The broken off pieces were not found.

generally speaking, the quantity of burial goods is usually rather limited in this type of tomb.

Perhaps the most important single find is represented by a group of shabtis. In spite of some rather suspicious circumstances of their discovery, the shabtis clearly attest the identification of the tomb owner. Two of them were discovered in the south-western corner of the central shaft at a depth of about 9 metres.³³³ Three more shabtis³³⁴ were discovered in the filling of the corridor connecting the small eastern access shaft with the burial chamber proper. A fragment (lower part only) of the sixth and last shabti³³⁵ was discovered in the sand filling of the central shaft immediately above the ceiling of the burial chamber.

All shabtis, measuring between 12.7 and 13.9 cm, are made of faience glazed in light blue-green colour. Their shape represents a rather crudely worked standing figure with a tripartite wig and Osirian beard, holding a hoe in each of the hands crossed on the breast (the right hand over the left one). A bag is held in the right hand and hangs over the left shoulder. The shabtis are inscribed with two single columns of the text situated on the front side and on the dorsal pillar respectively. The crude signs are only incised and are coloured in the same shade of the glaze. Texts on all shabtis are identical except for the shapes of the individual signs:

Front side (covering the legs only):



Dorsal pillar:



born of Atemirdis.

According to their shape and texts included, the shabtis of Udjahorresnet represent a rather usual type, well attested during Dynasties 26 and 27.³³⁶ The number of shabtis found in this tomb so far is surprisingly small in comparison to their presumed number, possibly exceeding 400 according to the practice of that time.³³⁷

Other pieces found so far which could have formed part of the original burial equipment of Udjahorresnet are again very limited in their number. In the sand filling at the foot of the central shaft above the ceiling of the burial chamber, altogether five fragments of magical bricks made of Nile silt were discovered,³³⁸ with almost invisible traces of one or two lines of hieratic texts very shallowly incised into the surface (Fig. 49).³³⁹ Only the end

³³³ Excavator's no. 70/H/89 (Figs. 46–47). Both statuettes, each of them 12.7 cm high, were found directly above the layer of loose limestone blocks and their fragments coming very probably from the destroyed structure originally situated above the mouth of the central shaft. Close to the shabtis and in the same layer, charcoal and a few fragments of the inner anthropoid stone sarcophagus broken off by the tomb robbers were discovered. It seems certain, therefore, that this layer represents remains of the tomb robbers' activities and that, most probably, the shabtis also came from inside the burial chamber. On the other hand, deposits of shabti figurines outside the burial context are attested in Egypt from the New Kingdom onwards, especially in places connected with a long and sacred tradition, such as Abydos, Saqqara and, to a certain degree, also some places between Giza and Saqqara necropoleis. This habit was recently discussed by I. E. S. Edwards (Edwards 1986), see also Hornung 1990, pp. 127–128. A new study by F. Pumpenmeier (*Eine Gunstgabe von Seiten des Königs: Ein extrasepulkrales Schabtidapot Qen-Amuns in Abydos*) is announced.

³³⁴ Excavator's no. 115/H/89, 13.6 to 13.9 cm high (Figs. 52–53).

³³⁵ Excavator's no. 124/H/89, 4.5 cm high, coloured light green.

³³⁶ See Aubert, J.-F. et Aubert, L., 1974, pp. 233–237 and pls. 59–60.

³³⁷ See Schneider 1977, vol. I, pp. 322–323; Schlögl 1985, cols. 897–898.

³³⁸ Exc. no. 78/H/89: length 7.3 cm, height 4 cm, preserved width 5.2 cm.

Exc. no. 89/H/89a: length 7.3 cm, height 4 cm, preserved width 3.2 cm.

Exc. no. 89/H/89b: dimensions of the fragment 3.4 by 2.2 cm, height 4 cm.

Exc. no. 89/H/89c: dimensions of the fragment 3.5 by 2 cm, height 4 cm.

Exc. no. 89/H/89d: dimensions of the fragment 2.4 by 1.5 by 1 cm.

³³⁹ On magical bricks in general see, eg. Heerma van Voss 1986, col. 1402, see also S. Pernigotti, in: Bresciani et al. 1983, pp. 87–90 (with a bibliography pertinent to the topic in his note 1 on p. 87). Recently, the discussion on this matter was summarized by D. Silverman (1997, pp. 726–731, and especially note 5 on p. 726). See also note 51.

of the second line on the largest piece can be read with certainty, saying, "... born of Atemirdis."

The original location of these bricks is not quite certain. Beside the small niches cut later into the walls of the burial chamber (see above), they could have been put directly into the burial chamber together with other objects which originally formed part of the burial equipment.³⁴⁰⁾

A model of the offering table with four conical vessels, made of a faience glazed in light green colour³⁴¹⁾ was found in the burial chamber directly above the lid of the outer sarcophagus together with a small fragment of another model, very probably similar in shape.³⁴²⁾ A number of tiny remnants of miniature vessels made of faience were discovered at the foot of the central shaft, above the ceiling of the burial chamber. Those fragments may come from other models similar in shape or, perhaps, from a set of miniature receptacles for cosmetics, ointments, etc.³⁴³⁾

Pottery in general, including those vessels which may have formed part of the original burial equipment, has been discussed by Květa Smoláriková in a separate chapter.³⁴⁴⁾ Beside those, a number of pottery sherds have been recorded connected mainly with the tomb robbers' activities and coming for the most part from the Late Antiquity and, rather exceptionally, also from the end of the first millennium AD.

In addition to pottery, a number of other finds clearly point to the tomb robbers' and stone cutters' activities as well. Perhaps the most typical among them are remains of various ropes³⁴⁵⁾ and stone cutters' mallets made of wood.³⁴⁶⁾ The

same is perhaps true in case of a wooden lever made in fact of a thick branch of an unidentified tree and found in the southern part of the enclosure.³⁴⁷⁾ It seems probable that some parts of the tomb made of white limestone were reworked into other artefacts directly on the spot, judging from the possible sculptor's models (?),³⁴⁸⁾ a fragment of an unfinished dish³⁴⁹⁾ and perhaps also a paving slab (?) showing clear marks of reworking.³⁵⁰⁾

Some finds can be labelled as intrusive, as their connection with the person of Udjahorresnet remains unclear or more or less impossible to prove. Among them can count a flint blade,³⁵¹⁾ a bronze arrowhead,³⁵²⁾ a fragment of a vessel of blown glass,³⁵³⁾ and a few bronze coins³⁵⁴⁾.

A blue-green faience scarab, found near the mouth of the small access shaft to the east of the enclosure, is again most probably intrusive (Fig. 50).

On the bottom of the scarab, the name *P3-di-p3-hr* appears written in incised relief.³⁵⁵⁾ The same is true about a fragment of a faience shabti

unearthed at the very foot of the central shaft, immediately above the roof of the burial chamber.

³⁴⁷⁾ Excavator's no. 50/H/84, about one metre long, 5–6 cm thick, and bearing clear marks of its use. On the use of levers in ancient Egypt in general, see Arnold 1991a, p. 270.

³⁴⁸⁾ Excavator's no. 73/H/89, measuring 7.5 by 8 cm and 2.3 cm thick.

³⁴⁹⁾ Excavator's no. 80/H/89, its bottom measuring 16.4 cm in diameter and preserved to the height of 5.4 cm.

³⁵⁰⁾ Excavator's no. 46/H/84a, measuring 24 by 28 cm, 4.5 cm thick, with clear traces of a darker patina on one of its lateral sides.

³⁵¹⁾ Excavator's no. 1/H/80. The blade, 6 cm long and 1.5 cm wide, was found at the very surface of the desert and comes, therefore, very probably from the nearby Old Kingdom monuments.

³⁵²⁾ Excavator's no. 9/H/81, 3.7 cm long. According to some medieval Arab authors (eg al-Idrisi, see Haarmann 1991), pyramid fields were often used by the Mamlouks for entertainments connected with hunting and picnics. A set of Arab inscriptions on the eastern face of the unfinished pyramid of Raneferef at Abusir (its publication is now being prepared by B. Vachala and F. Ondráš) resulted perhaps from similar activities.

³⁵³⁾ Excavator's no. 47/H/84. The rim fragment, 3 cm long and only 0.7 cm wide, is too small to give a more precise idea about the shape of the vessel. This type of blown glass, designated sometimes as Graeco-Egyptian (Edgar 1905) appeared in Egypt largely only during the second century AD (Cooney 1976, p. 99). Two more fragments of glass vessels (exc. no. 65/H/89, measuring 7.7 by 2.8 and 3.6 by 1.5 cm) were in fact found on the desert surface above the nearby tomb of Iufaa.

³⁵⁴⁾ Excavator's nos. 38/H/84 and 39/H/84, unearthed between the blocks of the structure above the mouth of the central shaft, and 188/H/89 found in front of the eastern face of the enclosure wall where the presupposed casing was quarried off. All the coins were badly damaged by the erosion.

³⁵⁵⁾ Excavator's no. 97/H/89, 1.1 cm long. On the name, see Ranke 1935, p. 124.18 and 124.19 (Late and Greek Periods).

³⁴⁰⁾ See, eg, the position of the magical bricks in the burial chamber of Tjannehebu where they were put into a box (Bresciani et al. 1977, p. 70). In the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir, next to Udjahorresnet, magical bricks were put directly into the sand that filled the remaining space between the sarcophagus and the sides of the burial chamber.

³⁴¹⁾ Excavator's no. 103/H/89a (Fig. 51), dimensions 6.3 by 5.3 cm, max. height 3.9 cm. For a relatively close parallel as concerns its shape, see Green 1987, pp. 64–65, no. 158 (in bronze).

³⁴²⁾ Excavator's no. 103/H/89b, dimensions 3.7 by 3.4 by 1.4 cm.

³⁴³⁾ Three sets of receptacles, made of faience and pottery respectively and intended for ointments were discovered among the burial equipment of Iufaa at Abusir, next to the tomb of Udjahorresnet, see Bareš — Smoláriková 1997, pp. 13–14.

³⁴⁴⁾ See also Smoláriková 1994.

³⁴⁵⁾ Eg excavator's no. 101/H/89 coming from the central shaft and found in about a half of its depth. On the other hand, the remains of various ropes coming from a pit in front of the eastern side of the enclosure (exc. no. 214/H/93) can perhaps be better connected with the building of the tomb than with its destruction.

³⁴⁶⁾ Excavator's nos. 122/H/89 (ca 18 cm high, 11 cm in diameter) and 123/H/89 (ca 17 cm high, 10 cm in diameter),

unearthed in the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft in the east at a depth of about 7 metres.³⁵⁶⁾ Both artefacts bear names differing from that of Udjahorresnet and perhaps come from other, yet uncovered tombs in the close vicinity.

There are a number of other finds that are difficult to explain in connection with the tomb of Udjahorresnet. A small fragment of quartzite with remains of a single hieroglyphic sign on a dressed surface³⁵⁷⁾ was discovered inside the north-eastern corner of the enclosure at a depth of about one metre below the present surface. A limestone fragment with remains of an offering scene in incised relief³⁵⁸⁾ came to light in the eastern part of the enclosure. In view of the situation inside the enclosure, also a door pivot (?) very roughly made from a limestone block³⁵⁹⁾ seems to be intrusive. The same is true in case of two fragments of

a limestone block with one slightly concave face showing remains of decoration or illegible signs in incised relief that were found inside the burial chamber.³⁶⁰⁾ Judging from the situation in the tomb of Udjahorresnet, as well as from the tombs of the same kind, those finds seem again to be intrusive.

Directly on the desert surface, about 10 metres to the south-east from the south-eastern corner of Udjahorresnet's enclosure, fragments of two statuettes³⁶¹⁾ made of basalt were found. The larger among them represents a part of the torso of a man with remains of a seal or pectoral hanging around his neck. Unfortunately, all fragments were uninscribed. Their connection with the tomb of Udjahorresnet or the personality of Udjahorresnet himself, therefore, can be neither proven nor rejected.

³⁵⁶⁾ Excavator's no. 116/H/89, 10 cm long (Fig. 54). Judging from its shape, this artefact belongs to Dynasties 26 or 27–30. On its rear side, almost illegible traces of one short column of signs probably giving the name of the owner can be recognized, certainly it was a name other than Udjahorresnet.

³⁵⁷⁾ Excavator's no. 2/H/80, measuring 11 by 8.5 cm, with remains of the sign \equiv t. According to M. Verner, the fragment may come from a false door situated originally in one of the nearby Old Kingdom monuments. No other piece of quartzite was unearthed in the tomb of Udjahorresnet.

³⁵⁸⁾ Excavator's no. 15/H/81, measuring 19.5 by 9.5 cm. It should be noted, however, that a relatively large number of similar fragments, among them those of an offering scene (offering scenes) were unearthed in and around the nearby

tomb of Iufaa where decorated limestone stelae seem to have been embedded in niches situated in the axes of all four outer sides of Iufaa's tomb (Bareš 1996b, pp. 8–9).

³⁵⁹⁾ Excavator's no. 46/H/84b, measuring 23.5 by 20 cm and 4.5 cm thick, found in a layer of destroyed mudbrick between the structure situated above the mouth of the central shaft and the western side of the enclosure.

³⁶⁰⁾ See Verner 1989, p. 289. Rather exceptionally, fragments of limestone blocks with one concave side showing tiny traces of decoration were also unearthed in and around the nearby tomb of Iufaa (see above).

³⁶¹⁾ Excavator's nos. 41/H/84, measuring ca 6 by 4 cm and 6.1 cm high, and 42/H/84, measuring 8.5 by 8.3 by 4.3 cm and 6 by 4.5 by 1.5 cm.

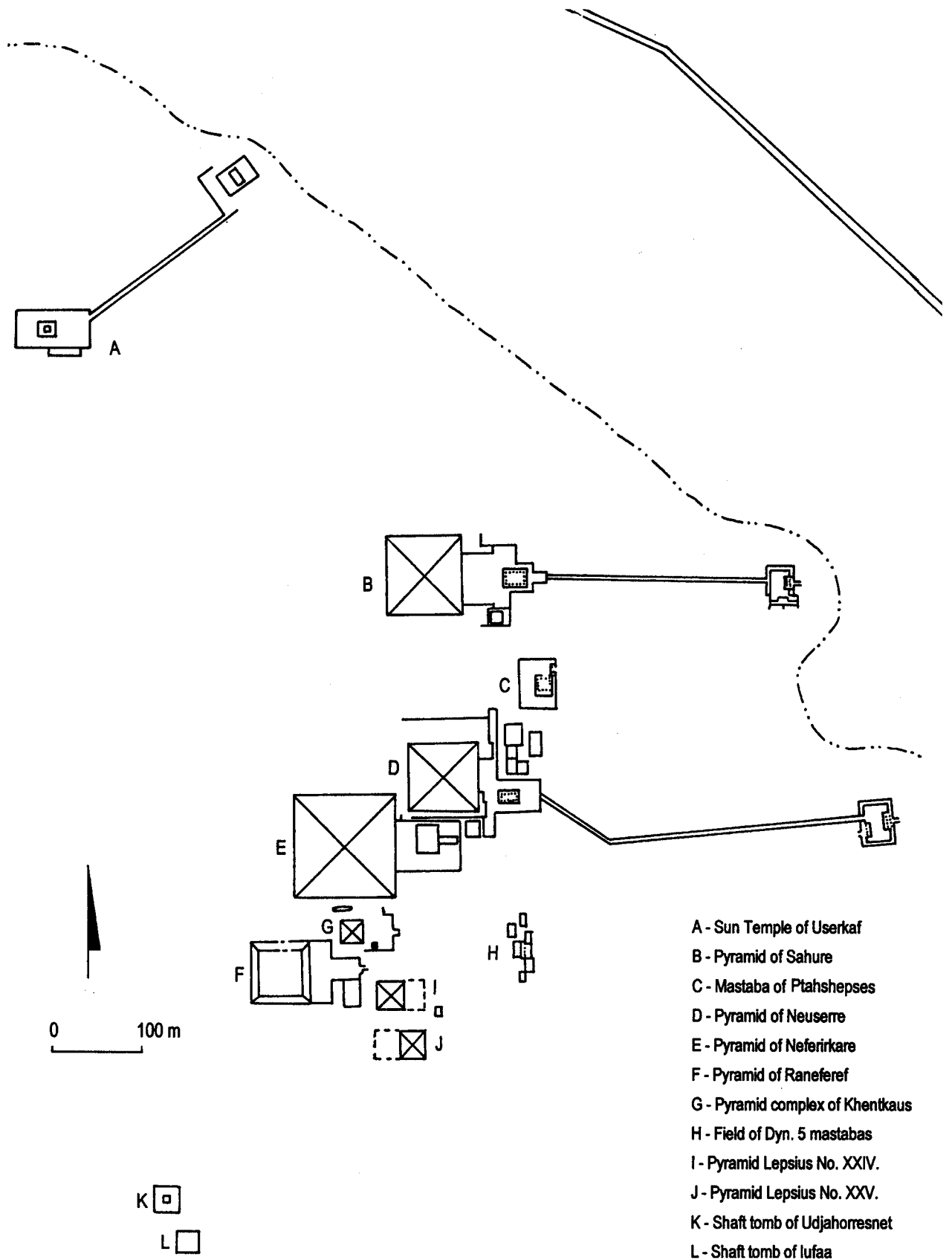


Fig. 1 Plan of the cemetery at Abusir

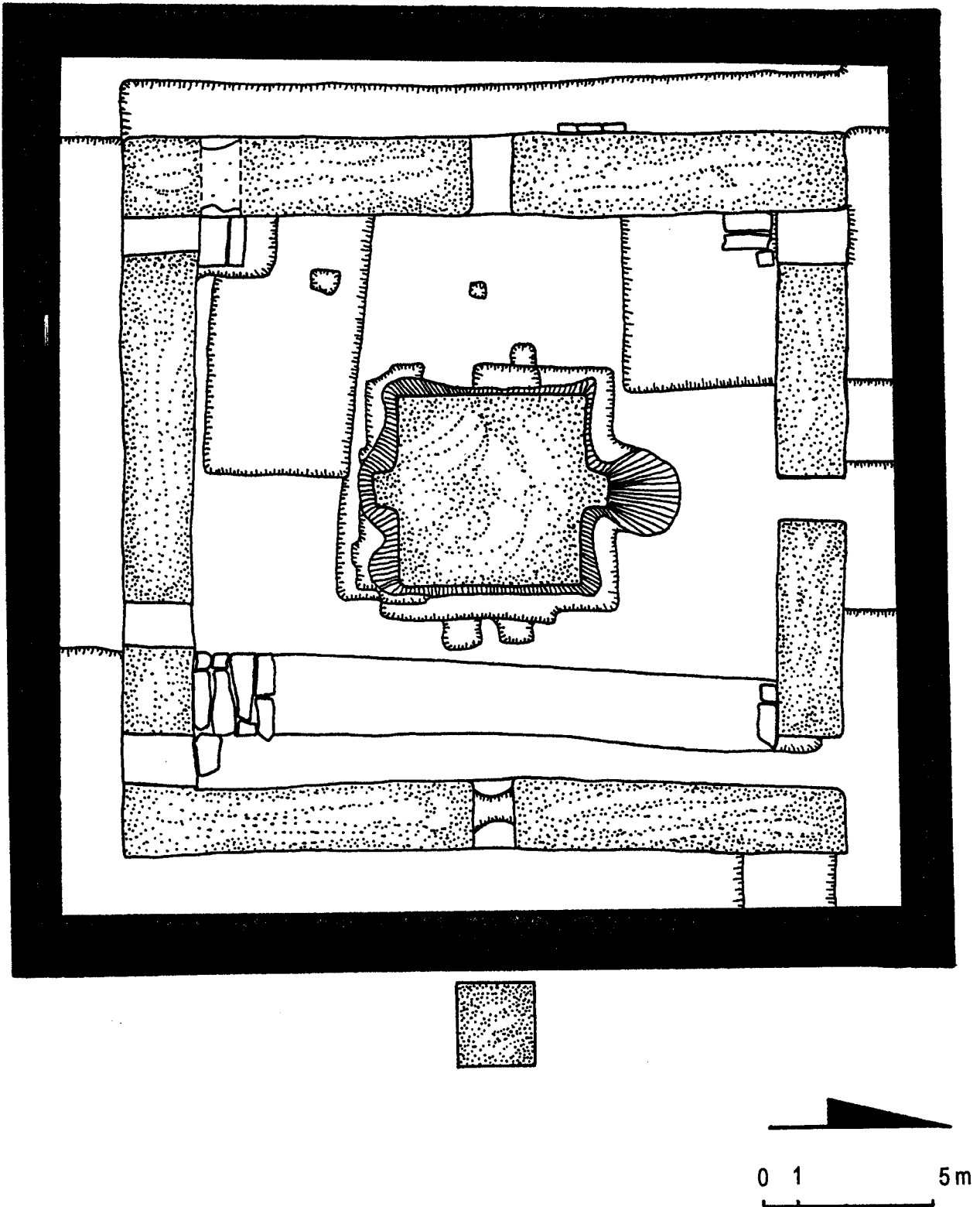


Fig. 2 Plan of Udjahorresnet's shaft tomb at ground level

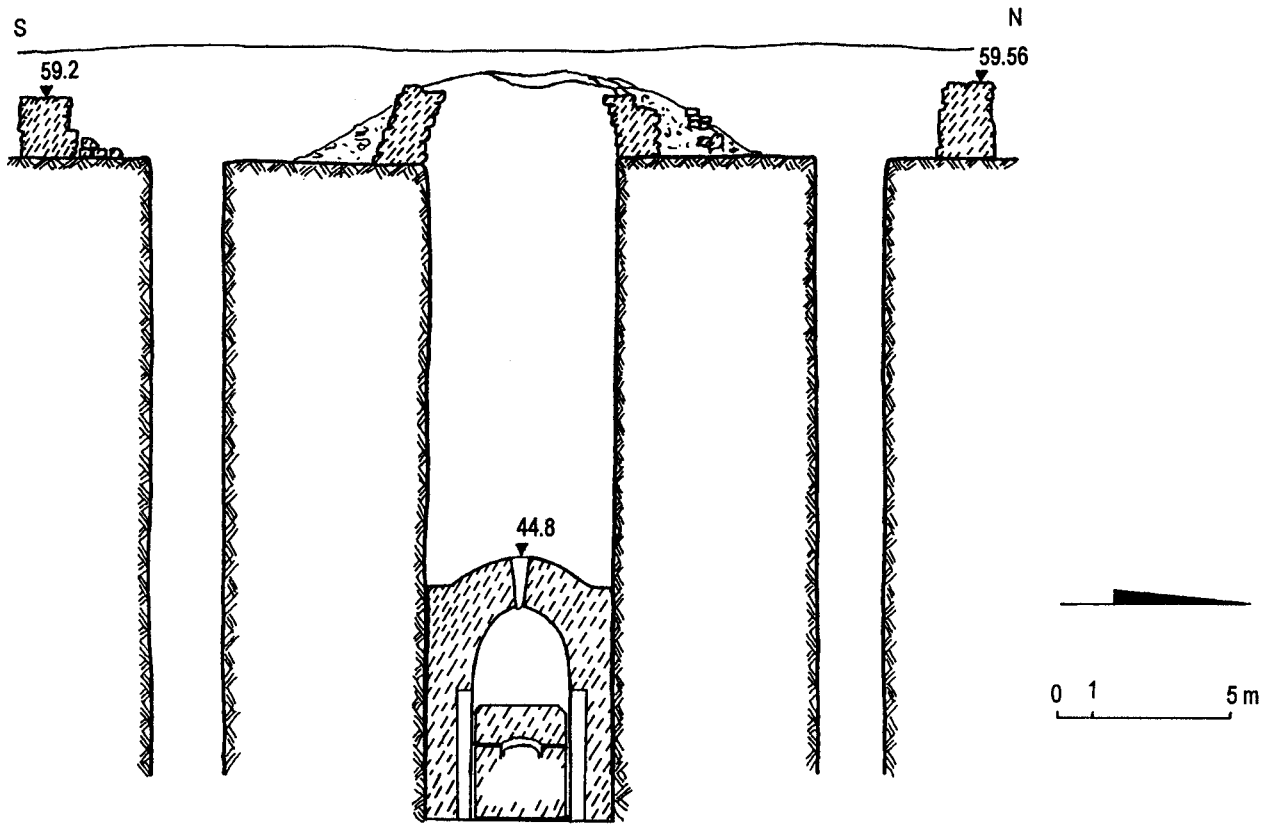


Fig. 3 Section north-south

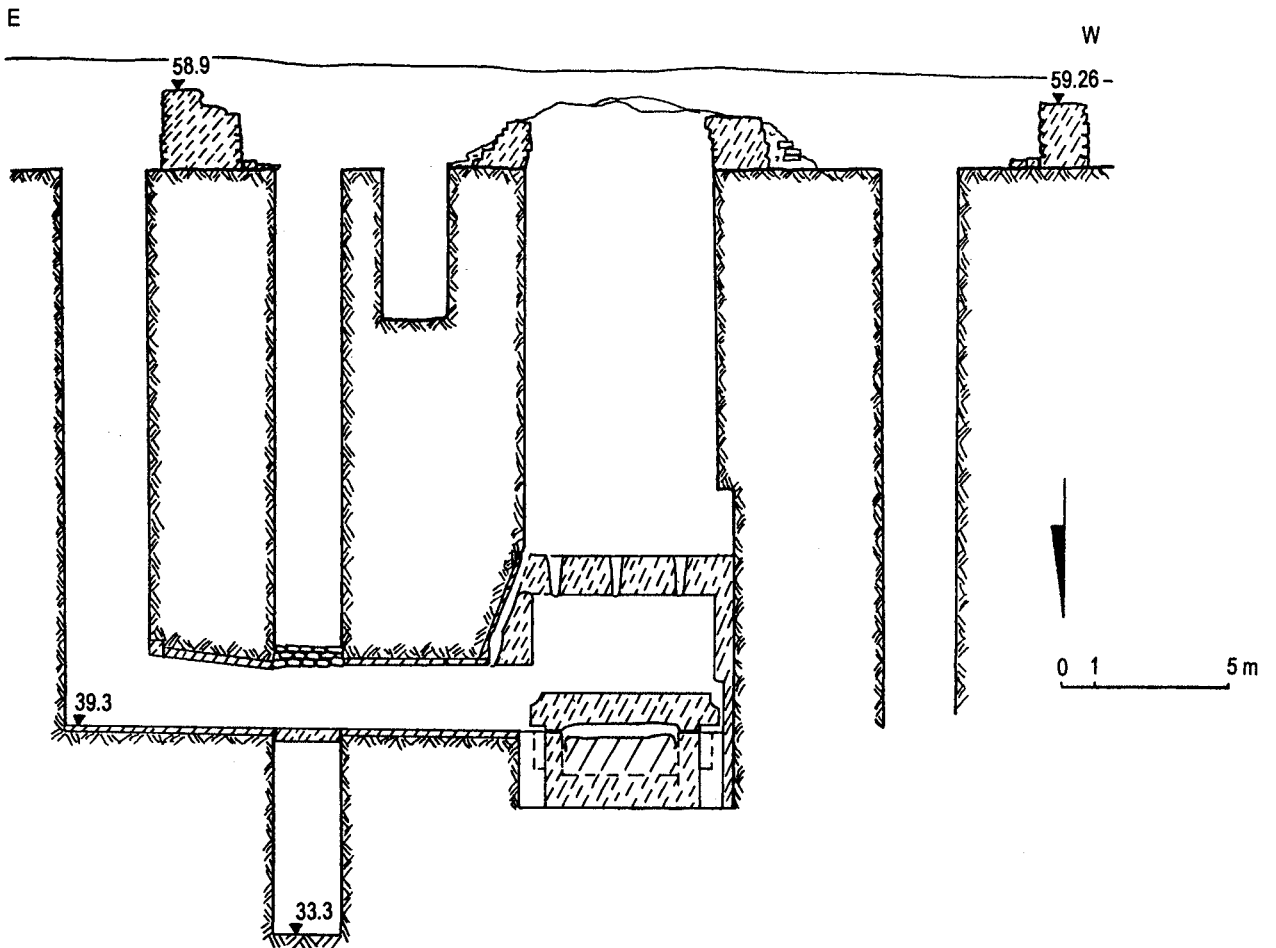


Fig. 4 Section east-west

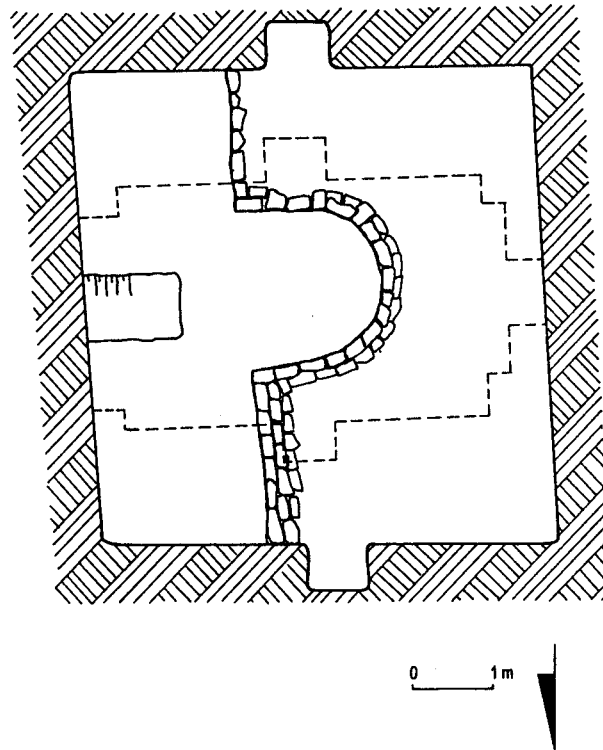


Fig. 5 Plan at the level of the roof of the burial chamber

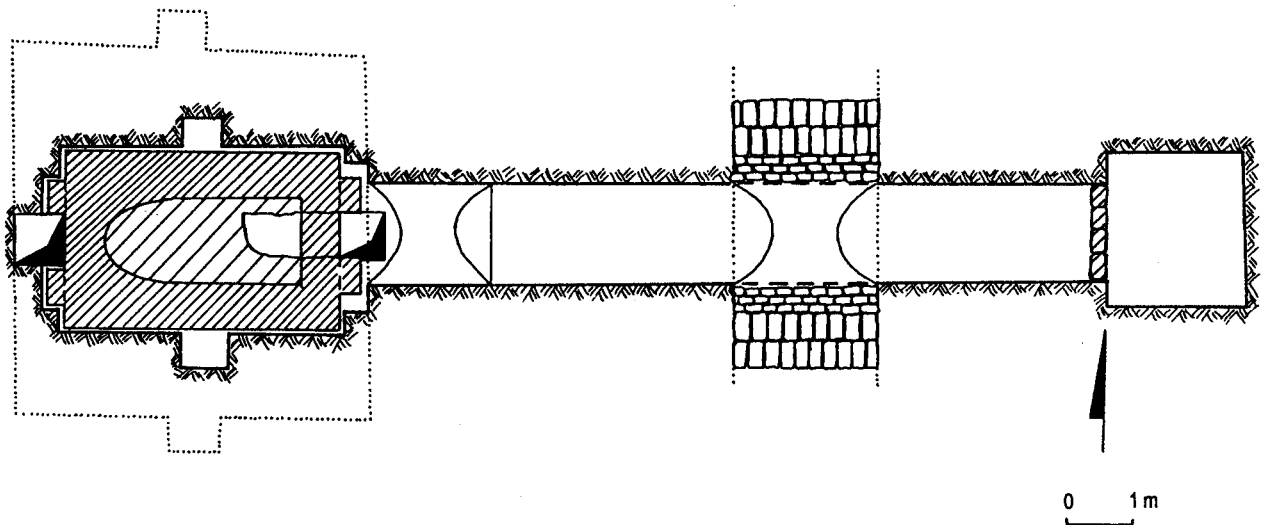


Fig. 6 Plan of the substructure

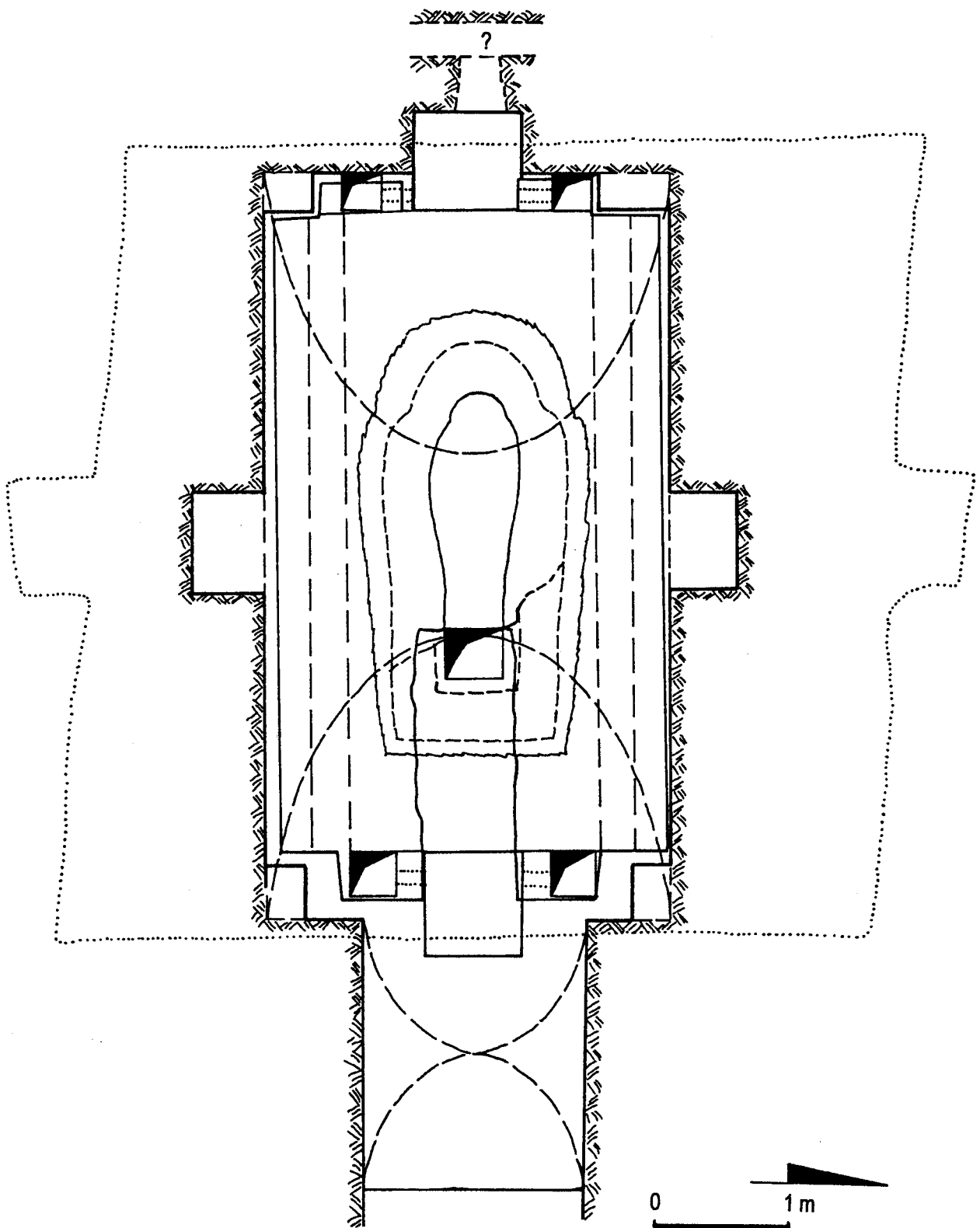


Fig. 7 Plan of the burial chamber

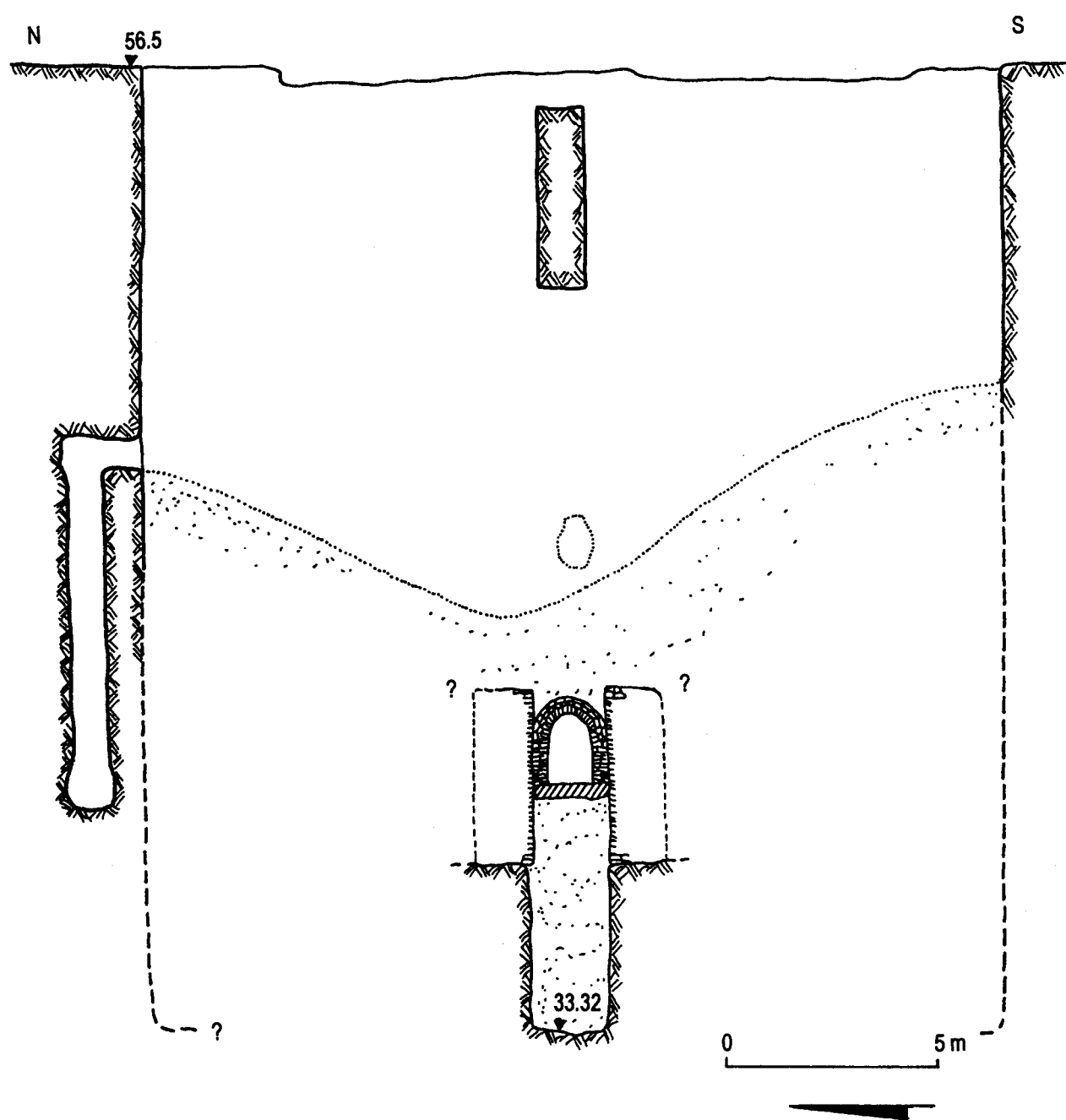


Fig. 8 Section through the eastern peripheral shaft

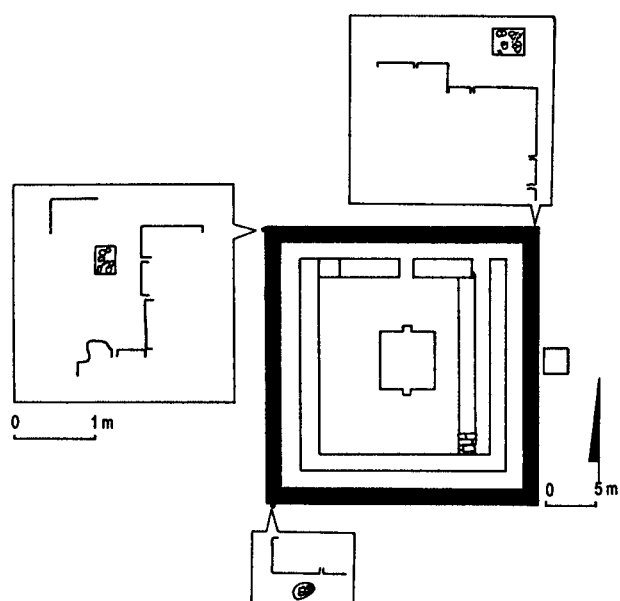


Fig. 9 Schematic plan of the enclosure with position of foundation deposits

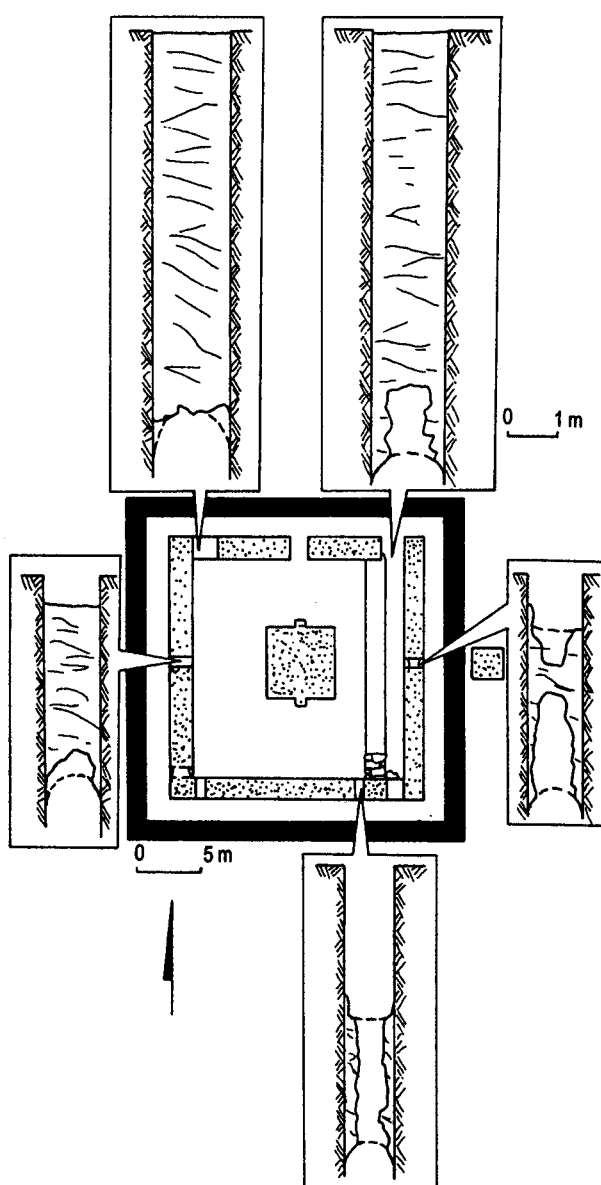


Fig. 10 Plan showing the "bridges" or struts in the peripheral shaft

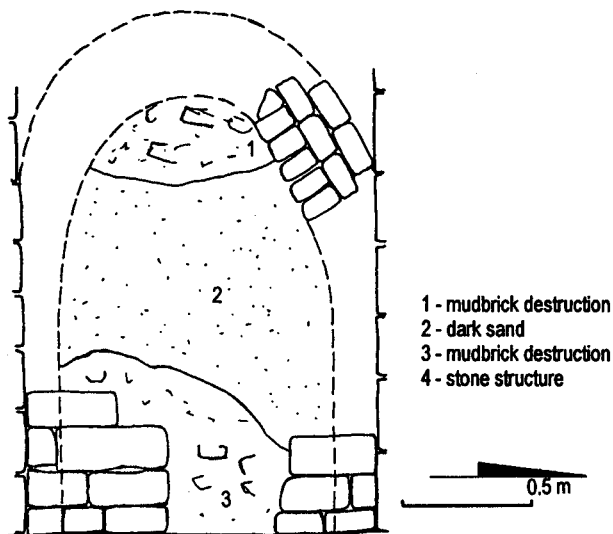


Fig. 11 Section north-south of the mudbrick part of the horizontal corridor

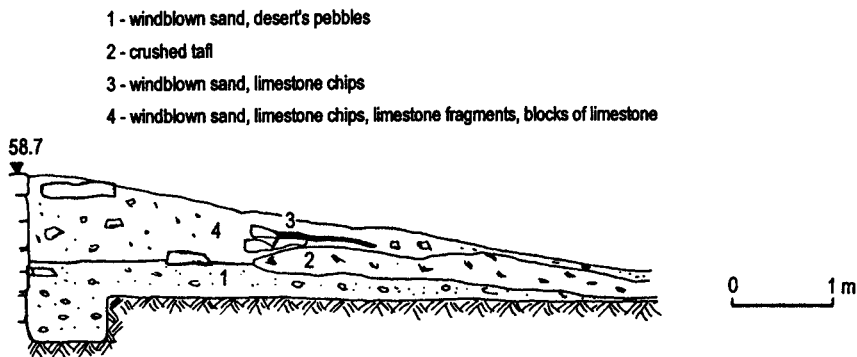


Fig. 12 Section east-west in front of the western section of the enclosure wall

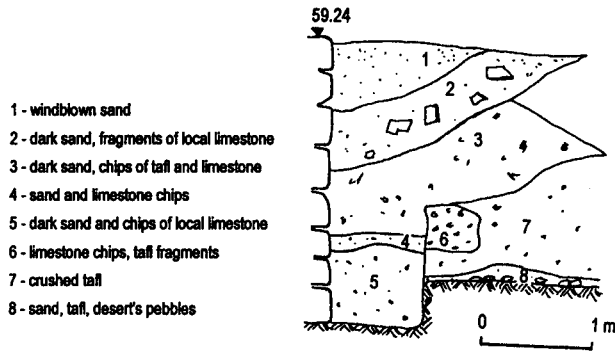


Fig. 13 Section north-south in front of the northern section of the enclosure wall

Fig. 14 Section east-west in front of the eastern section of the enclosure wall

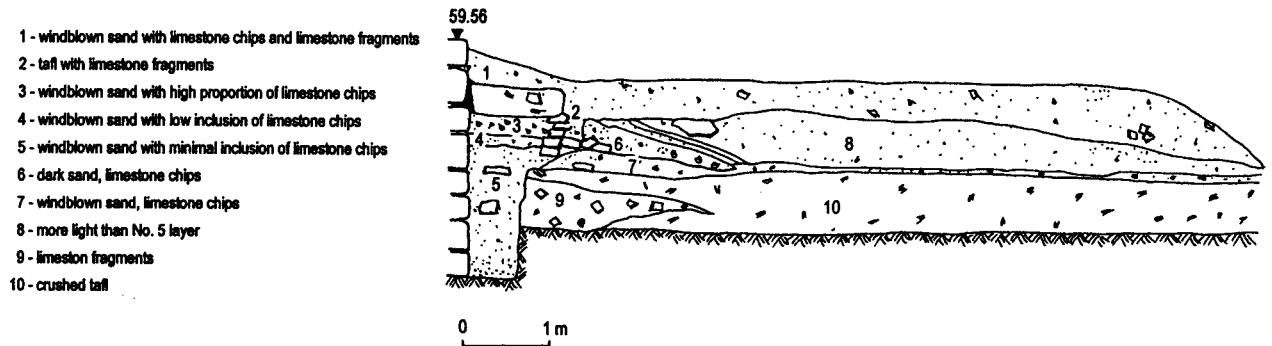
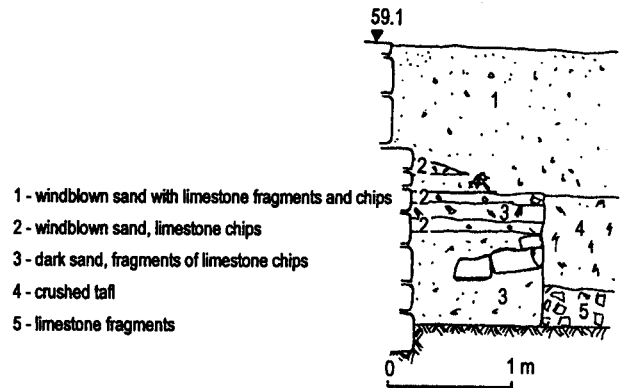


Fig. 15 Section east-west, ca 7 m to the south from the north-eastern corner of the enclosure wall

Chapter IV:

UDJAHORRESNET AND HIS TOMB

So far, the excavation has not brought definite proof which would solve the most crucial and complex question, namely whether Udjahorresnet was indeed buried in this tomb or not. After the tomb robbers penetrated the burial chamber, perhaps repeatedly, the inner sarcophagus was found broken and empty. This fact, together with the scarcity of the burial equipment, unfinished state of the burial chamber and, especially, its decoration and some other indications of a rather indirect character³⁶²⁾ led M. Verner in 1989 to the conclusion that Udjahorresnet definitely had not been buried in the presently known burial chamber and had, therefore, to have been buried elsewhere in this tomb or in a completely different place.³⁶³⁾ In his opinion, the present tomb of Udjahorresnet might even have represented a cenotaph. Though the existence of cenotaphs was rather common in ancient Egypt,³⁶⁴⁾ the present evidence coming from the tomb also might allow a different explanation of the finds.

³⁶²⁾ The existence of two fragments of limestone with tiny remnants of hieroglyphic signs in incised relief (see above, p. 69), the unfinished state of the decoration on the walls of the burial chamber, the very limited amount of burial goods, the possible existence of other chambers under the bottom of the peripheral shaft, repeated attempts of the tomb robbers to find other subterranean rooms.

³⁶³⁾ Verner 1989, pp. 289–290. In a more elaborate and definite form, this conclusion has been repeated later, see Verner 1991, p. 167. This assumption was accepted and repeated also by G. Burkard (Burkard 1994a, p. 45) and S. Bickel and P. Tallet (Bickel — Tallet 1997, p. 88, footnote 66).

³⁶⁴⁾ See Simpson 1980 (especially col. 390 concerning the existence of cenotaphs in the first millennium BC), O'Connor 1985, esp. pp. 164–166, and Arnold 1994, p. 123 (with a short bibliography relevant to the topic). On the other hand, J. Málek has expressed doubts about the very existence of cenotaphs in ancient Egypt (personal communication from Spring 1998). According to him, this question should be re-examined.

The very fact of an empty, though closed and sealed sarcophagus in the burial chamber seems to be irrelevant in respect to both possibilities. Among this type of tomb (ie the huge Late Period shaft tombs), two examples were found of unoccupied sarcophagi, one of them being closed and sealed as well.³⁶⁵⁾ In the other case, the sarcophagus was found empty with its lid raised above the chest and supported by pillars built of stone blocks.³⁶⁶⁾

The hole in the partly broken inner sarcophagus of Udjahorresnet is as wide³⁶⁷⁾ as the cavity inside this sarcophagus at its foot end and, therefore, seems large enough to take out any mummy from the sarcophagus.³⁶⁸⁾ On the other hand, a much smaller hole would perhaps have been enough for the tomb robbers to have a simple look into this sarcophagus and to find that it was empty. Moreover, tiny remnants of some spots coloured differently are visible on the bottom and sides of the cavity inside the inner sarcophagus, coming perhaps from contact with resinous materials which had soaked through the mummy wrappings.³⁶⁹⁾ Even

³⁶⁵⁾ The shaft tomb S 14 at Kom el-Ahmar/Sharuna (Brinks et al. 1986, see also Brinks et al. 1985, p. 65). According to the excavators, the hole made in the sarcophagus by the tomb robbers was too small to pull a mummy out of it (Brinks et al. 1986, p. 79). Unfortunately, the dimensions of the hole are not given.

³⁶⁶⁾ Barsanti — Maspero 1900a, p. 164.

³⁶⁷⁾ 40 cm. The depression was left open to a distance of 25 cm at least.

³⁶⁸⁾ One may compare the dimensions of the mummy of Iufaa found in the nearby tomb of this dignitary. The maximum width of his mummy was 36 cm (in the area of the shoulders) and it was only 23 cm high.

³⁶⁹⁾ The depression inside the inner sarcophagus seems to have been too small for a wooden coffin, though the exact dimensions of this cavity could not have been measured with the

if the mummy had been pulled out and torn into pieces in the burial chamber, no traces might have remained of it because of the humidity or insects and small rodents that were present in the tomb.³⁷⁰⁾

A small fragment of a mummy³⁷¹⁾ was in fact found in the sand filling above the outer sarcophagus. According to the anthropologist,³⁷²⁾ however, this fragment of the lower jaw-bone belonged to a relatively young male (20 to 24 years) and is, therefore, certainly intrusive.³⁷³⁾

The unfinished state of the decoration in the burial chamber certainly did not prevent its use for a burial, as there are many examples of unfinished tombs clearly used for their purpose.³⁷⁴⁾ It is quite probable, moreover, that the decoration of the burial chamber was among the very last tasks to be done in the process of tomb construction.

The existence of other, not yet uncovered subterranean rooms in the tomb of Udjahorresnet is rather dubious in view of the present knowledge concerning this type of tomb.³⁷⁵⁾ The fact that relatively clear and perhaps sifted sand was found in the peripheral shaft does not necessarily mean the existence of rooms or chambers under its bottom with ceilings pierced by apertures closed by pottery jars in the shape similar to that of the burial chamber.³⁷⁶⁾ This question can perhaps be solved

only by future examination through geophysical methods.³⁷⁷⁾

That a rather limited amount of the burial equipment was found in the tomb of Udjahorresnet is again irrelevant to the question of whether or not this dignitary was buried here. Despite its scarcity, burial equipment was definitely present in the tomb. It can be assumed, moreover, that the most precious pieces of the burial goods, such as amulets and perhaps also jewellery, were put directly on the mummy of the deceased and, therefore, could have been removed by the tomb robbers. The surprisingly small number of shabtis poses a certain problem, however. It should be noted, that their likely location in the burial chamber, i.e. the small shaft adjacent to the outer sarcophagus from the east, was badly damaged and perhaps completely cleared of its filling by the tomb robbers who forced their way into the sarcophagus exactly at this point. An intrusive find of a shabti inscribed with a name differing from that of Udjahorresnet in the small eastern shaft represents another example of a possible scattering of the shabtis over a broad area. Quite rarely, moreover, even a high dignitary could have been buried completely without any burial equipment.³⁷⁸⁾

Another problem is closely connected with the question under discussion, namely the problem of the very existence and possible location of the mortuary cult of Udjahorresnet. The situation and finds in the tombs of Udjahorresnet are rather inconclusive in this respect. In spite of the fact that the superstructure was so badly damaged, it seems rather improbable that any cult installations could have existed inside the enclosure, especially in view of the fact that no access seems to have existed within its interior. No traces of any cult installations were detected even around the enclosure or in its closest vicinity, as examined so far. Besides, the very existence of whatever cult installations has neither been definitely proven nor refuted in any of the large shaft tombs of similar kind.³⁷⁹⁾

remains of the lid still in place. On the use of wooden coffins in this type of tomb in general, see footnote 9 in Chapter I.

³⁷⁰⁾ According to zoologist Dr. Dale J. Osborn, even nowadays small rodents can feed on mummies (a communication based on personal observation in Egypt).

³⁷¹⁾ Excavator's no. 104/H/89.

³⁷²⁾ See Appendix, prepared by Prof. Dr. Eugen Strouhal.

³⁷³⁾ This fact seems to corroborate the assumption that the two fragments of limestone blocks with traces of hieroglyphic signs in incised relief (Verner 1989, p. 289; Verner 1991, p. 206) are intrusive as well and may have come from another tomb in the vicinity. Similar cases of intrusive objects found, without any obvious reason, far away from their original position are rather common in the area of the Memphite necropolis, see, eg, Schneider et al. 1991, p. 16. In Winter 1996, a similar case has been reported by A.-P. Zivie from his excavations in the area of the Bubasteion at North Saqqara (a personal communication).

³⁷⁴⁾ Among them, the nearby tomb of Iufaa could perhaps be mentioned, though only a small portion of the decoration on the west wall of the burial chamber has been left unfinished here.

³⁷⁵⁾ A bigger number of subterranean rooms (exceeding two) used as burial chambers for other members of the family of the tomb's owner have so far been unearthed only in the tomb of Pakap at Giza. Even in this case, however, none of these rooms can be labelled as a "true" burial chamber, see Perry 1842, pp. 21–24 with pls. 19–21, Porter — Moss — Málek 1974, pp. 290–291, and Zivie-Coche 1991, pp. 285–287.

³⁷⁶⁾ Not a single case of such rooms is known so far in this type of tomb and perhaps also elsewhere. From the technical point of view, the construction of such rooms at the foot of the peripheral shaft would be extremely difficult. Moreover, such chambers protected only from above would be certainly much

more vulnerable to the possibility of tomb robbers' attacks.

³⁷⁷⁾ Due to safety reasons, the peripheral shaft had to be completely filled with sand again after the earthquake in Autumn 1992.

³⁷⁸⁾ Saad 1947, p. 10. J.-Ph. Lauer (1954, p. 134 and footnote 3) suggested that the presumably existing burial equipment may have been in this strange case stolen during the mummification or even during the burial ceremony by those who attended it.

³⁷⁹⁾ A single exception is perhaps represented by the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir where large limestone stelae bearing texts and representations of offering scenes seem to have been embedded into each of the four niches situated in the axes of the side walls of the enclosure (Bareš 1996b, pp. 8–10).

Concerning the separate finds, the existence of a mortuary cult in any form could have been perhaps attested by a limestone offering table,³⁸⁰⁾ a fragment of a limestone libation basin,³⁸¹⁾ and maybe also by the fragments of statuettes found to the south-east of Udjahorresnet's enclosure and mentioned above. All these finds are, however, completely anepigraphic and, moreover, difficult to date with precision. For that reason, their association with a possible mortuary cult of Udjahorresnet remains vague and cannot be proven. While the fragments of statuettes may perhaps be dated to Udjahorresnet's times, the remaining artefacts (ie the offering table and the fragment of the libation basin), are quite common and may well come from later times when the tomb of Udjahorresnet was changed into a quarry.³⁸²⁾ Moreover, both these limestone pieces are rather crudely worked and bear no traces of any use.³⁸³⁾

Even the fact that the existence of the mortuary cult in any form cannot be proven in the area of Udjahorresnet's tomb, this does not help much in solving the question of the possible location of his burial. In fact, cenotaphs may have served as places of the mortuary cult as well.³⁸⁴⁾ If, however, Udjahorresnet was indeed buried in his tomb, the question of the existence and place of his mortuary cult has to be solved.

Judging from the present evidence, no irrefutable traces of Udjahorresnet's mortuary cult can be attested in his tomb or in its closest vicinity. The separation of the tomb and the mortuary cult pertaining to the person here buried, while being rather typical for the royal and even some non-royal burials during the New Kingdom, rarely appeared also in other periods of Egyptian history as well.³⁸⁵⁾

Another aspect should be taken into consideration, namely the change in religious beliefs and practices pertaining to the mortuary cult. Such a change is clearly manifested in a simplification and reduction of forms of the tombs during the first millennium BC.³⁸⁶⁾ At the same time, more and more attention was paid to religious texts and images appearing inside the tombs on the walls and on the pieces of the burial goods, as well as on the statues exhibited in temples of various deities, especially the most important ones.³⁸⁷⁾

Such a tendency can be clearly observed even in the tomb of Udjahorresnet where the decoration seems to have been more or less limited only to the sarcophagi and the walls of the burial chamber. Among the rather limited amount of evidence pertaining to Udjahorresnet, the famous figure now kept in Vatican seems to be a typical example of a temple statue. The same is perhaps true in case of the statue coming from Mit Rahina.³⁸⁸⁾ Thus, judging from the evidence available so far, it cannot be decided for sure whether there existed another place for Udjahorresnet's mortuary cult — apart from his statues exhibited in the main cult centres of Lower Egypt at Sais³⁸⁹⁾ and Memphis.³⁹⁰⁾ Because of the present, in fact rather limited, knowledge of the vast Abusir necropolis it cannot be excluded that some kind of installation pertaining to the mortuary cult of Udjahorresnet may have been situated in the

memorial chapels, temple statues of private people, etc. See also Stadelmann 1985, col. 710.

³⁸⁶⁾ Among other features, the simplification of the outer forms is typical for royal tombs situated in the temple precincts, as well as for the private tombs of this era, see Málek 1983, cols. 355–356.

³⁸⁷⁾ See Assmann 1985, cols. 470–471 and Koch 1993, p. 431. Private statues exhibited in temples were, in a general way, discussed by Stadelmann-Sourouzian 1985, see also Otto 1948, Wildung 1982, cols. 1115–1116, and, to a certain degree, also Satzinger 1996 and Zimmermann — Kahl 1998. The question of the funerary statues was briefly touched upon by Bierbrier 1975, p. XV–XVI. According to K. Jansen-Winkel (1998a, p. 5), the existence of a real cult related to the temple statues of private persons is indisputably proven. In fact, most non-royal statues dated to the first millennium BC were made for a temple rather than a tomb, see Robins 1997, pp. 206, 225 and 241.

³⁸⁸⁾ See above, p. 41–42.

³⁸⁹⁾ The statue of Udjahorresnet now kept in Vatican seems to have been exhibited in Sais, judging from the repeated mentions of “deities of Sais” and the stress laid on the most important local deities Osiris-Hemag and Neith.

³⁹⁰⁾ It cannot be excluded that the statue shows the worship of Udjahorresnet starting or increasing anew almost two centuries after his death but it is rather improbable. More likely, the statue in question represents a continuation of an older, previously existing cult concentrated around another statue of this dignitary perhaps destroyed in the turbulent epoch of the fourth century BC. The posthumous worship of private Egyptian persons in general and especially during the Late Period has been discussed by de Meulenaere 1986, col. 974.

³⁸⁰⁾ Excavator's no. 4/H/81, measuring 69 by 33 cm and 31 cm high, found in the western part of the northern wing of the peripheral shaft at the depth of about one metre.

³⁸¹⁾ Excavator's no. 40/H/84, measuring in the preserved state 20 by 8 cm and 11.3 high, found to the west of the limestone structure covering the mouth of the central shaft.

³⁸²⁾ The later dating of these artefacts seems to be corroborated by the presence of worked limestone pieces best explained as sculptor's trials (excavator's no. 73/H/89, see Chapter III, footnote 348).

³⁸³⁾ The traces of weathering caused by moisture on the fragment of the libation basin may have resulted from the natural humidity after the artefact, broken into pieces during its cutting, was thrown away.

³⁸⁴⁾ Simpson 1980, cols. 389–390. In this case, however, the designation “memorial chapel” seems more appropriate, see, eg, Robins 1997, pp. 105–106 on the Middle Kingdom monuments at Abydos. See also footnote 364.

³⁸⁵⁾ In fact, the very existence of cenotaphs is based on such a separation of the burial proper and the cult place pertaining to it; the same is true in the case of the Abydos stelae and

as yet unexcavated portions of the cemetery to the east of his tomb or even at the edge of the desert on the western and northern shores of the former Lake of Abusir.

To ascertain the date more precisely when the construction of Udjahorresnet's tomb started, various epigraphic sources seem to be most convenient. The only inscribed pieces among all the foundation deposits bear just the names of Amasis, at the same time the oldest king mentioned in the texts on the inner sarcophagus. Usually, the foundation deposits were put into position before the construction works commenced.³⁹¹⁾ For that reason, the construction of Udjahorresnet's tomb seems to have begun during the long reign of that king, most probably towards its end, judging from the still unfinished state. Judging from their position, the deposits should have been put in their place before the construction of the enclosure walls started. Presumably, the foundation deposits were also put into position prior to the digging of the shafts and construction of the subterranean rooms.³⁹²⁾ No names or titles of Udjahorresnet are at present accessible on his outer sarcophagus. On his inner sarcophagus, as well as on the walls of the burial chamber, his title of "Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt" is repeated several times, granted to him presumably only under the Persian kings.³⁹³⁾ The decoration on the walls of the burial chamber was certainly among the very last work to be done. On the other hand, the relatively large and very finely worked basalt inner sarcophagus had to be prepared much sooner, although very probably only under the Persian kings Cambyses or even Darius I.³⁹⁴⁾ Rather

theoretically, the inner sarcophagus or its inscribed lid could have been moved into the burial chamber after this room had been finished and even after the central shaft had been filled with sand and the construction of the structure above its mouth had been concluded: the dimensions of the small eastern shaft and the corridor connecting this shaft with the burial chamber would enable such an operation.³⁹⁵⁾ It may be concluded, therefore, that the construction of Udjahorresnet's tomb started under Amasis and was stopped in an unfinished state, probably restarted later and then stopped definitely under Darius I when Udjahorresnet died and was buried here. In the meantime, it seems probable that the construction was interrupted at least once (during Udjahorresnet's stay with the Persian King Darius I in Elam) or even at other times for a period/periods of time indeterminable in length.

The reasons for Udjahorresnet's decision to build his tomb on the south-western outskirts of the Abusir necropolis, in a place relatively remote and very probably not used before by his contemporaries, may have been rather complex. Before his tomb at Abusir was found, his burial was thought to be situated in Sais.³⁹⁶⁾ This was assumed on the basis of the texts on his statue now kept in the Vatican, even though a clear proof of this fact could not have been presented. From the archaeological point of view, Sais and its surroundings count among the lesser-known areas of Egypt. Moreover, the ancient site has been so largely devastated in earlier times that even the huge structures still visible 150 years ago (especially the holy precinct with the temple of Neith and perhaps also tombs of Dyn. 26 kings), are now completely missing or inaccessible.³⁹⁷⁾ Tombs of higher dignitaries dating back to the Late Period are rather scarce and inconclusive from Sais and

³⁹¹⁾ Letellier 1977a, col. 910. Evidence for a subsequent (ie after the construction works were concluded) placing of the foundation deposits would be quite exceptional.

³⁹²⁾ In fact, the foundation deposits placed in their position may have been protected from above by the lowermost courses of the core masonry in the corners while the largest portion of the future enclosure walls still remained open for construction work. Judging from a combination of larger oblong ashlar with rarely appearing high and thin blocks, the construction of the enclosure walls started from the corners and continued to the middle of each of the sides. This way of building enabled one to keep an exact orientation of the structure and to proceed more quickly with its sides.

³⁹³⁾ See above, Chapter II. It cannot be excluded a priori that Udjahorresnet obtained this title still under Dyn. 26 kings but nothing so far speaks in favour of such a possibility. It should be noted in this context, that titles held by Udjahorresnet under Saite kings appear quite freely on his inner sarcophagus while their validity is narrowed by adding the names of the respective kings in the biographical inscription on his statue now kept in Vatican.

³⁹⁴⁾ Judging from the mention of the title "Chief Physician of Upper and Lower Egypt" obtained by Udjahorresnet very probably only under Persian kings, the inner sarcophagus seems

to have been finished just during this time. There are no signs showing that this title could have been perhaps added later.

³⁹⁵⁾ It should be noted in this respect that the western part of the corridor connecting the small shaft with the burial chamber was slightly enlarged by cutting off a portion of its northern wall. An indirect proof of the possibility of such an operation can be seen in the fact that lids of some Saite sarcophagi have been lifted from their otherwise intact burial chambers to the ground and transported to a museum or elsewhere at the beginning of this century. Generally speaking, the technical means used in such a procedure at that time could not differ much from those used by the ancient Egyptians. In this way, eg, the lid of the inner sarcophagus of Psammetik was transported from North Saqqara to Berkeley in California, see Elsasser 1966, p. 53 and Stros — Elsasser 1973 for more details. See also Porter — Moss — Málek 1978–1981, p. 649.

³⁹⁶⁾ Verner 1989, pp. 288–289.

³⁹⁷⁾ Málek 1983, col. 355. See also Habachi 1943, especially pp. 369–376 and 403–407.

its surroundings.³⁹⁸) Even during Dyn. 26, however, Memphis did not lose its position as the main administrative and military centre of Lower Egypt at least.³⁹⁹) For that reason, perhaps, most of the higher dignitaries from Dyn. 26 were more or less connected with this city and chose this place for building of their tombs.⁴⁰⁰)

M. Verner recently discussed some factors that may have influenced Udjahorresnet's decision.⁴⁰¹) In his opinion, Udjahorresnet may have tried to avoid (for whatever reasons) a burial in Sais and/or to come closer to the important religious centres concentrated at North Saqqara, lying only some one or two kilometres away from this place.⁴⁰²) Moreover, Udjahorresnet chose a place completely deserted before, devoid of any older tradition when compared with the Late Period tombs situated in and around the pyramid complexes of Userkaf and Unas at Saqqara.

The discovery of a set of foundation deposits enables us to consider Udjahorresnet's choice from another perspective. It seems clear now that the reasons for his decision have to have been valid even before the end of Dyn. 26.⁴⁰³) This fact almost definitely excludes a presumable conflict with the Saite environment. Most probably, therefore, Udjahorresnet's decision was connected with his activities in the Memphite region, especially with the military and naval offices held by him.⁴⁰⁴) It should be noted, moreover, that the

administrative and military activities concentrated at the end of Dyn. 26 most probably around the palace built by Apries on the north-western outskirts of the main agglomeration of Memphis⁴⁰⁵) (ie almost opposite the boundary between Saqqara and Abusir necropoleis). The piece of land chosen by Udjahorresnet may have at his time represented the last place not yet built-up in the closest cemetery.

The choice may also have been influenced by the fact that the place is situated almost exactly on a line linking the Giza pyramids with the Step pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara.⁴⁰⁶) The prominent position atop of a low hill should also be taken into consideration,⁴⁰⁷) as well as its possible vicinity to some not yet localized temples or other important structures on the western bank of the nearby Lake of Abusir.⁴⁰⁸)

Rather hypothetically, Udjahorresnet may have had some ties to the Memphite or, more probably, Heliopolitan regions through his mother Atemirdis in whose name the appellation of the main Heliopolitan god appears.⁴⁰⁹)

Some factors more technical in their nature should be considered as well, namely a relatively soft tafl ground enabling the excavation of any planned shaft, as well as a plentiful supply of building material, especially blocks of local and white limestone, in the easily accessible Old Kingdom monuments situated only two or three hundred metres away. To a certain degree, even

³⁹⁸) Málek 1983, col. 356 and his note 14. See also Bakry 1968a, especially p. 69.

³⁹⁹) Zivie, C. M., 1980, cols. 29–30 (with a bibliography pertinent to the topic). See also Briant 1996, pp. 464–466 and 968.

⁴⁰⁰) See, eg, Smith 1983, col. 418. The importance of the Memphite necropolis at that time is shown by the fact that more than a half of large Late Period anthropoid stone sarcophagi known so far come from here (see Buhl 1959, pp. 213–215). The use of such sarcophagi was certainly limited only to the highest dignitaries of the court and members of the royal family.

⁴⁰¹) Verner 1989, p. 289.

⁴⁰²) Numerous stelae found in Serapeum, situated only within sight of Udjahorresnet's tomb, express the wish of their owners to be buried in the vicinity of the sacred Apis bull, see Smith 1983, col. 420.

⁴⁰³) The exact date of the Persian conquest of Egypt at the end of Dyn. 26 was recently discussed by L. Depuydt (1996, pp. 185–189).

⁴⁰⁴) The existence of a yet unlocated cemetery of Carian mercenaries, very probably situated at North Saqqara or Abusir, should perhaps be taken into consideration as well, especially with regard to the title of "Overseer of the foreign mercenaries" held by Udjahorresnet. On this Carian cemetery dating back to the sixth century BC, see, eg, Masson 1978 (with a foreword written by H. S. Smith), Masson 1980, col. 335, G. T. Martin 1981, pp. 35 and 175, and Kammerzell 1993, pp. 137–139, 173–176, 180–181. The development of the Saqqara necropolis has been summarized, in a rather general way, by Smith 1997.

⁴⁰⁵) On the palace of Apries see Petrie 1909a, Kemp 1977, Kemp 1978. The palace seems to have been in use until Dyn. 30 at least (Kemp 1977, 108). For the geography of Memphis in general see Jeffreys 1985.

⁴⁰⁶) This fact was observed by M. Verner (a personal communication).

⁴⁰⁷) Interestingly enough, also a single huge shaft tomb found at Kom el-Ahmar/Sharuna (see Gestermann et al. 1988, p. 68) was situated at the highest point of that necropolis (a personal communication by L. Gestermann, dated September 2, 1998).

⁴⁰⁸) See, eg, Ray 1976, p. 150. The area of the Lake of Abusir was used even during the burials of the sacred Apis bulls, see Vercoutter 1975, cols. 339–340 and Vos 1993, p. 51 and note 2 on p. 159. On the possible existence of a royal structure in the vicinity of Serapeum, see Kessler 1989, p. 125. See also Smith 1974, p. 17. The possible connection between the huge Saite tombs and the important (royal) monuments situated nearby was mentioned by Smith 1997, p. 389. This question has been briefly touched upon also by L. Gestermann in Chapter 2.3.1. of her just finished work dealing with the use of the Coffin Texts in Late Period tombs (a personal communication dated September 2, 1998).

⁴⁰⁹) It should be noted, however, that the cult of Atum is well attested also in Sais during Dyn. 26 times, see Mysliwiec 1979, p. 132. A sanctuary of Atum (*pr Itm*) is mentioned even in line 15 on the Vatican statue of Udjahorresnet.

the configuration of the ground should perhaps be considered, for it enabled the easy transport of the heavy outer sarcophagus to the place.⁴¹⁰ Last but not least, one also might consider the possible influence of the cult of Sakhmet of Sahure, which was concentrated in and around the pyramid complex of this king and was well attested under Amasis.⁴¹¹ This factor could have been of some importance, together with the close vicinity of the complex of sacred animals necropoleis which started to flourish to the north of Serapeum at the same time⁴¹².

The later destiny of the tomb of Udjahorresnet can be now followed in some detailed outline. At some time, perhaps still during its construction or shortly afterwards,⁴¹³ the tomb of Udjahorresnet became a centre of a group of larger and lesser tombs situated to the north-east, east, and south of it.⁴¹⁴ The interest in having a burial in the vicinity of the tomb of Udjahorresnet clearly shows a very favourable attitude towards his personality,

worshipped perhaps as one of the wise men of the past.⁴¹⁵ A clear proof of such worship is given by a statue of Udjahorresnet found at Mit Rahina and claiming to have been raised 177 years after him.⁴¹⁶ In the light of preliminary observations, the larger tombs situated around Udjahorresnet's complex seem either almost contemporary or only slightly younger than his tomb, thus coming most probably from the beginning of Dyn. 27.⁴¹⁷ This part of the cemetery seems, however, to have been used until Ptolemaic times.⁴¹⁸ Even the latest poor burials have to be in some relation to the tomb of Udjahorresnet, as there was otherwise plenty of space in other portions of the cemetery situated much nearer to the inhabited valley and bearing the same touch of a sacred tradition.⁴¹⁹

In 1989, M. Verner suggested that the tomb of Udjahorresnet might have been partly damaged and desecrated shortly after it had been finished, perhaps during one of the anti-Persian revolts. The reason for the desecration should relate to the close cooperation of this dignitary with the Persian kings.⁴²⁰ In Verner's opinion, the tomb was at least partly repaired and even its function re-established later. Such a suggestion, tempting as it is, cannot be proven according to our present knowledge. Moreover, no parallels of such

⁴¹⁰ In this respect, one might compare the probable method of transport of the enormous sarcophagi belonging to the sacred Apis bulls to the Serapeum. According to H. S. Smith (Smith 1981, p. 338, see also Davies — Smith 1997, p. 116 and note 17 on p. 125), those sarcophagi were not dragged up on the usual processional way used during the burial of Apis bulls, but were transported from a quay situated at the south-western margin of the Lake of Abusir through the valley which leads up to the North Gate of the Serapeum. Such a quay might have been used for the transport of huge sarcophagi to the Saite-Persian cemetery at south-western Abusir as well.

⁴¹¹ Möller 1912, p. 8 and Pl. II. The cult of that goddess has been recently discussed by S. E. Hoenes (1976, pp. 20 and 100–113) and D. Kessler (1989, p. 123, with a bibliography in his note 6).

⁴¹² Among many titles dealing with this complex, see, eg, Smith 1974, pp. 21–63, G. T. Martin 1981, Smith 1984, cols. 416–428 and Davies — Smith 1997 (with a detailed bibliography).

⁴¹³ The date of these tombs cannot be ascertained more precisely so far. The tomb of Iufaa, situated next to Udjahorresnet and being the second tomb in this portion of cemetery excavated, at least partly, until now, yielded no evidence concerning its dating. Judging from the fact that Iufaa held only religious titles, one is inclined to suggest that this dignitary lived under the Persian kings when only a religious career was accessible to native Egyptians almost without exception. On the other hand, the relatively large and well equipped tomb of Iufaa contradicts his rather humble titles in almost the same way as is the case of the famous Padiamenopet in Western Thebes (see Porter — Moss 1960, pp. 50–56, Bianchi 1982b and Jansen-Winkel, 1998c). The inner arrangement in the burial chamber of Iufaa, namely his sarcophagus standing freely and not touching any of the walls, resembles in fact more the burial chambers of Dynasties 28–30.

⁴¹⁴ Such a situation was quite common in Pharaonic Egypt. One may compare, eg, the later cemetery that spread around the tomb of Petosiris at Tunah el-Gebel some two centuries later, see Porter — Moss 1934, pp. 169–174. See also Menu 1994, pp. 311–312.

⁴¹⁵ Holm-Rasmussen (1988, p. 37) even designated Udjahorresnet as "a true preserver of Egyptian culture", comparing him with Old Testament Prophets Nehemiah and Ezra; see also Verner 1989, p. 289, Blenkinsopp 1987 (unfortunately, this study remained inaccessible to me), and Briant 1996, p. 1002. Any possible deification of Udjahorresnet is, perhaps rightly, refuted by Bresciani 1985, p. 2 and note 18 on p. 6. In some way, Udjahorresnet may be considered to have been a predecessor of locally venerated saints in Christian and sheikhs in Islamic Egypt.

⁴¹⁶ See above, p. 41–42.

⁴¹⁷ Judging from the esteem enjoyed by Udjahorresnet in the fourth century BC, some of the tombs may perhaps come from this time, though it is less probable.

⁴¹⁸ Despite a relatively limited extent of excavation in the broader area of Udjahorresnet's tomb, two poor burials came to light to the east of his enclosure. An oblong pit orientated north-south was situated about 8 metres east of the eastern façade of Udjahorresnet's complex. In the otherwise empty pit, only a fragment of a shoulder of a wooden anthropoid coffin painted black was found. Similar coffins found in the area of the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir can be dated into the fourth century BC (Strouhal — Bareš 1993, p. 52). East of the north-eastern corner of the enclosure, a poor burial of a child with arms crossed on the chest (excavator's no. 212/H/93) was unearthed in a relatively high layer. According to the rite (see Gray 1972), this burial can also be dated to the Ptolemaic period.

⁴¹⁹ Another possible explanation, less probable perhaps, may have been a family tradition connected with this very place.

⁴²⁰ Verner 1989, p. 286.

a situation are available among the shaft tombs of this kind.⁴²¹⁾

Without any doubt, however, tomb robbers repeatedly attacked the tomb of Udjahorresnet, for the first time perhaps in the late antiquity. The tomb robbers left clear traces of their activities especially in both the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft⁴²²⁾ and in the central shaft.

The central shaft was, at least once, almost completely cleaned by the tomb robbers who penetrated up to the roof of the burial chamber.⁴²³⁾ Directly on roofing blocks of the burial chamber, a dry-laid retaining wall was built in the shape of a horseshoe pointing to the west and intended to keep the eastern end of the roof clear of sand (Fig. 5). This wall, built of loose fragments of limestone and pieces of hard tafl, reached its highest point at about 1.5 metres above the roof. Using the openings left for the sand in the ceiling of the burial chamber, the tomb robbers forced a hole into the chamber's vault at its eastern end. To clean the central shaft almost completely,⁴²⁴⁾ certainly a large workforce and plenty of time were needed. It can be supposed, therefore, that the job had to be organized on quite a large scale, perhaps by the state administration or, at least, with its cooperation. According to mediaeval sources, the excavation of old tombs and the search for any kind of precious metals and other goods became a state monopoly during the early Islamic period in Egypt.⁴²⁵⁾ It should be noted in this context that faint traces of charcoal lines on the inner eastern side of the burial chamber were read as "Allah" by Mr. Abdallah Mahmoud, the inspector of the Supreme Council of Antiquities attached at that time to the mission.⁴²⁶⁾ Also the very last finds of pottery, namely two

sherds with a thick layer of green and yellowish-brown glaze, certainly come from the early Islamic period.⁴²⁷⁾ Rather probably, therefore, the most intensive tomb robbers' activities can be dated to the same period.⁴²⁸⁾

To judge from the pottery finds, the tomb robbers penetrated the burial chamber of Udjahorresnet at least twice, very probably in late antiquity (fourth — fifth centuries AD) and in early Islamic times (ninth — tenth centuries AD). The exact date when both the sarcophagi were destroyed cannot be ascertained on the basis of the evidence available so far. Rather tentatively it may be supposed that both sarcophagi could have been broken during the first tomb robbers' work inside the burial chamber, ie still in late antiquity. Numerous attempts to pierce the walls of the chamber⁴²⁹⁾ and the corridor leading to it⁴³⁰⁾ and to look behind the walls for a possible way to other presumed rooms may have been the result of some disappointment among the tomb robbers during their second visit.

The fairly considerable number of tomb robbers' attempts to penetrate the subterranean rooms

421) On subsequent repairs of the damages caused in older buildings see, in general, Arnold 1991a, pp. 236ff, especially p. 243. According to Jansen-Winkel 1997, a tomb of the Saite Period seems to have been at least partly restored in connection with its reuse in Dynasty 30. One may certainly doubt whether the restoration mentioned in that tomb consisted in anything more than adding a new inscription.

422) See above, p. 64.

423) For a similar case at North Saqqara, see G. T. Martin 1992, pp. 92–93 where the matter is discussed from a broader perspective.

424) The amount of sand removed during that operation can be estimated at about 400 cubic metres which was transported from a depth reaching up to about 13 metres. Even in present times, such a task would need about 3–5 weeks of a heavy work when utilizing the traditional methods which could have been in use during ancient times.

425) See Störk 1977, col. 728 and his note 2. According to the evidence available, such work might have yielded hundreds of kilograms of gold yearly.

426) A personal communication. Mr. Abdallah Mahmoud is at present Chief Inspector of Antiquities for North Saqqara and Abusir.

427) Excavator's nos. 71/H/89 (two fragments measuring 4 by 3 cm and 5 by 4 cm), found in a layer of dark sand, sherds and charcoal in the central shaft at the depth of about 10 metres (rather near to the shabtis 70/H/89), and 106/H/89, measuring 3,5 by 4 cm and unearthed directly in the burial chamber above the outer sarcophagus.

428) Theoretically speaking it cannot be excluded that the central shaft might have been cleared of its original filling even before. On the other hand, however, such an operation would be rather improbable, especially in view of the amount of work needed. At the moment when the present excavators penetrated the chamber (using the tomb robbers' hole), the cone of debris started directly beneath this hole and completely covered the eastern side of the burial chamber. At this moment, the debris was untouched by later intrusions. It seems probable, therefore, that the hole made at the eastern end of the ceiling represents the last way through which the robbers had entered the burial chamber.

429) In the western wall of the niche situated in the western side of the chamber, one of the blocks was broken off at about the level of the lower edge of the lid of the outer sarcophagus. The hole could have been followed for about 0.6 m but the examination had to be stopped because of safety reasons as sand (coming perhaps from the filling of the main shaft or, much less probably, from the sand filling of the western wing of the peripheral shaft) poured through this hole into the chamber incessantly.

430) In the western portion of the horizontal corridor leading to the burial chamber, a block was always broken off from both the northern and southern walls. Also the westernmost horizontal ceiling block adjacent to the vaulted passage between this corridor and the burial chamber was missing. Behind all these missing blocks, only the tafl bedrock was found exposed.

in the complex of Udjahorresnet is rather exceptional among the tombs of this type.⁴³¹⁾ The repeated activities of the tomb robbers may have been caused by easy work in the relatively soft tafi bedrock and, perhaps, also by

the position of the tomb clearly protruding atop a flat desert hill.⁴³²⁾ The complicated system of protective measures and the disappointment of the later groups of the tomb robbers may have led to the same effect.

⁴³¹⁾ About a half of the burials were found intact in these tombs (see note 50), though even in some of them (eg, in the tomb of Hekaemsaf at Saqqara, see Barsanti — Maspero 1904, pp. 70–71, and in the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir, see Bareš — Smoláriková 1997, p. 10) clear traces of tomb robbers' activities were discovered.

⁴³²⁾ It should be noted in this context that even the tomb of Pakap at Giza, much more hidden in the sloping ground around the causeway of Khafra, was well known to the local inhabitants prior to its excavation, see Perring 1842, p. 21.

Chapter V: THE POTTERY

INTRODUCTION

The ceramic material found during the archaeological excavations⁴³³⁾ in the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet was relatively small, amounting to some 7.000 sherds. This situation may have been due to the position of this tomb, somewhat far removed from other monuments in either Abusir or North Saqqara.

The scope of our examination was somewhat limited by the documentation available from the previous excavation seasons. At first, the pottery was only described in a traditional way, without the divisions into the groups proposed by the International Group for the Study of Egyptian pottery.⁴³⁴⁾ In most cases, moreover, the pottery was so badly shattered that, in spite of all possible efforts, only a very limited number of vessels could be reconstructed. We have decided, therefore, to draw again and examine only the most significant fragments (rims, handles, bottoms, painted sherds and selected body sherds). The remaining pieces were just classified and counted. Such a method seemed inevitable in view of the fact that the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet belongs to the group of some 10 Late Period shaft tombs identified so far in the southwestern sector of the Abusir necropolis. We have, therefore, tried to make the examination of the pottery from the tomb of Udjahorresnet as compatible as possible with the future examination of pottery from other monu-

ments of this type which will be excavated in its vicinity. In 1995, exploration of the shaft tomb of Iufaa lying to the southwest of Udjahorresnet was begun (see the preliminary reports in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 156, 1997, 9–23; *Bulletin de Liaison du Groupe International d'Étude de la Céramique Égyptienne* XX, 1997, 13–14).

Except for a few sherds dated back to the Old Kingdom, most of the pottery (about 45 per cent) belongs to the original burial equipment of the tomb. About 10 per cent of the pottery can be dated to the Roman period and the remaining more than 35 per cent to the Coptic-Byzantine era. Pottery from other epochs was either quite exceptional or was not found here at all. As this section of the cemetery was mainly used from the Late Period onwards, this was only to be expected.

Concerning the stratigraphy, all pottery material was found in a secondary position, mainly due to the tomb robbers' activities. In the overall evaluation of the pottery, sherds from the destroyed parts of the monument have been included, as well as those found in the surface debris and coming from numerous intrusions during the Late Roman and Coptic-Byzantine periods.

All the ceramic material has been divided into two corpora arranged according to chronology. First, Late Period vessels are listed (silt, marl, imports), then Late Roman and Coptic-Byzantine: coarse wares (silt, marl) and, finally, wares with a detailed division into the African Red Slip Ware, Egyptian Red Slip Ware A and Egyptian Red Slip Ware C (silt) groups.

⁴³³⁾ Preliminary reports in Verner: ZÄS 107, 1984, 158–169; ZÄS 109, 1982, 157–166; ZÄS 113, 1986, 154–160; ZÄS 115, 1988, 77–84; BIFAO 89, 1989, 283–290; ZÄS 119, 1992, 108–116 and 116–124.

⁴³⁴⁾ Arnold — Bourriau 1993, *passim*.

LATE PERIOD POTTERY

The pottery was very fragmentary when found and consequently all types originally present could not be identified. The vessels had been broken in antiquity and their fragments scattered (some of them probably served a ritual function, but a great quantity had been damaged by robbers).

Nevertheless, only a very small quantity of these vessels could be reconstructed.⁴³⁵⁾ These in the catalogue follow in the order: Egyptian Nile silts, Egyptian marl clays and imported pottery.

All ceramic material belongs to the ultimate end of the second and the beginning of the third phase of the Late Dynastic Period, provisionally dated to the late 6th century BC (with modification of the upper chronological limit as originally suggested by Peter French).⁴³⁶⁾

From the morphological point of view the majority of the wares was in the restricted form, especially the small jars (in silt fabric), amphorae, and storage jars (in marl fabric). Open forms consisted of bowls, which varied in their profiles, chalices, beakers etc. being among them; relatively numerous were the fragments of torches.

The bottles with a ribbed neck **1**, **2** were made of the Nile silt; nearby complete **1** had a rounded base, but very common is also that base which is pointed.⁴³⁷⁾ Both types carried two ridges on a neck and one at the junction of neck and body. The same type came from the tomb-chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqara, but they were dated to the 4th century BC. Morphologically, it seems, that the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet (dated to the late 6th century BC) and the tomb-chapels of Paser and Ra'ia (dated to the 4th century BC), formed the upper and lower chronological limits of the third phase of the Late Dynastic Period. The jar without a collar was found for example at Tell el-Maskhuta and dated to ca. 487 BC.⁴³⁸⁾

The vast percentage of the silt fabric belongs to small and medium-sized jars. They were probably used as funerary offering vessels, which would have been deposited with the burial. These frequently contained a black substance (probably mummification material). The majority of these jars have a short straight neck and a slightly curving shoulder, with a groove below the neck **4**, **6**, **7**, rounded base **5**. In one case, there was a vessel with a rib

around its neck **8**. Another type of jar had a sloping neck; normally this was a red slipped.

Large jars were common but usually very fragmentarily preserved. Rims varied from some which were slightly grooved, to those that were deeply grooved **12**, with short necks and concave belly. These were either red slipped or self slipped, sometimes leaving a rough surface.

Beakers such as **13** with sloping walls, a rib below its rim, and grooves around its base are more common than those with straight walls. This type was usually made of marl clays (**29a** — from the foundation deposit). Another had a flat base and was slightly rounded, or else had small bump in the middle of its base.⁴³⁹⁾

Both types of lids **9** — made rather roughly — and **10** — with a groove above its rim, are common in the Egyptian ceramic repertory.

Morphologically speaking, from unrestricted forms mortaria are seldom encountered. From many fragments only one upper part was reconstructed. This had a relatively broad black line⁴⁴⁰⁾ below its rim **14**. It was made of gritty marl clay, green in section, and moderately fired. Some fragments were creamish in colour, but green predominated.⁴⁴¹⁾

All bowls were found in a very fragmentary condition, so only three types occur frequently in our catalogue: (1) slightly concave profile with a groove below the rim, normally a flat base **15**, (2) bowls with a thin-walled carinated profile with flat or rounded base **16**, and finally, (3) those with a curving body with a flat base and narrow groove above the base.

From restricted forms made of marl clays the medium-sized globular jars, small jars or bottles **20**, **21** were not as numerous as the large storage jars and amphorae.

Unfortunately, large two-handled storage jars were found only in a fragmentary condition⁴⁴²⁾ and so our attempts at reconstruction of these vessels or profiles met with little success. Usually they have a large oval body with a rounded or flat base and two vertical handles.⁴⁴³⁾

Fragments of Phoenician amphorae⁴⁴⁴⁾ constitute the bulk of the imported ware from the shaft

⁴³⁵⁾ I am grateful for the help of Jana Barešová and Samir.

⁴³⁶⁾ French, CCE 3-1992, 83-93.

⁴³⁷⁾ French, 1988, fig. 2.

⁴³⁸⁾ Holladay 1982, Pl. 25/8.

⁴³⁹⁾ Wilson 1982, Pl. XV/6.

⁴⁴⁰⁾ French, 1988, 91.

⁴⁴¹⁾ Wilson 1982, Pl. XIV/1.

⁴⁴²⁾ French — Ghaly 1991, 93-100, *passim*.

⁴⁴³⁾ Charvát 1981, 159-163.

⁴⁴⁴⁾ Sagona, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 14, 1982.

tomb of Udjahorresnet. The early Phoenician amphorae⁴⁴⁵⁾ appear in Egypt from 610 BC as a result of intensive trade relationships with Phoenicia, but our Phoenician amphorae series 22–25 is younger than those usually encountered, but very similar to those from Tell el-Maskhuta and Mendes dated to ca. 486 BC. These have a long body ending in a pointed base, short rims, short rounded shoulders — nearly horizontal, and finally, two twisted handles. They are of a type that occurs up until the mid-fourth century BC.

The earlier Greek pottery excavated in this shaft tomb was imported from the Eastern Greek cities — from Clazomenae and Chios. All were found in a secondary deposit.

Clazomenian ware⁴⁴⁶⁾ is represented by numerous fragments of wine amphorae 26 with their typical bellied body, and decoration consisting of broad bands in reddish brown. The same (or closely similar type of amphora) was found at Gurna⁴⁴⁷⁾: Nr. 810–811 and 833–841, but Myśliwiec speaks about the Egyptian provenience of “grosse Amphoren aus Nilton”. His misidentification was corrected by Dupont-Goyon⁴⁴⁸⁾ and both suggest that it is a ques-

tion of importation, and these amphorae should be dated to the middle of 6th century BC. Exactly similar is the situation with Chian wine amphorae, from which only fragments were found.

Luxury ware⁴⁴⁹⁾ was very rare. A fragment, probably from an oinochoe 28 in the Chiot Black-figure Sphinx and Lion Style⁴⁵⁰⁾ was dated to 580 BC. This style is a careless, small-scale adaptation of the Corinthian style, of the Middle, rather than the Early Ripe phase, but it retains a little East Greek in its detail. The favourite subjects of such a style are rows of crouching sphinxes or lions, there being fewer sirens, bulls and centaurs or male figures. The Chiot Black-figure style probably lasted into the second quarter of the sixth century, and perhaps beyond.

According to John Boardman, Chios fabric was uniformly pink, but Chian daughter-factories in Naucratis produced pottery from brown or grey fabric⁴⁵¹⁾ in varying shades. In this case, our fragments would fall into the first group,⁴⁵²⁾ because their fabric is lightly brown to reddish with a tendency to pink.

A rim sherd of Attic Black-figure pottery was too small to be dated closely.

Fabric Typology

Nile Silt: J1, J2

J1

In spite of some correspondence between J1 and Nile C (Vienna system) the differences between them are visible to the naked eye. It was necessary to divide this type of fabric into two groups according to surface treatment and texture.

The first group contains a great quantity and variety of inclusions, such as irregular, coarse crushed limestone or grog, ash, sand, translucent grits and organic matter. It is extremely porous and its surface was pitted by voids left by burnt-out straw, wet smoothed. This type of silt was always fired to a reddish or brownish hue, and the fabric is moderately fired.

The second group is very similar but its texture appears to be finer: straw is not so visible, the limestone is finely crushed, and the vessel

is well fired, and its surface treatment is more careful.

J2

This type of fabric corresponds to Nile B, with its fine texture, containing a mixture of finely divided organic material, mostly straw. Its frequency is reduced and there is little visible on the surface. The pottery is highly fired. Generally, it contains the same inclusions as the preceding fabric, but it is finer. Black or brown cores are visible in the sections.

Marl Clays: K2, K5

K2

This type of fabric was fairly rarely encountered, but it contains a small portion of fine inclusions,

⁴⁴⁵⁾ For the evolution of the shape of the Phoenician amphorae from 610 BC to 486 BC see: Holladay 1982, Pl. 2/8, Pl. 4/7,8, Pl. 8/9–11, Pl. 9/1–5, Pl. 14/8–9.

⁴⁴⁶⁾ R. M. Cook, BSA 47, 1952, 148–149.

⁴⁴⁷⁾ Myśliwiec 1987, 75–79.

⁴⁴⁸⁾ Dupont — Goyon 1991, 155–166.

⁴⁴⁹⁾ Smoláriková 1994, 81–88.

⁴⁵⁰⁾ R. M. Cook 1972, 126–130.

⁴⁵¹⁾ Boardman, BSA 51, 55–62; but according to Pierre Dupont and his scientific analysis of the clay, all Chiot painted pottery was made in Chios and the colour depends on the different clay beds: Dupont, Dacia 27, 1983, 30–31, 41.

⁴⁵²⁾ Myśliwiec 1987, Nr. 804–821.

such as limestone, a little coarse sand, and ochre and is tempered with black grits. Its fabric was fine textured, greenish in section, but with a surface that was yellow, pinkish or greenish, according to firing.

K5

The majority of marl clay vessels belonging to this type of fabric was with a dense texture, a small amount of coarse straw, sand, scattered large limestone particles and small black and red particles. Some coarser examples also contained grog in large quantity. It was fired to a pink, yellow or light green.

Imported Wares

Phoenician amphorae

This ceramic group is well represented at Abusir. Relatively well-levigated clay, tempered with fine limestone, many white and black grits, compact, very hard baked, fired light brown, smoothing marks on the exterior and interior.

Chian amphorae

Fragments of Chian pottery form a large group at Abusir; mostly, it contains a quantity of visible white grits of varying size and shape, which are unevenly distributed. These consist of ochre (?), fine sand, rarely some mica, and occasional black particles. Well-levigated pale red clay, a coarser, gritty red fabric, with a light grey core. Highly fired, hard, the lines around rim, handles, neck and body were in red or red-brownish, usually cream or pink slip.

Clazomenian amphorae (Fig. 65)

Clazomenian wine amphora was at Abusir one of the most common type from imported wares. It has a great number of inclusions, which have created a relatively homogeneous fabric: levigated clay, tempered with many small and medium white grits, mica and grog, fired light brown, smooth surface with broad bands around rim, down the handles and below them.

CATALOGUE

Nile silt wares

1. *Bottle with ribbed neck and rounded base* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 85a/H/89

Nearly complete, except for about 1/10 of body (lower part). Reconstructed from about 80 pieces. This shape is very common type in the Late Period, with two ribs around the neck and another at the junction of neck and body.

J1 red slipped burnished ware, with two little black points on the lower part of the body.

D 9.5, H 40

Location: the shaft between the central pit and the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft, at a depth of ca. 1.5 m.

Parallels:

Paser and Raḥia, Pl. 37/111, the same type.

CCE-2, French, 83.

MDAIK 44, French, 2, only one rib around the neck, the base is more pointed.

Tell el-Maskhuta, Pl. 10/12, as preceding.

ASAE LIII, Lauer-Iskander, Fig. 9, similar but without ribs.

Petrie, Qurneh, Pl. LIV/833–835, without ribs and a base that is more pointed.

2. *Bottle with ribbed neck* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 85b/H/89

Repaired from about 30 pieces, presented to height of 25.3 cm, lacking lower part of body. Many other sherds do not join but appear to be from the same vessel.

J1 red slipped or red washed.

D 16.5 H 25.3

Location: southern end of the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft, at a depth of ca. 5 m.

Parallels:

as preceding, with differences in the surface treatment.

Mendes, Pl. XVI/5

Mit Rahineh 1955, Fig. 3/33, without ribs.

3. *Upper part of a jar* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 13/H/81

J1 wet-smoothed or self-slipped, base lacking. Interior and exterior stained black, probably from mummification material.

Location: area between the western peripheral shaft and the western section of the enclosure wall.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 85, similar but larger.

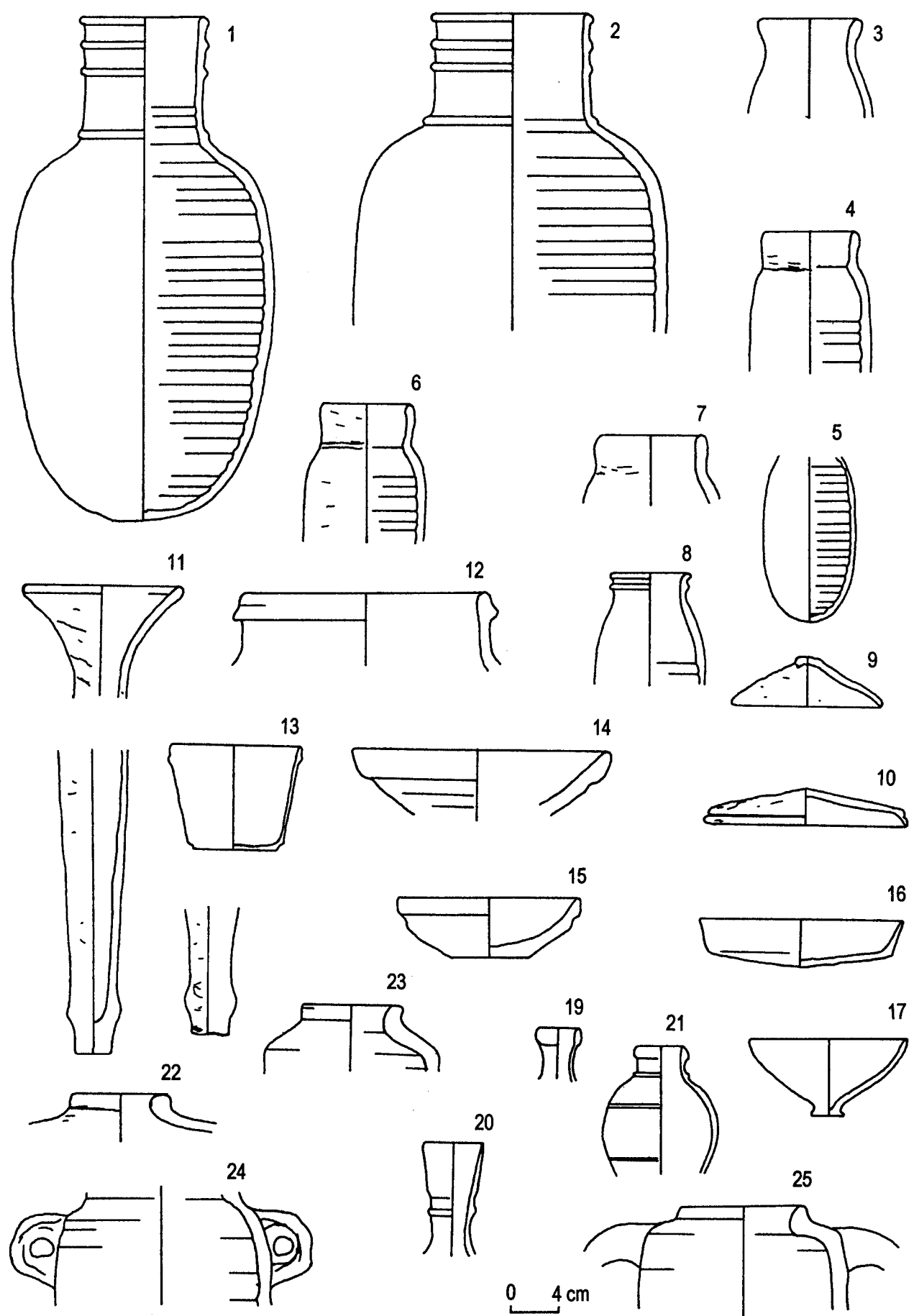


Fig. 16 Pottery (samples nos 1-25)

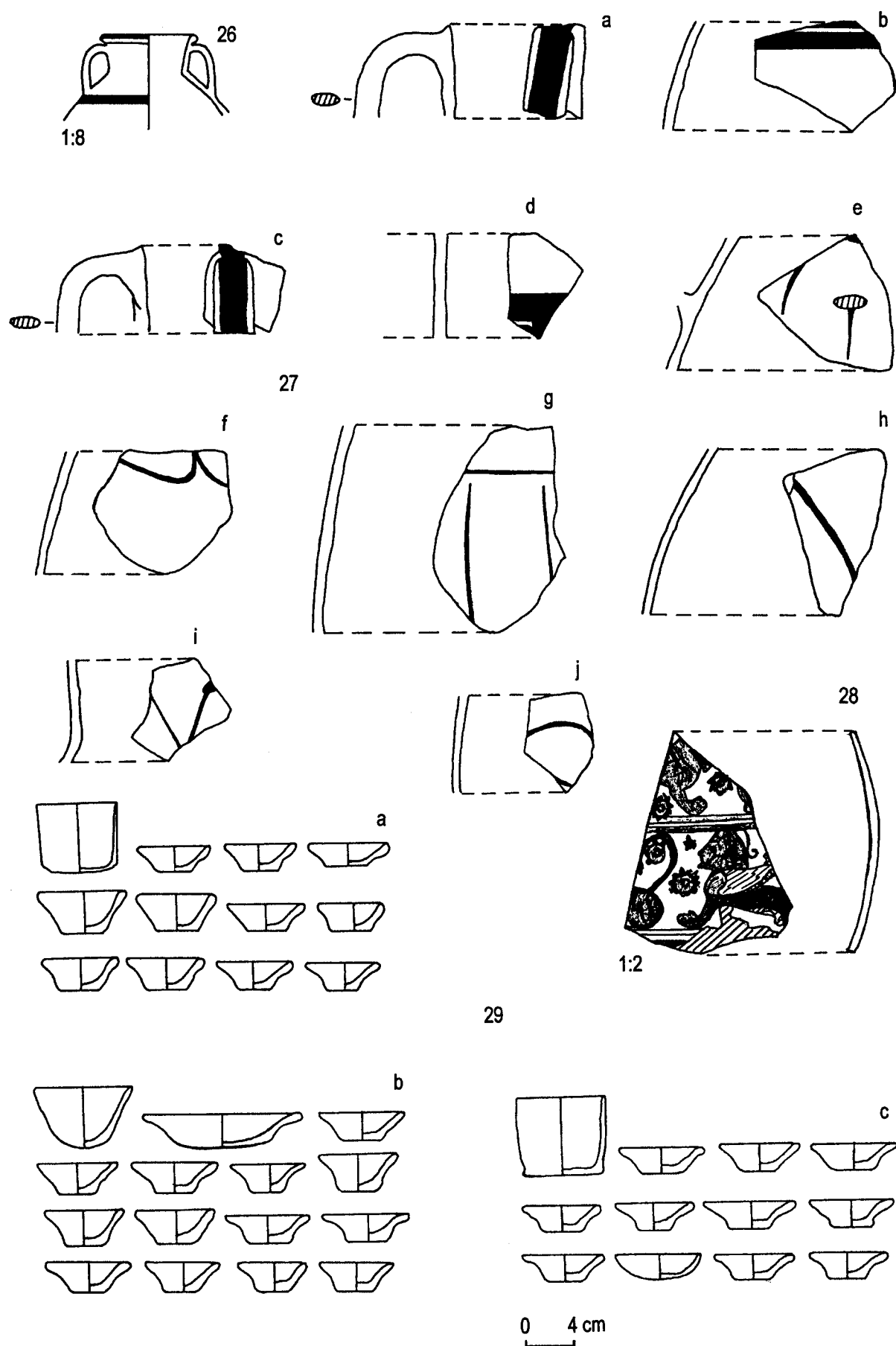


Fig. 17 Pottery (samples nos 26–29)

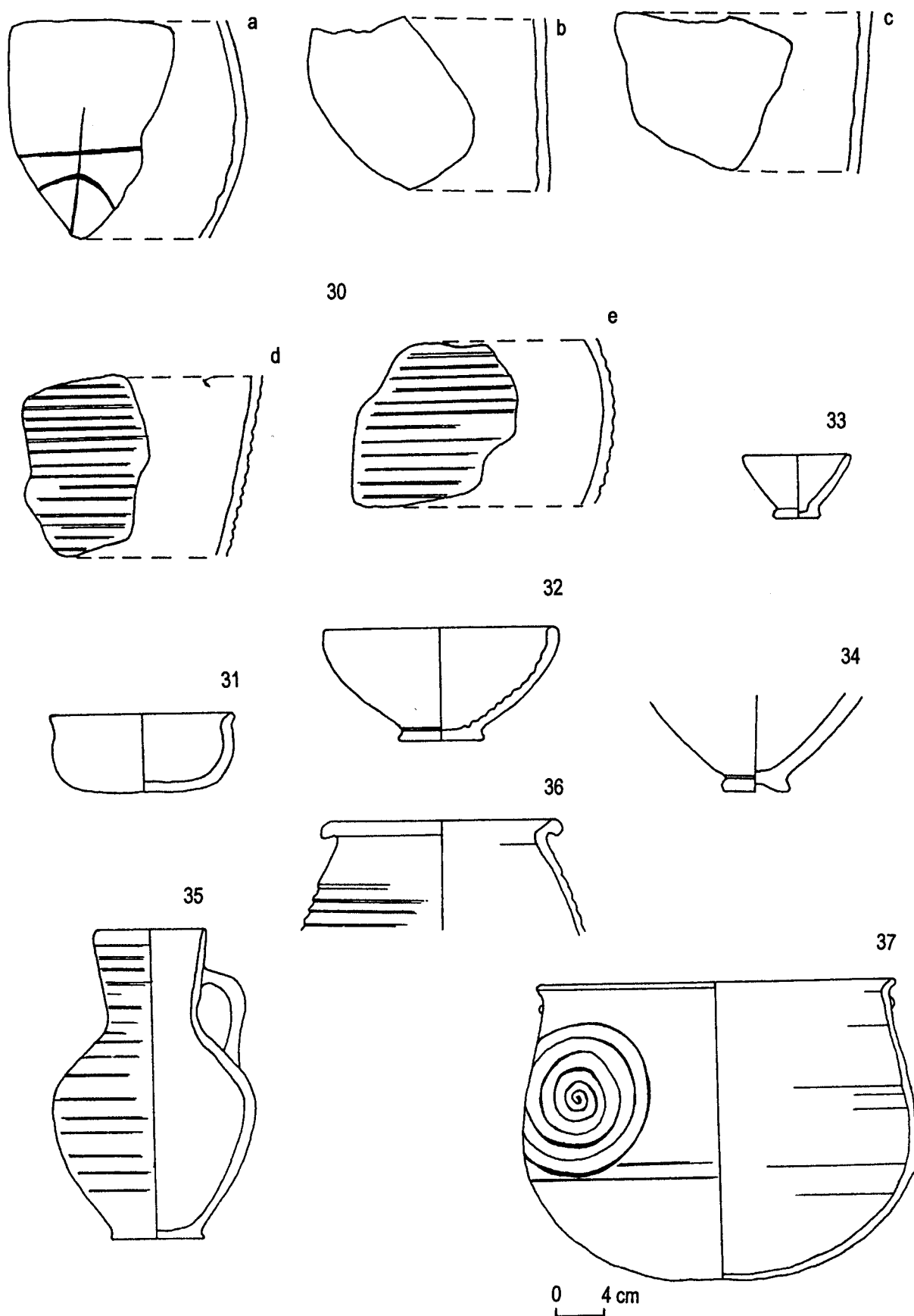


Fig. 18 Pottery (samples nos 30-37)

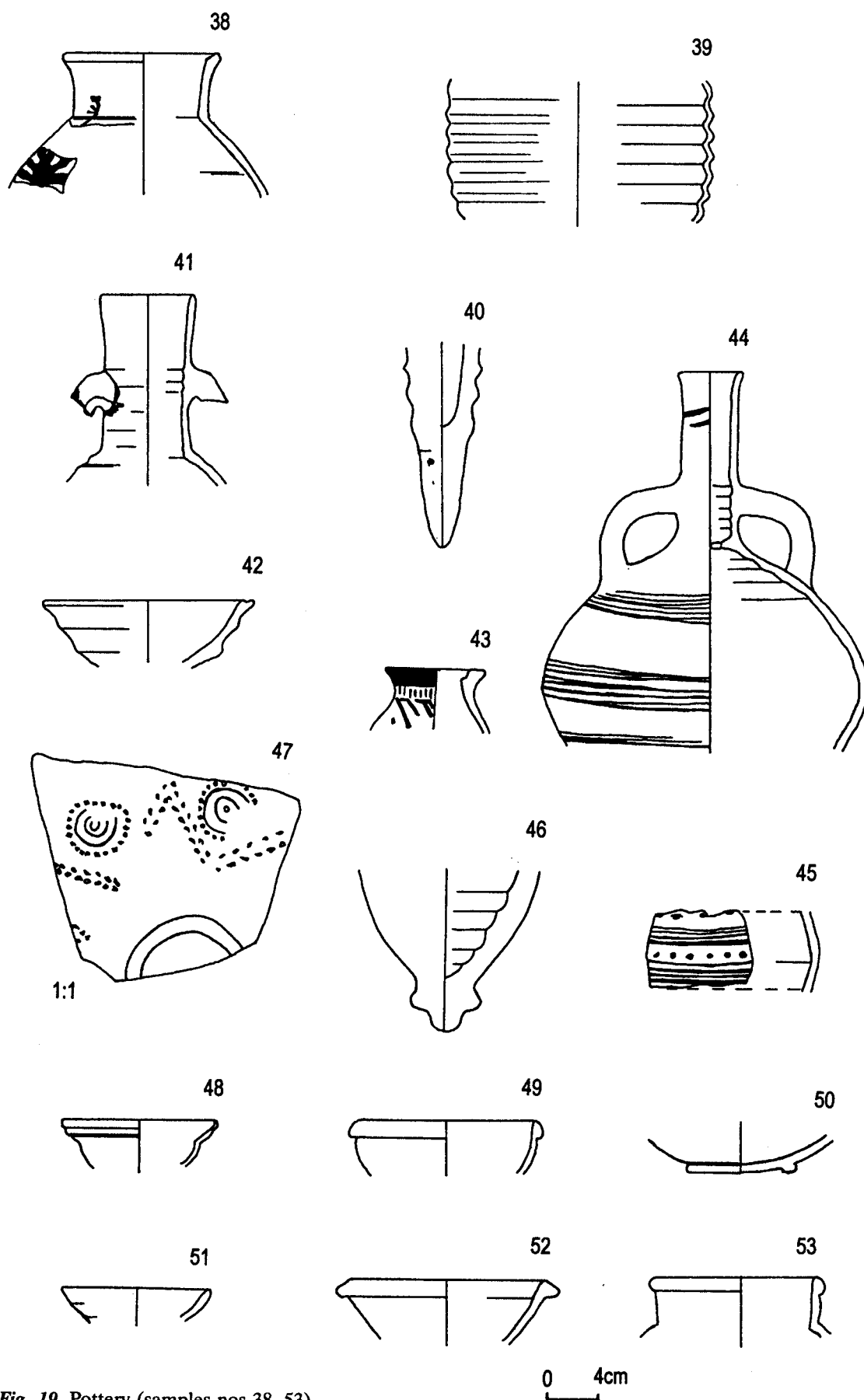


Fig. 19 Pottery (samples nos 38-53)

4. *Upper part of a cylindrical jar* (Fig. 16)

J1 wet-smoothed or self-slipped, base lacking, 1/3 of H preserved.

Location: burial chamber, among the debris on the sarcophagus.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 87–88.

5. *Lower part of a jar* (Fig. 16)

J1 red-slipped, rim and neck lacking, 1/2 of body preserved.

Location: burial chamber, from the debris found above the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 91.

6. *Rim sherd from a jar* (Fig. 16)

J1 red-slipped, 1/5 of rim preserved, with traces of black deposit on the inner surface. Many other sherds from body, but they do not join.

Location: subsidiary shaft, at a depth of 6–11 m.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 87.

7. *Rim sherd from a jar* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 94/H/89

J1, probably self-slipped, lower part missing.

Location: the eastern section of the enclosure wall.

Parallels:

as preceding — no. 6.

8. *Upper part of a jar* (Fig. 16)

J1 wet-smoothed or self-slipped, base missing, narrow rib below the rim. On the surface conspicuous voids left by burnt-out straw.

Location: corridor leading to the sarcophagus chamber.

Parallels:

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 363, not identical, body more rounded.

9. *Lid* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 105/H/89

Complete. String-cut from clay on the wheel.

J1 wet-smoothed with voids left by burnt-out straw. D 12, H 4.

Location: burial chamber, from debris found above the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

Parallels:

Paser and Ra'ia, Pl. 37–113, similar but with a higher knob.

CCE-2, French, 15 but L1 /?/ self-slipped.

Mendes, Pl. XX/1.

10. *Lid or dish* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 105/H/89

Complete. Groove below rim.

J2 uncoated ware.

D 15.5 H 2.5

Location: burial chamber, from debris found above the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 11, K5 red slipped.

11. *Torch* (Fig. 16)

Upper and lower parts are probably from the same piece. The major part of the body is missing. J1 wet-smoothed, with smoothing marks on exterior and traces of smoke blackening on the interior.

Location: burial chamber.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 112, 114.

— *further fragments of torches*

Excav. no. 101/H/89

Preserved to a height of 24.5 cm, stem complete, wet-smoothed or self-slipped, interior of lower part smoke-blackened, conspicuous thumbprint at the exterior of base. Light reddish gritty clay, dark brown at core.

Location: subsidiary shaft, at a depth of ca 10 m.

— *4 further lower parts of torches, the same type as preceding.*

Excav. no. 95/H/89 (not drawn)

Location: ca 3.8 m to the east from the eastern enclosure wall, ca 2 m below the surface, close to subsidiary shaft.

— *9 more fragments of torches, exterior wet-smoothed with traces of white slip.*

Excav. no. 214/H/93 (not drawn)

Location: lower layer, in front of the southwestern corner of the enclosure wall.

12. *Bowl or jar with thumb-grooved folded rim* (Fig. 16)

J1 self-slipped, upper part missing, several rims and body sherds, but from different vessels, on the surface voids left by burnt-out straw.

Location: burial chamber.

Parallels:

Mendes, Pl. XVIII/3, walls a little thicker.

CCE-2, French, 56.

13. *Beaker* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 185/H/89

J1 self-slipped, complete.

D 11.7, H 8

Location: burial chamber.

Parallels:

Paser and Raḥia, Pl. 37/122, but K5 uncoated ware.

Mendes, Pl. XV/6, but narrower.

Marl Wares

14. *Rim sherds from mortarium* (Fig. 16)

Probably K2 self-slipped, but only 1/8 preserved, surface very damaged, traces of a black band below the rim, green in section. Many fragments come from very similar vessels, with differences only in details.

D 20.5

Location: western niche of the burial chamber.

Parallels:

Tell el-Maskhuta, Pl. 16/9.

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 627–628.

15. *Bowl* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 105d/H/89

D 14

Only 1/3 of the body survives, with groove below rim.

Location: as preceding.

Parallels:

Tell el-Maskhuta, Pl. 15/7.

16. *Carinated bowl* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 105b/H/89

K5 red slipped and complete, with a sharp corner near the base.

D 16, H 3.5

Location: burial chamber, from debris found above the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 11

Mendes, Pl. XIV/10, from alluvial clay.

17. *Bowl with a flat base* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 105c/H/89

D 12.5, H 6

Probably Roman pottery, with a weathered surface.

K5 red slipped, complete except for about 1/3 of the upper part.

Location: burial chamber, from debris lying on the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

18. *Large two-handled storage jar* (Fig. 16)

This type of vessel was found only in a fragmentary condition; no complete one could be reconstructed (not drawn).

K5 wet-smoothed or self-slipped. Traces of staining (probably from mummification material) on the interior. On the surface thick white slip. The exterior fired white, the interior greenish grey. Around the body three low ribs. In addition, there was a huge quantity of body sherds (immeasurable).

Location: western niche of the burial chamber.

— two ribbed looped handles rather crudely made, conspicuous thumbprints on the lower body.

Location: corridor between the central and the subsidiary shaft.

At least 30 fragments of body sherds.

Location: debris above the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

Parallels:

Mit Rahineh, 1955, Fig. 2/20, 21.

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 446.

CCE-2, French, 18.

MDAIK 44, French, Fig. 1.

19. *Rim and neck of a jar* (Fig. 16)

K5 self-slipped, body missing.

D 3.2

Location: from surface debris — western wing of the enclosure wall.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 35, neck a little higher, but with a handle, 37.

Paser and Raḥia, Pl. 37/126.

20. *Upper part of a bottle or jug* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 105e/H/89

K5 white slip (?), body missing. Around the neck narrow rib.

Perhaps Coptic.

Location: burial chamber.

Parallels:

CCE-2, French, 39.

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 545 but higher.

21. *Bottle* (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 74/H/89

D 3.4

Lower part missing, modelled rim, and a narrow rib around the neck. On the surface traces of white painting (?).

K5 self-slipped or similar.

Location: central pit, at a depth of 9.5–10.5 m.

Parallels:

No exact parallel found.

CCE-2, French, 35, similar but the neck is a little higher.
Mendes, Pl. XVIII/5.

Imported wares

22. Rim and shoulder of a Phoenician amphora (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 87/H/89

K5 wet-smoothed, only 1/10 of body survives. Surface pink to reddish-yellow; mottled.

D 8

Location: trench between the central pit and the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft, at a depth of 6 m.

Parallels:

Tell el-Maskhuta, Pl. 27/1–4.

Mendes, Pl. XIX/1–2.

Petrie, Qurneh, Pl. LI/798.

Heliopolis, 11/34

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 440–441.

23. Rim and shoulder of a Phoenician amphora (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 99a/H/89

D 8.2

Only about 1/10 of body survives, with H 7.5 cm. This type of amphora is neckless, with a very short, horizontal shoulder. It was one of the most frequent types discovered at Abusir.

Location: subsidiary shaft in front of the eastern section of the enclosure wall, at a depth of 5 m.

Parallels:

as preceding.

24. Part of shoulder and handle of a Phoenician amphora (Fig. 16)

Excav. no. 193/H/91a,b

K5 wet-smoothed or similar; many sherds clearly come from the body, but do not join. It has a Demotic inscription on its surface.

Location: bottom of the eastern peripheral shaft.

Parallels:

as preceding.

25. Upper part of a Phoenician amphora (Fig. 16)

K5 wet-smoothed, about 1/6 preserved.

Location: burial chamber, above the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

Parallels:

as preceding.

26. Wine amphora (Fig. 17)

Excav. no. 86+96+192/H/89

D 14.5

Preserved to the height of 26.5 cm. Very fragmentary, lower part missing. Restored from about 20 pieces. Other pieces do not join but certainly belong to the same vessel. Dull pink slipped, with reddish brown painted bands around rim, on the handle and around the shoulder below the handle.

Location: central shaft (south-eastern corner) at a depth of 13 m.

— about further 25 pieces from the same type of vessel.

Location: amongst the debris, from the eastern peripheral shaft, at a depth of 5–8 m.

— at least 20 pieces from the same type of vessel.

Location: area close to the subsidiary shaft.

Parallels:

R. M. Cook, P. Dupont, East Greek Pottery, Fig. 23.3e.

27. Chian amphora (Fig. 17)

Excav. no. 45/H/89

In spite of many sherds from Chian amphorae, decorated with characteristic reddish and brown lines, no complete specimen could be restored.

Location: scattered across the whole area of the shaft tomb.

Parallels:

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 804–806, 809–821.

Tell el-Maskhuta, Pl. 26/1, 2, 5, 6.

Mendes, Pl. XIX/3–5.

28. Body fragment of oinochoe from Chios (Figs. 17 and 63)

Excav. no. 217/H/93

The clay is sandy in texture, and fired from a lightish to a reddish brown; slip is rather hard and white, with purple additions. The wall is thin. The paint is normally dark brown with an olive tinge. Remains of two friezes, separated by two lines.

Above: a lion striding to the right. Below: a sphinx striding to the left, with rosettes, and details incised.

Location: from among the debris, in front of the southern part of the eastern enclosure wall.

Parallels:

Lemos, Pl. 173:1332, 187:1433.

29. The foundation deposits (Fig. 17)

The foundation deposits that were found at the north-western, north-eastern and south-western corners contain, in addition to miniature faience

and wooden plaques, a number of miniature symbolic dishes, beakers and goblets. The types of vessels show them to be ceremonial copies of various vessels of larger size. They were used in the foundation ceremony:

I. Excav. no. 204/H/93 — NW corner:

- 1 beaker (K2)
- 11 miniature dishes (J1)
- 1 faience plaque with the name of Ahmose II on both sides
- 4 smaller faience plaques
- 1 copper (bronze?) plaque
- 1 silver plaque
- 1 gilded wooden plaque
- 1 wooden plaque

II. Excav. no. 209/H/93 — NE corner:

- 1 goblet (J1)
- 1 plate (J1)
- 13 miniature dishes (J1)
- 1 faience plaque with the name of Ahmose II on the both sides
- other smaller faience plaques
- 1 gilded wooden plaque
- 4 wooden plaques

III. Excav. no. 213/H/93 — SW corner:

- 1 beaker (K2)
- 11 miniature dishes (J1)
- 2 faience plaques
- 1 gilded wooden plaque
- 1 wooden plaque
- 2 fragments of faience

The beakers were made from relatively fine fabric with a great quantity of limestone particles, scattered, tiny black grits and some chaff; thin-walled, uncoated ware, with a surface greenish-yellow, but in section pinkish; well fired.

All miniature dishes and goblets fall into one fabric group — J1. The surface has been wet-smoothed, porous, with sand, ash, straw temper, in section it is brown-reddish.

The discovery of the foundation deposits was without any doubt one of the most important finds belonging to the shaft tomb. Those vessels known so far originated mostly from the Eastern Delta: Tell Nebesheh,⁴⁵³⁾ Tell Defenneh,⁴⁵⁴⁾ Tell el-Maskhuta,⁴⁵⁵⁾ Mendes⁴⁵⁶⁾ and Tell el-Balamun⁴⁵⁷⁾. They were connected with forts or temples but never with shaft tombs. Morphologically, the foundation deposits underneath the corners of Udjahorresnet's shaft tomb are very poor (see supra).

30. *Sherds from amphorae* (Fig. 18)

There is also the question of re-used, relatively large fragments from different types of amphorae. It seems that these shovel-shaped sherds were used by robbers in their activities in the underground shaft tomb, judging by their occurrence at crucial points in the shaft tomb:

a) body sherd from a Chian-amphora with decoration (red bands on cream slip).

Location: burial chamber, western area.

The edges were smoothed down by use, the surface was badly damaged and irregular in shape.

Date: ca. mid-6th century BC.

b-d) Sherds from the body of brown amphorae, the surface was extremely damaged.

Location: eastern peripheral shaft, at a depth of 5–8 m.

e) Another sherd from the body of a brown amphora, similar to the preceding.

Location: subsidiary shaft.

Date: 5th-7th century AD.

ROMAN AND COPTIC POTTERY

The following corpus is only a selection of the pottery found in the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet. In spite of the abundance of ceramic dating back to Roman and Copto-Byzantine periods (the term "Copt" is nowhere found in the ancient sources, it is an Arabic term for the native Egyptians who remained true to Christianity), intact vessels were rather rare (32, 33, 35). The stratigraphic evidence was very complicated because the monument had been occupied by robbers, and distinguishing between early and later periods was scarcely possible. The sherds from the Late Period were found in the same level as

Coptic material. All vessels had been thrown on a wheel.

Deep or shallow dishes and bowls made of brown to red clay represented 10 per cent of the pottery. The Roman dishes⁴⁵⁸⁾ have incurving walls and often

⁴⁵³⁾ Petrie 1888, 14–15, Pl. V-VI, XIV.

⁴⁵⁴⁾ Petrie 1888, 54–55.

⁴⁵⁵⁾ Holladay 1982, Pl.15–27.

⁴⁵⁶⁾ Allen, in: Wilson 1982, 19–22.

⁴⁵⁷⁾ Spencer 1996, 46–49.

⁴⁵⁸⁾ This post-Ptolemaic type of bowl was influenced by the shape of Late period pottery, probably beginning in the fourth century BC, see: Holladay 1982, Pl. 28/1–5.

possess a flat base, such as 32. The second type is slightly carinated above the base. The dishes with curving walls and flaring rim 31 may well come from the second half of the fourth century AD.

A collection of jars represented 10 per cent of the pottery. Often their bases were found with a ring foot showing varying degrees of elaboration 34. Most common, however, is the simple ring foot which is rounded in section; otherwise, they have a flat outer face or simple string-cut base 35 (dated to about AD 400).

The forms of cooking vessels are relatively limited: the first group has an outward-flaring rim, sharply attached to a sloping shoulder. The vessel has convex walls, the outer surface showing ribbing 36 (about AD 450–500).⁴⁵⁹⁾ Other cooking pots have vertical or horizontal handles 37, slightly curving belly and smoothly rounded base, sometimes painted⁴⁶⁰⁾ 38. Some had a horizontal ledge rim, often with grooves that provided a rest for the lid. Most of these show traces of repeated exposure to fire on their exteriors. Finally, this type of vessel was representative of 20 per cent of the pottery.

Amphorae constitute the bulk of the pottery. They were made of both silt and marl fabric, with rounded or pointed bases. Although numerous fragments represented them, there were no complete examples. Most of them come from *brown amphorae*⁴⁶¹⁾ made of micaceous⁴⁶²⁾ Nile silt 41, with some subtypes varying in shape and size. An abundance of sherds fall into a group of amphorae which displays a sharply defined shoulder which had undergone earlier evolution (Egloff 1977, type 177). Amphorae with pointed base and an annular protuberance create a second group. From this type, numerous neck fragments with the remains of handles, together with isolated handles were found. The *ovoid amphorae* were very rare.⁴⁶³⁾ From amphorae made of calcareous clay⁴⁶⁴⁾ only *obus amphorae* were relatively plenty (Egloff 1977, type 182). Amphorae represented 35 per cent of the pottery.

Water bottles⁴⁶⁵⁾ were made of both calcareous and micaceous clay, but at Abusir those from

the first group were more frequent. Except for exemplar 44, which was practically complete,⁴⁶⁶⁾ ring and concave bases of small bottles were analyzed.

From a second, ie micaceous group, only a number of body sherds and fragments of necks with the remains of a filtre were present. On the exterior of these, there were traces of bands in dark red, two examples having damaged spots. To this type of vessel a water jar belongs but this also was only in a fragmentary condition.⁴⁶⁷⁾ Painted body sherds from a water bottle were rather few.⁴⁶⁸⁾ This miscellaneous group of types made up 14 per cent of the pottery.

Fine wares — which included Egyptian Red Slip Ware A and C⁴⁶⁹⁾ — represented only 5 per cent of the pottery. Apparently, Egyptian Red Slip Ware only consisted of copies of African Red Slip Ware⁴⁷⁰⁾ in various classes as regards to its quality. Egyptian Red Slip Ware A⁴⁷¹⁾ (Coptic Red Slip Ware) corresponds to

Rodziewicz's Group O

Hayes' Egyptian A

Egloff's Sigillée égyptienne, groupe 1

Adams' pink "Aswan" ware

This ware, originating from Upper Egypt,⁴⁷²⁾ was widespread not only in Egypt but also mostly in Nubia.⁴⁷³⁾ At Abusir the morphological range was represented by bowls and plates that slight grooves. No complete example was found. Ring-bases of bowls or jugs 48, 49, 50, were relatively numerous.

Egyptian Red Slip Ware C⁴⁷⁴⁾ corresponds to

Rodziewicz's Group K

Hayes' Egyptian B

Egloff's Sigillée égyptienne, groupe 2

This group represents the most common product both of Delta region⁴⁷⁵⁾ and the Fayoum, a little quantity also comes from Middle Egypt. In Upper Egypt it occurs only sporadically. The common types are thin walled bowls and deep dishes 51, 52, 53.

⁴⁶⁶⁾ Egloff 1977, type 210.

⁴⁶⁷⁾ Winlock — Crum 1926, 84, Fig. 36.

⁴⁶⁸⁾ No exact parallels to this decorative scheme were found.

⁴⁶⁹⁾ Egyptian Red Slip Ware was divided by Hayes 1976, 387–401.

⁴⁷⁰⁾ From this fine ware which corresponds to Waagé's late Roman A and B, Lamboglia's terra sigillata chiara, only one piece was found at Abusir.

⁴⁷¹⁾ Pierrat, CCE-2 1991, 145–205, she used the term "pâte R".

⁴⁷²⁾ Rodziewicz 1976, 54–60; Egloff 1977, 79–80.

⁴⁷³⁾ Adams, Preliminary ware descriptions, in: Qasr Ibrim, 538–539.

⁴⁷⁴⁾ Pierrat, CCE-2, 1991: "pâte L".

⁴⁷⁵⁾ Rodziewicz 1976, 50–51.

⁴⁵⁹⁾ Egloff 1977, 96–98, this very common type is difficult to date exactly.

⁴⁶⁰⁾ Egloff 1977, 97, this variation of the cooking pot follows the line from the Late period.

⁴⁶¹⁾ The brown wine-amphora was one of the most popular types of ceramic production, *ibid.*, 115–116.

⁴⁶²⁾ *Ibid.*, 111–114.

⁴⁶³⁾ *Ibid.*, types 187–190, common from the mid-seventh to the tenth century AD.

⁴⁶⁴⁾ Ballet — Picon, CCE-1 1987, 17–49.

⁴⁶⁵⁾ Egloff 1977, 121–131.

Fabric Typology

A broad division of pottery from these periods was made according to fabric:

I. Coarse Ware

1. High levels of silica and iron oxide characterize this dark micaceous brown, red-brown fabric (Nile Silt). It can include grains of quartz, a small amount of sand, black and cream particles; mica is visible on the surface, as well as traces of vegetable tempers.

2. This beige-to-yellow, greenish clay (Marl Clay) is generally sandy and contains a high proportion of calcite, some red and black inclusions; vegetables particles are rare. It is very porous and slightly dense.

II. Fine Ware

1. African Red Slip Ware: this is a red clay but can also be orange or pink with little white and yellow nodules, slightly porous and granular; it has a thick red to orange slip.

2. Egyptian Red Slip Ware A: an orange-pink clay with orange-red slip, which contains a quantity of sand and small black and reddish particles; very frequently yellow nodules are present, but mica is rare, and very well crushed when present at all.

3. Egyptian Red Slip Ware C: a red to brown fine micaceous clay with thick red slip; it contains grains of quartz, white and yellow particles and organic matter. In section it is black, grey or pink, according to firing, porous.

COARSE WARES

Nile Silt Wares

31. *Bowl* (Fig. 18)

Excav. no. 6/H/80

D 14.3, H 6

Completely preserved and reconstructed from three pieces. Red clay of fairly fine texture and red slip, micaceous, with some particles of sand and grains of quartz; the surface is brushed.

Location: central shaft, north-western corner at a depth of 1.9 m.

Parallels:

Mond-Myers, Bucheum III, Pl. CXXXVIII/54-J2, J Myśliwiec, Gurna, 1466.

Date: ca. 4th century AD.

32. *Bowl* (Fig. 18)

D 18.7

Intact, except for small chips from the rim. Coarse red-brown clay, with mica, white and black inclusions, and traces of wheel ridging on the inside. Flat base, deep body, and incurving rim.

Location: surface debris.

Parallels:

Gempeler, Elephantine X, Pl. 70/5

Johnson, Karanis, Pl. 61/161, 165. This post-Ptolemaic shape (to ca mid-3rd century) was very common.

Coulson-Leonard, Naukratis, Fig. 23/80–70, semi-coarse bowl.

Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, Pl. XXI A/23–25.

Tell el-Maskhuta, Pl. 28/1–5.

Date: 1st-3rd centuries AD.

33. *Deep bowl or cup* (Fig. 18)

Excav. no. 101/H/89

D 8.6, H 5

Nearly complete. Fine red clay, smoke stained during use on the interior; fairly thick-walled, flat base.

Location: subsidiary shaft, at a depth of ca 10 m.

Parallels:

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 678.

Emery-Kirwan, 1938, Pl. 114/71b.

34. *Lower part of a jar* (Fig. 18)

Excav. no. 95/H/89

D 6

Brownish-red clay, fairly clean, high foot, deep sloping walls, light wheel ridging on inside, traces of reddish slip on outside.

Location: ca 3.8 m east from the eastern section of the enclosure wall, at a depth of 2 m.

Parallels:

Gempeler, Elephantine X, Pl. 81/8.

35. *Jar* (Fig. 18)

Excav. no. 107c/H/89

D 9, H 24

Nearly complete, a little part of the rim missing. Light red-micaceous clay, rather coarse with numerous limestone inclusions (some are larger) and straw-temper. Tubular neck, handles and upper part of body covered with a thick white slip, broad, piriform body with deep wheel ridging.

Location: sarcophagus chamber (between the limestone and basalt sarcophagus).

— fragment from the bottom of the same type of jar, coarse clay, straw-tempered, brownish fired.

Parallels:

Petrie, Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe, 102/14

Hayes, Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum, Pl. 25/208, very similar.

Date: about 400 AD.

36. *Upper part of a cooking pot* (Fig. 18)

Excav. no. 95/H/89

D 19

Only 1/10 of this carinated body was preserved, the dick red slip on the surface, a sloping rim, well fired. Dull, red micaceous clay, containing some particles of sand and quartz.

Location: ca 3.8 m east from the eastern section of the enclosure wall, at a depth of 2 m.

Parallels:

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 1699.

Egloff, Kellia, Type 107, very similar.

Gempeler, Elephantine X, P. 97/6-very similar, 7.

Date: 450–500 AD.

37. *Cooking pot* (Figs. 18 and 67)

Excav. no. 79+105/H/89

D 28, H 23

Reconstructed from about 30 pieces, many sherds do not join, but probably come from the same vessel.

Gritty hard reddish-brown clay containing mica. Rounded base, medium wall-thickness. Some fine grooving covers most of the upper part of its body, and there is a spiral decoration in white. Broad-bellied form with sloping rim and two small horizontal handles. Traces of cord are visible under the maximum diameter of its body.

Location: central shaft — niche in the south wall, at a depth of 12.5 m.

Parallels:

Egloff, Kellia, Type 102, but its belly is sharply sloping.

Guerrini, Antinoe, 1965–1968, Fig. 24/1, very similar decoration.

Hayes, Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum, Fig. 11/197.

Petrie, Ehnasya, Pl. XXXII/92, as preceding.

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 1765, 1768.

Date: ca. 5th century AD.

38. *Pot* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 201/H/93

Red-brownish clay, brown at the core, hard fired, micaceous, fairly thin-walled, bearing a sloping rim with outcurving lip, small horizontal handles below

rim. This vessel was very fragmentary: just over 1/10 is all that has been preserved.

Location: surface debris, east of the southeastern corner.

Parallels:

Myśliwiec, Gurna, 1721–29, number of examples varying in details.

Date: ca. 5th century AD.

39. *Fragment from the body of an amphora* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 11/H/81

D 19.8

Only 1/10 of body preserved. Reddish-brown clay, black at the core, traces of vegetable tempers, relatively thin wall.

Location: between the western peripheral shaft and the western section of the enclosure wall.

Parallels:

Tell el-Maskhuta, Pl. 33/4.

Date: ca. second half of the 2nd century AD.

40. *Lower part of an amphora* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 93a/H/89

Preserved to the height of 15 cm; brown clay, surface wet-smoothed, pointed and with toe, marked off by three very sharp ridges.

Location: in a trial dig in front of the eastern section of the enclosure wall.

Parallels:

Mond-Myers, Bucheum III, Pl. CXLIX/88M.

Winlock-Crum, Monastery of Epiphanius, Pl. XXVII.

Hayes, Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum, Pl. 40/367–369.

Date: 5th–7th century AD.

41. *Neck of an amphora* (Fig. 19)

D 7.2

Only the upper part of a neck, with just a small section of the handles has survived; dark brown clay, black at the core with fine grits, micaceous, grains of quartz, tempered by organic matter. Tubular neck, on the interior light traces of wheel ridging. Surface rather damaged.

Location: from surface debris, in the vicinity of the southern section of the enclosure wall.

— numbers of body fragments from other amphorae were found with it.

Location: central shaft.

Parallels:

Egloff, Kellia, types 173–177 (?), it is hard to say on the minimal remains of neck.

Marl Clays

42. *Upper part of a bowl* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 77/H/89

D. 15.6

Orange-red clay with fine sandy grits, slightly micaceous, on the surface yellowish slip, rather crushed; angular, carinated body, and one shallow and one broad groove at the inner edge of rim.

Location: central shaft, at a depth of 13 m.

Parallels:

Kelley 1976, Pl. 101.1/8–9.

Hayes, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum*, Fig. 11/231, but simpler in shape.

Tell el-Maskhuta, Pl. 31/5, mid-second century AD.

Date: second half of the 2nd century AD.

43. *Rim of a beaker or jar* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 7/H/80

D 7.8

Only 1/8 of the body preserved; coarse orange clay with a tendency to change to a purplish core, sandy, dull cream slip both on the outside and inside, and black paint on the rim and shoulder.

Thick rim and gently curving wall.

Location: 1 m above the western part of the northern peripheral shaft.

Parallels:

No exact parallels were found.

44. *Water bottle* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 72/H/89

D 6

Preserved to a height of 30.8 cm, reconstructed from 17 pieces, but the lower part of the body is missing. Calcareous beige clay with black nodules of varying size, grains of quartz, cream slip all over. On the base of its long tubular neck a filtre is located. Badly damaged; pear-shaped body with two handles on the neck and shoulder. Decoration consists of a number of dark, reddish horizontal lines on the neck, below the handles and on its belly. On the interior traces of wheel ridging.

Location: southwestern corner of the central shaft, at a depth of ca 10.8 m.

— 2 fragments of one neck and the bottom from another water bottle from the same location.

Parallels:

Egloff, Kellia, Pl. 67/1, Type 210.

Petrie, *Ehnasya*, Pl. XXXII/108.

Winlock-Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, I*, Fig. 43-C, similar, not identical.

Hayes, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum*, Pl. 31/263, has a shape which is very similar,

floral decoration on the belly.

Date: 500–550 AD.

45. *Two painted sherds of a water bottle* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 202/H/93

Reddish-pink clay with large particles of yellowish nodules and traces of mica; cream slip, badly damaged. On the interior traces of wheel ridging; on the surface conspicuous voids left by burnt-out straw. Applied decoration: horizontal lines on two levels, between them a chain of points in dark reddish brown.

Location: surface debris, east from the southeastern corner.

Parallels:

Egloff, Kellia, Pl. 27/4, 6.

46. *Amphora toe* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 17/H/81

Light red clay, which is reddish on the surface, micaceous, some white inclusions of varying size. Fairly hard fabric, traces of wheel ridging on the interior. The surface wet-smoothed; tapering pointed toe marked off by a ridge.

Location: upper layer of the central shaft.

Parallels:

Coulson-Leonard, *Naukratis*, Fig. 26/80–106 and 80–107, very similar.

Wilson-Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, I*, Pl. 35/A.

Date: ca. 5th–6th centuries AD.

FINE WARE

African Red Slip Ware

47. *Fragment of a plate* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 222/H/95

Fine orange-red ware; its form is uncertain. At the centre, two grooves surrounded by palm-rays with rosettes between each of them. Bright orange-reddish slip.

Location: in the area in front of the southern section of the enclosure wall.

Parallels:

Egloff, Kellia, Pl. 11/7, 9.

Fine fabric: about 450–500 AD.

Egyptian Red Slip Ware A

48. *Bowl* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 200/H/93

Only 1/5 of the body has been reconstructed (from 5 pieces); fine ceramic from orange-red clay,

slightly granular, traces of mica, with black nodules and quartz grains. On the surface pinkish slip, lightly polished. Hemispherical body, with a broad sloping rim and a deep groove on exterior.

Location: debris, east from the southeastern corner of the enclosure wall.

Parallels:

Rodziewicz, Alexandria I, Pl. 29/ O 40f, similar but not identical.

49. *Rim of a bowl* (Fig. 19)

D 14.3

Orange-brown clay, with an orange slip, tending to red on its interior, highly burnished, undecorated, brownish at the core, hard fired; the rim has a small, turned-down lip (similar to Drag. 35–36).

Location: as preceding.

Parallels:

Winlock-Crum, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, I, Pl. 37-P.

50. *Lower part of a bowl* (Fig. 19)

Orange-red clay and slip, homogeneous, slightly micaceous and small black nodules. The present part of the vessel is globular, with a groove between the lower part of the body and the base, undecorated.

Location: eastern peripheral shaft, at a depth of 5–8 m.

— 3 further pieces of the same type were also discovered here.

Location: in the vicinity of the eastern wall.

Parallels:

Gempeler, Elephantine X, Pl. 70/3–5.

Winlock-Crum, The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, I, Fig. 41-B/C.

Egyptian Red Slip Ware C

51. *Rim of a small bowl* (Fig. 19)

D 11.7

Only 1/6 of the body preserved; some further pieces — very small — probably came from the same vessel. Reddish, micaceous fine clay, thin-walled, slightly curved, with a red slip.

Location: surface debris, in the vicinity of the eastern section of the enclosure wall.

Parallels:

Rodziewicz, Alexandria I, Pl. 17/ K 2b, probably the same type.

52. *Upper part of a dish* (Fig. 19)

D 15.8

Slightly brown clay, medium thickness in its walls; visible yellow nodules, slip red. Curved wall with a cylindrical rim.

Location: No precise location given.

Parallels:

Rodziewicz, Alexandria I, Pl. 20/ K 24a.

53. *Rim and neck of a pot* (Fig. 19)

Excav. no. 14/H/81

D 12

Red fine clay and slip, with mica and grains of quartz. Traces of sinter on the surface.

Location: surface debris, between the western section of the enclosure wall and western peripheral shaft.

Parallels:

Gempeler, Elephantine X, Pl. 66/9–13, only similar.

No exact parallel was found.

CONCLUSION

The very bad state of preservation — as far as this pottery is concerned — is due to the almost total destruction of the tomb caused by robbers and stonecutters. For that reason, the pottery was — without exception — found in a secondary position. Thus, the separate layers with pottery sherds are in clear disagreement with the chronological sequence of the pottery as regards its deposition. Especially significant in this respect was the situation in the most important parts of the tomb — the burial chamber proper, the subsidiary shaft, and the connecting corridor. In those places, sherds coming from the original burial equipment could be found in the same layer as those dating from the Coptic

Period. These later sherds clearly attest to the activities of the tomb robbers; especially, from the Late Roman Period onwards.

The latest pottery found so far in the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet probably comes from the Early Islamic Period (9th to 10th cents. AD).⁴⁷⁶ It is clear, therefore, that the stratigraphy inside the tomb has been changed several times. Quite understandably, for the vessels originally deposited here only have lids preserved; other items listed

⁴⁷⁶ 71/H/89 from the central shaft (10 m deep) and 106/H/89 from the burial chamber, above the lid of the outer sarcophagus.

in the catalogue had to be reconstructed from the sherds — sometimes from pieces scattered around various sections of the tomb (see Locations). The vessels dating back to the late Roman and Coptic-Byzantine Periods seem to have been somewhat better preserved. Generally speaking, they much resemble pottery from the sites quoted in the catalogues (Kellia, Alexandria, Gurna, etc.), in regard to their shapes.

The Late Period pottery was certainly funeral in character. Also the material — marl clay — corresponds to that pottery type. On the other hand, pottery coming from the Coptic Period is clearly more domestic. Moreover, numerous activi-

ties datable to the 4th-7th centuries AD are also attested in other monuments situated at Abusir, eg the pyramid complex of Sahure,⁴⁷⁷⁾ the Mastaba of the vizier Ptahshepses,⁴⁷⁸⁾ or the pyramid temple of Raneferef.⁴⁷⁹⁾

Without any doubt, all these activities point to the presence of a Coptic community, concentrating around the Monastery of Apa Jeremias. Unfortunately, a great part of the numerous finds coming from North Saqqara remains unpublished so far. A detailed comparison of those finds with Late Period and Coptic-Byzantine Period pottery coming from Abusir is, therefore, impossible at present.

⁴⁷⁷⁾ Borchardt 1910–1913.

⁴⁷⁸⁾ Charvát 1981.

⁴⁷⁹⁾ Excavations of Czech Institute of Egyptology, unpublished.

Appendix:

FRAGMENT OF A HUMAN MANDIBLE

by Eugen Strouhal

In spite of the fact that the burial chamber of the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet did not contain any fragment of a mummy or of other human skeletal remains, a mandibular fragment⁴⁸⁰⁾ was found in 1989 in the sand filling of the burial chamber above the lid of the outer sarcophagus. No dating was possible.

The fragment contains the left half of the mandibular body with a small adjoining section of the right half comprising the sockets of the right lower first incisor to the site of the missing left lower third molar (Fig. 69). The colour of the fragment is ochre, without any trace of black resin frequently used in mummification.

Bone robusticity is medium. The muscular relief did not survive, but the linea mylohyoidea is acute and protruding. The chin is formed by the flat large protuberance and preserved upper edge of the left tuberculum mentale that has been broken off. Its shape is transversally oblong with a preserved tip at its lateral end. The prominence of the chin is medium.

Symphyseal height (31 mm), body height in the region of foramen mandibulare (30 mm), body thickness in the same region (14 mm) and body thickness in the area under the second and third left molars (16 mm). These fall well into the range of Egyptian males from the 1st millennium cemetery in the Ptahshepses Mastaba at Abusir (Strouhal — Bareš 1993).

The alveolar process shows only the beginnings of its retraction (grade 0–1 according to Brothwell 1963). The edges of the alveoli do not bear traces of paradontosis, but of postmortal damage.

Only both left premolars have been preserved in their alveoli (Fig. 70). Their occlusal surfaces present the beginnings of punctual attrition of dentine (grade 3 according to Brothwell's scale modified by Strouhal and Jungwirth 1984). Both teeth and their alveoli are healthy.

Other alveoli are partly empty, partly containing fragments of roots. The alveolus of the left canine preserves a fragment of the buccal half of its root; the mesial alveolus of the first left molar is filled up by its mesial root. The alveoli are healthy without any anomaly. There is a greater space than usual between the first and second left molars (on the buccal edge 8 mm, on the lingual edge 4 mm).

This can be connected with the observed absence of the left third molar. On the occlusal surface of its side no traces after closure of the alveolus following intravital loss of the tooth can be observed. No unerupted third molar was identified through the break at the distal end of the fragment. This is a clear case of agenesis (hypodonty) of the third molar, an anomaly that occurs relatively often in any population of *Homo sapiens*. In the above-mentioned cemetery at Abusir it occurred in 11.9 % of skeletons (Strouhal — Bareš 1993, p. 116, table 15:3).

We can conclude that the fragment belonged to a probable male who died at a young age between 18 and 25 years. No pathology was disclosed. His left third molar was hypodontic. The form and dimensions of the fragment do not differ from that of the 1st millennium population of the Abusir area. With regard to historical facts about the life and activities of Udjahorresnet, this fragment suggests no connection with his physical remains.

⁴⁸⁰⁾ Excavator's no. 104/H/89.

CONCLUSION

The first half of the first millennium BC certainly represented a turning point in the long history of ancient Egypt. After more than two thousand years of uninterrupted development linked with a clear cultural superiority and, for the most part, also political and military supremacy over its neighbours, the state and society of Egypt fell into a deep political and economic crisis. This crisis culminated in a threat to the independence of the whole Egypt and, shortly afterwards, into its long-term loss. Because of that, Egyptian society suddenly had to deal with an influx of cultural influences from abroad. The crucial point in that development is certainly represented by the year 525 BC when Egypt became part of the huge supranational whole of the Persian empire with its preference for many different ideological and cultural concepts. In view of the highly centralized and hierarchical Egyptian society it is no wonder, therefore, that this epoch is still less well documented in original Egyptian sources than periods preceding or following it.

Because of the paucity of other sources, the individuality of Udjahorresnet appears perhaps too prominent. Until this juncture, this dignitary was almost exclusively known from the famous biographical inscription preserved on his statue now kept in Vatican. In spite of very controversial evaluations offered by scholars in modern times, based however on identical sources, Udjahorresnet seems to be a not entirely negative character in Egyptian history. Certainly, he does not appear to have been a deliberate traitor to his own nation. Nothing speaks in favour of the assumption that he may have been in some contact with the Persian conquerors before their attack upon Egypt, or that he may have defected to their side during the decisive battle. His cooperation with the new rulers of Egypt, indisputable as it is, certainly brought some advantages to the Egyptian side. Such advantages, material as well, touched not only the people of Udjahorresnet but also, more or less, some portion of the ruling classes of the Egyptian society. Until new sources can be found which could change this picture of Udjahorresnet in a more decisive way, he perhaps may be considered to have been a person who had quite pragmatically adapted himself to existing circumstances. From his point of view and according to the opportunities available to him, he had tried to alter the situation for the benefit of himself and others in the Egyptian society. This pragmatic attitude was, in the same realistic way, repeated by the first Persian rulers who, in spite of some later assumptions concerning Cambyses, also tried to find some sort of compromise with a substantial portion of the native ruling class of Egypt.

Owing to the discovery of the tomb of this dignitary on the south-western outskirts of the pyramid field of Abusir, an opportunity has arisen in which we can evaluate anew the personality and attitudes of Udjahorresnet. Through this, we are also able to enlarge our knowledge of this turbulent epoch of the Egyptian history. At the same time, these new finds have clearly shown that the Abusir necropolis did not fall into complete oblivion following the Old Kingdom times, but saw at least one more period of flowering. This fact in itself shows that perhaps much more attention should be paid to the later destiny of parts of the gigantic Memphite necropoleis other than Saqqara and Giza.

The choice of Udjahorresnet in having his tomb built at Abusir is rather surprising, though this high official was in many ways linked to the Memphite region through his governmental positions. Such

a connection has been proven archaeologically. Sets of foundation deposits, discovered in his tomb, clearly attest to the fact that Udjahorresnet had started to build his tomb while Amasis still reigned, and not just under the Persian rulers, as had been previously supposed. His choice, therefore, was clearly connected with those of his offices that were located at Memphis, and not in Sais, though the link between him and this latter city, perhaps his native town, is indisputable. There is, however, no simple and obvious reason why he had chosen the barren and remote south-western portion of the vast Abusir necropolis, even though a number of motives, technical and religious in their nature, can be suggested. Although the excavation did not provide definitive proof that Udjahorresnet had been buried in his tomb at Abusir, it is however most probable.

A cemetery of greater and lesser tombs developed around the site of Udjahorresnet's last rest and this area may have been in use till Ptolemaic times. At present, however, the greater part of this cemetery is known from the archaeological prospection only. In spite of that, its very existence can be considered as proof of the high esteem enjoyed by Udjahorresnet in later times. The same esteem is, moreover, attested from another location within the Memphite region and thus will no doubt be corroborated by future excavations.

The tomb of Udjahorresnet, though unfinished, represents one of the culmination points in the development of the specific type of Egyptian funeral architecture, namely the huge shaft tombs usually called "Saite-Persian". Such tombs, very complicated in their architecture, clearly show the skill and mastery of ancient Egyptian architects and tomb-builders. At the same time, they attest deep changes in Egyptian religious beliefs that came about in that epoch; changes that brought much more stress on the personal religious and spiritual role of the deceased.

Because of damage caused to the tomb of Udjahorresnet in later times, the question of the original shape of its parts situated above ground cannot be predicted with any certainty. The same is true in respect to the existence and location of the possible cult installations of Udjahorresnet. In spite of that, the shape of this tomb clearly excludes hypothetical reconstructions of the upper parts of this type of tomb where either a pyramid, or a porticoed chapel with a staircase or ramp had been suggested. At this time, we simply do not know what the superstructure was like.

In spite of these several uncertainties that remain, we still have to consider that the huge shaft tombs built around the mid-first millennium BC have to be regarded as an important, though so far somewhat neglected source for the evaluation of the political and religious activities of Egyptian society during that epoch. The use of this kind of source for such a study is certainly made more complicated by its structural complexity, which demanded much time, work and, therefore, financial support as well during its excavation and restoration. This is certainly true in the case of the largest group of such tombs known from Egypt so far, situated in the south-western portion of the Czech archaeological concession at Abusir. In spite of these rather negative aspects, the results of work done so far here clearly attest to the importance of the shaft tombs and further work on this cemetery by the Czech Institute is therefore planned to continue.

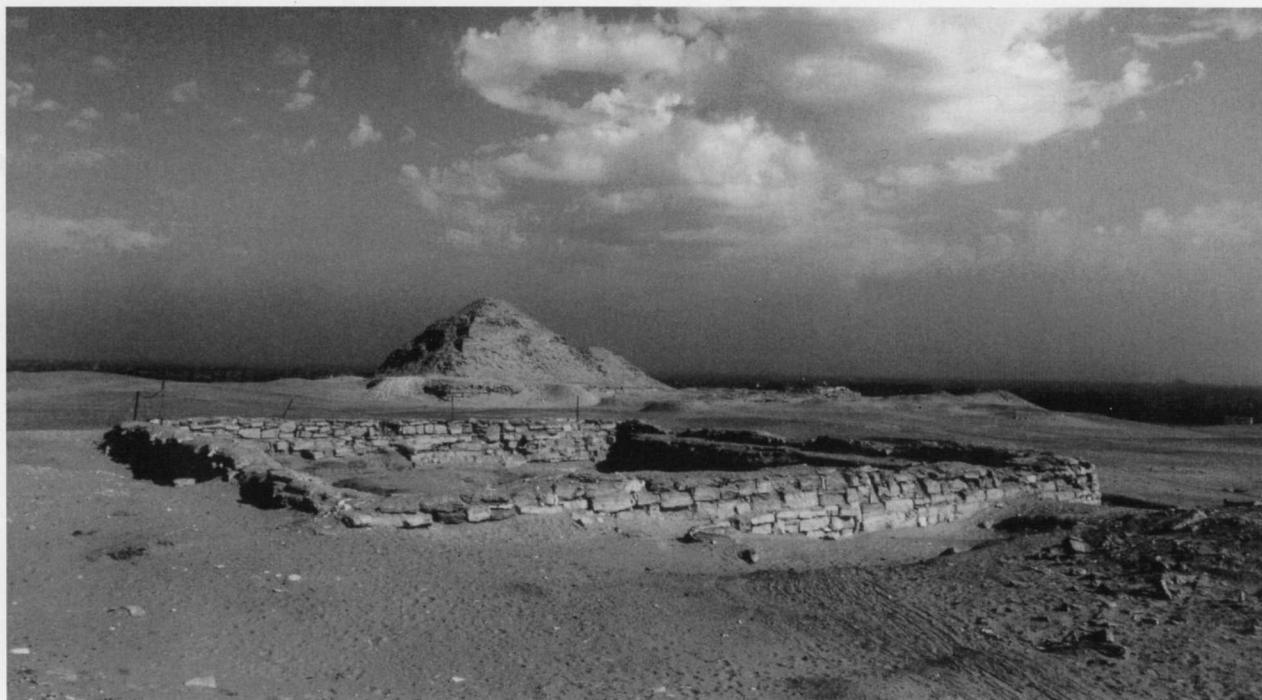


Fig. 20 The shaft tomb in its present state (from the south-west)



Fig. 21 The central and western sections of the South Field at Abusir with the tomb of Udjahorresnet above right



Fig. 22 Section north-south, to the north of the limestone structure above the mouth of the central shaft



Fig. 23 Remains of the limestone pavement(?), to the south of the limestone structure above the mouth of the central shaft

Fig. 24 Part of the western wing of the peripheral shaft, with a strut in its axis

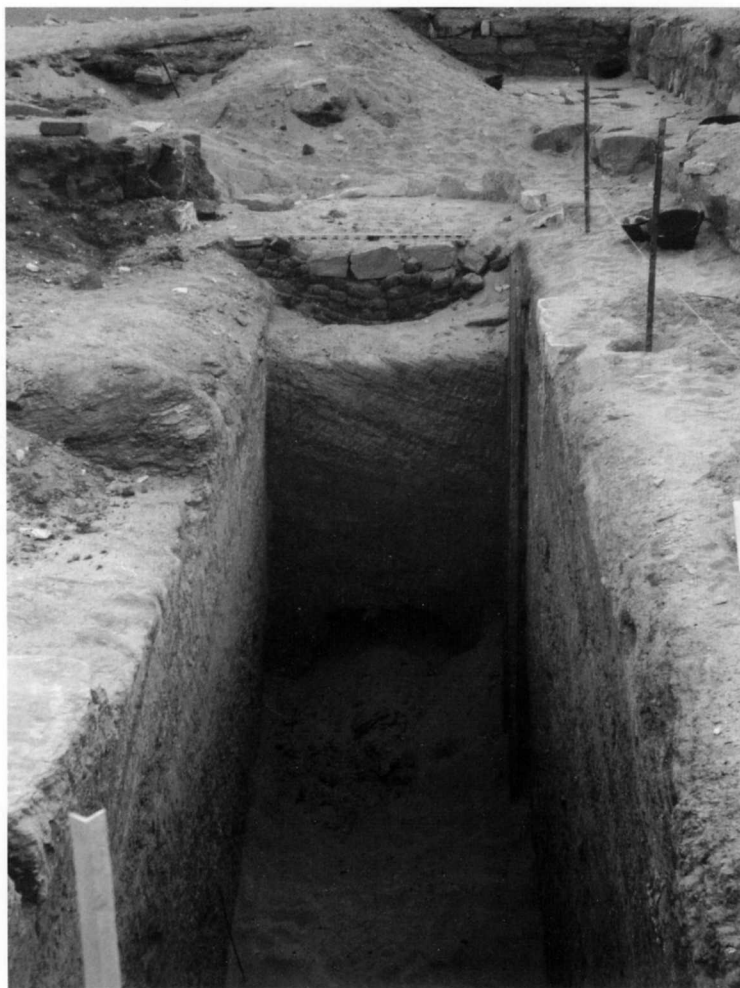
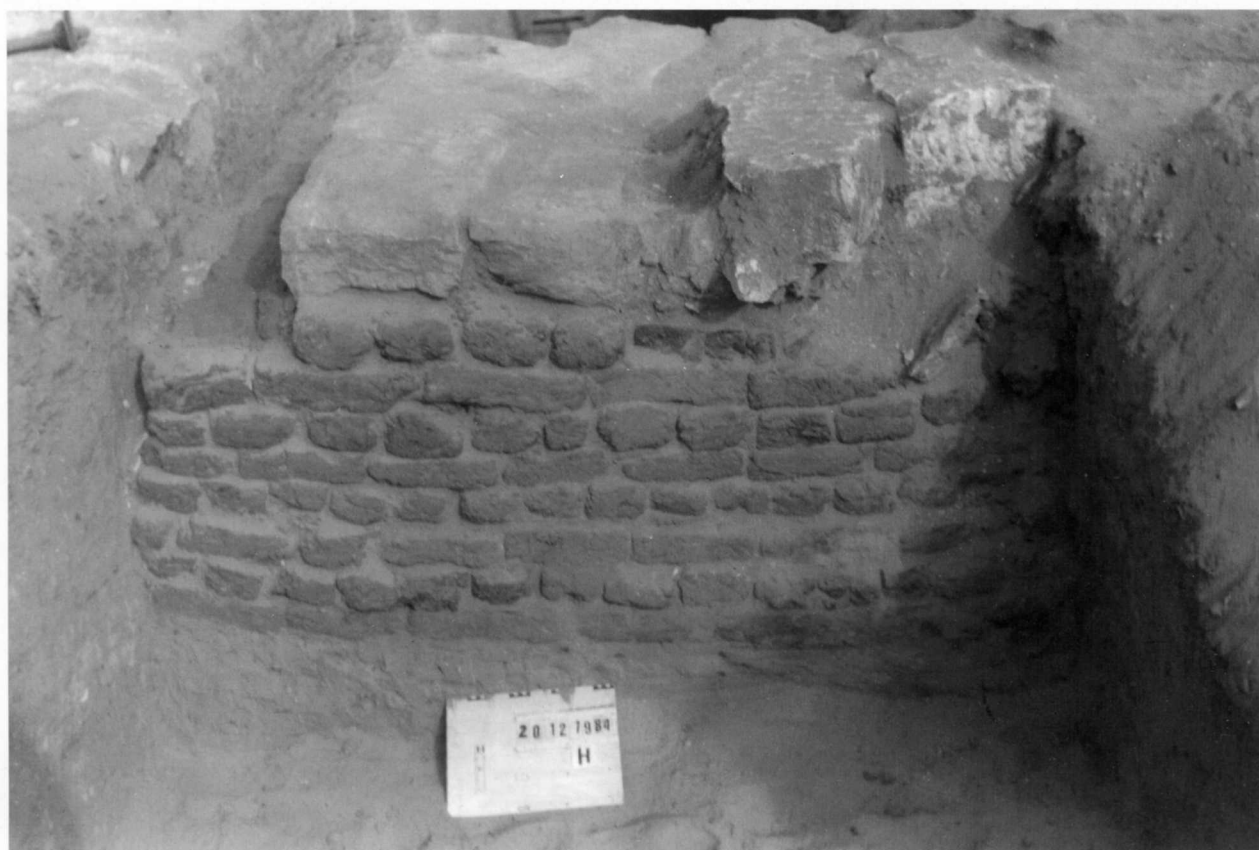


Fig. 25 Mudbrick wall (with remains of the limestone pavement above) covering the strut in the axis of the western wing of the peripheral shaft



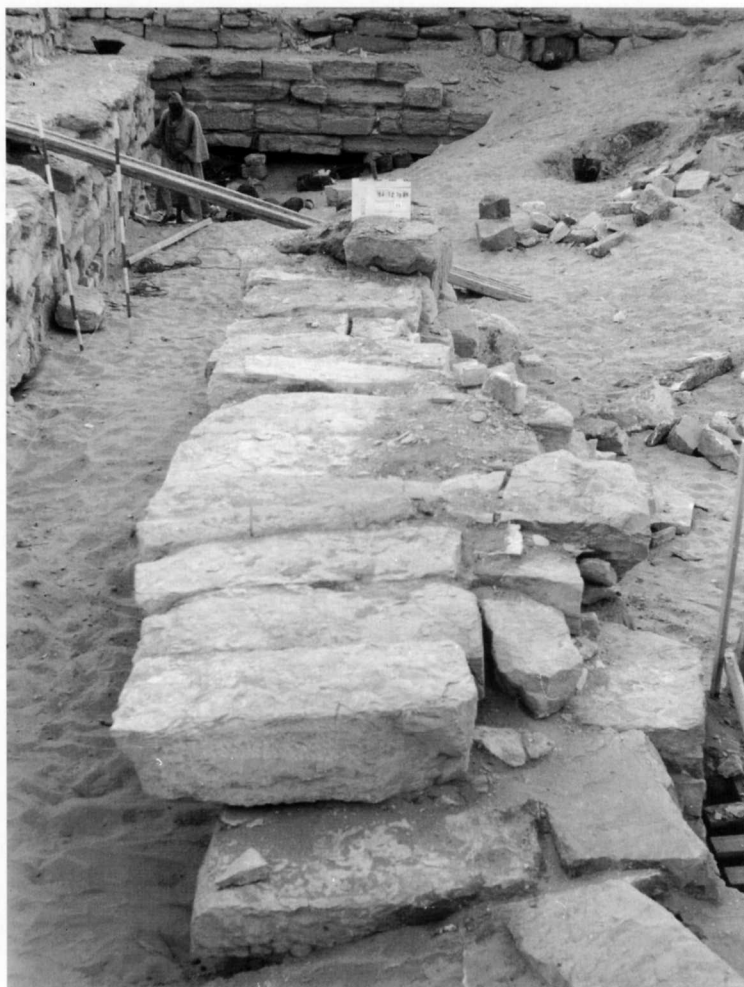


Fig. 26 Wall of coarse limestone ashlars, situated above the inner edge of the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft



Fig. 27 Remains of the limestone structure above the mouth of the central shaft (from the east)



Fig. 28 The eastern inner face of the limestone structure above the mouth of the central shaft



Fig. 29 Northern end of the trench situated between the central shaft and the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft (seen from the south)



Fig. 30 Wall of coarse limestone ashlars at the southern end of the trench situated between the central shaft and the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft ▼

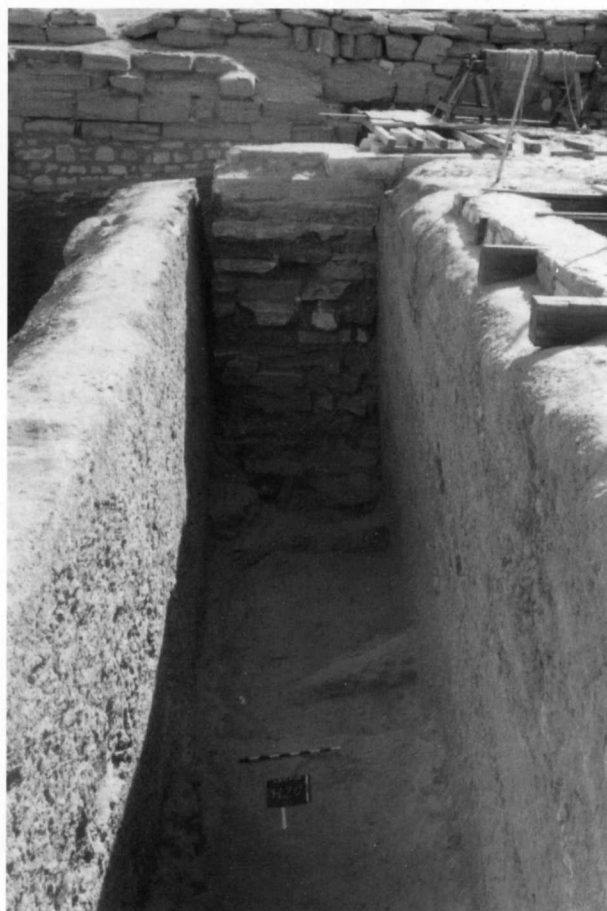


Fig. 31 Upper part of the channel leading to the ceiling of the horizontal corridor at its western end

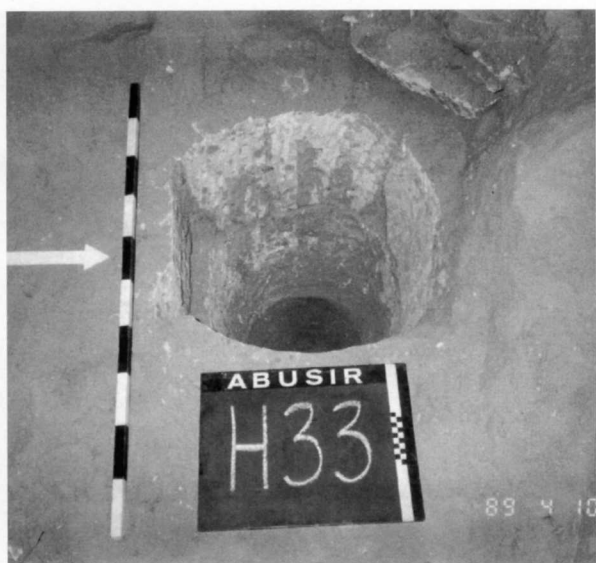


Fig. 32 One of the channels left in the ceiling of the burial chamber (seen from above)



Fig. 33 Western half of the ceiling of the burial chamber, with channels left for sand



Fig. 34 Western part of the burial chamber at the moment of its discovery

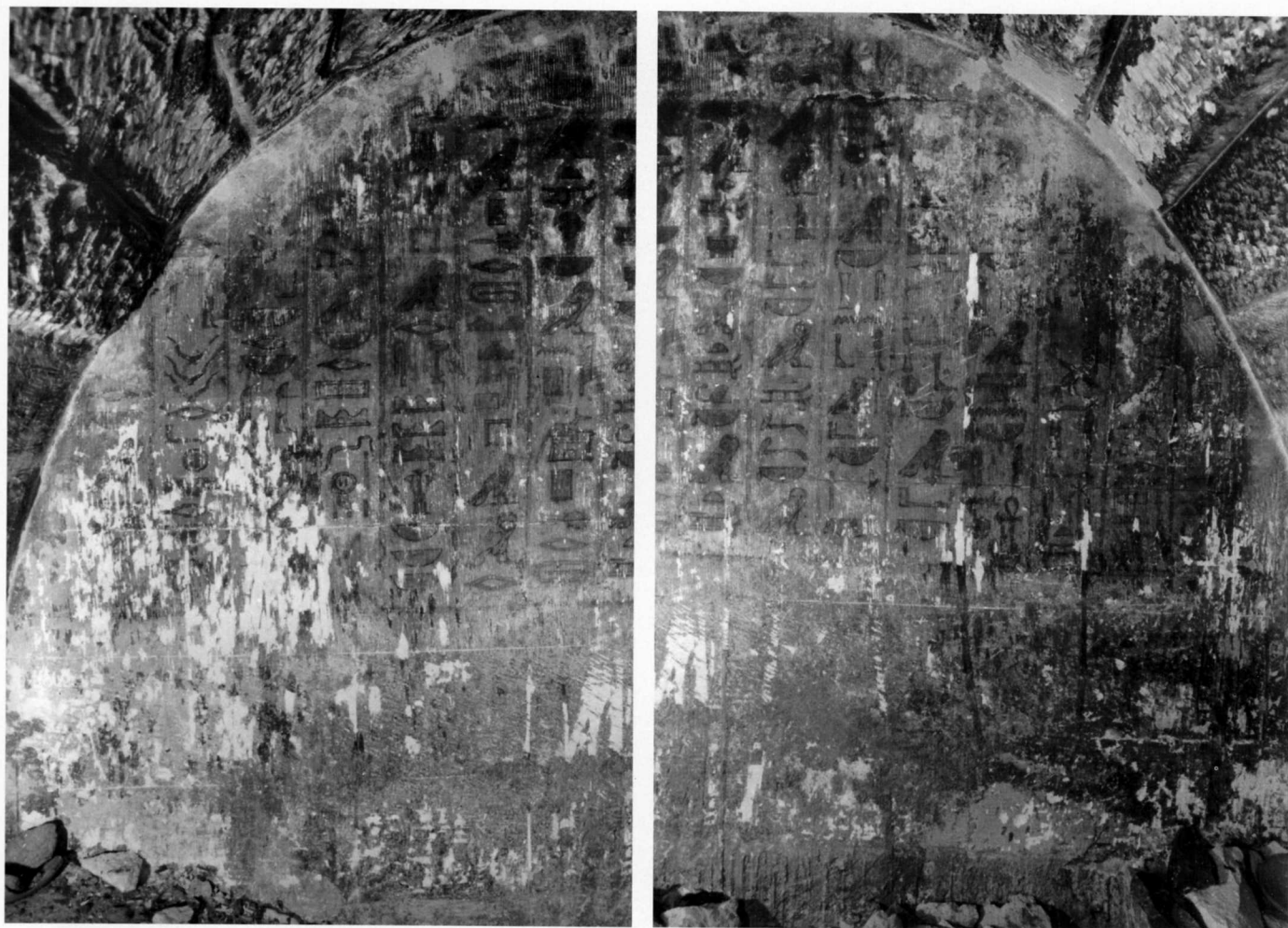


Fig. 35 Western wall of the burial chamber, with the remains of texts



Fig. 36 Wall of coarse limestone ashlars originally closing the horizontal corridor at its western end; the partly destroyed outer limestone sarcophagus is seen below

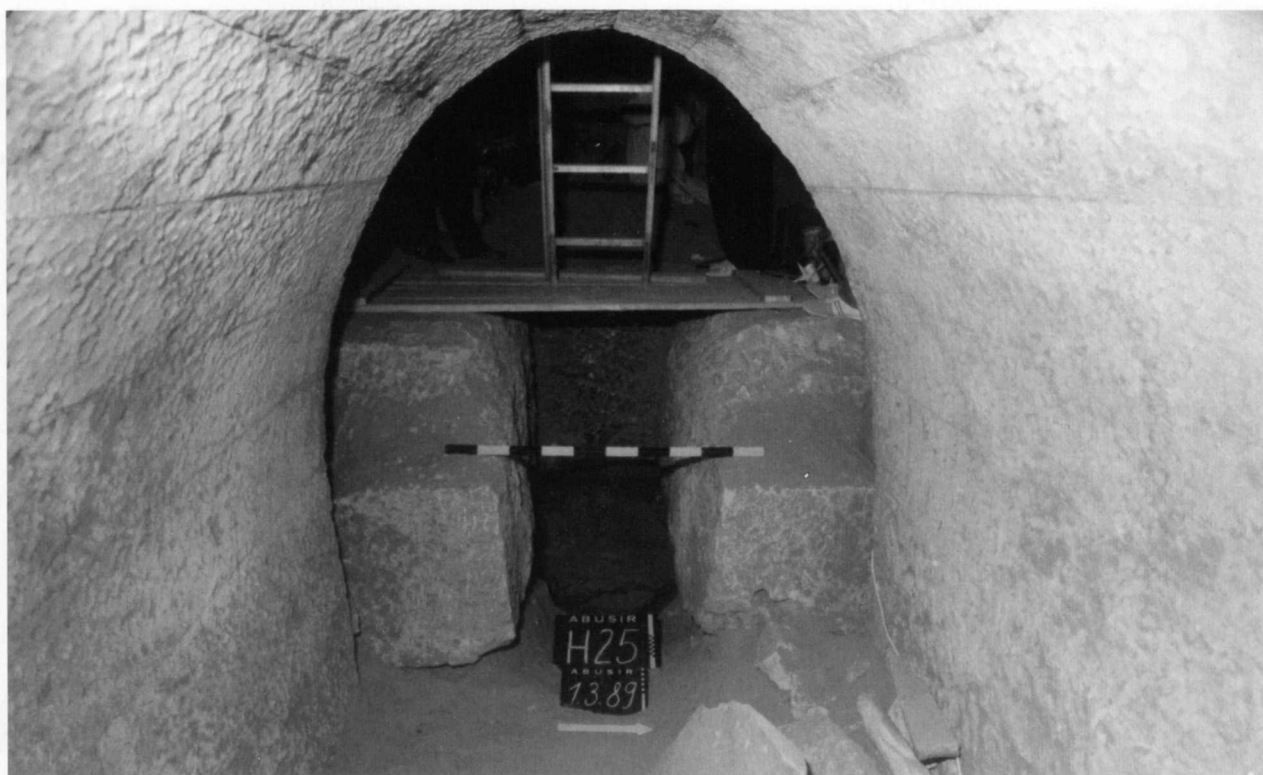


Fig. 37 The vaulted eastern end of the horizontal corridor; with the partly destroyed eastern end of the outer sarcophagus

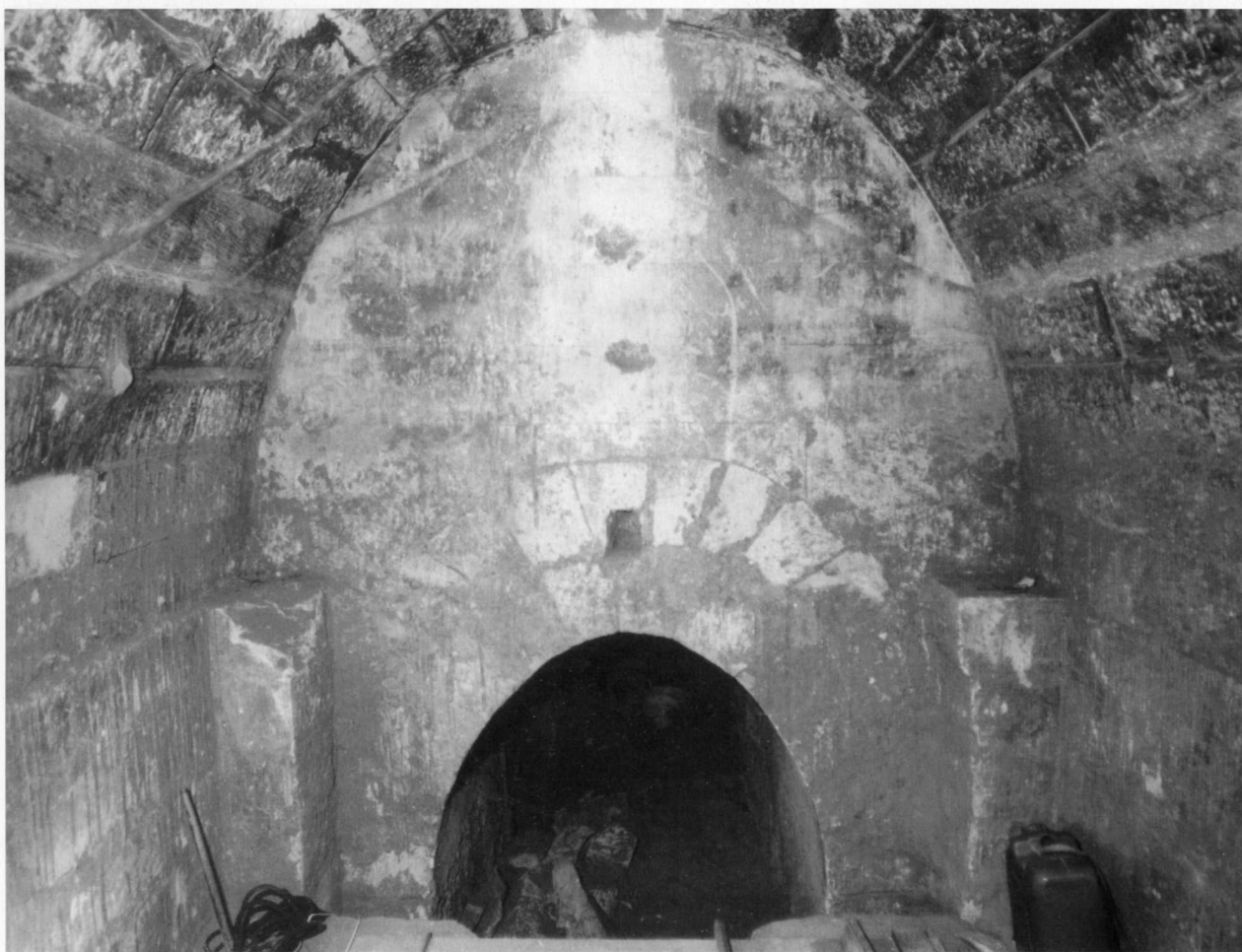


Fig. 38 The western end of the burial chamber; with the two corner-pillars



Fig. 39-40 Beginning of the text on the northern wall of the burial chamber

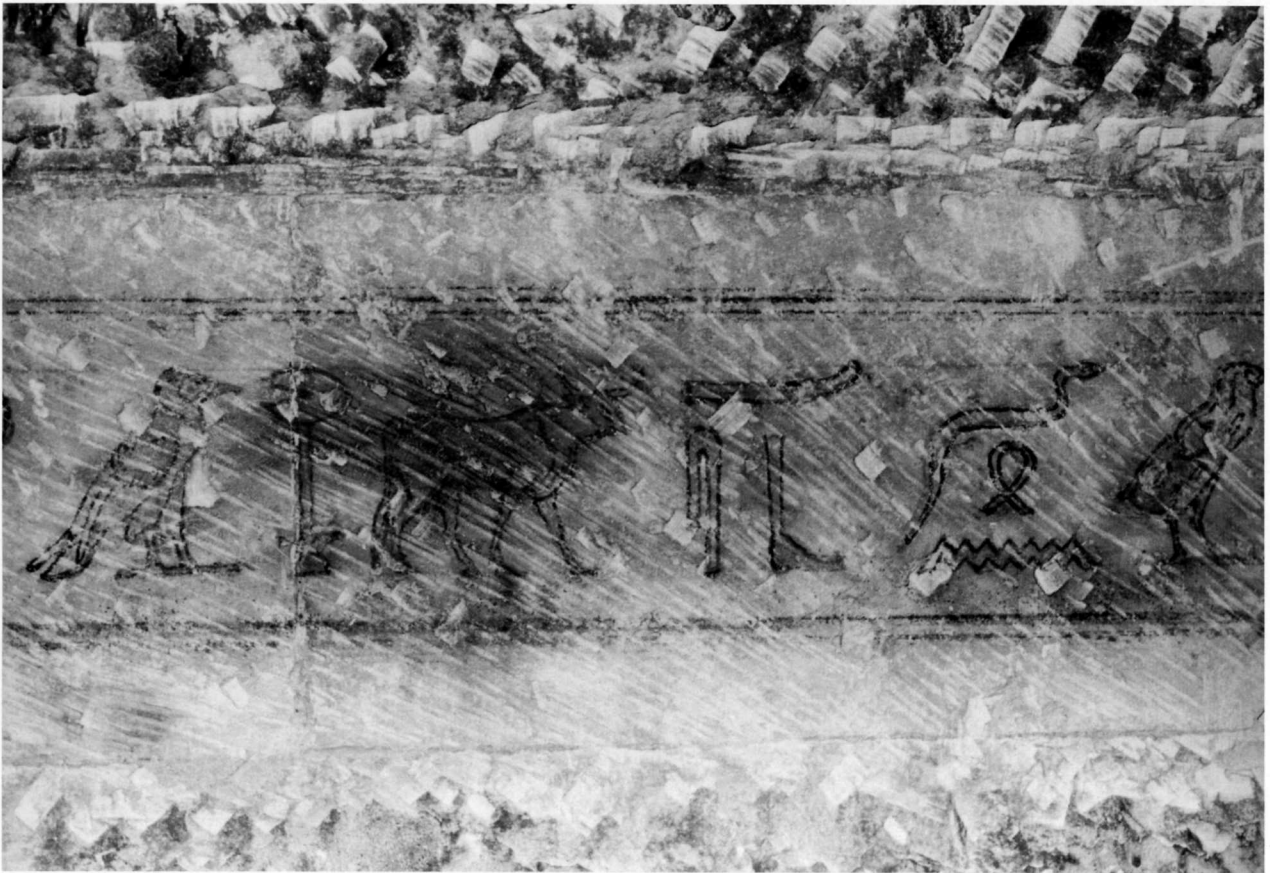


Fig. 41-42 Beginning of the text on the southern wall of the burial chamber



Fig. 43 The partly cleared lid of the inner sarcophagus



Fig. 44 The eastern part of the horizontal corridor, with remains of the vaulted mudbrick portion of the corridor behind



Fig. 45 The walled-up eastern end of the horizontal corridor (seen from the bottom of the small adjacent shaft)



Fig. 46-47 The shabtis of Udjahorresnet (excavator's no. 70/H/89)



Fig. 48 Remains of the torus found in the trench between the central shaft and the eastern wing of the peripheral shaft



Fig. 49 Remains of the inscribed magic bricks made of Nile silt

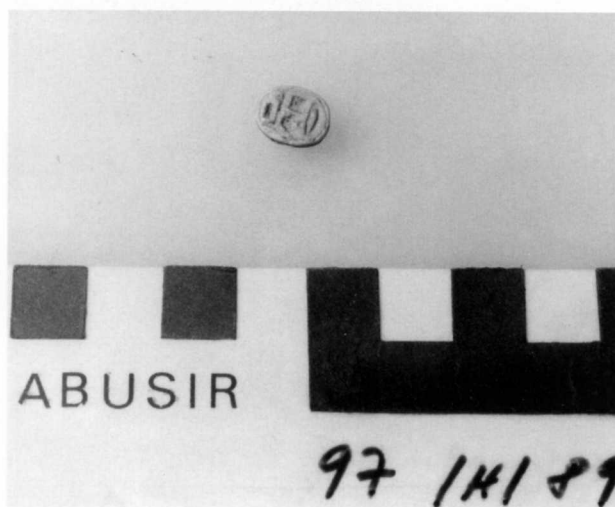


Fig. 50 An intrusive scarab



Fig. 51 Remains of the model offering table made of faience



Fig. 52-53 The shabtis of Udjahorresnet (excavator's no. 115/H/89)



Fig. 54 Fragment of an intrusive(?) shabti figure





Fig. 55-56 Fragments of the anthropoid inner sarcophagus made of basalt



Fig. 57 The north-western corner of the enclosure wall, with the pit for the foundation deposit



Fig. 58 The foundation deposit found under the north-western corner of the enclosure wall



Fig. 59 The north-eastern corner of the enclosure wall, with the pit for the foundation deposit

Fig. 60 The foundation deposit found under the north-eastern corner of the enclosure wall





Fig. 61 The south-western corner of the enclosure wall



Fig. 62 The foundation deposit found near the south-western corner of the enclosure wall



Fig. 63 The south-eastern corner of the enclosure wall

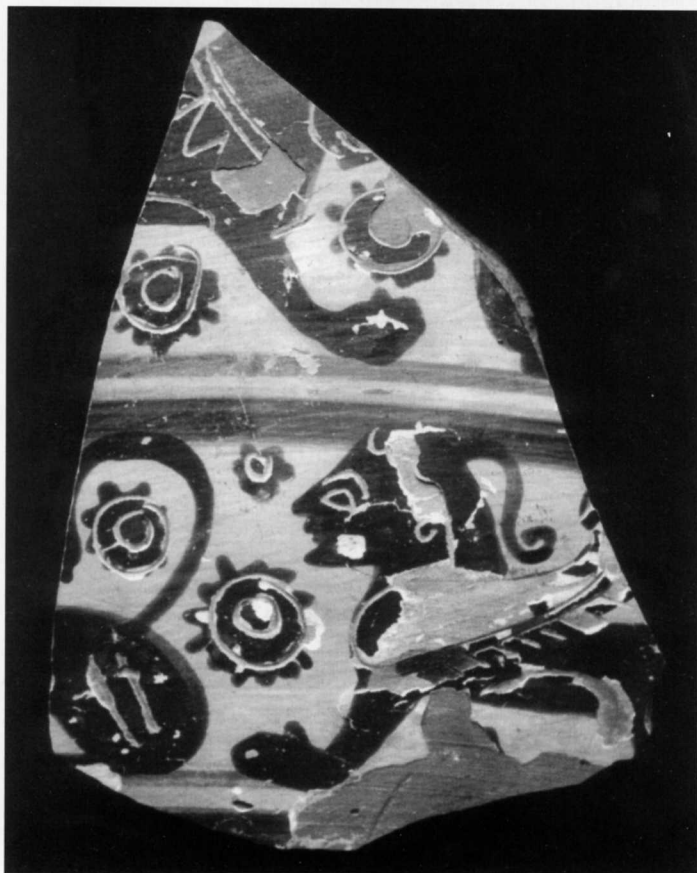


Fig. 64 Body fragment of an oinochoe from Chios

Fig. 65 Upper part of a Clazomenian amphora



Fig. 66 Bottles with ribbed neck and rounded base



Fig. 67 Cooking pot



Fig. 68 Fragment of a plate – Egyptian Red Slip Ware A

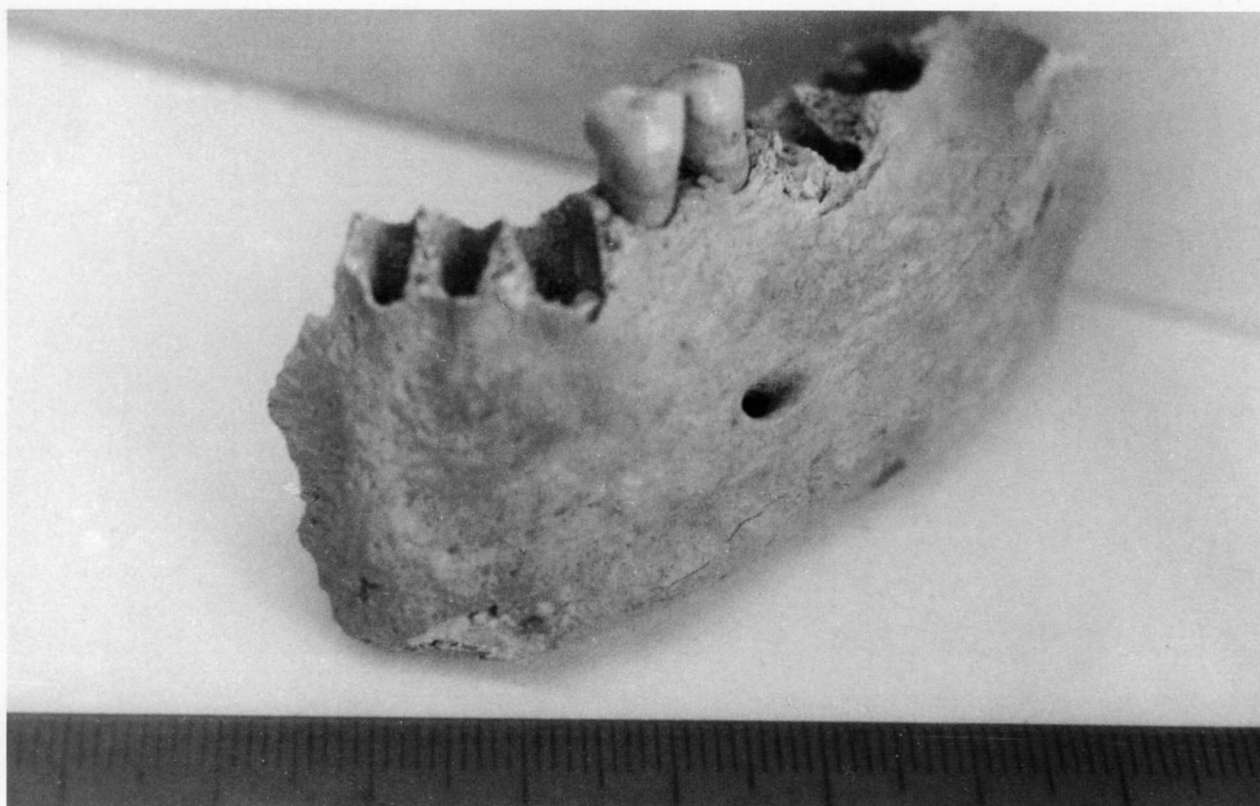


Fig. 69-70 Remains of the lower jaw-bone of a man (excavator's no. 104/H/89)

ČESKÉ SHRNUTÍ

První polovina 1. tisíciletí př. n. l. představuje období zlomu v dlouhých dějinách starého Egypta. Po více než dvou tisíciletích téměř nepřerušného vývoje, doprovázeného zřetelnou kulturní a obvykle i politickou a vojenskou převahou nad nejbližšími sousedy země, dospěl Egypt do hluboké politické a hospodářské krize. Vyvrcholením této krize bylo ohrožení egyptské samostatnosti a nakonec její dlouhodobá ztráta. V důsledku všech těchto jevů se musela tehdejší egyptská společnost vyrovnat s přílivem vnějších kulturních vlivů. Klíčovým okamžikem v tomto vývoji nepochybně byl rok 525 př. n. l., kdy se Egypt stal součástí obrovského nadnárodního celku perské říše, v níž vedle sebe existovaly četné a místy velmi rozdílné ideologické a kulturní směry. Z řady důvodů patří přitom toto období k nejméně známým úsekům staroegyptských dějin, pro které téměř nejsou doloženy původní egyptské ani cizí prameny.

První kapitola shrnuje dosavadní poznatky o velkých šachtových hrobkách, tradičně, byť poněkud nepřesně označovaných jako sasko-perské. Tyto hrobky, jejichž základem byla pohřební komora vybudovaná na dně široké a hluboké šachty, se stavěly od 7. snad až do 4. stol. př. n. l. a představují jeden ze specifických typů staroegyptských hrobek určených pro pohřby nejvyšších hodnostářů. Podle dosavadních poznatků se jejich budování omezovalo na širší oblast pohřebišť staroegyptské metropole Mennoferu (řec. Memfidy). V této kapitole jsou shrnuty poznatky o vzniku a vývoji tohoto typu hrobek a způsobu jejich výstavby. Krátce jsou zmíněny i základní údaje o dalších typech hrobek užívaných v této době.

Druhá kapitola je věnována historické osobnosti hodnostáře Vedžahorresneta, dosud známého především z dlouhého životopisného nápisu na jeho soše uložené nyní ve vatikánském Museo Gregoriano Egizio. Tento biografický nápis dosud představuje základní egyptský pramen pro počáteční dobu perské nadvlády v Egyptě po roce 525 př. n. l.⁴⁸¹⁾ Vedle tohoto textu, který je zde nově přeložen, jsou v této kapitole uvedeny i ostatní dosud známé doklady týkající se Vedžahorresneta. Na základě pramenů je shrnuta i předchozí diskuse o této významné historické osobnosti. V dosavadním hodnocení Vedžahorresneta, i na základě identických pramenů velmi rozdílném, převažovalo spíše negativní ocenění jeho postojů, pro které byl někdy označován až jako zrádce egyptských zájmů. Jakkoli je samotná skutečnost Vedžahorresnetovy spolupráce s novými, perskými vládci Egypta nezpochybnitelná, je takové hodnocení zřejmě přehnané. Pokud nebudou nalezeny další podrobnější prameny, lze Vedžahorresneta spíše hodnotit jako člověka, který se pragmaticky přizpůsobil nastalé situaci a podle možnosti se snažil poměry změnit nejen ve svůj prospěch, ale i ve prospěch tradičně chápané egyptské společnosti. Tento pragmatický postoj zastávali i perští vládci, navzdory pozdějšímu negativnímu hodnocení Kambýse. Krátce jsou zde shrnuty i doklady spolupráce jiných vysokých egyptských hodnostářů s perskými vládci.

Třetí kapitola podává výsledky archeologických výzkumů Českého egyptologického ústavu ve Vedžahorresnetově hrobce, která byla v 80. letech odkryta na jihozápadním okraji české archeologické koncese v Abúsíru. Po shrnutí nálezové situace tohoto překvapivého objevu následuje podrobný popis hrobky včetně překladu a komentáře v ní nalezených textů a diskuse o možné podobě nedochovaných nadzemních částí hrobky. Podrobně jsou popsány a komentovány i nálezy pocházející z této hrobky, a to jak dochované součásti původní pohřební výbavy, tak i nálezy z pozdějších dob.

Čtvrtá kapitola se zabývá klíčovou otázkou skutečného využití hrobky, tedy zda Vedžahorresnet byl v této hrobce pohřben, nebo ne. Na základě obsáhlého shrnutí možných argumentů je zřejmé, že tato hrobka, resp. v ní

⁴⁸¹⁾ Český překlad tohoto textu spolu se základním komentářem uveřejnil B. Vachala, *Nový Orient* 44 (1989), str. 248–250.

odkrytá pohřební komora, představuje skutečný Vedžahorresnetův hrob navzdory tomu, že byla opakovaně vyloupena a nenašly se tedy pozůstatky tohoto hodnostáře. V souvislosti s touto diskusí jsou zde shrnuty i problémy týkající se možného umístění Vedžahorresnetova zádušního kultu a také důvody volby tohoto místa. Krátce jsou naznačeny i další osudy této hrobky, kterou opakovaně navštívili lupiči.

Pátá kapitola, připravená Květou Smolárikovou, obsahuje podrobný popis a rozbor nálezů keramiky z Vedžahorresnetovy hrobky. Tyto nálezy, mezi nimiž byla řada řeckých a egejských importů, jsou začleněny do širšího kontextu poznatků o egyptské a importované keramice v době okolo poloviny 1. tisíciletí př. n. l.

Ve formě samostatného dodatku je uveřejněn antropologický rozbor fragmentu lidské čelisti, nalezené v pohřební komoře jako jediný kosterní pozůstatek odkrytý v této hrobce. Podle antropologa prof. dr. E. Strouhala, DrSc., jde zcela určitě o intruzivní nález, který nepochází z původního Vedžahorresnetova pohřbu.

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ABUSIR IV

The Shaft Tomb of Udjahorresnet at Abusir

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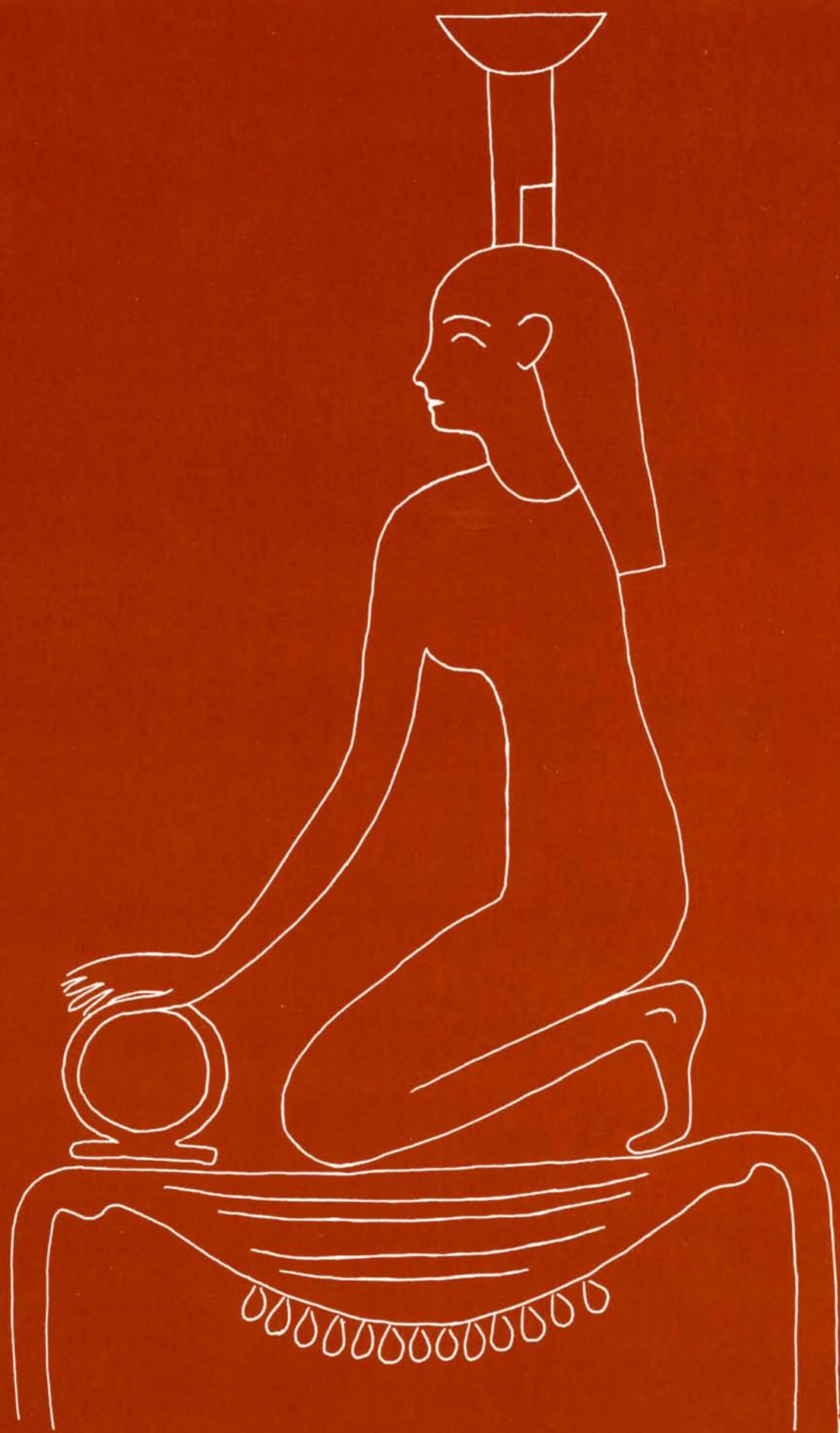
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