In its 2001-2002 field season, the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute recovered a new offering table for the God's Wife Shepenwepet I from among foundation fill in one of the sanctuaries within the small temple to Amun at Medinet Habu. Although the detailed circumstances of its recovery and a facsimile of its texts will be presented in a future Epigraphic Survey publication, photographs of its inscriptions and a hand copy are offered here, along with both a preliminary description of its context, especially in respect to its ownership, its style, and the inscription upon its platter.

It is shaped of dark granite with the rough grain characteristic to that stone, making the reading of its signs difficult from a distance and preventing the kind of subtlety and finesse of carving that might have been gotten from a finer stone, such as limestone. Nevertheless, its figures and signs were carved with skill and care, making readings clear where the table has not suffered damage.

The principal points of damage are on the platter's front left hand corner (to adopt the point of view of a priestly officiant who would have performed rites over it), where a large piece was anciently broken off, and within the cartouches of the father of Shepenwepet, presumably giving the name of P'Ac ("Piankhy") prior to being attacked. As for the missing chunk, this could have been broken off at any time after the table's being finished and before being deposited in the small temple, where it was to serve as a free-standing foundation for the Ptolemaic granite naos that would be installed above it.

Prior to the front left hand corner's being damaged, the platter would have measured 104 cm wide by 64 cm deep, with the cake jutting out from its MP-sign shape adding another 23 cm to the depth. The platter itself is about 19 cm high, and the total height of the table from very bottom to very top of the platter is about 66.5 cm.

A draft of this article was presented at Johns Hopkins University at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt. It has greatly benefited from the suggestions of Robert K. Ritner and the EARC referee, though the responsibility for its contents is mine.

1 In Room P, according to the designation of Uvo Holscher, The Excavation of Medinet Habu—Volume II: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, OIP 41 (Chicago, 1939), 5.

2 To follow the practice of Jacques J.-Clerc, "La table d'offrandes de l'échacon royal Sa-Renenoutet surnommé 'Échacon,'" BIFAO 81 Supplement (1981), 213-34, 216 with n. 1.

3 As her filiation is attested on numerous monuments, see Jean Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe-Dynastie éthiopiens, RAE 50, Text (Cairo, 1965), 359 with n. 2.


5 On the naos, see Holscher, Excavation of Medinet Habu II, 15 with fig. 15 and further reference at his n. 12; his dating "fourth century B.C. or later" is based on the paleography of the Demotic signs used to label the wall blocks of the west wall of Room P to aid in the wall's reassembly, the wall having been partially dismantled in order to permit the naos to be introduced. Holscher is reporting the assessment of William F. Edgerton.

6 The measurements are courtesy of J. Brett McC1ain.
Cartouches designating the beneficiary as Shepenwepet, (adoptive) daughter of Amenirdis and daughter of a king, appear on the platter as well as on the back side of the table (Fig. 1), facing away from any officiant who would have performed service over it and toward whatever was set up in front of it, presumably a false door or some other item bearing an image of her.

An image of Shepenwepet and a number of other objects appropriate to the funerary provisioning of the God’s Wives were recovered from Medinet Habu in Hölscher’s and earlier excavations, sometimes, like the newly recovered offering table, in proximity to the small temple of Amun, but also nearer their chapels, though nothing was found in the plundered crypts beneath them. Especially

7 She was adopted in the reign of Piye, in the view of Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments, 352, with Amenirdis I as the sister or half-sister of Piye (according to Kenneth Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.), 2nd ed. (Warminster, 1986), 559 (§321)), Amenirdis would be Shepenwepet’s biological aunt.

8 As with the image of Shepenwepet just now mentioned, found south of the sacred lake; presumably through reason of its proximity to the Small Temple and by assumption from her own chapel, Uvo Hölscher: The Excavation of Medinet Habu–Book I: Post-Ramessid Remains, OSF 66 (Chicago, 1984), 28, was led to suppose that this image originally stood in the Small Temple rather than in her chapel. But the newly recovered offering table of hers was also found remotely from her chapel and even within the Small Temple.
because numerous ukhetis were among the objects, it is possible that the God's Wives were buried in these crypts, in parallel to a roughly contemporaneous practice of royal burial within the temple pre­
cinct at Tanis, as with Psusennes, Osorkon II, and others. In accord with their location within a tem­
ple precinct, there are indications that the God's Wives' chapels themselves were structures devoted to
mortuary cult, beginning with the designation of Amenirdis's chapel as a Ka-House. It is within such
a ritual context that this and other offering tables may be situated, as presumably the table
would have been placed somewhere within the space of Shepenwepet's chapel area. Exactly where
within is something unknown, since both this and another table of hers, to be discussed presently,
were found outside of their original physical contexts.

The carvings on its platter both structure and are structured by its ritual context. As may be seen
in the platter photo (Fig. 2) and hand copy (Fig. 3), the most prominent manifestation of the ritual
association is the libation trough leading out from its center and making a kind of spout out of the cake
justing from its tip-shape, a very traditional shape, having its origins in offering tables with
tip-signs as far back as the Old Kingdom. The table accordingly was meant to receive poured liq­
uids. That it was meant to receive offerings of both food and liquids is suggested by the depictions of
fowl, three kinds of bread, and jars cut into the platter, just above a representation of a
platter photo (Fig. 2) and hand copy (Fig. 3), the most prominent manifestation of the ritual
association is the libation trough leading out from its center and making a kind of spout out of the cake
justing from its tip-shape, a very traditional shape, having its origins in offering tables with
tip-signs as far back as the Old Kingdom. The table accordingly was meant to receive poured liq­
uids. That it was meant to receive offerings of both food and liquids is suggested by the depictions of
fowl, three kinds of bread, and jars cut into the platter, just above a representation of a
platter photo (Fig. 2) and hand copy (Fig. 3), the most prominent manifestation of the ritual
association is the libation trough leading out from its center and making a kind of spout out of the cake
justing from its tip-shape, a very traditional shape, having its origins in offering tables with
platter photo (Fig. 2) and hand copy (Fig. 3), the most prominent manifestation of the ritual
association is the libation trough leading out from its center and making a kind of spout out of the cake
justing from its tip-shape, a very traditional shape, having its origins in offering tables with

accretion. The vocatives situate Shepenwepet as cultic recipient; the Pyramid Texts utterance, as will be discussed, is from the offering ritual within mortuary service and, as elsewhere, is tailored by its pronouns 14 to designate her as recipient of its grace; and, not insignificantly, the first addition to the original text includes the term ḫy-p-di-ny-sw.t, traditionally referring to mortuary service archetypically performed for the deceased by the king 15 as quintessential cultic officiant.

Taking the sum of its parts together, this table is an excellent example of what Leclant called the “Ethiopian type.” 16 In fact, a number of contemporary tables are nearly identical to it, right down to the texts upon them. For the present discussion, the most important of these is the other table of Shepenwepet’s (Fig. 4), excavated long ago by Daressy from within the greater Medinet Habu pre-

---

14 The suffix pronouns appearing consistently as the classic =t rather than =i, see fig. 3. The two are interchangeable in Shepenwepet’s other table, e.g. with ḫu-p-di-ny-sw.t, see fig. 4.

15 As noted by Jan Assmann, “Tolenkult, Totenglauben,” LA VI, 659-76, 663.


17 Previously published at Barguet et al., “Les tables d’offrandes,” pl. 7; presented here as well for purposes of comparison.
A NEW OFFERING TABLE FOR SHEPENWEPET

Fig. 3. Platter of the newly recovered table (Hand copy. Harold M. Hays)

cinct but today situated within the court of Amenirdis’s chapel, immediately adjacent to Shepenwepet’s. Besides Shepenwepet’s second table, her contemporary Montuemhat and Montuemhat’s Nubian wife, Wedjarenes, have tables much like this new one. All four of them have a ‘tip’-shaped platter, an arrangement of three kinds of bread, fowl, and two jars over an internal MP-sign, these being surrounded by nearly the same inscription, including PT 44. However, the “Ethiopian type” of table is more characterized by the physical arrangement of inscriptions around the platter and the nature of the objects appearing on it than by textual similitude. Above all, PT 44 may be replaced by

18 On this table, see G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” RT 20 (1898), 72-86, 75; Hölsher, Excavation of Medinet Habu V, 28 with fig. 31; Barguet et al., “Les tables d’offrandes,” 966-7 with pl. 7-8; and further references at Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments, 169 (D, 17).
19 See Barguet et al., “Les tables d’offrandes,” 491-93 with pl. 1.
Fig. 4. Platter of the table excavated by Daressy (Hand copy: Harold M. Hayes)

Asp-di-n-ra formulae or other utterances (such as an extract from PT 42421), as with a table for Shepenwepe’s immediate predecessor the God’s Wife Amenirdis I,22 a second table of Montuemhat,23 a table of the official Gemaset,24 and a table of Basa from Dynasty 26.25 Tables reckoned to this type thus begin to appear in Dynasty 25, the “Ethiopian dynasty,” and continue into Dynasty 26. certainly not an “Ethiopian dynasty.”

21 Prè. 772b-774b on a contemporary table from TT34; Barguet et al., “Les tables d’offrandes,” p. 4.
22 See Ahmed Bey Kamal, Tables d’offrandes, Catalogue Générale vols. 46-47 (Cairo, 1936), 85 and pl. 21.
23 See Barguet et al., “Les tables d’offrandes,” 494-96 with pl. 3.
25 BM 367, brought to my attention by Will Schenck. For the table, see Jan Assmann, Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 38) in der thebanischen Nekropole, AV 6 (Mainz am Rhein, 1973), 16 with fig. 7, and see 22 for the date of Basa: reign of Psammetichus I, following Montuemhat and Neferirkare I.
A NEW OFFERING TABLE FOR SHEPENWEPET

But the new table of Shepenwepet is of interest not only for being a fine example of a type but also for being one of two tables dedicated to her. Her other table is closely akin to this one in form, distinctive, and text. At first it might seem puzzling that a single person should have two offering tables, dedicated to her; perhaps one would expect that only one would be needed, especially within the restrictive confines of Shepenwepet’s chapel at Medinet Habu. But just now mentioned were two tables of her contemporary Montuemhat, both of them excavated from his Grabplatz at Thebes (TT 34), and so the circumstances of two tables for one person in this period is not unknown. To attempt to explain why Shepenwepet might have had two, one might assume that each table was used in a different stage of the mortuary service. A stippled explanation might be that the newly recovered table had become damaged, its corner knocked off, and so the table excavated by Daressy was prepared as a replacement. But other scenarios could be envisaged, and it is difficult to choose among the possibilities that imagination can generate. Making a hypothesis is complicated all the more since both tables were found outside of their original contexts—the newly recovered table buried under the small temple’s Prolemaic name as ad hoc foundational support, and the old from somewhere outside the temple’s enclosure wall.

However they were used, a closer comparison of them can draw out differences enough to suggest that they were crafted separately. First, they are of slightly different granites, the old table’s granite being darker and smoother; the new table more coarse. The old table is of seemingly unfinished condition, with a kind of shelf on either side of the cake jutting out from the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

In clauses and phrases within PT 44.

Figure 5 synoptically shows the best preserved of the published

26 Barguet et al., “Les tables d’offrandes,” 491, for provenance.

27 As suggested to me by Bill Pettey.

28 According to Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” 75, it was found “à l’a extérieur du mur d’enceinte.”

29 The most pronounced of these irregularities is displayed in Hilscher, Excavation of Medinet Habu V C 28 fig. 51. The unfinished state of the pedestal led Hilscher to suppose that the table was designed to be let into the floor.

30 With Lecacrie, Recherches sur les monuments, 356 n. 9, noting the uniqueness.

31 On Sh 1: E. Moortgat, “Das Gottesweib des Amun, Soter der Götter, Herr der Frauen,” in OLA 38 (Leuven, 1990), 188-207. The title given to Amenirdis is the same on Sh1 and Sh2:

“God’s Wife Pure of Hands in Karnak, God’s Hand Shepenwepet” (cf. CT 734, 132: 5). This is displayed in the photograph of Hilscher, Excavation of Medinet Habu V C 28 fig. 51 (TT 34), and so the circumstance of two tables for one person in this period is not unknown. To attempt to explain why Shepenwepet might have had two, one might assume that each table was used in a different stage of the mortuary service. A stippled explanation might be that the newly recovered table had become damaged, its corner knocked off, and so the table excavated by Daressy was prepared as a replacement. But other scenarios could be envisaged, and it is difficult to choose among the possibilities that imagination can generate. Making a hypothesis is complicated all the more since both tables were found outside of their original contexts—the newly recovered table buried under the small temple’s Prolemaic name as ad hoc foundational support, and the old from somewhere outside the temple’s enclosure wall.

However they were used, a closer comparison of them can draw out differences enough to suggest that they were crafted separately. First, they are of slightly different granites, the old table’s granite being darker and smoother; the new table more coarse. The old table is of seemingly unfinished condition, with a kind of shelf on either side of the cake jutting out from the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

in contrast, seems fully finished from top to bottom, complete with a thin, molded band wrapped around the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

in contrast, seems fully finished from top to bottom, complete with a thin, molded band wrapped around the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

in contrast, seems fully finished from top to bottom, complete with a thin, molded band wrapped around the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

in contrast, seems fully finished from top to bottom, complete with a thin, molded band wrapped around the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

in contrast, seems fully finished from top to bottom, complete with a thin, molded band wrapped around the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

in contrast, seems fully finished from top to bottom, complete with a thin, molded band wrapped around the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

in contrast, seems fully finished from top to bottom, complete with a thin, molded band wrapped around the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as

in contrast, seems fully finished from top to bottom, complete with a thin, molded band wrapped around the platter’s pedestal; this is in addition to the pedestal’s general symmetry of shape, compared to irregular bulges in the old table’s pedestal. Also, the newly recovered table has its platter inscription banded on either side by incised lines; the old table lacks them; its platter inscription is banded only by changes in elevation. Last, even though their platter inscriptions have essentially the same content, there are noteworthy variations between them. Chief of these are the writings of the small temple’s Ptolemaic naos as
Along with those shown in fig. 5, just enough of the text appears in the following sources to know that it was once fully borne by them as well: Pepi I (P.), see Isabelle Pierre-Croisiau, Les textes de la pyramide de Pepy 1, Tome 2, Fac-similes, MIFAO 118/2 (Cairo, 2001), pl. 4 B (P/F/Ne 181-84); Pepi II (N.), see Gustave Jequier, Le monument funéraire de Pepy II, Tome 1 (Cairo, 1956), pl. 5 cols. 167-68; Wedjebten (Oudj.), see Gustave Jequier, La pyramide d'Oudjebten (Cairo, 1955), pl. 5, col. 79; and Henenil (designated M1Ba by Günther Lapp), Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie, SAGA 7 (Heidelberg, 1993), 288, see Günther Lapp, Sarcophage des Könige in der ehemaligen Sammlung Khashaba, AA 43 (Wiesbaden, 1985), pl. 35 middle. According to Catherine Berger-el Naggar et al., Les textes de la pyramide de Pepy 1, Description et analyse, MIFAO 118/3 (Cairo, 2001), 70. Teti (T) and Nemtiemzaf Merenre (M.) also bear this text, though the relevant elements are yet unpublished. Add to all of these a now lost or otherwise unknown offering table given vague reference by Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” 75 n. 2, who reports that “Un fragment de table d’offrande dont le commencement du même texte,” the relevant portion being:

bt; 

34 Tracing from the photograph of Alexandre Piankoff, The Pyramid of Unas (Princeton, 1968), pl. 61.
35 After Gustave Jequier, Les Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit (Cairo, 1933), pl. 11.
38 After Barguet et al., “Les tables d’offrandes,” pl. 2.
the old table is designated as M_PI-brw but not on the newly discovered one. The presence and absence of the epithet used to be regarded as a sound criterion for establishing dates in this period, but Leclant has since noted that it "ne s'applique pas necessairement a un defunt; son emploi pour un vivant ne se borner pas au Nouvel Empire," and wish that realization it becomes difficult to argue for a relative date based upon this difference.

Though the temporal relationship between them may remain obscure, the incorporation of this Pyramid Text into the decoration of these tables is clearly important for several reasons. After the occurrence of a Pyramid Text utterance on the cylindrical support for a libation altar from the pyramid temple of Pepi I, the earliest preserved example of this on an offering table is from the New Kingdom offering table of Sarenwenetstw. It, however, does not include PT 44. (In fact, these tables of Shepenwepet, together with the tables of Montuemhat and his wife Wadjarenes, bear the earliest evidence of libation). This statement has a long history after Dynasty 26, taking on a life of its own as a dating criterion is drawn out from the adoption stele of Ankhnesneferibre by Anthony Leahy, "The Adoption Stele of Ankhnesneferibre," JEA 82 (1996), 145-65, 152 n. (v) and 160. Aidan Dodson, "The Problem of Amenirdis and the Horus of the Office of God's Wife of Amun during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," JEA 88 (2002), 179-88, 183, does not treat the term as a certain criterion.


In all cases, the libation is come forth from himself to the latter; the ritualist does not satisfy the beneficiary through the ritualist's receiving the pellets. The Coffin Texts version of this statement, which adds a phrase which came to you from Osiris, this libation of yours, Osiris, which came to you from Horus! This statement has a long history after Dynasty 26, taking on a life of its own as a dating criterion is drawn out from the adoption stele of Ankhnesneferibre by Anthony Leahy, "The Adoption Stele of Ankhnesneferibre," JEA 82 (1996), 145-65, 152 n. (v) and 160.

The rendering of Raymond O. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Text (Oxford, 1969), 6, as "gone forth to" is in correct. As already seen by Fr. W. von Bissing, "Zur Geschichte der Libationsformeln," RT 23 (1901), 38-47, 39 (similarly for a relative date based upon this difference.

Leclant has since noted that it "ne s'applique pas necessairement a un defunt; son emploi pour un vivant ne se borner pas au Nouvel Empire," and wish that realization it becomes difficult to argue for a relative date based upon this difference.

The rendering of Raymond O. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Text (Oxford, 1969), 6, as "gone forth to" is in correct. As already seen by Fr. W. von Bissing, "Zur Geschichte der Libationsformeln," RT 23 (1901), 38-47, 39 (similarly for a relative date based upon this difference.

The rendering of Raymond O. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Text (Oxford, 1969), 6, as "gone forth to" is in correct. As already seen by Fr. W. von Bissing, "Zur Geschichte der Libationsformeln," RT 23 (1901), 38-47, 39 (similarly for a relative date based upon this difference.
a formula subject to wide variation from its Old Kingdom ancestor, a phenomenon studied by von Bissing a century ago. The following example, on CG 2515c, comes from the Ptolemaic Period when it was quite popular: "Let me give you this libation, which went forth from your son, which went forth from Horus." Within the broader historical context, the new table of Shepenwepet is a part of a long tradition of including Pyramid Texts utterances on offering tables. It is an appropriation of cultural identity already evident with the Pyramid Texts covering the interior walls of the chapel of Shepenwepet's predecessor, Amenirdis. It is an appropriation evident in the scenes decorating the innermost room of Amenirdis's chapel. The formulation of mortuary service, both for the style of their rendering, could have been taken from an Old Kingdom mortuary chapel. Precisely the same scenes of mortuary service are employed by Shepenwepet II in her own chapel. In adopting their


52 Kamal, Tabls d'offrandes, 135, with pl. 93 d-7; see 01 Negatives 3924 and 3925.

53 Nelson designation MH B 75 and 78, publication attested also in the Middle Kingdom, e.g., at Aylward M. Blackman, The Rock Tombs of Meir, Parts II and III (London, 1915), pls. 6-8, and in the New Kingdom, e.g., at Medinet Habu in the Small Temple, at Nelson designation MH M 175 and 78, publication currently in preparation by the Epigraphic Survey.

54 Nelson designation MH C 21 and 215, as yet unpublished; see 01 Negatives 5924 and 7927.
tokens richly charged with evocation of the past, Shepenwepet, Amenirdis, Wdjbaretan, and Montuemhat were all making themselves a part of that tradition.

It is within this context of tradition that the newly recovered table sits. And it was a tradition whose continuity was not factitious.61 Undoubtedly, the following Dynasty 26 is an "age of archaisms par excellence," and certainly some evidence of this trend may be detected already in Dynasty 25,62 and even before then, with Kitchin, in the nature of the formal names of Qau on and Shoshenq V, about a century before the Saite,63 But as for the use of Pyramid Texts in the Late Period, Assmann rightly argues that it represents less a case of a revival of a dead textual tradition and more a case of certain texts in continual use from the Old Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period.64

In fact, Pyramid Texts were attested in all periods from the Old Kingdom on, though of course more frequently in some periods than in others.65 For example, there are about forty-six individual Pyramid Texts attested in part or whole from the New Kingdom,66 compared to about four hundred from the Late Period.67 While the strikingly greater frequency of attenuation in the Late Period should be interpreted as the result of an archaizing motive, leading to a greater interest in displaying them in durable media, it would be incorrect to say that the corpus of literature and the rites represented in

61 A largely factitious continuity being one of the characteristics of a non-genuine or "invented" tradition; see Eric Hobs­

62 Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period, 349-50 (§309), from which the quotation is taken.

63 Kitchen, "The Third Intermediate Period," 349-50 (§309), from which the quotation is taken.


65 See Massimo Patane, "Au sujet des Textes des Pyramides les plus frequents a la Basse Epoque," BSEG 16 (1992), 65-67, 65,

66 Without considering resonant statements in the Opening of the Mouth and in temple ritual texts, and excepting short

67 See Jan Assmann, "Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies," in Israelit-Groll, ed., Studies in Egyptology, vol. 1, 67-70, 69 with reference at n. 16, where it is suggested that the attestation of PT 902 in the New Kingdom "indicates that the Egyptians had knowledge of and access to their own religious literature reaching back many centuries." Assmann and Silverman are exceptions, as there seems to be a tendency to characterize the attestation of PT in the Late Period as part of a broader, archaizing pattern, encountered as, e.g., Klaus Koch, Geschichte des ägyptischen Dichtens (Stuttgart, 1985), 635. It is a conception of venerable pedigrees going back at least as far as Georg Moller, "Liber in einem spätkoptischen Papirus des Berliner Museum erhalten Pyramidentexte (Berlin, 1990), 6, with an extreme variation of this notion at James H. Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt (New York, 1912), 294 with n. 1, 498. "While a few scanty fragments of the Pyramid Texts have survived in the Book of the Dead, it may nevertheless be said that they have almost disappeared," adding, "Late, especially in the Nubian age, they were revived"—an unfortunate statement that continues to appear in expanded paraphrase, as at T. G. E. James, A Short History of Ancient Egypt from Predynastic to Roman Times (Cairo, 1958), 138 in Dynasty 25, "Temples and tomb reliefs of earlier times were copied, as were the religious texts found in the ancient tombs, including those adaptations of the Pyramid Texts, otherwise found only in the royal sepulchres of the Old Kingdom."
it had previously fallen out of use. Besides the simple fact that Pyramid Texts are attested in the New Kingdom, it may be observed that fully one quarter of those attested in the Late Period—109 of them—are the recitations for the rites specified in a type of offering list repeatedly attested in the New Kingdom. This correspondence provides ground for one to believe that these 109 Pyramid Texts were indeed known in the New Kingdom, and to go on to conclude that it is only an accident of preservation that no full copies of them survive from that period. PT 44, on our newly recovered table, is one of these 109 texts. In light of these things, it would be difficult to see its attestation in Dynasty 25 as evidence of a revival of a dead textual tradition. Rather, it is easier to say that it constitutes the surviving written expression of something in the continuous possession of the society that authored it. Its use by Shepenwepet was an appropriation of tradition, but it was through the appropriation that the tradition was kept alive.

Transliteration and Translation of the New Table (right to left): 72

\[\text{Transliteration and Translation of the New Table (right to left): 72}\

\[\text{Transliteration and Translation of the New Table (right to left): 72}\

O Osiris the God's Wife Pure of Hands in Karnak, God's Hand Shepenwepet, King's Daughter of True of Voice, Re who is in the sky is satisfied with you, 74

68 For the following references, see Allen, Resemblances, 61-102: from TT 33, PT 23, 25, 32, 43-53, 72-79, 81-96, 108-71; from Khonsuhatu, PT 54; from Psamtik, PT 35; from Pediniese, PT 107.

69 See above n. 54.

70 The "Typ A bzw. A/B" list, shown as appearing in seven sources in Barta, Opferliste, 162-63.

71 The list correlate of PT 44 appears at, e.g., Davies and Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet, pL 18 (pl. 19, in the tenth box from the right).

72 For a translation of the previously known table, Shl, see Barguet et al., "Les tables d'offrandes," 507.

73 Compare Shl for new Men, it act nsw and Wolf, iat nsw. Observe that in all but one case, r receives plural strokes, and that in all but one case, it is inflected as a feminine, and is consequently not in gender-number accord with \(\text{rj.nw} \). The interpretation of it on two of the offering tables, though ordinarily adversative with it (and therefore worthy of note by Barguet et al., "Les tables d'offrandes," 495 n. 1) is clarified by Shl's n.

74 The orthography is unusual, but the meaning is certain; see the following note.

75 See two other, contemporary tables from TT 34 also bearing this clause, at Barguet et al., "Les tables d'offrandes," 497 n. 2 and pls. 4 and 5.

76 As a substantive name of Re, the phrase \(\text{ImU} \) nsw occurs also at Pyr. 37b, as seen by the translation of James P. Allen, The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts (Malibu, 1984), §54 A.1. As an epithet of \(\text{r} \), it continues to appear in later religious texts, e.g., CT I 154 and I 56f. cf. VI 172b. it introduces the same attribution in association with Thoth and the Elder Horus in the Coffin Texts, at CT VII 380b: \(\text{tw} \) nsw m nsw \(\text{r} \) (as \("\text{this is the Moon, Thoth who is in the sky} \)" and CT VII 476b: \("\text{This is Horus the Elder who is in all of this sky of the sky} \)."
him making the Two Ladies satisfied29 with you; and the night is satisfied with you, and the day28 is satisfied with you;

The offering42 be yours; the46 offering given of the king is what is ever performed toward you—O Osiris the God’s Wife of Amun, Mistress of All the Women, her mother the God’s Hand Amen-itis True of Voice—

and is what is brought to you;44

29 lip = “be satisfied with, because of” frequently appears in the PT, as at Pyr. 1b, 105c, 611a, 638a, 708b, 1088c, and 1088c, and in later monitory texts, as at CT 1.57b, 1.77a, and 1.77b, and appears with this meaning even later, in the Ptolemaic Period (see Wb iii 189.1: “nurtrühen sein mit entw.”). lip and slop in the context of ritual can refer to the state brought about through ritual performance. See e.g., Pyr. 59c: m·n=k ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t “Take the eye of Horus! Be satisfied with it!” toward two-broad-bouffant offerings; Pyr. 806b: slop ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t “Let Horus satisfy you with the offering that is in him”; and Pyr. 1162d: slop ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t “May you be made satisfied by the hand of Re.”

32 Besides the discussion in the following note, cf. the personage called btp-sorr-s “As she is satisfied, so does she protect” at CT IV 2567a and IV 2801b, where, in Saq4k and MSTC respectively, the name is determined with a coena-suffix.

34 With the reference to ir.t in the preceding statement and the pairing of gen and knb, one may see an allusion to the bene
theft’s being conceived and born. For the conception of day and night, birth and conception, and the two diadems, see Pyr. 714a-b (T.): “Let Teti pass the night, being conceived and born every day!”; see also Pyr. 132a and 698d. Ultimately day and night are conceived by day, present yourselves (lit. be long) and bear him, the one who is in his egg!” (Cr. exemplar P. at Pierre·Croisiau, Le texte de la pyramide de Ppy F. 2, 749 [PA/E 8].) which replaces m·n=k “a birth at night” with m·n=k “O two who give birth at night!” The lady who are to bear the beneficiaries understood as me by the two diadem goddesses, since especially Nekhbet elsewhere performs the role of conceiving and bearing; see Pyr. 569a (sim. 569b): Ir. ws ir.t m·n=k “The val

35 (i.e., Nekhbet) is pregnant (with) Meren in the night sky”, and Pyr. 1570c: ... m·n=k ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t m·n=k m·n=k ... “she who is to bear the offering given of the king is what is ever performed toward you—in the context of ritual can refer to the state brought about through ritual performance. See e.g., Pyr. 729b and 2003a, through the epithet h.t-ht-ht “She who is resident in Nekheb,” and 1566a, through the epithet h.t-ht-ht “long of planets,” the identity of the Great Wild Cow with Nekhbet is noted by Helmut Bonnet, Studien zum ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1952), 57a. For both diadems giving birth, see Pyr. 1425c-1427a: “She who is resident in Nekheb,” and 1566a, through the epithet h.t-ht-ht “long of planets,” the identity of the Great Wild Cow with Nekhbet is noted by Helmut Bonnet, Studien zum ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1952), 57a. For both diadems giving birth, see Pyr. 1425c-1427a: “The females (i.e., Nekhbet) and their male counterparts (i.e., Meren) are the two diadem goddesses, the Two Ladies of this land .... They indeed gave birth to Pepi for themselves,” as well as Pyr. 1718b (sim. 1804a and 1804c): m·n=k ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t ir.t “The two daughters of the king of Lower Egypt, who are upon the person of the women’s crown (i.e., who are the diadems), bear you”; see also Pyr. 198c for the beneficiary’s being born by m·n=k “O two who give birth at night!” The closest association of conception and birth, day and night is attested outside of Pyr. 714a-b; see Pyr. 705c: “The Cobra Goddess of Ancient Egypt by Sally B. Johnson, Reallexikon tier iigyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1911), 10, 4, for the identity of the Great Wild Cow with Nekhbet is noted by Helmut Bonnet, Studien zum ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1952), 57a. For both diadems giving birth, see Pyr. 1425c-1427a: “She who is resident in Nekheb,” and 1566a, through the epithet h.t-ht-ht “long of planets,” the identity of the Great Wild Cow with Nekhbet is noted by Helmut Bonnet, Studien zum ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1952), 57a. For both diadems giving birth, see Pyr. 1425c-1427a: “Let Horus satisfy you with the offering that is with him”; and Pyr. 1116d: “May you be made satisfied by the hand of Re.”
the offering is what you see, and is what is brought to you;
the offering is what you hear, and is what is brought to you;

[III]
the offering is what is with you, without cease concerning you, for ever!

The Epigraphic Survey
Luxor, Egypt

The notion of seeing offerings occurs also in Ppr. 818b, though there with the instead of EMPL and sth. is what you see. The notion of seeing offerings occurs also in Ppr. 818a-b, though there with sth. instead of EMPL and sth. is what you see. The combination of EMPL and sth. constituting an act of witnessing occurs also in Ppr. 407b-c (sim. 1976a-b): "Arise and see this; arise and hear this, which your son did for you, which Horus did for you". See also Ppr. 35b and 979a, though there it is the beneficiary who is being seen and heard.

On a note, see RAY SHERF's interpretation of this phrase in his excavation report: "Arise and see this, which your son did for you, which Horus did for you". See also Ppr. 53b and 979a, though there it is the beneficiary who is being seen and heard.

85 A substantive in N., Nt., and S., with "what you see." The notion of seeing offerings occurs also in Ppr. 818b, though there with "what you see" instead of "what you see in what you see." The notion of seeing offerings occurs also in Ppr. 818a-b, though there with "see this offering, which the king made for you, which Khemimemiu made for you." For sth. as "reversion-offering," see Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente, fig. 1, 911 (sim. 1976a-b): "Arise and see this reversion-offering, which the king made for you, which Khemimemiu made for you." For sth. as "reversion-offering," see also Ppr. 1007a-b (sim. 1976a-b): "Arise and see this, which your son did for you, which Horus did for you." See also Ppr. 35b and 979a, though there it is the beneficiary who is being seen and heard.

86 This statement reveals the aural dimension of ritual, since the offering is not only seen but heard; it therefore includes the words recited during the presentation of a physical object, the thing that is seen. The combination of EMPL and sth. constituting an act of witnessing occurs also in Ppr. 407b-c (sim. 1976a-b): "Arise and see this; arise and hear this, which your son did for you, which Horus did for you". See also Ppr. 53b and 979a, though there it is the beneficiary who is being seen and heard.

87 Attributable in N., Nt., and S., with "what is with you." The notion of seeing offerings occurs also in Ppr. 818b, though there with "what you see." The notion of seeing offerings occurs also in Ppr. 818a-b, though there with "see this offering, which the king made for you, which Khemimemiu made for you." For sth. as "reversion-offering," see Goedicke, Königliche Dokumente, fig. 1, 911 (sim. 1976a-b): "Arise and see this reversion-offering, which the king made for you, which Khemimemiu made for you." For sth. as "reversion-offering," see also Ppr. 1007a-b (sim. 1976a-b): "Arise and see this, which your son did for you, which Horus did for you." See also Ppr. 35b and 979a, though there it is the beneficiary who is being seen and heard.

88 On a note, see RAY SHERF's interpretation of this phrase in his excavation report: "Arise and see this, which your son did for you, which Horus did for you". See also Ppr. 53b and 979a, though there it is the beneficiary who is being seen and heard.