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Ramadan B. Hussein

# The Texts on the Coffin
# of *Ppy-im3* from Naga ed-Dêr

Translation and Annotation

Edited by Susanne Beck

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# Content

# Foreword

The painted and inscribed coffin of *Ppy-ỉmꜣ* was published in Edward Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr in the First Intermediate Period*, Boston, 2018, 315–322, figs. 11.13–11.15. The inside of the coffin is painted with food offerings and object friezes. On all four inner sides of the coffin is a horizonal band of polychrome hieroglyphs containing funerary prayers across the top of the coffin. A false door appears on the head end of the coffin and granaries on the foot end. In addition, there are two panels of texts on the front side of the coffin, the first containing Pyramid Texts and the second Coffin Texts. On the back side of the coffin, there are three panels all containing Coffin Texts. Finally, above the other decoration at the very top of the sides are margin inscriptions containing several Coffin Texts spells written in cursive hieroglyphs including a number of unparalleled spells.

Brovarski translates the funerary prayers written in bands across the top of the interior of the coffin as well as those in horizontal and vertical bands on its exterior front and back end, but made no attempt to translate the Pyramid or Coffin Texts.

Ramadan Badry Hussein has remedied this lack with translations of both Pyramid and Coffin Texts accompanied by an exhaustive commentary. He furthermore translates and comments the extensive offering list in the third panel on the front side of the coffin.

The Pyramid Texts on *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin include a series of thematically related spells (PT 25, PT 32, PT 34, and PT 36) that were traditionally integrated into the texts on the northern walls of the Old Kingdom royal burial chambers. However, their order on *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin deviates from the commonly followed order used in the royal pyramids. Moreover, they differ epigraphically and palaeographically from the parallels in both the Old Kingdom pyramids and the Middle Kingdom coffins. Hussein places the orthography of *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin in a transitional stage between the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom orthographies pertaining to the selection of spells.

Hussein remarks (pp. 2–3) that less attention has been paid by Brovarski to the study of religion at Naga-ed-Dêr probably because there are only a few scattered indications for the religious system on the Naga ed-Dêr stelae. Thus, *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin is a very valuable source that sheds light on the Coffin Texts and religion at Naga-ed-Dêr.

A surprising reference to *Mwt nt Wꜣst* appears in an unparalleled spell on the margin of the backside of the coffin. Hussein concludes it shows a possible Theban political and/or religious influence over Naga-ed-Dêr during the First Intermediate Period. Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr*, 456 assigns the coffin of *Ppy-ỉmꜣ* to the Polychrome steles group of the third generation of 9th Dynasty. The owner of a Polychrome Group stele asserts that "I was a citizen skilled in battle," a boast that William C. Hayes 1978, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 1: *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge (MA), 139 thought might reflect participation in warfare with nomes to the south. The remarkable occurrence of the Theban goddess on *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin confirms the contemporaneity of the stele group and coffin.

Ramadan Badry Hussein was one of a number of young Egyptians sent abroad by Dr. Zahi Hawass, then Minister of Egyptian Antiquities, to places as diverse as Providence, Prague, and Warsaw. In his case, Ramadan matriculated at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, and the Department of Egyptology. As Adjunct Professor of Egyptian Archaeology, it was my privilege to have Ramadan as a student in my seminar on the First Intermediate Period. On a more personal note, I was best man at Ramadan's wedding to Angela Murock Hussein.

Subsequently, Ramadan was part of the Cairo University-Brown University Expedition to the Abu Bakr Cemetery in the far northwestern part of the Giza Necropolis, first as epigrapher (2003) and then assistant director (2004–2005). Prof. Dr. Tohfa Handoussa represented Cairo University as co-director and I served as co-director of the Brown University component. His input to the success of the expedition was significant.

It is a source of great personal gratification that Dr. Susanne Beck who, after the tragic death of Ramadan, is responsible for the Saqqara mission, is working on the publication of Ramadan's master thesis which will be published in his name in the series *Studien zu altägyptischen Totentexten*.

October 2023
Edward Brovarski

## Editor's Preface

The book "The Texts of the coffin of *Ppy-imꜣ* from Naga ed-Dêr: Translation and Annotation" was submitted by Ramadan B. Hussein as masther thesis at Brown University in 2004. Ramadan sadly passed away in March 2022. He planed to publish his master thesis, but was not able to finish this endeavor. To honor his scientific work, "The Texts of the coffin of *Ppy-imꜣ* from Naga ed-Dêr: Translation and Annotation" were prepared for the publication in the series *Studien zu altägyptischen Totentexten*.

For the publication, the text was slightly edited—few typos and inconsistencies in citations were amended—but kept as far as possible in the original version. More recent publications were not included except for Edward Brovarski, *Naga ed-Dêr in the First Intermediate Period*, Boston, 2018 and Ramadan B. Hussein, "A New Coffin Text Spell from Naga ed-Dêr", in *Egypt and Beyond. Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon his Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University June 2005*, ed. by Stephen E. Thompson, and Peter Der Manuelian, Providence, 2008, 171–195.

For typesetting reasons, hieroglyphs that originally appeared in columns have partially been converted into lines, which is indicated by "in columns" added in parentheses afterwards. Furthermore, the transliteration, translation and commentary for chapter 2.5 The Inscription of the Exterior of the Front Side, 3.10 The Inscription of the Exterior of the Back Side, 4.1 The Inscriptions on the Margin of the Head Side and chapter 4.3 The Inscriptions on the Margin of the Foot Side as well as the offering formulae of the front and the back side (chapter 2.1 and 3.1) were added for the publication. Additionally, the manuscript was extended by a bibliography, a glossary of the Egyptian words of *Ppy-imꜣ*'s coffin, which was prepared by Carmen Rac, indices and plates with hieroglyphs and pictures of the coffin. Furthermore, the hieroglyphs of the texts were added within the chapters. They were typed by Carmen Rac and collated and layouted by the editor.

My graditudes goes to Christian Leitz and Louise Gestermann for accepting Ramadan's master thesis in the *SAT*-series. They also gave helpful advice for preparing the manuscript for the publication. Furthermore, I am grateful to Peter der Manuelian, who kindly provided the drawings of the long sides of *Ppy-imꜣ*'s coffin (EG 955), and the staff of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, who took new pictures of the four sides of the coffin. Additionally, I would like to thank Carmen Rac for her help to finish the manuscript. As usual, it was a pleasure to work with Jens Fetkenheuer (Harrassowitz publisher), and last but not least, I am very grateful to Edward Brovarski, who kindly agreed to write a foreword for Ramadan's master thesis.

Ramadan, this is for you!

November 2023
Susanne Beck

# 1 Introduction

In the later months of year 1900, news came from Upper Egypt to Mr. James Edward Quibell, then the Chief Inspector of the Department of Antiquities, that illicit excavations were being conducted near the village of Naga ed-Dêr for the profit of a rich man of the town of Girga, and that artifacts from the site were showing up on the antiquities market. Mr. Quibell immediately called this to the attention of Dr. George Andrew Reisner, who was, at the time, working at Dêr el-Ballas, south of Dendera. In October of the same year, Reisner was granted permission to dig at Naga ed-Dêr, but work did not begin until February 3rd 1901.

The excavations were conducted in three major campaigns. The first, from 1901–1905, was financed by the Hearst Expedition of the University of California. This campaign ended, when Mrs. Phoebe Hearst was no longer able to fund Reisner's excavations at Gîza and Naga ed-Dêr. A few years later, Reisner returned to Naga ed-Dêr, and work was resumed under the auspices of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Harvard University. The two institutions jointly sponsored the second and third campaigns, from 1910–1912, and from 1923–1924 respectively.

Reisner's campaigns triggered interest among scholars in the material culture of Naga ed-Dêr, particularly the First Intermediate Period tombs and stelae. While only three decorated Naga ed-Dêr rock-cut tombs were studied by Caroline Nestmann Peck,[1] more attention was given to the corpus of stelae. Scattered among the Museum of Cairo, the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and other major museums, the Naga ed-Dêr stelae have been extensively studied. They are widely recognized as invaluable chronological markers for the First Intermediate Period, because their artistic, stylistic, and paleographic affinities are not only discernable but also classifiable. Henry F. Lutz catalogued the Naga ed-Dêr corpus of stelae in the Phoebe Hearst Museum in 1927.[2] Ten years later Dows Dunham published 75 more stelae,[3] and in late 1980s, Edward Brovarski completed his meticulous iconographic and paleographic analyses of the Naga ed-Dêr stelae and other epigraphic material. He not only studied the artistic tradition of Naga ed-Dêr, but also compared it to the traditions of other First Intermediate Period cemeteries especially Dendera and Gebelein, defining several dating criteria.[4]

Several other studies focused on the 9th Dynasty stelae from Naga ed-Dêr and other cemeteries, like Dendera, Thebes, and Gebelien, for their decisive chronological features. They were classified to a number of groups, on bases of similarities in style, iconography, paleography, and philology. The first of these groups was identified by Jacques Vandier in 1937, and three more groups were added to the classification by Jean Clère, Wolfgang Schenkel and Henry Fischer. These groups were designated Red, Blue, Polychrome, and Green, based on the coloration of the hieroglyphs of the stelae. Concluding his iconographic and paleographic analyses of the Naga ed-Dêr stelae, Brovarski theorized that the Red, Blue, Polychrome, and Green Groups, in this order, were not concurrently used, but rather succeeded one another, with every group representing one generation during the 9th Dynasty.

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1  Caroline Nestmann Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Dêr*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation submitted to the Egyptology Department at Brown University, Providence, 1958.

2  Henry F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Stelae and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California*, Leipzig, 1927.

3  Dows Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*, Oxford, 1937.

4  Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, passim.

In addition to the corpus of stelae, Reisner's campaigns at Naga ed-Dêr yielded about 35 painted wooden coffins, dating to the First Intermediate Period. Their decorations and inscribed funerary prayers exhibit striking similarities with the stelae both in iconography and in paleography, suggesting that the coffins and stelae were produced in the same workshop, where craftsmen followed the canons of a provincial school of art. Such a local school represented a wider tradition and evidently covered the southern part of Upper Egypt during the Heracleopolitan Period. Its characteristics are recognizable in stelae and reliefs from Dendera, Thebes, and Gebelein.

Nevertheless, these stelae and coffins are less recognized as sources for the study of the religious tradition at Naga ed-Dêr. Although they bear indications for the religious system in Naga ed-Dêr. For example, *Ppy-im3*'s coffin represents a valuable source that sheds light on a new Coffin Texts tradition from Upper Egypt.[5] This coffin was included in Edward Brovarski's iconographic and paleographic analysis of Naga ed-Dêr epigraphic materials.[6] He also translated the hieroglyphic bands on the exterior and the *ḥtp-di-nswt* formulae on the interior. In his report on the coffin, Brovarski was helped by James P. Allen and David Silverman, who identified the texts on the front side only. Thus, the stylistic analyses do not fall inside the perimeters of our research. It is our purpose however to identify, translate, and comment on the religious texts on the coffin. The research will also concern itself with comparing *Ppy-im3*'s texts to other parallels. This would help us to identify the characteristics of the Coffin Texts tradition at Naga ed-Dêr, and to understand how the coffin's selections of spells were transmitted to Naga ed-Dêr.

## 1.1 The Date of the Coffin

The coffin of the treasurer and mayor *Ppy-im3*, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was found by George Andrew Reisner in tomb N 4003 at Naga ed-Dêr during one of his later campaigns that were funded by Harvard University and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Very little is known from Reisner's field notes about the archaeological context of *Ppy-im3*'s coffin. Tomb N 4003 is a rock-cut tomb, consisting mainly of a large room with an irregular form. Its walls were, however, well-cut into the rocks of the *gebel*. A pit, leading to the chamber where the coffin was found, was roughly cut into the floor. The mummy was found equipped with a long spear and a small wooden box.[7] The archaeological context of N 4003 evidently underwent some alterations in later periods as Reisner found fragments of another coffin and two small jars in an intrusive chamber above N 4003.

The coffin is made of acacia wood and its interior measurers 192 cm. in length by 30 cm. in width, and 43 cm. in height.[8] The exteriors of the coffin's sides are inscribed at the top with two horizontal hieroglyphic bands. Below them, on each side, there are three vertical hieroglyphic columns or "Text Columns", to borrow Harco Willems terminology.[9] The texts of the bands and the columns are very simple, comprising the traditional *ḥtp-di-nswt* formula and

5  Prof. Brovarski has in fact provided me with a photograph of a fragment of another Naga ed-Dêr coffin (N 361) that has *Coffin Texts* written in cursive hieroglyphs.

6  Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, 645–672.

7  I would like to thank Dr. Rita Freed, Curator of the Department of the Art of the Ancient World at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for providing me with Xerox of Reisner's field notes on tomb N 4003.

8  The measurements are after Edward Brovarski (see, Edward Brovarski, *Inscribed Material,* 645–672).

9  Harco Willems, *The Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of the Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins,* MVEOL 25*,* Leiden 1988, 136.

*Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s titles. In addition, the exterior of the front side is painted, near the head end, with two black *wḏꜣt* eyes with white irises.

In addition to the texts on the front and the back sides, there are two lines of cursive hieroglyphs on the margins of the coffin, written in red and black ink, one line being wholly in red and the other in black. Those of the margin of the back side comprise an unparalleled spell, while those of the other margins are CT 488–500.

Although the coffin was discovered in the mid 1920s, its texts remained unstudied for a long time, and were not incorporated in the Coffin Texts Project volumes by Adriaan De Buck, or in the Project's most recent volume (volume VIII) by James P. Allen, *Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts*.[10] Nor were *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s texts included in the cross-indexes and enumerations of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts by T. G. Allen and Leonard Lesko, respectively. The texts on *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin, in fact, bring new impetus to the ongoing debate over the earliest occurrence of the Coffin Texts. I would like here to highlight some dating criteria pertaining to the coffin

First a brief survey of the scholarship dealing with the problem is worth mentioning. In 1962, Wolfgang Schenkel suggested in his *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* that the earliest Coffin Texts appeared no earlier than the end of the 11th Dynasty after the reunification of Egypt by Mentuhotep II, and that Queen *ꜥꜣšyt*'s Coffin Texts (T3C) are the oldest that can be dated with certainty.[11] However, scholars reacted variously to Schenkel's theory. Harco Willems argued in favor of Schenkel's late date of the Coffin Texts, stating that the most clearly datable Coffin Texts documents belong to the Middle Kingdom, although admitting that Coffin Texts appeared at the very end of the First Intermediate Period on Saqqara coffins belonging to officials served the funerary cult of king *Mry-kꜣ-Rꜥ* of the 10th Dynasty.[12] On the other hand, Herny G. Fischer contested the late date and stated that Coffin Texts already occurred during the Heracleopolitan Period, referring to the texts on the walls of the burial chamber of *Bb* at Dendera.[13] He also suggested that the appearance of the Coffin Texts tradition must have coincided with the practice of borrowing/usurping royal prerogatives such as the Osiris epithet and excerpts from the Pyramid Texts during the Heracleopolitan Period. In this respect, he drew attention to the fact that, the official *Ỉw.f-n-mwt.f* of the late 6th Dynasty was referred to as "The Osiris *Ỉw.f-n-mwt.f*" in the inscriptions of his false door from Saqqara.[14] Also, the burial chamber of *Mn-ꜥnḫ-Ppy* at Dendera is inscribed with PT 72–78. Fischer assigned *Mn-ꜥnḫ-Ppy*'s inscriptions to the Heracleopolitan Period.[15]

Besides, the bedstead of *Ny-ꜥnḫ-Ppy*'s coffin, found in his tomb at Saqqara, is inscribed with Coffin Texts spells.[16] *Ny-ꜥnḫ-Ppy*'s texts utilize the writing 𓏤𓀀 for the 1st person singular pronoun and 𓂸𓀀 for the independent pronoun, both of which occurred for the first time in the pyramid of king of Ibi of the 8th Dynasty.[17] On account of this orthography, *Ny-ꜥnḫ-Ppy*'s coffin was dated to the First Intermediate Period.[18]

10 James P. Allen, *Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts: the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VIII, OIP. 132, Chicago 2006.

11 Wolfgang Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, Bonner Orientalische Studien, Bonn 1962, 123.

12 Willems, *Chests of Life*, 244–245.

13 Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Glückstadt 1968, 182–183.

14 Henry G. Fischer, "A Stela of the Heracleopolitan Period at Saqqara: the Osiris *Ỉti*", *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 35–41.

15 W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Dendereh*, London, 1900, pl. 3; and Fischer, *Dendera*, 88.

16 Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1937–1938,* vol. II (Cairo 1975): 1–27.

17 Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, AnOr 34 and 39 (Rome 1955 and 1964): §§ 160, 173.

18 Henry G. Fischer, "Reviews: Excavations at Saqqara, 1937–1938 by Selim Hassan and Zaky Iskander", *JEA* 65 (1979), 179–180; Oesing, "Sprüche gegen die *Jbhꜣtj*-Schlange" in *MDAIK* 43 (1986), 205–210; and Günter

Moreover, an even earlier date, prior to the Heracleopolitan Period, is assigned to the Coffin Texts in light of Michel Valloggia's discovery of small fragments of a linen mummy shroud in the late 6th Dynasty tomb of *Mdw-nfr* at Balat.[19] They bear words and passages, in hieratic, from the Coffin Texts. These linen fragments are still, however, under scrutiny and have not yet proven to be incontestable evidence for a late 6th Dynasty date for the Coffin Texts.

In any case, the appearance of the Coffin Texts tradition may possibly be part of the sociopolitical changes, which the Egyptian society witnessed at the end of the 6th Dynasty and during the First Intermediate Period.

Now to return to *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin. The coffin bears, in fact, several criteria that date it with great certainty to the Heracleopolitan Period. It shares many iconographical and paleographical features with the Polychrome Group stelae and coffins of the late 11th Dynasty.

From the point of view of the decoration layout, the arrangement of the scenes and the texts on the coffin's interiors deviates from the main types of arrangements attested on the Middle Kingdom "Standard Coffins".[20] In addition, in *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin, the disposition of the false door on the head end and the granary scene on the foot end does not conform to their traditional position on the "Standard Coffins",[21] where the false door is always on the front side opposite the face of the deceased, and the granary scene on the foot end.[22]

Equally indicative is the genre of the texts, inscribed in the "Text Columns", on the exterior of the front and back sides. They represent the traditional *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* formula (pl. 1), unlike the genre of the "Standard Coffins", which customarily include a "Standard Formulation" composed of Nut spells, utterances by the Four Sons of Horus, Geb, Shu, Isis, and Nephthys.[23] In the "Standard Formulation", the deceased's designation *ỉmꜣḥw/y* assumes the abbreviated form 𓏞, or 𓏞 in the 11th Dynasty and usually during the reign of King *S-n-wsrt* I.[24] *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s texts, on the other hand, exhibit an older and fuller form 𓏞, which is attested along with shorter forms like 𓏞 and 𓏞 in the 9th Dynasty Red and Polychrome Group stelae.[25] Nevertheless, according to Schenkel's observation, the sound change *w > y* does not occur until the time of king *Mry-kꜣ-rꜥ* in Asyut and the year 14 of king Mentuhotep II in Thebes.[26] There is no doubt that *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin was inscribed before the standardization of the genre of the "Text Columns" in the Middle Kingdom.

Iconographically, the specific forms of the offerings represented on the interior of the front side are widely attested on the Naga ed-Dêr "Polychrome Group" stelae that date to the Heracleopolitan Period. This holds true for the small sealed wine jars, placed on a small table.[27] Also, the two tall wine jars, each on a ring-stand and ornamented with three lotus blossoms, occur on the polychrome stelae of *ꜣn-ḥrt-nḫt* and *Ḥtpỉ* from Naga ed-Dêr.[28] In the same manner, the three baskets, with their distinctive wickerwork, are identical to the basket

Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie*, in SAGA 7, Heidelberg 1993, 35.

19  Michel Valloggia, *La mastaba de Medu-nefer: Balat* I, Cairo, 1986, 74–75.

20  Willems, *Chests of Life*, 179–185.

21  Verbal communication with Prof. Edward Brovarski.

22  Willems, *Chests of Life*, 182–185.

23  Willems, *Chests of Life*, 135–136.

24  C. J. C. Bennett, "Growth of *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* Formula in the Middle Kingdom", *JEA* 27 (1941), 77–82.

25  Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, 213.

26  Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien,* 51, 59.

27  For a complete list of the occurrences of these wine jars on the Polychrome Group stelae, see Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, 200–201, fig. 11.

28  Cf. Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 42, 73; also Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, fig. 13.

attested on the stela of *Šd-mwt.f*, which dates to the 9th Dynasty.[29] More significantly, the offerings are merely piled up and the offering table, which is characteristic of the offerings panel on the Middle Kingdom "Standard Coffins", is absent in *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s iconography.

As far as the paleography of the coffin is concerned, there are features that are indicative of a Heracleopolitan date, significant among which is the *wꜥb* ligature 𓎿. Its hieroglyphic form 𓎿 appears as well in the inscription of *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s small "natron box". It is written with a seated man and the water flowing behind him. However, there is no clear indication of a water jar over the man's head. This contrasts with the customary writing 𓎿 of the Old Kingdom, which shows the water flowing over his hands. In fact, the form of *wꜥb* adopted in *Ppy-ỉmꜣ*'s coffin is first attested in the Coptos Decrees,[30] and later became more frequent during the Heracleopolitan Period. Henry G. Fischer pointed out that the sign assumed two similar forms at Gebelein, each of which has the water flowing down at the back.[31] The first 𓎿 is attested in the stela of *Nnw* (?),[32] and the second 𓎿 appears on the stela of *Ỉnỉ-ỉḳr*.[33] Slightly different forms, where the seated man holds a vessel from which the water flows at the back, occur on monuments from Thebes, dating to the 10th–11th Dynasty. These are 𓎿 on CG 20011[34] and 𓎿 on the sarcophagus of queen *ꜥšꜣyt*.[35] Other examples, probably a little earlier than the Theban ones, came from Naga ed-Dêr, where the sign assumes the form 𓎿 on the stela of *Rwḏ-m-ḫbḥ* and the form 𓎿 on the stela of *Ỉzr*.[36] Like the Gebelein examples, the Naga ed-Dêr forms do not show the water jar but rather render the water flowing at the back. Edward Brovarski also cited more or less identical forms occurring on two 11th Dynasty coffins from Asyut.[37] He concluded that this writing is characteristic of the 10th–11th Dynasty and represents a transitional form toward 𓎿 which regularly occurs in the 12th Dynasty.[38]

It should be noted, however, that the forms 𓎿 and 𓎿 appear together on Queen *ꜥšꜣyt*'s sarcophagus,[39] and that *wꜥb*, with the water flowing down at the back, is not attested, as far as I know, on monuments later than the time of Queen *ꜥšꜣyt*, whose sarcophagus Herny G. Fischer dates to the pre-unification era of the 11th Dynasty (or before year 39 of Mentuhotep II's reign), on the ground that the decoration of her chapel exhibits the provincial style of art, which was common in the southern nomes of Upper Egypt before the Thebans fell heirs to the Memphite school of Art. Also, the inscriptions of the chapel mention Mentuhotep II's pre-unification

29 J. J. Clère, "La stéle d'un commissaire de police (*mr-šnt*) de la première période intermédiaire", *RdE* 7 (1950), 19–32; also Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, 601.

30 *Urk*. I, 287:17, and 292:6. This writing occurs also on late 6th Dynasty monuments from Dendera (the tomb of *Mnỉ*, and two lintels), and is also attested in Moalla during the Late Old Kingdom Period (6th–8th Dynasties) (see, Fischer, *Dendera*, 88, fig. 23).

31 Henry G. Fischer, "The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period," in *Kush* 9 (1961), 80.

32 Cf. the stela of *Nnw* (?) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 03.1848), and the stela Turin suppl. 1270.

33 Cf. the stela of *Ỉnỉ-ỉḳr* (Leiden F 193811.6).

34 J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la Xiéme dynastie*, BAe 10, Bruxelles, 1948, 4.

35 Ibid., 25.

36 Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, pl. 29, 1–2. For the date of the two stelae, see Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, 844–845; 700–702; also idem., "A Stela of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr," *MedMus-Bul* 18 (1983), 3–11.

37 Lapp, *Särge*: 127; see also Edward Brovarski, "A coffin from Farshût in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," in *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies*: *In Memory of William A. Ward*, ed. Leonard H. Lesko, Providence, 1998, no. 157.

38 Brovarski, "A coffin from Farshût", 153–159.

39 Clère and Vandier, *Textes de la première période intermédiaire,* 25.

Horus name, *Nṯry-ḫdt*, which was replaced by Horus *Smꜣ-tꜣwy* after the reunification of the country.[40]

The hieroglyph of the reclining bull, with the forelegs bent underneath him, in the word *kꜣ* 🐂 (col. 30), appears at Naga ed-Dêr only on *Ppy-imꜣ*'s coffin. This form occurred as early as late the 6ᵗʰ Dynasty on the false door of *Kꜣ-pw-Inpw* at Saqqara.[41] As evidenced by its later forms, this writing underwent a slight change during the First Intermediate Period: it became 🐂, with one foreleg advanced. The later form is attested on monuments from Moalla, Gebelein, and Thebes,[42] the latest of which is the 11ᵗʰ Dynasty Theban stela of *Ḥnnw*.[43] As far as I know, there is no attestation of that form later than the 11ᵗʰ Dynasty.[44]

In addition, the writing of verb *ii* 𓂷 with a reed leaf on walking legs represents another dating criterion in *Ppy-imꜣ*'s coffin. An identical ideographic writing of *ii* 𓂽 was adopted at Dendera. It came for example on a limestone fragment found in the tomb of *Bb*, and in the reliefs of *Snni* and *Sn-nḏsw.i*, both of which date to the pre-unification era of the 11ᵗʰ Dynasty.[45] The contemporaneous examples from Thebes assumed the form 𓂾, which occurs on the stela of *I[n]-[it.f]-nḫn*[46] and the stela of *Ḥnnw*.[47]

Another peculiar feature is 🦩, a flamingo with its neck lowered to almost the level of its legs line, instead of the regular form 🦩. A parallel to *Ppy-imꜣ*'s writing, yet earlier in date, is 🦩, which is found on the coffin of *Ḥꜣgi* from Naga ed-Dêr, dating to the Late Old Kingdom Period (6ᵗʰ–8ᵗʰ Dynasties).[48]

The contemporaneity of *Ppy-imꜣ*'s coffin with the "Polychrome Group" stelae is, in fact, further demonstrated by several other paleographic features. For example, the scribe of the coffin adopted the peculiar writing of *špss* 𓀠—with the two arms joined together and extended—and the *ms* 𓋱 sign, both of which are widely attested in the stela of *Šd-mwt.f*.[49]

Besides, *Ppy-imꜣ*'s coffin exhibits the curious writing 𓀃 of a seated man with the arm hanging down at the side; a form that consistently replaced the regular writing 𓀁 at the end of the 6ᵗʰ Dynasty and persisted toward the 10ᵗʰ–11ᵗʰ Dynasties. Instances of the form 𓀃 were found at Elephantine (the tomb of *Sꜣbni*),[50] Dendera (*Mrri, Sn-nḏsw.i, Mry-Ptḥ*),[51] and Naga-ed-Dêr.[52] Interestingly, the regular form 𓀁 appears along with 𓀃 on the coffin.

The writing of the bilateral sign *nḥ* 𓄙 in *Ppy-imꜣ*'s texts is also of interest because, during the First Intermediate Period, the form of the *nḥ*-bird 𓅘 underwent a significant alteration. It was written with a wick 𓎛 suspended from the bird's neck. This form evidently survived

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40 Cf. Fischer's review of Schenkel's *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* in *BiOr* 23 (1966), 29–30.

41 Auguste Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire*, Paris 1889, E12.

42 For reference to these forms see, Fischer, *Kush* 9 (1961): 79; and idem., *Dendera*, 89.

43 See the stela of *Ḥnnw* in S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*, (Moscow 1982): no. 26.

44 This form recurred in the New Kingdom in Thutmosis's records of his donations to the temple of Amunre (see, *Urk*. IV. 756, 10.) and in chapter 69 of the *Book of the Dead* (see, Edward Naville, *Das Ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, (Graz 1971): ch. 69.

45 For the date of *Snni* and *Sn-nḏsw.i*, see Fischer, *Dendera*, 199, 210, fig. 43, 162, 187. See also Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 10a.

46 Hassan Selim, "An Eleventh Dynasty Stela in the Cairo Museum (Cairo Temp. 27.4.22.5)", in *MDAIK* 57 (2001): 257–269.

47 See no. 36.

48 Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, 399–417.

49 Clère, *RdÉ* 7 (1950), 19–32.

50 *Urk*. I, 139–140.

51 Fischer, *Dendera*, 80, fig. 15.

52 Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, 861. fig. 79.

well into the reign of king *Nb-ḥpt-Rꜥ*. It assumes the form 🐇 in the 9th Dynasty stela of *Ḥḳꜣ-ib* from Gebelein,[53] and the form 🐇 in the stela of *Ꜣtw-r-nḥḥ* from Girga, dating to the early the 10th Dynasty.[54] In addition, a little later form 🐇 occurs in the inscriptions of the steward *Ḫnnw*, a contemporary of king *Nb-ḥpt-Rꜥ*.[55]

Moreover, the examination of the texts as well as the offering list has yielded several distinctive linguistic and orthographical features. As far as the offering list on the coffin is concerned, it exemplifies a shortened version of Type A, according to Barta's classification of the offering lists.[56] The copyist listed 72 entries and broke off right after the wine list, leaving out several items that were characteristic of the "Type A" lists of both the Old and Middle Kingdoms. According to Barta, this arbitrary ending of the offering list is particularly common in the First Intermediate Period.[57] Moreover, *Ppy-ìmꜣ*'s offering list shows distinct discrepancies with the Middle Kingdom Type A lists, because several entries that are characteristic of the Middle Kingdom are absent from the list.

*Ppy-ìmꜣ*'s texts exhibit phonological and morphological features that are characteristic of Old and Early Middle Egyptian. This is obvious in the word 𓅓𓏤𓏏𓏏𓏲 *wnyt* "the female dead", which shows the change of the Old Egyptian feminine ending *wt* into *yt*. The latter is characteristic of the Early Middle Egyptian, as both Elmar Edel and James P. Allen concluded.[58] However, while the text uses the Middle Egyptian noun-clause marker *ntt* (col. 54,) it employs the Old Egyptian ending of the 1st person stative *kì*, as in 𓄿𓏤𓏛 *ḥꜥ.kì* (col. 55).[59]

Similarly, the style of the language demonstrates Old and Middle Egyptians traits. For example, the spell, on the margin of the back side, commences with three prospective passive *sḏm.f* sentences:

(1) *nj ṯmt ìrt r.f ìn sbyw-ꜥnḫ.sn* (col. 54)

(2) *nj mdss.f* (col. 54)

(3) *nj rdw ꜥ ḥr nḥbt.f ìn Ꜣtnw* (col. 54).

The prospective passive forms *sḏmm.f* and *sḏmw.f* (examples 2 and 3 in our spell) are common in the Pyramid Texts, and, to a lesser extent, in the Coffin Texts.[60] Yet, as Allen has observed, the passive form, *sḏmm.f*, does not occur in classical Middle Egyptian. It rather assumes a form that is similar to the active *sḏm.f*.[61] Taking these observations into consideration, we find that *Ppy-ìmꜣ*'s text utilizes the three types of the prospective passive *sḏm.f* (*sḏm.f*, *sḏmm.f*, and *sḏmw.f*). Again, the inclusion of the two older forms (*sḏmm.f* and *sḏmw.f*) and the classical Middle Egyptian prospective passive *sḏm.f* indicates that the text combines both Old and Middle Egyptian features.

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53 Hans Jacob Polotsky, "The Stela of Heka-yeb: Translated and Annotated", in *JEA* 16 (1930), 194–199.

54 Dunham, *Naga ed-Dêr Stelae*, no. 77; also Brovarski, *Inscribed Material*, 780.

55 William Hayes, "Career of the Steward Henenu under Nebheptrē Mentuhotepe", in *JEA* 35 (1949), 43–49.

56 Winfried Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste, von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Berlin 1963), 97–103.

57 Barta, *Opferliste*, 93.

58 Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §§ 691–692; Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 14; and James P. Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri*, PMMA 27, New York, 2002, 86.

59 Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 1022; and Allen, *Heqanakht*, 87.

60 James P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, BAe 2, Malibu, 1984, §§ 488, 515; and idem., *Heqanakht*, 91–92.

61 Ibid., 92.

The language of *Ppy-imꜣ*'s three *bwt*-spells, written on the front and the back sides of the coffin, is also significant. It exhibits some inconsistency with respect to the use of the negative morphemes *nj* and *nn* in negating prospective *sḏm.f* sentences. This alternation of *nj* and *nn* is obvious in four examples:

(1) *nj wnm(.i)* (col. 11)

(2) *nj wnm(.i) ḫtp-kꜣ* (col. 11)

(3) *nj ꜥḳ(.i) r.i* (col. 12)

(4) *nn wnm.i st* (col. 22).

The alternation of *nj* and *nn* in this chain of negated prospective *sḏm.f* sentences is, indeed, very instructive as to the stage to which the language of *Ppy-imꜣ*'s texts belong. Elaborating upon Edel's identification of the prospective *sḏm.f,* James Allen considered the pattern *nj* + prospective *sḏm.f* the predecessor of the classical Middle Egyptian *nn* + *sḏm.f* with future reference.[62] Another striking feature in *Ppy-imꜣ*'s language is the omission of the 1st person singular suffix pronoun in the aforementioned examples. But this is not true of the entire text as the 1st person singular suffix is actually written out several times in the text. According to this inconsistency in including the 1st person singular suffix as well as the extensive use of the pattern *nj* + prospective *sḏm.f*, it is obvious that the copyist/editor was writing in a language that is more closely affiliated with the Old Egyptian. Consequently, one may place *Ppy-imꜣ*'s language in a transitional stage between Old Egyptian and Middle Egyptian; a stage that Allen calls "Late Old Egyptian".[63]

In conclusion, the evidence considered above suggests that the coffin of *Ppy-imꜣ* can hardly belong to a period later than the re-unification of Egypt by king *Nb-ḥtp-Rꜥ* Mentuhotep II. The layout of the coffin's decoration and texts differs considerably from the Middle Kingdom "Standard Coffins". Besides, as evidenced by the coffin's decoration, there are close affinities between its iconography and the 9th Dynasty "Polychrome Group" stelae. This is particularly obvious in the representation of the small table with sealed wine jars, the two tall wine jars decorated with lotus blossoms, and the baskets. The coffin's paleography shows several features that were regularly in use in the late 9th Dynasty and the early 11th Dynasty. The style of the language represents a transitional stage toward Middle Egyptian. The clearest example of this stage is found in the language of *Ḥḳꜣ-nḫt* papyri. Taking this evidence into consideration, I believe that *Ppy-imꜣ*'s coffin belongs to the late 9th Dynasty or the early 10th Dynasty, and that it consequently speaks in favor of an intellectual movement resulting in the emergence of the Coffin Texts at the end of the First Intermediate Period.

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62 James P. Allen, "Colloquial Middle Egyptian: Some Observations on the Language of Heqa-Nakht," *LingAeg* 4 (1994), 1–12; idem., *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, § 314; and idem., *Heqanakht*, 96–100.

63 Allen considers Late Old Egyptian a conservative stage leaning toward Old Egyptianism in the respect of orthography and grammar; see Allen, *LingAeg* 4 (1994), 11.