A New Offering Table for Shepenwepet

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In its 2001-2002 field season, the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute recovered a new offering table for the God's Wife Shepenwepet from among foundation fill in one of the sanctuaries within the small temple to Amun at Medinet Habu.1 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 it and a discussion 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 it2), where a large piece was anciently broken off, and within the cartouches of the father of Shepenwepet, presumably giving the name of Prie ("Piamsy")3 prior to being attacked.4 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 ad loc foundation for the Ptolemaic granite naos that would be installed above it.5 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.6

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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), 3.
2 To follow the practice of Jacques J.-C1ere, "La table d'offrandes de l'echanson royal Sa-Renenoutet surnomme 'Echaou,'" 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 néobabyloniens de la XXVe dynastie éthiopienne, Bief St. Test (Cairo, 1963), 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 McCain.
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 Holscher’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

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7 She was adopted in the reign of Piye, in the view of Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments, 362. 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 its distance from her own chapel, Udo Holscher The Excavation of Medinet Habu—Volume VII: Post-Ramessid Remains, OAEP 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 *uakhet* 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 precinct at Tanis, as with Psusennes, Osorkon II, and others. In accord with their location within a temple 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 jutting from its *ib* shape, a very traditional shape, having its origins in offering tables with *ib*-designs as far back as the Old Kingdom. The table accordingly was meant to receive poured liquids. 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 cake jutting from its *ib*-shape.

The inscriptions in the band around the perimeter of the platter illustrate the table's cultic position: first, beginning at the right center of the far horizontal, a vocative to the beneficiary, Shepenwepet, daughter of a king, presumably Psusennes; next, Pyramid Texts utterance 44 begins on the right vertical and near right horizontal, where the ancient text gains an accretion. The inscription continues at the left center of the far horizontal with a second vocative to Shepenwepet, daughter of Amenyirdis, the utterance concluding on the left vertical and the near left horizontal, with yet another...
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 to designate her as recipient of its grace; and, not insignificantly, the first addition to the original text includes the term <it>h.t-p-di-n-y-w.t</it>, traditionally referring to mortuary service archetypically performed for the deceased by the king as quintessential cultic officiant.

Fig. 2. Platter (Photograph: Yarko Kulbolicy)

Taking the sum of its parts together, this table is an excellent example of what Leclant called the "Ethiopian type." 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 =! rather than =t; see fig. 3. The two are interchangeable in Shepenwepet’s other table, e.g. with <it>b.<it>i.p</it> =t y-w.w.; <it>b.<it>i.p</it> =! y-w.w.; 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.
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 hip-shaped platter, an arrangement of three kinds of bread, food, and two jars over an internal hip-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

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18 On this table, see G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” RT 20 (1898), 72-86, 75; Hölscher, 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 monumens, 169 (D, 17).


Asp-di-n-war formulae or other utterances (such as an extract from PT 424\(^\text{21}\)), as with a table for Shepenwepe\'s immediate predecessor the God\'s Wife Amenirdis I,\(^\text{22}\) a second table of Montuemhat,\(^\text{23}\) a table of the official Gemaset,\(^\text{24}\) and a table of Basa from Dynasty 26.\(^\text{25}\) 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."

\(^\text{21}\) Pct. 772b-774b on a contemporary table from TT34; Barguet et al., "Les tables d\'offrandes," p. 6.

\(^\text{22}\) See Ahmed Bey Kamal, Tables d\'offrandes, Catalogue Générale vols. 46-47 (Caire, 1906), 85 and pl. 21.

\(^\text{23}\) See Barguet et al., "Les tables d\'offrandes," 494-96 with pl. 3.


\(^\text{25}\) BM 367, brought to my attention by Will Schenkel. For the table, see Jan Assmann, Die Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole, AV 6 (Mainz am Rhein, 1973), 16 with fig. 7, and see 22 for the date of Basa\'s reign of Psammeticus I, following Montuemhat and Nesphrah II.
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, descriptive, and texts. 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 Grabhügel at Thebes (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 Ptolemaic temple as op bos 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 base. The unfinished state of the pedestal led Hölscher to suppose that the table was designed to be let into the floor.

But Sh2, unlike any of the other exemplars, adds the participial phrase 'Mistress of All the Women Shepenwepet' to the title God's Wife Pure of Hands in Karnak, God's Hand Shepenwepet. But Sh2 omits and adds more to the title God's Wife Pure of Hands for being one of two tables dedicated to her. Her other table is closely akin to this one in form, description, and texts. 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 Grabhügel at Thebes (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 Ptolemaic temple as op bos foundational support, and the old from somewhere outside the temple's enclosure wall.

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With Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments, 356 n. 2, noting the uniqueness.

37 Most prominently, like Mon. and Wedj., Sh2 omits ktp wr.t tpit of Pyr. 34b, although it is attested in the other exemplars. But Sh2, unlike any of the other exemplars, adds the participial phrase in set after ktp wr.t tpit in Pyr. 34c and probably after set in the same line, though the damage to the left front corner leaves only the in-phrase in the second case. Singular to the new table, although it is attested in the other exemplars, adds the participial phrase in set after ktp wr.t tpit in Pyr. 34c and probably after set in the same line, though the damage to the left front corner leaves only the in-phrase in the second case. Singular to the new table, although it is attested in the other exemplars, adds the participial phrase in set after ktp wr.t tpit in Pyr. 34c and probably after set in the same line, though the damage to the left front corner leaves only the in-phrase in the second case.
Fig. 5. Synoptic presentation of Pyramid Texts utterance 44

exemplars of PT 44, from left to right Wenis (W. 34), Neit (Nt. 33), Senwosretankh (S. 36), the already known table (Shl), the newly recovered table (Sh2), the contemporary tables of Montuemhat (Mon. 37), his wife (Wedj. 38), and a famous Dynasty 26 exemplar (TT 33 39). Finally, Shepenwepet on

15 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 I., 2. Fac-similés, MIFAO 118/2 (Cairo, 2001), pl. 4 B (P/F Ne 181-84); Pepi II (N.), see Gustave Jequier, Le monument funéraire de Pe by II, volume I (Cairo, 1936), pl. 3 cols. 34-60; Wedjjetennu (Wed.), see Gustave Jequier, La pyramide d’Oudjebten (Cairo, 1935), pl. 3, col. 79; and Henen (designated M1Ba by Günther Lapp), Typhologie der Särge und Saukennen von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie, SAGA 7 (Heidelberg, 1993), 288. According to Catherine Berger-el Naggar et al., Les textes de la pyramide de Pepy II, 1. Description et analyse, MIFAO 118/1 (Cairo, 2001), 34. Test (T) and Neternefoun 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 donne le concessionnement du même texte," the relevant portion being: htp s<34 r<34 r<34 s<34 s<34 r<34 s<34 s<34 r<34 s<34 s<34


17 After Gustave Jequier, Les Pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit (Cairo, 1933), pl. 11.


the old table is designated as ML(y)-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 nécessairement à un défunt; son emploi pour un vivant ne se borne 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 one on an offering table is from the New Kingdom offering table of Sarenwettet. It, however, does not include PT 44. (In fact, these tables of Shepenwepet, together with the tables of Montuemhat and his wife Wedjatnefer, bear the exact emblems of this particular text since the Middle Kingdom.) After Dynasty 25, other offering tables with Pyramid Texts are attested, for example the Dynasty 26 table of an Amenirdisu (CG 23099), which bears both PT 25 and 32. Appearing also on the table of Sarenwettet and the Pepi I altar stand, the libation text is more characteristic of offering table inscriptions; it is a libation formula, thus the recitation made during the rite of pouring water onto the table itself: "This libation of yours, O Osiris, this libation of yours, O Amenirdisu, which went forth from your son, which went forth 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 of Ankhnesneferibre," JEA 82 (1996), 145-65, 152 n. (v) and 160. Aidan Dodson, "The Problem of Amenirdis and the Iwaw in the Office of Goa's Wife of Amen during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," JEA 88 (2002), 179-86, 185, does not treat the term as a certain criterion.


According to Brigitte Altenmüller-Kesting, Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult (Diss. Hamburg, 1969), 9 and 55-59, the libation, which involves the manipulation of four pellets, is a "libation and 2 natron pellets" (see Pyr. 23b (W.)), is one of three rites leading up to the purification that prepares for the offering meal, but PT 32 "such bei der Zeremonie um eine geheime Libation handelt, nach an hornen Reitigungssprœmien", rather, it is a matter of cooling the heart (p.t.bat) of the beneficiary (see Pyr. 22b). The removal of Raymond E. Firth, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (Oxford, 1969), 6, as "gone forth so" is in error. As already seen by Fr. W. von Bissing, "Zur Geschichte der Libationsformeln," RT 23 (1901), 38-47, 39 (similarly Leclant, "Varia Aethiopica," JEA 85 (1989), 153-55, 154 n. 43. A sharp illustration of the dubious value of PT 44 as a dating criterion is drawn out from the adoption stele of Ankhnesneferibre by Anthony Leahy, "The Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre," JEA 82 (1996), 153-55, 160. Aidan Dodson, "The Problem of Amenirdis and the Iwaw in the Office of Goa's Wife of Amen during the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty," JEA 88 (2002), 179-86, 185, does not treat the term as a certain criterion.

a formula subject to wide variation from its Old Kingdom ancestor, a phenomenon studied by von Bissing a century ago.\(^{31}\) The following example, in CG 25155, comes from the Proto-Ancient Period when it was quite popular: “Let me give you this libation, which went forth from your son, which went forth from Horus!”\(^{32}\) 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.\(^{33}\) Although Shepenwepet is not the original position in life of many Pyramid Texts utterances; they are generally closely connected with mortuary service.\(^{34}\) Indeed, all of the texts just now mentioned—PT 25, 32, and our PT 44—are recitations from the offering ritual,\(^{35}\) the central element of the mortuary service. That fact situates Shepenwepet’s tables squarely within mortuary service, though presumably the table’s employment of the text from just one rite\(^{36}\) of the whole ritual is synecdochic, the part standing for the whole; the table used in more than just one rite.

More importantly, PT 44, as an ancient cultic recitation from a ritual already a millennium and a half old, stands on these offering tables as an appropriation of tradition, not only by the Nubians Shepenwepet and her contemporary Weddingers, but also by Montuemhat, who claims ancestry of the Theban and Egyptian priests and functionaries.\(^{37}\) It is an appropriation of cultural identity enabling, the part standing for the whole, the table used in more than just one rite.

In adopting their


\(^{32}\) Kamal, Tabls d’offrandes, 15 with pl. 39 (14), fig. 46 (fig. 7 p.xvii-17 pl. 45, p.xxv-17 pl. 46).

\(^{33}\) As they are nowadays being understood once more; see Jan Assmann, Léger et rôles de l’offrande dans l’Egypt ancienne (Paris, 2000), 53 with n. 1.

\(^{34}\) Because of their relationship with elements of offering lists. On this relationship, see Hermann Junker, Glas II (Vienna, 1914), 86, and Harold M. Hays, “The Worshipper and the Worshiped in the Pyramid Texts,” SAQ 30 (2002), 155-64.

\(^{35}\) PT 44 corresponds to the second element of a series of less fixed offering lists (number 7 of the table beginning in Junker, Glas II, 83), which is already attested at the start of Dynasty 5, a list designated “Typ N’” by Winfried Barta; see Barta, “Typ N’.”

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\(^{37}\) As they are nowadays being understood once more; see Jan Assmann, Léger et rôles de l’offrande dans l’Egypt ancienne (Paris, 2000), 53 with n. 1.

\(^{38}\) For the text, see C. Dacier, “Inscriptions de la chapelle d’Aménemhat à Médinet-Habou,” RT 23 (1903), 1-18.

\(^{39}\) Nelson designation MH C 141 and 145, as yet unpublished; see OI Negatives 8550 and 8554.

\(^{40}\) For the text, see C. Dacier, “Inscriptions de la chapelle d’Aménemhat à Médinet-Habou,” RT 23 (1903), 1-18.

\(^{41}\) Nelson designation MH C 141 and 145, as yet unpublished; see OI Negatives 8550 and 8554.

\(^{42}\) See von Bissing, “Die altägyptische Opferliste,” 72-73.

\(^{43}\) Leclant, Mastabas, 160-62.

\(^{44}\) For the text, see C. Dacier, “Inscriptions de la chapelle d’Aménemhat à Médinet-Habou,” RT 23 (1903), 1-18.

\(^{45}\) Nelson designation MH C 141 and 145, as yet unpublished; see OI Negatives 8550 and 8554.

\(^{46}\) Cf., e.g., Margaret Mirov, Sappho Makhtesh Rey (I): FRA 10 (Leipzig, 1995), pl. 25. Such scenes of mortuary service are attested also in the Middle Kingdom, e.g., at Abusir, A. Blackman, The rock Tombs of Men, Part II, AASR 25 (London, 1955), pl. 6-8, and in the New Kingdom, e.g., at Medinet Habu—the Small Temple, Nelson designation MH A 75 and 79, publication currently in preparation by the Epigraphic Survey.

\(^{47}\) Nelson designation MH C 172 and 215, as yet unpublished; see OI Negatives 7924 and 7927.
tokens richly charged with evocation of the past, Shepenwepet, Amenirdis, Wedjarenes, 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 archaism par excellence," and certainly evidence of this trend may be detected already in Dynasty 25,62 and even before then, with Kitchen, in the nature of the formal names of Osorkon III 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 are 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 Pyramidal 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 attestation in the Late Period should be interpreted as the result of an archaizing motive, leading to a greater interest in displaying that 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 nonognitive or "invented" tradition; see Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge, 1984), 1.


63 Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period, 349-50 (§599), from whom the quotation is taken.

64 See Jan Assmann, "Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies," in Israelit-Groll, ed., Studies in Egyptology, vo!. 1, 1-45, 24, who is speaking of the continuous use of liturgical manuscripts for the mortuary service. A position parallel to Assmann's is David P. Silverman, "Goffin Text Spell 902 and Its Later Usage in the New Kingdom," in L'argile sophie: essais prioritaires de recherches, (Paris, 1992), vol. 1, 67-76, 69 with n. 16, where it is suggested that the annunciation of CT 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 patchwork, encountered as, e.g., Klaus Koch, Geschichte des altgriechischen Ritus (Stuttgart, 1991), 452. It is a conception of venerable pedigrees going back at least as far as Georg Möller, "Alter, in einem pharaonistischen Papirus des Berliner Museums 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, "we von", stating, "while a few few fragments of the Pyramid Texts have survived in the Book of the Dead, it may nevertheless be said that they have almost disappeared." 65 For example, there are about forty-six individual Pyramidal 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 attestation in the Late Period should be interpreted as the result of an archaizing motive, leading to a greater interest in displaying that in durable media, it would be incorrect to say that the corpus of literature and the rites represented in

65 As observed already by Möller, Pyramidentexte, 5-6.

66 Without considering resonant statements in the Opening of the Mouth and in temple ritual texts, and excepting short statements made on royal sarcophagi of Dynasty 18, the following is a representative list, for references to which see Thomas G. Alien, in Richard A. Parker et al., The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak (Princeton, 1979), 85 with reference at n. 9.
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 revivification of a dead textual tradition. Rather, it is easier to say that it testifies to 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): 73

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{num} \ wslr \ wtm.tntr \ w(b.)t \ mwp.t \ wtm.t-ntr \ nllmn \ wtm.wt \ nb(.wt) \ mw.t=s \ rjr.t-ntr \ lmn-lr-dl \ ml(-lJrw} \\
\text{num} \ wslr \ wtm.tntr \ w(b.)t \ mwp.t \ wtm.t-ntr \ nllmn \ wtm.wt \ nb(.wt) \ mw.t=s \ rjr.t-ntr \ lmn-lr-dl \ ml(-lJrw} \\
\text{num} \ wslr \ wtm.tntr \ nllmn \ wtm.wt \ nb(.wt) \ mw.t=s \ rjr.t-ntr \ lmn-lr-dl \ ml(-lJrw} \\
\end{array}\]

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

70 For the following references, see Allen, Occurrences, 61-102; from TT 30, PT 23, 25, 32, 43-55, 72-79, 81-96, 108-71; from Ethmouchel, PT 54; from Psamtik, PT 55; from Predynastic, PT 107.

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

72 Compare Shl's left gJ:tw.t{ nw nt(/) m p.t and Wedj. lr.t n=t; observe that in all but one case, it 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 J:ttp-dl·ny-sw.t. The interpretation of r on two of the offering tables, though ordinarily adversative with lr.t (and therefore worthy of note by Barguet et al., "Les tables d'offrandes," 495 n. 1) is clarified by Shl's n.

73 The orthography is unusual, but the reading is certain; see the following note.

74 See two other, contemporary tables from TT 54 also bearing this clause, at Barguet et al., "Les tables d'offrandes," 497 n. 7 and pls. 4 and 5.

75 As a substantive name of Re, the phrase ImU) p.t occurs also at Pyr. 37b, as seen by the translation of James F. Allen, The Adjection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts (Malibu, 1984), §54 A.1. As an epithet of r, it continues to appear in later religious texts, e.g., CT I 54j and 156j; cf. VI 172b. It introduces the same attributive in association with Thoth and the Elder Horus in the Coffin Texts, at CT VII 380a: J:tr smsw nw nt(/) m p.t "This is the Moon, Thoth who is in the sky," and CT VII 445b: J:tr smsw nw nt(/) m p.t "This is Horus the Elder who is in all of this sky of the sky."
him making the Two Ladies satisfied with you; and
the night is satisfied with you, and the day is satisfied with you!

The offering is yours; because of the offering 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-irdis True of Voice—and is what is brought to you; 29

28 Concerning the use of s.t. see above, n. 73.

29 Here interpreting the verb form s.t. in the offering that is with him; for a personage being brought to the agency of Re, cf. CT I 500a: s.t. m n r’ nb d m n r’ nb d “May you be made satisfied by the hand of Re.”

30 The plural strokes added to b.t.p. to make b.t.p.a.s is hereafter treated as definite rather than indefinite, since it is modified by a relative form (or, as interpreted here, “be satisfied with, because of”) frequently appears in the PT, as at Pyr. 1b, 103c, 611a, 698b, 1088c, and 1088e, and in later mortuary texts, as at CT 1 577, J 77a, and J 77b, and appears with this meaning even later, in the Postemen Period (see Wb ii 189.1: “zufrieden sein mit etw.”). b.t.p and s.t.p in the context of ritual can refer to the state brought about through ritual performance. See e.g., Pyr. 59c: n=s nb b.t.p b.t.p b.t.p nb d “Take the eye of Horus! Be satisfied with it!”; for two broad-ball offerings; Pyr. 803c: b.t.p b.t.p tsw (“Let Horus satisfy you with the offering that is with him”); and Pyr. 1152d: b.t.p b.t.p m r’ nb (“that he satisfies the (Ennead) with its paçaka”). For a personage being brought to the agency of Re, cf. CT I 500a: s.t. m n r’ nb d m n r’ nb d “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; without cease concerning you, for ever!

85 A substantive in N., Nt., and S., with suffix "what you see." The notion of seeing offerings occurs also in Pyc. 813b, though there with the instead of (pp. 210, Epp 6). in Nt., a substantive (pp. 210, Epp 6). in Nt., a substantive (pp. 210, Epp 6). in Nt., a substantive and see this reversion-offering, which the king made for you, which Khemimemiu made for you." For the reversion-offering, see Goedicke, "Königliche Dokumente, fig. 3, (?15 (?C)) is the reversion-offering that you to be presented to the king of Upper, and Lower Egypt. Menkheper, living for ever!"

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 and constituting an act of witnessing occurs also at Pyc. 1007a-b (sim. 1976a-b):

87 IR(l)t=k, lit. "what is with/to you," is a substantive nisba in W., Nt., and S.

88 On n nwd, see Kun Sethe's interpretation of this phrase as reported at Battiscombe Cunn, "The Berlin Statue of Harwa and Some Notes on Other Harwa Statues," BIFAO 54 (1954) 226-27. "...and see this; arise and hear this, which your son did for you, which Horus did for you." See also Pyc. 53b and 979a, though there it is the beneficiary who is being seen and heard.

89 IR(l)l=k, "what is with/to you," is substantive in W., Nt., and S.

90 On a mal, see KATI SCHRÖER'S interpretation of this phrase in "The Berlin Statue of Harwa and Some Notes on Other Harwa Statues," BIFAO 55 (1955) 226-27. "...and see this; arise and hear this, which Horus did for you." See also Pyc. 53b and 979a, though there it is the beneficiary who is being seen and heard.