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## The Statue of the *dioikêtês* Harchebi/Archibios Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12

DAVID KLOTZ

THE STATUE of Harchebi ranks among the finest works of Egyptian art in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri (Inv. 47-12).<sup>1</sup> Although its inscriptions have remained almost completely unpublished,<sup>2</sup> the statue has received a small amount of scholarly attention in art historical and prosopographical discussions.<sup>3</sup> The statue is best known

The author would like to thank Robert Cohon, Curator of Ancient Art (Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art), for permission to publish the statue and for providing excellent photographs and information.

1 J. COONEY, "Art of the Ancient World", *Apollo* 96, December 1972, p. 476 and 478, Abb. 8; R. WARD, P.J. FIDLER (ed.), *The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art: A Handbook of the Collection*, 1993, p. 107 and 115. The Nelson-Atkins Museum acquired the statue through Paul Mallon, the same dealer who obtained a similar Mendesian statue for Cleveland (L.M. BERMAN, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 1999, p. 463).

2 Small photographs of the statue feature in H. DE MEULENAERE, P. MACKAY, *Mendes II*, 1976, pl. 24e-f, but the inscriptions are only faintly legible; short excerpts have been quoted by A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis. Recherches*

*sur la province du dieu Thoth en Basse Égypte I: Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources*, *BdE* 66, 1975, p. 158; G. VITTMANN, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, *BeitrÄg* 15, 1999, p. 81 (5.76). G. GORRE (*Les relations du clergé égyptien et des lagides d'après les sources privées*, *StudHell* 45, 2009, p. 390-392) recently published excerpts of the inscriptions, unfortunately with many errors in the text copy and translation.

3 B.V. BOTHMER (ed.), *Egyptian Statuary of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (hereafter: *ESLP*), 1960, p. 73, 125; *Pros. Ptolemaica IX*, 5502b, 5505a, 6045b, 6048a; DE MEULENAERE, MACKAY, *Mendes II*, p. 199, pl. 62e-f (No. 62); H. DE MEULENAERE, "La mère d'Imouthès", *CdE* 41, 1966, p. 43; *id.*, "Sculptures mendésiennes de Basse Époque", *JEOL* 35-36, 1997-2000, p. 37; A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis I*, p. 157-158; J. YOYOTTE, "Le nom égyptien du « ministre de l'Économie » - de Saïs à Meroë",

*CRAIBL* 1989, p. 74-76, 78, 82-84, 88; J. QUAEGEBEUR, "Phritob comme titre d'un haut fonctionnaire ptolémaïque", *AncSoc* 20, 1989, p. 164, 167-168; M.R. FAVILENE, "Government, Management, Literacy: Aspects of Ptolemaic Administration in the Early Hellenistic Period", *AncSoc* 22, 1991, p. 215; W. HUß, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 85, 1994, p. 92; G. VITTMANN, "Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu Fremden und hellenisierter Ägyptern im Dienste einheimischer Kulte", in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (ed.), *Egyptian Religion: the Last Thousand Years*, II, p. 1235-1236; L.M. BERMAN, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: the Cleveland Museum of Art*, p. 462; Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis 3: Statues et autobiographies de dignitaires. Tanis à l'époque ptolémaïque*, 2004, p. 99, n. 44, 213, 220, n. 89.

for the two names attributed to its owner: the traditionally Egyptian Harchebi (lit. “Horus of Chemmis”), and the nearly homophonic Greek Archibios. The sportive nickname indicates that Harchebi closely interacted with the primarily Greek-speaking administration of the Ptolemaic Period. In fact, the autobiographical inscriptions reveal that he held the important post of “prime minister” (Egyptian: *snty*, Greek: διοικητής), the chief administrative officer in the Lagide court.<sup>4</sup>

Until recently, few supposed that native Egyptians could have attained such an important position in the predominantly Macedonian administration of Alexandria. In an early prosopographical study of all known *dioikētai*, W. Peremans noted the conspicuous paucity of Egyptian names.<sup>5</sup> However, this preliminary survey was based entirely on Greek documents, and it has since been established that Egyptians commonly used Hellenized forms of their names for official Greek records, and vice versa.<sup>6</sup> J. Yoyotte later deduced the equivalence of the title *snty*, known from Hieroglyphic and Demotic texts, and the Greek *dioikētēs*, and noted the existence of two inscribed statues from the Ptolemaic Period belonging to such officials with Egyptian names, including the present object.<sup>7</sup> Ph. Collombert subsequently discovered that Dioskurides, an apparently Greek *dioikētēs* attested in many papyri, also commissioned a lengthy autobiographical text in hieroglyphs on a usurped sarcophagus that reveals he was actually half-Egyptian.<sup>8</sup>

Of the three Egyptian monuments belonging to a Ptolemaic *dioikētēs*, only the hieroglyphic autobiography of Dioskurides has been published so far. Unfortunately, that inscription is so difficult to read, apparently the fault of a poorly trained scribe, that it is difficult to glean much historical information from its text.<sup>9</sup> The inscriptions on the statue of the *dioikētēs* Horpakhepesh (Yale Peabody Museum 264191) primarily consist of his many administrative and sacerdotal offices, with only a brief autobiographical section describing his duties and

<sup>4</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL*, 1989, p. 73-90; G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, II, *ÄAT* 38, 1998, p. 296-298; Ph. COLLOMBERT, “Religion égyptienne et culture grecque: l'exemple de Διοσκουρίδης”, *CdE* 75, 2000, p. 47-63; for the responsibilities of the *dioikētēs* in the Ptolemaic Period, see E.R. BEVAN, *The House of Ptolemy*, 1968, p. 133-5; J.D. THOMAS, “Aspects of the Ptolemaic Civil Service: the Dioiketes and the Nomarch”, in H. Maehler and V.M. Strocka (ed.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, 1978, p. 187-194; L. MOOREN, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque. Contribution à l'étude des institutions et des classes dirigeantes à l'époque hellénistique*, *StudHell* 23, 1977, p. 136-158 (with the critical remarks of J.D. THOMAS, *JEA* 69, 1983, p. 204); Cl. ORRIEUX, *Zénon de Caunos, parépodemos, et le destin grec*, *ALUB* 320,

1985, p. 171-176; M.R. FAVILENE, *AncSoc* 22, 1991, p. 214-216, 218-219; A.M.F.W. VERHOOGT, *Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeasiris: the doings and dealings of a village scribe in the late Ptolemaic period, 120-110 B.C.*, *PL.Bat.* 29, 1997, p. 83-90.

<sup>5</sup> W. PEREMANS, “Égyptiens et étrangers dans l'administration civile et financière de l'Égypte ptolémaïque”, *AncSoc* 2, 1971, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Among many relevant studies, see W. CLARYSSE, “Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration”, *Aegyptus* 65, 1985, p. 57-66; *id.*, “Ptolémées et temples”, in D. Valbelle, J. Leclant (ed.), *Le décret de Memphis*, 1999, p. 55-56; R.S. BAGNALL, “Greeks and Egyptians: Ethnicity, Status, and Culture”, in R.S. Bianchi (ed.), *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, 1988, p. 21-28;

J. QUAEGEBEUR, “Greco-Egyptian Double Names as a Feature of a Bi-Cultural Society: the case Ψσνευς ὁ καὶ Τριάδελφος”, in J.H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, *SAOC* 51, 1992, p. 265-272; G. VITTMANN, in W. Clarysse et al. (ed.) *Egyptian Religion: the Last Thousand Years*, II, p. 1231-1250.

<sup>7</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL*, 1989, p. 73-90.

<sup>8</sup> Ph. COLLOMBERT, *CdE* 75, 2000, p. 47-63; for more on this person, see J. BINGEN, “*P.S.A.Athen.* 9 + 13 et la diocèse Dioskouridès”, *CdE* 82, 2007, p. 207-217.

<sup>9</sup> Ph. COLLOMBERT, *op. cit.*, p. 47-63; G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 249-254.

achievements (cf. *infra*, “Harchebi’s Duties”).<sup>10</sup> The autobiography of Harchebi/Archibios thus brings a welcome new perspective on the Ptolemaic administration and relations between Greeks and indigenous Egyptians.

## Technical Description

[FIG. 1-2]

The statue is made of grey granite with pink and brown speckles. Its maximum dimensions are 110.5 cm (height), 43.2 cm (width), and 33 cm (depth). The subject is a traditional striding figure who wears a tripartite kilt with no pleats and an inscribed belt, holding pieces of cloth in both hands.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the statue is now missing its head, the middle of both arms, and the lower half of both legs. The torso shows only restrained tripartition with a faintly visible median line.<sup>12</sup> Overall, the quality of workmanship is excellent, and the stone is highly polished. The tableau on the back pillar and the hieroglyphic inscriptions suggest the object came from Mendes, and the general style and quality of the piece bears comparison to several other Mendesian statues.<sup>13</sup>

## Inscriptions

### Orthography

The quality of carving is very good and the texts are relatively straightforward. Nonetheless, like most Late Period autobiographies, the inscriptions on the Kansas City statue exhibit a number of orthographic peculiarities. Some of these are sportive writings or abbreviations common in the Graeco-Roman Period, others involve phonetic changes or unusual “group writings” of traditional Egyptian words. The most confusing spellings are the result of confusion between similar hieratic or hieroglyphic signs.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> PM VIII, p. 968-9 (801-793-110); the statue will be completely published by D. KLOTZ, M.J. LEBLANC, “An Egyptian Priest in the Court of Ptolemy V Epiphanes” (in preparation). A partial translation can be found already in J. YOYOTTE, P. CHARVET, *Strabon: Le Voyage en Égypte. Un regard romain*, 1997, p. 266-267; and hieroglyphic excerpts appear in I. GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes. Recherches de géographie religieuse*, BEHE 123, 2005, p. 146 and 295; G. GORRE, *op. cit.*, p. 345-348 (although note the latter copy contains many errors).

<sup>11</sup> For the object in the hands, see primarily H.G. FISCHER, “An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues”, MMJ 10, 1975, p. 9-21; A. FEHLIG, “Das sogenannte Taschentuch in den ägyptischen Darstellungen des Alten Reiches”, SAK 13, 1986, p. 55-94.

<sup>12</sup> For bipartition and tripartition of the torso in Late Period statues, see J.A. JOSEPHSON, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture of the Late Period, 400-246 B.C.*, SDAIK 30, 1997, p. 10-11; O. PERDU, “Le torse d’Iréthorérou de la collection Béhague”, RdE 49, 1998, p. 250.

<sup>13</sup> See H. DE MEULENAERE, P. MACKAY, *Mendes II*, pl. 24-25; B.V. BOTHMER, ESLP, p. 123-125.

<sup>14</sup> For such confusion in Ptolemaic texts, see S. SAUNERON, *Quatre campagnes à Esna*, 1959, p. 47-50; D. KURTH, “Der Einfluß der Kursive auf die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu”, in D. Kurth (ed.), *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys; Materialien und Studien, Edfu Beiheft 5*, 1999, p. 69-96; S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Le fonds hiéroglyphique au temps de Cléopâtre*, 2001, p. 253-258; Chr. THIERS, *Tōd II*, p. 297-299.

- Sportive (“Ptolemaic”)

 = *i* (col. 1);       = *h* (col. 4);  
  = *b p* (col. 3);        = *r w* (col. 4);  
 = *hr* (col. 3);       = *rn* (col. 4).  
 = *ws* (col. 4);

- Phonetic Change

 = *sr* (?) (col. 1);       = *ws* (col. 3);  
  = *zw w* (col. 1);       = *tnm* (col. 4);  
 = *htr.w* (col. 1);       = *w3i* (col. 4);  
 = *t3w* (col. 2);       = *mrh* (col. 4);  
 and  = *snty* (cols. 2 and 3);       = *iw* (col. 4).  
 = *gm* (cols. 3 and 4);

- Graphic Confusion

 and  for  = *t3-mhw* (?) (cols. 1 and 3);  
 for  = *ibt* (col. 1);       for  = *ibt nb* (col. 2);  
 for  = *s* (col. 4) *bis*.

### Belt Inscription

[FIG. 3]

*hm-ntr ss-nsw.t imy-r3 z3h snty<sup>a</sup>  
 Hr-hbi dd.tw n=f Irkby<sup>b</sup>  
 zw P3(-n-)Mr-wr<sup>c</sup>  
 ms T3-šr.t(-n-)B3st.t<sup>d</sup>*

*The priest, royal scribe, overseer of fields, dioikêtê,  
 Harchebi, who is called Archibios,  
 son of Pamnevis,  
 born of Senobastis.*

## Notes

a. The title *snty* (*dioikêtês*) is written here as  and twice on the back pillar as  and  (cols. 2 and 3).<sup>15</sup> The first orthography suggests an etymology *sȝ nty*, “he who is aware of (all) that exists.” The peculiar spellings on the back pillar (*s(j)+n+t(j) = snt(y)*), meanwhile, recall the traditional epithet *ȝw n tȝ*, “beam of the earth,”<sup>16</sup> which would designate Harchebi as an administrator in charge of supporting the *chora*. A similar graphic pun occurs in the demotic “Fable of the Swallow and the Sea” (lines 21-22) where the related word *ȝ-n-tȝ*, “shore,” is written as if it were the title *snty*.<sup>17</sup> Other *snty*-officers were also *imy-rȝ ȝb*, “overseer of the field,”<sup>18</sup> and *sȝ nsw.t*, “royal scribe,”<sup>19</sup> the latter office possibly corresponding to *basilikos grammateus* in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>20</sup>

b. The name Harchebi (lit. “Horus (in) Chemmis”) is extremely frequent (*PV I*, 247; Lüdeckens, *Dem. NB*, 830-831). The normal equivalent in Greek would be Ἀρχήβις (Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum*, p. 56), but the present example transliterates the closest authentic Greek name, Ἀρχίβιος (var. Ἀρχήβιος; cf. Foraboschi, *loc. cit.*) as *Irkbys*.<sup>21</sup> Although similar examples of double names (Egyptian and Greek) appear on other Ptolemaic monuments,<sup>22</sup> the comparison of Harchebi to Archibios is perhaps the most inspired example of bilingual onomasiology.<sup>23</sup>

c. For the name Pamnevis (lit. “he of the Mnevis bull”), cf. Lüdeckens, *Dem. NB*, p. 379; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, p. 228 (Παμνήις); *Pros. Ptol. VII*, p. 24.<sup>24</sup> Although no votive

<sup>15</sup> The latter spellings were not recorded by J. Yoyotte, *CRAIBL* 1989, p. 78, fig. 1, or G. Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 390. The correct reading of the title on col. 2 is confirmed through parallelism with the present example.

<sup>16</sup> For this epithet applied to individuals, cf. R. EL-SAYED, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, *BdE* 69, 1975, p. 122, n. e, 126, n. (b); N. Chr. GRIMAL, *Les termes de la propagande*, 1986, p. 240, n. 758. The ophidian Amun-Kematef is called “beam of the earth (*ȝ n tȝ*)”, a pun on the word *ȝ-tȝ*, “(agathos-daimon) serpent,” when he is credited with producing the elements (“wind and water come forth from his coils ([ȝw mw (ȝr) pr m qȝb.w=f])”, and receives a large food offering (P. CLÈRE, *La Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 20); a parallel text from Esna gives the same epithets to Khnum as Nehebkau, the agathos daimon who provides all food products (*Esna* II, 17, 10-11); cf. D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple*, *YES* 6, 2006, p. 44, n. 252-254.

<sup>17</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL*, 1989, p. 77-78; for the text, see most recently Ph. COLLOMBERT, “Le conte de l’hirondelle et de la mer”, in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies. Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*, *CNIP* 27, 2002, p. 59-76.

<sup>18</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *op. cit.*, p. 75; G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, II, p. 516-517.

<sup>19</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL*, 1989, p. 76; many also held the title “overseer of the scribes of the Council (*imy-rȝ sȝ.w ȝdȝ.t*)” or “scribe (of the Pharaoh) who accounts everything (*sȝ (pr-ȝ) hsb ȝb.t nb*),” cf. O. PERDU, “Le ‘directeur des scribes du Conseil’”, *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 175-194, especially p. 190-192.

<sup>20</sup> J.F. OATES, *The Ptolemaic Basilius Grammateus*, *BASP Supp.* 8, 1995; A.M.F.W. VERHOOGT, *Menches*, p. 74-76, 90-101; Th. KRUSE, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung: Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (30 v.Chr.-245 n.Chr.)*, I, *AfP* Beiheft 11, 2002, p. 11-22. For the

possible equivalence of the Egyptian and Greek titles, see G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 452-455.

<sup>21</sup> The equivalence of Egyptian *k* = *χ* is normal in the Ptolemaic Period; cf. W. CLARYSSE, G. VAN DER VEKEN, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*, *PL.Bat.* 24, 1983, p. 139-141, especially p. 141, §4(h). A Demotic papyrus renders the same name as *ȝrgybs*: LÜDECKENS, *Dem. NB* I, p. 32; J.G. MANNING, *The Hauswald Papyri: A Third Century B.C. Family Dossier from Edfu*, *DemStud* 12, 1997, p. 41, n. 2.

<sup>22</sup> See primarily H. DE MEULENAERE, “Les stratèges indigènes du nome tentyrite à la fin de l’époque ptolémaïque et au début de l’occupation romaine”, *RSO* 34, 1959, p. 3-4, n. 4; *id.*, *CdE* 41, 1966, p. 43.

<sup>23</sup> G. VITTMANN, in W. Clarysse et al. (ed.), *Egyptian Religion: the Last Thousand Years*, II, p. 1235, aptly referred to this example as “anmutige Spielerei.”

<sup>24</sup> Another example occurs in W. CLARYSSE, D.J. THOMPSON, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* I, 2006, p. 127.

stelae for the Mnevis bull like those for the Apis or Buchis bulls survive from the Ptolemaic Period, other evidence indicates that his cult remained active.<sup>25</sup>

d. For the name Senobastis (lit. “the daughter of Bastet”), cf. *PN* I, 368, 15; Lüdeckens, *Dem. NB*, p. 1095; *Pros. Ptol.* VII, p. 314; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, p. 293.

## Back Pillar

[FIG. 1B]

The back pillar terminates in a trapezoidal section at the top behind the head. This area would have originally contained a winged sundisk carrying an *ankh*-sign, although only traces of the latter object survive.<sup>26</sup> Beneath the sundisk is the standard label “live the Behdetite, great god, lord of heaven (‘nb Bhdty ntr’3 nb p.t.)”. The inscription is symmetric, and the determinative for *p.t* is split into two half-sky signs on either side of the suspended *ankh*-sign: .

Beneath the trapezoidal section is a small rectangular tableau (fig.4) depicting Harchebi praising the divine triad of Mendes: Harpokrates,<sup>27</sup> the Ram of Mendes and Hatmehyt.<sup>28</sup> Harchebi wears a long tunic with sleeves ending above the elbow, possibly with an outer robe.<sup>29</sup> His head is shaved and he wears what appears to be a lotus diadem popular in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>30</sup>

Below the tableau is a four-column hieroglyphic inscription. The quality of carving is very high, and the texts are excellently preserved until a large break near the bottom. The work was mysteriously never finished, as less than half of the expected intercolumnar lines were carved.

<sup>25</sup> For priests of the Mnevis bull in the Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period, see O. PERDU, “Psammétique-Séneb. Un vizir d’Héliopolis avant la conquête d’Alexandre”, *Égypte. Afrique et Orient* 42, 2006, p. 43; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Die Biographie eines Priesters aus Heliopolis”, *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 97-110; the Mnevis bull appears frequently in Ptolemaic royal decrees: e.g. *Urk.* II, 103, 6; 128, 6; 185, 2.

<sup>26</sup> Compare the similar decoration of the trapezoidal section of MMA 2002.248 (B.V. BOTHMER, *ESLP*, pl. 72, fig. 186) and BM 1013 (E. NAVILLE, *The Shrine of Saft el Henneh and the Land of Goshen*, 1887, pl. 8B); for the development of decoration in the trapezoidal section, cf. O. PERDU, *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 250-252.

<sup>27</sup> For Harpokrates in Mendes, see H. DE MEULENAERE, *CdE* 41, 1966, p. 42,

n. (a); S. SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered (Harpokrates). Die Genese eines ägyptischen Götterkindes*, *OLA* 151, 2006, p. 33-38; J.-Y. CARREZ-MARATRAY, “À propos du nom Thmouite”, *RdE* 54, 2003, p. 34-35. Harpokrates here wears the tight cap-crown and sidelock specific to Mendes; cf. J. YOVOTTE, P. CHUVIN, “Le Zeus Casios de Péluse à Tavoli. Une hypothèse”, *BIAFO* 88, 1988, 174, n. 36.

<sup>28</sup> For the Mendesian triad, cf. H. DE MEULENAERE, II. MACKAY, *Mendes* II, p. 178-80; similar representations of the triad appear on the top of statue Cleveland 48.141, the Mendes stela and elsewhere, cf. H. DE MEULENAERE, *JEOL* 35-36, 1997-2000, p. 37; Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis* 3, p. 218-220.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A. KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, II, *CGC* 21, 1905, pls. 79 (69) and 82 (101); B.V. BOTHMER, *ESLP*, pls. 70-71; P. MUNRO, *Die spätägypti-*

*schen Totenstelen* II, *ÄgForsch* 25, 1973, pl. 21 (Abb. 75), 53 (fig. 180), 55 (fig. 185), 57 (fig. 195), 58 (fig. 200), 60 (fig. 206); K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* II, pl. 39, 46, 89. There are no traces of a belt or knot characteristic of wrap-around robes, although either of these could be hidden behind his right arm.

<sup>30</sup> See primarily B.V. BOTHMER, *ESLP*, p. 163, with many examples, especially the reliefs in the tomb of Petosiris, cf. also Fr. CUMONT, *L’Égypte des astrologues*, 1937, p. 117, n. 4. Alternatively, one could compare stela Turin 1529 on which the deceased wears a fillet with an amulet of a jackal head attached to his forehead, vaguely similar in appearance to the present vignette (P. MUNRO, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, II, pl. 21, fig. 75; good detailed photograph in O. PERDU, “Un dieu venu de la campagne”, *RdE* 56, 2005, p. 139, fig. 6c).

*Text and Translation*

[FIG. 5]

[<sup>1</sup>] *iry-p<sup>c</sup>.t h<sup>3</sup>ty-p<sup>c</sup>(.t)<sup>a</sup>*  
*htmty-bity smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*  
*imy-r<sup>3</sup> 3<sup>h</sup> n nsw.t<sup>b</sup> m t<sup>3</sup>-mhw (?)<sup>c</sup>*  
*mry n nsw.t mb-ib n bity*  
*sr tpy n šnwy.t=f<sup>d</sup>*  
*šm i<sup>3</sup> hnt pr-nswt.f<sup>e</sup>*  
*(hr)-itr.t s.t<sup>f</sup> m hndw-wr<sup>g</sup>*  
*z<sup>3</sup>w(.w) r i<sup>3</sup>w(.t)=f m-m sr.w<sup>h</sup>*  
*n<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup>r.t<sup>3</sup>w i<sup>3</sup>ht m hm=f<sup>i</sup>*  
*mb-ib n nsw.t m htr.w=f nb<sup>j</sup>*  
*i<sup>3</sup>r mr(r)=f i<sup>3</sup>wty hsf.t(w)=f<sup>k</sup>*  
*mdw hn' nsw.t m w<sup>c</sup>w<sup>l</sup>*  
*n<sup>3</sup> n<sup>3</sup>hm [...]*  
*[...] [<sup>2</sup>] ib=f n hnty-Hzr.t<sup>m</sup>*  
*s<sup>c</sup>nb sk.w<sup>n</sup> drp mb.w-ib.w*  
*shpr šfy.t n nsw.t m k<sup>3</sup>.t=f<sup>o</sup>*  
*'pr htmt<sup>y</sup>.w m i<sup>3</sup>ht nb nfr<sup>p</sup>*  
*d<sup>3</sup> h<sup>3</sup>w r hpr m=sn*  
*k<sup>3</sup>.w n hr=f df<sup>3</sup>.w m-ht=f<sup>q</sup>*  
*i<sup>3</sup>ni Nn.t hn mhr.t=f<sup>r</sup>*  
*t<sup>3</sup>w n r<sup>3</sup>=f m wd.t n 'nb<sup>s</sup>*  
*hn=f pw tm hb<sup>t</sup>*

*ss nsw.t sny<sup>u</sup> Hr[-bb...]<sup>v</sup>*

*[ink...] [<sup>3</sup>] sny*  
*šms nsw.t swd 3w(.w)*

*iw(?)<sup>w</sup> b<sup>3</sup> m 'np.t m i<sup>3</sup>b=i<sup>x</sup>*  
*dr-nty bs h<sup>c</sup>pi r hr.w=f<sup>y</sup>*  
*swr=i qrs.t=f m htm.wt nb nt pr=i m w<sup>c</sup>b.t<sup>z</sup>*  
*i<sup>3</sup>r=i wd<sup>aa</sup>hr=s r i<sup>3</sup>wt t<sup>3</sup>-mhw (?)*  
*i<sup>3</sup>w rdi=i sw mi<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup>r(.w) hr-h<sup>3</sup>.t*

*sm3wi=i w3si(.t)*  
*mh=i gm(.t) w<sup>3</sup>*  
*n-mrw.t sq3 rnp.wt n nb-w<sup>c</sup>ab*

*hws.n=i mb.t [...]<sup>ac</sup>*  
*[...] [<sup>4</sup>] k<sup>3</sup>.t*  
*rdi.n=i s(t) n Dhwty*  
*hr rdi.n=f i<sup>3</sup>b=i r mtr nn tnm<sup>ad</sup>*

$d\ddot{i}=i\ p\dot{h}\ r\ddot{z}\cdot\dot{c}.wy=i\ r\text{-}hnt^{\text{ae}}\ pr\text{-}wnh.t$   
 $s\text{-}t\text{-}htp\ n\ Wp\text{-}rb.wy^{\text{af}}$   
 $m\text{-}bt\ p\dot{h}r(y).t\ r\text{-}\dot{z}w^{\text{ag}}\ n\ddot{i}\ 'rq(.w)\ k\ddot{z}.t$   
 $m\ i\ddot{z}w.t\ nb\ n\ hmww^{\text{ah}}$   
 $db\ddot{z}=i\ w\ddot{z}i(.t)\ r\ mr\dot{h}^{\text{ai}}$   
 $mh=i\ gm(.t)\ w\ddot{x}$   
 $bty(.w)\ hr\ rn\text{-}wr\ n\ hm=f^{\text{aj}}$   
  
 $ir.n=i\ nn\ r\text{-}\dot{z}w\ i\dot{w}\ ib=i\ hr\ w\ddot{z}.t=k^{\text{ak}}$   
 $ntr\ 'z\ 'nb\ hry\text{-}ntr.w^{\text{al}}$   
 $d\ddot{i}=k\ n=i\ 'b\ 'q\ddot{z}\ [...]$

<sup>[1]</sup> *The iry-p<sup>c</sup>.t and h<sup>c</sup>ty-p<sup>c</sup>.t,  
the royal seal-bearer, sole companion,  
overseer of royal land in Lower Egypt (?),  
beloved of the nsw-king, confidant of the bitti-king,  
the dignitary in chief of his entourage,  
who comes and goes within the palace,  
beside the throne in the Great Terrace,  
whose arrival is awaited among the officials,  
(since) nothing is done without his knowledge,  
whom the king trusts with all of his income,  
who performs whatever he desires, without being opposed,  
who speaks with the king in private,  
without [...] taking away [...]*  
[...] <sup>[2]</sup> *his heart for the one Foremost of Hesret (Thoth),  
who supports the troops, who feeds the guards,  
who creates respect for the king through his work,  
who equips the seal-bearers with all good things,  
who gives in excess of what had come from them previously,  
food is before him, sustenance is after him,  
who brings Nenet (Abundance) into his granary,  
whose speech is the decree of life,  
(since) his command is to never diminish.*

*The dioikêtê, Har[chebi...]*

*[I am...] <sup>[3]</sup> a dioikêtê,  
who serves the king and grants food offerings.*

*The Ram within Anpet is in my heart,  
because the Inundation surges forth (to provide) for his food,  
I enlarged his burial with all precious things of my estate in the embalming place (w<sup>c</sup>b.t),*

*I made a decree concerning this at the mounds of Lower Egypt,  
and I made it as it had been before.*

*I renovated what was destroyed,  
and I restored what was found missing,  
from the desire to multiple years for the Sole Lord.*

*I made the foundation for a propylon [...]  
[...] <sup>[4]</sup> works,  
I gave it to Thoth,  
because he had set my heart straight, without being led astray.  
I let my activity extend to the pr-wnb.t,  
the burial place of Wp-rb.wy,  
after an extended period when no work had been completed  
by any type of artisan.*

*I replaced what had fallen into disrepair,  
and I filled what was found missing,  
inscribed with the titulary of His Majesty.*

*I accomplished all of this while my heart was on your path,  
o great living god, chief of the gods,  
so you might grant me a long life [...].*

### Commentary

- The title *ḥty-p.t*, “first of the elite” often replaces the traditional *ḥty-* in the Late Period.<sup>31</sup>
- Although the title *imy-rʒ ʒb*, “overseer of the field” is fairly common, especially among other *sny*-officials,<sup>32</sup> the modifier “of the king (*n nsw*)” is unique here, at least for the Late Period.<sup>33</sup> The “royal land (*ʒb n nsw*)” probably corresponds to the official category of “crown land (βασιλική γῆ),” territory which the Ptolemaic government leased to royal farmers.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See recently G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 456-461.

<sup>32</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL* 1989, p. 75.

<sup>33</sup> The *sny*/dioiketes Horpakhepesh was “overseer of fields of Upper and Lower Egypt (*imy-rʒ ʒb.w tʒ-mhw ʃm*)” (Yale Peabody Museum 264191, Back Pillar, col. 1); cf. already O. PERDU, *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 186; other officials are simply *imy-rʒ ʒb.t*. Nonetheless, similar titles do exist in the New Kingdom; see EL-AYEDI, *Index of Egyptian Administra-*

*tive, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, p. 3-6, especially No. 16: *imy-rʒ ʒb.t n nb-tʒ.wy*, “Overseer of the land of the Lord of the Two Lands.”

<sup>34</sup> For the category of “Crown Land” in the Ptolemaic Period, see D.J. CRAWFORD, *Kerkeosiris: an Egyptian Village of the Ptolemaic Period*, 1971, p. 103-105; A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, *Menches*, p. 107-130. *Pros. Ptol.* IX, 5502b, translated the present title as “contrôleur des terres royales en - -.” G. Gorre, meanwhile,

mistook the determinative of *w'ty* (in *smr-w'ty*) for the *wr*-bird, and translated “grand directeur des champs (*wr mr ʒhw n nsw*)” without commenting on the presence of *nsw.t* (*op. cit.*, p. 390). The land donation inscription from Edfu mentions *nʒ ʒb.w n pr-ʒ*, “the fields of the Pharaoh” (*Edfou VII*, 218, 10), and D. Meeks already suggested the latter term corresponded to βασιλική γῆ (*Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou*, *BdE* 59, 1972, 73, n. 65).

c. J. Yoyotte read this mysterious group (𓁵𓁵) as *tȝ-nw* but suggested “il faut reconnaître un surnom de l’Égypte (*tȝ-mri*).”<sup>35</sup> A. Zivie, meanwhile, compared the toponym with *tȝ-nn* (𓁵𓁵) known only from a brief mention in the Mendes stela.<sup>36</sup> In column three, Harchebi mentions a decree he issued to “the mounds of 𓁵” in the plural, recalling the common expression “the mounds of the land (*ȝ.wt nw tȝ*)” which appears to be a generic designation of Egypt.<sup>37</sup> Since the second example denotes a large geographical area comprising multiple “mounds,” perhaps the simplest solution is to restore 𓁵 = *tȝ-mhw*, “Lower Egypt,”<sup>38</sup> with confusion between the *nw*-pot and the papyrus stalk.<sup>39</sup> In the flood inscription of Taharqa, the “mounds of Lower Egypt (*ȝ.wt tȝ-mhw*)” are contrasted with the “mountains of Lower Egypt (*dw.w šm'*).”<sup>40</sup> Alternatively, these could be mistakes for 𓁵 = *tȝ-bnr*, modern Matboul, slightly east of Xois in the Delta,<sup>41</sup> which is once written 𓁵.<sup>42</sup> The *bnr*-sign often alternates with similar shapes like ȝ and ȝ, and thus confusion with the *nw*-pot is at least conceivable.<sup>43</sup> Panmerit, a prominent official from Tanis, was also a priest of Amun of *tȝ-bnr*,<sup>44</sup> and thus Harchebi could have been active there as well.

d. G. Gorre incorrectly copied 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 𓁵 and translated “l’ornement de ses dioïcètes (*šrt n snyw.f*).”<sup>45</sup> However, the orthography of *šnyw.t*, “entourage,” is extremely common in the Ptolemaic Period,<sup>46</sup> and the specific epithet “first of the entourage (*tpy n šnyw.t*)” finds many parallels.<sup>47</sup> The preceding word 𓁵 appears to write *sr*, “official” with *š* > *s*,<sup>48</sup> based on epithets like *sr tpy sr.w* and *sr tpy n smr.w* attested elsewhere.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>35</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL* 1989, p. 74; followed by J. QUAEGEBEUR, *AncSoc* 20, 1989, p. 167; G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 390, n. III17.

<sup>36</sup> A. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis* I, p. 158, n. 1; for the example in the Mendes stela, cf. *Urk.* II, 31, 8, and most recently Chr. THIERS, *Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres d’Atoum de Tjékou. Nouvelle édition commentée de la « stèle de Pithom » (CGC 22183)*, *OrMonsp* 17, 2007, p. 187, n. 551, who notes that the latter toponym is otherwise unknown.

<sup>37</sup> For this phrase, see A. EGBERTS, *In Quest of Meaning* I, p. 144, n. 4, who notes that it can refer to both settlements and cemeteries; to his examples, add also *Dendara* X, 289, 9; 291, 8; 305, 12; S. CAUVILLE, *La porte d’Isis*, 29, 3.

<sup>38</sup> This example of *tȝ-mhw* comes from *Edfou* VI, 7, 1. For the papyrus stalk writing *mhw*, see *Wb.* II, 123, 12; Fr. DAUMAS (ed.), *Valeurs phonétiques* II, p. 414.

<sup>39</sup> Although the *nw*-pot is traditionally round, hieroglyphic examples from the Graeco-Roman period often have thinner necks and longer bodies so that they almost resemble the papyrus stalk.

While this feature is not evident in type-set editions, see the examples collected by Cl. TRAUNECKER, *et al.*, *La chapelle d’Achôris* II, Paris, 1981, p. 194 and 296, and compare the remarks of H. W. FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43, 1945, p. 86-87, n. (h).

<sup>40</sup> V. VIKENTIEV, *La haute crue du Nil et l’averse de l’an 6 du roi Taharqa*, 1930, p. 38-39.

<sup>41</sup> For the location of *tȝ-bnr*, see I. GUERMEUR, “Le syngenès Aristonokos et la ville de To-Bener (Statue Caire JE 847532)”, *RdE* 51, 2000, p. 69-72; idem, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes*, p. 180-187.

<sup>42</sup> Statue Sân 91-100, col. 3; Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis* 3, p. 255, fig. 53.

<sup>43</sup> Cl. TRAUNECKER, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 177; in many examples from Tanis, this toponym is actually written with a combination of the *bnr* and *rwȝ*-signs (Gardiner M 30 and M 32); Chr. Zivie-Coche, *Tanis* 3, p. 260, fig. 56; 265, fig. 60; 269, fig. 62.

<sup>44</sup> I. GUERMEUR, *RdE* 51, 2000, p. 71; *id.*, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes*, p. 186.

<sup>45</sup> G. GORRE, *op. cit.*, p. 390, without commenting on the use of *š.t*, “Kleid”

(*Wb.* IV, 524, 8-11) as an otherwise unattested epithet meaning “ornement.”

<sup>46</sup> *Wb.* IV, 511, 1; P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1997? p. 1019.

<sup>47</sup> *Wb.* IV, 511, 10; D.M. DOXEY, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, p. 161-162; A.R. AL-AYEDI, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia, 2006, p. 626, No. 2095; H. GUKSCH, *Königsdienst*, p. 244, (12) 27; R. ANTHES, “Der Berliner Hocker des Petamenophis”, *ZÄS* 73, 1937, p. 31; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Drei Statueninschriften einer Familie aus frühptolemaischer Zeit”, *SAK* 36, 2007, p. 57, line 12.

<sup>48</sup> Specific examples of the *š*-sign for *s* appear already in the New Kingdom (J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 53 and 160), but remain somewhat uncommon in the Ptolemaic Period (H.W. FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43, 1945, p. 65, note (c); WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 179, n. (8) and 187, n. (17)).

<sup>49</sup> A.R. AL-AYEDI, *Index*, p. 503, No. 1702; H. GUKSCH, *Königsdienst*, p. 241-244 (with many variants).

- e. This epithet alludes to open access in the royal palace granted to Harchebi as *dioikêtès*.<sup>50</sup>
- f. G. Gorre incorrectly copied the first group as  and translated “en premier de la place (*tpt st*).”<sup>51</sup> While the first sign is slightly unusual, it most closely resembles  = *itr.t*, and thus it should read “beside the throne ((*hr*)-*itr.t s.t.*).”<sup>52</sup> A similar epithet appears on the Yale statue of the *dioikêtès* Horpakhepesh: *iw ms.w(=i) mn.w hr-tp tȝ r-itr.ty* () *s.t m pr-nsw.t*, “(my) children remaining on earth at both sides of (or: around) the throne in the Palace.”<sup>53</sup> The claim to be “beside the throne” bears comparison with Esnun/Zenon who was an “official who stood on (the king’s) right side (*sr ‘b’ hr wnm=f*).”<sup>54</sup> Alternatively, the first word could be a very simplified writing of , providing the more common epithet *bnty-s.t*, “foremost of position,”<sup>55</sup> or a confused spelling of , *wsb-s.t*, “broad of place.”<sup>56</sup>
- g. The term *bndw*,<sup>58</sup> originally “throne,” can also mean “dais” in Ptolemaic inscriptions, and the King can “appear ceremoniously in the Great Dais (*b’i m bndw wr*).”<sup>59</sup> This group

<sup>50</sup> For similar epithets in the Ptolemaic Period, see O. PERDU, *RdE* 37, 1986, 104, n. c; L. COULON, *RdE* 52, 2001, p. 91, n. b; W. HUß, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester*, 1994, p. 92-3, who refers to the “no knocking privilege” enjoyed by high-ranking Egyptian officials; for the same *topos* in earlier biographies, see H. GUKSCH, *Königsdienst*, p. 124-125; J. HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, p. 332-333. G. Gorre (*Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 390) overlooked the honorific transposition, and simply read “celui qui se déplace librement devant le souverain (*šm-ib* [sic] *bnt nsw*).”

<sup>51</sup> G. GORRE, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

<sup>52</sup> Other examples of this compound preposition also omit the preposition and write the singular *itr.t* for the more common dual *itr.ty*; cf. A. BLACKMAN, H. W. FAIRMAN, “A group of texts inscribed on the facade of the Sanctuary in the Temple of Horus at Edfu”, in *Miscellanea Gregoriana: Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I centenario dalla fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio*, 1941, p. 419, n. 81; for the various nuances of similar compounds, see H. DE MEULENAERE, “Un sens particulier des prépositions «*m-rw.tj*» et «*m-itr.tj*»”, *BIFAO* 53, 1953, p. 99-101. For the specific image evoked by the present epithet, see further G.P.F. VAN DEN BOORN, *The Duties of the Vizier:*

*Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*, 1988, p. 34, n. 23.

<sup>53</sup> Yale Peabody Museum 264191, Back Pillar, col. 4; cf. *supra*, n. 10.

<sup>54</sup> *Urk.* II, 49, 14; cf. also the autobiography of Tjaihorpata (MASPERO, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, I, p. 223): “he whose heart is occupied with the good god (the King), who enters the Palace and stands together with him (*ib=f mb.tw m ntr nfr q r bnt.t ‘b’ bnt’=f*).”

<sup>55</sup> Compare the examples of this sign discussed by M.-Th. DERCHAIN-URTEL, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen zur griechisch-römischen Zeit in Ägypten*, *ÄAT* 43, 1999, p. 348-349, although they date primarily to the Roman Period.

<sup>56</sup> JANSSEN, *De traditionelle egyptische Autobiografie* I, p. 134-135; DOXEY, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets*, p. 173 and 356; *Urk.* II, 59, 9 (*bnty-s.t m stp-zȝ*); DERCHAIN, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, Pl. IV, col. 1 (*bnty-s.t m wr.w-nsw*).”

<sup>57</sup> Kindly suggested by the anonymous *BIFAO* reviewer.

<sup>58</sup> The staircase hieroglyph could also write *rwd*, “staircase,” or *hty*, “platform (of Min),” but neither option seems to fit the present context; the term *rwd-wr* elsewhere refers to the entrance of a tomb (e.g. G. VITTMANN, “Die Autobiographie der Tathotis (Stele Wien 5857)”,

*SAK* 22, 1995, p. 297, n. 17), the dromos of a temple (V. RAZANAJAO, “La stèle de Gemenefhorbak (Caire JE 85932). Dieux, fêtes et rites osiriens à Imet”, *BIFAO* 106, 2006, p. 228, n. i), or the platform upon which the temple sits, and thus by extension the temple itself (J.C. DARNELL, “Two Notes on Marginal Inscriptions at Medinet Habu”, in B. M. Bryan, D. Lorton (ed.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, 1994, p. 49-51); for the various meanings of *hty*, cf. H. GAUTHIER, “Le ‘Reposoir’ du dieu Min”, *Kêmi* 2, 1929, p. 41-82. Gorre suggested reading the present example as *rwd-wr* or *pr-bty*. (*Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 391, n. 1123).

<sup>59</sup> E.g. *Edfou* III, 118, 2; *Dendara* I, 40, 12; *Dendara* III, 65, 2; *Dendara* IV, 38, 7; for further examples of the “great dais/throne, (*bndw wr*)” *Dendara* I, 93, 8; *Dendara* II, 130, 1; A. GUTBUB, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* I, *BdE* 47, 1973, p. 313, n. (c); MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 20, 239-241; K.L. KUHLMANN, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten*, *ADAIK* 10, 1970, p. 9-10; and note the title *bnty-bndw*, “the one foremost of/before the dais” (*ibid.*, p. 104; W.A. WARD, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 1982, p. 132, No. 1131).

might write  = *bnt.t*, “forecourt (of the palace),”<sup>60</sup> a term which appears in the common epithet: who enters the palace () while the other officials (must remain) outside (*‘qr bnt.t wr.w r-b3’*).”<sup>61</sup> In that case, one could translate the present passage as: “beside the throne within the palace, a great one (*wr*) whose arrival is awaited among the officials.” Finally, this could also write *rw.t* (< *rwd*) *wr(t)*, “the great portal,” a term which elsewhere designates the Ptolemaic palace.<sup>62</sup>

- h. Reading  = *z3w*, “to wait,” based on parallels in other autobiographies.<sup>63</sup> While the *s3w*-sign often has the consonantal value *s*, it can also write *s3/z3*, as in  = *z3*, “to protect,”<sup>64</sup>  = *z3*, “corral,”<sup>65</sup> and  = *z3*, “to protect,” derived from Thoth as *s3w*, “the perceptive one.”<sup>66</sup>
- i. This epithet is quite frequent for divinities and kings, but not necessarily for officials.<sup>67</sup>
- j. The word *htr* usually refers to taxes or compulsory tribute,<sup>68</sup> and thus this epithet probably refers to Harchebi’s economic duties as *dioikētēs* (either “whom the king trusts with all of his taxes” or “whom the king trusts (most) among his tax-collectors”).<sup>69</sup> Amenpayom, a Ptolemaic *strategos*, similarly vaunted of his zeal in collecting taxes for the treasury of Mendes.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, the context suggests a more general reference to

<sup>60</sup> *Wb.* III, 307, 10-14; J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, *OBO* 198, 2004, pp. 421-422.

<sup>61</sup> DERCHAIN, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, p. 46, pl. IV, col. 1 (BM 1668); for variants, see G. Lefebvre, “Le grand prêtres d’Amon, Harmakhis, et deux reines de la XXVe dynastie,” *ASAE* 25, 1925, 27, line 3 (*‘qr bnt.t, sr.w r-b3’*); *La collezione egiziana del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*, 1989, p. 56, 3.12, col. 1 (*‘qr bnt.t, iu z nb m-r[wy]’*); O. KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes, Glyptothèques Ny Carlsberg*, 1950, pl. 120, col. 1 (*‘qr bnt.t, z nb r-rwty’*); GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes*, p. 221-2, col. 1: *‘qr bnt.t, smr.w r-rwty’*). In many of these examples, one might also translate *‘qr bnt* as “who enters inside (*εχογνη*).” For similar epithets, see further L. COULON, “Les sièges de prêtre d’époque tardive: à propos de trois documents thébains,” *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 8, n. M.

<sup>62</sup> I. GUERMEUR, Chr. THIERS, “Un éloge xoïte de Ptolémée Philadelphé. La stèle BM EA 616”, *BIFAO* 101, 2001, p. 204-205, n. f.

<sup>63</sup> See primarily H. DE MEULENAERE, “Notes ptolémaïques: 2. L’expression *z3w r iu.t.f*”, *BIFAO* 53, 1953, p. 106-107; A.H. GARDINER, “‘To await’ in Middle Egyptian”, *JEA* 43, 1957, p. 112-113; R. EL-SAYED, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, p. 122, n. e; D.M. DOXEY, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, *PdÄ* 12, 1998, p. 167-169, 363; J. HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken: Aspekte der biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, *OBO* 226, 2007, p. 300, n. 778. This exact phrase (*z3i.w iu.t.f m-m sr.w*) occurs in the inscription of Hapidjefai I (*Urk.* VII, 60, 17; 65, 14) with multiple copies in the Late Period (H. DE MEULENAERE, “La statue d’un Vizir Thébain: Philadelphia, University Museum E. 16025”, *JEA* 68, 1982, p. 139 and pl. 14, 2, lines x+4-5; J. KAHL, *Siu-Theben: Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten*, *PdÄ* 13, 1999, p. 258-260). G. Gorre translated “on se lève (*s3w*) lors de sa venue parmi les grands,” without commenting on the otherwise unattested translation of *s3w*, “to stand up” *op. cit.*, p. 391).

<sup>64</sup> N. DE G. DAVIES, *Hibis* III, pl. 33, col. II; this reading is confirmed by the parallel in P. HARRIS MAG. r° V.7 (see D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 88, n. B and pl. 19).

<sup>65</sup> Buceheum stela 18, line 2 (L. GOLDBRUNNER, *Buchis*, 2004, pl. 9); P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 786.

<sup>66</sup> H. DE MEULENAERE, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 75 and 81.

<sup>67</sup> E. OTTO, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, *AHAW* 1964, p. 20, 141-142; S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara, Le Temple d’Isis*, II, *OLA* 179, 2009, p. 25, n. 39, 289. G. Gorre, (*op. cit.*, p. 391, incorrectly rendered this epithet as “celui qui n’agit pas dans l’ignorance.”

<sup>68</sup> D. WARBURTON, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt: Fiscal Vocabulary in the New Kingdom*, *OBO* 151, 1997, p. 263-277; G. GORRE (*ibid.*) translated this passage as “celui qui contente le cœur du roi avec toutes ses taxes.”

<sup>69</sup> For the term *htr.w*, “tax-collectors,” see *Wb.* III, 201, 19, D. MEEKS, *AL* III, 79.2105; and J.-M. KRUCHTEN, “Le verbe *htr* et ses dérivés jusqu’à la fin du Nouvel Empire. Sens et traduction”, *AIPHOS* 24, 1980, p. 44.

<sup>70</sup> Cleveland 41.141, cols. 2-3; cf. the discussion by Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis* 3, p. 225-227.

official responsibilities,<sup>71</sup> and one could compare Demotic: *htr*, and Coptic: *swf*, “need; requirement,”<sup>72</sup> and translate: “with all his needs.”

Alternatively, this could be the rare military title *htry*, “cavalry officer” (< *nty htr*), a variant of the more common *hrp-nfrw*, “director of horses.”<sup>73</sup> However, Harchebi does not seem to have held any military positions.

- k. Understanding: “who carries out whatever (the king) desires.”<sup>74</sup> An exact parallel to this entire passage appears on the Mendesian statue of Amenpayom (Cleveland 1948.141, col. 2). The second epithet (“without being opposed”) usually refers to the king or deities,<sup>75</sup> and thus Archibios assumes a certain degree of divine authority in his office.
- l. The orthography of the first word is an interesting *Mischform* confusing  = *mdw*, “to speak,” and  = *d3-r3*, “to eat; to feed.”<sup>76</sup> Although the latter reading would provide an interesting epithet (“who dines alone with the king”), there are many examples of the phrase “who speaks with the king in private (*mdw hn' nsw.t m w'w*).”<sup>77</sup> A comparable orthography appears on Louvre C 317, line 10: *mdw* () *n=f nsw.t m w'w*.<sup>78</sup> Alternatively, this could be an unusual “group writing” of *d3d* for *dd*, “to speak” (cf. *infra*, n. (s) for a similar orthography of *sw*).
- m. The epithet *hnty-Hsr.t* is apparently just a general reference to Thoth,<sup>79</sup> and not a specific allusion to Thoth of Baqiliyah (cf. *infra*, n. af) who is always designated *wp-rb.wy*.<sup>80</sup>
- n. It is unclear why Harchebi uses the archaic term *sk.w*, “troops.”<sup>81</sup> The medial sign in this word derives from the usual determinatives for the word *sk*, “lance” (, , )<sup>82</sup> which also occur in spellings of *sk.w* already in the New Kingdom (e.g.    ; *Urk.* IV, 758, 9).
- o. G. Gorre incorrectly copied  instead of  *shpr sfy.t*. This phrase recalls epithets of officials who claimed to spread fear or respect (*nrw, snd*) of the king, especially on expeditions

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the similar epithets *mb-ib n Hr/nsw.t m sbr.w=f*, “confidant of Horus (var. the king) in his affairs” (J. HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, p. 226, C1; G. MASPERO, H. GAUTHIER, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, II, p. 86). For classical examples, see J. JANSSEN, *De traditionelle egyptische Autobiografie* I, p. 67-68; D.M. DOXEY, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets*, p. 314; H. GUKSCH, *Königsdienst*, SAGA II, 1994, p. 136-137, for the variants “confidant of the king in all his missions (*m wp.wt=f nb*)”, “in all his plans (*m sbr.w=f nb*)”, “in all his designs (*m sdm.w=f nb*)”, or even “all things he desires (*ibt nb mrr.t=f*)”; cf. Fr. CUMONT, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, pp. 42-43, n. 3.

<sup>72</sup> W. ERICHSEN, *DG*, 343; W. CRUM, *CD*, 772b.

<sup>73</sup> JE 44901, line 15; G. DARESSY, “Un second exemplaire du décret de

l'an XXIII de Ptolémée Épiphane”, *RT* 38, 1916, 178-179.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. J. JANSSEN, *op. cit.*, I, p. 46-47.

<sup>75</sup> E. OTTO, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 15, 18-19, 142.

<sup>76</sup> *Wb.* V, 514, 1-3; S. SAUNERON, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*, *Esna* V, 1962, p. 13, n. (m); P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1214. The hieratic forms of the *mdw* and *d3*-signs are relatively similar in the Late Period; G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Päläographie* III, p. 37 (391) and 43 (456).

<sup>77</sup> For this and similar phrases, see recently O. PERDU, “Documents relatifs aux gouverneurs du Delta au début de la XXVI<sup>e</sup> dynastie”, *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 158-9, n. (f) (with variants and further references); J. HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, p. 35, n. 92, 333-334.

<sup>78</sup> É. CHASSINAT, “Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis”, *RT* 25, 1903, 53; J.J. CLÈRE, “L'expression *dns mhwt* des autobiographies égyptiennes”, *JEA* 35, 1949, p. 40.

<sup>79</sup> See the examples in *LGG* V, p. 843-844; in the “Book of Thoth,” “he of Hesret” is one of the most common names for Thoth; R. JASNOW, K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, I, 2005, p. 9-10.

<sup>80</sup> The epithet *hnty-Hsr.t* does not occur in any of the inscriptions relating to Baqiliyah collected by A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis* I.

<sup>81</sup> R.O. FAULKNER, *CDME*, p. 251; L. LESKO, *DLE* III, p. 106; another example from the Ptolemaic period occurs in S. CAUVILLE, “L'hymne à Mehyt d'Edfou”, *BIAFO* 82, 1982, p. 106, col. 5.

<sup>82</sup> *Wb.* IV, 315, 6-7.

outside of Egypt.<sup>83</sup> In the present context, Harchebi implies that he maintains the prestige of Ptolemy by supplying the military with all necessary resources.

- p. Understanding  for . Amenpayom of Mendes claimed that “the king loved him the most of all his seal-bearers (*mr.n=f sw r htmy.w=f nb*).”<sup>84</sup> The precise nuance of this title in the Ptolemaic Period is unclear, but it could potentially designate any administrators bearing official seals. In that case, the present epithet would characterize the *dioikêtês* as chief bureaucrat – in Alexandria, Mendes or elsewhere – dispatching officials throughout the *chora* and possibly outside of Egypt proper.
- q. These phrases seem to express that Harchebi is literally surrounded by food and provisions for the country, as if he were in the middle of a procession of fecundity figures carrying produce from the fields of Egypt (cf. *infra*, n. (r)).
- r. The goddess Nenet ( ) was a serpent goddess of abundance, just like the similarly named and more popular Renenutet.<sup>85</sup> She usually appears in processions of divinities bringing agricultural produce to the temple.
- s. Reading:   = *fw n r̥w=f*, “his speech (lit. “breath of his mouth”).<sup>86</sup> The unusual “group writing” of *fw* recalls similar orthographies on the Mendes Stela (line 2):  <sup>87</sup> and in the name *p̥y=f-fw*:  <sup>88</sup> The unusual appearance of the sail-determinative may be influenced by the tree hieroglyph, perhaps because of the similar word, “willow (*tr.t*)” ().<sup>89</sup> The power to “decree life” is usually a royal or divine prerogative,<sup>90</sup> but traditional epithets often emphasize the miraculous powers of private officials’ speech.<sup>91</sup> One might compare the lofty claims of a general from the Thirtieth Dynasty:<sup>92</sup>

<sup>83</sup> G. POSENER, *L'Enseignement loyaliste. Sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire*, HEO 5, 1976, p. 20, n. 3; D.M. DOXEY, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, p. 73. Note also stela Louvre 359, line 4, where the General Ahmose tells the Apis bull: “I have placed fear of you in the hearts of everybody (*rd̥.n=î snd=k m ib n bw nb*)” (G. POSENER, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, BdE 11, 1936, p. 43, 45, n. (j); J. VERCOUTTER, *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis: contribution à l'étude des stèles votives du Sérapéum*, BEHE 316, 1962, p. 115, n. (I)); for a similar idea, see also H.W. FAIRMAN, “A Statue from the Karnak Cache”, JEA 20, 1934, pl. I, 1, col. 7, with the note of H. DE MEULENAERE, BIFAO 61, 1962, n. (n).

<sup>84</sup> Cleveland 1948.141, col. 2; cf. the discussion of Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis* 3, p. 225-226, n. i.

<sup>85</sup> See primarily J. YOYOTTE, “Quelques divinités retrouvées: Nenout, obscure collègue d’Ermouthis, et les collèges de « génies économiques », ACF95,

1994-95, p. 647-648, 662-669 (to which this example should be added); LGGIV, 248; I. GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes. Recherches de géographie religieuse*, BEHE, Sciences religieuses 123, 2005, p. 84-86.

<sup>86</sup> Wb. V, 351, 3.

<sup>87</sup> Urk. II, 33, 9.

<sup>88</sup> PNI, 127, 21.

<sup>89</sup> D. KURTH, in D. Kurth (ed.), *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys*, p. 80-81, examples (z) and (al), notes several examples of confusion between the tree and sail at Edfu, suggesting an origin in the similar hieratic writings. The horizontal line on the mast appears quite often in Graeco-Roman examples of this sign; see Fr. Daumas (ed.), *Valeurs phonétiques* III, pp. 568-572; and see the recent discussion of F. FÖRSTER, „Klar zum Gefecht!“ Zur Beschreibung des Kampfschiffes im Horusmythos von Edfu (Edfou VI, 79, 11-80, 10)”, SAK 34, 2006, 149-151.

Note that similar variants examples occur already in the Middle Kingdom (e.g. W.K. SIMPSON, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, PPYE 5, 1974, pl. 25: Fr. Daumas (ed.), *Valeurs phonétiques* III, pp. 568-572; and see the recent discussion of F. FÖRSTER, „Klar zum Gefecht!“ Zur Beschreibung des Kampfschiffes im Horusmythos von Edfu (Edfou VI, 79, 11-80, 10)”, SAK 34, 2006, 149-151. Note that similar variants examples occur already in the Middle Kingdom (e.g. W.K. SIMPSON, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, PPYE 5, 1974, pl. 25:

ANOC 16.2, line 3; J. MONNET SALEH, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 1970, p. 16-17, No. 5, line 1; références kindly noted by John C. Darnell).

<sup>90</sup> E. OTTO, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 55, 65, 120-121; N.-Chr. GRIMAL, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne, de la XXIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre*, MAIBL 6, 1986, p. 243-244, n. 767. An excellent royal example comes from the *Inscription Dédicatoire* of Ramesses II: “his speech alone created all provisions (*shpr.n mdw=f dñw nb*)” (KRI II, 326, 15; A. SPALINGER, *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II: a Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos*, CHANE 33, 2009, p. 30).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. J. HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, p. 303: “who clothes a million men with his speech (*wnb z bñ m s.t-r̥w=f*)”, “who rejuvenates millions by means of his utterances (*wnbñ bñ.w m tp-r̥.w=f*).”

<sup>92</sup> MMA 1996.91, Back Pillar, col. 1; PM VIII, 801-727-310; the statue will be published by the author.



*dns-mhw.(t) iw d(d)=f m t(?)w n 'nb*  
*Weighty of utterance,<sup>93</sup> whatever he says is the breath of life.<sup>94</sup>*

Nonetheless, the present epithet might simply imply that all of Harchebi's conversations and decrees as *dioikêtès* are concerned with supporting life.

- t. The command “not to diminish (*tm bb*)”<sup>95</sup> recalls the “decree of Thoth” mentioned on the Mendes stela justifying additional offerings for the Mendesian Ram: “If one were to diminish (*bb*) his (sc. the Ram of Mendes) offerings, then millions of people would inevitably perish (*ir bb.tw p3.wt=f, hr bb.w 3q.(w) m rmt*).”<sup>96</sup>
- u. For this sportive writing of the title *snty*, see *supra*, Front Text, n. a.
- v. Since Harchebi speaks in the first person in the following column, one can restore with reasonable certainty: “Har[chebi, son of Pamnevis, born of Senobastis, he says: I am...].”
- w. The group does not appear to belong to the preceding word, and the next phrase is an adverbial sentence (“the Ram of Mendes is in my heart”), and thus it seems to be a mistake for a particle such as *iw* or *ist*. Alternatively, one could possibly translate: “who supplies the offerings of (my) father (*swd 3w.wt it(=i)*),” alluding to the Ram of Mendes.
- x. The toponym Anpet frequently appears as the home of the Ram(s) of Mendes, and thus here it probably refers to the temple of the living ram in Tell Rub'a.<sup>97</sup> The claim to place a divinity in one's heart is a fairly standard expression of piety.<sup>98</sup>
- y. Reading: = *h'pi*.<sup>99</sup> An identical orthography occurs in a similar context in the Mendes stela (line 17; *Urk.* II, 44, 12-13), where a pseudo-epigraphic decree of Thoth stresses the

<sup>93</sup> For this epithet and the sportive orthography, see J. J. CLÈRE, *JEA* 35, 1949, p. 38-42; *id.*, “Deux nouveaux exemples de l'expression *dn̄s mhwt*”, *JEA* 37, 1951, p. 112; H. DE MEULENAERE, “Raccords memphites”, *MDAIK* 47, 1991, p. 247, col. 1, 248, n. (b).

<sup>94</sup> The sportive Thirtieth Dynasty orthographies in this passage are well-attested elsewhere; for *d(d)=f*, see O. PERDU, *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 154-155, n. i; for *tw < t3w*, see *ibid.*, p. 158, n. r; for *nš < 'nb*, see *Wb.* I, 193, 8.

<sup>95</sup> One could also translate: “his command is ‘Do not diminish (*bn=f* *pw tm bb*)!’” Cf. J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 477, n. 116, for this use of *tm*.

<sup>96</sup> Mendes stela, l. 17 = *Urk.* II, 44, 8-9, simultaneously an allusion to the Inundation Hymn (cf. Chr. THIERS, *Protomée Philadelphie et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*, p. 192, n. 583; for *hr sdm=f* expressing an inevitable outcome, cf. P. VERNUS, *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect*

*in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics*, *YES* 4, 1990, p. 78-82. Another Mendesian priest claims that the entire cosmos (e.g. the Inundation, solar cycle) depends on “not diminishing the offerings (*tm bb p3.wt*)” of the sacred rams (M. BURCHARDT, “Ein saitischer Statuensockel in Stockholm”, *ZÄS* 47, 1910, p. 111-112, col. 2); cf. also H. DE MEULENAERE, P. MACKAY, *Mendes* II, pl. 25, fig. 63b, col. 2.

<sup>97</sup> See particularly: *Urk.* II, 38, 13; *Edfou* I, 334, 4; N. DE G. DAVIES, *Hibis* III, pl. 23 (South Wall, col. 5); 33, cols. 16, 26-27 (cf. D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 112, nn. A-B); H. WILD, “Statue d'un noble mendésian du règne de Psamétique I<sup>er</sup> aux musées de Palerme et du Caire”, *BIFAO* 60, 1960, p. 53-4, col. 1; Fr. VON KÄNEL, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket*, *BEHE Sciences religieuses*, v87, 1984, p. 111; D. MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 25 and 263, n. 705; for Anpet in general, cf. P. MONTET, *Géographie* II,

p. 146; D. REDFORD, “Some observations on the Northern and North-Eastern Delta,” in B.M. Bryan, D. Lorton (ed.), *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedcke*, 1994, p. 202-203. Another example of Anpet appears in H. SELIM, “Three Unpublished Late Period Statues”, *SAK* 32, 2004, p. 374, col. 1 (incorrectly read by the editor as *nw*, “time”).

<sup>98</sup> E.g. G. LEFEBVRE, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, 61, 28; 81, 23-24; 116, 5; Ph. DERCHAIN, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, pl. IV, col. 6. Other priests claim that the splendor (*jjy.t*) of a god is throughout their body; cf. COULON, *RdE* 52, 2001, 96, n. (gg).

<sup>99</sup> Although one would expect the flesh-sign to write the phoneme *h'* (see the recent comments of J. Fr. QUACK, “Sokonopis als Gott und Mensch”, *Enchoria* 30, 2006/7, p. 81), there are other examples of this abbreviated spelling: *LGG* V, 44b; M.T. DERCHAIN-URTEL, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, p. 81; *Mam. Dendara*, 196, 3;

exceptional nature of the Mendesian Ram when requesting additional offerings and tax-exemptions for Mendes:

*hr nty b'ḥ H'pī ȝb.t hr pȝ.wt=f*

“Because the Inundation (ȝ) floods the earth bearing his offerings.”

This sentence argues that the Nile floods primarily in order to supply offerings for the Ram of Mendes,<sup>100</sup> and thus the agricultural prosperity of Egypt is dependant on the Mendesian cult.<sup>101</sup> Harchebi thus presents his support for the Ram of Mendes as a natural extension of his duties as *dioikêtēs*, chief agricultural and financial minister.

z. The slightly unconventional form of the *qs*-sign (§; for *qrs.t*)<sup>102</sup> is apparently influenced by the hieratic.<sup>103</sup> G. Gorre thought that Harchebi donated “toutes sortes de produits provenant de la maison de purification (*btm nb n ȝmyw w'bt*).”<sup>104</sup> However, the *w'bt* was actually the building in which sacred animals were mummified,<sup>105</sup> not a place for producing special goods. The precious objects donated to the *w'bt* could have included any number of amulets, vessels, tools and expensive oils required to mummify the sacred rams of Mendes.<sup>106</sup> A Ptolemaic priest from Heliopolis made similar claims concerning his donations for the mummification of a Mnevis bull:<sup>107</sup>

*wrȝ=i m hrw nn “w m grḥ  
hr rdi.t iȝt nw w'bt.m wȝȝy.t=k  
m sȝȝ hd(=i)  
r ph(=i) hrw n pr r p.t  
iȝw=i rb.kw niȝ gm(.w) w' im=sn im*

Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis 3*, p. 101, col. 2, in the epithet *b'pī n iȝw.t=f* (CG 700); L. ŽABKAR, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, 1988, fig. 5, col. 4 (L. Žabkar, p. 51, read *w'bt*, “the pure water”).

<sup>100</sup> Archibios uses the specific phrase “for the purpose of his offerings (*r hr.w=f*)”, recalling an epithet of Harpokrates on the Mendes stela: “unto whom the land is given for the purpose of his offerings (*rdi(.w) n=fȝȝ.w r hr.w=f*)” (*Urk. II*, 31, 11; and cf. *Urk. II*, 43, 6).

<sup>101</sup> This phrase is nonetheless fairly common in texts describing the Inundation; Chr. THIERS, *Ptolémée Philadelph et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*, p. 36-37, n. (62).

<sup>102</sup> For this abbreviated spelling of *q(r)s.t*, see K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Drei Denkmäler mit archaisierender Orthographie,” *Orientalia 67*, 1998, 164, col. 4, and 166, n. 14.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. D. KURTH, in D. Kurth (ed.), *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys*, p. 76 (c) and 83 (ax).

<sup>104</sup> G. GORRE, *op. cit.*, p. 392; for the meaning of *btm.wt*, “precious objects,”

cf. J.C. DARNELL, *RdE 59*, 2008, 84, n. b.

<sup>105</sup> R.L. Vos, *The Apis Embalming Ritual. P. Vindob. 3873, OLA 50*, 1993, p. 32-34; J.Fr. QUACK, “Die Rolle des heiligen Tieres im Buch von Tempel,” in M. Fitznerreiter (ed.), *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten und im Kulturvergleich, IBAES 4*, 2003, p. 140, 120-122; F. COPPENS, *The Wabet: Tradition and Innovation in Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period*, 2007, p. 58-60.

<sup>106</sup> A stela of Nectanebo I from the Serapeum records large quantities of precious metals, stones, wood, and oils donated for a single Apis burial: W. SPIEGELBERG, in J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqarah, 1907-1908*, 1909, p. 89-91 (esp. lines 6ff); for the amulets and other objects needed for animal burials, see also E. JELINKOVÁ-REYMOND, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-Sauveur*, *BdE 23*, 1956, p. 109-110; J. VERCOUTTER, “Une épitaphe royale inédite du Sérapéum”, *MDAIK 16*, 1958, p. 335; R.L. Vos, *Apis Embalming Ritual (passim)*. For the ram burials at

Mendes, see R.K. HOLZ, D. STIEGLITZ, D.P. HANSEN, E. OCHSENSCHLAGER, *Mendes I*, 1980, p. 24, pl. 31; D. KESSLER, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König, Teil I: Beiträge zu Organisation, Kult und Theologie der spätzeitlichen Tierfriedhöfe, ÄAT 16*, 1989, p. 154-157; Fr. LECLÈRE, *Les villes de Basse Égypte au I<sup>er</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. Analyse archéologique et historique de la topographie urbaine*, I, *BdE 144*, 2008, p. 333.

<sup>107</sup> K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK 29*, 2001, p. 100, B, cols. 5-7, 102, 106, n. 36 (Hermitage 5629); for similar donations of precious items to temples in the Ptolemaic Period, see Chr. THIERS, “Égyptiens et Grecs au service des cultes indigènes. Un aspect de l'évergétisme en Égypte lagide,” in M. Molin (ed.), *Les régulations sociales dans l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque d'Angers 23 et 24 mai 2003*, 2006, p. 277. For donations specifically to the *w'bt* of the Apis bull, see also G. POSENER, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 43, lines 5-6, p. 46, n. n.

*I stayed awake all day, never sleeping at night,  
giving the objects necessary for the w<sup>c</sup>b.t to your storehouse,  
by providing (my own) money,  
until I reached the day of ascending to heaven,  
since I knew that none of those (items) could be found there (previously).*

Harchebi specifies that his donation comes from his own estate (*pr*).<sup>108</sup> The general Hor from Herakleopolis similarly dedicated two local gardens to the temple of Heneb to supply daily offerings, noting “I compensated their owners with property from my own estate (*fqj.n=i nb.w=sn m ibt m pr=i*).”<sup>109</sup>

- aa. The present confusion between  $\text{↳}$  and  $\text{↳}$  is probably due to hieratic.<sup>110</sup>
- ab. For the idea that Egyptian officials could extend the lifetime of the ruling king through their actions, compare Lyon 1748, where the vizier Harsiese is “one who performs Maat (through which Re lives), and who (thereby) prolongs the lifetime of the lord on earth (*ir m<sup>c</sup>.t, 'nb R' im=s, sqj 'h<sup>c</sup>w n nb hr-tp t<sup>c</sup>*).”<sup>111</sup> Note also that on the Mendes Stela, Ptolemy II’s reward for renovating the precinct of the Mendesian Ram is “increasing his years as king (*sqj rnp.wt=f m nsw.t*)” (line 28; *Urk.* II, 51, 15).
- ac. For the precise nuances of *hws*, “to make (bricks) cohesive (for a foundation),” see most recently D. Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 132, n. 446. The propylon (*mb.t*) was the small gate in front of the temple,<sup>112</sup> and this modest structure was one of the most popular building projects for officials to finance in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>113</sup>
- ad. The first clause alludes to the common epithet, “straight of heart (*mtr ib/h<sup>c</sup>ty*),”<sup>114</sup> while the second phrase credits Thoth for keeping Harchebi’s heart from going astray (*tnm*).<sup>115</sup> Thoth, often called the “heart of Re,” is closely associated with the heart.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>108</sup> G. Gorre incorrectly copied the *pr*-sign over a diacritic stroke as plural strokes (*op. cit.*, p. 392).

<sup>109</sup> Louvre A. 88, col. 3; J. VERCOUTTER, “Les statues du général Hor, gouverneur d’Herakleopolis, de Busiris et d’Héliopolis (Louvre A. 88, Alexandrie s.n.)”, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 89 and 98, n. (e); in a related inscription, the same official claims to have donated “[wi]ne from my very own estate, knowing that it is actually god’s property ([*ir*] p m pr=i ds=i, *rb.kw hr.t-ntr pw*)” (*ibid.*, p. 104). For similar statements already in Old Kingdom autobiographies, see J.C. MORENO GARCIA, *Études sur l’administration, le pouvoir et l’idéologie en Égypte, de l’Ancien au Moyen Empire*, *AegLeaD* 4, 1997, p. 30-31.

<sup>110</sup> Already noted at Edfu by D. Kurth, in D. Kurth, ed., *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys*, p. 83 (bb); cf. also N. DE G. DAVIES, *Hibis* III, pl. 9, speech of Tayet, col. 5.

<sup>111</sup> J.-Cl. GOYON, M. GABOLDE, “Trois pièces de Basse Époque et d’époque ptolémaïque au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon”, *BMML*, 1991/3-4, p. 9; cf. also K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Eine Grabübernahme in der 30. Dynastie”, *JEA* 83, 1997, p. 171, fig. 2, col. 2-3, 174, n. (o).

<sup>112</sup> For the various meanings of *mb.t*, see Cl. TRAUNECKER, *Coptos. Hommes et dieux sur le parvis de Geb*, *OLA* 43, §340-346; for additional examples in private inscriptions, see S. CAUVILLE, “La chapelle de Thot-Ibis à Dendera édifiée sous Ptolémée I<sup>er</sup> par Hor, scribe d’Amon-Re”, *BIFAO* 89, 1989, p. 46, line 6, 49, n. 21 (transliteration uncertain); Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis* 3, p. 258, cols. 9 and 10 (JE 67094), and 271, col. 8 (JE 67093).

<sup>113</sup> See Chr. THIERS, in M. Molin (ed.), *Les régulations sociales dans l’Antiquité*, p. 291.

<sup>114</sup> J.M.A. JANSSEN, *De traditionele egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe*

*Rijk*, I, 1946, p. 23-24; J. HEISE, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, p. 96, n. 251; VERNUS, *Athribis*, p. 175, n. a; note especially the common phrase in Demotic contracts: *h<sup>c</sup>ty=y mtr.w n-im=f*, “My heart is in accord with this” (W. ERICHSEN, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 190).

<sup>115</sup> For the *topos* of the wandering (*tnm/stnm*) heart, see A. EGBERTS, *In quest of Meaning* I, p. 102, n. 5. This concept is related to the desire to keep one’s heart in its proper place, for which see I; GUERMEUR, *RdE* 51, 2000, p. 77, n. (r); J.C. DARNELL, “The Eleventh Dynasty Royal Inscription from Deir el-Ballas”, *RdE* 59, 2008, p. 85, n. a. For divinities guiding people on the correct path, see O. PERDU, *JEA* 84, 1998, p. 141, n. (x).

<sup>116</sup> See recently D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 27-28, n. C; and note that Thoth is also called “lord of the heart (*p<sup>c</sup> nb n p<sup>c</sup> h<sup>c</sup>t*)” in O. Hor. 26 (J.D. RAY, *The Archive of Hor*, 1976, p. 161).

ae. The circumlocution *rd̄i ph r-bnt*, “to allow/cause to reach,” is slightly awkward, but it might reflect Coptic πωρ (var. τρωπο)εξογν<sup>117</sup> implying that Harchebi went beyond his expected duties by renovating the necropolis of the neighboring town (e.g. “I let my building activity extend as far as Baqiliyeh”). Alternatively, this could be the phrase *rd̄i-ph.wy*, “to bring and end to; to complete,”<sup>118</sup> emphasizing that Harchebi completed works left unfinished by his predecessors.

af. As the designation “place of repose (*s.t-htp*)” suggests,<sup>119</sup> the *pr-wnb.t* was the sacred necropolis of the Hermopolite nome in Lower Egypt.<sup>120</sup> *Wp-rb.wy* is an abbreviation of *pr-Dhwty-wp-rb.wy*, “Domain of Thoth who Judges the Two Companions,” another name for Baqiliyeh (*B'ḥ*), or the entire Hermopolite nome in general.<sup>121</sup> The present determinative of the toponym may have been influenced by the Mendesian priestly title and location *wp-ntr.wy*.<sup>122</sup>

ag. A similar use of the phrase *phry.t (r-)zw*, “an extended period of time”<sup>123</sup> occurs on the naos of Saft el-Henna, where Nectanebo I commemorates restoring divine statuettes to their proper shrines: “after an extended period of time (in which) they had wandered off to foreign lands (*m-bt phry.t zw(t) s(n) hr phrhr r b3s.wt*).”<sup>124</sup> The same expression also appears in the Suez Canal stele of Darius I.<sup>125</sup> Kings usually claim to have performed restoration work where nothing had been done by any previous rulers since the time of the gods.<sup>126</sup> Harchebi’s claim is more modest and bears comparison with a similar statement of Petosiris concerning his building activities in Hermopolis: “work had not been carried out there since the foreigners (Persians) had

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Coptic πωρ εξογν, “to reach, arrive within” and the causative τρωπο (< *di-ph*), “to cause to reach; to guide” (W. CRUM, *CD* 281b and 461a).

<sup>118</sup> R. EL-SAYED, “Un document relatif au culte dans le Fayoum à la basse époque. Statue Caire CG. 688”, *BIFAO* 81 *Supp*, 1981, p. 316, n. (c).

<sup>119</sup> For *s.t-htp* denoting a tomb, see *Wb.* III, 191, 10; J. VERCOUTTER, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, 89 (§4), and 99, n. (ai); M. SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, 1987, p. 49. The term *s.t-htp* elsewhere refers to the Western Horizon, the place where the sun sets; J.C. DARNEll, in B.M. BRYAN, D. LORTON (ed.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, p. 42-44, n. b.

<sup>120</sup> A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis I*, p. 159, 160, n. (b); 184, 186, 194, n. (m), 219, 220, n. (d), 226, 230; P. MUNRO, “Die Statuen der *Hrw* aus Baqiliya und Tell el-Balâmûn Kestner-Museum 1980.84 / Lausanne 9 / Turin 3026”, in J. OSING, G. DREYER (ed.), *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten*

*Ägypten* (Fs. Fecht), *ÄAT* 12, 1987, p. 314, n. d; I. GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes*, p. 219, n. (h); P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 352-353.

<sup>121</sup> For the abbreviated form, cf. A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis I*, p. 135, 185, 190, n. (k); J. OSING, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*, *CNIP* 17, 1998, p. 244. An unpublished statue from the Delta records benefactions performed by its owner, noting (line 2): “*B'ḥ, Wp-Rb.wy* and *Sb.t-Hr* rejoice, since his prestige has become manifest to them (*B'ḥ, Wp-Rb.wy, Sb.t-Hr (hr) nhm, snd=fibpr.tw m hr=sn*)”, suggesting that *B'ḥ* and *Wp-Rb.wy* may have been distinct but related cities, like Pe and Dep (PM VIII, 801-768-430).

<sup>122</sup> Already noted by A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis I*, p. 158; for the title *wp-ntr.wy*, see primarily H. WILD, *BIFAO* 60, 1960, p. 50-51, n. (f); H. SELIM, *SAK* 32, 2004, p. 375, n. (d); for the Mendesian locale *Wp-ntr.wy*, see P. MONTET, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne I*, 1957, p. 146-147.

<sup>123</sup> For *phry.t*, “period of time,” see *Wb.* I, 548, 7; D. MEEKS, *AnLex* III,

79.1030; Fr. DAUMAS, *Les moyens d’expression du grec et de l’gyptien comparés dans les décrets de Canope et de Memphis*, *SASAE* 16, 1952, p. 120; G. MASPERO, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, I, 1914, p. 223, col. 2.

<sup>124</sup> G. ROEDER, *Naos*, p. 76, §316; reading *s(n)* after *zw* based on the copy of BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, p. 779A. Although the verb *phrhr* is a hapax (*Wb.* I, 549, 17) one can compare the similar *dbnbn*, “to move around; go in circles” (*Wb.* V, 439, 1-3); in a nearly identical section from the Canopus Decree, Ptolemy III returns divine statues to Egypt “after they had moved away (*mnmm*) from there previously” (line 6; *Urk.* II, 129, 4).

<sup>125</sup> G. POSENER, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 57 (doc. 8, l. 21), 80, 84, (doc 10, l. 8).

<sup>126</sup> Nonetheless, see P. VERNUS, *Essai sur la conscience de l’Histoire dans l’Égypte pharaonique*, *BEHE* 332, 1995, p. 57-59.

descended upon Egypt (*nn ir.(tw) k3.t im=fdr ii b3sty.w hr Km.t*).”<sup>127</sup> Esnun/Zenon of Coptos likewise claims to have reinstated festival processions of Isis “after many years of it lacking (*hr-s2 rnp.wt ‘3 m gm-ws*).”<sup>128</sup>

Harchebi appears to emphasize that he is the first official to have successfully completed building projects (*r3-'.wy, k3.t*)<sup>131</sup> in the sacred necropolis of Baqiliyeh. A passage from the Mendes stela suggests that temples and tombs easily turned into perpetual construction sites without proper supervision (*Urk. II, 38, 4-9*):<sup>132</sup>

*wn.in hm=f br phr hw.t-b3.w*  
*gm.n=f pr-b3 br ir.(t) k3.(t) im=f(...)*  
*wd.n hm=f r'rq=f m k3.t nbb*

*While his Majesty was touring the Temple of the Rams,  
he found that Ram house was still in a state of construction (...)*  
*his Majesty decreed that it be completed as a work of eternity.*

In his famous Hermopolis stela, Nectanebo I ordains the reconstruction of the temple of Nehmetaway and returns later to make sure the work has been finished. Afterwards, “his majesty rewarded the prophets and priests for having completed all works he had begun in Hesret (*wnn hm=f hr dī.t fq3 n hm.w-ntr.w w'b.w m'rq k3.t nb ir.t.n=f m Hzr.t*).”<sup>133</sup> Alternatively, the phrase ‘*rq k3.t*, “completing works,” could also refer to mummification rituals for the sacred ibises of Thoth.<sup>134</sup> A royal inscription from the Serapeum, possibly from the Twenty-Ninth Dynasty, described the restoration of proper Apis burial rituals, apparently after the Persian Domination, since: “his Majesty did not see any man of the entire land who would complete this important work (*nī gmḥ hm=fz nb n t3 pn r 'rq k3.t tn mnb.t*).”<sup>135</sup> Djedhor of Athribis similarly discovered that falcon mummification had been neglected in his town during the Persian Period: “Then one found numerous unburied falcons (...) I had them taken into the Wabet, and I had them (properly) interred (*hr.tw r=f gm.n.tw bik.w 's3 iwty qrs=sn (...) rdi=i 'q.n=sn r t3 w'b.t, rdi=i qrs=sn*).”<sup>136</sup>

127 G. LEFEBVRE, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris II*, No. 59, 3.

the phrase *ἰω.ωτ.ν.τ.ν.β.μ.ω.ω.ω.*, “all types of craftsmen,” cf. KRI II, 331, 4.

128 Ph. DERCHAIN, *Les impondérables de l'hellenisation*, pl. IV, col. 9 (BM 1668).

130 N. DE G. DAVIES, *Hibis* III, pls. 24 and 33, col. 43 (photograph in D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, pl. 42).

129 The horns on the latter sign (Gardiner F10) grow increasingly longer in Graeco-Roman Period hieratic, eventually approaching the shape of the *iwu.t*-emblem (O44); cf. G. Möller, *Hieratische Päläographie* III, p. 13, No. 150 (particularly the P. Rhind examples, which closely resemble the orthography on the present statue). For

<sup>131</sup> For the interchangeability of these two terms, see G. VITTMANN, *SAK* 22, 1995, p. 306, n. 72

<sup>132</sup> See also A. SPALINGER, *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II*, p. 25-26, for temples literally "in a state of construction (*m r3- k3.t.b3k*)."

133 G. ROEDER, *ASAE* 52, 1954, p. 411,  
line 31.

<sup>134</sup> For this sense of 'rq k.t. see J. VERCOUTTER, *MDAIK* 16, 1958, p. 334, n. (F), 345; D. MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 59, n. 75.

135 J. VERCOUTTER, *op. cit.*, p. 333, lines  
x+4-5.

136 E. JELINKOVÁ-REYMOND, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-Sauveur*, p. 109-110.

- ai. The phrase *wʒi r*, “to fall into (a negative state)” usually prefaces descriptions of temple renovations.<sup>137</sup>
- aj. For this common phrase, see P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 752; E. Jelinková-Reymond, *Djed-her*, p. 96, ll. 19-20; *Urk.* II, 67, 7; 68, 2 and 10.
- ak. Similar claims to be on the “path” or “water” of a certain deity are extremely common in Late Period autobiographies.<sup>138</sup>
- al. The epithet “great living god (*ntr ɔ 'nb*)” is probably an abbreviation of the fuller form “great living god of Re (*ntr ɔ 'nb n R'*)” which usually designates the Ram of Mendes.<sup>139</sup>

## Identity of the Owner / Date of the Statue

The statue belongs to Harchebi/Archibios, the son of Pamnevis and Senobastis (cf. *supra*, “Belt Inscription”). Although the name Harchebi is very common in Egypt, there are no further Egyptian documents of a man with the same parents. Nonetheless, it is tempting to compare a healing statue currently in Moscow (Pushkin Museum 5319), which supposedly comes from Mendes and belongs to a certain Harchebi.<sup>140</sup> Although no patronymic is given, he holds similar titles as Harchebi/Archibios: *iry-p'.t*, *ḥ3ty-p'.t*, *ḥtmyt-bity*, *smr w'ty*, and *sš-nsu.t*. He also holds the title *wpwty-ms'*, “messenger of the army,” which one might compare to the claims of Harchebi/Archibios to have supplied troops and seal-bearers (col. 2).

In his groundbreaking essay on the title *snty*, J. Yoyotte proposed identifying Harchebi/Archibios with a *dioikêtês* named Archibios (*Pros. Ptol.* I, no. 20) who served under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (c. 123-121 BCE), and possibly with a *hypodioikêtês* also named Archibios (*Pros. Ptol.* I, no. 905) attested several years earlier (c. 136 BCE).<sup>141</sup> This identification is perfectly reasonable, and has been followed by most subsequent scholars.<sup>142</sup> However, the lack of any genealogical information concerning the latter *dioikêtês* makes it impossible to confirm J. Yoyotte’s hypothesis. Ultimately, this identification hangs upon the problematic issue of the statue’s date.

B.V. Bothmer originally noted the similarities between the Kansas City statue, and two other Mendesian statues, Cleveland 48.141 and Louvre E. 15546, and suggested that all three might date to the reign of Ptolemy II.<sup>143</sup> His main reasons revolve around his observation that

<sup>137</sup> See J. FR. QUACK, “Ein altägyptisches Sprachtabu”, *LingAeg* 3, 1993, p. 59-79, and the more reasonable interpretation by D. FRANKE, “Das Entfernen eines Sprachtabus: nochmals zur Konstruktion *wʒi r'*”, *GM* 165, 1998, p. 51-56.

<sup>138</sup> See primarily G. VITTMANN, *Altägyptische Wegmataphorik*, p. 81, 5.76 (discussing this example).

<sup>139</sup> H. WILD, *BIFAO* 60, 1960, p. 65, n. 3; cf. also D. KURTH, *Die Dekoration des Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, *GOF* IV, Band II, 1983, p. 154, n. 13; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Ägyptische*

*Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, I, *ÄÄT* 8, 1985, p. 231, n. 2; I. GUERMEUR, “Le groupe familial de Pachéryentaisouy. Caire JE 36576”, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 261, Texte E1; *LGG* IV, 403; for the additional epithet “chief of the gods” applied to the Ram of Mendes, cf. *Urk.* II, 33, 12; 34, 6; *Edfou* IV, 303, 2.

<sup>140</sup> H. DE MEULENAERE, P. MACKAY, *Mendes* II, p. 199, pl. 23d-f, No. 59; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie des cades militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque*, 1985, p. 185, Doc. 284.

<sup>141</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL* 1989, p. 82-84.

<sup>142</sup> E.g. G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 392.

<sup>143</sup> B.B. BOTHMER, *ESLP*, p. 124-125; for all these statues, see conveniently H. DE MEULENAERE, P. MACKAY, *Mendes* II, pl. 24-25, noting the additional similar examples from the private collections of Otto L. Spaeth and David David-Weill. The early Ptolemaic date was followed by H. DE MEULENAERE, P. MACKAY, *Mendes* II, p. 199, and *Pros. Ptol.* VII, 5502b.

life-size private statues primarily occur under Ptolemy II and Ptolemy XII,<sup>144</sup> and his assumption that the excellent hieroglyphs on the Cleveland statue suggest an earlier date. J. Yoyotte subsequently challenged these dating criteria, and convincingly argued that the title *sn-nsw.t* (συγγενῆς) attributed to Amenpayom automatically places the Cleveland statue within the second or first centuries,<sup>145</sup> while noting that the “tracé et groupement des signes, graphies, thèmes autobiographiques” on the Mendesian statues are comparable to the inscriptions of late Ptolemaic officials from Tanis.<sup>146</sup> More importantly, J. Yoyotte claimed that a date under Ptolemy II would make Harchebi/Archibios a near-contemporary of the famous *dioikêtès* Apollonios, “ce qui cadre fort mal avec l’image que les hellénistes peuvent tracer des positions respectives des Grecs et des autochtones à l’époque de Philadelphie,” concluding “Inimaginable sous Philadelphie, un notable indigène parvenu si haut est bien venu sous Évergète II.”<sup>147</sup>

While J. Yoyotte was correct concerning the date of the Cleveland statue and the title *sn-nsw.t*, this observation is of minor importance regarding the Kansas City statue. On the one hand, both statues share certain features in common, including their size, the striding pose, the inscribed belt, and the tableau on the back pillar. Nonetheless, the two objects differ in most other details:

Kansas City 47-12	Cleveland 1948.141
Granite	Basalt
Asymmetrical inscription on belt	Symmetrical inscription on belt
Restrained tripartition of torso	Strong tripartition of torso
Non-pleated kilt	Pleated kilt
Four-column inscription	Three-column inscription
Hieroglyphs face right	Hieroglyphs face left <sup>148</sup>
Tableau is <i>below</i> trapezoidal area	Tableau is <i>within</i> trapezoidal area
Tableau is immediately above columns of inscription	Tableau is above a horizontal inscription, then columns of inscription

Artistically speaking, the two statues are quite different, and thus there is no reason to assume they came from the same studio.<sup>149</sup> In terms of textual content, both inscriptions mention “seal-bearers” and both officials are said to “perform what (the king) desires, without being opposed,” but these are only minor similarities.

<sup>144</sup> Explicitly stated in a discussion of other statues: B.V. BOTHMER, *ESLP*, p. 127-128.

<sup>145</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL* 1989, p. 83-84; followed by Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis* 3, p. 91-93; for the latter issue, see recently L. Coulon (*RdE* 52, 2001, p. 97-98) who notes that the title *sygenê's* does not occur for Egyptian officials until 135 BCE,

and that the title *sn-nsw.t* specifically designates the *strategos* beginning in 120 BCE.

<sup>146</sup> J. YOYOTTE, *CRAIBL* 1989, p. 84; G. Gorre exaggerated J. Yoyotte's comments, claiming that the style of the Mendesian and Tanite statues were actually “identiques” (*Les relations du clergé égyptien*, p. 385, n. 1101, 392).

<sup>147</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 83-84.

<sup>148</sup> For this rare feature, see I. GUERMEUR, *RdE* 51, 2000, 72, n. 17.

<sup>149</sup> Suggested by B.V. BOTHMER (*ESLP*, p. 125); followed by J. YOYOTTE, (*op. cit.*, p. 83); L.M. BERMAN, (*Cleveland Museum of Art: Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, p. 462).

In terms of social and political history, there is no reason to assume that an Egyptian *dioikêtês* would have been inconceivable under Ptolemy II. First of all, the prosopographical record is incomplete, and thus while Apollonios may have dominated the latter years of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (c. 259-239 BCE), documentary sources are almost completely silent concerning the *dioikêtês* in the first two decades of his reign (283-260 BCE).<sup>150</sup> Furthermore, it is precisely the Mendes stela which records Ptolemy II's preference for Egyptian officials (line 14; *Urk.* II, 42, 5-II):

$iw\ gr\ hm=f\ tz.n=f\ d\z m.w=f\ m\ hwn.w\ nfr.w$   
 $m\ ms.w\ mnfy.t\ nw\ B\z q.t$   
 $tp.w=sn\ m\ ms.w\ [tz]-mry$   
 $iw=sn\ m\ mh.w-ib.w\ n=f\ im$   
 $n\ 'z(t)\ n\ mr(r)=f\ Km.t\ r\ wn.t\ nb\ b\z k.n=f$   
 $hr\ s\z .n=f\ mn\ mh\ ib=sn\ hr=f$

*Moreover, his Majesty assembled his troops consisting of good youths  
from among children of the elite of Egypt,<sup>151</sup>  
their leaders being "sons of Egypt,"<sup>152</sup>  
serving as his trusted agents therein,  
inasmuch as he loved Egypt more than any other area he controlled,<sup>153</sup>  
since he recognized how useful they were for him.*

Bilingual Egyptian officials such as Harchebi/Archibios would have proved extremely valuable in the Ptolemaic Period, particularly in the administration of agricultural and economic affairs. The early Ptolemies realized this, and correspondingly employed mostly Egyptians in the office of *basilikos grammateus* in the third century BCE.<sup>154</sup> If Harchebi/Archibios were

<sup>150</sup> The only exception is Satyros (*PPI*, no. 47), possibly *dioikêtês* in 263 BCE (the reading is uncertain).

<sup>151</sup> Ph. Derchain understood *mnfy.t* to mean "l'armée," more specifically "les anciens mercenaires macédoniens" ("La garde 'égyptienne' de Ptolémée II", *ZPE* 65, 1986, p. 203); however, Cl. Vandersleyen had already convincingly demonstrated that the term *mnfy.t* often denotes a small group of Egyptian élites, from the Seventeenth Dynasty into the Ptolemaic Period (*Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, *MRE* 1, 1971, p. 177-190).

<sup>152</sup> Ph. Derchain translated "les premiers de celle-ci (l'armée d'Égypte) à être nés en Égypte (*tpjw.sn m msw (m) tz mrj*)" (*ZPE* 65, 1986, p. 203), insisting on the Macedonian ethnicity of the children.

However, the phrase *tp.w=sn m ms.w*, can hardly write "the first of them to be born"; cf. *Urk.* II, 129, 10 (Canopus Decree, line 7) where *tp.w=sn* clearly means "their leaders." One could understand *tp.w=sn m ms.w [m tz]-mry*, "their leaders were (Greeks) born [in Egypt]" similar to the Demotic expression *Wynn ms(.w) n Km.t*, "a Greek, born in Egypt" (cf. K. GOUDRIAAN, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*, *DMAHA* 5, 1988, p. 16-21), but this option requires a number of emendations. Alternatively, the phrase *ms.w tz-mry* could be a nationalistic designation for indigenous Egyptians, analogous to similar Semitic ethnonyms (e.g. Hebrew *bene Yisrael*, "children of Israel," and Arabic *ibna' al-Iraq*, "children of Iraq"; cf. H. WEHR, *Arabic-English Dictionary*<sup>4</sup>, 1994, p. 92-93). Other-

wise, as J.Fr. Quack recently noted, it is difficult to understand "why such an act [i.e. recruiting Macedonian soldiers] would be worth mentioning, especially in a text written in the Egyptian language," since the text otherwise celebrates royal benefactions to Egyptians and their temples ("Innovations in Ancient Garb? Hieroglyphic Texts from the Time of Ptolemy Philadelphus," in P. McKechnie, Ph. Guillaume (ed.), *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World*, *Mnemosyne-Suppl.* 300, 2008, p. 278).

<sup>153</sup> For the various nuances of *bz*-status, see recently J.C. DARNELL, *RdE* 59, 2008, p. 98-101

<sup>154</sup> J.F. OATES, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus*, p. 31 and 95; Th. KRUSE, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung*, I, p. 19.

*dioikêtès* under Ptolemy II, he would have been no more out of place than the Greek official Esnun/Zenon would have been in the clergies of Qus and Coptos in Upper Egypt.<sup>155</sup>

Finally, J. Yoyotte's comparison of the epigraphic style and textual content of the Kansas City statue to similar monuments from Tanis, all securely dated to the late Ptolemaic period, is unconvincing. In general, the inscriptions on the statue of Harchebi/Archibios are carefully arranged and meticulously carved, unlike the statues from Tanis.<sup>156</sup> More importantly, the autobiographical inscription strongly resembles similar texts from the Thirtieth Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic Period. In particular, the emphasis on temple renovation and the reviving animal cults after a period (*phry.t*) of neglect or destruction evoke the "Restoration Period" of the fourth century BCE, in which Pharaohs and many private individuals undid sacrileges purportedly committed by the Persians.<sup>157</sup> Although descriptions of temple construction also occur in the mid to late Ptolemaic Period, they are usually portrayed as additions and enlargements to existing structures, not renovations of neglected temples.

As noted above in the textual commentary, the inscription on the Kansas City statue bears several similarities to the Mendes stela of Ptolemy II. Although the recurrence of unusual orthographies may simply be coincidental (cf. *supra*, notes s and y), Harchebi directly quotes the Mendes stela when explaining his support for the Mendesian Ram (cf. *supra*, n. y). Furthermore, Harchebi claims to have had the king's confidence in all tax-related matters (*htr.w nb*; cf. *supra*, n. j), and a large section of the Mendes stela records Ptolemy II's tax reforms, many of which were suggested by local priests and officials from Mendes.<sup>158</sup> It is thus quite tempting to see Harchebi/Archibios as one of the influential members of the indigenous elite with whom Ptolemy II consulted regarding the Delta economy and funding for Egyptian temples.<sup>159</sup>

Comparison to similar sculptures does little to establish the date of the present statue. While Harchebi/Archibios shares many features in common with a famous statue of Ptolemy II (Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22681),<sup>160</sup> the modeling of the pectoral muscles more closely resemble royal statues of the mid-Ptolemaic Period (e.g. Rome, Museo Nazionale 60921),<sup>161</sup> and

<sup>155</sup> For the name and ethnicity of this prominent official who served under Ptolemy II, see most recently I. GUERMEUR, *BIFAO* 106, 2006, p. 105, n. 2.

<sup>156</sup> See Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis* 3, *passim*.

<sup>157</sup> For royal inscriptions, note especially the Hermopolis stela and naos of Saft el-Henna (Nectanebo I), the Satrap stela (Ptolemy I Soter), and the numerous stelae commemorating renovations of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (e.g. Mendes, Pithom, Sais, Xois; see recently Chr. THIERS, *Ptolémée Philadelph et les prêtres de Tjékou*, p. 167-195); private inscriptions include those of Petosiris, Djedhor the Savior, and others from the Thirtieth Dynasty, see M. CHAUVEAU, Chr. THIERS, "L'Égypte en transition: des Perses aux

Macédoniens", in P. Briant, F. Joannès (ed.), *La transition entre l'Empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350-300 av. J.-C.)*, 2006, p. 388-389; N. SPENCER, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis: Religious Iconography and Temple Building in the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty*, *BMRP* 156, 2006, p. 47-52, and the autobiographical texts of Esnun/Zenon (Ptolemy II); see most recently I. GUERMEUR, *BIFAO* 106, 2006, p. 105-110.

<sup>158</sup> Lines 15-18; cf. Chr. THIERS, *Ptolémée Philadelph et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*, p. 191-192; for these tax reforms, see most recently D.J. THOMPSON, "Economic Reforms in the Mid-Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus", in P. McKECHNIE, Ph. GUILLAUME (ed.), *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World, Mnemosyne Suppl.* 300, 2008, p. 27-38.

<sup>159</sup> Note also that the temple construction at Mendes began before 273/272 BCE (Chr. THIERS, *op. cit.*, p. 86), roughly fourteen years before the famous Apollo-nios appears as *dioikêtès*; for Ptolemy II's personal interest in supporting temples and cities of Lower Egypt during this period, see Chr. THIERS, *op. cit.*, p. 86-87, 162-163.

<sup>160</sup> P.E. STANWICK, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*, 2002, p. 98 and 157, figs. 2-3 (A3).

<sup>161</sup> For this statue and similar objects, see P.E. STANWICK, *op. cit.*, p. 109-110, 173, figs. 61-64 ("first half of second century B.C."); B.V. BOTHMER dated the same statues to "the beginning of the second century B.C., the time of Ptolemies IV and V" (*ESLP*, p. 141).

the particular striding torso subject was so common that similar examples appear as late as the reign of Ptolemy XII.<sup>162</sup> Securely dated private statues from the Ptolemaic Period are rare, and the famous examples from Tanis are completely different than the Kansas City statue. Attempts to date statues based on the orthography and carving quality of the inscriptions are equally problematic, as they generally assume that epigraphy steadily declined over the course of the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>163</sup> Although this trend might hold true in some cases,<sup>164</sup> scribes continued to produce excellent inscriptions well into the first century BCE,<sup>165</sup> while certain royal inscriptions from the reign of Ptolemy II are poorly carved.<sup>166</sup>

In the end, both dates are equally compelling. On the one hand, Harchebi's donations to Mendes would have nicely complemented the official state-sponsored renovations of Ptolemy II in the Ram Temple, and an early date would explain the textual parallels between the Mendes stela and the present inscription.<sup>167</sup> On the other hand, the presence of a *dioikêtês* named Archibios in the papyrological record makes J. Yoyotte's original suggestion to place the statue in the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II difficult to resist. The discovery of a new inscription or papyrus mentioning Harchebi/Archibios may eventually settle this question.

## Harchebi's Duties

Harchebi carried a limited number of titles: royal scribe (possibly *basilikos grammateus*), overseer of royal fields, and *dioikêtês*. Nonetheless, through a combination of traditional and original epithets, he manages to highlight several important duties in the Ptolemaic administration.

As *dioikêtês*, and possibly also as overseer of (royal) fields,<sup>168</sup> he was responsible for “all taxes (*htr.w nb*)” (col. 1). This vague term covers an entire range of administrative duties: regulating tax rates, meeting with officials from each nome to analyze the distribution of cultivable land, and overseeing the collection of annual taxes.<sup>169</sup> Besides collecting money, he also ensured a steady supply of provisions and equipment for the military (*sk.w, mb.w-ib.w*) and itinerant administrative officials (*btmty.w*). He was primarily concerned with maximizing agricultural production (*k3.w, df3.w, Nn.t*), all of his decrees promoted life (*wd n 'nb*) and opposed cutbacks

<sup>162</sup> E.g. MMA 1981.224.1 (Ptolemy XII or XV); P.E. STANWICK, *op. cit.*, p. 123, 203, fig. 160.

<sup>163</sup> E.g. H. DE MEULENAERE, B.V. BOTHMER, “Une statue thébaine de la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque”, *ZÄS* 101, 1974, 109–113.

<sup>164</sup> Compare the hieroglyphic inscriptions on an early Roman statue from Mendes: J.-Cl. GRENIER, “Le prophète et l'Autokratôr”, *RdE* 37, 1986, p. 81–89.

<sup>165</sup> Compare private inscriptions from late Ptolemaic Dendera: A. ABDALLA, “Graeco-Roman Statues found in the

*sebbakh* at Dendera,” in C.J. EYRE (ed.), *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore*, EESOP 11, 1994, p. 1–24.

<sup>166</sup> E.g. the Xois stela (I. GUERMEUR, Chr. THIERS, *BIFAO* 101, 2001, p. 218–219, Figs. 1–2), and the Pithom stela (Chr. THIERS, *Ptolémée Philadelphé et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*).

<sup>167</sup> Cf. BOTHMER, *ESLP*, p. 124: “when one considers the homage paid to the gods of Mendes by Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II in the celebrated Mendes Stela,

the flourishing of the local aristocracy under these rulers is well understandable.”

<sup>168</sup> Note that both the *dioikêtês* and *hypodioikêtês* were responsible for administering “Crown land”; cf. D.J. CRAWFORD, *Kerkeosiris*, p. 104, n. 10.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. the many fiscal duties of the *dioikêtês* described in the archives of Zenon and Menches: Cl. ORRIEUX, *Zénon de Caunos, parépodemos, et le destin grec*, p. 171–176; A.M.F.W. VERHOOGT, *Menches*, p. 83–90.

(*tm hb*). Because of this role, Harchebi created an original sportive writing for the title *snty* playing on the phrase *z̄w n t̄*, literally “support beam of the earth,” apparently in reference to his control of Egypt’s cultivable land.

These few autobiographical details show that Harchebi was primarily concerned with agricultural produce in Egypt, perhaps just Lower Egypt (*t̄-m̄hw*). One can compare this situation to the inscription of Horpakhepesh, a prominent *dioikêtès* who served under Ptolemy V Epiphanes. Unlike Harchebi, who was simply a *hm-ntr* priest, Horpakhepesh held an enormous range of sacerdotal, scribal, and administrative positions throughout Egypt. In the autobiographical portion of his statue, Horpakhepesh enumerates his many duties and accomplishments, noting especially that he is (Back Pillar, col. 2): “one who cools the heart of the royal children, who pacifies the *chora* and Alexandria for his lord, (...) who inundates all places of the palace with food from the *chora*, with provisions from the Mediterranean, and marvels from distant lands, who creates cargo-ships together with their fleets for his Majesty, so that they are great and without limit.”<sup>170</sup> Horpakhepesh was thus in control of both agriculture and trade, in both Egypt and foreign lands. This difference suggests that the duties of the *dioikêtès* may increased over time, and thus Harchebi, who could have served under Ptolemy II (cf. *supra*), had less responsibilities than Horpakhepesh did in the reign of Ptolemy V.

## Building Projects

Despite his minimalist priestly title, Harchebi expresses a close personal connection to the Ram of Mendes and Thoth of Lower Egyptian Hermopolis (Baqiliyeh). Like many other wealthy officials of the Ptolemaic Period, Harchebi sponsored important renovations to local cults and commemorated his euergetism on this statue and possibly on a series of stelae.<sup>171</sup> His primary construction was a propylon (*mh.t*), possibly for the god Thoth (cols. 3-4), and he restored other structures at Lower Egyptian Hermopolis (col. 4). In addition, Harchebi supplied costly items necessary for the mummification of the sacred rams in the Wabet of Mendes at his own expense (col. 3). It is possible that he made similar donations for the ibis burials in Baqiliyeh (col. 4), although the vague terminology (*‘rq k̄j.t*) makes it ambiguous whether he reinstated a neglected animal cult or completed architectural work left unfinished by his predecessors.

As noted above, the donations to Mendes could correspond to a period of major renovations at the Ram Temple under Ptolemy II.<sup>172</sup> Unfortunately, the architectural record at Baqiliyeh is basically non-existent, and the latest known activity took place under Nectanebo I and Nectanebo II.<sup>173</sup> Harchebi’s allusion to “an extended period of time (*p̄bry.t r-ȝw*)” of neglect at Baqiliyeh (col. 4) thus does not establish a precise date for his statue.

<sup>170</sup> D. KLOTZ, M.J. LEBLANC (forthcoming; cf. *supra*, n. 10)

<sup>171</sup> Cf. the mention of erecting a decree/stela (*wd*) at the mounds of Lower Egypt commemorating his personal donations to Mendes (col. 3); for

monuments recording private euergetism in the Ptolemaic Period, see THIERS, in Molin (ed.), *Les régulations sociales dans l’Antiquité*, p. 275-301 (to which this inscription should be added).

<sup>172</sup> For Ptolemaic building activity at Mendes, see recently LECLÈRE, *Les villes de Basse Égypte* I, p. 334-340.

<sup>173</sup> A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis et le nome d’Ibis*, I, p. 121-132, 136-145.



FIG. 1a-b. Statue Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12. a. Front. b. Back.



a



b

FIG. 2a-b. Statue Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12. a. Left profile. b. Right profile.

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FIG. 3a-b. Statue Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12. a. Detail of inscription on belt. b. Facsimile.

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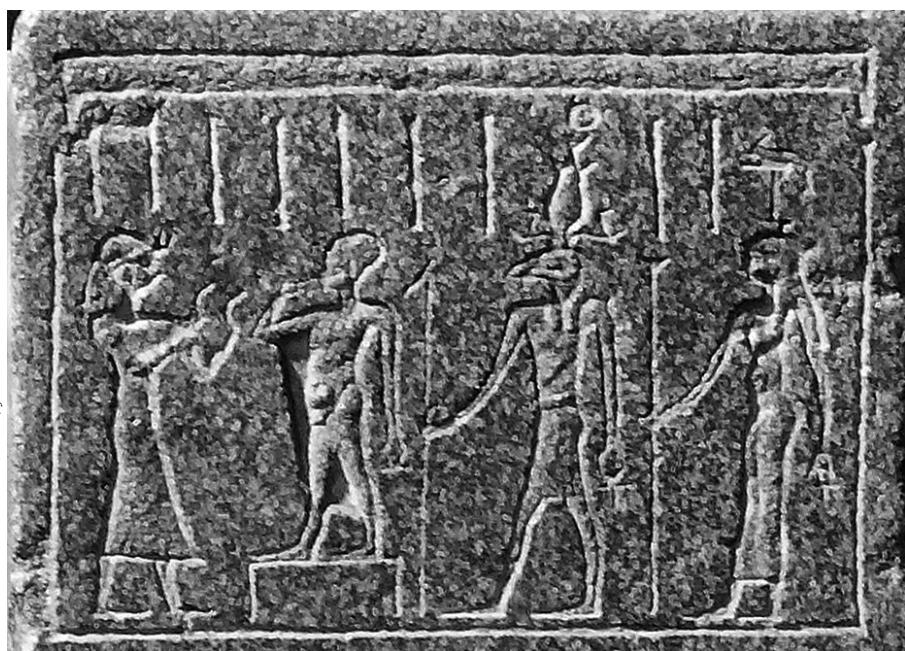


FIG. 4. Statue Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12. Detail of tableau on back pillar.  
The Statue of the dioikétés Harchebi/Archibios. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12



FIG. 5a. Statue Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12, back pillar.

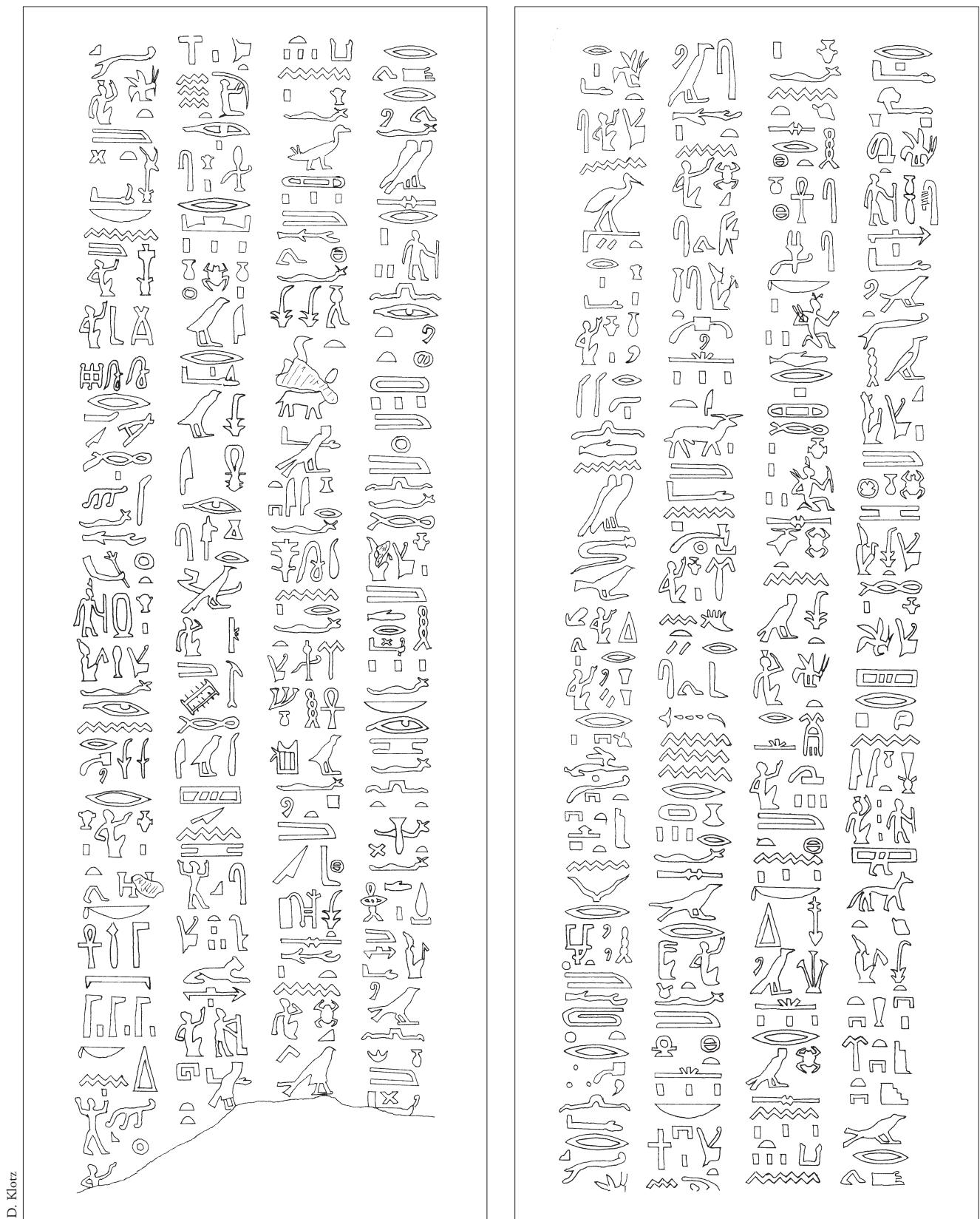


FIG. 5b. Statue Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12, back pillar, facsimile.