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Tutankhamun's 'Interpreter of Babylonian' Pakana and His Memphite Tomb-Stela in Context

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Tutankhamun's 'Interpreter of Babylonian' Pakana and His Memphite Tomb-Stela in Context

MOHAMMAD M. YOUSSEF*, NICO STARING**

ABSTRACT

This paper publishes the tomb and stela of Pakana, excavated at Saqqara by the Egyptian archaeological expedition of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002–2003. The stela can be dated to the post-Amarna period (reign of Tutankhamun) on stylistic grounds. The owner of the stela held two titles-of-office. He was 'interpreter of the Lord of the Two Lands' and 'interpreter of the <language of> Sangar (Babylonia)'. The title 'interpreter of Babylonian (Akkadian)' is unique. This paper assesses the title and evaluates its implications in the context of the late 18th Dynasty. At the king's palace, international diplomatic relations and the production of luxury goods were closely intertwined. Pakana personifies both worlds: he shares his stela with the goldsmith Paraemheb, possibly his father (Kanya alias Pakharu, 'the Syrian'), and built his tomb chapel in a section of the North Saqqara plateau occupied by producers of luxury goods—all royal court officials.

Keywords: interpreter, Babylonian language, Akkadian, Pakana, tomb-stela, Saqqara, New Kingdom, post-Amarna period.

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article propose une étude de la tombe et de la stèle de Pakana, mises au jour à Saqqara par l'expédition archéologique égyptienne du Conseil suprême des Antiquités, 2002–2003. Sur la base de critères stylistiques, la stèle peut être datée de la période postamarnienne (règne de Toutânkhamon). Le propriétaire de la stèle portait deux titres : il était « interprète du seigneur des Deux Terres » et « interprète de la langue du Sangar (Babylonie) ». Le titre d'interprète du babylonien (akkadien) est unique. Cet article évalue ce titre et les implications dans le contexte de la fin de la XVIII^e^ dynastie. Au palais du roi, le domaine des relations diplomatiques internationales et celui de la production de biens de luxe étaient étroitement liés. Pakana personnifie ces deux mondes : il partage sa stèle avec l'orfèvre Paraemheb, qui est peut-être son père (Kanya alias Pakharu, « le Syrien »), et a construit sa chapelle funéraire dans une partie du plateau nord de Saqqara occupée par des producteurs de produits de luxe – tous fonctionnaires de la cour royale.

Mots-clés : interprète, langue babylonienne, akkadien, Pakana, stèle funéraire, Saqqara, Nouvel Empire, période postamarnienne.

The North Saqqara plateau was the burial place of some of the most prominent administrators of Egypt during the post-Amarna period.[1] The abandonment of the royal residence city of Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna) a few years after the death of its founder Akhenaten in favour of Memphis gave an unprecedented impulse to private tomb construction at Saqqara.[2] Tutankhamun's court officials started making their houses of eternity on the edge of the elevated desert plateau c. 3 km west of the city. Two main clusters of tombs dated to the immediate post-Amarna period have been identified until now. The cluster of tombs on the southern extent of the North Saqqara plateau (Unas South Cemetery; USC) saw the construction of tombs for the highest office holders of the kingdom. Most prominent amongst them were Horemheb, the general-in-chief of the army and the young king's regent,[3] and Maya, overseer of the treasury and of all the king's work(shop)s.[4] The second cluster of tombs was located about 1 km to the north. Middle-management palace officials including those engaged in 'the arts' built their comparatively modest-sized tomb chapels in the shadow of the pyramid of 6th Dynasty king Teti (Teti Pyramid Cemetery;

1 Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2023; Staring 2023.
2 Martin 2000; van Dijk 1988. At the same time, conspicuously few private tombs were built at Thebes, see: Pieke 2021.
3 Martin 2016.
4 Martin 2012.

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TPC). Since the mid-1990s, the archaeological expedition of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) has uncovered about 20 superstructures of New Kingdom tombs north of Teti's pyramid (Fig. 1).[5] One of these contained the stela inscribed for a man named Pakana. He served as the king's interpreter of Babylonian—a title-of-office hitherto unknown from Egyptian sources. This study presents Pakana's tomb and stela, and explores his socio-professional environment.

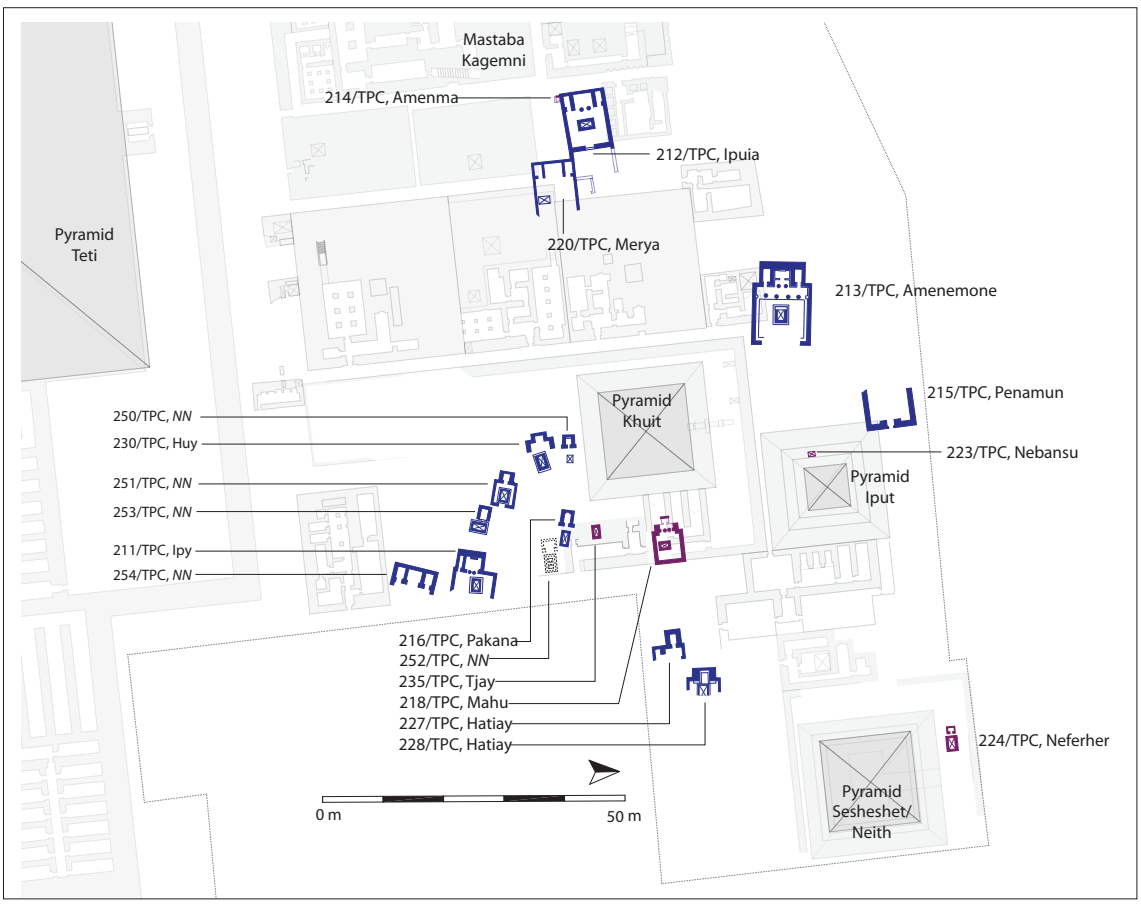


Image: Nico Staring

Fig. 1. The Teti Pyramid Cemetery (TPC) at Saqqara during the late-18th Dynasty (purple: *temp.* Amenhotep III; blue: *temp.* Akhenaten–Tutankhamun). The New Kingdom tombs are projected on the underlying Old Kingdom necropolis (greyscale).

5 The tombs are the subject of the PhD thesis of Mohammad M. Youssef, see: Youssef 2017.

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Photo: Mohammad M. Youssef/Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Saqqara

Fig. 2. The tomb of Pakana located in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, Saqqara, looking south.



Photo: Mohammad M. Youssef/Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Saqqara

Fig. 3. Tomb chapel of Pakana, looking west.

1. THE TOMB CHAPEL OF PAKANA: EXCAVATION AND EARLY EXPLORATION

The archaeological expedition of the SCA headed by Zahi Hawass excavated the tomb chapel of Pakana during the 2002–2003 season of fieldwork.[6] The stela lay in a deposit of windblown sand about five meters east of the above-ground tomb chapel where once it stood. The modest-sized chapel has a rectangular ground plan with an entrance facing east, which is

6 Youssef 2017, pp. 211–219, pls. 110–113. The Saqqara New Kingdom tomb numbers used throughout this paper follow Staring 2023, pp. 302–464.

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the predominant orientation of contemporary tombs at Saqqara (Figs. 2, 3). The structure is preserved to a height of c. 80 cm. In its original condition, the façade probably had the appearance of a naos-shaped shrine, being a rectangular structure surmounted by a torus moulding and cavetto cornice.[7] The chapel roof behind the façade was vaulted and the structure's 30 cm thick north and south walls were preserved just up to the spring of the barrel vault. The mud bricks were laid and set with a mud mortar and the interior wall surfaces finished with a mud stucco over which a fine gypsum plaster had been laid originally. The same would have been the case for the now weathered exterior. The structure held a limited number of architectural elements made of fine limestone. The only such element preserved *in situ* is the threshold, while the now-missing doorjambs and lintel would also have been made of the same material.[8] The interior space measures 1 m wide (north–south) and 1.2 m deep (east–west). The west wall has a 17 cm deep recess that accommodated the cult stela.[9] Upon excavation, the pavement block in the recess still contained traces of the stela's setting lines in gypsum plaster. The round-topped stela took the form of the vaulted ceiling, and thus, the maximum height inside the chapel would have been about one metre, equalling the height of the stela. The total height of the roof would have been a little over one metre.

The burial shaft lies directly in front of the chapel entrance to the east. The shaft is rectangular and the long sides are oriented along an east-west axis. The covering slabs had been removed (long) before the SCA expedition found it. The rim of the shaft is made of large blocks that were neatly cut to size. To bridge the distance to bedrock, the upper part of the shaft was lined with irregularly shaped limestone blocks. Part of the shaft's north and west wall-construction made use of the extant remains of a limestone wall that formed part of the Old Kingdom funerary complex of Teti's queen Khuit. At a depth of 1.1 m below the rim of the shaft, the masonry construction gives way to a shaft cut into the natural rock. It provides access to the burial apartments a few metres below the chapel's floor level.

The North Saqqara plateau has suffered from the digging activities of early nineteenth-century explorers and treasure hunters.[10] It should therefore come as no surprise that the SCA archaeological expedition was not the first to unearth the tomb of Pakana. Indeed, the chapel had been accessible to antiquities diggers as early as the 1840s. This can be deduced from the fact that Karl Richard Lepsius, who led a four-year-long expedition to Egypt and the Sudan (1842–1845), saw a "stela" inscribed for Pakharu and his wife Amenemopet kept in the Cairo antiquities

7 Compare the tomb-chapel façade as depicted on the stela of Hatiay (Florence inv. no. 42593), overseer of cattle of Amun (*temp.* Amenhotep III): Staring 2023, pp. 113–116, fig. 38; Bosticco 1965, pp. 43–44, fig. 36.

8 The earliest known Memphite New Kingdom tomb bearing such architectural stone elements is that of Mahu (218/TPC), guardian of the treasury of Memphis (*temp.* Amenhotep III), see: Gessler-Löhr 2007, pp. 76–80, figs. 3–4, pls. 12–16; Loret 1899, p. 96; the corpus includes another two relief blocks and an offering table; the tomb itself is no longer extant. For a comparable mud-brick tomb with threshold and doorjambs preserved *in situ*, see the anonymous chapel 250/TPC (probably *temp.* Tutankhamun), located c. 10 m west of Pakana's tomb chapel: Youssef 2017, pls. 9, 11–12; Hawass 2003, fig. on p. 156.

9 Compare e.g., the 16 cm deep recesses for round-topped stelae in the west walls of the northwest and southwest chapels of Pay (017/USC), overseer of the royal household of Memphis (late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun): Raven 2005, p. 15, pls. 9.2, 10.2.

10 For a succinct overview, see Staring 2023, pp. 73–78.

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dealership of Youssef Massara (Fig. 4):[11] "*Auf einer andern Stele, die Massara hat, heißt der Verstorbene p3-ḫ3-rw mꜣʿ-ḫrw (Var. Ohne den ersten oder beide Adler), seine Schwester sn.t=f nb.t pr ỉmn-m-ỉp.t. Ebendaselbst kommt vor: wʿb ḥr.yw n.w ḥw.t-k3-ptḥ.*"

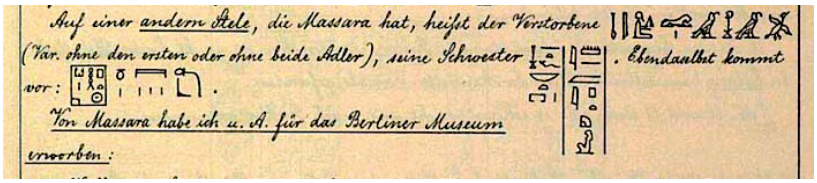


Fig. 4. Documentation pertaining to a "stela" seen by Lepsius at the Cairo antiquities dealership of Massara (after: L*D*, *Text*, I, p. 17).

The individuals described cannot but be the same as those depicted and named on the stela of Pakana (see below). However, if the object seen by Lepsius was indeed a stela, it could not have stood inside the tomb chapel under study. The interior space of the structure only allows for the inclusion of no more than a single stela in its west wall. This observation opens up two alternative possibilities: 1) the object seen by Lepsius was not a stela but a doorjamb;[12] 2) if indeed a stela, it stood in another (possibly nearby) tomb-chapel.[13] The stela has not been seen since the time of Lepsius and therefore the problem of its context cannot be solved at this time. It is, however, possible to illuminate the circumstances under which the tomb and "stela" were excavated.

The antiquities dealer Massara was one of the most prominent explorers of the Memphite necropolis during the first half of the nineteenth century. He began his career as a dragoman (interpreter) for the French consulate and later moved on to excavating antiquities. This move may have been stimulated by the French Consul-General Bernardino Drovetti, for whom he excavated antiquities in the Memphite necropolis during the early 1820s.[14] Lepsius met with Massara and the men working on his behalf on multiple occasions when the Prussians explored Saqqara and its monuments for several weeks in spring 1843.[15] The team primarily recorded the readily accessible monuments, including those unearthed by Massara and his contemporaries.

11 L*D Text*, I, p. 17 (7 November 1842). For Massara, see Málek 1986. The antiquities dealership was established in 1828.

12 Compare e.g., the doorjambs of the tomb of Huy (230/TPC), head of merchants of the temple of the Aten, located c. 15 m west of Pakana, see Youssef 2017, pls. 57–64.

13 Larger tombs were sometimes equipped with additional stelae set against the enclosed exterior (west) wall of the chapel area (usually inscribed with hymns to the sun god and/or Osiris), see e.g. Staring 2024, scene [1]; Schneider 2012, pp. 71–75 [7–8]. No such features have been attested for the more modest-size chapels.

14 As such, Massara may have been the discoverer of the tomb of the general Djehuty (around 1824), the location of which is now lost. Djehuty is to be identified as the protagonist of the famous story of 'The Capture of Joppa' (modern Jaffa), set in the reign of Thutmosis III (Wente 2003, pp. 72–74). Djehuty's tomb is equally famous for the large quantity of golden (jewellery) items, today dispersed over museum collections around the globe. The gold items of Djehuty that formed part of Drovetti's second collection were acquired by the Louvre in 1827. For further references to Djehuty's tomb and tomb items, see Staring 2023, pp. 103, 458–460 [487]; Taylor 2023; Lilyquist 1988. The earliest recorded digging activities of Massara at Saqqara date to 1820–1821, when together with Girolamo Segato (1792–1836) he gained access to the interior spaces of the Step Pyramid of Djoser for Freiherr von Minutoli (1772–1846), see: Bresciani 2013; von Minutoli 1824, p. 232: "*Die Leitung dieses Unternehmens übertrug ich Herrn Msara, einem Levantiner und Dragoman des französischen Generalconsuls in Cairo.*"

15 E.g., Erbkam 1842–1843, p. 196, diary entry 20 April 1843: "*Mit Abeken und Bonomi gehe ich auf das Plateau, wo in unsrer Gegenwart von Massara's Leuten ein roher steinerner Sarkophag in einem Brunnen geöffnet wird, es ist eine schöngewickelte, aber gänzlich verkohlte Mumie darin, scheinbar aus römischer Zeit ohne irgendwelchen Schmuck oder Merkwürdigkeit.*"

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The team also carried out small-scale excavations. One sondage was made in the TPC about 70 m west of where Pakana's tomb is located. There they identified the northeast corner of the Old Kingdom *mastaba* of Kagemni, initially described by Lepsius as "*Grosses Psametichgrab mit Brunnen*". About 5 m to the east lay the small mud-brick chapel and stela of Amenma, 'guardian of the house (palace) of His Majesty'.[16] The stela has been dated to the reign of Thutmosis IV/Amenhotep III on stylistic grounds and as such, the tomb (of which nothing remains today) should be regarded as the earliest of the New Kingdom excavated at Saqqara until now. It is also the first attested individual of a larger group of middle management palace officials who built their modest-sized mud-brick tomb chapels in this part of the North Saqqara plateau; a tradition continued by Pakana.

Half a century after Lepsius, the Frenchman Victor Loret was the first to carry out a larger-scale excavation of the area. He worked there between July 1897 and February 1899 when he acted as director of the *Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (SAE; the forerunner of the SCA). His excavations are largely unpublished, and he only wrote a brief preliminary report about his findings.[17] The report records the remains of six New Kingdom tomb superstructures and no less than 130 tomb shafts, an unknown number of which dates to the New Kingdom. The plan published with Loret's preliminary report shows all structures and shafts that he found; this is valuable information, because much of what Loret recorded has disappeared since. A comparison of his plan with that produced by the SCA expedition shows that Loret had been very close to uncovering the tomb and burial shaft of Pakana: Loret's shaft no. 55 can be identified as that belonging to the chapel of Pakana's anonymous neighbour to the south (252/TPC) that was re-excavated in the early 2000s (see Fig. 1).[18]

Loret very much relied on the knowledge of *reis* Rubi (var. Roubi), a native of the nearby village of Saḳḳāra, who, with his father, *reis* Hamzaoui, had worked as a foreman of workers for the SAE excavations since the time of Auguste Mariette four decades before.[19] Following the founding of the SAE, Mariette directed work in various parts of Saqqara and haphazardly collected objects and architectural elements that were then transported to the Bulaq Museum to keep them safe from illicit digging activities that continued to plague the site. Mariette at that time directed multiple excavations throughout Egypt and his *reises* carried out the work in his absence. A large number of the finds of New Kingdom tomb elements (mainly stelae) made under his direction during the late 1850s and 1860s can be traced back to the TPC. These include the stela inscribed for Huy (230/TPC), head of merchants of the temple of the Aten (18th Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten), found in April 1860.[20] In 2002–2003, the SCA expedition re-located the tomb as little as 10 m west of Pakana.[21]

16 L*D Text*, I, pp. 146, 154, 156; Staring 2023, pp. 115–116, 213, 215–216, 382, 214/TPC; Gessler-Löhr 2007, pp. 71–72, pl. 5. Lepsius took the limestone stela back to Berlin, inv. no. ÄMP 7320 (83 × 50 × 15 cm).

17 Loret 1899. Loret's documentation pertaining to his excavations at Saqqara is held in the Università degli Studi in Milan: Piacentini 2004.

18 Staring 2023, pp. 393, 252/TPC (more likely of early 19th Dynasty date); Youssef 2017, pls. 9, 11–12.

19 Hired officially on 18 December 1858, see: Lebée 2023, p. 223 (Khamsawi Abu Rubi and Rubi Abu Khamsawi); both had been with Mariette since the 'Serapeum years', 1850–1854 (David 1994, pp. 110, 264).

20 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 10174 = CG 34182: Mariette 1872–1887, p. 18, pl. 56b.

21 Youssef 2017, pp. 83–105, pls. 56–64.

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Fig. 5. Stela of Pakana. Photo: Mohammad M. Youssef/Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

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Fig. 6. Stela of Pakana. Line drawing taken from a photograph: Nico Staring.

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2. THE STELA OF PAKANA

2.1. General observations

The round-topped stela of Pakana is carved from limestone and measures: h: 98 cm; w: 65 cm; th: 17 cm (Figs. 5–6). When found, salt crystallizations covered the stone's surface. The SCA restorers successfully cleaned and consolidated the stela that is in a good state of preservation overall. Only the surface at the centre of the bottom part and the surface near the top of the stela are heavily worn. The latter must be the result of prolonged exposure to the elements. The pattern of damage suggests that the stela remained standing inside the chapel for a long time following the roof's ultimate collapse. The stela preserves no traces of colour.

2.2. Description and Texts

The stela is decorated in sunk relief and the texts are incised. The surface is divided into three horizontal sections (registers), a common feature of post-Amarna stela and tomb decoration.[22]

The scene in the upper section is dedicated to sacred scenes involving the gods, which is tied to the tomb's temple function. The so-called sacralisation of a private tomb gave it the character of a private temple, which provided the deceased with a place on earth where they could worship the gods for eternity and be close to them.[23]

The middle section depicts scenes of the mortuary cult; usually the tomb owner and his family are depicted as deceased individuals receiving offerings from family members or mortuary priests.

The lower section depicts scenes related to the funeral including the Ritual of Opening the Mouth performed on the standing mummiform deceased stela owner.

The activities depicted in the bottom register take place outside, in front of the tomb, while the scenes in the upper registers are set inside the chapel. The offerings were meant to be deposited inside the chapel where the stela functioned as an interface—a mode of contact between the living and the dead—while the deceased acted as mediators between the living and the gods.

2.2.1. *Upper section*

The upper section depicts a double adoration scene. The columns of hieroglyphic text associated with the scene are carved in the lunette, allowing for the identification of the two individuals standing back-to-back at the centre of the register: Pakana on the right and Paraemheb on the left. Pakana stands *vis-à-vis* with the god Osiris. He holds three flowering stems of papyrus in his upheld right hand and a brazier in his left. Pakana wears a bag tunic with pleated "sleeves" in combination with a wrap-around sash kilt goffered in front.[24] His feet are bare, and his wig consists of thick strands of hair arranged in longitudinal rows hanging

22 Assmann 2003, p. 49.
23 Assmann 2003, pp. 49–51 ('temple function'); Ockinga 2007, p. 39.
24 Cf. Raven, van Walsem 2014, p. 183, n. 252.

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down over the shoulder. His face is damaged by erosion. Osiris sits on a block throne. It has a low backseat and is placed upon a dais shaped as the hieroglyphic sign for *mɜʿ*, 'just, righteous'. The god is mummiform, his arms are bent as he holds his customary regalia. He further sports a divine beard while his *atef* (*ɜtf*) crown is barely visible due to damage. The goddess Isis stands behind Osiris. She wears a close-fitting sheath dress with shoulder straps and extends her right hand towards Osiris. The hieroglyphic sign for her name (*ɜs.t*), is positioned atop her wig. The space between Pakana and Osiris has an offering table placed upon the edge of the god's dais. The table is laden with three circular loaves of bread, vegetables, a bunch of onions, and topped by a bowl containing incense burning.

The texts associated with the scene depicting Pakana before Osiris and Isis are as follows:[25]



[1] *[ỉr.t] snṯr /// ir.t ///* [2] *n kɜ=k Ws[ỉr] dỉ[=f] pr(ỉ).t-ḫrw t ḥnḳ.t ḫ.t* [3] *nb.t [nfr].t /// n ḫ.t nb.t wʿb[.t]* [4] *n.ty ʿnḫ nṯr ỉm=sn n kɜ n(y)* [5] *(ỉ)ʿɜ.w n pɜ <r n.y> S(n)-gr*[a] [6] *Pɜ-kɜ-nɜ*[b] *mɜʿ-ḫrw*

[1] [Offering] incense /// (and) offering /// [2] to your *ka*, Osiris, that [he] grants a voice offering of bread and beer [3] (and) all [good] things (and) all pure things [4] of which the god lives to the *ka* of [5] the interpreter of the <language of> Sa(n)gar (Babylonia), [6] Pakana, true of voice.

The area to the right of the first (partly) legible column is heavily worn; it is possible that it held one additional column of text of which nothing remains. However, since the text associated with the adoration of the god Ptah on the left starts with 'making incense', it seems justified to assume that the same clause marks the beginning of the text associated with the adoration of Osiris also. The space between the *atef* crown of Osiris and the *s.t* sign atop the wig of Isis includes a short caption identifying the goddess:



[7] *ɜs.t*

[7] Isis

Paraemheb stands on the left facing Ptah, city god of Memphis. He holds a long-armed incense burner in his upheld left hand and pours a libation of water from a spoutless *kebekh* (*ḳbḥ*) vase with his lowered right. A single wavy line of water pours into the small dish that rests upon a low stand. Paraemheb wears a garment identical to that of Pakana. His wig differs from that of Pakana and consists of shoulder-length, undulating tresses of hair. Like Osiris, Ptah sits on a block throne with low backrest and is positioned upon a dais. Ptah is wrapped in his characteristic close-fitting garment that creates a mummiform effect revealing only his hands. He wears a skull cap, sports a divine beard, and holds a composite sceptre of which only the *was* (*wɜs*) can be distinguished. His other customary attributes include the *ankh* (*ʿnḫ*) sign and *djed* (*ḏd*) pillar. Ptah's consort Sakhmet stands behind him. She is depicted as a human female

25 For the translation of Egyptian texts, standard philological marks are used, ( ), [ ], < >.

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figure with the head of a lioness. Sakhmet wears a close-fitting sheath dress with shoulder straps and on her head is a sun disk encircled by a cobra. She extends her right hand towards Ptah and holds an *ankh* sign in her left hand hanging down alongside her body.

The texts associated with the scene depicting Paraemheb before Ptah and Sakhmet are as follows:



[8] *ỉr(ỉ).t snṯr n kɜ=k* [9] *Ptḥ nb ᶜnḫ-tɜ.wy dỉ(.w)=k ṯɜ* [10] *w nḏm n mḥ.yt [pr(ỉ).t]-ḫrw [t ḥnḳ.t]* [11] *m ḫ.t nb.t nfr.t n kɜ n(y) nb.y* [12] *Pɜ-rᶜ-m-ḥb*

[8] Offering incense for your *ka*, [9] Ptah lord of Ankhtawy,[26] that you may grant a sweet bree[10]ze of the north wind and a voice [offering of bread and beer] [11] (and) of all good things to the *ka* of the goldsmith [12] Paraemheb.[27]



(⇂) [13] *Sḫm.t ᶜɜ.t nb.t* [14] *ỉmn.t*

[13] Sakhmet the great, lady of the [14] west

2.2.2. *Middle section*

The middle register has two mirrored scenes depicting a deceased couple (oriented towards the centre) seated at a table, both receiving libation and incense from a mortuary priest. The priests are depicted back-to-back at the centre of the scene. The framed columns of hieroglyphic text carved over the scene identify the individuals depicted.

The name of the priest standing on the right is Suemmerenptah. His head is shaven and he wears a pleated wrap-around sash kilt tied in front. He extends his left hand towards the seated couple holding a bowl of incense burning, while he pours a libation of water from a spouted *nemset* (*nmst*) jar over the offering table laden with four circular loaves of bread, six slices of bread (?), and topped by a plucked duck. The seated couple are identified as Pakharu and his wife Amenemopet. They sit on lion-legged chairs with high backrests and place their bare feet on a wide footstool that they share. The chairs are positioned upon a raised platform. The male, Pakharu, wears a layered wig and a bag tunic with pleated "sleeves" in combination with an ankle-length, pleated sash kilt. He extends his right hand towards the offering table, while he rests his clenched left hand upon his leg. Amenemopet sits to her husband's proper left side. She embraces him with her right arm and places her hand on his right shoulder and holds his left arm with her left hand. She wears a heavy enveloping wig of thick strands of hair ending in thin corkscrew curls. She wears her wig in combination with a fillet and a steep cone of unguent. Her plain dress is long and covers her feet.

26 Lit. 'life of the Two Lands', a toponym for the Memphite necropolis, see e.g., Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2023, pp. 60–61. Ptah, the city god of Memphis, was closely associated with that necropolis. For Ptah's epithet 'lord of Ankhtawy', see: *LGG* III, pp. 601–602 (f).

27 *PN* I, p. 114, no. 13. The Akkadian rendering of the name is *Pa-re-a-ma-ḫu-ú*: Albright 1946, p. 18, no. 43.

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The texts associated with the scene depicting the priest Suemmerenptah before Pakharu and Amenemopet are as follows:



[15] *ỉr(ỉ).t snṯr* [16] *ḳbḥ.w ỉn* [17] *ḫr.y-ḥb* [18] *Sw-m-mr-n-* [19]*Ptḥ*

[15] Offering incense [16] and libation by [17] the lector priest [18] Suemmeren[19]ptah.[28]



[20] *Wsỉr Pꜣ* [21]*-ḫꜣ-rw* [22] *sn.t=f nb.t pr* [23] *Ỉmn-m-ỉp.t*

[20] Osiris [21] Pakharu,[c] [22] his sister (i.e. spouse), lady of the house [23] Amenemopet.[29]

The priest and seated couple on the left are depicted in a markedly larger scale. The priest is named Pehefemnefer. He has a shaven head and wears a pleated wrap-around sash kilt tied in front. In his left hand he holds a long-armed censer burning incense and with his right he pours a libation of water from a spoutless *kebekh* vase over the offering table. The table is laden with four circular loaves of bread, six slices of bread (?), and is topped by a bunch of onions. The couple are identified as Pakana and his wife Maia. They both sit on lion-legged chairs (Maia's has a strut between the front and back legs) with high backrests and thick cushions that cover the seat and are folded over the backrest (only visible for Maia's chair). The couple rest their feet on two separate footstools, Maia's being higher than Pakana's. Pakana wears a bag tunic with pleated "sleeves" in combination with a pleated ankle-length sash kilt. His layered wig is topped by a steep unguent cone. He wears a broad collar with two rows of floral decoration around his neck and has bracelets on both wrists. He extends his left hand towards the offering table and holds a folded cloth in the clenched fist of his right hand. Maia sits to his proper right side. She embraces her husband with her left arm, resting her hand on his left shoulder, and clenching his upper right arm with her right hand. She wears a pleated robe knotted below her breasts and covering her feet. She wears her heavy enveloping wig of thick strands of hair ending in thin corkscrew curls in combination with a fillet and hairband. A steep cone of unguent is placed on top. Like her husband, she wears a collar with two rows of floral decoration.

28 Alternatively read as: *Sw-m-š-n-ptḥ*. The name is unattested in *PN* I, though variants are listed on p. 302, nos. 6–10: *Sw-m-mr*, *Sw-m-mr-n-ꜣs.t*, *Sw-m-mr-n-ỉwn.w*, *Sw-m-mr-n-ỉmn* and *Sw-m-mr-n-ḫr*. Until now, only the variant *Sw-m-mr/š-n-ꜣs.t* has been attested once in the corpus of prosopographic material pertaining to Memphis. It is a relief from the lost tomb of Kyiry, chief of craftsmen of the king and chief of makers of chariots (19th Dynasty): Quibell 1912, pl. 69.2; Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, 714.

29 *PN* I, p. 27, no. 18.

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The texts associated with the scene depicting the priest Pehefemnefer before the seated couple Pakana and Maia are as follows:



[25] *ḫr.y-ḥb* [26] *Pḥ=f-m-nfr*

[25] Lector priest [26] Pehefemnefer.[30]



[27] *Wsỉr (i)ʿ3* [28]*.w n(.y) nb t3.wy* [29] *P3-k3-n3* [30] *mɜʿ-ḫrw* [31] *sn.t=f nb.t pr* [32] *Mʿỉ3*

[27] Osiris, interpreter [28] of the Lord of the Two Lands, [29] Pakana [30] true of voice; [31] his sister (i.e. spouse), lady of the house [32] Maia.

2.2.3. *Lower section*

The lower section depicts scenes related to the funeral ceremonies and can be divided into three parts: purification of the standing anthropoid coffin[31] of Pakana as part of the Ritual of Opening the Mouth on the left; the bringing of offerings in the middle; and a group of wailing women on the right.

On the left, the lector priest Pehefemnefer performs a purification ritual on the coffin of Pakana, which forms part of the more elaborate Ritual of Opening the Mouth performed during the funeral. Pehefemnefer wears a plain wig uncovering his ears and a plain sash kilt. He is holding up a spoutless *nemset*-jar with both hands. Two wavy lines of water are poured over the standing anthropoid coffin of Pakana, placed upon a low rectangular platform. Pakana is depicted wearing a lapped wig uncovering the ears with low unguent cone atop. The coffin is held upright by a male individual standing in a hunched position, wrapping his arms around Pakana. The anonymous individual wears a plain wig and a plain sash kilt. Maia sits at her husband's feet, embracing his legs with her right arm and holding her left hand in front of her face in a gesture of grief. She wears a plain, ankle-length robe, her natural long hair uncovered. Her feet are missing.

30 *PN* I, p. 135, no. 23. A lector priest of Horemheb named Pehefnefer (*ḫr.y-ḥb n.y Ḥr-m-ḥb Pḥ=f-nfr*) is depicted and named (along with members of his family) on one of the Anubis plinths added, in Ramesside times, to the so-called statue chamber of the tomb of Horemheb: Martin 2016, pp. 67–68, scene [30], pls. 30–31, 115–116. A textual graffito identifies (secondarily) the representation of an offering bearer on the south wall of the statue room vestibule as the head of doorkeepers (*ḫr.y ỉr.yw ʿ3*) Pehefnefer: Martin 2016, scene [56], pls. 24, 108. Interestingly, another lector priest named Pehef*em*nefer (possibly the same man) is depicted and named in the tomb of Ramesses II's army general Urkhiya (004/USC) of Hurrian descent: van Dijk 2016, pp. 104–105 with n. 45.

31 For its identification as the coffin rather than the mummy, cf. the scene depicting Ramose (039/USC), the contemporary deputy of the army, mummiform and held upright by Anubis (or rather an officiant wearing the god's mask), as depicted in the lunette of stela Berlin ÄMP 7306: Martin 2001, p. 8, pls. 4, 46. The text associated with the scene reads as follows: "The arms of Anubis who is in the *wt*, lord of the sacred land, embrace the coffin (*ḥn*, *Wb* II, 491, 16) of the Osiris, the troop-commander Ramose, justified." The choice of word makes explicit that the mummified figure represents the coffin rather than the mummy.

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The texts associated with the purification scene are as follows:



[33] *Wsỉr Pꜣ-kꜣ-nꜣ* [34] *<n.y> Nfr.t*[d] *Kꜣ-n-yꜣ*[e] *mꜣʿ-ḫrw Pḥ=f-m-nfr*

[33] Osiris Pakana [34] <of> Neferet <son of> Kanya true of voice. Pehefemnefer.



[35] *nb.t pr Mʿỉꜣ*

[35] Lady of the house, Maia.[32]

To the right of the purification scene are four male offering bearers arranged vertically in two groups of two. All four carry yokes from which a trapezoidal box or basket is suspended at each end. The area is heavily worn and as a result, only the figure depicted in the top left can be fully assessed. His head is shaven, and he is wearing a plain knee-length kilt. He holds his right hand in front of his face, while his left hand is lowered.

The scene in the bottom section is concluded by a group of fourteen wailing women. They are all holding different poses, either standing upright, bending forward, squatting or kneeling on the ground; their hands are held in front of their faces or both arms raised in the air. All wear ankle-length plain robes and have long hair without further internal details. The sizes of their heads differ somewhat.

2.3. Notes on Text and Translation

a. , alternatively written , is the most common hieroglyphic writing for Sangar,[33] the name by which the Kassite kingdom of Kardunyaš (Babylonia)[34] in Southern Mesopotamia was known to the ancient Egyptians.[35] The spelling of this toponym is not immediately obvious due to damage to the surface of the stela. In particular, the sign following the article *pꜣ*,  (Gardiner G40), is difficult to read. However, in combination with *gr* followed by the foreign-land determinative (N25), there can be little doubt about the reading of the

32 *PN* I, p. 146.7 (listed as *Mjꜣ*).

33 Akkadian *Sa-an-ḫa-ar*, as attested in the Amarna correspondence: Gauthier 1925–1991, V, p. 6. Equivalent to Hebrew רענש *Šinʿār* and Hittite *Šanḫar(a)*, see: van der Toorn, van der Horst 1990, pp. 2, 4.

34 Kassite or Middle Babylonian Period, c. 1595–1155 BCE.

35 See Gardiner 1947, I, pp. 209*–212*; II, pp. 323–324; Gauthier 1925–1931, V, p. 6. Also: Richter, Werning 2023, 852492. The large quartzite stela of Amenhotep II from Memphis, dated to year 7 and commemorating one of his Asiatic campaigns, lists the ruler of Babylonia (*pꜣ wr n Sngr*) together with those of Naharin (Mitanni) and Khatti, i.e. the three major kingdoms east of Egypt: Badawi 1943, p. 23, pl. I (line 33). Contemporary Egyptian text sources render the name of the city of Babylon as , *Bbr*: Gardiner 1947, I, p. 192.

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first sign as *s(ɔ)*,  (Aa18), thus *S(n)-gr*.[36] The omission of the *n* for the writing of Sangar is not uncommon.[37]

The masculine article *pɔ* preceding the grammatically feminine foreign place name necessitates the reconstruction of another word between the two. The reconstruction *(i)ʿɔ.w n pɔ <r n.y >S(n)gr*, 'interpreter of the <language of> Sangar' is coherent with the way the ancient Egyptians referred to their own language as *r n.y Km.t*, 'language of Egypt',[38] or the way reference was made to the language of Syria as *r n.y Ḫɜrw*.[39]

b. *Pɔ-kɔ-nɔ* is a personal name not known from other sources. It might be regarded as a name consisting of the Egyptian article *pɔ* followed by the syllabic Egyptian spelling of a Semitic word with the root *kwn* (כון), 'to be firm' (note that *kɔ* might be vocalized *ku*), perhaps a personal name.[40] A whole range of Semitic names belong to this root,[41] examples of which are mentioned in the Amarna correspondence.[42] For Egyptian anthroponyms with the root, cf. *kn* with classifier , var. *knɔ*.[43] In Akkadian, *kânu* is a frequently recurring verb in personal names.[44] The element *k(ɔ)-n(ɔ)* might tentatively be associated with the Babylonian name Kunāya, which is a hypocorism based on the root (*ukīn*).[45] On the other hand, the use of the definitive article *pɔ* before a personal name is odd. Another option might be to take *kɔ-nɔ* as the syllabic Egyptian spelling of a Semitic noun, perhaps a stative derived from the verb *kwn*, 'the steadfast', or cf. the Akkadian name Kēnu (*ki-i-nu*/*ku-e-nu*) 'the true one',[46] a nickname befitting the man's profession, as he would be regarded as someone trustworthy. Finally, *kɔ-nɔ* could also be a toponym, thus reading the name as 'he from Kana' (cf. Pakharu, 'the Syrian').

c. *Pɔ-ḫɔ-rw*, 'the Syrian' (or rather 'the Syro-Palestinian').[47] The name is rendered *Pa-ḫu-ra* (viz. *Pí-ḫu-ra; Pu-ḫu-ru; Pu-ḫu-ra*) in Akkadian.[48]

36 We owe this reading to Jacobus van Dijk.

37 Gardiner 1947, I, p. 210* refers to an inscription at Aswan dated to Ramesses II: L*D* III, p. 175g. Cf. also the toponym *S(n)ḏr* that follows *Sngr* in Gauthier 1925–1931, V, p. 6.

38 As recorded, for example, in the story of Sinuhe: *Wb* 5, 127, 15; https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/92900.

39 pTurin 2008 + 2016 *recto*, 2,14, used in the phrase 'by making a Syrian language', i.e. 'bargaining', see: Janssen 1961, p. 73.

40 Schneider 1992, pp. 117–118, no. 252. Schneider lists , *Pɔ-kɔ-nɔ-ny*, as an example; it derives from the verb *knn*, 'to be firm, substantial', a subroot (II gem.) of *kwn*. In addition, an incompletely preserved name attested in the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence from Boghazköy (KBo 15+16, rev.; ÄHK 24, rev. 13), *temp.* Ramesses II, reads *[I]Pa-⌜ku⌝[…]*. The name of the unidentified officer, possibly a 'commander of a 100', could be hypothetically reconstructed to read *pɔ-kɔ-ṯ-nɔ*, 'the charioteer/groom:' Cochavi-Rainey 2011, p. 190; Edel 1994, II, p. 117; *PN* I, p. 120, no. 11 (*Pɔ-kṯn*).

41 Amorite, Phoenician, Ugaritian, Aramaic and Akkadian: Stamm 1939, p. 356 (index).

42 EA 37, 22: *Ku-ni-e-a*, identified as a messenger of the king of Alašiya (Cyprus) to the Egyptian court. See also Hess 1993, p. 101, no. 101.

43 *PN* I, p. 346, nos. 1–3. The classifier (Gardiner T14), 'a club as a foreign weapon of warfare', is used as a classifier for all foreign peoples and countries also.

44 Giessler 2024, p. 42: GI.NA, GIN, 'to be(come) permanent, firm, true'.

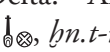
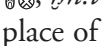
45 Waerzeggers, Gross 2019 (17 attestations).

46 Baker 2000, 611. We thank Dan'el Kahn for this reference.

47 Schneider 1992, pp. 286–287; *PN* I, p. 116, no. 17, listed as *pɔ-ḫr.j*; variants on p. 116, nos. 18–19, 21. Kharu was possibly a term used for the larger territory of Egyptian control in Western Asia.

48 Hess 1993, pp. 129–130, no. 136; Albright 1946, p. 18, no. 41. Various Amarna letters mention a homonymous Egyptian official who served as commissioner (*rābiṣu*) at the Egyptian centre of Kumidi (present-day Kāmid el-Lōz located in the Beqaa Valley, Lebanon) during the reign of Akhenaten, see e.g., De Magistris 2023.

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d. The reading of the second column of text, upper part, is problematic, even though most individual signs are clear. The first group of signs ends with the city classifier, thus a toponym. It might be a curious rendering of , *nfr.t*,[49] which has been identified as the name of a village located in the Northern Delta.[50] Another option would be to read the group as a curious writing of , var. , *ḥn.t-nfr*, a town located near Memphis.[51]
If the toponym marked Pakana's place of origin (anthroponym + indirect genitive *n* + toponym), the place (*nfr.t?*) might just as well be located outside Egypt,[52] though one would perhaps expect the foreign-land determinative (N25) or club as a foreign weapon of warfare (T14) to conclude the toponym.

e. The toponym *Nfr.t* is followed by an anthroponym, though its reading is doubtful. The *kꜣ*, *n*, and *y* are clearly visible, only the last sign is slightly damaged. Its general shape corresponds to the aleph in the first column, though the bird's legs appear to be missing. If indeed read as *ꜣ*, the name would be *Kꜣ-n-yꜣ*, doubtlessly a hypocorism based on the root *k(w)n*, perhaps a variant spelling of the Babylonian anthroponym Kunāya. In the present context, it could be understood as a patronym, thus reading: Pakana of Neferet, son of Kanya.[53]

2.4. Iconography, Style and Date

2.4.1. *Iconography*

The architecture of the tomb chapel points to a date range between the mid-18th Dynasty and the early 19th Dynasty. The spatial setting further narrows the range between the Amarna and immediate post-Amarna period. The stela contains no inscription bearing the name of a king that enables to date it. We therefore depend on analysis of style and iconography to date the monument more precisely.

The upper section of the stela depicts the double adoration of Osiris and Ptah, whereas New Kingdom private cult stelae normally depict the owner standing in adoration before Osiris, ruler of the Netherworld. The depiction of multiple gods is much less commonly observed. From the post-Amarna period onwards, Memphite tomb stelae begin to include a double adoration scene depicting Osiris alongside the sun god Re-Horakkhty.[54] Both deities are usually seated back-to-back at the centre of the composition, while the stela owner, sometimes in the company of his spouse, is depicted twice, standing in adoration once before each god. Such

49 The individual signs are oriented towards the right, but as the *f* and *m* (Aa15) in the name of Pehefemnefer further down the same column indicate, the writer reversed certain signs. This observation opens the possibility that the *r* serves as a phonetic complement with *nfr*, though the circular sign remains unexplained.

50 Gauthier 1925–1991, III, p. 91, who further suggests that it might be another name of Per Wadjet, Buto (Gauthier 1925–1991, II, p. 165).

51 We owe the suggestion to Robert J. Demarée. See: Montet 1957, pp. 37–39; Gardiner 1947, II, pp. 120–122 (393A); Daressy 1919. Hamza 1935–1938 identifies Khent-nefer with Qantir in the Eastern Delta.

52 Cf. Auenmüller 2013, pp. 349–351; also pp. 381–383 for individuals originating from Western Asia.

53 Cf. the mode of registration of Syro-Palestinian workers upon arrival in Egypt (P. Bologna 1086): name + filiation (patronym) + place of origin: Menu 2010, pp. 180–181.

54 Alternatively Re-Horakhty-Atum. See stela Cairo TN 10.6.24.8 of Amenemone (213/TPC), chief of goldsmiths and overseer of craftsmen (late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun): Ockinga 2004, scene [1], pls. 5, 55.

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scenes should be seen in context of the solar-Osirian union.[55] The double adoration scene depicted in the upper register of the stela of Pakana is unusual. Despite Ptah being the chief city god of Memphis, the number of stelae depicting him alongside Osiris as the recipients of adoration on private stelae from Saqqara is limited.[56] There are just a few parallels. The single pre-Amarna private-tomb stela depicting them both was found reused in the Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias.[57] It is the quartzite naos-shaped stela of Amenhotep Huy, chief steward in Memphis, dated to the late reign of Amenhotep III. The upper section of the central panel of the stela depicts Osiris (left) and Ptah (right) seated back-to-back under a single canopy at the centre of the scene, while Amenhotep Huy is depicted twice, standing in adoration before each god. Amongst the few parallels depicting Osiris and Ptah together as the recipients of adoration after the Amarna period is the limestone stela of Suty, head of sailors of Maat.[58] The naos-shaped monument dates to the 19th Dynasty reign of Ramesses II.[59] The scene in the upper register depicts Osiris (right) and Ptah (left) seated back-to-back at the centre of the composition; both gods receive adoration from Suty and his wife Taweret-hetepti. Finally, a lintel with a Memphite provenance depicts Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun standing in adoration before Ptah and Sakhmet; the two deities are depicted seated back-to-back with Amun-Re and Mut.[60]

Ptah was the prime local deity of Memphis. He was a creator god and considered a divine artist.[61] The role of Ptah as an artist-creator is emphasized in the title held by the high priests of his temple at Memphis. They bore the title *wr ḫrp ḥmw.w*, 'greatest of directors of craftsmen'. Ptah was also a patron deity of artists. It is not insignificant in this context that the tomb of Pakana was located at the heart of a cemetery populated by individuals engaged in 'the arts'. From the time of Amenhotep III onwards, the deified king Teti of the 6th Dynasty was venerated at his pyramid as *Ttỉ mr-n-Ptḥ*, 'Teti beloved-of-Ptah'.[62] Ptah's consort Sakhmet was also venerated at Saqqara. She was closely tied to the Saqqara-Abusir necropolis, ancient *ʿnḫ-tꜣ.wy*.[63] In the mid-18th Dynasty she became the recipient of a cult in the pyramid of Sahure at Abusir, known as Sakhmet-of-Sahure. The veneration of another aspect of the leonine goddess, as Bastet, took monumental shape in the later period of pharaonic history with the construction of the Bubasteion, southeast of the pyramid of Teti. Amongst the owners of New Kingdom tombs cut in the cliff south of the Bubasteion ('cliff of Ankhtawy') are those that held titles linked

55 See e.g., Staring 2024, pp. 103–104; Weiss 2017, pp. 215–229.

56 The late 18th Dynasty round-topped stela of Ptahmay (Munich ÄS 48), guard (*sʿḏ*), depicts Osiris seated alongside Sokar: Staring 2023, pp. 435–436 [410]; Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, 890; Löhr, Müller 1972, p. 64, cat. 49a, pl. 33.

57 Youssef 2017, pl. 55; Quibell 1912, pl. 84. For the proposed location of the now-lost tomb, see: Staring 2023, pp. 353–355, 141/USC; Hayes 1938.

58 Cairo JE 8781 = TN 14.3.25.6 (92 × 5 cm): Staring 2023, pp. 454–455 [475]; Gaballa 1979, pp. 42–44, fig. 1, pl. 1.

59 The use of the so-called cloaked man determinative suggests a date after the king's year 30: van Dijk 2017. Mariette found the stela in March 1860, precise provenance not known: Pasquali 2017, p. 568.

60 Lintel Berlin, inv. no. unknown (64 × 100 cm), ex-coll. Von Bissing, purchased from an antiquities dealer at Giza: Habachi 1979, fig. 1, pl. 1. A 'resthouse' of Tutankhamun (usurped by Ramesses II) replete with stone lintel, doorjambs and threshold was located close to the sphinx at Giza (JE 57195 = GEM no. 45489): Hassan 1953, fig. 73; Digital Giza, GEM_45489.

61 Te Velde 1982, cols. 1177–1180.

62 See stela Cairo JE 36852 = CG 34188 of Meryptah, overseer of weavers of Memphis, found at the mortuary temple of Teti: Barsanti 1914; Lacau 1909–1916, pl. 71.

63 Borrego Gallardo 2018.

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to the cult of Sakhmet,[64] which suggests that the place was closely tied to this deity at a much earlier date. In addition, the late 18th Dynasty tomb of the chief goldsmith and overseer of craftsmen Amenemone (*temp.* Tutankhamun) offers an example for the veneration of Sakhmet in the TPC. One wall relief depicts him with members of his family offering to Sakhmet, who is depicted as a lioness-headed female with a sun disk and uraeus on her head.[65] The tomb of Amenemone is located c. 40 m northwest of Pakana's chapel.

The offering and purification ritual performed on the standing anthropoid coffin of Pakana depicted in the bottom section of the stela is not all too common as part of stela iconography.[66] The Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis offers a few examples. One of the stelae of the contemporary overseer of craftsmen and chief of goldsmiths Ipuia includes the motif in the bottom section.[67] The coffin is held upright by a priest wearing an Anubis mask, Ipuia's wife squats at his feet. The scene is complemented with three overlapping male dignitaries and three times two females; all nine in a state of mourning. The later Ramesside stela of Nefersekheru, a craftsman of Ptah, offers a close parallel to Ipuia's scene.[68] The stela of Ramose, deputy of the army (*temp.* Tutankhamun), has the motif in the lunette. It depicts the coffin of the stela owner held upright by Anubis, while his brother Tiay, who wears a leopard skin, pours a libation.[69]

The purification ritual of the standing coffin depicted in the bottom section of Pakana's stela also has four male individuals bringing boxes suspended from yokes. The only Memphite New Kingdom parallel is carved on the base of the stela of Ipu, royal butler during the reign of Tutankhamun.[70] The scene depicts the tomb entrance in the middle of the composition, wailing women and offering bearers on either side oriented towards the door. Amongst the offering bearers are four male individuals (all named) carrying boxes suspended from yokes. The south wall of the entrance doorway of the tomb of Urkhiya, general of the army

64 E.g., Meryre alias Sennefer (356/Bub), great steward of the king (*temp.* Amenhotep III), held office as overseer of priests of Sakhmet (*ỉm.y-r ḥm.w-nṯr n Sḫm.t*). The name of the owner of another rock-cut tomb, Merysakhmet (357/Bub), overseer of the double granary of the king (late 18th/early 19th Dynasty), makes reference to the goddess.

65 Wall relief Cairo JE 11975: Ockinga 2004, pp. 44–47, scene [2], pls. 8, 56. The relief has recently been relocated to the Sharm El Sheikh Museum.

66 The never-carved stela set against the northeast wing of the entrance pylon to the tomb of Meryneith contains a graffito (scratched) depicting a standing mummiform individual embraced by a kneeling female: Raven, Van Walsem 2014, scene [4], fig. on p. 81. For examples of the motif depicted on wall relief, see the upper section of relief Leiden AP 6-b from the tomb chapel of Merymery, guardian of the treasury of Memphis (18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III): Boeser 1911, pl. 16 (tomb lost, likely TPC); and the 19th Dynasty tomb chapel of Raia, singer of Ptah-lord-of-truth: Martin 1985, scene [5], pls. 20, 22. For the motif as part of coffin iconography at Amarna, see: Pendlebury 1951, pl. 104 (coffin of the royal scribe Iny).

67 Cairo JE 44722: Quibell, Hayter 1927, pl. 9. The top register has a double adoration scene depicting Ipuia (twice) in adoration before Osiris and Re-Horakhty, and the middle section has a lengthy text (10 lines) with hymns to the sun god. The iconographic motif of the coffin standing (by itself) is also depicted on one of the tomb's wall reliefs (Quibell, Hayter 1927, pl. 11). The scene involves multiple officiants. The large tomb of Ipuia is located 60 m west of Pakana.

68 Bakry 1958, pl. 1. Zaki Saad found the stela near the mastaba of Mereruka in 1942–1943.

69 Stela Berlin ÄMP 7306: Martin 2001, scene [3], pls. 4, 46.

70 Staring 2023, p. 424 [373]; Brauers 2010 (we thank Olaf Kaper for access to this thesis); Boeser 1913, pl. 4. For a Theban parallel, see the 19th Dynasty stela of Ipu and Neferabu (Deir el-Medina TT 4): British Museum EA 1754 (lower part; joins BM EA 150). For examples of offering bearers carrying yokes depicted on wall relief (Saqqara), see e.g., the north wall of the inner courtyard of Horemheb's tomb: Martin 2016, scene [83], pls. 50–51 [above], 149 [above]; block Cairo TN 14.6.24.13 of Hormin (early 19th Dynasty); blocks Brussels E 3053–3055 of the royal scribe Neferrenpet (19th Dynasty). See also the funeral scenes in the tomb of Huya at Amarna (TA 01): Davies 1905, pl. 23.

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(*temp.* Seti I–Rameses II), has a graffito depicting three male individuals (servants, all named) entering the tomb carrying yokes.[71]

The large number of women in mourning finds no parallel in the corpus of Memphite New Kingdom stelae. The maximum number of women in such poses is six.[72] Wall reliefs depicting the funeral of the tomb-owner can depict larger numbers. The closest parallels to those of Pakana's stela, also in terms of varied poses, are found in the tomb of Meryneith, steward of the house of Aten (*temp.* Tutankhamun, early),[73] and the chapel of Yuyu, maker of gold leaf (*temp.* Ramesses II).[74]

2.4.2. *Style*

The human figures depicted in the stela bear the trademarks of the art of the post-Amarna period. These include, for example, the thin limbs, slanted, almond-shaped eyes with a deep incision above the eyelid, sharply pronounced eyebrows, globular chin, sharply marked and full lips with a downward line or depression at the corner, sagging belly, and slim waist.[75]

The proportions of the human body as rendered in Egyptian art were subject to change during the period from the late 18th to the 19th Dynasty. At first glance the human figures depicted on Pakana's stela seem to reflect a 'return' to the art before Amarna. Yet a close analysis of their proportions reveals that all standing figures are based on a hypothetical 20-square grid, introduced during the Amarna period.[76] In the standing figures of the upper section, the ankles are at horizontal 1, the lower hem of the bag tunic at 3, the lower hem of the goffered kilt at 6, lower end of belly fold at 12, navel at around 13, junction of shoulder and neck a little over 17. The same grid governed the proportions of the stela composition overall. Thus, the distance between Pakana and Paraemheb in the top section measures two squares, the lower register line is one square high, the text columns about three squares wide, the gods' daises around two squares high, the top of both their offering stands at horizontal 8, the junction of the gods' shoulder and neck at 17, etc. Interestingly, two squares combined measure c. 1.90 cm, which suggests the artist used 1 finger (1.87 cm) as a basic unit of measure.[77]

Fashion-sensitive items such as the garments worn by Pakana, Paraemheb, and the officiants find parallels in well-dated contemporary tombs such as that of Maya[78] and Horemheb.[79] The length of the goffered kilt underwent rapid changes during the late 18th Dynasty, making it

71 Hassan 2023, fig. 7B.

72 Brauers 2010, p. 250 table 50.

73 Raven, van Walsem 2014, scene [15], figs. on pp. 94–95; raised relief, sculpted during the reign of Tutankhamun, early.

74 Tomb chapel excavated by the Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara in 2023. The funeral is depicted on the chapel north wall, upper register. It also includes the standing mummiform coffin of Yuyu held upright by a priest in front of a representation of the chapel topped by a pyramidion.

75 Compare, in particular, to the figures of the chief of bowmen and overseer of horses Ry and his spouse Maia as depicted on their naos-shaped stela, Berlin ÄMP 7290: Staring 2024, scene [6].

76 Robins 1994, pp. 119–159. It means the hair lines of standing figures are on horizontal 20, while the height of the lower legs, line above knee at horizontal 6, equals to one third of the full height to the hair line. When superimposing the stela of Pakana with an 18-square grid, the horizontals do not join up with any of the key features of the human body.

77 One finger equals 1/28 cubit; one royal cubit measures c. 52.2 cm.

78 Offering bearers depicted on the north and south wall of the pylon gateway: Martin 2012, pl. 9.4 (offering bearers wearing wigs and composite garments) and pl. 15.6 (offering bearers with shaven heads and wrap-around sash kilts); and offering bearers depicted on the west wall of the inner courtyard (wigs and composite garments): Martin 2012, pl. 37.66.

79 In particular, the high officials depicted on relief Vienna ÄS 214: Martin 2016, scene [76], pls. 44, 169.

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a particularly useful tool to date the stela. During the reigns of Amenhotep III[80] and Akhenaten,[81] the lower hem ended above the knee, and as time progressed, the hemline lowered to a point halfway between knee and ankle during the reign of Horemheb.[82] The lower hemlines of the goffered sash kilts worn by Pakana and Paraemheb are at knee level and find parallels in tombs dated to the (early) reign of Tutankhamun (see Fig. 8).[83]

The foodstuffs placed on the offering tables are reminiscent of the pre-Amarna period. In particular, the spaces in between the individual items, which give them the impression of floating in the air, are more typical of representations dated to the reign of Amenhotep III—which at that time was an archaising stylistic feature harking back to the Old Kingdom—as are the bunch of onions that top the heap of food items.[84] The bowl containing burning incense (fire offerings) and the plucked duck with incision on the stomach are reminiscent of Amarna art (though not exclusively).[85]

There are a limited number of examples for the stela owner standing with a brazier before Osiris.[86] The contemporary stela of the royal butler Ipu depicts the stela owner with a brazier containing a plucked duck,[87] while a flame emanates from the brazier held by the overseer of craftsmen Penamun.[88]

80 E.g., stela of Wesy, chief of bowmen of the king, Munich ÄS 11: Löhr, Müller 1972, pl. 34.

81 E.g., Meryre, steward of the house of Aten, offering bearers in entrance gateway north and south walls (Phase II, *temp.* Akhenaten year 9+): Raven, van Walsem 2014, scenes [7], [8], fig. on pp. 83, 85–87.

82 E.g., chapel of Paatememheb, royal butler, Leiden AMT 1–35: Boeser 1911, pls. 1–18.

83 E.g., tomb of Ry, chief of bowmen and overseer of horses, relief Berlin ÄMP 7278: Staring 2024, scene [9]; tomb of Horemheb, general-in-chief: Martin 2016, scene [76], pls. 44, 169; tomb of Meryneith, greatest of seers of the Aten, south wall inner courtyard (Phase III, *temp.* Tutankhamun, early): Raven, van Walsem 2014, scene [15], figs. on pp. 94–95. The contemporary stela of Penamun (Brooklyn 37.1486E), great overseer of craftsmen, has the hemline just above knee level; the syllabic spelling of *rʿ* (in the epithet of Isis, daughter of Re) and the so-called *Lotosbüschsel* for *mȝʿ-ḫrw* (cf. Gessler-Löhr 1990) point to a date close to the end of the Amarna period.

84 Cf. the various stelae discussed in Bryan 1990. See also the Phase I relief decoration in the tomb of Meryneith (*temp.* Akhenaten, year 5–8): Raven, van Walsem 2014, scene [23], figs. on pp. 110–111. Compare further the banquet scenes on the north wall of the second courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb: Martin 2016, scenes [18], [19], [20]. Martin identifies the 'onions' as edible palm cabbage (Martin 2016, p. 38 with n. 192).

85 Again, scene [23] in the tomb of Meryneith: Raven, van Walsem 2014, figs. on pp. 110–111. Various Amarna private tombs, such as that of Mahu (TA 09), depict Akhenaten and Nefertiti offering to the Aten, standing at an offering table topped by plucked ducks and bowls of incense burning: Davies 1906, pl. 15. A scene in the tomb of Panehsy (AT 06) depicts the royal couple standing under the rays of the Aten censing and libating at an offering table laden with circular and sliced loaves of bread and plucked ducks: Davies 1905, pl. 5. Fire offerings placed atop altars laden with offerings are a common feature of Aten temple iconography more generally, as depicted e.g., in the tomb of Panehsy (AT 06): Davies 1905, pl. 18.

86 Brauers 2010, pp. 182–183, lists six examples ranging in date from the 18th Dynasty reign of Amenhotep III to the 19th Dynasty (not exclusively Memphite); four specimens date to the 18th Dynasty: Leiden AP 9, Ipu (*temp.* Tutankhamun, Saqqara); Leiden AP 22, Mai (pre-Amarna, provenance unknown); Munich ÄS 37, Imenherhatef (*temp.* Amenhotep III, provenance unknown); Munich ÄS 51, Nena (late 18th Dynasty, provenance unknown). Three more parallels should be added: Uppsala 35, Nakht (late 18th Dynasty, Saqqara); Brooklyn 37.1486E (*temp.* Tutankhamun, Saqqara); Cairo JE 34542, Tjay (early 19th Dynasty, Saqqara).

87 Leiden AP 9: Staring 2023, p. 424 [373]; Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, 485; Boeser 1913, pp. 4–5, pl. 4.

88 Brooklyn 37.1486E (65.9 × 45.9 × 7.9 cm): James 1974, pp. 177–178, pls. 13 [434], 86. The round-topped stela of Penamun probably derives from a tomb chapel located 50 m north of Pakana: Staring 2023, p. 382, 215/TPC.

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2.4.3. *Date*

In conclusion, the analysis of iconography and style firmly situates the carving of the stela in the reign of Tutankhamun (c. 1319–1310 BCE).[89]

3. THE IDENTITIES OF PAKHARU AND PARAEMHEB AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO PAKANA

3.1. Pakharu

The scene in the middle section of the stela depicts the mortuary provisioning for two (deceased) couples. The texts inscribed over the two individuals seated on the left identify them as Pakana and his wife Maia. The couple on the right are identified as Pakharu and Amenemopet, the nature of their relationship to Pakana and Maia not made explicit in writing. To assess their relationship to Pakana, we will turn to Memphite parallels depicting two couples seated on chairs receiving offerings from priests standing back-to-back at the centre of the composition. Examples are few at Saqqara. The iconographic motif of the mortuary provisioning usually focuses exclusively on the stela owner and his spouse: they are either the recipients of offerings or the donors, receiving from or giving to members of (a) previous generation(s), usually parents.[90] The mirrored composition involving two couples is much less common, and compositions differ: 1) the stela owner and his wife seated *vis-à-vis* at a single offering table (i.e. facing their mirror image);[91] 2) the stela owner and his mother seated *vis-à-vis* at a single offering table;[92] 3) the stela owner and his wife seated *vis-à-vis* the male's parents across one or two offering tables. Only the third option applies to Pakana's case, but the examples are ambiguous.

The first is a scene in the middle section of the naos-shaped stela of Ahmose, scribe and reckoner of cattle (*temp.* Amenhotep III), seated with his wife Puhu receiving libation and incense from their son Iy.[93] The couple are seated *vis-à-vis* with Ry, identified as a child of the *kap* (*kꜣp*), and *his* mother Puhu. It is not immediately clear to whom the possessive adjective *his* refers. If it refers to Ry, it makes Puhu his mother and Ahmose his father. This seems confirmed by the name of Ahmose's wife, Puhu. However, it is equally possible that *his* refers to Ahmose, in which case he is seated facing his parents Ry and Puhu, his mother and wife coincidentally bearing the same name.[94]

89 The latest recorded date of Tutankhamun's reign is given on a stela from Abydos as year 9, 2nd month of the inundation season (*akhet*), day 12: Gabolde 2019.

90 Stela Florence 2567 (*temp.* Horemheb) is exceptional, as it depicts Ipy and his father Amenhotep Huy seated *vis-à-vis* at a single offering table: Bosticco 1965, no. 32.

91 Stela Berlin ÄMP 7290 inscribed for the army commander Ry and his wife Maia (*temp.* Tutankhamun): Staring 2024, scene [6].

92 Stela of the army general Amenemone with his mother Depet, joining blocks Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 715 and Musée Rodin Co.03076/Musée du Louvre (*temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb): Staring forthcoming.

93 Cairo JE 18181 = CG 34049 (92 × 60 cm), *temp.* Amenhotep III: Staring 2023, p. 423 [369]; Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, 1546; Lacau 1909–1916, pp. 84–86, pl. 29; Mariette 1872–1889, p. 18, pl. 56. The recessed central area is shaped as a round-topped stela. Mariette found the stela in January 1862: Pasquali 2017, p. 571.

94 Ry and Ahmose are also depicted in the bottom section of the stela, but again, the nature of their relationship is not made explicit in writing.

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We encounter the exact same problem on another pre-Amarna naos-shaped stela inscribed for Yipu, chief of sandal makers (*temp.* Amenhotep III).[95] The scene in the middle section depicts Yipu and his wife Takhat seated at an offering table *vis-à-vis* with the chief of sandal makers Pyia and *his* mother, who remains anonymous.[96] Again, it is unclear if *his* refers to Yipu or Pyia. Although the scene in the bottom section of the stela depicts Piya who is identified as son of Yipu, the information does not necessarily help us any further, because Pyia might just as well be named after his paternal grandfather.

The round-topped stela of Iny, royal scribe and chief of letter scribes of the king (*temp.* Tutankhamun), is less ambiguous (Fig. 7).[97] Despite the likely non-Memphite provenance,[98] the stela presents the closest parallel for the iconographic motif of the mortuary provisioning of Pakana's stela.[99] Two officiants, Iny's daughter Werner (Werel) and his son Iiu, are depicted standing back-to-back at the centre of the composition. They present offerings on the left to Iny seated with his wife Typu and on the right to his (i.e. Iny's) father Akhpet (no title recorded) seated with his (i.e. Iny's) mother, lady of the house Takhat, respectively. If we extrapolate the relationships between the actors represented by comparison to Iny's case, Pakharu and Amenemopet were Pakana's parents.[100]

Even though Pakharu is an Egyptian gentilic that translates as 'the Syrian', it needs not necessarily imply any such ethnic descent.[101] Indeed, unlike Pakana, the name Pakharu is not a syllabic rendering of a foreign name. However, given that his son held office as an interpreter, which requires proficiency in (at least) two languages, corroborates the suggestion that the name Pakharu implies certain ethnic descent. The name Pakharu might thus be understood as a nickname referring to his region of origin.[102] The suggestion of it being a nickname finds support in the homonymous member of the household of Tia, brother-in-law of Ramesses II, named *Amen*emheb alias Pakharu.[103] This brings us to *Para*emheb.

95 Marseille, musée de la Vieille Charité 235 (88 × 58 × 15 cm): Staring 2023: 428 [387]; Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, 27; Nelson, Piérini 1978, p. 58, fig. 236 (as 19th Dynasty).

96 The framed column following that bearing her title *nb.t pr*, 'lady of the house', has remained uninscribed.

97 Leiden EG-ZM17 (103 × 65 cm): Boeser 1907, p. 10, pl. 2. Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, 516 (as *temp.* Seti I–Ramesses II).

98 The stela is of unknown provenance, though internal evidence points to Abydos, in particular the gods depicted in the upper register: Osiris [lord] of Abydos with Horus son of Isis and Isis the great, mother of god.

99 Abydos yields more stelae; see e.g., stela (middle section) British Museum EA 1332 of Iuna, maker of sacred barks (*temp.* Amenhotep III): Edwards 1939, pl. 33; stela (middle section) Louvre C 53 of the child of the *kap* Pa-aa-aqu (*temp.* Thutmosis IV): Gabolde 2019, fig. 11 (the upper section has a double adoration scene depicting the stela owner before Osiris and Wepwawet, seated back-to-back at the centre of the composition).

100 A scene from a relief (stela?) fragment of Ptahmay (Cairo TN 3.7.24.12), chief of makers of gold leaf (*temp.* Akhenaten), is equally problematic (Zivie 1975, pl. 56). It depicts Ptahmay and his wife Ty seated *vis-à-vis* Mahy (troop-commander of washermen of the *per-khener*) and Husu at a single offering table. The nature of their relationship is not made explicit through writing, though it is most likely that Mahy and Husu were the parents of Ptahmay (also proposed by Zivie 1975, pp. 74–75).

101 Schneider 1992, p. 186. The same could be argued for individuals bearing the name Panehsy, 'the Nubian'.

102 From the reign of Akhenaten onwards, *ḫ3rw* and *kš* are found contrasted in references to the geographical areas north(east) and south of Egypt: Gardiner 1947, I, pp. 180–181. See e.g., the Amarna tomb of Tutu (AT 09), "The entire land trembles for you, Syria, Nubia, and all lands" (west wall, south side, col. 5: Davies 1908, pl. 19). See also n. 47, above.

103 Stela Durham, Oriental Museum EG 501 (N.1965): Málek 1974, pp. 162–165. Amenemheb was a chief of retainers (*ḫr.y šms.w*), and, like his colleague Iurudef (scribe of the treasury; 003/USC), might have been buried in the second courtyard of the tomb of his superior in office, Tia (057/USC), marked by a chapel (116/USC): Raven 1991. The tomb of Tia was built during the second decade of Ramesses II's reign, i.e. roughly half a century after the end of Tutankhamun's reign.

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Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

Fig. 7. Stela of Iny, chief of letter scribes of the king, Leiden EG-ZM17.

3.2. Paraemheb

Private tomb stelae usually depict the owner in adoration before Osiris, often in the company of his wife. Double adoration scenes such as depicting Osiris and Re-Horakhty duplicate the image of the stela owner (variably in the company of his wife). Individuals other than the tomb owner (and his wife) are less common in such scenes.[104]

There are, in other words, few parallels that could possibly shed more light on the identity of Paraemheb, the man with whom Pakana shares the lunette of his stela. Yet, the suggestion

104 Stela Leiden AP 8 (late 18th–early 19th Dynasty) of uncertain (Memphite?) provenance depicts the double adoration of Osiris and Osiris-Wennefer: the latter given adoration by the stela owner Huy and his wife Mutnofret, the former given adoration by Huy's parents Saaset and Taeniunet: Boeser 1913, pl. 3.

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that Pakharu may not have been the given name of Pakana's father (section 3.2) paves the way to a solution.[105] The two differently named individuals may represent one and the same person, i.e., Pakana's father named Paraemheb 'the Syrian'. If we further accept that Pakana was a son of Kanya (see section 2.3.e, above), he would have been known under three different names: his Semitic given name (*Kꜣ-n-yꜣ*); a nickname making reference to his region of origin (*Pꜣ-ḫꜣrw*); and an 'adopted' Egyptian name (*Pꜣ-rˁ-m-ḥb*)—a name, moreover, befitting the reign of Akhenaten.

Such a scenario is not without parallels. Take, for example, a goldworker named Paraemheb alias Panehsy, 'the Nubian' (late 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II–Merenptah), attested with a stela probably from Abydos and now held in the British Museum, EA 141.[106] His full title reads *ḥr.y nby.w n ḥw.t nbw* (var: *ms n nṯr.w*), 'chief of goldsmiths of the Mansion of Gold, var. fashioner of (statues of) the gods'. We have already noted the example of Amenemheb Pakharu, 'the Syrian', from Tia's household. A third example is the Ramesside first royal butler of the king Ramessesemperre (*temp.* Ramesses II–Merenptah).[107] He is known under three more names, two Egyptian and one West Semitic.[108] The two Egyptian names make reference to Heliopolis and/or the reigning king: *Mr.y-Ỉwn.w* and *Pꜣ-n-(Rˁ-mss-mr.y-Ỉmn)|-mr.y-mỉ-Rˁ*. The foreign name is of particular interest, as it is followed by the man's place of origin, *Bꜣ-n-mr-ṯꜣy-nꜣ n(.y) ḏrbsn*, 'of Ziribašani', referring to a region east of the Jordan river.[109]

Another valid option is that Paraemheb and Pakana were brothers. There are indeed stelae (albeit limited in number) depicting the owner accompanied by his brother standing in adoration before Osiris. For example, the stela of Paser, overseer of builders of the king, shows him in the company of his brother Tjunery (Tjel), overseer of works of all monuments of the king.[110]

A third possibility is that Paraemheb and Pakana were professionally affiliated without there being any blood relations between them. This option finds little support in the corpus of New Kingdom stelae from Saqqara. The only possible exception is the stela of the chief royal sculptor Sa (late 18th Dynasty).[111] The upper section of the stela has at its centre a deeply cut 'half-statue' of Osiris standing inside a shrine. It is flanked by sunk relief images of Sa and the royal scribe Semen(ti)tawy, both standing with their hands raised in adoration before the god. The inscriptions do not reveal what the relationship between Sa and Semen(ti)tawy might have been, though Sa is identified as the son of the chief sculptor Ya. Father and son are well documented, and another son of Ya bore the same title. He is the famous sculptor Userhat alias Hatiay. A stela of Userhat from Abydos depicts and names his numerous siblings, including Sa, while none of them is named Semen(ti)tawy.[112] It thus seems reasonable to assume that Sa and Semen(ti)tawy were colleagues, which in turn could support the option that Paraemheb and Pakana held a similar relationship.

105 Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020 has seven attestations for the name Paraemheb during the New Kingdom.

106 Quirke 2023, p. 50, fig. 2.11.

107 Staring 2023, p. 447 [448].

108 See Auenmüller 2013, pp. 381–382; Berlandini-Grenier 1974.

109 Auenmüller 2013, pp. 381–382. His father bears the Semitic anthroponym *Ywpꜣ-ʿꜣ*.

110 Stela London, British Museum EA 165: Martin 1985, pls. 8–9.

111 Cairo JE 21772 = TN 11.11.24.5: Gaballa 1979, pp. 75–80, pl. 16a. The stela derives not from Abydos, but from Saqqara; found by Mariette in January 1862 (Pasquali 2017, p. 571: *Inventaire Mariette* 18926). Gaballa 1979, pp. 79–80, lists further examples of non-Memphite stelae depicting individuals with no (certain) blood relation depicted together in adoration.

112 The parents and 22 'siblings' (*sn* and *sn.t*) are represented in tabular form, each 'cell' containing a seated figure plus name. The brother in the cell directly above Sa is the royal scribe Hatiay (not identical to the stela owner). Since Userhat

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If indeed Pakana and Paraemheb were professionally associated, the latter could then be hypothetically identified as the goldsmith (*nby.w*) known from another Saqqara tomb stela.[113] It depicts him once mummified, standing in front of his tomb chapel, his wife Aati at his feet. In the register below he is depicted seated at an offering table with his wife Aati, this time he is identified as the chief goldsmith (*ḫr.y nby.w*) Amenemheb.[114] The stela of Paraemheb alias Amenemheb can be dated stylistically to the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty, which makes the monument roughly contemporaneous with that of Pakana.

More items could possibly be ascribed to Paraemheb alias Amenemheb. The fragment of a faience shabti inscribed for Paraemheb, an overseer of (possibly) goldsmiths, was found in the fill of the northern lateral chapel of the tomb of Maya.[115] Two doorjambs found in a Late Period tomb shaft in the ruins of the monastery of Apa Jeremias, located close to the tomb of Maya, were inscribed for a chief goldsmith bearing the same name.[116] Amenemheb shares the doorjambs with a certain Ptahemheb, who bears the same title.

If Amenemheb and Ptahemheb were not two names for the same individual, they could be hypothetically identified as sons of Amenemone, the king's overseer of craftsmen and chief of goldsmiths.[117] Amenemone owned one of the largest New Kingdom private tombs in the TPC.[118] It was built during the reign of Tutankhamun and located c. 40 m northwest of Pakana's chapel.

The possible link between Pakana and the family of Amenemone is speculative but also intriguing, because another one of his sons, Ptahmose, was closely affiliated with Pakana professionally.[119] He has been identified as the *sš ḏr.t n pȝ ỉm.y-r pr.wy-ḥḏ*, 'letter scribe of the overseer of the treasury', who features twice in the tomb decoration of Maya, Tutankhamun's treasury overseer.[120] Ptahmose was, in other words, the personal secretary of Maya who, together with Horemheb, governed the kingdom practically in tandem.[121] It makes Ptahmose effectively a *royal* letter scribe. As we shall see in the next section, letter scribes were the epistolary secretaries of international (or rather intercultural) diplomatic correspondence. It situates Ptahmose in the same sphere of the royal palace as Pakana, both dealing with international affairs.

In this respect, it is interesting to point to a scene from Maya's tomb courtyard, which depicts Ptahmose holding an unrolled papyrus while a row of living captives from (Western) Asia

Hatiay had a brother named Hatiay, the latter may have been known under a different name also—perhaps Semen(ti)tawy, who would thus be represented with his brother Sa on stela Cairo TN 11.11.24.5.

113 Cairo JE 18925 = TN 27.3.25.15 (155 × 68 cm): Gaballa 1979, pp. 80–82, fig. 3, pl. 16b. Stela found by Mariette in February 1862: Pasquali 2017, p. 571.

114 Var. *ḫr.y nby.w n.y nb tȝ.wy*, 'chief goldsmith of the king'.

115 Raven 2001, cat. no. 196, pl. 37.196.

116 Cairo JE 46190–46191; Staring 2023, p. 352, 137/USC; Châban 1917, pp. 180–182, nos. 14–15.

117 Ockinga 2004. Note that the doorjamb of Amenemheb and/alias Ptahemheb also names a certain Ramose, *ḫr.y sȝw.ty ṯȝr.t*, 'chief guardian of the fortress', who is unattested in the tomb of the goldsmith Amenemone.

118 Staring 2023, p. 381, 213/TPC.

119 Stela Cairo TN 10.6.24.8 (149 × 109 cm) depicts all members of Amenemone's family: Ockinga 2004, scene [1], pls. 5, 55. In the tomb of his father, Ptahmose bears the title *sš pr-ḥḏ n.y nb tȝ.wy*, 'scribe of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands'.

120 1) depicted as a scribe on a block found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias, relief Cairo JE 43274d: Martin 2012, scene [38], pl. 29; Quibell 1912, pl. 66; 2) depicted as an offering bearer on the north wall of the pylon gateway: Martin 2012, scene [4], pls. 9, 12, 81.2, 82.1. The father, Amenemone, features as one of the offering bearers in a scene located in the tomb's inner courtyard, bearing the title *ỉdnw nȝ n(.y) ḫmw.t pr-ḥḏ n(.y) pr ʿȝ*, 'deputy of these craftsmen of the treasury of pharaoh': Martin 2012, pl. 28.36; Ockinga 2004, pp. 19–20; Berlandini 1976, p. 312; L*D* III, pl. 241b.

121 Van Dijk 1993, p. 79. Cf. also the otherwise strictly royal epithet *ṯsw tȝ m sḫr.w[=f]*, 'who unites (i.e. governs) the land with his plans', held by Maya.

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(*sḳr ʿnḫ m Sṯt*) are led before Maya. Another scribe stands in the sub-register below Ptahmose, keeping record of cattle and other booty being led before Maya. He is identified as Iny, the *sš pr-ḥḏ n nb tꜣ.wy*, 'scribe of the king's treasury', who is also named (secondarily) amongst the offering bearers depicted on the south wall of the pylon gateway, holding a scribe's palette (as *sš pr-ḥḏ Ỉny*). He may be tentatively identified as the homonymous royal scribe and chief of letter scribes of the king represented in Fig. 7—the owner of a stela that offers such a close parallel to that of Pakana.

To summarise the above, there are three viable options for identifying Paraemheb: he may have been the father, brother or colleague of Pakana. The currently available evidence renders it impossible to say which would be the best viable option. The title of 'goldsmith' held by Paraemheb links Pakana and his socio-professional circle to the family of Amenemone the goldsmith one way or another. The relation between the office of the king's interpreter and the precious metal workshops of the palace will be further explored in the next section.

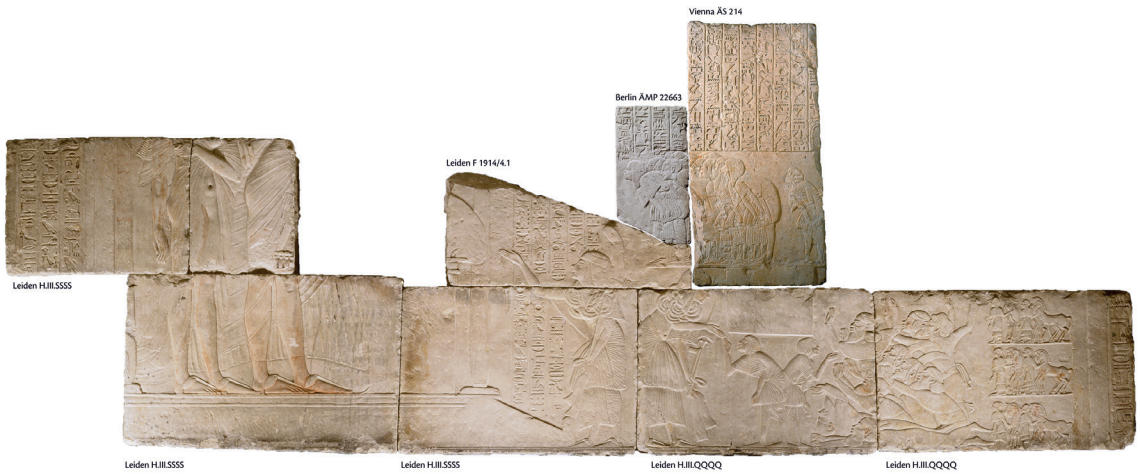


Fig. 8. Reliefs from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, depicting an audience of foreign envoys at the royal palace. Photos: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (© KHM-Museumsverband); Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: Sandra Steiß). Digital reconstruction: Nico Staring.



Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

Fig. 9. Detail of the audience as depicted on the Horemheb reliefs: the interpreter at work.

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4. THE OFFICE OF KING'S INTERPRETER OF BABYLONIAN

This final section assesses the titles 'interpreter of the Lord of the Two Lands', var. 'interpreter of Babylonian', and evaluates its implications in context of the late 18th Dynasty.

Neither title is known from other sources. Moreover, not a single interpreter with a tomb is attested for the New Kingdom. The two individuals listed in the exhaustive study of *ỉˁ.w* by Lanny Bell do not in fact refer to professional interpreters.[122] The tomb inscription of the king's chancellor Senneferi at Thebes (TT 99, *temp.* Thutmosis III) includes a word that had previously been misread as *ỉˁ.w*, 'interpreter',[123] while the autobiography of the army scribe Anhurmose at Naga el-Mashayikh (*temp.* Merenptah) uses the Late Egyptian writing of the word, *ỉˁˁ*, in narrative form and not as a title-of-office.[124] As such, Pakana is, until now, the only bearer of the title who is attested with a tomb chapel during the New Kingdom.[125]

It is not insignificant for the present study that the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, the general-in-chief of the army and deputy (*ỉdn.w*) of Tutankhamun, contains the only known ancient Egyptian representation of an interpreter at work (Figs. 8–9).[126] The scene illustrates the professional environment of the king's interpreter very well.[127] It is set in the king's palace, undoubtedly at Memphis,[128] and depicts a royal audience. Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun are portrayed standing at the so-called Window of Appearance on the left, the king leaning

122 Bell 1976, pp. 86–87, §92.

123 Bell 1976, p. 86, read the damaged pillar inscription as *ỉˁ.w [n(.y) ḫȝs.wt nb(.w)t] s(ỉ)ˁry mdw(.w)=sn [n n(y)-sw.t]*, 'interpreter of all foreign lands, who forwards their pleas (lit. words) to the king'; the lacunae filled with reference to the Anhurmose text, see below. In the recent publication of the tomb, Nigel Strudwick reads instead: *ȝw.t-ỉb n […] sˁr mdw=sn […]*, 'the joy of […] the one who makes their words to ascend […]'. What had previously been understood as the hieroglyphic sign 𓂝 (Gardiner S25) for *ỉˁ*, should in fact be taken as a monogram of 𓄿 (*ȝw*) and 𓐍 (*ỉb*): Strudwick 2016, p. 146, Text BE.1, columns 5–6, pl. 40 with comment c, colour pl. 33A.

124 Ockinga, al-Masri 1988, p. 33 with n. 33; Text 17, column 19, pls. 22–23: *ỉˁˁ n ḫȝs.t nb(.t) m-bȝḥ nb=f*, 'interpreter for every foreign land in the presence of my lord'. *ỉˁˁ* is the Late Egyptian form of *ỉˁ*. Kees 1937, p. 82, understood *ỉˁˁ* as a verb ("*Ich dolmetschte für jedes Fremdland vor meinem Herrn*"), though he also considered the possibility that it should be understood as a substantive (Kees 1937, p. 82: "*ein „Dolmetsch" für jedes Fremdwort*").

125 The title *ỉˁ.w n ḫȝs.wt*, 'interpreter of foreign lands', according to Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, 425, held by the army general Djehuty (*temp.* Thutmosis III) must have entered the database erroneously; none of the inscriptions pertaining to the individual include the title. We thank Anne Herzberg-Beiersdorf for checking the sources underlying the database entry for us.

126 The interpreter is depicted on relief block Leiden H.III.QQQQ: Martin 2016, pp. 83–86, scene [76], pls. 44, 46, 145–146. For a somewhat comparable scene, see TT 40 of the viceroy of Kush, Huy, the king's envoy to every foreign land *and* the king's overseer of the gold countries. One tomb scene depicts him acting as an interpreter: once standing before the king, Tutankhamun, seated, and once turned in the opposite direction facing a group of Asiatic envoys bringing tribute: Davies, Gardiner 1926, pls. 19–20. Huy does not bear a title that identifies him as an interpreter *stricto sensu*.

127 The reliefs were on the west wall of the tomb's inner courtyard, removed in the early nineteenth century. A total of seven joining relief blocks are now held in Leiden (H.III.QQQQ = two blocks; H.III.SSSS = three blocks, one of which now broken in two; F 1914/4.1), one block in Berlin (ÄMP 22663), and one in Vienna (ÄS 214). The Leiden group of blocks takes up almost the complete width of the original wall decoration, measuring 343 cm.

128 A scene on the south wall of the tomb's second courtyard depicts the façade of Tutankhamun's palace: Martin 2016, scene [2], pl. 11. The restoration stela of Tutankhamun (Cairo CG 34183) informs us that the king took up residence of his palace (*ḥ*) at Memphis in the house (*pr*) of Aakheperkare (Thutmosis I) in regnal year 1, fourth month of the inundation season, day 19 (van Dijk 2003, p. 236). The Saqqara stela of Sobekhotep (Florence, Museo Egizio 2589: Bosticco 1965, no. 22), dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Amenhotep III, identifies the owner as *sȝw.ty n pr ˁȝ-ḫpr-kȝ-rˁ*, 'guardian of the house of Aakheperkare'. He additionally held office as *ỉr.y ˁȝ n Ḫȝ.ty*, 'door keeper of Khaty'.

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forward over the cushioned window ledge.[129] A group of nine foreigners are depicted on the right: seven Western Asiatics and two Lybians.[130] The area between the royal couple and the foreigners is twice occupied with individuals.[131] Horemheb is the larger-scale figure. He wears an elaborate garment, is decorated with multiple *shebyu*-collars (Gold of Honour), and holds a long-handled fan, ceremonial battle axe, and ribbon. The figure represented at a much smaller scale is an unnamed interpreter. The nine foreign envoys are depicted in poses of supplication. The prostrating men portray a phrase well-known from letters Syro-Palestinian vassals sent to the Egyptian king: "7 times and 7 times, on the back and on the stomach".[132] They make their request to the king by way of Horemheb through an interpreter.[133] Thus, the interpreter is depicted once facing the foreigners as he raises his hand to indicate speech, and once he is turned to Horemheb. The raised relief-panel above his image was possibly meant to record in writing the message he conveyed. The text was never carved.

Geoffrey Martin tentatively identifies the interpreter as Sementawy, Horemheb's private secretary ('letter scribe') who reoccurs elsewhere in the tomb twice.[134] Like Sementawy, the unnamed interpreter wears his goffered sash kilt in combination with a pointed kilt usually associated with military officials. The interpreter may have accompanied Horemheb during his military expeditions to Western Asia during the reign of Tutankhamun.[135] Horemheb's extraordinary position at court in Memphis meant that his interpreter served *de facto* as the king's interpreter, which brings Pakana in the picture, even though he held no title linking him to the military.

Given that Pakana lived close to the end of the Amarna period, he may have served at Akhetaten before the royal court moved north. At Amarna, the rock-cut tomb of the king's chamberlain Tutu (AT 08) shows a scene depicting a group of foreign envoys "of every land" led by possibly an Egyptian interpreter.[136] They form part of several groups, arranged vertically in sub-registers bowing before the king, Akhenaten, who leans forward over the cushioned ledge of the Window of Appearance bestowing Tutu with the Gold of Honour. The palace setting suggests that the interpreter on duty was the king's interpreter. Tutu must have been closely associated with the interpreter professionally, because he also engaged in international relations. Tutu can be identified as the high court official *Du-ú-du*, the addressee of four cuneiform letters dated to

129 Horemheb probably started building and decorating his Memphite tomb early in the reign of Tutankhamun. While the scene in question depicts Tutankhamun as an adult, he was, in reality, not older than 10 years (if born in year 11 of Akhenaten).

130 Martin 2016, p. 84.

131 The scene is remindful of that in the tomb of the vizier Ramose (TT 55), which depicts the tomb owner twice: once facing the royal couple, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, at the Window of Appearance and once addressing a group of Egyptian officials and foreign emissaries: Davies 1941, pls. 33, 36–37, 53–54. We thank Dimitri Laboury for pointing out this parallel to us. Compare also to the scene in the tomb of Amenhotep Huy (TT 40) referred to in n. 126, above.

132 E.g., EA 316. The translations of the Amarna letters consulted for the present study are those of Moran 1992. One may also consult Rainey 2015.

133 Cf. also Schenkel 1975: "*Als D*[olmetscher]. *fungiert offensichtlich ein Ägypter, der vor dem König in Fremder Sprache zu Ausländern spricht.*"

134 Martin 2016, scenes [56], [70], and possibly also [113], pls. 58, 108–109, 134, 154. The text labels captioning his image were later altered, the figure reidentified as Ramose. Sementawy might possibly be identified as the royal scribe Semen(ti)tawy, depicted together with the chief royal sculptor Sa on stela Cairo JE 21772 = TN 11.11.24.5 (see n. 112, above).

135 See: Gabolde 2014–2015. An inscription in his tomb describes Horemheb as *wpw.ty nsw*, 'king's envoy', "as far as the limit of the rising of the sun disk": Martin 2016, p. 73, scene [69], so-called Zizinia block; see also Valloggia 1976, pp. 111–112.

136 Davies 1908, p. 12, pls. 19–20.

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the reign of Akhenaten.[137] Aziru the Canaanite ruler of Amurru (located in modern Lebanon) and his son DU-Teššup addressed the pharaoh by way of Tutu—a practice much like that illustrated in the Horemheb reliefs. Tutu had various titles in common with Maya who succeeded him at Memphis.[138] As such, Maya, the 'mouthpiece of the king' (*r n.y nsw*), would have been responsible for maintaining international correspondence from the palace at Memphis, much like Tutu did at Amarna. This means that Maya and Pakana were closely associated professionally.

The foreign envoys in the tomb scenes of Horemheb and Tutu convey their messages directly to the Egyptian court interpreter. This is different for the messengers of the so-called "Great Kings"—the rulers of Khatti, Mitanni and Babylon. The Amarna letters inform us that they were normally accompanied by their own interpreters, and the same custom applied to the Egyptian messengers when they visited the courts of foreign rulers.[139] Such is made evident by a letter (EA 11) the king of Kardunyaš (Sangar or Babylonia in Southern Mesopotamia), Burna-Buriyaš II, sent to Akhenaten (Napḫurareya): "I sent Ḫu'a [my] mess[enger and…, and interp]reter,[140] [to you] […] [And you yourself] sent [Ḫaamaš]ši,[141] your messenger, and [… Miḫunni,[142] the interprete]r […]."[143] The royal messenger Ḫaamašši is further mentioned in a letter Tušratta, the king of Mitanni (Naharin in contemporary Egyptian text sources, in Northern Mesopotamia), sent to Akhenaten.[144] Tušratta's letter informs us that Ḫaamašši had already been the royal messenger of Egypt to the court of Mitanni since the time of Amenhotep III when he brought "four sacks full of gold."[145] Unfortunately, the letter makes no mention of an Egyptian interpreter, so we cannot tell if Miḫunni also accompanied Ḫaamašši to Mitanni.[146] If he did, he would likely have conversed in Akkadian,[147] the *lingua franca* of intercultural relations in the Near East during the Late Bronze Age.

137 EA 158, 164, 167. See Albright 1946, p. 22, no. 62.

138 The titles are as follows: *ỉm.y-r ḥḏ-nbw n nb tɜ.wy*, 'overseer of the house of silver and gold of the king'; *ỉm.y-r kɜ.wt nb.t n ḥm=f*, 'overseer of all works of the king'; *ỉm.y-r ḥmw.wt nb.t n nb tɜ.wy*, 'overseer of all craftsmen/workshops of the king'. May(a) is also attested with a tomb at Amarna, TA 14. The titles recorded in his Amarna tomb, such as 'steward in the house of Waenre in Heliopolis' and 'seal bearer of the king in Lower Egypt', suggest his administrative responsibilities lay in the north, in the region of Memphis.

139 Guglielmi 1975, col. 1097. For studies of (the roles of) messengers in the Late Bronze Age international diplomacy, see e.g., Gestoso Singer 2016; Holmes 1975.

140 The Akkadian word for interpreter is *targumannu* (from which the word *dragoman* derives). Attestations of interpreters are few in cuneiform sources, hence interpreters are a neglected subject of study in Assyriology, see: T. Kitazumi, "Inequality of Language Status? Again on the History of Interpreters in the Ancient Near East," Lecture at the *68th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Leiden, 18 July 2023 (we owe this reference to Caroline Waerzeggers). For messengers and interpreters, see further Tarawneh 2010, pp. 271–272.

141 *Ḫa-a-ma-aš-ši* is the Akkadian rendering of the Egyptian personal name Khaemwaset (*Ḫʿ-m-wɜs.t*): Albright 1946, p. 10, no. 6; *PN* I, p. 263, no. 19. Ḫaamašši is mentioned three times in EA 11 and three times in EA 27.

142 Albright 1946, p. 16, no. 28, gives no Egyptian personal name for the Akkadian Miḫun(n)i.

143 EA 11, 5–18. Rainey 2015, p. 101, translates this section (lines 5–16) somewhat differently: "[After the wife of] your [fa] ther was mourned, I sen[t to you] Ḫu'a, [my] en[voy,] and [Miḫuni, the tran]slator. (…) [And you] sent [Ḫaamaš]ši, your envoy, [—— and Miḫuni the tran]slator, [saying] (…) [As for Ḫaamašši] your [en]voy and Miḫuni the t[ranslat]or, (…)". Thus, Miḫunni travelled with both the Egyptian and Babylonian envoy.

144 EA 27, 37–40. The letter predates that sent by Burna-Buriyaš II (EA 11).

145 EA 27, 55–58.

146 EA 21,25 mentions the Egyptian messenger Manē (*Ma-ni-e*, in Egyptian *mnỉ.w*, 'shepherd') to the court of Mitanni during the reign of Amenhotep III with his Egyptian interpreter Ḫanē (Ḫa-ni-e; in Egyptian possibly *Hnw*). Manē is also attested in letters EA 19, 20, 24 and 27, all sent by Tušratta to Amenhotep III (Nimmureya).

147 The Mitanni spoke Hurrian and the Babylonian rulers spoke Kassite, two isolated languages families.

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During the Late Bronze Age (LBA), Akkadian was used as the medium of diplomatic and commercial exchange.[148] The Akkadian language spoken in Babylonia proper differed from that written in cuneiform used for diplomatic purposes. The Akkadian of the Amarna scribes was the institutionalised diplomatic language of the LBA.[149] It was a mixed language exhibiting influences of Hurrian and Canaanite, hence referred to by scholars as Peripheral Akkadian.[150] The Amarna letters written in Egypt likewise exhibit linguistic features that are due to West Semitic influence, a phenomenon that must be judged in the light of the close contacts enjoyed with the Canaanite scribes.[151] Scholars are uncertain if Peripheral Akkadian was a spoken language at Amarna,[152] though the title held by Pakana establishes beyond any doubt that *a* form of Akkadian—'the language of Sangar'—was spoken at Memphis. For Pakana, who might have been a second generation immigrant, it may have been not an acquired language but his mother tongue.

Professional interpreters would have required full proficiency of spoken Akkadian. This is in stark contrast with the passive *scribal* knowledge of Akkadian. Analyses of the Amarna letters suggest that Akkadian remained a second language at best, its active mastery being restricted to a repertoire of formulaic phrases and stock expressions.[153] This speaks against the presence of a group of 'foreign' scribes employed at the Egyptian court.[154]

The Egyptian authors of the clay tablets produced in Egypt remain anonymous to us, though the postscript of a letter the ruler of Yurṣa in southern Palestine sent to the Egyptian king at Amarna lifts the veil of their title-of-office. It addresses the Egyptian royal scribe, rendered *šᵉ-ʿḫ-šî-ḫʿ-šî-ḫʿ* in Akkadian, an Egyptianism of *sš šᶜ.t šᶜ.wt*, 'letter scribe of letters', or 'epistolary secretary'.[155] Officials bearing such a title are well known from contemporary Egyptian sources.[156] In fact, we have met three in connection to Memphis: Ptahmose son of Amenemone, private secretary of Maya; Iny, head of the king's letter scribes, also attested in the tomb of Maya; and Sementawy, private secretary of Horemheb (Fig. 7).

148 Cochavi-Rainey 2011, p. 2; Huehnergard 2011, pp. xxiii–xxvii. It has been in use for matters of diplomacy from as early as the Old Babylonian period. 'Akkadian' is a translation of the term the ancient speakers used for their language, *Akkadûm*. The language of the texts from when the Kassites controlled Babylonia is called Middle Babylonian (c. 1500–1000 BCE). For Akkadian from Egypt, consult Müller 2015.

149 Mynářová 2007, pp. 45–52.

150 Van der Toorn 2000, p. 100.

151 Cochavi-Rainey 2011, p. 207. The influence is detected at various language levels, in morphology, syntax and lexicon.

152 Mynářová 2007, p. 94.

153 Van der Toorn 2000, p. 106.

154 Mynářová 2014, p. 381.

155 Thus in EA 316,16–25. Further discussion, see: Van der Toorn 2000, p. 101; Mynářová 2007, p. 94 with ns. 475–477. The postscripts of four letters from Jerusalem (EA 286,61; EA 287,64; EA 288,62; EA 289,47) have the word *tupšar šarri*, 'king's scribe', which might be a translation of the Egyptian title *sš nsw.t*, 'royal scribe': Mynářová 2014, p. 380; 2007, p. 95.

156 Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020 has nine entries for 'secretary', to which should be added Hatiay, *sš nsw ḥr.y-tp sš šᶜ.t n nb tȝ.wy*, who, during the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty, added two stelae to the tomb of Meryneith Phase IV (Raven, van Walsem 2014, pp. 53–55); his brothers were Huy, a scribe of the house of life (*sš pr-ʿnḫ*) and Yy (same as Huy?), scribe of the divine book (*sš mḏȝ.t-nṯr*). The stela of the secretary Sa (Berlin ÄMP 7272) dates, on stylistic grounds, not the post-Amarna period (Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, 706), but to the pre-Amarna reign of Amenhotep III (Staring 2023, pp. 451-452 [464]). Sa held *inter alia* office as *sš šᶜ.t n.t îm.y-r pr wr*, 'letter scribe of the chief steward'. Given the Memphite context, the chief steward in question might be either Meryre alias Sennefer, tutor of the king's son Sa-Atum and owner of a rock tomb in the cliff of Ankhtawy (356/Bub), or Amenhotep Huy, father of Akhenaten's chief steward of Memphis, Ipy.

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Like Pakana, all three scribes spent (the latter parts of) their careers at Memphis, where their workplace was at the royal palace. The 18th Dynasty palace has not been attested archaeologically until now. We are much better informed about the contemporary palace structure(s) at Amarna, located in what Egyptologists call the Central City.[157] Immediately east of the walled complex now known as the King's House is a complex made of mud bricks stamped with the inscription *t3 s.t t3 šr(.wt) pr-ʿ3 ʿ.w.s.*, 'the place of the correspondence of pharaoh, l.p.h.'.[158] It is where the majority of Amarna letters were probably found, and therefore identified as the centre of production and storage of the clay tablets used for international correspondence.[159] Across the street from this building, now also known as the Records Office, lay the House of Life, a royal institution linked to creating (religious) knowledge in written and pictorial form.[160]

The complexes linked to international correspondence and scribal culture lay behind (east of) the King's House. The King's House was one of multiple royal buildings that included a Window of Appearance, perhaps that known from the tomb scene of Tutu (and others). The Memphite palace, as illustrated in the Horemheb reliefs, i.e., the royal audience involving the interpreter (see Fig. 9), may have had a similar architectural layout. Scenes featuring the Window of Appearance as in the Amarna tombs of Tutu (TA 08) and Huya (TA 01)[161] surround it with storage facilities that formed part of the palace treasury, including the representation of the weighing and registering of valuables and workshops pertaining to luxury goods production.[162] Such workshops also produced items for international diplomacy.[163] The highest official in charge of valuables at the court of the king is the *ỉm.y-r pr(.wy)-ḥḍ*, customarily translated as overseer of the treasury,[164] and in post-Amarna Memphis this was Maya—the same individual in charge of international relations.

Gold and (golden) luxury items played a key role in maintaining relations with foreign rulers. Requests for gold and (golden) luxury items are plentiful in the Amarna correspondence, as are detailed records of greeting gifts.[165] To illustrate, EA 14 has an inventory of Egyptian gifts (largely made of gold) sent to Burna-Buriaš II when a Babylonian princess was sent to Akhenaten,[166] while the Mitanni king Tušratta dedicated two letters on the subject of statues cast in solid gold, which Amenhotep III made but which Akhenaten replaced with gilded

157 For a concise description of the Central City, consult e.g., Hodgkinson 2018, pp. 68–70.

158 Pendlebury 1951, p. 115, pls. 19, 48.6, 49.1–2, 50.1–2, 83.5: 'Records Office' (Q42.21), forming part of a row of buildings the excavator termed 'Foreign Office'.

159 For a concise overview, consult Mynářová 2014.

160 Kockelmann 2023, pp. 250–251; Gardiner 1938. See also n. 154, above.

161 Davies 1905, pls. 16–18.

162 For an analysis of archaeological data, see: Hodgkinson 2018, pp. 53–186, 285–295. Large, specialised workshops that employed skilled workers were usually located in the vicinity of high-status buildings, such as e.g., the palace.

163 See Feldman 2006 for the international artistic tradition (*koiné*) (however, note that the definition of "International Koiné" has received critique, e.g., by Pfälzner 2015).

164 Quirke 2023, p. 39.

165 See e.g., EA 10, a letter of Babylonian king Burna-Buriaš II to Akhenaten, requesting that Egyptian carpenters make items according to specific instructions: "Let them represent a wild animal, land or aquatic, lifelike, so that the hide is exactly that of a live animal." For the presentation of gifts and tributes, see: Wang 2022.

166 Earlier, Tušratta, king of Mitanni, in a letter to Amenhotep III (EA 20,46–59), claimed: "In Egypt gold is more plentiful than dirt."

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wooden statues.[167] Tušratta claims that his messengers had witnessed the casting of statues in the presence of the Egyptian king:

> Every one of my messengers that were staying in Egypt saw the gold for the statues with their own eyes. Your father himself recast the statues [i]n the presence of my messengers, and he made them entirely of pure gold. [M]y messengers saw with their own eyes that they were recast, and they saw with their own eyes that they were entirely of pure gold.
> He showed much additional gold, which was beyond measure and which he was sen[d]ing to me. He said to my messengers, "See with your own eyes, here the statues, there much gold and goods beyond measure, which I am sending to my brother." And my messengers did see with their own eyes![168]

Whether or not the visit described actually took place, it vividly illustrates the fact that the worlds of international diplomacy and luxury goods production were closely intertwined. It also explains why a goldsmith is accompanying Pakana on his stela. Their offices were closely associated at the king's palace.

It is interesting in this light to point to the Memphite palace (storehouse) accounts of pHermitage 1116A and B *verso* (perhaps originally a single administrative roll),[169] dated to the reign of Amenhotep III.[170] Papyrus Hermitage 1116A *verso* lists, amongst other things, quantities of beer and grain for visiting messengers from foreign lands (Syria-Palestine), while 1116B *verso* deals with the issue of wood (ebony) and other exotic commodities such as ivory to carpenters, sculptors, and Syro-Palestinians with Egyptian names working in the king's household.[171] Memphite gilders' workshops and workshops employing craftsmen producing luxury items such as the type of ebony chests inlaid with ivory listed in certain Amarna letters[172] are depicted on the walls of the Saqqara tomb of Meryneith (032/USC), steward of the house of Aten (*temp.* Akhenaten, year 5–8), a necropolis neighbour of Horemheb and Maya.[173]

167 EA 26, 30–48: one statue of himself and one of his daughter Tadu-Ḥepa, letter sent to Queen Tiye. See also EA 27, 19–27, a letter of Tušratta to Akhenaten.

168 EA 27, 19–31.

169 Golenischeff 1913, pls. 15–22; 26–28; Hagen 2018.

170 The papyrus has long been considered to date to the (early) reign of Amenhotep II. More recently, Danilova (2019, pp. 130–133) made a strong case to date it later in time, pointing to certain titles held by Minhotep Hututu (stela Cairo TN 17.5.25.7), a scribe of the treasury also mentioned in pHermitage 1116B *verso* (Golenischeff 1913, pl. 27, line 39), linking him to (one of) the Sed festivals celebrated by Amenhotep III. It means the stela must have been made after year 30. This date agrees well with the style and iconography of the stela from his lost tomb at Saqqara (tomb no. 318/TPC: Staring 2023, pp. 407–408). If Minhotep Hututu had his *floruit* during the late third and fourth decade of Amenhotep III, it is perhaps unlikely that he exercised the same office more than 30 years earlier during the reign of Amenhotep II (though this is by no means impossible). The date of the papyrus could possibly be narrowed down to (a date after) year 18 of Amenhotep III, following the recording of "grain of year 18" in pHermitage 1116A *verso* (Golenischeff 1913, pl. 15, line 19).

171 See also Bietak 2010, p. 170, who links the ship builders and other craftsmen (including metal workers) to the Western Asiatics of the Eastern Delta—people that were useful to the Egyptian kings of the 18th Dynasty. While the papyrus is probably not Thutmoside but of somewhat later date (see previous note), the link is tantalizing for further shaping the context of Pakana and his family, who may indeed derive from Khent-Nefer in the Eastern Delta (see n. 51, above).

172 See e.g., EA 14, the above-mentioned letter with an inventory of Egyptian gifts of Akhenaten to Burna-Buriaš II, which includes (IV.11): "13 boxes, of stained ivory, (called) *upta*." The Akkadian word *upta* is an Egyptianism of *ʿfḏ.t* (*Wb* I, 183.15–18; Lambdin 1953, p. 368, no. 31), 'a chest of wood or metal'.

173 Staring 2021, pp. 33–50; Raven, van Walsem 2014, scenes [26], [42].

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If Paraemheb, the father of Pakana, was indeed of foreign descent, he would serve as one of many examples for the geographic mobility of artists during the LBA Near East.[174] A large group of representatives of the world of international diplomacy and luxury goods production built their tomb chapels in one section of the North Saqqara plateau. Their tombs are clustered north of the pyramid of Teti (TPC), most notably during the Amarna and immediate post-Amarna period (see Fig. 1). There, Pakana was surrounded by goldworkers, treasury officials, a chief of makers of lapis lazuli,[175] and amongst the lost tombs are those of chariot makers, a chief of makers of gold leaf, and so on.[176]

5. CONCLUSION

The Saqqara tomb of Pakana has added new information about the king's court at Memphis during the post-Amarna period and has shed light on the individuals engaged in foreign relations during the Late Bronze Age. The archaeological expedition of the SCA excavated the tomb and stela during the early 2000s , though both were likely unearthed before 1843, possibly by Youssef Massara or one of his contemporaries who may have displaced the weathered tomb-stela presented in this study. The iconographic and stylistic analysis of the stela firmly dates the monument in the reign of Tutankhamun. The modest chapel built of mud bricks stood at the centre of a cemetery occupied by contemporary middle-management palace (treasury) officials and artists affiliated with the crown, including goldsmiths, makers of gold leaf, lapis lazuli, chariots, and so forth. Pakana held two titles-of-office. He was 'interpreter of the Lord of the Two Lands' and 'interpreter of the <language of> Sangar (i.e., Babylonia)'. The title interpreter of Babylonian (i.e., Akkadian) is unique. This paper assessed the titles held by Pakana and evaluated its implications in the context of the late 18th Dynasty. Pakana was of non-Egyptian descent and he was most probably raised bi- or multilingual,[177] though it is not a given that he learned his Akkadian at home. His father, who is also represented on the stela, held a foreign name: Kanya alias Pakharu ('the Syrian'). This study concludes that at the king's palace at Memphis, international diplomatic relations and the production of luxury goods were closely intertwined. Pakana personified both worlds, because he shared his stela with the goldsmith Paraemheb, possibly another name of his father. At the Memphite palace of Tutankhamun, Pakana would have worked under the charge of Maya, the well-known king's

174 Feldman 2006; Zaccagnini 1983. The contemporary overseer of craftsmen (*ỉm.y-r ḥmw.t*) and chief of scribes of forms (*ḥr.y sš ḳdw.t*), i.e. painter, Rema (*r-mʿ*, the syllabic writing of a name of West Semitic origin), might be another artist of foreign descent employed at the Egyptian court. His tomb lies possibly at Saqqara: Herzberg 2016, pp. 44–47 (relief Leipzig ÄMUL 5069 Georg Steindorff).

175 The kings of Babylonia and Mitanni sent their Egyptian 'brother' greeting gifts comprising quantities of (items inlaid with) lapis lazuli. See e.g., EA 25, an inventory of gifts from Tušratta to Amenhotep III.

176 Staring 2023; 2021. The nearby Cliff of Ankhtawy has two rock tombs made for royal messengers (*wpw.ty nsw.t*): the vizier Aper-El (*ʿpr-ỉl/r/l*, Semitic Abdiel) (*temp.* Amenhotep III–Akhenaten); and the chief steward of Memphis Netjerwymes/Parakhnawa (= *Pȝ-rḫ-nw*), who was in office when the peace treaty with the Hittites was signed in year 21 of Ramesses II. For references, see: Staring 2023, pp. 418, 352/Bub; 420–421, 359/Bub.

177 On this topic, see Mourad 2021, pp. 83–91.

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treasurer, and/or the general-in-chief and king's regent Horemheb, who together practically governed the kingdom in tandem. The unnamed interpreter depicted in the tomb of Horemheb could thus be tentatively identified as Pakana.

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