

Uppsala University
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History
- Egyptology -



The image shows a fragment of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. The signs are arranged horizontally and include a lotus flower, a seated figure, a seated figure with a staff, and a seated figure with a staff and a lotus flower.

Jenny Berggren

The *Ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar (7,5-8; 9,1-5)

Master's Thesis - Advisor: Lana Troy

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Abstract

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This paper examines the phrase *tnw ipwt* in the text from Papyrus Westcar (7,5-8; 9,1-5), found in the story of the magician Djedi. Khufu has called Djedi to his court to perform miracles and to tell the king the “number(s) of the *ipwt* of the sanctuary of Thoth”, in order to obtain the *tnw ipwt* for his “horizon” or, as is generally interpreted, his tomb. The aim of this essay is to clarify the meaning of the term *ipwt* in this story. The term is examined from a number of different perspectives. First of all earlier discussions are reviewed. The morphology and writing of the word *ipwt* is examined, especially with reference to the possible cognates *ip* “to count” and *ipt* “harem”. A contextual inquiry is undertaken, particularly in connection with earlier scholarly interpretations. The possible connotations of the term *tnw* number(s) play an important part in this inquiry.

The essay is accompanied by appendices reviewing a selected number of translations of the relevant phrases as well as by documentation of the hieratic writing of this phrase, as well as of related terms.

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The *Ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar (7,5-8; 9,1-5)*

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1 Introduction

Papyrus Westcar (pBerlin 3033, Erman 1890, Blackman 1988) tells of a day in the court of King Khufu during which he is entertained by his sons with tales of wonders that occurred in previous reigns. Prince Hordedef, however, proposes that a present day magician be brought to court. He tempts the king with the meeting by saying “He knows the number(s) of the *ipwt* (𓂏𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏𓂏 7,5) of the sanctuary of Thoth” (*iw=f rh[w] tnw ipwt nt wnt nt Dḥwty*, Blackman 1988: 8, l. 12-13 = 7, 5-6). We are told that “Now, the majesty of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, the justified, had been spending time searching for these *ipwt* (𓂏𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏𓂏 7,7) of the sanctuary of Thoth, for himself, in order to make for himself the like thereof for his horizon” (*ist wrš hm n nsw bit (hfw) m3c hrw hr hhy n=f n3 n ipwt nt wnt nt Dḥwty r irt n=f mitt iry n 3ht=f*, Blackman 1988: 8, l. 13-14 = 7, 6-8). Later on the king confronts the magician saying: “It was indeed said that you know the number(s) of these *ipwt* (𓂏𓂏𓂏 9,2) of the sanctuary of [Thoth] (*p3 irf dd iw=k rh.ti tnw n3 n [i]ipwt nt wnt nt [Dḥwty]* Blackman 1988: 11, l. 8 = 9, 1-2). The passage continues with Djedi revealing that they are to be found in “a chest of flint there in a chamber called Inventory in Heliopolis” (*fdt im nt ds m t sipty rn=s m Twnw* Blackman 1988: 11, l. 11 = 9, 4-5).

The translation of *ipwt* has caused scholars some difficulty (cf. Appendix 1), because there is no mention in our sources of what these mysterious *ipwt* actually were (but cf. below discussion in Hornung 1973). Gardiner (1925a: 11) is followed by Faulkner (1962: 17) in his reading “secret chamber of temple”, a translation reflecting the context in which this word occurs in Papyrus Westcar. The *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Wb I, 67: 12), citing the writing 𓂏𓂏𓂏, translates “verschliessbar. Teil eines Gebäudes“ with a clear reference to the “seal” determinative (𓂏 S20).

This paper examines the term *ipwt*, with the goal of determining its meaning in the Papyrus Westcar. The problem is approached from a number of different perspectives. The first step is to examine the translations proposed by different scholars (cf. 2.2). As the determinatives, read from the hieratic text, have played an important role in understanding the meaning of the term, these are also discussed (cf. 2.3). Two other, possibly related, words, a verb and a noun, share the phonetic combination *ip*, with *ipwt*. The meanings of these words are examined (cf. 3). The text itself provides information

with regards to what the *ipwt* might be, and why it is / they are / so important to Khufu that he wants to copy them for his tomb. Three contextual readings of the term are examined (cf. 4.2, 4.3, 4.4), followed by a final review of the information concerning the *ipwt* found in Papyrus Westcar (cf. 4.5).

2 Presenting the Papyrus Westcar and other sources


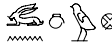
2.1 The Papyrus Westcar







The Middle Egyptian hieratic composition known by names such as “The Tales of Wonder” (Lichtheim 1975: 215ff.), “The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians” (Blackman 1988) and “The Tale of King Cheops’ Court” (Parkinson 1997: 102ff.) is found on Papyrus Westcar (pBerlin 3033) and is dated to the 12th dynasty, with the papyrus itself, comprising the single surviving copy, dated to the 15th dynasty (c. 1650-1550 BC). It has 12 surviving columns with all or portions of 25 horizontal lines in each column. The preservation of columns 4-12 is good, with the first columns being considerably fragmented. Originally owned by the British collector Henry Westcar (1798-1868), for whom it is named, it was acquired by Lepsius during a trip to England in 1838/39 and was donated after his death to the Berlin Museum, where it is found today (Simpson 1982).

The text consists of a series of tales woven together by a narrative frame. Originally the cycle comprised at least five tales. Of the first, only the last words are preserved. The second has large lacunae, while the third (The Boating Party), fourth (The Magician Djedi), and fifth (The Birth of the Royal Children) are complete except for the abrupt ending of the fifth tale. The tales are set during the reign of the 4th dynasty king Khufu, who is being entertained by his sons. Each son in turn tells about a marvellous event that has happened in the past. When it is the turn of Prince Hordedef, instead of telling a story of past wonders, he asks permission to introduce a living magician. This magician is Djedi, who is said to possess knowledge of the location of the number(s) of the *ipwt*. When he is brought to the court, he impresses everyone by his acts of magic, and in conversation with the king, he prophecies the wondrous birth of the kings who, as history tells us, were to found the following dynasty. This shift of

focus from the present to the future provides the transition to the last tale, which describes the wondrous birth of the triplets who were to be the first three kings of the 5th dynasty. (Cf. Lichtheim 1975: 215-222, Parkinson 1997: 102-120 and Simpson 2003: 13-23 for recent translations).

2.2 The term *ipwt* in the Papyrus Westcar - translation and interpretation

In Westcar, the text relates that (7, 6-8) the *ipwt* of the *wnt* of Thoth have been long sought by Khufu who wants to make “the like thereof for his horizon” (*mitt iry n 3ht=f*), that is to say, for his own tomb. The nature of the *ipwt* and the *wnt* mentioned in this passage presented a problem for Gardiner (1925a: 2). The  *wnt* is, judging from its determinative, a building or structure of some sort. The translations “Heiligtum” (*Wb* I, 315: 1) and “sanctuary” (Faulkner 1962: 61) are now generally accepted. The resemblance of the term to the name of the city where Thoth, in particular, was worshipped, namely  *Wnw* Hermopolis Magna, the modern Ashmunên, suggested to Erman (cited by Gardiner 1925a: 2) that the *wnt* was the primeval sanctuary of Thoth. Gardiner (1925a: 3) sheds no further light on the whereabouts of this specific *wnt* of Thoth.

If *wnt* is translated as sanctuary, *ipwt* then is something belonging to (*nt*) the sanctuary of Thoth. The preliminary discussion of the *ipwt* was based on the way in which the term was written. Erman’s original hieroglyphic transcription of the hieratic signs produced the sign combinations  (7,5),  (7,7),  (9,2), indicating the bow  (T9) as determinative in two examples, with one example with the determinative of the cylinder seal (S20 ) which serves *inter alia* to determine the word  *htm* “to seal up” or “close” (cf. Faulkner 1962: 199). On the strength of this determinative, Erman (1890: 43), who was the first to work on the text, concluded that *ipwt* denoted a closed building or the instrument for closing a building (*den Verschluss eines Gebäudes*). This is reflected in the *Wb* translation “verschliessbar. Teil eines Gebäudes“ (*Wb* I, 67: 12).

When Djedi is questioned with regards to the number (*tnw*) of the *ipwt* of the sanctuary, he replies that he does not know their number but that he knows the place in which they are (*bw nty st im*). In the absence of any evidence as to the nature of the *ipwt*, Erman’s reading, cited above, led him to the conclusion that the *ipwt* were small

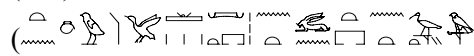
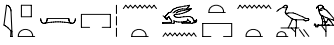
enough to be contained within a box. When Crum (1898-1900: 147; cf. Crum 1939: 57b, Lambdin 1983: 220, Vycichl 1983: 44 and Westendorf 1977: 38) subsequently identified a Coptic word $\epsilon\pi\omega$ in close association with other words for “doors”, “bolts”, “keys”, it was concluded by Erman that *ipwt* should be translated as “Schlösser”. The translation of *ipwt* as “locks” leads to an interpretation of the text in which Khufu is searching for the locks of the *wnt*-sanctuary of Thoth, and that these, according to Djedi are to be found in a box of flint (*fdt nt ds*) in the temple of Heliopolis (Gardiner 1925a: 3).



Gardiner (1925a), questioning the hieroglyphic transcription of Erman (1890, cf. discussion below), saw the nature of the *ipwt* revealed in the exchange between Khufu and Djedi. When Khufu asks Djedi about the number of the *ipwt* (“secret chambers”) of the sanctuary of Thoth, Djedi replies: “I do not know the number thereof O Sovereign my Lord, but I know the place where it (scil. the number or the knowledge of the number) is.” Djedi continues by saying “there is a box of flint in a room in Heliopolis called ‘(the room of) Inventory/Revision’; in that box (the information will be found).” (Gardiner 1925a: 4). According to this understanding of the passage, Gardiner concludes that what was in the flint box was not the *ipwt*, the secret chambers themselves, but a papyrus recording their number. Gardiner considers possible objections based on the seemingly feminine dependent pronoun *st* in the text reading *bw nty st im*, “the place where *it* (*st*) is” more logically referring to the feminine noun *ipwt*. With *bw nty sw im* with the masculine pronoun *sw* the expected reading if the reference were to *tnw* “number”. He points out, however, that it is possible that the vague neuter pronoun *st* “it” (3p. sing. fem.) may refer, not to the specific word *tnw* “number” but to the information in general. Moreover, the 3rd p. feminine dependent pronoun *st* can also occur when referring to objects in plural (“the place where *they* are”). So there is no reason why the *st* in *bw nty st im* can not refer to the *tnw* and not *ipwt*.

Attention is also directed to the name of the building in which the box is found. According to Gardiner (1925a: 5) insufficient weight has been attached to the name “Revision” (or inventory) ($\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$). The term *sipty* is regularly employed with the meaning “to take inventory of”, “inspect” the property of a temple (*Wb* IV, 36: 5-9, Faulkner 1962: 212). This motivates interpreting the room as an archive rather than a storehouse. Furthermore, *sipty* itself is derived from *sip* which is a causative from *ip* (Copt. $\omega\pi$, to count; Erman 1890: 54; cf. Crum 1939: 526a-528a, Lambdin 1983: 303

and Westendorf 1977: 293). Gardiner concludes therefore that the word *ipwt* means “secret chambers”, and that Khufu was seeking for a document describing the details concerning the secret chambers of the primeval sanctuary of Thoth, in order that he might copy the same when building his pyramid.

Five years later F. W. Green (1930: 33f.) explains why the various suggested meanings of this phrase in the Papyrus Westcar are unsatisfactory. Green does not think that the phrase “the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth” exhausts the possibilities. Instead he turns to the story itself rather than to philology for further information. He maintains that the writer of the story did not really know what the mysterious *ipwt* were. Using Erman’s transliteration, Green (1930: 33) reads the relevant passage with regards to Djedi’s abilities as follows;

(and) he knows the number of the *pdwt* of the chamber of Thot
(). Now his majesty Khufu had been engaged for some time seeking for the  that he might make a copy thereof for his own tomb.

Here, according to Green (1930: 33), instead of *pdwt*, something stretched, we have *ipwt*, approximately “account”, “plan”. Green thinks that the writer is confused here, and uses two words of somewhat similar sound indiscriminately which may also have conveyed to him somewhat similar ideas, such as a stretched string for marking a wall, and a succession of lines in list form. Green adds that whether the determinative be the seal  (S20) or the “harem” sign  (O45) it does not affect his argument.

Regarding the word *sipty* Green believes that it may be a “chartroom” or perhaps a “drawing office” where plans were made or stored. Green (1930: 34) continues his discussion with the following interpretation:

The earlier pyramids may for all practical purposes be said to be uninscribed, the doorways in the pyramid of Djoser hardly count. But with the incoming of the Fifth Dynasty a great break with this traditional austerity takes place: large stretches of wall are covered with ordered columns of magical utterances, in more or less set sequence; and in each pyramid the text follows more or less one original

scheme. I suggest that the scheme or plan of these utterances rather than the design of the chambers is the mysterious *ipwt*.

Green (1930: 34) then goes on to explain that these long lines of religious texts, set out in a certain order in the burial chamber of the pyramid, were something quite out of the ordinary, and the report of them and of their magical value must have impressed those who were living at the time of their execution, and a rather hazy account of them had been handed down to the compiler of the Papyrus Westcar. Green means that the author could not have seen the Pyramid Texts himself, because they were hidden away. It may be argued of course that Khufu did not embellish his “horizon” with these magical formulae as he doubtless would have done if he could have had access to the “sealed patterns” (Green 1930: 34). The Papyrus Westcar is not, however, a strictly historical document (cf. discussion in Hays 2002), but rather a story employing historical characters, and further, the end of the story which may have explained the matters, is unfortunately missing.

Parkinson (1997: 122f. n. 26; cf. also 2002: 139f.), writing more than a half a century later, also has some interesting remarks regarding “the number of the chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth”, which Khufu wishes to copy in his horizon (i.e. his pyramid at Giza). Among other things he believes that the list of wonders, (rejoining a severed head, etc.) in passage 7, 4-7 in the Papyrus Westcar, concludes with an obscure reference to mysterious knowledge: Thoth is the god of wisdom and judgement; his sanctuary may be an otherworldly, mythical place. Parkinson (1997: 123, n. 27) believes that the word for “chambers” implies a private apartment. Hordedef, he reasons, may be claiming that Djedi knows how many chambers there are in the sanctuary, or that “number” could mean ‘measurements’ or some other specifications. The word “chambers”, however, could be used figuratively to mean small shrines. Parkinson explains that a royal search for details of a particular divine image is a motif that is found in monumental inscriptions, a theme that is parodied here. Furthermore, according to Parkinson (1997: 124, n. 40), Djedi’s negative reply to the king in passage 9, 1-5, claiming a lack of knowledge about the chambers, which contradicts the prince’s claim, suggests that the information must be very esoteric. Khufu is thus seeking for hidden knowledge. However, as Khufu’s impatience grows, the “chambers” become more and more distant. When it comes to their location their number is hidden in a

chest, as are books of magic in other tales (cf. eg. Setne Khamwas and Naneferkaptah, Setne I; Lichtheim 1980: 129). Parkinson (1997: 124, n. 41) explains that in funerary texts, chests are connected with the sun god, who dominates the following episodes in Papyrus Westcar, as is flint (a “fiery” stone). The *sipty* he believes may be a room containing inventories, although it may also allude to the ‘investigation’ of the soul after death. Heliopolis is the city sacred to the sun god, and one with which Thoth too was associated. For Parkinson the whole description is deliberately obscure and evocative. Parkinson (1993: 124, n. 42) thinks that the copyist has omitted a section of text here, but does not go into it any further. As king, Khufu is nominally high priest of every temple and thus should have access to the room in Heliopolis. Parkinson wants us to consider the fact that either the author did not take this into account, or Khufu’s inability to access the room, just like his partial knowledge, is a sign of his failure to be an ideal king. It is, however, more likely that the king did have access to the the room in Heliopolis, but since he did not know where the number/measurements of the *ipwt* of the sanctuary of Thoth were located, he was searching for it.

As can be seen from the survey above, the term *ipwt* has been the source of much discussion and disagreement. (cf. below 2.3 and 4.1-4.4) The text of Papyrus Westcar, like many other literary texts, contains lexicographical problems and interpretative ambiguities. Although various aspects of the subject have been discussed by different scholars, a comprehensive treatment is still lacking, and translations continue to rely on vague interpretations of the term. The *ipwt* in this text is an example of a *crux interpretum* that continues to occupy our attention, and therefore making it an interesting topic of inquiry.

2.3 The writing of *ipwt*: the determinatives

Adolf Erman’s study of Papyrus Westcar (1889, 1890) contributed greatly to the understanding of Middle Egyptian. His transcription of the original hieratic into hieroglyphs, with regards to the passages relevant to this study, have, however, been questioned. The discussion of the hieratic signs representing the determinatives found in the word *ipwt*, and their hieroglyphic forms, has been at the center of the various interpretations of the meaning of the word.

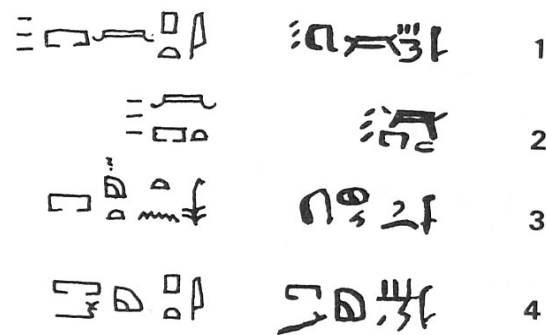
As we have seen the dictionaries give a rather vague translation of *ipt* with the *Wb* (I, 67: 12) translating “verschliessbar. Teil eines Gebäudes” including examples with the seal (S20 𓆎) as well as the jar stand (W11 𓆏) determinative. Faulkner (1962: 16f.) provides the translation “secret chamber of temple”, with examples with the seal (S20 𓆎), the jar stand (W11 𓆏), as well as the “harem” determinative (O45 𓆑).

Sethe (1924: 29, 31), following Erman (1890: 7, 9) in his original transcription, has the bow determinative (T9 𓆒) in his hieroglyphic version of the Papyrus Westcar. This transcription was accepted by Green (1930) who saw it as a mistake on the part of the scribe, in his confusion between two similar words, *pdwt* and *ipwt*.

Gardiner (1925a: 3f.), however, questions both the translation of the term *ipwt* and the transcription of the bow determinative (T9 𓆒). First of all, he notes that the rendering of *ipwt* as “locks” rests wholly on the determinative 𓆎 , found only in 9,2 and nowhere else. Secondly, the determinative 𓆑 (O1), found in all the examples, indicates a house, a room or any object, that, like a box or a house, functions as a container. This determinative is inappropriate for a word with the meaning “locks”. His third point concerns the determinative 𓆒 (T9) found in Erman’s transcription of passages 7,5 and 7,7. It is evident to Gardiner that the transcription 𓆒 is incorrect, and that the correct reading should be the hieroglyphic sign 𓆑 (O45). Lacking evidence from the Second Intermediate Period, Gardiner points to New Kingdom sources where there is an evident confusion between 𓆑 (O45) and the jar stand 𓆏 (W11), because, as he states, of the similarity of the hieratic signs (cf. Möller 1890, 1909a, b and 1912, and Gardiner 1916b: 152). Gardiner further points to examples where the hieratic signs for 𓆏 (W11) and 𓆒 (T9) are almost identical, by citing the Carnarvon Table 1,1 (Gardiner 1916a: Pl. XII, between 96-97; cf. Habachi 1972: 46, Pl. V; App. 2 p. 51, and with the form for *nst* found in *Sinuhe* B207 noted in Blackman 1932: 33).

This led Gardiner to conclude that the hieratic sign found in Papyrus Westcar 7,5 and 7,7, although similar to 𓆒 (T9) is actually 𓆏 (W11), which in turn was mistakenly used for 𓆑 (O45). The consequence of this is Gardiner’s transcription of the Papyrus Westcar passages as $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$ (7,5) and $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$ (7,7). In Westcar 9,2, 𓆎 is merely an erroneous substitution for the rarer sign. (Gardiner 1925a: 4, noted in Blackman 1988: 11, l. 8 with *sic*). Gardiner is followed by later text publications, such as those of De Buck (1948) and Blackman (1988), that transcribe with 𓆑 (O45).



























Ward (1986: 95f.), however, disagrees with the transcription of Gardiner that identified 𓂏 (O45) in the words *ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar. Ward investigates the term *ipt* “harem”, and thus is interested in the hieratic occurrence of 𓂏 (O45) which is distinctive in the writing of that word. He reproduces the hieratic forms of the Papyrus Westcar examples, as well as those from Sinuhe version R and Papyrus Boulaq 17.





- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Papyrus Westcar 7,7 | 3. Sinuhe R3 |
| 2. Papyrus Westcar 7,5 | 4. P. Boulaq 17, 9, 2 |


Various writings of *ipt* (Ward 1986: 96, Fig. 7)





Returning to Erman’s transcription of the sign as 𓂏 (T9), Ward states that the sign used as the determinative for *ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar resembles that for the bow 𓂏 (T9), as it is transcribed by Erman, Möller, Sethe and others. Referring to Gardiner’s discussion, which emphasizes the confusion between the 𓂏 (W11) and 𓂏 (O45), Ward sees the main problem in the similarity between 𓂏 (T9) and 𓂏 (W11). He illustrates this similarity in a table with examples from the Old Kingdom through to the 18th dynasty.







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 9	8   	9 	10 	11 	12 	13 	14 
 pd.t				15  	16 	17 	

Hieratic comparisons (Ward 1986: 98, Fig. 8)

Furthermore, according to Ward (1986: 99f.) the substitution of  (W11) for  (O45) in hieroglyphic is rarely reflected in hieratic. There is however no question that this confusion took place, for there is one example from the Middle Kingdom and several others from the New Kingdom (cf. App. 2 Ward 1986: 90, Fig. 6). Ward (1986: 100) consequently draws two facts about the confusion of these signs that should be kept in mind:

a)  (W11) appears only in the term *ipt nsw* as a substitute for the *ipt*-sign but never in any other occurrence of the word *ipt*.

b)  (O45) is never used *in lieu for*  (W11) in words where the latter is normal. Consequently, the confusion between  (O45) and  (W11) is thus limited to a single term.

Ward therefore concludes that the signs found in Papyrus Westcar, although resembling  (T9) are actually attempts to write  (W11). Thus for Ward, the examples of *ipwt* in passages 7,5 and 7,7 of Papyrus Westcar are written with  (T9) as a determinative in error for  (W11), and *ipso facto* there is no example of  (O45). Ward argues that had the scribe wanted to use the  (O45), he could have copied the

hieroglyphic form as was done in rare instances by scribes of the New Kingdom and later periods.



The translation of the term *ipwt* has been influenced by an understanding of the determinatives in its writing. As seen above, this remains an unresolved issue, suggesting the need to broaden the investigation of this term.



3 Investigating *ipwt*: etymological possibilities

Etymology is the study of the source and development of words. Two words are seen as possible cognates (words derived from a single origin) of *ipwt*. These are the verb *ip* “to count” and the noun *ipt* generally translated as “harem”, but also with reference to a secluded and exclusive location. The discussion below investigates the connotations of these two words in an attempt to see if there is a relationship to the meaning of *ipwt* found in Papyrus Westcar.

3.1 The morphology of *ipwt* in the Papyrus Westcar

The spelling of the word *ipwt*, as found in Papyrus Westcar is illustrated below, together with the possibly related term *sipty* (cf. Erman 1890: 54).

A  or  (7,5)

B  or  (7,7)

C  (9,2)

sipty  (9,5)

In two cases (B, C) the term *ipwt* is spelled with the flowering reed 𓄏 (M17), with the phonetic value *i*, and the hieroglyphic sign 𓄏 (Q3) depicting a stool or reed matting, containing the phonetic value *p*. To the form *ip*, which appears to be the root of the word, is added, in all three variations, the bread hieroglyph 𓄏 (X1), suggesting a feminine ending.¹ The *pr*-sign (𓄏 O1) occurs in every instance of *ipwt* in the Papyrus Westcar, indicating that the term *ipwt* is related to a construction of some kind. Finally, the use of the plural strokes identifies the *ipwt* as either the plural form of an otherwise unspecified noun, *ipt*, or as a collective concept, perhaps more properly read as *ipt*.

The problem presented by the transcription of the hieratic signs representing the determinatives has been briefly discussed above (2.3). It is a crucial one and as has been seen, there is a disagreement as to whether the hieratic sign found in 7,5 and 7,7 represents 𓄏 (T9) (Erman 1890: VII, IX; Sethe 1924: 29, 31; Green 1930 and above), 𓄏 (O45) (Gardiner 1925; De Buck 1948: 79, 82; Faulkner 1962: 16 f; Blackman 1988: 8, 11), or is a mistaken writing for 𓄏 (W11) (Ward 1986: 95 ff.). There is also some doubt as to whether the transcription of the seal, 𓄏 (S20) in 9,2 is correct (cf. Blackman 1988: 11a referring e.g. to discussions in Rousseau 1986). All, however, agree upon the transliteration of the term that includes the biliteral *ip*.

3.2 The verb *ip*: “to count”

It has been suggested by Goedicke (1993: 26) that the root of *ipwt* is the verb *ip*. The *Wb* I, 66: 1-7 provides “zählen” as a translation for *ip* 𓄏 also citing the Coptic $\omega\pi$. For 𓄏 *ipt* the *Wb* I, 66: 22-24 gives the translations “Zählung, Abrechnung” and “Zahl”, “eine bestimmte Anzahl”, and the Coptic $\mathfrak{z}\pi\epsilon$. Faulkner (1962: 16) cites the following translations for *ip*: 1) count, reckon up, make reckoning (with), assess (dues), pay, allot (to), exact (from), detail (s’one for work), claim (from), examine (persons), recognize (s’one), revise (schedules), take heed of, set in order (bones of decapitated body), muster, assemble (of persons). And with 𓄏 *t* and 𓄏 *dt* also: collect one’s wits, recover one’s senses, of an intelligent young man, having his wits about him, 2) accounting, estimation. Gardiner (1957: 553) also cites the translation “calculate”. For

¹ See Ward’s (1986: 83) comments on the reading of the term *ipt nsw* in the Old and Middle Kingdom, where he questions the reading i-p-t and the word as feminine. (3.3.1 p. 24.)

the expression *ip dt=f* he gives the meaning “take stock of (one’s) person”, i.e. “grow up”. Hannig (1995: 43) provides similar translations of the term.

Selected examples of the verb *ip* are cited below in order to provide an overview of the semantic range of the verb, and to examine its possible nuances. This review does not entail a lexicographic study of the word *ip*, and related terms, but rather represents examples selected for the purpose of investigating the range of meaning of the verb.

3.2.1 The Old Kingdom

The text examples from the Old Kingdom include one example from a royal decree (A) where the basic meaning “to count” is easily discerned. The additional examples are from the Pyramid Texts (B) and illustrate the degree to which this verb lends itself to a broader meaning. The translations follow largely that of Faulkner (1969).

A. A legal document

A1 - TO COUNT

A decree protecting the pyramid towns of Sneferu

<i>iw wd.n hm[=i]</i>	[My] majesty ordered
<i>nfr-n ip mrw šw šdwt</i>	that there be no <u>counting</u> of canals, ponds, wells,
<i>hnnwt nt nhwt</i>	or the irrigation troughs of sycamore
<i>m niwty ptn</i>	in these two (pyramid) towns.

(Urk I, 212: 4-6 (XI))

B. The Pyramid Texts

B1 - TO GATHER

Utt. 423 - A text from the *Ritual of Offerings*

<i>rdi.n Hr</i>	Horus has granted
<i>ip n=k msw=f</i>	that his children may <u>gather</u>
<i>dr bw mh=k im</i>	at the place at which you drowned

(Pyr. 766d)

Utt. 676 - *A resurrection text*

ir n=f nw ir.n=f n sn=f Wsir

hrw pw n ip ksw

(Pyr. 2016a)

Do for him that which you did for his brother Osiris

(on) the day of gathering the bones

Utt. 688 - *An ascension text*

ip.n imyw dw3t dt=sn

(Pyr. 2084a)

Those who are in the Netherworld have gathered their
“wits”

B2 - TO CLAIM

Utt. 357 - *The gods help the king*

in.n n=k Gb Hr

ip=f n=k ibw=sn

(Pyr. 590b)

Geb has brought Horus to you

that he may claim their hearts for you.

Utt. 364 - *A series of four resurrection texts*

ii Hr

ip=f tw

m-^c ntrw

(Pyr. 609b)

Horus comes

that he may claim you

among the the gods

Utt. 535 - *An Osirian text adapted for the king*

ip ibw=sn

m rn=k pw n Tnpw ip ibw

(Pyr. 1286c-1287a)²

Claim their hearts

in this your name of “the one who claims hearts”.

Utt. 577 - *Osiris and the king are associated*

Tnpw ip ibw ip=f Wsir (P)

Anubis who claims hearts claims Osiris, the king

² Faulkner 1969: 204, n. 13, sees this use of *ip* as a parallel with §609b, 1523c, citing Blackman 1931: 59, n. 39.

m-^c nṯrw ir[y]w t3 from the gods who (go) to earth
n nṯrw imyw pt for the gods who are in the sky
 (Pyr. 1523c)

B3 - TO RECOGNIZE

Utt. 356 - *Horus and Geb support the king against Seth*

b3 irf Hr Horus indeed has a soul, (is a soul)
ip=f it=f im=k He recognizes his father in you.
 (Pyr. 580a)

Utt. 357 - *The gods help the king*

iw.n Hr Horus has come
ip=f kw that he may recognize you.
 (Pyr. 587a)

Utt. 357 - *The gods help the king*

ii Hr Horus comes
ip=f it=f im=k that he may recognize his father in you
 (Pyr. 589a)

Utt. 577 - *Osiris and the king are associated*

nb irp m w3h Lord of wine in abundance
ip.n sw tr=f his seasons have recognized him,
sh3.n sw nw=f his time has remembered him,
ip (P) in tr=f hn^c=f The king is recognized by his seasons (who are) with
 him.
sh3.n sw nw=f hn^c=f His time (that is) with him has remembered him.
 (Pyr. 1524)

B4 - TO EXAMINE

Utt. 356 - *Horus and Geb support the king against Seth*

rdi.n Hr Horus has granted that
ip[=i] sw m h[y]r- ib=f that I (the king) may examine him in his inmost parts
[i]m[i] pr=f m-^c=k that he may not escape from you.
(Pyr. 582a)

B5 - TO ALLOT, ASSIGN

Utt. 223 - *Provision of food for the king*

di.n [=i] n=k irt Hr I give you the eye of Horus,
ip.n [=i] n=k s[w] I have allotted it to you;
(Pyr. 216c)

Utt. 468 - *A collection of short spells*

ip.n tw psdt wrt imyt Twnw The Great Ennead who is in Heliopolis has assigned you
ir nst=k wrt to your great throne.
(Pyr. 895b)

Utt. 649 - *Geb and Horus take the King under their protection*

Wsir (N) O Osiris
ip.n n=k sn Hr sm3 t3wy Horus who unites the Two Lands has assigned them to
you.
(Pyr. 1831a)

The example cited from the royal decree (A above), referring to the assets of the pyramid towns of Sneferu, illustrates the basic meaning of the verb as “to count”. Many occurrences of the verb *ip* in the Pyramid Texts relate it to the concept of taking in, or “gathering together” (B1). A related concept is to “claim” (B2), in the sense of asserting or declaring the right to something. In some examples *ip* has been translated as an expression of perception, with the translation “recognize” (B3), or “examine” (B4), suggesting that it was understood in relationship to the taking in of information. There

are also examples where *ip* is used in a distributive sense with the translation “allot”, “assign to” (B5). The parallelism with the verb *rdi*, “to give”, in Utt. 223, emphasizes this sense of the verb.

3.2.2 The Middle Kingdom

The word *ip* occurs numerous times in the Coffin Texts. A complete list is found in van der Plas and Borghouts (1998: 22). The examples presented below are representative of the use of the word in this religious corpus. The translations follow largely that of Faulkner (1973, 1977, 1978). An example from a private autobiography from this period is also given.

A. A Private Autobiography

A1 – TO ACCOUNT

Stela of Montuweser (MMA 12.184) dated to year 17, Sesostris I

hrp.n=i ḥbsw r pr-ḥd

I controlled the linen at the treasury

iw ip m-ᶜ=i m pr-nsw

Accounting was in my charge in the royal house

(Sethe 1924: 79 l. 10)

B. The Coffin Texts

B1 - TO COUNT

Spell 111

ink nṯr n ip

I am the god of reckoning

m ḥnt-š igrt

in the garden of the silent one.

(CT II, 125h)

Spell 254

ip.n=i ṯnw hryw w3wt

I have counted the number of those who are on the paths.

(CT III, 357c)

Spell 296

N ʕk ip

pr tñw

hr sb3 n nb r-dr

(CT IV, 49i, cf. Faulkner 1973: 220)

N is the one who enters counting
and who leaves numbering
at the gate of the Lord of All.

Spell 338

d3d3t imyt 3bdw

grh pf n tnt mwt

n ip 3hw

(CT IV, 336e)

The tribunal that is in Abydos
(on) that night of numbering the dead
of counting the Akhu.

Spell 571

ip.n=f ht im=s

(CT VI, 172e)

He has counted the things in it

B2 - TO COLLECT, GATHER

Spell 1029

ip=k ksw=k

s3k=k ʕwt=k

(CT VII, 255b)

May you collect your bones

May you gather together your limbs

B3 - TO EXAMINE

Spell 23

h3 N pn

n ip. t[w]=k

n ddh.t[w]=k

(CT I, 70a-b)

O this N

You were not examined.

You were not imprisoned.

B4 - TO ALLOT

Spell 80

ip=f tn n Gb Nwt

He allots you to Geb and Nut

(CT II, 28c)

This selection of examples illustrates the same distribution of meaning for *ip* as found in the Old Kingdom material. A number of the text examples (B1) reflects the literal meaning of *ip*, “to count”, (enumerate, list), and becomes, in the example from Montuweser (A1), a reference to a specific accounting task. An association of *ip* with *tnw* “number” is found in Spell 254, 296, 338, an association also found in Papyrus Westcar. The idea of gathering together, expressed with the verb *ip*, is paralleled with the synonym *s3k*, (Faulkner 1962: 211). The idea of taking in of information, “to examine” is exemplified with CT Spell 23 (B3). An additional example reflects the idea of distribution with the translation “allot” (B4).

3.2.3 The New Kingdom: 18th dynasty

The examples from the New Kingdom are limited to the 18th dynasty, given that this study focuses on a text, the copy of which dates to the Second Intermediate Period.

A1 - TO COUNT

From the tomb of Intef (TT 155) (Hatshepsut - Tuthmosis III)

sniw n=f i3wt nbt

the one to whom all offices report

ip b3kw nw

the one who counts the wages of

hrpw h3tyw-^c

the controllers, the mayors

hk3w hwwt nw sm^c mh^w

the (local) rulers of the estates of Upper and Lower Egypt

sš ikr intf m3^c hrw

the excellent scribe, Intef, justified

(Urk. IV, 973: 3-4)

From the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) (Tuthmosis III)

tpy-^c m ip rhyt ... foremost in counting the commoners
sp tpy pw n i3^cs.n=i It was the first time that I was summoned,
snw=i nbw m h3 rwtj (as) all my comrades were thousands outside
(Urk. IV, 1072: 15-17; cf. Gardiner 1925b: 64)

From the tomb of Menkheperresonb, High Priest of Amun (TT 86) (Tuthmosis III - Amenhotep II)

ip ntt the one who counts that which is
hsb wnnt the one who reckons that which exists
ht niwwt sm^c mh^w throughout the cities of Upper and Lower Egypt
(Urk. IV, 927: 14-15, cf. e.g. Urk. IV, 973: 3-4)

From the tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57) (Amenhotep III)

r^c ip tnw day of counting numbers
(Urk. IV, 1845: 6)

iw ip.n sw dhwtj m m3^c hrw Thoht counted/ judged him as true of voice
m d3d3t n ntr nb ntrt nb in the tribunal of every god and every goddess.
(Urk IV, 1847: 4)

A2 -TO GATHER TOGETHER

A building inscription from Karnak (Thutmosis III)

ss3w.kwi m s3rwt ntrw mi hr I, being wise with the wisdom of the gods, like Horus
ip.n=f dt=f after he gathered his wits
r pt it Imn-R^c for the house of (his) father Amun Re
(Urk IV, 160: 6-7, cf. Sethe 1914: 77, n. 3, cf. e.g. Urk IV, 1279: 8-9)

From the Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II

ist grt ḥ^c.n ḥm=f m nsw

Now when his majesty appeared as king

m ḥwn nfr

when a beautiful young man,

ip.n=f dt=f

he gathered his wits

(Urk. IV, 1279: 8-9)

A3 - TO EXAMINE

From the stela of Paury

dd.kwi ḥr mh3t

I was put on the scale

pr.n=i ip.kwi

I went forth, having been examined

mḥ.kwi wd3.kwi

having been filled, having been made prosperous

(Urk. IV, 119: 10-11)

A4 - TO ASSIGN, ALLOT

The Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun at Karnak (Cairo 34183)

iw sw^cb.n ḥm=f ^cnḥ wd3 snb

His majesty (LPH) consecrated

ḥmw ḥmwt šm^cywt sb3yt

the male and female servants, the singers and dancers

wnn(w) m ndwt m pr-nsw

who were maidservants in the royal house

ip.tw b3kw=sn r ^cḥ r [pr-ḥd] n nb

their wages were assigned to the palace, to the treasury

t3wy

of the Lord of the Two Lands

(Urk. IV, 2030: 6-8; cf. Davies 1995: 32)

These examples include further illustration of the basic meaning of *ip* as “to count” (A1). This is made explicit in the first example in this group where *ip* is paralleled with *ḥsb*, also with the meaning “to count”, a term found in mathematical contexts (Faulkner 1962: 178). The expression “counting numbers” *ip tnw* from the tomb of Khaemhat may also be noted. The relationship of *ip* to the idea of gathering in, both with regards to the expression *ip dt* (A2) and with the translation of “examine”, with the implication of evaluation, judgment (A3), again refers to the gathering in of information. The verb *ip* is also found with the meaning “to allot”, i.e. “to assign” in a passage from the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun (A4).

The review of the texts above suggests that the verb *ip* has the basic meaning “to count” and is used when dealing with both economic and religious activities. The type of counting referred in these texts can be divided into three categories: 1) enumeration, 2) gathering, and 3) distribution. “To count”, as well as being related to the enumeration of objects, in a mathematical sense is also equated with gathering together, either literally or metaphorically as in the use of the verb with the meaning “to examine”, and “to recognize”. It is also used with a distributive meaning as “to count out” something, or as in the examples above “to allot”. The occurrence of synonyms in the examples, paralleling *ip* with *ḥsb*, *rdi* and *s3k* confirms these basic trends in the semantic range of the verb.


3.3 The noun *ipt*: “an enclosed space”

The verb *ip*, as discussed above, with the primary meaning “to count”, can also mean “to count out” or “to allot, assign”. This understanding of *ip* is applied by Goedicke (1993: 26) to the term *ipwt* as an “assigned” space. This connection provides a link between the *ipwt* of Papyrus Westcar and the term *ipt* used for the concealed part of a residence, principally used as the ladies’ quarter. (Cf. discussion in Reiser 1972; Ward 1986: 95ff.). This term appears to be a generally designation for an enclosed space. The term *sipy*, which is formed from the causative of *ip*, is interpreted as a space used as an archive (Faulkner 1962: 211). All of these terms have possible ties to *ipwt*, as the designation of an “enclosed space”, a meaning that is confirmed by the consistent use of \square (O1) as determinative.





This chapter reviews the use of the term *ipt* as the designation of a place. The term *ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar, with the \square (O1) determinative is understood as a reference to some form of construction. Hypothesizing that *ipwt* is connected to the idea of enclosed space, relates it conceptually to *ipt* as a term for “harem”.

3.3.1 *ipt*: “harem”



The writing of *ipt* “harem” is characterized by the hieroglyphic sign 𓂏 (O45), or its variant 𓂐 (O46) (cf. Ward 1986: 95), which is thought to be an older form of the former (Gardiner 1957: 497). This sign is cited by Gardiner (1957: 497) as a “domed building”,




and as an ideogram or a determinative for the word *ipt* with the meaning “harem” (cf. *Wb* I, 67 “Frauenhaus”). The latter, possibly depicts a hut of some sort, or a storehouse, possibly for grain. This would go well with meanings such as “to count”, “estimate”, or “calculate” grain in a granary. Early examples of these signs are found on cylinder seals of the 1st dynasty (Reiser 1972: 1, citing Petrie 1900: Pls. 28, 77, also Kahl 1994: 647). Kaplony (1963: 403) reads this sign as “harem”, even for this early period. An example of this word where the context is clear is found in the autobiographical inscription of Weni (Urk. I, 100: 13), describing the trial of a royal woman from the *ipt nsw*, royal harem. Variations using a variety of determinatives in the writing of *ipt* are found in the inscriptions of Ihy, employing e.g. the carrying chair  (Q2) (Reiser 1972: 7, citing Junker 1953: 127f.)

The term reoccurs in the story of Sinuhe (cf. below), with variations in the transcription of the different hieratic texts that are reminiscent of the difficulties in reading the hieratic writings of *ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar.

	Weni (Urk. I, 1: 13)
	Sinuhe (R3)
	Sinuhe (S2) - Dyn. 18
	Sinuhe (AOS2)

***Ipt* in Sinuhe (Koch 1990)**

Koch (1990: 2) notes for versions R and S, that the two signs  and  are uncertain (citing discussion in Ward 1986: 96-99).

The writings of *ipt* in Sinuhe, in the version dating from the New Kingdom, introduce the jar stand  (W11) or “throne” as determinative. This sign occasionally substitutes for  (O45) in the 18th dynasty (Gardiner 1957: 529 and compare discussion above) and it is this sign that Ward (1986: 96ff.) argued was intended by the scribe who copied the Papyrus Westcar. Reiser (1972: 8), citing Badawy (1956: 176) explains the use of  (W11), the “throne” sign in the term *ipt*, by referring to the so-called harem apartments of Ramses III in Medinet Habu, located in the “palace” behind the throne room.

The most common reference to the *ipt* is as *ipt nsw*, translated as royal harem. The word “harem”, found in many European languages, has been taken over from the Arabic

term for a spatially and functionally independent area of the palace, used as a residential area for the royal women and their children and their entourages. The *ipt nsw* is well attested from the Old Kingdom onward. Its status as an organization within the royal house is seen in its occurrence in the titles of officials (Seipel 1977: 982) and the term is generally understood as referring to both an enclosed and restricted space and its inhabitants.

Although the reading *ipt* for this sign combination and the translation “harem” is commonly accepted, not all agree that it is correct. Ward (1986: 83) comments that the reading *ipt* is questionable because in almost every instance from archaic times to the Middle Kingdom, *ipt* is spelled with the phonogram 𓆎 (O45) (or 𓆏 O46) only and he states that there are no certain examples prior to the 18th dynasty where these signs are accompanied by any of the individual phonetic signs 𓆎 *i* 𓆏 *p* or 𓆏 *t*, confirming the reading *ipt*. Also there is no evidence prior to the 18th dynasty that the word in question is feminine, given that the feminine ending *-t* occurs only once in all the examples from the archaic times to the Middle Kingdom. In all cases where *ipt nsw* is written, it is apparent that the *-t* belongs to the word *nsw* (cf. App. 2 Ward 1986: 88, Fig. 5). Hence it is possible that before the 18th dynasty this might have been a masculine word. Ward argues that in some cases where 𓆏 (O46) occurs, the sign combination read as *ipt nsw*, can also be read as “royal granary” (or counting-house) or “(archive-)chamber”. He points to the title of Ihy, *imy-r ipt nsw* stating that it could just as well indicate one in charge of the “royal counting-house”, or granary (Ward 1986: 92). Moreover, since the *ipt*-sign never appears in the numerous occurrences of his titles, we can just as easily read *imy-r ȝrt nsw*, or the like, and thus translate it “Overseer of the royal granary”. Another example where Ward (1986: 89) suggests a different understanding of the term is the reference in Sinuhe. He notes that Lorton (1974: 100) suggests that the *ipt nsw* in this case is rather to be understood as “an accounting office concerned specifically with the queen’s provisions.” Lorton, (1974: 100) indeed, has concluded that the term *ipt nsw*, possibly the “royal counting-house” or “(archive-)chamber”, has nothing to do with the royal harem, at least in the Old Kingdom.

This discussion of the character of the *ipt*, and whether it means “harem” or “counting house”, goes back to the question of the relationship between the term *ipt* and the verb *ip* “to count” (cf. above), which in turn, reflects the uncertainty with regards to the character of the *ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar.



In this context, however, the most interesting aspect of the understanding of the *ipt nsw* is whether or not it involved an enclosed, and thus exclusive, space, not what might have been contained in that space. Two references can be cited, however, that exemplify the use of the term *ipt* as a space restricted to women. One of these is that noted above from Weni, naming the trial of a royal woman associated with the *ipt nsw*. The text makes it clear that the trial is a very secret affair. It is described as an inquiry conducted in the royal harem (*ipt nsw*) regarding charges against the royal wife, and Great One of the *hts*-scepter (without mentioning her by name). It is said to take place in secret (*m sšt3*), and Weni relates that the king ordered him to judge the case alone (*w^c.kwi*) (Urk. I, 100: 13-14).

Another example, dated to the First Intermediate Period, confirms the connection between seclusion and the *ipt nsw*. This comes from the El Bersha tomb of Iha, an official of the nomarch Ahanakht (Newberry 1896: 41, Pl. XXI). A text from the tomb describe Iha as the one who “conducts the musicians” (*st3 hnr*) (l. 9), “the one who sees the dance in seclusion” (*m33 hbt m dsr*) (l.13-14), “the one who hears the words alone” (*sdm mdw m w^c.w*), (l.15), “the one who locks up the ornaments (e.g. the women), the overseer of the royal harem (*htm hkrw, imy-r ipt nsw*) $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}}$ (l. 16) the venerated Iha” (discussed by Ward 1986: 91). In light of this Ward (1986: 91) draws the conclusion that the title *imy-r ipt nsw* should be rendered “Overseer of the royal apartment”, or the like.

This passage connects the *ipt nsw* with the *hnr*, or musical troupe, consisting of both men and women often related to temple ritual (cf. Nord 1981, cf. discussion in Ward 1986: 81 ff.). The relationship between these two institutions, with both *ipt* and *hnr* generally translated as “harem”, has been extensively discussed. However, there is very little to recommend the general application of the reading *ipt nsw*. As Ward (1986: 94) explains in some contexts Lorton’s translation “royal counting-house” does make better sense, and “royal apartment” meaning the private quarters of the royal family fits better in others. Where $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ (O46) is found the translation “royal granary” should be considered as a possibility.

This is among the abundant evidence (cf. e.g. Reiser 1972 and Ward 1986: 82 with references) that points to the existence of a secluded section of royal and possibly private elite estates, reserved for women and children that was called the *ipt*.


3.3.2 also ***ip3(t)*: private office, apartment**

In the text from the stela of *Mntw-ny-sw* (Sethe 1924: 81,18 = Louvre C1), from the Middle Kingdom, the term  ***ip3(t) nsw*** is found. The *Wb* I, 68: 15-16 provides the translation “Büro?” for ***ip3t nsw***, and notes that this term has its origin in the Middle Kingdom. Faulkner (1962: 17) thus reads “private office”. This word is incorporated in a series of epithets describing the owner of the stela as *hry-tp wr h3yt* “the head elder of the hall”, *tkn st* “the one who approaches the throne”, *mty m pr nsw* “straightforward in the royal house” and *ʿ3 shr m ip3 nsw* “great of council in the royal apartment”. Another stela, found at Dra Abu El Naga, containing Tjety’s biography (BM 614; Blackman 1931: 55ff.) provides an additional reference to the  ***ip3t nsw***. Gardiner (1908: 127), translating this occurrence of ***ip3t nsw*** as “the private apartments of the king”, adds, however, that this is almost always found in reference to the wives and concubines of the king, and is, in fact the “royal harem”, indicating that he saw a connection to the term ***ipt***. The passage from BM 614 does not however quite fit the translation “harem” so he chose to translate it with “royal apartment”. Reiser (1972: 10), however, believes that “royal office” fits better into the connection in these two inscriptions, rather than “private office/chamber”, because none of the titles refer to it.

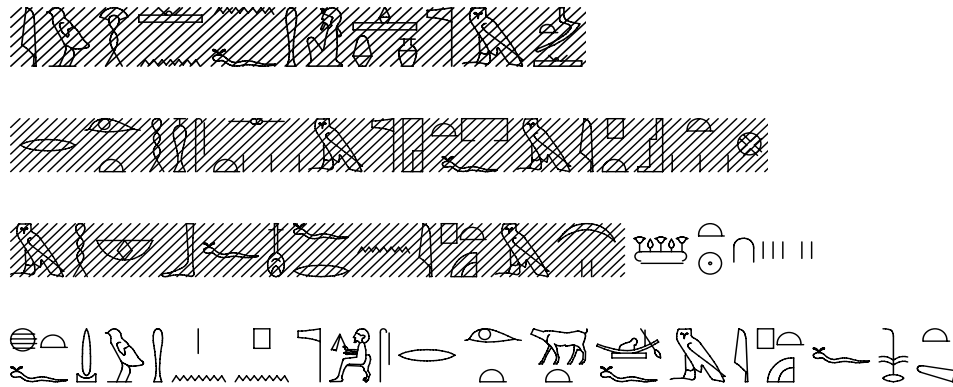
3.3.3 Place and proper names

The “root” ***ip*** is found in two significant toponyms: ***ipt rst***, “the southern harem”, which is the ancient Egyptian name for the temple complex known as Luxor and ***ipt swt***, that used for the temple area at Karnak. A brief look at these two names, as well as the occurrence of ***ipt*** in divine names concludes this section.

3.3.3.1 ***Ipt rst*: Luxor – “the southern harem”**

The term ***ipt***, written using the distinctive  (O45) sign is found in the ancient Egyptian name of the Theban temple, known today as Luxor, but in ancient times as ***Ipt rst***, commonly translated as the Southern Harem (of Amun) (*Wb* I, 68:1-3; Faulkner 1962: 16-17; Hannig 1995: 44). The temple itself was first constructed under Amenhotep III, and was built in connection to a shrine dated to the time of Hatshepsut - Tuthmosis III (cf. Barguet 1980b). There is, however, an earlier reference to what may be read as ***ipt***

rst found in the renewal inscription of Maasara, dated to year 22 of Ahmose, which mentions the quarrying limestone for a “House of Million Years”, for a temple of Ptah and for Amun in *Ipt rst* (𓄚𓆓𓄚𓆓𓄚𓆓𓄚𓆓𓄚𓆓𓄚𓆓𓄚𓆓, Urk IV, 25: 7-10). The military annals of Tuthmosis III, treating the establishment of festival offerings, provide an interesting reference to the connection between the name of the temple and the writing of *ipt* read as “harem”.



(Urk. IV, 741-742)

[iw w3h.n n=f hm=i

[My majesty laid down

hpt-ntr m m3wt

a divine offering for him anew

r irt hsswt

in order to do that which is praised

m hwt-ntr=f m ipt swt

in his temple in Karnak

m hb=f nfr n ipt

for his good festival of Ipt,

m 3bd 2] 3ht sw 13[+2]

in the 2 month of]Akhet, day 13 (+2)



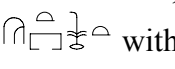

hft d3 hm n ntr pn šps

when the majesty of this noble god goes forth





r irt hnt=f m ipt=f rst

to do his sailing from his southern “harem (*ipt*)”.

Even here, there is however, disagreement to the meaning of *ipt* in the name *Ipt rst*. Barguet (1980b: 1104), for example reads “l’adytum d’sud”, with the term adytm referring simply to a secret place. Similarly the relationship between the meaning of the name of the temple and the name of the festival, also *ipt*, has been the source of speculation as to the festival’s function that, because of a supposed relationship to *ipt* “harem”, has often been discussed in terms of a marriage festival (cf. discussion in Murnane 1982: 576, esp. n. 28).

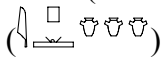
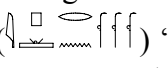


The spelling of the element *ipt*, in the name *Ipt rst* retains however the signs  (O45) and  (O46). One example is found in the autobiographical text of Amenemheb, a high officer under Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II, with *Ipt rst* written  with  (O46) as determinative (Urk. IV, 897). The continued use of these determinatives suggests that the Egyptians regarded the two terms, used for the secluded area reserved for women and the name of the temple, related in some way. The term *ipt* is sufficiently characteristic for the temple to be used as an abbreviated form of its name (Gardiner 1947: 25).

3.3.3.2 *Ipt swt*: Karnak – “the one who counts the places”

Karnak, the temple complex found to the north of that of Luxor, was called *Ipt swt* (cf. *Wb* I, 66). The *ipt* found in the name of Karnak is thought to be unrelated to that which occurs in the name of Luxor (cf. Gardiner 1908: 128, n. 2 citing Wiedemann 1890: 48). The most common spelling of *ipt* found in the name for Karnak is phonetic, , with the inclusion of  (O45), occurring first during the late New Kingdom (Gardiner 1908: 128; cf. Ward 1986: 95) while the spelling of the name for Luxor more commonly employs  (O45) or  (O46). The *ipt* in the name of Karnak is read as a feminine participle rendering the translation “She” or “the one (fem.) who counts the places” (cf. Barguet 1980a: 341, “Celle qui recense les places”).

This name predates that of Luxor by several centuries, and is first documented during the 11th dynasty (cf. Barguet 1980b).

3.3.3.3 Divine names

The *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter* (Leitz 2002: 215-221) lists numerous deities with names that incorporate the phonetic combination *ip*. A review of these names shows that they fall into two groups: those whose names appear to be derived from the verb *ip* “to count” and those that relate to the noun “*ipt*”, denoting a place, that is understood by Leitz (2002: cf. 215) to be a “heiligtum”. Thus Leitz records gods such as *Ipt ibw* () “the one who counts the hearts”, and *Ipt rnpwt* () “the one who counts the years”, and goddesses such as *Ipt* (written phonetically as e.g. ) “she who counts” or “she who is counted” (?), as well as *Ipt sw* () “she who counts the days” (Leitz 2002: 215-217).

The goddess that introduces the list of those whose names that relate to *ipt* as “sanctuary” is Ipet (𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏). She is a hippopotamus deity who, in the New Kingdom and later, can be found wearing the 𓂏 (O45) hieroglyph on her head (cf. *Wb* I, 68: 7-9). Resembling Taweret, Ipet is often represented as a composite animal, with the body of a hippopotamus, back and tail of a crocodile, and with the arms and legs of a lion (Meeks 1980: 174, n. 2). This goddess is first attested in the Pyramid Texts as a “milk” goddess, and Meeks (1980: 173) deduces that she adopted the 𓂏 (O45) hieroglyph in relationship to the cult of the temple of Luxor, where she became the partner of the ithyphallic Amun-Min. Her name then was possibly understood as “she of the harem”.

The review of the deities that include *ipt* in their names in the *Lexikon* (Leitz 2002: 218-220) presupposes that *ipt*, in this context, refers to a personification of a sanctuary, an interpretation that apparently applies to later forms of the Old Kingdom goddess Ipet (𓂏𓂏𓂏), as seen in references to *Ipt wrt*, also the name of the Late New Kingdom Opet temple at Karnak.

3.4 Conclusion

The two consonantal root of the *ipwt* of Papyrus Westcar has two phonetic correlates. One is the verb *ip* “to count”, that has connotations of both “to gather” and “to distribute”. The other is the noun *ipt* that is related to a building that is in some way a segregated space. It is characterized by its exclusivity and, perhaps secondarily by its association with a place that is secluded and private, reserved for women and children. These two areas of meaning, although separate, have a certain semantic overlapping.


Hypothesizing that there is an etymological relationship between *ip* and *ipwt*, would indicate that the use of the term *ipwt* in the Papyrus Westcar also involves “counting”. This is also supported by its association with the word *tnw* “number”. That which is found in the chest would then be something that is connected to counting and calculation (such as architectural plans), and is related to the sanctuary of Thoth. Hypothesizing that *ipwt* is connected to the idea of enclosure and is a variation of the idea of the “harem”, or “storage space”, leads to the conclusion that that which is found in the chest is something related to the construction of a secluded area. The morphology of *ipwt* thus points in two directions - numbering and seclusion. In a typically Egyptian fashion, these two elements are combined in understanding the reference in Papyrus

Westcar, which would appear to be “calculations” for the hidden chambers that Khufu desires for his tomb.

4 The Westcar papyrus revisited – a contextual analysis

This chapter examines the translation of the term *ipwt*, from a contextual point of view. It begins by briefly reviewing the various translations of the term. This is followed by a survey of three contextual solutions to the problem. The final section revisits the text in an attempt to identify the internal clues that might clarify the nature of the *ipwt* of Papyrus Westcar.

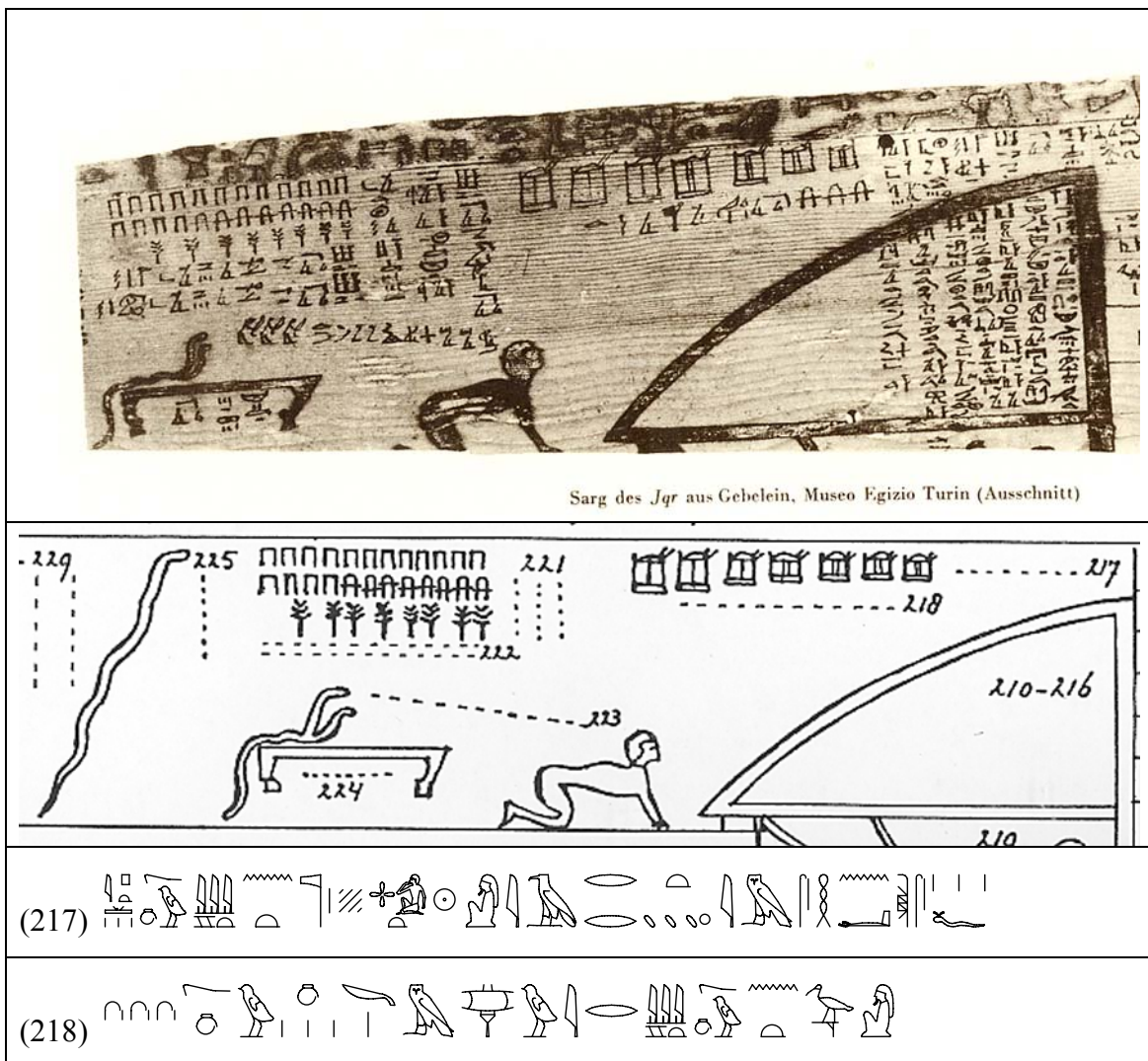
4.1 Lost in translation

Papyrus Westcar belongs to the small number of texts that are obligatory in any volume of translations of Egyptian literature. Consequently there are numerous translations of this text. Erman (1923: 70, cf. 1889, 1890), the first to analyze the text, suggested that *ipwt* should be translated “Schlösser”, “locks”, and *tnw* as “Zahl” or “number”, a reading related to the seal  (S20) determinative. Lange (1925: 100, 102) partly follows Erman when he translates “låsens beskaffenhet” reading *ipwt* as “locks” but *tnw* as character, distinction (cf. Faulkner 1962: 305), and expanding the meaning to read “hemligheten med låsen” (“the secret of the locks”). Thus he translates 9,5 as “låsen finnas i den kistan” (“the locks are in that chest”), having come to the conclusion that *ipwt* refers to locks.

Gardiner (1925a) chooses to retain the Egyptian word *ipwt* rather than attempting a translation, although explaining in his commentary that the *ipwt* were “secret chambers.” Green (1930), reading *pdwt* in 7,5, does not translate the word either, nor does he translate the *ipwt* that is found in other places in the text. Lichtheim (1975: 218, 219), following Gardiner’s discussion (1925a) and Faulkner’s entry, translates *ipwt* with “the secret chambers”. Parkinson (1997: 112f., 115), however, provides a more abbreviated form with the translation “chambers”. Simpson (2003: 13-23) translates *ipwt* as “shrines”, concurring with the discussion of Hornung (1973, cf. below).

Consequently the translations for *ipwt* include “locks / keys”, “the secret with the locks”, “secret chambers”, “chambers” and “shrines”. All of these relate to the idea of an enclosed space, with limited accessibility. A number of authors have delved deeper into this problem and come up with alternative solutions.

4.2 Hornung (1973): the seven shrines




A depiction of the *ipwt* (Taken from Hornung 1973; CT VI, 271)

Writing in 1973, Hornung offers the hope that he has discovered the solution to the problem of the *ipwt*. He begins by noting that the *ipwt* (or *ipt* in the singular) are small enough to be put in a chest (*fdt*) and to be moved. The reference to a chest recalls the existence of a mysterious chest (*fdt šstt*), found inside a hidden room (*ʿt imnt*)

mentioned in a scene from the Book of the Earth (citing Piankoff 1953). Hornung notes this parallel with the Westcar passage that also cites a chest in a room, as the place where the *ipwt* are found. The reference from the Book of the Earth led Hornung to a depiction of the underworld found on the coffin of *Ikrr* from Gebelien, now in the Turin Museum (Hornung 1973: Pl. II, cf. CT VI, 271, and below). In the scene depicting the “river of fire” there are seven shall shrines found at one side, with two rows of texts relating to them.

Directly to the right of the shrines (217 above = CT VI, 273i), the text reads “These are the *ipwt* of the fields of the gods, in which Re eats grapes together with his followers” (*ipwt nw sht nt.ntr[w] wnmr R^c i3rrwt im=s hn^c smsw=f*). Directly under the shrines (218 above = CT VI, 273j-k) is found: “These are the shrines of flint in the wind. Regarding these fields (they) belong to Thoth” (*k3rw nw ds m t3w ir sht nw nt Dhwtj*).

Hornung notes that a number of the “keywords” of the Westcar passage are to be found here, *ipwt*, *ds* “flint”, and a reference to fields (*sht*), rather than a shrine (*wnt*), belonging to Thoth. He sees the *ipwt* here as being in the fields of the afterlife, rather than on earth, in Heliopolis, thus explaining the reference to fields and grapes. Here, for the first time, is a picture of the *ipwt*, further defined as shrines with the parallel term *k3r* (cf. e.g. Faulkner 1962: 284).

It should be noted that Hannig (1995: 44) also provides  *ipwt* with the meaning “Schreine (*transportable*); Grundplan; geheime Kammer (*im Tempel*)”, most likely taken from this CT passage.

4.3 Rousseau and Rousseau (1986): the secret numbers

Rousseau and Rousseau (1986: 59) discusses the identity of the *ipwt* noting that most translations of the term “implique en effet plusieurs hypothèses lexicographiques qui supposent, chez le scribe, des négligences ou approximations sans que pour autant le conte soit devenu vraiment compréhensible”. The authors review the translations of the term, adding a reference to Maspero’s understanding of the passage as referring to “la caisse aux livres sacrés” (citing Maspero 1911: 32). Rousseau and Rousseau provide further references to Green’s hypothesis (citing Borghouts 1971: 96) placing emphasis on the entire phrase *tnw ipwt* “number(s) of the shrine”, suggesting that these refer to

architectural plans that would enable Khufu to construct similar buildings or rooms. They note that this suggestion was originally made by Brunner to Hornung in connection with the 1973 article (citing correspondence, Rousseau and Rousseau 1986: 61).

Having emphasized this aspect of the discussion of *ipwt*, the authors then turn to a discussion of magic numbers and their role in the architectural design, and their character as sacred secrets. For Rousseau and Rousseau this gives a reading of *tnw* as “numbers” not “number”, in the sense of the sacred numbers used for constructing sacred buildings. The *ipwt* are “plans” or “règles pour élaborer les plans ou projets”. This produces a translation in which the relevant phrases are translated as “les nombres pour concevoir les plans du sanctuaire de Thot”, with emphasis on the plans not only belonging to the temple of Thoth but as actually being found there, as Thoth, the god of writing, would have been responsible for calculation as well. This mathematical reading of the *tnw ipwt* is reflected in their translation that the king was searching for “ces règles de construction, du sanctuaire de Thot” and that Khufu says to Djedi “que tu connais les nombres servant aux plans secrets du sanctuaire de Thot.” Seeking to establish the competency of the scribe responsible for Papyrus Westcar, the authors see the determinative $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ (T9), often cited as scribal error, as logical, as it relates to “projeter” “to plan”, as in planning a project and is thus suitable in this context.

4.4 Goedicke (1993): metaphysical knowledge

Goedicke’s (1993) study is perhaps the one that stretches the imagination the farthest. He has found many logical difficulties in these passages. To begin with, he relates *ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar to both the verb *ip*, (“to count”) and the noun *ipt* (“women’s quarters”, “residence”) and sees the *ipwt* as an “assigned (*ip*) space”. The relationship between the *ipwt* of Papyrus Westcar and the sanctuary of Thoth is, for Goedicke, improbable. The story takes place in Memphis and a major Thoth sanctuary would only be expected in Hermopolis, and nothing is known about either the cult of Thoth at “this time” (4th dynasty), or its architectural attributes. Additionally, Goedicke notes, the preference given to Re, as the primary divinity in Westcar, makes the reference to the significance of Thoth unlikely. Another aspect of the story that Goedicke finds troubling is the assertion that Khufu wants the *ipwt* for his tomb. Goedicke sees Khufu as elderly

and thus long past the time when the tomb should have been completed. He also questions why the plans of Thoth's sanctuary should be deposited in Heliopolis, and wonders how Djedi would have become familiar with these designs.

There are also problems with the translation of this passage, according to Goedicke (1993:27), who prefers to break up the sequence *ipwt nt wnt nt Dḥwty*, “the *ipwt* of the sanctuary of Thoth”, into two phrases, *ipwt nt wnt* “the *ipt* of the *wnt*” and *wnt nt Dḥwty*, “the *wnt* of Thoth”, making them parallel, and interprets them as being two separate qualifications of *ipwt*, whereas one adjoins with *wnt* and the other with Thoth (the spacial concept vs. the god). With this alteration, he suggests an alternative interpretation. Reading *wnt* as “that which is”, rather than “sanctuary”. Goedicke sees *wnt* as a term for the material world. *ipwt* in this context cannot denote “secret chambers”, rather Goedicke (1993: 28) argues for a philosophical concept, with *ipwt* referring to something which is not commonly known and which is associated with both the physical world and the realm of the spirit. It is not even known to Djedi or to the king, but is an envisaged reality that points to something hidden and universal at the same time. Looking at a probable derivation for *ipwt*, Goedicke understands it as the “allotted” (*ip*) fate designated at birth, but unknown to its bearer. Khufu's curiosity about his future turns into information about the future of the kings to come. This interpretation of *ipwt*, as knowledge of the unknown, is seen by Goedicke as appropriate for the later story about the birth of the three children, at whose delivery a pronouncement is made. It also agrees with Djedi's predictions to Khufu about the future. Following this analysis the number of *ipwt* denotes the length of life, or the time of death. Consequently Goedicke translates *ipwt* as “designs” or “assignments”.

Goedicke (1993: 28f.) further believes that the depository (*sipty*) in Heliopolis is metaphorical rather than “real” given that the texts ultimately deal with Re (cf. Helck 1984). Although he admits that the reference to a specific “chamber” with its name “*sipty*” might suggest that Heliopolis was the depository for information concerning the death and burial of the members of society (cf. Parkinson 1997: 124, n. 41 and above 2.2 p. 6), indicated by reference to the Heliopolitan “archive” *pr mdʿt ntr* “house of the book of god”.

This view of the *ipwt* as representing knowledge rather than a concrete object is also shared by Parkinson (1997: 122, n. 27, and 2.2 p. 6f.).

4.5 A return to Papyrus Westcar

It is time to return to the text in an attempt to discern what can be said about the *ipwt*, relying on internal information.

Hordedef says to Khufu about Djedi:

7:5 *iw=f rh[.w] tnw ipwt* “He knows the number(s) of the *ipwt*
7:6 *nt wnt nt dhwtj* of the sanctuary of Thoth.”

We are then told that

ist wrš hm n nsw bit Now the majesty of Upper and Lower Egypt,

Hwfw m3^c hrw Khufu, the justified, had been spending time
7:7 *hr hhy.n=f n3 n ipwt* searching, for himself, these *ipwt*
nt wnt nt Dhwtj of the sanctuary of Thoth,
r irt n=f mitt in order to make for himself the like
7:8 *iry n 3ht=f* thereof for his horizon (e.g. tomb)

The king questions Djedi as to his knowledge and Djedi replies.

9:1 *h^c.n dd.n p3 nsw* Then this king
Hwfw m3^c hrw Khufu the justified said:
p3 irf dd “It was indeed said
iw=k rh.ti that you know
9:2 *tnw n3 n ipwt nt wnt nt Dhwtj* the number of these *ipwt* of the sanctuary of Thoth.”
dd.in ddi Djedi said:
hs.ti “Be pleased.
9:3 *n rh=i tnw iry* I do not know the number thereof
i ity h^c wd3 snb nb=i O Sovereign (LPH) my lord.
iw=i swt rh.kwi But I do know
bw nty 9:4 *st im* the place in which they are / it is.”
dd.in hm=f His majesty said:
iw ir=f tn “Where is it?”
dd.in ddi pn This Djedi said:

iw ʕfdt im 9:5 nt ds m ʕt
sipty rn=s m iwnw
mk st m t3 ʕfdt

“A chest is there of flint in a room
 ‘Inventory’ is its name in Heliopolis.
 Behold they are / it is / in that chest.”

4.5.1 Knowledge

A central motif in this story is that of knowledge. Hordedef brings Djedi to court because of his knowledge. First of all because he knows how to rejoin severed heads and so forth, secondly because Djedi is rumored to know about the *tnw ipwt nt wnt nt Dhwtj*. This works on several levels: Djedi does not know the number but knows the place where it is, hence his knowledge, if incomplete, is greater than the king’s, since Khufu is said to be seeking for it. Also the knowledge of both the number(s) of the *ipwt* and its location is of such secrecy that the king does not have access to this. The theme of the composition is thus “power” vs. the “intellect” of Djedi (Goedicke 1993: 31). Set at the king’s court, the recounting of past accomplishments is, according to Goedicke, contrasted with the veracity of present skills and the outlook into the future. The skills demonstrated by Djedi exceeds those reported from the past, as he shows himself be able to master life. Goedicke means that it is this achievement which inspires Khufu’s quest for learning beyond the present. This leads to Goedicke’s interpretation of *ipwt* as metaphysical knowledge (cf. Goedicke: 1993: 31 and above 4.4). Although Djedi declares himself unable to present the desired information, he, upon the king’s request, gives him some predictions.

4.5.2 The *ipwt*

There is nothing to suggest that the *ipwt* themselves are unknown to the king. On the contrary he knows them well enough to want to copy them for his tomb. Here the meaning of the phrase “to seek” (*hhy*), as “to want” is important to keep in mind, as the only time the *ipwt* are mentioned, without being qualified as the *tnw ipwt*, is when the king is said to be searching for them for himself, in order to copy them. Thus a conclusion can be drawn that the *ipwt* are something that are desirable for a royal tomb.

4.5.3 The *tnw*

As several authors have suggested, Khufu's interest is in the *tnw* or "number(s)" of the *ipwt*. So, while the *ipwt* have been the focus of Egyptological inquiry, the text itself emphasizes knowledge of the *tnw*. There is, however, a difference in the meaning of *tnw*, if translated as "number" or "numbers". If singular then *tnw* refers to "how many" *ipwt* there are. If translated as plural, the numbers become a separate entity that is related to the *ipwt*. Hornung, for example, citing the coffin from Turin, has identified the number of the *ipwt* as seven while Rousseau and Rousseau discuss the numbers as properties of the *ipwt*, necessary to build them. Hence these conclusions can be made:

- the *tnw* make it possible to copy the *ipwt* that Khufu wants for his horizon. (7,7)
- the *tnw ipwt* are so small that they can be put in a chest, that is, in turn, small enough to be put in a room.
- It is something that belongs in an inventory.

4.5.4 The sanctuary of Thoth

The *tnw ipwt* belongs to the sanctuary of Thoth (7,6) and thus might be expected to have a quality that is in some way related to that god.

4.5.5 The flint chest in the "Inventory in Heliopolis"

The knowledge that Khufu seeks is to be found in a flint chest in a room called "revision/inventory" in Heliopolis. As Parkinson (1997: 124, n. 42.) states, as the king is nominally high priest of every temple, Khufu should have access to the room in Heliopolis, and so should have knowledge about its contents.

The theme of an enigmatic, divine chest seems to run like a continuous thread through a number of ancient Egyptian texts and representations of nearly all historical periods. The source material is mainly religious and magico-religious, but also biographical and literary, such as the Papyrus Westcar (Borghouts 1975: 358). For instance it should be mentioned that Spell 992 of the CT has an interesting episode translated by Faulkner (1978: 100) "To become the secretary of Thoth and to open what his box contains". It reads as follows:

My *nt*-crown is my reward, my reward. I am [...] Re-Atum, I have come so that I may reckon up the signs [...] I will open what it contains. The seal is broken, [the cord(?)] is cut [...] words. I am he who is over exhaling, Lord of the breath of the Great One [...] I sit [...] I open the chest of the Great One, I break the seal [...] the Lord of Right. I open what the boxes of the god contain, I lift out the documents, for I am a lord who exhales. (Faulkner 1978: 100; cf. CT VII, 2031-2041)

The text above connects Thoth with *ip*, (here translated as “to reckon up“). It also connects Thoth with a sealed chest containing documents of some sort. Besides being related to counting, Thoth is also connected with secret places:”...*Dḥwty m ḥnw šst3w*” “Thoth is within the secret places” (CT VII, 393, Spell 1099, translation by Faulkner 1978: 154). Hornung saw a parallel between the Papyrus Westcar and a reference from the Book of the Earth. This led him to a depiction of the underworld found on the coffin of *Tkr* from Gebelein (cf. Hornung 1973 and above 4.2 p. 31). In this scene seven shrines are depicted. Hornung (1973: 34) thus concludes that:

So darf man vermuten, daß auch die *ipwt* des Pap. Westcar götterbilder aufnehmen sollen. Der Nützlichkeitsvermerk zu der Sargtextszene verheißt dem Kundigen, daß „Gefilde mit Re im Himmel sein wird, unter den Göttern, die im Himmel sind“ (VI 273d), und das „Gefilde des Thoth“ scheint ein seliger Ort zu sein, der dem Sonnengott und seinem Gefolge (identisch mit den „Göttern, die im Himmel sind“?) Nahrung spendet.








4.6 Summary of the contextual solutions




Djedi’s supposed knowledge of the *tnw ipwt* was reported by Hordedef and was one of the reasons for his being summoned to the court, since Khufu was searching for them, even though, there is nothing to suggest that the *ipwt* are unknown by the king since he knows of them well enough that he wants to copy them for his tomb. However, when Djedi is confronted, he claims that he does not know the number(s) but he knows the place where they are / it is / kept. That is, in a flint chest in a room called Inventory in Heliopolis. When looking at the context, the fact that the *ipwt* are so small that they can lie together in a chest and their number which would make it possible to make


something the like for another building, in this case Khufu’s tomb, suggests that the *tnw* should be treated as plural, and thus as a separate entity related to *ipwt*. The fact that the *tnw ipwt* is connected to the sanctuary of Thoth, and that Thoth is a god related to writing and counting, makes it probable that that which is found in the chest is a papyrus recording knowledge like the calculations necessary for the construction of a secluded area, like the hidden chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth. And indeed what ambition could have fired Khufu more than to possess in his own pyramid a replica of the mysterious chambers in the hoary sanctuary of the God of Wisdom?

5 Conclusion – the number(s) of the *ipwt*

5.1 Review of the different approaches

This essay has analysed the nature of the term *ipwt* as it is encountered in the Papyrus Westcar. This has been done by means of looking at the morphology of the word and by investigating etymological possibilities. Finally a contextual analysis has been conducted in order to clarify the meaning of *ipwt* in Papyrus Westcar. To summarise, with regards to the importance of the determinate  (S20) in 9,2 of the Westcar papyrus, this paper has shown, to begin with, that the *ipwt* can not possibly refer to locks/keys, as Erman (1923) and Lange (1925) suggested, given that the rendering “locks”/“keys” rest entirely on the interpretation of the determinative  (S20) in 9,2, occurring only once in these three cases. In addition, this sign is noted as *sic* by Blackman (1988: 11) who refers to the research done by Gardiner (1925a), J. and M. Rosseau (1986) and Ward (1986: 96-99). Secondly, the determinative  (O1) does not coincide with this translation. Hence to assume that Khufu wanted to copy some locks/keys for his tomb is unlikely. It is, however, possible that Khufu was looking for some kind of “door” to the sanctuary of Thoth, and that the determinative  (S20), in this case, is a symbol for access to the secret chambers of Thoth (cf. e.g. PT §595a-b, for an example where the king rides on the wing of Thoth to the ‘winding waterway’). However, the determinative  (S20) together with  (O1) can also denote a locked or closed area, and refer to sealed information (Junge 2001: 347; cf. Erman 1890: 43). Note, however that there is a word  *htmyt* for “sealed chamber” (Faulkner 1962: 199). The

seal determinative , to the extent it is correctly transcribed, would refer, in any case to the secretative nature of *ipwt*. That *ipwt* is connected to the idea of enclosure and is a variation of the idea of the “harem”, or “storage space” can be deduced from the *ipt*-sign  (O45), as well as the  (O1) determinative, thus leading to the conclusion that the *ipwt* are related to the construction of a secluded area.

Various scholars have discussed which hieroglyphs are represented by the hieratic signs in the word *ipwt* (2.3). Rousseau and Rousseau (1986: 61) explain, however, that the determinative  (T9), often cited as a scribal error should not be regarded as a mistake or negligence on the part of the scribe but rather adding a nuance to the word for “plan” or “secret”. The authors argue that the ancient Egyptians accorded magical power to the seven “sacred” numbers which were used in establishing construction plans. Hornung (1973: 34) also gives a reference to the “plan” of beyond, where the seven *ipwt* shrines are painted inside a sarcophagus now in the museum of Turin.

The etymological review indicates that the verb *ip* and the noun *ipt* share with the *ipwt* the idea of enclosure and exclusivity, that the *ipwt* are either assigned or have the function of “gathering together”, similar to that of the *ipt*, harem. The understanding of *ipwt* as being a building connected to the idea of “counting”, “enumeration”, hence something that can be calculated upon, as well as being secluded, has also lead to the conclusion that that which is found in the chest is something that can be related to the construction of a secluded area (cf. 3).

The contextual survey provides a picture of the *ipwt* from the CT (Hornung 1973, and above 4.2), an elaboration on the role of numbers in a chest of Thoth, and a reinterpretation of *wnt*, associated with the concept of knowledge (Goedicke 1993, and above 4.4). Considering the first option of *ipwt* we could surmise that the knowledge that is to be found in the chest will inform Khufu about the numbers of the shrines (i.e. seven) that are to be put in place in his tomb. As Hornung has noted from the CT (VII, 273i-k) we here have a reference to fields rather than a shrine (*wnt*) belonging to Thoth. Also he sees the *ipwt* here as being in the fields of the afterlife, rather than on earth, in Heliopolis. Goedicke (1993: 26) who chooses to break up the sequence *ipwt nt wnt nt Dhwty* into two phrases *ipwt nt wnt* “the *ipwt* of the *wnt*” and *wnt nt Dhwty* “the *wnt* of Thoth”, reads *wnt* as “that which is” instead of “sanctuary”, seeing *wnt* as a term for the material world. Hence Goedicke sees the *ipwt* as mysteries of the (physical) realm,

referring to something that is not commonly known, and of Thoth (the realm of the spirit).

5.2 The number(s) of the *ipwt*

This ancient story from the Papyrus Westcar tells of how Khufu searched for the secret documents of the god Thoth in order to design the chambers of his pyramid, a complex that we are still trying to understand.

The supposition is made that Khufu wanted to learn the details of Thoth's secret chambers so as to reproduce them when building his own pyramid. Then the *tnw ipwt* "numbers of the *ipwt*" refers to architectural plans, and is used as an indirect reference to the "chambers" of the sanctuary of Thoth.

With regards to the expression *tnw*, it is generally rendered as "number" (Priskin 1998: 148; citing Kákosy 1989: 152, n. 24) but in the context of the Papyrus Westcar, it could also be interpreted as measurements. Although the last part of the Papyrus is missing, it is very likely that Khufu eventually obtained the measurements and that the internal plan of the pyramid is an imitation of Thoth's secret chambers (Priskin 1998: 147).

The motivation for Khufu's desire to know the number(s) of the secret chambers of Thoth was his desire to copy the *ipwt*. Possession of the design and form of the *ipwt* would enhance his possibilities in the afterlife. This was the reason for their construction (cf. Priskin 1998). This agrees with Rousseau and Rousseau's (1986: 61) reference to the "plan" of beyond. They argue that the ancient Egyptians accorded magical power to seven "sacred" numbers, which were applied to the creation of construction plans. The mathematical reading of *tnw ipwt nt wnt nt Dḥwty* emphasises that the plans not only belong to Thoth, but are actually found in the *wnt nt Dḥwty*, as Thoth, the god of writing and knowledge, was also responsible for calculation, this is reference to Thoth's role as guardian of the deceased in the netherworld. We also have a reference to seven shrines painted inside the coffin of *Tkr* from Gebelein (Hornung 1973; cf. CT VI, 273i; 4.2 p. 31). However, if we still are to translate the term *ipwt* with "chambers" then this was a magical number that Khufu wanted to have in his own tomb. Hornung (1973: 33) also mentions the possibility of interpreting *ipwt* as ground/building plan. The denotation of *ipwt* as "magical utterances" of some sort

suggested by Green (1930) combined with the suggestion that the scheme or plan of these utterances are the mysterious *ipwt*, may also be a possibility. The denotation of *ipwt* as “shrines”, considering Hornung, Hannig and Parkinson’s remark, that the word “chambers” could be used figuratively to mean small shrines also goes well with the reference to “the plan of beyond”. The fact remains that divine images (hence “god pictures”) is a motif that is found in monumental inscriptions. Therefore a royal search for the details of a particular “shrine” may also be what *ipwt* refers to in the Papyrus Westcar.

Consequently, that which is to be found in the chest of flint that will help Khufu copy the *ipwt* are the *tnw* or number(s) of the *ipwt*. This expression represents either a document that records the numbers/calculations/measurements of the chambers of Thoth, or one that will give access to these “sealed patterns” of the seven shrines/magical utterances that were to be depicted in Khufu’s tomb.

Our understanding of the *ipwt* of Papyrus Westcar, and what is to be found in the flint chest in Heliopolis remains imperfect, although the review of the sources cited above brings us closer to understanding why Khufu was so eager to meet Djedi!

APPENDIX 1

Selected Translations of Papyrus Westcar 7,5-8; 9,1-5 (sorted chronologically).

1. Erman: *Die Literatur der Aegypter* (1923)

7,5-8

'...Und er weiß auch die Zahl (?) der Schlösser (?) vom Heiligtum des Thoth." – Die Majestät des Königs Cheops hatte sich aber schon lange bemüht, sich die Schlösser (?) vom Heiligtum des Thoth zu suchen, um sich etwas Gleiches für seinen Horizont zu machen.' (p.70)

9,1-5

'König Cheops sagte: „, was man aber sagt, du wissest, die Zahl (?) der Schlösser (?) vom Heiligtum des Thoth, (wie steht es damit)?" Dedi sagte: „Verzeih (?), die Zahl (?) davon weiß ich nicht, o König mein Herr, aber ich weiß, wo sie sind." Seine Majestät sagte: „wo ist das?" Dedi sagte: „es gibt eine Kiste aus Feuerstein in einer Kammer, die „die Revision" heißt, in Heliopolis; in der Kiste (sind sie)". ' (p.72)

2. Lange: *Egyptiska myter och sagor* (1925)

7,5-8

'... , och han känner låsens beskaflenhet i Thothis helgedom." Nu hade emellertid konung Cheops ständigt sökt efter hemligheten med låsen i Thothis helgedom för att låta förfärdiga något motsvarande till sin egen gravkammare.' (s.100)

9,1-5

'Konung Cheops sade därpå: "Man säger också, att du känner beskaflenheten av låsen i Thothis helgedom." Dedi svarade: "Med förlov, jag känner icke deras beskaflenhet, o

konung min herre, men jag känner dock stället, där de finnas. ”Hans majestät sade: ”Var är det då?” Dedi svarade honom: ”Det finnes i en kista av flinta i en kammare vid namn Sipti i Heliopolis; låsen finnas i den kistan.””(s.102)

3. Gardiner: “The Secret Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth” (1925)

7,5-8

’ he knew the number of the *ipwt* of the *wnt* of Thoth, for which Cheops had been long looking, in order to make the like thereof for his own “horizon”. ‘(p.2)

9,1-5

‘Then said king Cheops: What of the report, thou knowest the number of the *ipwt* of the *wnt* of Thoth? And Djedi said: So please thee, I know not the number thereof, O sovereign my lord, but I know the place where *bw nty st im*. And his majesty said: Where is that? And Djedi said: There is a box of flint in a room called ‘Revision’ in Heliopolis; (well) in that box!’(p.3)

4. Green: “The Secret Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth” (1930)

7,5-8

‘...he also knows the number of the *pdwt* of the chamber of Thoth. Now his majesty Khufu had been engaged for some time seeking for the *ipwt nt wnt nt dhwtj* that he might make a copy thereof for his own tomb.’ (p.33)

9,1-5

Khufu then says, “How about the report that you know the number of the *ipwt* of the chamber of Thoth?” Then *ddy* said, “I know not the number thereof, O King, but I know the place they are in.” Then his majesty said, “Where then?” Then *ddy* said, “There is a flint box in the *ꜥt* called *sipty* in Heliopolis, it (or they) are in the box.” (p.33)

5. Lefebvre: *Romans et Contes Égyptiens de l'Époque Pharaonique (1949)*

7,5-8

«... il connaît (enfin) le nombre des chambres secrètes du sanctuaire de Thoth.»

Or la Majesté du roi Khéops j.v. passait tout son temps à chercher pou Elle-même ces chambres secrètes du sanctuaire de Thoth, afin de se faire faire quelque chose de semblable pour son horizon. (p.81)

9,1-5

Le (roi) Khéops j.v. dit alors : « Et que dit-on encore, que tu connais le nombre des chambres secrètes du sanctuaire de [Thoth]? » Djédi répondit : « S'il te plaît, je ne connais pas leur nombre, souverain V.S.F., mon maître, mais je connais l'endroit où cela est. » Sa Majesté dit : « Où est-ce donc? » Et ce Djédi répondit : « Il y a un coffret de silex là, dans une chambre appelée « (Chambre de) l'inventaire » à Héliopolis. [Eh bien ! c'est] dans ce coffret .» (p.84)

6. Lichtheim: *Ancient Egyptian Literature (1975)*

7,5-8

'...And he knows the number of the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth.'

Now the majesty of King Khufu had been spending much time searching for the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth in order to copy them for his temple.' (p. 218)

9,1-5

'Then the majesty of King Khufu said: "It was also said that you know the number of the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth." Said Djedi: "Please, I do not know their number, O king, my lord. But I know the place where it is." Said his majesty: "Where is that?" Said this Djedi: "There is a chest of flint in the building called 'Inventory' in On. It is in that chest.'" (p.219)

7. Parkinson: *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BC* (1997)

7,5-8

...”And he knows the number of the Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth. Now, the majesty of the Dual King Cheops, the justified, would spend all the day seeking for himself these Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth, in order to make himself ones like them for his Horizon.” (p.112-113)

9,1-5

“Then the King Cheops, the justified, said, ‘And how about what they say, that you know the number of the Chambers of the Sanctuary of Thoth?’ And Djedi said, ‘May it please you, I don’t know their number, Sovereign, my lord! But I do know where it is kept.’ and his majesty said, ‘Where?’ And this Djedi said, ‘There is this casket, of flint, in a room, called Sipti, in Heliopolis. <Look, it is> in the casket.’ (p.115)

8. Simpson: *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (2003)

7,5-8

...”And he knows the number of the shrines of the enclosure of Thot.” Now His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, the vindicated, had spent much time in seeking for himself these shrines of the enclosure of Thot to fashion for himself their likeness for his horizon.” (p.18)

9,1-5

“Then King Khufu, the vindicated, said: Now as for the rumor that you know the number of the shrines of the enclosure of [Thot]? Dedi said: By your favor, I do not know their number, Sovereign, l.p.h., my lord, but I do know the place where they are. His majesty said: Where are they? And Dedi said: There is a chest for flint knives in a chamber called the Inventory in Heliopolis: in that chest.” (p.20)

APPENDIX 2

1. The writings of *ipt nsw*

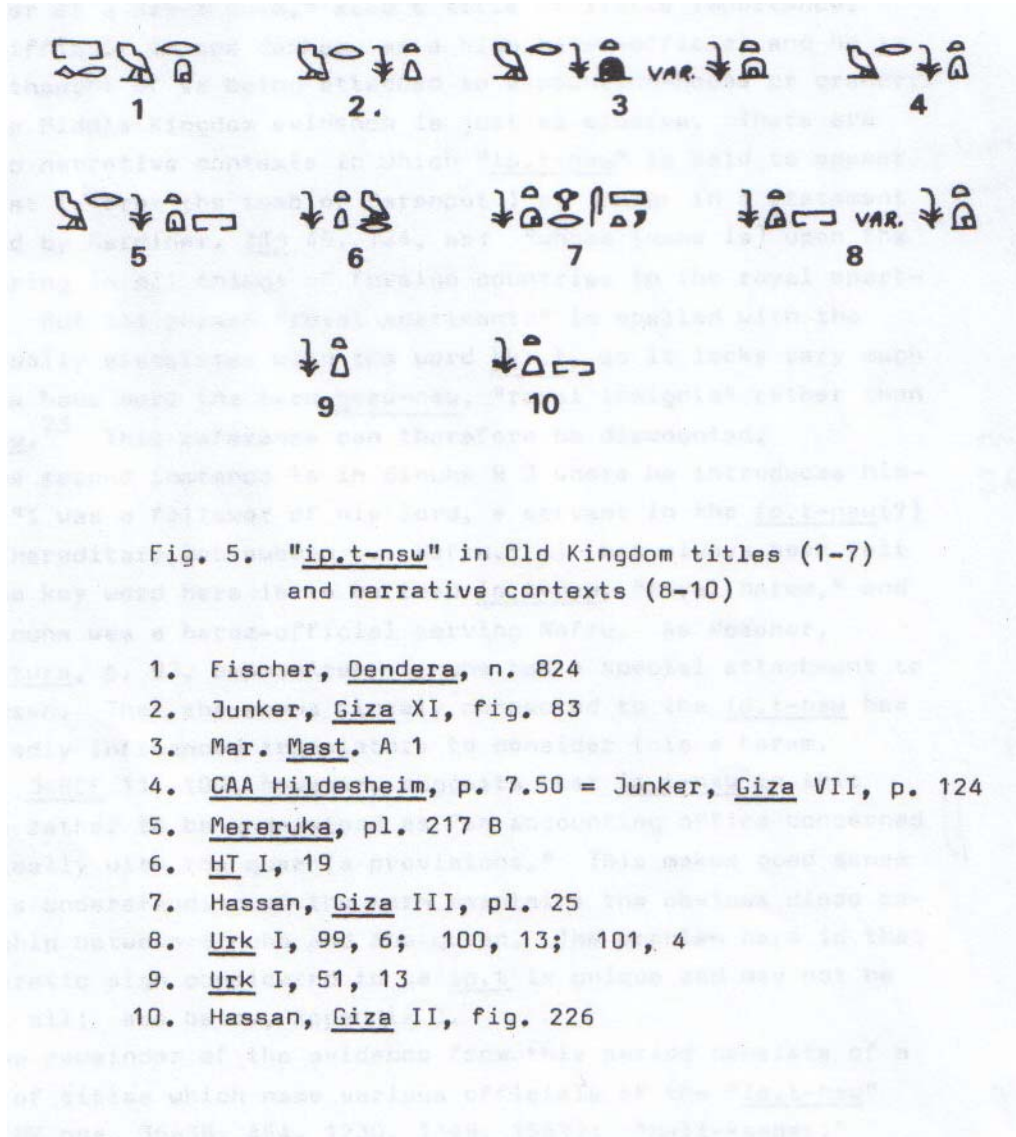


Fig. 5. "*ip.t-nsw*" in Old Kingdom titles (1-7) and narrative contexts (8-10)

1. Fischer, Dendera, n. 824
2. Junker, Giza XI, fig. 83
3. Mar. Mast. A 1
4. CAA Hildesheim, p. 7.50 = Junker, Giza VII, p. 124
5. Mereruka, pl. 217 B
6. HT I, 19
7. Hassan, Giza III, pl. 25
8. Urk I, 99, 6; 100, 13; 101, 4
9. Urk I, 51, 13
10. Hassan, Giza II, fig. 226

(Ward 1986: 88)

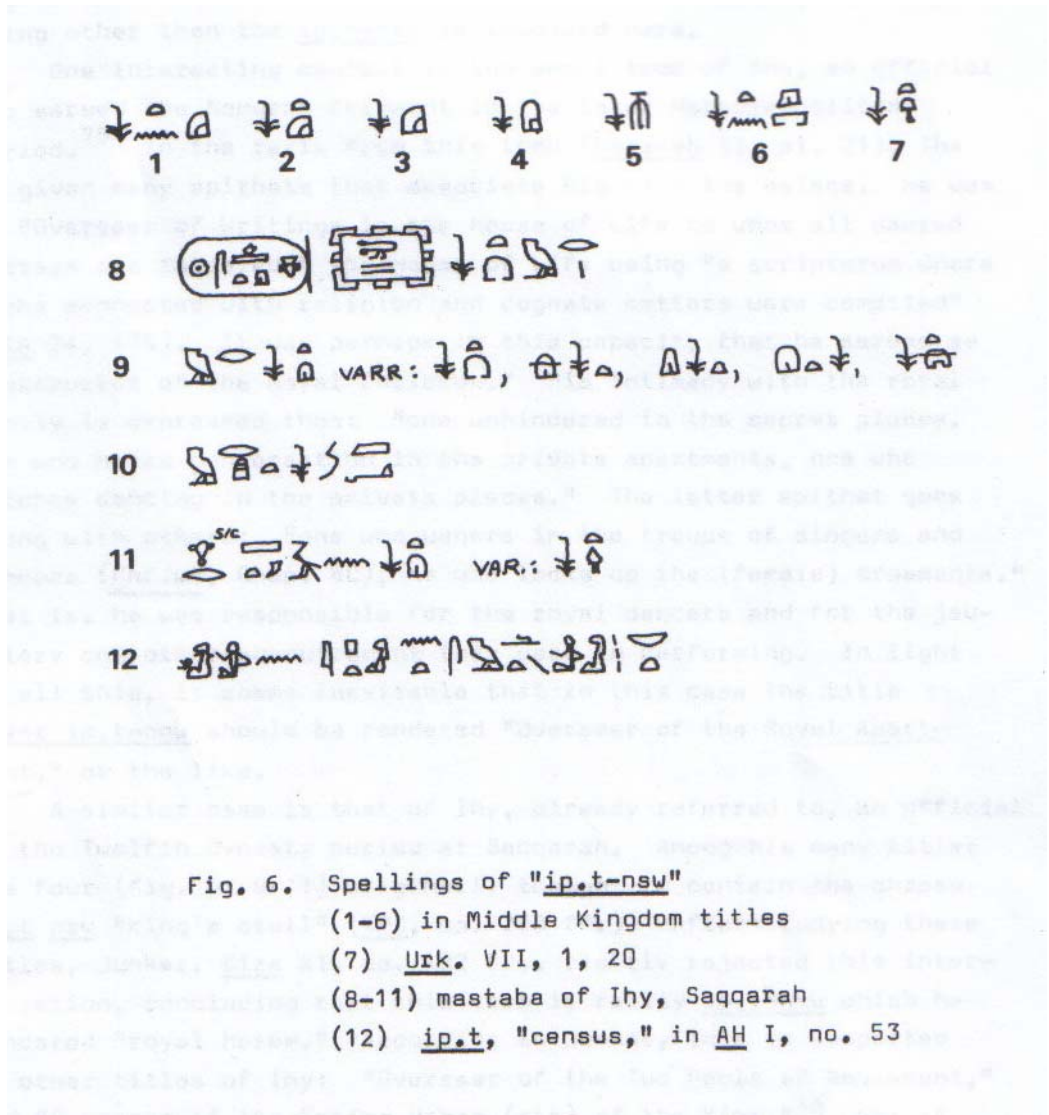





























Fig. 6. Spellings of "ip.t-nsw"
 (1-6) in Middle Kingdom titles
 (7) Urk. VII, 1, 20
 (8-11) mastaba of Ihy, Saqqarah
 (12) ip.t, "census," in AH I, no. 53

(Ward 1986: 90)

2. The hieratic forms

a. (W11)




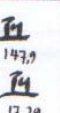



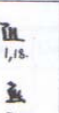




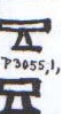


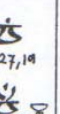

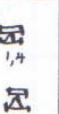










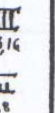
Hierogl. Abusir Elephantine Hatnub Prisse Illahun Sinuhe Boulaq 18 Math. Westcar Golen. Ebers

395	 ♀ Dywn. 18	 P 10621, 5	 a 2, 10	 P 9785, 10 P 9784, 26	 204, 18	 N A 17, 3 Diel 19, 8	 I S 3, 6 II S 3, 3 I S 8, 6	 3, 13 3, 7	 26, 2 K. 46, 9 M.	 Amharit 2, 5	 13, 10
396	 ni-t Dywn. 18.						 II S 11, 6.	 3, 9	 51 a 5 m		 13, 11.
397	 hu Dywn. 18.	 m 32, 9	 a 2, 14.	 I, 2, 7.	 285 = 8	 N A 5, 10.	 III S 1, 6.	 7, 11.	 25, 9 K. 46, 4 M.	 3, 2 6, 23 4, 5	 12, 14


(Möller 1909b: 35)







395	 ♀ Dywn. 3.	 P 10523 (Ca) 58 P. 8869, 12.	 23, 4. 23, 6	 8, 14.	 h. Flynn III, 4 Diel. Kal. Br. 10, 16	 54 Bauer (I) 159	 44, 2, 12.	 Istel 7, 1.	 5, 17 8, 23	 14, 4.	 95, 15 7, 17
396	 ni-t Dywn. 6		 25, 2 m f		 h. C. Kah. 35, 59	 207. m f i					
397	 hu Dywn. 5.	 Kairo Jr. 4 (I) (wohl) Alwan Stein- margaretha	 P 8869, 2	 21, 18 24, 3	 9, 5	 h. P. 10001 B K. Flynn II, 6 2	 88 Bauer (I) 141.	 m 49, 2, 12	 67, 2 m 62, 1	 12, 24 m 5, 7	 61 4, 16

(Möller 1909a: 37)










Hierogl.	Takelothis	Graffito	P. Rylands	Leinwand	P. Bremner	Isis-N.	Ritual	Leiden J. 32	Tanis	P. Rhind	P. 3030.	P. 3135
395	 ♀ Dywn. 25	 P 3048, 3, 8 P 7809, 3, 2.	 22, 15	 147, 9 17, 29	 3, 18	 7	 3, 13	 1, 18 3, 5		 I, 1, 11. II, 1, 4.	 1, 6	 3, 7.
396	 ni-t Dywn. 25	 P 3055, 1, 5 P 3056, 9, 7.	 23, 7.	 78, 1 van 22, 1	 27, 19 22, 1	 9		 1, 4 1, 21.			 1, 13.	 2, 26.
397	 hu Dywn. 25	 P 3048, 5, 6	 22 7/15 23, 6.	 6 Uta- schrift	 9, 13	 54				 I, 1, 9	 5, 12	 3, 16 1, 8

(Möller 1912: 38)









b.  (T9)

135 Dyn. 5.									3,5	
486 Dyn. 5.				 Kub 19,23 Hyman I, 6.	 53 56.			 7,7.	 16,4  18,4	 87,0.


(Möller 1909a: 41)


485 Dyn. 18.		 N 202,5	 Tell Amarna 32	 204, 11.	 M A 7,5.	 III S 7,11	 7,8	 27,5 K.  m 48,2	 84 21.
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(Möller 1909b: 38)


Hierogl.	Louvre 3226	Lederhs.	Guröb	P. Rollin	Ennene	Pentoere	Harris Th.	Harris H. M.	P. Abbott	Ndm-1
486 Dyn. 18.		 a 2,4			 N A 14,5	 I S 7,1.	 10-10.  714, 8 4-10	 28, 10-x  48,4 m		 Bub 9,7

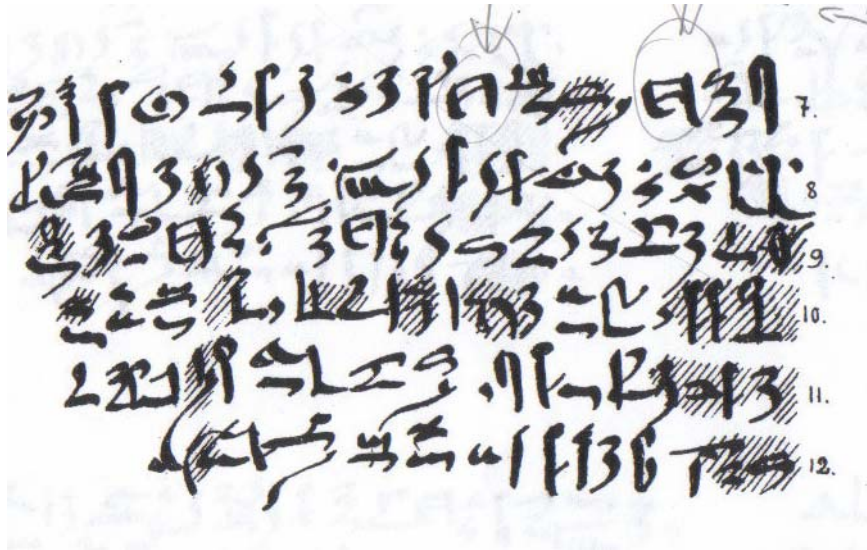
(Möller 1909b: 39)

c.  (O45)

849 Dyn. 26.	 73043, 14,4  73053, 2,2.			 25,21		 37.	 Janis 22,4	 1,6,11.	 1,2
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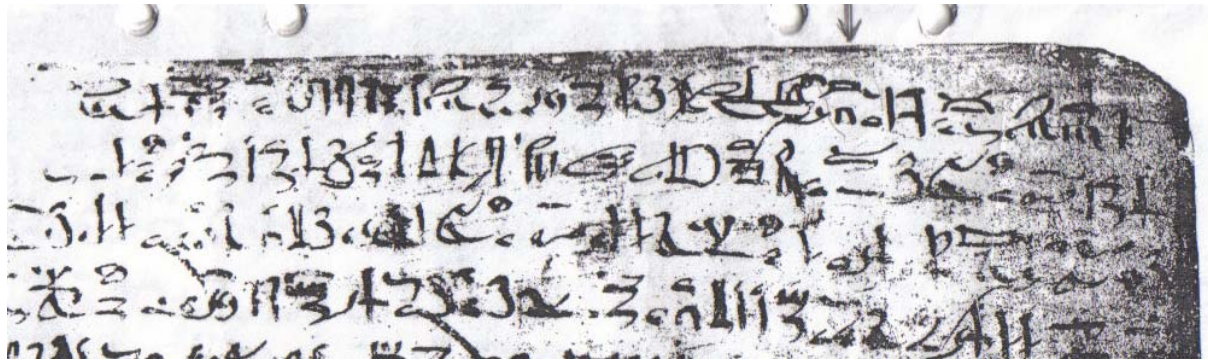
(Möller 1912: 33)

d.  (O45) in Sinuhe

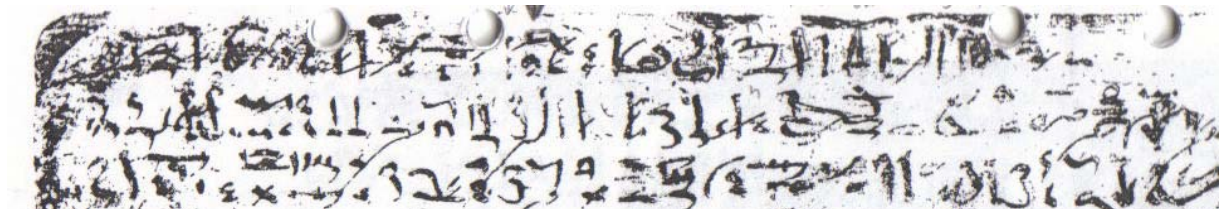


(Möller 1927: 6)

Gardiner (1925a: 3f.) believes that this hieratic sign in Sinuhe R7 is an early equivalent of O45.

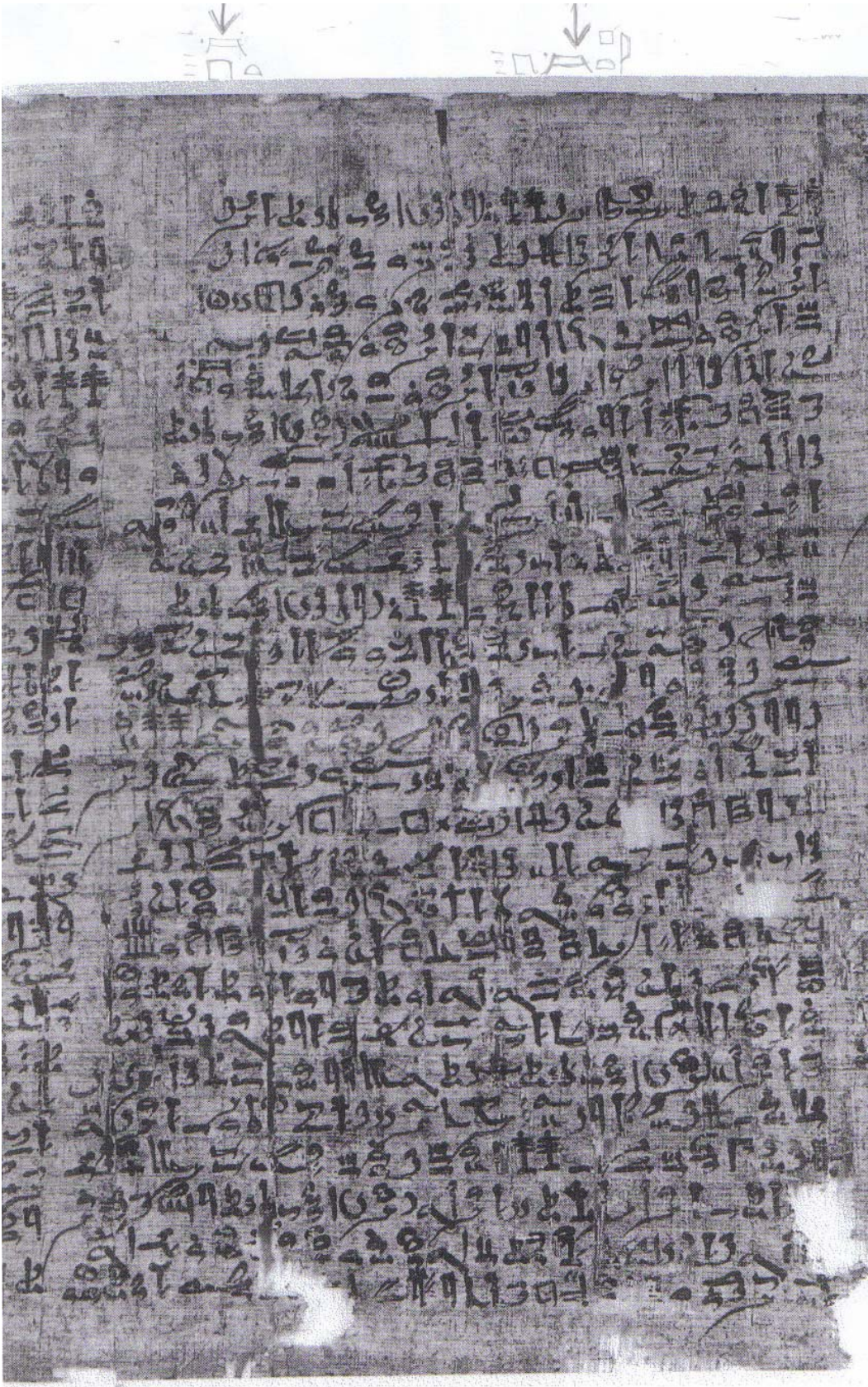


(Gardiner 1916a: Plate XII between 96-97) Carnarvon Table No. I, Right-hand portion. Line 1-4 right upper corner.

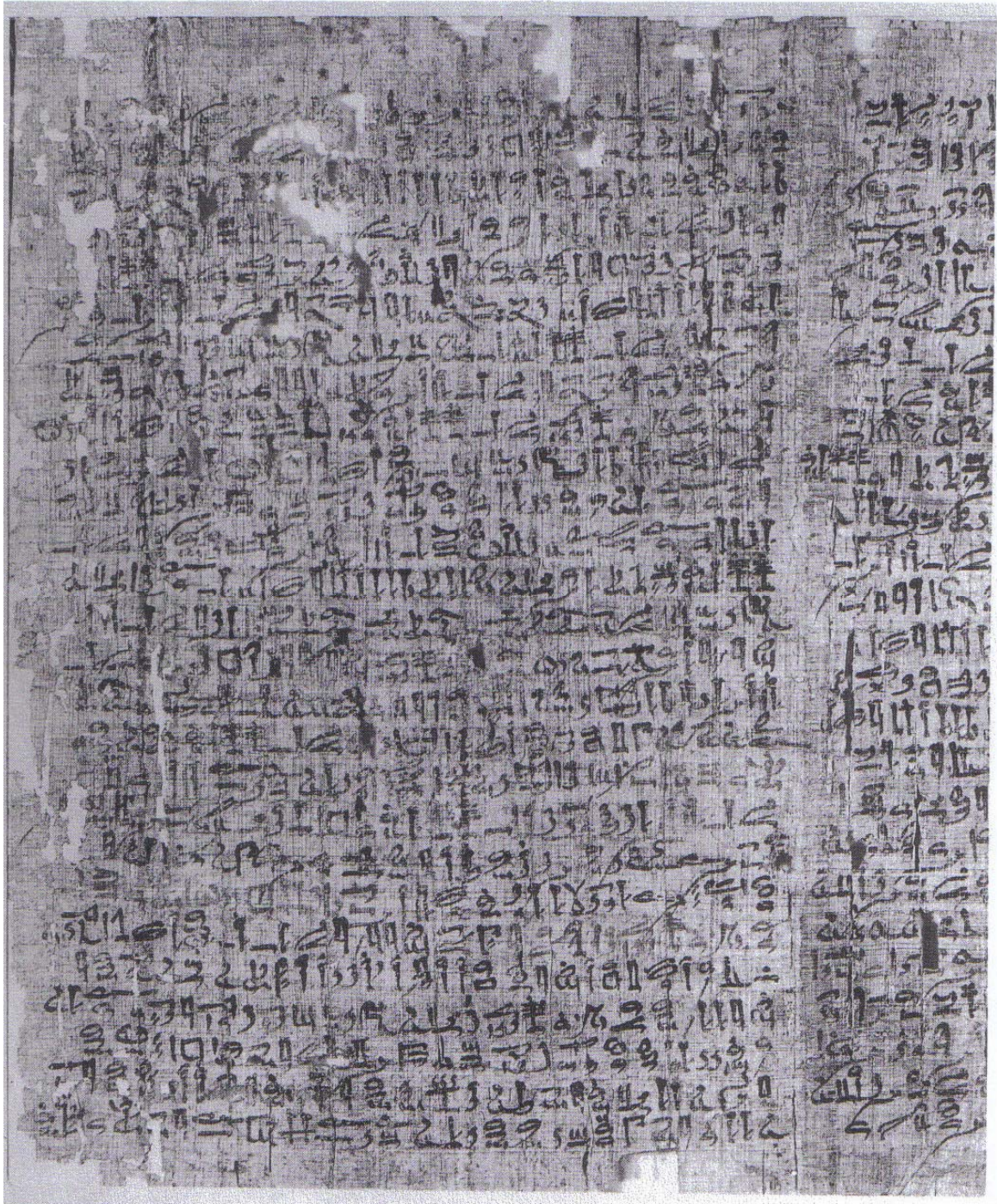


(Gardiner 1916a: Plate XII between 96-97) Carnarvon Table No. I, Left-hand portion. Line 1-3 left upper corner.

e. Papyrus Westcar (pBerlin 3033), the hieratic text



Column 7 (Blackman 1988: Pl. 7)



Column 9 (Blackman 1988: Pl. 9)

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Abbreviations

- ADAIK Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.
- BAe Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique. Reine Elisabeth.
- BdÉ Bibliothèque d'Étude. Cairo: IFAO.
- DE Discussions in Egyptology. Oxford.
- EEF Egypt Exploration Fund. London.
- GOF Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten. Wiesbaden.
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. New York.
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London: EES.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
- JEOL Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap: "Ex Oriente Lux". Leiden.
- LÄ *Lexicon der Ägyptologie*, I-VII. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- LD = Lepsius 1849-59.
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Medelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*. Leiden.
- PIREI Publications Interuniversitaires de Recherches Égyptologiques Informatisées.
- SAK *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*. Hamburg.
- Urk. I = Sethe 1933.
- Urk. IV = Sethe 1906-09.
- Wb = Erman and Grapow, 1926-31.
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Berlin.

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