

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM OF ANCIENT EGYPT

By David Pepper

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Have you ever wondered who ruled Egypt as many years before the birth of Christ as we live after that event? An analysis of the length of the reigns of the pharaohs has determined that *Nebtowe Re Mentuhotep*, commonly called *Mentuhotep III*, was the king of ancient Egypt in 1993 BCE.

When the Old Kingdom age ended with the collapse of the Sixth Dynasty, perhaps due to the overlong reign of Pharaoh Pepi II, Egypt became a country beset by chaos. Local rulers reigned in several provinces simultaneously during this time which became known as the First Intermediate Period.

During this period, in the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties, numerous weak nome (provincial) governors ruled Egypt. They were gradually replaced by the more centralized governments of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties which ruled from the northern city of Heracleopolis, near modern Beni Suef.

The dominance of these northern rulers was successfully challenged by Inyotef I, II, and III, early rulers of the 11th Dynasty from the southern city of Thebes. It is important to realize that this early southern 11th Dynasty coexisted with the more northern Tenth Dynasty, and the country of Egypt was divided in two.

The Early 11th Dynasty: The kings of the early 11th Dynasty were (Rose):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Reign (BCE)</u>
Inyotef I	c. 2134-2118
Inyotef II	c. 2118-2069
Inyotef III	c. 2069-2061

Inyotef III was followed by a king who changed the family name to *Mentuhotep*, a name which signifies that "Montu is content." This local god had reason to be contented for, after many years of conflict, Mentuhotep's long reign of 51 years witnessed the re-unification of Upper and Lower Egypt under a single ruler (Gardiner, p.120). Mentuhotep consolidated the central authority and worked toward restoring the glory of the Old Kingdom.

The Late 11th Dynasty: The kings of the late 11th Dynasty were (Rose):

<u>Family Name</u>	<u>Throne Name</u>	<u>Reign (BCE)</u>
Mentuhotep I	Nebhotep Re	c. 2061-2010
Mentuhotep II	Se Ankha Re	c. 2010-1998
Mentuhotep III	Nebtowe Re	c. 1998-1991

MENTUHOTEP I, II, and III: Mentuhotep I achieved the reunification either through some unrecorded political settlement, or by military victory. A tomb discovered near Thebes from the time of this intrepid king contained the bodies of some 60



Cartouche of Mentuhotep III (from Rose)

soldiers who had been slain in battle, evidence that the victory may not have been by peaceful means (Gardiner, p.121).

Under the next king, Mentuhotep II, foreign trade and re-building projects were started, and Egypt began to return to its position of power.

His successor, the last pharaoh of the 11th Dynasty, Mentuhotep III (previously mentioned from 1993 BCE), ruled between 1998 and 1991 BCE. This king once again began using the symbol of the Old Kingdom, the pyramid, as a cenotaph over his burial chamber (located at Deir el Bahri in Upper Egypt next to the much-later Temple of Queen Hatshepsut).

Mentuhotep III's vizier was a commoner named Amenemhet which means "Amun is foremost". This man, who was from Elephantine Island, succeeded Mentuhotep to found the last great pyramid-building dynasty, the 12th.

The late 11th and all of the 12th Dynasties make up the Middle Kingdom period of ancient Egypt, an era which lasted for almost 300 years (c. 2061-1783 BCE).

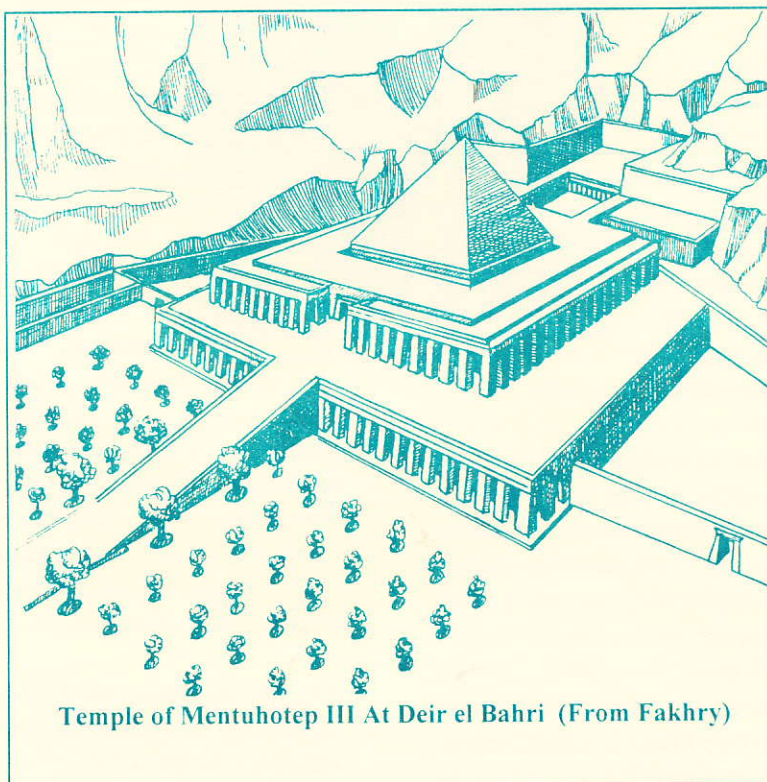
The 12th Dynasty: The line of kings of the 12th Dynasty were (Rose):

Family Name	Throne Name	Reign (BCE)
Amenemhet I	Se Hotep ib Re	c. 1991-1962
Senusert I	Kheper Ka Re	c. 1971-1928
Amenemhet II	Neb Kau Re	c. 1929-1895
Senusert II	Kha Kheper Re	c. 1897-1878
Senusert III	Kha Kau Re	c. 1878-1841
Amenemhet III	Ni Maat Re	c. 1843-1797
Amenemhet IV	Maat Kheru Re	c. 1798-1787
Queen Sobek-neferu	Sebek Ka Re	c. 1787-1783

The last ruler to follow King Amenemhet IV was Queen Sobek-neferu. Her short four-year rule ended the 12th Dynasty, and Egypt again slipped into the chaos known as the Second Intermediate Period.

The 12th Dynasty was a prosperous period in which there was much new building construction throughout the land. Remains of 12th Dynasty structures can be found in almost every major town throughout Egypt. This was also the time for a re-discovery of art and literature, creating styles that would be revered years later when Egypt reached its peak in the New Kingdom. Middle Kingdom narratives and stories, like *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* and the *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, would be copied again and again in the dynasties that followed (Simpson, p.15).

In the First Intermediate Period, burial places had reverted back to rock-cut tombs in nearby cliffs. During the Middle Kingdom, however, the kings once again wanted to be interred in impressive pyramid structures like those constructed in the Old Kingdom times. Each of the pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty built a pyramid complex in which to house their remains for all eternity.



Temple of Mentuhotep III At Deir el Bahri (From Fakhry)

Middle Kingdom Pyramids: The locations of the pyramids of these 12th Dynasty kings are as follows:

Amenemhet I	Lisht
Senusert I	Lisht
Amenemhet II	Dashur
Senusert II	Lahun
Senusert III	Dashur
Amenemhet III	Dashur & Hawara
Amenemhet IV	Mazghuna

The following is a closer look at these pharaohs and their pyramid complexes.

AMENEMHET I and SENUSERT I: Amenemhet I reduced the power of the feudal provincial governors and subjected them to ever-increasing central authority. Under his skillful leadership, Egypt began to prosper. This king says of his achievements:

I was one who cultivated grain and loved the harvest-god; and the Nile greeted me in every valley. None were hungry during my years, and none thirsted then. Men dwelt in peace, through that which I had wrought (Breasted, p.177).

Amenemhet I furthered the foreign policy of the Mentuhoteps and, in several campaigns in the last years of his reign (in which he did not personally take part), he conquered the Nubian land south to the second cataract. The leader of these campaigns was his co-regent son, Senusert I, and the ten-year overlap in their reigns was Amenemhet's innovation which set a pattern for future co-regencies. Pressure put on the royal house by the nomarchs probably explains this first use of co-regencies, whereby the senior monarch associates his power with his chosen heir before his death to ensure that his succession will not be challenged. Senusert was by far the more active pharaoh during these latter years (Murray, p.22).

Amenemhet I also built a great wall, called the Prince's Wall, along the eastern edge of the Delta to keep the Asiatic invaders, the Aamu, out of Egypt. There is no trace of this wall today, but its construction was one of the achievements of the early years of Amenemhet's reign (Montet, p.53).

Although the 12th Dynasty was a prosperous period in Egypt, it was still a time plagued by internal strife. Amenemhet I found it necessary to appease the powerful nome governors, who ultimately had the pharaoh murdered anyway, while his son was on a campaign in Libya. However, perhaps because of the co-regency, there was no resulting chaos and the son took over without a struggle.

In a literary work which became famous in later years, *The Instructions of Amenemhet*, Amenemhet I gives an account of the conspiracy when his ghost appears before his son, Senusert, in a dream. The ghost says:

It was after supper when night was come, and I took an hour of repose, lying on my bed. I was tired and I began to fall asleep. All of a sudden, weapons were brandished and there was talk concerning me, while I remained quiet like a snake in the desert. I awoke to a fight, and being by myself, found it was an attack by my own guard. Had I had weapons at hand, I could have driven the traitors back. But there is none so strong at night, and no one can fight alone. There can be no success without a protector."

This clearly refers to the conspiracy in which Amenemhet lost his life (Gardiner, p.130).

In another famous literary work of this period, *The Story of Sinuhe*, the tale of the murder is told from another angle, by the hapless Sinuhe, a companion of the king's son, Senusert I, who is away on the Libyan campaign when the king is murdered. Overhearing that the plot to kill the Pharaoh had already taken place, Sinuhe fled to Lebanon for his life; he feared he might also be implicated for overhearing those involved. Years later he writes to the aging Senusert and begs his forgiveness for his cowardice, and Senusert allows him to return to Egypt for his burial.

The Pyramids of Amenemhet I and Senusert I at Lisht: The pyramids and mastabas at Lisht lie to the north of the village of that name, 19 miles south of Dashur (43 miles south of Giza). Now visible only as sand-covered mounds, the pyramids were originally surrounded by smaller pyramids for female members of the royal family and hundreds of mastabas belonging to state high officials. At the time of the burials at Lisht, Egypt's capital, *Itj-towy* was somewhere nearby but it has never been definitively found.

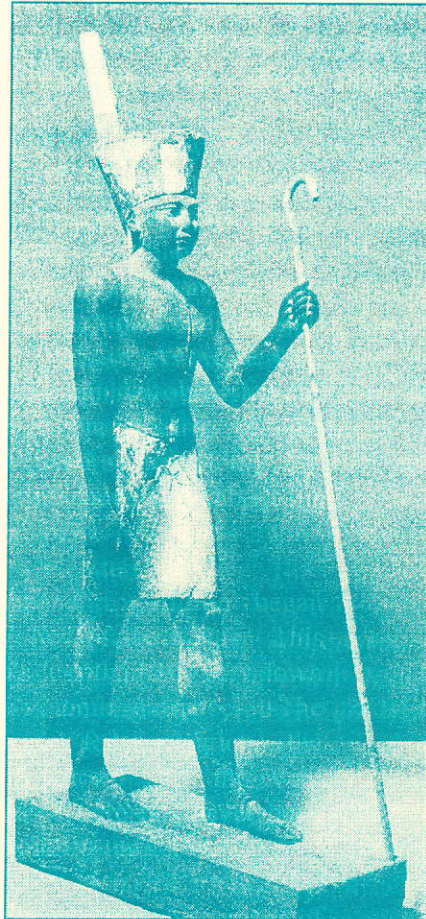
The smaller and more northerly of the two is the pyramid of Amenemhet I. Scattered fragments indicate it was partly built of stone stolen from other tombs and temples at Saqqara and Giza. This pyramid was built of a stone framework over a mound of sand and rubble.

The entrance is on the north side, as is usually the case, with a passage leading down to the tomb chamber. This chamber is now flooded as a result of the rise in the water table. Within its *temenos* (enclosure) wall lay a smaller pyramid for the queen and the tomb of Antefoker, the superintendent of the royal tombs. Around the main pyramid were found a number of lizard mummies. The mortuary temple belonging to the pyramid lay on a rock terrace below and to the east. This temple was adorned with lively, but sometimes rather crudely executed, reliefs.

One mile south is the larger pyramid of Senusert I. Its layout continues the Sixth Dynasty tradition of an attached mortuary temple, a causeway, and a valley temple.

Senusert I's pyramid was surrounded by a double *temenos* wall, the inner one of which was built of Tura limestone, with reliefs at regular intervals. The mortuary temple is on the east side; a small subsidiary pyramid with its own cult chamber and chapel is located at the southeast corner.

The typical north side entrance has a small chapel built in front of it. A narrow passage faced with red granite led down to the tomb chamber, which is now also filled with water and inaccessible. On the east side, within the



Senusert I (from Hayes)

mud-brick outer enclosure walls, were the temple forecourts. Set at intervals around the structure and within these walls were nine small pyramids for the female members of the royal family, each with its own chapel, offering room, and enclosure walls.

From the valley temple, of which there are only scant remains, a masonry causeway flanked by Osiris figures of the king led up to the mortuary temple. The line of this causeway can still be seen at some points. Ten seated stone figures and two painted wooden figures of Senusert I were found here during an excavation by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

AMENEMHET II: Amenemhet II was the son of Senusert I. During his reign the copper mines of the Sinai were extensively worked, and foreign trade was substantially increased (Murray, p.23). At the Temple of el-Tod in Egypt, a treasure was found, inscribed with the name of Amenemhet II. It contained objects from Crete, Syria, and Mesopotamia (David, p.185).

Amenemhet II located his pyramid at Dashur, near the three Third Dynasty pyramids attributed to King Sneferu. In the 23rd year of his rule, Amenemhet II named his son, Senusert II as co-regent. By this time, expeditions to the Land of Punt were frequent (Lepre, p.197) and unrest began to develop in the lands south of Nubia. In his 39th year on the throne, Amenemhet II, who was 80 years old at the time, was assassinated in his palace.

The Pyramid of Amenemhet II at Dashur: The pyramid is now in such a ruined state that its dimensions are unclear. However, De Morgan excavated the site in 1894-95 and reached the interior (Fakhry, p.216).

The site is best known for the discovery of the so-called Dashur Treasure, now in the Cairo Museum. The owners of the treasure were two princesses, Khnumet and Ita, whose graves were among a group of royal tombs lying close to the king's pyramid on the west side. In technical skill and artistic taste, the whole treasure demonstrates the skills of the Middle Kingdom Egyptian goldsmiths and lapidary workers (Edwards, p.209).

The pyramid was thoroughly plundered in ancient times. De Morgan found the core was divided by several walls into diagonal compartments which were filled with sand. Not a single casing stone has been found so it is impossible to determine the angle of the exterior slope. The entrance, now inaccessible, is on the northern side.

It opens into a passage which descends to a horizontal gallery closed by two portcullises, one which operated vertically and the other transversely. The gallery leads to the burial chamber, on the western side of which is a sandstone sarcophagus sunk in the floor.

The valley temple has not yet been discovered, but a causeway 800 meters long extends from the cultivated area westward to the pyramid. The mortuary temple is also ruined, but limestone fragments found here identified the owner of this pyramid as Amenemhet II.

Immediately west of the pyramid, enclosed within the temenos wall, are the tombs of the queen and four princesses (Fakhry, p.216). On the east side, near the pyramid, a magnificent gray-black granite pyramidion inscribed with the name of Amenemhet II was found. This pyramidion is now in the Cairo Museum.

SENUSSERT II: Senusert II, the son of Amenemhet II, was probably the first king to be concerned with opening up new lands around the Faiyum to irrigation (Lepre, p.207). A small branch of the Nile, the Bahr Yusef, flows into a lake, the Birket el-Qarun, which was two meters below sea level during ancient times (David, p.41). The site where his barrier dikes were built, at Lahun, is the place Senusert II chose to build his pyramid. Senusert II is also known for the construction of a string of walls and fortifications in southern Egypt and lower Nubia.

The Pyramid of Senusert II at Lahun: Senusert II's pyramid was unorthodox for several reasons. The lower part was formed from a natural hill rather than on leveled ground. Its entrance was hidden by placing it on the south side, accessible from a vertical shaft, which led to an ascending passageway (locating the burial chamber above the water table). The builders used a crosswall structure to form the core of the pyramid (Lepre, p.208).

On the south, east, and west sides of the monument several groves of trees were planted in rows of circular beds. About one mile east of the pyramid, the remains of a workmen's town were unearthed by Flinders Petrie. This town consisted of over 2,000 separate rooms spread over 18 acres (Lepre, p.208). The story of the excavation of this town, called Kahun, by the University of Manchester is told in Rosalie David's book, *THE PYRAMID BUILDERS OF ANCIENT EGYPT*.

SEUSERT III: Senusert III, the son of Senusert II, was one of the greatest pharaohs ever to rule Egypt. He carried out campaigns to extend Egypt's frontiers to the Sudan in the south, to the Arabian Gulf in the east, and up the Mediterranean coast to the north. He built great fortresses and spread Egyptian culture as he conquered nation after nation (Lepre, p.210).

In order to make the passage through the first cataract of the Nile navigable, Senusert III had a huge 250-foot long canal dug between the islands of Sehel and Elephantine. This channel circumvented the natural granite rock barrier in the river.

In his time, Senusert III was revered by his people. Lengthy passages described his benevolence and wisdom, and stated that "twice great" was anyone blessed by him (Lepre, p.212). The king himself even described his achievements on a stele written in year 16 of his reign:

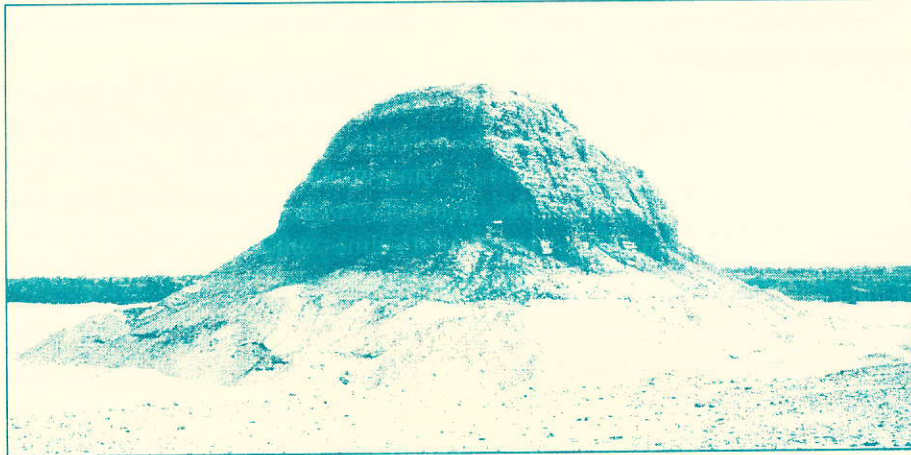
I have created a frontier exceeding that of my fathers. I have given more than was given to me. I am a king who speaks and acts. That which my heart has conceived, my arm performs. I am aggressive in attack and resolute in success. Words do not sleep in my heart. (Montet, p.59)

Senusert III enhanced internal security when he dissolved the privileges and power of the hereditary nomarchs, reducing them forever to the status of local non-entities, unable to threaten the power of the king and the stability of the country. He set up an administration at Itj-towy to govern Upper, Middle, and Lower Egypt with three separate branches of the central government. These branches came under the overall supervision of the vizier (prime minister) who was ultimately responsible to the king. After the disappearance of the nobility, the middle class, made up of craftsmen and tradesmen, gained much power (David, p.32).

The Pyramid of Senusert III at Dashur: Senusert III's pyramid at Dashur lies just north of the pyramid of Amenemhet II. Following the example set by Senusert II, mud bricks are used for the inner core of the

pyramid, and the substructure is composed of a maze of chambers and corridors.

Like Senusert II, Senusert III hid the entrance to his tomb in a place other than on the north side of the pyramid, in this case in the inner court on the west face. When De Morgan excavated this site in 1894, he spent many months searching for the burial entrance. In spite of this ruse, the pyramid had been robbed in ancient times (Edwards, p.210).



The Pyramid at Lahun (Photo by the Author)

However, De Morgan did discover jewelry hidden in concealed enclosures in the associated tombs of the royal princesses, Sat-Hathor and Merit. Just south of the enclosure wall of the pyramid, De

Morgan also discovered an underground chamber containing three large solar boats made of cedar. Each was over 30 feet long and in good condition. A large wooden sledge found with these boats was probably used to transport them from the water to their burial place (Fakhry, p.221). Senusert III's burial chamber is built of enormous blocks of red granite, vaulted within. At the western end of the room stood a red granite sarcophagus decorated with vertical paneling.

AMENEMHET III: This son of Senusert III built two pyramids: one next to his father's at Dashur, and the other in the Faiyum, at Hawara. Although it is not unusual to find two tombs for the same king (one is usually thought to be a ceremonial cenotaph), the only other pharaoh who built two pyramids was Sneferu, who built the two great pyramids within a mile of each other at Dashur.

Amenemhet III undertook a vast irrigation project to increase the arable land in the Faiyum. A canal was dug from the Nile to allow the waters to be channeled during the annual flood into a low-lying depression near the cultivated area at the Faiyum. This vast wall, some 27 miles long, could be stopped-up as the flood waters receded, providing an enormous storage pond for irrigation water. This allowed an additional 27,000 acres to be brought under cultivation. For more than

half a century under Amenemhet III's rule, peace and prosperity were found throughout his kingdom. His people praised him:

He makes the Two Lands more verdant than a great Nile (flood). He hath filled the Two Lands with Strength. The treasures which he gives are food for those who are in his following. (Breasted, p.191)

Amenemhet III was most likely buried in his pyramid at nearby Hawara (Fakhry, p.222). He probably built at Hawara because it was the part of Egypt he had spent so much time developing. Like Senusert II's pyramid at Lahun, the pyramid at Hawara commands a view of both the Faiyum and the Nile valley.

The pyramid does not appear to have had a valley temple or causeway associated with it. Immediately south of it, however, is the site of the famous Labyrinth. At least part of the Labyrinth contained the temple of Amenemhet III, and it was apparently completed by his daughter, Queen Sobek-neferu, who was the last ruler of the 12th Dynasty.

The immense Labyrinth was about 1,000 feet long and 800 feet wide, large enough to hold the great temples of Karnak and Luxor. Unfortunately, it has been used as a quarry since Roman times, and today not a single wall is standing. When seen by Herodotus, however, the Labyrinth still stood in all its glory. He said its beauty surpassed the pyramids, for it had 12 walled courts, and contained 3,000 rooms (1,500 above and 1,500 below ground). Herodotus was not allowed to visit the below-ground rooms, which he was told contained the burial places of sacred crocodiles and kings, but he did get to see the above-ground rooms. His description reads:

...the upper ones, which surpass all human works, I myself saw; for the passages through the corridors, and the windings through the courts, for their great variety, presented a thousand occasions of wonder. (Budge, p.53)

The Pyramid of Amenemhet III at Hawara: The pyramid at Hawara is most interesting, displaying a great amount of ingenuity in the way the architect sought to outwit the tomb robbers. Like the pyramid of Senusert II at Lahun, it has a mudbrick core, stone cross-walls, and had a casing of white limestone.

It had an unorthodox entrance on the south side, with a sloping passage leading to a vestibule with a dead-end. At this point, hidden in the ceiling, was a 20-ton movable stone slab which, when slid aside, revealed another chamber. From here a long blind passageway, blocked with loose stone rubble, led due north -- acting as a ploy to lead tomb robbers astray. A hidden passageway concealed by a sliding panel leading due east was the real corridor, although it ended in a third dead-end. Again, as with the first vestibule, a 21-ton sliding ceiling stone led to a third level corridor system. At the end of this fourth chamber comprising yet another dead end, was found another 20-ton sliding ceiling stone. This led to a fifth vestibule which had a false wall to the right made of loosely-packed small bricks, the left solid wall, of course, blocked the real entrance to the tomb chamber.

Ancient thieves mined through this rock, and avenged their hard work by burning the entire contents of the chamber, including the body of the king and his jewelry. The huge burial chamber contained two quartzite sarcophagi and two canopic chests. Petrie investigated this chamber, and although it was half-filled with water, he discovered artifacts incised with the names of Amenemhet III and his daughter, Ptah-Neferu. In 1956, a tomb was found just south of the pyramid, which proved to be the burial of Ptah-Neferu. Her jewelry now resides in the Cairo museum (Fakhry, p.226).

The Pyramid of Amenemhet III at Dashur: Amenemhet's pyramid at Dashur is the southernmost one located there. The valley temple has not yet been found, but a 2,000 foot long causeway, originally paved with limestone slabs and walled with mudbrick, leads to



Amenemhet III (from Saleh)

the cultivation. At the upper end of the causeway, a number of mudbrick buildings and the ruined mortuary temple are found. A gray granite pyramidion which once capped the monument was found next to this pyramid. It contained the name of King Amenemhet III, and is now in the Cairo museum.

The entrance is on the east side, near the southeast corner. The interior arrangement of passageways and vestibules, all lined with limestone, resembles Hawara. They eventually lead to a burial chamber, which lies some distance east of center. The tomb chamber contains a magnificent red granite sarcophagus.

AMENEMHET IV & QUEEN SOBEK-NEFERU: After the death of Amenemhet III, his son and co-regent, Amenemhet IV, ascended to the throne of Egypt. About three miles north of Dashur, at Mazghuna, the remains of two pyramids can be found. These ruins closely resemble the plan of the Hawara pyramid. While some authors (Edwards and Lepre) feel that these pyramids should be attributed to Amenemhet IV and his co-regent and sister Queen Sobek-neferu, others (like Fakhry) feel that they probably belonged to 13th Dynasty rulers. The Middle Kingdom came to an end with the reign of Queen Sobek-neferu, but very little is known about her.

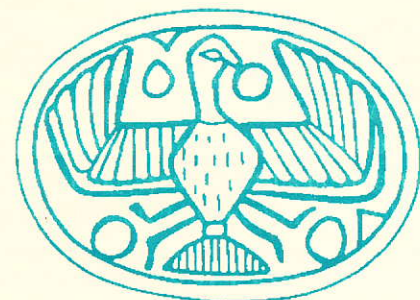
The Collapse of the 12th Dynasty: The reason for the collapse of the 12th Dynasty is not known. The country was peaceful and experiencing a period of prosperity.

The next dynasty, the 13th, continued to rule from southern Egypt, with a rapidly changing series of some 60 kings in 150 years. Only three of these kings built pyramids: Ameny, the sixth pharaoh of the dynasty, Ay, the 31st, and Khendjer II, the 55th pharaoh. All three of these pyramids are located in South Saqqara. The pyramid of Ay remained unfinished, and two uninscribed black granite pyramidions were found next to its site.

At the same time in the north, Asiatics established a co-existing dynasty, the 14th, ruling from the Delta. Egypt had now slipped into the Second Intermediate Period, and its citizens would have to wait another 200 years until yet another powerful ruler, Ahmose, would re-establish Theban supremacy and bring Egypt to new heights of power and glory. But that's another story...

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Scarab seal design. British Museum, 3681.

BYBLOS AND EGYPT

By Troy L. Sagrillo

About the Author: Troy Sagrillo began work on a Ph.D. in Egyptian Archeology at the University of Toronto this fall; he has an M.A. in Syro-Palestinian Archeology from the University of Arizona. Troy was employed at the DMNH this past summer in the Anthropology Dept. where he assisted in cataloging the museum's Egyptian material.

Located some 36 kilometers north of Beirut, Lebanon, the ancient city of Byblos -- modern Jabayl¹ -- is situated on a Mediterranean coastal promontory at the foot of Jabal al Qaraqif, the western spur of Jibāl Lubnān al-Gharabiyah (Mount Lebanon). These mountains, rising sharply to the east of Byblos, were densely forested in antiquity with conifers such as pine, juniper, fir, cypress, and the famous cedars of Lebanon. This forested range constituted an effective obstruction to communication until the development of lithic and metal technologies permitted its clearance. Until that time, Byblos turned principally to the sea for communication and transportation, and to the narrow strip of coast to the north and south.

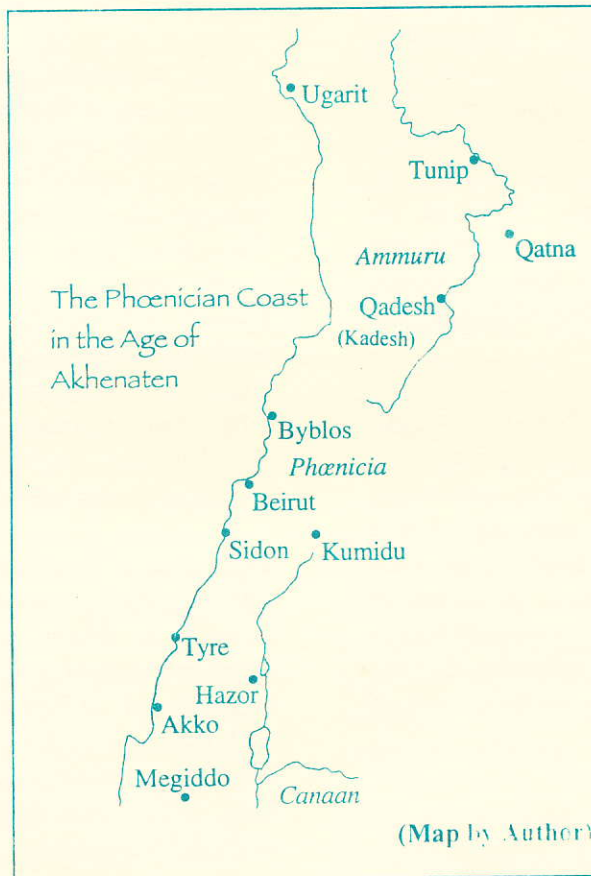
It is not precisely known when contact was first established between Egypt and the city of Byblos, but it definitely occurred before Dynastic times. The French clearance operations of Pierre Montet and, later, Maurice Dunand, conducted during the first half of this century, revealed more than ten meters of cultural deposits, dating from the modern period back to the Neolithic. One researcher, Kay Prag, believes that regular and significant maritime trade between Byblos and Egypt existed as far back as the fourth millennium, but other scholars have demonstrated that her seemingly convincing argument is not as solid as it first appears. However, they do grant that some of the evidence deserves serious consideration, and that it indicates that some kind of early contact did exist between Egypt and Byblos -- though it need not have been direct or frequent.

In any event, with the beginning of the First Dynasty, Egypto-Byblian relations were firmly established. During this period, the foundations of the Temple of Ba'alat-Gebel, "The Lady of Gebel,"² were laid. By the reign of Unas (Fifth Dynasty), and probably much earlier, this goddess came to be identified with the Egyptian goddess Hathor. In Egypt, the tombs of the First Dynasty kings employed Byblian: timber; pine, cypress, and cedar; and wood by-products, such as oils and resins, are mentioned on alabaster vases of King Adj-ib and are listed among food offerings on two Second Dynasty stelae. The oils and resins were important components of the mummification process.

The first inscription of Egyptian origin known from Byblos is on an alabaster vase fragment with a cartouche of Kasekhemui, the last pharaoh of the Second Dynasty. Unfortunately, the fragment was not found *in situ* and may be from a later, probably Old Kingdom, shipment of royal gifts.

The Egyptian rulers of the Old Kingdom maintained a high level of contact with their Byblian counterparts, primarily to secure the large quantities of timber required by Egypt, a wood-poor country. The Palermo Stone mentions that during the reign of Sneferu, a Fourth Dynasty ruler, 40 ships filled with cedar or pine logs arrived in Egypt, probably from Byblos. In 1911, a copper ax-head, dating to the Old Kingdom and bearing a hieroglyphic inscription naming a royal wood-cutting crew, was found close to the mouth of the Nahr Ibrahim (Adonis River), which opens to the Mediterranean Sea near Byblos. It's not known whether Egyptians actually cut the trees or merely supervised Lebanese crews. The sea route between the Nile and Byblos came to be so well-traveled that the oldest Egyptian word for "ocean-going vessel" literally means "Byblos-Ship."

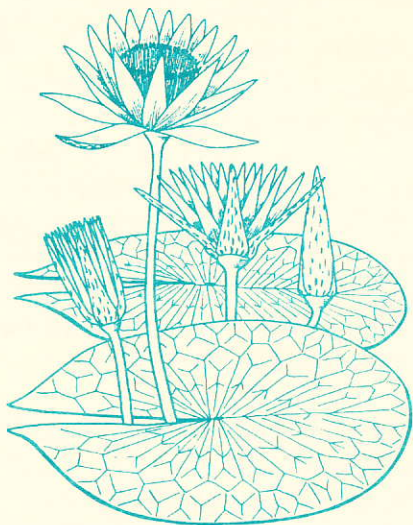
In addition to the royal timber trade, it's likely that commerce in other materials also occurred. A text from the tomb of an official named Khui, dating to the late Fifth or early Sixth Dynasty, makes reference to the Byblian trade. According to the inscription, Khui and two



companions, Tjetji and Khnumu-hetep, traveled to Byblos and the Land of Punt³ on several occasions. The inscription does not describe the details of the journeys, but a text from Tjetji's tomb states that he was "one who brings the products of the southern foreign lands to the king," suggesting that the three men were involved in trade with Byblos and other important trading emporiums.

However, Egypto-Byblian relations went beyond mere trade. The pharaohs of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties found it important to send offerings to the Temple of Ba'alat-Gebel, with an eye to creating a sphere of influence through mutual obligations between themselves and the Byblian rulers. Fragmentary *alabastra* and offering plates bearing the names of Khufu, Khafre, Menkaure, Unas, and Sahure have been excavated at the site; similar fragments with the names of Pepi I and Pepi II, both of whom ruled during the Sixth Dynasty, have also been found. Although the names of kings are most common, other royal names have been found at Byblos, such as those of Queen Hetepheris (wife of Sneferu and mother of Khufu) and Queen Meritytis (wife of Khufu).

After the reign of Pepi II (end of Sixth Dynasty), until the 12th Dynasty, no royal Egyptian inscriptions have been found at Byblos. It would appear that commercial relations between Egypt and Byblos were almost at a standstill during the chaos and confusion of the First Intermediate Period in Egypt. In fact, the name of Ibdadi, a king of Byblos, appears on a cuneiform text at the end of the third millennium BCE indicating that the city was within the pale of the greater Ur III Empire of Mesopotamia.



The blue lotus.

Nevertheless, after a gap of nearly 200 years, Byblos again resumed close commercial and cultural ties with Egypt. The 12th Dynasty finds the connection with Byblos as strong as ever, though objects bearing royal names are noticeably fewer during the Middle Kingdom. It may be that Egyptian interests at Byblos never entirely broke off during the First Intermediate Period. The 20 ships of cedar wood used in the reign of Amenemhet I demonstrate a connection between Egypt and Lebanon at the very beginning of the 12th Dynasty. Thus, while the earliest inscribed royal object at Byblos from the Middle Kingdom dates to the reign of Senusert III, it may be safely assumed that the earlier kings also engaged in commercial relations with Byblos.

In 1922, a landslide exposed a rock-cut tomb on the seaside cliff face at Byblos; this led to the discovery of nine tombs which form the Byblian royal necropolis. Only Tombs I, II, and III had not been plundered in antiquity, although all nine yielded at least some grave goods. These three sealed tombs, along with Tomb IV, belong to the period corresponding to the Egyptian 12th Dynasty and provide the bulk of non-textual evidence relating to Egypto-Byblian relations during the Middle Kingdom. Tomb I contained a series of rich funerary gifts from Pharaoh Amenemhet III, including an obsidian vase which contained, according to the hieroglyphic inscription, perfume or incense.

The richest of these sealed tombs, Tomb II, held a gold Egyptian-style pectoral set with inlaid polished stones forming a falcon with extended wings and two representations of a pharaoh wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt. A box with gold ornamentation inscribed with the name of Amenemhet IV was also found, along with a gray stone vase bearing the name of the same king. Other items included a gold bowl, a silver mirror, and a gold necklace.

The name of the occupant of Tomb II is known from a typically Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription on a bronze *khepesh* sword which reads "The Prince of Byblos, Ib-Shemu-Abi, repeating of life, son of the Prince, Abi-Shemu, the triumphant." Ib-Shemu-Abi's name also appears on a cartouche on a gold pendant set with precious stones forming a scarab between two uraei wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt; under the cartouche is a falcon with its wings extended. Since Tombs I and II are connected by a subterranean passageway, as was customary in the burials of fathers and sons, it is thought that Tomb I belonged to Abi-Shemu, and Tomb II to his son Ib-Shemu-Abi.

Tombs III and IV likewise yielded a number of pieces of Egyptian jewelry, stone vessels, and other objects which date to the Middle Kingdom. Some of the objects are generally poorer in quality than similar items from Egypt and probably represent material fashioned by local craftsmen imitating Egyptian artistic styles. Many scarabs found at Byblos, inscribed with hieroglyphs, belonged to private Egyptian officials who probably resided there.

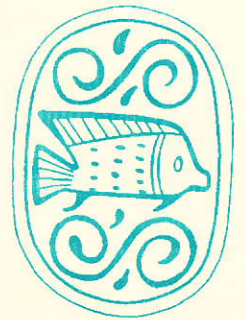
This wide variety of textual and artifactual evidence points to peaceful commercial relations between the two countries. The imported material, as well as the locally made copies (including Egyptian-style reliefs which were attempted by local craftsmen) points to a great respect for Egyptian culture on the part of the Byblian rulers. Even Egyptian hieroglyphs were regularly employed, as short inscriptions have been discovered, including a type of Egyptian hymn. Indeed, the local princes regularly commemorated themselves in hieroglyphs, and adopted the Egyptian titles of *repa'* (hereditary noble) and *hati-a'* (prince or mayor).

At the end of the 12th Dynasty, with the deaths of Amenemhet IV and later Queen Sobek-neferu, Egypt was divided between the 13th Dynasty at Thebes and the 14th Dynasty at Sakha (ancient Xios, in the Delta). At Byblos this period remains obscure due to the lack of sufficient archeological material. There is, however, a fragment of *bas-relief*, with a hieroglyphic inscription depicting the prince of Byblos, Inten, paying homage to one of the last pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty, Neferhetep I. It is the earliest text which gives a direct chronological synchronism between an Egyptian pharaoh and a Byblian prince. A Byblian ruler named Yantin-Khamu is mentioned on a cuneiform inventory tablet from the palace archives of Zimri-Lim, a king of Mari.⁴ The name Yantin-Khamu is the Canaanite form of the Egyptian Inten, and thus sets up an indirect synchronism involving the three rulers.

With the ascendancy of the Canaanite Hyksos rulers in the Egyptian Delta, the Second Intermediate Period commenced with the 15th Dynasty. Except for some scarabs, little Egyptian material is known from Byblos during this period.

With the expulsion of the Hyksos from the Delta at the beginning of the New Kingdom, the Egyptian pharaohs of the early 18th Dynasty undertook a policy of punitive attacks against the Hyksos. Indeed, Ahmose I himself may have landed at Byblos to conduct some operations inland.

Following the death of Queen Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III undertook a long series of campaigns into Northern Syria, primarily against the kingdom of Mitanni and her vassals, Tunip and Kadesh. By this time, Byblos was again apparently within the Egyptian sphere, for the pharaoh ordered ships of cedar built near Byblos for military operations in central North Syria. Likewise, there are records from the reign of Tuthmosis III regarding the shipment of cedar logs to Egypt. After the defeat of Mitanni, Egypto-Byblian commercial relations remained strong throughout the remainder of the 18th Dynasty, and a number of Egyptian royal names from the period have been discovered on objects from Byblos (including Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, and Akhenaten).



Scarab seal design. The British Museum, 82186.

A "robber" state, the kingdom of Amurru, was established in northern Lebanon during the reign of Amenhotep III. It began, under the hand of its Amorite ruler, 'Abdi-Ashirta, to harry the entire Phoenician coast. The king of Byblos, Rib-Hadda, sent numerous letters to Amenhotep III and his successor, Akhenaten, begging for military assistance against 'Abdi-Ashirta and his vassals. Initially, Rib-Hadda warned Amenhotep III about incursions made by 'Abdi-Ashirta along the coast, and that Byblos was in danger of attack. The situation became desperate as other city-states sided with Amurru. Rib-Hadda sent his sister and her children to Sūr (Tyre), where they were later killed in anti-Egyptian violence. 'Abdi-Ashirta, sensing Rib-hadda's weakness, laid siege to Byblos, where 'Abdi-Ashirta met his death.

Aziru and Pu-Bakhla, sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta, lifted the siege but continued attacking the other coastal cities. Throughout this conflict, Rib-Hadda sent letters to the pharaoh, now Akhenaten, begging for military aid and grain to prevent famine. Akhenaten replied by requesting a shipment of box-wood! Rib-Hadda wrote back that the Hittites were now threatening Byblos as well. As a last resort, he fled to the protection of Ammunira (Khammuniri), the king of Bayrūt (Beirut). At the end of it all, Rib-Hadda wrote that his brother had turned Byblos over to the sons of 'Abdi-Ashirta, and that Ammunira was being persuaded to hand Rib-Hadda over to Aziru. With this, Rib-Hadda disappears from history. However, Aziru was himself later summoned to the court of Akhenaten, where he was detained for several years and probably blinded. Upon his release, he returned to Amurru and promptly swore allegiance to

Shuppiluliumash, king of the Hittites, and his kingdom was then annexed to the Hittite Empire.

While it's possible that Horemheb may have campaigned against the Hittites from Byblos, it was not until the 19th Dynasty that Egypt made any serious attempt to regain its former Lebanese territory. After Seti I's death, his son, Ramses II, took to the field in the fourth year of his reign, marching as far north as Nahr al-Kalb, north of Bayrut. The spring of the following year saw Ramses again in Lebanon, as he passed through on his way to meet the Hittites in battle at Kadesh (Tall Nabi Mand). After the battle, with political stability restored, Byblos resumed her commercial activities. Numerous objects inscribed with the name of Ramses II have been found at Byblos, including stelae and a large doorway. From the tomb of Ahiram, the ruler of Byblos at the time, came an alabaster fragment inscribed with the cartouche of Ramses II. The latter's reign was a period of great prosperity, and the presence of numerous inscriptions of this pharaoh at Byblos is evidence that close relations between Egypt and the Phoenician city existed once again.

During the 12th century BCE, the political structure of the entire Levant underwent a drastic change. Mycenaeans, displaced by the Dorian invasions of Greece, took to the seas, raiding the coastlines from Anatolia to Egypt. A northern wave of tribes destroyed the Hittite Empire and overran important Syrian city-states such as Ugarit and Alalakh; Byblos herself was razed. Another wave headed southwards to attack Egypt but was repelled by Ramses III at Pelusium (Tall al-Faramah). Although they were pushed back, the Egyptians were unable to prevent some of these "People of the Sea" from settling in Canaan, where they were later known as "Philistines."

With the death of Ramses III in 1154 BCE, Egypt was no longer the dominant power in the Near East; the country entered into a period of political and economic decline while Assyria emerged as the leading power in Mesopotamia. No longer politically or economically dependent upon Egypt, Byblos enjoyed a period of prosperity and growth as one of the premier Phoenician city-states.

It was at this time, late in the 20th Dynasty, that Herihor, High Priest of Amen at Thebes, sent his envoy, Wen-Amen, to Byblos to secure cedar for the ceremonial barque of Amen. As recorded in *The Story of Wen-Amen*, Egypt's prestige abroad had fallen so low that Zakar-Ba'al, king of Byblos, refused to have cedar

trees felled until he received payment for the wood and eventually betrayed Wen-Amen to his enemies!

Thereafter, Egypt retained very little influence in Phoenicia and Byblos. Shortly after Wen-Amen's journey to Byblos, Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria conquered Lebanon and received tribute from the Phoenician city-states. Egypt regained a certain degree of power in the Levant following the death of Tiglath-Pileser I and the breakdown of Assyria; Sheshenq I and Oserkon I, Libyan rulers of the 22th Dynasty, even sent offerings to the Temple of Ba'alat-Gebel in Byblos. However, with a newly resurgent Assyria, Byblos passed permanently into the Mesopotamian sphere when Ashurnasirpal II led an expedition to the Levant in 877 BCE, and all of Phoenicia was forced to submit to Assyrian rule.

NOTES

1. The modern Arabic name, *Jabyl*, preserves the Phoenician name of Byblos, *gebel*, *Byblos* being Greek; the Semitic form is also found in the Akkadian *gu-ub-la^{ki}*, the Ugaritic *gbl*, and the Hebrew *g^ebal*.
2. Ba'alat-Gebel was the patron goddess of Byblos down to Phoenician times.
3. Punt is generally thought to be modern Somalia and/or Yemen.
4. Mari (Tall Hariri) was an important Syrian city-state and kingdom centered on the Middle Euphrates.

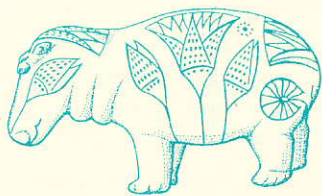
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LECTURE NOTES



Blue glazed hippo. Tomb of Senbi, Meir. Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY

ALEXANDRIA

Presented by David Pepper

ESS July Meeting

Reviewed by Floyd R. Chapman

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Floyd R. Chapman is an archeological and historical painter, specializing in ancient Egyptian, Mayan, and Khmer cultural themes. Following his training in Fine Arts, he studied the fields of Asian history and anthropology at San Diego State University. After receiving his B.A., Floyd continued his studies for an additional two years as a Masters candidate. He is currently painting a reconstruction of a large relief in Ramses III's great temple at Medinet-Habu as it would have looked when the ancient Egyptians first painted it.*

With a prelude of exotic Egyptian music filling the room, David Pepper commenced his presentation on the history and sites of both ancient and modern Alexandria. He explained how this historic city was founded April 7, 331 BCE, by Alexander the Great, at the northwestern mouth of the Nile Delta on the Mediterranean Sea. The ancient city, in its prime, was not only the capital of Egypt but was also a center of commerce and learning. During its glorious years, ancient Alexandria possessed numerous fabulous buildings and monuments, among which were the Lighthouse of Pharos (one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World), the museum, and the library. Unfortunately, virtually nothing remains of the city's ancient splendor.

However, what still exists of this ancient city provided ample material for an engaging lecture. Pepper's enlightening commentary was illustrated by excellent slides. Some of the archeological sites which he showcased were the remains of an ancient school, a theater, and the temple complex of the Serapeum. Pepper elaborated upon each of these sites with a

discussion of certain aspects of their construction as well as the social and religious activities associated with them.

Of particular fascination to me were the ancient underground catacombs with its labyrinthian passageways and ancient tombs, many of which are decorated in an exotic blend of Egyptian and Greco-Roman religious motifs.

The presentation concluded with a discussion of the city's more outstanding Moslem sites and other points-of-interest including four surviving monasteries located out in the desert in Wadi Natrun.

This was a very well-researched, organized, and informative lecture which highlighted one of Egypt's great historic cities.

RAMSES II EXHIBIT MURALS

Presented by Joe Craighead

and

NEW DMNH EGYPTIAN ACQUISITIONS

Presented by Dr. Robert Pickering

ESS August Meeting

Reviewed by Gretchen Pascoe

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Gretchen Pascoe, after a trip to Egypt with her daughter, became a raving Egyptophile like the rest of us! She has many interests, and has just completed courses for the American National Red Cross Disaster Action Team which serves in cases of natural disasters. Gretchen has worked for the federal government for 19 years and is a long-time Denver resident.*

At the August ESS meeting, a double-feature was presented. During the first part, Joe Craighead, Events Services Coordinator at the DMNH and highly-regarded local artist, presented an in-depth discussion of the artistic methods and research involved in painting the murals for the *Ramses II Exhibit*. This was followed Dr. Robert Pickering's show-and-tell presentation of the ancient Egyptian artifacts recently purchased with money donated by the Ramses II Volunteers.

THE RAMSES II EXHIBIT MURALS Presented by Joe Craighead: Craighead discussed how the murals for the Ramses II Exhibit were painted, and the

extensive research involved in this tremendous undertaking. The whole project took over four months to complete and involved an in-depth study of the techniques used by the ancient artists. John Romer's book, *ANCIENT LIVES*, about the artisans' town of Deir el Medina, provided much inspiration and guidance.

Craighead narrated raw original video footage of Deir el Medina (supplied by the DMNH Video Production Team) to orientate the audience with the village location and layout. The village had its own cemeteries and chapels and approximately 300 inhabitants who did both the digging and the art work in the tombs in the Valley of the Kings. The pharaoh supplied these ancient artisans and their families with the necessities of life (food, grain, beer, etc.) as they could not grow and nurture their own crops and work on the tombs at the same time. They knew the secrets of preparing the pharaohs' tombs, and so were able to make smaller versions for themselves. The tomb of Sennedjem, a foreman, was in the best state of preservation, and the paintings in such vivid colors that they looked as though they had been painted yesterday. The video allowed the audience to actually see these fantastic wall paintings inside of Sennedjem's tomb. The skin coloring of the men was darker than that of the women, possibly to show that the men spent more time out in the sun.

These tomb paintings, which represented the life that Sennedjem and his family expected and hoped for in the afterlife, were perfect for providing an authentic backdrop for the Exhibit's artifacts. Therefore, Craighead's task was to accurately reproduce them for the exhibit murals.

Craighead presented slides depicting the various stages of the murals' production; they were scaled to about 85% of the size of the originals. The reproduction of the murals was very exact. Areas that were chipped off of the actual paintings in the tomb were represented in the Exhibit murals as well. Since the line drawings by the Egyptian artists caught the spirit of their subjects, it was also essential to capture that same spirit when reproducing the art work for the exhibit.

Other museum artists who worked on these murals, jokingly referred to as the "Tomb Gang", were Gail Opsahl, Joan Klipping, Mark Gould and Carol Dufficy. Artist Tom Buchanan was enlisted to paint the hieroglyphs.

NEW DMNH EGYPTIAN ACQUISITIONS
Presented by Dr. Robert Pickering: Bob Pickering, Curator of Anthropology, utilized a terrific new technique to show off the museum's recently purchased Egyptian artifacts. This technique, a concept conceived by Joe Craighead, displayed close-up views of the artifacts on a large projection screen using closed circuit TV. This method provided the audience with a blown-up view of each small object, and it was much more practical than having everyone crowd around these small artifacts.

The center-piece of the show was a beautiful bronze statue of Osiris, dated from the Late Period. Other objects shown were: two small faience "identical twin" foremen ushabtis, two large wooden ushabti boxes (one dating from the 21st - 22nd Dynasty, and the other between the 21st - 30th Dynasty), an alabaster offering tablet, and amulets of the hippopotamus goddess and a papyrus pillar. Another item displayed was a beautiful wooden Ptah-Sokar statue, part of the museum's permanent Egyptian collection. It had at one time been covered with gold leaf and had a niche in its back, probably to hold a papyrus scroll.

These newly acquired objects were purchased with funds donated by the volunteers from the Ramses II Exhibit. The presentation of these objects was very educational, and the audience gained additional understanding of these wonderful artifacts from ancient Egypt.

OASIS OF SIWA

Presented By Patricia Shamseldin

ESS September Meeting

Reviewed by Jill Taylor

Patricia Shamseldin (also Shams-el-Din) presented a very interesting program on a little known area of Egypt -- the Oasis of Siwa. Shamseldin is an importer of merchandise primarily from Egypt, but it was not until her 20th trip to Egypt that she took the time to visit this remote area near the Libyan border. The inhabitants of Siwa are not considered Egyptian, but are descendants of the Berbers from Northern Morocco. They have their own language and customs and, while the Oasis was famous in olden times, it is not yet a popular area for

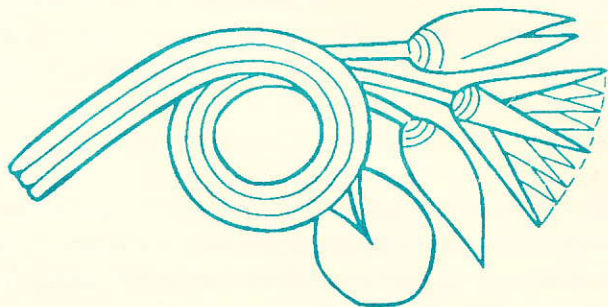
modern tourists. It was a long and difficult journey in ancient times; even today, for tourists on a tight schedule, the Oasis is far off the beaten track.

Siwa's former glory was due to the many notable rulers and military leaders who traveled there to consult the Temple of Aghurmi Oracle. The most prominent leader to consult this Oracle was Alexander the Great who wished to be buried in Siwa (this wish was not granted).

Shamseldin showed slides of the Fortress of Shali, the entire Aghurmi area including the Oracle, the Temple of Amun (restoration to begin in the near future by the German government), Fatnas Island, the town itself, the many date palm trees, and underground springs (including one that Cleopatra bathed in). Terrific slides of the interior wall paintings of the tomb of Si-Amon, obtained by special permission, were also presented.

Samples of the unusual handicrafts of Siwa were on display for the audience to enjoy before and after the lecture. These included a heavily embroidered wedding dress, a wedding shawl with over 1,100 hand-sewn mother-of-pearl buttons, basket work, old silver jewelry, a rug, and other articles of clothing -- all completely different from anything from other areas of Egypt.

In order to get to the Oasis of Siwa, Shamseldin took a public bus from the Ramses Hilton Hotel in Cairo to Marsa Matruh and then transferred to another bus from Marsa Matruh to Siwa. The trip took over 12 hours and she arrived after 10:00 at night. She was able to see most of the sights in two full days but recommended a stay of at least three days in order to take advantage of the excursion into the desert to a hot-springs pool. The few hotels have minimal accommodations but more are being built. A paved road from Luxor to Siwa is also planned. Departing from Luxor instead of Cairo would probably cut the travel time in half. It was very inexpensive to visit this delightful area; if you would like more information on visiting Siwa, please feel free to call Shamseldin at (719) 256-4010.



Detail from wall-painting, Tomb of Kenamun, #93, Thebes 18th Dynasty.

ARCE IN EGYPT

Presented by Dr. Terry Walz

ESS Meeting October, 1993

Reviewed by Laura & Linda Engel

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Although Laura and Linda Engel live in the Kittredge area, they have been extremely active in the ESS. These vivacious, intelligent ladies belong to both the Art Study and Mummy Study Groups as well as to ARCE. They especially enjoy attending ARCE's Annual Conferences around the US where they seem to always find adventure -- or it finds them! Linda and Laura sell Egyptian articles at various craft fairs and have traveled extensively here and abroad including several trips to Europe and Egypt.*

The ESS audience very much enjoyed the lecture by Dr. Terry Walz, Executive Director of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE). Walz presented a brief history of ARCE and a slide presentation and overview of some of their many activities.

ARCE was founded in 1948 as an archeological and academic support resource. One of its main functions, at that time, was to look after digs when researchers could not be in the field. ARCE has also provided much support for the ongoing epigraphic survey being conducted by Chicago House since 1927. The intent of this ambitious project is to make a permanent record of temple reliefs so that a record will exist after the reliefs are no longer visible due to their continuing deterioration. These records being compiled will be invaluable to Egyptologists of the future.

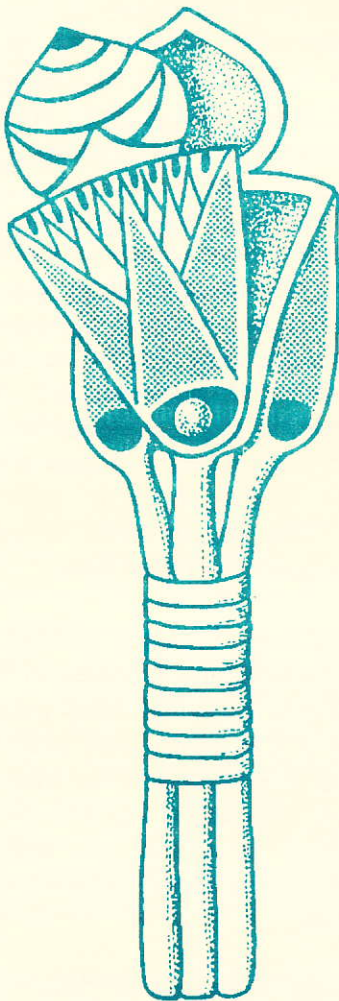
Other projects supported by ARCE include Kent Weeks' mapping of all known tomb locations in the Valley of the Kings and surrounding area, Mark Lehner's work at the Sphinx, David O'Connor's work near Abydos, and ongoing projects at Karnak and the Medum Pyramid. Walz pointed out that ARCE was also involved in the international effort to relocate the temples at Abu Simbel above the rising waters caused by construction of the Aswan Dam.

ARCE is currently expanding its Cairo facility, which will enable it to increase its current 15,000 volume library to 25,000 volumes. This library provides a valuable resource to scholars when they are in Egypt.

However, ARCE's involvement in Egypt is not limited to the support of the archeological community. Last June, the organization hosted an international conference on the preservation of Egypt's Islamic monuments which were severely damaged during last year's earthquake.

ESS members should definitely note that ARCE and a Los Angeles museum will host a fabulous exhibit of Egyptian artifacts from museums throughout the US. The opening is planned for November, 1994.

Walz concluded with an explanation of the benefits of membership in ARCE. These include a quarterly newsletter containing reports on field work and a comprehensive annual journal containing reports from top scholars on their work in Egypt. ARCE also hosts numerous conferences during the year; and the annual conference, as those ESS members who also belong to ARCE can attest, provides a wealth of information and fun.



Wooden cosmetic spoon with lid. The British Museum, 5966, 18th Dynasty.

THE ARIZONA EXPEDITION TO THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS

Presented by Dr. Richard Wilkinson

DMNH Lecture - October 25, 1993

Reviewed by Stuart Wier

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Stuart Wier is an active member of ESS and a frequent contributor to THE OSTRACON. Stuart is fascinated with history and even participated on a dig in Winchester, England, where he excavated the grave of a tenth century Saxon nobleman. He is currently compiling an excellent bibliography on ancient Egypt for the ESS membership (to be available soon). The Publications Committee is delighted that, Stuart has graciously agreed to write the Lecture Notes for THE OSTRACON on a regular basis.*

Dr. Richard Wilkinson of the University of Arizona, author of **READING EGYPTIAN ART**, the forthcoming **SYMBOL AND MAGIC IN EGYPTIAN ART**, and the cover story *The Paths of Re: Sun Symbolism in the Valley of the Kings Tombs* in the current issue of **KMT**, described the work of himself and his colleagues of the Arizona Expedition in the Valley of the Kings to over 200 listeners. Wilkinson is an engaging speaker and that, combined with his fascinating topic, had the audience in rapt silence and on the edge of their seats by the end of the lecture.

For a number of years the Arizona Expedition has been working in the Valley of the Kings, continuing excavations begun by Dr. Wilkinson's colleague, Dr. Otto Schaden of Chicago. The expedition started in the rarely-visited back valley, clearing a tomb next to what is believed to be Akhenaten's original tomb, the one he started before removing to Amarna. This tomb began with a vertical well shaft over 30 feet deep, an unusual feature for the Western Valley of the Kings. The entrance passage sloped down from the base of the shaft into the mountain. It was filled with *turab* -- flood debris consisting of sand, dirt, and rock fragments washed into the tomb by the rare but violent thunderstorms which afflict the Valley every century or so. Many tombs in the Valley have filled with layers of this debris over the centuries.

Oddly enough, this debris can encase and help preserve remains in the tombs although the *initial* swirling waters and debris are violent enough to abrade surfaces. This protection and destruction is especially true of wall

paintings whose inorganic pigments are very resistive to most types of deterioration. The first flooding caused the most damage as the swirling debris abraded the wall decoration close to ground level. However, subsequent flooding every century or so deposited the debris in layers which actually protected the tomb walls.

Careful removal of the turab from the tombs is immensely laborious but pays off when finds are made which shed new light on ancient Egypt. In the Expedition's first tomb, several objects of interest were found, including pottery, a wooden mallet left by the workmen who made the tomb, a face mask, a broken wooden coffin, the remains of five mummies, and linen in excellent condition. This tomb is now thought to be an adjunct to Akhenaten's tomb next door.

The other tomb excavated in the back valley was used by Pharaoh Ay, successor to Tutankhamun. This tomb was being prepared for Tutankhamun when Tut's early demise (at about age 20) forced the use of a smaller tomb for his burial. Some of the wall paintings in Ay's tomb are nearly identical to those in Tutankhamun's tomb. All the names and images of Ay were later hacked out as part of the campaign to obliterate the memory of all associated with the Amarna regime. Interestingly, the image of Ay's ka suffered only two chisel blows, which leads to some speculation about the meaning of the ka in ancient Egypt.

This past summer, the Arizona Expedition began clearing KV10 in the main Valley of the Kings. This tomb is well known; in fact, it's less than 100 feet down the path from Tutankhamun's tomb entrance. The entrance of KV10 has been open for generations, the passage virtually filled with turab, and the wall paintings completely destroyed. There has never been any significant interest in this tomb -- until now.

KV10 is the tomb of Amenmesse, probably a son of Ramses II, who ruled after Merneptah, another son and successor to Ramses. Amenmesse's complete name is Amen-Ramesse, "son of Amen-Ra." Amenmesse apparently ruled for only four to five years, but though his reign was short, he is not an unknown. Wilkinson and his colleagues decided to excavate KV10 following the kind of insight which also led Howard Carter to look for the tomb of Tutankhamun.

In Carter's day, the known pharaohs' tombs had been robbed and were empty, yet some objects from the entire suite of material left in each tomb, known as the *funerary corpus*, were in the hands of collectors around

the world. These objects, likely stolen from the tombs in antiquity, had somehow survived the ages. Carter spotted an exception. There were no survivors from the tomb contents of an obscure king named Tutankhamun. There was a possibility that his tomb, if it could be found, would still contain some or all of the original offerings. Carter went on to find the tomb, buried unintentionally by debris from the construction of Ramses VI's tomb nearby, a more effective disguise than all the deliberate contrivances of ancient tomb architects. Wilkinson pointed out that, in the case of Amenmesse's tomb, there is also a paucity of known funerary items. This suggests that either this king was not actually buried, or that some items may still remain in the tomb, although it was apparently opened centuries ago and since filled with flood debris.

Amenmesse's tomb is expected to be very similar to those of the pharaohs just before and after him: a long straight corridor or passage leading into the mountain, sloping downward in places, with side niches and at least one pillared hall mid-way before reaching the main and larger pillared hall at the far end. The entrance passage to Amenmesse's tomb is about seven feet wide and nine feet high; its length is as yet unknown although Merneptah's tomb is about 300 feet long. The decorations of Amenmesse's tomb were also expected to be similar to those of his predecessor, and so far, the excavations have found this to be the case, allowing for the alterations later described.

After a suspenseful waiting period for a concession from the Egyptian government to excavate this tomb, the team, mostly composed of those who had previously worked in the back valley, began work on KV10 this past summer. Right away important finds were made. The deposits in the tomb's entrance passage were indeed flood debris. Perhaps appropriately, near the top was a typed menu for a banquet held in 1923, shortly after Tutankhamun's tomb was opened. On the back were notes in what may be the handwriting of Howard Carter or one of his contemporaries. A small cache of objects from the burial of Seti I (just up the hill) was also found in the entrance. These items may have been washed into the tomb of Amenmesse by floods or possibly left by robbers who paused here to sort their treasure and dumped unwanted items. Many centuries later, perhaps Howard Carter sat in the same spot writing notes and debating what to do with the contents of Tut's tomb across the path.

More important than these incidental intrusions is the information gleaned from the walls of the entrance

passage. Near the front, the decorations are completely missing. Perhaps "destroyed" is the correct word because, on inspection, it is clear that both the hieroglyphs and the figures of the gods themselves had been chiseled from the walls. In ancient Egypt, such an undertaking would normally have been regarded as religious sacrilege. This is very puzzling, since much work would be required to remove the yards of decoration. Yet this was done carefully and deliberately, right in the center of a holy site which was guarded by civil and religious authorities. The only time such destruction was permitted in ancient Egypt was when the alterations replaced one holy effigy with one of equal sanctity.

In the debris in the passage, thousands of painted plaster chips of all sizes have been found. These may well be the remains of painted plaster decoration which was applied to the walls after the original decoration was removed with chisels. In fact, traces of plaster were found overlying the chiseled surface of the walls. Another puzzle is the fact that in a few places the wall was not chiseled -- just where the name Amenmesse appeared. This suggests respect for the memory of Amenmesse.

Further back, intact plaster was found on the walls with images, titles, and names of two otherwise unknown women: Great Royal Wife Baketwerel and Queen Mother Takat. Wilkinson suggested that, while there is at present no direct evidence for the relationship of these women with a specific king, it is not impossible that they were the wife and mother of Amenmesse. One image shows Baketwerel making a gesture of respect to Osiris. This is inappropriate: mortals should make a gesture of glorification towards a god. But, if Baketwerel were the wife of the just-deceased Amenmesse, the gesture becomes appropriate, or at least comprehensible, since Osiris is actually her husband who became Osiris upon his death.

Wilkinson thought it possible that the front of Amenmesse's tomb was re-used for the burial of one or both of these women. The original decorated wall would have been chiseled, plastered, and repainted to show the name(s) of the new occupant(s), an essential part of a proper burial. Since no objects have yet been found in the tomb that are definitely related

to a burial here, the possible secondary burials (at least) must have been robbed. Wilkinson wondered if tomb objects of Baketwerel or Takat lay unidentified and unappreciated in museums around the world.

Presumably, at the time of the second burial in the tomb, the back of the tomb, still containing the burial of Amenmesse, would have been sealed off before converting the front of the tomb for the new occupant(s). The most obvious and mundane reason for doing so being simply to protect the valuable tomb contents. It is certain that the tomb was prepared for the burial of Amenmesse, since royal tombs were never decorated until the king died. The decorations were applied during the lengthy period (70 days) of ritual and mummification following death. There is evidence from other tombs that the tomb contents were installed even as the decoration was underway. It seems odd that the pharaohs never saw their own tombs decorated. Properly speaking, no pharaoh would have ever seen a decorated tomb, except that of his predecessor!

The Arizona Expedition's excavation this year has proceeded a good distance into the tomb but has yet to reach the second pillared hall or burial chamber, if such exists -- following the analogy with other tombs of the period. A wall of debris, nearly filling the passage, still confronts the excavators.

Wilkinson finally presented a scenario which he described as an interesting possibility -- one among many until more is known of the history of the tomb. Amenmesse had KV10 prepared for his burial, and he may have been buried in the tomb according to plan. Sometime later, the outer passages of the tomb were re-decorated and prepared for the burial of the royal women, Takat and Baketwerel, possibly the mother and wife of Amenmesse, perhaps after blocking the inner part of the tomb. At an unknown later date, part or all of the tomb may have been robbed and cleared of its contents. The opened tomb passages gradually filled with flood debris over the centuries.

Much hard work remains for Wilkinson and his colleagues of the Arizona Expedition as they continue their exciting excavations in KV10. The ESS wishes them the best of luck!



Inside of bowl, blue glazed composition ware. The British Museum, New Kingdom.

HOUSE OF SCROLLS

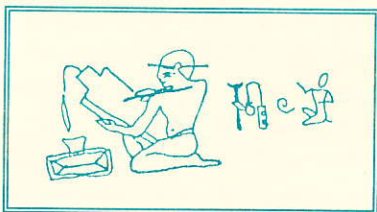


EXHIBIT REVIEW

MUMMIES: THE EGYPTIAN ART OF DEATH

Reviewed by Harriette Peters

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Harriette Peters is one of our long-distance members - from New Jersey. Even so, she has managed to be quite active in the ESS. Harriette, who finances commercial real estate for Anchor Savings Bank, became obsessed with ancient Egypt on her first trip there in 1986. She became a member of ARCE and eventually hooked up with some ESS members at one of their conferences. Harriette was one of the lecturers at the Pyramid Symposium and has participated in other Pyramid Study Group activities including their research trips to Egypt!*

Mummies: The Egyptian Art Of Death

August 7, 1993 - January 31, 1994

San Antonio Museum of Art

Museum Hours: 10:00 AM - 5:00 PM, M-S

Noon-5:00 PM on Sunday,

closes at 9:00 PM on Tuesdays

Admission: \$4.00

Phone: (210) 978-8100

While on a recent business trip to San Antonio, I had the opportunity to visit this show and believe that it will be of particular interest to members of the ESS. This exhibit is a clear demonstration of how a regional museum can pull together a thematic exhibit utilizing both its own resources as well as judicious borrowing of works from other museums and individuals around the country. The end result, while flawed, contains some fascinating pieces on a scale not normally available outside of Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Chicago.

The show, which contains well over 300 pieces, is arranged in chronological order beginning with a reconstructed Pre-Dynastic, Naqada II burial pit.

November 1993

Although the body is not real, the pots and other artifacts are! The Old Kingdom is well represented with pots, "models" of a rowing ship, wonderful *bas-relief* fragments and a modern *double serdab* (ed. note: small, sealed chamber for the statue of the person for whom the tomb or pyramid was built) containing statues of Nakht-Sas (from the Brooklyn Museum) and a scribe, Sesham Nefer II. Middle Kingdom objects include anhydrite and amethyst cosmetic jars and a well preserved mummy case.

If anything, the period least represented in the show is the one best known to students of ancient Egypt - the New Kingdom. The one exception to this is a collection of objects from Deir el Medina, most notably a marvelous double statue of Sennedjem and his son Khonsu holding a stele.

Most surprising is an extensive collection of Third Intermediate Period objects including a set of unique canopic jars. Although internal organs were buried with the body during this period, canopic jars were fashioned for the burial to honor tradition. These jars, however, are solid with lines drawn where the openings would normally be found.

There is ample representation of Nubian objects, most notably two particularly fine ushabtis of King Taharqa.

Members of the Mummy Study Group would be especially interested in the two Third Intermediate Period and one Late Period mummy cases, some wrapped mummified birds, and a modern re-creation of a wrapped mummy containing an actual layout of original amulets as they would be placed on a body prior to burial.

The final display, lent by the Detroit Institute of Arts, is an open mummy case containing the pitiful remains of Tai-Beset. The mummy is not in very good condition. However, viewing this display serves to personalize, most graphically, the entire exhibit, as one perceives the Egyptian Art of Death as exemplified by these once all-too-human remains.

All of the objects in this show are unique and interesting. However the exhibit causes a certain amount of frustration in two particular areas:

1. Many items that *were* labeled did not include their provenance (point of origin) in Egypt. This, in part, may be due to the fact that many have been lent by individuals who may have had no

access to this information.

2. More frustrating were the many cases which contained no identification whatsoever. The exhibit had been open for two weeks by the time I visited and this seemed inexcusable, particularly when I found an entire stack of labels sitting on top of one of the cases! Somebody *had* done the work to this point...in vain!

Despite these reservations, I heartily recommend this show because of the quality and variety of the objects displayed; they include many from periods which are not normally accessible. San Antonio is a wonderful destination in itself, and this exhibit provides an extra bonus.

A brief note about the San Antonio Museum of Art (SAMA): In addition to this exhibit, SAMA has permanent collections of Chinese and Asian art, Greek and Roman antiquities, Spanish Colonial and Latin American folk art, and various painting galleries. The museum has a small gift shop but no cafeteria. It is housed in a striking, renovated brewery a bit north of the center city ("Alamo land") and any visit would require a car or taxi. The surrounding neighborhood is rather undistinguished although you will be greeted by many yelps and howls from the inhabitants of the Humane Society facility located directly across from the entrance.

THE DENVER MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

2001 Colorado Blvd.
Denver, CO 80205

