

THE OSTRACON



EGYPTIAN
STUDY
SOCIETY

© DMNH 1989

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Graeme Davis	Frank Pettee
Judy Greenfield	Mary Pratchett
Sandy Kerns	Cheryl Preyer
David Pepper	Jill Taylor

ESS STAFF LIAISON

Dr. Robert Pickering

THE OSTRACON is published three times per year by members of the Egyptian Study Society. The ESS, a support group of the DENVER MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, is a non-profit organization whose purpose is to study ancient Egypt. Articles are contributed by members on a voluntary basis. Member participation is encouraged. Nothing may be printed in whole or in part without written permission.

©1995 Egyptian Study Society

Publication of *THE OSTRACON* is supported by a grant from
THE PETTY FOUNDATION

IN THIS ISSUE

PAGE	ARTICLE
1	<i>Mentuhotep II (Part II)</i> by Richard Harwood
10	<i>Did Tutankhamon Lie in State?</i> by Robert Hanawalt
14	<i>Egyptian Literature for Young Folk</i> by Norma Livo
17	<i>Lecture Notes:</i> by Judy Greenfield, David Pepper, and Jill Taylor <i>Expansion Theory of the Great Pyramid</i> <i>David Roberts' Egypt</i> <i>The Second Intermediate Period</i> <i>The Coffin Project</i> <i>The World's Oldest Road</i> <i>Conservation in Archeology</i>
22	<i>House of Scrolls</i> by Graeme Davis

**MENTUHOTEP II:
FOUNDER OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM**

Part 2: The Pharaoh

By Richard Harwood

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: *Richard Harwood is the Senior Vice President and Manager of the Trust Department of Bank One, Colorado Springs. Pursuing a life-long interest in Egyptology, he became fascinated with the Temple of Mentuhotep II and in the origins of the Middle Kingdom during his second trip to Egypt in 1991. Harwood is a member of the ESS and the author of an exceedingly helpful OSTRACON article on guidebooks for Egypt.*

NOTE: This article was published in two parts in successive issues of **THE OSTRACON**. See the Summer/ Winter 1994 issue for Part 1.

The actual identity of Mentuhotep II is far from clear and has been a subject of controversy among Egyptologists for almost a century. The uncertainty stems from the fact that Mentuhotep adopted at least two, and perhaps three, different names during his reign. Did the names Seankhibtawy, Neteryhedjet, Sematawy, and Nebhepetre belong to one individual or several? For many years, scholars believed the names belonged to three different pharaohs.

At present, however, most scholars agree that all of these titularies were held successively by one and the same person.²¹ It now appears that Mentuhotep I's successor came to the throne bearing the name Seankhibtawy (meaning "He

who gives life to the Two Lands"); but, after the first blush of military success, he changed his Horus name to Neteryhedjet (meaning "the divine one of the crown of Upper Egypt"). In 2040 B.C.E., fresh from his victory over Herakleopolis, Mentuhotep again changed his name to Sematawy (meaning "Uniter of the Two Lands"), added the throne name Nebhepetre, and adopted the full fivefold titulary of a pharaoh: "the Horus Sematawy, He of the Two Goddesses Sematawy, the Golden Horus Kashuty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebhepetre, Son of Re Mentuhotep". Thus, the various names adopted by Mentuhotep mirror the stages in his reunification of Egypt: the first change indicating that he united all of Upper Egypt and the second that he accomplished the conquest of the entire country. During each change, the pharaoh retained his family name Mentuhotep, meaning "Montu is content", reflecting the acceptance of the local war god of Thebes as the main deity of the period.

Regardless of the controversy concerning his names, modern scholars agree that it was Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II who succeeded in unifying the

fragments of Egypt into a new whole. This opinion was shared by the ancient Egyptians themselves. In a temple inscription of the 19th Dynasty, the names of Menes of the First Dynasty, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep of the 11th Dynasty, and Ahmose of the 18th Dynasty are listed together, obviously as the founders of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms (Hayes, p.152).

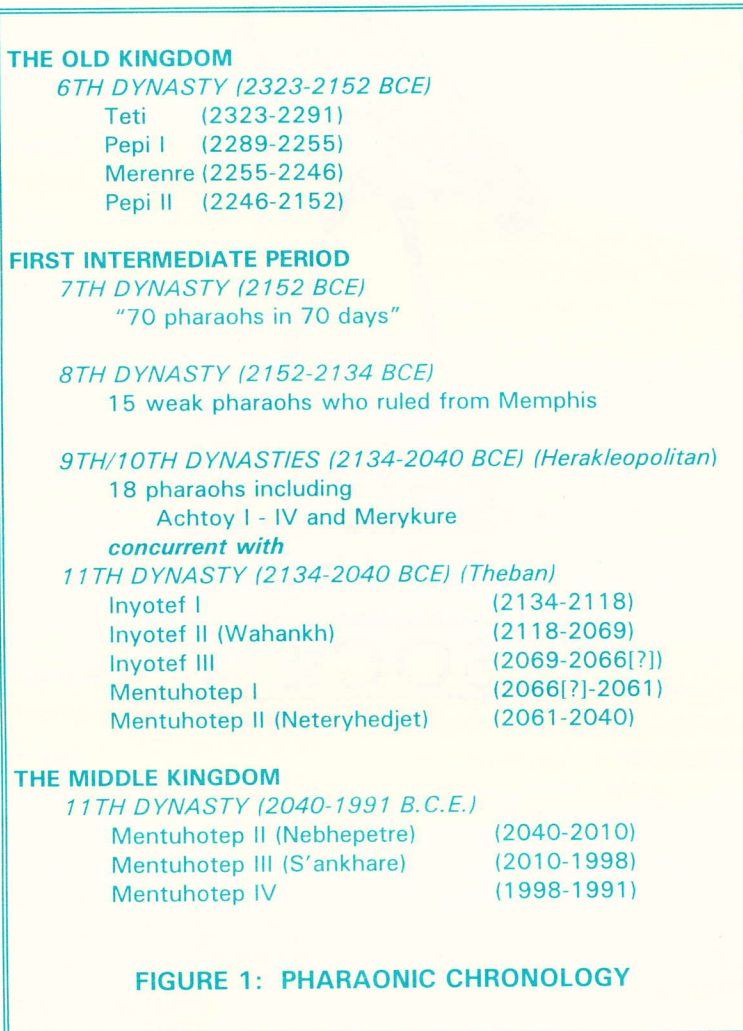


FIGURE 1: PHARAONIC CHRONOLOGY

Although Mentuhotep ruled for 51 years, 30 of them as pharaoh of all Egypt, comparatively little is known of his political reign. He succeeded in crushing the rebellious elements among his own people and wasted little time in consolidating his borders and reestablishing trade in the Mediterranean, sending ships to Byblos and Punt. He reopened the quarries at the Wadi el Hammamat and Hat-nub in the Eastern Desert; and he protected his mines and overland trade routes by vigorous campaigns against the traditional enemies of Egypt collectively called the "Nine Peoples of the Bow" or, more simply, the "Nine Bows". In an inscription from his chapel at Dendera, Mentuhotep is described as "clubbing the eastern lands, striking down the hill countries, trampling the deserts, enslaving the Nubians, ... the Medjay and the Wawat, the Libyans, and the [Asiatics]" (Hayes, p.154).

Because of its proximity to Thebes, much of Mentuhotep's energy was directed toward protecting the border with Nubia, possibly building on the campaigns of his predecessors. The rock walls at the eastern end of Shatt el Rigal, a ravine in the western cliffs on the ancient border of Nubia, record a journey made by Mentuhotep in 2022 B.C.E. to meet his eldest son who was returning from a tour of inspection of the lands to the south. Accompanying the pharaoh were his mother, Queen Yah, and most of his court including sculptors who carved relief figures of the king and his family on the rock walls (Winlock, p.33-34).²²

Throughout the long reign of Mentuhotep, the provincial nomarchs retained much of the power and independence they had seized during the chaotic years of the First Intermediate Period. At each of the provincial capitals, the local prince held his own court, maintained his own army and fleet, and dated events to the years of his own rule. He also made his vast and lavishly decorated tomb in the necropolis of his ancestors, surrounded by the tombs of his many officials. The success of Mentuhotep's reign, if not its very existence, was due in large part to his ability to control these nomarchs, to gain their loyalty, and to turn their vast resources to the uses of the entire nation (Hayes, p.154).

Like so much of Egyptian history, we know much about Nebhepetre Mentuhotep from the

monuments he built. While inscriptions dating from his reign have been found at the First Cataract at Abisko and in the quarries of the Wadi el Hammamat and Hat-nub, it is in the various chapels and buildings he erected that the history of his reign is traced. These monuments can be divided into two chronological groupings: those built at Dendera and Gebelein during the period when Mentuhotep was vanquishing his enemies and using the Horus name Neteryhedjet, and those built at Abydos, Ballas, Karnak, Tod, Armant, el-Kab, and Elephantine after he had reunited the Two Lands and changed his Horus name to Sematawy. Mentuhotep's famous temple at Deir el-Bahri capsulizes his entire reign and contains both titularies.

From the first chronological group, the small *ka*-chapel at Dendera is the most interesting and now stands in the atrium of the Cairo Museum. When it was discovered in 1916, the chapel was in an excellent state of preservation. Unfortunately, as it was being dismantled for shipment to Cairo, the blocks were placed in the shade of a nearby tree. A sudden storm developed and the tree fell, destroying several of the blocks and damaging many of the fine reliefs. However, the remaining reliefs show a high standard of art that presages the exquisite work of Mentuhotep's immediate successors.

The chapel itself measures only 7.5 by 4.75 feet, with a maximum height of 7.75 feet. Most of Mentuhotep's monuments from this period were made of sandstone, but the Dendera chapel was made of limestone. On the right door jamb, an inscription identifies both the builder and his purpose: "...beloved of [Hathor, mistress of] Dendera, the son of Re 'Mentuhotep', living like Re forever, the living god, foremost of the kings. [It is] the *ka*-chapel of Mentuhotep, which he made as his monument for his statue 'Beloved-of-Horus', living forever". Thus this chapel, like those of other pharaohs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, was built to hold a cult-statue of Mentuhotep himself which would receive offerings placed there for the benefit of the king's soul. The main scene in the chapel is on the rear wall and depicts a victory of Mentuhotep over his enemies; it is quite probable that the chapel was built for this occasion.

On the west bank of the Nile, about 17 miles

south of Thebes, lies the village of Gebelein. During part of the First Intermediate Period, the village had been a colony of Nubian mercenaries. It was here that Mentuhotep built another chapel to the goddess Hathor. Although only three blocks of the chapel have survived, it seems clear that the main purpose of the chapel was for propaganda at a time when Mentuhotep was struggling to unite the whole country. On one of these blocks, the "Son of Hathor, mistress of Dendera, Mentuhotep" wears the crown of Upper Egypt and holds the hair of a prisoner whom the pharaoh is about to club with a mace. Interestingly, the prisoner is not a foreigner, but an Egyptian, as indicated by the *shendyt*-kilt he is wearing. Behind this prisoner, three others are shown kneeling with their arms hanging down, waiting their turn to be clubbed. Inscriptions in front of them identify the prisoners as Nubians, Asiatics, and Libyans. The inscription above the scene describes the event as "Subduing the chiefs of the Two Lands, establishing Upper and Lower Egypt, the Foreign Lands, the Two Banks, the Nine Bows..." (Habachi, p.19).

While all the monuments built by Mentuhotep prior to his unification of Egypt in 2040 B.C.E. portray his conquering of enemies, those built after that date commemorate the events without scenes of war. An example of this later motif was found at Abydos. Starting with Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty (whose tiny ivory statuette, the only known likeness of him, was found there), almost all pharaohs of the Old Kingdom erected chapels and cenotaphs near the traditional center of the worship of Osiris. After Mentuhotep recaptured Abydos early in his reign, it is probable that he used the city as headquarters for his troops in the final push northward against Herakleopolis. Later, as the first pharaoh to unite Egypt after the collapse of the Old Kingdom, Mentuhotep added to the Abydos complex. His contribution was most likely a small shrine adjacent to the main temple (Baines & Malek, p.117), built like his chapel at Dendera to hold a cult-statue of himself. Despite his known reunification of the entire country, no monument or object inscribed with Mentuhotep's titularies has ever been discovered north of Abydos.

Although the shrine at Abydos had long since been destroyed, in 1902-1903 Petrie found five

sandstone blocks from it that had been reused in the foundations of 18th Dynasty buildings in the Osiris Enclosure. In 1914, Lefebvre found two more blocks in the same place, this time of limestone. One of the limestone blocks depicts an unidentified god addressing Mentuhotep: "I give thee Upper and Lower Egypt...like Re, forever", and another of the blocks, now in the Cairo Museum, shows several deities wishing Mentuhotep "...all joy, that you may live as king of the Great Place, O king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebhepetre, living forever" (Habachi, p.17).

For many years, it was assumed that Mentuhotep built nothing on the east bank of the Nile at Thebes. If Mentuhotep built stone monuments at Abydos and Elephantine, it is almost certain that he would have built similar structures at Karnak, the great temple of the capital. In fact, a crude offering table dedicated by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep to Osiris, now in the Cairo Museum, was found at Karnak. Labib Habachi found another offering table in a store south of the First Court of Karnak (although it was presumably discovered somewhere within the temple) with an inscribed cartouche reading "May live the king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Nebhepetre', son of Re 'Mentuhotep', given life like Re forever" (Habachi, p.33).

Finally, in a wall of reused blocks between the east gate in the *temenos* wall [wall enclosing a temple or other sacred area] and the small temple of Ramses II, a block of red granite was found. The block had evidently been used as the lintel of a door and shows the figure of Mentuhotep sitting under the sun-disk with two uraei and outstretched wings while two deities stand on each side of him (Habachi, p.36). It seems likely that these objects were originally made for one or more monuments erected by Mentuhotep at Karnak. However, these monuments have been lost under the enormous building projects that became the great Temple of Amun.

"...like Re, living forever." In two of the scenes in Mentuhotep's chapel at Dendera, built before he changed his Horus name to Sematawy in his 21st regnal year, the pharaoh is shown wearing the Crown of Two Feathers which is peculiar to the god Amun. In another scene in the same

chapel, an ithyphallic figure stands behind Hathor and wears the crown of Upper Egypt to which two feathers are attached. The figure is wrapped in a garment from which one arm is raised, and behind the figure is a booth. Except for the crown, which was usually associated with Amun, these characteristics are those of the gods Min, the chief deity of Koptos, or Kamutef, to whom there was a reference in Mentuhotep's chapel at Abydos. Surprisingly, the inscription on the scene does not refer to any of these gods but, rather, to "The good god, lord of the Two Lands, son of Re 'Mentuhotep'" (Habachi, p.52).

Mentuhotep was identified with and assimilated into these gods during his lifetime and was undoubtedly deified before his death.

It was after his death, however, that the veneration of Mentuhotep reached its peak. A procession of statues in the Min Festival at the Ramesseum has Mentuhotep standing between Menes and Ahmose. Each of these pharaohs founded one of the great periods of Egyptian history, but it was only Mentuhotep whose cult was maintained for centuries by his successors. In the 13th Dynasty, some 150 years after Mentuhotep's death, Sesostri III erected a granite stele on the western end of his predecessor's temple at Deir el-Bahri. Under the cartouche of Sesostri are two almost identical scenes: on the left, Sesostri offers food and drink to Amun, and on the right he does the same to Mentuhotep. It was also on this stele that Sesostri III decreed that offerings of ten loaves of bread and two vases of beer be brought from the Temple of Amun at Karnak to the Temple of Mentuhotep every day (Naville,

These unusual representations of the living king in the form of deities are not unique to Dendera; similar representations and inscriptions are found in his ruined chapel at Elephantine and on graffiti from the Island of Konosso near Philae. This self-glorification was probably intended to enhance the status of both the king and the throne at a crucial juncture of Egyptian history. The ploy worked, for it seems clear that

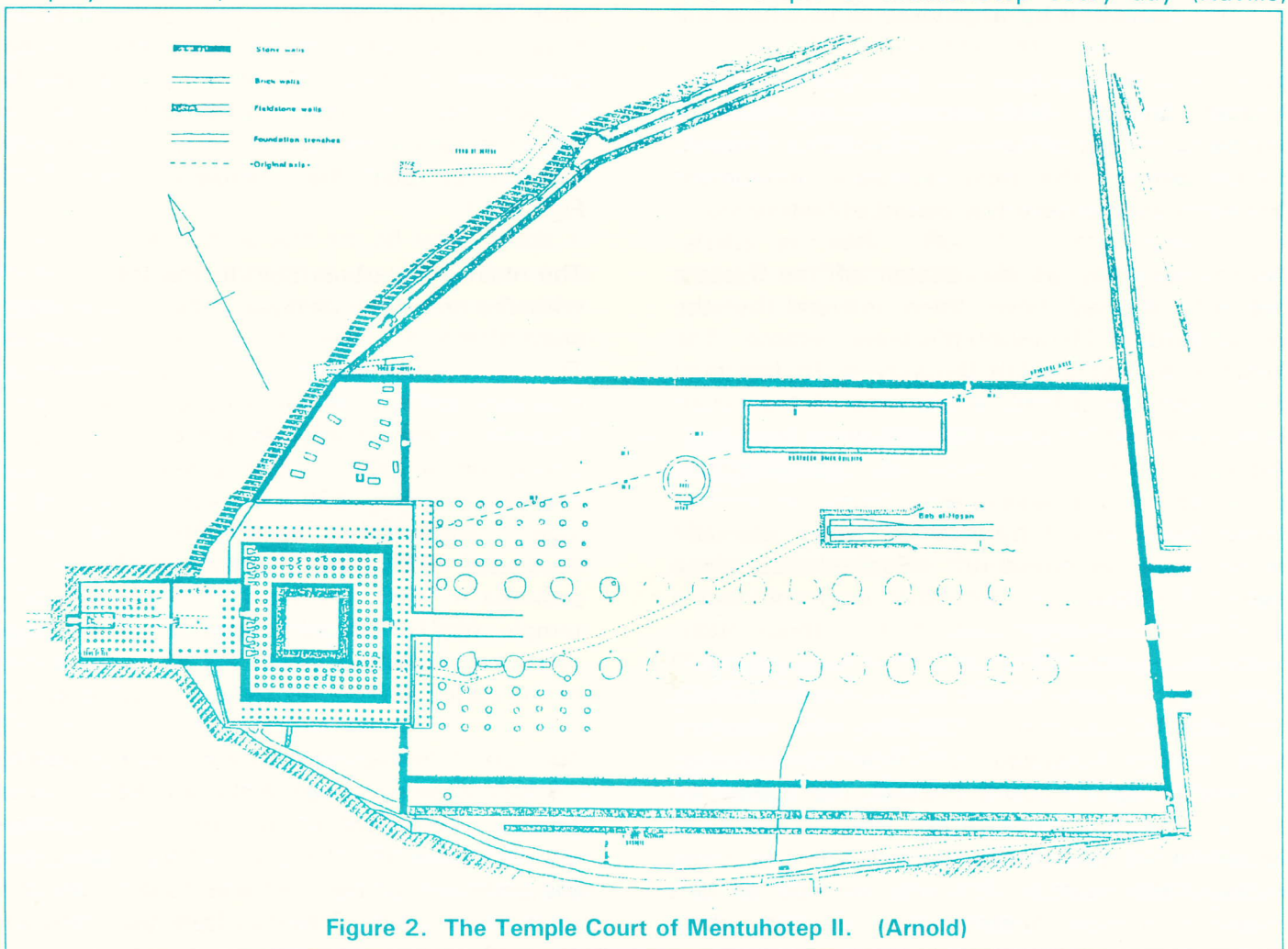


Figure 2. The Temple Court of Mentuhotep II. (Arnold)

Part 1). There is also evidence that each year, during the celebration of the Feast of the Valley, the statue of Amun was carried to the west bank of the river to visit the Temple of Mentuhotep (Habachi, p.50).

During the Ramesside Period of the 19th and 20th Dynasties, the cult of Nebhepetre was revived, and his name was invoked and worshipped in several of the tombs in the Theban necropolis. In the tomb of Ramses II, the name of Mentuhotep is found on the lintel of the entrance into the inner chamber. In other tombs, the owners are seen making offerings to Mentuhotep or libating before him. By the end of this period, however, no further inscriptions were placed in tombs, and the cult of Nebhepetre seems to have run its course.

THE TEMPLE OF MENTUHOTEP II. Nebhepetre Mentuhotep died in 2010 B.C.E. after a reign of 51 years. His son and successor, S'ankhare Mentuhotep III, inherited a united and tranquil country populated by a generation to whom the civil war of the First Intermediate Period was little more than a legend. The founder of the Middle Kingdom was buried at his funerary temple under the protecting cliffs of Deir el-Bahri. This is perhaps the most impressive monument to have survived from this period of history.

As revolutionary as the design of the Temple appears, it may have been inspired by the monuments of Mentuhotep's predecessors. The kings of the early 11th Dynasty in Thebes built their tombs at el-Tarif, a low area of the desert north of the entrance to the Valley of the Kings. Although similar in type to contemporary provincial tombs elsewhere, those at el-Tarif were distinguished by their majestic size and monumental architecture. Formed like three sides of a rectangle, with the open end facing the Nile, the court within the three walls measured as much as 985 feet long and 200 feet wide. The rear wall of the enclosure was cut into the rock cliff. This wall, like the two side walls, consisted of door-like openings flanked by square pillars, creating the impression of a pillared facade with long arcades or ambulatories [covered walkways] on all three sides of the court.²³ The king was buried in a rock-cut chamber located behind the rear pillars

and flanked by similar chambers containing members of the royal family. Court officials cut their tombs in the side galleries.

For reasons not yet known, Mentuhotep decided not to build his tomb at el-Tarif, choosing instead the large, empty, cliff-encircled bay of Deir el-Bahri almost directly across the Nile from Karnak. It is also not known at what point in his reign Mentuhotep began building his mortuary temple, but the fact that inscriptions have been found in the temple complex showing both his second and third titularies indicates that the temple was probably begun before Mentuhotep conquered Herakleopolis and united the Two Lands.

Deir el-Bahri is roughly contained within a semi-circle of high cliffs, some 1315 feet across (north to south) and 850 feet deep. Within the perimeter of this area, Mentuhotep laid out a large open court surrounded by a sandstone wall that followed the natural contours of the bay and a fieldstone wall across the eastern front. The enclosed area had a shape roughly that of a broad spear head with the blunted point protruding into the cliffs at the rear of the bay. It was in this blunted point, in the far southwestern corner of the bay, that Mentuhotep built his mortuary temple.²⁴ (See Figure 2.)

The main temple was built in the form of a "T", with the cross-bar being a large square and the stem of the "T" being cut into the cliff behind it. The square consisted of a platform of solid masonry with a much smaller solid core of masonry rising above it in the center like a box sitting on a table. The sides of the lower platform, roughly 135 feet square and 16 feet high,²⁵ were faced with fine limestone and decorated with reliefs showing Mentuhotep's prowess in war. On the front (east) side of the temple was a double colonnade of 48 square pillars presenting an effect similar to the porticos of the earlier *saff*-tombs [Arabic: row] at el-Tarif.

The top of this lower platform was reached by a 16 foot wide ramp set in the middle of the east facade. At the top of the ramp was a covered, double colonnade of square pillars running along the perimeter of the east and south sides of the platform and set 13 feet in from the north edge.

Behind this colonnaded hall, through an opening on the east side of an inner wall, was a roofed ambulatory of 140 octagonal pillars that surrounded the central core on all four sides.

The central core, 56 foot square, rose an estimated 25 feet above the lower platform and projected at least 10 feet through the roof of the covered ambulatory surrounding it. The visual effect, as seen in Figure 3, was of an airy monument built on three levels, with the roof of the upper colonnade and ambulatory forming the second level and the top of the central core forming the third.

The possibility that a structure may have been built on top of the central core has caused considerable controversy among Egyptologists. Edouard Naville, the Swiss archeologist who excavated the temple between 1903 and 1907 on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, was the first to propose that this platform was actually a pedestal on which originally stood a solid pyramid (Naville, Part 1). Naville's theory has been accepted or repeated by several distinguished Egyptologists including Herbert Winlock, Ahmed Fakhry, and William Hayes. More recently, however, Dieter Arnold has made an exhaustive study of the temple and has concluded that no such pyramid could have existed atop the central core, and that the platform was more likely a solid, mastaba-like structure with nothing above it (Arnold, p.34-35). (Compare Figures 3 and 4) If, in fact, the

platform did originally support another structure, all traces of it have long since disappeared.

Level with the floor of the temple's second tier, the stem of the "T" runs back into a cut in the western cliff. To the west of the ambulatory was an open, colonnaded middle court. Here, in the center of the court, was found the concealed entrance to Mentuhotep's actual burial chamber. A descending passage ran westward for 500 feet into the bedrock under the base of the cliff. At the end of the passage was the burial chamber itself, lined with granite and filled from floor to ceiling with a shrine-shaped sarcophagus of fine alabaster. When the sarcophagus was opened, archeologists found no sign of the pharaoh's body or the painted coffin that must have contained it; the room held only two small wooden model boats, several bows, a few broken scepters, and a number of funerary cones inscribed with the king's name and titles.

To the west of the middle court was the hypostyle hall, its roof supported by 80 octagonal pillars. The western end of this hall held an offering table and behind it was a small, rock-cut niche originally designed to hold a *ka*-statue of Mentuhotep. Unlike later New Kingdom temples, the Temple of Mentuhotep was built both for the cult worship of the pharaoh and as his actual burial site.²⁶

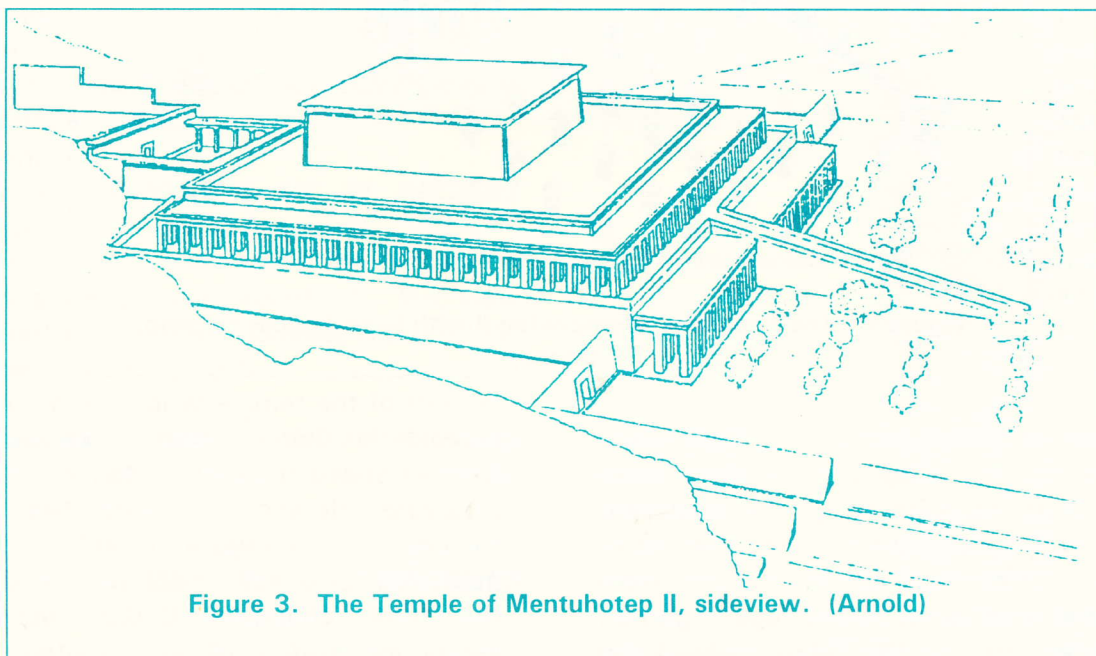


Figure 3. The Temple of Mentuhotep II, sideview. (Arnold)

THE TEMPLE COMPLEX. The Temple of Mentuhotep itself was approached from the valley temple, which is yet to be discovered but probably located some 328 feet east of the modern edge of the desert and buried several meters below fields now under cultivation. A high-walled, open brick causeway connected the valley temple with the courtyard of the main temple over one and a half miles to the west. Passing through a pylon in the east wall of the courtyard, an ancient visitor would have found himself in a massive garden. As originally designed, the processional from the east wall to the base of the temple would have been lined on each side with 14 sycamore-fig trees. Although 25 of the 28 large holes (20 feet in diameter) were dug for these trees, it appears that only the first four holes in front of the temple were ever used. Behind these trees were groves of smaller tamarisk shrubs and flower beds flanking the temple ramp and protecting the colonnade on the front of the lower platform.²⁷ Shortly after Mentuhotep's death, however, the temple caretakers stopped watering the plants; the young trees died from lack of moisture and were cut down. The ax marks of the wooden choppers still show traces of this clearing.

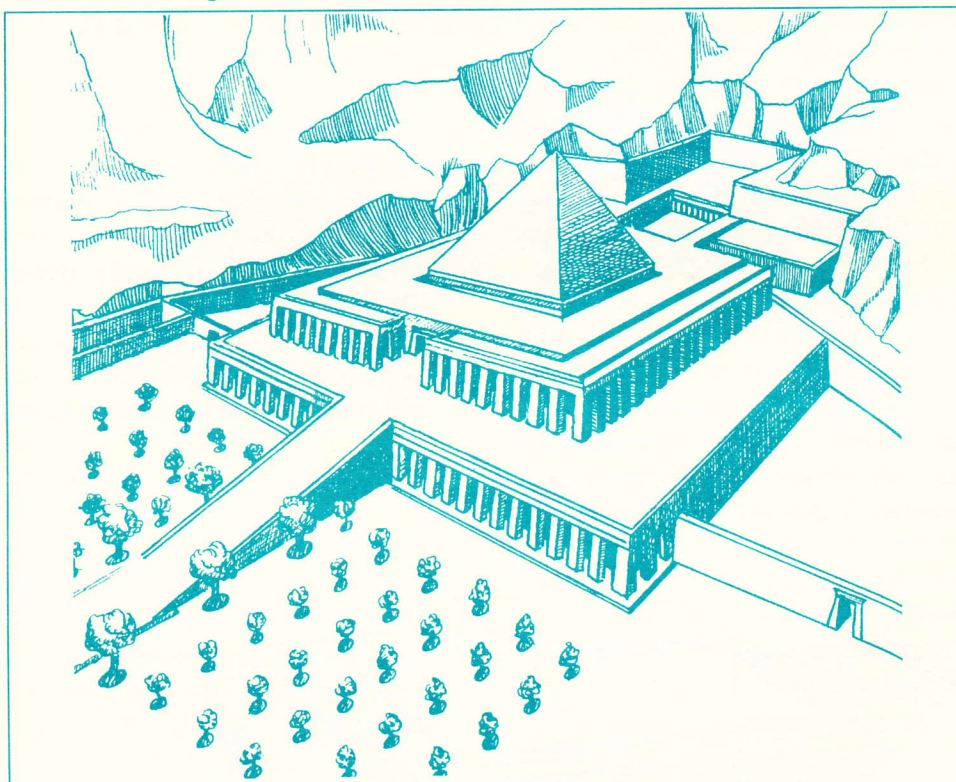
Although most of the sycamore-fig trees were never planted and the holes dug for them were filled in, the processional through the courtyard was lined on both sides with standing statues of the pharaoh. These sandstone statues were Osiride in form, that is, with the legs together, the flesh painted red, and the hands crossed and

pierced with holes that may have held a crook and flail. Each statue shows the pharaoh dressed in a cloak extending to his knees. Since this cloak is similar to that used in the Heb-sed Festival, the statues may date to Mentuhotep's 39th regnal year when he celebrated his Heb-sed. Winlock discovered 13 of these statues during his excavations of the temple.²⁸ In all cases, the statues had been decapitated and buried in the large tree holes in the courtyard. No one is certain at what point in history the statues had been buried or why they had been decapitated (or what was done with the heads, only one of which was found), for there is no evidence that the memory of Mentuhotep was ever persecuted.

The construction of the Temple of Mentuhotep underwent several changes throughout the pharaoh's lifetime including a reorientation of the temple courtyard to the far south side of the bay.²⁹ No-

where were these changes more evident than in the discovery of the Bab el-Hosan in the north-central part of the courtyard. In 1899, Howard Carter, then Inspector General of the Egyptian Antiquities Department, was riding across the courtyard

in front of the temple when the ground gave way beneath his horse's feet. Examining the hole, Carter noticed traces of masonry and decided to excavate. He soon discovered that the hole was the entrance passage to a tomb, with the original mud-brick seal still intact on the door. Within the tomb chamber, Carter found a seated sandstone statue of Mentuhotep, wrapped in



109. A reconstruction of the temple-pyramid of Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep

Figure 4. The Temple of Mentuhotep II with hypothetical pyramid.
(Fakhry)

white linen and lying on its side next to a plain Middle Kingdom coffin. This statue, Osiride in form and similar to the standing statues discovered in the courtyard, is now in the Cairo Museum.

In all probability, this tomb (called Bab el-Hosan or "The Gate of the Horse" because of Carter's discovery) had originally been designed for Mentuhotep's actual burial. When the location of the royal tomb was later changed to the temple itself, this tomb was converted to a cenotaph and the statue symbolically buried as a substitute for the pharaoh.

In addition to Mentuhotep's own tomb, the temple complex contains the tombs of some two dozen other members of the royal family and court. Six of these tombs were found between the temple's ambulatory and the middle court. Excavated by Naville and Winlock, these tombs were constructed in the early part of Mentuhotep's reign. This is indicated by the fact that the later wall of the ambulatory was built on top of the tombs' entrances and from inscriptions referring to the pharaoh by his pre-unification titulary. They were built for members of Mentuhotep's "harem", the royal ladies ranging in age from five years to scarcely more than 20. All six of these pit tombs were alike. Each was provided with a limestone sarcophagus, several of which are of great beauty. Above ground, each had an elaborately carved little shrine to hold her *ka*-statue. In their inscriptions, each is identified as a "Priestess of Hathor" and each naively claims to have been the "Sole Favorite of the King".

The tombs of two major wives were also found within the temple complex. The short, sloping passage of one, that of Queen Tem, the mother of Mentuhotep's successor S'ankhare Mentuhotep, was discovered in the southwest corner of the temple's hypostyle hall.

The second and more impressive tomb was that of Queen Nefru, the pharaoh's full sister. Also dating from the early years of Mentuhotep's reign, the tomb was tunneled into the base of the cliff just outside the northern wall of the original court. A short corridor descends to a small subterranean chapel, paneled with elaborately carved and painted limestone slabs.

A second and longer corridor leads from the chapel to a false crypt and then to the burial chamber itself. The tomb had been plundered prior to modern excavation and most of the burial equipment taken. However, some of the limestone reliefs, like those showing Queen Nefru and her hairdresser (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art), are outstanding examples of 11th Dynasty tomb sculpture.

Among the few items recovered from the tomb of Queen Nefru were the four oldest ushabtis yet discovered. These small mummiform figurines were made of wax, each wrapped in linen and placed within a tiny wooden coffin decorated with the name of the queen and the *wedjat* eye on the left side.

In the centuries following Queen Nefru's burial, her tomb became a place of pilgrimage for ancient Egyptians. The tomb was still so popular 500 years after her death that, when Senenmut constructed part of Hatshepsut's Temple directly above the entrance, he excavated a special tunnel into the tomb for New Kingdom sight-seers to visit the first corridor and chapel. Many of the blocks recovered from this part of the tomb show the ink graffiti left by the visitors.

A final tomb from the temple complex is worthy of note. Most of the tombs of Mentuhotep's court were built in the towering cliff that rises above the Deir el-Bahri plain on the north. It was here that Winlock discovered a tomb in 1926 containing the battered bodies of 60 men, all prepared for burial in the simplest manner. Examination showed these men to be common soldiers from the early reign of Mentuhotep, many of them with arrows still in their wounds (Winlock, p.29). It is tempting to think that they had been slain in a battle of extreme importance, perhaps in the actual capture of Herakleopolis, and that the pharaoh had honored their loyalty with a burial within the precincts of his own mortuary complex.

THE END OF AN ERA. Despite the veneration of the ancient Egyptians for Mentuhotep, his temple did not fare well. Some 550 years after Mentuhotep's death, Hatshepsut chose Deir el-Bahri as the site of her own mortuary temple. Her architect, Senenmut, not only used

Mentuhotep's design for the new temple, building a portion of the queen's temple directly over the earlier complex, he also appears to have used Mentuhotep's temple as a quarry for the new building. Shortly after the death of Hatshepsut, her co-regent and successor, Tuthmosis III, built a third temple to Amun and Hathor at Deir el-Bahri, wedged between the temples of Mentuhotep and Hatshepsut.³⁰ It appears that a large part of the blocks used for this last building were also quarried from Mentuhotep's temple complex. This resulted in pieces of architectural elements, broken statuary, and reshaped blocks from all three monuments being scattered in a confusing jumble throughout the Deir el-Bahri area.

As visually dramatic as Deir el-Bahri is, with the three temples nestled at the base of the towering cliffs, the location proved to be a dangerous one. What the quarrymen began, Nature completed. There is evidence that the Temple of Mentuhotep was peppered by rock slides from the face of the cliff for centuries. Then, in the 21st Dynasty, some 800 years after Mentuhotep's death, a major avalanche fell on all three temples. The quarrymen working at Mentuhotep's temple dropped their baskets and tools on the spot (Arnold, p.62) and never returned. Today, all that remains of the temple are the rock foundations, fragments of the colonnades and hypostyle hall, and the central core of the temple itself, ruined reminders of a pharaoh who changed the face of Egyptian history forever.

ENDNOTES (cont'd. from Part 1)

21. Although Vandier, Stock, and Gardiner all share this opinion, see Habachi, p.49, who sides with Posener and makes a strong argument that Seankhibtawy was the king immediately prior to Mentuhotep II and was considered by the latter to be an usurper.
22. Both Queen Yah and the son, Inyotef, died shortly after this journey. Yah was probably buried in the *saff*-tomb of Mentuhotep I at el-Tarif and Inyotef was buried at his father's temple at Deir el-Bahri.
23. The pillared appearance of these tombs gave them the name *saff*-tombs. To date, three *saff*-tombs have been excavated, those of Inyotef I and II and Mentuhotep I.
24. If one stands on the causeway leading to the Temple of Hatshepsut, the Temple of

Mentuhotep can be seen in the far left corner of the bay. It was because of Mentuhotep's temple complex that Hatshepsut's was built against the northern slope of the cliffs rather than in the middle of the bay.

25. Actually, this portion of the temple was not a perfect square and measured approximately 146 feet on the east and west sides and 123 feet on the south and north sides.
26. Compare this temple to the Temple of Hatshepsut, which was built to honor the pharaoh and Hathor, but was never intended to serve as her tomb.
27. In the Metropolitan Museum's collection from the temple is a sandstone ostrakon on which appears to be a plan of the garden drawn in red ink. If this is the case, it is the earliest known architectural blueprint ever discovered.
28. One of these statues, on which the only recovered head has been placed, forms the centerpiece of the Mentuhotep exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
29. See Arnold for a detailed outline of these changes.
30. According to Prof. Jadwiga Lipinska, director of the Polish Archaeological Mission that has been excavating this site since 1961, this building was probably a way-station for the Barque of Amun during the Feast of the Valley rather than a funerary temple. [Lipinska and Johnson, p.20.]

CITED REFERENCES

I want to express special gratitude to Dr. Dorothea Arnold, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, who graciously gave her time, assistance, and access to the Museum's Mentuhotep collections.

Aldred, Cyril. *THE EGYPTIANS*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1987.

Arnold, Dieter. *THE TEMPLE OF MENTUHOTEP AT DEIR EL-BAHARI*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 1979.

Baines, John and Jaromir Malek. *ATLAS OF ANCIENT EGYPT*. New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1980.

Breasted, James Henry. *A HISTORY OF EGYPT*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

David, A. Rosalie. **THE EGYPTIAN KINGDOMS.** New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1975.

Delia, Robert D. *First Cataract Rock Inscriptions: Some Comments, Maps, and a New Group.* **JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT:** Vol. XXX, New York: The American Research Center in Egypt, 1993.

Fakhry, Ahmed. **THE PYRAMIDS.** Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961.

Habachi, Labib. **KING NEBHEPETRE MENTUHOTEP: HIS MONUMENTS, PLACE IN HISTORY, DEIFICATION AND UNUSUAL REPRESENTATIONS IN THE FORM OF GODS.** Wiesbaden: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo, Band 19, Otto Harrassowitz, 1973.

Hansen, Kathy. **EGYPT HANDBOOK.** Chico: Moon Publications, Inc., 1990.

Hayes, William C. **THE SCEPTER OF EGYPT: PART I.** New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953.

Lipinska, Jadwiga and George B. Johnson. *The Way-station of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari,* **KMT:** Fall, 1992, San Francisco: KMT Communications, 1992.

Naville, Edouard. **THE Xth DYNASTY TEMPLE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI: TWENTY-EIGHTH MEMOIR OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.** London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1907 (Part I), 1910 (Part II), and 1913 (Part III).

Trigger, B.G., B.J. Kemp, D. O'Conner, and A.B. Lloyd. **ANCIENT EGYPT: A SOCIAL HISTORY.** Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983.

Winlock, Herbert E. **THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM IN THEBES.** New York: The MacMillan Company, 1947.



DID TUT LIE IN STATE?

By Robert A. Hanawalt

About the Author: Robert Hanawalt became interested in the study of pharaonic Egypt over 40 years ago. He has an extensive personal library of literature on Egypt and is a member of the ESS, ARCE, The Egyptian Exploration Society of Great Britain, and the Oriental Institute of Chicago. He has traveled widely throughout Egypt and is presently facilitator of the two Hieroglyph Study Groups of the ESS.

When King Tutankhamon died, did his body lie in state? Of course it did! But now the issue arises, for how long?

The normally accepted period of time for the mummification and burial practices of the people in the land of Kemet was 70 days¹. But now evidence has been presented that, in Tutankhamon's case, the period between death and entombment may have been as much as six to eight months!

In an article entitled *The Death of Niphururiya and it's Aftermath*, (by Trevor R. Bryce and published in Volume 76 of *JEA* in 1990)², the author establishes a substantial case for a long period of time between Tut's untimely demise and his interment. Bryce did most of his research through Hittite documents³ as well as using more commonly known Egyptian texts.

The bulk of Bryce's article convincingly argues that Niphururia is indeed Tutankhamon. While this has long been accepted by most scholars, there have been those, some recently, who claim that Niphururia is either Akhenaten or Smenkhare.⁴ Nevertheless, the translation by the Hittites of Niphururia as the throne name of Tutankhamon, which was NebkheperRe⁵, seems now to be well secured. What appeared to be self evident, for reasons pointed out later in this article, is now reinforced with an almost indisputable argument.

So what? Bryce's article identifies the period of time, indirectly, when Niphururia (Tut) died. At best, it was at a very awkward time for Egypt.

One needs to have some perspective on the politics in the Mid-East at the time of the regency of Tut in order to appreciate the full measure of the situation.

The entire eastern end of the Mediterranean basin was under the control of three 'super powers': Hatti (the Hittites), Mittani, and Egypt. Each was a powerful entity surrounded by vassal states that were tied to their "protectors" through political and trade alliances, an arrangement quite similar to that in Europe and Eastern Asia during the recent cold war. The Hittite's hegemony extended through that area known today as the Troad, a part of Turkey. Mittani had dominion over most of what is now Syria, and Egypt controlled the Nile Valley to the Fifth Cataract, as well as Palestine and a portion of Syria.⁶ War was constantly breaking out between the vassal states, and the sponsors were either supported or did not support their dependencies, according to their own needs. The princes of the vassal states usually paid their tribute rather unhappily, or pleaded for military assistance, or threatened to join the other side (through their capture, of course) or asked for gold. This is the bulk of the subject matter contained in the so called *Amarna Letters* discovered at the site of Akhetaten in 1887.⁷

Sometime in the summer of c.1323 B.C.E.⁸ Egypt attacked Kadesh, at that time under Hittite control. The Hittites retaliated by attacking Amka, which was Egyptian subject territory. The attack was led by the Hittite commanders Lupakki and Tarunta-zalma and is recorded in two of the *Prayers of Mursili II* as well as in *Deeds*.^{3 (again)}

In the second *Plague Prayer of Mursili* we read, "...he sent out Lupakki and Tarunta-zalma and they attacked those countries. But the king of Egypt died in those days.....But since the wife of the king of Egypt was destitute, she wrote to my father.....".

This establishes two important points: 1) the king of Egypt died during the period of the war, which is known to be late summer or early autumn, and 2) the widow queen had contacted the Hittite king. Further, in the same

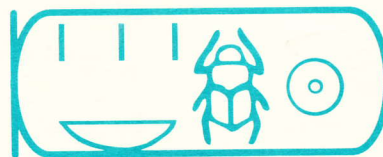
document, Mursili says "When the Egyptians became frightened, they asked outright for one of his [Mursili's father, Suppiluliuma] sons to (take over) the kingship...." This is certainly the story of Ankhesenamon and Zannanza!

The cause of Tutankhamon's death is not certain, although more and more evidence points to the fact that he was probably killed. That is not to say that he was murdered.⁹ We do know that he was between 18 and 20 years old when he died and that there is a rounded depression on his left cheek just in front of his ear; the skin filling it resembles a scab. Around the circumference of the depression, which had slightly raised edges, the skin was discolored.¹⁰ Further, there is a piece of bone, not ethmoid¹¹ in nature, still located in the skull cavity, as shown by X-ray. Cyril Aldred, noted art historian and authority on the Amarna Period, makes the statement that the wound was probably caused by a knife, arrow, or spear¹² and asserts that the king was probably murdered.

Tut was not a child and followed in the footsteps of his ancestors in establishing a reputation as a mighty warrior and hunter. Buried with him in his tomb were 49 bows of various types and numerous arrows, bow strings, arm-guards, etc.¹³ It is possible that he could have been accidentally killed while hunting, or even in the military action described above. Although if the latter was the case, the Hittites would probably have noted it. In any event, the political situation at the time was not such to suggest an assassination.

The Egyptians were now in the horrible position of having to replace a king, who had no living heirs, in the middle of a military conflict! It is no wonder that Mursili says, "When the Egyptians became frightened..."

So begins the so-called "Ankhesenamon Episode". Upon the death of Tut, his wife, Ankhesenamon, apparently wrote a letter to Suppiluliuma informing him that the king was dead, that she had no sons of her own and asked him to send to her one of his sons whom she would marry and make Pharaoh. Quite naturally Suppiluliuma was very suspicious



Tut's Cartouche

and sent an envoy, one Hattusa-ziti, to Egypt to investigate.

Hattusa-ziti returned the following spring, accompanied by the Egyptian envoy, Hani, and reported that everything was as stated. Certainly if there had been any little princes who were the sons of Pharaoh running around, he would have heard about them. Suppiluliuma then sent his son, Zannanza to Egypt to marry the queen.

Unfortunately, Zannanza never made it. He died on the trip, and Suppiluliuma held the Egyptians responsible. (I personally feel that a much stronger case for murder can be made here than with Tut). He eventually launched a retaliatory attack on Egyptian territory in Syria.

Egypt had gone from late summer to early spring with no pharaoh on the throne. When the Hittite arrangement fell through, and with the threat of war with the Hittites, something had to be done, and done quickly. Ankhesenamon married Ay, a courtier who was probably her grandfather. Ay then presided at the entombment services of Tutankhamon some seven or eight months after his death. Ay assumed the throne, and reigned for about four years. Upon his death, Ankhesenamon also disappeared from the scene.

The time of Tut's burial is pretty well-established by the funeral wreaths on his coffin. They were made of cornflower blossoms, mandrake, and other plants.¹⁴ Both the cornflower and the mandrake bloom only in the late spring (late March and April) in Egypt.

As stated earlier, normally interment took place at the end of 70 days. But there is a problem with burying Egyptian kings. At the time of burial, the *ka* of the Osiris King and that of the Horus King meld, extending the Royal *Ka* in a continuum that lasts throughout eternity.¹⁵ And 70 days after Tut's untimely death there was no

successor, no "Living Horus"! Until a new pharaoh was designated, Tut could not "take the wings of a falcon and fly to heaven."

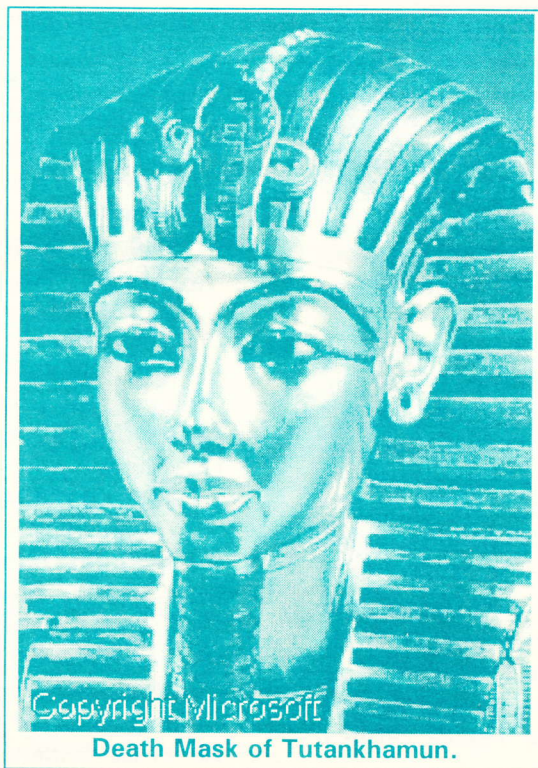
What do you do with a king's mummy for seven or eight months? There is no known precedent for this, thus anyone's speculation is as good as anyone else's. (And about 85% of Egyptian history is speculation.)

Tut's death could have been kept a state secret and the general public not informed of his demise until the issue of succession was resolved. Or his mummy could "visit" all of the temples in Egypt and be worshipped and anointed by the priests (almost certainly not the general public, although they would have probably known about it). There is also the possibility that the mummy was held in the tomb until the time of the burial services, although this is highly unlikely. Given the

contents of the tomb, it needed to be sealed as quickly as possible for security reasons!

One additional possibility is that the mummy did actually lie in state for worship by the family and the priesthood, either in a palace, such as that at Malkata, or in a mortuary temple. Tut apparently had a mortuary temple built for himself in an area near the site where Ramses III later constructed his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu.¹⁶ Or perhaps his mummy could have been placed in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, his grandfather, which was fronted by the "Colossi of Memnon" and apparently was the largest and finest of them all.

The above is pure speculation, but the fact remains that there was an extended period of time between Tutankhamon's death and his burial in a very small tomb in the Valley of the Kings, one of three tombs that were evidently started for him.¹⁷



Death Mask of Tutankhamun.

Whatever occurred, the very nature of the King's early death and entombment is a tragic tale of the end of a great family of rulers who controlled Egypt for almost 250 years.

©Robert A. Hanawalt, 1995, Denver.

ENDNOTES

1. The desiccation process of mummifying a body took approximately 40 days, with another 15-30 days allowed for washing, packing, wrapping, and anointing the corpse. See D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehring: *Mummies and Magic* (Museum of Fine Arts: Boston, 1988). It is interesting to note that the current custom of some modern day Egyptians is to return to the interment site 40 days following burial and have a final funeral meal on the gravesite.
2. See Bryce, Trevor, *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* Vol. 76 (1990), *The Death of Niphururiya and Its Aftermath*, p.97-105, E.E.S.: London. JEA is the official publication of the Egyptian Exploration Society, a London-based organization that anyone who is seriously interested in Ancient Egypt should consider joining.
3. Primarily Guterbock: *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his son Mursili II* (Journal of Cuneiform Studies, Cambridge, 10) (hereafter, "Deeds") and the *Plague Prayers of Mursili*, various sources but primarily Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (Paris, 1971).
4. Krauss, *Ende der Das Amarnazeit* (Hildesheim, 1978) c.f. Wilhelm and Boese, in *High, Middle or Low* (Gothenburg, 1987).
5. The transliteration of the glyphs for Tut's throne name is *nb xprw ra*
6. Contrary to a rather widely held opinion, Akhenaten apparently did not lose control in foreign affairs. It appears that there was a well defined foreign policy during this period. For further information on the political situation in the Near East at this time, see Murnane's *The Road to Kadesh* (Oriental Institute: Chicago, 1990)
7. An English translation of the Amarna Letters has recently been published. It is: Moran: *The Amarna Letters* (John Hopkins Univ. Press: Baltimore, 1992). I would like to note here that some of the "begging for gold" recorded by some in interpreting the Amarna letters may have been trade initiatives, rather than asking for outright gifts. After all, what does "send me much gold and I will send you anything in my country that you ask for" really mean?
8. The date varies according to author. This date is from Reeves' *The Complete Tutankhamun* (Thames and Hudson: London, 1990) which is one of the latest popular books on the whole Tutankhamon episode. Note also that there are four different spellings of the king's name in this article and endnotes. These are the spellings of the titles as given by the various authors. This writer prefers "Tutankhamon".
9. While all sorts of conspiracy theories abound and are popular reading, a careful study of the succession of political events following his death makes murder as the cause of his demise highly unlikely.
10. Leek's *The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun*, Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series (Griffith Institute: Oxford, 1972) c.f. p.118, Reeves' *The Complete Tutankhamun* (Thames and Hudson, 1990), and Aldred's *Akhenaton, King of Egypt* (Thames and Hudson: London, 1988). This so called "scab" is quite visible in pictures of Tutankhamon's mummy.
11. The ethmoid bone is the "nasal separator" that was broken through in order to remove the brain during the mummification process.
12. *Op.Cit.* Aldred, p.297.
13. Murray and Nuttall's *A Hand List to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tut'ankhamun's Tomb*, Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series (Griffith Institute: Oxford, 1963).
14. Carter's *The Tomb of Tutankhamen* (Dutton & Co.,Inc.: New York,1972) c.f. Reeves p.106-107.
15. See Frankfort, p.101-139, *Kingship and the Gods* (Univ. of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1978) for a description of this ceremony.
16. While evidence of this is quite slim and not conclusive, still this is a strong possibility. In 1935 two colossal statues of Tut were found in the Medinet Habu complex. One is now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and the other is located at the Oriental Institute in Chicago. Both were located in the mortuary temple of Ay, which had been added to and taken over by Horemheb. The statues had been usurped by both Ay and Horemheb, who overwrote their names in the cartouches on the statues. The two statues are the type normally associated with mortuary temples and were certainly found in the general area of the other 18th Dynasty royal mortuary temples. In the same location, a single fired brick with Tut's seal on it was also found. For further information see Holscher, p.102-104, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu II: The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty* (Univ. of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1939).
17. Tut was buried in KV 62. However, there is some evidence that KV 23, in which Ay was buried, was originally intended for Tut. See Reeves, *op.cit.* p.78. There was possibly one other tomb that was started for Tut in the Royal Wadi at Akhetaten. See Murnane and Van Siclen: *The Boundary Stelae of Akhetaten* (Kegan Paul International: London and New York, 1990), p.218, f.106.

EGYPTIAN LITERATURE FOR YOUNG FOLK

By Dr. Norma J. Livo

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: *Dr. Norma Livo is a retired professor from CU at Denver. She now reviews children's books for the Rocky Mountain News and is the author of 12 books on folklore and storytelling. Her travels have included Egypt and she has recently returned from Finland where she gathered material for future stories. Livo was awarded The Governor's Award for Excellence in the Arts for 1995.*

What makes a story? Before discussing specific stories, the word *story* itself needs to be defined. A story depends on who hears it. As listeners and readers, we all discover different things in the same story. Sometimes we have the educational background and experience to understand the story, but other stories we just skim as we cannot fully comprehend them. The same story can leave one person with a smile and another with tears. Whether we know it or not, we are all guided by the voices of our ancestors—they had generations of memories in their heads. More about ancient stories will follow later.

Stories about events and peoples (animals) that are real, remembered, historical, or embellished are all part of us. What are some of the values of stories? Some say that stories make us more human. They help us live varied lives. Stories also help us see the world from inside the skins of people different from ourselves. They help develop compassion and insight into the behavior of ourselves and others. A good story can show us the past in a way that helps us understand the present. One of the most important features of a story is that it develops the imagination. Stories also help us entertain ideas we never could have had without them. Stories are magical: they can take us out of ourselves and return us changed through the power of self-transformation.

Ancient stories are the best stories because they have been worked out over the ages by the "folk." Folk stories, or fairy tales, are essential for the development of a people. The seemingly simple folk story is a combination of

entertainment, history, astronomy, religion, literature, and social and natural sciences. These stories were never intended just for children. They were part of an inter-generational community and, at various levels, they served the needs of all. Stories serve to maintain the cultural traditions which come to define a particular group. Ultimately, the basic function of folk stories seems to be to help children and adults on the long journey that is the human enterprise. Stories serve as maps and markers left by those who have gone before.

As proof that books written for younger people can influence lives, refer to the interview of Dr. Donald Ryan, archeologist, by Barbara Fenton and Judy Greenfield in **THE OSTRACON** (February 1992). When asked what got him interested in Egypt in particular, Ryan responded, "I was familiar with Egypt from my archeology books.... One book in particular really entranced me: **THE WORLD OF THE PHARAOHS**, by Hans Baumann....It was a book written for younger people. It was presented from the viewpoint of a young Egyptian boy guided by a mysterious old fellow who was supposed to have been a helper of Howard Carter when he found King Tut's tomb." Material aimed at younger readers can certainly have a positive influence on their future lives.

The material that is available for young readers includes informational books, books on mythology, and other picture story books. [See references listed at the end of this article for specific details on these books.]

Informational Books. Many of the books listed in this article's reference section are photo essays on ancient Egypt and the people who lived there, documented by the mummies, pottery, weapons, and other objects they left behind. The books describe ancient Egyptian society, religion, obsession with the afterlife, and methods of mummification. These books chronicle the history and significance of mummies and describe the ceremonies associated with them.

LIVING HISTORY: PYRAMIDS OF ANCIENT EGYPT (edited by John Clare) describes the daily life in ancient Egypt during the time of the Pharaoh Chephren [Khafre], including clothing, makeup, home life, religious practices, burial

rituals, and the construction and role of the pyramids.

In **TUTANKHAMEN'S GIFT**, Robert Sabuda illustrates the life and achievements of the pharaoh with silhouettes affixed to painted handmade Egyptian papyrus. It is told in story-form with additional historical notes.

The most unique book has to be **THE TOMBS OF THE PHARAOHS** by Sue Clarke. It is a marvel of paper engineering -- the book is shaped like a pyramid! Librarians are going to LOVE shelving this book—have you ever shelved a triangle? There are actually eight pages to this fat book but what an introduction to pyramids! Each page pops up to reveal dramatic lift-the-flaps, hidden pockets, and fold outs that recreate the experience of excavating an undisturbed tomb.

Mythology Books for Young Readers. In looking at Egyptian mythology, we must remember that myths are the sacred stories through which we try to make sense of the world we live in. It was no different for the Egyptians in ancient times.

Gerald McDermott's book, **THE VOYAGE OF OSIRIS**, tells the ancient story of Osiris and his brother Seth in lyrical language accompanied by art that is bold and yet luminous.

GODS AND PHARAOHS FROM EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY, by Geraldine Harris, presents the myths of ancient Egypt and a glimpse of the civilization that created them. This 132 page book includes 26 stories from legend and myth, a section on hieroglyphic writing, a guide to the symbols that appear in the illustrations, as well as an index to people and places mentioned in the text.

In **ISIS AND OSIRIS** (edited by Jacqueline Onassis), author Jonathan Cott explores their love story encompassing betrayal and loyalty, death and rebirth, forgetting and remembering, evil and righteousness, and duty and compassion. He attempts to illuminate the story from the perspective of people who are today worshipping and living their lives according to the principles the gods represent. This is a fascinating contemporary book.

Jules Cashford's **THE MYTH OF ISIS AND**

OSIRIS reconstructs their story from hieroglyphic writings on the walls of pyramids, the insides of coffins, books of papyrus found in tombs, hymns and poems copied by scribes, and the magnificent paintings on the walls of the great valley tombs.

Other Picture Story Books. Lise Manniche is an Egyptian scholar who has translated tales literally from the hieroglyphs, which she has reproduced along with the English translation. One of her books, **THE PRINCE WHO KNEW HIS FATE**, recounts the 3,000 year-old Egyptian tale of the prince whose fate to die by either a crocodile, a snake, or a dog, is decreed at his birth. It includes additional information about the background of the story and the civilization of ancient Egypt.

I have a copy of her **HOW DJADJA-EM-ANKH SAVED THE DAY** in scroll form as well as in accordion-folded form. This story takes place about 4,500 years ago. It was written down 1,000 years later and can still be seen today on a papyrus scroll which is in the Berlin Museum. It is set in the time of King Seneferu and describes the king's power, religion, and daily Egyptian life. It is the tale of a king and his magician. Incidentally, the scroll version never did well at all. Again it created a shelving problem for libraries -- how do you shelve a scroll?

THE WINGED CAT by D. N. Lattimore is an original picture-book story about a young servant girl and a High Priest who must each find the correct magic spells from the Book of the Dead that will open the 12 gates of the Netherworld. Thus, it will be determined who is telling the truth about the death of the girl's sacred cat.

Shirley Climo mixes fact and fable in **THE EGYPTIAN CINDERELLA**. Set in the sixth century B.C.E. in Rhodopes, a Greek slave girl is scorned by the Egyptian girls. A falcon swoops down and snatches one of her rose-red gold slippers which it delivers to the great Pharaoh. The pharaoh searches all of Egypt to find the owner of the tiny shoe and make her his queen. It is a fact that a Greek slave girl, Rhodopis, married the Pharaoh Amasis and became his queen.

A recent fictional picture book is **ZOOM UPSTREAM** by Tim Wynne-Jones. Zoom, the cat, follows a mysterious trail through a bookshelf to Egypt. There he is joined by his friend Maria in a search for his Uncle Roy. The endpapers contain hieroglyphs which tell the story of a cat named Preposterous, Egypt's first feline pharaoh. Clues for these hieroglyphs are given with an invitation to decipher them.

Summary. There are many resources available to introduce young readers to the facts and stories of ancient Egypt. Who knows when the next Donald or Donna Ryan will discover a book that sparks them with an intense lifelong interest in Egypt?

REFERENCES

Cashford, Jules. **THE MYTH OF ISIS AND OSIRIS.** Barefoot Books: Boston, 1994.

Clare, John D., Editor. **LIVING HISTORY PYRAMIDS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.** Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: San Diego, 1992.

Clarke, Sue. **THE TOMBS OF THE PHARAOHS.** Hyperion: New York, 1994.

Climo, Shirley. **THE EGYPTIAN CINDERELLA.** Crowell: New York, 1989.

Cott, Jonathan. **ISIS AND OSIRIS.** Doubleday: New York, 1994.

Crosher, Judith. **HISTORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.** Viking: New York, 1993.

David, Rosalie. **GROWING UP IN ANCIENT EGYPT.** Troll Associates: Mahwah, NJ, 1994.

Fenton, Barbara and Judy Greenfield. *Interview with Dr. Donald Ryan, THE OSTRACON.* Vol. 2, No 1. February, 1992, p. 3-5.

Harris, Geraldine. **GODS AND PHARAOHS FROM EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY.** Peter Bedrick: New York, 1993.

Hart, George. **ANCIENT EGYPT--EYEWITNESS BOOKS.** Knopf: New York, 1990.

Lattimore, Deborah Nourse. **THE WINGED CAT, A TALE OF ANCIENT EGYPT.** Harper Collins: New York, 1992.

Livo, Norma J. and Sandra Rietz. **STORYTELLING PROCESS AND PRACTICE.** Libraries Unlimited: Littleton, 1986.

Macaulay, David. **PYRAMID.** Houghton Mifflin: Boston, 1975.

Manniche, Lise. **HOW DJADJA-EM-ANKH SAVED THE DAY.** Crowell, New York, 1976.

Manniche, Lise. **THE PRINCE WHO KNEW HIS FATE.** Philomel: New York, 1981.

McDermott, Gerald. **THE VOYAGE OF OSIRIS.** Windmill: New York, 1977.

Putnam, James. **MUMMY--EYEWITNESS BOOKS.** Knopf: New York, 1993.

Sabuda, Robert. **TUTANKHAMEN'S GIFT.** Maxwell Macmillan: New York, 1994.

Wilcox, Charlotte. **MUMMIES AND THEIR MYSTERIES.** Carolrhoda: Minneapolis, 1993.

Wynne-Jones, Tim. **ZOOM UPSTREAM.** Harper Collins Laura Geringer Book: New York, 1994.



Cosmetic spoon (Petrie Museum, University College, UC. 14365)

LECTURE NOTES

THE EXPANSION THEORY OF THE GREAT PYRAMID

Presented by Robert Lowdermilk

ESS Meeting, July 1994

Notes by Jill Taylor & Bob Lowdermilk

Our own Bob Lowdermilk presented yet another thought-provoking lecture as he shared with us his current theory on the events which occurred during the construction of Khufu's Great Pyramid, built during the Old Kingdom around 2600 B.C.E. and one of the Seven Wonders Of The Ancient World. It is an architectural marvel; yet, so little is actually known about this magnificent edifice. However, there are a number of intriguing aspects to be found in its design.

Lowdermilk summarized his ideas as follows. He believes that the size of the Great Pyramid could have been more than doubled in volume due to the following sequence of events which occurred during the construction period.

- 1) The Subterranean Chamber was abandoned, possibly due to an accidentally contacted perched water table which may have caused it to be flooded.
- 2) The King's Burial Chamber was then moved from under the pyramid up to an unusually high position in its body and was designed to be lined with granite. All other pyramids have their burial chambers much lower in their structures than that of the Great Pyramid.
- 3) The room we now call the Queen's Chamber may have been constructed as an emergency burial chamber in case Khufu were to die before his granite-lined chamber was finished. Evidence of this hypothesis may be found in

the fact that the so-called air-ducts terminate so that five inches of stone was left in place at the interior walls of the Queen's Chamber; the vents did not actually open into the room. This five-inch blockage could have been removed if Khufu died and this room was used as his final resting place.

- 4) The granite for the King's Chamber had to be quarried approximately 600 miles up the Nile, and this stone is much more difficult to extract than is the locally quarried limestone used to build 98% of the Great Pyramid. Lowdermilk is convinced that it may have taken almost twice as long as planned to quarry the 1,500 cubic yards of granite used



The Sphinx and The Great Pyramid of Khufu.

Photo by J. Taylor

to build the King's Chamber.

- 5) At this point, the pyramid's architects may have doubled the size of the original pyramid's frustum (base of truncated pyramid) to prevent the farmers/masons from being idle during the time of the Nile's flooding

while they waited for the granite for the King's Chamber to be quarried.

Doubling the volume of the pyramid's frustum at the base of the King's Chamber would have multiplied the original pyramid's total volume by 2.37 times. The original passage into the pyramid would have been abandoned because of this expansion; and a new passage to the newly-designed high burial chamber would have to have been cut through the in-situ stone of the original smaller pyramid. It is currently known that the rough-finished stones of the ascending passage indicate that the lower half of the passage was tunneled through the in-situ stones. However, the upper half of the ascending passage was constructed normally with the finished blocks being set in place to form the passage.

Once the granite for the King's Chamber was completed, a new work schedule was required to

complete the pyramid during Khufu's lifetime. The added volume of the pyramid would have caused Khufu to conscript enough workers to work three 100-day shifts each year. This new three-shift-per-year schedule would have allowed the pyramid to be built in 20 years or 44 shifts. Herodotus claimed that 100,000 men built it in 20 years. Lowdermilk maintains that a maximum of 33,000 men were used for each of the three 100-day shifts -- the equivalent of 100,000 men in a year.

The best proof for these theories may reside in the as yet undiscovered original passage leading into the original pyramid. In February of 1993, Lowdermilk checked out the location which he suspects is the upper end of that passage. He could not find evidence that there was a passage under the floor of the descending passage, but neither could he find evidence that it is not there. Lowdermilk wondered, "If it is there, what might be found in that passage? Will it be empty, will it be filled with the rock chips generated during the expansion process, or will it have trash in it, thrown in by the pyramid-builders? Proof of its existence would satisfy me. I believe it is there. It would have been a passage, open only during the second, third, and fourth years of the construction of the Original Pyramid. Time will tell if my hypotheses are correct."

As usual, Lowdermilk left us all with much to ponder upon and incentive to keep our eyes peeled as we trudge up and down those narrow, dark passages in the fascinating and mysterious pyramids!



DAVID ROBERTS' EGYPT Presented by William Petty

ESS Meeting, November, 1994
Notes by Jill Taylor

ESS President, Bill Petty, delighted the ESS audience with his interpretation of David Roberts, artist extraordinaire, at the final general meeting of 1994. David Roberts traveled throughout Egypt in 1838-1839 sketching and painting, and finally compiling a marvelous portfolio of the ancient monuments and

"modern" Egyptian scenes. His prints and reprints are now prized by many Egyptophiles.

Born in 1796, David Roberts was a self-taught artist from Scotland, who began his career as a house painter. He honed his skills as a scenery painter at Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres in London and eventually was elected to the Royal Academy. The goal of Roberts' eleven-month journey to Egypt and the Holy Land was to produce images of the ancient monuments for commercial purposes.

Petty, like a quick-change artist, became David Roberts right before our eyes as he assumed the clothing and identity of this famous Scotsman. Thus, the stage was set for us to re-live his travels and experiences in the Land of Egypt.

Petty traced Roberts' progress through Egypt with slides of all of his paintings and interesting anecdotes of his adventures. Upon completing the journey from Alexandria to Cairo, the artist chartered a boat to take him up the Nile from Cairo to Abu Simbel for £15 per month.

Roberts braved the sun, mosquitoes, and snakes for the sake of his art. He had to sink his boat to rid it of rats prior to sailing up the Nile. He was mobbed by the locals when he set up the tools of his trade as they were unused to seeing artists at work. Roberts' companions almost caused an "incident" as they greeted the passing boat of the Pasha Mehemet Ali with loud and enthusiastic hip-hip-hoorays. The royal crew mistook the greeting for something more sinister! However, the misunderstanding was cleared up and the group continued on their somewhat subdued way.

Roberts sometimes minimized the figures in his pictures to enhance the size of the monuments (a trick often used by architects) and also restored (on canvas only!) missing color or other features. His pictures, however, give us a realistic feel for the monuments as they once were -- before the hordes of tourists and excavators put their marks on them and their surroundings. Such scenes as the Sphinx and Temples of Edfu and Abu Simbel, half-buried by the sand, and the Colossi of Memnon inundated by the Nile stir up a feeling of poignancy for a pharaoh's dream of eternal life.

As the icing on the cake of his grand performance, Bill Petty shared with us his personal collection of David Roberts' prints. A number of people became instant fans of the artist as they were privileged to view the actual subscription editions displayed on easels at the back of the auditorium. The lecture and exhibit gave us all a much better appreciation for a marvelous artist.



THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD Presented By David Pepper

ESS Meeting, January 1995
Notes by Judy Greenfield

"Nature abhors a vacuum"....and when human society lacks a strong centralized power, that void, too, is inevitably filled.

ESS member, David Pepper, amply illustrated his talk, *Ancient Egypt's Second Intermediate Period*, with slides of maps, king lists, and artifacts from this elusive time in Egypt's past. The Intermediate Periods in Egyptian history were characterized by chaos and confusion, weak kings, and a divided nation.

Pepper began his presentation with a number of questions. How much do we know about the Middle Kingdom? We know quite a bit, from grave goods, pyramids, ruins, and papyri. How much do we know about the New Kingdom? Our knowledge of the New Kingdom is sizable. Tombs, temples (including Deir-el-Bahri), grave goods (Tut's is perhaps the most famous), and documents (papyrus such as copies of *Book of the Coming Forth by Day* a.k.a. *Book of the Dead*) witness this period from 1550-1070 B.C.E. How much do we know about the years between the Middle and New Kingdoms known as the Second Intermediate Period (c.1785-1550 B.C.E.)? Not much. Why this dearth of information? Comprehensive works don't delve into this period and there are few Second Intermediate Period scholars. Museum collections don't feature many artifacts from this period, either, and excavation reports are also slim.

To better understand this period in Egyptian history, we must look to the neighboring countries at the time. To the north lay the home of the ancient Greeks: the Cycladic culture in the Aegean, and the Minoan culture at Knossos. It has been determined that the latter maintained ties with the Greek mainland and with Egypt.

Mesopotamia, to Egypt's northeast, was home to the Sumerians, who had reconquered the Akkadian invaders of their land. Around 1800 B.C.E., the Elamites entered eastern Mesopotamia, and at the same time, the Amorites, a Semitic people, arrived in western Mesopotamia. Under the Amorites, Babylon became the capital of Mesopotamia and conquered its rival, Syria. Based on artifactual evidence, the arm of the Amorite nation stretched far into Palestine under rulers such as Hammurabi. In the Early Bronze Age (c. 2000 B.C.E.), Palestine, on the northeast shore of the Mediterranean, and much of the Near East, experienced drought and famine. Urban centers were being abandoned and the famous city of Jericho was razed.

Meanwhile in Egypt.... During the 13th Dynasty many minor kings ruled for very short reigns. Even private individuals aspired to kingship and some succeeded for a very short span. Around 1740-1725 B.C.E., Egyptians made punitive raids to the coasts of Palestine. Then, evidence suggests that Egypt itself was overcome around 1640 B.C.E. by foreigners from Palestine and Syria. During this time of invasion, monument building nearly ceased, with little time and money for civil building. Irrigation systems, whose maintenance was traditionally overseen by the king, fell into disrepair. Later texts tell of tyrannical kings who bled the people with burdensome taxes.

Who were these foreigners? The 15th Dynasty in Egypt was ruled by the Hyksos, invaders from the Near East who had overpowered the people of the Black Land. The exact nationality of these "shepherd kings" has not been determined, but they were probably a Semitic people. The origin of the name Hyksos is not even certain, but it may mean rebels, invaders, plague bearers, or foreign rulers. Their dynasty, ruled from the northern capital of Avaris, lasted some 100 years, and co-existed with the southern 17th

Dynasty which ruled from Thebes. These foreigners worshipped Sutekh-Set, a Baal-like war god.

After the Hyksos fled, the Egyptians destroyed their monuments, leaving little in the way of large structures for the archeologists. Pepper speculated that some of the smaller sculptures, considered by some scholars as simply an indigenous, innovative art style, may, in fact, have been made for or inspired by the Hyksos.

Both Egyptian and Palestinian towns of the 15th dynastic period had ramparts of battered stone, long sloped entryways, moated ditches, and steeply sloped defensive walls. The presence of the Hyksos kopesh swords and other weapons typical of the Levant also support the argument that the Hyksos were of Palestinian origin. In addition, Middle Minoan styles on scarab rings (e.g. coiled designs) are representative of their trade with Byblos. Scenes of bull-leaping, imported from Crete, were also depicted in Hyksos culture, and it is known that the Hyksos traded with Crete. It is evident that during this Egyptian "dark age", Phoenicia, Palestine, Syria, and the Black Land all impacted one another.

The Second Intermediate Period ends with Ahmose and his brother, Khamose, reuniting the land. Power was consolidated at the Theban capital and reliefs began to depict the subjugation of foreigners. The New Kingdom had just begun.



THE COFFIN PROJECT
Presented By
The Mummy Study Group and
The Art Study Group

ESS Meeting, February 1995
Notes by Jill Taylor

If you were not there, you should have been! Finally, after months of hard work (and some terrific times), the two study groups unveiled THE COFFIN...And it was beautiful!

Last year, the ESS Mummy Study Group and the
Summer 1995

Art Study Group concocted a project. They proposed to replicate one of the mummiform coffins in the DMNH collection utilizing ancient Egyptian techniques and materials as much as was feasible. During the summer of 1994, the DMNH allocated a space for the project so that museum visitors could observe the on-going project. Docents (ESS volunteers) were on hand to explain the process and to demonstrate the tools (reproduced from in-depth research) which the ancient Egyptians used for building a coffin. The coffin was shaped, gessoed, and painted right before the eyes of thousands of visitors. The project generated so much interest in the community that TV and newspaper crews came to check out the action, and in turn brought in even more visitors due to the prime time and front page coverage.

One of the first things the group discovered was that if the project was to be completed by the end of the summer, some modern tools had to be plugged in! The Egyptians had apprentices to constantly sharpen their blades and repair broken tools, but this group had only volunteers with limited time to offer. However, a lot of research went into discovering what materials were used and how they were developed and assembled, including the types of wood, the recipe for plaster, the tools that were available, the source for the paint pigments, etc.

A taste of this creation process was presented by a short video put together by Bill Petty and Frank Pettee. Scenes of the planning, measuring, carpentry, and painting as well as demonstrations and docents' interpretations were there for all to appreciate.

Each stage of the reproduction of the coffin was explained by a member of the two study groups. Bill Petty introduced the video, Frank Pettee explained the docents' role, Jack Kullman told us about the carpentry, and Alice Gemmell explained the gessoing and painting. Photos, replicas of ancient Egyptian copper tools created by Kullman, references, and various samples of the materials used were also on display.

And then the finale: The mummiform coffin was unveiled and everyone got a chance to view it inside and out. **SEE THE COLOR INSERT!**

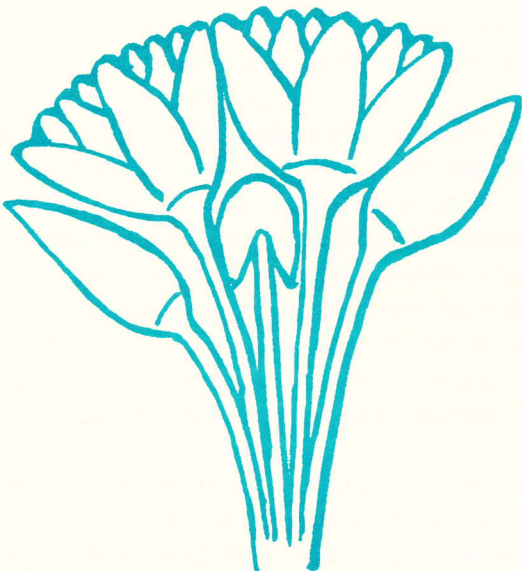
**THE DISCOVERY OF
THE WORLD'S OLDEST ROAD**
Presented By Dr. Thomas Bown

ESS Meeting, March 1995
Notes by David Pepper

Denver-based paleogeologist, Dr. Thomas Bown, presented a fascinating lecture that described his work on the oldest paved road in the world. In conjunction with his colleague, Dr. James Harrell, from the University of Toledo, they have been studying a transportation road that was found in the Faiyum Depression area of Egypt. It was originally thought to date from the time known as the Middle Kingdom.

Bown's research discovered that previously known sections of the road, near a quay on the shore of Lake Moeris, linked up with newly discovered sections which led down from a large basalt quarry some 12 km [7.5 mi.] away in the hills of Gebel el-Qatrani. Following the flagstone paving down from the quarry, curious circles of stones were discovered. Based on a pottery investigation, this proved to be an Old Kingdom quarrymen's camp. This new finding proved the road to be older by some 500 years than the flagstone-paved roads on Crete and Skyros which were previously thought to be the oldest paved roads.

Dr. Bown has written an article detailing his work at this site which will appear in a future issue of *THE OSTRACON*.



**CONSERVATION IN THE SERVICE OF
ARCHEOLOGY**

Presented By Judy Greenfield

ESS Meeting, April 1995
Notes by David Pepper

Judy Greenfield is a member of the ESS and a freelance art conservator, formerly with the Rocky Mountain Conservation Center. Her lecture covered the preservation of artifacts, both ancient and relatively modern. She began with a general discussion of art conservation and the principles which guide it, illustrated various aspects of her work (including an Egyptian cartonnage fragment), and concluded with a summary of the Getty Institute's efforts in the Tomb of Nefertari.

Conservation, a marriage between science and craftsmanship, aims to preserve the artifact and any information it embodies. "Artifact" here can mean anything from a painting to a photograph to a taxidermy specimen to a historic building to wall paintings in an ancient Egyptian tomb. Unless archeological discoveries are stabilized and preserved before they are exhibited, there will be little left for future generations to see. Greenfield discussed her work on a variety of materials: cloth, leather, plaster, wood, and metal. Each of these types requires a unique conservation method.

The first part of her presentation illustrated the materials with which the conservator works: cleaning and restoration chemicals, glues and epoxies, paints and solvents, and a needle and thread - to name just a few. The lecture was illustrated with slides of conservators at work, touching up artworks, mending, patching, and reassembling a variety of objects. Often working in teams, these specialists can bring objects which appear to be little more than junk back to life. Surprising discoveries can sometimes be made along the way, and gleaning information about the artifact is an important facet of art conservation. Greenfield showed a slide of a portrait painting of a woman (c. mid-19th century) brought to the Rocky Mountain Conservation Center to be cleaned. Upon examination, her colleagues realized that an entire section of the painting had been painted

over. Removal of this "new" paint revealed that a child had originally been painted sitting next to its mother. It was speculated that perhaps its grieving parent had had the youngster's portrait overpainted after its death.

Many of the restoration projects the audience was shown looked not only time-consuming, but very demanding of technical training and artistic talent. Using x-radiography, Greenfield showed how a set of medieval bone-handled blades she had worked on while in England were constructed. She not only cleaned and mounted a set of these utensils, but produced three-view assembly drawings, showing how each blade was attached to its handle. She also described how a bone or antler die may have been "loaded" several hundred years ago!

The next part of the lecture focused on the conservation of ancient Egyptian materials. Greenfield was charged with conserving a decorated fragment of ancient Egyptian cartonnage from a mummy case. This mummy mask of plaster and gesso was badly fragmented. First, it had to be stabilized and a reversible mount created so that it could be displayed vertically in the owner's home. For a thorough description of her work, and an explanation of Bob Hanawalt's translation of its hieroglyphs, see the Summer/Winter '94 issue of ***THE OSTRACON***.

We then "visited" the tomb of Nefertari in Egypt. Through the millennia, the tomb's wall paintings have suffered deterioration. This is largely due to the nature of the limestone walls from which the tomb is carved. Salt deposits within the rock have caused the plaster and paint to fall off. Greenfield explained how the Getty Institute has done considerable work in this tomb for the past 10 years and has recorded in painstaking detail their exacting methods of restoration. The Getty staff used old photos and drawings to see which areas had been subjected to "modern" restorations and how extensively the paintings have deteriorated through time.

The Institute's work included removing the modern reconstruction and associated art work in order to return the fresco to its state when the earliest drawings and photos were done. Greenfield showed slides of a scene that

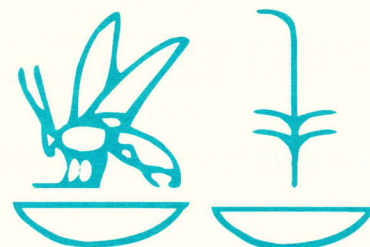
included a seated figure on a chair which, over the last hundred years, had been restored more and more inaccurately as time passed.

In addition, large sections of the plaster on the walls of this tomb had flaked away from its bedrock backing due to mineral crystallization (which has actually been present in the tomb since antiquity because the sepulcher had not been carved from the best quality of rock). The fragile plaster sections have been carefully glued back onto the walls by the conservators using hypodermic syringes filled with glue!

Further conservation efforts involved removing previous restorations and replacing gaps in the image with a mud plaster similar to that used by the ancient artists. The fills were textured, to help visually blend them yet still make them distinguishable from the original plaster. The basic idea was to leave as much of the original scene as possible, but upon close inspection to clearly show which areas had been destroyed. Sometimes light lines would be painted in the restored areas to help them blend into the scene, but they were always kept clearly recognizable as a restoration and not hidden as part of the original scene.

Studies of the tomb's climate, as well as visitors' impact on the tomb, were also carried out by the G.C.I.

ESS members have been treated with fascinating presentations covering the processes of locating and excavating artifacts and on the interpretations of how they were used or what they mean. At Judy Greenfield's lecture, we had a chance to hear how these artifacts are taken care of. The work of the conservator, that unsung hero in the back rooms of museums, will enable future generations to view and study these objects which are a vital part of the heritage of humanity.



HOUSE OF SCROLLS



MUSEUM REVIEW

The Egyptian Collection of The National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, Netherlands

by Graeme Davis

The Dutch National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden) is situated in Leiden, about 20 minutes by train from Amsterdam's Schipol airport and a similar distance from the nation's capital at the Hague (den Haag). Its three floors of exhibition space include displays of the archeology of the Netherlands as well as Classical and Etruscan material, but of most interest to ESS members will be the Egyptian collections.

The museum's Egyptian collection takes up part of the first and second floors (ground and first floors to the Dutch), and starts even before you pay the small fee to get in. The spacious lobby is dominated by a small Egyptian temple from Nubia, rescued from the rising waters of Lake Nasser. Egypt presented it to the Netherlands in 1969 in recognition of the UNESCO campaign to save a number of monuments from high waters caused by the Aswan Dam.

The bulk of the collection came from two main sources in the 1820s. The Egyptian government also donated certain carvings in recognition of financial support by the Dutch royal family.

The ground floor is given over mainly to statuary and wall-carvings. There is an impressive

collection of offering-tables, one of which, away from the others and easily overlooked, is circular and lavishly carved with the names of the seven sacred oils and instructions for each step of the food ritual. Notable among the wall-carvings are several panels from the tomb of Tutankhamun's general, Horemheb.

On the first floor is an impressive collection of mummies and mummy-cases, including cats, fish, crocodiles, and other animal mummies as well as humans. There are many painted mummy-cases, as well as slipper coffins and Faiyum portraits. The mummy collection is laid out in spacious and well-lit modern display cases, making it less cramped and more accessible than the mummy collections of many other museums. However, the light levels may be rather higher than is desirable for the preservation of the paint on the mummy-cases and the papyri which are displayed hanging above some of them.

On the subject of papyri, it is noted in several books that the d'Anastasy collection, located in this museum, is one of the best collections of Hellenistic magical papyri in the world. Some prior arrangement with the museum might be necessary to see this collection, however, as the only papyri on open display were two or three exhibited alongside the mummy cases.

The National Museum of Antiquities is well worth the attention of ESS members who find themselves in the Netherlands on business or vacation. One disappointment was the museum's bookstore, which was very small and did not support the Egyptian collection as it deserves. While its Egyptian collection cannot rival the sheer volume of Egyptian antiquities in the Louvre or the British Museum, it is still a large enough collection to be of international significance, displayed in a very appealing and accessible way.



THE DENVER MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

2001 Colorado Blvd.
Denver, CO 80205