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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE current number of this *Journal* is the seventh and last volume for which the present editor is responsible. It would be safe to say that since assuming the editorship in 1979 his dominant concern has had to be increasing costs of production. This has led to a reduction in the size of the *Journal* and has also compelled him to adopt a much more draconic editorial control over material submitted and published than would have been the case in earlier and happier days. Fortunately, financial problems have recently been rendered in some degree less pressing by the introduction of new printing technology which has arrested the upward spiral of production costs while, at the same time, allowing us to maintain the high printing standards which are one of the hallmarks of this publication. Teething problems there certainly have been, but the new methods are now firmly established, and the Oxford University Press is to be congratulated on the speed and efficiency with which it has achieved these standards. However, whatever measures are taken to maintain the economic viability of the *Journal*, it is safe to say that financial stringency will continue to dog the editor's footsteps, and he will continue to require a measure of forbearance from contributors and readers.

The Society undertook field-work this year at Memphis, Saqqâra, and El-'Amarna:

Memphis: In 1984 the Memphis Survey worked from 7 October to 24 December, the team comprising Professor and Mrs H. S. Smith, Mr Saif al-Islam 'Abd al-Qadir, Miss Janine Bourriau, Miss Rachel Campbell, Mrs Nicole Douek, Mr Peter French, Miss Helen Ganiaris, Dr Lisa L. Giddy, Mr David G. Jeffreys, Dr Jaromir Malek, Miss Helen McKeown, and Mr J. D. Ray. Mr and Mrs Ian Mathieson again joined the team for two weeks in November to undertake resistivity survey. The Society wishes to express its special gratitude to Dr Ahmed Kadri, chairman of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, for facilitating permission to work, and for lending the administrative and scientific co-operation of the EAO to the expedition. Many of its officials helped the Society in administrative matters, especially Dr 'Ali el-Khouli, Dr Ahmed Moussa, Dr Nassif Hassan, and Mr Fouad Yacoub. In 1984, for the first time, the newly founded Department of Egyptian Art at the State University of Memphis, Tennessee, made a major financial contribution to the Society's work at Memphis. This most welcome and valuable aid was contributed under an agreement with the Society for members of the staff and students of Memphis State University to co-operate scientifically in the work.

As part of the continuing archaeological survey, a site was selected for excavation on the north-west side of Kôm Rabî'a, 100 m south of the main Saqqâra-Bedrashein road. An area of 500 sq. m was cleared of vegetation and stripped to reveal part of a complex of residential urban structures of the Nineteenth Dynasty, divided into three main groups within the excavated area. Structures in the west were more spacious and comprised rooms and courtyards containing ovens. The eastern block, which is clearly defined by a north-south wall that continued as a property boundary in the next phase of occupation, consisted of two small houses, each entered from a brick-paved courtyard across a limestone threshold. The

more southerly of these two properties contained a large domed brick silo, with a narrow street leading to it from the north. This street defined the central block, which consisted of two properties, the more northerly of which seems to be a variation of the 'standard' four-room New-Kingdom house known from Amarna (workmen's village), Deir el-Medîna, and East Karnak.

Faunal remains from the site studied by Dr Howard Hecker, of the American Research Center in Egypt, showed a preponderance of pig as well as, surprisingly, some human long bones in the south-west corner. An intact assemblage of flints found in a room of the central block may have been used for working some soft vegetable fibre. Large quantities of pottery were recovered, proving to be predominantly of late Eighteenth Dynasty and early to mid Nineteenth Dynasty date, even in the upper, more contaminated contexts. Metal (chiefly copper-alloy) objects were plentiful, proving on cleaning to be chiefly tools such as chisels, awls, bodkins, etc. Little inscribed material was recovered from the contexts so far removed: several inscribed scarabs/scaraboids (two of Ramesses II in the more secure contexts), and two fragments of a limestone lintel of Sethnakht, lector-priest of Ptaḥ, were found in the fill of the silo in the south-east corner, close to the more southerly limestone threshold.

Dr Malek and Miss McKeown examined and recorded blocks in an open room of the 'Petrie Magazine' at Mît Rahîna, as further work towards the first instalment of the Systematic Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions and Sculptures from Memphis (SCHISM). Most of the blocks in this room proved to have belonged to the Throne Room and adjacent rooms of the palace of Merenptah on Kôm Qala'a, excavated by C. S. Fisher (1915-18).

Saqqâra: The staff of the expedition were Dr G. T. Martin, Mrs R. Walker, Mr D. A. Aston, Dr M. Raven, Mr H. van Winkel, and Mr P.-J. Bomhof. Professor H. D. Schneider visited the site briefly during the course of the season. The expedition is grateful to friends and colleagues in the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, in particular Muhammad Ibrahim Aly (Director of Saqqâra), and Osama Fahmy el-Hamzawy, and Mahmoud Abu el-Wafa (Inspectors of Antiquities, Saqqâra). Once again the expedition is greatly indebted to Dr and Mrs R. Peters (Netherlands Institute, Cairo) for much practical assistance. The major objective of the joint EES-Rijksmuseum, Leiden, expedition this season (3 January to 28 February 1985) was the excavation of the shaft and chambers of the tomb-chapel of Iurufef, steward of the princess Tia and her husband Tia, located within the latter's funerary complex at Saqqâra, and this was successfully achieved. The detailed planning of the subterranean parts, and the completion of the examination of the skeletal material found, have been held over until 1986. The tomb chambers were on two levels, both Ramesside in date, the upper complex being reused for intrusive burials at a later period. Rooms opening to north and south in the upper level and those to the south in the lower contained some seventy-five burials, in the form of mummiform coffins, rectangular coffins, papyrus coffers, and rolled palm-stick mats, others being completely uncoffined. The upper chambers had been entered by plunderers, who had greatly disturbed the deposit, though probably most of the material has survived, since the burials here are comparatively poor. However, the discovery will prove of great interest from many points of view, given the number and variety of coffins present. Virtually all the skeletal material was preserved, providing much-needed evidence from the anthropological point of view. The burial chambers of the upper level had been set on fire in antiquity, and in the charred layer beneath the intrusive burials were found many objects from the original Ramesside interments, including parts of the burial equipment of Iurufef himself (including a magnificent shabti) and of members of his family or household. In contrast to the intrusive burials (which, as yet, cannot be closely dated) the original burial objects can be dated within the reign of Ramesses II.

Further burial equipment of this date was found in the chambers at the lower level, and these rooms had not been reused, though, as expected, they had been plundered in antiquity.

The pottery found in the shaft and chambers remains to be studied in detail next season. Most of it is certainly Ramesside, and amongst this dated material are fragments of associated imported wares, Mycenaean and Palestinian.

In view of the comparative scarcity of contexted coffin material from the Memphite necropolis a special effort was made to record in minute detail the various specimens of coffins by means of scale drawings, photographs, and iconographical description. A few of the coffins were inscribed, some with pseudo or meaningless hieroglyphs.

El-'Amarna: The 1985 season of excavation began on 21 January and ended on 28 March. The team consisted of Mr B. J. Kemp (director), Miss Ann Bomann, Mrs Linda Hulin, Miss Janet Richards, Mrs Ann Cornwell (site supervisors), Miss Pamela Rose, Mr Paul Nicholson (pottery), Mr Ian Shaw (registrar and Hatnub Survey), Dr Howard Hecker (animal bones), Miss Frances Weatherhead (painted plaster), Mrs Barbara Garfi, Mr Andrew Boyce (artists), Mr Salvatore Garfi (Amarna Survey), and Mr Christopher Hulin (house maintenance). Mr Peter French was present for much of the season carrying out a separate study project on Late-Period pottery at the South Tombs. The Egyptian Antiquities Organization was represented by Ibrahim Mohammed el-Saidi, who also acted as a site supervisor, and by Muhammad Abd el-Hamid Khallaf, who accompanied the Hatnub Survey and South Tombs pottery project. To them, to the members of the Permanent Committee, to Dr Ahmed Kadri, and Dr 'Ali el-Khouli in Cairo, and to their colleagues in El-Minia—Mahmoud Hamza, Samir Anis, and Adel Hassan—a heartfelt expression of gratitude is due for enabling another successful season of field-work to take place. The expedition is also much indebted to Mr C. Keirle and the Hong-Kong Egyptian Bank for the loan of a four-wheel drive vehicle, and to Mr Ian Mathieson for the loan of an electric theodolite.

The excavations were again confined to the Workmen's Village, but within several different parts of the site:

- 1 Area north of Chapels 570/1 (Linda Hulin). A block of seven 5 m squares was excavated revealing an entirely new set of animal pens terraced down the hillside on two levels. Their design is very similar to that of the group uncovered in 1983, and they are identified as pig pens.
- 2 Southern edge of Building 400 (Janet Richards). The two squares left unexcavated in 1983 were completed. They contained two sets of the standard pen and yard arrangement for pig rearing, although one of the pens had later been blocked up when filled with rubbish.
- 3 Building 540/1, originally excavated in 1921. The re-clearance of this building has added many important details and revealed that it was certainly not a chapel. Instead it must have formed part of the range of buildings connected with the raising of pigs. The discovery immediately outside of a dump of storage jars heavily encrusted with salt may be a sign that meat was packed in the building for transportation outside the village. In addition to clearing the sand from within this building three small enclosures built against the outside walls were excavated for the first time.
- 4 Area east of the Walled Village (Ann Bomann). A group of five 5 m squares was excavated. On the west side, a short section of the village enclosure wall was exposed, revealing that, as on the south side, no buildings had been constructed against it. Instead, an open space was left to allow access to various buildings which occupy the ground to the east of the village. One of these was yet another set of animal pens of the now familiar type.

- 5 Gate Street 8 (Ibrahim M. el-Saidi, Ann Cornwell). This is one of the brick houses inside the Village which had been left by Peet and Woolley. Despite some modern disturbance, much valuable evidence was recovered, particularly from the main central room and one of the rear rooms where the floor deposits remained intact.
- 6 West Street. An excavation was started to locate West Street houses numbers 1 and 2, supposed by Peet and Woolley to occupy the south-western corner of the Village. Neither house, in fact, exists. Part of the area is occupied by an open space and by a row of small rooms and enclosures built against the south wall. Most of these must belong to an early stage in the Village's history since by the time the site was abandoned they were largely buried in rubbish.

The Amarna Survey (Salvatore Garfi) continued. The sheet for the Central City was completed, and a good start made on the next one, which covers the Great Aten Temple. The contouring of the Central City brings out striking changes in levels, particularly around the King's House and Great Palace, implying extensive terracing. A large part of a 1 : 250 scale map of the Workmen's Village was also completed.

Faunal analysis (Dr Howard Hecker). In addition to further identifications of species present in the animal bones collected from the excavation, a minute examination was carried out on a portion of the floor in the Outer Hall of the Main Chapel first excavated in 1983. A small but valuable collection of fish and bird bones plus craft debris was recovered, which sheds light on the activities of those who anciently used the chapel.

Pottery (Pamela Rose, Paul Nicholson). The registration of sherds from selected deposits for computer analysis continued, and in the case of the sherds from the 1981 North City excavations was completed. It is also proving possible to reconstruct groups of vessels from undisturbed deposits, such as those in Gate Street house 8, and thus to gain a clearer picture of pottery in use in given areas as distinct from pottery anciently discarded as rubbish.

Painted wall plaster from the Main Chapel (Frances Weatherhead). A most successful reconstruction was carried out of a panel containing one of the vultures from the corridor of the Sanctuary; for this modern lightweight materials were used.

South Tombs Late Period pottery project (Peter French, Andrew Boyce). In the late nineteenth century the South Tombs were cleared of their filling of sand and other debris. With certain of them the debris included large quantities of pottery, the bulk of which seems to represent a brief but intensive period of use in the eighth or seventh centuries BC. More than 200 pottery drawings have been prepared.

Hatnub Survey (Ian Shaw). A start was made at the beginning of the season on a study of the ancient settlement remains around the Hatnub quarries. This involved beginning a catalogue of the many huts, multi-chambered buildings, and small shrines built of stone which cover an extensive area of ground and the preparation of a topographic map.

Finally, the new editor. From 1986 *JEA* will be in the hands of Dr A. Leahy of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Birmingham. He will be well known to many readers as an expert on the Late Period, particularly the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and the distinction of his published work leaves no doubt that the *Journal* is passing into the most capable of hands.

THE SURVEY OF MEMPHIS, 1983

By H. S. SMITH and D. G. JEFFREYS

THE Egypt Exploration Society undertook the third season of its centenary campaign, to survey and record the monuments and ruins of ancient Memphis, between 20 October and 28 December 1983. The Society is deeply grateful to Dr Aḥmed Ḳadry, Senior Under-Secretary of State and Head of the Antiquities Organization, and to his colleagues, for their assistance in organizing this work; also to Mr Sa'id el-Fikey, Director of Antiquities for Saqqâra and Memphis, and to Mr Muḥammad Yusuf, Inspector of Antiquities attached to the expedition, for their daily help and co-operation with the work on site. The Society's staff were H. S. Smith, Mrs H. F. Smith, D. G. Jeffreys, P. G. French, W. J. Tait, and Miss M. Kamish. Mr and Mrs I. J. Mathieson again gave their generous assistance by undertaking a resistivity survey on a selected part of Kôm Fakhry.

Following the successful survey of the southern part of the ruin-field (Kôms Sabakha, Helûl, Rabî'a, and Fakhry) in 1981¹ and 1982,² the northern group of mounds (Kôms Khanzâr, Ṭumân, Dafbâby, and 'Azîz) was surveyed in 1983. This leaves only the mound beneath Mît Rahîna village, and the eastern group of mounds within the military camp (Kôms Qala'a, Arba'in and Nawa), as well as the outlying mounds beneath modern villages, to be surveyed at a later date. Jeffreys undertook all the topographical surveying, contour mapping, levelling, and planning of individual sites, while Smith, Mrs Smith, and Miss Kamish traversed the mounds at the north, and certain neglected localities at the south, recording all the loose blocks and stray architectural elements, whether inscribed or not. Localities, given temporary numbers for the purposes of this report, are described by Smith first; identified sites of standing remains are then described by Jeffreys, with comments on their topographical interest. Tait worked on the papyri, principally letters, from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqâra, in preparation for *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, II.

Inscribed blocks and architectural elements

On the north side of the Bedrashein-Saqqâra motor road, 430 m ENE of the 'Abu'l-Ḥol' colossus of Ramesses II in the Mît Rahîna Museum (see fig. 1.2), were observed fragments of a pink granite colossal statue of a king, almost certainly of Ramesside date, comprising part of a double crown (see pl. 1, 1), a *nemes*-headdress, pleated skirt, leg, back-pillar, and other (unidentified) fragments. Bonomi in 1843

¹ H. S. Smith, D. G. Jeffreys, and J. Malek, *JEA* 69 (1983), 30-42.

² D. G. Jeffreys, J. Malek, and H. S. Smith, *JEA* 70 (1984), 23-32.

noted the position of a colossal pink statue, of which the fist is in the British Museum, some 450 yards (411.5 m) east of 'Abu'l-Ḥol';³ almost certainly these fragments are part of that statue. Its position lies where the eastern approach to the Ptaḥ-temple enclosure crosses the south-north axis of the Merneptah Palace building on Kôm Qala'a, an appropriate location either for a single statue or for a pair. Also on the eastern approach to the Ptaḥ temple, within the east enclosure wall, was found a group of pink granite blocks (see fig. 1.3); these included an incised relief of a king which is identical to one found by Hekekyan in 1852-4.⁴ It may have formed part of a gate or way-shrine along the Sacred Way.

To the north of Kôm Khanzîr stood a group of three pink granite basins or mortars (see fig. 1.4) with, close by to the north, two large blocks of reworked basalt, excavated by el-Ḥitta in the 1950s.⁵ North-west of these, in a trench dug by Petrie along the south side of the north wall of the Ptaḥ enclosure (see fig. 1.5), were limestone flooring slabs, a yellow limestone basin, and a damaged pink granite relief block showing Ptaḥ in his booth. The presence of these blocks suggests a monumental building of the Roman (?) period, perhaps connected with the site of Kôm Khanzîr, a little to the south-east (see below).

To the west and north of the modern military camp on Kôm Nawa (see fig. 1.6, 7) are a number of scattered clusters of blocks, mostly of pink granite, which probably derive from a major New Kingdom temple. One of these pieces, however, a small black granite block, bears the cartouche of Ammenemes II, and it is interesting to note that as long ago as 1843 Lepsius had recorded monuments of Ammenemes II at this spot.⁶ Some of the blocks, notably the column fragments, were reworked in antiquity and, as found, probably belong to a very late site, perhaps associated with the large limestone gate (see fig. 1G) recorded by Petrie⁷ and later noted by Dimick to be surrounded by Hellenistic pottery.⁸ Petrie records a paved road of granite leading east from this gate (which he tentatively connects with the documented 'Way of Anubis'), and on the eastern edge of the ruin-field, in line with this feature, we located a group of large pink granite columns (see fig. 1.10), sawn lengthwise and much worn, which might belong to such a road. They bore abraded cartouches and titularies, probably of Ramesses II, and may well indicate the proximity of a New Kingdom site. A limestone fragment bearing the prenomen of Amenophis III was also present here.

On the east wall of Petrie's 'camp' (called the 'Northern Enclosure' in the Topographical Bibliography),⁹ between Kôm Tûmân and Dafbâby (see fig. 1.8) was found a half-cornice, suggesting the presence of a gateway, and perhaps to be connected with a large white-plastered chamber or recess in the south wall of the

³ J. Bonomi, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.* 2, 2 (1847), 302 and plate.

⁴ J. Hekekyan MS (BL Add.) 37454.141 Vo.

⁵ Saqqâra Photo Archive (SPA), Box 71.1049.

⁶ K. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, 1, 9(d); Text, 203.

⁷ W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis I* (1909), 4, 10, pls. i (H?), xxvii.

⁸ J. Dimick, *Survey map of Memphis* (1955), no. 8.

⁹ *PM III* (2), 830.

Memphis 1983

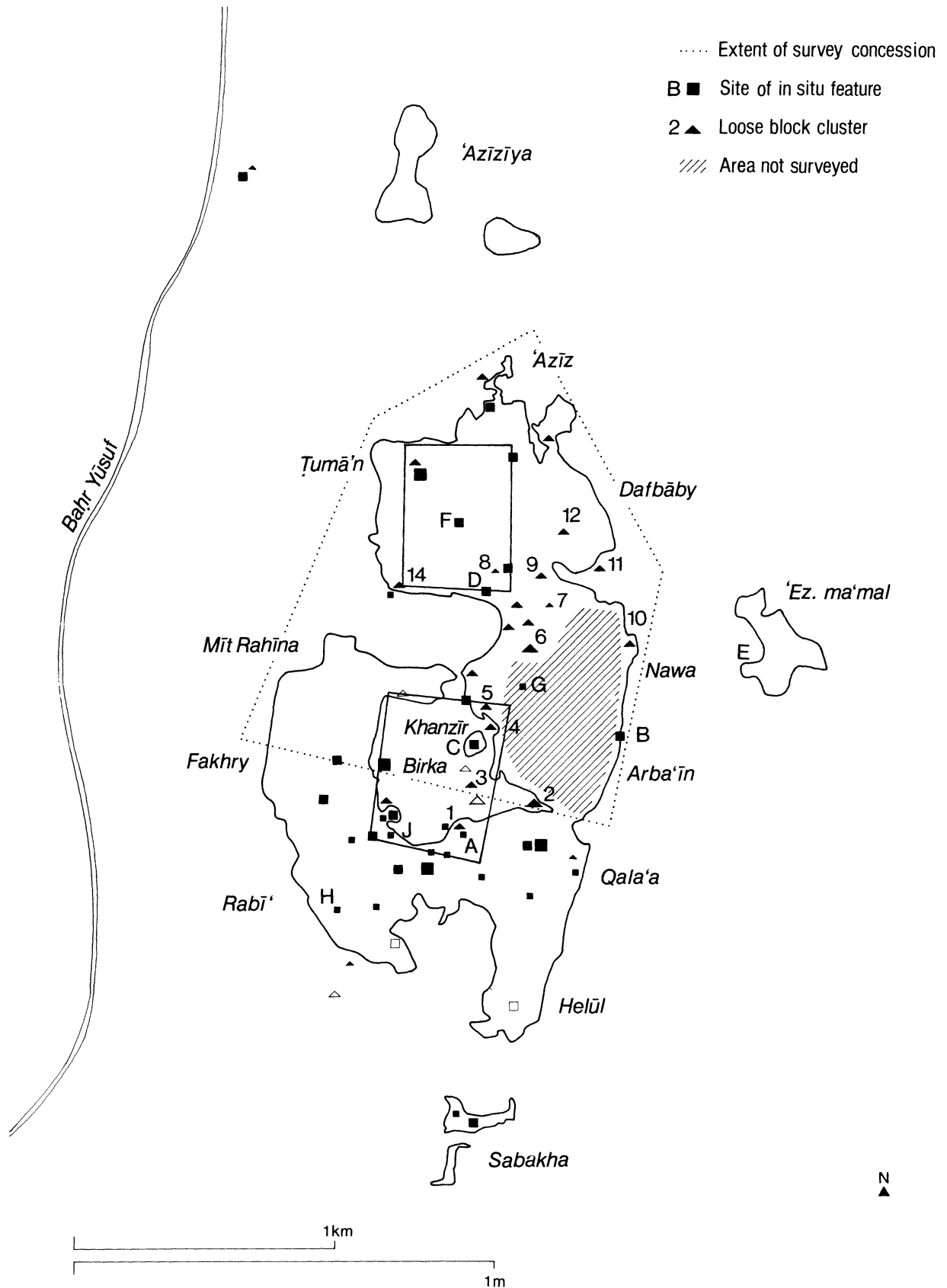


FIG. 1

enclosure (see fig. 1D). A Tuscan column-capital nearby is, however, more probably to be associated with a site of considerable interest to the east (see fig. 1.9). Here we found Corinthian column-capitals and fluted drums, associated with other architectural elements of Late Roman date, thrown up by army trenching in the 1970s. Fragments of similar pieces scattered through the palm groves of Dafbâby (see fig. 1.11) may also have come from this site. A little to the north (see fig. 1.12) is another group of architectural elements of this period, some of which may still be *in situ*.

Evidence for other buildings of the Late Roman Period is to be found at the village of 'Ezbet Gâbry, where large yellow limestone basins, limestone flooring slabs, and very large (reused) granite elements (see fig. 1.14), all suggest that the militarily advantageous site of the Apries Palace mound and enclosure was occupied right up to the abandonment of the site. Blocks recorded by us at fig. 1.1 derive from the excavation by Tahir of an apsidal building (see fig. 1A) inside the south-east corner of the Ptaḥ enclosure.¹⁰

Standing remains

Our understanding of the topography of ancient Memphis has been greatly advanced in the last year by the discovery in the British Library Department of Manuscripts of the records of Joseph Hekekyan, an Armenian civil engineer who in 1851 was commissioned to carry out geological soundings at Heliopolis and Memphis.¹¹ The work, sponsored by Leonard Horner of the Geological Society of London, and by the Royal Society, was ostensibly to record the rise in the water-table during the annual rise of the river, and to calculate the rise in the alluvial flood-plain since antiquity. Under Hekekyan's enthusiastic direction the work took on a more ambitious aspect, and ended with his discovery of parts of at least thirteen colossal statues, including that which now adorns the central railway station in Cairo, as well as numerous segments of *in-situ* buildings and pavements. In view of Hekekyan's prominent place in the history of the exploration of Memphis, and of his almost complete obscurity as far as the Egyptological literature is concerned, we propose to present those parts of Hekekyan's journals and correspondence which relate to Memphis in a future fascicule of the final survey report.

A group of granite blocks was found in a position corresponding to Hekekyan's 'east gate of the Ptaḥ sanctuary' (fig. 1.3): one of these pieces bears part of a relief figure wearing a horned crown, which was excavated by Hekekyan in 1852, together with another block showing the lower part of the same figure.¹² The relocation of these blocks gives us a very fair idea of the positions of two of his more extensive sites, one to the south ('Excavation VII'), where a row of pedestals and an east-facing doorway were found *in situ*. This is almost certainly part of the inner sanctuary of the Ptaḥ temple, and the only such building known to have survived the ravages of the Middle Ages. Inscriptions on the pedestals, copied by Hekekyan, show the

¹⁰ SPA, File 48,83.

¹¹ *WWWE* (2), 138-9.

¹² Hekekyan MS 37454.141Vo.

cartouches of Ramesses II, Merneptah, and Psammetichus, as well as the late form of the cartouche of the Aten.¹³ To the north, a pavement incorporating reused blocks of a building of Akhenaten¹⁴ was found (later described by Sir Charles Nicholson),¹⁵ and here the early form of the Aten cartouche is exhibited.

We have been able to identify other sites of Hekekyan that are of exceptional interest: he claims to have excavated part of the Nilometer of Memphis in 1852, on the eastern edge of the mound we now call Arba'in (see fig. 1B), and to have seen sections of the riverside wall to the north of this excavation.¹⁶ From his manuscript maps we were able in 1983 to relocate his excavation and clear some of the collapsed material away from the site, to confirm the date of the building as Roman, possibly Hadrianic. The function of the structures must remain in doubt until further work can be done here; however, the identification of the long north-south stretches of wall (see pl. 1, 2) as parts of the riverside defence works seems inescapable. The surrounding and covering stratigraphy also showed that the structure remained in use well into the Islamic Period (it is in fact the only part of the site where extensive occupation at this time can be demonstrated) and accords well with medieval accounts stating that the Memphis Nilometer remained in use until the completion of the Rôda Gauge,¹⁷ and that its whereabouts was still known in the fourteenth century AD.¹⁸

We observed similar masonry at 'Ezbet el-Ma'mal, a village built on rising ground to the east of, and physically distinct from, the main body of the ruin-field. Here a saltpetre works was established in the 1820s by Moḥammad 'Aly,¹⁹ consisting of a wide concrete platform on a hard core of rubble masonry. The occurrence of Late Ptolemaic and Roman sherds nearby (see fig. 1E) suggests that the nineteenth-century architects might have made use of a pre-existing ancient site, which would be a candidate for one of the 'islands of Memphis' known to have existed until the sixth century AD.²⁰

An enigmatic building at Kôm Khanzîr, in the north-east corner of the Ptaḥ enclosure, was excavated by Hekekyan, who found sunken basins, segments of limestone pavement, and a curious 'altar' on which he found 'cylindrical vases filled with grey ash' (actually jar stands).²¹ Very little now remains of the structures recorded by him, but some of the pavement has survived and was drawn by the Survey, along with five whole or fragmentary basins which seem to have been found in subsequent work (see fig. 1C).

The Late Roman architectural fragments noted on Kôm Dafbâby (see above and fig. 1.9) appear to be associated with raw-brick walls visible in the side of the army

¹³ Hekekyan MS 37452.261.

¹⁴ Hekekyan MS 37454.57Vo.

¹⁵ C. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca* (1891), 117-34.

¹⁶ Hekekyan MS 37452.277-81.

¹⁷ Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ miṣr* (1922), 16. 21-2.

¹⁸ Al-Qalqashandi, *Subḥ* 3 (1914), 298.

¹⁹ 'Aly Mubâarak, *Khitat* (1969), 9.14. We are grateful to G. Alleaume of the Institut français, Cairo, for sight of her forthcoming translation and commentary of 'Aly Mubâarak.

²⁰ *JEA* 69 (1983), 40.

²¹ Hekekyan MS 37452.273-4.

trench. Although there is as yet no firm identification of this structure, it is worth noting that statues from a third- or fourth-century AD temple of Mithras were observed in this area as long ago as 1849,²² and the pieces observed by us might derive either from such a building or from a church established, as was not uncommon, on the site of the pagan temple.

In addition to the scheduled field-work of the Survey, two co-operative pieces of work were undertaken in 1983. The first of these was the small chapel ('oratory') of Sethos I on Kôm Rabî'a, just within the south-west corner of the Ptaḥ temple enclosure wall (see fig. 1J). This had been included in the survey in 1982 at the basic map scale of 1 : 1000, but had not been planned in more detail because it is no longer in its original position, having been raised and reconstructed by the Antiquities Organization in the 1960s. However, in 1983 the late Dr Labib Habachi, who excavated this monument in 1950,²³ and Mme Berlandini-Keller, who had begun work with him on the publication of the chapel, requested a large-scale plan to accompany their publication. A plan was, therefore, made at a scale of 1 : 50, and levels readings taken for axonometric projections.

The second co-operative undertaking was the planning and levelling of two sites which were being excavated by the Antiquities Organization in advance of local building programmes. Both excavations were supervised by Mr Muḥammad Râshid, Inspector of Antiquities at Memphis, at whose request the planning was carried out. The second of these two sites (see fig. 1H) showed two phases of domestic occupation, apparently both of New Kingdom date and both lying over 2 m above the level of the Ramesside temple floors to the east. This recalls the disparity of levels noted at the First Intermediate Period cemetery on Kôm Fakhry,²⁴ and suggests that the nucleus of the earlier part of the city extended at least as far south as this.

The routine taking of levels readings continued in all parts of the 1983 Survey concession. One fact to emerge is that the Roman 'riverside wall', although greatly reduced since Hekekyan's day, is preserved at a height greater than that of the Ramesside temple floors, suggesting a rise in ground level at the river edge of at least 1 m during the first millennium BC.

An additional project this season was the routine plotting of some of the massive brick enclosure walls to be seen at the site, other than those of the Ptaḥ temple and the Northern Enclosure (Petrie's 'camp'). These raw-brick walls must have been an important feature of the city in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, if not earlier, and we have tentatively identified enclosures on Kôm Arba'in and Qala'a, to the east and south-east of the Ptaḥ temple respectively, as well as recording clear evidence of additional enclosures to the north and south of the Northern Enclosure (Kôm Tumân and Dafbâby), suggesting that the oval depression between Mît Rahîna and Tumân might, like the central depression, denote another (sacred?) enclosure at this point, and not a Sacred Lake as suggested by Petrie.²⁵

²² A. von Laurin, *Sitzungsb. Kai. Akad. Wien* (Phil.-Hist. 2), (1849), 252-4; A. Wiedemann, *Wiener Z.K.M.* 31 (1924), 310-12.

²³ L. Habachi, in R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh* 1955 (1959), 4 n. 8.

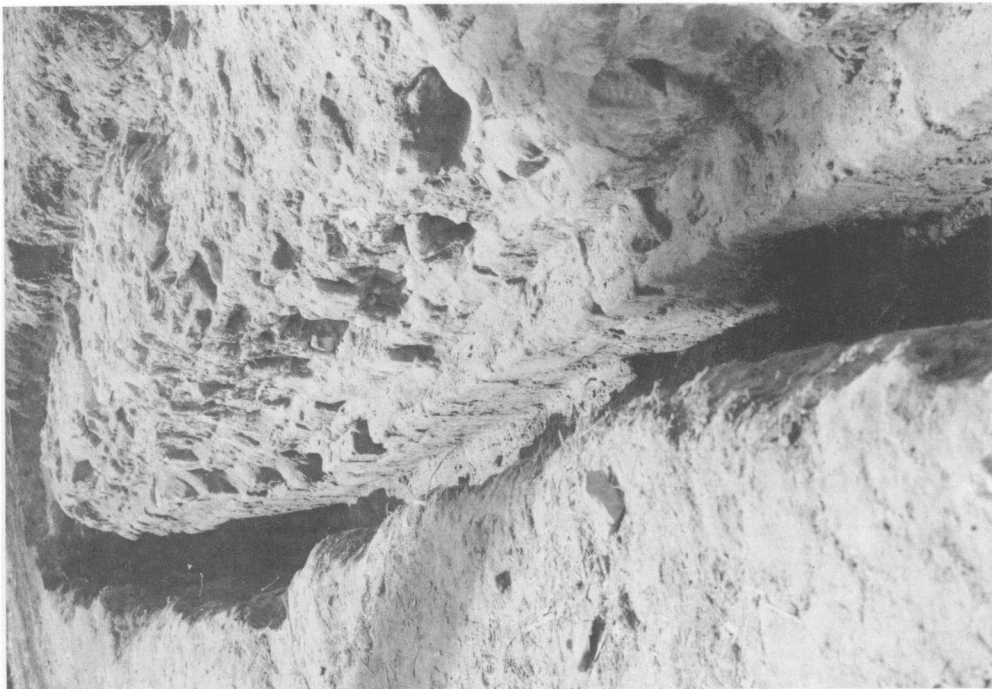
²⁴ *JEA* 69 (1983), 40, fig. 5.

²⁵ Petrie, *Memphis I* (1909), 3, pl. i.

It is conceivable that some, if not all, of these enclosures are those of the self-contained foreign quarters of the city, housing the disparate ethnic groups (Syrians, Idumaeans, Jews, Persians, Greeks) who lived here. Petrie's contention that the foreign quarter must have been on Qala'a, because that was where the majority of terracottas of non-native ethnic types were found, is more difficult to accept today: the identification of the 'Temple of Proteus' of Herodotus with the palace precinct of Merneptah is dubious in view of Fisher's discovery that the palace was destroyed at a comparatively early date,²⁶ and that, certainly by the mid-sixth century BC, the site must have been buried to a depth of several metres of occupation deposits, except at the south gate, where the high portals remained standing above the accumulated debris.

Much further work will be required in future seasons to confirm and clarify the existence, extent, and identity of these and other enclosures. Such investigations must, however, await the establishment of a sound stratigraphic sequence for Memphis, which will be the next task of the EES Survey: to this end, a site for excavation on Kôm Rabî'a, to the south-east of the early Middle Kingdom cemetery, has been selected for excavation in 1984.

²⁶ C. S. Fisher, *Penns. Univ. Mus. Journal* 8 (1917), 227; 12 (1921), 30.



2. Burnt-brick and limestone riverside wall of Roman date



1. Part of double crown from pink-granite colossus: site 2

THE SURVEY OF MEMPHIS, 1983

QAŞR IBRÎM 1984

By J. A. ALEXANDER and B. DRISKELL

It had been intended to devote this season to completing the study of the Early and Classic Christian remains at Qaşr Ibrîm, but, on arrival, the extremely low level of Lake Nasser made a partial change of plan necessary. The eastern quarter of the walled settlement had been flooded before more than a small test excavation could be carried out (*JEA* 61 (1975), 27), and it had always been assumed that this part of the site had been destroyed. A drop in the lake's level of some 10 m exposed all but a small part of the flooded area (see fig. 1), and trial excavations showed that much, especially of the earlier periods of settlement, survived. Attention was, therefore, paid to this area in continuation of the UNESCO rescue programme and three areas were finally sampled.

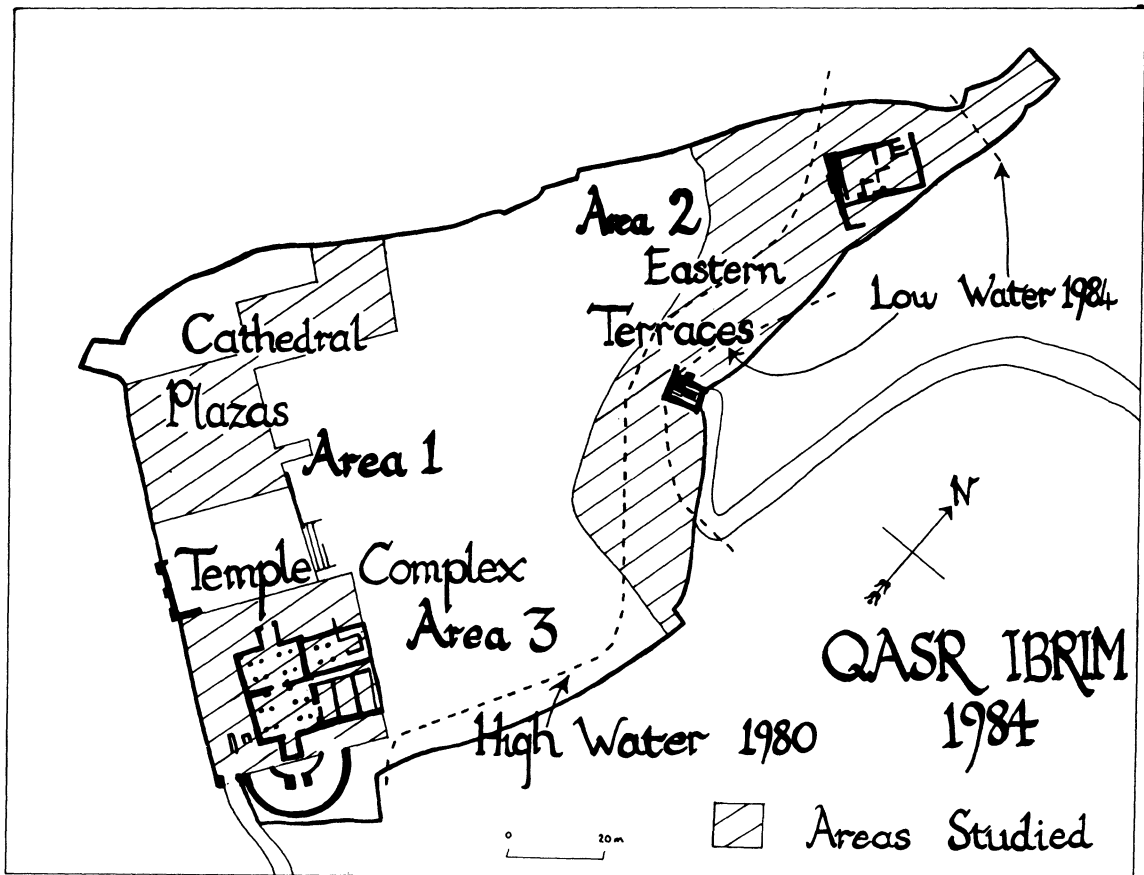


FIG. 1

The Society's 1984 season of work at Qaşr Ibrîm took place from 8 January until 24 March, and the following specialists took part: Dr J. Alexander and Mr B. Driskell (Field Archaeologists), Mr J. Knudsted and Miss K. Fernie (Architect and Surveyor), Mr P. French (Recorder), Ms E. Crowfoot and Mrs N. Adams (Textile Analysts), Dr P. Rowley Conwy (Plant/Animal Remains Analyst), Miss P. Rose (Ceramic Analyst), Mrs M. Stafford-Blustain (Basketry Analyst), Dr M. Hainsworth (Epigraphist), Mr E. Adams and Miss M. J. Foley (Computer specialists), Mr A. Bonner (Photographer), Mrs D. Driskell (Domestic Bursar), and Dr M. Plant (Medical Officer): Professor W. Adams helped greatly in the preparations for, and in the first two weeks of, the season. Sixty workmen from Quft were employed under Reis Bashir. The Inspector of Antiquities attached to the expedition was Sayed el-Saied Abd'il Masaud Mohammed. Our thanks are due to Dr Khadri and the Egyptian Antiquities Service for permission to excavate and for the hire of their boats, and to Sayed Abdin Siam for help in making the arrangements in Aswan. Financial support for the season came from the Society, from the Smithsonian Institution, and from the Chase Fund of the American Research Center in Cairo, to whom we are grateful.

Summary of the evidence recovered from the objects

As is usual at Qaşr Ibrîm, a large number of objects of all kinds was recovered, recorded, and analysed during the season. Recording took place on cards, computer discs, and photographs throughout the excavation.

*Texts.*¹ The 1984 season provided nearly 1,000 inscribed fragments: hieroglyphic 6; demotic 12; Meroitic 105; Latin 7; Greek 16; Coptic 61; Greek/Coptic 26; Old Nubian 85; Arabic 622; uncertain 26. (Total 966.) They were written on papyrus, leather, wood, stone, and paper. At all levels, whatever the language, there was reuse of earlier fragments, Meroitic on Meroitic, hieratic on demotic, Greek on Meroitic, and Old Nubian on Greek. Most interesting was part of a bilingual document in Greek and Old Nubian. For the first time at Qaşr Ibrîm, inscriptions in Meroitic accounted for nearly a third of the non-Arabic finds (105 out of 344). The significance of this total becomes apparent if we compare it with the total published Meroitic corpus from Egypt and the Sudan which does not exceed 900 pieces. The presence in the texts of titles such as King (*qore*), prince (*pqr*), and general (*pelmos adeblise*) suggests that Ibrîm was one of the major administrative cities in Lower Nubia. It was also a major religious centre, and from this season's texts we have the names of the main deities Isis (*was*), Horus (*ar*), Amûn of Napata (*Amrapte*), Rē^c (*Ms*), and the Lion god Apedemak. Many personal names are recorded, the most interesting being Apodimeteye ('The one of Ibrîm'). Among the many Christian fragments there were letters with references to kings, princes, and bishops, and biblical fragments include a fine illuminated page. A number of fragments overwritten in Arabic, from sealed Christian deposits, show that both languages were in use in the later Christian Period. The majority of the Islamic inscriptions were in Arabic, many of them from before AD 1500. Among the post-1500 ones were a number of Ottoman military pay docket—eight dated ones ranging from 1572 (?) to 1628. Fragments of letters, commercial and religious, were also found.

¹ Information from Dr Hainsworth.

*Pottery.*² Some 120,000 sherds were processed and recorded during the season; these covered all periods from the Napatan to the Late Christian. Amongst them, the substantial amounts of pottery from the Roman and Meroitic levels were of particular interest, and have enabled further refinements to be made to the original ware classifications. Pottery of the Napatan Period was also recovered, the first time that such material has come to light at Ibrîm. The sherds fall into four relative chronological groupings, contemporary with the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Egyptian Dynasties, but show no direct connection with the pottery known from early Meroitic sites in southern Nubia, a situation suggesting a relatively short-lived occupation at Ibrîm. A number of complete vessels were found dating mainly from the X-Group Period, and also most of a Twenty-sixth Dynasty white ribbed-jar, still in its original carrying-net.

*Basketry.*³ From a large number of basketry fragments, 1,150 well-stratified pieces were analysed in detail on forms suitable for computer utilization. It is now possible to recognize chronological variation in the basketry, in particular Late Christian and Meroitic-X-Group styles. Numbers of palm-fibre sandals of those periods were also found.

Rope, cordage, and string. The computerized system of analysis for these materials was further refined during the 1984 season, and approximately 1,100 specimens were analysed. The majority were between 0.3 and 1.5 cm in diameter and were made from either palm leaf or palm fibre. Cordage made of grass was the third highest in frequency. Among the complete specimens simple plied-loops and nooses were most common, but more elaborate plaits and sennits were present. The most common knots were overhand, followed by keep-knots (for joining lengths together) and sheet-bends (for netting). It is probable that knots and other aspects of manufacture, such as direction of ply and material type, may be proved to be culturally distinctive.

*Textiles.*⁴ During the 1984 excavations over 10,600 textile items were analysed, 501 being individually catalogued, cleaned, and preserved. The material was varied, some from Islamic pits including tiny scraps of fine imported fabrics, and much Christian material including coloured bands, twill from linen veils, and brocaded and tapestry-woven brown woollens. The corpse in one well-preserved Christian burial (965) was clothed in a tunic of 'Byzantine' cut (?sixth-seventh century), with a shoulder neck-opening and shaped sleeves; the middle one of his three shrouds was of Egyptian-style flax, bound with two criss-crossed bands, one decorated with red tapestry-woven crosses, the other a coarse two-colour warp-face band generally associated with burials, particularly those of the Early Christian period.

The Meroitic material, notably that from Area 357, was outstanding (though naturally often fragile, and, as in previous seasons, heavily mended); the great variety of elaborate lattice-patterned fringes from kilts and shawls suggested pieces deliberately removed and preserved, as did some of the heavy blue embroidery from Late Meroitic loin-cloths and 'aprons'. Stages in the introduction of wool in weaving and decoration found here in the mainly cotton material of this civilization should prove an interesting field for future study. Earlier material included fragments which, to judge from comparison with the sealed South Rampart deposits of 1980, belong to the Roman occupation, while 140 items which can be assigned to the Napatan Period show very clearly the Egyptian connection, being woven in their characteristic S-spun, S-ply flax, much of exceedingly fine quality.

*Leather.*⁵ From a much larger number of finds, some 1,500 pieces of leather from well-stratified contexts were examined and catalogued in a form suitable for computer

² Information provided by Miss Rose.

⁴ Information provided by Ms Crowfoot and Mrs Adams.

³ Information provided by Mrs Blustain.

⁵ Information provided by Mr French.

analysis. They included over 200 complete or near complete objects many of them of the Christian Period. These were mostly bags of all sizes and shoes, but included scabbards, book-covers, and amulet cases.

*Metal, glass, wood, stone, and clay.*⁵ Because much of the work of the season was concentrated in areas where organic materials had already been destroyed by water, fewer objects of these materials were registered than in recent seasons. The largest stone pieces included an inscribed lintel, fragments of carved door lintels and window grills of Meroitic and X-Group date, and a few badly broken pieces of temple statues which are either Napatan or Meroitic. As usual, the other large objects are mostly of clay, the most interesting object being a triangular model building of the Christian Period which may have been intended for use as an incense burner. The wooden objects included pins, combs, spindle whorls, and fragments of locks, beds, and chairs; the finest was a figurine of a standing male child, which must be of Dynastic Egyptian date. The metal work, with the exception of a silver 'wedjat' eye amulet, was of iron or copper/bronze, and for the most part of a domestic (scissors, knives, and toilet articles) or religious nature; it included several crosses from the Christian Period. A bronze personal stamp with an Arabic inscription of the type used on many of the documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries AD was found in the Ottoman levels. Coins were few, all of copper or bronze, and of Ptolemaic and Islamic types.

*Plant remains.*⁶ Only a preliminary study of several hundred plant samples taken from house floors and pits has so far been made, but the results include identifying winnowing, storage, and grinding areas, and the study of a variety of crops including barley, pennisetum, wheat, cotton, and a number of spices and medicinal plants.

*Animal remains.*⁶ The excellent preservation of animal remains, hair, skin, bones, and dung, meant that some 10,000 bone fragments were available for preliminary study. It is hoped that they will throw light upon the introduction of the camel and on the management of caprid, bovid, and equid communities.

The excavations

The rocky hilltop on which Qaşr Ibrîm stands must, before human alterations, have been an irregular right-angled triangle with its apex to the north (see fig. 1). Its slopes were clifflike on the west and south but to the east there was a long stretch of more gently sloping terraces giving the only easy access to the tilted plateau of the hilltop. The nature of the topography was apparent; for the waters of Lake Nasser, which flooded all except the hilltop to a depth of 12 m after 1970, eroded most of the human deposits and buildings, and then exposed some 1.5 hectares of the terraces in the exceptionally low lake levels of 1984 (9 m below 1980). Five terraces were visible on the eastern side, with a total vertical drop of some 12 m. Half of the length of the upper four had been swept clear of human settlement, except for storage pits or recesses cut into the rock, but the lowest had been partly protected by the town wall and partly by a layer of stones and debris from the destroyed buildings higher up the terraces. The rocky spine of the hilltop could be seen to have projections to the north-east and north so that the terraces were divided into two crescent-shaped areas with a promontory between them. North of the promontory, where the town wall had collapsed in several places before the waters rose, there had been little protection

⁵ Information provided by Mr French.

⁶ Information provided by Dr Rowley-Conwy.

for the buildings inside it, and the more recent structures had been swept away. South of the promontory, where much the same area had been under water for ten years, the town wall had resisted erosion and still stood to a height of at least 4 m. As a result the buildings behind it, and even those higher on the slope inside it, were better preserved, and remains of all periods were found. The northern extremity of the hill, around the small temple (No. 1) had also been largely swept clear of the deposits by the waters. The three areas excavated may now be considered in turn:

AREA I

The plazas north and west of the cathedral

West of the cathedral all of the overlying Islamic structures had been excavated in 1978 and removed, and much of the underlying Christian deposits excavated (see fig. 2). In 1984 the remaining Christian deposits in the area were investigated and removed; only 1-2 m of older deposits ranging from X-Group to Napatan age now remain in this area. North of the cathedral, excavation of the Islamic remains was completed, and our work revealed up to 3 m of deposits and architectural features ranging in age from Late Christian to Napatan; the

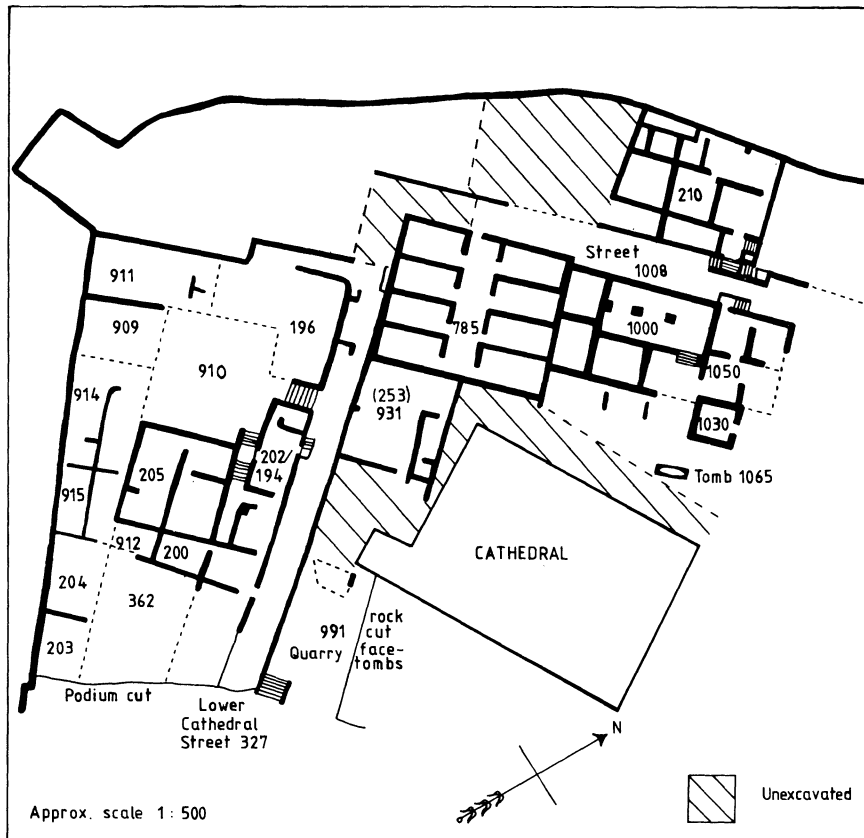


FIG. 2. The Cathedral Plazas. Meroitic structures, 1000; X-Group with Christian reuse, 253/931, 785, 1030, 1050, 210; Christian, 196, 194/202, 205

whole area was much disturbed by quarry pits of the early Islamic Period. Excavations thus far in the cathedral plazas have penetrated systematically through Christian deposits, and the remaining deposits of up to 2 m in depth belong to X-Group, Meroitic, Roman, and Napatan utilization of the area (in units 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, and 991). On the basis of the widely dispersed X-Group deposits in this area, we can confirm that X-group structures occupied most of the area prior to construction of the cathedral. After the building of the cathedral the whole area appears to have remained a slowly developing ecclesiastical area which probably contained a monastery and a number of substantial houses. In early Islamic times it was first derelict and used for quarrying and was then, in the late seventeenth century, cleared and covered with dwellings on new alignments.

AREA 2

The eastern terraces and the northern peninsula

The north-east terraces. Here, north of a central rocky promontory on which the great Town Gate was built, an area of some 45×25 m (c. 1125 m²) presented, after the waters had retreated, three terraces of bare rock and a fourth, the lowest, strewn with stones and pottery (see pl. II, 2 and fig. 3). Test excavation showed that silt, in which the tops of walls were seen, extended over 360 m². Water erosion had, in this area, removed all levels more recent than the fifth/sixth centuries AD. The only traces of X-Group, Christian, and Islamic Periods other than a thin surface of sherds, were when features had been dug down into the earlier levels. On the lower terrace, however, up to 1 m of soil belonging to those earlier levels, and undisturbed by the water, remained. The results may be discussed by period:

Twenty-fifth Dynasty and Napatan Period

The only evidence from this area of any remains from before c. 300 BC were finds of pottery of Napatan type from beneath the Meroitic buildings. In house 1002B, under rooms 15 and 16, including their walls, was a thin stratum of earth lying on the sloping surface of bedrock; it appeared to be a rubbish tip from the top terrace.

The Meroitic Period

The terrace was shown to have been covered with buildings of stone and mud brick of this period which formed three complexes (1002 A, B, and C), probably domestic in nature. The walls and floors, although under water for so many years, were well preserved and, in all, thirty-three rooms, storage crypts, and cisterns were excavated; they were not disturbed by later pitting. Two of the complexes, 1002B and C, were apparently built as part of a single operation since they had a common party-wall without doorways for the whole of their length (c. 17 m). This wall, still stood to a height of 1.6 m. No Post-Meroitic remains were recognized in this area.

The central promontory. For some 25 m in the centre of the eastern terraces, a natural promontory of rock offers a cliff face with a drop of 11.6 m. It was here that the builders chose to make a town gate, setting its back wall on a narrow terrace some 5 m from the middle part of the cliff, and cutting its lower staircase deep into the rock. Behind the gate a series of above- and underground rooms were built at the same time as the gate.

The Town Gate and eastern defences. Important new evidence of the nature of the defences on the eastern side of town was found in 1984 and can be added to the architectural study of the great East Gate made in 1973. It was possible to study the town wall at either end of the eastern terraces and to section the deposits immediately behind them.

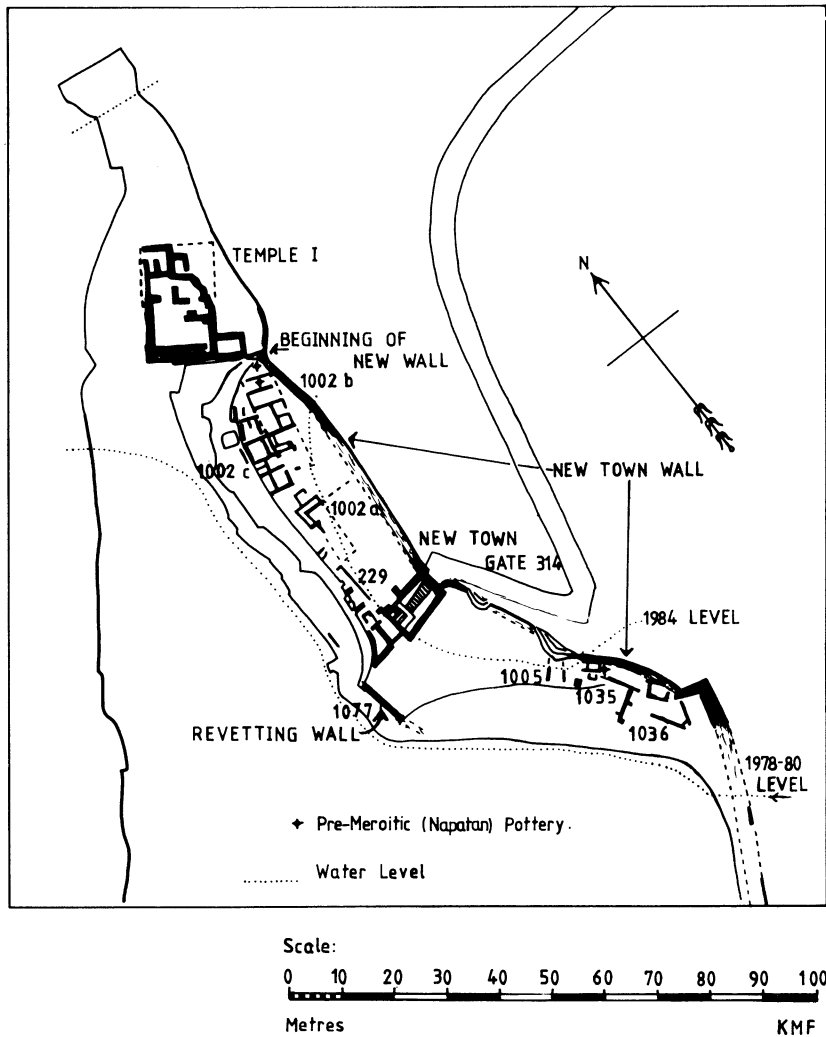


FIG. 3. North-east quarter of Qaşr Ibrîm (previously under 7 m of water). Meroitic structures planned and excavated in 1984

At the north-eastern end a re-entrant and joint in the town wall had not previously been noted where House 1003B met the rampart. Further north the rampart, although not sectioned, could be seen to be 0.75 m wide and a single thickness of fine ashlar. At the point where House 1002B met the rampart the latter turns sharply to the east and becomes a double wall 2 m wide with stones infilling between the two. Much larger (up to 1.0 × 1.0 × 0.5 m) more roughly shaped blocks of stone were used and there was a 70 cm wide bank of stones built against the wall on the inner side. There was also a 1 × 2 m wide stone buttress to the wall under House 1002B, Room 15. The stretch of the town wall from this point to the gate appeared to have been built as a single straight homogenous stretch.

There is no doubt that the town wall elsewhere belonged to the period 300 BC–AD 100. This was demonstrated, for example, at the north west Bastion where the earliest wall was

found inside the Roman-built Bastion (*JEA* 69 (1983)) and in south Rampart Street where a succession of walls could be dated to the same period. In the area examined in 1984, the East Gate and the stretch of wall on either side appear to be an alteration to a previous defensive line, perhaps to include an extra area of terraces for buildings. The blocking of the other (south) Town Gate, which was also built during the period 300 BC–AD 300, took place before the end of that period, and it seems reasonable to link its blocking with the building of a new (east) gate. The military problems (for no others seem relevant) which dictated this major change are difficult to envisage since the form of the new gate is not substantially different from the old. It did, in fact, continue the tradition of military engineering developed in the South Gate, which had successively reduced the width of the entrance from 4.50 to 1.25 m.

The internal organization of the new gate made it more difficult to force than the old one, but the rock-cut steps and the right-angle bend cannot have been intended for camel or equid transport; the problem of water supply must have been made more difficult by the new gate. It is possible that an enlargement of the defended settlement was required, and, if so, the eastern terraces were the only possible extension, but the amount of work required to defend the extra hectares was exorbitant. One other possibility is that the structural weakness of the South Gate was already apparent. The outer half of the gate was built upon a stratum of very soft sandstone which, as exposed recently by the water, was already badly eroded and propped by a pile of stones at some time in antiquity. It would not have required much sapping by attackers to bring down the South Gate and there was no way, except complete rebuilding, of dealing with the problem.

Early fortification or revetting wall 1077. This consists of a stretch of wall made of larger stones than is usual at Ibrîm (c. 1.0 × 5.0 × 0.4 m); it still stands 4 m high against a cliff face on the hillside (see fig. 3) and lay 12 m south of House 1001. It was aligned south-east–north-west along the hillside and looked substantial enough to have been the defensive wall of an earlier and smaller settlement. It was indicated on the 1963 survey as being visible, with a gap and a slight change of alignment, for some 30 m. Most of its length is now buried under spoil heaps and rock-falls; for much of it had been under water since 1975. In 1984 an area of the lower part of the wall 11.5 m long was exposed and the opportunity was taken to examine it by excavating trenches in front and behind it to bedrock. At the south end it was covered by spoil dump of the 1960s and is so preserved for further study. At the north end it was found to be built on to the slope of the hillside but did not continue along it. In the lower trench it was found to be based on soil 80 cm above bedrock. The sherds from beneath it suggest that it was built no earlier than later Meroitic times. Its purpose would seem to have been torevet the edge of a stretch of soft bedrock, presumably to safeguard the area below and perhaps to act as the rear wall of a building on the higher slope. It is likely that it was built as part of the construction of the Town Gate and wall nearby and that it safeguarded the main street from the gate to the centre of the settlement. In Islamic times the street, called at different times in recent years Regent Street and Stable Street, climbed the hillside between complexes B106 and B103 and a rather similar stretch of revetting wall bordered the street beside B58, 56, and 55. In the stretch tested by excavation there were no remains of buildings behind it, nor were any visible on the surface in 1963.

The south-east terraces. South-east of the rocky promontory a second 70 m crescent of terraces had been protected by the survival of the town wall to a height of more than 4 m. As a result, the terraces had not been stripped of their soil or their buildings. In Islamic times more houses had existed here on the higher terraces than further north-east, and the destruction of these houses by water had covered the hillside at this point with a thick layer of stones. Since time was limited, and the area might well not be available again, six areas where walls showed were selected for excavation, three at the water's edge (1001, 1003,

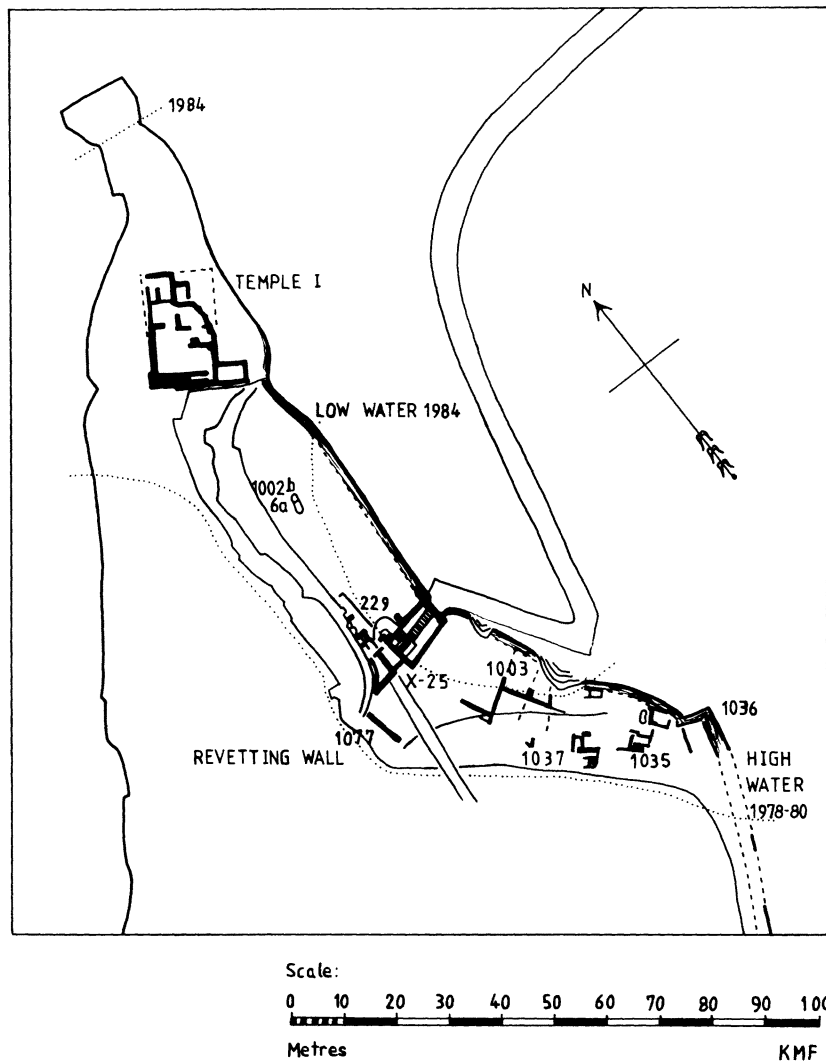


FIG. 4. East quarter of Qaşr Ibrîm (previously under 7 m of water). Christian structures planned and excavated in 1984

1005), and three higher on the hillside (1035, 1036, and 1037). When the thick covering of stones had been removed it became clear that the whole slope of the hill had been covered with buildings set closely one above the other for some 2,000 years. None of the six areas showed pre-Meroitic strata although Napatan pottery was found. Meroitic structures were found in areas 1005, 1035, and 1036, and a stratum containing a scatter of pottery of this period lay under 1001. In the north, nearest to the town wall, substantial remains of four X-Group buildings (1003, 1037, 1036, and 1035) survived (see fig. 4). At seven other places on the hillside pottery of this period was found in test pits below more recent buildings, suggesting that there was utilization of the whole area in X-Group times.

In conclusion, it can be suggested that the eastern side of the hill was used less intensively between AD 300 and 600 than the western side. North of the Town Gate it was little used, and south of the gate, although the area was used, there is less evidence of planning than further

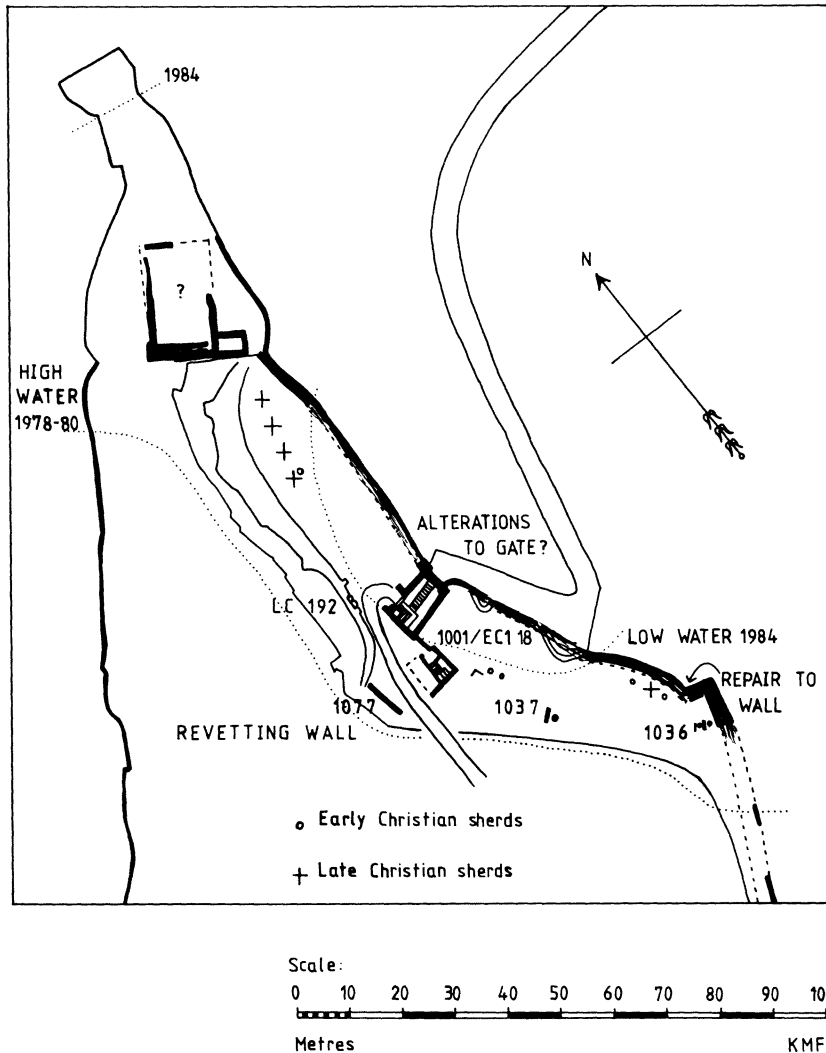


FIG. 5. East quarter of Qaşr İbrîm (previously under 7 m of water). Christian structures planned and excavated in 1984

west, a situation suggesting piecemeal building and larger complexes. The guardroom to the gate was certainly manned for most of this period as, presumably, was the lookout/guardroom on the southern end of the terraces.

The Christian Period in Area 2

Much of the evidence of this period had been washed away from the eastern terraces. Since the East Gate was the only entrance to the settlement, it is certain that the gate and the street leading from it were in constant use, and from the 1984 and 1974 excavated evidence some buildings existed on the terraces (see fig. 5).

The Early Christian Period (AD 600–1100). All structures of the Christian Period had been washed away from the terraces north of the gate and no storage crypts had been sunk into the earlier deposits. A small number of Early Christian sherds were scattered on the surface of the lowest terrace and on the uppermost level of the House 1002B, room 6D. Some traces of rectangular rooms cut into the rock of the higher terraces may be of this period but no dating evidence remained in them. The absence of appropriate debris on the conflated land-surface strongly suggests that little use was made of this area in Early Christian times. In the central area, the 1974 and 1984 excavations showed that the guardhouse and storerooms by the gate were long out of use at this time and infilled with rubbish. The street above it was certainly in use, with hard-packed surfaces covered with dung. South of the Gate, Houses 1003, 1036A, and 1037B yielded Early Christian sherds, whilst the excavation of the Early Christian House 1001, begun in 1974, was completed during the current season.

Classic and Late Christian Periods. No evidence of the Classic Christian period came from any part of the eastern quarter of the town in 1984 and very little of the Late Christian Period, although the town wall was repaired here during this time.

Conclusions. It seems unlikely, even when so much evidence has been washed away, that there was an intensive Christian occupation of this part of the settlement. The Town Gate and the street from it to the area of the cathedral naturally remained in use, but there seems, except for the area near the southern side of the gate in the Early Christian Period, to have been little use of the hillside, and no storage crypts were sunk into the earlier strata.

The Islamic Period (AD c.1300–1813)

Very few finds of Islamic remains were made anywhere in 1984. The best evidence of Islamic activity was from the uppermost trampled surfaces in the 2 m of street deposit behind the Town Gate and from Houses 1036 and 1037. The plan of the standing Islamic buildings in 1964 showed only two complexes on the eastern terraces, one of three rooms (B106) beside the street up from the gate, and the other (B104) on the highest southern point inside the town wall. There were no buildings on the terraces north of the gate, but on the actual hilltop there were three complexes (B81, 82, and 83). These had not been recorded before they were flooded and were, in 1984, mounds of stones on the hilltop or stone rubble down its side. The lowest courses of the walls were found within the mounds, and it proved possible to plan them, but no occupation debris remained. South of the Town Gate two complexes (B106 and B104) were also planned from their debris.

During the Ottoman occupation little use was made of the eastern terraces. There was no evidence of quarrying for stone, as there was further west, and there was no evidence of storage pits and very few new buildings. The B104 complex could have been a military one and the others, at the top of the slopes, domestic. Only the gate and the street to it were in regular use.

The northern peninsula. A submerged area of the hilltop and hillside north and south of Temple 1 (see fig. 4) became available in 1984, and was also examined but not excavated. In Islamic times it had been covered by houses and even Temple 1 had been used as a house. Almost the whole area of the settlement at the northern end of the hilltop could be examined, only a single house (B95) with three rooms still being submerged. This part of the site received the full force of the waves driven down the lake by the often fierce north winds.

The soil-cover on this area must have been very thin, probably no more than a few centimetres in most places, and the water had washed this away leaving bare rock. The walls of the houses had been set on bedrock but all had collapsed, and much of the area was covered with stones. These stones preserved the plans of most of the houses and the water

had shown up rock-cut features, a number of which, since they are under Islamic walls, were older. No walls which might have preceded the Islamic houses were noted and, unless the area was stripped in Islamic times, it seems likely that there were no buildings here other than a monumental structure, Temple 1, which has tentatively been dated to the Meroitic Period.

Temple 1

This temple was surveyed by Dales in 1964 when its interior was still covered by later domestic buildings. When it re-emerged in 1984 these buildings had been destroyed by the water and, in their rubble, much of the outline of the original temple could be seen and planned. It can now be seen to have been a large rectangular building, and at the south end its pylon still largely survives. The temple was built on a 1.37 m high plinth cut from bedrock with a man-made level platform to the south of it. The massive blocks of its walls were tied together, and a fine stone window grill found in the tumbled stones nearby may have come from it. An oddity in its positioning is that it is not central to its platform, but it is to the east side of it, and its main gateway opens where the eastern terraces begin to descend the hillside. There is no evidence from the lower eastern terraces beside the platform of much washing down of material from above, and there is unlikely to have been an extension of the platform to the east. The temple is likely to have been approached either by road along the eastern terraces above Houses 1002A and 1002C or by one coming down from the south along the spine of the hilltop.

No periods of use can at present be suggested for the other twenty-one structures cut into the sandstone bedrock in this area except that the position of some of them shows them to be pre-Islamic; almost all deposits have been washed away; careful future work under walls and in isolated pockets of soil may help here.

It seems likely that this area of Ibrîm, like the north-eastern terraces, was relatively little used after the Meroitic Period. It is possible that the rock-cut cisterns and niches belong to that period since close parallels for them exist in well-dated Houses 1002A, B, and C lower down the slope. Some use may have been made of the area in X-Group and Christian times, but it was only in Islamic times that a series of large courtyard houses was built here. At least eleven houses can then be recognized, and their size suggests wealthy owners.

AREA 3

The temple complex

This complex of monumental buildings at the south end of Ibrîm was largely excavated in the 1960s and 1970s. Work in 1984 elucidated the area further and began to prepare it for conservation (see fig. 6).⁷

Pre-Taharka Temple structures

The early defensive wall (South Girdle Wall). The earliest structure yet recognized at Ibrîm, the South Girdle Wall, was more fully exposed along its already known south-eastern line. Small fragments of similar masonry on the west side of the temple complex seem to belong to the same wall. Tests into upper deposits against the inner face of the wall have yielded ceramics dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. It is clear from this season's exposures that the 4 m wide wall was already a ruin less than 2 m high with an exterior face buried in rubble at the moment of establishment of the Taharka Temple over it (see below).

⁷ The work was carried out by Mr Knudsted with a grant from the Chase Foundation.

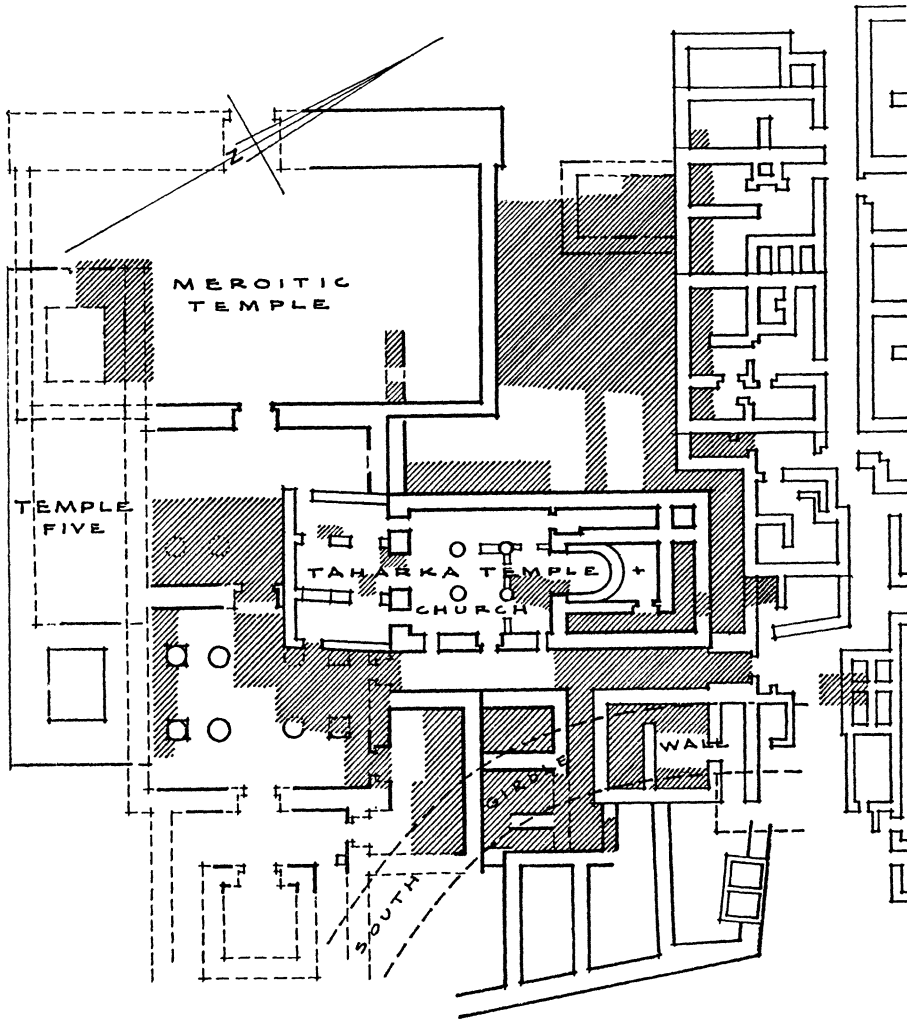


FIG. 6. The Temple Area, sections tested in 1984 (scale *c.* 1 : 50)

Buildings. Tests into relatively shallow deposits (averaging less than 1 m), lying between the base of the Taharka Temple and bedrock, have yielded fragments of at least three stratified building phases, all dated on the basis of ceramics to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and Napatan Periods. The structures are primarily of mud brick, seemingly small in scale (wall-widths 65–77 cm) and give little support in plan or architectural detail to the possibility of a predecessor to the Taharka Temple although the wall orientations are nearly identical. The area is characterized by numerous ovens, cylindrical mud-brick bins, and heavy concentrations of bread-cone fragments. Deposition within seems either domestic or casual.

Taharka Temple complex

The temple's pronaos, naos, and side-chambers, built of substantial mud brick, still stand, and proved likely to have been built as a free-standing unit. This feature has only three, stone-framed, doorways, although numerous stone fragments, presumably decorated stone door-framings for a mud-brick structure, have been found (particularly in the later Meroitic

Temple foundations), bearing Taharka cartouches and related hieroglyphic texts. These, together with structural clues to the north and south of the temple, suggest that the naos and pronaos once stood within a larger mud-brick complex in a temenos wall, the first to expand beyond the bounds of the original South Girdle Wall. Western portions of this complex were possibly derelict and certainly levelled for the construction of the Meroitic Temple (see below). Work in this part of the complex was limited to gaps in the Meroitic Temple paving and to an area north of the Taharka Temple within its north-east temenos wall; the latter proved to have enclosed an open court. Fuller definition of the temenos wall was possible, and one room was found to have been built against it. Limited tests below the Meroitic Temple paving revealed a number of fragmentary mud-brick walls of similar orientation but none offering as yet obvious association with other structures or firm evidence for further continuations to the west and south.

Work on the temple foundations showed that, although it was a purely mud-brick structure of classic pharaonic workmanship, it was founded not on bedrock but in simple trenches cut up to 60 cm deep into previous strata, stone foundations, or sand. A reopening of areas in the church within the temple south of the altar and within the temple's south and west doorways confirmed that the pronaos and two doorways were paved in stone. This stonework is, however, heavily eroded, as is the south-east column-base exposed. Nothing remains of stone door-framing, sill, or paving through the doorway into the naos; such features must be presumed to have been built but lost.

A listing and assembling of numerous decorated and inscribed stone architectural fragments identifiably of Taharka date on the site is being made, and a tentative reconstruction of the four, still partly standing columns, has already been made; it is evident that these stood to several drums higher (less capital) than as found when first excavated.

Temple 5

On the western side of the complex a rectangle of massive squared masonry survives from the foundation of a large temple abutting the South Bastion and resting on a terrace cut into bedrock. Its date and relationship with their temple-area building-phases has remained enigmatic, but it can now be strategically placed between the South Bastion and the Meroitic Temple. It was laid out as a rectangle approximately 10 × 27 m, close to and parallel to the west edge of the hilltop. It stands much denuded, stripped of all finished masonry and much of its upper foundation courses but the remaining stones bear mason's lines indicating much of its original extent and form. It appears to have been composed of two rectangular units, one at each end, joined on the west side by a retaining wall. Stones of the top course of the south block actually bear the incised plan for the placement of a doorway, its outer sill, and socket stones as well as lines for wall faces. These lines delineate a chamber about 4 m square within walls 1.5 m wide and an entry through the north wall. Two 'islands' of deposit within the area of these foundations proved to be survivors of both its construction and destruction, as they contain stratified structural fragments. The earlier were probably fragments of the West Girdle Wall, the later patches of Meroitic Temple forecourt paving on a stone-chip fill which appear to have been left, along with the mud brick beneath, by robbers trenching for stone. The building that stood on these foundations must have been utilized or abutted by the west walls of the Meroitic Temple's middle and hypostyle halls. The northern foundations would have necessarily been levelled for construction of the Meroitic Temple forecourt. The Taharka Temple, in its orientation and position, is the one obvious candidate for a companion building, for both share similar symmetry. There remain, however, the problems of no common axis, no physical connection, and no structural similarity.

Meroitic Temple

Little remained of this temple to be excavated except a small area overlaid by the church narthex and walling nearby, but two test excavations through the church narthex paving proved that nothing of the temple remained in those spots. The removal of Christian house walling to the south of the narthex revealed a significant amount of Meroitic painted mud and plaster, supporting the supposition that the temple, although now preserved in stone, was essentially a decorated mud-brick structure set on a stone base.

The south-east side-room proved to be an integral part of the temple but was an intrusion into the Meroitic mud-brick magazine complex immediately to the east where it cut three east-west mud-brick walls. Excavation of the open area to the east of the temple forecourt, but within the temenos wall, showed that this area had served as an open dumping ground for Roman and Meroitic refuse prior to the making of the forecourt; for its foundation trenches were cut into the refuse. Both facts support a late Meroitic date for the construction of the temple, in the case of the forecourt, perhaps even later than the erection of Meroitic houses re-establishing the north-east temenos boundary wall. This area immediately north of the Taharka Temple then became an open animal-stabling ground for the remainder of the Meroitic Period.

What appear to be the front corners of the temple naos stand on heavy-stone foundation blocks which were traced for approximately 6 m. The floors of the naos were recovered in a test area adjacent to the church altar. Here 27 cm of uninterrupted thin mud-floor accumulation interspersed with occasional cemented or whitewashed surfaces rested on the eroded mud-brick sub-sill of the doorway to the naos. These floors, along with a similar accumulation resting on the badly eroded pronaos stone-paving to the west, can be interpreted as characteristic of the temple's latter-day (i.e. Meroitic into X-Group) phase of use. The street parallel to the temple south wall is paved with similar slabs at a level corresponding to the Meroitic Temple floors and, along with extensive crude stone repair to the adjacent south wall exterior at this level, give a good impression of the continuing deterioration suffered by the temple during the Late Meroitic times.

The Church

The tests mentioned above in the church which was built inside the temple added details of its structural development. The fill supporting the granite altar stones was sealed by a 10 cm accumulation of oil-soaked floors which continued into the naos and/or apse. Above the floors was a 10 cm thickness of straw-laden dust and debris supporting the base course of the mud-brick tribunal. This indicates Christian use of the temple prior to the installation of the apse. With the tribunal in place, a mud layer was placed against its base to support, here and in the narthex, a paving of selected river cobbles. Upon this paving were found two courses remaining from the first 'higāb' wall preserved in the church. Eventually most of the cobbles were removed but a few remained under the 'higāb' and behind the granite altar. At this time the piers subdividing the narthex into three, and supporting arches, and a roof of smaller span above were added. The whole floor was then laid with stone-slab paving on a dirt bed. The long, much worn sill lying between nave and narthex is actually a reused full-length temple door-jamb resting on fragments of the original temple sill. The south end of a vaulted mud-brick crypt or tomb was uncovered just outside, and below, the narthex south doorway.



1. View from the south-east. The arrows show the 1982 water level



2. The north-east terraces as exposed by the low water-level. The arrows show the 1982 water level

THE IDENTITY AND POSITIONS OF RELIEF FRAGMENTS IN MUSEUMS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Miscellaneous Reliefs from Saqqâra and Gîza

By YVONNE HARPUR

THIS is the first of a series of publications which will give the identity and/or positions of hitherto unidentified Old and Middle Kingdom blocks in museums and private collections. Many of these blocks have lain for years in museum storerooms and galleries, often unpublished or known only through rather murky photographs; other blocks have appeared as illustrations in well-known books and are familiar to us all. In the majority of cases, it is impossible to reconstruct the events which would explain why these reliefs were cut from tomb walls and how they came to lose their identity. It is nevertheless probable that some were removed by museum staff or archaeologists, whose failure to preserve the identity of each block was either due to confusion before the reliefs reached their destination, or to a breakdown in the system of coding used for identification. Certain blocks were no doubt taken from tombs illegally, or at some stage handled with scarcely any appreciation of their antiquity. These pieces have reached museums and private collections in a very sorry state, with edges jagged or flaking, and surfaces chipped, cracked, and stained. In this series of publications the basic aim is to trace the ownership of some of the blocks mentioned above, and, in doing so, to provide a more complete record of the scenes and inscriptions in private tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

The identification and positioning of fragments is not a matter of observation alone. If this were so, one would expect far more success in the subject, especially since many blocks have remained unidentified since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An eye for detail is certainly important, but there are other factors to consider, and this first publication is the most appropriate place in which to describe them.

1. *Shape of the block.* Although this is a significant aspect of relief identification, a few points must be borne in mind. The shape of a block may have changed through careless handling or deliberate cutting after its removal from a tomb, and the adjoining scenes *in situ* may have been damaged during the cutting procedure, so that parts of the original edge have dropped away. These possibilities mean that the edge

I should like to thank the members of the Board of Management of the Gerald Avery Wainwright Near Eastern Archaeological Fund (research expenses), and Mrs Marion Cox, Griffith Institute, Oxford (line-drawings, figs. 3-10).

of a block will not necessarily fit against the edge of the scene or inscription to which it belongs. In addition, if a block is published as a line-drawing, one can rarely tell whether the outline of the drawing represents the surface of the block or its general shape, which could include sections below the surface. Any doubts are dispelled if the block is also published as a photograph, or as a line-drawing with the under surfaces indicated by shading. So far, I have found that blocks with neatly cut edges often belong to the same tomb as similarly cut blocks in museums, or fit against reliefs *in situ*, which have the same neat edges. Evidently some of these fragments were to be reassembled in museums as tomb walls, whereas others were to be displayed as selected scenes.¹

2. *Quality of the relief.* Sometimes the reliefs in a tomb can vary in quality, but the workmanship shown in a fragment and in the scene to which it joins will probably be similar. For this reason, quality of relief can be an important factor in the process of identification. Equally important is the background of the relief, where the stone may be cut away completely, or cleared around the edges of figures, then graded back. Distinctive chisel marks on the background should also be noted.

3. *Colour traces remaining on the relief.* The occurrence of colour naturally depends upon the preservation of the relief fragment and the tomb from which it was taken. Since both will have received different treatment over the years, a brightly coloured relief could well come from a tomb with scarcely a trace of colour left. There is one colour, however, which tends to remain when others have disappeared, namely red brown. Different blocks show varying intensities of red brown on male figures, and these contrasting shades can be matched with reliefs *in situ*, in order to narrow down the tombs to which a fragment might belong.² A further consideration is the wash of colour which sometimes remains on the background of reliefs. This can range from pale grey to a light biscuit or pinkish hue.

4. *Style of the relief.* Certain stylistic differences may be detected between scenes at Gîza and Saqqâra. In general, figures in Gîza tombs tend to be relatively angular and muscular in appearance, whereas those in Saqqâra tombs have softer outlines and fairly rounded bodies. Of course, these characteristics do not always apply, but they are common enough to enable one to quickly select possibilities from which to attempt an identification. Stylistic contrasts within the same necropolis are more difficult to distinguish, yet they do occur. For example, the stocky, rather large-headed figures in the chapels of *Tii* and *Kꜣ·i-m-rḥw* are very different from the tall, well-proportioned types in the tomb of *Mrrw-kꜣ·i*, and the plump figures in the tomb of *Pth-ḥtp(w)* II have little in common with the broad-shouldered types in the tombs of *ꜣnh-m-c-Ḥr* and *Nfr-sšm-Pth*.³ Saqqâra nobles are frequently buried in

¹ A number of relief fragments are neatly cut above or below the register lines so that parts of the upper or lower scenes are visible. Perhaps this was a precautionary measure to ensure that the chosen block was removed without damaging the hieroglyphic text above the scene, or the legs of figures or animals on the lower baseline.

² The various shades of brown are particularly noticeable on Old Kingdom relief fragments currently displayed in Rooms 32, 36, and 37 of the Cairo Museum. Some of the figures are almost chocolate-coloured, whereas others are a much brighter orange brown.

³ L. Épron and F. Daumas, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, I (Cairo, 1939); H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, II, III (Cairo, 1953-66); M. Mogensen, *Le Mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1921); P. Duell

family groups of tombs which show similarities in the style of their chapel reliefs. This fact can provide a starting-point for the identification of blocks showing similar workmanship.

5. *Size of the figures and registers.* No tomb publications give the measurements of different registers and the sizes of figures therein. This means that the only accurate way of relating a fragment to a particular wall by size correspondences is to have direct access to the block and the tomb. Measuring can be a crucial aspect of block identification, but gaining access to the reliefs in order to take the necessary measurements is sometimes impossible.

6. *Faults, stains, and other blemishes on the relief.* Many of the surface blemishes on unidentified reliefs will have occurred after a block's removal from a tomb, but some reliefs bear marks which must continue on the adjoining surfaces: water stains, for example, or cracks or natural faults in the stone. The simplest way to distinguish significant markings is to examine their width, especially on the upper and lower edges of a block. If they do not taper away at this point, then the chances are that the marks will be present on the wall from which the block was taken.

7. *Type of stone.* Old Kingdom scenes were generally carved on limestone, with or without a surface of plaster. The plaster coating provides a better clue to the identity of a relief than the quality of the stone, because weathering and age have caused so much deterioration of the finer types of limestone. At present, I have identified only one relief on the basis of its stone type, but it comes from a temple rather than a private tomb. This block will be discussed in a later publication in the series.

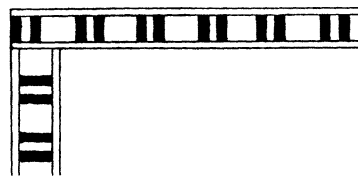


FIG. 1

8. *Marks on the relief showing the end of the wall or wall section.* These marks indicate the approximate position of a block within a composition. They occur as a plain line or as a pattern of coloured bars which sometimes decorates the upper edge of a composition as well as its sides (see fig. 1).

9. *Marks or colour traces on the relief indicating the lowest register.* The lowest register on a relief fragment is indicated by two lines forming a right angle at the end of a scene (L); the lower line continues horizontally, as the lowest baseline of the composition. If black, yellow, or red-brown colour bands are visible below this line the block must belong to the bottom of a wall, because these bands form the traditional wall base decoration. In decorated chapels of Old Kingdom date, the border of coloured bands illustrated in fig. 1 was never placed below scenes at the base of a wall; a relief with this pattern along its lower edge must come from a wall section above a niche or doorway, where the border has been used as a frame. One such block is now on display in the Cairo Museum.⁴

et al., *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1938); R. F. E. Paget and A. A. Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (London, 1898); J. Capart, *Une Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1907).

⁴ This is CG 1562, currently on display in Room 32 of the Museum: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des alten Reiches*, II (Cairo, 1964), 24-5, pl. 63.

10. *Remains of scenes or texts in the upper or lower registers.* Many unidentified blocks consist of a scene section in one register with broken edges of scenes above and below. Naturally our eyes are attracted to the scene most fully preserved, but, if a block is to be identified, the broken edges must be examined just as carefully. These fragments could be parts of scenes depicted elsewhere on the wall from which the block originated, or they could show the broken upper or lower sections of an inscription which may be matched with a broken text *in situ*. Detailed study of the broken registers and subsequent examination of tombs with similar register sequences form one of the most effective methods of identifying and positioning Old and Middle Kingdom blocks.

11. *The depiction of baselines on a relief.* A scene on a block and on the wall to which it belongs will show the same method of depicting register baselines. These vary in execution from an incised line (usually in poorer tombs) to a 'rolled' line raised well above the background. Between the two contrasting types there is a baseline defined by a pair of horizontally incised lines, and one indicated by a thick raised line flattened along the surface. The last baseline is the most common type, though there is considerable variation in the quality of workmanship and depth of cutting.

12. *Hieroglyphic inscriptions and palaeography.* A large number of unidentified blocks are decorated with hieroglyphs and major figures or hieroglyphs alone. Thus, many relief fragments are simply unfinished sentences or titles which may be matched through their meaning with other fragments, or with inscriptions *in situ*. If an activity is depicted on a fragment, the inscriptions on the horizontal edges of the surface may be the key to establishing the scenes that were once shown above or below; sometimes parts of signs can be matched, while on other occasions the text might be preserved well enough to read (cf. no. 10). In the present study, peculiarities in the depiction and position of individual hieroglyphs (i.e. aspects of palaeography) are not important methods of identification because most of the selected reliefs show scenes with fairly limited inscriptions. Once text fragments are included in the project, palaeography is certain to become a more significant method of identification.⁵

13. *Scene sequences and positions.* A knowledge of Old and Middle Kingdom scene sequences can be a useful aid when determining the types of composition to which a block belongs. If, for example, a relief shows donkeys loaded with grain, it will probably belong to a sequence of grain harvesting, transport of grain by donkeys, stacking of sheaves, and perhaps threshing and winnowing. This is because the scene of donkeys loaded with grain is rarely shown in isolation in Old and Middle Kingdom tombs. Grain harvesting, on the other hand, will not necessarily belong to a sequence because harvesting is frequently depicted by itself, above or below unrelated activities. A further example is the row of dancers which is normally associated with a banquet, near musicians and bearers. In this context, dancers are

⁵ Numerous text fragments are published as hand copies of the inscriptions with no indication as to the size and shape of the stone on which they were carved. This seriously reduces the number of methods one can use to match the fragments (e.g. aspects of palaeography, colour traces, quality of the relief, measurements, etc.).

rarely depicted in a register above family members or food offerings; their usual position is in a lower register, either level with, or below, the feet of the major figure. Butchery is another scene which tends to be shown at the bottom of a composition, usually with the meat-bearers oriented towards the false door on the west wall. This, however, could be an imitation of real life; for joints of meat were probably carried by bearers to the stone offering table which was set in front of the false door. It is inevitable that there will be exceptions to the rule in the sequence of scenes depicted on chapel walls. Even so, a researcher who has acquired a detailed knowledge of the known Old and Middle Kingdom compositions is a better equipped to develop a successful line of investigations on the basis of typical scene positions.

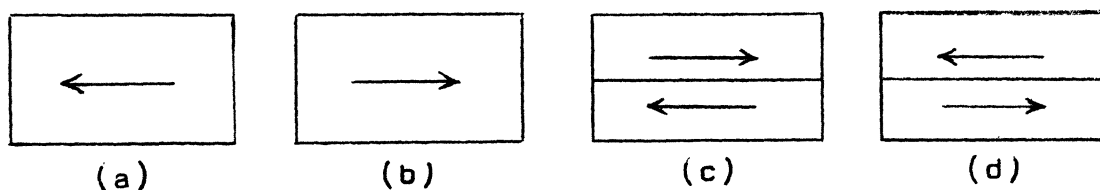


FIG. 2

14. *Orientation of figures and inscriptions in a relief.* The orientation of offering bearers depicted on a relief fragment will generally follow the orientation of the composition to which the fragment belongs, and the presence of a major figure in this composition may be deduced from the postures of the bearers. The orientation of daily life scenes, however, is more difficult to establish because the figures often face each other. Sometimes, left- or right-facing hieroglyphs in a damaged lower register, or feet, hooves, oar-tips, or punting poles in an upper register will reveal the general orientation of the composition, yet none of these is conclusive evidence if the wall scenes are divided into two horizontal sections. In this case, the figures in each section may be oriented in opposite directions, to face major figures or other important features on the same surface, or on an adjoining wall (see fig. 2).⁶

15. *Developments in the rendering of figures and scenes.* During the Old Kingdom, many new details were introduced into the repertory of tomb scenes: figure postures, activities, objects, clothing, wigs, and so on. After a lengthy study of these details I have provided many of them with a *terminus ante quem*, so that the date of a composition can be estimated by the presence of particular features; such data can be applied to unidentified relief fragments as well as wall scenes, in order to cut down the number of chapels to which these pieces might belong. This system is *not* intended as a precise method of dating as much as a flexible guide. As such, it has proved a useful means of tracing the identity of fragments depicting figures and activities, with or without texts.⁷

⁶ Good examples are: LD II, pl. 21 (*Mr-ib-i*); H. Junker, *Giza*, II (Vienna and Leipzig, 1934), fig. 20 (*Kr-i-ni-nswt*); A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz, 1977), figs. 12-13 (*Ni-ṛnh-Ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp(w)*).

⁷ Y. Harpur, *The Orientation and Development of Scenes and Figures in Old Kingdom Private Tombs* (Oxford, 1982), 155-335 (Unpublished D.Phil. dissertation in the Bodleian Library, Oxford).

16. *Descriptions of unpublished tombs.* A large number of Memphite tombs are known only through descriptions made at the time of their excavation or shortly afterwards. The most important of these were written by Auguste Mariette, towards the end of the nineteenth century, and George Reisner, just before the mid twentieth century.⁸ Mariette's notes on the decoration in Saqqâra mastabas are particularly valuable, because he included many texts as well as comments about unusual features in the scenes. Some of the compositions he described are now in the Cairo Museum, in the form of identified blocks; I believe that certain unidentified blocks in the same galleries could also come from his excavations, having been removed from the tombs before they were sanded up (cf. no. 2).

17. *Code numbers.* Occasionally the back of an unidentified fragment is of special interest because it may bear numbers referring to the tomb from which the piece was taken, or to a code used for reassembling purposes. These must not be confused with museum numbers which are generally written on an undecorated part of the surface. Often the numbers on the back of a block seem meaningless. Since noting them, however, I have discovered a group of identically marked fragments which bear such a striking resemblance to each other that they probably originate from the same tomb.⁹ Under the circumstances, it is advisable to examine both sides of any unidentified block.

18. *Museum records.* Museum records form part of the 'detective' aspect of identifying relief fragments, because they often provide details as to when a relief was bought or discovered, its provenance, and, less commonly, the source from whom it was obtained. The *Journal d'entrée* in the Cairo Museum is a mine of information in this respect, to the extent that the original volumes are irreplaceable. Clues to the identity of reliefs are not only to be gathered from the descriptions in the *Journal*, but even from the styles of handwriting, and writing substances, used by people who have added later remarks beside the entries.

The selected reliefs below were identified after applying the above criteria in two different ways. Either (a) unidentified blocks were examined before an attempt was made to trace the tombs to which they belonged, or (b) scenes *in situ* were studied in order to trace fragments broken from the compositions. Some of the blocks are only tentatively assigned to particular walls. They are included to illustrate reasons why a positive identification cannot always be made.

*Museum number:*¹⁰ CG 1531. *Present location:* Cairo Museum. *Original location:* Saqqâra.

In a number of tombs dating from the reign of Izezi onwards there is a scene type which depicts the tomb owner viewing the arrival of freighters carrying produce from his estates. Many of the minor figures in these scenes have deferential postures, but some are shown

⁸ A. Mariette (ed. G. Maspero), *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire* (Paris, 1889); G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1942).

⁹ These blocks will form the subject of a later publication in the series.

¹⁰ Borchardt, *op. cit.* 1 (Berlin, 1937), 229-30, pl. 47; B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, III², Memphis, Part 2, Saqqâra to Dahshûr (Oxford, 1981), 753 (Hereinafter *PM*).

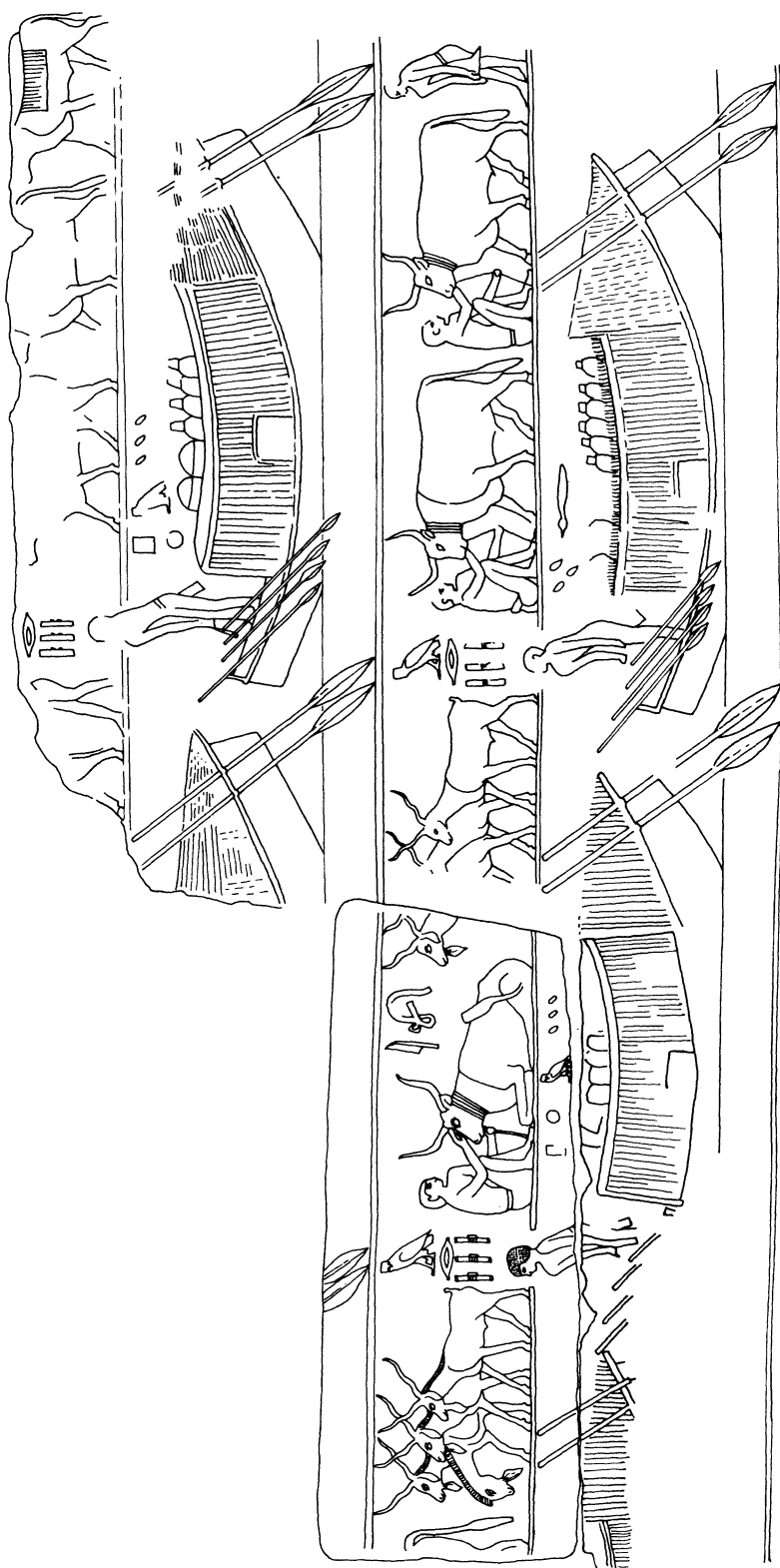


FIG. 3

tending animals on the boats or even force-feeding them.¹¹ In order to make a complete study of this scene type it was necessary to collect copies of all reliefs showing these features, and among the examples was an unidentified block from the Cairo Museum, known only as CG 1531 from Saqqâra (see fig. 3, upper left). This block shows the figure of a herdsman tending an ox, and, further left, a group of goats with corkscrew-like horns. The relief seemed to depict a field activity of some kind, but the slightly bowed head and shoulders of a man to the left of the ox provided a clue as to the relief's proper context. This figure extended above the baseline; therefore the herdsman and ox were probably in a sub-register of a much larger scene which included at least one bending male figure in a very wide register. The unidentified block was then matched against the large freighter scenes discussed above, and it was soon found to belong to a composition in the tomb of *Tii*, D22, at Saqqâra. CG 1531 fits in the second register of the freighter scene, thereby completing a bowing figure on one of the boats, and lengthening the sub-registers of animals forming part of the cargo.

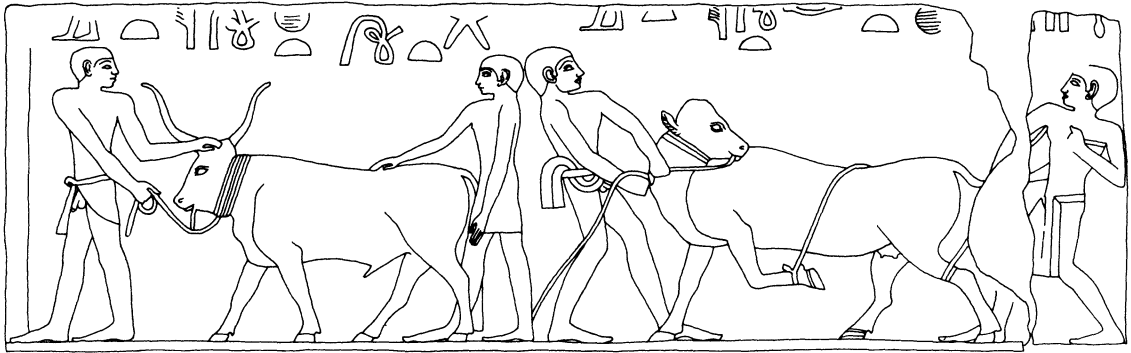


FIG. 4

*Museum number:*¹² CG 1560. *Present location:* Cairo Museum. *Original location:* Saqqâra.

The chapel of *Kʿi-m-rḥw*, D2, is now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, and its scenes are described in Maria Mogensen's *Le Mastaba égyptien de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1921). In this publication the authoress mentions a fragment on the right (north) thickness of the entrance, depicting a man pulling a rope; she includes a line-drawing of the relief, but evidently the block itself is not in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. The action of the man shows that he is restraining an animal, and in fact, part of the beast's tail can be seen behind the figure (see fig. 4, right). This line-drawing provided me with four clues regarding the appearance of the missing section: (a) the scene to which it belongs must be short, because the fragment is part of an entrance thickness; (b) the orientation must be inward (i.e. left facing), so that the minor figures seem to be entering the tomb; (c) the other figures (if any) could be fairly stocky with slightly over-large heads, like the man shown on the fragment; and (d) the missing section could show oxen entering the tomb, since this is a common entrance decoration.

With this information as a guide, the obvious place to begin a search for the missing relief

¹¹ The best examples of this scene type are: LD II, pls. 62-4, 103-4 (*Rc-šps, Pth-ḥtp(w)*); G. Steindorff, *Das Grab Des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913), pls. 20-2 (*Tii*); Épron and Daumas, op. cit. I, pls. xix, xxvi (*Tii*); C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II (Cairo, 1926), pl. 53, top (*Kʿ-gm-ni*).

¹² Borchardt, op. cit. II, 22-3, pl. 62; *PM* III², 2, 753.



FIG. 5

was in the Cairo Museum, because two chapel reliefs belonging to *Kꜣ·i-m-rꜥw* were known to be on display there.¹³ The line of investigation was quite simple: if the blocks from the tomb were taken to the Cairo Museum before they were to be sent to Copenhagen, then perhaps certain reliefs not in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek were still in the Cairo Museum, unidentified. This reasoning proved to be correct, because CG 1560 was found to match the fragment published by Mogensen (see fig. 4). It depicts two animals led (into the tomb) by three men, and the leg of the second beast is tied with a rope which is being pulled by the man in Mogensen's fragment. The present whereabouts of this smaller block remains a mystery, even after a search for its entry in the *Journal d'entrée*. Its probable location, however, is in a store-room in the Cairo Museum.

*Museum number:*¹⁴ none. *Present location:* unknown. *Original location:* Saqqâra, near the Teti Pyramid.

In Firth's publication there is a small line-drawing of a bird trapping scene which shows men setting traps below two trees (see fig. 5, upper right). Firth mentions that this fragment was found near the Teti Pyramid at Saqqâra, but he does not indicate where it was taken subsequently. No photograph of the block is included in the publication, nor are there notes describing its size or quality of workmanship.

This may seem an insignificant fragment, but the scene it contains is extremely rare; for it only occurs twice in the Old Kingdom: on Firth's relief and in the tomb of *Mrrw-kꜣ·i* near the Teti Pyramid. The location of the two reliefs and the rarity of the subject-matter make this too much of a coincidence; Firth's fragment must surely be part of the bird-trapping scene of *Mrrw-kꜣ·i*, probably removed from the tomb at some stage and discarded nearby.

The trapping scene in the tomb is on the north wall of the pillared hall above the entrance to the chapel of the son of *Mrrw-kꜣ·i*.¹⁵ Its lower register is broken in half, lengthwise, but above this there is a large gap where the fragment no doubt fits as part of an upper register

¹³ I should like to thank Dr M. Jørgensen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek) for the information he gave me concerning the reliefs of *Kꜣ·i-m-rꜥw* at Copenhagen. The agriculture and craft scenes on the east wall of the mastaba are plaster casts of the original blocks which are on display in the Cairo Museum (CG 1534).

¹⁴ Firth and Gunn, op. cit. 1 (Cairo, 1926), 6; *PM* III², 2, 546, bottom.

¹⁵ Duell *et al.*, op. cit. II, pls. 162-4; *PM* III², 2, 533[78].

(see fig. 5). Male figures carrying birds are shown to the left in both registers and their presence seems to indicate that the bird-trapping scene extended upwards as two registers above the section *in situ*. The trees, and methods of showing the hand traps opened and closed are similarly depicted in both reliefs, the only real difference being that Firth's fragment is wider and shows birds in the foliage. Until the original block is found and measured its identification must remain tentative. In the light of the evidence, however, its position in this tomb is unlikely to be incorrect.

*Museum number:*¹⁶ 22.83. *Present location:* Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. *Original location:* Saqqâra.

A well-established scene in the Old Kingdom repertory depicts a banquet with the tomb-owner seated before food and entertained by dancers and musicians. Sometimes he is shown in a pavilion of matting, in which case his family may be depicted near him, as if they are sharing the feast; this variant is far more common at Gîza than it is at Saqqâra, where only two or three examples are preserved.¹⁷ Female dancers are rarely omitted from these scenes. In most cases they are dressed in plain kilts, often pointed at the front, and around their necks they wear broad or high collars. The dancers on the Baltimore fragment, 22.83, show one unusual feature: their kilts are striped as if to indicate pleating or panels (see fig. 6, lower). An examination of all published dancing scenes of Old Kingdom date has revealed only four parallels to these kilts, the closest being a line-drawing of a fragment from the chapel of *Hnmw-htp(w)*, D49, at Saqqâra.¹⁸

At the time of this discovery the east wall of this chapel was being reconstructed at Oxford, from drawings of the tomb reliefs published by Margaret Murray, and from other published reliefs. Once an unidentified block from Basle (Basle III 5219)¹⁹ was found to join a fragment from the tomb of *Hnmw-htp(w)*, now in the British Museum (B.M. 872) to form part of a pavilion scene, a sure link with Baltimore 22.83 was formed (see fig. 6, upper). The Basle block depicts a large female figure in kneeling posture, and, behind her, two sub-registers of smaller figures kneeling before offering tables. This relief is broken just above the baseline so that the leg of the large figure, the base of the offering table behind her, and the (kneeling) leg of a smaller female figure are missing. The British Museum block depicts two sub-registers, each with a small figure kneeling before an offering table. Here again the table base in the lower sub-register is missing, as well as the bottom half of the lower figure.

The association between these two fragments and Baltimore 22.83 is evident in the broken upper register on the Baltimore block. To the right is the base of an offering table which joins to the table in B.M. 872, and further left are the remains of a kneeling leg, a table base, then the toe, instep, anklet, and shin of a much larger figure. These join to the relief numbered Basle III 5219. The reconstruction of the east wall of the chapel of *Hnmw-htp(w)* (as far as it can be deduced) is published by Jaromir Malek.²⁰ Figure 6 here shows only the Baltimore fragment and the two blocks to which it joins.

¹⁶ Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 78, pl. xliii, 264.

¹⁷ Épron and Daumas, op. cit. 1, pls. lvi, lvii (*Tii*); LD II, pl. 61A (*Rr-špss*); H. F. Petrie and M. A. Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels* (London, 1952), pl. xvii, 1 (*Hnmw-htp(w)*).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. xvii, 10.

¹⁹ *Geschenk des Nils. Aegyptische Kunstwerke aus schweizer Besitz.* (Eine Ausstellung des Ägyptologischen Seminars der Universität Basel, 1978), no. 119 with pl. (Basle III 5219); T. G. H. James (Ed.), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, pt. i, 2nd edn. (London, 1961), 19, pl. xx, 1 (B.M. 872).

²⁰ J. Malek, in *Société d'Égyptologie, Genève* 6 (1983), 60-7. I should like to thank Dr Malek for discussing this project with me while it was in progress.

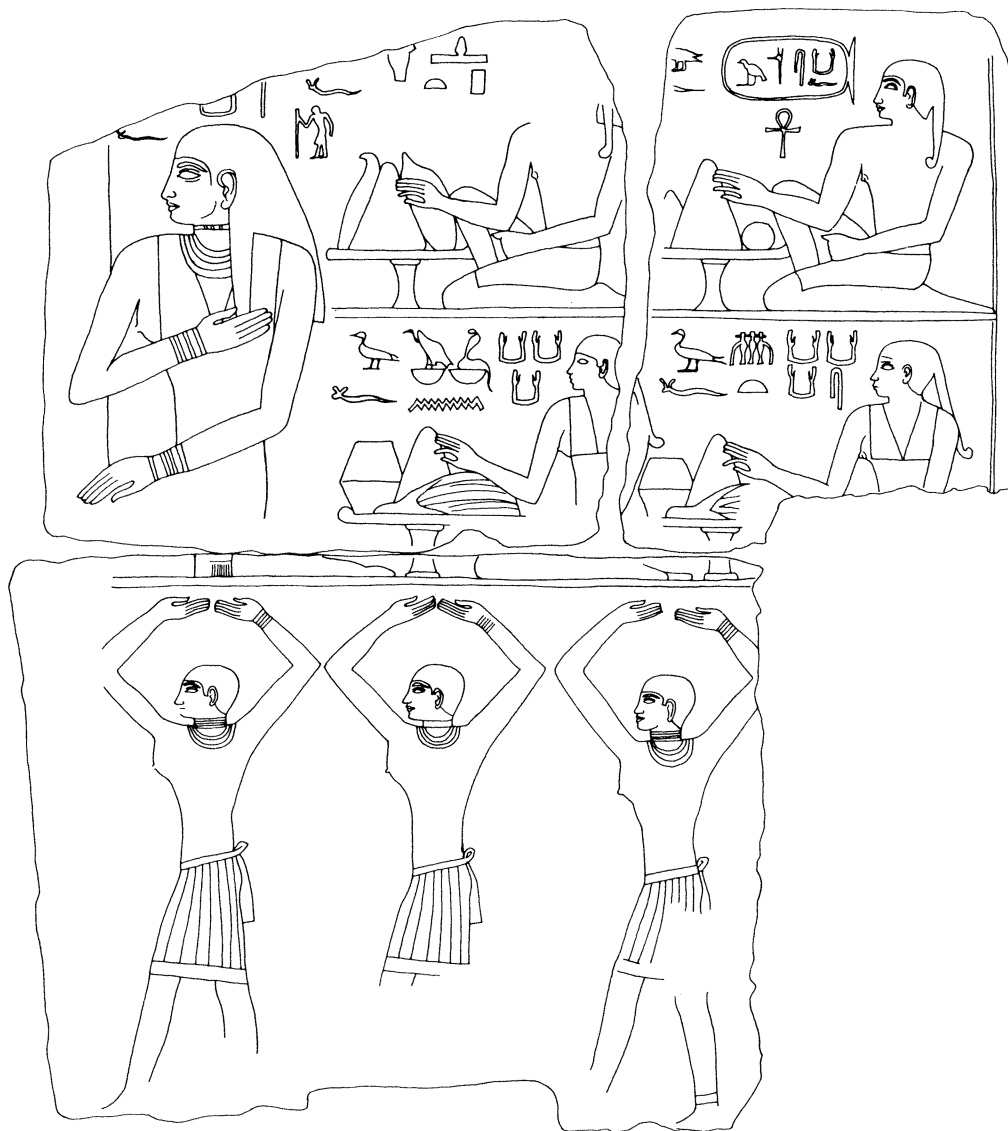


FIG. 6

*Museum number:*²¹ none. *Present location:* unknown. *Original location:* Saqqâra.

This relief, of papyrus gatherers, is mentioned by Margaret Murray immediately after her description of the reliefs in the chapel of *šḥti-ḥtp(w)*, E17, at Saqqâra, but she does not state where the scene comes from or where it was found (see fig. 7). It is not included with the reliefs of *šḥti-ḥtp(w)*, E7, described in the *Topographical Bibliography*, nor is it included anywhere else in the Saqqâra volume. A possible clue to the identity of the tomb to which the fragment belongs is in pl. viii of Murray's publication. Above the papyrus gatherers is the line-drawing of a hippopotamus which Murray describes as part of a scene in the chapel of *Pr-sn*, D45, at Saqqâra (cf. n. 21). This is one of the tombs recorded by Auguste Mariette, who mentions a lotus-gathering scene on the east wall.²² In particular, he notes the condition

²¹ Petrie and Murray, *op. cit.* 9, 20, pl. viii, lower.

²² Mariette, *op. cit.* 301.

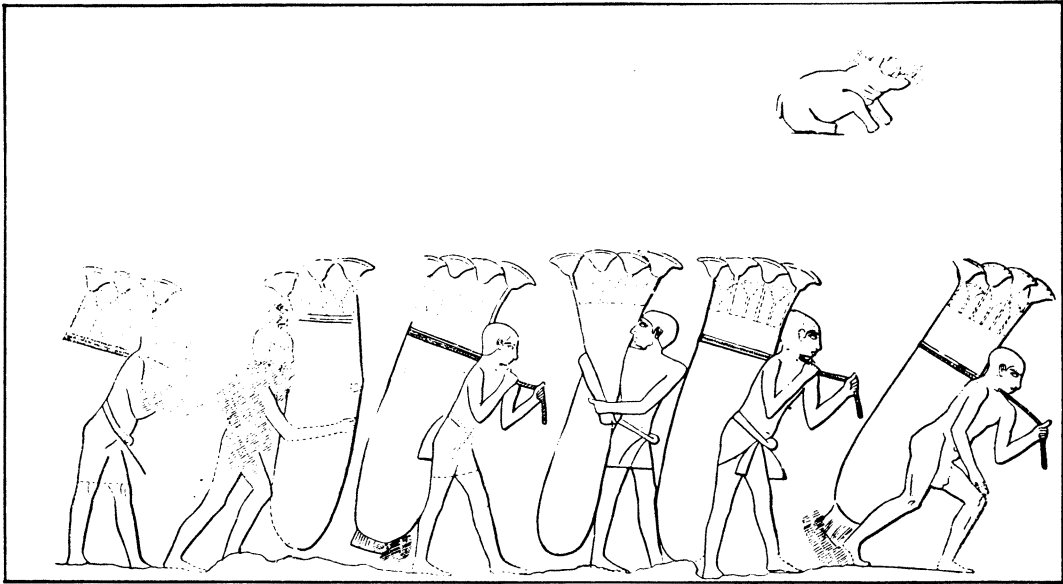


FIG. 7

of the first figure in this scene, who (translation) ‘. . . is afflicted with a disease which is still very common today . . .’ (i.e. in the late nineteenth century) ‘. . . in the marshy parts of northern Egypt’. The disease to which Mariette refers is probably bilharziasis, which can affect the navel and genital parts of human beings; people with this complaint are sometimes shown in tomb scenes dating from the second half of the Fifth Dynasty onwards at Saqqâra.²³ In the line-drawing published by Murray (see fig. 7) the first figure is certainly depicted with a genital defect, but the bundle he carries is papyrus, not lotuses. If it is accepted that the hippopotamus relief illustrated by Murray belongs to the same wall as the papyrus-gathering scene shown just below it (i.e. the east wall of the chapel of *Pr-sn*), then Mariette must mean papyrus gatherers. This activity would be well in keeping with the other subjects he describes on that wall—namely, a marsh-hunt scene (to which the hippopotamus no doubt belongs), and a scene of fighting boatmen. A further point to note is that the papyrus gatherers in Murray’s line-drawing face right. If they belong to the east wall of D45, then they are oriented inwards, thus following the direction of the bearers and butchers in a table scene depicted on the adjacent south wall. The implied movement of all of these figures is towards the false door on the west wall.

*Museum number:*²⁴ no. 2. *Present location:* Barracco Collection, Rome. *Original location:* Saqqâra.

*Museum number:*²⁵ Aeg. 751. *Present location:* Dresden Albertinum. *Original location:* Perhaps Gîza.

Although these blocks are recorded as coming from different sites, the location of one of them is incorrect, because the reliefs join. Their identity is still unknown, but to judge by the

²³ P. Ghalioungui, ‘Some Body Swellings illustrated in Two Tombs of the Ancient Empire’, *ZÄS* 87 (1962), 108–14.

²⁴ G. T. C. Barracco, *Catalogo del Museo di Scultura Antica. Fondazione Barracco* (Rome, 1910), 13[2] with pl. facing p. 16; *PM* III², 2, 761.

²⁵ W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, I (Leipzig, 1923), pl. 394 (called Saqqâra); *PM* III², 1, 309.

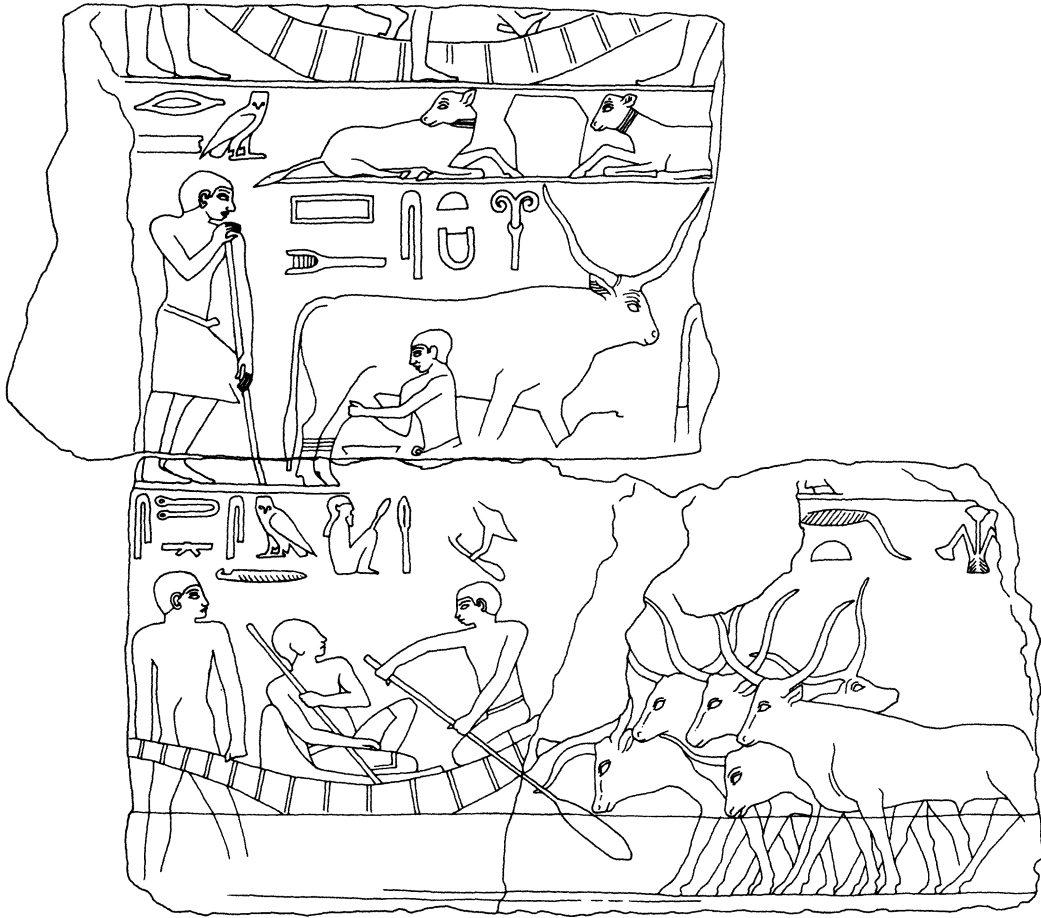


FIG. 8

style of the relief, they are most likely to come from a Saqqâra tomb dating to the Fifth Dynasty. The Barracco fragment, which is the upper block, shows an overseer facing right and leaning on his staff as he watches a man milking a cow; further along are the remains of a second cow which also faces right. The entire lower section of this block is broken away (see fig. 8, upper). The Dresden fragment shows a fording scene and, directly above it, traces of another register: to the left are two feet (one foot on the ground and the other raised), the slanted end of an object (a staff), and the tail tip and closely placed hooves of an animal facing right. Much further along there are traces of another hoof facing right (see fig. 8, lower). All of these details exactly match the detail on the Barracco fragment, but, because the blocks were probably hacked from the wall, their edges are too badly damaged to form a neat join.

*Museum number:*²⁶ CG 1561. *Present location:* Cairo Museum. *Original location:* Saqqâra.

In Room 32 of the Cairo Museum there is a relief fragment, CG 1561, which shows two registers of women, busily engaged in baking and brewing activities (see fig. 9). These registers evidently come from the left side of a composition because the left edge is defined

²⁶ Borchardt, *op. cit.* II, 23-4, pl. 63; *PM* III², 753.

by a vertical line.²⁷ Above the baking and brewing scenes there are traces of an upper register. Originally a boat was depicted here; for the tips of nine oars can be distinguished, each spaced equally apart.

The first step in attempting to identify CG 1561 was to find a similar register sequence. There were no parallels in the Old Kingdom volumes of the *Topographical Bibliography*, so then the search was transferred to the notes in Mariette's *Mastabas*. Here there was one wall description with a sequence resembling the one illustrated in CG 1561: the north wall of the chapel of *Nn-hft-k'i*, D47, at Saqqâra.²⁸ Mariette's notes read as follows (text details omitted):²⁹

'Paroi nord. Porteurs d'offrandes.

Abattage des bœufs avec ce titre général (text)

Plus bas, grande barque naviguant à la rame. Au dessus d'une, matelot étendant le bras (text). Au registre du bas, scènes d'intérieur (pl. x).'

It is unfortunate that no further details were included regarding the scènes d'intérieur, because pl. x was never published. Nevertheless, activities such as baking and brewing would no doubt be classified as interior (i.e. home) rather than exterior (i.e. field) pursuits, especially since the sub-registers in CG 1561 show loaves of bread on dishes which appear to be placed on shelves or stands.

If CG 1561 is compared with known reliefs from the tomb of *Nn-hft-k'i*—also on display in Room 32 of the Cairo Museum—stylistic similarities can be detected (*a*) in the depth of cutting, (*b*) in the quality of the relief, and (*c*) in the smoothness of the background. The distinctive elongation of some of the female figures depicted in CG 1561 is repeated in CG 1558 (a relief known to have come from the chapel of *Nn-hft-k'i*), and the tall female attendants carved on this block have the same closely cropped hair as the female bakers and brewers on CG 1561.³⁰ Finally, a link may be established through measurements. According to Mariette, the width of the north wall in the chapel of *Nn-hft-k'i* is 120 cm. In the Photographic Register of the Cairo Museum, CG 1561 is recorded as being 120 cm wide, and my own measurement of the relief is 119 cm. If we assume that CG 1561 extended the full width of a composition (cf. n. 27), it precisely fits the north wall in the chapel of *Nn-hft-k'i*, D47, at Saqqâra. Without further details about Mariette's 'pl. x', however, it is impossible positively to identify the tomb to which this block belongs.³¹

Museum number:³² none. *Present location*: unknown. *Original location*: Gîza, *Shm-k'-Rc*, LG 89.

In his publication of this tomb, Selim Hassan includes some miscellaneous blocks, four of which were found near the north wall of the outer room; when joined, these particular blocks show a group of men felling trees and lopping branches off a fallen trunk (see fig. 10, upper).

²⁷ There is no line defining the end of the wall on the right-hand side of the relief, but, to judge from the inward-facing positions of the figures here, this is the end of the scene and perhaps the end of the composition as well.

²⁸ Mariette, op. cit. 304-9; *PM* III², 2, 580-1 and plan lix.

²⁹ Ibid. 306, middle.

³⁰ Borchardt, op. cit. II, 19-21, pl. 62 (CG 1558), 23-4, pl. 63 (CG 1561).

³¹ There are two points which may be used as arguments against the identification of CG 1561 as a relief from the north wall of D47: (*a*) The oars in the upper register would belong to a vessel oriented away from the west wall, whereas one might expect the reverse orientation; and (*b*) the lowest baseline of CG 1561 may not be the lowest baseline of a composition. As counter-arguments it should be noted that (*a*), in some tombs, boats depicted on a wall (as opposed to a thickness) are occasionally oriented away from the west wall; and (*b*) Mariette does not state precisely how many registers were below the boating scene. His descriptions must not be taken too literally.

³² Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV (Cairo, 1943), 115, fig. 60; *PM* III², 1, 233-4, and plan xxxii (LG 89).

Hassan presumed that the fragments belonged to a destroyed composition on the north wall, and this is the orientation recorded for them in the *Topographical Bibliography*.

Among the many scene sequences preserved in Old Kingdom private tombs there is one which illustrates the lengthy process of building wooden boats. To begin the sequence, men are shown knocking goats out of branches, then felling the trees; next to this is shown a newly trimmed log, sometimes carried by a gang of workmen; then finally there is a scene of boat builders working on the wooden hull of a vessel. One of the best sequences is in the tomb of *Ni-ꜥnh-Ḥnmw* and *Ḥhmw-ḥtp(w)* at Saqqâra, while the tomb of *Nfr* and *Kꜣ-ḥꜣi* seems to contain the earliest known example in the Saqqâra necropolis.³³

At Gîza, high up on the left side of the south entrance wall in the chapel of *Shm-kꜣ-Rꜥ*, there is a small relief of a goat browsing by a tree. A large space to the right of this scene extends above the doorway, and further right of this is a scene depicting men shaping a wooden boat (see fig. 10, left and right sides above doorway).³⁴ There can be no doubt as to the whereabouts of the missing reliefs between these scenes. The fragments assigned by Hassan to the north wall of this tomb belong to the south entrance wall, where the progression of a browsing goat, tree-felling, log-trimming, and boat-building constitutes the earliest preserved example of a boat-building sequence in an Egyptian tomb.

³³ Moussa and Altenmüller, *op. cit.*, figs. 8–10; *id.*, *The Tomb of Nefer and Kahay* (Mainz, 1971), pls. 18–23.

³⁴ Hassan, *op. cit.* 110, fig. 57; *LD Ergänzungsband*, pl. xxxvi. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archaéologie égyptienne*, v (Paris, 1969), 662, fig. 265 (partial reconstruction). The extant line-drawings of the south-wall decoration are too schematic to permit an exact reconstruction of the scenes above the entrance.

THREE MONUMENTS OF OLD KINGDOM TREASURY OFFICIALS

By N. STRUDWICK

THE treasury in the Old Kingdom was an institution of considerable importance, no doubt controlling the revenues of the state as its principal function. Precise details of its responsibilities are very few, mainly because its activities are not part of the normal repertoire of Old Kingdom tomb decoration, whence often comes the information to flesh out clues given by other sources, such as juxtaposed titles. Activities shown on tomb walls seem largely to have taken place on private estates, and it is, therefore, probable that there was no formal private treasury administration thereon, but rather officials from the state treasury would carry out the necessary reckoning. This remains true for individuals who were officials of that institution.

Three unpublished monuments of officials who held the senior office of overseer of the treasury or two treasuries in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties are presented here.¹ These are accompanied by a discussion of the palaeography of the group *pr-ḥd*, 'treasury', mainly with reference to the Old Kingdom but with notes on other periods. Particular attention is paid to its value in the Old Kingdom as a criterion for dating.

I

1. Drum of *Nfr* (see pl. III, 1)

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 21.3080.² *Provenance*: excavations of Harvard-Boston Expedition to Gîza, found in debris of tomb G1461. *Material*: limestone. *Dimensions*: overall length 0.85 m; diameter 0.204 m. *Inscribed area*: length 0.25 m; width 0.08 m. *Bibliography*: none, but see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, III², 64.

The drum, presumably from the entrance to a tomb, shows in the centre a panel containing a text carved in good-quality raised relief and of excellent preservation. There are no traces of colour.

Text: *imy-r zš, ḥry-sštj 3ḥt-Ḥwfw, nb imḥ, imy-r pr-ḥd Nfr*, 'The overseer of

¹ Since it has not been possible to examine the original monuments and the photographs are sufficiently clear, line drawings are not included.

² I should like to thank Professor W. K. Simpson for his permission to publish this piece and the photograph. I am also grateful to Dr E. Brovarski and Mr P. Lacovara for other information on this object.

scribes and keeper of the secret matters of the pyramid *3ḥt-Hwfw* ('The Horizon of Khufu'), the one who is provided for,³ the overseer of the treasury, *Nfr*'.

It is clear from the excavation records that this piece did not form part of the tomb in which it was found. The only *Nfr* at Gîza who is also *imy-r pr-ḥd* is the well-known owner of tomb G2110; however, this piece is not palaeographically similar, and any connection between the two has been denied by Smith.⁴ No further *Nfr* with comparable titles is known to have been buried at Gîza, and thus the drum must have originated in an otherwise unknown tomb. About the only evidence available for dating comes from the palaeography of the signs, particularly that of the group *pr-ḥd*. From the discussion in Part II of this paper it emerges that this form of the sign with the mace completely enclosed by the house belongs at the latest to the early Sixth Dynasty. Titles, admittedly mainly priesthoods, incorporating the names of royal pyramids do not, in general, antedate the middle of the Fifth Dynasty.⁵ Holders of titles associated with the pyramid of Khufu date to the later Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, with the exception of two *imy-r niwt 3ḥt-Hwfw*, who appear in the early to middle Fifth.⁶ On these very approximate criteria, *Nfr* was probably active in the later part of the Fifth Dynasty.⁷

2. Block of *Šdy-ptḥ Šdw* (see pl. III, 2)

Rosicrucian Museum, San Jose RC 1737.⁸ *Provenance*: originally from the excavations of Firth and Gunn in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, Saqqâra. *Material*: limestone. *Dimensions*: length *c.* 0.56 m; width *c.* 0.255 m. *Bibliography*: none, but cf. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 545, where a false door of the same man, present location unknown, is also mentioned (Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, 196 (27)).

This block presumably formed the left-hand end of an architrave or lintel. It depicts three standing figures of the deceased which face to the right. The figures on the right and in the centre are represented in identical poses, the left hand grasping the top of a staff and the right holding a *ḥrḫ* sceptre. Both wear long wigs, broad collars, and triangular kilts. The only difference between the two figures is that the central one lacks a diagonal stripe on the kilt. The figure on the left holds a staff in the middle with his left hand, while his right hangs down beside/behind his kilt. No collar is depicted, and, owing to damage to the rear of the head, the wig type is uncertain. Before each figure is a vertical text containing titles, epithets, and names: those at the right and in the centre are of one column only, while that at the left

³ A more meaningful translation than the traditional 'possessor of reverence', or the like. For examples with the same sense see Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, chapters 7-8.

⁴ *A History of Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 163 n. 1. The drum of G2110 is, contrary to Smith's assertion (*loc. cit.*), almost certainly that found by Fisher in tomb G3015A (*The Minor Cemetery at Giza*, pl. 50 (5)), as noted originally by Capart (*Documents*, II, 23).

⁵ Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, 264.

⁶ *Snnw-ki Kki* (unpublished, cf. Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, 217 (22), and *Ki-irw-Hwfw* (LD II, 17d).

⁷ The tomb of the only other published holder of one of *Nfr*'s titles, *imy-r zš 3ḥt-Hwfw*, exhibits both alternative forms of the *pr-ḥd* group, and thus possibly dates to the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty (*3ḥt-ḥtp(w)*), Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, I, figs. 137, 133). This would make him a little later than *Nfr*, and suggests that the title *imy-r zš 3ḥt-Hwfw* only appeared around the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

⁸ My thanks are due to Miss Lesley Bone for information about and permission to publish this piece and its photograph.

comprises two vertical columns of titles, with the great name of the deceased written horizontally before the hand of the figure, and the good name vertically inscribed.

The whole block is cut in sunk relief. It is broken into two pieces, with damage to the decoration at the edges. The figures at the left and in the centre have traces of red colour on the bodies, and the left has some black on the wig. Otherwise, all indications of colour have disappeared.

Texts: (right), *shd dbꜣt, mty n zꜣ Šdy-ptḥ*, ‘The inspector of the palace (?), regular one of the body of priests, *Šdy-ptḥ*’.

(centre), *shd pr-ꜣ, imꜣḥw Šdw*, ‘The inspector of the great house, the one who has been provided for, *Šdw*’.

(left), (a) *wꜣb 200, imy-r wpt Mn-ꜣnh-Nfr-kꜣ-rꜣ*, (b) *imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r izwy ḥkr nzwt*, (c) *Šdy-ptḥ, rn:f nfr Šdw*, ‘The *wꜣb*-priest of the two hundred and overseer of commissions of the pyramid *Mn-ꜣnh-Nfr-kꜣ-rꜣ* (“May Neferkarēꜣ be established and live”), the overseer of the two treasuries, the overseer of the two chambers of the royal ornament, *Šdy-ptḥ*, whose good name is *Šdw*’.

Since the titles of *Šdy-ptḥ* mention the pyramid of Pepy II, the block cannot antedate the later Sixth Dynasty. It would seem that most Old Kingdom monuments from the area of the Teti pyramid cemetery date either from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty through to some time in the middle of the dynasty (including all the large mastabas), or from the end of the Old Kingdom and beginning of the First Intermediate Period, monuments of the intervening period at Saqqâra coming principally from the area around the pyramids of Merenrēꜣ and Pepy II. Mention of the pyramid of Pepy II on monuments from the Teti pyramid cemetery is very rare,⁹ and it is preferable to date this block to the end of the Old Kingdom or the early First Intermediate Period.

The false door belonging to *Šdy-ptḥ* exhibits only the titles *shd pr-nzwt, shd dbꜣt, shd pr-ꜣ*. It is possible to interpret each monument as representing a different stage in this man’s career.¹⁰ After the false door was produced, he was probably promoted to the high office of *imy-r prwy-ḥd*, which brought with it the title of *imy-r izwy ḥkr nzwt* and the pyramid titles. Almost all holders of *imy-r izwy ḥkr nzwt* were overseers of the treasury, and in the Sixth Dynasty most of the highest officials held titles associated with royal pyramids; presumably their high civil rank qualified them for the material benefits to be gained by association with a royal temple.

3. Blocks of an unknown Official (see pl. IV)

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 04.2.4-6.¹¹ *Provenance:* uncertain. *Material:* limestone. *Dimensions:* 04.2.4, length 0.505 m; width 0.253 m; 04.2.5, length 0.32 m;

⁹ One example is the offering table of *Mn-ꜣnh-Ppy Mni*, Cairo Museum J. d’E. 38427, Cat. Gen. 57014, see Moret, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, III, fasc. 1, 20 with pl. and fig.

¹⁰ One would expect him to have inscribed on the false door the highest titles held at the time of its manufacture, unless he simply valued those found on it more highly than the others.

¹¹ My grateful thanks are due to Dr Christine Lilyquist for information about these blocks, the photographs, and permission to publish them.

width 0.2 m; 04.2.6, length 0.857 m; width 0.257 m. *Bibliography*: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Catalog 1898*, nos. 872-4: cf. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.* 760. The existence of these blocks is noted by Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi*, 88.

04.2.4 is a block bearing part of four vertical columns of inscription. The wide border at the left indicates that it probably belonged to the corner of a tomb chapel. The right-hand end is damaged.

04.2.5 displays part of two vertical columns of inscription. Like 04.2.4, it probably came from the corner of a tomb chapel.

04.2.6 bears, at the left, part of two vertical columns of inscription. The remainder consists of three standing male figures, each preceded by vertical column(s) of text. Two such columns accompany the figure furthest to the left who wears a short, detailed wig and a short kilt. His right arm is held clenched to the chest while the left bears a *hrp* sceptre. The two remaining figures are each accompanied by a single column of text, wear short kilts, and hold the right arm clenched to the chest with the left beside/behind them. The only difference between them is that the figure furthest to the right does not wear the heavy, detailed wig of his companion. All three men wear small collars, although that on the left is not detailed. The left edge of the block is slightly damaged; the surface is worn in places.

All three blocks are cut in raised relief of a standard which, while perfectly competent, is not of the highest Old Kingdom quality; this may be seen particularly in the rendering of the facial features.

Texts (the translation of the major columns of inscription will be discussed below along with the arrangement of the blocks):

04.2.4 (1) *n [S]nfrw*, (2) *imy-r iz*, (3) *n Hwfw*, (4) *imy-r pr-ḥd n*.

04.2.5 (1) *imy-r pr-ḥd*, (2) *Dd-f-rc*.

04.2.6 (at left) (1) *imy-r pr-ḥd*, (2) *zš c nzwt*;

(before left-hand figure) (1) *zš f dt*, (2) *zš b zš Tnti*, 'His son, for whom (he) has provided,^a the judge and scribe *Tnti*';

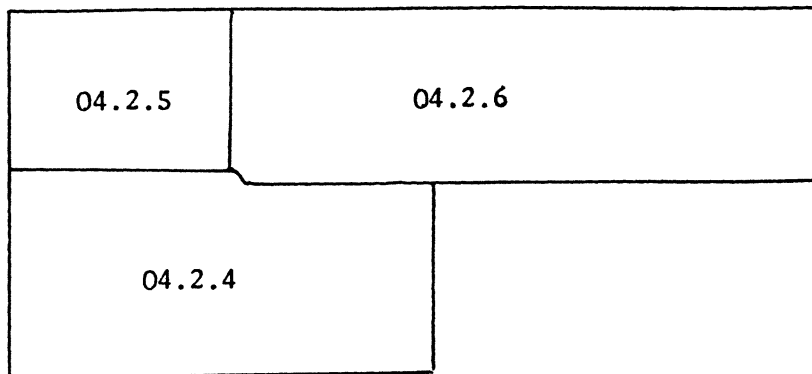
(before central figure) *zš N-ksmmk (?)*,^b 'The scribe, *N-ksmmk*';

(before right-hand figure) *zš Pth-ḥtp(w)*, 'The scribe *Pth-ḥtp(w)*'.

(a) Meaning one who benefits from his funerary establishment (cf. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 57-60).

(b) The reading of this name (not in Ranke, *Personennamen*) is extremely doubtful. The central element may be the verb *ksm*, 'defy', 'obstruct' (*Wb.* v, 141), appearing in the passive form with reduplicated third consonant (Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §§ 556-8). This gives the translation 'You will / May you never be obstructed', taking the verb in a future-optative sense (*ibid.*, §562). There are two important obstacles to this interpretation. The verb *ksm* does not seem to be attested elsewhere before the Middle Kingdom, while the reduplicated passive in the Old Kingdom is an archaizing form not found outside the Pyramid and Coffin Texts. While one can explain away these problems, particularly the first, on the grounds of early forms and exceptions, it is clear that this interpretation is only tentative.

The arrangement and provenance of the blocks are the principal problems to be considered. On the basis of the main text, Winlock, according to the Metropolitan Museum, arranged them thus:



giving the text



This produces the following transliteration and translation: (1) *imy-r pr-ḥd n Snfrw*, (2) *zšꜥ nzwꜣt imy-r iz*, (3) *imy-r pr-ḥd n Ḥwfw*, (4) *imy-r pr-ḥd n Dd-f-rꜥ*, ‘The overseer of the treasury of Snofru . . . the scribe of the king’s documents, the overseer of the chamber . . . the overseer of the treasury of Khufu . . . the overseer of the treasury of Djedefrēꜥ.’

This reconstruction does not inspire confidence: first, the positioning of the cartouches is unusual. In general, Old Kingdom texts place the royal name either before or after the other title elements, but not both. If the cartouche of Djedefrēꜥ was placed at what may be the top of a column of text for effect, then it would be expected that those of Snofru and Khufu would have received similar prominence; secondly, this reconstruction makes insufficient allowance for the discrepancies in the sizes of the blocks. There is no less than 5.7 cm difference in height between blocks 04.2.5 and 6, and so, if they are to be placed together, there is either room for another sign or signs between 04.2.5 and 4 or else the tops of the blocks were not level; in the latter case, the cartouche of Djedefrēꜥ would not be the first group in its column.

Given that the blocks all emanate from the same wall (which would seem likely on the grounds of palaeography), an unknown number of blocks is lost, thus rendering

an alternative reconstruction difficult. The titles referring to the treasury of a deceased king found on these blocks when so reconstructed are unique in the Old Kingdom, and for this reason alone one's suspicions as to the validity of this arrangement are aroused.¹² There is no evidence for treasuries apart from those of the state at this time, although it is not impossible that some such institution existed within a royal funerary complex. The Old Kingdom abounds in unique titles, and it is not impossible that each title was created especially for this one individual to enable him, like the holders of so many 'priestly' offices compounded with the name of a king, to benefit from the revenues of the institutions founded by that ruler.¹³

No indication is given as to the provenance of the blocks, although they are tentatively placed by Porter and Moss in the Saqqâra volume. A search for parallel examples has as yet failed to uncover anything similar; it is impossible to arrive at any conclusions based on the possible proximity of this tomb to a pyramid mentioned in the titles as the three institutions are widely separated (Dahshur, Gîza, Abu Roash).

As with the drum of *Nfr* above, the best dating criterion (which only gives an approximate result) is the form of the *pr-hd* group. This belongs with the examples dating not later than the end of the Fifth Dynasty (or the beginning of the Sixth if from Gîza: see Part II of this paper). A Fifth Dynasty date may be supported by some of the stylistic features, which, although not of the finest quality, lack the elongation and unsubtlety often found in Sixth Dynasty monuments.

II





The sign-group translated 'treasury' (*pr-hd*, *Wb.* 1, 518) is written throughout Egyptian history by a combination of the mace and house signs. Phonetic spellings of the group are never found. The term is well attested in the First, Second, and Third Dynasties,¹⁴ where the form is normally written  and occasionally , the latter showing a strap used to pass round the hand.¹⁵

Figure 1 gives a selection of well-dated Old Kingdom examples of the group *pr-hd*. From this material it will be evident that within the one form there are two variants,  and . These will be termed form A and form B respectively.¹⁶ Both

¹² Some later parallels are found: a First Intermediate Period title refers to the treasury of Merykarêc (on the false door of *Htpi*, Cairo J. d'E. 39102, Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-7), 72 pl. vi (2)), and in the time of Ramesses II an *imy-r pr-hd m hwt Wsr-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ stp-n-rꜥ n Imn* is found (see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 516).



¹³ Cf. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 63-8.

¹⁴ First Dynasty: sealing from the tomb of *Mryt-nt* at Abydos, Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, 1, Taf. 37 (121); Second Dynasty: sealing from the area of the tomb of Peribsen at Abydos, *ibid.*, Taf. 77 (290); Third Dynasty: sealing from the pyramid of Sekhemkhet, Goneim, *Horus Sekhem-khet*, fig. 28.



¹⁵ Gardiner, Sign List, T4. Only one example seems to show the mace completely enclosed by the house, in manner of Old Kingdom form B (below): Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, 111, pl. 106 (7) (Saqqâra tomb 3507, time of Den).

¹⁶ The only noticeable deviation appears with the dual *prwy-hd*: this is normally formed by a straightforward doubling of the singular group, but in the Sixth Dynasty two examples appear with one *pr-hd* group accompanied by a pair of house determinatives to indicate the dual. These come from the tombs of *Mrrw-kꜣi Mri* (Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 11, pl. 218A) and *nh-mry-rꜥ* (Lauer, *Saqqara*, xviii, pl. 133). Some examples classed as form A show the mace protruding very slightly below the house (such as *Dfrwi*, Petrie-Murray, *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, pl. xiv).


Middle to later Fourth Dynasty

1. *Nfr*, Gîza, Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, fig. 241. 
2. *Mry*, Saqqâra, Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, I, *Varia*, 29, fig. 2. 




Later Fourth and early Fifth Dynasty

3. *3hi*, Gîza, Junker, *Giza*, I, Abb. 57 (1). 
4. *Kri-rpr*, Saqqâra, Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), pl. ix (a). 


Middle Fifth Dynasty

5. *Ph-n-wi-kvi*, Saqqâra, *LD* II, 48. 

Reign of Djedkarê


6. *Ny-nh-hnmw/Hnmw-htp(w)*, Saqqâra, Moussa-Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, Abb. 5, 6. 
7. *Pth-htp(w)* I, Saqqâra, Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl. viii. 
8. *Sndm-ib Inti*, Gîza, *LD* II, 77. 


Reign of Wenis

9. *3ht-htp(w)*, Saqqâra, Davies, *Ptah-hotep and Akhethotep*, II, pl. ix, xx 



Reign of Teti/Early Sixth Dynasty

10. *Kri-gmi Mmi*, Saqqâra, Firth-



Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 59 (1). 

11. *nh-h'f Q'ir*, Gîza, Hassan, *Giza*, III, fig. 115, 114. 



Reign of Pepy I

12. *Mhw* Saqqâra, Saad, *ASAE* 40 (1940), pl. lxxx1. 
13. *Y'sfi Twtw*, Saqqâra, Capart, *Rue de tombeaux*, pl. lxxiii. 

Mid-Sixth Dynasty/Early reign of Pepy II

14. *Ny-s nh-3ht Yti*, Gîza, Hassan, *Giza*, III, fig. 109. 
15. *Mrrri*, Saqqâra, Hassan, *Saqqara*, III, fig. 17b. 

Middle to late reign of Pepy II

16. *Ny-hb-sd-Nfr-k:r-r*, Saqqâra, Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, fig. 60. 
17. *Dcw*, Deir el-Gebrawi, Davies, *Deir el Gebrawi*, II, pl. ix. 

First Intermediate Period



18. *Ttw*, Saqqâra, Firth-Gunn, op. cit. II, pl. 61. 
19. *Htpi*, Saqqâra, Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-7), pl. vi (2). 

FIG. 1. Old Kingdom examples of the group *pr-hd* which may be dated with a degree of confidence. These examples are not necessarily drawn to scale.

are found in the Fourth Dynasty (nos. 1 and 2), form A at Gîza, form B at Saqqâra.¹⁷ Form A is the only one evident in the early Fifth Dynasty at either site, showing that, although a localized writing existed previously, when Saqqâra became the principal necropolis of the major state officials, the form prevalent at the previous main burial site continued to be used (nos. 4 and 5; a parallel example from Gîza is no. 3).

The next well-dated certain example of form B comes from the tomb of *Sndm-ib Inti* at Gîza, dated to the very end of the reign of Djedkarê (no. 8). From that time onwards, this form clearly became the norm, providing no further significant indications for the purposes of dating. There are no obvious differences between the forms in use in the provinces (no. 17) and those in the Memphite region (rest of nos. 10-19).

Examination of later examples shows that form B remained the principal writing for the rest of Egyptian history,¹⁸ and there are no immediately obvious dating

¹⁷ No. 1 is in fact the only example of *pr-hd* from the Fourth Dynasty at Gîza; another Saqqâra example of the same date is *Yzi*, Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: La Collection égyptienne*, pl. xcii (AEIN 896a). The earliest Fourth Dynasty example of this sign is unfortunately published only in typeface (*Ph-r-nfr*, Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, II, 248).

¹⁸ Middle Kingdom stela of *Ypty*, Cairo Cat. Gen. 20053 (Lange-Schäfer, *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches III*, Taf. V); reign of Tuthmose III, Davies, *The*

criteria to be drawn, unlike in the Old Kingdom. The principal variation was the separation of the two signs, often with the addition of a house determinative ($\square\square \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ or $\square \text{𓏏} \square$).¹⁹ When the dual was written, the house signs were often joined together ($\square\square$).²⁰

More precise dating of the reintroduction of form B in the Old Kingdom is less simple. A scene from the tomb of *Ty* at Saqqâra, probably to be dated to the reign of Niuserrê^c, includes a man with the title of *zš pr-ḥd*, written using form B.²¹ The same is true for a *zš sdꜣwtꜣ pr-ḥd* in the tomb of *Nfr-bꜣw-ptḥ* at Gîza.²² If the accuracy of Mariette's copy may be trusted, the writings in the tomb of the vizier *Kꜣi* complement the previous examples,²³ suggesting the middle of the dynasty for the reappearance of this writing. Both forms are found in the tombs of *Ny-ꜥnh-ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp(w)* (no. 6), and *ꜣḥt-ḥtp(w)* (no. 9), indicating that neither form was necessarily standard at Saqqâra in the reigns of Djedkarê^c and Wenis.²⁴

The latest occurrence of form A which may be dated with some degree of certainty also comes from a monument containing examples of form B. This is the tomb of *ꜥnh-ḥꜣf Qꜣr* at Gîza (no. 11), perhaps of the early Sixth Dynasty.²⁵ It is very likely that the older form persisted longer at Gîza than at Saqqâra, since the former site was far less important at that time and therefore not likely to reflect new practices from elsewhere except in the tombs of the most favoured officials (such as *Sndm-ib Inti* above). It is likely that it had ceased to be used at Gîza by the middle of the Sixth Dynasty.²⁶

Such palaeographical considerations enable the *pr-ḥd* group to be used as a dating criterion to a limited extent in the Old Kingdom. A monument belonging to an important official (such as *imy-r pr(wy)-ḥd*) bearing form A is most likely to have been made before the reigns of Djedkarê^c or Wenis, while one exhibiting form B is probably later than this date, or is Fourth Dynasty and comes from Saqqâra. If the example comes from Gîza, then the lower limit of form A may be extended into the early part of the Sixth Dynasty.

This criterion is applied in part I of this paper to help derive dates for *Nfr* and the official whose name is lost. Other examples where it may be of use concern the

Tomb of Rekhmirê, pl. xlvi; Amarna period, id., *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, 1, pl. xxx; in the Ramesseum, Chapollion, *Notices descriptives*, 1, 889; reign of Osorkon I, Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. xxii (1), xxiii (4).

¹⁹ Middle Kingdom stela of *Mntw-ḥtp(w)*, Cairo Cat. Gen. 20539, Lange-Schäfer, op. cit., pl. xli; early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of *Bni*, LD III, 122g; Piankhi stela, *Urk.* III, 30, 2.

²⁰ See first two examples in n. 17.

²¹ Epron-Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, 1, pl. liii.

²² LD II, 56a bis.

²³ Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire*, 228-9.

²⁴ In the tomb of the father of *ꜣḥt-ḥtp(w)* (*Pth-ḥtp(w)* I (no. 7)), only form A is found, showing a change in the practice of one family at this time.

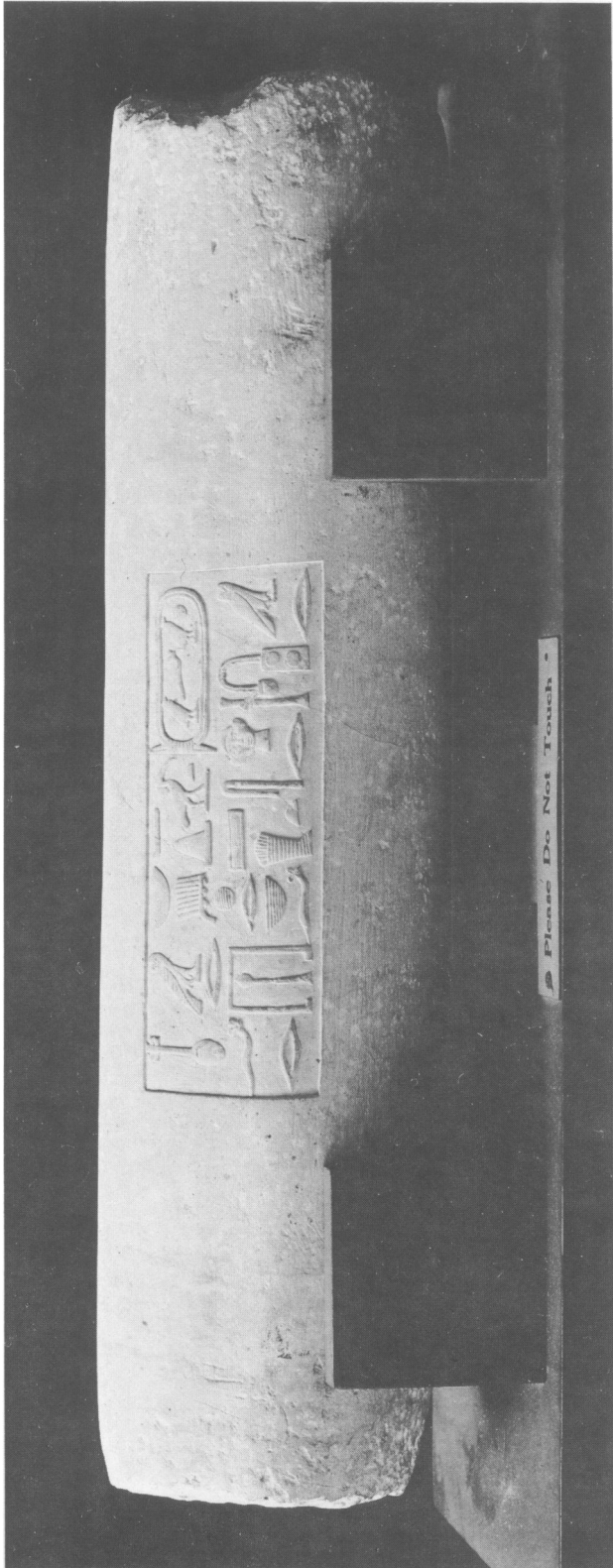
²⁵ All the tombs of probable Sixth Dynasty date exhibiting both of these forms together come from Gîza. There are at least two further examples: tomb of *Kꜣi-m-ꜥnh*, Junker, *Giza*, IV—form A, Abb. 9, 11; form B, Abb. 5-8, 10, and that of *ꜣḥt-ḥtp(w)*, Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 1—form A, fig. 137; form B, figs. 133, 135-6, 142. In all these instances, examples of the older form A are in the minority, showing it to have been falling out of use.

²⁶ It should be noted that in the tomb of *ꜥnh-ḥꜣf*'s son, *Ny-sꜥnh-ꜣḥt Iti*, only examples of form B are found (no. 14).

officials *Kꜣi*²⁷ and *Ny-sw-wsrt*,²⁸ both of whose monuments exhibit form A. The former's comes from Saqqâra, and is thus no later than the later Fifth Dynasty; that of the latter, coming from Gîza, has a lower date limit of the early Sixth Dynasty. This criterion can be seen to be particularly useful for *Ny-sw-wsrt*, whose monument is otherwise almost totally bereft of indications of a date.

²⁷ Offering stand, Cairo Cat. Gen. 57048, Abu-Ghazi, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, III, fasc. 2, 41 with pl. and fig. The seemingly different form of the *pr-hꜣ* group used in the tomb of the vizier *Kꜣi* (see above) suggests that the monuments are of different men.

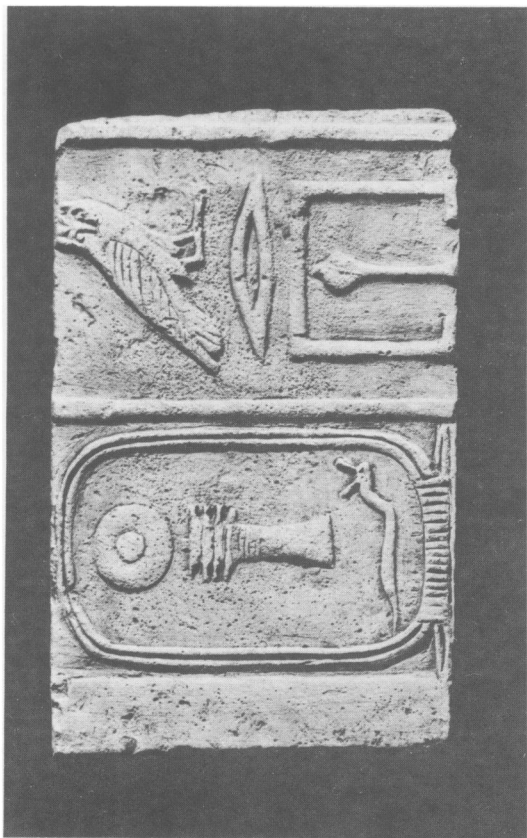
²⁸ Inscribed block, Hassan, op. cit. III, fig. 186, pl. lx (5), otherwise datable only by its proximity to the tomb of *Nfr*, probably of Fifth Dynasty date.



1. Museum of Fine Arts 21.3080
 Courtesy the *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*



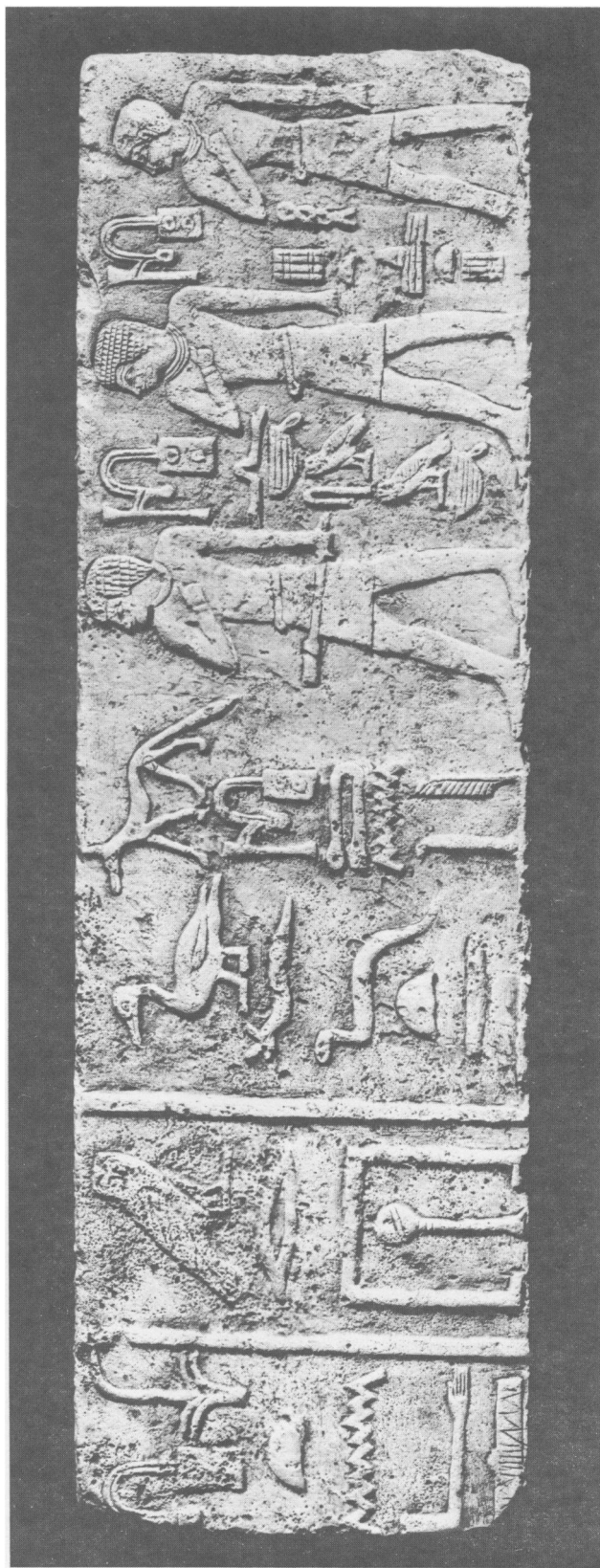
2. Rosicrucian Museum RC 1737
 Courtesy the *Rosicrucian Museum, San Jose*



2. Metropolitan Museum of Art 04.2.5
Courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



1. Metropolitan Museum of Art 04.2.4
Courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



3. Metropolitan Museum of Art 04.2.6
Courtesy the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

STATUS SYMBOLS IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF EL-'AMARNA

By P. T. CROCKER

It is a basic premiss of all that follows that house size is a primary indicator of status at El-'Amarna. This may be inferred from the fact that there is a far greater number of smaller houses than larger ones, even though the larger ones are better preserved. It would be highly abnormal, from a sociological viewpoint, were the higher social classes greatly to outnumber the lower, or that they lived in smaller, less well-constructed dwellings. The distribution of luxury items affords little confirmation or denial of this thesis, since almost all such items had been removed from the site either at the time of its abandonment, or by subsequent illicit pilfering. Carved stone lintels and stone bases for wooden columns are among the few architectural indicators of luxury, and these are found, as would be expected, only in the larger houses.

Methodology

The data for this study were provided by the examination of the published and unpublished plans of 782 houses from El-'Amarna. A very small percentage of the plans was too fragmentary for meaningful data to be derived from them, and these were ignored. They are without exception from the smaller houses, and thus would not add significantly to any discussion of status attributes. For the analysis of the plans thirty-two attributes were originally selected which were considered as possibly having status-value, or as being sufficiently common to indicate that their inclusion in any particular house was a matter of necessity and hence not status-indicative. In the course of processing the data at the Cambridge University Computer Centre, some attributes were seen to be intermediate between these two categories, and thus could be interpreted as items which were useful, although not essential. A further product of the processing was the identification of recurring patterns of interlinked attributes, which leads to some possible interpretations of, and insights into, the functions of the attributes involved which might not otherwise have been so immediately apparent.

The attributes are of three basic kinds: first, features which are either present or absent; secondly, numerical features; and, thirdly, features which can be measured, whether distances or areas. The full list of attributes is as follows:

(a) *Presence or Absence attributes*

Imposing Entrance to compound
Chapel in compound
Subsidiary house in compound

Space with brick piers in compound
Pond or well
Additional porch

| | |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| Vestibule | Staircase |
| Interior kitchen | Lustration slab |
| Bathroom and/or latrine | Dais in the Central Hall |
| Centre-columned room beyond the Central Hall | Shrine in the Central Hall |
| Other square room beyond the Central Hall | House walls thicker than those of adjacent houses |
| Bed-niche | |

(b) *Numerical attributes*

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Number of doorways between Loggia and Central Hall | Number of sides on which house is surrounded by compound space |
| Number of entrances to house | Number of rooms |
| Number of Loggias | Number of pillared rooms |

(c) *Measurable attributes*

| | | |
|------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Area of compound | Area of Central Hall | Area of chapel if present |
| Area of house | Area of Loggia(s) | Distance to nearest house |

Several of these terms are peculiar to the study of the architecture of El-'Amarna, and will be explained below when their status function is being considered. Others have been found to have no particular connection with status, and have been ignored in the present study.

The house-plans available were of widely differing scales and qualities: they included those plans of large houses which were excavated by Petrie in his 1891-2 season,¹ the excellent plans now available from the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft campaign in the years 1907-14,² and those of various campaigns of the Egypt Exploration Society between the years 1922 and 1933.³ Mr B. J. Kemp has also permitted access to further manuscript and photographic records of the E.E.S. kept at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the University of Cambridge, and has been generous in sharing his own unpublished material from the site.

Once the values of all attributes had been ascertained, these were transferred to punched cards, and thence to magnetic tape. The computer file of the material thus exists as a data bank which can be added to and consulted as further material becomes available. The data were then processed to rank the houses in order of area. Hence, for houses of any desired size-range, i.e. status, one could readily see the attributes of most common occurrence, or the ranges of defined areas of measurable attributes. For the purposes of this article it is the largest houses which are under detailed review, although it should be realized that, in order to demonstrate convincingly that any given attribute is linked with high status, it must also be shown that it is not linked with houses of low status, i.e. of small area. Since the

¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *et al.*, *Tell El Amarna* (London, 1894).

² H. Ricke, *Die Häuser in Tell-el-Amarna* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 91) (Berlin, 1980).

³ T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, I (London, 1923); H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, II (London, 1933); Pendlebury *et al.*, *The City of Akhenaten*, III (London, 1951).

house sizes form a continuum with no clear break between those which are 'large' and those which are 'small', the top 10 per cent have been taken as a sample of 'large', high-status dwellings. The fact of the continuum of sizes is an interesting one, and may perhaps be taken to show that there were no clearly demarcated social classes at El-'Amarna.

In the discussion of the findings which follows, the attributes are considered in the order in which they would be encountered by a person approaching the house from the street, and passing by degrees through the compound into the main rooms of the house, and thence to the innermost, most private rooms. In this way the cumulative effect of the various attributes designed to enhance the status of the house-owner may more readily be comprehended.

Discussion of the Results

First to be discussed is the attribute 'Imposing Entrance'. The entrance to a compound is so described when flanked by buttresses or low walls, or if the walls are thickened in the vicinity of the entrance to form a kind of pylon. Kemp has suggested that, if low walls parallel to the axis of the gateway are present, they were intended to act as guide walls for chariots entering the compound at speed. By the same token, they would protect the edges of the gateway from chariots entering the compound at too steep an angle. If this deduction is correct, then the possession of such walls is probably status-linked. The house-owner presumably either possessed a chariot himself—and they were luxury items—or he had friends, relatives, or business colleagues who possessed chariots, and visited often.

A second interpretation of the evidence in status terms concerns the pylon-type of entrance: there is the possibility that such an entrance may have been decorated (as recently in Nubia), or may have displayed the names and titles of the house owner. High sounding titles may well have deterred the literate unwelcome visitor, whilst the illiterate would doubtless have been checked by what seemed to them signs of magical potency. The Porter's Lodge inside the walls may have proved a further discouragement to entry by the unauthorized.

The data show clearly that it is mostly in association with the larger houses that such Imposing Entrances are found, as Table 1 indicates. Two points are worthy of comment: firstly, the comparatively high percentage of occurrences in the thirty largest houses, and, secondly, the rapid fall-off after a house size of about 220 sq. m. Below a house size of about 130 sq. m, the occurrences of the attribute are almost totally absent. It should be noted, however, that the preservation of the walls of the compounds of houses of between 220 and 130 sq. m in area is less good than that of the larger houses, and this factor may well obscure the finer details.

Correlation of this attribute against a second attribute—the number of sides on which a house was separated by a space from the compound wall—shows that almost all of the houses which had an Imposing Entrance were surrounded by four sides of compound space. Such space can also be interpreted in status terms (see below). It

TABLE I. *Frequencies of Imposing Entrances correlated against house size*

| Size-range | Frequency | Imposing entrances | Percentage |
|------------|-----------|--------------------|------------|
| Above 400 | 15 | 10 | 66.6 |
| 350-399 | 10 | 5 | 50.0 |
| 300-349 | 14 | 7 | 50.0 |
| 250-299 | 31 | 14 | 45.1 |
| 200-249 | 34 | 14 | 41.2 |
| 150-199 | 43 | 9 | 20.9 |
| 100-149 | 221 | 12 | 0.05 |
| Total | 368 | 71 | 19.0 |

should, however, also be stated that the possession of compound space on four sides is no necessary prerequisite for the possession of an Imposing Entrance since, out of the 102 houses above 100 sq. m in area which have compound space surrounding them on four sides, forty-five (44.1 per cent) do not have an Imposing Entrance.

The second attribute to be considered is the area of the compound. Kemp has already drawn attention to the fact that, for the houses in the 'North Suburb', 'for a given house above a certain size one cannot predict, except within limits which are extremely broad, what the associated space is going to be. This has the effect of blurring still further the distinctions of space expressed in architectural terms'.⁴ To this may be added the fact that Kemp's findings for the 'North Suburb' are also valid for both the 'North City' and the 'South Suburb'; and that—particularly significant in any discussion of status—some of the largest houses (e.g. J.49.1 and J.49.2) have no defined compound area at all. How then are these observations to be interpreted? For it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that, if a house-owner could happily dispense with a compound, he could equally easily forego the outbuildings or other features for which a compound provided the space. These include not only the opportunity to build an Imposing Entrance, but also a well or pond, stables, separate servants' quarters, a separate kitchen, granaries or other storage space, a chapel, a subsidiary house or porter's lodge, or any kind of garden. The possible status-values ascribable to some of these are discussed below.

There is a further hypothesis deriving from the observed correlation (or lack of it) between the area of a compound and the number of sides on which the house was surrounded by compound space. It relates to the part played by what may be termed 'insulative space' at El-'Amarna. From a Western European viewpoint it might be thought that space insulating one from noise, odours, or the general presence of near neighbours would have been a desirable attribute, but this appears not to have been

⁴ B. J. Kemp, 'The City of El-Amarna as a Source for the Study of Urban Society in Ancient Egypt', *World Archaeology* 9 (2) (1977), 123-38.

the case. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that the houses with large compounds are rarely placed within the compound so as to maximize the space around them. More often, houses will be placed at the end of the compound, or in one corner of it, and near to an adjacent house. Measurements taken of the shortest distance between one house and the next show that the distance is rarely more than 30 m, more often between 10 and 20 m. Several houses have shared walls which do not appear to be doubled, or there is a distance of less than 10 m between them. Among the smallest houses, the great majority abut one on to the next, often on more than one side. These facts may be interpreted as a desire for—or the fact of—interdependence between neighbours—not least if certain commodities were liable to be in short supply. An alternative explanation, which does not exclude the former one, is that the nuclear-family home attached additional units as relatives came and joined them, or as children married and remained living with the family, keeping their spouses with them.

An attribute which is exhibited by a small number of dwellings is the possession of a private chapel in the compound. Given the theocratic *raison d'être* of El-'Amarna, it might be thought that there would remain more evidence for devotion to the Aten at a personal level, even if only for political reasons of self-advancement. Such chapels as remain are solidly built with thick walls, and imperfections in the record of preservation cannot be adduced as the only reason for their lack. As religious features, their presence may also be linked with that of small personal shrines inside the houses, usually in the Central Hall, of which a similarly small number are preserved. A possible explanation for the paucity of both features may be found in the zeal of later devotees of different persuasions, whether the cult of Amūn, Jesus Christ, or Allah, amongst the adherents of all three of which have been those who would destroy the vestiges of the past age of Unenlightenment. Hence an easily recognizable monument to Atenism (or paganism in general), which was designed in the first instance to show the world its owner's devotion to the official cult, would be the first to succumb to the violence of the iconoclast.

When we pass to the statistics relating to these chapels, the data show, significantly, that, of the 5 per cent largest houses, some 72 per cent did not possess such a chapel. The figure remains constant for the next 5 per cent, but drops rapidly thereafter, so that, of the 30 per cent of houses at the top end of the scale, the overall percentage of houses which do possess a chapel is only 14.1 per cent. For the remaining 70 per cent of the houses—those below 115 sq. m in area—the combined total of chapels and personal shrines is insignificant.

It is much to be regretted that the earlier excavators at El-'Amarna paid so little attention to complete clearance of the ground, albeit for reasons which were perfectly valid at the time. Kemp's latest work at the site redresses the balance to some extent,⁵ with a consequent large increase in the amount of information gained, although we still sadly lack a great deal of information about the gardens which must

⁵ Reports in *JEA* 64 (1977), ff.

have existed. Be this as it may, there are, nevertheless, places where the E.E.S. publications and those of the Germans indicate the rough outline of a pond or well, whether inside the wall of a compound or in close proximity to it. All such occurrences are recorded as a part of the data base, despite the fact that such records are necessarily incomplete. Nevertheless, some pattern emerges, since the possession of a well or pond seems to be an attribute of the larger houses, and rarely occurs elsewhere. That public wells did exist to a greater degree than the published data would indicate is supported in a study by Kemp, in which he has plotted the distribution of wells in the 'North Suburb'.⁶ There is no doubt that the digging of pools or the sinking of wells must have been an expensive (and in the latter case probably dangerous) business, despite the advantages to be gained in both status and convenience, since the data show that, even of the largest 5 per cent of the houses, only some 19 per cent possess the feature. Below a house size of 170 sq. m, i.e. in the top 20 per cent, the occurrences are very rare indeed.

That water is the essence of life in Egypt is, of course, a truism: thus, to have ready access to copious supplies of cool clean water would be status-enhancing. Such supplies could transform a barren waste into a cool, green, and/or colourful 'paradise'. A house-owner could be clean; he could have clean clothes as often as he desired, and a clean house. He could be cool, and he could offer to his visitors the same privileges. It is perhaps not without significance that, in the religions of Near Eastern origin, 'heaven' is basically envisaged in a garden setting. Furthermore, the *Hymn to the Aten* itself stresses not only the creative force of the sun, but indicates that that same disc is responsible for the Nile, its inundation, rain, and all that is green. A garden in Egypt cannot be ignored; for it is the antithesis of the desert, and the senses of any visitor could not fail to be impressed by the colour, coolness, and scents which would provide so marked a contrast to the environment of the street. Some additional comment on the matter of water-supply as a status symbol will be given below when the attributes of Bathroom and/or Latrine are considered.

If we move from the compound and its attributes into the house proper, in many cases the first room to be entered will be the Porch, which is defined as an additional entrance room, not included in the rectangular plan of the house, but adjoining it, so that three sides of the room are exterior walls. As the ranked data are examined, the fact emerges that, for houses above *c.* 120 sq. m in area, 68 per cent of them possess a Porch of this type whereas below this figure only some 8 per cent have it. The division at this point appears to be very sharp, but it is not easy to account for it. Whatever the criterion was for the possession of a Porch, whether social, political, religious, or economic, any house to which it was attached would be clearly distinguished. There is no other feature the presence or absence of which is directly linked to that of the Porch, which might provide some clue as to the identification of the significance of it. Be that as it may, it can, nevertheless, be noted that the Porch functions as a transitional room in passing through which the visitor is able to adjust

⁶ 'The Character of the South Suburb at El-'Amarna', in typescript (1980).

by degrees from the heat, dirt, and brightness of the exterior environment, to the relative cool, cleanliness, and shade of the interior of the house, and of its Central Hall in particular. The axis of the entrance to the Porch is always parallel to that of the Main Loggia, but never in line with it, hence two changes of direction are required before reaching the latter room. The provision of these changes of direction has both a practical and a psychological function. Practically, no aspects of the outside environment have direct access to the interior of the house, i.e. there is no line of sight or air corridor (bringing heat and odours) between the entrance to the house and its main rooms; psychologically, the visitor gains an impression of added spaciousness through the double change of direction. Both these functions are status-enhancing to the house-owner.

The Vestibule is defined as the room immediately preceding the Central Hall as one comes from the house entrance. It may thus in some cases be preceded by the Porch. Some support is provided for the hypothesis of the Porch as a transitional room as data relating to the Vestibule are considered. The attribute is found in more than 99 per cent of the largest 10 per cent of the houses, and furthermore in nearly 22 per cent of the smallest 10 per cent. Hence it may be said that this percentage of the very poorest of the El-'Amarna population regarded a Vestibule as a *sine qua non*. Given that it was considered as such, it is suggested that the necessity for it may be interpreted along the lines given above.

The Main Loggia is defined as the long rectangular room which is entered after passing through the Porch and/or Vestibule, and which precedes the Central Hall. It is to be distinguished from the Secondary Loggia, which is a smaller rectangular room, the axis of which is at right angles to that of the Main Loggia. It does not have the same proportions as the Main Loggia, nor does it communicate directly with it. Since a large majority of all houses have at least one Loggia, it is clearly not the mere possession of it which bestows status, but rather that a Loggia of large size affords opportunity for a display which has status-value. The Main Loggia, or Loggia, is *par excellence* a room for entertainment of guests, as opposed to the Central Hall which is a family room, and every means of impressing a visitor is employed in the larger houses. These means are, first, the use of columns, and, secondly, the decoration of the lintels of the one or (often) more doorways which communicate between the Loggia and the Central Hall. Columns are status symbols in a number of ways in that they are, first, made from an exotic material, wood, which had to be imported, and its use was thus indicative of a house-owner who had access to the supply from abroad, and wealth enough to make use of that access; secondly, a plastered and painted surface could be used to show the names, titles, and achievements of the house-owner, or at any rate, his employment of the most skilful artists to decorate his house; thirdly, columns may be used to create distinct 'space-segments' within the larger area of the Loggia by breaking up the long axis with one or two rows of columns. By this technique, areas of intimacy could be created within a larger area which would otherwise by its size and shape suppress intimacy; fourthly, the effect of the shadows cast by the columns should not be overlooked. Depending on the

sources, direction, and intensity of the illumination, the character of the room could change, or be changed; finally, confirmation of the status-value of columns is provided by the data in that, among the larger houses, 84 per cent of them have at least two columned rooms. In the top 10 per cent of the largest houses, the total of columned rooms is 293; in the next 10 per cent this figure drops to a mere ninety-three. Some very high-status houses (O.49.1, for example, with an area of 510 sq. m) even employ additional columns where, from a structural point of view, they are not strictly necessary.

The aesthetic effects of the doorways connecting the Main Loggia with the Central Hall are not their only purpose. In the majority of houses there was only one such doorway, but, for the top 5 per cent of the largest houses, there are commonly at least two, and in one case four. It would thus seem that the number of these doorways is in some way connected with status. In simplistic terms, it might be suggested that the number of doorways reflects the length of the wall common to the two rooms in question, and is directly related to the size of the Loggia and/or the Central Hall. But if this is tested against the data, it appears that the factors involved are more complex since, on the one hand, there are examples of houses in which both Loggia and Central Hall are large, yet there is only one doorway between them (e.g. K.51.1), and, on the other hand, houses with small Loggia and Central Hall, with three such doorways (e.g. Petrie's House No. 9). In the first case, the area of the Central Hall is 41 sq. m, and the Main Loggia 50 sq. m, and, in the second, the areas are 30 and 31 sq. m respectively. An explanation may lie along the following lines: doorways by their nature are channels, and function as such for the passage of human beings, light, and air. It is in consideration of the latter two items that they become significant as status symbols. Ventilation is a key factor in the maximization of comfort in Egypt, and the provision of constricted thoroughways for air circulation would assist in the provision of necessary cooling draughts. Furthermore, it would be only the cooler air—up to the height of the doorway—which would circulate, leaving the upper layers of hotter air to be displaced at a higher level by draughts channelled through the small upper windows in the Central Hall. The doorways would also transmit light from the Loggia to the Central Hall, which was otherwise lit only from its small upper windows.

It has been suggested that, in cases where there are three doorways between Loggia and Central Hall, the side doors were 'for the discrete entry of servants'.⁷ This explanation, however, lays itself open to a number of objections: first, there are a number of houses which have two doors, and they are of equal width. It is unlikely that one doorway was used exclusively by servants, and the other by the house-owner and his family and guests; secondly, servants would be more likely to make use of the shortest route to or from the Central Hall, rather than passing through the assembled company in the Main Loggia merely so as to use one of the side doors; thirdly, their entry is not necessarily made any more 'discrete' by the use of a side door.

⁷ Frankfort and Pendlebury, *op. cit.* 6.

The Central Hall is not primarily a status attribute. This may be deduced on three counts: first, that every house at El-'Amarna possesses a Central Hall—it is not an attribute confined to the larger houses, but rather a necessity for the 'ideal' house; secondly, in the smaller houses the Central Hall is larger than the Loggia, whereas in the larger houses the reverse is the case, a fact which indicates that it is the Loggia which is the more important of the two; thirdly, there is no direct correlation between the size of the Central Hall and the overall size of the house, even though the Central Hall is the focus, in every sense, of the house. For example, the area of house S.33.1 is 529 sq. m, and that of its Central Hall 49 sq. m; conversely, the area of house R.43.1 is 332 sq. m, and its Central Hall 64 sq. m. These examples, while extreme, are not unique.

In the reports of the E.E.S., there are references to a so-called 'Women's Room', which is the designation given to the square or nearly square room beyond the Central Hall. In every case this room is in the same position relative to the Central Hall, and in several cases contains the same fittings as it, e.g. in O.49.1 were found brazier, dais, and lustration slab. Since the proportions and fittings of the two rooms are identical, and the only difference is that of size, it is justifiable to attribute to them both the same, or very similar, functions. It has been suggested above that the Main Loggia, a long rectangular room, was used for public or large-scale entertaining, and that the Central Hall, a square, axially placed room, was the family room, or, by the same token, a room for more private activity. According to this scheme of interpretation, the 'Women's Room' would be for some private activity which yet needed all the same fittings as the Central Hall. In the family room, openness between its occupants would be encouraged by the shape and the amenities of the room: we may assume this same property for the room under discussion. Furthermore, activities carried on in the 'Women's Room' were probably such as would be influenced by the display of status in the room since we find that many examples contain a central column, which would be a prominent feature. Taking all these observations together, a more reasonable designation might be 'Office' or 'Study', a place where business could be discussed in privacy and comfort between men. As to reasons why it is unlikely to have been a women's room, there may be adduced the fact that Egyptian society did not favour the shutting off of women in their own *harîm*, or confining them to certain parts of the house, as tends to happen with present-day Islam.

That the possession of such a room is a status feature is borne out by the data: of the largest 10 per cent of the houses, 93 per cent have the room and, of the 10 per cent smallest, 99 per cent do not have it. It is only when a house area of greater than c. 100 sq. m is reached that 50 per cent of the houses possess the attribute. This last fact is the more significant when it is taken in conjunction with the fact that 63 per cent of the houses are less than 100 sq. m in area.

The final degree of privacy is attained with the 'Master Bedroom', not infrequently *ensuite* with its own bathroom and latrine. It lies beyond the room just considered, and is often separated from it by an antechamber. This antechamber, in

a similar way to the Porch, also has a function as a 'transitional space' area, since it separates the bedroom physically from noise elsewhere in the house; sociologically, it divides 'official private' space from 'personal private' space, and psychologically, perhaps with a spiritual dimension which is now lost to us, it divides 'day' areas from 'night' areas.

The bedroom itself, in the larger and medium-sized houses, is identified by the presence of a 'bed-niche' at the far end of it, a thickening of the walls so that a bed may be placed in or across the niche so formed. Only 3 per cent of the largest houses did not possess this attribute, and, conversely, in houses of less than 100 sq. m, the attribute was very rare. Thus in some way the attribute is indicative of a degree of status. Not easily explicable, however, is how such an attribute could enhance the status of the house-owner. The following are tentative suggestions: first, since the bedroom is a personal room, it could serve its owner as a psychological 'base'—an area to which he could retreat, and to which no one else had presumed right of access—even his wife. The thickening of the walls may, to some extent, have served this subconscious need for a 'womb area', but, more practically, would provide a heat shield against the fierce heat from the south (most bedrooms are positioned on this side of the house), or a heat reservoir to store heat during the days in winter, which would be radiated at night; secondly—and this is a more clearly status-linked function—the house-owner was a master of enough space to provide himself with a bedroom where he could sleep alone, or with his wife, undisturbed by the other occupants of the house, enough space furthermore to keep a room free during the day, so that it could be used exclusively at night. In the smaller houses, such use of space would be considered wasteful, but an individual of high status could afford such waste.

The designations 'Bathroom' and 'Latrine' are applied only to rooms where the function is either unequivocal, or sufficiently analogous to unequivocal cases to make the identification beyond reasonable doubt. Bathrooms are betrayed by plaster or stone linings to the walls, a lustration slab, and/or a drainage outlet into the street, and they are also frequently twinned with Latrines as a pair of small chambers opening from the main bedroom: it is this characteristic which is often the basis for identification by analogy. Latrines themselves are unequivocally identified by the presence of latrine seats, either wood or stone, or the vessel from beneath them, sometimes still containing coprolites. There nevertheless remain many cases where the identification of either Bathroom or Latrine cannot be certain enough for reliable statistical conclusions to be drawn from the data. This caveat applies particularly to the smaller, less well-preserved dwellings, which were not infrequently less well excavated also. Since, however, our concern is with the larger houses, it should be stated at the outset that the data from these is of such a quality as will bear the statistical inferences derived from it. Indeed, only two of the larger houses do not have either facility: N.49.18 and U.25.9. So anomalous does this appear that one might legitimately suggest that the lack is due to an accident of preservation. Of the eight houses lacking either one or other facility, in six cases it is the latrine which is

missing. This may be because a Bathroom is more of a luxury, or more of a status symbol to be appreciated, since to have enough water for several members of the family to be able to wash themselves thoroughly more than once during the day would require a great deal of fetching and carrying of water on the part of servants or slaves. These would have to wait in the queue at the public well,⁸ or would have to go to the river; alternatively, the house-owner would have to incur great expense in sinking a well in his own compound. Thus, to have a room specifically set aside for the purposes of counteracting the effects of the environment (as discussed above with reference to wells and garden pools) would seem to be the mark of a high-status individual.

Having completed the discussion of attributes which can clearly be demonstrated to have some status-value, one may pass to consider the question of attributes which are indicative of high status in the architecture of other cultures, even those in a similar environmental setting, and determine why these are absent from the architecture of El-'Amarna.

One of the numerical attributes quantified in the data was the number of rooms in each house. The largest number recorded was twenty-eight, in house K.50.1, which is the largest house apart from that of the king. Even the house of the vizier Nakht (O.49.1) has only twenty-four rooms, and only twelve of the largest houses have more than twenty rooms. From this it may be supposed that it was only the 'public' rooms which were important from a status aspect, and as much as possible was to be expended on these so as to impress to the greatest possible degree. By contrast the 'private' rooms—bedrooms, bathroom, kitchen, etc.—needed only to be functional, and so were relatively small and undecorated.

Secondly, apart from the Porch, the houses possessed no exterior embellishments of any kind, so far as we can tell. Walls are in general blank areas, unrelieved by buttresses (whether functional or merely decorative), or by 'palace-façade' decoration, statuary, or verandahs. Instead, energy and wealth were expended on the decoration of the interior, with the aim of making it contrast as much as possible with the exterior environment. No house has additional wings, built to accommodate extra members of the family after marriage: this may be the function of the subsidiary houses within the compounds of larger houses. It seems to have been realized that the optimum shape of a dwelling for minimal heat gain is a cube; for this is the form to which both the house as a whole and the Central Hall approximate. This realization also helps to explain the pattern of house additions observed by Kemp.⁹

The final part of this study is an attempt to show the degree to which various attributes were regarded as status-indicative, if at all, and thus whether anything can be learned about the nature of society at El-'Amarna from these deductions.

The methodology employed was as follows: the relevant data were tabulated in columns (a-i in Table 2), showing (a) the house size at which the attribute is first

⁸ P. T. Crocker, 'Water Supply in Ancient Egypt', in typescript (1975); Kemp, *ibid.*

⁹ *Op. cit.* (1977), 135.

TABLE 2. *Ranking of attributes according to frequency of occurrence*

| Attribute | (a) | (b) | (c) | (d) | (e) | (f) | (g) | (h) | (i) |
|--------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| 1. Compound on one side | 17 | 17 | (17) | — | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 |
| 2. Vestibule | 20 | 20 | 36 | 78 | 32 | 32 | 31 | 32 | 32 |
| 3. Raised Dais | 21 | 21 | 28 | (224) | 31 | 31 | 32 | 20 | 29 = |
| 4. Compound on two sides | 24 | 24 | 83 | 138 | 30 | 30 | 27 | 27 = | 31 |
| 5. Two Entrances | 25 | 25 | 59 | 288 | 29 | 29 | 30 | 15 | 23 = |
| 6. Lustration Slab | 28 | 28 | 156 | — | 28 | 26 | 19 | — | 25 |
| 7. Bathroom | 34 | 26 | 72 | (143) | 26 = | 27 = | 28 | 26 | 28 |
| 8. Latrine | 34 | 26 | 95 | (138) | 26 = | 27 = | 24 | 27 = | 27 |
| 9. 'Men's Room' | 37 | 37 | 71 | 94 | 24 = | 25 | 29 | 31 | 29 = |
| 10. Porch | 37 | 63 | 94 | 121 | 24 = | 24 | 25 | 29 | 26 |
| 11. One Columned Room | 38 | 65 | 110 | 148 | 23 | 23 | 22 | 25 | 22 |
| 12. Bed-Niche | 43 | 69 | 90 | 115 | 22 | 22 | 26 | 30 | 23 = |
| 13. Chapel | 54 | 127 | 224 | — | 21 | 11 | 9 = | — | (15) |
| 14. Shrine | 55 | 112 | — | — | 20 | 15 | (17) | — | (18) |
| 15. Three Entrances | 57 | 100 | 260 | (529) | 19 | 18 = | 7 | 8 = | (16) |
| 16. Two Doorways: Loggia-Central Hall | 58 | 156 | 254 | 291 | 18 | 9 | 8 | 14 | 11 |
| 17. Imposing Entrance | 63 | 108 | 171 | 234 | 16 = | 16 | 16 | 18 | 17 |
| 18. Subsidiary House | 63 | 99 | 218 | 333 | 16 = | 20 | 11 | 12 = | 13 = |
| 19. Piered Area | 68 | 115 | 197 | (440) | 13 = | 13 = | 13 | (8 =) | 9 |
| 20. Pond/Well | 68 | 115 | 183 | (583) | 13 = | 13 = | 14 | (4 =) | 8 |
| 21. Compound on four sides | 68 | 105 | 136 | 185 | 13 = | 17 | 21 | 22 | 20 |
| 22. Compound on three sides | 74 | 74 | 108 | 152 | 12 | 21 | 23 | 24 | 21 |
| 23. Two Loggias | 77 | 166 | 214 | 239 | 11 | 8 | 12 | 17 | 10 |
| 24. Columned 'Men's Room' | 100 | 124 | 169 | 200 | 10 | 12 | 18 | 21 | 13 = |
| 25. Two Columned rooms | 103 | 100 | 141 | 173 | 9 | 18 = | 20 | 23 | 19 |
| 26. Three Columned rooms | 149 | 144 | 175 | 227 | 8 | 10 | 15 | 19 | 12 |
| 27. Four Columned rooms | 260 | 183 | 224 | 264 | 6 | 7 | 9 = | 16 | 7 |
| 28. Five Columned rooms | 240 | 224 | 261 | 333 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 12 = | 6 |
| 29. Three Doorways: Loggia-Central Hall | 266 | 266 | 283 | 375 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 11 | 5 |
| 30. Four Doorways: Loggia-Central Hall | (314) | (314) | — | — | (4) | (3) | (4) | (4) | (3) |
| 31. Six Columned rooms | (451) | (254) | (340) | (414) | (2) | (5) | (3) | (10) | (4) |
| 32. Seven Columned rooms | (440) | (440) | (429) | (583) | (3) | (2) | (2) | (4 =) | (2) |
| 33. Three Loggias | (583) | (583) | (583) | (583) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | 2 |

recorded; (b) the house size for which it is recorded in 5 per cent of cases; (c) and (d) are the house sizes above which it is recorded for 25 and 50 per cent of cases respectively. Columns (e) to (h) rank the house sizes of the previous four columns, and column (i) is an approximate average for the rankings of each attribute. It will readily be seen from the table that some attributes are clearly status-linked (e.g. the possession of a relatively large number of rooms with columns), whereas others are almost universal, and hence not status-significant (e.g. the possession of a compound on one side of the house). Others again show no marked increase as house size increases, and this is reflected in the wide range of their rankings at the different

percentage values of their occurrences. The technique is acknowledged to have its imperfections, but, within the limits of the quality of preservation of the evidence, the results produced are, in the main, trustworthy, and may be used for further hypotheses based upon them.

Of highest status is the attribute 'Possession of three Loggias'. This is found in only one house (U.25.7), which Kemp has suggested may have belonged to a princess.¹⁰ Hence it may be erroneous to ascribe to the room in question the function of a Loggia. The example remains a unique one, and as such can bear little weight for a general conclusion.

Next may be placed the possession of columned rooms—the more such rooms, the higher the status; and, together with it, either three or four doorways communicating between the Loggia and the Central Hall. This accords with the observations made above (see p. 58) as to the status-value of columns, and of doorways (see p. 59). It is in houses where the number of rooms with columns exceeds three that the owner is of exceptional status, since the possession of four columned rooms is seventh in order, and of three columned rooms, twelfth. Between these attributes are classed the following: possession of a pond or well, the presence of a piered area in the compound, possession of two Loggias, and two doorways between Loggia and Central Hall. The possession of two columned rooms is as low as nineteenth on the list of column (i), but is ninth in column (e), and twenty-third in column (h). Such a wide range may be taken to show that the attribute was at the same time both a status symbol or luxury item, and a necessity, i.e. that it was one of the more easily attainable indications of status, which a house-owner would strive to obtain before others. The possession of one columned room has a smaller range of values in columns (e) to (h), and averages out at twenty-second. In houses which have one columned room this will be the Central Hall; next follows the Loggia, and thirdly, significantly, the 'Office/Study', which is thirteenth on the list, equal with the possession of a subsidiary house in the compound. With reference to the suggestion offered above that such a house might be for the use of a married brother or elder son, having either the house or the 'Office/Study' would provide more privacy for the house-owner. In the case of the first, members of the extended family could be separate from him, and, in the case of the second, he could be separate from them. The possession of one in no way precludes possession of the other: both could be responses to the same problem, and that problem could recur.

Possession of an imposing entrance is ranked at seventeenth. In view of our previous discussion of its status-value, this may appear low, but, alongside its status-value, it also has a practical purpose, and the expense of its construction entailed only cheaply and readily available mud brick.

The matter of associated compound space is illumined to some extent by the table, and it is notable that to have compound space on four sides of the house is ranked twentieth, and on three sides, twenty-first. Both of these attributes have wide ranges

¹⁰ 'Temple and Town in Ancient Egypt', in P. Ucko *et al.*, *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London, 1972).

in their rankings in columns (e) to (h), and the only meaningful conclusion is that some compound space was deemed a necessity, as the figures for compound space on one or two sides show.

If one is to regard items low on the list as essentials, then one is also forced to consider why Porch, Bathroom, and Latrine are ranked so low, when reasons have been adduced above as to why they should be considered as status-indicative attributes. Perhaps 'status' at El-'Amarna may be seen from two points of view; either status was already possessed, and required enhancement; or it was bestowed by the possession of certain attributes incorporated within the architecture of the house. This hypothesis would lead to the defining of three groups of attributes: (a) status enhancers, (b) status bestowers, and (c) essentials. The division between (a) and (b) is necessarily indistinct at this remove, but possibly lies at around No. 17, items ranked below that being of Group (b). Group (c) would comprise possession of a small compound, a Vestibule, a Central Hall, staircase, and at least three rooms in total.

Conclusions

It becomes clear from the foregoing analysis that the larger houses at El-'Amarna were undoubtedly designed to impress, and the substance of that impression was the extent to which the house provided a haven from the harshness of the immediate environment. The house (and its garden) was to be a place of shade and gradations of shade, of colour and coolness, of breezes, cleanliness, and quiet. In short, it was to be all that the desert was not, and it succeeded in impressing the visitor by maximizing these qualities. Even the smallest houses support this conclusion, since the attributes almost universally found in these provide for the insulation of the Central Hall—the main family room—and the maximum use of outside space.

REFLECTIONS ON THE REIGN OF RAMESSES VI*

By AMIN A. M. A. AMER

HITHERTO the history of the reign of Ramesses VI has not received much attention in histories of Egypt, except for Černý's account in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.¹ While he threw some light on part of this reign, it is perhaps possible to add some further details.

In Western Thebes, the opening of the new reign was announced by the vizier himself, that Nebmaꜥatrēꜥ Amenḥirkhopshef, Ramesses beloved of Amūn (etc.), had arisen as ruler, to be greeted with the appropriate rejoicing by the royal tomb workforce.² What may not have been noticed previously is that the writer of this ostrakon has mixed up the king's titles (interchanging 'beloved of Amūn' and Amenḥirkhopshef), because he was not yet familiar with the new king's official titles.

During the next season (Shomu), life seemed quite normal in Western Thebes; a large number of men were deployed to move stone for monuments, and precious chests adorned with gold and turquoise.³ This activity surely belonged to preparations for the anticipated burial of Ramesses V. In the same source the next important event was a great festival of Amūn, witnessed by its writer:

See, they came, they being in the ships like [. . .; there came(?)] the city (of Thebes) together with the West of the city, to shout (with joy), all of them. We rejoiced greatly (also) . . . [As for(?)] Amen-rēꜥ, king of the gods, they rejoiced over him together with all the gods of heaven and earth, in sail[ing . . .].

As the next legible date is in first month of Peret (see below), this major celebration must have fallen in either Shomu or Akhet. Therefore, we have here either the Valley Festival or the Opet Festival, especially as the last visible word *nꜥ*[. . .] probably refers to traversing water, i.e. across the Nile or up to Luxor. But the question arises, who were 'they' who arrived in 'the ships', leading to rejoicing with Amūn and the gods? It is most likely to be the new king himself together with his court. The period from early in Peret to mid-Shomu (if it was on the occasion of the Valley Festival) would allow for the mummification of Ramesses V and the journey up the Nile to Thebes for his burial as well as to celebrate the Valley Festival.⁴ But

* I am indebted to Dr K. A. Kitchen for kindly discussing with me various points presented in this paper.

¹ Černý, *CAH*³ II, 2, 611-16.

² Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I (1957), pl. 68, 1; now, Kitchen, *R(amesside) I(nscriptions)*, VI, 364, 4 ff: cf. also Černý, *The Valley of the Kings* (1973), 16.

³ P. Turin 2044, recto; *KRI*, VI, 340, 11-341, 8.

⁴ Ramesses VI definitely visited Thebes on a later celebration of the Valley Festival, when he installed his daughter Isis as God's Wife of Amūn (cf. below); he may thus have visited Thebes on this occasion also.

Rameses V was not buried immediately, or in tomb 9 in the Valley of the Kings. Instead, his mummy seems to have been put into store until he was finally buried in Year 2, because Rameses VI had decided to take over and complete Rameses V's tomb for his own use.⁵ The whole of tomb 9 is decorated for Rameses VI, and no room anywhere in it is still allowed to Rameses V. Therefore, the delay in his burial was necessary to allow time for cutting a small (probably undecorated) tomb for the burial of Rameses V, presumably elsewhere in the Valley of the Kings.

However, at the beginning of this reign the situation in the south was not completely stable, as we hear about the idleness of the royal tomb-workmen in Year 1, first month of Peret, days 11, 12, 13, 27, 'because of the enemy'.⁶ This could just possibly be, as Černý had suggested,⁷ a civil war, or else the enemy here could be identified as Libyan marauders plus Egyptian bandits.⁸ Against Černý's civil-war suggestion stands the evidence (as he recognized) of the undisturbed continuity of various high officials under both Rameses V and Rameses VI. This enemy was rumoured to have threatened Per-Nebyt (north of Thebes?), destroying everything and burning its people. This would show some serious trouble which had broken out early in the reign. But, in contrast, from Year 2 onward, normality in Thebes began again as shown by records of peaceful activity,⁹ and we do not hear about any more trouble from this front. Perhaps, therefore, Rameses VI actually took firm action against these Libyan and other elements. His well-known statue from Karnak¹⁰ shows him grasping a helpless Libyan captive. Such an unusual piece may have reflected the modest reality of such a 'clearing up' operation.¹¹ Also, a triumphal scene on the vestibule of Pylon II shows this same king victorious over foreigners,¹² which would agree with this suggestion. In favour of this interpretation of the statue and relief of Rameses VI as possible indirect evidence of such actions by him, it may be remarked that none of the other late Ramesside kings from Rameses IV right through to Rameses XI had any such great triumph scene carved for them.¹³

⁵ O. Cairo Cat. 25, 254 (now *KRI*, vi, 343, 13–15); discussed earlier by Černý, *CAH*³ II, 2, 612: cf. also below.

⁶ Cf. *KRI*, vi, 342, 6, 7, and 343, 9–10.

⁷ *CAH*³ II, 2, 613 f.

⁸ Because the term *rmꜥ* usually denotes Egyptians (often in contrast to foreigners), Černý assumed the same for this reference. But *rmꜥ* may also occasionally refer to non-Egyptians, e.g. Libyans: cf. Kom el-Ahmar stela, recto 10: 'Prē' himself cursed the people when they violated [(?) . . .]', in the context of Libyans invading Egypt. Also, verso 2: '[. . .] its people, the Nine Bows being before him like (mere) harim-women', *KRI*, iv, 21, 1, 13. Even clearer, Merenptah's Libyan War inscription, l. 38: 'List of the people among the enemy . . . [killed, etc.]', where (again) *rmꜥ* is for Libyans (*KRI*, iv, 6, 12); and First Hittite Marriage Text of Rameses II, Karnak, l. 33: 'all the people of the Hatti-land', where *rmꜥ* is Hittites (*KRI*, II, 251, 2, cf. 252, 1). Therefore, the people of our document (n. 6, above) could very easily be Libyans or foreigners, not Egyptians, and all reason for assuming a civil war vanishes.

⁹ See the journal of work in the royal tomb at this time, P. Turin 1923, *ibid.* 367–8. On this document and its date, see Černý, *The Valley of the Kings*, 21, 25 (no. 2), 32.

¹⁰ Cairo Cat. 42152, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes des rois et des particuliers*, II, 17–19, pl. xv; *KRI*, vi, 286.

¹¹ Compare the pompous language about 'the strong arm of Pharaoh' and Amūn's might, to describe a very minor action in the Egyptian desert under Rameses IX, *ibid.* 520, 3–7: cf. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 135 ff.

¹² The foreigners (Libyans?) cannot be identified, as everything is lost except their upraised hands: cf. Kitchen and Gaballa, *ZĀS* 96 (1969), pl. viib.

¹³ In fact (apart from Rameses VI) no more such triumph scenes are known after Rameses III until the Tanite fragment of Siamūn and the great relief of Shoshenq I at Karnak itself; references for these will be found in Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (1973), 280–1, and 432 ff.

Furthermore, Ramesses VI adopted titles for himself which were clearly militaristic in tone: Horus, *K3 nht 3-nhtw, s'nh-t3wy*, 'Strong Bull, great of victories, keeping alive the Two Lands', and Nebty-king, *Wsr-hpš hd-hfnw*, 'Powerful of arm, (in) attacking myriads'.¹⁴

In Year 2, second month of Akhet, a well-known ostrakon reports on 'reaching the west of the city by (king) Sekheper(en)rē', he being in burial'.¹⁵ This delayed event could also reflect the peaceful period which would have followed a victory of Ramesses VI against Libyan invaders and others, and permitted this burial in some secondary tomb in Western Thebes. Moreover, Ramesses VI appointed his daughter Isis as God's Wife of Amūn.¹⁶ This action would support the idea of there being a peaceful atmosphere in Thebes from Year 2 onwards; the king would not risk his daughter's safety, if the Libyans or bandits still threatened Thebes. Her appointment was a big state occasion in the great forecourt (*wb3 3*) of Amūn at Karnak in the presence of Ramesses VI himself, his mother, the vizier,¹⁷ and, no doubt, many other notables.

In addition to these activities Ramesses VI was addicted to statue cults of himself. Besides the one familiar from the tomb of Pennē in Aniba,¹⁸ there was in Thebes a statue cult of this king as 'Ramesses VI beloved like Amūn'.¹⁹ It was established in the shrines of Ramesses II at Deir el-Medīna probably next to the temple of the goddess Ḥathor, where the Ptolemaic temple now stands. At the same time the royal cult was also renewed there which was neglected by Queen Twosret.²⁰ A door-jamb from Deir el-Medīna bears the dedication by Ramesses VII, 'making monuments for his father Ramesses VI'.²¹ So perhaps he renewed his father's statue cult there, the jamb being part of a shrine for his father's statue. There is another piece of evidence which may be related to this same cult: graffito No. 2169 in Western Thebes.²² This reads: 'Year 1, high priest of Nebma'atrē' beloved of Amūn, Kha'emḥedjet.' This strange title could be related to the statue cult as established by Ramesses VI (cf. P. Turin, 1879) in his own first year, or even to the confirmation of that cult in the first year of his successor, i.e. Ramesses VII (cf. the jamb, above). Kha'emḥedjet could be either the future necropolis scribe (son of Ḥarshere),²³ or a workman of the same name.²⁴ If he was the future scribe, he would be quite young under Ramesses VII, and still younger under Ramesses VI. Therefore, it is more likely that we should attribute this Year 1 to Ramesses VII rather than to VI.

¹⁴ e.g. *KRI*, VI, 286, 4, and 327, 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 343, 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 321-2 (Deir el-Bakhit). For princess Isis, cf. also *ibid.* 282 (Koptos stela) and 347-8 (other monuments).

¹⁷ Nehi, evidently a successor of Nefronpet (who had already served under Ramesses IV and V); for both cf. *ibid.* 348-9 with cross-references.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 350-3.

¹⁹ Bearing a similar name to the statue at Aniba ('Ramesses VI, son of Amūn, beloved like Horus lord of Miam'), 353, 1.

²⁰ P. Turin 1879, verso 1-11; *ibid.* 335-7; translated by Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, II (1961), 197.

²¹ *KRI*, VI, 388, 7-8.

²² Černý-Sadek, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, IV (1), 45; *KRI*, VI, 366, 9.

²³ Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (1973), 193, 219, and especially 352-5 and 355-7.

²⁴ There is Kha'emḥedjet, uncle of the scribe of that name: cf. Černý, *op. cit.* 346 and n. 3, and 355 and n. 9.

It should be noted in this connection that quite a number of statues of Ramesses VI have been found: in Tanis, Bubastis, and Karnak.²⁵ Thus if we compare him with Ramesses V and VII–XI, quite apart from cults, none of them even have known statues up to the present except just one for Ramesses VII and three for Ramesses IX.²⁶

Ramesses VI is one of those late New-Kingdom pharaohs whose cartouches can be found added to earlier monuments. In a document from his Year 3 we can actually see this being done: ‘second²⁷ month of Akhet, day 18—on this day the draughtsmen and the sculptors engraved the cartouches which are [on] the granary of the guardhouse (*ḥtm*) in the name of the king Nebmaʿatrē beloved of Amūn . . .’. We then read of Khaʿemḥedjet, son of the scribe Ḥarshere, and of the arrival at Thebes of the high priest of Amūn (unnamed) together with the royal butler Qadran and the chief treasurer Montuemtawy; they possibly consulted an oracle.²⁸ Just a year later in Year 4 (third month of Akhet), ‘the chief officials’ occur again, with the workforce being mustered and given orders, and three youths being removed for unknown reasons.²⁹

Public display apart, economy in public spending was a mark of Ramesses VI’s reign. On the main processional routes of Amūn in Karnak, Luxor, and the Ramesseum, he had his cartouches and titles carved quickly over many of those of Ramesses IV (already occupying the most prominent places) to save time and expenditure on cutting new inscriptions.³⁰ In Year 2 he had the tomb work-force cut from 120 to sixty men, the extra people being transferred to external services for the remaining vilagers.³¹ This presumably reflects the fact that the new king was taking over Ramesses V’s tomb already largely excavated. Finally, in Year 6, the high priest of Amūn Ramessesnakhte recalled a whole consignment of copper tools from the Deir el-Medīna workmen, initially 550 *deben*, but amounting to at least 600 *deben* when it was eventually delivered to him by the leaders of the workmen in the great forecourt of Amūn at Karnak.³²

Such a recall of tools might suggest that work on Ramesses VI’s adopted tomb had largely been finished by Year 6. The highest date for the reign of Ramesses VI known at present is Year 8, second month of Peret, days 11 and 18 in an ostrakon,³³ soon after which he may have died. A West-Theban graffito (No. 1860a) of Year 8, third month of Akhet, day 6, has been attributed to either Ramesses X³⁴

²⁵ *KRI*, vi, 280, 286–7, 329–7, 329–30 (ten statues and a sphinx!).

²⁶ Of Ramesses VII, *ibid.* 385 (Cairo JdE 37595); of Ramesses IX, *ibid.* 449, 462.

²⁷ Written ‘first’, but an error for ‘second’, as it follows the date of 2 Akhet 14.

²⁸ P. Bibl. Nat. 237/1, in *ibid.* 339, 13–340, 5; these officials and their date are cited by Černý, *CAH*³ 11, 2, 614; the end of the text is doubtful and obscure.

²⁹ Cf. *KRI*, vi, 369, 5 ff.

³⁰ Cf. Kitchen, *JEA* 68 (1982), 122 with references.

³¹ As already discussed by Černý, *op. cit.* 612–13 (O. Berlin P. 12654 vs.), now in *KRI*, vi, 344–5, especially 345, 2 ff. Before he sailed back north, the vizier was presented with a gift of two silver tools by the leaders of the workmen (*ibid.* 345, 9–12), perhaps anxious to keep his favour.

³² *Ibid.* 338–9.

³³ *Ibid.* 372, 5–6, on which text cf. J. J. Janssen, *GM* 29 (1978), 45–6.

³⁴ See M. L. Bierbrier, *JEA* 58 (1972), 195–9 (Ramesses X).

or Ramesses VI.³⁵ If it belonged to the 8th year of Ramesses VI, then its report of closing up of the royal tomb by the high priest Ramessesnakhte and other officials may indicate that the finished tomb was being kept ready for the king, perhaps already ill or on his death-bed.

Thus, when we consider this material, we can discern rather more detail and variety of events in this little-known reign than previously, and even perhaps to glimpse a king who wished to pose as a great pharaoh in an age of unrest and decline.³⁶

³⁵ L. Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1982), 7-27 (Ramesses VI).

³⁶ At Memphis, he 'made his monument . . . erecting a great pylon of fine stone . . .', in the words of broken texts from fragments of a granite gateway-cornice, *KRI*, vi, 281, 5, 6.

THE IDENTITY OF THE RAMESSIDE QUEEN TYTI*

By JEHON GRIST

THE position of Queen Tyti within the Twentieth Dynasty has long perplexed scholars. Her tomb in the Valley of the Queens (QV 52) does not record the name of a single royal relative. She has been associated inconclusively with the era of Ramesses III,¹ and, most recently, the later Ramessides.² The writer's field and textual studies are offered below to show that Queen Tyti was a contemporary and relative of Ramesses III.

The Tombs of Ramesses III and Queen Tyti

In subject-matter and scene location, the paintings of Tyti's sarcophagus chamber display a striking similarity to those of the burial chamber of Ramesses III (KV 11).³ A series of six groups of guardian deities appears in closely corresponding positions in these two sarcophagus chambers. Beginning with point 'a' in Plans 1 and 2, one sees a jackal recumbent on a mastaba above a similarly placed lion.⁴ Figure 1 shows the extant portrayal of these animals in QV 52.⁵ At Plans 1b and 2b are found the obscure mortuary deities Nebneri and Ḥerima'at, who are presented in part in Figs. 2 and 3.⁶ A hawk-headed guardian sits next to an ibis-headed guardian at Plans 1c and 2c.⁷ At Plans 1d and 2d, a jackal-headed guardian is seated in front of a standing

* The writer would like to thank the following for their assistance and advice: Professor Kent Weeks, University of California, Berkeley; Dr Alan B. Lloyd, University College, Swansea; Mr M. el-Sughayer, Director of Antiquities at Luxor; Professor William Murnane of Chicago House, Luxor; and Professor John Baines, Oxford University. The writer offers special thanks to his colleague, Patricia Podzorski, for the preparation of the illustrations and her careful analysis of the text.

¹ E. Schiaparelli, *Esplorazione della 'Valle delle Regine' (Relazione sui Lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Egitto)*, 1 (Turin, 1923), 155-6; B. Bruyère, 'Nebnerou et Hery-Mâat', 53 (1952), 31-2.

² K. Kitchen, 'Ramesses VII and the Twentieth Dynasty', *JEA* 58 (1972), 189 n. 1; id., 'The Twentieth Dynasty Revisited', *JEA* 68 (1982), 125.

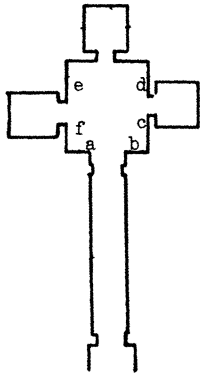
³ This comparison is based on the writer's observation notes and photographs from the tombs of Ramesses III (KV 11) and Queen Tyti (QV 52). Where relief scenes are no longer extant in KV 11, the following references have been used: M. E. Lefébure, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes*. (Annales du Musée Guimet, 16, 1) (Paris, 1889); Champollion Le Jeune, *Monuments de L'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1844-9).

⁴ G. Bénédite, *Le Tombeau de la reine Thiti* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire, v, 3), 402, pl. v; Lefébure, op. cit. 108; Champollion, op. cit. 419.

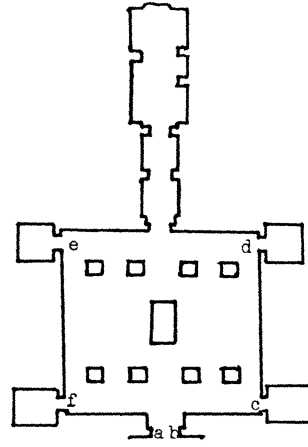
⁵ Based on writer's photographs.

⁶ Figure 2 based on writer's photographs; Fig. 3, Champollion, op. cit. 419, 749. Lefébure, op. cit. 109, notes that Champollion incorrectly drew Ḥerima'at's seat with squared edges; presumably, it more closely resembled the cushion on which Ḥerima'at sits in QV 52. Champollion's sketch of Nebneri is tiny and very schematic, but clearly shows a figure similar to the Nebneri encountered in QV 52.

⁷ Bénédite, op. cit. 405, and pl. iv; Lefébure, op. cit. 109.



Plan 1: QV 52
Queen Tyti



Plan 2: KV 11
Ramesses III
Sarcophagus Chamber

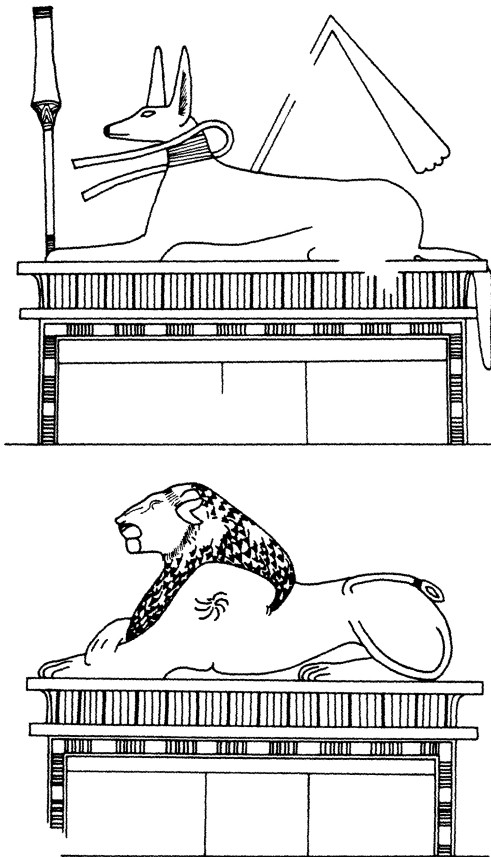


FIG. 1. Jackal and Lion Guardians in QV 52

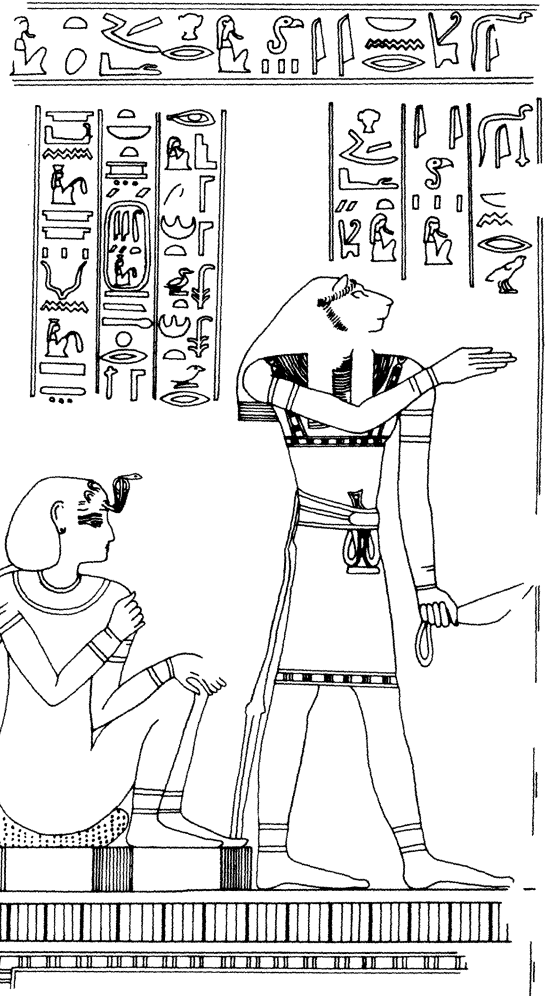


FIG. 2. Herimata and Nebneri in QV 52

lion-headed guardian.⁸ The group of Hēmemet, Thoueris, and a full-face god is portrayed at Plans 1e and 2e, and is shown in Figs. 4 and 5.⁹ Finally, two *iwfw* baboons and a standing monkey holding a bow are presented at Plans 1f and 2f.¹⁰ The consistent correspondence in portrayal and location of these six rare mortuary scenes in QV 52 and KV 11 is not matched in any other Ramesside royal tomb.¹¹

Queens' Valley Tombs of Ramesses' Sons

The sarcophagus chambers of the sons of Ramesses III in the Queens' Valley share only some of the six scenes of guardians found in KV 11 and QV 52. The tomb of Prince Prēḥirwenemef (QV 42) offers three sarcophagus-chamber paintings that correspond in portrayal and relative location to those of Ramesses III and Queen Tyti: Nebneri and Hērīmaʿat (at Plan 3b), a lion-headed guardian standing next to a squatting jackal-headed guardian (Plan 3d), and the group of Hēmemet vulture, Thoueris, and full-face demon (Plan 3e).¹²

The tomb of Prince Sethirkhopshef (QV 43) presents four of the six sarcophagus chamber-paintings found in the burial chambers of Ramesses III and Tyti: lion and jackal guardians resting on mastabas (Plan 4a), Nebneri and Hērīmaʿat (Plan 4b), the *iwfw* baboons and monkey standing with bow at Plan 4g, rather than the expected point (Plan 4f). Finally, at Plan 4e, Hēmemet, Thoueris, and the full-face demon have taken the same relative positions as in QV 42, 52, and KV 11.¹³

The remaining tombs of Ramesses III's sons in the Queens' Valley offer more limited correspondences to paintings found in the king's tomb and in that of Queen Tyti. The sarcophagus chamber of Prince Khaʿemwaset (QV 44) displays only two reliefs found in the tombs discussed above: Nebneri and Hērīmaʿat at Plan 5b and the jackal and lion necropolis guardians seated on mastabas at Plan 5a.¹⁴ These positions match those of the same deities in KV 11, QV 42, 43, and 52. The badly damaged tomb of Prince Ramesses (QV 53) shows painting fragments at Plan 6a which Yoyotte reconstructs as the lion and jackal guardians encountered in Tyti's tomb (Plan 1a).¹⁵ Finally, the sarcophagus chamber of Prince Amenḥirkhopshef's



FIG. 3. Hērīmaʿat in KV 11 (Cham-pollion)

⁸ Bénédite, *op. cit.* 404, and pl. iv; Lefébure, *op. cit.* pl. 58

⁹ Figure 4 based on writer's photograph; Fig. 5, Lefébure, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Bénédite, *op. cit.* 403, pl. iii; Lefébure, *op. cit.* 109.

¹¹ See comparisons below. For descriptions of scenes in Ramesside royal tombs of Dynasties 19–20, see *PM* 1, 2², 495–546, 564–5, 749–69; see also E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 103–35, 208–27.

¹² *PM* 1, 2², 752–3 (Thoueris is incorrectly omitted in the description found on p. 753, no. 8); see Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* 122. For Nebneri and Hērīmaʿat in QV 42, see Bruyère, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

¹³ *PM* 1, 2², 753–4. The sarcophagus chamber of QV 43 has been blackened by fire so that no colour comparisons with other QV tombs are possible.

¹⁴ *PM* 1, 2², 754–5. For illustrations of both groups, see Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* 139–40.

¹⁵ J. Yoyotte, 'The Tomb of a Prince Ramesses in the Valley of the Queens (No. 53)', *JEA* 44 (1958), 28 and n. 5.

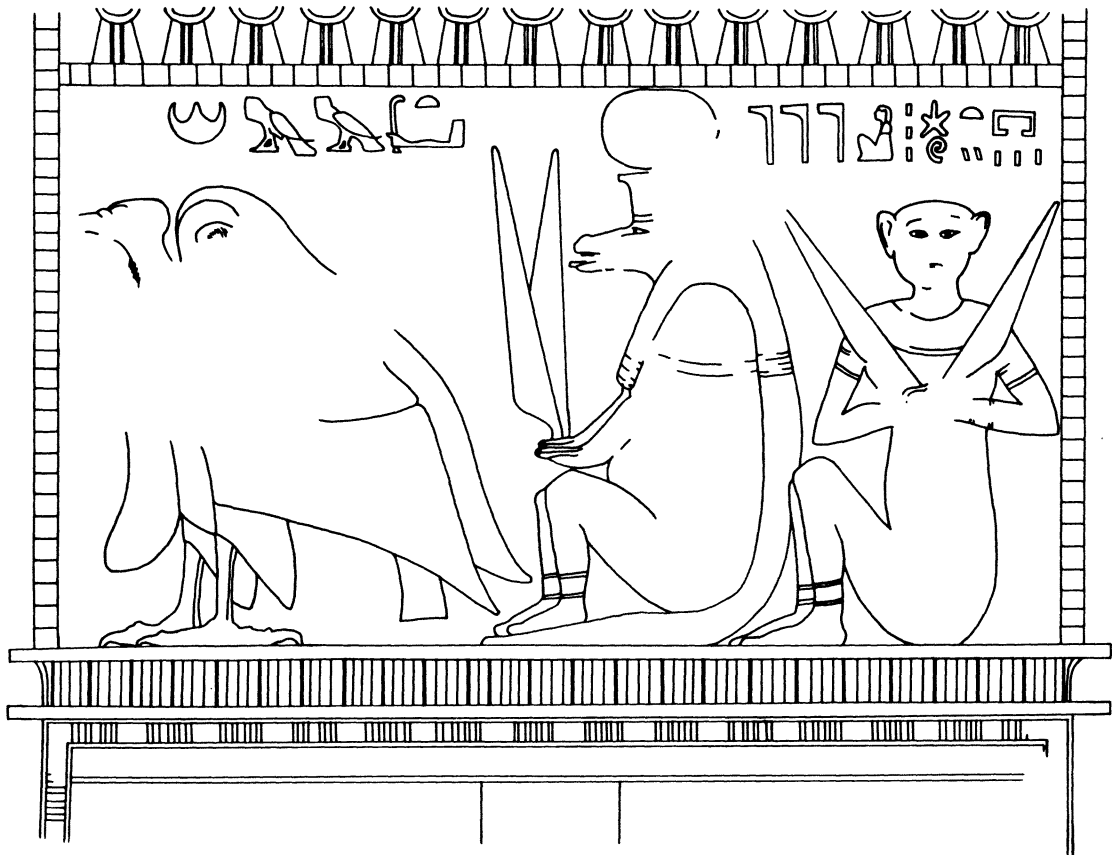
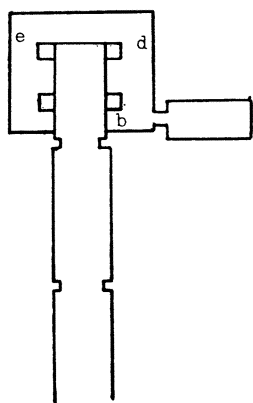


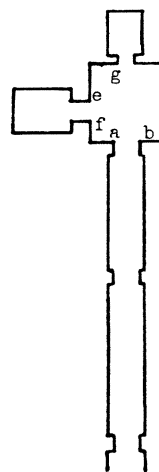
FIG. 4. Hememet, Thoueris, and Full-Face Deity in KV 52



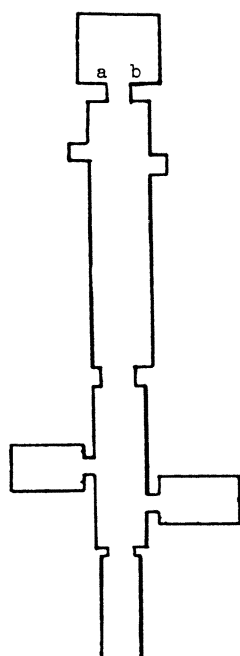
FIG. 5. Hememet, Thoueris, and Full-Face Guardians in KV 11 (Lefébure)



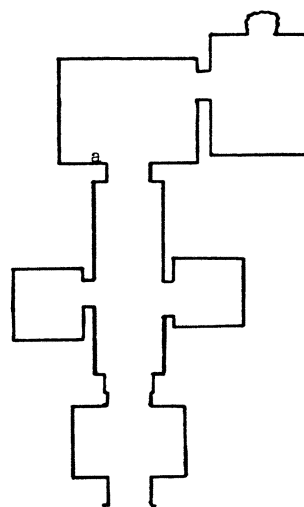
Plan 3: QV 42
Prēḥirwenemef



Plan 4: QV 43
Sethirkhopshef



Plan 5: QV 44
Kha'emwaset



Plan 6: QV 53
Prince Ramesses

TABLE I. *Scene Correspondences*

| | KV 11 plan | QV 52 plan | QV 42 plan | QV 43 plan | QV 44 plan | QV 53 plan |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Lion and Jackal on Mastabas: | 1a | 2a | | 4a | 5a | 6a |
| Nebneri, Herimaꜥat | 1b | 2b | 3b | 4b | 5b | |
| Hawk and Ibis | 1c | 2c | 3c | | | |
| Guardians: | | | | | | |
| Seated Jackal, Standing Lion: | 1d | 2d | | | | |
| Heremmet, Thoueris, and Full-Face Deity: | 1e | 2e | 3e | 4e | | |
| Monkey with Bow, 2 <i>Iwfw</i> Baboons: | 1f | 2f | | 4g | | |

KV 11: Ramesses III.

QV 52: Queen Tyti.

QV 42: Prince Prēḥirwenemef, son of Ramesses III.

QV 43: Prince Sethirkhopshef, son of Ramesses III.

QV 44: Prince Khaꜥemwaset, son of Ramesses III.

QV 53: Prince Ramesses, son of Ramesses III.

tomb (QV 55) was never completed, and has no paintings.¹⁶ For a summary of scenes shared by the tombs of Ramesses III, his sons, and Queen Tyti, see Table I.

Queens' Valley Architectural and Artistic Styles, Dynasties 19-20

Architecturally and artistically, QV 52 fits snugly only within the group of tombs known to belong to the reign of Ramesses III. In its plan, Tyti's tomb is typical of her Queen's Valley neighbours from the reign of Ramesses III. Hers is a straight-axis tomb with a long corridor leading to the sarcophagus and side chambers.¹⁷ On the other hand, Queens' Valley tomb plans of the Nineteenth Dynasty differ greatly from those of the sons of Ramesses III and Queen Tyti. Nineteenth Dynasty tombs possess comparatively large chambers connected by short doorway passages or stairways.¹⁸

The tomb-paintings of Ramesses' sons compare very closely with those of Queen Tyti's tomb. For example, the portrayals of Nebneri and Herimaꜥat in QV 42, 44, and 52 employ the same colour details for kilts, bracelets, anklets, headgear, and flesh colour.¹⁹ The goddesses Neith, Selket, Nephys, and Isis consistently wear either blue-green gowns with two red sashes hanging from a knotted bodice belt, or

¹⁶ C. Campbell, *Two Theban Princes* (Edinburgh, 1910), 81. Thomas (op. cit. 223) notes that the paintings in Tyti's tomb compare more closely with the style of those in QV 55 than with those in any other Queens' Valley tomb.

¹⁷ Cf. *PM* 1, 2², 750, plans for QV 52, 43, and 44; see also Schiaparelli, op. cit. 155.

¹⁸ Cf. *PM* 1, 2², 760, plans for QV 60, 66, 68, and 71. Other tombs that probably date to Dynasty 19 on architectural and artistic grounds include QV 40, 73-5 (Thomas, op. cit. 213, 218-19).

¹⁹ Bruyère, op. cit., figs. 1, 3, 4. Colour comparisons based on writer's photographs and field notes.

red gowns with two blue-green sashes. The emblem directly over Neith's head is portrayed horizontally so that it will not cross over the bottom margin of the frieze.²⁰ The hieroglyphic texts and legends in QV 42, 43, 44, 52, 55, and KV 11 are almost always bound strictly within their margin lines, and do not crowd around the figures of the deceased and deities. Even the *hkr* friezes are comparably worked, with this hieroglyph painted in red and blue-green on a light background.²¹ The above are only a few of the characteristics of the early Twentieth Dynasty style of the tombs of Ramesses' sons and also the tomb of Tyti.

In artistic style, Nineteenth Dynasty Queens' Valley tombs offer several traits not found in the early Twentieth Dynasty. For example, a relief painting of the goddess Neith in the tomb of Nefertari (QV 66) shows her with her emblem placed vertically above her wig, encroaching into the *hkr* frieze of green on a red background. She wears a patterned gown with no belt. Finally, hieroglyphic legends totally surround her, leaving no open space around the figure.²² Paintings and texts remarkably similar to those of Nefertari's tomb appear in QV 40, a burial also assigned to the Nineteenth Dynasty.²³

In the Queens' Valley, there is only one tomb known to have been dedicated after the reign of Ramesses III.²⁴ This is QV 51, the burial of Queen Isis, a daughter and Chief Royal Wife of Ramesses III.²⁵ The donation texts and at least some of the decoration were the work of her son, Ramesses VI.²⁶ Although Georges Bénédite described Isis' and Tyti's burials as 'tombes jumelles',²⁷ QV 51 displays a number of subjects and decorative elements not found in Tyti's tomb.²⁸ In all likelihood, Ramesses III began QV 51 for his wife Isis. Excavation and decoration were never fully carried out, and upon Isis' death Ramesses VI very hastily completed some of the remaining work.²⁹ QV 51 thus appears to be a composite whose incomplete plan was the work of Ramesses III, and whose decoration, at least in part, belonged to the

²⁰ For scenes compared, see *PM* I, 2², QV 44 (9), 755; QV 52 (4) and (3), 757-8; QV 55 (9), 759. Colour comparisons based on writer's photographs and field notes.

²¹ Based on writer's photographs and notes; somewhat inaccurate colour illustrations of the frieze in QV 52 are found in Bénédite, *op. cit.*, pls. i-iii.

²² H. Goedicke and G. Thausing, *Nofretari* (Graz, Austria, 1971), figs. 34, 138.

²³ Thomas, *op. cit.* 225; see also 213, 219.

²⁴ Another Queen's Valley tomb tentatively dated after Ramesses III is QV 74 (Tentopet, possibly the wife of Ramesses IV). It should not be compared here, as it is probably a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb which was later usurped (Thomas, *op. cit.* 218).

²⁵ For Isis as daughter-wife of Ramesses III, see C. Van Siclen III, 'A Ramesside Ostrakon of Queen Isis', *JNES* 33 (1974), 150-3; supported by Wente, *JNES* 32, 233 and n. 65. For Isis as a Chief Royal Wife of Ramesses III, see J. Černý, 'Queen Eset of the Twentieth Dynasty and Her Mother', *JEA* 44 (1958), 33, 35-6; supported and elaborated by Kitchen, *JEA* 68, 123 ff. Isis' tomb is badly damaged and many of its texts are no longer extant. Thus, any claim that her tomb titles do not include *sst nsw* or *hmt nsw wrt* is only an *argumentum ex silentio*. In fact, one of Champollion's lists of titles from Isis' tomb notes what appears to be a *sst* next to her cartouche, followed by a lacuna (Champollion, *op. cit.* I, 390). This may well have been the last trace of a *sst nsw* title from QV 51.

²⁶ Thomas, *op. cit.* 223, 285. For Isis as the mother of Ramesses VI, see Černý, *op. cit.* 33.

²⁷ Bénédite, *op. cit.* 382.

²⁸ *PM* I 2², 756-8. Among the differences, the *hkr* frieze pattern in QV 51 is interspersed with jackals seated on mastabas (Champollion, *op. cit.* 391); this motif is not found in any other royal tomb of the reign of Ramesses III.

²⁹ Thomas, *loc. cit.*

reign of Ramesses VI. Neither Isis' tomb nor the Kings' Valley tombs of Ramesses III's successors include any of the six scenes shared in the sarcophagus chambers of Queen Tyti and Ramesses III.³⁰

The Book of the Dead

Chapters 145–6 of the *Book of the Dead* apparently served as the inspiration for the six groups of guardian deities that appear in corresponding positions and portrayals in the tombs of Ramesses III (KV 11) and Queen Tyti (QV 52).³¹ These chapters record the twenty-one secret portals of the house of Osiris through which the deceased passes in the Field of Rushes. The guardian (or 'Doorkeeper') of the first portal, 'Terrible' (*nry*), has two manifestations. In the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Nefertari (QV 66), a seated vulture-headed deity holds this position.³² The iconography changes in the early Twentieth Dynasty Queens' Valley tombs (QV 42, 43, 44, and 52): this doorkeeper is now called *Nb nry* (Nebneri), 'Lord of Terror', and is pictured as a standing lion-headed figure brandishing a knife in one hand and extending the other hand forward (see Fig. 2).³³ After the reign of Ramesses III, these scenes of Nebneri and the other doorkeepers derived from chapters 145–6 disappear from the corpus of royal tomb reliefs.³⁴ With a significantly different iconography in the Nineteenth Dynasty and no known examples after the death of Ramesses III, the most likely date for these doorkeeper tomb paintings is the reign of this king.

Queen's Valley Tomb Texts

In taking credit for the construction of the tombs of his children, Ramesses III made use of a rather peculiar donation formula beginning with the word *diw*, 'given'. It occurs in QV 43, 44, 52, 55, and KV 3.³⁵ Although this donation formula appears on rare occasions slightly before and after the reign of Ramesses III,³⁶ the great majority of examples belong to his time. The use of the *diw* text in QV 52 corroborates the early Twentieth Dynasty date assigned to Tyti's tomb on artistic and architectural grounds.

Of the *diw* donation texts of Ramesses III's sons, that of Prince Amenḥirkhopshef (QV 55) adds an informative detail. It indicates that his tomb and others in the

³⁰ *PM* 1, 2², 495–505, 516–17, 545, 756.

³¹ Thomas, *op. cit.* 225.

³² Goedicke and Thausing, *op. cit.* 50, figs. 80, 149.

³³ Bruyère, *op. cit.* 33 ff.

³⁴ See n. 30 above. For example, only *BD* 124–9 and accompanying vignettes appear in the tomb of Ramesses VI (A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, 1, *Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations*, 1 (New York, 1954), 319–25). See also *PM* 1, 2², 495–505, 511–17, 545–6.

³⁵ QV 43: Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* 150, fig. 110; QV 44: Campbell, *op. cit.* 31; QV 52: Bénédite, *op. cit.* 397 ff; QV 55: Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* 148; KV 3 (made for a son of Ramesses III): E. F. Wente, 'A Prince's Tomb in the Valley of the Kings', *JNES* 32 (1973), 228 and n. 32.

³⁶ This formula appears first in the reign of Ramesses II: Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* 111; also under Ramesses VI (QV 51): Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* 157; Ramesses VII: J. Vandier D'Abbadie, 'Un monument inédit de Ramsès VII au Musée du Louvre', *JNES*, 9 (1950), 136: the *diw* shows three plural strokes instead of the usual two.

Valley of the Queens were ordered by Ramesses III for *nṣ msw nsw ʿṣw*, ‘the Chief Royal Children’.³⁷ This tomb text is confirmed by an ostrakon letter to the Vizier Tō, which notes that a number of tombs for the *msw nsw* (‘Royal Children’) of Ramesses III were under construction simultaneously during the second half of his reign.³⁸ As one would expect, *msw nsw* suggests that tombs for both royal sons *and* daughters were built at Ramesses’ command.³⁹ One of the daughters for whom Ramesses III possibly began a tomb was Isis (QV 51), who apparently married her father and bore the future Ramesses VI, the king who dedicated her tomb.⁴⁰ When one considers that Tyti’s tomb is flanked by that of Isis and Ramesses III’s son, Prince Ramesses (QV 53), it is probable that hers was among the group of tombs mentioned in QV 55 and the letter to the Vizier Tō.

The most tantalizing yet perplexing hints involving Tyti’s identity come from the titles and epithets attributed to her in her tomb. The various donation texts record that the tomb was the gift of an unnamed king to Tyti. Tyti’s titles clearly stress her importance at court.⁴¹ Her most common title, *nbt tꜣwy*, ‘Mistress of the Two Lands’, is used a total of forty-three times in her tomb. The title *hmt nsw wrt*, ‘Chief Royal Wife’, is recorded there thirty-three times. Additional titles include: *sꜣt nsw*, *sꜣt nsw nt htꜣ mr(t)ꜣ*, *sꜣtꜣ mr(t)ꜣ*, ‘King’s Daughter’, ‘King’s Beloved Daughter of his Body’, and ‘His Beloved Daughter’, a combined total of twenty times, *snt nsw*, ‘King’s Sister’, four times, *mwt nsw*, ‘King’s Mother’, eight times.⁴²

The artistic, architectural, and textual evidence has cumulatively pointed to the reign of Ramesses III as the period to which Tyti belongs. On this basis, her titles of filiation must be explained within the context of his reign and/or those of his immediate successors. The available evidence does not allow a conclusive solution, but does permit a few tentative suggestions.

The *diw* donation texts found in Queen Tyti’s tomb always designate her first as ‘King’s Daughter’, ‘King’s Beloved Daughter of his Body’, etc.⁴³ This implies that her most important title in relation to the donating king was that of royal daughter. The same *diw* donation formula with ‘King’s Daughter of his Body’ as the first title appears in the tombs of Bentꜣanta and Nebttaui, known daughters of Ramesses II.⁴⁴ As a working hypothesis, it is suggested that Queen Tyti is the daughter of Ramesses III, and that her tomb was prepared in his reign.

For which king was Tyti a *hmt nsw wrt*? Among the short-lived immediate successors of Ramesses III, all have at least one *hmt nsw wrt* already attested,⁴⁵ so it is

³⁷ Kitchen, *JEA* 68, 120; text: Schiaparelli, op. cit. 148.

³⁸ Wente, ‘A Letter of Complaint to the Vizier Tō’, *JNES* 20 (1961), 252–3, 255.

³⁹ *Wb.* II, 139, 7; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 14.

⁴⁰ See nn. 25 and 26 above.

⁴¹ The writer assumes that all titles of filiation are real and not honorary, *contra* Schiaparelli, op. cit. 155–6. In any case, the possibility that some of these titles could be honorary would not affect the basic arguments given for linking Tyti to the reign of Ramesses III.

⁴² Bénédite, op. cit. 395–410.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 397, 399, 402–3.

⁴⁴ Schiaparelli, op. cit. 111.

⁴⁵ Ramesses IV: Tentopet (Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois*, III, 190); Ramesses V: Chief Royal Wife Henut-wasti and lesser wife Ta-weret-tenru (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 141, 157); Ramesses VI: Nubkhesbed (Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. xix).

difficult to fit Tyti within their reigns. A portrayal of Queen Tyti from her tomb offers a possible answer. Like Queen Isis in neighbouring tomb QV 51, Tyti is shown wearing a unique floral head-dress, consisting of a vulture cap supporting a mortar-board from which spring a number of flowers.⁴⁶ This head-dress may be emblematic of a daughter-wife status, since it is worn by two daughters who became their fathers' 'Chief Royal Wives': Sitamūn, daughter of Amenophis III, and Nebttaui, daughter of Ramesses II.⁴⁷ Tyti would then be a daughter-wife of Ramesses III, a status likewise posited for Queen Isis.⁴⁸

That Tyti outlived her father is indicated by her titles *snt nsw*, 'King's sister', and particularly *mwṯ nsw*, 'King's mother'.⁴⁹ Just as his daughter-wife Isis bore him the future Ramesses VI, Ramesses III may well have sired a future king by Tyti. A possible choice is now Ramesses IV, since the limited evidence that Queen Isis was his mother has now been dismissed.⁵⁰ It is worthwhile noting that Tyti's tomb is located next to that of Prince Ramesses (QV 53), quite possibly the later Ramesses IV.⁵¹

How long Tyti survived Ramesses III cannot presently be answered. Neither can we explain why Ramesses III or his successor failed to record his name in Tyti's tomb. However, it should be stressed that practically none of the tombs of Ramesside princesses or queens in the Valley of the Queens has been reported to bear the name of the donating king.⁵² The donation of Isis' tomb by Ramesses VI is the rare exception to this unusual rule of royal anonymity.

The sum of all available evidence regarding Queen Tyti of QV 52 links her to the reign of Ramesses III. Her sarcophagus chamber shares an unprecedented

⁴⁶ Bénédite, *op. cit.* 399 and pl. ii; floral headdress of Queen Isis: Van Siclen, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁷ C. Desroches-Noblecourt in C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica III*, VIII, *Mission de Ras Shamra* (Paris, 1956), 198–201.

⁴⁸ See n. 25 above.

⁴⁹ As both daughter-wife of Ramesses III, and mother of his successor, she would be the half sister of the new king. G. Robins has now proven that a queen may not be called a *mwṯ nsw* until her son has advanced to the throne (*GM* 30 (1978), 71–5; see also *GM* 62 (1983), 70). Had Queen Tyti been a sister-wife of the donating king (Ramesses III), one would not expect to see her title of 'King's Daughter' appearing *first* in all six donation formulae in her tomb. Moreover, the title 'King's Daughter' is found twenty times in QV 52, while 'King's Sister' appears only four times.

⁵⁰ The argument that both the Karnak *cache* statue (Cairo Cat. 42153) and the Deir el-Bakhit inscription were usurped from Ramesses IV by Ramesses VI has now been rejected by Kitchen (*JEA* 58, 191; *JEA* 68, 124 and n. 63); these monuments are no longer regarded as originally the work of Ramesses IV, so that the *mwṯ nsw* Isis (*ḥmt* *Hmdrt*) of QV 51 mentioned in them can *only* be the mother of Ramesses VI. Also to be dismissed is the notion that the 'age-at-death' of Ramesses IV's purported mummy was too great to allow a daughter-wife of Ramesses III to bear him (J. E. Harris and Wente, *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, 202, 263–6). It would be very rash to make historical conclusions based on what may be questionable pathological data on mummies whose real identity is, at best, uncertain.

⁵¹ Yoyotte, *op. cit.* 30; Černý, *op. cit.* 34–5; supported by Kitchen, *JEA* 58, 186 n. 7. A fragmentary text in QV 53 records that Prince Ramesses was the son of the King's Chief Royal Wife (*hmt nsw wrt*; Yoyotte, *op. cit.* 28). The wife is not named. Is it merely coincidence that Prince Ramesses' tomb is located next to that of the *hmt nsw wrt* Tyti, perhaps his mother?

⁵² The long list of tombs of royal queens and princesses with anonymous donors includes, among others, QV 38, 52, 60, 66, 68, 71, and 74 (see Champollion, *Not. Descr.* 1, 397–403; *LD Text*, 111, 227–9; Schiaparelli, *op. cit.* 52–104, and note p. 53 n. 1). Ramesses II always omitted his name in the tombs of his wives and daughters. This custom and many other major and minor details of his reign were quite probably emulated by Ramesses III and perhaps some of his successors (Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 227).

correspondence of six mortuary scenes with that of Ramesses III, all apparently inspired by *Book of the Dead*, chapters 145-6. Her tomb has a similar plan and many paintings essentially identical in style and subject with those of the sons of Ramesses III (QV 42, 43, 44, 53, and 55). Surviving texts corroborate the evidence of the art and architecture. Her titles and tomb portrayal with the unusual floral headdress suggest that she was a daughter-wife of Ramesses III, as was her Queens' Valley neighbour, Queen Isis. Isis quite probably bore the future Ramesses VI. Since there is, in fact, no evidence that Isis was also Ramesses IV's mother, this honour may belong to Queen Tyti.

ON THE MEANING OF SOME ANTHROPOID BUSTS FROM DEIR EL-MEDÎNA*

By FLORENCE FRIEDMAN

DURING his years of excavating at Deir el-Medîna from 1921-51, Bernard Bruyère uncovered at least sixty-eight small, free-standing busts,¹ which he supposed came from the homes of workers of the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties. Some years earlier, in 1913, Moeller had found seven busts at Deir el-Medîna, five of which are recorded as having been found in houses.² Fifteen more of Bruyère's finds are identified by excavation numbers as coming from several kôms in and around the village, the temple, and the large well, which were all parts of the site.³ Eleven of the busts published by both Moeller and Bruyère are for the present unlocatable. Only one of Bruyère's bust finds certainly came from a house;⁴ his supposition that the busts, as a whole, derived from houses was perhaps based on Moeller's previous discovery of five busts which clearly came from houses.

The busts consist typically of a head, with or without wig, set atop a stele- or wedge-shaped support, which is sometimes decorated with a *wsh*-collar and/or pendent lotus (see pl. V, 1). The busts are generally anepigraphic; only four out of approximately 150 known busts bear an inscription.⁵ The primary purpose of this paper is to suggest the meaning, origin of form, and function of some of these

* This article represents a revised version of a paper delivered at the Third International Congress of Egyptology at Toronto, Ontario, Canada, September, 1982. I thank Professor Jean L. Keith-Bennett for generously sharing with me her collected material on the busts from Deir el-Medîna and elsewhere, for pointing out to me many bust representations and prototypes, and for encouraging my work on their meaning and function. I should also like to thank R. J. Demarée, V. L. Davis, A. R. Schulman, and most especially J. L. Keith-Bennett, for their comments, suggestions, and criticisms of this text. Responsibility for all conclusions, however, rests with the author.

¹ See especially B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1934-35)* (IFAO, 1939), 171. This is one of a series of excavation reports of the site which will hereafter be referred to as *Rapport*. An enumeration and analysis of the find circumstances of the busts now in Deir el-Medîna, and of others excavated there, can be found in J. L. Keith-Bennett, 'Anthropoid Busts: II, Not from Deir el Medineh Alone', *BES* 3 (1981), 47 ff. The material in this article is updated, expanded upon, and combined with more information on all known anthropoid busts and representations of them (about 160 objects) in a forthcoming manuscript by Keith-Bennett in *IFAO*, prepared for publication as a *Document de Fouilles* volume.

² R. Anthes, 'Die deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913', *MDAIK* 12 (1943), 58-9, pl. 16.

³ For recorded find-places of Deir el-Medîna busts, see Keith-Bennett, *op. cit.* 47, and forthcoming monograph.

⁴ The only bust identified by Bruyère as coming from a house is *Rapport (1934-35)*, 171, fig. 66, now Louvre, E 16348. See most recently, *La Vie quotidienne chez les artisans de Pharaon* (Exhibition Catalogue of the Musée de Metz, 12 novembre 1978-28 février 1979), 96, no. 129.

⁵ The shapes of all known busts, their materials, decoration, and gender, as well as the few inscriptions associated with them, are presented and analysed in Keith-Bennett's manuscript, n. 1 above.

anthropoid busts, on the basis of the often scanty and ambiguous archaeological records. We shall deal only with house busts.

I. The Meaning of the Deir el-Medīna Busts as *ḥ ikr*

According to Bruyère, the house busts must originally have sat in wall niches. The remains of the wall niches in the Deir el-Medīna homes sometimes display lintels, door-jamb, and socles inscribed or decorated to an extent which suggests that they enjoyed the status of a shrine for the objects within.⁶ Wall niches are found in the first room of the house opposite a brick structure traditionally termed a box bed,⁷ but which more recently has been interpreted as a household altar.⁸ It was approached by a short staircase and sometimes decorated on either side by an image of the household deity Bes. Bes, if the box-bed theory is correct, was probably believed to protect the sleeper⁹ (or woman in labour) within from harm. One bust was found on the floor on the opposite wall from the 'box bed', apparently having fallen from the surviving niche above.¹⁰ Walls in the second room also contained niches which may have held busts, this room interestingly having in a few instances a trap door at the far end which led to a cellar where children were sometimes buried as at Amarna.¹¹ It appears that additional wall niches in both rooms held stelae, many of which were found in the environs.

Also discovered in conjunction with, or in the vicinity of, the busts were offering tables, as well as, in each house, a head-rest,¹² the more elaborate limestone examples being, in all probability, intended for ceremonial or funerary use,¹³ as opposed to the more common wooden head-rests which were used as pillows.¹⁴ Not infrequently the head-rests are decorated with the protective deities Bes, Thouēris, and Sekhmet.¹⁵ Two wooden tickets, one with a string attached, were found with names indicated in black ink, and Bruyère surmised that such 'mummy-tickets', as he called them, were once attached to, and identified all, the busts.¹⁶ Though the busts are generally anepigraphic (and the head-rests, if inscribed, refer to spending a good

⁶ See *Rapport (1934-35)*, 195 and pls. xv-xx. See especially pl. xix, 1, which represents a niche socle, whether for bust or stela is unknown. It is inscribed with the phrase *ḥbi:t nfrt*. *Wb.* III, 62, 8 describes *ḥbi:t* as a New Kingdom word construed with the feminine article *t* (missing from this fragment). The word refers to a necropolis structure, i.e. a grave or tomb element. The *ḥbi:t nfrt* appears to be a goodly funerary structure made by the named artisan, which functions here as an architectural feature of a house niche (see *Rapport (1934-35)* 195). It probably held busts, which are virtually never identified, or stelae, which are frequently inscribed and dedicated to the *ḥ ikr n R^c*.

⁷ On the so-called 'box bed', or 'lit clos', see *ibid.* 54-64 and pl. x.

⁸ M. Bierbrier, *The Tomb-Builders of the Pharaohs* (London, 1982), 69.

⁹ I thank James Romano for clarifying this point.

¹⁰ *Rapport (1934-35)*, 171, fig. 66.

¹¹ A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture, The Empire (The New Kingdom)* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1968), 65, 67.

¹² See *Rapport (1934-35)*, 227-35. The head-rests were found either in the room with the box bed, on the bed itself, or in the adjacent 'salle du divan'.

¹³ Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 71, fig. 49.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 70.

¹⁵ *Rapport (1934-35)*, 227. For shapes, see pp. 228, fig. 117; 229, fig. 118; and pl. xxiv.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 173, fig. 68.

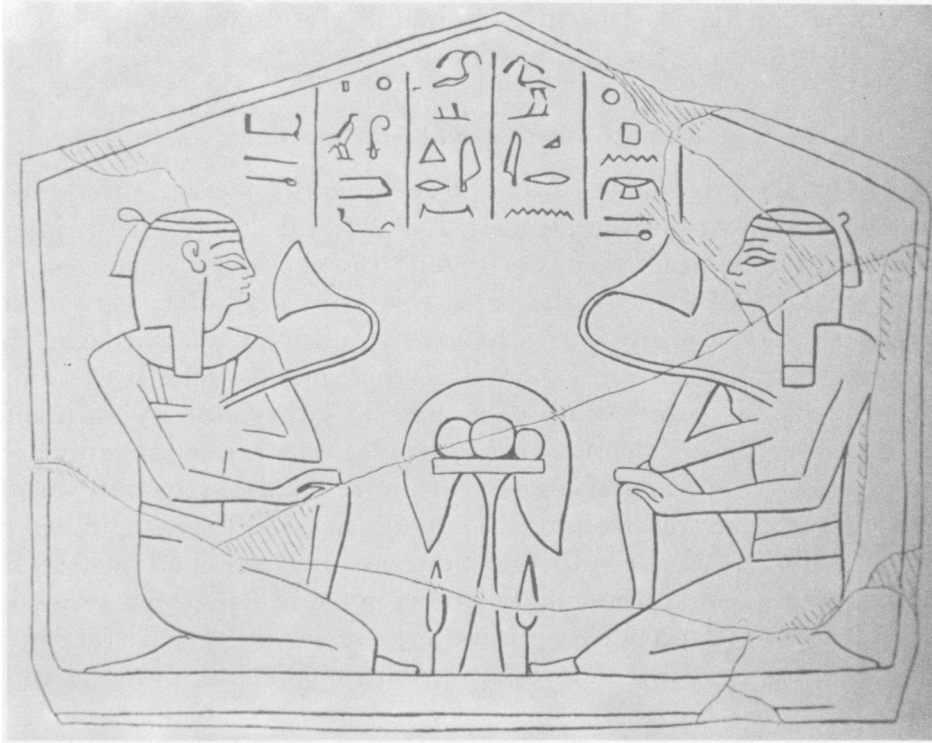


FIG. 1

night or provide name and titles),¹⁷ both the stelae and offering tables are inscribed and often dedicated to the *šḥ ikr n R^c*, 'the able *šḥ* of Rēc'.¹⁸

The stelae dedicated to the *šḥ ikr* number about sixty in all. They are small, made of limestone, usually surmounted by an arched or pointed top, and depict a seated or kneeling image of the deceased.¹⁹ Frequently the inscription requests offerings for the *k^s* of the *šḥ ikr n R^c*.²⁰ One such stela, which was triangle-topped with a cavetto cornice elaborate enough to define it as a shrine, and which, though not the product of archaeological excavation, assuredly came from Deir el-Medīna, bears a relief image of the workman Any seated in the traditional pose before a table of offerings. The inscription bordering the sides of the stela states that offerings are dedicated to the *k^s* of the *šḥ ikr n R^c*.²¹ On some stelae two labelled *šḥ ikr* figures kneel opposite one another, as in the triangle-topped stelae of Pennoub and Khamny (see fig. 1²² and pl. V, 2²³). The *šḥ ikr* is always shown as a living man, generally smelling a lotus which he holds clenched in one hand against his chest, while with the other hand he

¹⁷ See especially *ibid.* 228 and 233.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 151-67. For a survey of the stelae, see M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina n. 50001-n. 50262* (Turin, 1972).

¹⁹ See R. J. Demarée's recent study, *The šḥ ikr n R^c Stelae, On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, 1983), 7-9.

²⁰ *Rapport (1934-35)*, 161-62.

²¹ Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 94, fig. 68.

²² *Rapport (1934-35)*, 328, fig. 198; and see also p. 152, fig. 62 for photo of stela.

²³ Tosi and Roccati, *op. cit.* 296 n. 50024.

reaches toward an altar of offerings. On the stela of Khonsu, the offering table is replaced by Khonsu's wife and a *h̄tp-di-ns̄w* formula which affords benefits for the *k̄* of the *š̄h̄ ikr̄ n R̄*, Khonsu.²⁴ There are ten offering tables which are dedicated to the *š̄h̄ ikr̄ n R̄*, or simply the *š̄h̄ ikr̄*.²⁵

Given the strong possibility that at least some of the anthropoid busts functioned ceremonially in conjunction with the stelae and offerings tables, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the busts denote the object of the ceremonies, namely the *š̄h̄ ikr̄*.²⁶

II. A Review of the Meaning of *š̄h̄ ikr̄* in Textual Sources

š̄h̄ ikr̄ is a term well known in Old Kingdom biographical texts where it especially denotes the *š̄h̄*-deceased as one 'able' in the sense of effectively executing the commands of his lord or, in a funerary context, one who is able, in so far as he is well equipped with offerings and/or knowledge of the proper efficacious spells, to facilitate his passage into the Beyond.²⁷ The term is non-existent in the Pyramid Texts, rare in the Coffin Texts, but found in abundance in the Book of the Dead.²⁸ In the last, *š̄h̄ ikr̄* assumes a predominantly solar meaning. The *š̄h̄ ikr̄* is principally one who enjoys a place in the solar bark of *Rē̄*, who rides in and tows the solar bark and is its crew member.²⁹ The deceased is made an *š̄h̄ ikr̄* in the *ib*-mind of *Rē̄* and is seen as the sunbeams of *Rē̄*.³⁰ In this divine solar state he is devoid of sin, and is one who knows *Ma'at*.³¹

The term *š̄h̄ ikr̄* is given further solar emphasis at Deir el-Medîna through the addition of *n R̄*, the full appellation meaning 'the able *š̄h̄* (effective spirit) of *Rē̄*', an expression which also occurs in at least one Deir el-Medîna tomb, no. 335, belonging to Nakhtamûn. In the latter, an individual named Neferhotep is represented in a wall-painting, seated on a lion-legged chair like figures on the stelae. His left hand holds a lotus to his nose, while his right hand is extended before offerings.³² Although the offering table is shown, the relatives of Neferhotep, like those of Khonsu cited above, assume the role of proffering the food goods. Neferhotep is labelled the *š̄h̄ ikr̄ n R̄* and, as is usual for the *š̄h̄ ikr̄*, the offerings are directed to his *k̄*.

This New Kingdom scene is the typological successor to the Old Kingdom false

²⁴ *Rapport* (1934-35), 317, fig. 186, pl. xxii; and see p. 152 for discussion.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 165-7; and see pp. 275-6, 278.

²⁶ Bruyère (*ibid.* 228) refers to the busts as the seat of the *š̄h̄*. It might also be noted here that, like the genderless busts, gender is rarely attributed to the *š̄h̄* or *š̄h̄ ikr̄* in the funerary texts. For a rare occurrence of the feminine form of *š̄h̄* in the Old Kingdom, see H. G. Fischer in *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vols. I-II (1968-1976), 173-4, fig. 13: *ink š̄ht ikr̄t 'prt*: 'I am an excellent and equipped spirit.' See also J. Malék, *JSSSEA* 10, no. 3 (1980), 230.

²⁷ See especially E. Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944), 19-21.

²⁸ For a summary of the usages of *š̄h̄ ikr̄* in religious texts, see G. Englund, *Akh—une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Uppsala, 1978), 132, 167-9.

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 169.

³⁰ See *BD*, ch. 133, Naville II, 344.18, end of Ta's rubric.

³¹ The *š̄h̄ ikr̄* is *š̄w m isft*, 'free of sin', and able to assert *nn wn h̄m·n·(t) hr M̄* *ct*: 'There is nothing (I) do not know about *Ma'at*' (*BD*, ch. 100, Naville II, 236, beginning of Ba rubric).

³² *Rapport* (1924-25), 130, fig. 89.



FIG. 2

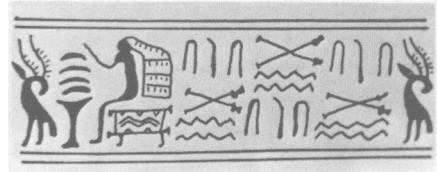


FIG. 3

door stela image of the deceased at the funerary repast, and it is a critical subject for our discussion of the *ḥ* *ikr* busts. Given the offering table remains, the busts were, in all probability, the recipients of food goods. It is, therefore, useful to review the relationship of *ḥ* to offerings from prior periods.

III. The Relationship of *ḥ* to Offerings

The deceased at the funerary repast is an image recorded as early as the First Dynasty on cylinder seals. On a few seals the deceased is depicted as a *šps*-august one at table and opposite as an *ḥ*-effective spirit. The *ḥ* is denoted by the crested ibis with its head turned back toward the offering table (see figs. 2³³ and 3³⁴). By the end of the First Dynasty, the beginning of the Second, the funerary-repast cylinder-seal image was transferred to the stela above the false door in the private tomb chapel where it remained as a regular feature. Sometimes the false-door stelae depict two seated images of the deceased placed opposite one another and flanking the table in the same positions as the earlier *ḥ* and *šps* hieroglyphs. There are few examples, however, in which *ḥ* and *šps* appear together in this configuration on cylinder seals, and there are also relatively few examples from false-door stelae in which the deceased appears seated opposite another figure of himself. There are many more examples, in fact, in which the deceased faces an image of his wife. It is, therefore, unlikely that too much should be made of the meaning of a few limited examples. But it is none the less interesting to note that on at least one Old Kingdom false door from Saqqâra the female tomb owner is represented seated on either side of the food altar with the text below beginning: *ink ḥ ikr pr*, 'I am an able and equipped *ḥ*'.³⁵ It is possible that, while the crested ibis designation is absent as one of the images flanking the altar, the notion of the deceased as an effective and able *ḥ* before the offering table was still operative. In fact, a number of Old Kingdom Gîza tombs make it clear that the image of the deceased before the offering table is the *ḥ*. These tombs illustrate the feeding of the *ḥ* in a cultic ceremony called *snmt-ḥ*. In the late

³³ P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, III (Wiesbaden, 1963), pl. 111, 595; and cf. also pls. 105, 498 and 144, 481. Note that the funerary repast cylinder seals show no signs of wear and apparently had a solely ceremonial purpose.

³⁴ T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, I (Brooklyn, New York, 1974), pl. xiv, 8. For a different interpretation of this seal, see J. R. Ogdon, *GM* 64 (1983), 55.

³⁵ Fischer in *Ancient Egypt*, 172, fig. 12.

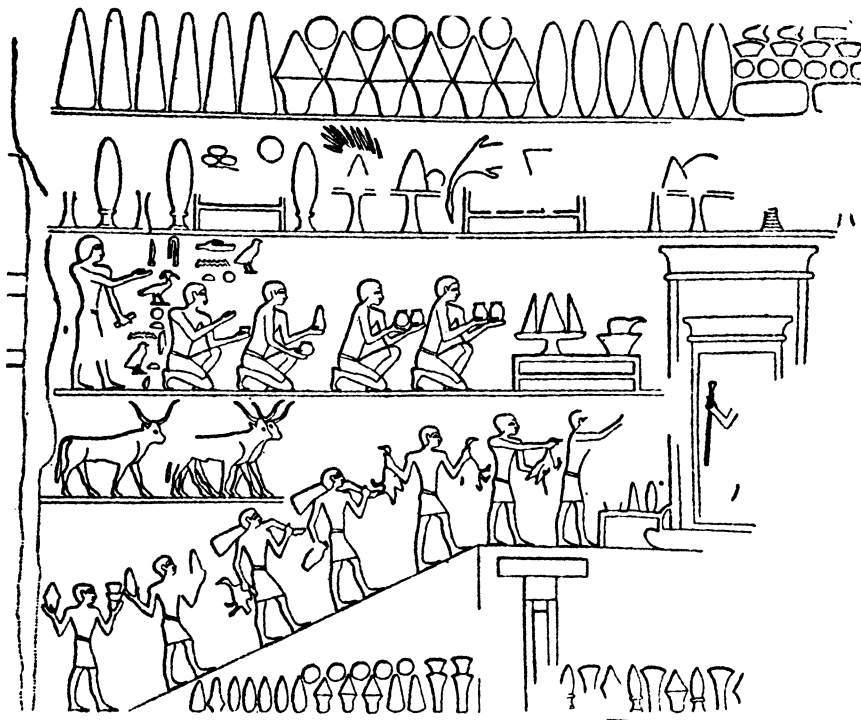


FIG. 4

Fourth Dynasty tomb chapel of *Dbhn* a sunk relief on the south wall depicts the dragging of the statue to the tomb for offering ceremonies (see fig. 4).³⁶ The image of the statue, only a fragment of which remains, rests within a statue shrine. Offerings are presented by a series of priests, and the inscription above them reads *wdn ht, snmt-ḥ in wty*,³⁷ 'laying down offerings, feeding the *ḥ* by the embalmer priest'. Clearly the statue in the shrine is regarded as the *ḥ* for whom the offerings are proffered. In the Fifth Dynasty the deceased is again shown as the beneficiary of the *snmt-ḥ* ceremony, but he is now represented in the more traditional pose of the seated tomb owner with hand extended toward the food goods. This is the same pose in which the *ḥ ikr n R* is later depicted on stelae at Deir el-Medīna. In the Fifth Dynasty tomb chapel of *Kḥ-ni-nsw*, on the northern and southern inner faces of his chapel door, the deceased reaches toward the food-laden altar while the officiating priests kneel and stand beside it in the course of the *snmt-ḥ* ceremony (See fig. 5 and 6).³⁸ Later in the Fifth Dynasty this same scene and inscription appear again in the

³⁶ S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, iv (Cairo, 1943), 176, fig. 122. For a similar statue shrine, cf. H. Schaefer (trans. J. Baines), *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), pl. 27, which depicts the Old Kingdom statue shrine figure of Akhetotpe.

³⁷ Hassan, op. cit., iv, fig. 122.

³⁸ H. Junker, *Giza*, II (Vienna/Leipzig, 1934), 146, fig. 15 (northern example), 147, fig. 16 (southern example). Figure 16 has *snm(t)-ḥ (in) wty*. Figure 5, as well as figs. 3 and 4, are also used in my article 'The Root Meaning of *ḥ*: Effectiveness or Luminosity?', *Serapis* 8 (1984), where they illustrate a different but related thesis concerning *ḥ* as a notion of effectiveness.

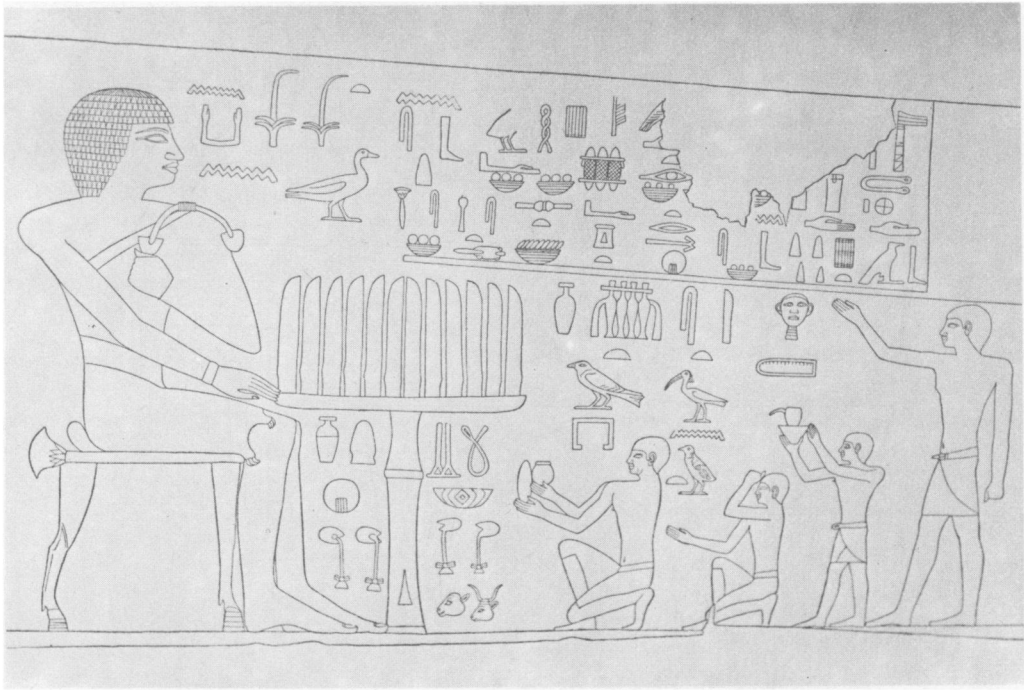


FIG. 5

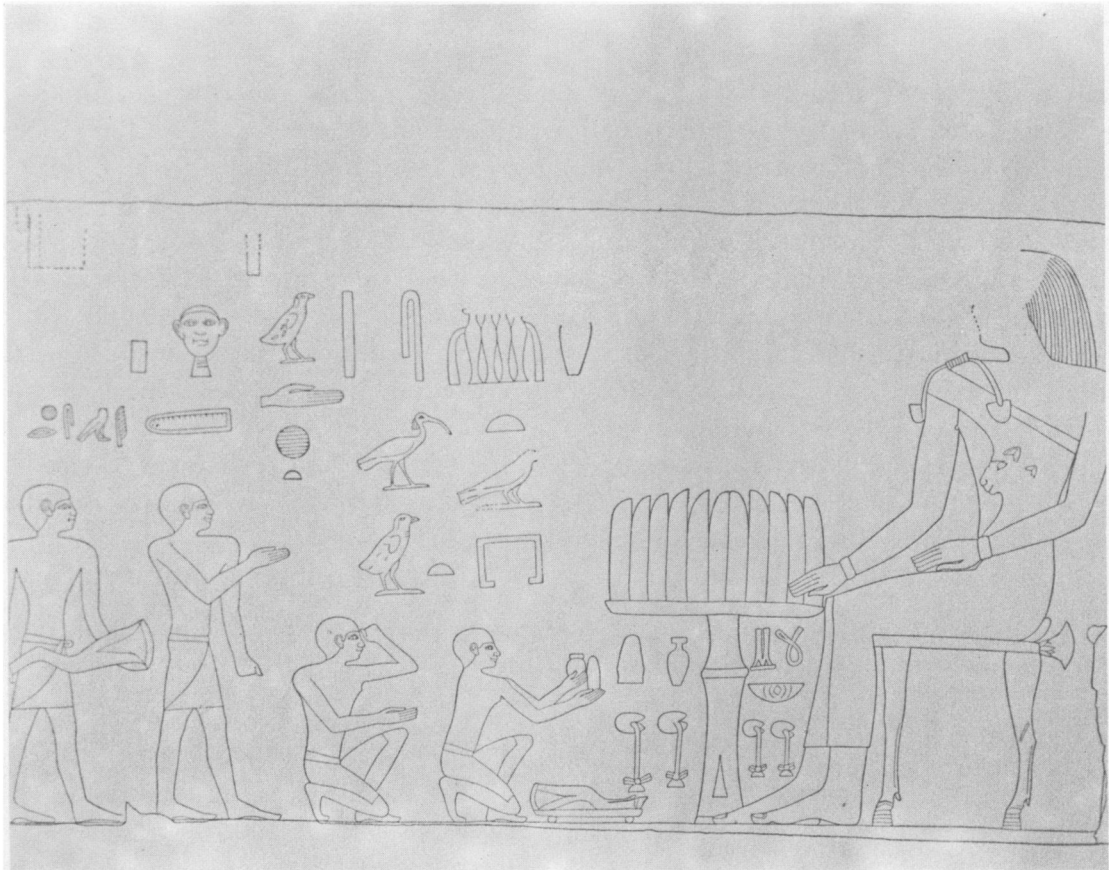


FIG. 6

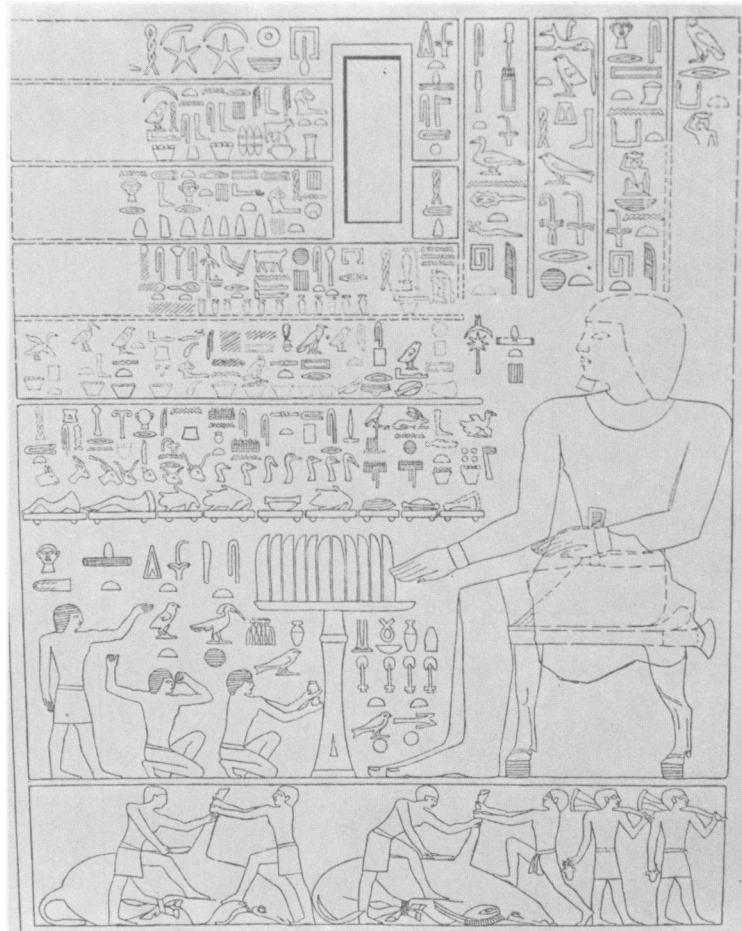


FIG. 7

tomb of *Sš:t-ḥtp* (see fig. 7),³⁹ and in turn are almost identically reproduced in the tomb of *Nsw·nfr* (see fig. 8).⁴⁰ It is evident from these examples that food goods are being offered to the *šḥ* who is represented as a standing statue or, more frequently, as the seated tomb owner. The seated figure, I feel, was also understood as a statue.⁴¹

The feeding of the *šḥ* as a statue is implicitly present in other sculptural representations as well. In the Sixth Dynasty tomb chapel of *Nfr-sšm-pth* a bust of the tomb owner replaces in full the funerary-repast scene on the false door (see pl. VI, 1). This singular placement of the bust suggests that it was intended as a hieroglyphic determinative replacement⁴² for the usual scene; and, given its placement, it presumably denotes the *šḥ* as the statue ready to receive offerings.

³⁹ Junker, *Giza*, III, 74, fig. 9a.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 75, fig. 9b.

⁴¹ That the deceased as *šḥ* required food goods, like other physical necessities, is made clear in later funerary literature: see, e.g., *CT* v, 365b-f; III, 134b-f.

⁴² On sculptural representations as ideographic determinatives, see Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, I, Reversals. Egyptian Studies*, II (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1977), 3-4.

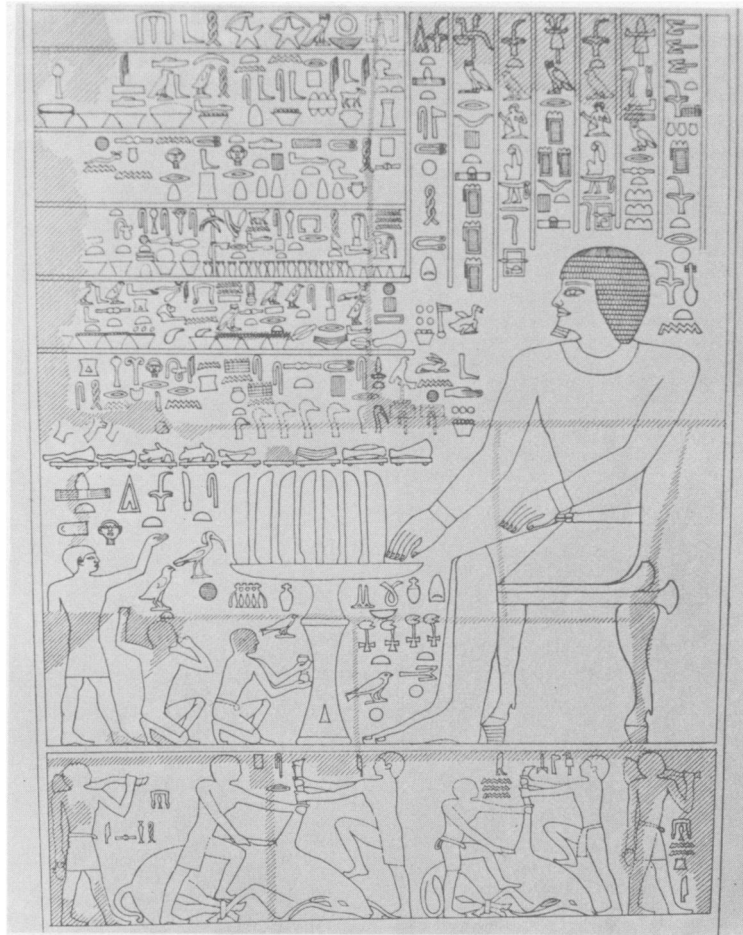


FIG. 8

Another example of a statue replacement for the *šh* occurs in the Sixth Dynasty Giza tomb of Idu. Here the deceased is depicted in high relief from the waist up, with hands outstretched and palms upward to receive food goods as in the *snmt-šh* representations. Interestingly, this figure of Idu graphically illustrates a later Coffin Text which reads: *wšh t·k išt·k r tš mi r hnt n prt·k šh·k hfd(w)* 'Your bread and your (morning-) meal are laid on the ground; come before (lit.: to the front) of your (offering-) slab. Your *šh* is seated' (CT VI, 334e-g).⁴³ It is especially to be noted that this image of the *šh* seated before the offering-slab recalls: (a) the First Dynasty cylinder seals' designation of the *šh* before the funerary repast; and (b) the *snmt-šh* tomb scenes' depiction of the deceased seated before the offering table.

The false-door niche in front of which Idu sits (see pl. VI, 2),⁴⁴ was, as Henry

⁴³ I substantially agree with the translation by R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, II, Spells 355-787 (Warminster, England, 1977), Spell 702, p. 264.

⁴⁴ See W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu G 7101 and 7102* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1976), pl. xxix, a-c.

Fischer demonstrates in a forthcoming paper, the door to the naos,⁴⁵ that is, the theoretical shrine just behind the false door. This unexpressed naos was understood to contain the tomb owner's statue; the statue, in order to partake of the offerings, emerged through the false door as in the famous example of Mereruka.⁴⁶ Like the statue of Mereruka, the bust of Neferseshemtaḥ and torso of Idu may also be regarded as representing stages of emergence of the statue from the naos: all these statues presumably denote the *ḥ* which dwells within but can emerge from its naos shrine. A possible objection which could be raised to this argument is that funerary statues which receive offerings are generally termed *k* statues since the food goods are regularly proffered to the *k*, and the funerary chapel itself can be termed *ḥwt-k*. But the Egyptians believed that the offerings were directed to the *k* of the *ḥ*, as later Deir el-Medîna stelae and offering tables or the no. 335 tomb-painting make clear. The *ḥ* apparently is the deceased (as a statue) whose *k* receives the food goods.

The notion of the *ḥ* as a statue resting within its shrine is to be stressed, since the *ḥ ikr* bust statues probably rested within comparable wall shrines in the Deir el-Medîna homes.

IV. The Relationship of the *ḥ*-statue to the *ḥt*-shrine

It was Eberhard Otto in his *Mundöffnungsritual* who demonstrated that the Egyptians understood, albeit through word-play, that the container for the *ḥ*-statue was the *ḥt*-shrine. In his analysis of a New Kingdom Opening of the Mouth text, Otto translates *nfrw·k n·k N, ḥ n·k, di·n·tw it·k Wsir m·ḥnw wy·f m rn·f n ḥt phr R' im·s*,⁴⁷ 'Deine Schönheit gehört dir N! Der *ḥ* gehört dir. Man hat deinen Vater Osiris in seine Arme gelegt in seinem Namen "der Horizon-tische" . . .'.⁴⁸ In commenting on the text Otto makes the important observation that 'the statue rests in the chapel as . . . Horus rests in the arms of his father'. The statue is Horus, he notes, whilst the chapel is Osiris. Through word-play, then, the statue, because it possesses an *ḥ*, is *ḥti*, that is, transfigured, being one belonging to the *ḥt*-horizon; and the chapel is correspondingly the *ḥt*-horizon.⁴⁹ These equations, Otto notes, are found not only in the Eighteenth Dynasty Ritual for Amenophis I, but are represented even earlier in *Pyr.* 585a, part of an ancient statue ritual. The latter reads *ḥ n·Ḥr ḥr·k m rn·k n ḥt prrt R' im*, which he translates, 'Angenehm ist es für Horus bei dir in deinem Namen "Horizont, aus dem Re immer hervorgeht"'.⁵⁰ While Otto correctly

⁴⁵ I thank H. G. Fischer for sharing with me his manuscript of 'Egyptian Doors, Inside and Out' (to be published in *Egyptian Studies*, III (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)). See p. 5 of author's manuscript which notes Sixth Dynasty examples in which the central niches of false doors are characterized as a naos.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 7 of author's manuscript. Most important, Fischer notes here that 'some of the false doors show an emergent figure that not only suggests the analogy of the shrine, but also indicates that the false door was designed to admit the deceased to the offering place within the tomb chapel'.

⁴⁷ E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden, 1960), Teil I: text, 205, Szene 74B, d and e, following especially text 6.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Teil II: Kommentar, 168; and 168 n. 9. Otto translates the rest of the line as given in texts 6 and 7 as 'in dem Re umhergeht'.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Teil II: Kommentar, 169.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

observes that Horus is the statue and the ‘you’ of the text is the shrine,⁵¹ he fails to make a satisfying connection with the Opening of the Mouth text cited previously; his translation of *ḥ* as impersonal adjectival predicate plus dative (‘it is agreeable for’) is misleading. At the least, the *ḥ n* form should be treated as a genitive of possession as in the Opening of the Mouth text. Since its purpose is to show that Horus possesses and, therefore, is an *ḥ*, and that, through word-play, his father Osiris becomes the *ḥt*-shrine, the text might be rendered, ‘*ḥ* belongs to Horus with you in your name of “Horizon from which Rē^c habitually goes forth”’. In other words, the statue is *ḥ* and its container *ḥt*.⁵² Better yet, however, I believe that both texts should be read using *ḥ* in the *sdm·n·f* form, in which case the Pyramid Text would read *ḥ·n Hr*. With the following adverbial phrase, the text can be construed as an emphatic: ‘The way Horus [i.e., the statue] has become *ḥ* through you [i.e., Osiris, the shrine] is in your name of *ḥt . . .*’.⁵³

This same correlation of *ḥ* and *ḥt* with statue and shrine, demonstrable in Old and New Kingdom texts, can be applied to the New Kingdom Deir el-Medīna anthropoid busts and their niche containers: the bust statues designate the *ḥ*, the *ḥt*-wall niches the shrines; the *ḥ*-busts received offerings in the house (as the offering tables suggest), just as the *ḥ*-statues received offerings in the *snmt-ḥ* ceremony in the tomb; and the functions of the busts parallel that of the *ḥ*-statues of Neferseshemtah, Idu, and Mereruka, who emerge for offerings at the door of their shrines.⁵⁴

We have up to this point suggested that the Deir el-Medīna anthropoid house busts represent an aspect of *ḥ*, namely *ḥ ikr*. We have examined how the notion of *ḥ* is especially denoted in the Old Kingdom by statues of the deceased which received offerings. The *ḥ*-statue concept is correlated in the Old and New Kingdoms with the *ḥt*-shrine, the container for the *ḥ*-statue. Such an *ḥt*-shrine container may also have been represented in a domestic context by the wall niches in the Deir el-Medīna houses.

V. The Origin of Form of the Suggested *ḥ ikr* Busts

In an apparent revitalization of Old Kingdom royal architecture, Deir el-Medīna tomb chapels utilized pyramids. However, they bore a steeper angle than their prototypes and contained a niche inserted generally in the east face toward the rising

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² While assuredly the association of *ḥ* and *ḥt* was founded in word-play (see J. Baines, *Orientalia* 39 (1970), 404), the *ḥ/ḥt* connection none the less became intimately allied in Egyptian thinking.

⁵³ On the manner nominalization, see John B. Callendar, *Middle Egyptian* (Malibu, 1975), 47–8. See also, on this passage, J.-C. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1972), 180. On the use of *ḥ* in the *sdm·n·f* form, see my forthcoming article in *Serapis* 8 (1984).

⁵⁴ I would also suggest that the false-door shrine (the container for the *ḥ* tomb statue) was also perhaps understood as *ḥt*. This suggestion finds support through analogy with Middle and New Kingdom temple shrines called *ḥt*: as the *ḥt* temple shrine houses the god’s image, so the false-door tomb-shrine houses the deceased’s image; as the focus of the temple is the *ḥt* shrine where offerings are brought to the god, so the focus of the tomb is the false door where offerings are brought to the deceased. And, as Fischer observed, both are naos sites of emergence (see above n. 45).



FIG. 9

sun. In the niche was placed a stela of the tomb-owner kneeling with hands upraised in adoration of the rising sun. The sun was depicted as Rē-Horakhty in his solar bark (see fig. 9).⁵⁵ Represented on the pyramidion above the stela were relief images of the *ꜥht*, the solar boat, or the tomb owner praising the rising sun.⁵⁶

Bruyère suggested, on the basis of scanty remains none of which was *in situ*,⁵⁷ that the niche figures took alternate forms. Instead of just a flat stela, he posited that a relief figure was placed in the niche, depicting the deceased in prayer to Rē-Horakhty (see fig. 10). Subsequently, he argued, the relief form developed into a kneeling statue in the round of the deceased holding before him the stela (see pl. VI, 3).⁵⁸ In essence, Bruyère was reconstructing a form of niche statue based on the well-known stelophorous statue type. A later Deir el-Medîna find of a kneeling statue of Ramose (no. 115)⁵⁹ actually bears out his theory surprisingly well. Such a figure, when viewed from the front or below, would have yielded an image of a stela-shaped support with a head atop. Most important for our argument is the fact that exactly such images are represented in examples of Nineteenth Dynasty tomb-paintings which depict stelophorous statues situated in the niches of private

⁵⁵ See *Rapport* (1923-24), pl. xxx, 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pls. vii-viii.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* pl. xxx, 6 and 7.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* (1922-24), 13.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* (1935-40), pl. xxxv.

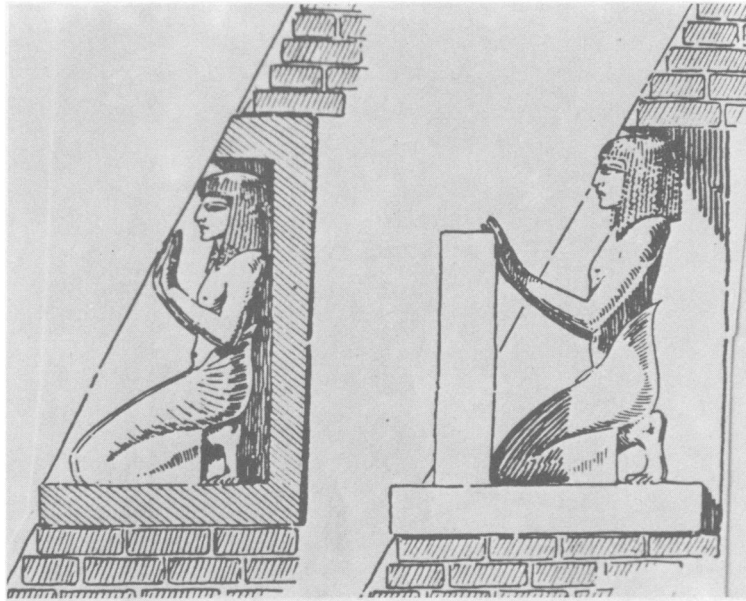


FIG. 10

pyramid chapels (see figs. 11 and 12).⁶⁰ These abbreviated, truncated figures (fig. 12 still evidences the hands grasping the top of the stela) bear a striking similarity in form to the type of Deir el-Medîna anthropoid bust discussed here. It may be suggested that the stelophorous statue type of the kneeling man presenting a stela provided the model for the house busts, just as it was, in all probability, the model for the alleged pyramid niche figures.

VI. The Function of the suggested *ḥ ikr* Busts

The question remains as to the function of the busts: why were statues of the *ḥ ikr* erected in the home? The reason would seem to be that they represent the *ḥ ikr* dead who were envied, lauded, and feared, but who, as Old and Middle Kingdom letters to the dead show, could adversely or positively affect the affairs of men and women.⁶¹ The *ḥw* could be appealed to for help. But, like the *ḥ* since archaic times, they required offerings by means of which the living could 'bribe' and propitiate them. In fact, the letters to the dead, frequently addressed directly to the *ḥ*, were left in the tomb chapel at the offering slab for the *ḥ*, i.e. statue, to find when he came forth for his daily repast. To such an *ḥ ikr* appeal was made for help against living or dead adversaries, for legal aid before the divine tribunal, or for other benefits.⁶² One

⁶⁰ See Nina M. Davies, 'Some Representations of Tombs from the Theban Necropolis', *JEA* 24 (1938), figs. 9 and 10, and commentary on pp. 26 and 37.

⁶¹ See Demarée, *op. cit.* 213-18, for a fuller discussion of *ḥ ikr* relative to letters to the dead; see also pp. 205-12 on *ḥ ikr* in Old Kingdom tomb appeals to the visitors and the living.

⁶² See especially A. H. Gardiner and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), and R. Grieshammer 'Briefe an Tote', in *Lexicon der Aegyptologie*, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), 864-70.

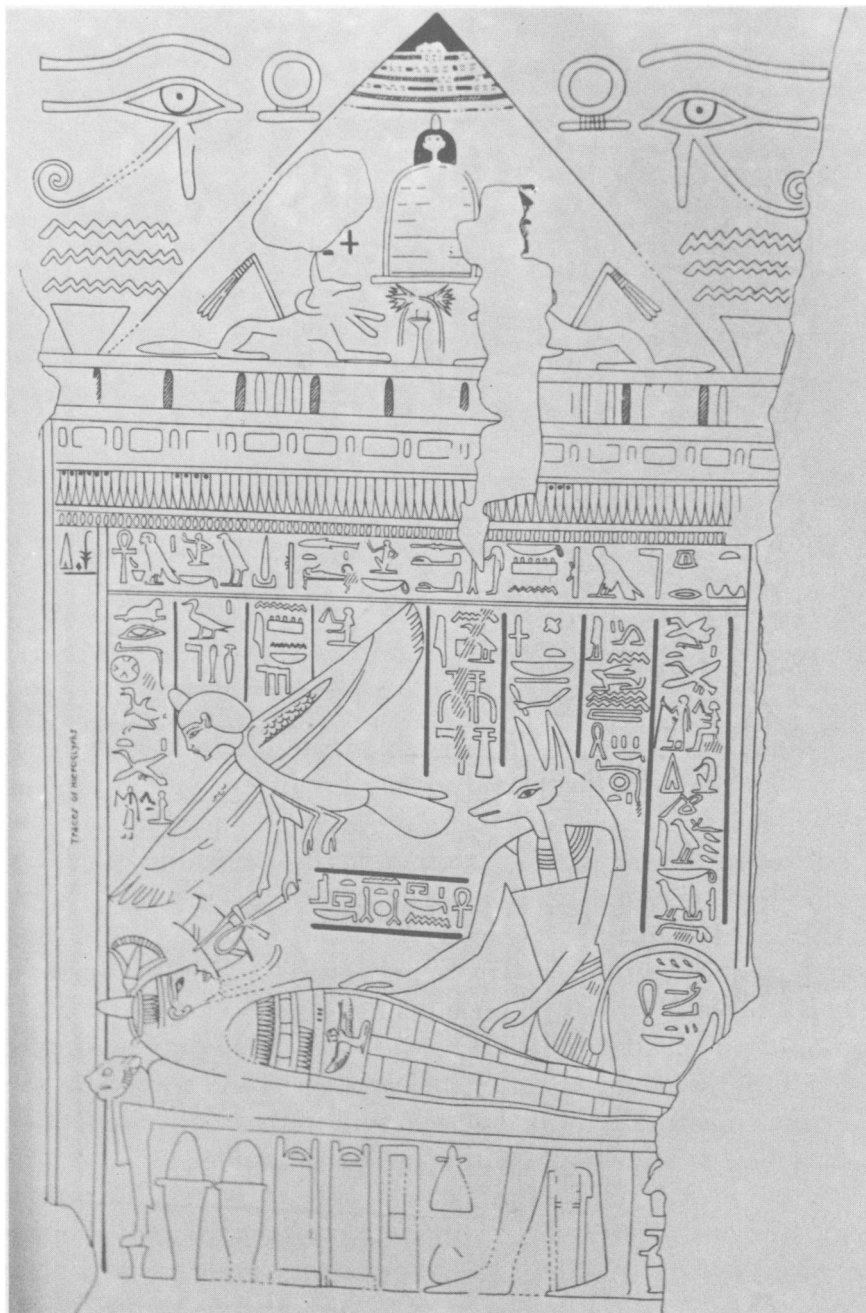


FIG. 11

letter-writer asks the *ḥ ikr* for the blessing of a male child.⁶³ Another pleads with the *ḥ* to desist from causing family turmoil.⁶⁴ That the *ḥ*, usually a relative, was perceived as a fully tangible being who could defend the living is emphasized in a

⁶³ Gardiner, *JEA* 16 (1930), 19, text, l. 4; p. 20, translation, l. 4.

⁶⁴ See Gardiner and Sethe, *op. cit.* 8-9.

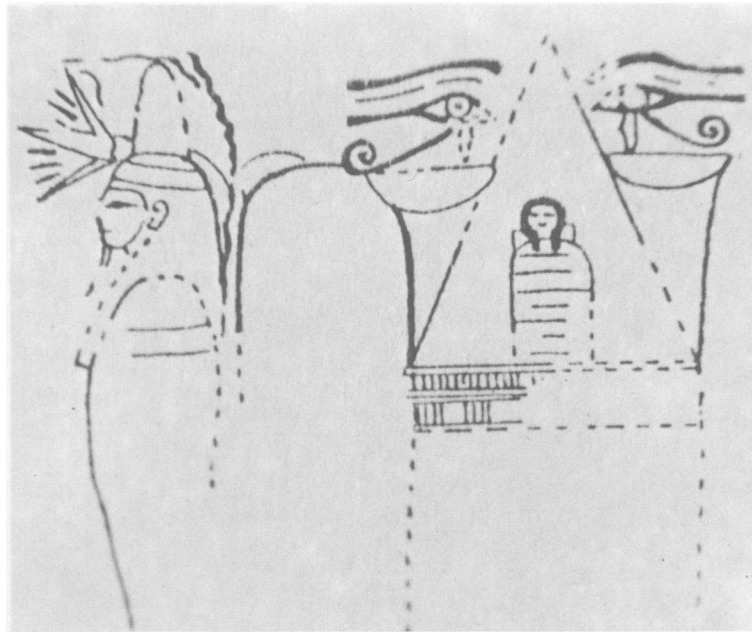


FIG. 12

recently published letter to the dead in which the (male) writer pleads: 'Please become a spirit (*šh*) for me [before] my eyes that I may see you fighting on my behalf in a dream. I will (then) deposit offerings for you [as soon as] the sun has risen and outfit for you your offering-slab'.⁶⁵ Note that the morning food offerings are proffered to the *šh* at the offering slab, that is, the specific site where the statue emerges to partake of them.

The notion that the *šh* could harm the living or act as a trouble-maker in everyday affairs persisted into the New Kingdom and later. One section in the *Maxims of Any*, a document popular at Deir el-Medīna,⁶⁶ was recently commented on by Posener who discusses the tumultuous effect of the *šhw*-spirits in the lives of the earthly.⁶⁷ Posener notes that potentially injurious *šhw* require food offerings to satisfy them (*shtp*),⁶⁸ and he cites, as an example of this notion, P. Sallier IV, li, 6-7: *iri prt-šrw n šhw m pr-k iri šbt n ntrw*, 'Make a funerary offering to the *šhw* in your house, make an offering to the gods'.⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that the *šhw* could be satisfied through funerary offerings made in the *home setting*, and it seems likely that this was the purpose of feeding the *šh ikr* busts in the Deir el-Medīna homes.

At the settlement of Deir el-Medīna the population was predominantly women and children, the men for the most part working an eight-day week in the valley, returning home, as a rule, only on the ninth and tenth days, though there were also frequent holidays.⁷⁰ It seems not unreasonable that at such a site where the women

⁶⁵ E. F. Wente, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6-7 (1975-6), 597. And see Demarée, *op. cit.* 216 n. 108; 217 n. 109 especially for grammatical comments on this passage.

⁶⁶ Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 81.

⁶⁷ G. Posener, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), especially 393-5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 395 n. 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 400.

⁷⁰ Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 52-3.

for all intents and purposes ran the village during the week,⁷¹ and where the deities were mainly female protectors like Bes, Thouēris, Ḥathor, and Isis, that additional protection for the inhabitants was sought through ‘magical’ means. One form of protection against disease, child mortality⁷² (as perhaps the cellar in the second room of the workers’ houses indicates), or legal grievances was sought through the *ḥ ikr* busts which were perceived as intermediaries between the living and the dead, man and the gods.⁷³

VII. Summary

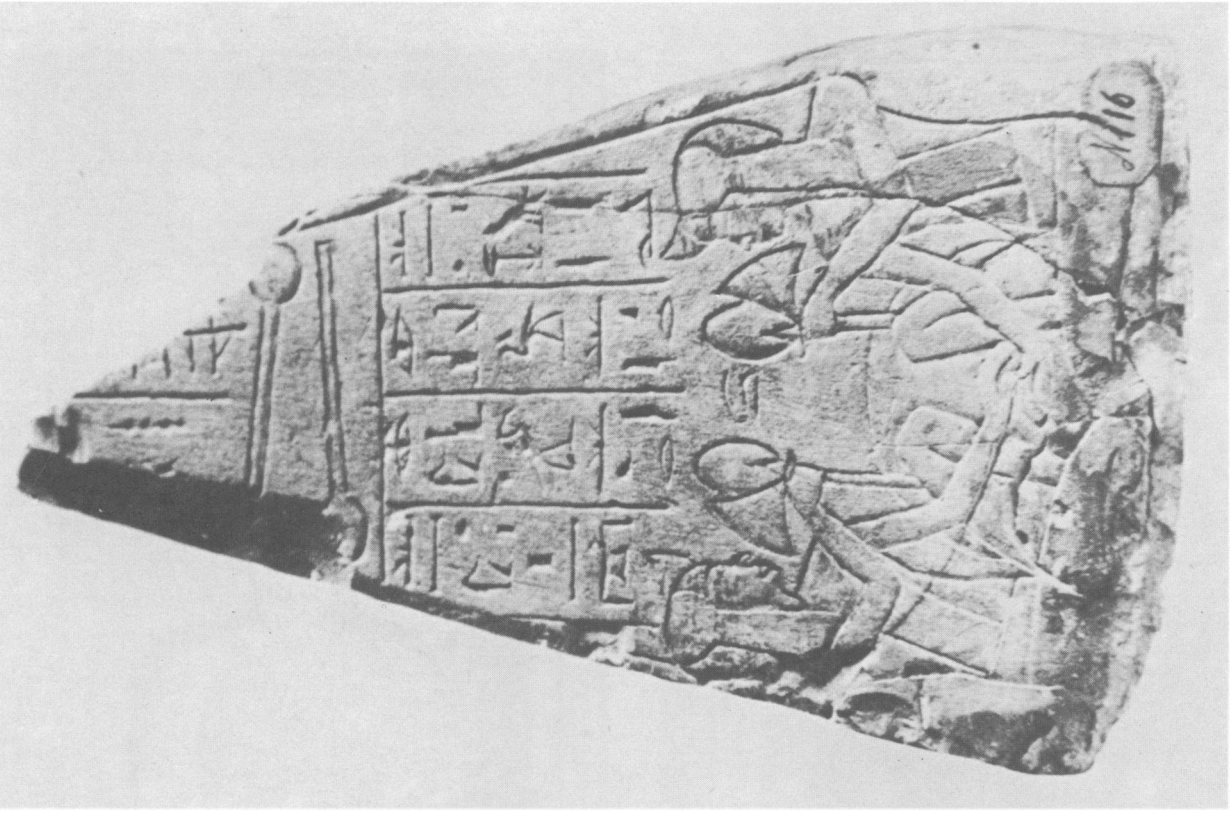
The house busts represent an abbreviated form of a statue of a kneeling man presenting a stela, the latter being the common ancestor for the busts and the suggested pyramid niche figures. The busts denote the *ḥ ikr* which rests within the *ḥt*-wall niches in the house just as an *ḥ*-statue rests within its *ḥt*-shrine in the tomb. The busts do not depict recognizable persons; they are free-standing portable ‘determinatives’ for *ḥ ikr*; presumably, they could be transported from house to tomb or chapel where identification, if desired, could be supplied by the inscribed stelae, offering tables, or naos-shrine architectural elements. As the *ḥ ikr*, the busts carry on the traditions associated with *ḥ* since the Old Kingdom, namely in its requirement for feeding and in its function as the *ḥ*-statue resting within the *ḥt*-shrine. The central purpose of the busts in the house was to provide the inhabitants with a means of appeal for protection or the granting of other petitions.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 70.

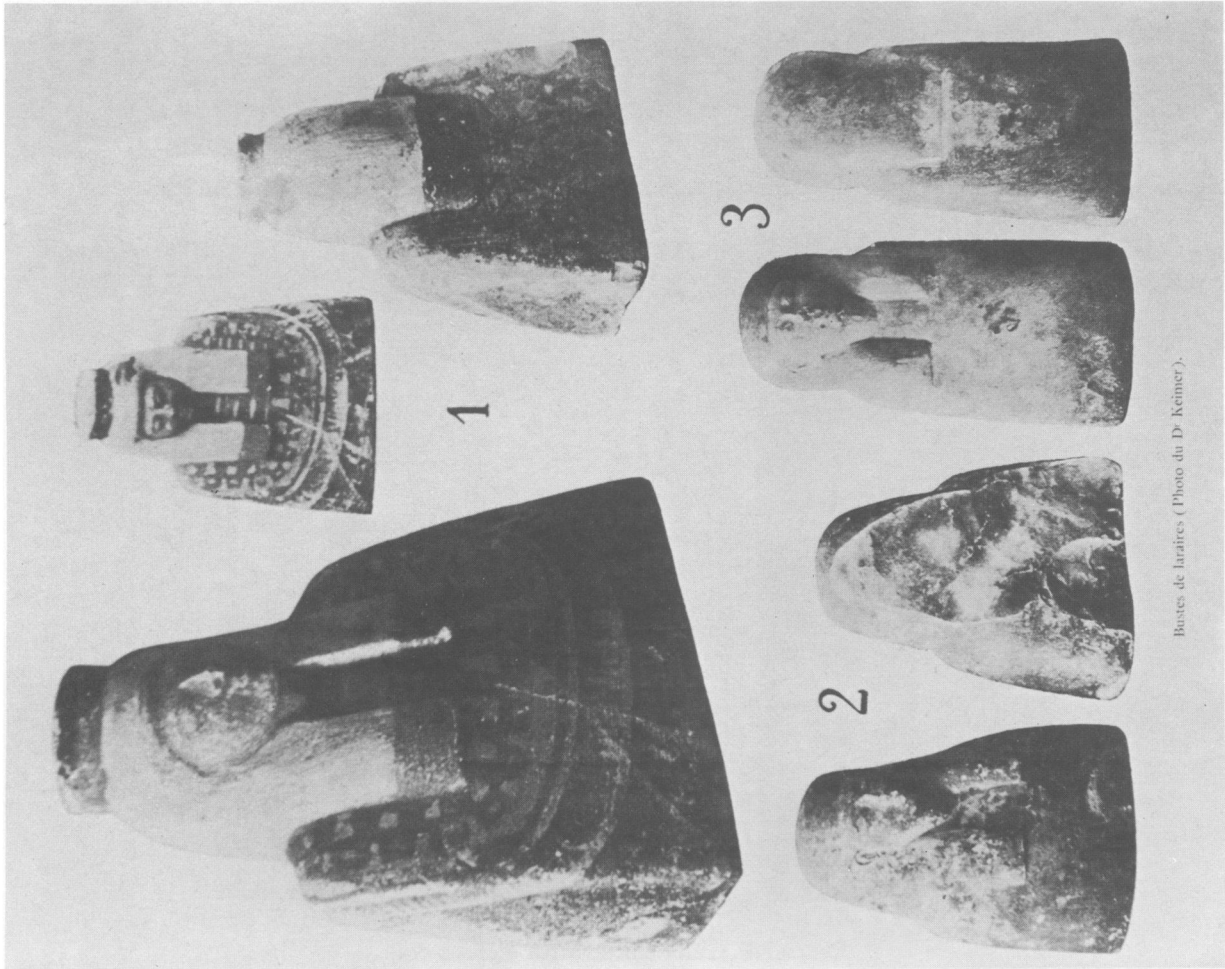
⁷² *Ibid.* 71. Families could include up to fifteen children.

⁷³ That the busts were certainly worshipped, and by the male population, is attested by a stela (BM 270) undoubtedly from Deir el-Medīna, which depicts two busts in relief with the male dedicatee below worshipping a painted bust (*ibid.* 95, fig. 69; and see Demarée, *op. cit.* 290 n. 46).

⁷⁴ It should be noted finally that though the busts at Deir el-Medīna may have served as *ḥ ikr*, assuredly not all such busts from other sites performed the same function, though I suspect some common features may unite many of them: see Keith-Bennett, *op. cit.* 43–71 for a survey of busts collected from other sites.



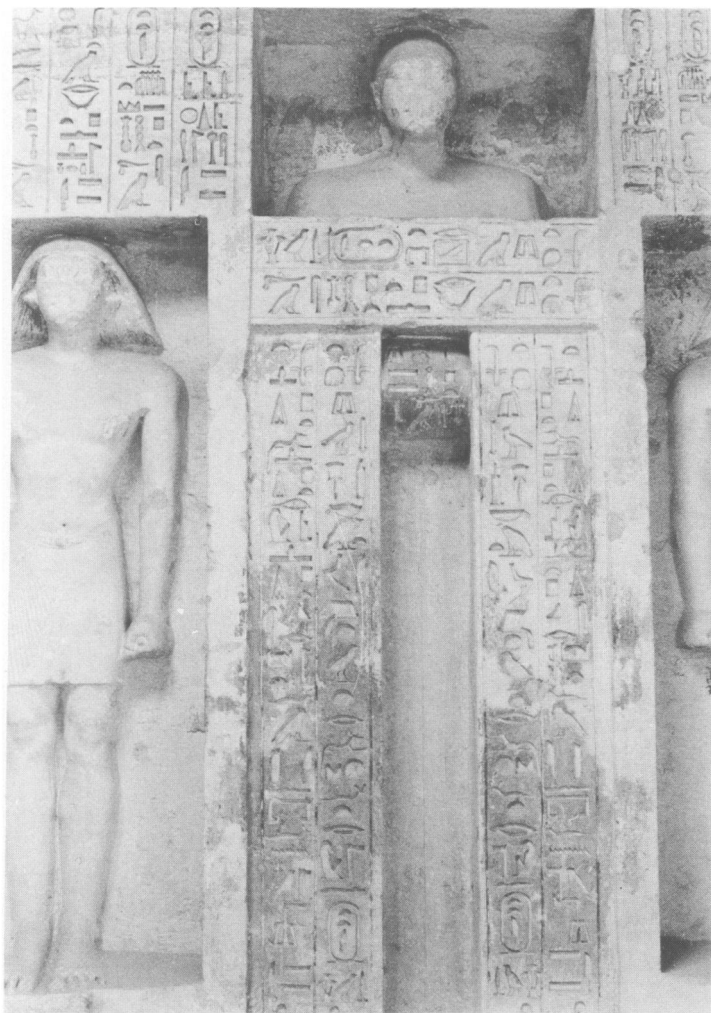
2. Stele of Khamny



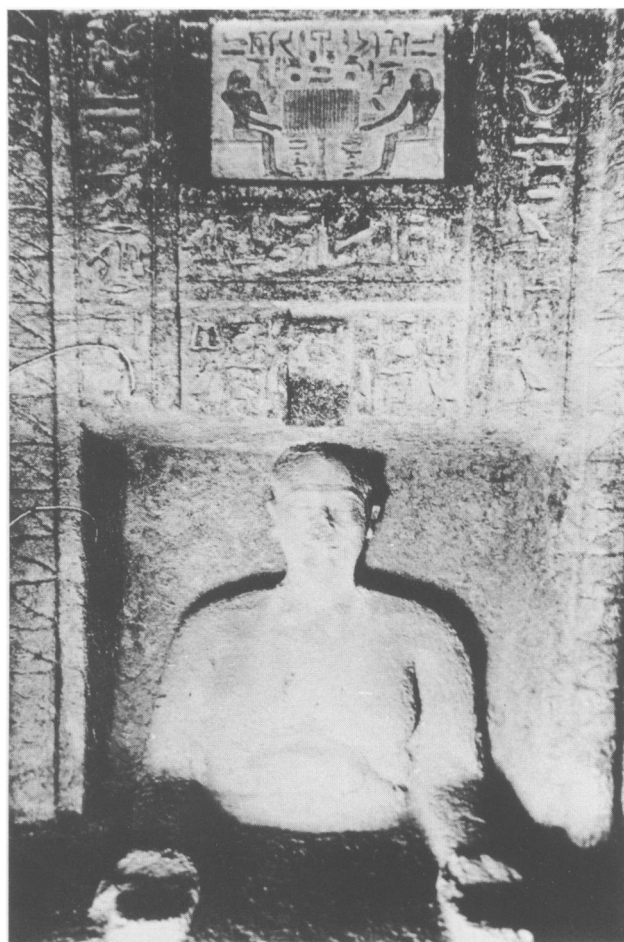
Bustes de haraires (Photo du Dr. Keimer).

1. Anthropoid Busts from Deir el-Medîna

THE MEANING OF SOME ANTHROPOID BUSTS FROM DEIR EL-MEDÎNA



1. The false door of Neferseshemtah



2. The false door of Idu



3. Deir el-Medina statue with stele

TWO FRAGMENTS OF RELIEF AND A NEW MODEL FOR THE TOMB OF MONTUEMḤĒT AT THEBES

By PETER DER MANUELIAN

FEW Egyptian private tombs can claim so many fragments spread throughout the world as that of Montuemḥēt, Fourth Priest of Amūn and Mayor of Thebes during part of the Twenty-fifth–sixth Dynasties. Today some one hundred fragments of both raised and sunk relief sculpture are scattered in museums and private collections on at least three continents.¹ This can be frustrating for scholars; for the significance of the tomb is perhaps as great as the distance between its numerous members. The archaizing tradition which marks the Twenty-fifth–sixth Dynasties is especially apparent in the contemporary private tombs at Thebes, and one of its high points, if not of its origins,² is certainly tomb 34 in the Asasif (fig. 1).³ It is thus one of the keys to understanding the complex mixture of imitation, reinterpretation, and innovation which make up the Saïte repertoire. Even most of Montuemḥēt's contemporaries and immediate descendants, such as Ibi (TT 36), Pabasa (TT 279), and Basa (TT 389), to name but a few, often attempted to follow his example, with varying success.⁴ Yet until Theban tomb 34 is properly excavated and published, no definitive conclusions on the development of Saïte funerary art and architecture and its relations to the past may be drawn.⁵

¹ On the tomb itself see *PM* 1, i², 56–61, incomplete plan on p. 52; and 1, ii², xix–xx. The basic study on Montuemḥēt is still J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon* (Bibl. d'étude 35) (Cairo, 1961). The most recent list of relief fragments from the tomb may be found in Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39 (1983) 145–9.

² A recent study by E. R. Russmann suggests the tomb of Ḥarwa (no. 37; Twenty-fifth Dynasty) as the archetype for the Saïte tombs at Thebes ('Harwa as Precursor of Mentuemhat', in *Artibus Aegypti. Festschrift Bernard V. Bothmer* (Brussels, 1983), 137–46). I am most grateful to Ms Russmann for sharing both her expertise and her manuscript with me: see also W. Stevenson Smith, *Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*⁶ (Boston, 1960), 175; M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-hor*, 11 (Vienna, 1982), 239 f.

³ Cf. Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 245 ff.; C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1980), 220 f.; B. V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), 14 ff. (hereafter *ESLP*).

⁴ One might note, for example, several groups of female offering-bearers in the tomb of Ibi (2nd chamber, south wall = *PM* 1, i², 65 (8)) which have been directly or indirectly taken from Montuemḥēt, Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39, figs. 2–4. However, the inscriptions accompanying Ibi's bearers often fail to correspond to the produce being brought; i.e. 'bread for NN' may accompany a figure actually bearing beer. Montuemḥēt's figures are much more carefully executed; the archaizing scenes were evidently better understood by his artists; for no such errors are known in tomb 34. Completed publications of Saïte tombs include J. Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389)* (Mainz, 1973), id., *Das Grab der Mutirdis* (Mainz, 1977), Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, op. cit. 1 (Vienna, 1978) and 11 (Vienna, 1982).

⁵ For the present see the preliminary remarks by H. W. Müller, 'Der Stadtfürst von Theben, Montemḥēt', *MjBk* 26 (1975), 7–36.

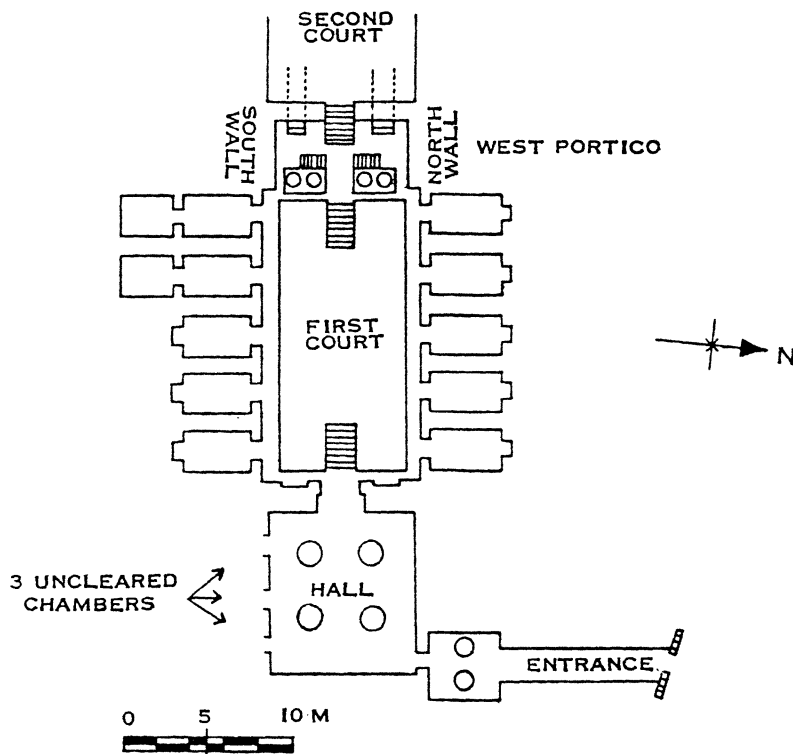


FIG. 1. Partial plan of the tomb of Montuemḥēt, TT 34 (after Müller)

The purpose of this paper is to bring to light two more fragments from Montuemḥēt's tomb and to consider the possibilities for their original location. The first fragment is especially significant for it contains a scene possibly 'copied' from an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb at Thebes. Thus it provides an excellent parallel to other Montuemḥēt scenes related to the tomb of Menna (TT 69), and supports the thesis of Montuemḥēt's dependence on Eighteenth Dynasty models (among others; see below).⁶ Although the two fragments to be discussed are thematically unrelated to each other, they are brought together here because (a) they are both carved in raised relief, and, therefore, presumably derive from the so-called West Portico of the First Court of the tomb;⁷ (b) they depict only male figures and bear no inscriptions; (c) they both show extremely high quality workmanship, and (d) are both found today in American collections.

⁶ For the two fragments related to Menna cf. J. D. Cooney, 'Three early Saïte Tomb Reliefs', *JNES* 9 (1950), 194 f., pls. 14-15, and H. J. Kantor, 'A Fragment of Relief from the tomb of Mentuemhat at Thebes (no. 34)', *JNES* 19 (1960), 213-16. For recent remarks on the Saïte preference for the Eighteenth Dynasty see Bothmer, 'The Block Statue of Ankh-khonsu in Boston and Cairo', *Festschrift Labib Habachi (MDAIK 37 (1981))*, 83; Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *op. cit.*, II, 232 ff. Reliefs based on Old Kingdom models are discussed by the author, *op. cit.* 134 ff.

⁷ At time of writing no other areas in tomb 34 are known to contain raised relief sculpture: Kantor, *op. cit.* 214, and Manuelian, *op. cit.* For descriptions of the present condition of the West Portico see *ibid.*, and Müller, *op. cit.* 14 ff.

Fragment 1 (see pl. VII and fig. 2)

Private collection: Mr and Mrs James W. Alsdorf, Chicago. Ht. *c.* 48 cm; w. *c.* 75.5 cm. Limestone. Colours: little pigment preserved, but detailed description unavailable at present.⁸

Below follows a description of the piece, then remarks on its location in Theban tomb 34, and finally the connection to its Eighteenth-Dynasty model.

Description

Two registers are preserved in this nearly rectangular fragment, which is cracked in several places and has been set in plaster. Enough of the upper scene has survived to show both lower and upper register lines, while only the top portion of the scene below is preserved. Above, a procession of male figures bears the deceased's funerary equipment; below, offering booths and miscellaneous products are shown. The sculpture creates a general impression of sharply cut lines and broad, comparatively undecorated expanses. Yet the few areas which do contain abundant detail, such as the men's faces, hands, and the plant forms below, betray the work of a competent sculptor. The upper register will be considered first.

The procession is divided into pairs of men who share the burden of three long, wooden chests; the contents of the chests are represented as if perched on top of the lids. The sixth man, as well as his half of the third chest, is missing. Each of the first four figures reaches forward with the left hand 'across' the torso in order to support the load resting on his broad shoulders. The fifth and final man prefers to support his chest in the middle by reaching 'backward' with one hand. The modelling of the musculature of his upper arm is noteworthy. All five men bear staves of various types in their right hands. Similarly, all wear the same type of simple wig which juts slightly over the forehead, but bears no delineated curls or other decoration. Neither do the five short kilts, each with waistline and bulbous knot, differ from one another. Close-cropped, angular beards provide the only other ornament. Before each figure is an unused rectangular slab originally intended for inscriptions.

The collective physiognomy of the five bearers recalls the muscle-bound, forbearing figures of the Old Kingdom.⁹ Bulging muscles are especially apparent in each of the right arms. Modelling adorns the knees and lower legs of the figures, and

⁸ The fragment was brought to my attention by Dr W. Kelly Simpson, whom I wish to thank here. I am also grateful to Mr Alsdorf for the photograph, information generously given, and permission to publish the piece. It corresponds to number 8 of the appendix list in Manuelian, *op. cit.* 146. Both Müller, *op. cit.* 24 and n. 48, and Cooney, *JARCE* 3 (1964), 79, note iron-oxide inclusions in the local Asasif limestone on the south wall of the West Portico (as against apparently imported limestone used for the north wall). Unfortunately, an attempt to determine the nature of the Alsdorf limestone could not be made at time of writing.

⁹ Cf., e.g., the figures in Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I, II* (Giza Mastabas 3) (Boston, 1978), pls. 30-1, 33-4; N. de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, 11 (London, 1901), pls. 6, 9, 23, 25; G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913), pls. 34-9, 73, 88, 94; Fr. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, 1 (Berlin, 1905), pls. 5, 15-16, 20-1.

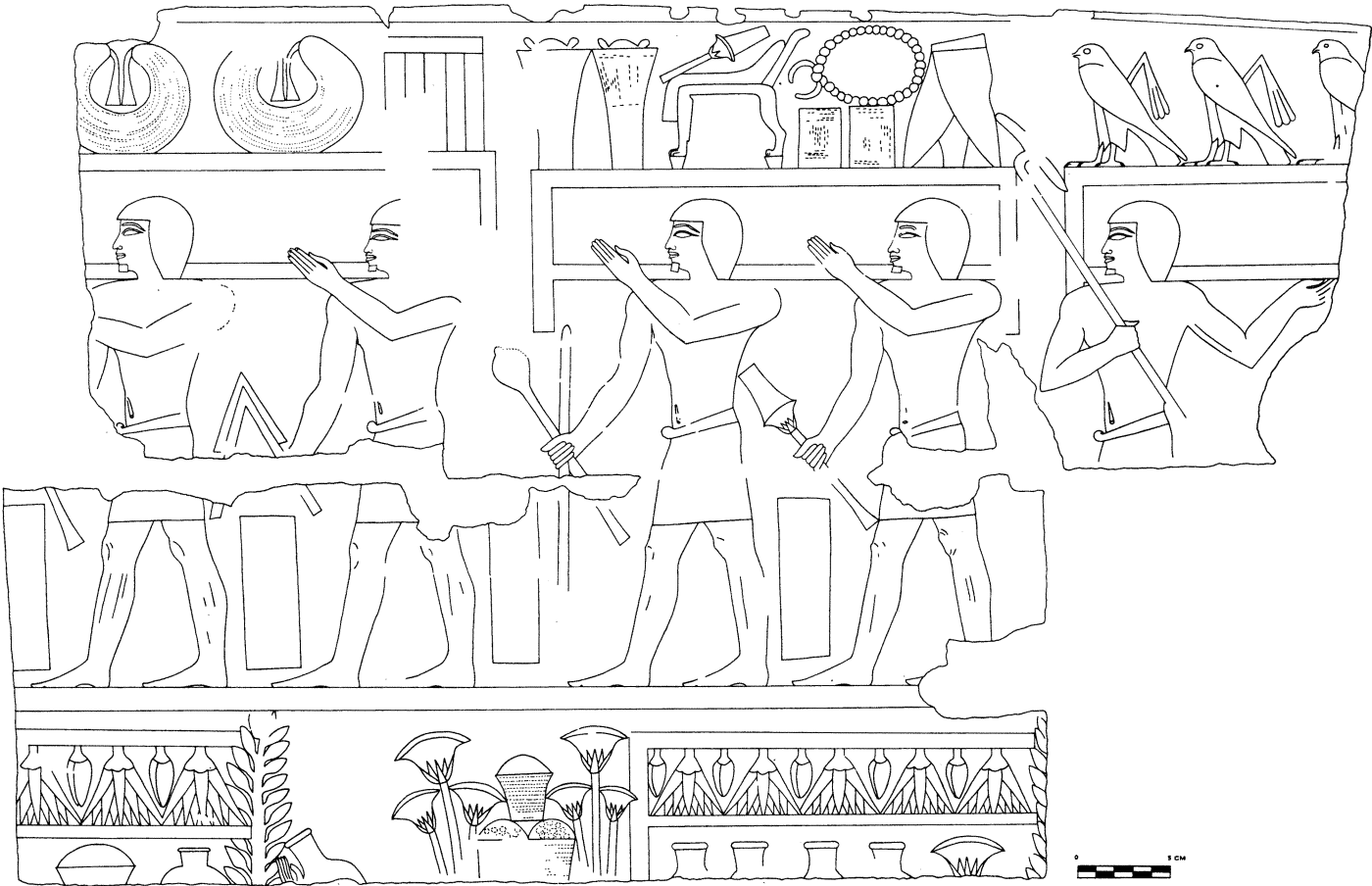


FIG. 2. Fragment of relief from the tomb of Montuemhēt; private collection of Mr and Mrs James W. Alsdorf, Chicago. Drawing by the author

the broad shoulders and taut abdomen and waistline lend a triangular shape to the torso. But long, elegant fingers betray Saïte workmanship, as do several other features.¹⁰ All five faces depict the same general characteristics with only slight variations. In each case a decidedly downturned eyebrow covers an almond-shaped eye with well-delineated eyelid and long, thin cosmetic line. A small, fairly rounded nose with a lightly drilled nostril is perched above rather thick lips. The chin is lost in the short beard.

At least five different types of staves are intended to accompany Montuemhēt in the next world. Only the flared stem remains of the first bearer's staff, but the second carries the *hp* oar or baton.¹¹ The relief breaks off here, but the form of the object is clear. The central bearer holds two staves: an apparently undecorated stick (though

¹⁰ Cf. Cooney, *JNES* 9, 197. See text below for additional typically Saïte features.

¹¹ Gardiner Sign List Aa 5; originally rushes bound together to aid in steering vessels(?); cf. *Wb.* III, 67, and H. Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* (Munich, 1912), *passim* and pl. 5.

its lower third is missing),¹² and a *ḥd* mace.¹³ Fourth in the procession appears the sceptre of authority with three possible translations: *šhm*, *ḥrp*, or *ʿbʿ*. Apparently constructed of either metal or wood, the staff displays a floral motif, with the blade emerging from the decorated umbel.¹⁴ The fifth and final bearer clutches a long *wʿs* sceptre against his torso; the lower half is broken away, as is the lower half of the figure himself.¹⁵

Three long chests draw the eye horizontally across the relief and enhance the procession with a sense of continuity. Straight, clean lines and an absence of ornamentation provide an undistracting surface for the display of Montuemḥēt's funerary equipment.¹⁶ The representation of the latter makes no attempt at realistic scale; giant bracelets appear next to a miniature chair, to name one example. Proceeding from left to right, we see two broad collars of the *wšḥ* form, each with flaring tie strings and a striped decorative scheme (traces of pigment are indicated by dotted lines in fig. 2).¹⁷ Further to the right is a form whose identification is less clear. A square with a horizontal band at the top and vertical bands below is reminiscent of a stool, perhaps the *p*-hieroglyph,¹⁸ a chest for storage, or even bound papyrus rolls? The Saïte artist himself may well have misunderstood his subject in this case.

It is interesting to note that Ibi's artists have reproduced a similar chest with what appears to be the same three objects.¹⁹ In fact, this is the first of at least three elements on our relief which appear in Theban tomb 36, albeit in different scenes and even on different walls. Such similarities strengthen the case for Ibi's dependence on Montuemḥēt for inspiration. After working backwards for a moment from 'copy' to

¹² Apparently similar to the one shown on an Eleventh Dynasty stela in the Metropolitan Museum; see H. G. Fischer, 'Notes on Sticks and Staves in Ancient Egypt', *MMJ* 13 (1978), 10, fig. 9. The standard work on the subject is A. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (MÄS 33) (Munich, 1976). Additional discussion may be found in G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du moyen empire* (MIFAO 47) (Cairo, 1921), 159 ff.

¹³ Sign List T 3; *Wb.* III, 206; Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), 6; Jéquier, op. cit. 203 ff.

¹⁴ Sign List S 42; unfortunately, the individual significance of each of these three terms remains unclear. However, the sceptre's primary function was related to the consecration rituals of mortuary officials: see Jéquier, op. cit. 181-5, and the actual examples in Hassan, op. cit., pl. 8 (no. 2), and I. E. S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York, 1976), cat. no. 52, p. 170.

¹⁵ Sign List S 40; apparently identical to the *ḏrm* sceptre. Originally reserved for divinities, the staff eventually appears in the hands of the king, and, in the New Kingdom, of officials; Hassan, op. cit. 171-3, 191-2, and Fischer, op. cit. 21-3. The *wʿs* staff in the Middle Kingdom is discussed by Jéquier, op. cit. 176-80.

¹⁶ Somewhat similar, if more elaborate, actual examples of chests from the New Kingdom are known: H. S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (London, 1966), figs. 79, 114, 124. For parallels in two-dimensions, see text below.

¹⁷ Sign List S 11; known since the Middle Kingdom, *Wb.* I, 365. Our examples probably correspond to Jéquier's type 1, op. cit. 62 ff. The collar often terminates at both ends in falcons' heads (Jéquier type 4). The flaring tie strings most likely represent the splaying loose threads below a knot. While this feature occurs frequently in actual examples (C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London, 1971), pls. 65, 102, 104-5), it is seldom reproduced in relief or painting (ibid., figs. 25-7, and Jéquier, op. cit. figs. 158-70). See E. Feucht in *LdÄ* II, 934-5 ('Halsschmuck').

¹⁸ Gardiner cites examples in Gardiner and de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemḥet* (London, 1915), pl. 15, and W. M. F. Petrie, *Egyptian Hieroglyphs of the First and Second Dynasties* (London, 1927), pl. 38, but for our purposes neither is very convincing.

¹⁹ Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi*, I, pl. 65. I should like to thank Dr Schenkel for many helpful discussions on the subject and for generously showing me portions of his manuscript.

'original' (i.e. from Ibi to Montuemḥēt), one might speculate that indeed no other objects appeared to the (now missing) left of Montuemḥēt's *wsh* collars; for Ibi's example shows merely the same three pieces and nothing more.

The centre chest contains no less than nine objects. Two unguent vessels appear at the left-hand side, with traces of pigment still visible on the second example. Such vessels are known from the earliest times and were especially designed to preserve unguents and oils; they could be 'hermetically sealed' by means of animal skin wedged underneath the lid, which was then fastened tight with string. The knots and loose strands are visible on our two examples. The vessels were normally of stone, as their lively colouring in wall-paintings shows, and varied widely in size, shape, and depth of cavity. To use Jéquier's terminology, our specimens come closest to his *gobelet type*. However, the bases do not flare outward as with earlier examples; one wonders if this feature might be a Saïte innovation.²⁰

Behind the ointment vessels follows a chair with a *sh̄m/hr̄p/c̄b* sceptre deposited on its seat. The chair is perhaps the relief's most obvious clue to its Late Period date; to this writer's knowledge, such a form, with extremely slanted back and oddly shaped 'cushion' does not occur earlier. Its prototype is the so-called classic chair, originating in the Middle Kingdom, of which countless examples, both actual and representational, are known. The classic chair also shows a slanted back, yet the latter is always accompanied by vertical support pieces. In profile, the construction of the back displays a triangular opening visible in most two-dimensional representations.²¹ By contrast, the rather stubby, almost non-supportive back of the Montuemḥēt chair is immediately recognizable as an element of Late Period furniture, when it occurs on theriomorphic pieces.²² Among numerous Late Period examples are representations on a Twenty-sixth Dynasty (or probably later) situla from a Bucheum tomb,²³ a Thirtieth Dynasty situla of unknown provenance in the British Museum,²⁴ and several scenes in the tomb of Petosiris.²⁵ Our chair differs from its Late Period fellows in its simplicity, i.e. its lack of complex leg bracing, etc., but not in its basic form; indeed, all of the parallels to the Montuemḥēt chair listed here also contain legs with lion's feet along with underlying cone supports.

²⁰ The author has so far found no earlier parallels: cf. Jéquier, *op. cit.* 141 ff., especially figs. 373-4 and fig. 379 for the base. The painted pattern may be reconstructed after these examples. See also J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, IV (Paris, 1964), 154(1⁰); D. Arnold in *LdÄ* 11, 486, no. 38 ('Gefässe'); H. Balcz, 'Die Gefäss-Darstellungen des Alten Reiches', *MDAIK* 5 (1934), 76 ff. Early stone vessels in general have been catalogued by Ali el-Khouly, *Egyptian Stone Vessels—predynastic Period to Dynasty III*, 3 vols. (Mainz, 1978). The type of vessels represented on the Chicago fragment were termed *bis*; the hieroglyph appears as a determinative in the words *mr̄ht*, 'unguent' (*Wb.* 11, 111), and *m̄dt*, 'ointment' (*Wb.* 11, 185); cf. R. Germer, in *LdÄ* 4v, 552-5 ('Öle'), and Lucas-Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴ (London, 1962), 327 ff.

²¹ See the examples and descriptions in E. Brovarski et al. (eds.), *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom* (Boston, 1982), 66 f., (cat. no. 37); Baker, *op. cit.* 63, 127 ff., figs. 66, 97-8, 152, 160, 172-80, 187-9, 231, colour pls. ix and xb; also G. Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, 1 (Warminster, 1980), 51 ff., figs. 28-9, pls. 85-7.

²² Extremely slanted backs can occur, however, on earlier pieces without theriomorphic elements: cf. Baker, *op. cit.* figs. 187-9; but even here the vertical support pieces, lacking in the Late Period version, are used.

²³ Cleveland Museum of Art 32. 32: cf. Fischer, 'More Ancient Egyptian Names of Dogs and Other Animals', *MMJ* 12 (1978), fig. 1.

²⁴ BM 38212; Baker, *op. cit.*, fig. 181.

²⁵ G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, III (Cairo, 1923), pls. 16, 37, 50.

A bead necklace with a curious pair of tie strings²⁶ appears above two brace- or armlets. That the latter are indeed pieces of jewellery is confirmed by the faint traces of pigment which follow a common pattern: horizontal striping at 'top' and 'bottom' (i.e. the two 'open' holes of the bracelet) and vertical striping in between.²⁷ The final object from the central chest is a *šndyt* kilt.²⁸

Unguent vessels, chairs, and *šndyt* kilts similar to those discussed here also appear in the tomb of Ibi. Professor Schenkel kindly informs me that they are to be found on the north and east walls of the *Lichthof*.²⁹ At this stage one must use caution in drawing conclusions from this cursory type of evidence, but the close relationship between two monuments lies beyond all doubt. Far more interesting, perhaps, is the role which our central group of bearers plays, not with its descendant scenes, but rather with its ancestor prototype. However, the rest of the relief awaits description as well as proof of its origin from Theban tomb 34 before we may turn to the earlier models for our scene.

Three Horus falcon emblems, complete with flail, perch upon the third and final chest in the procession. A fourth falcon may well have occupied the space now broken away from the relief: one might note that four falcons are indeed present on the north wall of Ibi's *Lichthof*, directly above his own version of a chest with the box/stool(?) and two collars, and next to another chest with *šndyt* kilts.³⁰ The description of the upper register is now complete, and we may, therefore, turn to the lower.

No more than the top third is preserved of the lower scene; neither does it extend as far to the right as its companion scene above. The representation consists essentially of the upper portions of two offering booths, or canopies, covered by a frieze of finely carved, alternately open and closed lotus blossoms.³¹ The friezes comprise the most compactly detailed area of the entire fragment. The booths are supported respectively by a tall leafy plant to the right and a presumably wooden post to the left (missing from the partially damaged left-hand booth). Just visible within the booths themselves are various plants, vessels, and other offerings. In the centre of the scene appear papyrus plants in bunches of three, and baskets of fruit between them (dotted lines in fig. 2 indicate surviving pigment). Between the left-hand booth and the papyrus bunches, a raised hand seems to balance a jar at a

²⁶ Cf. the actual examples in Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pls. 22, 47 (top), 86 (bottom), and the reliefs of Thutmosis III at Karnak, *ibid.*, pl. 119; also Jéquier, *op. cit.* 51-3.

²⁷ See, e.g., Nofretari's jewellery, G. Thausing and H. Goedicke, *Nofretari* (Graz, 1971), pls. 139, 144, 145 (which curiously shows a pair of non-matching bracelets). Jewellery for the upper arm is known from actual examples but first appears in representations in the New Kingdom: E. Staehelin, in *LdÄ* 1, 441-3 ('Arm und Fussreife'); Jéquier, *op. cit.* 97 ff.

²⁸ Originally an article of royal clothing: Jéquier, *op. cit.* 20-1, and E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (MÄS 8) (Berlin, 1966), 34 n. 4. Compare the discussion by Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *op. cit.* II, 233, 246.

²⁹ Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *op. cit.*, pls. 62-3, 65 (= *PM* I, i², 67 (17) and (21)). It is interesting to note that many of Ibi's unguent vessels show the same hybrid form (i.e. without a flaring base) as do those of Montuemhēt, Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *op. cit.*, pls. 52, 63 (versus the 'normal' form, pl. 70, bottom right).

³⁰ I owe this information to Dr Schenkel, *op. cit.*, pl. 65 (= *PM* I, i², 67 (17)).

³¹ Apparently not grapes, as Müller was forced to suggest based on fragmentary examples, *op. cit.* 20.

curious angle. Isolated as it is, the scene appears somewhat confusing. However, it is best explained by returning to tomb 34 in search of the fragment's original location.

Provenance

In 1975 Hans Wolfgang Müller published the north wall of the West Portico of Theban tomb 34 in conjunction with his discussion of five newly acquired Montuemḥēt reliefs in the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst.³² Upon comparison of Müller's second and third registers from the bottom (see fig. 3 and pl. VIII) with those in our relief, one will notice a striking similarity. In both cases the upper register contains a procession of male funeral-equipment bearers with blank inscription slabs, whilst the lower register shows a complex series of offering booths and products. The incomplete picture given by our relief's lower register is herewith filled in; portions of the scene still on the wall today reveal the complete booths, sacrificial animals, and men in poses of adoration. The exact significance of the scene, however, remains unclear.³³ One suggestion might here be made: very similar booths, floral friezes, and offerings appear in scenes depicting the 'breaking-of-the-jar' ritual. Several such scenes have been collected by Borchardt.³⁴ Though no broken jars are shown on the north wall of Montuemḥēt's tomb, one wonders if the upraised hand in our relief fragment could indeed be in the act of smashing the jar it so precariously holds.

One vexing problem arises with the association of our relief with Müller's registers two and three of the north wall. Despite identical subject-matter, style, and similar dimensions,³⁵ our fragment physically does not fit anywhere within the two registers. This is not for lack of space but for lack of a possible restoration which would make sense thematically. Perhaps the long kilts still preserved in the upper register on the wall versus the short kilts in our fragment confirm the impossibility of a match. Yet one hesitates to relocate our fragment elsewhere, since no other scene known either to come from, or to be visible in, tomb 34 even approaches a similar subject representation, and, outside of the West Portico, all relief sculpture is apparently sunk.³⁶ Two possible solutions present themselves. The similar dimensions might suggest that the scene originally continued 'around the corner' on

³² Op cit. 7-36. I should like to thank Professor Müller for discussing aspects of this paper with me, and for allowing me to publish his drawing of the north wall (executed by Mr F. Gehrke, *ibid.* 18, figs. 11, and 33, fig. 28 = *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst*² (Munich, 1976), 153, partially reproduced). It should be noted, however, that the drawing is not complete; many details, particularly facial, are abbreviated or omitted altogether.

³³ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.* 22.

³⁴ L. Borchardt, 'Bilder des "Zerbrechen der Krüge"', *ZÄS* 64 (1929), 12-16. One should note here that Ibi's tomb also contains a long register very similar to that of Montuemḥēt under discussion, Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *op. cit.*, pl. 62 (Montuemḥēt, pl. 166; cf. *PM* 1, i², 67 (21)). Furthermore, the Montuemḥēt procession (in our fig. 3) of men bearing shrine-shaped chests, fans, staves, two chariots, and bows is extremely closely followed by Ibi, Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *op. cit.*, pl. 63. Both scenes are on the east wall of Ibi's *Lichthof* (information courtesy Dr Schenkel).

³⁵ At least as far as could be estimated under various unfavourable conditions. Müller notes that each register shows a height of *c.* 39 cm (*op. cit.* 32), which seems to correspond to the dimensions of our piece.

³⁶ On this point see n. 7 and postscript.

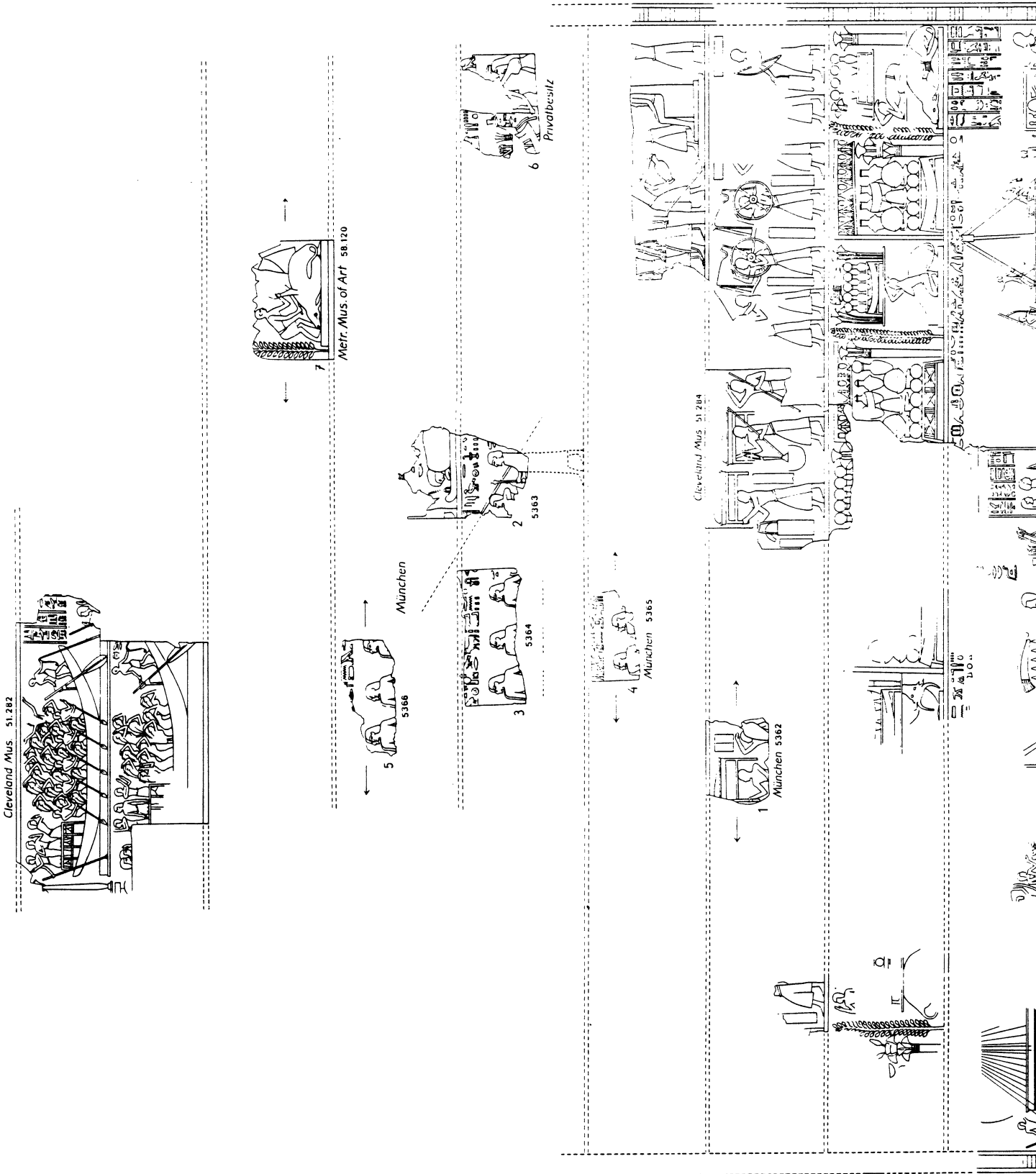


FIG. 3. Reconstruction of the north wall of the West Portico, after Müller. Drawing by F. Gehrke. Compare registers 2-3 (from bottom) with fig. 2

to the west wall of the Portico. This suggestion has been made with other Montuemhēt reliefs tentatively assigned to this part of the Portico.³⁷ Against this idea is the vertical border frieze in the corner at the far left edge of the scene (see fig. 3), which seems to contain the activity to one wall. A second possibility simply places the fragment in one of the higher registers back on the north wall of the Portico. Müller has attempted a reconstruction here, but the shattered condition of the wall today renders even the best of efforts tentative. Neither does our fragment seem to pass very well into his scheme.³⁸ A definitive conclusion must await the appearance of further evidence.

Montuemhēt and the Eighteenth Dynasty

It is well known that Saïte artists made full use of past Egyptian styles for their funerary monuments.³⁹ Even older forms of the language were resurrected long after they had gone out of use.⁴⁰ But if the archaizing *tendency* is beyond all doubt, precious few examples of ‘direct copies’, i.e. scenes which clearly relate back to a single earlier monument, are forthcoming. Several scholars have written on the subject, and some disagreement exists as to just what a ‘copy’ is. Davies was the first to link the tomb of Ibi (no. 36) with an Old Kingdom model at Deir el-Gebrawi,⁴¹ but von Bissing rejected the notion of a direct copy in favour of the use of *Musterbücher*.⁴² Von Bissing himself, however, later discussed some Saïte ‘copies’ of unknown provenance based on Old Kingdom models.⁴³ Erman demonstrated the dependence of Montuemhēt’s slaughter scenes on those in the southern hall of offerings of the nearby temple of Deir el-Bahri.⁴⁴ Schenkel, on the other hand, has utilized a text-critical analysis with Deir el-Bahri, Ibi, and Pabasa (TT 279) to tilt the balance in favour of original sources or models common to—but separate from—all monuments involved (*gemeinsame Vorlagen*), rather than direct copies or *Musterbücher*. He claims that papyrus records in a temple archive would have been more convenient than the collection of scenes and texts directly from partially damaged and/or inaccessible monuments themselves.⁴⁵ However, Schenkel does not

³⁷ Manuelian, *op. cit.* 143–5; see there also a view of the now destroyed west wall, pl. 32.

³⁸ Although Professor Müller himself favours this suggestion versus the former (personal communication, 1982). The higher the register, the less certain the reconstruction, hence all the more room for alternative suggestions.

³⁹ See *ESLP*, 18 (cat. no. 16), and Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 245.

⁴⁰ H. Brunner, ‘Zum Verständnis der archaisierenden Tendenzen in der ägyptischen Spätzeit’, *Saeculum* 21 (1971), 154 f.; id. in *LdÄ* 1, 391–2 (sections 4–5) (‘Archaismus’); A. Hermann, *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle* (Glückstadt, 1938), 38 f.; E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1954), 123 f.

⁴¹ *Deir el Gebrawi*, 1 (London, 1902), pls. 24–5 compared with pls. 13–16, and pl. 25B with pl. 11; cf. pp. 1, 36 ff.

⁴² Von Bissing, ‘Das Verhältnis des Ibi-Grabes in Theben zu dem Ibi-Grabe von Deir el Gebrawi’, *AfO* 3 (1926), 53–5.

⁴³ Id., ‘Saitische Kopien nach Reliefs des Alten Reiches’, *AfO* 9 (1933/4), 35–40. See also id., ‘Die Verwendung von Musterbüchern im Alten Reich’, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 148.

⁴⁴ A. Erman, ‘Saitische Kopien aus Der el Bahri’, *ZÄS* 52 (1914), 90–5.

⁴⁵ Schenkel, ‘Zur Frage der Vorlagen spätzeitlicher “Kopien”’, in Assmann *et al.* (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 417–41. Cf. Brunner’s remarks against *Musterbücher*, *Saeculum* 21, 152 n. 8: ‘... solche Papyrushandschriften hätten sich auch kaum über fast 2,000 Jahre gebrauchsfähig erhalten!’

deny the probable existence of direct copies without the use of *Musterbücher* or other intermediary media.⁴⁶ The most recent contribution on the subject is by Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, who compare the Saïte tomb of ‘Ankh-Ḥor (no 414) with that of Puyemrē‘ (TT 39, Eighteenth Dynasty), and conclude that *Musterbücher*, collected during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, served to link the two tombs.⁴⁷

One must differentiate between the different systems for the transmission of earlier scenes and texts to later Saïte monuments. The first, of course, is the direct copy. The second is the *Musterbuch* system, i.e. a catalogue or collection of scenes, figures, texts, etc., from which the decoration of a specific (Saïte) tomb could have been chosen. A further intermediary stage was most likely present in each of these two systems: a finished ‘plan’, intended for reproduction in a specific Saïte tomb, would have served as prototype or pattern (*Vorlage*) between the original source (whatever it was) and the Saïte ‘copy’. While such an intermediate stage may not have been absolutely necessary, the (more direct) alternative would have been rather impractical for the ancient artists, and perhaps even impossible where great distances separated original source and Saïte ‘copy’. As a ‘final draft’, ready for reproduction, the prototype/pattern in general cannot stand alone as an original source for later ‘copies’, but must rather itself depend on an earlier source (see fig. 4, top three boxes). However, if we look backward in time from the (art historically late) standpoint of the Saïte Period to earlier prototype/patterns, we find that in this case they do indeed provide a third, independent transmission system. Figure 4 shows the development and interrelationship of the two, and, in respect to the Saïte Period, three systems leading to the resulting Saïte ‘copy’.

Several points deserve emphasis in this connection. First of all, the likely use of one system in one case need not rule out the use of others in other cases. This point is noteworthy because the earlier literature on the subject makes precisely the faulty premiss that the probability of one system here eliminates the possibility of the other there. Furthermore, the controversy has traditionally concerned only direct copies versus *Musterbücher*; the prototype/pattern (*Vorlage*) system has received little attention, even though it is, with respect to the Saïte Period, just as feasible as the other two, and, as noted above, was most probably present in some capacity in all three systems (see fig. 4). More important, however, and probably responsible for the scholarly controversy in the first place, is the fact that none of the three systems may be definitively proven in any particular case (that is, given only the type of data we currently possess). No matter how similar two separate scenes may be, there is no way of proving a direct connection between monuments, *Musterbücher*, or prototype/patterns. The possibility always remains that the ‘true’ original source for a ‘copy’ has not survived, lies undiscovered, or unrecognized. The best one can do here is demonstrate possible relationships between monuments. In fact, in a case such as

One might perhaps note that nothing would speak against the periodical refurbishing of such *Musterbücher*, i.e. the transcription of old scenes on to new papyrus.

⁴⁶ Schenkel, op. cit. 440.

⁴⁷ Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, op. cit. II, 232 ff.

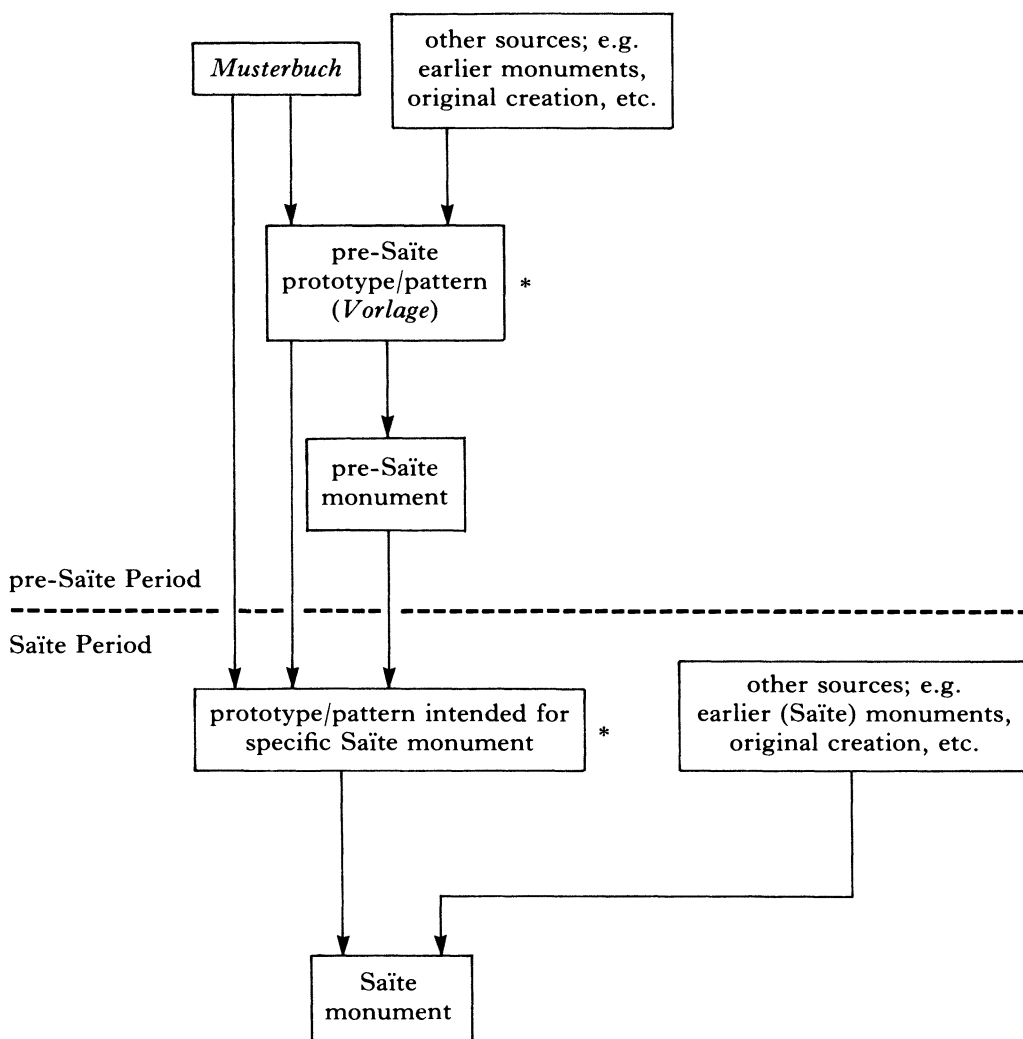


FIG. 4. The development and interrelationship of the transmission systems for Saïte 'copies'. * = very probable, but not absolutely necessary

this more is contributed by excluding what is impossible than by emphasizing what is possible; for one can indeed exclude the possibility of a relationship by citing those variations between scenes, texts, etc., sufficient to vitiate the dependence of a later monument on an earlier one. Art-historical method might take a page from the book of textual criticism in this respect; the negative case (independence of two monuments) may be proven, while the positive case (dependence) must remain a hypothesis. Moreover, the separate analysis of texts and scenes in the study of Saïte 'copies' is an artificial one which often only needlessly obscures valuable data.

The subject in general deserves a separate re-evaluation which would go into

further detail.⁴⁸ At any rate, one should bear in mind that the current amount of data permits little more than speculation. The purpose of this paper is merely to present new material without excess interpretation. For now emphasis is laid on the only fact we have, i.e. a strong 'relationship' of one Saïte tomb to an earlier monument. Therefore, as an interim measure, the term 'model' is used in its widest sense in the following paragraphs.

After this brief excursus, our relief fragment may take its place among the evidence of Saïte archaism. Although its exact original location in Montuemhēt's West Portico is unclear, there can be little doubt as to the model for the scene depicted in its upper register—namely, a painting in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Rekhmirē (TT 100), a short distance away in the cemetery of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. The rites before Anubis take place on the south wall of the passage of Rekhmirē's tomb. They contain, among other scenes, a procession of men laden with funeral equipment very similar to that in our fragment.⁴⁹ Upon comparison, the two final bearers in Rekhmirē's procession stand out immediately as a model for our central pair. With several minor alterations, and a reversed direction of march, the scene seems to have been virtually lifted out of the New Kingdom and reproduced some eight centuries later. Nina Davies herself selected this part of the procession for special treatment, and it is after her water colour that our drawing in fig. 5 was made.⁵⁰

The first questions one must ask in comparing such 'models' with their 'reproductions' are material ones: in what archaeological context does the model appear relative to its 'reproduction', and how accessible was it during the period(s) under discussion? The Saïtes seem to have proven themselves most industrious in seeking older forms, occasionally travelling as far as Middle Egypt (from Thebes),⁵¹ and apparently even risking life and limb in the subterranean chamber of the Step Pyramid.⁵² At the time of writing this study all of the models previously thought to have inspired Montuemhēt's artists lie in the Theban necropolis; if Rekhmirē's tomb is indeed to be counted among them, it may be said that distance between the two monuments would have posed no problems.

Just as interesting as the exactness of the 'copy' is the amount of Saïte reinterpretation of certain aspects of the scene. A brief comparison is of use here. The two pairs of figures appear at first glance to mirror each other, but subtle

⁴⁸ For now see H. Junker, *Giza*, III (Vienna, 1938), 68 ff.; Brunner in *LdÄ* 1, 393-4 ('Archaismus'); K. P. Kuhlmann, 'Eine Beschreibung der Grabdekoration mit der Aufforderung zu kopieren und zum Hinterlassen von Besucherinschriften aus saitischer Zeit', *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 205-13; D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole* (Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, Bd. 6 (Vienna, 1984)); Manuelian, 'Prolegomena zur Untersuchung saitischer "Kopien"', *SAK* 10 (1983), 221-45.

⁴⁹ Register 6 (from top); *PM* 1, i², 212 (15).

⁵⁰ De G. Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes* (New York, 1935), pl. 18 (colour). This detail appears in its context in pl. 24 and at a larger scale in the tomb publication proper, id., *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes* (New York, 1943), pl. 90, middle register, left.

⁵¹ See n. 41.

⁵² C. M. Firth, 'Excavations of the Service des Antiquités at Saqqara (Oct. 1927-April 1928)', *ASAE* 28 (1928), 84 (quoted *in extenso* by von Bissing, *AfO* 9, 40).



FIG. 5. Detail of the rites before Anubis in the tomb of Rekhmirē (TT 100), Passage, south wall, west half. Drawing by the author (after Davies). Compare fig. 2

differences become apparent upon closer inspection. To begin with, the short kilts of Rekhmirē's group lack bulbous tie knots, yet show more detail in their folds.⁵³ The Saïtes chose to give less attention to the nipple, though additional detail may once have been supplied with paint. Though the second bearer in both cases holds a *hrp*-sceptre in one hand and steadies his load with the other, opposite arms are used to perform the two gestures. Furthermore, one of the Rekhmirē hands disappears behind the chest of funerary equipment. The staves in the hands of the respective first bearers differ: Rekhmirē's man carries a knotted stick, versus Montuemḥēt's *ḥd*-mace.⁵⁴ Wig styles show no variations, but the Rekhmirē figures sport no such neatly cut beards.⁵⁵ Perhaps most interesting, however, is the comparative physiognomy of the two groups. While the external features of Montuemḥēt's men clearly hark back to this New Kingdom model, the musculature and form of the figures themselves, from the bulging arm muscles to the modelled vertical naval canal, draw heavily upon Old Kingdom models (see description above). There is nothing in the small, rather meagre bodies of Rekhmirē's bearers reminiscent of the bold forms of

⁵³ Compare the two types with Staehelin, *Tracht*, 5 ff., pl. 21.

⁵⁴ Cf. Hassan, *op. cit.*, fig. 23 (4).

⁵⁵ Yet another example of the Saïte tendency to 'aristocratize' its subjects?: cf. Cooney, *JNES* 9, 194 f.; B. S. Lesko, 'Three Reliefs from the Tomb of Mentuemhat', *JARCE* 9 (1971-2), 87; Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39; Brunner in *LdÄ* 1, 390 ('Archaismus').

the Pyramid Age (see fig. 5). It is a tribute to the Saïte artist's sensibility that he is able successfully to combine such contradictory styles into one harmonious composition.

The Rekhmirē^c chest of funerary equipment differs from Montuemhēt's only in the representation of slightly stubbier legs and two knobs around which string would have been wound to fasten the lid. One wonders if Montuemhēt's artists omitted the knobs as unintelligible features of a type of 'lock' no longer in use in the Saïte Period.⁵⁶ As for the two unguent jars, the Saïte version does not flare at the base, thereby betraying its hybrid form (see description above). The well-preserved decoration of the Rekhmirē^c vessels corresponds to the faint pigment lines still visible on Montuemhēt's 'copy', and allows a good impression of the latter's original appearance. The Montuemhēt chair has been fully 'modernized' to a typical piece of Late Period furniture, and differs greatly from its classic counterpart with triangular-shaped backpiece (description above). And yet once again there is little doubt that the Saïte scene bears a strong connection to the earlier one: even the *hrp*-sceptre laid on the seat of the chair—a unique detail—has been faithfully reproduced. Seldom is the Saïte penchant for ancient models embellished with original features better exemplified.

Montuemhēt's necklace varies from the more traditional representation of the Rekhmirē^c example, but both specimens rest 'upon' pairs of bracelets which show no differentiation. The pattern once painted on the Saïte bracelets may be reconstructed with near certainty after its Eighteenth Dynasty model. Perhaps the most obvious difference between the two scenes occurs in the final object, the kilt; for Rekhmirē^c's simple version has been replaced by Montuemhēt's *šndyt* form.

One might wish to ascribe the parallels to coincidence; for the objects themselves are of the commonest nature, and the subject in general belongs to those most often repeated in Egyptian funerary art over the millennia. Yet the author has, as yet, been unable to find any other parallel processions which even approach the striking agreements shown between the scenes here under discussion.⁵⁷

Fragment 2 (see pl. IX, 1, and fig. 6)

Metropolitan Museum of Art 65.59.2. Ht. right edge: 9.3 cm; vertical from upper left corner: 10.3 cm; W. along top edge: 15.1 cm; along bottom from tip of lower left corner: 16.9 cm; thickness variable: at top *c.* 1.8 cm; at bottom *c.* 3.4 cm. Limestone. Colours: darkened discoloration (see below), but detailed description unavailable at present.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Note, however, that such knobs do appear on occasion in the tomb of Ibi: Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *op. cit.*, pl. 30.

⁵⁷ A similar scene appears in the tomb of Amenemhēt (TT 82), but a direct relation to Montuemhēt's tomb in this case is out of the question: cf. Davies-Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (London, 1915), pl. 11, upper left.

⁵⁸ For the photograph, permission to publish the piece and generous replies to many queries, I am grateful to Dr C. Lilyquist and Ms E. R. Russmann of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. A short note on the relief by H. G. Fischer may be found in *BMAA* NS 24 (1965), 54. Additional measurements, kindly supplied by Ms Russmann, include: length of diagonal crack line, 16.3 cm; cage: height along left side, 4.3 cm; width at top, 7.9 cm; square in upper left corner, interior dimensions, height 7 mm; width 6 mm; head of flapping bird, from top of beak along bottom to back of head, 2.2 cm; leg of figure striding to the left, width at break, advanced leg, 8 mm; rearward leg 9 mm; length of advanced leg from bottom of kilt (just above diagonal crack line) down front, 6.5 cm. The fragment corresponds to number 71 of the author's list, *MDAIK* 39, 148.

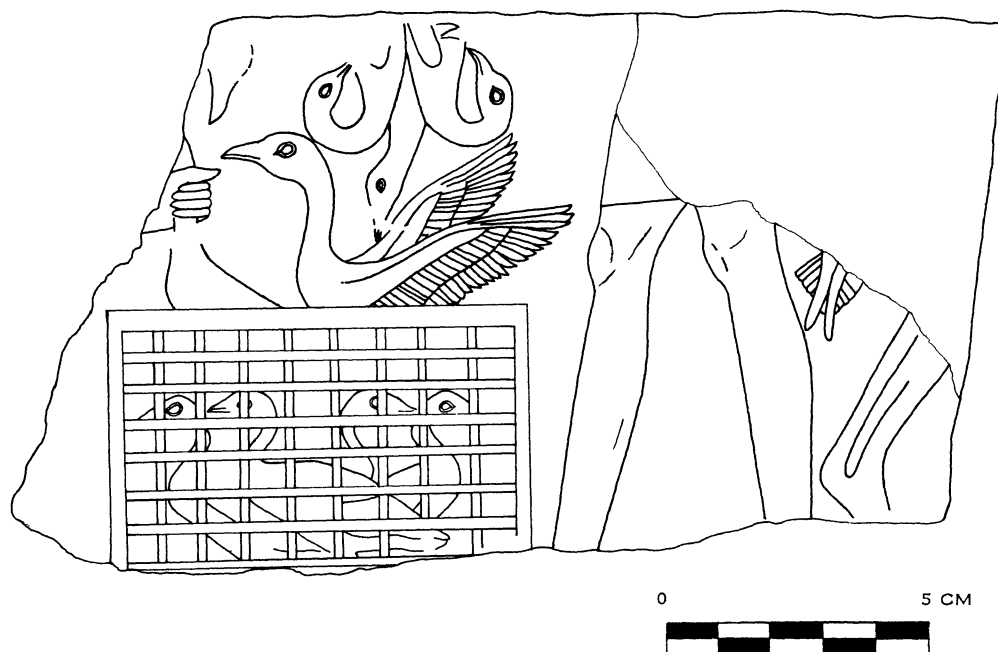


FIG. 6. Fragment of relief from the tomb of Montuemhêt; Metropolitan Museum of Art 65.59.2.
Drawing by the author

Description

Considerably less relief sculpture is preserved on this fragment than on the Chicago piece discussed above. In fact, we obtain only a glimpse at a detail of a single scene; neither an upper nor lower register line survives to indicate the greater dimensions of the scene. The block has been undercut almost to a rectangular shape. A diagonal crack line stretches across the width of the piece, and the surface of the stone is lost in the upper right-hand corner.

The action centres around a rectangular crate or cage,⁵⁹ most likely made of wood with vertical and horizontal bars. Four geese or water-fowl are already trapped within, while several men attempt to stuff the cage with some half a dozen more. The fowler to the left of the cage, of whom only the left hand is preserved, grasps one bird by the neck; it is doubtful whether the broken beak in the upper left-hand corner of the fragment belongs to this strangle-held body. Towards the top of the block, three birds held upside down by their (now missing) tails ponder their impending imprisonment. Our attention, however, is drawn rather to the central fowl, which seemingly ignored by its captors, attempts to spread its wings and flap for freedom. Of the very little sculpture preserved on the piece, this bird displays the finest craftsmanship and most detail, thereby hinting at the quality we could have expected of the rest of the figures, had they survived intact. Particularly noteworthy are the

⁵⁹ Egyptian *tb* or *db*, *Wb.* v, 360, 561; attested in both cases since the Old Kingdom.

well-delineated and multi-tiered wing feathers as well as the wide, fearful eye, symmetrically carved with the exception of its pointed tear duct.

Portions of three legs appear on the right-hand side of the fragment. The first two, facing left, belong in all probability to the fowler who holds the group of three birds poised above the cage. His well-modelled knees contrast with the flat surface of his short kilt, only a mere corner of which is preserved. The third leg, hardly more than a shin and ankle, faces the opposite direction. This man apparently strides to the right on the ball of his left foot; the tightening of the leg muscles necessary for this position appears clearly in the form of a long ridge ending in the round ankle bone. The man possibly bears a yoke on his shoulders, for such a burden often produces this foot pose in relief sculpture; in addition, caged fowl also appear borne by means of shoulder yokes.⁶⁰ A duck's pin tail is visible between the two men, suggesting that the striding man is indeed engaged in transporting fowl (even if not by means of a yoke), although his neighbour to the left might just as easily bear the duck in his own left hand.⁶¹ One problem with the scene is the estimated location of the lower register line: the taut ankle at right appears much too high off the ground when compared with the pair of legs to the left. An extremely long foot for the striding fowler would be needed if the two men do indeed stand at the same level (as fowlers normally do, see nn. 60-1).

The Metropolitan relief depicts a detail from the genre of so-called scenes of daily life, and thus differs from the funerary themes shown on the larger fragment in Chicago. Here everyday activities on the estate of the deceased are shown with the intention of providing him in the next world with all the good things he enjoyed in this one.⁶² As for the deceased himself, i.e. the ancient owner of these fowl and of the fragment, little evidence at first glance would seem to point to Montuemhēt. Fowling scenes first occur as early as the Old Kingdom, and are usually closely associated with fishing scenes.⁶³ After trapping the birds with various types of clapnets, the fowlers sort them into cages such as the one shown here, and eventually bear them on the head, shoulders, in the hand, or by means of yokes in a procession toward the onlooking figure of the deceased.⁶⁴ The cages themselves appear with crossed bars (such as in our example), with diagonally criss-crossed wiring, or with apparently no walls at all.⁶⁵ There seems to be no particular significance, either chronological or logistical, in the type of cage represented. Fowling scenes continue

⁶⁰ Cf. Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, I, pl. 25, and P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, I (Chicago, 1938), pls. 20-1. For burdens other than fowl borne by means of shoulder yokes, see A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz, 1977), fig. 13; Smith, *Ancient Egypt*⁶, 62, fig. 35 (top) = Vandier, *Manuel*, v (Paris, 1969), pl. 28, fig. 196.

⁶¹ For comparable examples, see Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, II, pl. 5, top register; Vandier, *Manuel*, v, pl. 19, figs. 151, 153.

⁶² See Brunner in *LdÄ* I, 138 ff., especially 139B ('Alltagswelt und Heilige Welt').

⁶³ O. Bates, 'Ancient Egyptian Fishing', *Harvard African Studies*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1917), 267 and n. 237; also Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I (Oxford, 1947), 86* and 94*; Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), 170 (no. 11).

⁶⁴ Vandier, *Manuel*, v, 307 ff.; L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1915), 70 ff.

⁶⁵ Cf. Klebs's remarks, op cit. 71. For cages similar to our example, see Vandier, *Manuel*, v, 379, fig. 168, 1-2; diagonally wired cages: *ibid.*, pl. 19, fig. 153, and 'barless' cages: Davies, *Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, II, pl. 5.

through the Middle Kingdom but representations of the cage rarely occur in the New Kingdom, as secular scenes in general gradually fade out of the funerary repertoire.⁶⁶

Provenance

If the Metropolitan relief fragment draws thematically on Old, or less likely Middle Kingdom models, other criteria speak for its actual provenance in the tomb of Montuemḥēt. One link to Theban tomb 34 is provided by the discoloration present on the surface, as if the fragment had been exposed to fire. Discoloration is a common feature in reliefs from Montuemḥēt's West Portico; at least three other fragments show a similar blackening.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, the present geographical separation of the various fragments has up to now prevented any methodical examinations or comparisons.

The scarcity of preserved relief sculpture on the Metropolitan fragment renders stylistic analysis rather difficult. Nevertheless the fine bas-relief and high-quality workmanship, as evidenced by the modelling of the leg musculature and the detailed central bird, relate quite closely to other examples of Saïte relief sculpture, and, in particular, to those from Montuemḥēt's tomb. Yet a general search for scenes of daily life from Saïte tombs provides a very small corpus; indeed Montuemḥēt possesses the largest repertoire of any of his contemporaries,⁶⁸ and we have already noted that others looked to his tomb for inspiration. Caution must, of course, be exercised on this point; for precisely the fragmentary state of the evidence renders an accurate sampling impossible, and prevents many a definitive conclusion. Nevertheless, a comparison of the Metropolitan fragment with others from tomb 34 proves fruitful, and at least a context for the scene, if not an exact location, is forthcoming.

The fragment is most closely related to another in a private collection in Santa Barbara, which has been all but proven to derive from Montuemḥēt's tomb (see pl. IX, 2 and fig. 7).⁶⁹ Since the piece has already received thorough attention elsewhere (see n. 69), a very brief description will suffice here. The block is divided by vertical and horizontal sculptured lines into three parts—namely, an inscription

⁶⁶ Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Neuen Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1934), 83. Klebs lists the one questionable exception she has found, shown at the top of a ship's mast, fig. 64; but see the clearly represented cages in the tomb of Rekhmirē, Davies, *Rekhmire*, pls. 30, 34-5. Unfortunately, no direct 'copies' seem to present themselves in this case.

⁶⁷ These reliefs are, along with their appendix numbers in Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39: Fitzwilliam EGA 3000.1943 (female offering-bearer in raised relief, no. 6); Chicago Oriental Institute 17975 (three female offering-bearers, part of a fish-net in raised relief, no. 11); and Santa Barbara private collection of Mr Avery Brundage (man bearing caged fowl, with inscription in raised relief, no. 76; see our pl. IX, 2 and fig. 7 below). Cf. *ibid.* n. 52.

⁶⁸ Cooney, *JNES* 9, 194. Note, however, the existence of unpublished scenes of daily life in the tomb of Ḥarwa (no. 37; open court, south wall = *PM* 1, 1², 64 (plan) and Russmann, *op. cit.* 138-9.

⁶⁹ Collection of Mr Avery Brundage, no. 2/101; *ESLP*, 18f. (cat. no. 16), pl. 14, fig. 34. A sketch of this fragment was also found in the late W. Stevenson Smith's file on Theban tomb 34 in the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I am grateful to Dr W. Kelly Simpson for permission to see the above-mentioned records. For the photograph I am indebted to Mr Bernard Bothmer of the Brooklyn Museum.

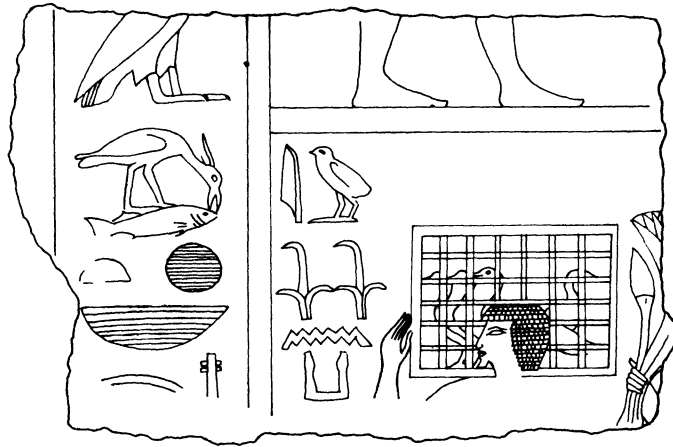


FIG. 7. Fragment of relief from the tomb of Montuemhēt; private collection of Mr Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, no. 2/101. Drawing by the author

and two registers. To the left of the fragment, a large-scale vertical text reads $[h:]m \dot{h}t nb(t) nfr[(t)] . . .$, ‘net-fishing and every good thing . . .’.⁷⁰ Only the lower portion of a pair of rightward-striding legs is visible in the upper register to the right of the inscription. In the lower register, a man with valanced wig and short beard balances a cage with four water-fowl upon his shoulder as he marches to the left. One hand, two shoulders, and the head of this cage-bearer are all that remain, but he is preceded by a small-scale inscription stating: $iw nm n k\dot{s} . . .$, ‘This is for (your?) ka . . .’.⁷¹ Behind him, a second bearer’s hand grasps a bunch of lotus plants. Bothmer sees New Kingdom influence with Saïte modifications in the figure of the fowl-carrier,⁷² even though the cage itself, as noted above, most likely dates to an earlier period (see n. 66).

Unfortunately, no facial features survive on the Metropolitan fragment to provide a stylistic comparison. The two cages themselves share a common form with vertical and horizontal bars, although the Metropolitan relief shows more (at least fifteen bars as opposed to eleven on the Santa Barbara piece).⁷³ In both cases, four birds appear in the cage; they are paired off in the Metropolitan relief facing opposite directions, while the Santa Barbara group is arranged three against one. More interesting, perhaps, is the fact that the Santa Barbara fragment also displays a discoloration most likely due to heat exposure, thus further linking it to its companion in the Metropolitan. These factors taken together all but prove the provenance of our Metropolitan fragment to be none other than Theban tomb 34.

⁷⁰ On $h:m$, ‘net-fishing’, see *Wb.* III, 31; H. Brunner, ‘Eine verkannte Hieroglyphenschreibung’, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 144 f.

⁷¹ Cf. the references to other occurrences of this *Ruf* in W. Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder* (TÄB 1) (Bonn, 1973), 156.

⁷² *ESLP*, 18, comment.

⁷³ This need not prevent a common provenance, however: cf., e.g., the two different types of cage represented in adjoining registers in the Louvre mastaba of Methethi, Vandier, *Manuel*, v, pl. 19, fig. 153.

It would be pointless to speculate in depth on which legs might join which torsos between these two fragments. However, a tentative reconstruction may indeed unite the two blocks, thematically at least, with a much larger composition known to come from Montuemḥēt's tomb. Unfortunately, the latter composition is beset with its own reconstruction problems, and our two fragments will provide few new answers. Yet it is only by collecting and associating fragments, however tentatively at first, that one can hope to eventually re-establish the original layout and interrelationship of the scenes in Theban tomb 34. Thus, brief mention is made here of a group of nine fragments, which are treated elsewhere but most likely relate to the Metropolitan and Santa Barbara pieces.⁷⁴ Taken as a unit, these fragments represent two registers; the lower one contains a procession of (mostly) female offering bearers marching to the viewer's left. In the register above, a fishing scene takes place, complete with long fish-net and scenes of cutting and cleaning the day's catch. Now, if we consider our two fragments as a thematic unit, i.e. portions of a fowling scene, then two factors might allow us to bring these two separate groups of reliefs together. The first factor is that fishing and fowling scenes more often than not occur together on Egyptian tomb walls. Both professions make use of large numbers of men, several types of nets, cutting boards for cleaning, and booths, or canopies, for drying and storage.⁷⁵ Both activities took place in the marshes and employed Egyptians of approximately the same social class.⁷⁶

A second factor uniting Montuemḥēt's fishing and fowling scenes is the large inscription mentioning 'net-fishing' at the left-hand side of the Santa Barbara fragment. Carved at a scale larger than that of the individual figures preserved on the fragment, the inscription clearly introduces a larger, general activity which took up much space and probably involved several registers. The large fishing scene mentioned above is, of course, the first to come to mind. Indeed one wonders if the Santa Barbara fragment provides an important key to this Saïte puzzle—namely, the left-hand edge of *all* the scenes in question. Do the barely preserved feet in the upper register belong to the fishing scene, while the fowl carrier leads the procession of offering bearers? In such a scheme, the large vertical inscription would introduce the scene, and a figure of Montuemḥēt—still further to the viewer's left—would probably have faced the fishermen as well as the offering bearers and produce. The Metropolitan fragment might belong either somewhere further to the viewer's right, 'after' the procession (see fig. 8, reconstruction A), or higher up on the wall in a new register (see fig. 8, reconstruction B).

One might argue against reconstruction A by comparing the inscription accompanying the offering-bearers in the lower register. The Santa Barbara text, *iw nn n kꜣ . . .*, is at present the only one to deviate from the standard formula occurring in each of the other bearers' texts—namely, 'X-produce for the Y-title,

⁷⁴ Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39.

⁷⁵ See n. 60 and additionally Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 117; J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri* (London, 1894), pl. 4; Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, fig. 12; W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, 1 (Giza Mastabas 4) (Boston, 1980), pl. 4.

⁷⁶ The term *wḥꜣ* means 'fisherman' and 'fowler', *Wb.* 1, 350.

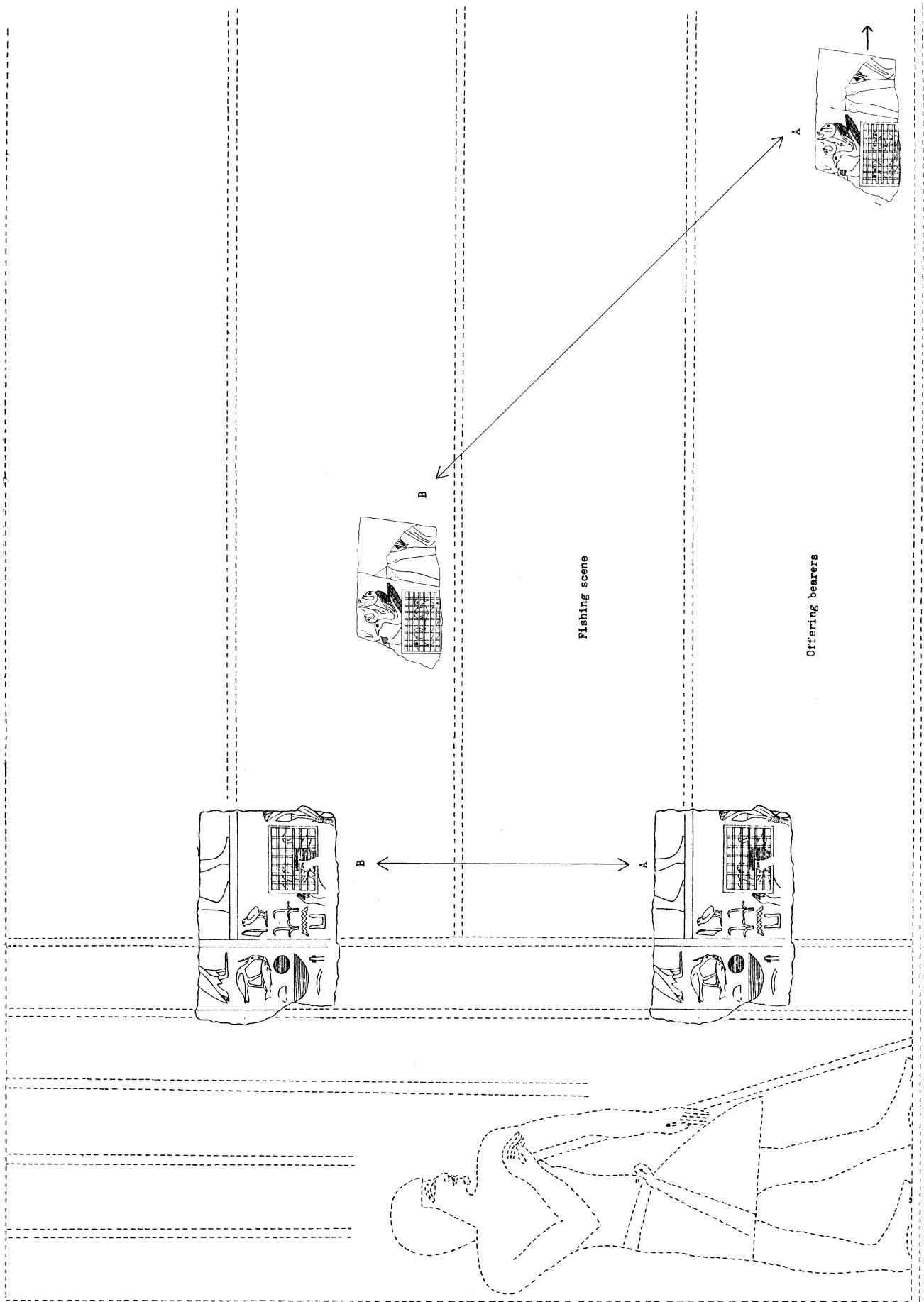


Fig. 8. Hypothetical reconstruction of reliefs from the West Portico (not drawn to scale)

Montuemĥēt'.⁷⁷ However, the fact that the bearer is male is no reason to remove him from the procession; one other male bearer does appear,⁷⁸ and how many more may not have survived is anyone's guess. Furthermore, both the procession and the Santa Barbara block find a common inspiration in Old Kingdom models, despite Bothmer's additional detection of Eighteenth Dynasty and Saïte features.⁷⁹

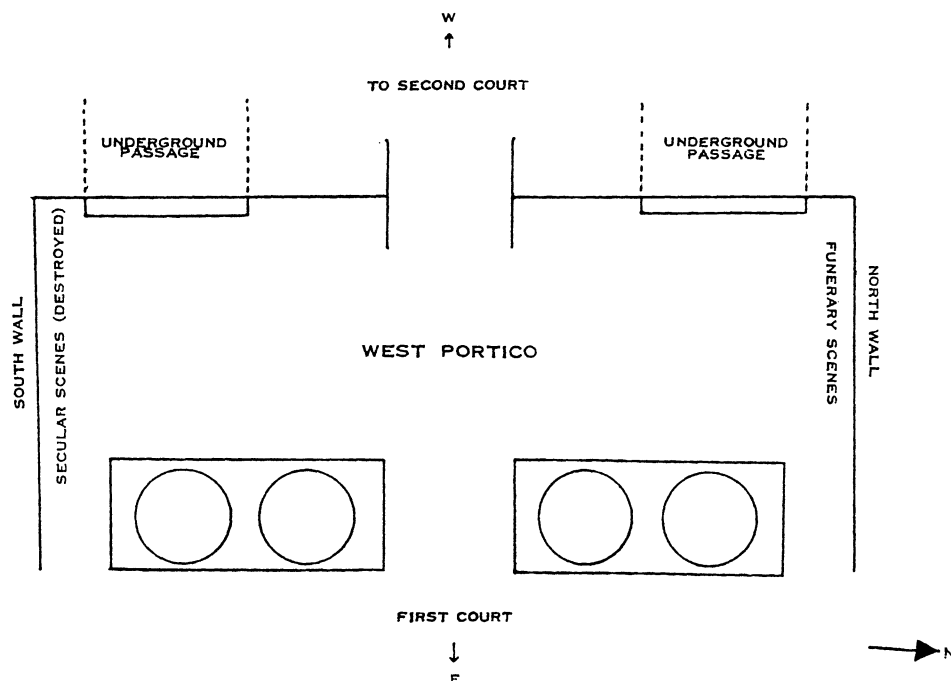


FIG. 9. Sketch plan of the West Portico (not drawn to scale)

Another possibility, shown in fig. 8, reconstruction B, would place the two members of the fowling scene above the fishing scene. In fact, Cooney notes that fowlers frequently appear higher than fishermen.⁸⁰ The Santa Barbara piece could still appear far enough to the left so that its large inscription introduces the scene. The presentation of the fowl (Santa Barbara fragment) would thus logically occur closer to the figure of Montuemĥēt than their actual capture by the fowlers (Metropolitan fragment). This scheme also allows the two fragments to remain more

⁷⁷ Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39.

⁷⁸ On de Young 51.4.2 (San Francisco), and with the same valanced wig represented here, see Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39, block 5, fig. 3, p. 137.

⁷⁹ On the procession itself, cf. *ibid. passim*; for the Santa Barbara piece, Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder*, 156.

⁸⁰ Cooney, 'Fragments of a Great Saïte Monument', *JARCE* 3 (1964), 85; see also Moussa and Altenmüller, *Nianchchnum und Chmumhotep*, pl. 31.

or less together, an advantage which is not possible in reconstruction A, since the Metropolitan fragment does not relate to the procession of offering bearers. At any rate, both arrangements are presented as the most tentative of suggestions; final confirmation or rejection must await additional material. But even if an exact reconstruction is wanting, there can be no doubt that all the reliefs comprising the fowling and fishing (and thus *ipso facto* offering-bearer) scenes deserve consideration as a unit in any attempt to discern the original layout of Montuemhēt's West Portico. Neither are these eleven reliefs the only members of this unit; similar themes appear on a number of other Montuemhēt reliefs, both published and unpublished. But to discuss them all here lies outside the scope of this paper; the reader is referred to the most recent list of fragments from the tomb in museums and private collections.⁸¹

It remains to remark upon the possible locations in Theban tomb 34 of the unit brought together above. We have already singled out the West Portico as the only area in the tomb presently known to contain raised relief sculpture (see n. 7). Here one final problem confronts the would-be restorer. The north wall of the Portico contains funerary scenes, while the now destroyed south wall has long been thought to complement it with scenes of daily life (see fig. 9). (The west wall contains fragments of large-scale scenes of Montuemhēt and one of his three wives seated before offering tables, but much destroyed surface area remains unaccounted for. The Portico has no east wall.) Müller has discussed the intact scenes and convincingly reconstructed the funerary nature of the entire north wall,⁸² while still other scholars, notably Cooney, Smith, and Kantor, have delegated various scenes of daily life to the south wall.⁸³ In the case of our fragments, one would like to assign the daily-life scenes, the fowling and fishing activities, to the south wall. However, the orientation of the offering-bearers speaks against such a reconstruction. Offering-bearers normally march into a tomb towards the figure of the deceased, who greets them facing out of his 'house of eternity'. Since our offering-bearers face to the left, a placement on the south wall would force them to march out of tomb 34 with their backs to the figure of Montuemhēt, an unlikely situation. This problem is dealt with in greater depth elsewhere, and various possibilities, none of them particularly convincing, are suggested.⁸⁴ It suffices here to note the complexity of any attempted restoration. Definitive conclusions will have to rely on many different criteria, not the least of which are sorely needed additional fragments and more research on Saïte funerary tradition in general.⁸⁵ Until such new criteria come to light, Montuemhēt's

⁸¹ *MDAIK* 39, 145-9. Attention might be drawn, however, to a fragment in Florence which Cooney ascribes to a fowling scene; *JARCE* 3, 85, and pl. 19, fig. 11 (Florence 7612C). The piece measures 12.6 × 20.7 cm and depicts one fowler. Cooney has associated this fragment, however, with still others showing agricultural themes, *ibid.* 80, fig. 1.

⁸² Müller, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁸³ Cooney, *JNES* 9, 201; *id.*, *JARCE* 3, 81; Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 247; Kantor, *op. cit.* 215.

⁸⁴ Manuelian, *MDAIK* 39, 143-5.

⁸⁵ Cf. Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *op. cit.* II, 225-40.

fishermen, fowlers, and offering-bearers must await reassignment to the wall(s) they once adorned before their dismemberment.⁸⁶

Postscript

After this paper went to press, excavations of the entrance to the tomb by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization in April of 1985 revealed more raised-relief sculpture, at time of writing in the two-columned chamber at the bottom of the descending passage, i.e. in room 1 of Plan 11 of Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten* (see n. 48 above). Nevertheless, these chambers are being cleared for the first time and one wonders if any of the fragments discussed above could derive from this area, instead of the West Portico. The author gratefully acknowledges the kindness of Messrs. Mohammed El-Soghayer, Mohammed Nasr, and El Sayed Aly Hegazy in allowing him to visit tomb 34 on numerous occasions.

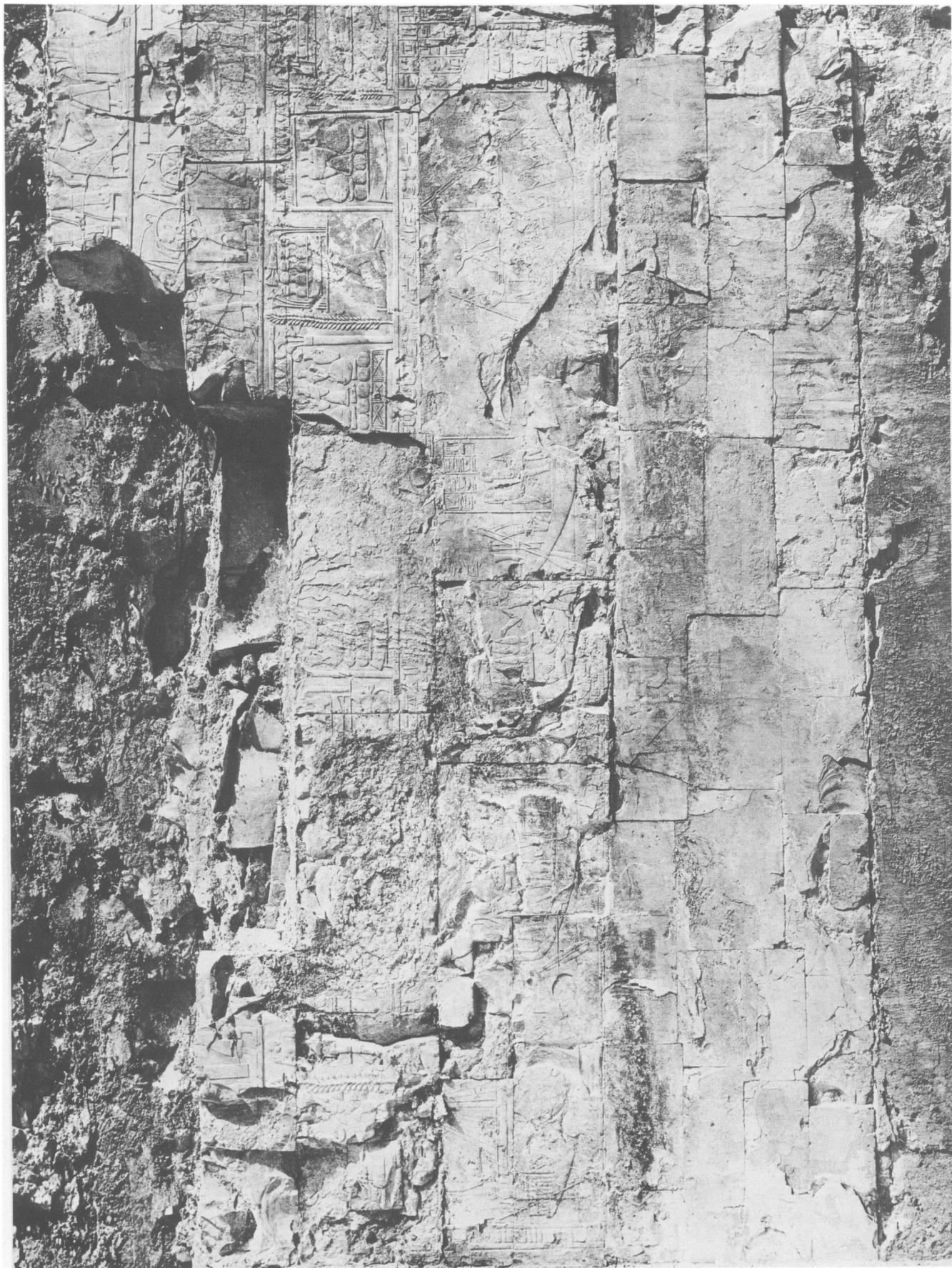
Eigner's recent publication on the Saite tombs at Thebes deserves additional mention here, since it appeared too late for proper inclusion in the remarks above. Theban tomb 34 is discussed in several places, and the best plans and sections currently available are to be found in his Plans 11-13. On archaism in general one might also consult I. Nagy, 'Remarques sur le souci d'archaïsme en Égypte à l'époque Saïte', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 21 (1973), 53-63.

⁸⁶ The collection of the fragments discussed above would not have been possible without the aid of several scholars. For photographs, information, and innumerable helpful suggestions, I am grateful to Professor H. W. Müller, Dr D. Wildung, and Mr H. Kreutzer of the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich; Dr W. Schenkel and Dr W. Guglielmi of the Ägyptologisches Institut, Tübingen; Mr B. V. Bothmer and Dr R. S. Bianchi of the Brooklyn Museum; Mr W. V. Davies of the British Museum; Dr H. G. Fischer, Dr C. Lilyquist, and especially Ms E. R. Russmann of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Ms J. Bourriau of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Ms H. Murray of the Topographical Bibliography, Griffith Institute, Oxford; Mr R. Anderson of the Egypt Exploration Society, London; Dr K. P. Kuhlmann of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Cairo; Dr W. Kelly Simpson, Mr E. Brovarki, Mr L. Holden, and Miss S. E. Chapman of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and Mr and Mrs J. W. Alsdorf, Chicago. Research for this study was undertaken in part during a Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst fellowship to the University of Tübingen, and I should like to thank the members of the Ägyptologisches Institut for their hospitality, as well as Ms I. Rauen, DAAD, Bonn. Comments and criticisms on preliminary drafts of this paper were generously made by Dr Schenkel, Ms Russmann, and Mr B. Ockinga (Ägyptologisches Institut, Tübingen).



Fragment of relief from the tomb of Montuemhêt; private collection of Mr and Mrs James W. Alsdorf, Chicago. (Photograph courtesy Mr James W. Alsdorf)

THE TOMB OF MONTUEMHËT AT THEBES



Detail of the north wall of the West Portico of the tomb of Montuemhët. (Photograph courtesy Klaus P. Kuhlmann)



1. Fragment of relief from the tomb of Montuemhēt; Metropolitan Museum of Art 65.59.2. (Photograph courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)



2. Fragment of relief from the tomb of Montuemhēt; Private collection of Mr Avery Brundage, Santa Barbara, no. 2/101. (Photograph courtesy Mr Bernard V. Bothmer)

A SAÏTE LINTEL REUNITED

By LISA MONTAGNO LEAHY

IN 1933 Kuentz published a detailed description, accompanied by a small photograph,¹ of the left end of a Late Period lintel in the Cairo Museum (T.28.5.24.4), which had previously been briefly discussed by Gauthier.² The scene shows a line of alternately male and female offering-bearers balancing large baskets on their heads, leading miniature cattle and preceded by a squatting scribe who records their contributions. The seated figure of the tomb owner which one would expect from similar representations to be at the right-hand end³ is missing. The Cairo Museum magazines, however, contain a rectangular limestone slab (29 × 31.6 × 4 cm) which completes the offering scene (see pl. X). It bears the temporary number T.9.7.24.5 and is apparently unpublished. The present mounting of T.28.5.24.4 behind a plate of glass made a physical trial of the joint impossible, although the pieces were held in as close juxtaposition as possible. Nevertheless, the dimensions and relative positions of the protrusions and indentations on the broken edges make the juncture of the two pieces certain and a composite drawing is presented in fig. 1.

The relief depicts the tomb owner, facing left, seated on a low-backed chair with a badly chipped open papyrus seat terminal. It has bull legs with low hooves set on wide, low, conical bases placed broad side downwards, and resting on a plain mat. The man balances a long staff obliquely in his right hand and holds his left hand, clutching a folded linen strip, just above his thigh. He wears a plain shoulder-length wig (probably originally revealing the ear), a close-fitting knee-length belted kilt, and a plain broad collar, the upper edge of which is more deeply incised than the lower. His face has been so badly damaged that none of the features are now visible, but a few traces show that he was beardless. A single column of large hieroglyphs set immediately before his mat identifies the deceased as *Pꜣ-di-ꜣst*, without naming his parents. The signs accord well in size with those above the scribe on T.28.5.24.4. The inscription reads:

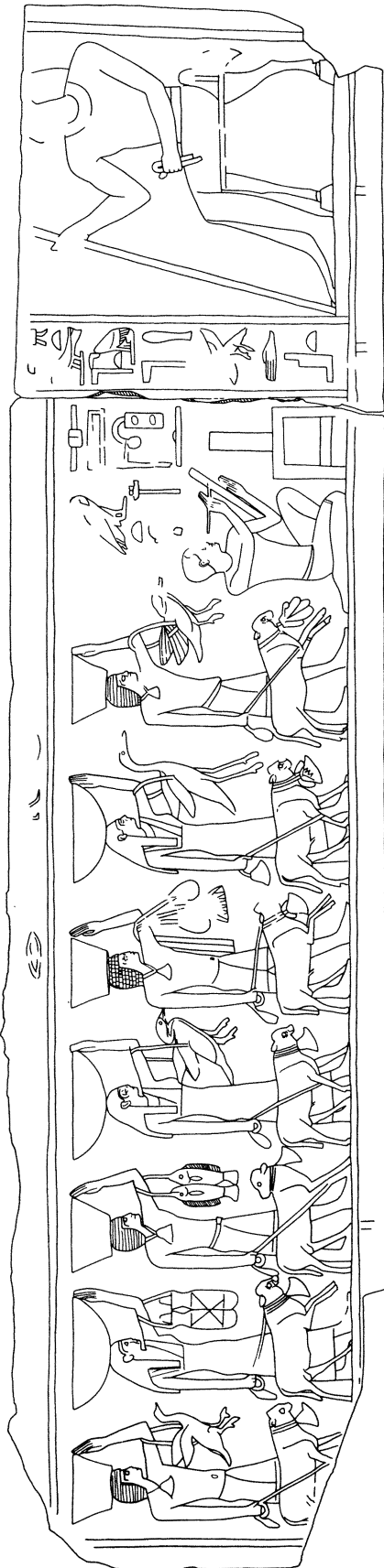
. . . (?) ^a *prophet of Neith, the great,* ^b *mother of the god,* ^c Pꜣ-di-ꜣst. ^d

I should like to thank Dr Yvonne Harpur, who first suggested to me that these two pieces might join, and Dr Mohammed Saleh and his staff in the Cairo Museum for access to the magazines and permission to publish. Thanks are also due to Mr Harry Buglass for the drawing and to Professor J. R. Baines for his comments on a draft of this article.

¹ 'Bas-reliefs saïtes', *Mon. Piot* 33 (1933), 27-42, especially 35-7 and fig. 2.

² 'À travers la Basse Égypte. III. Quatre bas-reliefs saïtes imités de l'ancien Empire', *ASAE* 21 (1921), 27-36, especially 35-6.

³ See Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien*, II, pls. xxxii-xlii for numerous examples of this type of monument.



(a) The small amount missing from the owner's head and the average height of these lintels (around 30 cm below the torus) suggest that little is lost at the beginning of the column, perhaps only the *mnm* and the top of the $\bar{\text{L}}$.

(b) For this epithet of Neith, known since the Middle Kingdom and frequently combined with *mw* *ntr*, see El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, 139 (d).

(c) This epithet is often applied to mother goddesses (e.g. *Wb.* II, 54, 11–13; El-Sayed, op. cit. 45 (c)) and from the New Kingdom onwards is used of Neith in her role as mother of Rēc.

(d) This individual is not in El-Sayed's list of persons connected with the cult of Neith (*La Déesse Neith de Saïs*, II, 685–7). The name is extremely common from the Third Intermediate to Graeco-Roman Periods (*PN* I, 121, 18) and, with no indication of parentage, it seems fruitless to attempt to connect our *P₃-di-3st* with others of that name. For the rare spelling, with ⲉ for *di*, see A. Leahy, *GM* 60 (1982), 68, 1; *PN* I, 126, 18–19 (variants of *PN* I, 123, 12) and *RT* 3 (1882), 149 n. 2; *RT* 21 (1899), 65, xii; Reisner, *Canopics*, 187 (CG 4273).

The label above the scribe on T.28.5.24.4 reads: *Scribe(?)^e of^f gifts(?)^g*

(e) The uncommon full writing (*Wb.* III, 476, 479; *Urk.* I, 60, 9; *LD* II, pl. 61 b) is perhaps archaizing in spirit. Whether *sš* is an infinitive describing the activity (Kuentz, op. cit. 36 and n. 1: 'notation par écrit du tribut') or a noun referring to the person (cf., for instance, Cairo JE 29211, n. 25 below) is uncertain. A similar question arises in the case of Cairo JE 10978 (n. 10 below) and Berlin 15414 (n. 12 below). The book-roll without ties is employed until the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and must be an archaism here: see Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 27.

(f) *m* for *n*, as often in Late Period inscriptions.

(g) *ndt-hr* (*Wb.* II, 373) is apparently commonest in the Old Kingdom, and connected with New Year's gifts during the New Kingdom, but probably without precise reference here. It also occurs on other Late Period relief blocks, e.g. Cairo JE 38826 (n. 10 below) and Berlin 11865 (n. 28 below).

The reuniting of the two fragments raises several interesting points about the nature and disposition of the scene. Gauthier, apparently misled by the absence of a torus moulding above the composition, concluded that T.28.5.24.4 did not belong to the same category of reliefs as other examples on which this feature is present, and thought that the piece was the lower register of a panel, the upper register of which was missing.⁴ Kuentz, presumably influenced by his own interpretation of these blocks as deriving from external friezes on tombs,⁵ merely described the fragment as 'un bloc de calcaire'.⁶ In fact, it is a lintel and has the form characteristic of these during the Late Period—a rectangular block, roughly four times as wide as it is high, decorated with a figured scene framed on all sides by relief lines or border bands and surmounted by a torus moulding topped with a cavetto cornice. In the present instance, these last two elements have disappeared, but the lateral edging lines show that the scene is now complete, and the combined width (1.256 m) is well within the size range attested for these pieces, an average width for complete lintels being 1.25–1.30 m.⁷ Vertical relief markings to align the supporting door-jamb are visible

⁴ Op. cit. 35.

⁵ Op. cit. 37–41 and fig. 4.

⁶ Op. cit. 35.

⁷ The white hue of the limestone along the left edge of T.28.5.24.4 shows that the block has been trimmed here, but the loss must be slight, as the edging strip is virtually the same width as those below and on the

in the plain strip below the ground-line, on T.9.7.24.5 under the column of text and below the front legs of the chair, and on T.28.5.24.4 below the third male offering-bearer; the lower edge further left, presumably once bearing a second bar, is now lost. These would have been continued on the jambs as framing and dividing lines for the two columns of text on each jamb.⁸ While traces of these texts themselves are rare on lintels,⁹ the tops of the vertical bars are relatively common.¹⁰

While the lateral and lower edges probably correspond almost exactly to those of the original lintel, this is less clear in the case of the upper edge. The present surface of both sections is very white, particularly on T.9.7.24.5, revealing recent reshaping, but how much has actually been removed is unknown.¹¹ The preserved height of T.28.5.24.4 is 29.5 cm (23.1 cm between upper and lower lines), while that of T.9.7.24.5 is 29.0 cm. It is evident that the relief line above the offering-bearers cannot be the upper framing line for the whole composition. Not only is the height of the owner's space as preserved (26.4 cm) greater than that of the left-hand section, but the 5.0 mm difference between it and the procession section does not suffice for the top of the owner's head, the upper framing line, and the plain strip beyond it seen on T.28.5.24.4. Several centimetres are lacking to make the piece with the figure of the owner up to its full height, and they must be missing from the left-hand fragment as well. The discrepancy can be resolved by reference to other lintel blocks, on which a horizontal line of text set off by a relief line runs above the subsidiary scene as far as the vertical text column(s) before the deceased.¹² The plain strip at the top of T.28.5.24.4 has a rougher finish than the background to the figured scene (not neatly smoothed, but cut deeper around the figures, with numerous flattened cutting marks), and is scored with shallow, mainly vertical, grooves and other abrasions. It no longer bears any traces of a text, but the photographic archives of the Cairo Museum contain two old glass negatives of this fragment reproduced here (see pl. XI, 1-2), which show faint remnants of an inscription running from right to left. The lower part of Δ appears above the first female figure, with the rounded bottom right, and is of normal appearance. A white-paint (?) coating on the right side of T.9.7.24.5 obscures all cutting details.

⁸ See, for instance, Berlin 15415 (Scharff, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 44, fig. 3, mistakenly numbered), Munich Gl.95 (*Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst* (1972), no. 77, p. 86 and ill. pl. 47), and Philadelphia UM E.14316 (Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 BC to AD 100*, no. 88, pp. 111-12, pl. 83, fig. 219) for jambs with figured decoration and texts.

⁹ See Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (rev. edn. 1981), 419, 475 n. 60, for this feature on Alexandria 380 and Louvre E.11377.

¹⁰ e.g., in addition to those mentioned in n. 9, Cairo JE 10978 (right) (Maspero, op. cit., pl. xxxv top); JE 36194 (left) (*ibid.*, pl. xxxv below); JE 38826 (*ibid.*, pl. xxxviii centre).

¹¹ Cf. the left block edge (n. 7 above). T.28.5.24.4 is further marred by two drill holes, probably from a previous museum mounting. The back, too, may have been trimmed (the present thickness is 4.0-4.5 cm) but this is difficult to ascertain since it is not accessible on T.28.5.24.4. On T.9.7.24.5 it is well smoothed, with a few plaster(?) or cement(?) traces, and bears a patina like that of the relief surface, showing that any reshaping cannot be too recent. It is uncertain when the two fragments were separated.

¹² Cf., for instance, Cairo JE 36194 and Berlin 15414 (Anthes, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), pl. i. Incomplete scenes, such as are seen on Cairo JE 38826 or Louvre E.27138 (Desroches Noblecourt, *Revue du Louvre* 25 (1975), figs. 1, 3, 4), may show a similar disposition, while Louvre E.11377 (Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), pls. iv-v and fig. 1) shows a modified version with the horizontal inscription stopping abruptly before the deceased, without abutting a separate vertical column.

of a long sign to the right of it and a \ominus further left above the second male offering-bearer. The signs along this edge may have been deliberately removed to flatten the block for reuse,¹³ but, as nothing is known of the block's history before it entered the Cairo Museum, this is uncertain.

The missing upper part of the scene need not have formed part of the same block. Examples exist on which the cutting marks show that the cavetto cornice, torus, and upper portion of the scene were made as a unit,¹⁴ to be placed atop another block bearing the lower portion of the composition. In at least one instance (Cairo JE 38826), the original juncture of two blocks seemingly ran through a horizontal line of text.

Nothing is known of the provenance of the lintel. Both pieces were registered in the Museum in 1924, but it is not known whether they entered the Museum during that year or even whether they arrived together (registration dates in May and July) and were later dissociated. This type of lintel, with elaborate multi-figured scenes, is characteristic of Lower Egypt. The inscription, brief as it is, may provide some more precise clue as to the likely origin of the relief. The mention of 'Neith, the great, mother of the god' in the sole title recorded for the owner suggests Saïs as a possible origin for the piece.¹⁵ Cults of Neith are, of course, attested at other Lower Egyptian sites,¹⁶ but at the only other centre at which she enjoyed a prominent role, Memphis, references to her cult are mainly earlier (predominantly Old Kingdom).¹⁷ A cult of Neith is known to have flourished in the Fayûm in the Late Period,¹⁸ and it is possible that *P3-di-3st* may have served her there, but the fact that no relief-decorated lintels of this type are known to have come from the Fayûm¹⁹ argues against this.

Few of these Late Period blocks can be said with certainty to come from sites outside the Memphite-Heliopolitan area, and Saïs is one of the few places from which similar fragments are known or are said to have come.²⁰ It is with one of these pieces, Cairo JE 38826,²¹ that T.28.5.24.4-T.9.7.24.5 has the closest stylistic affinities. JE 38826, oriented in the more usual fashion toward the left,²² shows a

¹³ Cf. the reshaping of the central lower part of Cairo JE 10978 (Maspero, *op. cit.*, pls. xxxv top and xxxvi) for reuse.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Baltimore WAG 22.97, 22.375 (Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pl. lvi, no. 273) and Cairo JE 10977 (Maspero, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxviii top).

¹⁵ The title itself does not seem to be exclusive to any one site—see El-Sayed, *Saïs*, Doc. 10, 137, l. 2 and Doc. 11, 146, l. 2; *Nt mwt ntr* occurs on Doc. 3, 43, l. 2 and Doc. 13, 162, l. 1.

¹⁶ See secondary cults of Neith throughout the Delta, El-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith*, I, 47–9, 199–200. The major cult centre that she shared with Sobk in the 4th Lower Egyptian nome (Neith-sud, *ibid.* 31, 39) has not yet been identified; it is not known to have produced much inscribed material, let alone lintels of this type.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 39–41.

¹⁸ Bothmer, *op. cit.* 27, 99; El-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith*, I, 41–2, 180–1.

¹⁹ Berlin 11582 (*Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Aegyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse*, 2nd edn. (1899), 264), one of the rare Late Period relief fragments from the Fayûm, comes from a wall and not a doorway.

²⁰ See Málek, 'Saïs' in *LdÄ* v, 335–7 n. 24.

²¹ Maspero, *op. cit.* 82–3, 87, 92 and pl. xxxviii centre.

²² The newly joined lintel is by no means unique in its orientation toward the right. Cf. Cairo JE 10977; Louvre AF 452 (Kuentz, *op. cit.*, pl. v); Berlin 15414; Turin 1673 (Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino*, pls. cii–ciii); Baltimore WAG 22.84 (Steindorff, *op. cit.*, pl. lvi, no. 276); Baltimore WAG 22.152–3 (*ibid.*, pl. liv, no. 274).

group of herdsmen leading a large bull with heavy garlands and a group of three smaller cattle. Like the 'new' lintel, it has an isolated horizontal line of text above this scene,²³ in addition to scattered internal labels. The treatment of the figures on both reliefs is striking. Although the external outlines are simply but competently rendered, the internal details are carelessly added, perhaps by a less skilful artist. On T.28.5.24.4, in particular, inaccuracies (e.g. the third male offering-bearer has only three left fingers) and general imprecision of line are rife. JE 38826 shows a slightly better standard of workmanship, but the male figures have the same curving-fronted short kilts (all belted) and large rectangular curls as the offering-bearers of T.28.5.24.4. The cutting of their collars, with only the upper edge incised and the lower presumably to have been indicated in paint alone, is echoed on the scribe on T.28.5.24.4.²⁴ Most characteristic is the treatment of the eyes. On both pieces, a large, relatively deep hollow occupies much of the upper face, and the eyes, shown simply, without any indication of the lids, stand out within this deeper surround. The hollow forms a deep groove along the side of the nose and is sharply marked at the outer corner of the eye. The upper edge (which, in two examples on T.28.5.24.4 and on all the men of JE 38826, is straight with a sudden drop at the outer corner) takes the place of an eyebrow. These are the only instances of which I am aware on Lower Egyptian reliefs of this period where this feature occurs in this distinctive, prominent, angular form, and it provides a strong link between the pieces. The size difference in the cattle on each block is obvious, but the miniature animals of T.28.5.24.4 are much more usual at this time.²⁵ The massive bull with upturned hooves, asymmetrical sawn-off horns, and elaborate floral neck decorations is certainly an attempt at archaism, drawing on prototypes for sacrificial animals seen so frequently in New Kingdom tombs and temples at Thebes,²⁶ and its size may be connected with this. The large open white lotus which hangs from its neck, with oversized buds above and below, can be paralleled by the bud and open-papyrus arrangement on the second and third animals of T.28.5.24.4, and by the less identifiable floral (?) cluster below the chin of the first ox.²⁷ The comparatively large size of the hieroglyphs on both pieces is similar, and the occurrence on both of *ndt-hr*²⁸ noteworthy. These stylistic similarities, probably indicative of a strong local school

²³ See n. 12 above. Cutting marks on the upper surface of Cairo JE 38826 suggest that it is the original block edge, and that the lost block surmounting it would have contained the upper half of the signs as well as the requisite torus and cavetto cornice. It is possible that Cairo T.28.5.24.4, too, once had a split horizontal inscription.

²⁴ This feature is not confined to these pieces: see, e.g., the procession leader on Cairo JE 10976 (Maspero, op. cit., pl. xxxii top).

²⁵ Cooney, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 54 (1967), 284. For illustration, see Cairo JE 10976; JE 29211 (Maspero, op. cit., pls. xxxii centre, xxxiv); JE 46591 (Gauthier, op. cit., pl. ii top); JE 41432 (ibid., pl. ii below); JE 37913 (Maspero, op. cit., pl. xlii); Boston 40.619 (Smith, *Ancient Egypt* (1960), fig. 119). JE 36194 provides an extremely rare example of cattle shown on a more 'realistic' scale.

²⁶ The depiction is convincing enough to have led Maspero in his initial publication of the relief to assign it to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty, rather than to the Late Period.

²⁷ The other cattle with neck decoration on T.28.5.24.4 and on the reliefs cited in n. 25 generally have no more than a single blossom or bud on a looped stem.

²⁸ Seen also on Berlin 11865, said to be from Herakleopolis (*Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, 263).

and perhaps showing the influence of an idiosyncratic artist, are pronounced enough to reinforce the impression provided by the text of T.9.7.24.5 that the newly united lintel, like JE 38826, is from Saïs. Since the figure of the owner and his name are lost from JE 38826, the reliefs cannot be attributed to the same tomb with certainty, but this is a strong possibility. Other individuals are known to have possessed two lintels. On the post-Persian examples, the scenes on both are oriented in the same direction (toward the left);²⁹ earlier instances may be disposed in opposite directions.³⁰ If the two Saïs blocks are from the same tomb, they provide another case of antithetical arrangement.

Neither Gauthier nor Kuentz attempted to date T.28.5.24.4 beyond using ‘Saïte’ in the titles of their publications. The presence of the horizontal line of text above the subsidiary scene, which seems to be a feature of lintels of the Twenty-sixth to early Twenty-seventh Dynasties, supports this dating. This is, of course, the period when Saïs flourished most, and when tombs with relief decoration might be expected there. In the current state of our knowledge of relief art in Lower Egypt, it is still difficult to be more specific about the date of the T.28.5.24.4–T.9.7.24.5 lintel, but further research may make this possible.³¹

²⁹ e.g. *Nfr-sšm-psmtk* (Cairo JE 10976 and JE 10978); *Tʿ-nfr* (Cairo JE 29211 and Alexandria 380 (Maspero, op. cit., pls. xxxix below, xl–xli)).

³⁰ Those of *Hwt* (Berlin 15414 and Cairo T.28.5.24.8 (Kuentz, op. cit., fig. 1)) and perhaps *Pʿ-tnfy* (Cairo JE 36194 and JE 38824, Maspero, op. cit., pl. xxxix, top—not of the conventional lintel shape) face in opposite directions, while those belonging to *Pʿ-ir-kʿp* (Louvre E.11377 and E.27138) are both oriented toward the left.

³¹ In particular, the study of a much larger corpus of material such as I am currently undertaking in my doctoral dissertation, ‘Private Tomb Reliefs of the Late Period from Lower Egypt’, may prove instructive.



Cairo T.9.7.24.5
A SAÏTE LINTEL REUNITED



1. Cairo T.28.5.24.4, right



2. Cairo T.28.5.24.4, left
A SAÏTE LINTEL REUNITED

A SAÏTE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT

By EUGENE CRUZ-URIBE

P. LOUVRE E.7854 is a demotic letter from the Saïte Period which was published in facsimile and translation by Eugene Revillout almost a century ago.¹ Revillout later included it in several of his discussions of Egyptian legal texts.² Since then it has been mentioned rarely in discussions of demotic texts.³ Revillout only reproduced the recto in his original publication. On pl. XII I present a photograph of the verso of the text which I owe to the courtesy of M. de Cenival of the Louvre.

P. Louvre E.7854 measures 25.8 cm wide × 9.5 cm high. The recto of the document has six lines of early demotic, while the verso contains the one-line address. The text itself is a palimpsest. If one examines the verso of the document one discovers that our document originally was the right-hand portion of a much larger document of which the beginning of at least twenty-five lines can be seen. It is a text dated to the twenty-sixth year of a king, probably Amasis, which would date the original text to 544 B.C. Almost nothing can be discerned from the traces. Line 8 appears to have *P3-ti-Ṛḥ*, while l. 10 perhaps has *s3 Ṛrt-w-r-rw*. It seems that the author of our letter erased the original text, tore off the right end of the text, rotated it 90 degrees, and turned it over to convert the original verso into the recto of our document.

The text is written in a relatively large hand and is broken at the right end of the papyrus. If we use the restored name *P3-ti-Ṛmn-nsw-t3-wy* at the beginning of l. 3 and compare the length of the same name in l. 1, it is possible to estimate that approximately 2.5 cm of text is missing from the beginning of each line. In addition, the beginning of each of the remaining lines is damaged, a fact which makes the reading of those areas more difficult. These problems lessen our complete understanding of the content of the entire text. Malinine had noted⁴ that this text belonged to the group of papyri including P. Louvre E.7832, 7835, 7838, 7834, 7836, and 7839, all of which date to late in the reign of Amasis (570-526 BC) and which come from Thebes. The date at the end of our papyrus is lost (beginning of line 6), but a date towards the end of Amasis' reign would be most likely on paleographic grounds.

I wish to thank George Hughes for the many comments and criticisms which he made on a draft of this article.

¹ *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti* (Paris, 1885), 34-5, pl. 22, no. 21.

² *Notice des papyrus démotiques archaïques et autres textes juridiques ou historique* (Paris, 1896), 356; id., *Précis du droit égyptien comparé aux autres droits de l'antiquité* (Paris, 1899-1903), 465; id., *Contrats égyptiens, archaïques, démotiques, araméens . . .* (Paris, 1911-12), 390-4.

³ F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III (Manchester, 1909), 23 n. 38; M. Malinine, *Choix de textes juridiques en hiéroglyphes 'anormal' et en démotique (XXV^e-XXVII^e dynasties)*, I (Paris, 1953), 108; E. Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit* (Äg. Forsch. 20), 2nd edn. (Glückstadt, 1968), 6 n. 3; H.-J. Thissen, 'Chronologie der frühdemotischen Papyri', *Enchoria* 10 (1980), 105-25.

⁴ Op. cit. 108 n. 3.

The papyrus deals with the request by *D-Hnsw-ıw·f-ꜥnh* to the Prophet of Amūn, *Pꜣ-ti-ꜣmn-nsw-tꜣ·wy*, that he should try to get payment for their dung from the two sons of *D-ḥe*: [*Pꜣ-ti-Mn* and *ꜣrt·w-rꜥ*. It appears that they had paid a quantity of grain, perhaps for taxes, to the granary. This suggests that it is harvest time and *D-Hnsw-ıw·f-ꜥnh* perceives that it is a good time to obtain payment while the two have the resources to pay for it. Janssen⁵ concluded that dung was not very expensive in comparison to other items, such as wood and brush, which were used for fuel. *D-Hnsw-ıw·f-ꜥnh* notes that, if they cannot obtain much for the dung, it becomes the property of the two brothers. The amount desired is probably so low that it would not warrant a legal suit to get payment for the dung. *D-Hnsw-ıw·f-ꜥnh* does not mention any title he may have, and it is not clear whether *Pꜣ-ti-ꜣmn-nsw-tꜣ·wy* is to use his position as Prophet of Amūn to assist in getting payment for the dung. The tone of the letter suggests that they were partners in this enterprise.

Most of the documents which survive down to us from the Saïte and Persian Periods are part of groups of documents loosely called archives. Usually the texts were in the possession of one individual whose name is given to the group. As mentioned above, P. Louvre E.7854 is part of the archive of one of the two brothers, *ꜣrt·w-rꜥ*. He is mentioned in a number of texts.⁶ Seidl also mentions that the father, *D-ḥe*, is known from a number of texts (e.g. P. BM 10113, P. Louvre E. 7861, 7855, 7844, 7845, and P. BM 10432). He also suggests that perhaps all of these texts belong to the archive of *ꜣrt·w-rꜥ*, his son.⁷ All of the texts in this archive date to the reign of Amasis. The reading of the name *Pꜣ-ti-Mn* in l. 2 of our text suggests perhaps another connection to a different archive. Seidl⁸ describes a very extensive archive which comes from Thebes belonging to the individual *ꜣrt·w-r·r·w*.⁹ The archive contains a number of texts currently housed in the Turin Museum, the British Museum, the Louvre, Bibliothèque National (Paris), and elsewhere. From P. Bibl. Nat. 216 and 217 we know that one of *ꜣrt·w-r·r·w*'s relatives on his mother's side was one *Pꜣ-ti-Mn*.¹⁰ It is tempting to suggest that the documents of *ꜣrt·w-rꜥ* passed to his brother and then to the woman *Rwrw* and so on to *ꜣrt·w-r·r·w*. Chronologically this fits as most of the documents from the archive of *ꜣrt·w-r·r·w* date from the reign of Darius I, while the documents of the other group are from the reign of Amasis. If these assumptions are true and Seidl's groups 1, 3, and 4 are really one archive, then this archive accounts for almost 45 per cent of all of the documents which survive from the reigns of Amasis and Darius I.

⁵ *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 450.

⁶ Seidl, op. cit. 6, group 3.

⁷ Loc. cit. Thus Seidl's groups 3 and 4 are one large archive.

⁸ Op. cit. 4-5, group 1.

⁹ N. Reich, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischer und demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum* (Vienna, 1914), 35-8.

¹⁰ E. Cruz-Uribe, 'A Transfer of Property from the Reign of Darius I (P. Bibl. Nat. 216 and 217)', *Enchoria* 9 (1979), 43.

Transliteration*Recto*

- (1) [*hrw-b3k D-*]Hnsw-*iw·f·cñh* s3 Rry^a m-b3h hm-ntr^b 'Imn P3-ti-'Imn-*nsz-t3·wy*^c i ti P3-R^c qy p3y·f^ch^{c-d}
- (2) [*r^e P3-t*]i-Mn^f s3 D-*he^g hn^c Irt·w-rdⁿ* p3y·f sn^{c3i} mh·w n3y·w^j bt^k r p3 r3^l my ir n·y-
- (3) [*P3-ti-'Im*]n-*nsz-t3·wy* t3y mt nfr.t [w^{b3}·w^m my ir·w p3y·w^j isw (n) t3y·n h3rⁿ rh(·y) s d^o n3 w3h-mw(·w)^p
- (4) [. . .] . . . my c^e·s^q mtw t3y·n h3rⁿ hwn-n3·w mn^r t3 h(y)r^s h3pr mtw·w iw·f
- (5) [. . .] . . . [irm·k] m-ir ti ir·w isw n ky^t rmt iw-bn-pw·k^u ti rh(·y) s sh b3k
- (6) [*D-Hnsw-*iw·f·cñh* n h·t-sp xx ibt xx szw x +]2^v*

Verso

*hrw-b3k D-Hnsw-*iw·f·cñh* s3 Rry m-b3h hm-ntr 'Imn P3-ti-'Imn-*nsz-t3·wy**

Translation*Recto*

- (1) [Communication from *D-*]Hnsw-*iw·f·cñh*, son of Rry, before the Prophet of Amūn, P3-ti-'Imn-*nsz-t3·wy*. 'May Prē^c cause your lifetime to be long.
- (2) [Concerning P3-t]i-Mn, the son of D-*he*, together with Irt·w-rd, his eldest brother: they have paid their emmer to the granary. May [P3-ti-'Im]n-*nsz-t3·wy*
- (3) do for me this favour concerning them: May they make their payment for our dung. I know that the choachytes
- (4) . . . May it be great pertaining to our dung. If not, the dung becomes theirs. If it(?)
- (5) . . . with you, do not let them make payment to another person without letting me know'. Written by the servant
- (6) [*D-Hnsw-*iw·f·cñh* in year xx, month of xx, day x +]2.*

Verso

Communication of *D-Hnsw-*iw·f·cñh**, son of Rry, before the Prophet of Amūn, P3-ti-'Imn-*nsz-t3·wy*.

Commentary

- (a) [*D-*]Hnsw-*iw·f·cñh* s3 Rry. The same person is found as a witness in P. Louvre E.7838/8, 7834/8, 7834/9 (Revillout, *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti*, pls. 12-14). Reich (op. cit. 103 n. 438) had misread the name *D-Hnsw-*iir-ti*·s*.
- (b) hm-ntr, 'Prophet', is here written with four strokes as in P. Louvre E. 7450/2, 4 (Revillout, op. cit., pl. 21, no. 20) in contrast to the normal writing (*Glossar*, 305) which has only three strokes.
- (c) P3-ti-'Imn-*nsz-t3·wy*. Here he is a 'Prophet of Amūn'. Could this be the same man who is known elsewhere as a *i3-ntr*, 'God's Father' (P. Louvre E. 7843/3; Malinine, op. cit. 108)? If it is the same person, and if the rank of 'Prophet of Amūn' is higher than 'God's Father',

then we can date our text to some time after year 35 of Amasis which is the year in which P. Louvre E.7843 was written.

(d) Here and at the end of l. 2 the dot written is to be understood as a space-filler.

(e) *r*. The document needs some item which will fill the area broken before the name, as well as serving as an introductory particle to the following narrative. This use of *r* follows W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1925), §469. See also Cruz-Uribe, 'A Sale of Inherited Property from the Reign of Darius I', *JEA* 66 (1980), 124 n. 11.

(f) [*P*]-*i*-*Mn*. The traces immediately after the break and before *Mn* suggest the end of *ti*, rather than *Ns*-, as Revillout took it (e.g. op. cit. 34). One other possibility is to read *Ti-s-Mn*, which is attested in the Saïte receipt, P. Cairo 30172/x+2 (Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyrus* (Tafeln) (CGC) (Strasbourg, 1906), pl. 86). This is less likely.

(g) *D-he*. The manner of writing of the father's name is similar to that found in P. Louvre E. 7843/2, but much different from that found in P. BM 10113/2 (Reich, op. cit., pl. 1), P. Louvre E. 7450/1 and 7836/3 (Revillout, op. cit., pl. 10 n. 9).

(h) *Yrt-w-rd*. See Malinine, op. cit. 108.

(i) *sn* ^{cs}, 'eldest brother', is also seen in P. Bibl. Nat. 217/4 (Cruz-Uribe, 'A Transfer of Property from the Reign of Darius (P. Bibl. Nat. 216 and 217)', *Enchoria* 9 (1979) 35).

(j) *n*^y*w*. A cursive form of the possessive for the Saïte Period. Note also *p*^y*w* in l. 3.

(k) *bt*, 'emmer'. A similar writing is to be found in P. Louvre E. 7838/5.

(l) *r*^s, 'granary', following *Glossar*, 240. Note also Insinger 4/6: 'Do not squander the little you have if there is no storehouse behind you' (M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. III. The Late Period* (Berkeley, 1980), 188).

(m) *t*^y *mt nfr.t* [w^b]-*w*, 'this favour concerning them', is a likely translation for this passage. *mt nfr.t*, 'favour', is a common enough expression (*Glossar*, 217) in these documents. For further discussion of *w*^b, 'concerning, for', see Griffith, op. cit. 245 n. 9.

(n) *hyr*, 'dung'. See *Glossar*, 325. This is equal to Coptic ϩⲟⲓⲣⲉ (W. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 697b). It is not a common word in demotic, but is also found in 'Onchsheshonqy, 17/24: *t* ^h*s* *t* *hyr*(.t) *m-ir wp.t sksk*, 'Accept manure, accept dung, (but) do not do the work of collecting' (S. Glanville, *Cat. Dem. Pap. British Museum. II. The Instructions of Onchsheshonqy* (London, 1955)). Two other examples which come from the Persian Period are found in the Petition of Petiese: P. Rylands 9, 11/20-1: 'And PN, the master of shipping, said to him: "I heard about the things which the outcasts of the evil men, the cursed(?) of Teudjoi whom you made great men, have done to you." Petiese said to him: *in bn-pw t*^y*n* *hyr stm s p*^s *nt snh* *h*^{tr} *iir-f mwt m-tr.t*^f "Have not our dung heard that the one who nurtures the wolf(?) shall die by it?"' For *t*^y*n* *hyr* Griffith (op. cit. 87 and 234 n. 10) read *n*(?) . . . *hyr*(?), and noted that the same expression could be found in P. Louvre 7854 in an obscure context. The second example is P. Rylands 9, 12/9-10: '(The chief of police) came before Petiese and greeted him. The chief of police said to Petiese: *ih n mt thr.t t*^y(?) *iir n* *hyr ti hb n.y p*^s *cs-n-mr*, "What grievous thing have the dung committed to cause the Master of Shipping to send to me?"' In this example and in the preceding one Griffith translated the phrase as 'the inspector of crime', but expressed reservations as to the exact meaning (op. cit. 88 and 235 n. 1). It is interesting to note the comparison between evil-doers and dung, an expression common even in modern times. The use of the dung in our text is doubtless for fuel purposes, as there is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians ever used dung for fertilizer. For more discussion of *hyr* see J. Černý ('Some Coptic Etymologies' in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), 36), R. Caminos (*Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 167), and Janssen (op. cit. 450).

(o) *rh*(.y) *s d*. A similar construction is found in P. Rylands 9, 15/2 (Griffith, op. cit. 238).

(p) *n*^s *w*^h-*mw*(*w*). The end of the word is obscured by the break at the end of the line. In

addition the writing of this word is slightly peculiar. 'The choachytes' probably refers to 'Irt-w-rd and [P]-t]i-Mn.

(q) *my ce·s*. For *ce* see *Glossar*, 53. The suffix pronoun *·s* looks like the dependent pronoun found in ll. 3 and 5.

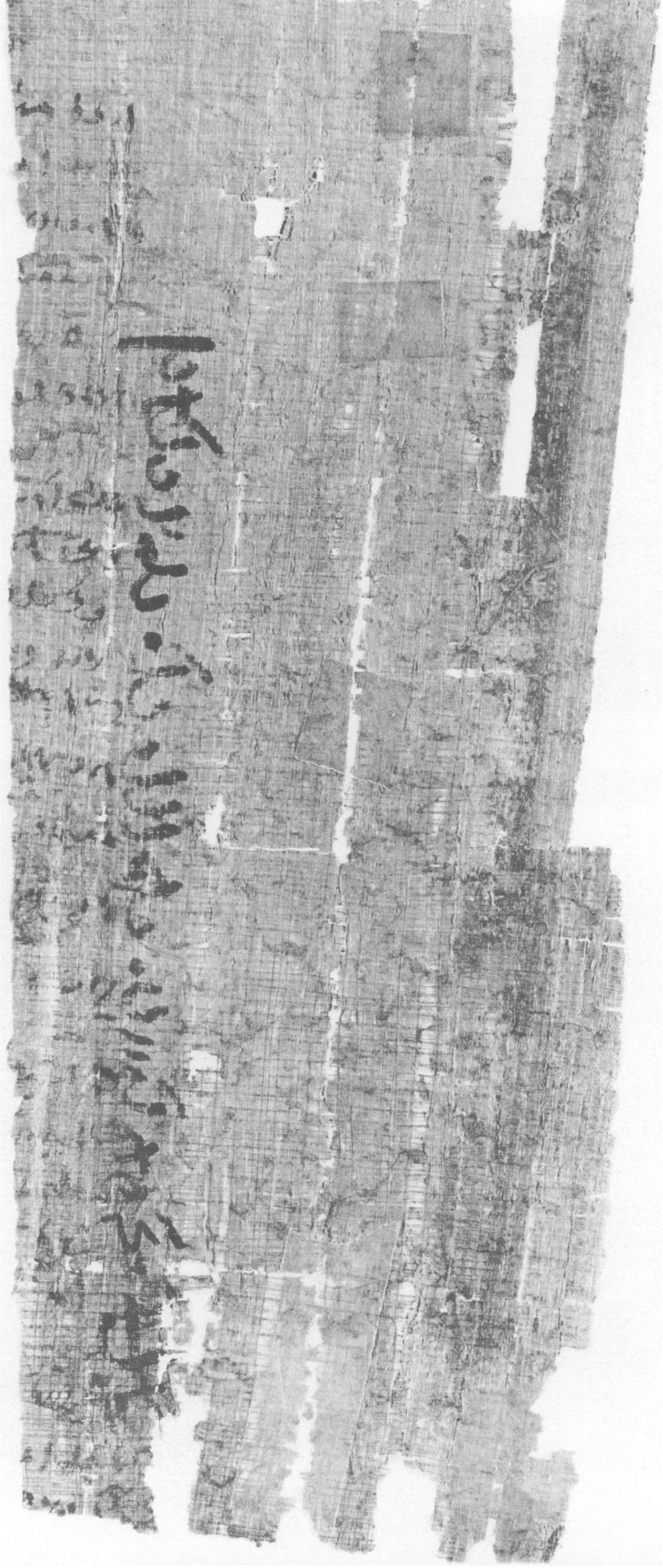
(r) *hwn-n·w mn*, 'if not'. I have translated the irrealis as 'if' following J. Johnson (*The Demotic Verbal System* (SAOC 38) (Chicago, 1976), 265 ff.) and A. Gardiner ('Remarques sur la particule démotique *hmy*', *CdÉ* 30 (1955), 288-93). Our construction is paralleled by the Coptic $\epsilon\eta\epsilon \overline{\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha}$: see Till, *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1961), §460; cf. also Luke 14: 32.

(s) *h(y)r*. This is the same word as earlier in this line and in l. 3, but here it is written without the medial *y*.

(t) *ky*, 'another', is here written *gr*, 'or', which occurs frequently in early demotic.

(u) *iw-bn-pw-k*, 'without', lit. 'whereas you have not'. This is clearly the circumstantial negative past construction. Immediately after it and before *ti* there appears to be an unwanted *r* written.

(v) *sh b:k* [PN *n h·t-sp XX ibt xx sw x +*]2. The end of l. 5 and the beginning of l. 6. should have the closing formula for a letter. I have made this restoration on the basis of P. Cairo 50068/3, P. Cairo 50071/5 (Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Inschriften und Papyri (Fortsetzung)* (CGC) (Berlin, 1932), pls. 30-1) and P. Loeb 1/17 (id., *Die Demotischen Papyri Loeb* (Munich, 1931), pl. 2), all of which are letters written in early demotic. The polite title *b:k*, 'servant', appears in each of those texts and here refers to the sender of the letter, *D-Hnsw-iw-f- ϵ nh*.



P. Louvre E.7854
Courtesy the Louvre

A SAÏTE REQUEST FOR PAYMENT

THE CAMEL IN DYNASTIC EGYPT

By MICHAEL RIPINSKY

IN 1975, I presented evidence showing a very early familiarity with dromedaries in Arabia—a presence of at least 10,000 years.¹ I did not mean to imply that the very early material suggested domesticated camels, but my study was aimed at refuting the idea advocated by W. F. Albright and his followers that camels could not have been domesticated before the second millennium BC since they had been absent from this region before that time.² This claim was extended to include not only Arabia, but Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine as well.³ Egypt and the Sahara, on the other hand, received a place of distinction in that the Graeco-Roman Period has been designated most frequently as witnessing the introduction of camels.⁴ The strength of these arguments was essentially founded on the assumption that, as a consequence of the arid geography of the area, man would have domesticated camels had they existed there.

The Camel in Prehistory

The distribution of dromedaries can be traced by fossil remains in the Levant, the Arabian peninsula, and all the way across North Africa.⁵ The bones of *Camelus thomasi* were found in North-west Africa in association with a stone industry of the *Atlantropus* man. This camel is, beyond doubt, one of the first true wild dromedaries, or an extremely close biological relative.

The faunal record shows the presence of *C. thomasi* in North Africa from the middle Pleistocene down to the early Postglacial, i.e. about 10,000 years ago. There is also evidence, derived from Neolithic charcoal, of a pastoral culture based on the domesticated sheep and/or goat in the Sahara, especially in Libya, during the sixth millennium BC, and perhaps even earlier.⁶ Between the fifth millennium and the end

¹ M. Ripinsky, 'The Camel in Ancient Arabia', *Antiquity* 49 (1975), 295–8.

² W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 3rd edn. (Baltimore, 1953), 96–7; *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Baltimore, 1960), 206–7; I. J. Gelb, 'The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples', *JCS* 15 (1961), 27; W. G. Lambert, 'The Domesticated Camel in the Second Millennium—Evidence from Alalakh and Ugarit', *BASOR* 160 (1960), 43.

³ Until very recently, the appearance of the domesticated camel in the Near East has been customarily correlated with the first (?) mention of the Bactrian species in the cuneiform inscription (Akkadian *udru*) on the Broken Obelisk of Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1077 BC). This inscription relates to the breeding of the two-humped camels, a variety absent from Egypt, Arabia, the Levant, and Mesopotamia proper. I have been informed that work at Choga Mish, a site near Susa in southern Mesopotamia, produced a reference to the camel in the texts of the proto-Uruk Period (c. 3500 BC).

⁴ O. Brogan, 'The Camel in Roman Tripolitania', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 22 (1954), 126–31.

⁵ Cf. M. Ripinsky, 'Pleistocene Camel Distribution in the Old World', *Antiquity* 56 (1982), 48–50.

⁶ E. S. Higgs, 'Early Domesticated Animals in Libya', in *Background to Evolution in Africa* (W. W. Bishop and J. D. Clark, eds.) (Chicago, 1967), 169.

of the Neolithic wet period, pastoralism had already spread almost throughout the entire desert. Some shelters in Libya were dated from 5500 to 3500 BC, and in the Tassili from 3500 to 2500 BC.⁷ Yet, the archaeological testimony does not abound with signs indicating a widespread use of the domesticated camel before the first part of the second millennium BC, in spite of the fact that the occurrence of camels in the Sahara and the Nile region must predate the First Dynasty by at least several centuries.

Before the advent of the more recent pluvial interludes which characterized the African Later Stone Age, around 9000–6000 BC,⁸ camels had already developed all the biologically adaptive traits which have typified them as arid-land mammals. Their ability to conserve water through an extremely specialized kidney mechanism, as well as the capacity to control body temperature, places the camels in a unique position.⁹ It is suggested here that this animal, because of a wetter climate in Lower Egypt, arrived there after it had reached certain parts of the upper Nile basin. As the climate became more moderate, resulting in savannah and woodland conditions, the camel dispersed southward and to the west in search of a more arid habitat. It is most probable that it was first utilized by the nomadic tribesmen inhabiting the drier, southern parts of the Sahara. Shifts in the climatic regime during that period were responsible for the oscillating distribution of camels throughout northern Africa. Later on, as desiccation replaced the savannah and forest environment, the camel reoccupied its ancient niche. At the same time, most of the human population that did not settle in the Nile Valley migrated to the higher elevations in the south-eastern corner, where, among the present-day inhabitants, one can still find the descendants of those groups.

The *domesticated* one-humped camel was, very likely, introduced into the Nile Valley after it had diffused from its point of origin in South Arabia across the straits of Bab el-Mandeb, and then via Somaliland and Nubia into Upper Egypt, where it arrived before the beginning of the Dynastic Period.¹⁰

As early as 1903, Petrie attempted to offer a reasonable solution to the problem of whether camels enjoyed a continuous existence there throughout the Dynastic

⁷ B. G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology 69) (New Haven, 1965), 62–3. Also cf. M. M. Dalloni, 'Palethnologie', in *Mission au Tibesti*, 11 (Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences 62) (Paris, 1936), 314–29, for camel pictographs from the Tibesti massif, south of Libya. Some of the camels shown are certainly domesticated; for they are either ridden or led by men. Dalloni dates them to the North African Neolithic.

⁸ Characterized by a microlithic industry of the Mesolithic hunters, who learnt more skilful and finer techniques of tool manufacture, the Makalian corresponds to the post-Pleistocene Period in Africa which has been correlated with the Atlantic European climatic phase dating between 8,000 and 4,000 years ago. At least two divisions of the Makalian are recognized—separated by relatively dry periods—with corresponding shifts in plant and animal life. G. W. Murray ('The Egyptian Climate: an Historical Outline', *Geographical Journal* 117 (1951), 426, 428–30) points out that this wetter climate is indicated by vestiges of vegetation which flourished on the hillsides and the valleys of the Eastern Desert, which was traversed by grazing animals.

⁹ K. Schmidt-Nielsen, 'The Physiology of the Camel', *Scientific American* 201 (1959), 144. Camels can survive quite drastic fluctuations in the blood-plasma levels, which in equivalent proportions would prove fatal to man.

¹⁰ A. Staffe, 'Zur Frage der Herkunft des Kamels in Afrika', *Zeit. für Tierzüchtung und Züchtungsbiologie* 46 (1940), 135–41; M. Ripinsky, *Antiquity* 49, 297.

Period. But what he tried to explain in terms of biological extinction, 'the camels having died out',¹¹ was rather a function of geographical dispersion, activated by the last rainy interludes from about 9000 to 6000 BC and 3500 to 2500 BC respectively. During both periods, the camel population embarked, so to speak, on its own exodus in the desert, migrating from Egypt and the northern regions of the Sahara to the south and the south-west, and diffusing across the southern tip of the great desert.

Egyptian Evidence

The appearance of camels in Lower Egypt by the time of the First Dynasty (3100–2850 BC) is definitely attested by archaeological findings of several independent teams. Among the earlier ones is that of Green and Quibell, who, while excavating at Hierakonpolis towards the end of the nineteenth century unearthed the terracotta head of a camel from the First Dynasty.¹² Similarly, Flinders Petrie, working at Abydos, found a relatively large pottery camel head, which measured 5 × 4 inches, in a sequence of material dating to the same period as the find of Green and Quibell.¹³ While reporting on his excavations of the western chamber of the temple area at Abydos, Petrie commented that the situation of early camels in Egypt resembled that of the horse: 'Now a camel head in pottery found with objects of the 1st Dynasty . . . points to the animal having died out and been re-introduced; this is much like the history of the horse in Egypt, as lately suggested by Zippelin.'¹⁴ One of the aforementioned heads found its way into the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago (No. 7972), and used to display a card reading: 'The red pottery camel's head suggests the early use of that desert beast in Egypt.'

A truly interesting find was made by Möller at Abusir el-Meleq. He discovered in a tomb from the First Dynasty a zoomorphic ointment vessel of yellow limestone in the form of a recumbent dromedary, now in the Berlin Museum.¹⁵ Zeuner believed that it represented a dromedary carrying a load.¹⁶ Though Glanville and Frankfort both argued against its being of Egyptian manufacture, they did not dispute its age.¹⁷ H. S. Smith of University College London not only accepts that the tomb may date to the First Dynasty, but also feels that attempts at incipient domestication can be supported by the 'indubitable representations of the camel from the predynastic period'.¹⁸ Sir Wallis Budge similarly maintained that 'The camel . . . was known to the pre-dynastic Egyptians, and earthenware figures of the camel were found at

¹¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, II (Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund 24) (London, 1903), 49.

¹² F. W. Green and J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis II* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt and the Egyptian Research Fund, Fifth Year) (London, 1899), 49, pl. 62, fig. 2.

¹³ Petrie, *Abydos*, II, 27, pl. 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 49.

¹⁵ G. Möller, 'Ausgrabung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft auf dem vorgeschichtlichen Friedhofe bei Abusir-el-Meleq im Sommer, 1905', *MDOG* 30 (1906), 17.

¹⁶ F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (New York, 1963), 350 n.

¹⁷ S. R. K. Glanville, 'Egyptian Theriomorphic Vessels in the British Museum', *JEA* 12 (1926), 58; H. Frankfort, 'Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period', *JEA* 12 (1926), 82 n.

¹⁸ H. S. Smith, 'Animal Domestication and Animal Cult in Dynastic Egypt', in *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals* (P. J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby, eds.) (Chicago, 1969), 310.

Nakâda'.¹⁹ Others, too, e.g. Childe and Emery, agreed on the possibility of the camel's having been included among the domestic animals kept by the Egyptians during the First and Second Dynasties.²⁰

In the season of 1930-1, the Egyptian University was engaged in the excavation of a Neolithic site at Maadi (el-Ma'ady), on the outskirts of Cairo. The dig revealed the predynastic ceramic head of an animal, which, at the time of its discovery, showed signs of wear, and appeared somewhat schematic in style (see fig. 1). Nevertheless, it was a good representation of a camel with traces of red on white.²¹ As far as I know, however, there have been no absolute dates established for any of the deposits. The camel head from Maadi was placed in the University Museum at Cairo.

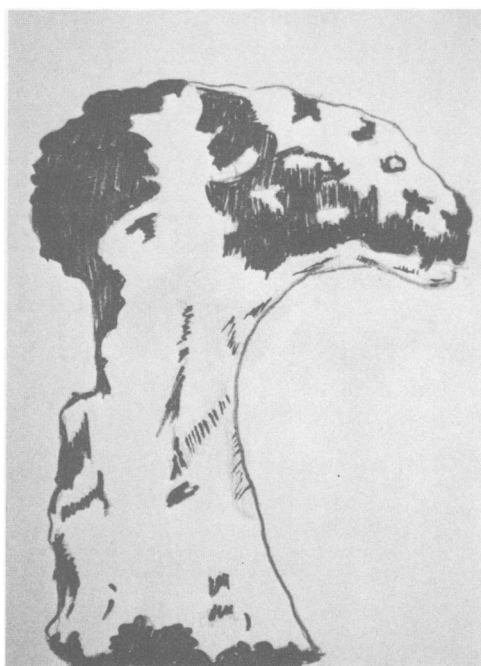


FIG. 1. A predynastic pottery head of a camel from the Neolithic site at Maadi, near Cairo, excavated by Menghin and Amer. It shows traces of red on white.

From the Wadi Natash el-Raiyan, in the Eastern Desert, comes another item from a slightly later period. It is a rock-carving of a dromedary, together with other early animal figures—elephants, giraffes, ibexes, ostriches, and even men and boats—all executed by pecking. Caton-Thompson and Gardner, followed afterwards by Murray, who detached the camel carving from the original boulder, assigned the

¹⁹ E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy. A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1925), 388.

²⁰ V. G. Childe, *What Happened in History* (London, 1942), 65-6; W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Baltimore, 1961), 240.

²¹ O. Menghin and M. Amer, *The Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site at Maadi* (Egyptian University Faculty of Arts Publication 19) (Cairo, 1932), 33, pl. 20.

dromedary to the Protodynastic Period.²² In addition, Winkler, travelling in the same desert, near the Wadi Abu Wasil, found rock representations of dromedaries executed by pecking and drawing. The former resembled, in manner and age, other animal rock-art from prehistoric times, while the drawn figures were more recent.²³

Around 2600 BC, when the Saharan-Nilotic climate was starting to come out of its wet phase, and began to reflect the conditions of today, the gypsum mines of Umm es-Sawan in the northern Fayûm were worked on a regular basis. Caton-Thompson, while excavating in the gypsum quarries and workshops, found an important piece of evidence consisting of a relatively long rope made of animal hair. After a careful examination by Martin Hinton of the Museum of Natural History, it was indubitably determined to be camel's hair. The rope was a two-strand twist of hair lodged in a two-foot level of consolidated gypsum powder, which was dated throughout by pottery. The excavators felt that there could be no doubt that the camel rope dated to the Third or the very early Fourth Dynasty.²⁴ Although its original purpose cannot be known, it might have held together some miner's garments. It is also possible, albeit without proof, that camels contributed, by then, to the total input of animate energy for the operation of the gypsum works. In any event, the importance of this find speaks for itself: it not merely suggests the presence of camels, but also hints at their domestication.

Georg Schweinfurth, a recognized authority on petroglyphic art, described rock-carvings near Aswan and Gezireh in Upper Egypt where one of the panels contained seven hieratic characters and a figure of a man leading a dromedary by a rope (see fig. 2). Gustav Möller, working on the inscription, assigned it to the Sixth Dynasty, whilst Schweinfurth attributed the camel and the man, on the basis of desert varnish and style, to the same period as the inscription.²⁵

During a geological survey of the Fayûm basin, the skull of a camel was unearthed in a sequence of the so-called Pottery Phase I. The chronological designation for the deposits was 2000–1400 BC,²⁶ covering a period from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Dynasty. From about the same time comes the figurine of a recumbent camel unearthed at Byblos, and published by Pierre Montet.²⁷ It was excavated along with many other Egyptian objects, and Montet had no doubt about its being of Egyptian origin. The entire assemblage dated from 2000 to 1500 BC.

While in Paris during 1938, Joseph Free noticed in the Louvre's Egyptian section a small figurine of a dromedary amongst items labelled 'Recent Acquisitions'. Upon

²² G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (London, 1934), 123; G. W. Murray, 'Early Camels in Egypt', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fouad I du Désert* 2 (1952), 106.

²³ H. A. Winkler, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt* (Archaeological Survey of Egypt) (London, 1938–9), pls. 1–2.

²⁴ G. Caton-Thompson, 'The Camel in Dynastic Egypt', *Man* 34 (1934), 21; Caton-Thompson and Gardner, *op. cit.* 123.

²⁵ G. Schweinfurth, 'Über alte Tierbilder und Felsinschriften bei Assuan', *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 44 (1912), 633.

²⁶ O. H. Little, 'Recent Geological Work in the Faiyum and the Adjoining Portion of the Nile Valley', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 18 (1935–6), 215.

²⁷ *Byblos et l'Égypte* (1928), 91; (1929), pl. 52 no. 179.

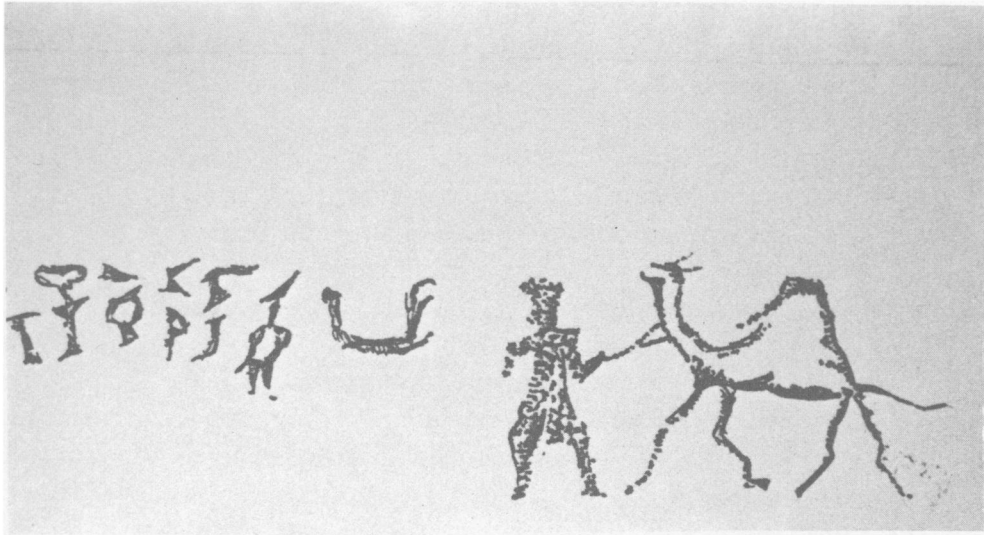


FIG. 2. A hieratic rock inscription, with a dromedary led by a man, found near Aswan by Schweinfurth, and assigned to the Sixth Dynasty. Part of the character on the left is missing on this photograph. The inscription was interpreted by Möller as: $\text{K} \bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{O}} \bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{K}} \bar{\text{L}}$

inquiry into the date and provenance of the object, M. Vandier of the Louvre staff informed him that it was from the Amarna Period, and that L. Keimer was going to publish it in the near future.²⁸ Possibly because of the outbreak of war in the following year, no such publication appeared. Bisson de la Roque mentions a camel figure from the New Kingdom level at Medamûd—fifteenth to fourteenth century BC.²⁹ It is possible that the dromedary from Medamûd was the same camel as that alluded to by Free, since the excavations had been carried out by the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo.

Rock-carvings of camels near the rocky plateau known as Gebel es-Silsileh were recorded by Petrie, who dated them from 1567 to 1320 BC.³⁰ But his most important discovery was made while excavating the necropolis at Rifeh, and consisted of a dromedary statuette burdened with two water jars. The figure was made of pottery and 'found in a tomb of XIXth dynasty in the northern cemetery. There were no traces of a later re-use of the tomb; the style of the figure is of the rough fingered pottery of the XIXth Dynasty, and quite unlike any of the moulded Roman figures; and the water-jar is of the XVIIth–XIXth Dynasty type and not of a form used in Greek or Roman times.' Because of its characteristic style and method of manufacture, and in view of the fact that there had been no subsequent disturbances of the grave, Petrie affirmed strongly that the camel effigy could not be assigned to a later

²⁸ J. Free, 'Abraham's Camels', *JNES* 3 (1944), 188–9.

²⁹ M. F. Bisson de la Roque, 'Rapport sur les Fouilles de Médamoud', *Fouilles de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 7 (1929), 56.

³⁰ Petrie, *Ten Years Digging* (London, 1892), 75.

age, '... and it shows that as early as Ramesside times it was sufficiently common to be used as a beast of burden. Two examples of the camel's head at about the time of the Ist Dynasty should be taken in connection with this (*Hierakonpolis*, lxii, mis-named a donkey, and *Abydos*, ii, x, 224)'.³¹ A glazed figure of a camel, with painted water jars, was excavated at Benha by Freiherr von Bissing. It was assigned to the Ramesside Period.³² It can be safely argued that, by at least 1300 BC, camels were relatively well known as domestic beasts of burden in Egypt.

The British Museum contains a group of faience vessels from the later dynastic period, elaborately decorated in low relief. One of these, described in its publication, is a sherd (BMC 65553) 'from the base of a dish with a head of Bes on one side, and on the other a frieze of desert animals, a gazelle, an antelope, a lioness, an ostrich, an ibex, a camel, and another antelope'.³³ It may be mentioned, here, that around 1934, the Geological Survey of Egypt dug out a camel skull from beneath 9.6 m of sediment in the northern section of the Fayûm Lake.³⁴ The only thing, however, that can be said with certainty about this discovery, at this point, is that it antedates the Ptolemaic Period. The skull was later exhibited at the Geological Museum, Cairo.

According to epigraphic evidence, the Assyrian emperor Esarhaddon, during his invasion of Egypt in 670 BC, received camels from the Arabian chieftains to assist his armies in crossing the desert. On the basis of this tradition, Breasted infers the existence of camel herding among the tribes of the Eastern Desert.³⁵ Another episode, similar to this one, took place over a century later, and was described by Herodotus (3.4-9): when Cambyses, king of the Persians, launched his campaign against Egypt in 525 BC, he had ordered water-bags made of camel skin filled with water for his troops, and then had these transported on camel-back across the desert regions. By the time of Herodotus, the domesticated dromedary was the only variety existing in North-West Africa, a fact which would explain why the camel was not listed in his *Persian Wars* when he itemized the *wild* fauna of the Maghreb.

Conclusions

The discovery of camel effigies from as early as the First Dynasty could have shed more light on the history of the animal in ancient Egypt had they been given more attention. The lack of faunal remains should not have led to a casual disregard of the artefactual evidence. It should be remembered that plant and animal remains, not so long ago, were not ranked highly on the scale of importance among archaeologists concerned primarily with material culture. Consequently, nobody can know the quantities of camel bones, and those of other animals, that were summarily discarded by uninformed excavators before the remains could be properly identified.

³¹ Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), 23, pl. 27.

³² Freiherr W. von Bissing, 'Zur Geschichte des Kamels', *ZÄS* 38 (1900), 68-9.

³³ *A General Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (London, 1969), 200.

³⁴ Cf. Murray, *op. cit.* 105.

³⁵ J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 2nd edn. (1909) (repr. New York, 1964), 465.

Egyptian inscriptions inform us that the inhabitants of the Nile Valley were importing myrrh and frankincense (from South Arabia?) in order to meet their ritual needs as early as the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties³⁶ while expeditions overland had been sent out to the incense country even earlier.³⁷ The use of donkey- rather than camel-caravans for transporting goods across such long distances would have involved considerable hardship, and would have been physically very strenuous to accomplish within a reasonable length of time. Expeditions employing donkeys could not easily maintain sufficiently high frequencies to sustain any sort of normal trade designed to supply the gargantuan demands of Egyptian temples and shrines. In coastal terrain, of course, seafaring trade would have flourished far better and more economically, but it would have been quite ineffective in ventures into the hinterland. The ability of the camel to withstand both a true desert environment and the strain of long journeys under a heavy load in desert heat made it the ideal vehicle for such operations.

All these points suggest that the introduction of camels into Egypt occurred, at the very latest, by early dynastic times and raise the possibility that the camel representations discovered in Egyptian tombs, together with other votive articles, depicted objects that were familiar to the deceased and those responsible for the burial. Certainly the evidence is sparse, but let me make reference to two intriguing situations in Siberia and South Africa. In the Amur-Ussuri Valley, numerous ancient rock drawings can be found carved by the tribal artists. To quote Okladnikov: 'Surprisingly, although these ancient tribes lived mainly by fishing, not one picture of a fish has been found in their rock drawings.'³⁸ In the second case, J. Desmond Clark has made an interesting observation concerning prehistoric man-animal relationships by saying: 'The animals that provided the food supply of Later Stone Age populations and which are found in the cave deposits of southern Africa were more usually not those depicted in the rock art on the walls. It seems, therefore, that the animals the people would have preferred to kill (those in the rock art) and those off which they actually lived were not the same, owing to relative abundance and limitations of hunting technology.'³⁹

³⁶ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 1 (Chicago, 1906), 161, 360-1.

³⁷ B. Doe, *Southern Arabia* (London, 1971), 30.

³⁸ A. P. Okladnikov, 'The Petroglyphs of Siberia', *Scientific American* 221 (August, 1969), 80.

³⁹ J. Desmond Clark, discussion following E. S. Higgs, 'Early Domesticated Animals in Libya' (see n. 6 above), 172.

CRUCIBLES IN THE PETRIE COLLECTION AND HIEROGLYPHIC IDEOGRAMS FOR METAL

By CHRISTOPHER J. DAVEY

THE Petrie Collection at the University of London contains a number of crucibles which have been published only briefly.¹ The growing interest in early metallurgy makes a more complete publication of these vessels worth while. The author is most grateful to Dr G. T. Martin, Curator of the Petrie Museum, for permission to undertake this republication and to Miss Rosalind Hall for the assistance given while studying the objects. Dr N. J. Seely of the Institute of Archaeology, London, is to be thanked for providing X-ray fluorescence analysis of fragments of slag from some of the crucibles. Comments by Mr Ian Edwards of the Victoria State College and Dr Colin Hope of the University of Melbourne have also been appreciated.

There are six crucibles in the collection, four of which are small and unprovenanced and two of which are larger and from known locations. There is no information about the date of the smaller crucibles, and, although some general indications may be obtained from analysis, it is probable that each one represents a long-standing tradition. Variations in crucible size and shape occur as a result of specific function and operating environment, but chronological variations and development will not be evident until a greater number of crucibles are known. The typological system which is quoted in some instances is that derived by Tylecote.²

1. UC 8993 (see fig. 1, no. 1 and pl. XIII, no. 1). Size: 110 mm dia., 80 mm high. Type: F, bag-shaped or globular. Provenance: Unknown.

The shape of the crucible is spherical, and it is of medium size. The reddish tint of the interior indicates that the crucible was probably made from Nile clay. Its exterior is almost completely vitrified and variously coloured green, red, black, and brown. It may, therefore, be deduced that the crucible was subjected to repeated and extended periods of high temperature about its outer surface.

Since there is no slag on the inside, there is no indication of what metals were melted in it. If the crucible was used for copper melting, some copper would most likely remain on the interior surface. It is also unusual for copper-melting crucibles of this size to have the furnace placed under them as indicated by the external vitrification, rather than over the top. It is, therefore, likely that the crucible was used for

¹ Museum No. UC 18146 in G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari I* (London, 1927), 36, 67, pl. xli, no. 25; UC 8901 in W. M. F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (London, 1906), 162, fig. 161; and Museum Nos. UC 8993, 8994, 8995, and 8996 are Nos. 247, 248, 245, and 246 respectively, in Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (The British School of Archaeology in Egypt) (London, 1917), 61, pl. lxxvii.

² R. F. Tylecote, *A History of Metallurgy* (London, 1976), 19.

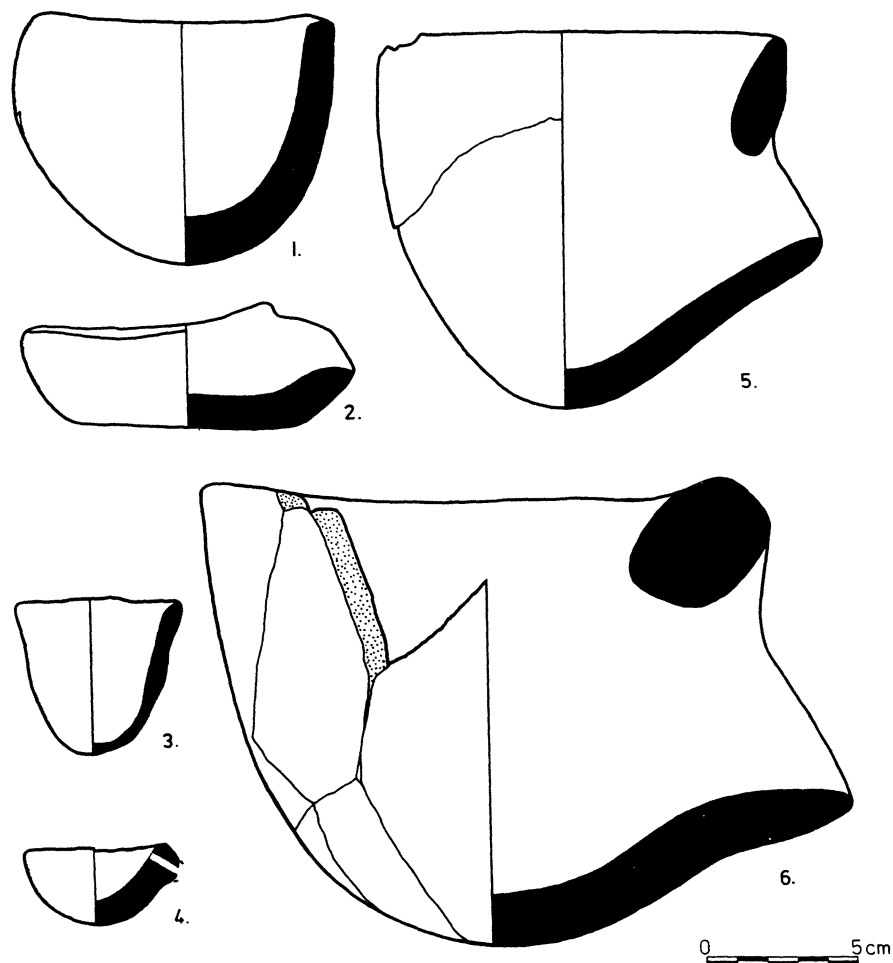


FIG. 1. The crucibles in the Petrie Collection

melting and refining a precious metal such as gold and that the dross which was skimmed from the surface of the melt was wiped on to the sides of the crucible, a process resulting in the variety of colours. The fact that crucibles used for refining gold in modern times have high sides and after use have coloured slag on their exterior gives some validity to this suggestion.

2. *UC 8994* (see fig. 1, no. 2, and pl. XIII, no. 2). Size: 110 mm dia., 40 mm high. Type: J2, oval or boat-shaped, flat bottomed. Provenance: Unknown. Analysis: Slag from the interior contained copper, tin, zinc, and traces of iron, lead, and cobalt.

This crucible has a low-sided open shape and a flat bottom. The vessel is handmade from fine Nile clay in which there was a little organic material. The crucible fabric was, therefore, a moderately good insulator.

Crucible slag covers the internal surface while the exterior is relatively clean. The furnace was clearly placed over the crucible in this instance and the forced ventilation was directed straight at the charcoal over the metal in the crucible. It is unlikely that this crucible was carried to make the pour as it would be difficult to hold, and so most probably it was simply tilted forward to pour the charge directly into a mould placed in front of it. The slag analysis reveals that the crucible was used for melting tin bronze and so a second-millennium date would seem likely.³

3. *UC 8995* (see fig. 1, no. 3, and pl. XIII, no. 3). Size: 55 mm dia., 55 mm high. Type: F, bag-shaped or globular. Provenance: Unknown. Analysis: Slag from the interior contained copper, arsenic, tin, and traces of iron.

The crucible is small with a deep shape and thin sides. It is made from a grey-coloured clay which has many small holes indicating that it originally contained organic material such as chaff. The organic material has been consumed during firing leaving a good refractory fabric. However, the thinness of the crucible sides would reduce the insulation properties of the vessel and allow easy transference of heat. It is, therefore, possible that this crucible was immersed in the hearth for heating.

There was a little slag on the inside of the crucible, and this revealed that the metal melted was bronze. The exterior of the crucible has no crucible slag on it and shows no signs of heating. The grey colour of the fabric seems to indicate that it was made from Qena- or Ballas-type clay which, like other Nile clays, contains fluxing agents in the form of iron compounds.⁴ The absence of slag on the exterior is, therefore, hard to explain. The vessel could contain only about 20 g of bronze which would have melted with a relatively short application of heat, and this may not have been sufficient time for the fabric of the crucible to vitrify. It is also possible that the crucible has had comparatively little use.

The high sides enabled the crucible to be lifted from the hearth by gripping it on the sides with two insulating pads possibly made from a refractory ceramic. The small amounts of bronze melted would have been insufficient for most tools and weapons and so this vessel was most probably the property of a jeweller or maker of ornaments.

4. *UC 8996* (see fig. 1, no. 4, and pl. XIII, no. 4). Size: 50 mm dia., 25 mm high. Provenance: Unknown. Analysis: Slag from the interior contained copper and arsenic and traces of iron.

The shape of the crucible is that of an open dish, and it does not coincide with any of Tylecotes's types. It is small and made from a fine clay which has been well fired. The resulting ceramic is strong, but neither its shape nor its fabric provides any insulation.

³ A. Lucas (ed. J. R. Harris), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edn. (London, 1962), 220.

⁴ *Ibid.* 368, 381.

This crucible was also used to melt small amounts of copper when placed in a hearth. It is unlikely that the hole in the side of the crucible was a spout⁵ because the melt would have quickly solidified when being poured, thus choking the hole. The most probable purpose for the hole would have been to assist in manipulating the vessel. The side of the crucible is reinforced around the hole by an increased thickness so that it was strong enough for a thin dowel to have been inserted into it from above and the crucible lifted from the hearth. Dowel holes were not normally used as a means of handling crucibles because the body of the vessels was made to provide insulation, not strength. Some Aegean crucibles were designed so that a spike could be used to manipulate them⁶ but there is no suggestion of any traditional links with this crucible. In this case the dowel inserted in a hole was the obvious way to achieve the precise control of the crucible by someone such as a jeweller who required only small amounts of metal at a time.

5. *UC 181.46* (see fig. 1, no. 5, and pl. XIV, no. 1). Size: 135 mm dia., 125 mm high. Type: L, side-pouring hole. Provenance: Qau. Analysis: Slag from the interior contained copper and arsenic with traces of iron.

The crucible is large and shaped like a deep bowl with a hole in the side. It was found in a tomb No. 4964 of the Seventh or Eighth Dynasty with the remains of an adult male.⁷ There were two large grey stones in the crucible when it was found. The First Intermediate Period date agrees with the absence of tin in the crucible slag; however, most parallels for this crucible shape come from later periods. The crucible found by Petrie in Sinai⁸ may be of New Kingdom date and the crucible found at Keos⁹ is also probably Late Bronze Age. A slightly smaller crucible of this shape from Byblos may be earlier than both of these but probably still within the second millennium BC.¹⁰ Together these vessels seem to testify to a long tradition which employed this shape of crucible.

With the exception of some plaster the crucible now consists of crucible slag which formed on its internal surface. The exterior surface has disintegrated leaving an impression of its texture on the remaining slag. It was fine clay mixed with straw which, when fired, would have produced a good insulating material. The heat was applied to the inside of the crucible by forcing the draught through the hole in the side of the crucible. The crucible would have been filled with charcoal, and there would have been charcoal in front of the side hole. In this way sufficient heat would have been applied to the metal with the expenditure of a minimum amount of charcoal and human energy. As Tylecote suggests in relation to the Keos crucible,¹¹

⁵ Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 61, believed that the hole was a spout.

⁶ See, e.g., W. Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos* (1936), 157, and C. Tsounlos, *Ai Proistorikai Akropoleis Dimēniou kai Sesklou* (1908), fig. 288.

⁷ Brunton, *op. cit.* 36, 67.

⁸ See crucible No. 6.

⁹ J. L. Caskey, 'Excavations in Keos', *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 277, pl. 98(f), and Tylecote, *op. cit.* 18, 20.

¹⁰ M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, 2 (Paris, 1958), fig. 962, no. 16653.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* 18.

it is probable that a mould was placed in front of it so that it could be rocked forward to discharge the molten copper.

The presence of charcoal in the crucible during heating would have produced reducing conditions so that any iron oxide in the crucible ceramic would have acted as a flux, thus facilitating vitrification of the internal surface. If the crucible was filled to its lip, it would have contained an estimated 1.3 kg of copper. The extent of vitrification of the crucible indicates that it has been used on numerous occasions. As a burial object it may, therefore, testify that the person with which it was buried was a coppersmith of considerable experience.

6. *UC 8901* (see fig. 1, no. 6, and pl. XIV no. 2). Size: 190 mm dia. 150 mm high.

Type: L, side-pouring hole. Provenance: Serābīt el-Khādem, Sinai. Analysis: Slag from the interior contained copper, tin, arsenic, and traces of iron.

Petrie published the crucible with the following comments:

A crucible was found at Serābīt which was almost complete. The form of the crucible shown in hieroglyphs has been a puzzle hitherto, as it rose up so high above the spout. Here we see that in order to get a sufficiently refractory material the Egyptians had to use a very weak paste for the body, which easily crumbles away. It was, therefore, not practicable to lift the crucible with a heavy charge of melted metal in it. The only way to empty it was to roll the crucible forward on its round bottom. Thus the form required was a hemisphere, prolonged upward to allow for accidental tilting in the fire and to give a better hold in moving it, yet with a spout for the ready delivery of the metal. Thus they arrived at the form which we see here in reality, and which is used as the emblem of copper in the hieroglyphs.¹²

Petrie's observation that the crucible was made from a material with high insulating properties and that strength was sacrificed has proved to be a general principle in ancient crucible manufacture. It may be true that this crucible was not lifted with the charge in it as he suggests. However, the two best-known metallurgical scenes from the Old Kingdom tomb of Mereruka¹³ and the New Kingdom tomb of Rekhmirē¹⁴ both show crucibles being carried, fully charged, with the aid of ceramic pads in the first instance and withies in the second, so the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed. The high-sided shape of the crucible gives it structural strength which may have enabled it to be carried in operation without collapsing.

The crucible was found in the vicinity of a New Kingdom temple and so a similar date for the crucible is possible. This date may ultimately be confirmed by the results of recent excavations.¹⁵ The crucibles depicted in the tomb of Rekhmirē are quite different in shape, a fact which may seem to mitigate against a New Kingdom date for this crucible. However, it has already been suggested that crucibles with high sides and a spout in the side give economy of furnace fuel, and this would have been important in Sinai where fuel would have been scarce. It is, therefore, probable that

¹² Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 162.

¹³ P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* (Chicago, 1938), pls. 30, 32-3.

¹⁴ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes* (New York, 1943), pl. 17.

¹⁵ I. Beit-Arieh, 'New Discoveries at Serābīt El-Khādīm', *Biblical Archaeologist* 44, 1 (1981), 13-18.

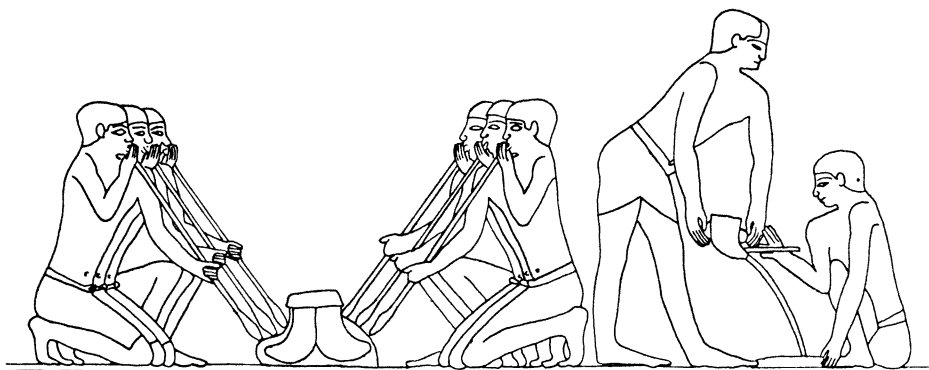



FIG. 2. Metal-workers depicted in the tomb of Mereruka at Saqqâra (after Duell)

this shape of crucible was used in Sinai due to the environmental conditions. The presence of tin in the slag confirms a second millennium BC date.

In his description of the crucible from Serābīt el-Khādem, Petrie relates the shape of the vessel to the hieroglyphic sign for copper. Gardiner lists the shape N₃₄, , as the New Kingdom ideogram for copper and describes it as an 'ingot of metal'.¹⁶ Although this sign is no doubt the shape to which Petrie is referring as that of a crucible, Petrie's crucible does not have quite the same shape and proportions as the sign. This may be considered to put his suggestion in doubt although precision of ideogram shape cannot be expected. In fact, the crucible depicted in the tomb of Mereruka from which copper is being poured has a shape similar to that of the New Kingdom ideograms.¹⁷ This might previously have been dismissed because of the chronological difference; however, crucibles of the 'Mereruka shape' were recently excavated at Tell edh-Dhiba'i, an Old Babylonian site now in modern Baghdad.¹⁸ This reduces the time difference although it does not say anything about the continued use of such crucibles in Egypt. The tomb of Rekhmirē shows open crucibles being used in the casting of a bronze door, and this may indicate the form of crucible used in large casting works. It still remains possible that, for smaller casting work, the 'Mereruka shape' of crucible continued to be used along with the type found at Qau and in Sinai because of their furnace fuel efficiency.

Bruyère has already noticed the connection between the Mereruka crucibles and the hieroglyphic sign.¹⁹ However, he believed that they were similar to the vessels that he found at Deir el-Medīna which he suggests were used for sharpening copper implements. The furnace in the relief in the tomb of Mereruka is identified by Bruyère as the bipod version of the Deir el-Medīna vessels. A more obvious



¹⁶ A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1957), 490.

¹⁷ Duell, *op. cit.*, pl. 30.

¹⁸ L. al-Gailani, 'Tell edh Dhiba'i', *Sumer* 21 (1965), 33-40, and C. J. Davey, 'The Metalworker's Tools from Tell edh Dhiba'i', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*, 20 (1983), 169-85.

¹⁹ B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934-1935) (Cairo, 1939), 218.

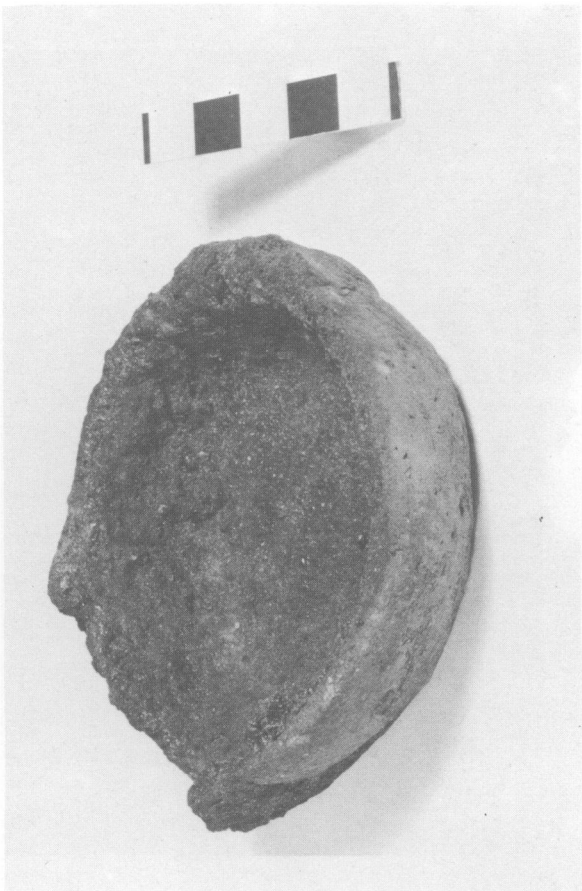
explanation is that the furnace in the Mereruka reliefs consists of two crucibles placed back to back, so that they would not topple over.

In his sign list Gardiner notes that in the Middle Kingdom, W₁₃, , is the earlier equivalent of . He indicates that the sign is a 'red pot' and that the Old Kingdom equivalent is round at the bottom. The Old Kingdom ideogram appears in tomb reliefs which depict metal-working scenes where it either indicates the use of copper or identifies the person as a metal-worker.²⁰ At Gîza the latter appears to be the case while in the tomb of Mereruka the former seems more likely. The origin of the hieroglyph sign appears to be the furnace which in the Old Kingdom consisted of two crucibles of the shape shown in the tomb of Mereruka and recently found at Tell edh-Dhiba'i placed back to back and heated simultaneously by charcoal ventilated by means of blowpipes. The crucibles would naturally have appeared as a 'red pot'. It is possible that at a later date the crucibles were not used as pairs but singly and so the hieroglyph sign was modified.

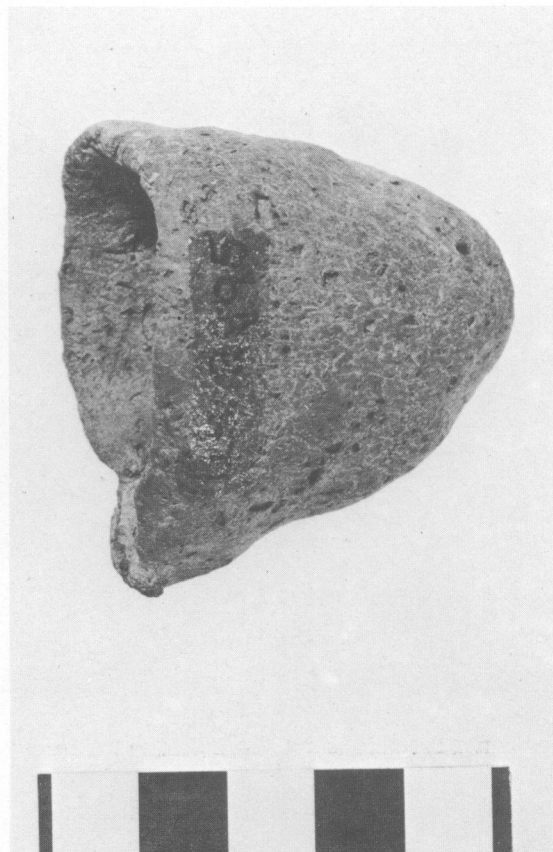
²⁰ S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1930-1931* (Cairo, 1936), 192-3, fig. 219; Duell, *op. cit.*, pl. 30.



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1



2

ANUBIS AND THE LUNAR DISC

By ROBERT K. RITNER

ON the north wall of the middle colonnade of Deir el-Bahri is sculpted the earliest representation of a problematic scene.¹ Here Anubis, bending over a large, smooth disc, is shown as a participant in the activities surrounding the divine birth of Hatshepsut (see fig. 1). Over a millennium later, the scene reappears in the mammisi of Nectanebo I at Dendera² (see fig. 2) and becomes a standard feature in the Graeco-Roman birth houses. It is found at Edfu,³ Philae,⁴ and again at Dendera⁵ in the temple of Augustus. Although subject to scholarly inquiry since 1896, the relationship between Anubis and his disc remains obscure, and the disc itself has been variously identified.

One complication for our understanding of the scene arises from the fact that a variant tradition is represented at Edfu (see fig. 3). Here, as has been shown by Daumas, the disc is clearly identified as a tambourine which Anubis strikes to please Hathor/Isis and her son.⁶ The relief follows the standard depiction of tambourine players as shown in the examples collected by Lise Manniche.⁷ In this representation the disc is quite distinct from the examples at Deir el-Bahri, Dendera, and Philae, being smaller and held by a standing—not bending—Anubis. This variant tradition is followed at Deir el-Medîna and in an inscription at Esna.⁸ The prominence of Hathor and the special importance of music in her cult may explain the local modifications at Edfu and Deir el-Medîna.⁹

In contrast to the clear textual evidence regarding the scene at Edfu, the earliest example, at Deir el-Bahri, is accompanied only by ambiguous inscriptions which

¹ This paper is an expansion of a lecture given by the author at the 1982 general meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt at Austin, Texas. For the Deir el-Bahri relief see E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahri* (London, 1896), II, pl. lv, p. 18. See also Porter and Moss (hereafter *PM*), II, 349, scene 21.

² F. Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendera* (Cairo, 1959) (hereafter Daumas, 1959), pls. ii, xxiii, p. 11.

³ E. Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d'Edfou* (Cairo, 1910) (MIFAO 16), pls. xiii (third register), lxviii, p. 21. See also *PM* VI, 173-4, scene 83.

⁴ Daumas, *Les Mammisis des temples égyptiens* (Paris, 1958) (hereafter Daumas, 1958), pls. vii. See also *PM* VI, 224, scenes 182-3.

⁵ Daumas, 1959, pls. xli a, lix bis, p. 111. See also *PM* VI, 104, scenes 10-16.

⁶ Anubis states: 'I offer you the sound of the tambourine' (*rdi(i) n-k nhm*). See Daumas, 1958, 476-7.

⁷ L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (Berlin, 1975) (MAS 34), 2-5. One must, however, delete her reference to Anubis beating a tambourine in the Roman mammisi at Dendera (p. 4). This example is discussed below. Cf. specifically the row of tambourine players at Dendera in Daumas, 1959, pl. lix.

⁸ B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1935-1940)* (Cairo, 1948) (FIFAO 20/1), 63-4, and photo in *ibid.* (FIFAO 20/3) (Cairo, 1952), 130. Bruyère takes the disc as 'the sun in the horizon'. See also *PM* II, 406, scene 28. For Esna see S. Sauneron, *Esna*, II (Cairo, 1963), 283, inscription 164b.

⁹ So Daumas, 1958, 477. Cf., however, Manniche's statement *op cit.* 5: '[the round tambourine's] presence in the hands of Anubis and Bes can be explained by the relation of these gods to the world of women', and reported example of Anubis playing the tambourine in the Ramesside Tomb A 26 at Thebes in Manniche, *op cit.* 3 and *PM* I, 455.



FIG. 1. E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, II, pl. IV



FIG. 2. F. Daumas, *Les Mammisi de Dendera*, pl. 2
(by kind permission of IFAO)

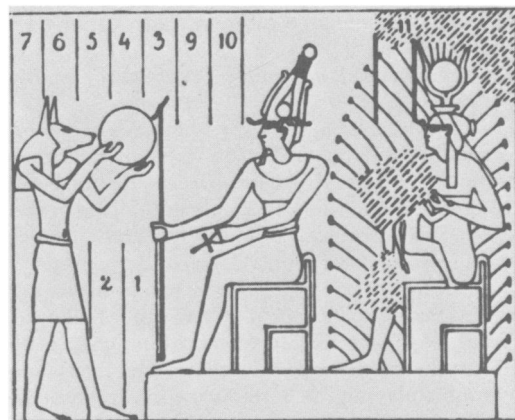


FIG. 3. E. Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d'Edfou*, pl. 13
(by kind permission of IFAO)

speak of the subjugation of foreign lands to the ruler. This ambiguity has invited speculation. Whereas Naville equated the disc with the moon,¹⁰ Blackman (followed by Frankfort) suggested a sieve used for support by women in labour.¹¹ More recently, Morenz has preferred a solar identification.¹² The original suggestion of Naville, however, has received convincing support through the analysis by Daumas of the scene and its accompanying texts at Dendera.¹³ Here parallel inscriptions from the temples of Nectanebo I and Augustus demonstrate a clear link between the disc of Anubis and the moon. In both, the speech of Anubis with his disc is as follows: 'I have come before the lord of the gods to see the son whom he loves. I have formed his limbs in life and stability, they being rejuvenated like the moon in the month.'¹⁴ The gift of Anubis to the child is symbolized by the disc of the full moon with its pattern of cyclical rebirth.

This lunar interpretation has been accepted by Brunner in his study of the birth of the divine king, and he has attempted to associate the scene with a circumcision ritual.¹⁵ Directing attention to two birth scenes in which the disc is not present—one at Luxor of Amenophis III where Anubis appears and the other at Karnak from the Third Intermediate Period where he may appear—Brunner argues that the latter relief with its depiction of circumcision represents the original meaning of the scene. He would associate the full moon in other examples with the time at which the operation was performed.

Despite the abundant suggestions regarding the nature of the disc and its purpose in the scene, no theories have been put forward to explain the presence of Anubis and his relation to the lunar disc. Daumas considers the relation 'obscure'¹⁶ and Brunner concurs.¹⁷ Neither Bonnet in his *Reallexikon*,¹⁸ nor the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* venture an explanation.¹⁹

The appearance of a funerary deity in a birth relief may at first seem surprising, but the Dendera inscriptions quoted above show that it is in his capacity as guarantor of rebirth, as the god of mummification, that Anubis is present. Like the lunar disc which he accompanies, Anubis embodies the Egyptian concept of the transition from death to life. But while it is the primary function of Anubis to re-form and

¹⁰ Naville, op. cit. 18.

¹¹ W. Blackman, *Luxor and its Temples* (London, 1923), 168–70; *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (London, 1927), 63. See also H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 386–7 n. 80, and Federn, *JNES* 19 (1960), 252 n. 117.

¹² S. Morenz, 'Das Werden zu Osiris' (1957) in *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Cologne, 1975), 234–5.

¹³ Daumas, 1958, 477–8. Daumas (1958, 477) also shows the error in Blackman's theory of the sieve which shows interior markings in Egyptian art. See also J. Assmann *et al.*, *Funktionen und Leistungen des Mythos* (OBO 48) (Göttingen, 1982), 49–50 n. 45.

¹⁴ Daumas, 1959, 11 and 111—*iy-n-i m-bih nb ntrw hr m* s' mr-f qt-i hrw-f m 'nh ws rnp'i mi i'ḥ m s'd.

¹⁵ H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gotteskönigs* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 164–6.

¹⁶ Daumas, 1958, 478.

¹⁷ Brunner, op. cit. 165: 'Warum freilich gerade Anubis dem Mond verbunden ist, bleibt dunkel.'

¹⁸ H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 45, s.v. 'Anubis'. See also Assmann *et al.*, op. cit. 46 n. 23 'bleibt dunkel'.

¹⁹ B[rigitte] A[ltmüller], *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), 332, s.v. 'Anubis'.

rejuvenate the limbs of the dead through mummification, the moon's association with rebirth becomes increasingly prominent in later Egyptian religion through its identification with Osiris. The link between Osiris and the moon has been postulated to exist as early as the Pyramid Texts, but this early association is not universally accepted.²⁰ References in the Coffin Texts have also been cited as proof of this connection,²¹ but the clearest evidence for the lunar aspect of Osiris is in the New Kingdom. Griffiths contends that the fusion begins at this time.²² Funerary texts of the period reflect the equation of the moon with rebirth, and the dead wish for 'repeating of births like the moon'²³ and to be 'rejuvenated like the moon'.²⁴ The first unambiguous declaration of Osiris as the moon is in a stela of Ramesses IV dedicated to the god: 'You are the moon in the sky; you rejuvenate yourself according to your desire and become old when you wish.'²⁵ The conception becomes popular, and from the Late Period derive various bronze statuettes of the god.²⁶

The funerary wishes of the New Kingdom strongly recall the Dendera texts detailing the gift of Anubis to the divine child. Indeed, if the lunar disc in these reliefs is equated with the body of Osiris, then the role of Anubis becomes self-evident. The god does not roll the disc as has been previously suggested, but bends over the moon/Osiris exactly as he does in more conventional scenes where he tends Osiris upon his bier. The posture of Anubis—with torso bent and both arms shown in front of the Osiris figure—is directly paralleled in mummification scenes in painting, relief, and on papyrus²⁷ (see figs. 4, 5, and 6).

The substitution of a symbol for the body of Osiris is well known in Egyptian representations. The most frequent example of this is the *Dd*-column which may be provided with eyes, crowns, etc.²⁸ A specific example of a substitution for the body of Osiris in a mummification scene is found in the tomb of Khabekhnet (Theban tomb 2) in which a mammoth *ḥbdw*-fish occupies the bier over which Anubis bends²⁹ (see pl. XV, 1). The birth reliefs would represent a parallel substitution. If Griffiths

²⁰ H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (2nd edn.) (Berlin, 1956), 145, in regard to PT 1450 b-e PM. See also P. Derchain, 'Mythes et dieux lunaires en Égypte', in *Sources Orientales*, 5, *La Lune* (Paris, 1962), 44-6, and Bonnet, op. cit. 471-2 s.v. 'Mond'. Denied by J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), 239-40.

²¹ CT IV 372 a-b and 373 a-b. See Derchain, op. cit. 44-6.

²² Griffiths, op. cit. 239-40.

²³ Encomium of Horemḥab: *Urk.* IV, 2161, 6

²⁴ Grapow-Erman, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924), 34-5.

²⁵ A. Mariette, *Abydos II* (Paris, 1880), 54-5, l. 5, and M. Korostovtzeff, 'Stèle de Ramsès IV', *BIFAO* 45 (1945), 161.

²⁶ Griffiths, 'Osiris and the Moon in Iconography', *JEA* 62 (1976), 153-9; O. Masson, 'Quelques bronzes égyptiens à inscription grecque', *RdÉ* 29 (1977), 63-7; E. Graefe, 'Noch einmal Osiris-Lunus', *JEA* 65 (1979), 171-3; Griffiths, 'The Striding Bronze Figure of Osiris-Iah at Lyon', *ibid.* 174-5.

²⁷ Painting: Tomb 14 of the Valley of the Kings (Twosret). See *PM* 1/11², 530, scene 19, side room G, rear wall. For illustration see R. V. Lanzzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia* (Amsterdam, 1974; reprint of Turin, 1881-4), pl. 30, p. 70. Relief: Philae, Osiris room. Berlin photos. 1160 and 1146. See also Lanzzone, op. cit. pls. 261, 265. Papyri: Standard vignette to *BD* 151. See E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead. III. The Papyrus of Ani* (London, 1913), pl. 34 and A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957), pl. 22 (Papyrus of Djed-Khonsu-iuf-ankh II).

²⁸ Cf. Piankoff, op. cit. 60, fig. 47; 61, fig. 48; 63; 42, fig. 27; 41, fig. 26, etc. For discussion see B. Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period* (New York, 1979), 178-9.

²⁹ *PM* 1/1², 8, scene 20/2. For photo see C. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs* (London, 1965), 186.

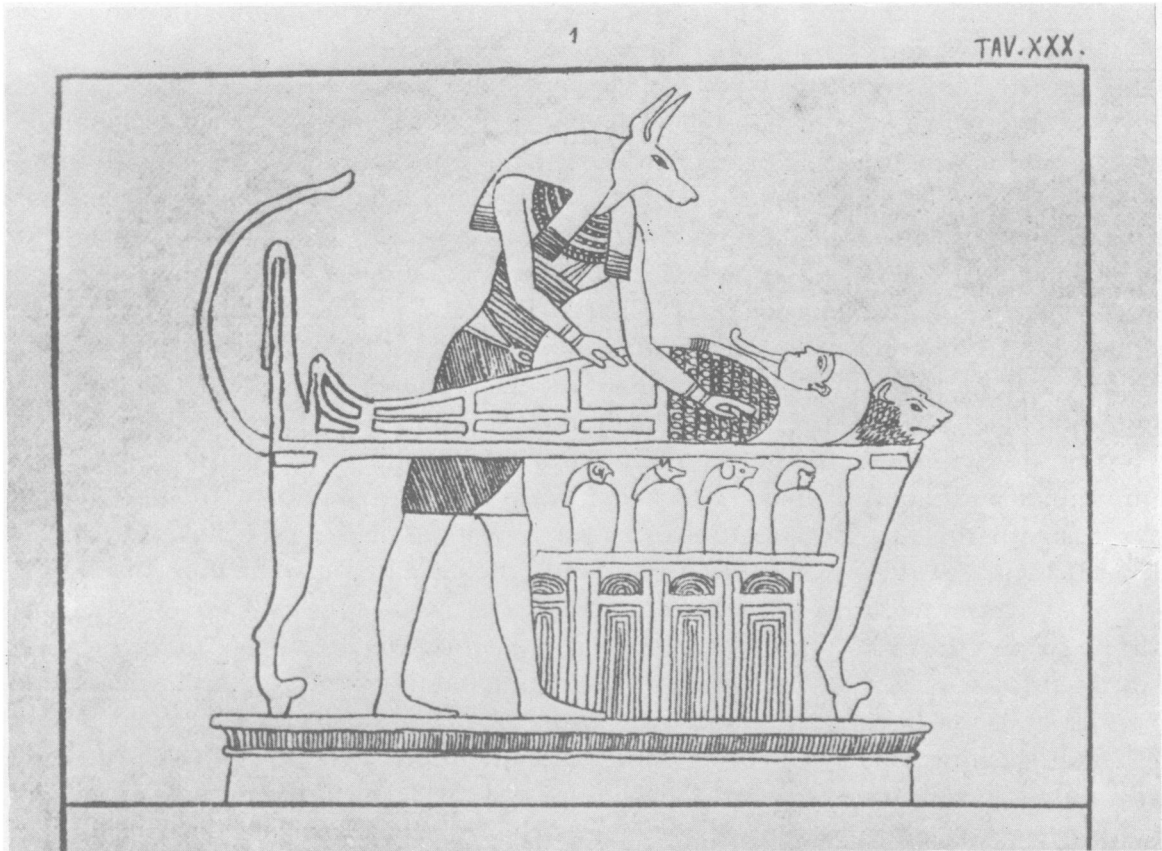


FIG. 4. R. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, pl. 30

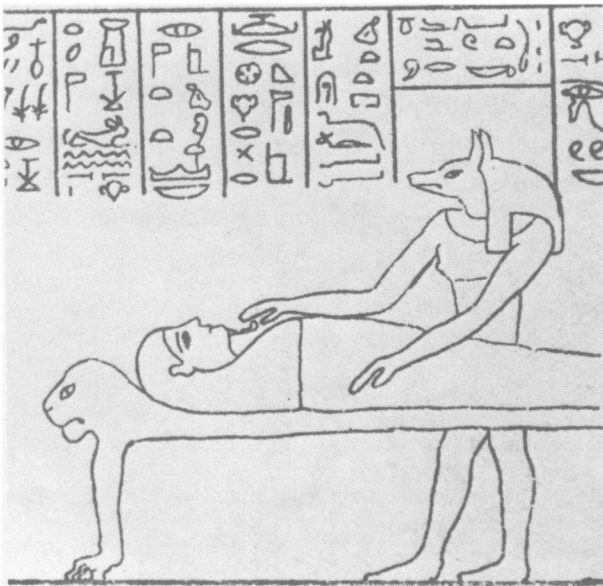


FIG. 5. R. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, pl. 261

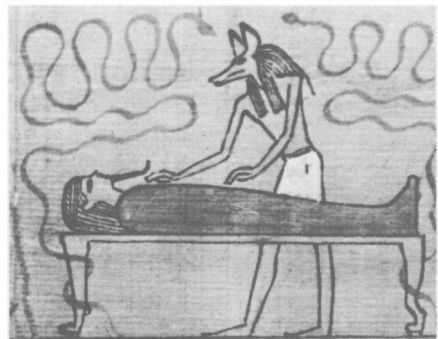


FIG. 6. Cairo Museum 166. *Courtesy Cairo Museum*

is correct in dating the origin of the lunar Osiris to the New Kingdom, then the Deir el-Bahri relief stands at the beginning of the tradition, and is the earliest clear reference to the fusion.

With the acceptance of a lunar/Osirid identification for the disc, a coherent explanation is provided not only for these birth scenes, but also for two additional categories of representations hitherto incompletely explained. The first of these appears sporadically at the underside of the feet of mummies from the Roman period at Meir (see pl. XV, 2). Examples known to me include New York Inv. 11.155.5,³⁰ Cairo 33.137, 33.138, 33.140, and 33.141.³¹ In each, a gilded and painted canvas figure of Anubis elevates a disc above his head. This depiction seems the counterpart of that found in the birth reliefs. Whereas the latter portray the operation of embalming the body of the moon (Osiris) by Anubis, the examples from the mummy wrappings stress the moment of resurrection; Anubis raises the now mummified and reborn Lunar Osiris into the heavens. The position of the representation beneath the feet is of significance; for by virtue of the identification of the deceased with Osiris, Anubis elevates not only the disc, but also the mummy which stands above him.

The second group of representations consists of images in which Anubis wears a prominent disc either behind his head, to form a halo, or atop it.³² Examples from painted shrouds have been studied by Morenz, who concludes that solar discs, given indiscriminately to Egyptian deities, are intended³³ (see pl. XV, 3). Although the influence of solar nether world mythology cannot be excluded in these scenes, it would seem from the foregoing discussion that a lunar association for Anubis is more likely, and would be logical rather than capricious. Moreover, the examples in painting,³⁴ wall relief,³⁵ and gilded plaster³⁶ in which Anubis wearing the disc attends the body of Osiris on his bier evoke the mammisi reliefs of Anubis with their associated Lunar Osiris imagery, and would favour a lunar rather than solar interpretation (see pl. XVI, 1). Potential verification of the lunar nature of the disc worn by Anubis may be found on the marble statue of the god from the port of Anzio in the Vatican museum (Inv. 76).³⁷ Though admittedly a classical work with Egyptianizing attributes, the statue does show affinity to contemporary Egyptian representations of Anubis by the inclusion of a disc atop the god's head. Beneath the disc is an indisputable lunar crescent (see pl. XVI, 2).

³⁰ Cf. K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pl. 2, p. 148, for mummy, but the Anubis figure not mentioned in publication.

³¹ M. C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks, and Portraits* (Cairo, 1905) (CGC 26), pl. 19, pp. 33-6. See p. iv for date.

³² Disc behind head: Moscow Inv. 3401/I Ia 5747 in Parlasca, op. cit., pl. 12; Berlin 11651 in Morenz, op. cit., pl. 4, smaller figure of Anubis. Atop: Moscow Inv. 4229/I Ia 5749 in Parlasca, op. cit., pl. 35 and Morenz, op. cit., pl. 10; Louvre Inv. no. 3076 in Parlasca, op. cit., pl. 61 and Morenz, op. cit., pl. 9; Berlin 11651 (larger figure of Anubis) in Morenz, op. cit., pl. 3.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 4 (Berlin 11651).

³⁵ K. Michalowski, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1969), 428, no. 689 from Kom el-Shukafa.

³⁶ Edgar, op. cit., pl. 31, pp. 69-72, Cairo 33.215 and 33.216.

³⁷ Jean-Claude Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain* (Leiden, 1977), frontispiece, pl. 16, p. 141.

Far from being obscure, the relationship of Anubis to his disc—whether in birth or funerary scenes—becomes at once clear and coherent if the disk is identified with the moon and Osiris. Sieves and circumcisions are extraneous. In each instance, the imagery recalls the role of Anubis as the agent of resurrection and as the guarantor of a repetition of births like Osiris the moon.



1. Mummification scene in the tomb of Khabekhnet (Theban Tomb 2)

Courtesy Charles F. Nims



2. Cairo Museum 33.141

Courtesy Cairo Museum



3. Louvre 3076

Courtesy Musée du Louvre

ANUBIS AND THE LUNAR DISC



1. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. no. 11651
Courtesy Staatliche Museen



2. Vatican Museum 22840
Courtesy Vatican Museums

ANUBIS AND THE LUNAR DISC

THE COMPOSITION OF A MILITARY WORK PARTY IN ROMAN EGYPT (*ILS* 2483: COPTOS)*

By DAVID KENNEDY

FOUND at Coptos in the Thebaid in 1883, these two tablets appear to be the survivors of, probably, six which between them recorded the details of a force of legionary and auxiliary soldiers brought together, so the second tablet tells us, for the construction of water tanks at four named sites in the Eastern Desert and the reconstruction of the *castrum* at Coptus.¹

Per eosdem, qui supra scripti sunt | lacci aedificati et dedicati sunt | Apollonos Hydreuma— | Compasi— | Berenicide— | Myoshormi— | castram [sic!] aedificaverunt et | refecerunt.

The year is not preserved and none of the seventy-six names can be dated from other references.²

Contents

The surviving portion of the whole consists of:

Tablet 1: parallel columns listing the names of each legionary provided from the named centuries of *cohortes* *IV*, *V*, and *VI* for each legion.

Tablet 2: (a) on the left, a summary of the contribution from three *alae*; (b) on the right, first, mention of a cohort and the names of its prefect and three of its centurions, then a summary of the contribution of centurions, *equites*, and *milites* from seven cohorts.

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>[<i>f(it) s(umma) s(ummarum)</i>] <i>alarum III</i> <i>dec(uriones) VI dupl(icarius) I, sesqui-</i> <i>plic(arii) IIII equites CCCCXXIIII.</i></p> | <p><i>coh(ors) I Theb(aeorum), cui praeest </i> <i>Sex(tus) Pompeius Merula (centurio)</i> <i>C(aius) Terentius Maximus (centurio)</i> <i>C(aius) Iulius Montanus (centurio)</i> <i>L(ucius) Domitius Aper: sum(ma) (cen-</i> <i>turiones) III f(it) s(umma) s(ummarum)</i> <i>coh(ortium) VII (centuriones X eq(uites)</i> <i>LXI mil(ites) DCCLXXXIIIX.</i></p> |
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* I am grateful to Mr M. Hassall, Dr M. Roxan, and Professor S. S. Frere for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

¹ *CIL* III, 6627 corrected at 14,147 = *ILS* 2483 (uncorrected); A. von Domaszewski-B. Dobson, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*² (Cologne-Graz, 1967), 35; R. Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian* (Cologne-Graz, 1967) (Epigraphische Studien, 1), 97 ff.

² R. Cavenaille, 'Prosographie de l'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien', *Aegyptus* 50 (1970), 213-320; N. Criniti, 'Sulle forze armate romane d'Egitto: osservazioni e nuove aggiunte prosopografiche', *ibid.* 59 (1979), 190-261; H. Devijver, *De Aegypto et Exercitu Romano* (Leuven, 1975) (*Studia Hellenistica*, 22), no. 94.

From the surviving parts we may determine that the whole consisted of:³ (i) a list of named legionaries and the centuries to which they belonged; one from every century, cohort by cohort in the named cohorts in each of two legions; (ii) (a) a list of three *alae* and their prefects together with the name(s) of the decurion(s) supplied by each, and possibly also of the junior officers; (b) list of seven cohorts and their commanding officers together with the name(s) of the centurion(s) supplied by each. Where necessary each unit listing concluded with a total of the officers provided. At the end of each of the columns for *alae* and cohorts a summary was provided of the total number of units, officers, and men provided; the same was probably true of the two columns for the legions.

We can confidently calculate the totals of men provided from each source: *legions*⁴: 120; *alae*: 6 decurions, 1 *duplicarius*, 4 *sesquiplicarii*, 424 *equites* = 435; *cohortes*: 10 centurions, 788 *milites* = 798.

Commentary

It is clear, as Lesquier noted,⁵ that the legionaries can only have been provided as supervisors—presumably one soldier, skilled in construction work, was required of each century. Equally clearly, the work was organized at provincial level, and it is probable that every unit in the garrison provided a contribution. Thus, though Strabo, describing the garrison in the last quarter of the first century BC (possibly that observed by him on his visit of 25–c.19 BC) enumerates 3 legions, 3 *alae*, and 9 cohorts,⁶ one legion had certainly been removed by Tiberius' time, possibly under Augustus;⁷ two of the cohorts seem also to have been removed in the first century: the diplomas for 83 and 105 each record 3 *alae* and 7 cohorts.⁸ From this we may infer a broad date since Hadrian reduced the garrison to one legion;⁹ indeed, the *terminus ante quem* may be 105 since it was in that year that one cohort named on our text, *I Thebaeorum*, was transferred into Judaea (and thence apparently to Arabia).¹⁰ In fact, it is commonly believed that the occasion must be in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius: this was the time in which the routes, here being supplied with water points, seem to have been laid out;¹¹ and, as Dessau pointed out (*ILS* 2483 n. 6), half the men in the legionary quota are from Galatia, perhaps allowing the inference that the date is soon after the incorporation of the 'legion' of Deiotarus of Galatia into the Roman forces as *XXII Deiotariana*.

³ Cf. Saxer, *op. cit.* 98.

⁴ *Ibid.* 98 f. (cf. 129 f.) restores 2 centurions.

⁵ J. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1918), 239. His figure of 128 legionaries is an error.

⁶ Strabo, *Geog.* 17. 1. 12.

⁷ H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions*², 119; *CAH* x, 286.

⁸ *CIL* xvi, 29; *RMD* (1978), no. 9.

⁹ D. L. Kennedy, 'Legio VI Ferrata: the Annexation and Early Garrison of Arabia', *HSCP* 84 (1980), 309.

¹⁰ *RMD* (= M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas* (London, 1978)) (1978), no. 9, actually lists 9 cohorts: two of these are new to the province while *I Hispanorum* and *I Thebaeorum* are recorded as transferred in *Iudaeam*. H.-G. Pflaum, 'Un nouveau diplôme militaire d'un soldat de l'armée d'Égypte', *Syria* 44 (1967), 356; cf. M. P. Speidel, 'The Roman Army in Arabia', *ANRW* II. 8 (Berlin–New York, 1977), 709 f.

¹¹ Lesquier, *op. cit.* 420; A. Bernand, *De Koptos à Kosseir* (Leiden, 1972), 14–16; *CAH* x 246; J. C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate* (London, 1983), 178 n. 515.

Discussion

The text has been used several times by those intent on discovering the size of the centuries and *turmae* of auxiliary units. Von Domaszewski, followed by Cheesman,¹² argues that the 788 *pedites* and ten centurions suggested centuries of eighty men each in the cohorts, a figure now widely believed to be the common size of centuries in both legions and *auxilia* in the early Empire.¹³ Similarly he suggested that the *duplicarius* and the *sesquiplicarii* all commanded *turmae* alongside the decurions (the number of whom he had read as V rather than the correct VI) giving a *turma* of about forty-two which he suggested was the nominal size in an *ala milliaria* ($24 \text{ turmae} \times 42 = 1,008$). This interpretation presupposes, however, that the authorities aimed to collect enough men who could then be reorganized into centuries or *turmae* of the nominal standard sizes. The centuries, however, need not have been reconstituted, as entire operative units could have been withdrawn from the cohorts. But why should this be so?; they did not do it for the two legions. Indeed, how *did* they put together such a force; what criteria were important?¹⁴

A partial answer may be found in Hadrian's speech to the *legio III Augusta* at Lambaesis in which we are told that the legion had recently sent a draft of men to another *legio III* (*Cyrenaica* probably), consisting of one cohort and four men from each century.¹⁵ The objective presumably was simultaneously to avoid excessive disruption in the parent body, which would have to reform only one cohort, while at the same time detaching a force the core of which was a pre-existing unit with its own officers and men accustomed to working together. It is a strong probability that amongst the *auxilia* at least something similar was aimed at in the Egyptian force. Indeed, we may detect something of it from the fact that one cohort, *I Thebaeorum*, provided three centuries; it is otherwise attested in Upper Egypt in which it was originally recruited, and may have been the nearest to Coptos.¹⁶ It would make sense to detach three centuries and their men from the nearest unit, while one other cohort would provide two centuries and one each from the remaining five. Each century would be nominally eighty strong and under its familiar officers. It does not seem necessary, or possible in this case to see the total made up of ten centuries of nominal sizes of eighty (from the *cohortes peditatae*) and sixty or sixty-four (from the *cohortes equitatae*)—of which there may have been at least four amongst the garrison at this time) plus a fixed levy in terms of *contubernia* from each of the other thirty-two centuries (cf. below).

Just as *I Thebaeorum* may have contributed half of its infantry, so too the sixty-one *equites cohortales* may represent two of its four *turmae*.¹⁷ The nominal size of *turmae*

¹² Von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (1908) 35 and 1967; G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army* (Oxford, 1914), 26 f.; Saxer, op. cit. 98 and 128.

¹³ R. W. Davies, 'A Note on a Recently Discovered Inscription from Carrawburgh', *Epigraphische Studien* 4 (1967), 110 f.; cf. Holder, op. cit. 6 ff.

¹⁵ *ILS* 2487; cf. Kennedy, op. cit. 305 and n. 65.

¹⁴ Cf. Saxer, op. cit. 126–9, esp. 128.

¹⁶ Pflaum, op. cit. 355 f.

¹⁷ *ILS* 2546 from Rome is an altar set up by 2 decurions of *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum* with a vexillation of their unit on its way to Mauretania under Antoninus Pius. Perhaps 2 *turmae* was a regular vexillation from an *ala*.

in *cohortes equitatae* is difficult to gauge.¹⁸ Here, thirty-two is attractive but against that one has to set both the possibility that the figure includes the two decurions who must have been present but who are not otherwise recorded, and the lower figure for *turmae alarum* calculated below.

If one applies the principle that it was preferable to detach distinct existing sub-units, then six decurions from the *alae* would suggest six *turmae*. However, even if one gives such *turmae* the highest nominal size ever suggested for one *turma* (42), the total (252) falls far short of the 424 recorded. One must, in this case, look for an explanation possibly along the lines noted for *III Augusta*. The most likely combination would be the removal of six complete *turmae* (two from each *ala* or perhaps weighted to take most from the closest at hand: 4 + 1 + 1) plus a flat levy of men from each of the remaining forty-two *turmae* ((3 *alae* × 16 *turmae*) - 6 = 42). Since the most likely *turma* sizes in a quingenary *ala* which had sixteen *turmae* is either thirty or thirty-two¹⁹ we may calculate thus:

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| <p><i>Either:</i> (6 × not more than 30) + $(42 \times x) \geq 424$ $\therefore c. 180 + 42x \geq 424$ $\therefore 42x \geq 244$ $\therefore x \geq 5.8333$</p> | <p><i>Or:</i> (6 × not more than 32) + $(42 \times x) \geq 424$ $\therefore c. 192 + 42x \geq 424$ $\therefore 42x \geq 232$ $\therefore x \geq 5.5238$</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

In either case one may see that a levy of six per *turma* is the obvious figure. Now there is, of course, no absolute necessity for six to be a significant figure in military terms but, since it is not a round number, since the *III Augusta* provided half *contubernia* from each century and since the military probably *did* think in these terms, there is a reasonable probability that it is. In the absence of any literary clue, we have to turn to the restored plan of Chesters fort on Hadrian's Wall, the only fort of an *ala quingenaria* to have been sufficiently excavated to provide some indication. Hassall has recently argued²⁰ that eight barrack blocks, each for two *turmae*, should be restored to give eight *contubernia* with officers quarters at each end, i.e. probably 4 × 8 = 32 per *turma*. However, the earlier proposal, by Richmond,²¹ was that each had only one set of officers quarters with ten *contubernia*, i.e. probably 5 × 6 = 30 men. Far from conclusive, it is nevertheless possible that the force in Egypt was collected by calling up six entire *turmae* (i.e. 6 *turmae* each of 5 *contubernia* with a nominal strength of 6 man = c. 180; in this case the total was 177 indicating *contubernia* each at almost full strength).

Summary

A possible explanation for the figures on the Coptos inscription is that the seven cohorts in garrison were called upon for men in the proportions of half of the

¹⁸ Cheesman, op. cit. 29 f. and Holder, op. cit. 7 f., both favour 30; however, M. Hassall, 'The Internal Planning of Roman Auxiliary Forts', in B. Hartley and J. Wachter (eds.), *Rome and her Northern Provinces* (Gloucester, 1983), 97 f., 99-101, notes possible *turma* sizes of 24 to 32.

¹⁹ Cheesman, op. cit. 26 f. preferred 30 but noted 32 as possible; Holder, op. cit. 9; Hassall, op. cit. 97.

²⁰ Ibid. 104.

²¹ I. A. Richmond's revision of J. C. Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall*¹⁰ (Newcastle, 1947), 83.

centuries and *turmae* from the *cohors I Thebaeorum*, two centuries from another (probably neighbouring) cohort, and one from each of the remainder, each of the centuries having a nominal strength of eighty men, the *turmae* of thirty. The *alae* were called upon to provide six full *turmae* and one *contubernium* from each of the remaining *turmae*, the strengths of each being respectively thirty and six.²² On the face of it the *turmae* must have been almost all at nominal strength, the cohorts only slightly less so. It may be significant that, in this calculation, all three *alae* and all but two of the cohorts made contributions of almost eighty men each.

²² It would not automatically follow that any size calculated from this text necessarily applied elsewhere or in other periods: cf. Hassall, *op. cit.* 120.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1983

Egyptian antiquities acquired in 1983 by museums in the United Kingdom

Edited by JANINE BOURRIAU

UNLESS otherwise stated all the acquisitions of the Ashmolean Museum and the Bolton Museum and Art Gallery were gifts from the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine in 1982. Further items from the Wellcome Collection appeared in the previous lists for 1982, 1980-1. The acquisitions of the Ashmolean Museum include items accessioned in 1982 and 1983. The acquisitions of the Manchester Museum will be held over for the next list.

Palaeolithic

1. Flint flakes, Bolton Museum I.1983/109. Ex Rustafjael collection.
- 2-129. Flints, Ashmolean Museum 1982.965-1094. Palaeolithic-Middle Kingdom.

Predynastic

130. Copper chisel, University College 36150. From Naqada (?). Cf. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. xxii.
- 131-6. Slate palettes, Bolton Museum I.1983/53-7, 62 (pl. XVII, 1). Ex Berens collection. Probably from Gebelein.
- 137-40. Human bones and skulls, Bolton Museum I.1983/133, 142-4. From Armant, tombs 1466, 1593.
141. Pottery jar, painted in red with a boat, bird, and lattice patterns, Royal Scottish Museum 1983.417. Gift of Mr R. Woollett. Naqada II.
142. Slate palette, Bolton Museum I.1983/59. Ex Hilton Price collection.
- 143-59. Slate palettes, Bolton Museum I.1983/24-8, 30, 58, 60-1, 63, 161-4, 309-11.

Old Kingdom

- 160-1. Rock samples, Bolton Museum I.1983/182, 215. From the pyramid of Cheops, Giza.
- 162-3. Human bone and skull, Bolton Museum I.1983/132, 141. From Armant, tombs 1323, 1336.
164. Carnelian pendant shaped as a leg, Ashmolean Museum 1983.60.

Middle Kingdom

165. Calcite kohl pot, University College 31434. From Riqqeh, tomb 146. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl. xiii, S20.
166. Gold leaf fragments adhering to copper, University College 31437. From Riqqeh.

167. Alabaster eye with obsidian pupil and gold and resin fragments, University College 31438. From Riqqeh.
- 168-9. Leather fragment and string of carnelian and faience beads, University College 31433, 31436. From Riqqeh.
170. Fragments of linen textile, Bolton Museum 1.1983/120. From the Fayûm.
- 171-2. Fragments of faience models of papyrus columns, University College 35359-60. From Sinai. Cf. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, fig. 155, 17.
173. Head from a statuette of a woman, black granite, British Museum 69519 (pl. XVII, 2). Twelfth Dynasty.
174. Glazed steatite scarab, inscribed for *Snb-sw-m-i*, British Museum 69522.
175. Pottery vessels, Bolton Museum 1.1983/68. Ex Macgregor collection.
- 176-9. Rectangular stone palettes, Bolton Museum 1.1983/119 (ex Captain Saint collection), 1.1983/192, 307-8.
180. Two wooden figures, Bolton Museum 1.1983/197.

Second Intermediate Period

181. Human skull, Bolton Museum 1.1983/110. From Mostagedda, tomb 1874.
182. Twisted gut, possibly bowstring, Bolton Museum 1.1983/111. From Mostagedda, tomb 3100.

New Kingdom

- 183-5. Gold, red faience and red jasper hair rings, University College 31416-8. From Riqqeh. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, 31, pl. li, 2-3.
186. Glass drop bead necklace, University College 31421. From Riqqeh. Ibid. 2.
187. String of cornelian beads, University College 31420. From Riqqeh.
- 188-9. Faience, glass and cornelian beads, University College 31422, 31424. From Riqqeh.
190. Four fragments of glass vessels and rods, Ashmolean Museum 1982.63. From Amarna.
- 191-225. Sherds of Mycenaean pottery, LH IIIA, 2, University College 25265-99. From Amarna, central city rubbish-heaps.
- 226-8. Ivory lid, cup, two bracelets, and animal head, Bolton Museum 1.1983/177, 181, 198. From Abydos.
- 229-30. Two calcite jars, Bolton Museum 1.1983/195, 207. From Abydos.
231. Wooden shabti, Bolton Museum 1.1983/196. From Abydos.
232. Bronze penannular bracelet, Bolton Museum 1.1983/47. Ex Lord Hastings collection. Excavated at Thebes.
- 233-46. Fragments of faience vases, University College 35322-35. From Sinai.
247. Rim fragment of cup of Egyptian blue, University College 35336. From Sinai.
- 248-56. Fragments of faience bracelets, wands, and ringstand, University College 35337-45. From Sinai. Cf. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, figs. 49, 149, 150.
- 257-61. Fragments of faience votive tablet, pendants, and trefoils, University College 35348-52. From Sinai. Ibid., figs. 153, 155.

262. Red faience anthropoid bust amulet, University College 35361. From Sinai. Cf. Petrie, *op. cit.* 150.
263. Five fragments of papyrus with hieratic texts of the Embalming Ritual, Oriental Museum, University of Durham 1983/11. Late Ramesside Period.
264. Fragment of a calcite shabti, with *nemes* head-dress, possibly belonging to Amenophis III, Oriental Museum, University of Durham 1983/13.
- 265-6. Two wooden shabtis, Bolton Museum 1.1983/221-2.
- 267-71. Pottery vessels, Bolton Museum 1.1983/38, 224-5, 273-4.
272. Calcite base ring vase, Bolton Museum 1.1983/118.
- 273-313. Stone bowl, pen case, kohl tubes, tweezers, baskets, bead network, and other items, Ashmolean Museum 1982.77-8, 1101-9, 1112-42. Ex Hood collection. Crowfoot Gift.
- 314-17. Wooden headrests, Bolton Museum 1.1983/79, 148, 271-2 (pl. XVII, 3).
318. Bronze mirror, Bolton Museum 1.1983/157.
319. Bronze finger ring with inscribed bezel, Ashmolean Museum 1982.946. Ex Macgregor collection.
- 320-1. Faience ring bezels inscribed *ꜥnh ꜥprw Rꜥ* and *mwt nsw Tiy*, Oriental Museum, University of Durham 1983/31-2.
322. Faience end-piece for a necklace in the form of a leopard's head, Ashmolean Museum 1983.169.
323. Steatite model stela incised with twelve right ears, Ashmolean Museum 1983.185. Acquired from Major Gayer-Anderson.
- 324-7. Faience pendant amulets, Ashmolean Museum 1983.53, 86, 90, 153.
328. Faience inlay, *nfr* sign, Ashmolean Museum 1983.107.
329. Faience plaque with cartouche of Tuthmosis I, University College 36155.
330. Faience cartouche amulet, Ashmolean Museum 1983.109. Ex Berens collection.
- 331-3. Faience plaque amulets, Ashmolean Museum 1983.79, 152, 186.
- 334-5. Steatite seal amulets, hare-backed and inscribed, Ashmolean Museum 1983.91-2. Ex Macgregor collection.
- 336-9. Specimens of frankincense, resin, bitumen, and beeswax, Bolton Museum 1.1983/39-42. From a tomb.

Third Intermediate Period

340. Linen from the wrapping of a priestess, 'Ankhy-en-Khonsu, Bolton Museum 1.1983/138. From Thebes. Ex Lewis Abbott collection. Probably from unwrapping of mummy in Paris in 1867 by Edward Wünsch. Twenty-second Dynasty.
- 341-61. Wooden faces, ears, hands, and feet fragments from coffins, Bolton Museum 1.1983/227-47. From 'Temples opposite Luxor'.
362. Mummified hand, Bolton Museum 1.1983/305. From Thebes, 1853.
363. Wooden figure of Anubis, Bolton Museum 1.1983/248.
- 364-71. Faience statuettes of seated cat with kittens, University College 36115-22. Langton, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*, nos. 42, 143-5, 147-50.
- 371-2. Faience statuettes of cats, University College 36123-4. *Ibid.*, nos. 153-4

373-4. Faience statuettes of lion-headed goddess, University College 36125-6. Ibid., nos. 156-7.

375-7. Faience statuettes of human-headed sphinx, ape, seated man, University College 36128-30. Ibid., nos. 163, 169-70.

378. Bronze statuette of Nefertum with seated cat, University College 36127. Ibid., no. 158.

Late Period

379-80. Glass bottle and stone vase, Bolton Museum 1.1983/178, 219. From Giza.

381. Bronze statuette of Bes, Ashmolean Museum 1.1982.945. From Saqqâra.

382-6. Bronze statuettes, heads, and reliquary boxes, Bolton Museum 1.1983/188, 201, 208, 214, 217. From Saqqâra.

387-9. Cornelian, chalcedony, and faience amulets: fly, crocodile, and *ka* sign, University College 31426-7, 31435. From Riqqeh tombs 257, 409. Engelbach, op. cit., pl. xviii, 114-16.

390-3. Faience *wedjat* amulets, University College 31428-31. From Riqqeh tomb 409. Engelbach, op. cit., pl. xviii, 117-20.

394-8. Faience amulets: *wedjat*, Bes, hawk, Hathor head, University College 31425, 31440-2, 31448. From Riqqeh.

399-401. Bronze figure ring, blue glass amulet, faience inlay, University College 31439, 31443-4. From Riqqeh.

402. Faience scarab, University College 31419. From Riqqeh, tomb 292. Engelbach, op. cit., pl. xviii, 133.

403-7. Faience, cornelian, mother-of-pearl, glass, amethyst beads, University College 31423, 31432, 31445-7. From Riqqeh.

408. Fragment of stone figurine, Bolton Museum 1.1983/216. From Abydos.

409. Faience shabtis, Bolton Museum 1.1983/203. From Abydos.

410. Faience scarab and spheroid bead, Bolton Museum 1.1983/205. From Abydos.

411-12. Wooden stela of the Opener of the Shrine of the Temple of Amūn, *Ksn*, son of *Dd-Mntw-iw-f-nh*, and of the lady, *Tj-cnw-cti*, British Museum 69520-1. Probably from Thebes. Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

413. Wooden Stela, British Museum 69518. Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

414. Hypocephalus inscribed for Tashenkonsu, daughter of Khonsardais, Ashmolean Museum 1982.1095. From Thebes.

415. Fragment of stone relief showing a plant and stone head of a sphinx, Bolton Museum 1.1983/191. From Luxor.

416-19. Pottery and faience shabtis, Bolton Museum 1.1983/183, 190, 199, 252. From Luxor.

420-3. Faience scarabs, frog amulet, and limestone stamp seal, Bolton Museum 1.1983/176, 194, 202, 211. From Luxor.

424. Linen textile from mummy wrappings, Bolton Museum 1.1983/151. From Thebes, mummy unwrapped at the Royal Institution in May 1836.

425. Linen textile from mummy of 'Horsusil, son of Naphimegori', priest at the Temple of Amūn, Bolton Museum 1.1983/158. From Thebes, mummy unwrapped at the College of Surgeons 26 February 1824.

426. Faience shabti inscribed for *Hrp-mn* son of *3st-wrt*, Ashmolean Museum 1983.1. Possibly Hood collection, from executors of Mrs J. W. Crowfoot. Thirtieth Dynasty. Cf. Schneider, *Shabtis*, II, no. 5.3.1.176.
427. Stone head, Bolton Museum 1.1983/213.
- 428-36. Bronze statuettes of Imhotep, Bolton Museum 1.1983/5-11, 19, 50.
- 437-9. Bronze statuettes of Min, Bes, and Ptah, Bolton Museum 1.1983/48, 51, Ashmolean Museum 1983.26.
440. Bronze model of oxyrhynchus fish, inlaid with red and blue glass, and a kneeling worshipper, Ashmolean Museum 1983.236. Sotheby sale catalogue, 12 December 1983, lot 159.
441. Pottery statuette of baboon, Bolton Museum 1.1983/52.
442. Wooden statuette of ape, Ashmolean Museum 1983.155. Ex Bethell collection. Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, in *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 20-8.
443. Steatite statuette of a crocodile, Ashmolean Museum 1983.83.
- 444-9. Faience statuettes of Ptah-soker, Ptah, Thoth, and Thoueris, and Bes, Bolton Museum 1.1983/12-16, 49.
450. Black glass statuette of Thoueris, Ashmolean Museum 1983.52.
- 451-73. Pottery vessels, Bolton Museum 1.1983/74, 78, 226, 251, 253-69, 275-77.
- 474-5. Calcite vase and glass bottle, Bolton Museum 1.1983/43, 210. The former is from the Macgregor collection.
476. Wooden snake reliquary box, Bolton Museum 1.1983/2. Ex Hilton Price collection.
- 477-8. Painted cartonnage and papyrus fragments, Bolton Museum 1.1983/114, 136.
- 479-83. Faience amulets, plaques, and seal, Bolton Museum 1.1983/212, 218, 249-50, 312.
- 484-5. Faience plaques: mourning Nephthys, Ashmolean Museum 1983.157-8. The former is from the Macgregor collection.
486. Faience and glass pendants, Bolton Museum 1.1983.115.
- 487-506. Pendant amulets and models of various materials, Ashmolean Museum 1983.7, 12, 14, 25, 49-50, 55, 57, 68, 74, 80, 96-7, 103, 132-4, 137, 142, 147. Ex Bethell collection.
- 507-515. Pendant amulets and models of various materials, Ashmolean Museum 1983.22, 29, 58, 65, 78, 117, 143, 162, 178. Ex Macgregor collection.
- 516-610. Pendant amulets and models of various materials, Ashmolean Museum 1983.2-6, 8-10, 15-21, 23-4, 28, 30-47, 51, 59, 61-2, 64, 66, 69, 70-3, 76-77, 81, 84, 87, 94-5, 98-9, 101-2, 104-6, 108, 112-16, 118-31, 135-6, 138-41, 144-5, 148-51, 163, 176-7.
611. Faience heart scarab and wings, Ashmolean Museum 1983.161a-c.
612. Faience spacer bead: three conjoined eyes, Ashmolean Museum 1983.54. Ex Bethell collection.
- 613-15. Frog and lion beads, faience, serpentine, and cornelian, Ashmolean Museum 1983.88-9, 93.
616. Decorated faience cylinder bead, Bolton Museum 1.1983.204.
617. Bone models of four sons of Horus, Ashmolean Museum 1983.48. Ex Macgregor collection.
618. Linen textile from mummy wrappings, Bolton Museum 1.1983/160. Removed from a mummy by Pettigrew in 1837.

619. Linen textile from mummy of a priestess, Bolton Museum 1.1983/282. Gift of H. W. Beamish, 1848. Twenty-sixth Dynasty.
- 620-1. Linen textiles with appliqué of a baboon and a head of Anubis, Bolton Museum 1.1983/67, 284.
- 622-3. Mummified snake and linen wrappings, Bolton Museum 1.1983/134-5.

Ptolemaic Period

- 624-9. Pottery vessels, Bolton Museum 1.1983/125-31. From the necropolis at Alexandria. Ex Henry James Rouse collection.
670. Terracotta figure of Bes, Bolton Museum 1.1983/17. From Tanis, 1885. Gift of Miss George Rapallo, 1926.
- 671-2. Lump of pale-green glass and Nile silt mould for a bowl(?), University College 33567, 33571. From Memphis.
- 673-4. Fragment of faience bowl and Nile silt *saqqar* fragment, University College 33568, 33570. From Memphis. Cf. Petrie, *Historical Studies*, pl. xix, 216, 235.
675. Nile silt jar fragment, University College 33569. From Memphis. Cf. Petrie, *MSS Glazing*, 33.
676. Pottery plaque of Aphrodite, University College 33574. From Memphis. Cf. L. Castiglione, *Acta Antiqua Academicae Hungaricae* 1 (1952), 472 ff. fig. 2.
- 677-8. Papyrus fragments, University College 31915-16. From Gurob.
679. Mummified ibis, Bolton Museum 1.1983/137. From a tomb at Beni Hassan, 1898. Ex Lewis Abbot collection, 1928.
- 680-2. Pottery fragment, stone statuette, and faience amulets, Bolton Museum 1.1983/174, 189, 206. From Dendera.
- 683-5. Lead curse tablets inscribed in Greek, Ashmolean Museum 1982.64-6. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society.
686. Bronze statuette of a dwarf gathering lotus in a papyrus boat, Ashmolean Museum 1982.1120. Ex Fouquet collection.
687. Bronze staff terminal in the shape of a mongoose seated upright on a papyrus umbel, Ashmolean Museum 1983.237. Christie's sale catalogue, 13 December 1983, lot 110.
- 688-9. Two terracotta face affixes, Ashmolean Museum 1983/173-4.
690. Cartonnage mask, University College 36131. M. M. Wright, *Studies in Conservation*, 28 (1983) 122.
- 691-2. Bronze Horus spear amulets, Ashmolean Museum 1982.72-3. Crowfoot Gift.
693. Red glass plaque of recumbent cow, Ashmolean Museum 1983.159. Ex Macgregor collection.
694. Multi-coloured glass plaque of mourning Isis, Ashmolean Museum 1983.156.
695. Brown and green glass inlay of uraeus wearing the Red Crown, Ashmolean Museum 1983.160.
696. Millefiori glass inlay, perhaps an elbow and arm, Ashmolean Museum 1983.166.
697. Blue frit inlay, showing clenched fist, Ashmolean Museum 1983.167. Ex Mrs Berens collection.
- 689-9. Models and pendants in various materials, Ashmolean Museum 1983.27, 110. Ex Macgregor collection.

- 700-12. Models and pendants in various materials, Ashmolean Museum 1983.11, 13, 56, 63, 75, 85, 100, 111, 154, 164-5, 170-1.
713. Green glazed spacer bead, showing relief of a bull in a shrine, Ashmolean Museum 1983.82. Ex Bethell collection.
- 714-15. Wooden cubit rods, University College 36148, 36194. Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, 39-40, section 89, 9-10.
716. Mummified penis, Bolton Museum 1.1983/36.

Roman Period

717. Wooden mummy label inscribed in Greek for Plenis, son of Psyros, Ashmolean Museum 1982.1110. Crowfoot Gift.
- 718-20. Wooden mummy labels, British Museum 69515-17.
721. Greek ostrakon, University College 31917. J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library and Other Collections*, 1 (1930), 123, no. 290.
722. Bronze statuette of the goddess Baubo, University College 36156.
723. Terracotta statuette of Harpocrates carrying Osiris Canopus, Ashmolean Museum 1982.1111. Crowfoot Gift.
- 724-43. Terracotta heads and statuettes, Ashmolean Museum 1982.890-910.
744. Steatite toilet tray, Bolton Museum 1.1983/29.
745. Half of limestone sun dial, University College 36147. Petrie, *Weights and Measures*, 46.

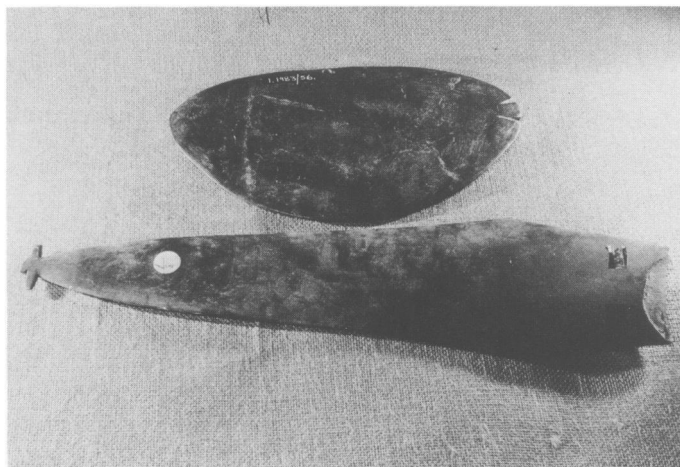
Coptic Period

746. Coptic ostrakon, University College 31914. From Dendera. W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca* (1902), 45, no. 480.
747. Wooden writing board inscribed in Greek with rules for syllabification and the 4- and 5-times tables, Ashmolean Museum 1982.1119. (To be published by R. Pintau and P. Sijpestein.)
- 748-9. Pottery St Menas flasks, Ashmolean Museum 1982.911-12.
750. Terracotta statuette, Bolton Museum 1.1983.220.
- 751-6. Bronze pendant crosses, Ashmolean Museum 1982.67-9, 74-6. Ex Hood collection. Crowfoot Gift.
- 757-8. Bronze and wooden relief plaques, Bolton Museum 1.1983.185, 223.
- 759-63. Wooden combs and a fragment of uninscribed papyrus, Bolton Museum 1.1983/20-3, 32.
- 764-6. Linen and wool textiles, Bolton Museum 1.1983/66, 81-2.

Date Uncertain

- 767-8. Mummified crocodiles, Bolton Museum 1.1983/95-6. From Memphis.
- 769-70. Bronze borers, University College 35320-1. From Coptos. Cf. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 51, section 144.
- 771-2. Human hair from a mummy and mummified egg, Bolton Museum 1.1983/37, 292. From Thebes.

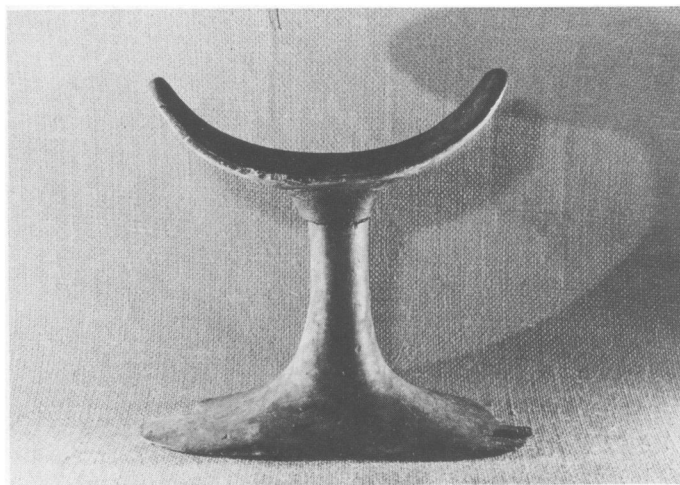
- 773-6. Mummified ibis and linen textiles, Bolton Museum 1.1983/121-4. Ibis from Thebes, and one textile from mummy unwrapped in 1836.
- 777-8. Linen textile and mummified newly hatched crocodiles, Bolton Museum 1.1983/76-7. Crocodiles from a tomb near Kom Ombo, 1904.
779. Mummified hand, Bolton Museum 1.1983/108. Found at Homs. Ex Captain Saint collection.
- 780-2. Stone seal, with inscription, pendants, and axe-head, Bolton Museum 1.1983/150, 184, 187.
783. Stone samples, Bolton Museum 1.1983/303.
- 784-6. Carved wooden plaque of human figure and wooden blocks wrapped in linen, Bolton Museum 1.1983/186, 3-4.
787. Pottery fragment with moulded relief design, Bolton Museum 1.1983.304.
788. Papyrus, Bolton Museum 1.1983/89.
- 789-808. Linen textile fragments, Bolton Museum 1.1983/75, 83, 86, 91-4, 98-107, 149, 279, 290, 294.
- 809-11. Rope, netting, and reed matting, Bolton Museum 1.1983/280-1, 80.
812. Wooden box containing mummy wrappings, Bolton Museum 1.1983/18.
813. Small mummified figure, Bolton Museum 1.1983/112. Ex Gayer-Anderson collection.
814. Mummified figure of (baby?) in wooden coffin, Bolton Museum 1.1983/293.
- 815-17. Mummified heads, Bolton Museum 1.1983/117, 295-6.
- 818-24. Human jawbones, teeth, and hair, Bolton Museum 1.1983/87, 153, 298-300, 289, 291.
- 825-40. Mummified hands and feet, Bolton Museum 1.1983/33-5, 44-6, 64, 84-5, 90, 116, 139-40, 152, 287, 297.
- 841-59. Mummified cats, crocodiles, hawks, and ibis, Bolton Museum 1.1983/65, 69-73, 88, 97, 147, 154-6, 159, 278, 285-6, 288, 301-2.



1. Slate palettes, Bolton Museum, 134-5



2. Granite head, British Museum, 173



3. Wooden head-rest, Bolton Museum, 315

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

An enigmatic object explained

DURING the clearance of the area at the south base of the Second Gîza Pyramid by Abdel Hafez Abd el-'Al in 1960, a sealed passage was discovered near the remains of the small satellite pyramid, GII-a.¹ The passage opens in the bedrock 4 m west of the satellite pyramid and is aligned to the east-west axis of the small pyramid. The passage has a square cross-section of 80 cm and slopes for 6.70 m at an angle of 35-7°. It was found to be plugged with three blocks of limestone.

A small niche opens at the end of the passage on its south side. This measures 1.19 m long, about 62 cm deep, and from 49 to 62 cm high. The niche contained a wooden box sealed with string. The box contained three layers of wood pieces which were reconstructed to make up a frame of four rods supporting a cavetto cornice (see figs. 1 and 5). The dimensions of the assembled object are roughly 186 cm high and 74 × 63 cm at the base. The frame had been systematically dismantled. Several of the pieces had been deliberately broken 'by planing with an axe or chisel, and then by breaking at the point of planing; secondly, by sawing'.² The restored piece can be seen today in Hall 42 of the Egyptian Museum.

The purpose of this object remained a mystery to the excavator, but the circumstances of its burial provide a clue to its possible function. The similarity of its interment with that of the Cheops boat³ might suggest that this object had an analogous purpose. As with the Cheops and Dahshur boats,⁴ objects associated with ancient Egyptian funeral ceremonies, but not part of the burial-chamber assembly, were often deposited outside the tomb proper.⁵ These so-called 'embalmers' caches⁶ could contain not only the material used in mummification⁷ and the 'funerary feast',⁸ but also objects used in transporting goods to the tomb. These range from sling nets⁹ to sledges¹⁰ and, of course, the boats mentioned above.¹¹

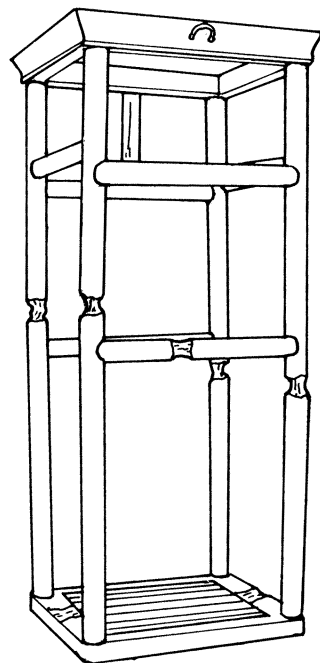


FIG. 1

¹ Abdel Hafez Abd el-'Al and Ahmad Youssef, 'An Enigmatic Wooden Object Discovered Beside the Southern Side of the Giza Second Pyramid', *ASAE* 62 (1977), 103-20, pls. i-xv; see *ASAE* 63 (1979), pls. i, ii a, ii b at the back of the volume.

² Abdel el-'Al and Youssef, op. cit. 117.
³ Abdel Moneim Abubakr and Ahmed Youssef Moustafa, 'The Funerary Boat of Khufu', *Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* 12 (1971), 1-18; M. Z. Nour, M. S. Osman, Z. Iskander, and A. Y. Moustafa, *The Cheops Boats*, Part 1 (Cairo, 1960).

⁴ J. de Morgan, *Fouilles a Dachour, mars-juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895), 81 ff.; George A. Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats* (Cairo, 1913), 83-100.

⁵ See H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri: 1911-1913* (New York, 1942), 55-6, 98-9.

⁶ Id., *Materials Used at the Embalming of King Tut-'Ankh-Amen* (New York, 1941).

⁷ Ibid. 9-13.

⁸ Ibid. 13-18.

⁹ Winlock, *Excavations*, pl. 18 a.

¹⁰ Cf. a sledge deposited in a pit within the pyramid enclosure of Sesostris I at Lisht (Metropolitan Museum of Art 24 January 1984).

¹¹ D. Arnold, 'Rituale und Pyramidentempel', *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 4 n. 16.

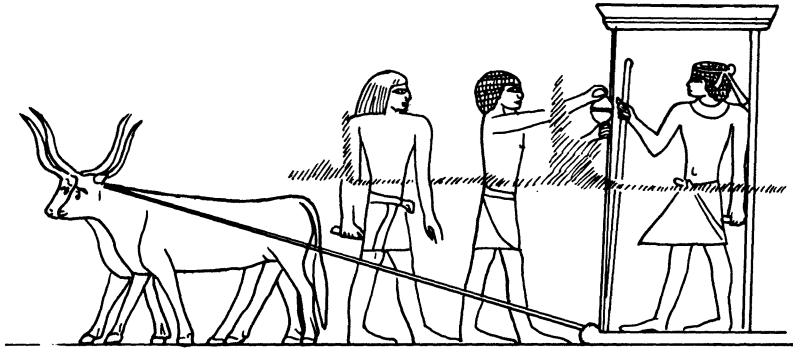


FIG. 2

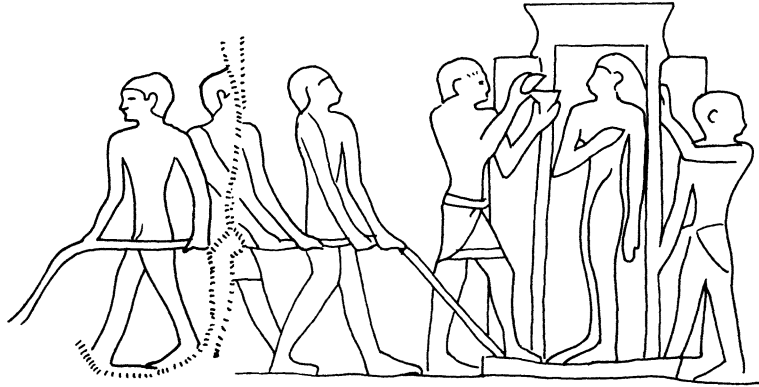


FIG. 3

Scenes on the walls of Old Kingdom and later tombs often show objects being transported to the tomb (fig. 2).¹ The scenes which concern us here are those which show the transport of statuary to the tomb. In these representations the statues are often shown being drawn on sledges and encased in a tall, rectangular box (cf. the tombs of Ti at Saqqâra², and Meresankh III at Gîza,³ fig. 3). In some cases these boxes are obviously representations of shrines⁴ such as those actually found at Lisht,⁵ Dahshur,⁶ and in the tomb of Tutankhamûn.⁷ The Tutankhamûn shrines have both flat and arched tops. These also

¹ See L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1915), 39-43.

² G. Steindorf, *Grab des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913), pls. 62, 70.

³ Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), 12, pls. iii b, v a, fig. 5.

⁴ See Steindorf, *op. cit.*, pl. 62.

⁵ S. B. Johnson, 'Two Wooden Statues from Lisht: Do They Represent Sesostri I?' *JARCE* 17 (1980), 11-20.

⁶ De Morgan *op. cit.* 69.

⁷ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, III (London, 1933), 51, pls. 3, 11.

appear to be the types represented in the Old Kingdom reliefs.¹ However, with statuary which was meant to be exposed, placed in the traditional serdab, or otherwise singled out for inclusion in the mortuary complex, a shipping crate may have been required in some cases. The wooden frame found by the Chephren satellite pyramid would appear to have served as such a transport container. Its association with the funerary statue might account for the cavetto cornice, giving the general form of the *sh ntr*,² and its burial in sacred ground. This purpose would explain several of the peculiar features of the object. The copper staples on either of the longer sides of the cornice (see figs. 1 and 5) could have been used to pass ropes through to stabilize the case as it was being towed upon a sledge.³ This situation has been reconstructed in fig. 4.⁴ In actuality the rope could have been passed through the staples and around the frame in several ways to achieve its stabilization during transport. The horizontal cross-members would have helped to strengthen the frame under the pressure of the ropes. They probably also served as convenient supports to stabilize the statue within the frame. In this regard it should be noted that the uppermost cross-bars (see fig. 5, top, levels 2 and 3) leave a space, 33 × 36 cm, toward one side of the frame (the 'back' side in the *ASAE* 63, pls. iia and b elevations). The head of a standing statue would have passed through this space, and the bars defining the space would have provided enclosing supports. On this side of the frame there is also provided an extra vertical member from the underside of the cornice to the level-2 cross-bar. This could have been additional support for the upper part of the statue, had it been tied by rope.

The level 1 cross-bar (fig. 5, top), located at about half the height of the frame, runs horizontally through the centre of the above-mentioned enclosed space (down through the frame in a plan-view). Reconstructed accordingly, the frame would not allow the introduction of a standing statue. However, a seated statue could fit into the frame with the level-1 bar crossing in front of the torso.⁵ Furthermore, the lowest layers of horizontal members look to have additional slots toward the rear of this section (see fig. 5, bottom) to which the cross-piece could be moved, enabling the frame to hold a standing statue. The reinforcing horizontal members and the cross-bars must have been removed when the statue was released from the case (only the lowest layer 1 if it was a seated statue around 1.2 m in height). This might suggest that when the statue was prepared for transport the case was assembled around it. From the way in which the frame was dismantled—deliberate chopping with hatchet or chisel, and dowels broken at the joints⁶—it appears that the frame was (ritually?) broken down when it was time to enplace or inter the statue at the funerary precinct. A wooden box, sloping passage, and niche were specially prepared for the

¹ Steindorf, *op. cit.*, pls. 62, 70.

² A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd edn. (London, 1957), 495, sign-list 021.

³ At the top and the bottom of each of the four vertical rods there are pairs of small holes which could be U-shaped sockets for a rope to pass through, as is often seen in Old and Middle Kingdom coffins: see Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (London, 1930), 86, fig. 80. However, these could also be sockets for dowels to join the rods to the base and cornice, set at an angle. Such dowels are found in joins on the bracelet box and bed of Hetep-heres I: see Reisner and W. S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis, II, The Tomb of Hetep-heres, the Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), figs. 33, 44.

⁴ The sledge has been modelled after one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 24.1.84), although not to scale.

⁵ Provided it was less than 1.3 m in height—otherwise it would hit the parallel cross-bars of level 2. The most famous Chephren statue, with the Horus hawk at the back of the *nemes*, is around 1.6 m in height. Others of his seated statues must have been closer to 1.2 m in height when complete. The socket to the left in fig. 5 does not extend through the diameter of the horizontal piece, as does the one in the centre. For the left socket to have served as an alternative emplacement for the perpendicular cross-bar, this horizontal piece would have to be turned so that the socket faced into the canopy-frame. On the opposite horizontal piece of the level-1 bracing, no matching socket is readily seen in the Cairo Museum. Therefore, some question remains on this point.

⁶ Abd el-'Al and Youssef, *op. cit.* 117.

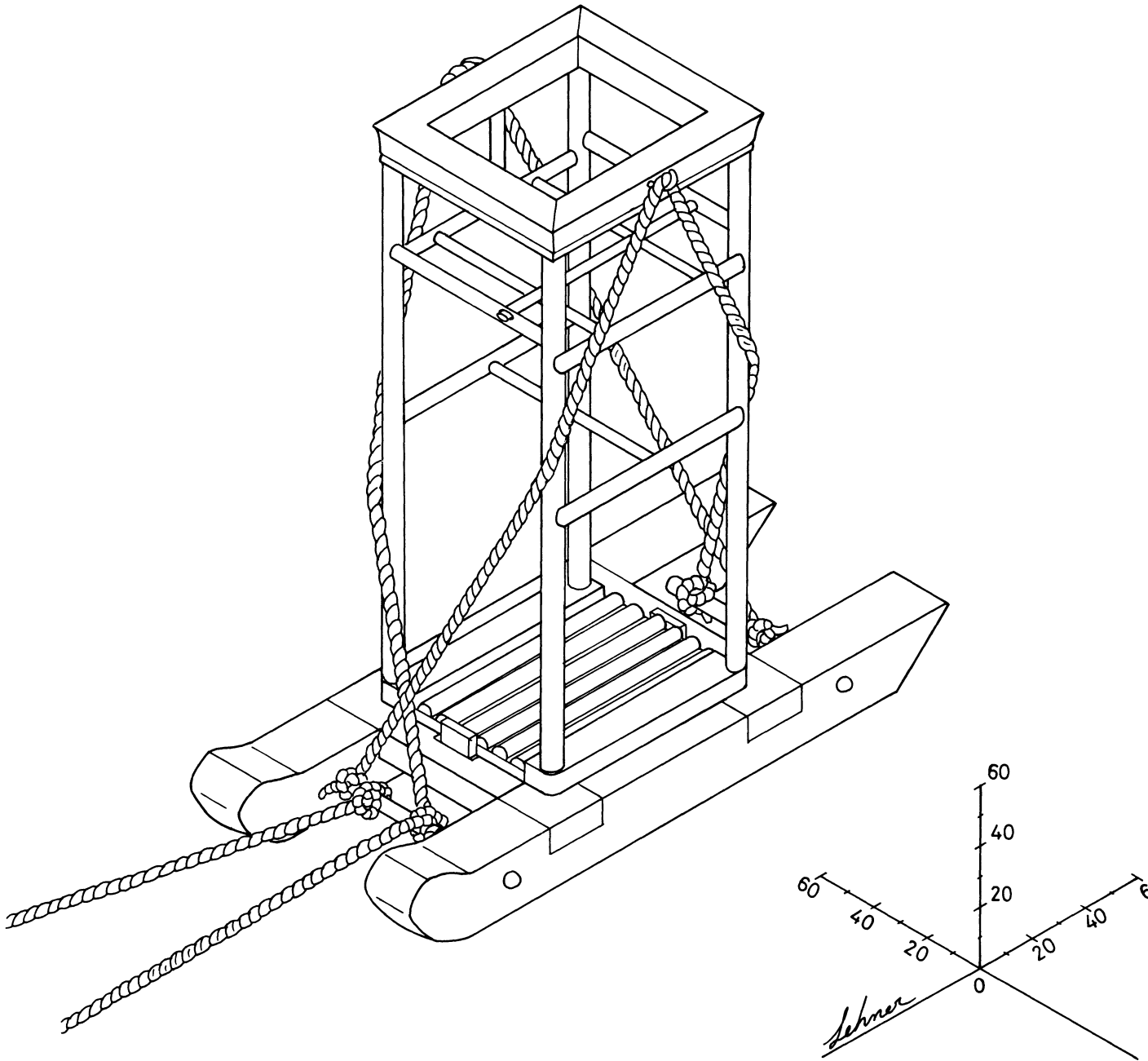


FIG. 4

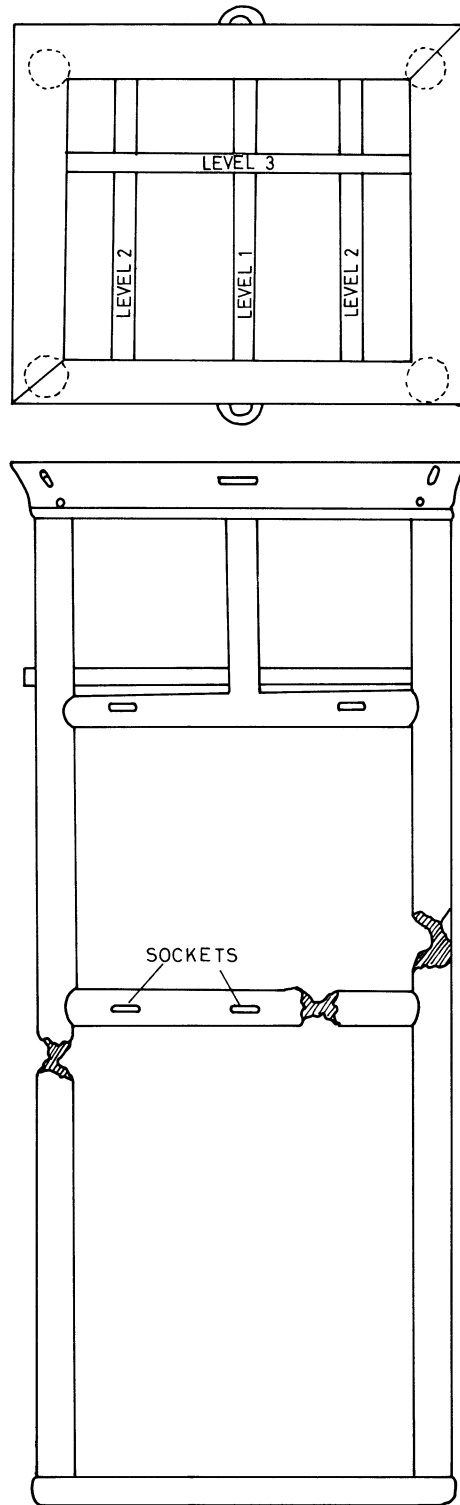


FIG. 5

interment of the broken frame. Given the proximity of the passage to the satellite pyramid of Chephren, its location on the east–west axis of that pyramid, and the fact that it slopes down toward the pyramid, this must have been considered an annex to the satellite pyramid's substructure, even though the passage opens outside the pyramid court proper.¹

Reisner² and Maragioglio and Rinaldi³ considered this a queen's pyramid, while Ricke,⁴ Lauer,⁵ and Stadelmann⁶ accept it as a 'cult pyramid' of the king. It has long been considered that the small satellite pyramids of the middle and later Old Kingdom developed out of the Southern Tomb of Zoser at his Saqqâra Step Pyramid complex, and that they carry a similar significance, although what that significance might have been is widely debated. One of the suggestions is that the South Tomb and satellite pyramids were intended for the interment of a *ka*-statue of the king.⁷ The dismantled canopy-frame found in association with the Chephren satellite pyramid may offer support for this suggestion. In this regard it might be compared to the wooden bier 'for carrying a shrine'⁸ found in the T-shaped magazine off the south side of the entrance corridor of the Zoser South Tomb.⁹ The wooden frame from the Chephren precinct, with a total height of 1.86 m, would nicely enclose a statue with a height of about 1.6 m. The T-shaped burial chamber of the Chephren satellite pyramid, with a height of 2.05 m¹⁰ could have received a statue of this dimension, provided the statue did not exceed about 1 m in width. The entrance passage of GII-a is 1.05 m square¹¹. Since the base of the canopy-frame is 63 × 74 cm, the statue it transported would probably not have exceeded these widths.

MARK LEHNER and PETER LACOVARA

A fourth Dahshur boat

THE excavation of three Twelfth Dynasty wooden Egyptian boats in 1894¹² provided scholars with the first opportunity to study actual hulls from ancient Egypt. Jean-Jacques de Morgan discovered the boats buried beside the brick pyramid of Sesostris III at Dahshur. Two of the boats are displayed in the National Museum of Cairo, and the third in Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History. De Morgan also reported finding three other boats about 100 m from the first group, but they were not excavated.

While investigating the construction of these funerary vessels, I discovered that a fourth Dahshur boat had been purchased in 1901 by Andrew Carnegie for the Carnegie Museum of

¹ V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi, *L'Architettura delle piramidi Menfite v, Le Piramidi di Zedefra e di Chephren* (Rapello, 1966), 90–3, 130–1.

² Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge, MA, 1942), 131, fig. 66.

³ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, op. cit. 130–1.

⁴ H. Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur Ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches*, II (Cairo, 1950), 125–6.

⁵ J. P. Lauer, 'Recherche et découverte du tombeau sud de l'Horus Sekhm-khet dans son complexe funéraire à Saqqarah', *RdÉ* 20, 98.

⁶ R. Stadelmann, 'Pyramiden, AR', *LdÄ* IV, 1234.

⁷ Ricke, op. cit. 56; Stadelmann, op. cit. 1225; Altenmüller, 'Bemerkungen zur frühen und späten Bauphase des Djoserbezirkes in Saqqâra', *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 3–5; J. Brinks, *Die Entwicklung der königlichen Grabanlagen des Alten Reiches* (Hildesheim, 1979), 79, where the statue would be a 'Sedfest-statue'.

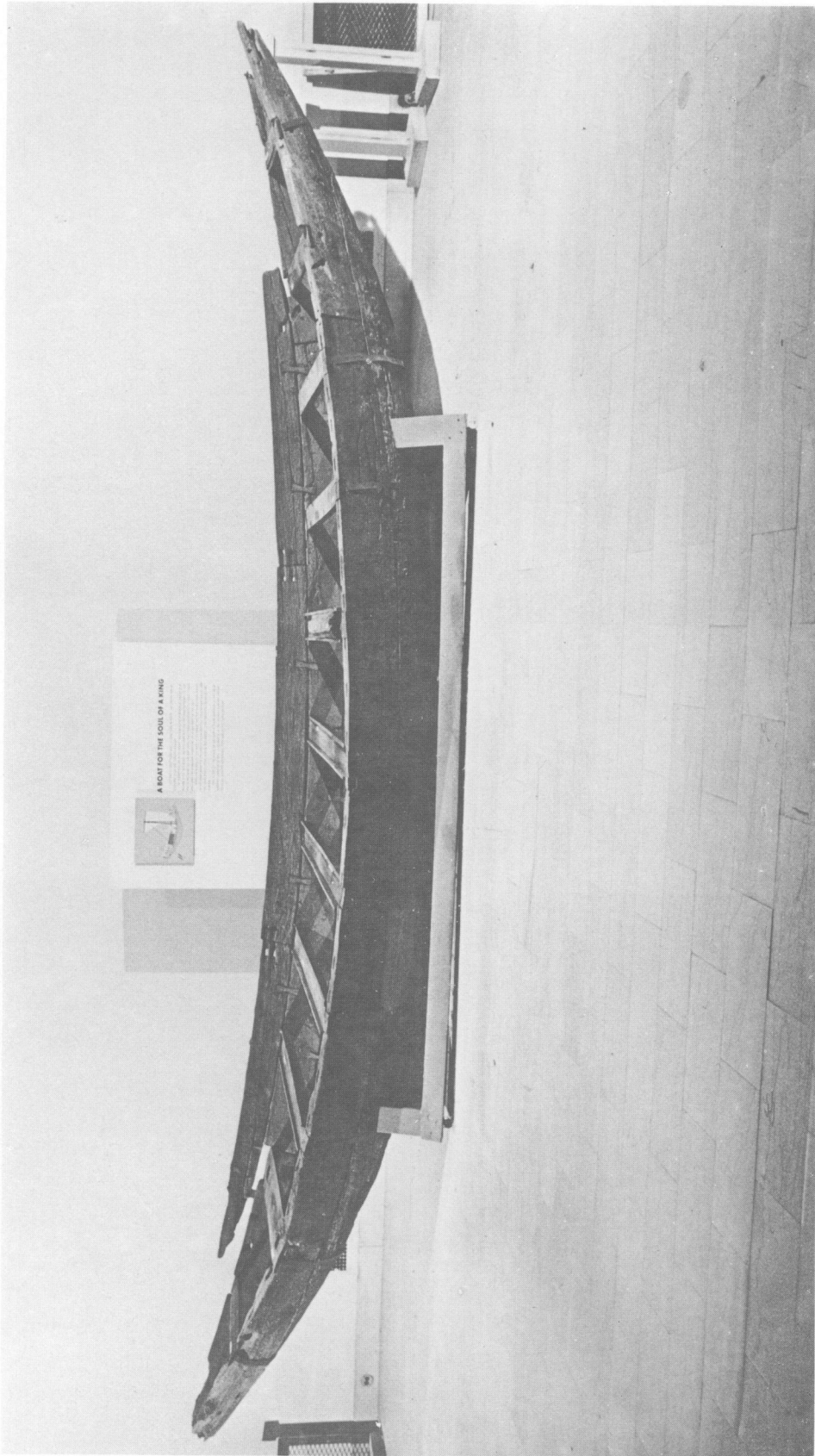
⁸ C. M. Firth, J. E. Quibell, and J. P. Lauer, *The Step Pyramid*, I–II (Cairo, 1935–6), 62.

⁹ Lauer, *La Pyramide à degrés*, I (Cairo, 1936), 99, fig. 84. Note also that nine gilded poles of a canopy similar to that of Hetep-heres I were found in the same magazine, *ibid.*, figs. 6–7; cf. Reisner and Smith, *Hetep-heres*.

¹⁰ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, 131, fig. 66; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, op. cit. 90 give a height of 2.10 m.

¹¹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, 132.

¹² David R. Watters, James Richardson, and Claudia Medoff of the Carnegie Museum of Natural History, and Glen Cole of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, have been instrumental in providing access to the Dahshur boats and the records concerning their acquisition and exhibition. Their efforts are greatly appreciated. J.-J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dâhchour: Mars-Juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895), 81–3.



Sheer view of the Pittsburgh Dahshur boat during disassembly. The starboard gunwale and the throughbeams have been removed.

Photograph by V. J. Abromitis, Carnegie Museum of Natural History

A FOURTH DAHSHUR BOAT

Natural History in Pittsburgh (see pl. XVIII).¹ The boat, temporarily in museum storage, was displayed from 1905 to 1975, but has somehow escaped the attention of both ship scholars and Egyptologists.

Although details of its excavation are unknown at present, I believe that this fourth example of Middle Kingdom funerary craft belongs to the second group of three boats found by Morgan. Photographs of the now-dismantled Pittsburgh hull show the same beamy construction and curved sheer typical of the other boats. Its measurements,² roughly 9.2 m long, 2.3 m broad, and 0.9 m deep amidships, are similar to those I recorded in Chicago (9.78 m long, 2.37 m wide, and 0.72 m deep amidships) and to those reported by Casson for the two boats in the Cairo Museum (10.2 m long, 2.24 m wide, 0.84 m deep amidships; and 9.9 m long, 2.28 m wide, 0.74 m deep amidships).³ Elements of construction in all four boats are the same. Strakes composed of massive planks are joined by mortise-and-tenon fastenings to the edges of a thicker central strake. Dovetail tenons on the inner surface of the hull maintain a tight seam between plank edges and are found at some butt joints. All boats have a gunwale made up of sections lashed together at their ends, and most have mortises at the bow, probably for the attachment of a decorative stem-piece. Lateral stiffening of the frameless hulls was provided by through-beams which rested in notches cut in the upper edge of the top strake. Square treenails held the through-beams in place, and they were flush with the outer hull surface. Steering oars were found in all the boats; the Pittsburgh boat also contained what is probably a tiller. Stanchions found with the Chicago hull would have supported the heavy steering oars.

Prior to their journey from Port Said to the United States, both the Chicago and Pittsburgh hulls were reconstructed with modern tenons as both the original flat and dovetail tenons had disintegrated. Iron bands were also strapped around the hulls below the through-beams.

Many modern references report the existence of five or six hulls from Dahshur, but previously, only three hulls had known locations. Any information about the locations of the fifth or sixth vessels will be appreciated. Through study of these ancient craft, a clearer picture of ancient shipbuilding techniques and customs will emerge. More information about these hulls built in the second millennium before Christ will be available when this study is complete.

CHERYL WARD HALDANE

An important family from Abydos of the Seventeenth Dynasty

IN volume 68 (1982) of this Journal J. J. Clère published the lower part of the British Museum stela 833 (*Hieroglyphic Texts BM* IV, pl. 24) from Abydos for the first time. This stela is dated in the time of King Raḥotep of the Seventeenth Dynasty.⁴ It is important to notice that here women are called *ḥny(t) ny(t) niwt* for the first time, which cannot have the normal Middle Kingdom meaning of 'soldier' (used only by men, see Berlev, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 23 ff.), but must have the meaning of 'townswoman' as later in the New Kingdom.

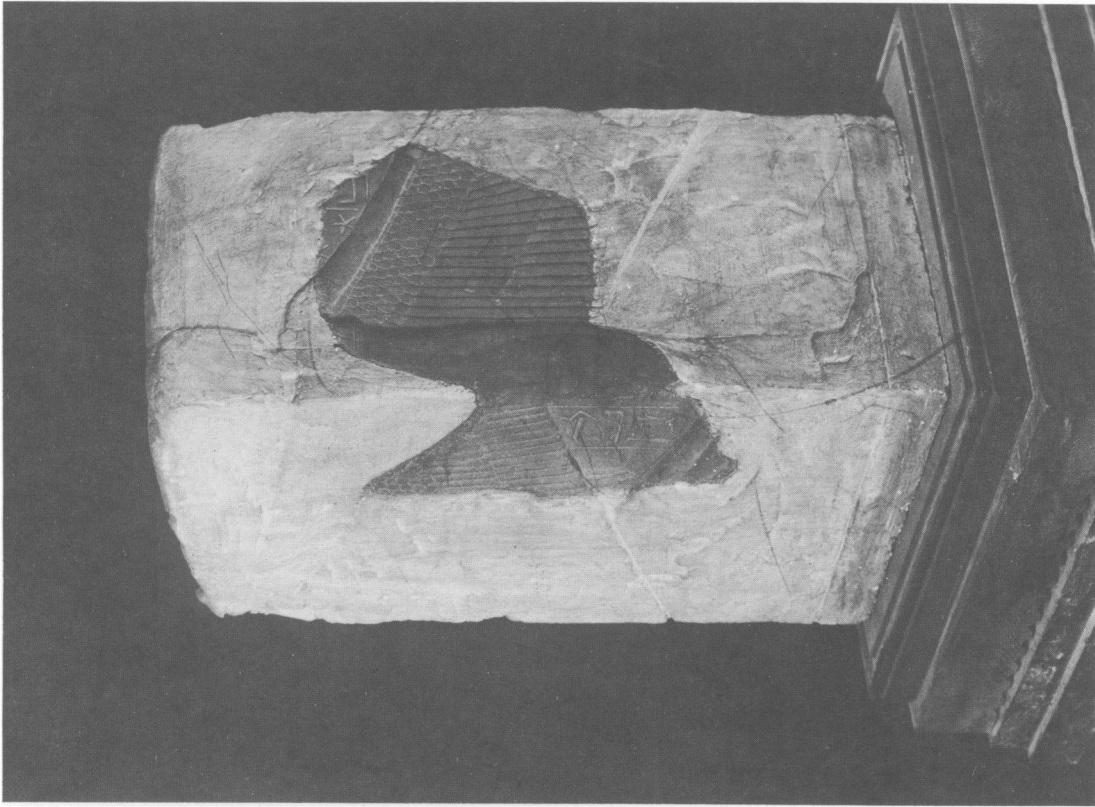
Among the many officials and women depicted on this stela, we can read the title and the name of the second man in the first row of officials as 'Scribe of the God's offerings' (*sš*

¹ W. J. Holland described the boat in the Carnegie Museum, accession number 1842, in *Biblia* 15 (1902), 77-9.

² These measurements were taken from outside the case and so should not be regarded as exact dimensions.

³ L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship of the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), 14 n. 14.

⁴ *JEA* 68 (1982), 60 ff. For King Raḥotep see von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (ÄgFo 23) (Hamburg, 1964), 178 ff.; Blumenthal in *Ägypten und Kusch* (Festschrift Hintze) (Berlin, 1977), 63 ff.



Courtesy the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum
A FRAGMENT OF CANOPIC CHEST IN
SIR JOHN SOANE'S MUSEUM



Stela Louvre E 13057 = C 287
AN IMPORTANT FAMILY FROM ABYDOS OF THE
SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY

hṭpw-ntr *Wp-wꜣwt-iry* (see *JEA* 68, 66 (I, 2), and pl. vi). Fortunately, we happen to find a man with exactly the same title and name on two other stelae from Abydos: Cairo CG 20335, *imy-r hwt-ntr Kꜣwms mꜣr hrw irw·n sš hṭp(w)-ntr Wp-wꜣwt-iry mꜣr hrw*; Paris, Louvre E. 13057 = formerly Bibliothèque Nationale Nr. 48 bis,¹ (2) *hꜣt(y)-r imy-r hwt-ntr . . .* (3) *sꜣ nsw ṯsw iwꜣy n 3bdw Kꜣwms ir(w)·n* (4) *sš hṭp(w)-ntr Wp-wꜣwt-iry mꜣr hrw ms(w) (·n) (i)rt-pꜣt Kꜣwms*. The father of the titular prince *Kꜣwms* is without doubt the same man as on the 'Raḥotep-stela', so we can safely fix the date of these two stelae shortly after the reign of King Raḥotep.

The information obtained from this dating is important:

1. The Paris stela is the latest dated example of the many 'Min-stelae' so popular in the last decades of the Thirteenth Dynasty.²
2. The Paris stela gives us the second mention of the term *iwꜣyt*, 'military garrison' (*Wb.* 1, 51, 11) before the New Kingdom. The term occurs for the first time in the letters of the so-called 'Semna-Despatches' from the time of Ammenemes III.³ F. Graf Calice showed that the rank-and-file soldier of such a garrison, the *wꜣw*, was 'one rewarded' by the king; both terms *iwꜣyt* and *wꜣw* seem to derive from the verb *iwꜣ* 'inherit/reward'.⁴

We now know that at least two such garrisons existed north of Thebes in the Seventeenth Dynasty: Coptos⁵ and Abydos. The garrison of the Theban kings at Abydos seems to have been under the command of a titular prince, who had also an important post in the administration of the temple of Osiris. We can suggest that the installation of such a garrison was part of the preparations for the war and final defeat of the Hyksos-Kings.

Perhaps we can date the two stelae from Cairo and Paris about ten or twenty years later than the reign of King Raḥotep, i.e. c. 1630/1620 BC. This dating of the Chief of the Abydene military garrison and Intendant of the temple *Kꜣwms* fits well with our information on the activities of the Kings Antef V and Sobkemsaf II, *Nbw-iri-ꜣw* I, and 'Ahmose at Abydos, who all left their mark in this region.⁶ We know also that the Theban territory and power extended as far as Cusae (El-Quṣija) in the time of Kamose.⁷

So the publication of J. J. Clère helps to put another two pieces of the big 'Middle-Kingdom-puzzle' in their proper place in history. Two more stelae can be dated which are important in all aspects for the study of the late Middle Kingdom. This is a good example how every new published document from this period can be a long-desired 'missing link'.

DETLEF FRANKE

¹ See pl. XIX. I have to thank the authorities of the Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes of the Louvre, Paris, for supplying me with this photograph. For this stela I can only quote the totally inadequate publication of E. Ledrain, *Les Monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II (Paris, 1881), pl. xxxi. See also Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983) 309 n. 1.

² Comparable examples from this period are: Stelae CCG 20277, 20578, 20612 (ANOC 59); CCG 20240 (ANOC 16); Berlin Nr. 7287 (ANOC 65); Wien Inv. Nr. 198 (ANOC 52); Leiden Nr. 42 (V 21) (ANOC 57); Hannover Nr. 2931 (ANOC 67); Bologna Nr. 1911. See also Malaise, *SAK* 9 (1981), 279 ff., and Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos* (GOF IV, Band 1) (Wiesbaden, 1973), 66 ff.

³ Smither, *JEA* 31 (1945), 3 ff., pls. iv, 12 and v, 3, here spelled *iwyt*. It is written without the final *-t* on the Paris stela; for this see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 113, and Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, § 267.

⁴ *ZÄS* 52 (1914), 116 ff. For the term *iwꜣyt* see also Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organisation* (MÄS 6) (1964), 17 f.; Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, III (1979) (Paris, 1982), 13 (79.0133); Faulkner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 44.

⁵ Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. viii, from the time of King Antef V. The garrison troops are only called *mꜣr*, under the command of the *sꜣ-nsw ṯsw ny Gbtw Qjnn*. See also Helck in *LdÄ*, IV, 134 f.

⁶ See von Beckerath, op. cit. 170, 177, 181 f., 281 f., 291 (5); *LdÄ*, I, 37 f.

⁷ von Beckerath, op. cit. 197.

A fragment of canopic chest in Sir John Soane's museum*

IN his *Catalogue of the Classical Antiquities* (typescript Boston, 1975), Cornelius Vermeule describes, as his number 37, a fragment of canopic chest in Sir John Soane's Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, which appears to have otherwise escaped notice (see fig. 1 and pl. XIX). The dimensions are: total height, 200 mm; height at corner, 110 mm; maximum width at front, 170 mm; maximum width at side, 90 mm; height of interior, 180 mm; thickness from corner to edge of cylindrical cavity, 125 mm. The fragment has no inventory number, and its date of acquisition and provenance are unrecorded, though its presence in the collection points to the early nineteenth century for the former. Vermeule gives its material as slate, but close inspection reveals that the fragment has at some time been coated with a brownish covering which conceals the stone's true nature. However, in certain lighting conditions, the interior of the fragment exhibits an appearance suggestive of a light-coloured stone, of which calcite would seem the most likely variety. At some time, a partial restoration in plaster has been attempted.

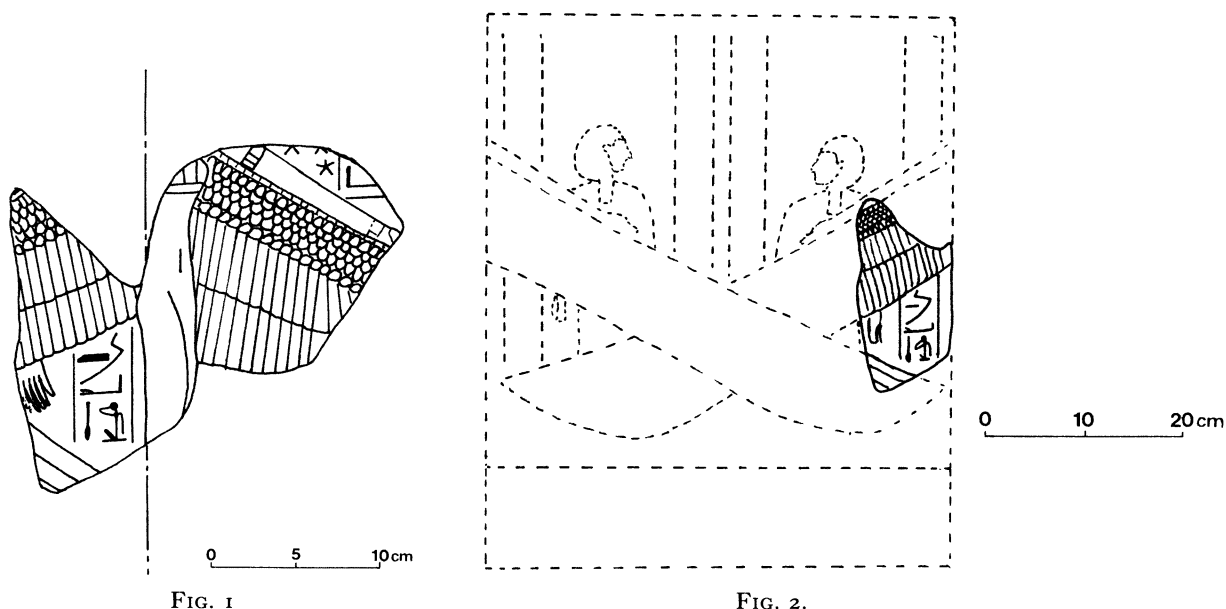


FIG. 1

FIG. 2.

The fragment has a winged figure of either Neith or Nephthys¹ as its major item of decoration. The front bears the torso and part of the legs of the figure and the end of a column of inscription which can only be restored as $[m\dot{s}]c [hrw]$. The space between the inscription and the upper part of the goddess was evidently filled with five-pointed stars, of which three, or traces thereof, survive. The left arm of the figure carries an armlet on its upper part, while possible traces of a bracelet are visible at the wrist. The side preserves a different writing of $m\dot{s}c hrw$ along with a human hand and the end of the wing of either Isis or Selkis. A restoration of this face of the chest, with the genii and columns of inscription based on existing traces and other New Kingdom canopic chests, is shown on fig. 2. When

* I should like to thank the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum for permission to publish this fragment, the staff, and in particular the Curator, Mr Thornton, for their help, and Professor A. F. Shore for his kind, and most helpful, criticism of the manuscript.

¹ On the basis of the positions of the goddesses on other chests. In this paper, the face bearing the goddess's figure will be regarded as the 'front' and the other face the 'side'.

complete, the chest would seem to have been *c.* 80 cm high by *c.* 45 cm square, which compares well with the dimensions of the chests of Akhenaten and Tutankhamūn.¹ The interior of the fragment preserves part of one of the cylindrical cavities which contained the embalmed viscera.

The fragment is clearly of New Kingdom date; I have been unable to trace any private stone chests of the period, and, in view of the small number of known private stone sarcophagi, it would seem most unlikely that any existed. A royal attribution would therefore appear most probable.

Nine royal canopic chests, or fragments thereof, survive from the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties:² those of Hatshepsut,³ Tuthmosis I,⁴ Amenophis II⁵ Tuthmosis IV,⁶ Akhenaten,⁷ Tutankhamūn,⁸ Horemheb,⁹ Merenptah,¹⁰ and Siptah.¹¹ No examples later than Siptah are known, with the exception of the Twenty-second Dynasty example of Shoshenq I.¹² All other later kings whose canopic equipment is known used separate jars of conventional type.¹³ Whether this lack in the Twentieth Dynasty is the result of plundering in ancient¹⁴ and modern times or, especially in view of their lack *en masse*, due to some change in the royal burial installation, is unclear. If the latter is the correct explanation, is it possible that the viscera were placed within the kings' now greatly enlarged sarcophagi, foreshadowing the Twenty-first Dynasty Theban practice of their return to the body? In view of this possibility, it is probably best not to attempt to place the present fragment later than the Nineteenth Dynasty. The Shoshenq I example, as well as being chronologically isolated, has a rather different arrangement and execution of decoration compared to the New Kingdom examples.

With the exception of those of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I, made of quartzite, the extant chests are all composed of calcite. The corners of the latter group are decorated with divine figures, the hawk of Rē-Horakhty in the case of Akhenaten, Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket in the others. The goddesses are winged in the chests of Horemheb and Siptah, while the quartzite chests are devoid of decoration, save their inscriptions. If the present fragment is indeed calcite, it fits well into the sequence, while the winged-goddess motif clearly places it later than Tutankhamūn. Ownership by Ay would seem unlikely in view of the lack of

¹ See nn. 7 and 8, below.

² A square cavity in the floor of the sepulchral hall of the tomb of Amenophis III (WV 22) indicates the former position of his lost chest. Interestingly, this cavity is apparently absent in other royal tombs of the period.

³ Cairo *JdE* 38072. Davies *et al.*, *The Tomb of Hatshepsut* (London, 1906), 101-2, pl. xiii.

⁴ Made for him by Tuthmosis III. Cairo *JdE* 36416. Winlock, 'Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I', *JEA* 15 (1929), 58, pl. xiv (upper).

⁵ Cairo *CCG* 5029. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois 1898-1899* (Cairo, 1902), 243-4, pl. 1.

⁶ Cairo *CCG* 46041. Davis *et al.*, *The Tomb of Thutmôsis IV* (London, 1904), 8.

⁷ Cairo *JdE* 59454. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna*, 1 (London, 1974), 30-3, pl. 21-2; Hamza, 'The Alabaster Canopic Box of Akhenaten and the Royal Alabaster Canopic Boxes of the XVIIIth Dynasty', *ASAE* 40 (1940), 537-43, pl. lii-lvi.

⁸ Cairo *Ex.* 984. PM² 1, ii, 574.

⁹ Cairo *Temp.* 9. 12. 22. 1-14. Davis *et al.*, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou* (London, 1912), 97-100, pl. lxxiv.

¹⁰ Alabaster fragments attributable to the king's canopics and probably the coffin represented by BM 49739 were recovered both from the king's own tomb, KV 8, (of 'poor' technique) and from Siptah's KV 47, the latter now in the MMA: see Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 117-18, 109.

¹¹ MMA *ibid.* and Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II (New York, 1959), 356 f.

¹² Berlin 11000. Schmidt, *Sarkofager . . .* (Copenhagen, 1919), 165, fig. 906.

¹³ e.g. Psusennes I, Shoshenq II; Montet, *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennes à Tanis* (Paris, 1951), 56, 93, pl. lx-lxi.

¹⁴ cf. Aldred's remarks on the disappearance of Twentieth Dynasty sarcophagi: 'More light on the Ramesside Tomb Robberies', in Ruffe *et al.* (eds.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1979), 96-9.

canopic fragments recovered from WV 23 in the recent clearance,¹ but the first part of the Nineteenth Dynasty would seem quite possible.

The lack of corresponding fragments from the cleared KV 16, KV 17, KV 8,² KV 15, and KV 47 might suggest provenance from one of the tombs still containing large quantities of *turab*, namely KV 7 (Ramesses II) and KV 10 (Amenmesses). Of these two, the latter's use, or otherwise, for the king's burial is still a matter for debate,³ so that the balance of probability might seem to favour the sepulchre of Ramesses II as the provenance of the present fragment. The tomb appears to share with that of his father, Sethos I, KV 17, the otherwise unique feature of a deep subterranean passage below the sepulchral hall,⁴ a feature that Romer has argued may represent a substitute for a conventional outer sarcophagus.⁵ If the chests of Sethos I and Ramesses II were both interred with their coffins at the ends of these now blocked, or largely blocked passages, it would go towards explaining the lack of a known chest for the former, and this solitary possible fragment for the latter, perhaps accidentally carried by a plunderer into the upper tomb and discarded there. Support is lent to a KV 7 provenance by the fact that Salt apparently worked there,⁶ and was in contact with Soane over the sale of the Sethos I coffin. Thus it would not seem improbable that the latter may at some point have acquired the present fragment from Salt.

The existence of corresponding fragments, at present unrecognized, in other collections is a matter for speculation, while a firm attribution of the present fragment can only be achieved by further discoveries, either within collections or the *turab* of the tombs of the Biban el-Moluk.

AIDAN DODSON

An alternative reading for P. Anastasi III, 3-12

IN Caminos's translation of P. Anastasi III, 3-12 (*LEM*, 83 f.) we read: 'Fortunate is a scribe (3, 12) skilled in his office, master of upbringing (?) . . . Persevere in action every day, thus shall you gain mastery over them' (*sbk šš šs: m iwt:f nb hprw . . . tnr tw m irt m mnt k: h:m:k r:sn*). Note that there are two punctuation points one after *iwt* and another one after *hpriw* together with obscure traces in red as a correction for *hpriw*(?). Caminos's reading seems to be unconvincing, because: (a) he himself admits in his commentary on *nb hpr(w)* that 'lord of upbringing' is unparalleled elsewhere; (b) the suffix *·sn* in *r·sn* does not clearly refer to anything; (c) moreover, in the parallel text of P. Anastasi v 8, 4-5, there are no punctuation dots as well as no termination $\text{⓪}_{\overline{\text{TT}}}$ after *hpr*.

Accordingly, the following suggestion may be offered: *nb* would be preferably associated with *iwt:f*, and the termination *iwt* be eliminated from *hpr* as representing redundant vowel-markers, commonly found in Late Egyptian manuscripts for some reason or another.⁷ *Hpr(w)* itself, would then introduce a 'parenthetical statement'.⁸ The reading of the entire quotation would thus run as follows: 'Precious is a scribe who is skilled in *all his functions*. (It) shall come to pass (that) if you are active every day, you will gain mastery over them (i.e., *iwt:f nb*).'

F. HAIKAL

¹ See Schaden, *The God's Father Ay* (Ann Arbor, 1978), 240 ff.

² The present fragment does not appear to exhibit the 'poor' technique of the KV 8 examples (see n. 10 above), which, in any case, only appear to have come to light in Carter's clearance at the beginning of the present century.

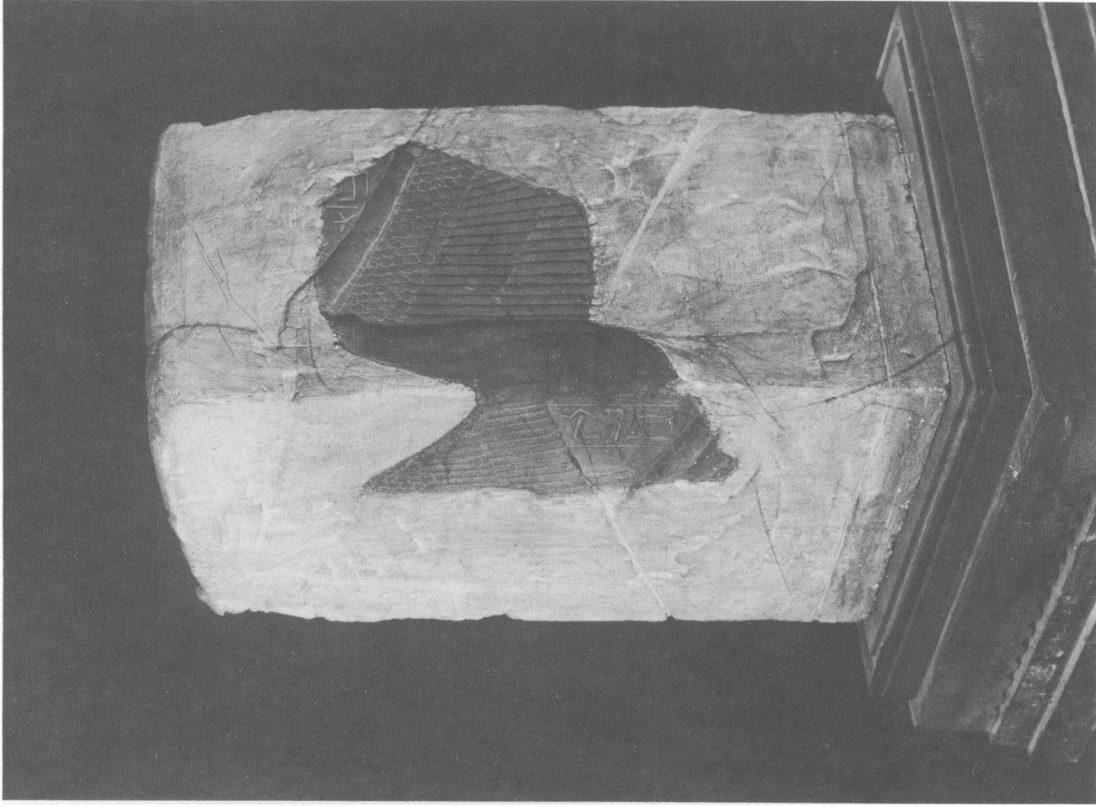
⁴ Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (London, 1981), 75.

⁵ *Ibid.* 74-8.

⁶ *Ibid.* 86.

⁷ See Bakir, *Late Egn. gr.* 3-5.

⁸ For similar constructions with *hpr(w)* cf. Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* §188, 1 and Erman, *Neuäg. gr.* §268.



Courtesy the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum
A FRAGMENT OF CANOPIC CHEST IN
SIR JOHN SOANE'S MUSEUM



Stela Louvre E 13057 = C 287
AN IMPORTANT FAMILY FROM ABYDOS OF THE
SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY

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Ramose restored: a royal prince and his mortuary cult

THE fragmentary statue which forms the subject of this paper has recently been brought to light from the collections of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool.¹ No direct documentary evidence has survived at Liverpool to suggest a provenance. The statue is made of a brown-pink granite of a grain fine enough to have taken the inscription fairly clearly and allowed the figure to be modelled in a very competent fashion. It is 27.4 cm tall by 13.3 cm wide (across the base) and 22.8 cm deep (along the base). The upper part of the body and the front of the feet and base have been broken away; the remaining lower half depicts a male figure seated upon a block-throne. The throne itself has a low back-rest and a rectangular back pillar; each of the two vertical back edges of the throne bears a single facet. The figure is dressed in a long, close-fitting robe which terminates just above the ankles. An incised line runs down the centre of the front of the robe, beginning at the lap and ending at the hem. The hands are placed flat on the thighs, palms downwards. The statue is broken along the line of the elbows, just above the lap. Thus the pose and costume of this piece seem to reflect Middle Kingdom traditions of sculpture which were revived in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.²

The dedicatory text is inscribed in incised hieroglyphs, in three vertical columns on the right-hand side of the base and in one vertical column down the right-hand edge of the back (see pl. XX and fig. 1).

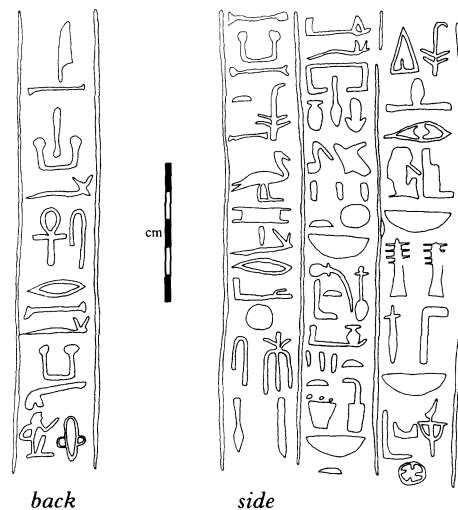


FIG. 1.

Translation

(Side): '(1) A boon which the King gives (to) Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the great god, Lord of Abydos, (2) that he may give invocation-offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, every good and pure thing, every offering of fruit and vegetables^a (3) for the *kꜣ* of the King's son, his beloved,^b Ramose, the justified.'

(Back): 'By his *kꜣ*-priest, who causes his name to live, *Kꜣ-hri*.^c'

¹ Registered as Liverpool SAOS E 609. I wish to express my thanks to Professor A. F. Shore for permission to publish this statue, and also to Dr K. A. Kitchen for his valuable counsel.

² J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III (Paris, 1958), 503. For a comparable piece see W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh* (London, 1909), pl. 32.

Commentary

(a) Probably this, although W. Barta (*Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, 1968), 351) translates all the occurrences of *rnpt/rnpwt* in offering lists as 'yearly festival offerings'.

(b) B. Schmitz (*Untersuchungen zum Titel sꜣ njswt 'Königssohn'* (Bonn, 1976), 266) maintains that, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, this epithet is only applied to true Royal princes.

(c) The examples of this name given by H. Ranke (*Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, II (Glückstadt, 1952), 321) all seem to belong to the same individual, a lector-priest and *ks*-priest of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.¹ The statuette in a private collection in Chester (the name on which was communicated to Ranke by Blackman in 1936) is probably to be identified with the Liverpool statue. Moreover, it seems that it was Blackman who had been the first to recognize the reading of the name on the van Leer ushabti,² and it is probable that he was able to interpret the oddly carved *hri* sign on the Liverpool piece from the text on the van Leer ushabti, which has the full phonetic writing and determinative. The form of the ushabti (Schneider type VB1)³ and the text which it bears (a variant of Schneider type IIIA)⁴ indicate that it should be dated to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. If the evidence from the statue itself suggests a date for its manufacture during the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty (probably confirmed by the dating of the name of the *ks*-priest), one might expect to be able to produce other references to a *sꜣ nsw* Ramose from this period. No records of this kind seem to exist, but there is one tantalizing piece of evidence from a Deir el-Medina tomb, that of Khabekhnet,⁵ which Bierbrier⁶ dates to year 45 of Ramesses II at the latest. The scene in question is on a block from the north-eastern wall of the hall of this tomb⁷ and depicts two rows of seated royal figures, an example of a well-attested genre⁸ in which the tomb owner is shown offering to a group of royal notables, or rather their statues. Among the recipients of offerings in the tomb of Khabekhnet is the *sꜣ nsw* Ramose. Most of the figures in this scene are easily identifiable, but the lineage of some of the lesser royal personages is something of a problem. Petrie⁹ suggested that the whole of the second row, including Ramose, were all the children of Sekenenrē II and Ḥḥotpe, while Sethe¹⁰ believed that Ramose is to be identified with Prince Ramesses, son of Ramesses II. In his study of the scene, Daressy¹¹ came to the conclusion that Ramose was, like Prince Wadjmose whom he is depicted sitting next to, a son of Tuthmosis I.

In fact the well-known mortuary cult of Wadjmose, although more important, may provide a parallel to that of Ramose. The focus for this cult was the chapel situated

¹ Cf. Pa-Wah (A. Gardiner, 'A Priest of King Tuthmosis III and Prince Wadjmose', *Orientalia* 6 (1937), and G. Daressy, 'La chapelle d'Uazmes', *ASAE* 1 (1900), 107) who seems to have served as *ks*-priest in the Wadjmose Chapel as well as being *wꜣb*-priest in the nearby Mortuary Temple of Tuthmosis III.

² W. A. van Leer, *Egyptische Oudheden* (Leiden, 1936), 15 and pl. v [19]. The Liverpool SAOS copy of this volume has bound into it a copy of a letter written by Blackman, describing the ushabti. Some of his comments were incorporated into the 1957 edition (p. 22 and pl. viii). The ushabti is almost certainly that which was described as being in the Hoffman collection (the bulk of which was sold in 1899): see G. Legrain, *Coll. H. Hoffman. Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes* (Paris, 1894), 32 (no. 82).

³ H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis*, I (Leiden, 1977), 187 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* 92 ff.

⁵ *PM* I¹, 6-9.

⁶ M. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster, 1975), 30-1.

⁷ *PM* I¹, 7, [10], I.


⁸ D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967), 34 n. 27.

⁹ Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, II (London, 1904), 13.

¹⁰ K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I (Leipzig, 1902), 68.

¹¹ Daressy, 'Les listes des Princes du commencement de la XVIII^e dynastie a Deir el-Medineh', in *Études Champollion* (Paris, 1922), 283-96.

immediately to the south of the Ramesseum, from which have come several votive offerings, deposited by the devotees of Wadjmose.¹ However, although this building is referred to as the Mortuary Chapel of Wadjmose it has been recognized that it may also have been used for the cults of other important personages,² as suggested by material excavated from the chapel³.

Among the objects recovered from the Wadjmose Chapel is a badly damaged stela, broken into three fragments, which was first published by Daressy.⁴ Although these fragments only seem to be a small portion of the original stela, and are themselves in poor condition, they bear a text of some interest, referring to a 'statue of *sr nsw* Ramose, the justified'.⁵ It seems possible that the full text of this stela bore a description of refurbishing arrangements carried out at the Wadjmose Chapel for the benefit of the cult of Ramose, which had not been in use 'since the time of . . . ',⁶ given life, until the Lord . . .'.⁷ This must have taken place during or after the reign of Ramesses II as there is a reference to the *pr Wsr-m:ct-rc stp-n-rc*,⁸ an estate which seems to have been functioning at least until the reign of Ramesses IX.⁹ However, if we consider the evidence from the tomb of Khabekhnet, it seems likely that the stela was set up before year 45 of Ramesses II. Other dating evidence for the reactivation of the Wadjmose Chapel during the Ramesside Period concerns the Chief Workman Pashedu, the owner of a stela from this chapel, on which he is depicted worshipping Wadjmose.¹⁰ Zivie¹¹ places him in the reign of Ramesses II, following Černý's¹² assertion that he was active during the early part of the reign. Kitchen¹³ assigns him to the reign of Sethos I. Similarly, the Chief of Works and Chief of Medjayu, Penrē, is known from material from the Wadjmose Chapel.¹⁴ From the evidence of another monument of his, a stela in Chicago,¹⁵ it seems that he was active before year 21 of Ramesses II.

Without involving ourselves in the question of the earliest manifestation of a Ramesside concern with the mortuary cults of princes of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the evidence from the tomb of Khabekhnet, when taken in conjunction with that from the Wadjmose chapel itself, seems to demonstrate fairly conclusively that a mortuary cult attached to a Royal Prince Ramose and probably sited in the Wadjmose Chapel was operating during the

¹ *PM* II, 444-6.

² Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), 3; G. Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien*, I (Cairo, 1890-1900), 3.

³ e.g. the statue of Mutnofret, wife of Tuthmosis I and mother of Tuthmosis II (Daressy, 'La chapelle d'Uazmes', *ASAE* I (1900), 98-9; Maspero, op. cit., pl. i) and a stela depicting Tuthmosis III offering to Tuthmosis I and Wadjmose (*ibid.*, pl. ii).

⁴ Daressy, 'La chapelle d'Uazmes', *ASAE* I (1900), 105. See also *PM* II, 445; *KRI* II, 869-70.

⁵ *KRI* II, 869, 16. There seems to be no particular reason to identify the Ramose mentioned here with Ramesses, son of Ramesses II. All other attestations of this prince have the spelling Ramesses or Ramessu, except in two idiosyncratic writings from the Nubian sites of Abu Simbel and Derr (*KRI* II, 858).

⁶ The broken cartouche is probably that of Amenophis III (*Nb-m:ct-rc ir-n-rc*: see H. Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 2, 318). Sethos I is also a possibility (*ibid.* III, 1, 17) but would not fit in as well with the sense of 'since the time of' if the stela is to be dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

⁷ *KRI* II, 870, 4.

⁸ *Ibid.* 870, 2.

⁹ Pap. BM 10068, 5: 1; *KRI* VI, 503, 8.

¹⁰ *PM* II, 445; *KRI* I, 379; Daressy, op. cit. 103.

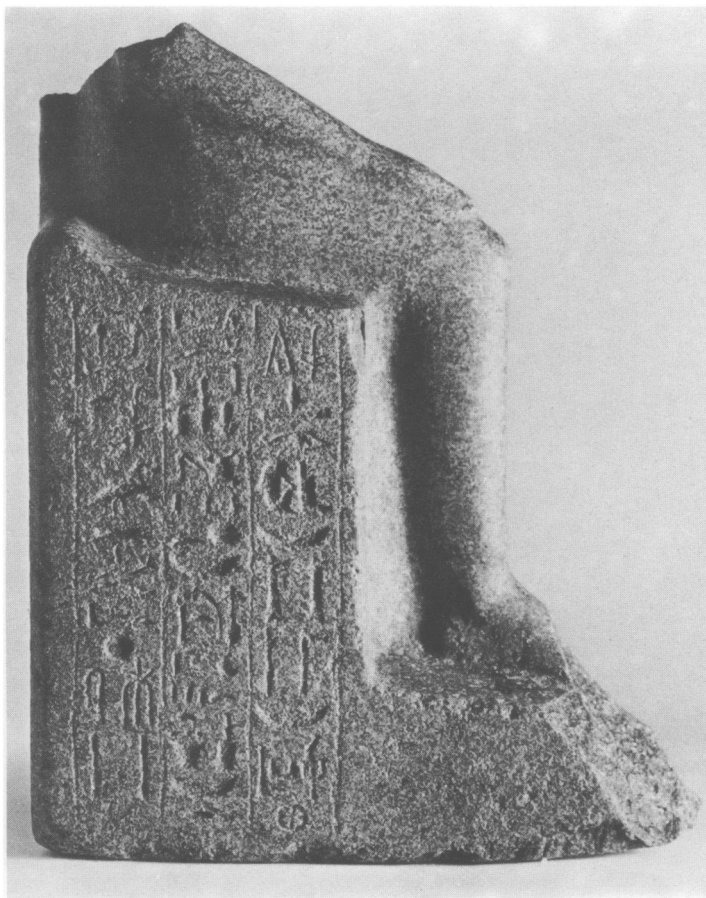
¹¹ A.-P. Zivie, *La Tombe de Pached* (Cairo, 1979), 132.

¹² J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo, 1973), 293.

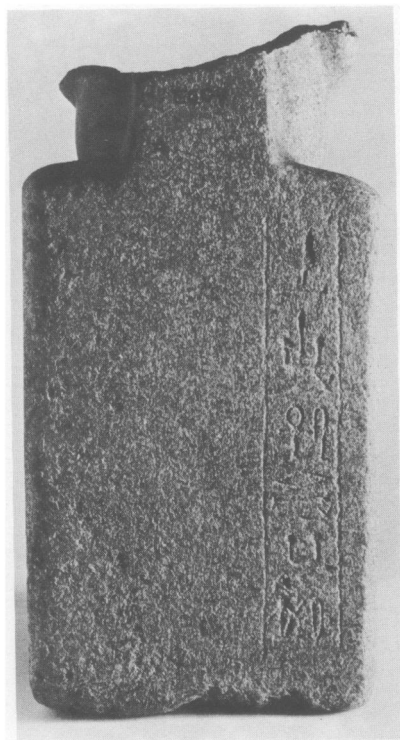
¹³ *Ibid.* 375-9.

¹⁴ *PM* II, 444; *KRI* III, 269-70; Daressy, 'Notes et remarques', *Rec. Trav.* 22 (1900), 143.

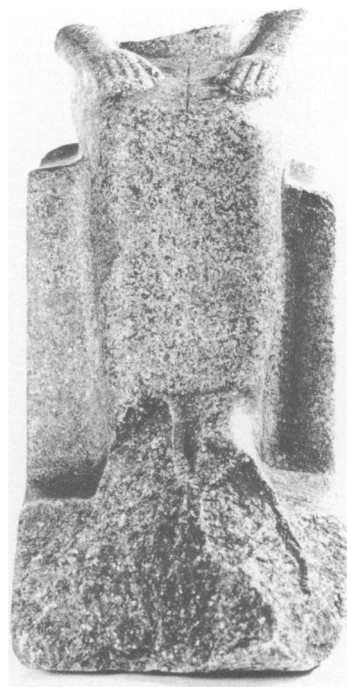
¹⁵ *KRI* III, 268-9; C. F. Nims, 'A Stele of Penre, Builder of the Ramesseum', *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 146-9. The writing of the name Ramesses suggests that this monument at least should be dated to before year 21: see K. A. Kitchen in W.-F. Reineke (ed.), *Acts of the First International Congress of Egyptology*, I (Berlin, 1979), 384 ff. See also A. J. Spalinger, 'Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and other Ramesside Temples in Nubia', *JEA* 66 (1980), 95 ff.



1. Liverpool SAOS E. 609, *right*



2. Liverpool SAOS E 609, *back*



3. Liverpool SAOS E. 609, *front*

RAMOSE RESTORED

reign of Ramesses II. Moreover, the fragmentary stela from the Wadjmose chapel seems to suggest that the cult may have existed during the Eighteenth Dynasty, had been discontinued during or after the reign of Amenophis III, and was later reinstated during the reign of Ramesses II. Interestingly enough the archaeological evidence from the Wadjmose Chapel, confused though it is, seems to indicate its foundation during the reign of Tuthmosis II, at the latest, followed by a possible appropriation of the chapel under Amenophis III.¹ The final obvious phase of building activity seems to have occurred during the reign of Ramesses II.² From the context of the scene from the tomb of Khabekhnet, the date of the original occupants of the Wadjmose Chapel, and the style of the Liverpool statue, it would seem more than possible that the Prince Ramose lived during the Seventeenth/early Eighteenth Dynasty, and was certainly the subject of a mortuary cult in the Ramesside Period, and probably during the Eighteenth Dynasty. At present our sole pre-Ramesside attestation of him is the lower half of the statue preserved in Liverpool, a piece of particular interest due to the rarity of sculpture representing royal princes of the early New Kingdom.³

S. R. SNAPE

Two Early Corinthian alabastra in Alexandria*

Two Corinthian alabastra in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria deserve our attention. They are noteworthy, not for their iconography (which is scarcely unusual), nor for their style (which is undistinguished), but rather for their provenience and their date; for both have been excavated in Alexandria, and both were made in the seventh century BC:

1. Alexandria 3077 (see pl. XXI, 1 and 2; fig. 1). Ht. 8.1 cm. Complete except for a few chips from the rim. Confronted cocks. In the field, round, incised rosettes. On the mouth, tongues; on the rim, dots. Added red for the comb, wattles, and wings, but not for the wing-bow, of the cocks.

2. Alexandria 3135 (see pl. XXI, 3 and 4; fig. 2). Ht. 8.1 cm. Complete. Lion striding to left. In the field, incised rosettes. On the mouth, tongues; on the rim, dots. Tongues on the neck. On the bottom a grooved circle, c. 0.2 cm in diameter, with dots around it forming a rosette. Added red on the shoulder and the left foreleg of the lion.

¹ Petrie, *op. cit.*, who also believed that the nearby Mortuary Temple of Amenophis II was reused by Amenophis III, remodelling the temple for the cult of his daughter, Sitamūn. However, the statue of Neb-nefer (W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, IV (Berlin, 1957), 1884-6) attests that the Wadjmose Chapel was still in use as such by at least year 20 of Amenophis III.

² Daressy, *op. cit.* 98; Maspero, *op. cit.* 4.

³ For a statue of 'Aḥmose, son of Seḳenenrē II, see Vandier, *op. cit.* 293-4 and pl. xcvi; H. E. Winlock, 'The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes', *JEA* 10 (1924), 255 ff. and pls. xii, xviii-xx. I know of no other example of a sculpture representing a royal prince of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and none is listed by I. Lindblad in *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt* (Stockholm, 1984).

* These two alabastra are included in my dissertation, 'Painted Pottery from the Greek Mainland Found in Egypt, 650-450 B.C.', New York University, 1982. I should like to thank Dr Dia Abu Ghazi, Directress-General of Museums in Egypt, for her permission to publish the two alabastra, and Youssef el-Gheriani, Director of the Graeco-Roman Museum, for his generous help. For the photographs of the alabastra I should like to thank Duane Bingham.

In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following short forms have been used: *ABV*, J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1956); Clairmont, C. Clairmont, 'Greek Pottery from the Near East', *Berytus* 11 (1955), 85 ff.; *CVA*, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (Paris and elsewhere from 1922); Kardara, Ch. Kardara, *Rodiake Angiographia* (*Bibliothèque des en Athenais Archeologiques Hetairias* 49) (Athens, 1963); *Paralipomena*, J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford, 1971).



FIG. 1. Alexandria 3077



FIG. 2. Alexandria 3135

An alabastron is a small bag- or drop-shaped vessel with its greatest circumference well down on its body. In Greece it was used for scented oil, particularly for myrrh, a thick, sticky substance used exclusively by women.¹ Although the alabastron shape is probably both nominally² and actually of Egyptian origin,³ the fact that other Greek vases found in Egypt are almost exclusively from sites inhabited by Greeks supports the likelihood that the two Corinthian alabastra found in Alexandria were used by Greeks rather than Egyptians.

The first of our Corinthian alabastra fits comfortably into a series of cock alabastra published by C. W. Neeft⁴ which he connects with the Dolphin Painter.⁵ The alabastron in Alexandria is particularly close to two vases in this group in Frankfurt am Main,⁶ and another in Leiden.⁷ Similar are the proportions of the cocks' heads to their bodies, the incised lines for their wings, the drawing of the tail feathers, and the disposition of the added red. Particularly telling are the wavy line and pairs of doubled lines of the wing-bar that continue over on to the chest of the rightward-facing cock, a characteristic of the painter.⁸

The alabastron in Alexandria should be placed midway between the painter's early and late cock alabastra. The compact proportions of the cocks with their short necks and large

¹ On the use of the alabastron specifically by women see V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience* (Warminster, 1978), 159 n. 29 *bis* who cites J. D. Beazley, 'Aryballos', *BSA* 29 (1927-8), 187 n. 5; Athenaeus, 15. 687c. For discussion of depictions of alabastra and women on vases see H. Gericke, *Gefäßdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen* (Berlin, 1970), 72-4; for a list of alabastra depicted on vases see *ibid.* 107-8. For myrrh see Theophrastes, *De Odor.* 12; Pliny, *NH*, 21. 38; for myrrh in Egypt, A. Nibbi, *Ancient Egypt and some Eastern Neighbors* (New Jersey, 1981), 56. For other perfumes contained in alabastra see Gericke, *op. cit.*, who cites C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936), 125-6.

² The name of the vase has most recently been traced to the Egyptian for 'vase of Ebaste', goddess of the city of Bubastis, by Sethe; for the citation and the origin of the name as Egyptian, **ca*-la-baste, see G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935), 17.

³ See, most recently, G. Holbi, 'Zur kunsthistorischen Stellung der ägyptischen Alabastra aus Fayence', *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik* (ed. D. Arnold) (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), 43-8. In Egypt, an oviform vessel with pierced lug handles and an everted lip occurs as early as Dynasties I and II.

⁴ C. W. Neeft, 'The Dolphin Painter and his Workshop. A Corinthian Atelier busy on Small Oil-Vases', *BABesch* 52/53 (1977-8), 133-58.

⁵ D. A. Amyx cautions against a firm attribution of these cock alabastra to the Dolphin Painter himself (letter: 21 April 1981).

⁶ Frankfurt am Main VF 245 (*CVA* Germany 25, pl. 13, 11-12) and VF 250 (*CVA* Germany 25, pl. 13, 13-14; Neeft (above, n. 4), 139, nos. 52 and 53).

⁷ Leiden, private (Neeft (above, n. 4), 139, no. 42, and figs. 7-9).

⁸ Neeft (above, n. 4), 138; cf. London 59.2-16.30 (H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), 282, no. 267, pl. 17, fig. 11; 75, fig. 20D).

heads are late, as are the flight feathers which cover their entire bodies, their back feathers which are drawn with few parallel lines, and the rosettes of the filling ornament, drawn as simple circles. Early characteristics are the drawing of the ear and the ear feathers and, even more significant, the wavy line across the wing-bow. The work of the Dolphin Painter begins in the transitional period of Corinthian vase-painting¹ and continues throughout Early Corinthian, that is, from about 640 to about 590 BC. Neeft assigns the cock alabastra to the middle and late periods of the painter;² thus, if these cock alabastra are to be compared with the work of the Dolphin Painter, the cock alabastron in Alexandria should date somewhat before 600 BC.

The second alabastron, Alexandria 3135, with its lion striding to left, cannot yet be attributed. The vase is clearly from the earliest years of the Early Corinthian Period and, as such, might date as early as 625 BC, but the omission of the belly line and the pouch of skin beneath the lion's eye, coupled with his comfortable striding pose, and the apparently unique lines for the incision on his hindquarters make even close parallels difficult to find. Perhaps the closest drawing is on an unattributed alabastron in Stockholm³ which shows two confronted lions. The spirit is the same, as is the treatment of the bottom of the vase with its grooved circle ringed by dots, but individual details are decidedly different.

The provenience of the lion alabastron is given simply as Alexandria, but the provenience of the cock alabastron is more specific: it is recorded that it was excavated in June or July 1897, in the galleries of Hermanoubis near Pompey's Pillar.⁴ The honorific column, commonly but incorrectly called Pompey's Pillar, which bears an inscription to the late third-century Roman emperor Diocletian, was erected near the Ptolemaic Serapeum in central Alexandria, which, in turn, was built in the area of the ancient site of Rhakotis.

The name Rhakotis was preserved through the Ptolemaic Period, to appear in both Demotic and Coptic,⁵ but little, in fact, is known about the site on which Alexander founded the city which bore his name. Arrian (3. 1. 1. ff.) only says that Alexandria was founded in the native quarter, and Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*, 26.5) does not mention an ancient city on the site of the Ptolemaic capital at all. Pseudo-Callisthenes (*Life of Alexander*, 1. 31. 2), however, notes that there were sixteen villages on the site where Alexandria was later founded, of which Rhakotis was notable for being the chief city (*μητροπόλις*). Strabo (17. 1. 16) provides the most information about the pre-Ptolemaic site, recording that Rhakotis was founded by the earlier kings of the Egyptians as a guard-post to prevent the importing of foreign goods, and to prevent the approach of all who sailed the seas, especially the Greeks; for, owing to the scarcity of land, the Greeks were ravagers and coveters of that of others.

It is impossible to determine on the basis of available evidence whether the foundation of Rhakotis occurred in the Bronze Age or in the Early Iron. The technique used in the construction of the pre-Ptolemaic harbour, which was most extensively studied in 1916, is said to suggest a New Kingdom date, and the hypothesis of Minoan workmanship has been advanced.⁶ The harbour at Alexandria certainly deserves further study in the light of

¹ Amyx, 'The Alabastron of Oianthe', *MDAIA* 76 (1963), 12.

² Neeft (above, p. 184, n. 4), 140.

³ Stockholm NM ant. 187, *CVA* Sweden 2, 17; pl. 3, figs. 1-3, as suggested by Amyx.

⁴ Register, Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria.

⁵ Burchardt, *Paulys Real-Encyclopadie*, 2nd series (Stuttgart, 1914), s.v. Rakotis.

⁶ The study of the Alexandria harbour by G. Jondet (*Les Ports submergés de l'ancienne île de Pharos* (*MIE* 9, 1916)) has not been superseded. In this study Jondet suggests a date in the period of Ramesses II for the construction of the harbour. R. Weill ('Les ports antéhelléniques de la côte d'Alexandrie et l'empire crétois', *BIFAO* 16 (1919), 1-37) is the first to suggest Minoan workmanship (17-37). In his review of Jondet's monograph, E. Breccia (*BSRAA* 16 (1918), 141-3) is the first to advise a cautious approach to interpretation because of the lack of solid archaeological evidence. For a brief review of all the literature see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), II, 8-9 nn. 21-2.

modern methods of underwater excavation; for historical conditions in the early first millennium were also ripe for a guard-post against the Greeks, who, beginning in the mid-eighth century, sent out colonists precisely because of the scarcity of land at home.¹ If, on the one hand, Rhakotis was founded as a guard-post against the Greeks in the second millennium, we should not be particularly surprised to discover Greeks inhabiting it in the first; if, on the other hand, the guard-post at Rhakotis is a first millennium installation against the Greeks, we should scarcely expect Greeks comfortably domiciled there in the seventh century.

The Early Corinthian cock alabastron, although found in the area of ancient Rhakotis, issues from a context that is clearly later. In the 1890s Giuseppe Botti excavated a series of underground passageways almost directly west of the column of Diocletian,² which he called the galleries of Hermanoubis on the basis of a dedication to the deity found in 1898,³ and a statue of Hermanoubis found in 1895.⁴ In these passageways was also found a statue of Hadrianic date of the Apis bull.⁵

The discovery of the Corinthian cock alabastron is not mentioned in the excavation report, and it doubtless went more or less unnoticed. Its find-spot and associated finds are known only from the register of the museum. Among the objects excavated with the alabastron were four gold diadems, an earring (Alexandria 3074),⁶ a gold figurine of Aphrodite Anadyomene (Alexandria 3078), 2.5 cm high, weighing 3.420 g, and a net alabastron (Alexandria 3076).

An inscription found in the subterranean galleries suggests that the complex was already in use in the Ptolemaic Period,⁷ and these seemingly disregarded finds appear to confirm this. The net alabastron, which is one of a small group of vessels first studied by the Polish scholar Casimer Bulas, and thus known as the Bulas Group, dates from the beginning of the fourth century BC.⁸ The gold Aphrodite Anadyomene can be no earlier than the early third century, when the statue type was most probably created,⁹ but need not be much later. The Corinthian alabastron is, of course, much earlier.

There are other Greek vases from Alexandria that predate the foundation of the city; Beazley gives a short list, Clairmont adds others,¹⁰ and we add here two more certain

¹ A. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Introduction* (Leiden, 1975), 9–13, postulates Greek sea-raiders on the coast of Egypt in the ninth through the seventh centuries, based on the *Odyssey* (14. 245 ff.; 17. 424 ff.) and other sources.

² Described in G. Botti, *L'Acropole d'Alexandrie et le Serapeum d'après Aphtonius et les fouilles* (Alexandria, 1895), 21–7. (The comment that 'scholars who visited [the subterranean galleries] in the course of my excavation have been unanimous in attributing them to ancient Rhakotis, the cradle of Alexandria' is not repeated elsewhere.) Id., *Fouilles à la colonne Theodosienne* (1896) (Alexandria, 1897).

³ Botti, 'IV. Additions au "Plan d'Alexandrie"', *BSRAA* 2 (1899), 63; Fraser (above, p. 185, n. 6), II, 413 n. 576.

⁴ Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-romain d'Alexandrie* (Alexandria, 1900), 10, no. 26.

⁵ Id., 'L'apis de l'empereur Adrien', *BSRAA* 1 (1898) 27–36, especially 32–6; *ibid.* 2 (1899), 63.

⁶ The jewellery is noted in Botti's museum catalogue (above, n. 4), 459, no. 1884, as 'Or. Restes de bijoux trouvés par moi en juin et juillet 1897 en fouillant dans les galeries d'Hermanoubis à la Colonne dite de Pompée.' Thus, whether the gold Aphrodite Anadyomene is meant to be included in this entry is impossible to say.

⁷ Botti, *Fouilles* (1896) (above, n. 2), 117; noted as probably Ptolemaic by Fraser (above, p. 185, n. 6), I, 269; II, 425 n. 660.

⁸ For the Bulas group which is comprised of miniature Panathenais, pointed amphoriskoi, squat lekythoi, round aryballoi, and a few alabasters, see *Paralipomena*, 316; *ABV* 661–3; Beazley, 'Miniature Panathenais', *BSA* 41 (1940–5), 10–21; C. Bulas, 'Étude sur une classe de vases à décor', *BCH* 56 (1932), 388–98.

⁹ Fuchs in Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (4th edn.), I. *Die Päpstlichen Sammlungen im Vatican und Lateran* (Tübingen, 1963), 155, no. 211.

¹⁰ Corinthian: (1) Berlin 1142, amphoriskos, A. Furtwängler, *Königliche Museum zu Berlin: Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (1885), 30, no. 1142; Clairmont, 100, no. 9. (2) Once the Hague, Musée Scheurleer 109, aryballos, *CVA*, Pays Bas I III C, pl. 5, fig. 15; Clairmont 102, no. 30. Attic black figure: *Band cup*,

examples: a fragment of an Attic black-figured amphora, excavated at Hadra, dated to about 570,¹ and a fragmentary cup from the cemetery at Chatby, from the first quarter of the fifth century.² It has been suggested that some of these pre-Alexandrian vessels were brought to Alexandria by the first Macedonian colonists,³ yet, whereas perhaps vessels dated in the third quarter of the fourth century can be so explained, one would certainly hesitate to extend this explanation to cover seventh-, sixth-, and fifth-century objects.

The excellent preservation of the two Corinthian alabastra is unusual among Greek vases found in Egypt, and although one can only speculate how these two alabastra spent the centuries between their time of manufacture in the late seventh century, and their interment in the soil of Alexandria, it was more likely underground than above. Since the two Corinthian alabastra are undistinguished aesthetically, of little value intrinsically, and of scarce antiquarian interest (as might be an inscribed seal-stone, for example), it is unlikely that they were imported into Alexandria in the Hellenistic Period. Rather, it is most reasonable to assume that the grave in which the two vases were originally deposited was in the area of Rhakotis itself.

Seventh-century Greek imports are known elsewhere in Egypt. The earliest Greek object in Egypt, in fact, is a small fragment of a Milesian Middle Geometric oinochoe, dated between 850 and 745 BC, excavated at Memphis.⁴ A few fragments of pottery from the third quarter of the seventh century have been excavated at the Greek commercial centre of Naukratis, and at the garrison city of Memphis, and at its necropolis, Saqqâra,⁵ which has

(1) patch band-cup, R. Pagenstecher, *Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin*, III. *Die Gefäße in Stein und Ton. Knochenschnitzereien* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 11, no. 6; Clairmont, 118, no. 184. Attic red figure: *Pelikai*, (1) Alexandria 15551, from Chatby, Breccia, *La necropoli de Sciabti. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes (Musée d'Alexandrie)* (Cairo, 1912), 49, fig. 36; pl. 47, 71-2; K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* (Berlin, 1934), 38, no. 334. (2) Alexandria 10338, Breccia, op. cit., pl. 48, 73-4; Schefold, op. cit. 38, no. 335. (3) Alexandria 8869, from Hadra, Clairmont, pl. 27. 2a-b. (4) Grenoble inv. 366, Schefold, op. cit. 18, no. 149; Clairmont, 123, nos. 224-7; Beazley (above, p. 186, n. 8), 20. *Calyx krater*, (5) Hildesheim, Pelizäus Museum, Schefold, op. cit. 27, no. 338, pl. 15, no. 3; Clairmont, 120, no. 201. *Hydriai*, (6) Dresden, Albertinum, *ExpSieglin*, op. cit. 11, figs. 15-16. (7) Munich inv. 2439, Ch. Clairmont, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst* (Zurich, 1951), 59 K 182. (8) Once the Hague, Musée Scheurleer T 1423, Schefold, op. cit. 18, no. 150. (9) Alexandria 8667, from Hadra, Clairmont, 124, no. 232. *Lekythoi*, (10) Dresden, Albertinum, *ExpSieglin*, op. cit., pl. 11, no. 1; p. 10, fig. 14, no. 5; Clairmont, 127, nos. 267-8. (11) Dresden(?), Albertinum, *ExpSieglin*, op. cit., pl. 11, no. 2; Clairmont, 116, no. 162. *Squat net lekythoi*, (12) Dresden, Albertinum, *ExpSieglin*, op. cit., pl. 11, 3; *BSA* 41 (1940-5), 20; Clairmont, 128, no. 288. (13) Alexandria 19255; 10301; 19254; from Chatby, Breccia, op. cit., pl. 46, nos. 68-70; Beazley (above, p. 186, n. 8), 20; Clairmont, 128, no. 289. (14) Oxford 1872. 1077, Beazley (above, p. 186, n. 8), 18; Clairmont, 128, no. 291.

Clairmont (100) cautions that the two Corinthian vases listed above were 'possibly brought from the Delta to Alexandria for sale; [they were] hardly excavated in Alexander or its vicinity'. The two Corinthian alabastra published in this article which were certainly excavated in Alexandria reveal the prejudicial nature of this remark. It must be stressed, nevertheless, that only the vases with a specific provenience can be considered to have been definitely excavated in Alexandria. Even the vases published in the *ExpSieglin*, op. cit., should be considered suspect; for a fragment of a *loutrophoros* figured therein (once Leipzig, *ABV* 140, 7; Clairmont, 112, no. 118) has been shown to join with a fragment from Athens (Bonn 346; see *AA* 1935, 488-9; 490, figs. 64-5), thus seriously calling into question the Egyptian provenience.

¹ Alexandria 9766, shoulder fragment of a panel amphora with a red fillet at the juncture of the shoulder and neck. In the panel the head of a male dancer, a komast, is preserved to left.

² Alexandria 16397 + 16398, fragment of the lower bowl of a cup. Dionysus, reclining on the ground, visited by a goat. Possibly painted in the manner of the Haimon Painter.

³ L. Talcott in H. A. Thompson, 'Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery', *Hesperia* 3 (1934), 429.

⁴ Philadelphia 29.71.181, Clairmont, 100, no. 8, pl. 20, fig. 6. Dated by J. N. Coldstream, the date recorded on the museum inventory card, 8 April 1982.

⁵ Transitional Corinthian (640-25 BC) vessels include: (1) Boston 09.210, a bowl from Naukratis (J. Boardman *The Greeks Overseas* (2nd edn.) (London, 1980), 121, fig. 138); R. M. Cook, *JHS* 57 (1937), 228 n. 7, and Boardman, op. cit., question the Naukratite provenience, but this seems assured. The fragment was a gift to

also yielded a bronze Samian griffin protome, dated about 650 BC.¹ A fair amount of Greek pottery dating to the last quarter of the seventh century has also been excavated in Egypt. Most of this comes from Naukratis;² Tell Defenneh, another guard-post manned by Greeks,

the museum from a private donor (hence, the 1909 rather than an 1886 or 1888 accession number). (2) Philadelphia 29.71.190, a bowl from Memphis (Boardman, op. cit. 135, fig. 157; Clairmont, 105, no. 59, as Naukratite chalice). (3) Cairo JdE 51969, from Saqqâra South, a particularly fine piriform-scale aryballos. (4) London 1924.12-1.1179, a kotyle from Naukratis (Payne (above, p. 184, n. 8), 191, no. 1). (5) Oxford, a kotyle from Naukratis (Payne (above, p. 184, n. 8), 25, n. 6).

A Protocorinthian oinochoe, Cairo 26. 339 (C. C. Edgar, *Greek Vases. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1911), pl. 26; T. J. Dunbabin, *Perachora: the Sanctuaries of Hera Akria and Limenia* (Oxford, 1962), 319; 320 n. 1) with impressed designs was purchased in Alexandria, but cannot be shown to have been excavated in Egypt.

¹ Cambridge GR 5. 1975 from cache 2 at Saqqâra, dated by R. V. Nicholls. See *Fitzwilliam Museum Annual Report*, 1975, 6. This is undoubtedly the griffin protome mentioned by Boardman (above, p. 187, n. 5), 135.

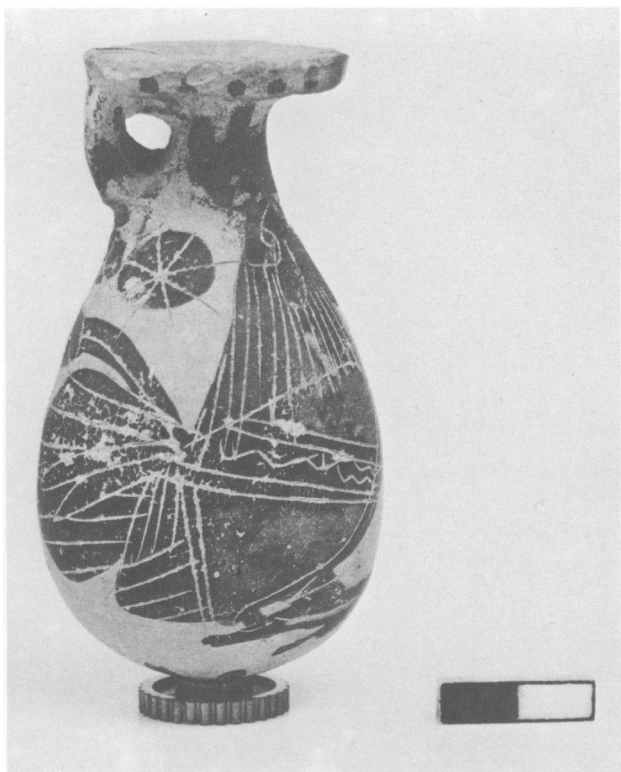
² Corinthian vases include: (1) London 1924.12-1.1192, alabastron; Payne (above, p. 184, n. 8), 467. (2) Cambridge N 94-5, alabastron fragment with the remains of the lower unit (a palmette) of a floral knot. (3) Boston 86.564, dot alabastron; A. Fairbanks, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pl. 37, 344.4. (4) London 1924.12-1.1216, aryballos fragment with two lotuses in outline technique; A. Johnston, *Pottery from Naukratis. An Exhibition on the Occasion of the Eleventh International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (1-10 September 1978), no. 20. (5) Oxford G 120.30, aryballos fragment; *CVA Great Britain* 9, pl. 6, fig. 21. (6) Oxford G 127.3, aryballos fragment of Payne's Warrior Group shape B 1, Payne (above, p. 184, n. 8), no. 503. (7) Boston 86.562, aryballos fragment, a whirligig preserved; Fairbanks, op. cit., pl. 37, 344.3. (8) Alexandria 9379, aryballos fragment with remains of a bird and another animal(?). (9) Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology NA 175, aryballos fragment with remains of a hoplite to right. (10) Alexandria 17022, aryballos fragment with remains of panther and bird(?). (11) Alexandria 17258, aryballos fragment with a bird to left and a crescent whirl. (The last three only possibly last quarter seventh century.) (12) London B 102.8, bowl fragments. Payne (above, p. 184, n. 8), 297, no. 718. (13) London 1924.12-1.1193+, many fragments of a low bowl with animal friezes. (14) London 1924.12-1.1045, kotyle fragment with a feline to right. (15) Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology NA 167, column-krater handle plate with panther to left. (16) Boston 86.881, column-krater handle plate, panther to right, its left forepaw raised, the paint poorly preserved: E. Robinson, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Vases* (Boston, 1893), N 145, where he mistakenly interprets the beast as a sphinx in profile to right. (17) Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology NA 168, column-krater rim fragment with rays on the top, dot rosettes on the exterior. (18) Boston 86.5111, body fragment of a column-krater. Fairbanks, op. cit., pl. 37, 341.1. Payne (above, p. 184, n. 8), 340; R. J. Hopper, 'Addenda to Necrocorinthia', *BSA* 44 (1949), 251, no. 12 as '(MC?)'. Probably Early Corinthian. (19) Cambridge N 4a, fragment of a closed vessel with a sphinx to left. (20) London 1924.12-1.1202, fragment of a small closed vessel with three fighting warriors preserved.

Attic black figure vases include: (1) Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology NA 200, amphora fragment with a sphinx or siren to right. (2) Oxford G 128.13, rim and body fragment of a 'dinos-like bowl' with a lion and a deer to right: *CVA Great Britain* 9, pl. 1, fig. 2. (3) London B 102.3, upper body fragment of an olpe from the temenos of Apollo with an incised dedication: *ABV* 14, 1. (4) London 88.6-1.566, an olpe: *ABV* 15, 22. (5) London 86.4-1.1171, upper body fragment of an olpe from the temenos of Apollo: *ABV* 15, 28.

Middle Wild Goat Style II vases include: (1) Boston 86.621, Fairbanks, op. cit., pl. 35, 323.7; Kardara, 84, no. 5. (2) London, *JHS* 44 (1924), pl. 8, 3; Kardara, 85, no. 2. (3) London 86.4-1.1133, Kardara, 97, no. 5, 96, fig. 60. (4) London 84.4-1.830, Kardara, 104, no. 10. (5) Oxford G 117.4, *CVA Great Britain* 9, pl. 4, fig. 15; Kardara, 109 no. 1. (6) Eton, Kardara, 109, no. 3. (7) Oxford G 119.36, *CVA Great Britain* 9, pl. 4, fig. 13; Kardara, 111, no. 1. (8) Oxford G 119.35, *CVA Great Britain* 9, pl. 4, fig. 10; Kardara, 112, no. 2. (9) London 1924.12-1.941, Kardara, 113, no. 2. (10) London 1924.12-1.1033, Kardara, 114, no. 1. (11) London 86.4-1.1129, Kardara, 114, no. 3. (12) London, *JHS* 44 (1924), pl. 7, fig. 10; Kardara, 121, no. 4. (13) Heidelberg inv. 120, *CVA Germany* 10, pl. 2, fig. 18; Kardara, 121, no. 6. (14) Leipzig, Kardara, 124, no. 14. (15) Heidelberg inv. 3, *CVA Germany* 10, pl. 2, fig. 16; Kardara, 126, no. 9. (16) Heidelberg inv. 7, *CVA Germany* 10, pl. 2, fig. 25; Kardara, 129, no. 7. (17) Cambridge N 22, *CVA Great Britain* 11, pl. 18, fig. 13; Kardara, 129, no. 2.

Chiot Middle Wild Goat vases include: (1) London 88.6-1.456, E. A. Gardner, *Naukratis, Part II* (6th Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund) (London, 1888), pl. 6; E. Walter-Karydi, *Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Samos, 6, 1) (Bonn, 1973), pl. 90; *JHS* 44 (1924), pl. 9, fig. 13. (2) London(?), *JHS* 44 (1924), pl. 9, fig. 12.

East Greek Bird Bowls include: (1) Alexandria 9473. (2) Dublin V 4009, *JHS* 91 (1971), pl. 13A. (3) Oxford G 116.4, *CVA Great Britain* 9, pl. 1, fig. 9. (4) Oxford G 116.2, *CVA Great Britain* 9, pl. 1, fig. 8. (5) Oxford



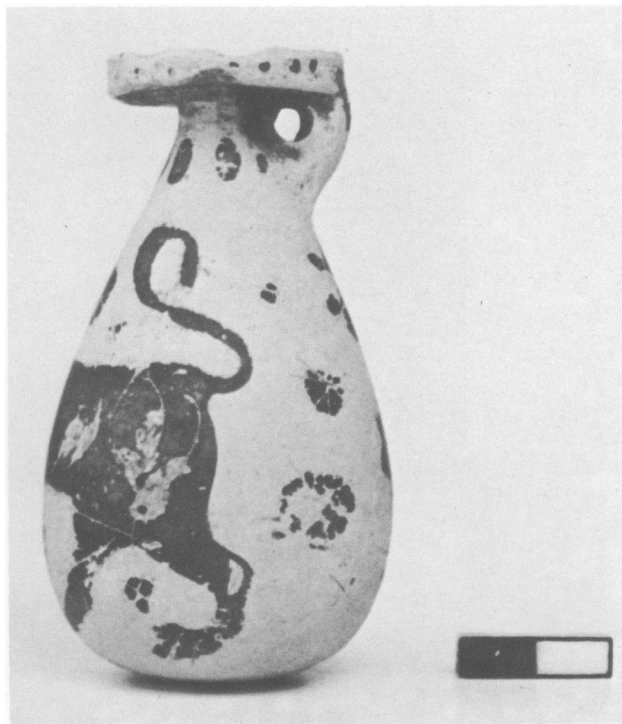
1. Alexandria 3077



2. Alexandria 3077



3. Alexandria 3135



4. Alexandria 3135

TWO EARLY CORINTHIAN ALABASTRA

has yielded some,¹ as has the Memphis area,² and that of Thebes.³ There is also one late seventh-century fragment from Mendes.⁴ This pottery⁵ is additional evidence to support ancient testimony⁶ that the first Greeks came to Egypt during the reign of Psammetichus I (664–610 BC).

The Corinthian alabastra in the Graeco-Roman Museum comprise but two small bits of tenuous evidence, and to give to their existence too great a historical framework is foolhardy. At the same time their excavation in Alexandria should provide impetus for the restudy of the pre-Alexandrian harbour; for it is perhaps not unjustified to suggest that the two vessels provide some slight evidence for the belief that Strabo was speaking of the Bronze Age rather than the Early Iron when he described the guard-post at Rhakotis against the rapacious Greeks. The two Early Corinthian alabastra presented here also permit the future Ptolemaic capital of Alexandria to be added to the list of cities in Egypt in which, during the reign of Psammetichus I in the second half of the seventh century BC, Greeks were already apparently resident.

MARJORIE SUSAN VENIT

An addendum to 'Six hymns to Isis' (JEA 69 (1983), 115–37)

1. For some technical reasons it was not possible to complete n. 109 on p. 131 in which the meaning of 'Meret' is discussed. The following should be added to that note: 'Or, perhaps better, "meret" is used here in a derivative meaning, signifying the land of Egypt in its totality; see J. Berlandini in *LdÄ* iv, 92 f.'

2. On p. 130, I translated the last line of Hymn III somewhat freely: '(Isis . . . Princess, great of praise, lady of charm) whose face loves the joy of fresh myrrh', *hnms(t) hnt·s tftf m ntyw w:d*. Similar phrases in which the same verb *tftf* occurs, are known from other Ptolemaic temples (see Sauneron in *Esna*, v, 117 n. (nn.); Derchain, *Elkab*, I, 56 n. 26). The Philae example at the end of Hymn III is, to my knowledge, the earliest occurrence of the verb *tftf* in such a context in Ptolemaic texts. Since in the later texts this verb seems to always indicate 'the dripping' (see C. de Wit in *BIFAO* 55, 113; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, I, 448: *d f d f*, 'suinter, goutter'; *Wb.* v, 573, 14–15), or 'the trickling' of the myrrh and other

1912.34, *CVA* Great Britain 9, pl. 1, fig. 13. (6) Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology NA 2. (7) Cambridge N 250, *CVA* Great Britain 11, pl. 18, fig. 2. (8) Cambridge N 249, *CVA* Great Britain 11, pl. 18, fig. 1. (9) London 86.4–1.815. (10) London 86.4–1.1273. (11) London 88.6–1.652a. (12) London 88.6–1.652b. (13) London 88.6–1.652c. (14) Boston 86.558, Fairbanks, op. cit., pl. 36, 327.1. (15) Boston 86.558, ibid. pl. 36, 327.2. (According to Coldstream's typology (*Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968) 298 ff.) none of the bird-bowl fragments is definitely earlier than 615, and some may well be after the turn of the century.)

¹ London 88.2–8.58, Middle Wild Goat II oinochoe, *CVA* Great Britain 13, 57, II.1; fig. 13; W. M. Flinders Petrie and F. L. Griffith, *Tanis, Part II*. (Fourth Memoir, part one, of the Egyptian Exploration Fund (London, 1888)), pl. 24, fig. 6. Brussels E 4437, Early Corinthian round aryballos with a lotus cross, *CVA* Belgium 3, pl. 8, fig. 14.

² London, Early Corinthian round aryballos with a swan with outstretched wings, Payne (above, p. 184, n. 8), 187, as comparison to no. 585; Cook, *JHS* 57 (1937), 237; Clairmont, 100, no. 19.

³ Cairo, Borchardt, Corinthian helmet aryballos, Clairmont, 103, no. 35; pl. 21. Clairmont writes that it 'seems to be of Corinthian fabric'. However, I cannot find any parallel for some of the anomalies that this vase presents, either in Corinthian or in other Greek fabrics. Cairo JdE 43948, Middle Wild Goat II neck amphora, *Samos* 6.1 (above, p. 188, n. 2), 105, no. 155; pl. 78, fig. 598, where it is said, incorrectly, to be in Alexandria; Clairmont, 103, no. 38; *CVA* Great Britain 13, 60 n. 7.

⁴ Mendes 7MPX22, a fragment of a Middle Wild Goat II amphora, M. Venit in K. L. Wilson, *Mendes: Preliminary Report on the 1979 and 1980 Seasons* (Malibu, 1982), 27; pl. 22, fig. 2.

⁵ Lloyd (above, p. 186, n. 1), 14, cites Lorimer (*Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950), 88) when he states that there 'are no Greek antiquities at all which can be dated earlier than the late Seventh Century B.C.'

⁶ Hdt. 2. 152–4; Diod. 1. 67. 1.

unguents from the hair of the deities, a more literal translation of the above-quoted line of Hymn III should read: '(Isis . . . Princess, great of praise, lady of charm) whose face enjoys the trickling of (lit.: with) fresh myrrh.' The word *hnt* (written *hntt*), translated as 'the face' has a hair determinative, and appropriately so, since there is no doubt that this ritual usage of *tftf* originated in the Egyptian practice of placing upon the head, on special occasions, cones of myrrh and other aromatic substances, which, slowly melting, trickled down their hair and face spreading a fragrant odour among the assembled guests (see J. Osing in *LdÄ* II, 555, and Ch. Müller in *LdÄ* V, 366 f.). The role which myrrh, incense, unguents, and various aromatic substances played in the cult and ritual is discussed in the continuation of my study of the hymns to Isis at Philae.

L. V. ŽABKAR

Hawara Portrait Mummy No. 4

OVER seventy years ago,¹ Mrs Lydia Beekman Hibbard received a small mummy with the painted portrait of a young girl—Portrait Mummy No. 4—in appreciation for her financial support of Sir Flinders Petrie's 1911 season at the Roman cemetery at Hawara . . .² In 1912, motivated by her common interest in Egypt and in biblical history, Mrs Hibbard donated the portrait mummy to the Western Theological Seminary of Chicago. Two decades later, Western merged with Seabury Seminary to become Seabury–Western Theological Seminary and was moved to the suburb of Evanston, Illinois. It was due to these circumstances, and to an error in the original catalogue on pl. xxvi in Petrie's *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)*,³ that Hawara Portrait Mummy No. 4 has been listed among those Petrie finds which were scattered and, subsequently, lost.⁴

Description

The following dimensions given for the complete mummy are necessarily approximate as it rests in a sealed wooden case with glass cover. The length is 38 in.; its width is 10 in. Its small size indicates that this is the mummy of a child. The body is wrapped with several layers⁵ of

I am indebted to Professor Robert M. Grant, of the University of Chicago, for his reference to, and recollections of, a portrait mummy in the library of the Seabury–Western Theological Seminary. His father, Frederick C. Grant, served as Dean of Western (1927–33) and then as co-President of the newly merged Seabury–Western from 1933–1938. I should like to thank Mr Newland F. Smith III, librarian of the Seminary, for access to, and for his kind permission to photograph and publish this mummy.

¹ The following history is based on the account on p. 25 in Paul Elmen, 'The Little Girl Hibbard', *The Seabury–Western Bulletin* 18 (3) (July 1964), 20–5. I owe this reference to Mr Newland F. Smith III.

² The mummy was not, however, a gift to Mrs Hibbard from the Egypt Exploration Fund as Elmen implies, *ibid.* 25, since Petrie was no longer associated with the Fund at the time of this excavation. See Margaret S. Drower, 'The Early Years', in *Excavating in Egypt* (ed. T. G. H. James) (London, 1982), 28; cf. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (London, 1931), 197–8. Mrs Lydia B. Hibbard is listed among the American subscribers to the British School of Archaeology in Egypt and the Egyptian Research Account in the *Report of the Seventeenth Year* (London, 1911), 15. I thank my colleague, Mr Richard Jasnow, for obtaining this reference for me.

³ Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)* (London, 1911), pl. xxvi. Inventory Nos. 4 and 21—referring to two portraits illustrated on the same page (pl. viA)—were transposed. Panel Portrait No. 21, at present in the collection of Chicago's Oriental Institute Museum, Cat. No. 9137, is incorrectly listed and described as the complete Portrait Mummy No. 4, and vice versa.

⁴ See K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 272 (k). The mummy was, therefore, omitted from the international corpus of mummy portraits, *id.*, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano, Serie B: Ritratti di Mummie*.

⁵ See Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, pl. xxvi, No. 21 (= 4), where the mummy is listed as having '8 layers' of bandaging.

linen cloth in a rhomboid pattern. There are no coloured cloths, nor inlays of gilt or gilded buttons, and the linen foot-covering is undecorated.¹ Above the rhomboid wrappings are several criss-cross and looped ties of a lighter shade of natural coloured linen and of a coarser weave than those below. A burlap cloth is visible beneath the wrappings of the feet. The entire form is caked overall with a thin layer of sand and small rocks. Petrie's paper label with the number '4', printed in black, is still attached above the foot-case.

The bandages around the face panel are built up of several successive layers into an octagonal frame which is characteristic of examples from Hawara.² Pressure exerted by these bandages on the edges of the thin, wood panel (which is approximately 7.5 × 4.5 in.) may have caused the wood to split along a vertical fissure $\frac{3}{4}$ in. from the left edge. This pressure may account also for a loss 1.5 × 0.5 in. at the top of the left shoulder.

The encaustic portrait depicts an adolescent woman, whose torso is turned slightly to her left, although her gaze is frontal (see pl. XXII). Her thick, black hair is parted in the middle, but arranged overall in tight, orderly curls. One curly lock cascades over her left ear. A black *clavus* is visible at the right shoulder of her scarlet chiton. A scarlet mantel covers her left shoulder and is draped above her right shoulder. She wears gold hoop earrings, from each of which is suspended a single pearl. Her necklace is a thick, gold chain with a round medallion pendant. The young woman's skin is a whitish pink, her cheeks are flushed, and her lips are pink. Her eyebrows are thin and slightly arched; she has no eyelashes. Her eyes are large, round, and dark. The iris of her left eye is slightly askew.³ The facial features are plump and childlike. The use of white light and shadow to model the features is extremely effective. A dollop of white paint at the tip of her nose makes it appear bulbous in photographs, but in actuality, her features are well proportioned. The background is a charcoal grey. A slight overall darkening of the wax colours may be due to an excessive use of funerary oils.⁴

In 1964, in order to allay rumours concerning the mummified remains⁵ and to examine the mummy for pathological evidence, the mummy was X-rayed by Dr John H. Olwin and other specialists at Presbyterian-St Luke's Hospital, Chicago.⁶ The X-ray photograph is attached to the inside of the wood door of the display case. Although no report accompanies the X-ray,⁷ P. Elmen's statement that the girl 'was probably fourteen years old when she died'⁸ may have been based on data received from the medical team. The X-ray shows the mummy intact, and not a victim of the steadily deteriorating art of embalming⁹ which is evidenced in Greco-Roman times by 'the grossest carelessness in the treatment of the body itself, which not infrequently fell to pieces in the process of embalming and had to be

¹ See *ibid.*, pl. xxvi, No. 21 (= 4), where the mummy is, however, described as having a 'gilt footcase'.

² Cf. examples in *ibid.* pls. vA, No. 5; vi, No. 25; viA, No. 30, *et al.*

³ This may not have been the artist's intent: cf. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), 19, frontispiece No. 8.

⁴ *Id.*, *Roman Portraits*, 6 and pl. xxvi, No. 21 (= 4).

⁵ Professor Grant explained that the remains were rumoured to be 'dummy' remains, or those of a crocodile. For a recent investigation of a 'dummy' child's mummy, see L. Diener, 'Radiology of a "Child-Mummy" in Stockholm: Unexpected Findings', *MASCA* (Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology) *Journal* 1 (4) (June 1980), 102-3. See, also, *id.*, 'Radiology of Two "Child-Mummies" in Stockholm: Surprising Results', in *ibid.* 1 (7) (June 1981), 218-19, for the investigation of two 'child mummies' which we found to contain the skeletons of birds.

⁶ Elmen, *op. cit.* 25 n. 1.

⁷ Mr Smith, librarian for the collection, informed me that there is no record of a published report.

⁸ Elmen, *op. cit.* 20.

⁹ Cf. Warren R. Dawson and P. H. Grey, *Mummies and Human Remains* (Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, I) (London, 1968), xii. The numerous fractures and post-mortem dislocations evident in Roman Period mummies are attributed by the authors (p. 42) to the decomposed state of the body when received by the embalmers. For descriptions of dismembered mummified remains, see Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, 4 and 19. He, however, cites these (p. 19) as 'very unusual in late times'.

restored with any fragments which came to the embalmer's hands'.¹ The girl's arms are extended. Her right hand appears to have been placed atop her right thigh; her left hand appears to have been placed along the outer aspect of her left thigh.² As Petrie found to be typical for these burials, there are 'no rings, ornaments, papyri or amulets'.³

Group burial and familial relationship

The portrait mummy was excavated from a common grave, this being the usual method of burial in the Roman cemetery at Hawara. 'Of the portrait mummies found . . . "Petrie" . . . recorded no less than sixteen as being found with other portraits, or with plain mummies, in one grave. . . .'⁴ Portrait Mummy No. 4 was found with four other mummies: two other portrait mummies, Nos. 2 and 3, as well as one gilt and one plain mummy.⁵ This combination of mummies is notable as it was 'in a few cases only "that" plainly wrapped mummies were with the portraits'.⁶ Petrie speculated that mummies interred together 'were probably nearly all in direct ancestry'⁷ and that these groups encompassed two or three generations illustrating mummification practices spanning fifty years or more.⁸ Petrie concluded, moreover, that 'group portraits are much better in quality'.⁹ This was 'due probably to two causes; the groups are likely to belong to richer families who could afford many portraits, and such riches were diminished during the period through the impoverishment of the country, and so groups would be mainly earlier; also the richer families could afford better artists for their portraits'.¹⁰

Although he assumed them to be family members, Petrie remarked upon the lack of physical resemblance among those depicted in the portraits of this group of mummies found buried together.¹¹ Portrait Mummy No. 2, presently at the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh (Inv. 1911.210.1),¹² depicts a young man with a long, pointed nose, curly hair, and closely cropped beard. The portrait of Mummy No. 3, presently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Inv. NY 11.139),¹³ is of an adolescent boy with short hair, atop which is a gold crown. His thin, slightly arched eyebrows are reminiscent of the Hibbard girl's. Similar also is the slightly bulbous appearance of his nose, his full, pursed bottom lip and thin, only slightly modulated upper lip, and the deep furrow which accentuates the upper outline of the small, round, protruding chin.

It is in the consideration of style, however, that we see the closest relationship within this group. All three of the portraits rely on the impressionistic effect of light and shadow. The

¹ G. Elliot Smith, 'Egyptian Mummies', *JEA* 1 (1914), 195.

² For a typical placement of the arms and hands for this period, see descriptions in Petrie, *Hawara*, 20, and Dawson and Grey, *Mummies*, 30-9.

³ Petrie, *Hawara*, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* 15.

⁵ Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, 4. Not in 'a tomb chamber which contained sixty-five mummies' as described by Elmen, *op. cit.* 24.

⁶ Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, 4.

⁷ *Ibid.* 3.

⁸ *Ibid.* 3. Cf. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 51-3. After a discussion of the question of to what extent mummies found together were contemporary, the author concludes (p. 53): 'Als unserer Zusammenstellung ergibt sich, daß in der Regel, mehr oder minder gleichzeitige Mumien gemeinsam beigesetzt wurden.' The only example (p. 52) found by Parlasca of portrait mummies separated by more than a fifty-year span was that of a Trajan Period female found together with a male dated to the late Antonine Period.

⁹ Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 11: 'In the group 2, P, 3, P, 4, viA, there is no resemblance . . .'

¹² Parlasca, *Repertorio* (ed. A. Adriani), 1 (Palermo, 1969), No. 170, pp. 73-4, pl. 41, fig. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 50, p. 40, pl. 13, fig. 2.

use of white light, especially along the lines of the nose, emphasizes the three-dimensionality of the portraits while producing, somewhat disquietingly, the simultaneous effect of translucency.¹

Although the burial of mummies in a common grave was typical at Hawara, this group was unique among the 1911 finds for having been packed into a 79 × 55-inch pit which was surrounded by a stone chamber.² In every other case, portrait mummies were found buried in the open ground without 'chapel, monument or tablet over them'.³ Not only was this stone chamber exceptional at Hawara, it is unusual among the circumstances of discovery in all instances of portrait mummy burials.⁴

Date

There are many factors which contribute to the secure dating of Hawara Portrait Mummy No. 4 to the last half of the first century. Although Petrie classified the portrait as only of 'medium'⁵ quality, the features are well proportioned, and carefully drawn and modelled. Stylistically, the use of light to create an impressionistic effect is most successful in examples from the earliest years of portrait painting.⁶

The hair-style of the girl is similar to that in the portrait of the small child (Berlin, Stat. Mus. Inv. 11412) buried with the woman known as 'Aline' (Berlin, Stat. Mus. Inv. 11411). Based on its similarity to the fashions at Rome, Parlasca dates this style to the reign of Claudius.⁷ The portrait's features bear a striking resemblance to those of a young girl in Cairo (Egyptian Museum CG 33226) which Parlasca dates to the reign of Nero.⁸

The jewellery—hoop earrings and plain, medallion necklace—is rather simple. Although the earring types illustrated in Hawara portraits 'were partly in use at the same time',⁹ hoop earrings were generally seen on portraits with hair-dos popular during the Flavian era, and during the periods of Trajan and Hadrian.¹⁰ The execution of the rhombic wrappings is not as precise as in later examples. The eightfold layering is consistent with early techniques.¹¹

The two male portrait mummies with which Portrait Mummy No. 4 was found have been dated by Parlasca to the last years of the reign of Trajan or the first years of Hadrian.¹² There are only rare examples of group burials where the dates of the individual mummies are separated by more than a span of fifty years.¹³ Therefore, the dates for Portrait Mummies Nos. 2 and 3 place a limitation on the dating of Mummy No. 4 to the period from the last third of the first century to the end of the third quarter of the second century. The presence in this same pit of a gilt-faced mummy (popular around AD 70)¹⁴ and a plain mummy indicate that the earlier limit is applicable in this case and underlines the importance of this find for the typology of mummification during the Roman Period.¹⁵

LORELEI CORCORAN SCHWABE

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 50, p. 40.

² Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, 2, and pl. xxiii, fig. 2.

³ *Ibid.* 2.

⁴ For a discussion of the forms of recorded monuments, see Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 50–8.

⁵ Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, pl. xxvi, No. 21 (= 4).

⁶ Parlasca, *Repertorio*, I, Nos. 13–14, p. 29; No. 16, p. 30, *et al.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 5, pp. 26–7, pl. 2, fig. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 30, pl. 4, fig. 4.

⁹ Petrie, *Roman Portraits*, 11–12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 5.

¹² Parlasca, *Repertorio*, I, No. 170, p. 73; No. 50, p. 40.

¹³ See p. 192, n. 8.

¹⁴ Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 104 with n. 82.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 94.



Encaustic portrait

Photograph: Lorelei Corcoran Schwabe

HAWARA PORTRAIT NO. 4

Schäfer's mottoes and the understanding of representation¹

SCHÄFER used as his principal motto ('A') for *Von ägyptischer Kunst* (*Principles of Egyptian Art*) a sentence at the beginning of the 1764 edition of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*:

The oldest sources show that the earliest pictures represented what a man *is*, not how he *appears* to be, his outline, not a view of him.

He gave as a successor to the same idea a rather tortuous statement of Goethe (motto 'B') in a commentary on an exhibition of reconstructions of paintings by Polygnotus (c.480 BC) held in Weimar in winter 1803/4:

To look back to the first beginnings of painting from the pinnacles of achievement it has reached in modern times, to gain an awareness of the admirable qualities of the founders of that art, and to pay homage to the artists, who were ignorant of some methods of representation with which even novices are familiar today; all this demands firmness of purpose, calm detachment [*Entäusserung*], and an appreciation of the great value of the style which has with reason been termed 'essential' [*wesentlich*], since it is concerned *more with the essential character of objects than with their appearance*.²

As a source for Winckelmann Schäfer pointed, with a query, to Plato. In his commentary on Plato, *Sophist* 235a-236c, in his Appendix 4 (pp. 351-2), he went further and stated that 'Winckelmann's inspiration . . . certainly came from Plato'. The closest approximation to Winckelmann's formulation in the Plato passage is where the Stranger says that artists of his time 'incorporate into their images not proportions that are really beautiful, but those that appear to be so',³ but proportions, not the nature of things, are at issue in the discussion, and the general context shows that Plato had large-scale sculpture in mind, later moving to something like *trompe-l'œil* effects. (For other points in Schäfer's discussion, see below.)

Schäfer's assumption that this vital sentence in Winckelmann had a classical authority was correct, but the source is not in Plato. Since its ascription affects the meaning of the passage, turning the motto from a declaration of faith into a statement about the limits to a period's interpretations, it is worth correcting and commenting on the point.

The source is a passage in Pliny's *Natural History*, where it is said of Lysippus:

He is said to have contributed much to the art of casting statues . . . by making the head smaller . . . the bodies slenderer and more tightly knit, as a result of which the height of the statues seems greater. There is no Latin term for the *symmetria* which he observed with the utmost precision by a new and previously unattempted system which involved altering the 'square' figures of the older sculptors; and he commonly used to say that by them men were represented as they really were, but by him they were represented as they appeared.⁴

¹ I am most grateful to John Boardman and Alex Potts for advice.

² H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974) [viii]; *Von ägyptischer Kunst*⁴ (Wiesbaden, 1963) [vii]; Schäfer's italics; detailed sources in the English edition. Winckelmann's opening paragraph, which immediately precedes the 'motto' sentence, shows that, contrary to what one might expect (see below), he had both two- and three-dimensional art in mind. For a modern edition of Goethe's 'Polygnots Gemälde in der Lesche zu Delphi', see, e.g., *Schriften zur Kunst II* (Gesamtausgabe, Abteilung 2, vol. 17, Stuttgart: Cotta 1962), 79-106.

³ Translation by John Tait, quoted from Schäfer, *Principles*, 350.

⁴ *Hist. Nat.* 34. 65; translation quoted from J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece 1400-31 BC: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1965); for commentary on the reference to Lysippus, see, e.g., M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), I, 464, who remarks that 'He aimed, in fact, not to reproduce nature (which can never be the aim of art) but to create a new and more natural ideal'. According to C. Justi, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen*³ (Leipzig, 1923), II, 74, Winckelmann's reading of Pliny and Pausanias stimulated his plan for a history of art, formed in 1756. The allusion to Pliny was, therefore, natural at the beginning of the resulting work.

Pliny in his turn depended on earlier writers, and it is generally believed that his chief source was Varro, through whom many Greek writers on art were transmitted to the Roman world.¹ One such author cited earlier in the same passage about Lysippus was Duris of Samos, but it is uncertain from whom the crucial quoted sentence derived.

The putative context of the quotation is thus the later fourth century BC, the period of transition from classical to Hellenistic Greek art. From the point of view of Lysippus, classical Greek art showed people as they were; there is no reason to assume that he, or those who quoted or reported the anecdote about him, had in mind earlier art whose representational techniques were similar to those of Egyptian art. There is also no reason for thinking that Winckelmann had anything else in mind, because he knew the historical context of the passage. So, for Lysippus, Greek critics, Varro, Pliny, and Winckelmann, the reference should be seen as lying within Graeco-Roman artistic traditions. So far as classical antiquity was concerned, the rendering of nature in classical art was subject to variation and development, but was not questioned at a fundamental level, just as Egyptian artists scarcely considered alternatives to non-perspective rendering. The contrast between the two is graphically brought out by Egyptianizing Roman statues,² which mostly fail to comprehend the Egyptian rendering of the human form and structural principles of sculpture.

Both Pliny and Plato focused on the question of proportions, which is secondary to the rendering of nature but has much to do with how a work is perceived. Proportions are manipulated in almost any artistic tradition, and are only marginally relevant from the point of view of Schäfer's interests.³

Schäfer uncharacteristically denied any great importance to Goethe's text, which, he said, 'does no more than repeat [Winckelmann] at greater length';⁴ this is not entirely fair. Goethe stated that Polygnotus' groups of figures should be imagined as 'in no way' in perspective, but 'in the manner of the art of the period, juxtaposed or set above or beneath one another . . .'. Later he stated that painting of the time of Polygnotus, and probably of the master himself, lacked 'correct perspective, unity in complex compositions, the massing of light and shade, attractive alternation of chiaroscuro, and harmony in colouring'. He cited vase-painting, 'especially in the earlier style', as an indication of how such paintings would have looked, and named a number of compositional characteristics that could as well describe Egyptian art, such as where a window is indicated as a rectangle or furniture is 'simply added' to a scene.⁵ He did not, however, comment on single figures and whether they exhibited foreshortening. Since the chief representational changes in Greek art begin with foreshortening and single figures, his statement is incomplete; the works of Polygnotus evidently contained foreshortening, but evidence from vase-painting suggests that they did not contain compositional perspective.⁶ Thus, although Goethe had penetrated further back in the transformation of representation than Winckelmann, he may not have realized the possibility of a radically different rendering of nature; much in his comments could as well apply to medieval western as to classical Greek art. What characterizes the forty years between the two statements Schäfer used as mottoes is a general improvement in the comprehension of remote artistic traditions, to which Winckelmann himself contributed.

¹ See, e.g., Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History and Terminology* (New Haven and London, 1974), 73-81, especially 80-1.

² e.g. A. Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (EPRO 20, 1972), *passim*.

³ For unusual proportions in the eccentric style of the Eleventh Dynasty, see R. Hanke, *ZÄS* 84 (1959), 117-19 with fig. 2. For the elongation of natural proportions in the normal Egyptian canon, see G. Robins, 'Natural and Canonical Proportions in Ancient Egyptians', *GM* 61 (1983), 17-25.

⁴ *Principles*, Appendix 4, 351-2.

⁵ For these points see *Schriften* (above, p. 194, n. 2), 80, 91-2.

⁶ See, e.g., Robertson, *op. cit.* (above, p. 194, n. 4), 240-60.

Goethe's treatment has an additional relevance to Schäfer because his discussion focuses on two-dimensional representation. In considering two- and three-dimensional works together, Winckelmann fused issues that need to be kept separate in the analysis of representation—although Schäfer considered that his own achievement was to reach a unified understanding of them after separate consideration.¹

Despite Schäfer's justification of his mottoes in his Appendix 4, they show something quite different from what he believed. They document the gradually dawning awareness of the problem of representation. Winckelmann had no conception of the questions tackled by Schäfer, and Goethe only the glimmerings of one. It was, indeed, very difficult to grasp the issues until reliable and stylistically self-effacing reproductions of Egyptian works of art became available in the mid-nineteenth century. Writers of the two generations before Schäfer were the first to appreciate the extent of the problem, while he himself retains much of the credit for comprehending its nature.

JOHN BAINES

¹ See p. 194 n. 2 above; see J. Baines, 'Theories and Universals of Representation: Heinrich Schäfer and Egyptian Art', *Art History*, 8, 1 (1985), 1-25.

REVIEWS

The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192. By THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY in co-operation with THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT. Text 273 × 200 mm. Pp. xx + 80 stapled in paper covers, pls. [2] + 88 loose folio plates in a box 490 × 380 mm. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1980. ISBN 0 918986 23 0. Price £65.

Nacʿ or Naci, *alias* Kheruef, was a civil functionary who flourished in the reign of Amenophis III in the early decades of the fourteenth century BC. In the course of his career he came to discharge at one time or another the offices of first royal herald, true royal scribe, chief treasurer of the palace, and palace administrator. He served, moreover, as steward of Queen Tiye, Amenophis III's 'great wife', and even had a hand in the management of the god Amūn's temporalities. Although he never attained any of the highest offices of state, he did succeed in adding many good handles to his name, and one cannot but conclude, upon the face of them at any rate, that he was a man of ability and tact in confidential terms with his sovereign, a man whose views and counsel the king himself gave ear to, a man, in fine, who must have wielded a degree of influence and authority in the royal court at Thebes—for a time at all events; for there is no doubt that for some reason he fell from grace in the end. His father and mother are known by name and title, but there is no evidence that he ever took a wife or sired a child himself. He might very well have outlived Amenophis III, though in reality nothing is known of what befell him after the king's death.

Extant undoubted records of Kheruef include four fragmentary statues, two ex-votos cut on the rocks at Aswan, three pot labels, and, above all, his tomb in the 'Asāsif Valley on the west of Thebes (*PM* I,² I, 298–300). This monument, the largest Eighteenth Dynasty private tomb that has hitherto come to light, was never finished, work on it having been discontinued either on account of a structural failure of which there is clear evidence in the form of a fallen roof or because of circumstances unknown to us which adversely affected its owner or somehow prevented completion of the work; be that as it might, not only was the tomb left unfinished but the relief representations of Kheruef carved on its walls were sorely defaced in antiquity, and the abandoned, half-wrecked monument was never used as his final resting-place.

The tomb has been known to our science for almost a century. Early in 1886 Adolf Erman did some copying in it which found its way into print a few years later in the fifth instalment of Brugsch's *Thesaurus*. Sundry details of scenes and texts were subsequently published here and there, but it was not until 1943, when the late Ahmed Fakhry partially cleared the tomb and published an admirable account of its layout, inscriptions, and scenes, that the outstanding importance of the monument was brought home to scholars with all its implications: here were walls bearing beautifully executed reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions yielding information of exceptional interest on points of history, archaeology, religion, ritual practices, art, philology, palaeography, and other provinces of Egyptological lore. For Kheruef had chosen to perpetuate on the walls of his tomb, and had secured for the purpose artists and craftsmen of superior ability, the memory of two great state festivities which had fallen during his tenure of office and in which he had played a role. They were the first and third jubilees of Amenophis III, and the ceremonies and rites marking those occasions were mirrored for posterity in Kheruef's tomb by splendid reliefs and hieroglyphic label texts of a quality of execution and richness of detail hardly to be found elsewhere. Here, for example, the king and queen had been represented enthroned in a kiosk watching the stately proceedings, or receiving gifts, or rewarding worthy officials with costly presents; and just beyond they could be seen dressed in jubilee regalia leaving the palace in the wake of a procession of priestly standard-bearers. Another tableau depicted the royal couple being towed in the evening bark; in another Amenophis III was in the act of raising a *djed*-pillar upon a dais with Queen Tiye in attendance and no less than sixteen princesses playing *sistra* behind them. There was dancing, singing, rhythmic hand-clapping, flute and tambourine playing, ritualistic fist-cuff sparring, and mock combats with papyrus stalks. There were noble maidens pouring libations, masked performers, offering-bearers, and butchers at work.

Elsewhere in the tomb were to be found hymns to the rising sun and to the setting sun, a litany to Osiris, a hieroglyphic open-sesame to the nether world, and even a crossword hymn to Amen-Rē^c which, because of its extremely fragmentary condition, was not at first recognized as such. Of no less interest were the representations of Amenophis IV: carved in pre-Amarna style, like all other reliefs in the tomb, Neferkheprurē^c-wa'enrē^c Amenophis, the future Akhenaten, was shown in kingly attire paying homage to his parents and to the established deities Atum, Rē^c-Ḥarakhti, Ḥathor, and Ma'at.

In his 1943 report Ahmed Fakhry gave an accurate, though of necessity succinct, account of the remarkable contents of Tomb 192 and voiced his hope that the monument might some day be published in a way befitting its importance.

Early in 1950 Dr (now Professor) Charles Francis Nims of the Chicago Oriental Institute made a partial photographic record of the monument, but it was not until the winter of 1959/60 that, after two seasons of clearance, The Epigraphic Survey formally set about the task of making an exhaustive record of the scenes, inscriptions, and architectural features of Kheruef's tomb. Work went on with considerable interruptions. Actually the wall surface to be epigraphically recorded was small; for a good deal of the tomb was either destroyed or blank, but it was crowded with hieroglyphs and figures executed with great finesse and much detail, and the never light task of translating walls into facsimile line-drawings was here not made any easier by the mutilated condition of some of the texts and reliefs. No less than nine Egyptologists (two of whom served also as photographers), five artists, and a field architect joined forces in the execution of the project. The record proper was completed in the season of 1969-70; the materials gathered in the field were next painstakingly worked over and made ready for the press, a task in which four editors and a book designer were called upon to assist with their special skills. The end-product was the book under review, which must at once be declared a substantial contribution of positive merit and permanent value to our science.

The Tomb of Kheruef consists of two separate parts: text and plates. The text is a 100-page brochure with contributions by four different scholars. In the first place, Professor Nims, director of The Epigraphic Survey when the tomb was recorded, passes in review the work done to clear, protect, and record the monument since Erman entered it in 1886, describes its architecture and decoration, and gives an account of the vicissitudes and depredations it underwent since its abandonment, unfinished, in the fourteenth century BC down to modern times. In an 'Introduction to the Plates' Nims explains how these were made, the conventions used in the line-drawings, and the solution given to the technical problems posed by the numerous loose fragments fallen from walls and columns which had to be recorded. Even the smallest fragments were facsimiled, though for the sake of expediency the *kheker*-friezes were not copied in their entirety—an epigraphic short-cut, this, which few, if any, will find fault with and which at all events is not unprecedented (cf. Caminos and Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 50 with n. 20). Writing on 'The Owner of the Tomb' Dr Labib Habachi brings to bear his quite unrivalled knowledge of ancient Egyptian personalities and their extant published and unpublished records; his contribution is an exhaustive *catalogue raisonné* in which every bit of evidence ascribable or in any way relevant to Kheruef, from Tomb 192 to hieratic jar labels from El-Malqata in western Thebes, is critically discussed. Labib Habachi's judicious, sober summation of what we know, or rather what little we know, about Kheruef and the historical implications of his tomb is very much worthy of note. 'Translations of the Texts' are supplied by Professor Edward F. Wente, whose felicitous renderings are enhanced by copious notes teeming with hieroglyphic and hieratic parallels, bibliographical references, and well-thought-out remarks; they constitute a rich repository of all kinds of information which the total absence of general and Egyptian indexes makes it very tiresome and time-consuming to delve into and all but impossible to exploit to its full extent. Lastly, Dr David B. Larkin is responsible for a list of 'Titles and Epithets of Kheruef'; these are given in transliteration in the sequence of the Egyptian alphabet with references to the plates of line-drawings in which they occur. For translations one is referred in an ambiguously circuitous way to the chapters by Labib Habachi and Edward F. Wente in the brochure; it would have been far more convenient to the reader to find the English versions printed alongside the transliterations, though of course this simple arrangement could scarcely be expected in a work in which marks of editorial disregard for the needs of the reader and lack of practical sense are met with at every turn.

The plates consist of photographs and line-drawings and offer a virtually complete visual record of the monument. There are four plates with plans, including a conjectural layout and a conjectural cross-section showing what the disposition of the tomb would probably have been like had its

construction been carried through. Views of the entrance, court, and first columned hall are shown in three large clear photographs, all the other photographic plates (with the exception of six illustrating Kheruef records studied by Labib Habachi) are close-ups of the sculptured walls and constitute a valuable complement to the facsimile line-drawings. The drawings reproduce all texts and representations and surfaces in any way inscribed, however small or fragmentary, still extant in the tomb, the only exception being two or three short runs of *khekers* which, as pointed out above, were not drawn. From the point of view of accuracy, draughtsmanship, and neatness of presentation these admirable facsimiles leave nothing to be desired; no higher praise may be sung of them than to say that they are up to the loftiest long-established standards of The Epigraphic Survey.

Although a pleasure to the eye, the plates are, truth to tell, rather a nuisance to use. Their worst sin is that they are loose. Loose plates are the despair of librarians and readers alike, and for good reason. They are liable to be inadvertently misplaced and eventually lost, and are difficult to guard against malicious removal. They have a knack of getting out of order when one works with them and through them; and no matter how carefully they are handled they get creased and dog-eared soon enough. To such shortcomings traditional binding is the answer. In using a book like *The Tomb of Kheruef* one almost invariably works from plate to text: it is, therefore, extremely helpful to have on the former a cross-reference to the letterpress, a mere page-number to enable the reader quickly to find what the author or authors have to say about the contents of the plate before his eye. Apparently none of the several editors ever thought of providing the *Kheruef* plates with such an elementary simple aid. Nor do they seem to have always realized that in plates holding many columns of hieroglyphs the columns must be numbered or lettered for easy, accurate reference. Referential numbers and letters are only used on pls. 14, 15, and 80, and absent on plates no less crowded with hieroglyphic writing such as pls. 7, 19, 21, 28, 74, 78, and 79. A more serious defect stems from the very richness and variety of the contents of the plates. As indicated above, the inscriptions and reliefs in Tomb 192 are records of the greatest importance for the study of a multitude of subjects of considerable Egyptological interest. In a publication of this kind detailed general and Egyptian indexes are an indispensable guide to researchers seeking information on particular points. Alas, the present publication has no index, not even an analytical tabulation of scenes and label texts, and researchers are left to shift as best they can for themselves. Responsibility for the lack of such a guide or key to the plates must again be laid at the door of the editorial office. It reveals want of concern for quite fundamental scholarly requirements, unless it be just sheer ignorance of them. Of course, in a sense, it also makes of *The Tomb of Kheruef* a closed book.

It is hoped that in submitting the following *addenda et corrigenda* the reviewer may not be thought to be trying to punch holes in a truly admirable publication, which would at once be presumptuous of him and in bad taste:

Brochure

Page 12, l. 13: for (pl. 57B) read (pl. 58A).

Page 13, l. 3: for (pls. 23, 47) read (pls. 24, 47).

Page 17: on the tomb owner see also Mohamed Saleh's article 'Cheriu' in Helck and Otto (eds.), *LdÄ* I, 943 f., which appeared in 1974 when Labib Habachi's contribution was already in the printer's hands.

Page 18, n. 8: see also Altenmüller in Helck and Westendorf (eds.), *LdÄ* II, 175: 'Fest des Befahrens (?) des Flusses'.

Page 22, n. 34: for the little known American Exploration Society Dr Lanny Bell kindly refers us to O'Connor and Silverman, *Expedition: Magazine of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania* 23, no. 2 (Winter 1979), 15, 34.

Page 24 n. 37: substitute 'to be read *Nꜣꜣ*, not *Snꜣꜣ*' by 'to be read *Nꜣꜣ*, not *Snꜣꜣ* or *Sš*'.

Page 25, n. 50: Labib Habachi's lynx's eye skipped over the entry *Nb-ꜣd* in Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 186, 18. Although exceedingly rare, the name *Nb-ꜣd* is not altogether unfamiliar to students of the Book of the Dead because of a fine funerary papyrus of a man of that name published by Devéria and Pierret in 1872.

Page 40, n. *t*: there cannot be a shadow of doubt that the damaged group reads $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \overline{\text{𓏏}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$, *pace* Davies. To

the parallel from Theban Tomb 57 aptly quoted by Wente add the evidence cited by Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne*, Texte, 309, n. 2, 347 with n. 1. Note also Traunecker, Le Saout, and Masson, *La Chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak*, II, Texte, 131 n. 227.

Page 46, n. c: on *snbt*-flasks see also Traunecker, *BIFAO* 72, 205 f.













Page 47, n. d (lower): for another early instance of fem. *m(i)t*, 'come!', see Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, 3 with n. 7, 21, pl. 7, frag. 9, 2.

Page 56, n. † near top: see also Säve-Söderbergh in Helck and Otto (eds.), *LdÄ* 1, 844 f. s.v. 'Bogenvölker'.

Page 60, n. *: a well-documented article on the *djed*-pillar which includes discussion of the ceremony known as *sr̥c dd* appeared while Wente's manuscript was already in the press: Altenmüller in Helck and Otto (eds.), *LdÄ* 1, 1100 ff.; see particularly section B of the article; also Mikhail, *GM* 83, 51 ff.

Page 61, l. 17 from bottom: 'for to you ka' read 'to your ka'.

Page 64, n. *: see also Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II. Commentary 1-98*, 285.

Page 66, n. b: Fischer, *BiOr* 36 (no. 1/2), 24 f., note on p. 142, 5, proposes to interpret the cowman's words 'as two commands rather than one: *m ir* "don't act (thus)" and *šm m hrt* "(but) go forward"'. We think he is right; only we venture to suggest that one should read , *m ir*, the first command, and     , *ršm* (for *išm*) *n hrt*, the second. The negatival complement of the verb *iri*, 'to do, act', is invariably , not . Here the  is simply a writing of the prothetic *i* (or *j*-Augment) of the imperative of the 2-*lit.* verb *šm*, 'to go', which is in fact written   , 'move on!', above the next group of cows (*The Tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 61, bottom register, left), quoted by Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, I, 291 (§600). See also Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit*, 177 with n. 5, 178 f.

Page 80, l. 5: for 71 read 72.

Page 80, l. 6: for 10, 72 read 10A, 71.

Page 80, l. 11 from bottom: for *wsht* read *wšht*.

Plates

Plate 2: the elaborate ground plan is incomplete without an arrow to indicate the orientation of the tomb and to prevent the reader wondering. It is only on p. 3 of the brochure that he is told that it faces east.

Plate 3: here again an arrow is wanted to indicate the exact 'lie' of the monument.

Plate 4: ditto.

Plate 46: readers should not overlook a remark by Nims on p. 28 (centre) of the brochure regarding a slight correction to be made on this plate.

Plate 71 requires a minor correction as noted by Wente on p. 71 n. *q* of the brochure.

Plate 77: the photographs are reversed. As printed, the hieroglyphs in *A* belong to the inscription on pl. 76, the hieroglyphs in *B* belong to the inscription on pl. 69.

Plate 87B: the personal names on the three rock inscriptions are correctly read by Labib Habachi on pp. 21-2 of the brochure: Mermose (centre), Sebekmose (right), Kheruef (left). The plate caption is bungled: correct Nebmose to Mermose, and Nebsmunu to Sebekmose. Labib Habachi informs us that this last name, Sebekmose, illegible on the published photograph, is quite certain.

The Tomb of Kheruef may well be unsatisfactory in its general get-up, the plates awkward to handle, its rich contents hard to explore and turn to account to the utmost. But, as a pictorial record of an ancient monument, it is impeccable and definitive and will not fail to command the admiration and gratitude of all Egyptologists now and for a long time to come. It is a matter of profound regret that Ahmed Fakhry did not live to see it; he would have been delighted; for with this book the wish he expressed four decades ago that the tomb of Kheruef might be published 'in manner worthy of its importance' is now at last thoroughly fulfilled.

RICARDO A. CAMINOS

Untersuchungen im Totentempel Amenophis' III. Edited by GERHARD HAENY. Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde 11, 300 × 225 mm. Pp. xxv + 122, pls. 42, with 5 folding pls. Wiesbaden, 1981. ISBN 3 515 02540 5. Price DM 128.

The volume consists of two chapters: first the posthumous manuscript of Herbert Ricke, in which the diggings in the funerary temple of Amenhotep III are described and in which a partial reconstruction of its ground plan is attempted (pp. 3–37); secondly, a series of contributions by Labib Habachi and Gerhard Haeny, in which we find the description of the remains of the temple's former outfit: statues, stelae, relief fragments from the walls.

This temple, once the largest precinct of Ancient Egypt, has completely disappeared. Only two colossal statues of Amenhotep III, the so-called 'colossi of Memnon', are still standing and in a certain distance behind them the re-erected southern of the two likewise colossal stelae in the (former) peristyle court.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the temple area saw wasteful exploitations, in the twentieth several 'Schürfungen' (Ricke's term) by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, mostly without adequate publication of the results. Ricke reports in his part on the two seasons of excavation undertaken by the *Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* in 1964 and 1970 (a late continuation of the former's survey of the visible monuments in 1933/4 with Königsberger and Borchardt). He incorporates a proposal concerning the reconstruction of the overall architectural arrangement of the temple area (see folding pl. 1) as well as the ancient appearance of the temple proper, e.g. of its peristyle court. This is the only part on which some assertions are possible. Besides this, Ricke tries to establish that there was a second temple included in the area, dedicated to the god Sokar. His arguments are based on inscriptional evidence.¹

To be sure, the Swiss Institute did carry through a further season in 1971 and certain verifications in 1972 and 1973. Their results are included in the present volume as far as regards the finds. Additional remarks on the architecture will only be published in a future number of the series BABÄ (as announced by Haeny on p. 37 without giving the reasons for this separation).

Ricke's most important results are the following: a former theory maintained (emerging with the *Description de l'Égypte*) that the complete destruction of the temple was due to the fact of its being constructed out of limestone (regularly burnt in later antiquity up to more recent times in order to obtain the lime). This theory was backed up by Petrie's discovery of limestone blocks bearing the name of Amenhotep III in the foundations of Merenptah's funerary temple nearby. However, this is wrong. According to several building inscriptions and the archaeological evidence the temple was built out of sandstone. According to Ricke, the temple's complete destruction indirectly goes back to its being erected without solid foundations. This could have provoked its collapse through an earthquake (supposedly during the reign of Merenptah, see below).

The peristyle court measured on the outside about 90.0 × 93.5 m. The peristyle itself consisted of four rows of columns in the west, three in the north and south. On the eastern side one may suggest three or four depending on the question whether there was a pylon-flanked entrance or not. The columns imitated papyrus bundles with eight stems, their height being about 14.2 m. The open surface of the court measured about twice that of Amenhotep III's temple at Luxor. Between the columns of the western and eastern rows² stood Osirid statues of Amenhotep III, about 7.50 m high. The northern ones were made of quartzite, their counterparts in the south of granite (corresponding to the geographical provenance of the stone). Behind them in the peristyle there must have been set up on all sides many statues of the goddess Sekhmet. The above-mentioned colossal stelae stood between the columns of the first row besides the entrance-axis, facing the court.

In the second chapter Habachi and Haeny discuss the monuments still visible or which were found during the excavations in the temple. They publish (partially republish) the inscriptions (without translations) with the exception of the famous lists of foreign towns.³ Similarly set aside is the detailed discussion of the problems connected with the statues of Sekhmet, another volume of the series

¹ The list at pp. 33 f. is slightly corrected from Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1 (Mainz, 1961), 101 (not credited).

² So according to Haeny's correction p. 85. Ricke thought of statues in all of the *intercolumnia*.

³ According to p. 85²⁷⁸ a revised edition of Edel's publication is being prepared.

BABÄ being prepared for it. The epigraphical remarks on the texts of the stelae in the peristyle court will be fundamental for future studies.

The Swiss Institute's work in the temple probably has to be considered as the final archaeological examination of the area. To continue the clearance would be extremely expensive and because of the complete disappearance of the stonework temple there would be no proper relation between the costs and the results to be expected.

The present volume describes the work done in the temple in a way adequate to its difficulties. It is not a concluding summary of everything which we might find out about it, but a collection of all the details about the temple which could be gathered from the stelae of Amenhotep III and other sources lay beyond the editor's intention.

Looking through the table of contents, the hasty reader will wonder why there is no mention of some monuments which, according to common opinion, belong to the temple's original outfit, though actually found elsewhere, e.g. the famous stela the reverse of which was inscribed by the king Merenptah and is known as the 'Israel Stela'. But it was surely preferable for methodical reasons only to consider those monuments really found in the temple. Indeed, there is one exception: some statues of Amenhotep III which are now within the temple of Medinet Habu are dealt with because of their apparent relationship with some of those found in the temple behind the colossi of Memnon.

Between the time when Ricke and Habachi/Haeny drew up their respective manuscripts there elapsed many years, and after the former's death it was no longer possible to discuss certain points with him. Therefore, some contradictions may be observed (which Haeny admits in his introduction). The most important question is that of when the temple was destroyed. As quoted above, Ricke thought an earthquake during Merenptah's reign might have motivated him to use the ruins as easy sources of stones and statues.¹ Haeny objects on pp. 104f. that there is no proof for Merenptah's being 'guilty' and that the systematic dismantling of the stone-built temple only began when the temple of Khonsu at Karnak was under construction during the Twenty-first Dynasty. To this I should like to add the following: both Ricke and Haeny disregarded one crucial point. In Helck's list of personnel attached to Amenhotep III's funerary temple, there are no entries for the Nineteenth Dynasty, but quite a lot for the Twentieth until its end.² It appears that, even if at the end of the Ramesside Period the temple was no longer an independent entity,³ a *Kultbetrieb* must have been possible. A reason for the 'revival' of the cult (if we should not consider the missing references as accidental) cannot be given.⁴ Anyway, it seems preferable to date the earthquake which possibly destroyed the temple to the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty. If there were proofs for a *Kultbetrieb* during the Nineteenth Dynasty, the above-mentioned blocks of Merenptah (below, n. 1) could have belonged to restoration work of that king (last evidenced before his time by a stela of king Horemheb (see p. 66, fig. 12 and pl. 14)). If, during the Twentieth Dynasty, a *Kultbetrieb* was possible, the temple was probably not a complete ruin in the time of Merenptah. A period of neglect during the Nineteenth Dynasty, on the other hand, would have led to progressive destruction necessitating at least certain repairs prior to the revival (?) of the cult in the Twentieth. But, as Ricke observed, some of the largest monuments were found in recent times in the same position where they must have fallen in antiquity: both of the two colossal stelae in the peristyle and the colossal statues in front of the entrances to the supposed second and third pylons (see folding pl. 1). This argument tends to post-date the destruction of the temple for a second reason to the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

Some additional remarks: in the second chapter Habachi treats at pp. 43 ff. the so-called colossi of Memnon and republishes the inscriptions of their back-pillars and the legends to the female statues beside their legs. One might have desired to have all the hieroglyphic inscriptions completely and conveniently united in this volume. The decoration on the sides of the thrones is illustrated neither in photographs nor in drawings nor are the inscriptions on the bases. This is the more regrettable as on

¹ Ricke's starting-point was that on the frontal sides of two granite blocks (forming the socles for statues of quartzite) Merenptah's titulary and name are hammered in (p. 86, fig. 14 and pls. 20b, 26a). His deduction was that Merenptah planned to usurp the temple and that only its collapse after an earthquake might have prevented him from actually doing so.

² Helck, op. cit. 99/100.

³ Ibid. 119.

⁴ By the way, Haeny referred on p. 65 to the corresponding statement of Helck, op. cit. 118 in inadmissibly shortened form. Helck does not say that the *Kultbetrieb* ended definitely with the Eighteenth Dynasty.

p. 51 the faulty reproduction of the former in the *Description de l'Égypte* is referred to and as on pl. 26g a photographic detail of the latter (from the northern statue) is given with the remark that only this one was finely executed with great precision and detailed modelling inside every sign, in contrast to the corresponding one of the southern statue.¹

Page 9²³: *Twt*, 'statue', self-evidently is a masculine word; cf. *Wb.* v, 255, 8 ff.; J. Osing, *Nominalbildung* (Mainz, 1976), 186. On p. 9 one would have expected a cross-reference to the contribution of Habachi pp. 43 ff. (second discussion of the colossi of Memnon)² where the question of the provenance of the stone is solved (against Ricke; it comes for both statues from the Gebel el-Ahmar near Cairo). The difficulty seen by Ricke on p. 11 concerning the distribution of responsibility between the chief sculptor men, and Amenhotpe, son of Hapu, does not exist: both of them were functionaries on different levels, the former as sculptor, the latter as administrator. (This is clear from his position and titles.)

Page 10³¹: the socle of the eastern colossal statue of Amenophis III in front of the 10th pylon at Karnak has been published now by P. Clère-L. Ménassa-P. Deleuze, in *Karnak V* (Cairo, 1975), 159 ff.

Page 33: the tomb of Kheruef has now been published: *The Tomb of Kheruef. Theban Tomb 192* (OIP 102) (Chicago, 1980). The scenes connected with the djed-pillar are shown on pls. 53-7.

Page 36: one wonders whether, when mentioning the limestone blocks of Amenhotep III found in the funerary temple of Merenptah, reference should not have been made to the block Cleveland Museum 61.205 (*PM* 11², 454).

Pages 48-9: the legends of the female representations on the southern colossus have been made known recently by M. Eaton-Krauss and B. Fay, *GM* 52 (1981), 25-9. Lepsius' assertion that the culture signs in the queen's name *Mwt-m-wi* are hammered out (noted and confirmed in *GM* 52, 27) should have been mentioned for completeness.

Page 53: Mutemwia does, in fact, appear again in the temple of Luxor: H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Luxortempels* (AV 18) (Mainz, 1977), scene XX/84, pls. 109, 192b, p. 51 (effaced and restored).

Page 63: the 'khat'-head-dress does exist with sphinxes: see Eaton-Krauss, *SAK* 5 (1977), 34-6, cat. nos. 7-11, 21 (but is not shown on the sphinx in question).

With a certain regret one acknowledges that it was not possible to install photographic facilities on the dig which would have allowed the reproduction of at least the smaller fragments in better quality. I do not see the practical use of the photographs pl. 26c, d, e, f. The plans and drawings, on the other hand, are of excellent quality.

To conclude, we are faced with a publication in which the authors undertook an *a priori* ungrateful task: to develop a reliable idea of the structure of a formerly important monument out of miserable ruins. By purely archaeological means probably more cannot be done. ERHART GRAEFE

The Temple of Khonsu Volume II: Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall.

By THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY. Text 273 × 200 mm. Pp. xxiii + 93 stapled in paper covers. Pls. 490 × 380 mm. [2] + 97 loose folio plates in a box. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1981. ISBN 0 918986 29 X. Price £75.

With this remarkable volume the Chicago Oriental Institute continues the publication of the Twentieth Dynasty temple of Khonsu in the south-west corner of the great precinct of Amūn at Karnak. Made up of a small brochure of text and nearly 100 loose plates of illustrations held in a folio-format box, the book here reviewed embodies the fruits of the labours of a large group of experts. Fourteen Egyptologists, twelve draughtsmen, and three professional photographers were engaged in the recording process alone. Illustrations and textual matter were arranged and made ready for the press by Dr William J. Murnane. The end-product of their concerted efforts is a significant addition of lasting value to the literature of our science.

¹ Habachi poses at p. 52 the question whether the northern inscription could not have been reworked in Roman times.

² Haeny does mention this fact in a general way in his introduction.

The first volume of *The Temple of Khonsu* dealt with the columned court adjoining the front pylon but did not finish with it. The present volume completes the publication of that court and takes up the scenes and inscriptions extant in the first hypostyle hall, wherewith the area recorded and published by the Survey now extends to the threshold of the penetralia of the temple, or roughly half-way into the building. Prevalent among the multitude of texts and representations comprised in the present volume are those of pharaoh Ramesses XI, the reputed builder of the temple, of Ḥeriḥor, both as high priest and as self-styled king, and of the high priest Pinedjem. There are also records of Osorkon I, Nektanebos II, Alexander the Great, Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoë II, Ptolemy IV and his wife Arsinoë III, and Cleopatra III and her son Ptolemy IX Soter II, apart from reused blocks of Amenophis III, Tuthmosis IV, and Ḥoremḥeb. Scenes and inscriptions are commonplace, consisting as they do for the most part of stereotyped representations of quite ordinary acts of worship accompanied by the usual hieroglyphic docketts. The monotony of the subject-matter is scarcely relieved by three sorely damaged, highly tantalizing records. One was left by King Osorkon I under the colonnade near the north end of the court: originally made up of seven columns of writing occupying a small area 78.5 × 65.5 cm, it is now reduced to just a few words that yield no coherent sense. Another is a large formal stela recording in twenty-eight or perhaps twenty-nine lines oracular responses given by Amen-Rē^c and Khonsu in answer to requests made by the high priest Ḥeriḥor: the text is so wretchedly preserved that the gist of the inscription must remain a matter of conjecture. The third text, likewise impaired and rendered very obscure by huge gaps, recounts an oracle delivered by Amen-Rē^c in reply to questions addressed to him by the high priest Menkheperre^c and dealing with the purchase of a plot of land: it was a long inscription in at least fifty-two crowded hieroglyphic columns 115 cm high each; unfortunately not one of them has come down to us whole.

The brochure opens with a preface by Professor Kent R. Weeks, director of The Epigraphic Survey from 1973 to 1976, in which he summarily discusses what may be gleaned about the long and intricate history of the Khonsu temple from the texts and scenes recorded in the volume under review. His contribution is followed by a succinctly annotated translation of all the inscriptions, plate by plate; being unsigned, it may be supposed to represent the joint efforts of the epigraphists who copied them. Last, but emphatically not least, there is a glossary or lexical index of the hieroglyphic texts in Volumes I and II—a very welcome feature, this, and in a way also something of a novelty; for such a tailpiece is not to be found in any previous publication of The Epigraphic Survey: it is astonishing that it took the Survey half a century to wake up to the need for an aid so essential to the earnest seeker. As if to atone for it, the present glossary is full to a fault; for not only does it list the individual words in transliteration with translations and, of course, plate references, but it also incorporates set phrases, grammatical usages, and even snippets of context to facilitate search. Done thoroughly and with perfect understanding of the scholar's requirements, the glossary is the work of Dr Murnane, who deserves the highest praise for the masterly way in which he has performed a long and exacting task.

In addition to a plan, positional elevations, and photographs, the plates include line-drawings of texts and representations, all executed with that scrupulous accuracy and meticulous attention to detail that characterizes the copies made by The Epigraphic Survey.

Users of *The Temple of Khonsu*, Volume II, might care to take notice of the following observations.

Brochure

Page 11, under heading Plates 121–125, note *b*: correct 'line 14' to 'line 15'.

Page 24, n. *e* on Plate 139: 'the *sdm·n·f* relative form shows a superfluous *n*'. We beg to disagree. The *sdmw·n·f* relative form of *iri* with two *n*'s is by no means uncommon towards the end of the New Kingdom and later, and the extra *n* is not to be dismissed as superfluous. The doubling of the *n* was an expedient to indicate its retention, for the final *n* had begun to weaken and tended to drop off probably as early as the close of the Middle Kingdom: cf. Caminos, *JEA* 38, 51 (5) f. Note that this inscription is c. 1900 BC, and it has been rightly observed that the insistence upon the relative form with *·n* in texts of such vintage 'is a conscious attempt to write Middle Egyptian'—thus Wilson, *ZAS* 68, 53 (32), quoting Sethe, *Das Aegyptische Verbum*, 1, 331 (§763).

Page 39, n. *c* on Plate 154, *C, D*: correct 'pp. 268–72' to 'pp. 263–72'.

Page 64, n. *a* on Plate 195: correct ‘Cf. pls. 121–125, n. *b*’ to ‘Cf. pls. 116–120, n. *b*’. Again on p. 64, but note *a* on Plate 196: same correction.

Page 71, under heading Plate 205: the translations given under the reference letters *A* and *D* correspond to the texts respectively marked *D* and *A* on the plate.

Page 82, s.v. *nsyt* n. ‘kingship’: add pls. 15 : 7 and 155 : 7 (NB: l. 7 on pl. 155, but l. 6 in the translation on p. 40 of the brochure; for the discrepancy in the column number see p. 40, n. *).

Page 89, s.v. *sm* vb. ‘to join’: add pl. 121A : 9.

Page 92, s.v. Amenhotep III: delete 118B.

Plates

Plate 121, *A*, col. 9: the tall narrow sign next to *ḥnh* appears to have puzzled The Epigraphic Survey; for it is hesitatingly translated ‘dominion (?)’ in the brochure, p. 9. Surely the sign is 𓆎 (*sm*), and the goddess’ gift to the king is *ḥnh sm m snb*, ‘life endowed or united with health’; cf. LD III, 202a; Vandier d’Abbadie, *Nestor l’Hôte*, pl. 40, fig. 1, left-hand jamb; Wreszinski, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K. K. Hofmuseum in Wien*, 61 (l. 21); Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten*, I, 1, 300 (i) = 1, 2, pl. 76 (b); Petrie, *Tanis*, II, pl. 10, no. 172, side of left standard; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, v, pl. 149, left, between Imhotep and goddess; *Wb.* I, 197, 6; Fisher, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, I, 138, fig. d, 149 n. (b), quoting *Wb.* III, 446, 15. In the gap that follows *snb* the context requires a verb such as *rnp*, or *hrd*, or *snhh*, ‘to make young, rejuvenate’: cf. *Wb.* II, 433, 31; 434, 2; III, 398, 14; IV, 170, 3; also convincing Dendera texts quoted in the Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 27, 1, and Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, III, pl. 13, upper left. Every one of these verbs may be safely ruled out, however, for lack of room: space allows of a low sign only, and the *sdm:f* form of *ts*, ‘to tie’, a verb which is found written with the girdle-knot sign alone and no determinative (cf. *Wb.* v,

396, lower right), is quite probably the missing word: 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 ‘I knit your limbs together anew’; cf. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, v, 9 with pl. 21 (Pakha).


Plate 126, *B*, col. 3: Amen-Rē^c declares to have given to Ptolemy IV 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 , which is rightly translated ‘all lands in [peace]’ in the brochure, p. 12 with n. *b*, where it is remarked that ‘the writing, with only two land signs, may reflect confusion with another formula’. Hardly ‘confusion’, we should think, but rather a mere omission of one land-sign exactly as in The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, IV, pl. 229, col. 20 (under stern of Amen-Rē^c’s bark); Caminos, *JEA* 38, pl. 11, col. 26; Bresciani and Pernigotti, *Assuan*, 54 (2nd col. from left), 58 (Ḥathor’s speech); note *t:wy* twice for *t:wl* in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, II, 273, 1–5.

Plate 153, *A*, l. 1: The words 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎 at the beginning of a dedicatory inscription of the high priest Ḥeriḥor are translated ‘done in accordance with his Majesty’s instructions’, without a comment, on p. 37 of the brochure. The same set phrase recurs in pls. 199, *B*, l. 14; 200, *A*, l. 10; 200, *B*, l. 9, and is rendered in the same fashion, uncommented on, on pp. 67 and 68 of the brochure. Although the translation does convey the gist of the text (paraphrased on p. xviii with n. 9 of the brochure), the meaning ‘in accordance with’ attributed to *hr-c* ought to have been explained or supported somehow; for it is at variance with the known signification of that compound preposition, which is ‘under the charge of’. The stereotyped expression *ir hr-c sb: n hm:f* is best rendered ‘made under the charge of, or executed under the guidance of, one instructed by His Majesty’, and is almost invariably followed by the title and name of the person in charge of the operation: specifically the high priest Ḥeriḥor in the four instances in the Khonsu temple quoted above; cf. *Wb.* IV, 84, 17; Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d’Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep*, 45 (26); Vernus, *Athribis: Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes et à l’histoire d’une ville du Delta égyptien*, 23, n. c.

Plate 155, col. 7 and p. 40 with nn. *c* and *d* in the brochure: the god’s gift to Ramesses XI is not exactly *nsyt [t:wy] m ḥ:st nb* etc., ‘kingship [over the Two Lands], every foreign country being under your sandals’, as The Epigraphic Survey would have it, and their remark that ‘the *m*, which should not introduce a circumstantial clause in this way, is probably a mistake’ is doubtless uncalled for. Read *nsyt [n’It]m ḥ:st nb hr tbt:y·k*, ‘the kingship of Atum, every foreign land being under your sandals’. The extant *m* after the gap is the final consonant of the god’s name. For the sequence *n’Itm ḥ:st nb hr tbt:y·k*

see, for instance, The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, IV, pl. 229, cols. 41–2 (upper left corner); and for *nsyt (n) 'Ytm*, ‘the kingship of Atum’, as a divine boon to pharaoh, cf. *ibid.* IV, pl. 242, A, col. 4 (upper right scene); V, pls. 278, B, col. 6; 289, col. 13; 297, col. 5; VIII, pl. 542, col. 3; Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, III, pl. 13, upper left; the Belegstellen to *Wb.* II, 333, 17; examples could be quoted *ad nauseam*.

Plate 188: the scene shows the high priest of Amen-Rē making offering to Khonsu and bears the expected legends: title to the scene, the god’s identity tag and speech, the offerer’s docket. Brochure, p. 59, takes the offerer’s docket carved above him as being in continuation of the scene—title proper which is cut, as usual, at a lower level and between the two participants in the cult act: ‘(1) Giving a broad collar (2) which the High Priest of Amon-Re, King of the Gods, has done, the General and Leader, Herihor, justified, given life.’ This view, we submit, is mistaken. The title stands on its own: ‘Giving a broad collar’, and so does the offerer’s docket: ‘Made or dedicated by the high priest, etc.’

The antecedent of  is not the act of giving, still less the collar itself. What the high priest made or dedicated is *this*, what the spectator has in front of his eyes, be it the sculptured panel or the wall he is looking at—the ambitious Herihor might even have hoped people would think of the whole temple as being due to him. *Ir-n* so used is a sort of mark of authorship or dedication formula occasionally found on royal stelae and buildings and always followed by the title and name of the individual who was personally concerned with the execution of the record or monument in question; cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, IV, D, l. 2; I, l. 2; LD III, 200, b (collated: ‘made by’ a priest called Bakwer); Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II, 115, no. 17813; Caminos, *JEA* 38, pl. 11, cols. 5 and 7; and even the crude stela showing pharaoh offering to Seth in Loat, *Gurob*, pl. 15, upper left. It recurs in the tag *ir-n s:f r s:nḥ rn-f*, ‘made by his son in order to perpetuate his name’, met with on countless memorials of private individuals. In the present instance, the relative form *ir-n* with Herihor as the semantic subject may very well have much the same import as the above-discussed expression *ir hr-r* etc. that occurs on pls. 153, 199, and 200 of the present work.

One looks forward to Volume III which, it is announced, will deal with the architectural history of the temple and findings brought to light by recent clearing work done in the columned hall and around the perimeter of the temple.

RICARDO A. CAMINOS

Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. By K. A. KITCHEN. 290 × 205 mm. Volume II, fascs. 4, 16–24. Pp. i–xxxii, 193–224, 577–928. Volume IV, fascs. 2–15. Pp. i–xxxii, 33–448. Volume V, fascs. 6–19. Pp. i–xxxii, 257–672. Volume VI, fascs. 2–29. Pp. i–xxxii, 33–880. Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1979, 1981–3. ISBN 0 946344 17 5. Price £3 each.





After many fruitful years, the project to collect and publish together all available Ramesseid inscriptions has been completed with the exception of the final volume of addenda and indexes. The portion of Volume II under review covers part of the wars of Ramesses II depicted in the temples of Upper Egypt and Nubia (fascicle 4), the geographical series of his monuments from Thebes to Nubia (fascicles 13–19), and documents from his reign (fascicles 19–20). Fascicles 21–3 deal with the monuments of the royal family including the lists of princes and princesses from various temples as well as addenda. Fascicle 24 contains the introductory material for Volume II. BM 1133 should be added to the monuments of Queen Nefertari on pp. 848–53 (see British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 10, pl. 21). It is important to have a comprehensive edition of the lists of princes of Ramesses II. It is generally agreed that Prince Amenherwenmef who appears only at Beit el-Wali (*KRI* II, 197–8) is identical with the eldest son of the lists Prince Amenherkhepeshef. A similar variant can be seen in the name of the fifth son Montjuherkhepeshef who appears once at Luxor as Montjuherwenmef (*KRI* II, 171). It is possible that these variants are the result of a mistake on the part of a confused scribe or sculptor and not necessarily historical variants of the names. The author is cautious as to the position of Crown Prince Setiherkhepeshef, who does not appear in the lists, but is known from other sources (*ibid.* 914–15). Surely he is also identical with the eldest son Amenherkhepeshef as variants of the name of the eighth son Amenemwia/Setiemwia indicate. It is not very likely that future heirs such as Princes Ramesses, Khaemwese, and Merenptah would acquiesce in the promotion of a junior over them. A second problem concerns the princess-queens of Ramesses II whose marriages to their father

may or may not have been nominal. The discovery that Princess Bint-Anat had a daughter (ibid. 923) may lend weight to the former, but, until full publication of her tomb, this conclusion might be premature. She could well have been the consort of one of her brothers while also nominal queen of her father.

Volume IV covers the period from the accession of Merenptah to the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Fascicles 2-6 and the beginning of 7 contain the geographical series of Merenptah's monuments, the royal family, the officials of his reign, and the community of Deir el-Medīna. Fascicles 7-8 deal with the monuments of Amenmesses and his contemporaries. The reign of Sethos II fills the end of fascicles 8 and 9-11, while the inscriptions of Siptah and Twosret are contained in fascicles 11-14. Fascicle 15 consists of the introductory material to Volume IV. BM 1469 on p. 54 is republished with more detail in BM, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 10, pl. 23. On p. 64 the texts of ll. 3 and 6 have been published by E. Cruz-Urbe in *GM* 24 (1977), 31, with a slight addition to the last. Bint-Anat, Queen of Merenptah, is undoubtedly the daughter of Ramesses II as her titles of king's daughter and king's sister demonstrate, so (II) should be deleted on p. 82. A daughter of Merenptah named Istnofret should be added here (see *KRI* 11, 807, l. 13). On p. 92 no. 53/15, UCL 14355 has been published by H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, 1 (Warminster, 1976), 59 pl. 47. On p. 338 the graffito on l. 5 should be assigned to the Twentieth Dynasty as Paḥemnetjer son of Neferhotep is quite distinct from the man of the same name who flourished under Sethos II (see Bierbrier, *CdÉ* forthcoming, for the family of Paḥemnetjer, son of Neferhotep). On p. 351, l. 16, no. vii is BM 13240.

The remainder of the reign of Ramesses III fills Volume V. Fascicles 6-8 continue the geographical series of his monuments from Palestine to Nubia. The end of fascicle 8 and the beginning of fascicle 9 deal with the documents of the harīm conspiracy, some of which may actually belong to the succeeding reign. Fascicle 9 also covers the monuments of the royal family and begins those of the private contemporaries which are continued in fascicles 10-11. The archives of Deir el-Medīna feature from the end of fascicle 11 to fascicle 18 at the end of which is added the newly discovered Elephantine stela of Sethnakht. Fascicle 19 again contains the preliminary material for the volume. On p. 261 BM 38277, 38279, and 11753 can be added to the references to Ramesses III at Tell el-Yahudiya, while BM 634 and 1821 are additional miscellaneous monuments (BM, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 10, pls. 25-8). BM 936 of a chief charioteer of His Majesty should feature among the army personnel of his reign. On p. 437 A6 Cairo ostrakon 25531 has recently been assigned to years 3-7 of Ramesses IV together with Cairo ostrakon 25533 (M. Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medīneh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation* (Hildesheim, 1983), 347). A7 Papyrus Greg may well belong to the preceding reigns of Siptah and Twosret. On p. 450 the verso of P. Bulaq X dated to a year 8 might possibly belong to a later reign. The workman Hay, who is dividing up his property among his children, is attested from year 13 of Ramesses III until year 3 of Ramesses IV, while his sons only appear under Ramesses IV. Hay could certainly have been around in year 8 of Ramesses III, but it is conceivable that he divided up his property towards the end of his career. He may well have been retired in the village like the workman Khaemnun who appears in the workforce from the late Nineteenth Dynasty until year 4 of Ramesses IV but was still alive in year 4 of Ramesses V. Hay and his sons may have been laid off under Ramesses V but have survived until year 8 of a later Ramesses. Among the workmen there ought perhaps to have been a dossier for Khnummose who is known from the graffito in *KRI* IV, 338, BM 8510, and a stela in Moscow, S. Hodge and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), no. 91).

Volume VI completes the inscriptions of the later Twentieth Dynasty. Fascicle 2 consists of the geographical series of the monuments of Ramesses IV. The documents of his reign and the monuments of his officials and contemporaries fill fascicles 3-7. The reign of Ramesses V is covered in part of fascicles 7, 8, and the beginning of 9, while the records of Ramesses VI's reign fill the end of fascicle 9 until fascicle 12. Part of fascicles 12, 13, and most of 14 are devoted to Ramesses VII, the end of 14 sufficing for Ramesses VIII. The monuments and documents of the long reign of Ramesses IX are given in fascicles 15-23. The last also contains the reign of Ramesses X and the beginning of that of Ramesses XI whose inscriptions are completed in fascicle 28. As usual fascicle 29 contains the introductory material for the volume. On p. 34 no. 27 has also been published by A. Moussa in *ASAE* 68 (1972), 119-20. BM 1816, a statue of Ramesses IV, should be included

among his monuments (BM, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 10, pl. 29). On p. 81, l. 7, note a, this sign on BM 66668 is definitely šft , while in l. 8 the sign at the beginning of the text's l. 5 is not  but . The author publishes a series of ostraca from Deir el-Medīna which he attributes to various reigns, mostly to Ramesses IV. These datings are by no means certain, and, for sometimes different views, not necessarily all correct, see Gutgesell, op. cit. On p. 188, ll. 12–14, compare part of the original, now BM 5612 which shows that Lepsius's sequence, not Bruyère's, is the correct copy of the tomb inscription. However, Lepsius has miscopied the placing of signs in one case as  should be at the end of column 2 and not the beginning of column 3. On p. 213 BM 342 can be added to the monuments of Pamedunakht. On p. 219 the inscription of Qenna and his son Ḥarnufer belongs to the reign of Ramesses IX, when both are attested, Qenna being the brother of the foreman Ḥarmose (p. 668). On p. 437 the stela of Amenemone, misattributed to his son Sethy, should feature under Ramesses III (Bierbrier, *CdÉ* 57 (1982), 201–9). These comments should not in any way detract from the author's achievement which will constitute a notable contribution to the study of the Ramesside Period.










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



Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. By K. A. KITCHEN. 290 × 205 mm. Volume III, fascs. 6–28. Pp. i–xxxii, 161–848. Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1980. Price £2.50 each.

With this series of fascicles, Dr Kitchen completes his documentation of the private monuments of the reign of Ramesses II. Fascicle 6 covers the remaining monuments of the mayors of Thebes (Category VI), those of the mayors of Memphis (Category VII), and begins those of the high stewards of the king (Category VIII) which are completed in fascicle 7. This last also contains the monuments of other court functionaries (Categories IX–X) whose dossiers end in fascicle 8. The army (Category XI) is covered in fascicles 8–9. The priests of Thebes (Categories XV–XVII) fill fascicles 10–13, while those of Memphis (Categories XVIII–XIX) feature in fascicles 13–14. The clergy of other areas (Categories XX–XXVI) are chronicled in fascicles 14–15. Fascicles 15–16 contain monuments of scholars and physicians (Category XXVII). In fascicle 15 there begins the documentation of Deir el-Medīna (Category XXVIII) which is completed in fascicle 27. This last concludes with miscellaneous monuments plus addenda and corrigenda. Fascicle 28 contains the table of contents and preface for Volume III.

The following addenda and corrigenda are offered along with sincere admiration for the industry of the author in bringing such a wide range of documentation together in one volume. On p. 161 there should perhaps have been a cross-reference after the dossier of the mayor of Thebes Paser to indicate that he is named in the tomb of his son Nebsumenu, pp. 182–3. On p. 181 no. 10 is now in the Duke University Art Library, Durham, North Carolina, USA. It was published by L. Borchardt in *ZÄS* 66 (1931), Beilage, Bl. 2 (no. 12), where it was considered a modern forgery. On p. 241 the Toulouse stela of Sety has recently been published with more accurate readings by P. Ramond, *Les Stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse* (Cairo, 1971), no. 9. It is possible that BM 795 of the stable-master and royal envoy Naya should be attributed to this reign and so feature under sections B or C of Category XI in fascicle 8. With regard to Paser on p. 278, his tomb has now been located at Saqqâra and additional monuments have been uncovered: see G. T. Martin, *JEA* 67 (1981), 2–3. Temple foundation plaques of Nebwenenef, cited on p. 290, include BM 5760 and others in University College London (H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, 1 (Warminster, 1976), p. 58, pl. 46). In section D of Category XVI the high steward of Amūn Reshpu and his colleague Amenmose might have held office in this reign (BM 161 and Bologna Inv. n. B 1821). The statue of the high priest of Ptah Ḥori (BM 845) should perhaps have been inserted on p. 415. On p. 478 there should have been a cross-reference to the fact that the high priest of Anḥur Minmose is named on a monument of the vizier Praḥotpe: see above p. 65.

The section on Deir el-Medīna not unnaturally takes up a large proportion of Volume III. The dossiers of the officers, specialists, and workmen of the community are preceded by collective documents and letters. It is not clear why some letters are included here, while others feature later in their respective dossiers. A cross-reference to letters which had appeared earlier might have been useful in the individual dossiers. A number of letters which should be included have recently been published in J. Černý and G. Posener, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, 1 (Cairo, 1978). On

p. 538 no. A36 the name of the mother can probably be restored as [*Tjy-sn*] *nfrt*, wife of the draughtsman Praḥotpe, who has already been conjectured to be the father of the author of this letter on other grounds: see *JEA* 66 (1980), 100-1. To the collective records of the community add O. MM 14126: see J. Janssen, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979) 9-15. BM 1516 has been omitted from the file of the chief workman Neferhotep, pp. 587-98. On p. 604, l. 3, the name of the foreman Qaha should be followed by . BM 274 of the workman Qaha may belong to the same man. On p. 610, l. 11, read  and . In l. 12 read     . . . On p. 623 no. 13 reappeared briefly in a sale at Sotheby's 4 December 1972, Lot 97. To the dossier of the scribe Qenhirkhopshef, pp. 640-5, should be added his head-rest BM 63783 (*BMQ* 8, 105-6 with a wrong provenance) and a shabti BM 33940. On p. 655 no. 2 the stela of Nebrēt is BM 276 not 275 and l. 12 should read   (sic). BM 2292, a statuette of Nebrēt, can be added to his file. For the sculptor Khons, p. 675, see now his letter to his mother in Černý and Posener, op. cit., pl. 30, no. xv. On p. 674 add a shabti-box of Nakhtamūn to his dossier (W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (Greenwich, Conn., 1959), pl. 275). To the monuments of the sculptor Qen should be added BM 8493 and a stela in Bordeaux (J. J. Clère, *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 70-7).

The long list of ordinary workmen is arranged in alphabetical order for ease of reference although some cross-referencing to the appearances of individuals in other dossiers could have been made. Presumably the projected index to the series will cover this point. A number of workmen, who do not appear, might have been included; namely, Amenmose of Tomb 9, who may yet feature in the corrections to Volume I, Pendua son of the sculptor Qen (Turin statue Suppl. n. 6127), and Meriwese son of the foreman Qaha (BM 444). Add a shabti of Irynufer, BM 64578, to his file on p. 720. With regard to BM 36861 on p. 726, l. 5 should have  after Ptah. In l. 7 Amenwia is followed by  and Praḥotpe definitely does not have a stroke after the *rc* sign or a *hrw* sign at the end of the line. There is an additional stela of the workman Wennekhu in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 67.103 (*BMAA* xxvi, 63). On p. 733 BM 8824, a shabti with a hieratic inscription, can be added to the dossier of the workman Penamūn son of the foreman Baki. On p. 740 five short columns have been omitted from the top of BM 1466 of the workman Penbuy, and there is no  after  in l. 9. Part of the destroyed inscription on the Malta statuette of the workman Neferabu, p. 769, l. 9, can be restored from pl. xviii of *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt* by C. S. Sonnini de Manoncour (London, 1800). BM 2559, a wooden statue of Mertseger dedicated by the workman Neferabu, should be added to his monuments. On p. 788, l. 11, the name should be read as  . She appears elsewhere as a daughter of the workman Nebamentet by Hūnero daughter of the workman Ḥay; see above p. 755, l. 6, and p. 737, l. 5, where the end of the name must be restored. To the dossier of the workman Haremwia on p. 796 should be added his shabtis BM 8582, 8584-5. There is a shabti-box of Khabekhnet, pp. 799-817, in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (M. Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Copenhague* (Copenhagen, 1919), pl. xxv), and a shabti in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (*BMAA* xxvi, 63). The monuments of the workman Khons, pp. 821-3, should include a reference to his coffins and canopic chest, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, along with the coffins of his mother Ineferti, which do not feature in Volume I, and a shabti-box of his brother Prēemnekhu (Hayes, op. cit. 414-18, 428-9). The same museum possesses a statue of the workman Karo which should be added to his monuments on pp. 824-8, MMA 65.14, published by H. Fischer in *Egyptian Studies*, II (New York, 1977), 137-40, although line e should read *sr n* (<*sr:f*>) and not the proposed emendation of *sr:n* to *sr:f*. The monuments of Thuthirmiktef on pp. 839-44, should include a shabti BM 67784. M. L. BIERBRIER

The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon: Papers of an Egyptian Farmer in the Last Century of Theadelphia.

Collected and re-edited by GEORGE M. PARÁSSOGLOU. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, Band 23. 275 × 192 mm. Pp. 263, pls. 15. Bonn (Habelt), 1978. Price DM 140.

We know a good deal about Sakaon (illiterate, twice-married, still alive at sixty-two, a scar on the left or right shin), about his livelihood from pasturage and arable farming, and his official duties as

comarch and sitologus, and about his village of Theadelphia, whose depopulation he documents. His family papers span the end of the third century AD, and the first half of the fourth. The greater part of them were published together by Jouguet in 1911, but other items remained scattered. Dr Parássoglou has now collected and revised the whole archive, some seventy-five pieces (P. Turner 44, an informative duplicate of P. Sakaon 44, came too late to be used); and added twenty-three other documents of the same time and place. The book contains transcripts and translations of the papyri, with indexes and photographs of twenty items. There is no commentary, and no synthesis of the information provided; 'the sole aim of this . . . new edition has been to offer an improved and more reliable text'.

In this aim the editor (who collated all but three pieces on photographs) certainly succeeds. Of course, the reader will find a scatter of slips or misprints: 12.13, *καθαροῦ* omitted after *πυροῦ*; 35.19, *εἰσηνέγκαμεν* corrected to *εἰσε-* (ungrammatical); 39.21, read *Λικωνίου*; 40.16, read *ἀνακοπήναι*; 65.3 *δεξιῶ* translated 'left'; 66.4, read (if the translation is correct) *γερομ(ένου)*; 92.5, read *κωμητῶν τῶν*, 13 *κατέβαλαν*. He will also find places where text or translation rings doubtful. Thus at 11.3 (and elsewhere) 'Athanasios also called Philadelphos' translates *Ἀ. ὁ καὶ Φ.* But the article is never written, when the writing survives; and indeed Philadelphos appears distinct from Athanasios at 86. 20–2. We should surely accept Maehler's argument (on BGU 2027.4) that the two names represent two persons. (Similarly at 38.18 the text has *καὶ Ἄνοῦπ*, but the translation assumes *τοῦ καὶ Ἄνοῦπ.*) 12.17, possibly *τοῦ σύνπαρ(τος)*? 32.23, *ἀπ[εκρεί]ναντ[ο]* unsafe; the guards reply in l. 24, and there is no room here for a whole answer and further question. 32.28, *καὶ μάλα καί*: translate 'even though'? 33.6, 'the surplus of the water' should be 'the improvement of the irrigation'. 36.3, 'your love of equity': better 'your love of humble people'. 40.14, translate 'since it's now clear that she is superfluously considering . . .'; 16, 'to have a stop put to the woman's foolery' (*παιδιάν*, for the meaning cf. *ἐμπαίζειν*; Kapsomenos' argument for *παιδ(ε)ίαν* seems to me perverse). 43.23, 'they, on the contrary': better 'those on the other side'? 56.6, *[ὄφ]ίλουσιν* is surely a participle attached to *αὐτ[ο]ίς*. Over and above these trivia, a whole series of major problems remain unsolved. But the obscurities which remain are small compared with the obscurities which have gone. Any reader who compares the new version with the old will see how much we owe to Dr Parássoglou's energy and acumen. This important archive is now at last usable: that is his achievement.

P. J. PARSONS

The Florida Ostraka: Documents from the Roman Army in Upper Egypt. By ROGER S. BAGNALL. Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs, no. 7. 235 × 155 mm. Pp. 74, pls. 16. Durham, North Carolina, 1976. No price stated.

These ostraca constitute a purchase group (28 Greek, 3 Latin), datable from their script to the second century AD. Most are letters, and most belong, to judge from their content, to a single military archive. Their provenance was given as 'Edfu'; the editor connects them with the mounted auxiliary cohort then stationed across the river at Redesiyah. R. A. Coles (*ZPE* 39 (1980), 126) and W. Clarysse have since identified other ostraca from the same find.

The archive centres round the military—cavalrymen, their commanders (*decuriones*), their batmen, and their horses (in 15.2, 18.4, and OAmst 18.2 correspondents greet the horse along with the master). There is reference to a camp, to garrison posts (*praesidia*, each under a *curator*), and to watch-towers (*σκόπελοι*, manned as it seems by civilians). Military business includes provisions, individual postings, the watch-towers to be manned, and a corpse whose cause of death must be established; private business includes the dispatch of food and wine, purple and clothing, and the borrowing of money. Most striking are two letters from women: one (17) asks her man to visit her, the other (14) makes arrangements for her own, and her friend's, accouchement.

The edition comprises an extensive introduction; transcripts, translations, and rather sketchy commentaries; indexes; and excellent plates of all the ostraca. The introduction, which analyses the archive and sketches the background (the traffic of the Eastern Desert and the policing needed there), is masterly. The texts still invite marginalia; some tentative suggestions follow:

1 concerns furlough. The editor takes it to be an official pass; and yet (as he notes) it specifies no starting date. The would-be literary script suggests to me a writing exercise. If so, l. 4 must contain a vocative to parallel l. 2: i.e. the scribe intended *καὶ κύ, Ἐπάγαθε*, or the like. 2.3, *βαλανέος*?; 6.3, *ἐὰν*

γέ]νηται, cf. P.Amh. II, 135.10; 7.4 ff., *ίδίω θα | [νάτω ('death by natural causes') ἤ] καὶ λειμῶ . . . γν]ώση οὖν . . . πλ]ηγὴν εἶχεν*; 11.6, *γν]ώση οὖν τίς ἐστίν?*; 14.9, *μέλλω τεκίν*: this, with ll. 8 and 12, makes it certain that the writer is a woman, even though the masculine Maximos appears in the heading; l. 13, *ὁ φέρον*; l. 16, *σου Ἀπίω?*; l. 17, *προδῶσιν*; 15.1, *Ἀτρείδη*, cf. 5.6?; l. 3, *Κοίντου τοῦ*; l. 4, *ύγῆαν (-εἶαν)*, 'complete'; 19.2 f. *καὶ ἠγωνίασε*, | *[ἠρώ]της δέ*; l. 7 f., *ἐὰν μὴ ἰέρχη*, | *[γρά]ψον*; 20.8, *ξ κούφων*; l. 9, *γνωστουσου*; l. 11, *ἵνα δέλφακα*; l. 13, *ἀλλασσομε . . .* [; 22.5, *μεγάλη*]; l. 7, e.g. *Εἰσί[δωρον*; 23.5, . . . *ς τῶ γαλλ[ιαρίω*; 24.5 and 9 must be subheadings (three guards to each post); 5, *απον^ο (ἀπὸ νό(του)?) Ἀφεως* (cf. 3.5, 20.7; OAmst 14.11 mentions it as the site of a watchtower); 28.4, *αὐλητοῦ* or *Αὐλητοῦ*.

P. J. PARSONS

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FOREWORD

This special supplement to Volume 71 of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* is designed to clear the considerable back-log of book-reviews that has gradually and unavoidably accumulated over the last few years.

A debt of gratitude is owed to Dr. Patricia Spencer, who carried out the onerous task of typing the manuscript in 'camera-ready' form. Thanks are also due to Dr. Morris Bierbrier for undertaking most of the editorial work.

W. V. Davies
Reviews Editor

REVIEWS

The Macclesfield Collection of Egyptian Antiquities. By ROSALIE DAVID. 255x175 mm. Pp.vii+77, coloured frontispiece, pls.31. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1980. ISBN 0 85668 129 6. Price £22.

The publication of small collections of Egyptian antiquities is a useful exercise, for although much of the material is commonplace, there are often a few pieces of considerable interest which do not deserve to remain in obscurity. This collection of objects in the West Park Museum, Macclesfield, includes some quite noteworthy items, some of which come from excavated contexts. An example of a particularly fine object in the collection is the statuette of Queen Tiye (catalogue H 10), of unknown provenance.

The book opens with an Introduction based on the diaries of Miss Brocklehurst, who gathered the nucleus of the collection. The actual catalogue entries are arranged in sections according to classes of objects, but the individual numbering of the items within each section is not ideal; a single sequence of numbers right through the catalogue would have been preferable. The catalogue suffers from some unfortunate deficiencies which seriously reduce its value as a record of original material. General criticisms which can be made include the following: the descriptions are often too brief; the illustrations are very selective; inscriptions are not drawn separately and are often illegible in the small photographs; pottery and stone vessels are not drawn to scale in profile and section, but are only shown in rather obscure photographs from odd angles; dates, provenances and bibliography are included or omitted in an arbitrary fashion.

The following specific points have been noted in the catalogue entries; they are given here as a sample of the regrettable errors and omissions of this work:

- A 16 The entry is incomplete, and breaks off in mid-sentence.
- B 50 This is a figure of Maahes (*mꜣꜥ-ḥꜣꜣ*), a lion-divinity of the Graeco-Roman Period. As with the majority of items in this section, no date is suggested.
- C 1 - C 60 The scarabs which form the content of this section are better illustrated than the other classes of objects, with drawings of each specimen. A similar treatment of the other material would have considerably improved the value of the catalogue.
- D 4 - D 5 These are not shabtis of '*sptw*, born of *st.f*', but are inscribed for Tjaihorpata, son of Tefnut. This individual was buried at Saqqara and his granite sarcophagus is in the Cairo Museum (Maspero, *Sarcophages*, I, 218-315 and pls.XIX-XXI). It is dated to Year 15 of Nectanebo II (see *PM*, III², 504).
- D 8 - D 10 Although stated to be from Cemetery G at Abydos, excavated by the E.E.F., no reference is made to Petrie, *Abydos*, I, 38-9 and pl.LXXIX for the tomb-group and the parallel shabtis. From the style of the figures it is evident that D 8 and D 9 are in fact shabtis of Pediusir and D 10 is of Djedhor (see Petrie, loc. cit.); a conclusion confirmed by specimens of these shabtis in the British Museum. The renderings of the names given in the catalogue have the appearance of having been derived from very old museum registers or labels.
- D 15 The name is not *Rsw-ḥꜣ*. This is just a writing of *Šm'w mḥw* in a title continued from the front of the shabti. The name comes below and begins *Pꜣ-dꜣ*..... but the rest is not visible in the small photograph.
- D 22 Has a text which is not mentioned in the description.
- D 25 The text is noted in the catalogue entry but the name is not translated; it is the common *Pꜣ-dꜣ-ꜣst*.
- D 33 This is not a forgery as suggested, but is a standard type of Twenty-Sixth Dynasty shabti. Compare the shabtis of Ankhhor (J.F. Aubert and L. Aubert, *Statuettes Égyptiennes: Chaouabtis Ouchehtis*, pl.55, nos.134-5; H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis*, III, 73, no.5.3.1.206).
- E 8 This offering-table is not dated, but is clearly Roman in type.
- E 16 For the publication of this coffin a copy of the texts should really have been given, since the inscriptions cannot be read from the small photograph.
- E 17 The provenance of this piece is stated to be 'Karnak', but surely this should be considered to imply Western Thebes.
- E 23 The description and illustration of this object do not correspond.
- E 25 This funerary cone in fact belonged to Aakheperkarē-sonb, son of Pasanesu, and is given in Davies and Macadam, *Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, no.523.
- E 26 A cone of Montuemhat (Davies and Macadam, op. cit., no.161). The rendering of the name given in the entry is derived from an amalgamation of part of the title *imy-r Šm'w* with the name Montuemhat. This is, of course, a cone of the well-known Montuemhat of tomb 34 in the Asasif.
- E 27 This cone is Davies and Macadam no.24. The name is *Didw*.
- E 28 The texts on this figure are not published in hand-copy nor in facsimile, and are not visible on the photograph, nor is the name of the owner given in the description.
- E 29 - E 31 The inscriptions on these Canopic Jars appear to be forgeries, and the same may be true of the jars themselves, although this cannot be determined from the photographs.
- H 8 This inscription is almost invisible and no copy is provided. Enough can be seen to say that the translation is incorrect; it should end: '....son of Besenmut', not '....son of Bes, his mother'.
- H 10 The curious translation is the result of taking the graphic device of the *pt*-sign at the top to be part of the text.
- H 15 The inscription on the base, noted in the entry, is not available in a copy.
- I 6 The names of the two women in the middle of the second register, given as 'Khia' and 'Repy' by the author, are really two variants of *Ḥnr-ḥꜣ* (Ranke, *Personennamen*, 245, 8).

J 7 The marks 'M.14.21' refer to object 21 from grave M.14 in the Osiris temenos at Abydos. See Petrie, *Abydos*, I, pls.XXXIX and XLVIII.

J 12 and J 14 are Roman, second to third centuries AD.

J 29 This hand-made and pebble-burnished bowl is certainly Predynastic; probably the number 1403 refers to a grave at Naqada.

J 43 Despite the poor illustration, this object can be identified as an Old Kingdom collar-vase. The mark 23³⁵ looks like one of Brunton's excavation numbers from Qau; the fact that no grave 35 appears in Brunton's registers may mean that the figures were only part of a larger number.

K 8 These are later than the 'Late Ptolemaic' date given in the entry; they must be second-third century AD at least.

L 3 The photograph is inverted. The interpretation of the inscription is incorrect. It should read: 'Recitation by Hathor, Mistress of Imau (i.e. Kom el-Hisn) given all life'. This is followed by the name of the dedicator, 'the *mp*-priest, Akhpet'. (See H. de Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 151-171. I owe this reference to Dr. J. Malek).

L 4 - L 5 are more likely to be Ptolemaic than Roman.

L 9 It is odd that the only bibliographic reference on this piece should be to a sale catalogue. Surely there should have been a reference to the details of the Hatshepsut foundation deposits in *PM*, II², 368-9, and to the drawings in Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, VI, pl.CLXVIII. One wonders why the old rendering 'Seserui' is used here for Djeser-djeseru.

It is particularly unfortunate that a publication of original source material should be marred by so many faults, which, with a little care, could so easily have been avoided. For a publication of a collection to serve its purpose as a permanent source of reference it must be reliable and accurate; it should present all the information in a clear manner; and it should attempt to establish dates by typological and other means. A poor volume not only fails to meet these requirements; it also, by its very existence, deters others from working on the same material all over again to produce something more valuable. A. J. SPENCER

Umm el-Ga'ab. Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest. Catalogue. By JANINE BOURRIAU. 275x215 mm. Pp.142, frontispiece, numerous illustrations. Cambridge, University Press, 1981. ISBN 0 521 24065 4. Price £24.

Between October 6th and December 11th 1981 the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, presented an exhibition of pottery from the Nile Valley, and this catalogue was prepared by Miss Bourriau, its organiser, to accompany it.

The catalogue, following the arrangement of the exhibition, is divided into several sections which present something of the diversity of the ceramics of the Nile Valley, both functionally and morphologically, as well as technologically. There are three main sections: the first, dealing with technology, raw materials, decorative techniques and methods of scientific analysis, comprises chapters 1-3; the second, containing discussions and descriptions of material from the main chronological periods up to the Arab conquest of Egypt and the Sudan, forms the bulk of the work, chapters 4-13; the third section deals with certain broader themes, i.e., 'Magic and Ritual', 'Trade' and 'Foreign Influences on Egyptian Pottery', chapters 14-16. A total of 273 vessels or fragments are included.

In all of the sections the vessels used to illustrate specific points, or which are taken as characteristic of a particular period, are well catalogued and documented, and a large percentage is illustrated either in the form of photographs or line drawings. The chapters also include a general discussion and information which sets the vessels in their historical context. As is to be expected of someone of Miss Bourriau's knowledge and experience in the field of Egyptian ceramics, the selection of material presented is well-balanced, including not only 'pretty things' but also the utilitarian, often crude, forms which are characteristic of all periods of Egyptian pottery. The author shows the extent of the information which can be elicited from even the most mundane of pottery vessels, which were a necessity of daily life on the banks of the Nile. In doing so the most recent work on Egyptian ceramics has been incorporated, much of which awaits publication in the *Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* or has been but summarily published elsewhere.

In a work of this scope it is inevitable that other researchers in the field will be at variance with Miss Bourriau in matters of interpretation and emphasis, chronological divisions or minor points of detail. This fact does, of course, reflect the elementary stage at which our knowledge stands at present, but it also forms an essential stage, ultimately, in our greater understanding of the material. The remarks which follow are aimed at presenting a slightly different point of view on some aspects of the material, and also supplementing those of the author.

Any attempt to elucidate the complex picture of pottery production in antiquity, its 'rhythm' or its character, is hazardous, and despite the scenes of pottery manufacture in tomb and temple reliefs and the intense study of the vessels themselves, it will no doubt take many years before we understand this side of Egyptian pottery. The remarks made in the work under review are kept to a minimum and thereby run the risk of distorting the picture, making it appear surprisingly simple. We read:

'As today, pottery-making may have been a seasonal activity, determined by the rhythm of field work or taken up as demand required it. It was certainly a local and not a centralised industry, thus subject to local fashions and needs, but it became specialised early, so that different materials and techniques were used for pottery with different functions'.

I should like to comment at some length on the various points mentioned here. Certainly, in parts of Egypt today pottery-making is a seasonal activity, as it seems to have been to a certain extent during the Roman Period,¹ but there are potters who work the year round. Given the ease with which pottery vessels can be broken and the demand that would have existed for them in the large urban centres, it is likely that potters serving those centres would have worked throughout the year and not seasonally. The situation may have been

different in the smaller towns and villages. Pottery workshops would have varied considerably in size and in the number of potters working in them. If, as is believed, there were potters working in most of the villages and towns, they may have comprised no more than a single family, or one or two potters. That pottery-making was in the hands of skilled potters who specialised in pottery manufacture and not the work of simply one or two members of a family or community who turned their hand to it when the need arose is indicated by the texts² and the material itself - its quality, consistency, technology, etc. As with many crafts in ancient Egypt, as well as modern, pottery-making was probably passed on from father to son. The manufactures from these village potters would have been determined by local needs and served diverse functions, and had a very limited distribution.

However, it is possible that there were workshops which not only served one village or small town, but several or a whole region, as is the case, for example, in the Dakhleh Oasis today. These would have been larger establishments worked by larger numbers of potters. Large workshops must have served the major cities and also existed in regions where agriculture was intense in order to supply containers for the produce. Workshops, as Miss Bourriau points out, were also attached to large estates, palaces and possibly also temples, and their manufactures were aimed primarily at one section of society, though ultimately they would have found their way beyond it. The pottery made in the different workshops would vary in character and quality depending not only on the skill of the various potters but the market it was aimed at and its function. The pottery found on any of the large sites in Egypt may have originated from any number of workshops of different types.

In the same way in which there were different types of workshops of different sizes, there was also variation in the nature of the industry itself. Pottery produced in the small village potteries undoubtedly had a distribution limited to those villages, while if there were workshops serving groups of villages the distribution would have been regional. That produced for the residents of the main cities would have had both regional and local distribution. Resulting from the extensive network of internal trade or barter, pottery made in one area could end up in another where it could then be reused; this is of relevance to certain types of vessel only, i.e. storage and transport vessels. Furthermore, it is probable that either certain types of vessels or wares were made at certain factories only and distributed therefrom. It is not possible to discuss this in detail here, but we can refer to the manufacture of amphorae as a type of vessel and blue-painted pottery as a ware that during the New Kingdom may have had a centralised manufacture. Amphorae from the mid-XVIIIth dynasty onwards, although found throughout Egypt, were generally made from one type of clay (Marl A variant 4 of the catalogue), had a limited range of surface treatments and morphological variations, and given their primary function as transport and storage vessels, they may have been made only in the main agricultural areas such as the Delta. The blue-painted pottery shows a concentration of find spots around the urban centres, is found in large quantities only at Malkata, Amarna and Deir el-Medineh, displays such a close association between decoration and shape and utilises a rare blue pigment (cobalt aluminate spinell), that a manufacture only at Thebes and Amarna may be suggested.³ In relation to this ware it can be noted that it was possibly made by the same potters at Malkata and Amarna. Such specialisation and centralisation in the manufacture of certain segments of the pottery repertoire may be expected at all times, and is hinted at by Miss Bourriau for the Old Kingdom (p.51) and the Middle Kingdom (p.55).⁴ Again, the pottery found on any of the large sites in Egypt may reflect all of the types of manufacture.

Certainly, pottery production was specialised in Egypt.⁵ Certain vessels were made primarily in certain types of clay and given similar surface treatments throughout the Predynastic and Dynastic eras. While some vessels were made in particular ways, on the whole the manufacturing techniques employed do not seem to have been part of this specialisation. The technique or techniques current at one time were used for most types of vessel irrespective of their material or function.

Following these rather lengthy general remarks I shall restrict my comments to specific vessels or points, prefixing them with the relevant page reference to the catalogue.

p.14 - 15 In the discussion of the clay types and fabrics used by the ancient potters it should be remembered that there is a degree of variation in all of the types, and that they are actually families of types. In addition, mixtures of the different types were used; see pages 41 - 43 in the discussion of Neutron Activation Analysis.⁶ Parts probably from the type of wheel depicted in the tomb of Kenamun have been found in the Nile Valley at Tell el-Da'ba, Amarna, Serra East and possibly Memphis.⁷

p.17 Figure 9 depicts a Roman kiln from the Dakhleh Oasis which was found near the temple of Deir el-Hagar, and is numbered 33/390-F9-1 kiln 3.⁸

p.21 No.18; although when vitrification occurs in pottery a state similar to that of glass occurs and it can become a super cool liquid, it is possibly better to refer to this stage as a glassy phase.

p.26 In the section on painted motifs the list of pigments which were used is incomplete, the principle omission being the use of frit for blue and green.⁹

p.37 - 38 No.52; although this type of feminoform vessel associated with Hathor may be related to the type from which nos.55 - 56 (not 53 as stated) originated, it is more closely related to another type of feminoform vessel of New Kingdom date which shows the same morphology but lacks the modelled arms. This type is described and discussed in the catalogue entry for Princeton 52.87, no.69 in *Egypt's Golden Age*, Boston 1982.

p.38 No.53; this sherd is probably from the neck of a small jar rather than a bowl. Bowls with applied Hathor heads seem to have been made from Nile silt clays only.

p.39 No.57; this type of vessel with either a gazelle or ibex head applied to the neck, and occasionally also the body applied or painted on the shoulder, is one of the few types which seem to have a definite ornamental function, having a more elaborate decorative scheme on one side than the other. Many fragments have been found at Amarna and Malkata from such vessels, not all of which occurred in 'royal' contexts; they are known in medium and large sizes. See *Egypt's Golden Age*, no.70.

p.44 In her introductory remarks to the pottery of the Predynastic Period Miss Bourriau points out the marked

differences between the pottery of the Naqada I and II periods, emphasising the importance of the introduction of marl clays into the ceramic repertoire. Important though these features are, do they imply all that she states? E.g., 'Form, decoration and technology all show profound changes, and these must relate to equally profound changes in the culture as a whole', 'The use of marl clay implied that new methods of collection, preparation and firing clay had been established', and of the marl clay vessels: '...they must have been made by different potters'.

While there are differences in the ceramic repertoire of the Naqada I and II periods there are certainly similarities, as in other artifacts, and a continuous development in several areas can be seen. Changes are only to be expected given the length of time involved. The major technological advance was the use of a turning device to finish the upper parts of vessels, but this can be seen to have been in use in Naqada I. While ceramic change can occur as a result of cultural change it is not always so closely linked to it, and changes in pottery can occur without any cultural change acting as the stimulus.¹⁰ This is seen on many occasions during the history of the Nile Valley. Marl clays, differing considerably from Nile silt clays, do require special treatment to render them workable, but not different methods of collection or firing. Deposits of marl clays occur in different areas to Nile clays, both of which can require digging; marl clays appear to have been fired to different temperatures but not necessarily in different kilns. Must marl clay vessels have been made by different potters to those of Nile clays? Since marl clays often occur in deposits not far removed from Nile clays, the technology of the vessels being the same, might they not have been made by the same potters but in separate batches and firings? The shapes do seem to relate to the material, different materials being suitable for different shapes and functions, but it would certainly be in the potter's best interests to produce as wide a range as was possible. Versatility would have aided general success. The exploitation of, and experimentation with, new types of clay bodies is an integral part of pottery-making.

In relation to the elaborate scenes with which some pottery was decorated in the Naqada II period and their association with the famous wall paintings from Hierakonpolis, one might wonder whether it is justifiable to propose that the former were adapted from the latter. Though they were undoubtedly drawn from a common repertoire of motifs and scenes, too little is preserved of wall painting from the period, and available evidence seems to indicate that the practice of vase painting predates that of wall painting.

p.45 The comparison of the 'banal marl clay jars' imported into the Sudan and the 'elegant local Nile silt wares, much more carefully made and highly decorative', seems to miss the point that the Egyptian product was more functionally efficient because of the greater density of its body and would therefore have been a desired object in its own right. The approach adopted in the manufacture of the two was so different that they cannot be compared. The high degree of technical skill shown by the Nubian and Sudanese potters cannot be denied, though the present reviewer does not feel that in Egypt pottery-making skills declined after the Naqada I period as does Miss Bourriau. The potter's attitude to his material and products may have changed, but he was still capable of producing vessels of high quality at all times.

p.48 No.74; this bowl with pedestal foot and applied linear decoration in white on a red background shows an interesting reserved decorative technique known also during the New Kingdom. The applied designs are read as 'background' while the unpainted areas appear as the 'motif', in this case an open blue lotus flower. Furthermore, the lines of this flower on the interior emphasise the actual shape of the bowl, harmonising with it perfectly, the two joining to simulate the flower itself. Form and decoration seem to have been inseparable in the potter's mind.

p.52 No.87; the entry for this 'Maidum bowl' seems to imply that higher standards of pottery manufacture are to be seen in the necropolis pottery from around the Maidum pyramid. Similar bowls are found on settlement sites displaying the same high standards of manufacture.

p.53 No.88; examples of this spouted bowl, here termed a 'libation dish', are known from settlement sites where, while having possibly been used to pour libations, they could also have served many domestic functions not connected with cult practices. This serves as a warning to us not to attempt to classify the functions served by ancient pottery too rigidly.

No.89; examples of this shape are also known from other Upper Egyptian sites, such as Dendera, as are examples of no.92. If, as the author states, they were favoured in Lower and Middle Egypt, their discovery in Upper Egypt shows their role in internal trade as containers.

p.55 Comments on the uniformity of the Egyptian ceramic repertoire the length of the Nile Valley during the middle and late Middle Kingdom raise many interesting points. During periods of strong central administration we can see a greater degree of uniformity in material culture and less evidence of regional variation, and pottery can play its part in the assessment of the degree. This uniformity of the ceramic record results not only from the manufacture and distribution of pottery being linked to the central administration but also the greater mobility it allows particularly in the commercial field. New ideas and fashions can spread more rapidly and be copied far from their original source.

p.59 No.103; the existence of black oxidised cores, a feature of many vessels made from Nile silt clays, can result not only from short firing time but also low firing temperatures and the conditions and atmosphere in the kiln during firing.

p.61 No.108; the identification of this squat jar with a wide quatrefoil mouth as a *hs* vase seems doubtful, most *hs* vases being narrow with a restricted neck and wide rim.

p.72 - 73 The account of the phases into which the pottery of the New Kingdom can be divided and the characteristics of these phases is not quite that which the reviewer would propose. I would suggest only three main phases: 1) Early XVIIIth dynasty up to the reign of Hatshepsut, 2) From the reign of Hatshepsut to that of Amenophis III, and 3) From that reign to the XXth dynasty. This system agrees with that proposed by Miss Bourriau for the first two phases, the second of which can, as she says, be divided into two sub-phases at the end of the reign of Tuthmosis III. Although the third phase suggested here is of a very long duration the

continuity throughout it is noticeable. It is possible that it should be divided into an early and late phase at the reign of Rameses II, but no division is possible at the reign of Akhenaton as the author proposed.

The most innovative of these phases would seem to have been 2), during which new fabrics appear as well as shapes and wares. The two new varieties of fine marl became popular, one described in the catalogue which was used primarily for small vessels which may have been cosmetic jars, and the other used mainly for amphorae and related types of vessels. Both are dense bodied, the former firing pink with naturally occurring white surfaces, the latter firing red with numerous white inclusions; they are both of the fabric group termed Fine Marl A, variant 4 of the catalogue. New forms can be seen in the figure vases, lentoid flasks, one-handled jugs and amphorae. The latter three are all probably of foreign inspiration. To this phase also can be dated the first attempts at incorporating blue into the decorative scheme. The earliest datable pieces are from Sedment tomb 132 (Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, pl.LIX 14-15), now in the Ashmolean Museum, of the reign of Tuthmosis III. These pieces - Egyptian imitations of Cypriot vessels - employ blue frit as their pigment and were decorated post-firing. Other early pieces of this type come from the tomb of Tjanuni at Thebes from the reign of Amenophis II (Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, pls.15 and 63). From the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis II come the first pieces of traditional blue-painted pottery which use cobalt aluminate spinell as their blue pigment and which were probably decorated before firing. The pre-firing and post-firing types of blue-painted pottery continued side-by-side throughout the New Kingdom, the former being used mainly on amphorae.

The third phase proposed above is characterised by the abundance of blue-painted pottery, amphorae and a range of new shapes. The motifs used on the blue-painted pottery from the two sites of Malkata, of the reign of Amenophis III, and Amarna, of the reign of Akhenaton, are identical. The terms 'Amarna ware' and 'palace ware' which have been applied to this type of pottery are quite misleading and ought to be abandoned. It is unfortunate that material from the Ramesside Period after the reign of Rameses II cannot be dated with precision, thus making it difficult to define its characteristics. Peculiar to the early XIXth dynasty and the reign of Rameses II are the tall-necked amphorae of medium sizes, with small handles, which are decorated with large floral collars; see no.147 of the catalogue.

p.74 No.138; although black rim bands typify the early phase of New Kingdom ceramics they did continue sporadically into the last phase, when red rim bands became common.

p.74 - 75 No.141; this sherd with a calf looking over its shoulder, decorated in red and black only, can probably be dated to the end of the second phase, i.e., Amenophis II - Tuthmosis IV. The motif is known on blue-painted vessels from the reign of Amenophis III - Akhenaton, while red and black decoration on jars of the type from which the sherd originated had ceased.

p.75 - 76 No.143; the height of the neck of this flask is unusual, and it is worth noting the similarity of the rim type used with those of the ring-vase, no.142, the jug, no.150 and the imitation base-ring vase, no. 266. The rim bears close resemblances to that found on imported spindle bottles from Cyprus/Syria, and may reflect the foreign inspiration of these types of vessel. Its use in Egypt is very restricted, occurring rarely on indigenous forms. 'Pilgrim Flasks' manufactured in Egypt from the reign of Amenophis III onwards generally have a pronounced, out-folded rim; see no.148.

p.77 No.147; this type of amphora is typical of the reign of Rameses II and was decorated after firing over a thick burnished slip of calcarous clay.

p.78 No.149; ring vases appear to have had a very short period of manufacture from the reign of Tuthmosis III to that of Akhenaton, from whose reign there are fragments with blue-painted decoration from Amarna. This example possesses an unusually tall neck and the decoration around the neck is not common. However, there seems no reason to ascribe it to the XIXth dynasty.

p.79 No.152; dipper juglets of this type are first represented by an example from the tomb of Kha' of the reign of Tuthmosis IV, and there are in fact several fragments known from both Malkata and Amarna.

p.92 No.180; it is possible that we can see in this water jar the origin of the qulleh used in Egypt today. Many shapes which occur amongst the pottery of the Roman Period in Egypt can still be seen in use today, despite the Arab conquest.

p.93 No.183; it can be noted that the vine-leaf motif actually occurs on a few blue-painted vessels of late XVIIIth dynasty date, thus giving it a range of over 1700 years!

p.96 - 97 No.192; water or beer kegs seem to appear in Egypt at the beginning of the Roman Period and have continued in use to the present day, still being manufactured in the Dakhleh Oasis. They vary considerably in morphological details, ranging from barrel-shapes to 'cigar'-shaped, sometimes with wide mouths and strainers, with or without handles. Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis, where they are very common, would indicate that this example, with its heavy, out-folded rim, belongs to the first three centuries of Roman rule.

p.104 Miss Bourriau's distinction between the Egyptian treatment of the decorative field of a vessel and the Meroitic is not so clear as is implied. The Egyptians frequently treated the vessel's surface as a single field applying designs of repeat motifs around the vessel - a feature she claims as Meroitic. While they did treat the two sides of a vessel independently during the late Predynastic Period and occasionally during the New Kingdom, it cannot be claimed as a feature typical of Egyptian vase painting.

p.121 - 122 No.242; the name of the lady for whom this vessel, and three others, was inscribed is given as Em-Nodjmet (*m-nđmt*) and not Nodjmet as stated; it was possibly an abbreviated form of Mut-Nodjmet. The source of the wine was Lower Egypt and not specifically the Delta, though this may be implied as the Delta was a major wine producing region. A pair to this vessel, also in the British Museum, carries the same docket, while the other two, in Philadelphia, are inscribed: 'Hamu-wine for the lady Em-Nodjmet' and 'Bener-wine for the lady Em-Nodjmet' not with 'wine from the south' as stated. See *Egypt's Golden Age*, catalogue no.71.

p.123 No.244; this type of tall-necked jar with one handle first appeared during the second phase of New

Kingdom pottery (see above). Its inspiration may ultimately lie in the spindle bottles imported from Cyprus/Syria; no other parallel is forthcoming from the Near East. It did not become common until the reign of Amenophis III.

p.130 To the list of vessels mentioned by Miss Bourriau which derive from foreign inspiration can be added the amphora of the New Kingdom. Based upon imports from Palestine which commenced in the late Middle Kingdom and continued into the New Kingdom, the Egyptian potters produced a range of variations which became a standard part of the ceramic repertoire from the mid-XVIIIth dynasty onwards.

p.133 No.261; in addition to the influence of bichrome ware imported from Palestine on vase painting, the close resemblance between the vessels which received this type of decoration in Egypt and Palestine can be noted. This is most notable in the squat jars, necked-jars and one-handled jars. It is worth noting in this connection the existence of a mid-XVIIIth dynasty, unprovenanced jar in the Petrie Museum (UC.8703) which is decorated with a seated gazelle between palms and shrubs, and although of Egyptian manufacture it resembles the Palestinian 'Palm-tree and Ibex Motif' (see Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1969, 161-165).

The length of this review will testify to the wide range of issues raised in the work by Miss Bourriau and the breadth of her undertaking. The volume is a fitting tribute to the work of the Nile Valley potters and because of its comprehensive nature is one of the most important single volumes on the topic. It is of value to the specialist and the layman alike, and will continue to be for many years. Miss Bourriau is to be congratulated.

¹ See Cockle, H., 'Pottery Manufacture in Roman Egypt - A New Papyrus', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, LXXI (1981), 87-97.

² For a survey of the textual references see Holthoer, R., *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites. The Pottery*, Volume 5.1 of the Scandanavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia. Lund 1977.

³ For a fuller discussion see Hope, C. A., *The Blue-Painted Pottery of the XVIIIth Dynasty*. Ph.D. thesis, London University 1980, and the forthcoming publication of the pottery from the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania excavations at Malkata.

⁴ See also Arnold, D., 'Ägyptische Mergeltone ("Wustentone") und die Herkunft einer Mergelton-ware des Mittleren Reiches aus der Gegend von Memphis', in Arnold, D., (ed.) *Studien zur Altägyptischen Keramik*. Mainz am Rhein 1981.

⁵ For a general discussion of ceramic specialisation see Rice, P. M., 'Evolution of Specialized Pottery Production: A Trial Model', in *Current Anthropology* 22 (1981), 219-240.

⁶ Also see Hope, C. A., Riederer, J. and Blauer, H. M., 'Recent Analyses of 18th Dynasty Pottery', in Arnold, D., op. cit. 1981.

⁷ See Hope, C. A., 'Two Ancient Egyptian Potters' Wheels', *JSSEA* XI (1981), 127-134; 'Concerning Egyptian Potters' Wheels', *JSSEA* XII (1982), 13-14 and *Ancient Egyptian Pottery*. Melbourne (RMIT) 1982.

⁸ See Hope, C. A., 'Dakhleh Oasis Project - Report on the Study of the Pottery and the Kilns', *JSSEA* IX (1979), 199-200.

⁹ For a full survey of Egyptian pigments see, most recently, Noll, W., 'Bemalte Keramiken Altägyptens: Material, Rohstoffe und Herstellungstechnik', in Arnold, D., op. cit. 1981; and for the use of blue frit, Hope, C. A., *The Blue-Painted Pottery of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1980.

¹⁰ See Adams, W. Y., 'On the Argument from Ceramics to History: a challenge based on evidence from Medieval Nubia', *Current Anthropology* 20 (1979), 727-744. C. A. HOPE

Catalogue des collections égyptiennes du Musée National de Céramique à Sèvres. By JEANNE BULTÉ. 240x155 mm. Pp. 155, pls.32. Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1981. ISBN 2 222 02817 5. No price given.

This monograph on the Egyptian collection in the National Museum of Ceramics at Sèvres is divided into three sections: an introduction in which the formation of the collection is discussed, the catalogue with 151 entries and an assessment of the interest of the collection. This final section also contains a discussion of the manufactures of the Sèvres factory in the 'Egyptian Style' of the Neo-classical revival of the late 18th - early 19th centuries. In relation to these it may be noted that the decorative elements employed on certain of the vessels manufactured are in fact Egyptian and not Syrian as stated (p.120), though they imitate vessels carried by Syrian envoys in scenes of tribute in tombs of the New Kingdom.

The catalogue of antiquities forms the major part of the work. They consist of objects made in the following materials: clay, 'faience' (which Bulté correctly points out is an inaccurate and misleading term for the material despite its frequency in Egyptological literature), glass, glazed steatite and limestone. Approximately half of the collection consists of pottery vessels dating from the Predynastic Period to the Christian; other categories of object represented are: 'faience' vessels, decorative plaques, tiles and inlays, shabti figures, funerary figures and cones, moulds, amulets, lamps, jewelry, canopic jars and, finally, there is one part of an anthropoid coffin. The date range for most of these objects is the New Kingdom to the Christian Period.

The catalogue entries are clearly laid out and each object is described and discussed; they are well annotated and a selection is illustrated in the accompanying plates. The inscriptions are presented in the form of facsimile copies, though these are rather sketchy, and in some cases inaccurate. Amongst the inscribed objects a few are of particular interest, namely a canopic jar of one Amenophis (cat. no. 45, p.42-43), and shabti figures of Pinodjem (no.107, p.84-85), Merymut Karomama (daughter of the High Priest Sheshonk, son of Osorkon I;

no.110, p.87-89), Psamtekmerypth (no.114, p.91-92) and Wahibre (no.115, p.92-94). To the list of shabti figures belonging to Psamtekmerypth, Overseer of the Barges of Amasis, may be added an unpublished example in the possession of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

It is unfortunate that in several cases pottery vessels have been incorrectly dated, while others have been ascribed to impossibly long time spans. On other occasions, however, the author has fallen into the common trap of, once having found a parallel to a vessel which indicates an attribution to a particular dynasty, not determining the time span of the manufacture of that type. There is also a tendency, possibly unintentional, for the author, once she has found a parallel from a certain site (or sites) to imply that all examples of that type originated from that site (or sites). Certain key reference works do not seem to have been consulted which would have made more accurate dating possible, e.g. W. Kaiser's 'Zur inneren Chronologie der Naqadkultur', *Archaeologia Geographica* VI (1957), 66-77, and *Studien zur Vorgeschichte Agyptens: I, Die Naqadkultur*, Gluckstadt 1974, or H. Schneider's *Shabtis*, Leiden 1977. It is to be regretted that no concordance of museum and catalogue numbers is provided.

The reviewer feels compelled to comment upon certain of the comments made by Bulté in relation to the examples of blue-painted pottery and other objects. Catalogue entry no.76 (p.57-58) deals with a fragment of a bowl with blue-painted decoration and an applied Hathor-head. Such bowls were not uncommon at Amarna and Malkata, and their find contexts and condition clearly show that they were common household utensils and not reserved for use in domestic cults or funerary chapels as stated in this work and elsewhere (C. M. Guidotti, 'A Proposito dei Vasi con Decorazione Hathorica', *Egitto e Vicino* I, 105-119). While there is evidence for the manufacture of blue-painted pottery during the reigns of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV (see Hope, C. A., *The Blue-Painted Pottery of the XVIIIth Dynasty*, Ph.D. thesis, London University 1980), there is no definite evidence for such during the reign of Tuthmosis III, and the dating of MNC 4295³⁹ (cat. no.39, p.39-40) to that reign should be regarded as suspect. Finally, the identification of the blue pigment on the anthropoid coffin, cat. no.92 (p.72-73) and the pottery shabti figure, cat. no.100 (p.80; presumably also cat. nos.101-102, p.80-82), as cobalt aluminate blue on the basis of its known occurrence on pottery vessels is somewhat dubious. This pigment was apparently reserved for use on pottery vessels, in glass and 'faience', while the common blue frit was used elsewhere. The examples of shabti figures bearing blue pigment examined by the reviewer have all employed blue frit, visually identifiable by its granular texture as opposed to the powdery texture of cobalt aluminate. The examination of the blue on two such figures in the possession of the National Gallery of Victoria, by scanning electron microscope has confirmed the identification as frit.

Despite these comments the monograph is a welcome addition to the body of basic publications of collections of Egyptian antiquities, of especial interest to those concerned with ceramic manufactures. Possibly the most valuable contribution which it makes is in the field of technology, particularly that of 'faience', where the author's expertise is obvious.

C. A. HOPE

Les instruments de musique égyptiens au Musée du Louvre. By CHRISTIANE ZIEGLER. 275x215 mm. Pp.136, numerous illustrations. Editions de la Reunion des Musees Nationaux, Paris, 1979. ISBN 2 7118 0112 8. Price 180 fr.

Les objets de toilette égyptiens au Musée du Louvre by J. Vandier d'Abbadie appeared in 1972; the new catalogue of musical instruments is the second volume in the series, sharing many of the admirable qualities of its predecessor and also some of its faults. Mme. Ziegler has attempted not only a detailed catalogue of the 130 instruments in the Louvre collection, but has preceded each category with an introductory section that seeks both to define the significance of the Louvre objects and also to survey the whole field of relevant knowledge as it now stands. This latter aim is ambitious and perhaps questionable, leading Mme. Ziegler into unnecessarily deep water and involving her in problems that need either a more full discussion than her space allows or the more complete evidence that can come only from further cataloguing of museum collections. But Mme. Ziegler has at her command a Gallic sensibility that finds much pleasure in the individual objects, in presenting elegantly balanced arguments, and in remaining securely on a fence when she cannot see a convenient way off it.

The introduction by Mme. Desroches-Noblecourt is instinct with the spirit of speculation, affirming boldly that the music of the ancient 'clarinet' resembled that of the modern zummârah and was perhaps used for the charming of cobras, delighting to recall that the sound of the Louvre 'trumpet' (recognised by Mme. Ziegler as almost certainly an offering stand) conjured up memories of the shofar at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. Again, too much can be made of the sexual connotations of the arched sistrum, as of the possibility that the names of the phoenix (*bnw*) and the harp (*bnt*) may have got muddled in ancient Egypt.

Compared with the 111 musical objects in the British Museum, the Louvre possesses 130. But the different categories are similarly represented, with percussion instruments preponderant, wind instruments slightly outnumbering the strings. Once more sistra and sistrum fragments provide the largest group, indeed half the entries in the Louvre catalogue. The particular glories of the collection are two asymmetrical lyres of the Eighteenth Dynasty from Deir el-Medina, a fine angular harp from the Salt Collection described originally by Champollion and now boasting the results of a radiographic examination by F. Drilhon, a painted bamboo tube of Ramesside date for holding double-reed pipes, and a pair of superbly decorated clappers of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Unlike the British Museum, the Louvre possesses both a barrel-shaped drum and a small round-frame drum. From the collection of bells Mme. Ziegler has included only those actually attached to crotals; the rest will eventually be published among Christian antiquities, a solution that begs many questions.

Mme. Ziegler's knowledge of the Louvre collection has enabled her to add to the musical corpus. IDM 9, for instance, now a Middle Kingdom clapper ending in a lotus flower, was long exhibited as a mirror handle; IDM 129, described in the inventory as a tambourine in the form of an ibis, was on exhibition as a 'scoop', and has now reverted to music as the soundbox of a lute. Mme. Ziegler includes the trumpet/offering-stand as IDM 117, though rightly doubting its claims as a musical instrument: she points out its similarity to BM 5295, long since recognised as an offering-stand, its resemblance to objects in the cache of temple furniture found by Emery at Saqqara; and she might have added the evidence of an unpublished Oxyrhynchus papyrus quoted by Lise Manniche in *Musical Instruments from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun* about 'bronze incense burners of trumpet form'.

Mme. Ziegler has bravely attempted a typology of the two types of sistrum, basing her arguments on the material used, the shape of the double Hathor head, the style of the wig, the presence or absence of papyrus decoration. Much of value emerges, but the categories are too rigid to accommodate all variants, so that even the author becomes confused and includes among objects 'd'un travail grossier' a work of excellent craftsmanship with almost none of the characteristics she claims for it (No.71 in the *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, III, Musical Instruments*). Indeed the sistrum section contains many errors. In the case of IDM 22, a paragraph appears to have slipped out, as there is no mention of the double Hathor head; IDM 30 and 33 have their photographs upside down, and the latter has some fragmentary hieroglyphs omitted. In IDM 66 the word *hnty* has been omitted, and there are too many examples where the reading of an inscription could be readily improved. Though the photographs do not clarify the point, Edjo (Oudjet) is more likely to be represented as a winged snake than winged vulture on IDM 66 and 67; but there is no doubt that the jubilee in the tomb of Kheruef honours Amenophis III rather than I, and that Lise Manniche is unlikely to have referred to the nineteenth pylon at Karnak in connection with talatat.

The importance of Mme. Ziegler's work can be underlined by reference to IDM 114, a slender pipe described by her as an 'oboe'. It is now damaged, possessing four holes on the front and traces of three others; when Loret examined it for his 1913 publication, there were eleven holes together with a double reed for playing the instrument. During the intervening years the instrument has suffered much. Those interested in music and ancient Egypt alike will be grateful to Mme. Ziegler for recording a body of objects among which the more delicate must deteriorate in time; we now have for the most part an admirable account of their condition in the late 1970s.

R. D. ANDERSON

Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection. By H. M. STEWART. Part Two: Archaic Period to Second Intermediate Period. 303x212 mm. Pp.viii+44, pls.41. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1979. ISBN 0 85668 079 6. Price £20.

This volume forms the second part of Mr. Stewart's catalogue of the inscribed material in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College, London. It contains 165 entries (some of which consist of several items), describing stelae, reliefs and offering-tables from the period prior to the New Kingdom. Each description contains a brief note of the material of the object, dimensions, date and provenance (if known), together with a brief bibliography and a translation of the text concerned. The work is provided with several valuable indexes, and a concordance of U.C. registration numbers and Stewart's serial numbers. There is, however, no concordance of serial numbers and plate numbers which makes it more awkward than it need be to work from the plates back to the text.

Publications of museum collections are always welcome, particularly when the material concerned has been previously unpublished or inadequately recorded. Mr. Stewart's catalogues will be of great use to other scholars, and they set an example which ought to be followed by other collections with large bodies of unpublished inscribed material. It is unfortunate that not all of the objects described have been illustrated, either in copy or in photograph.

A comparison of Stewart's copies with the material which is currently on display in the Petrie Museum has confirmed his high degree of proficiency in recognising and identifying damaged or unusual hieroglyphic signs. His copies are rarely inaccurate in this respect, and few signs are misinterpreted or omitted altogether. However Stewart's copies do show a certain lack of attention to detail which detracts from the value of the work as an epigraphic publication. There is a distinct tendency to 'tidy-up' the copies with the result that internal details of, for example, wigs and hieroglyphs, are rarely so regular as shown, and few of the human faces are accurately reproduced. On the other hand, the internal details of the finely-carved hieroglyphs on the temple-reliefs from Koptos are often omitted or inaccurately rendered.

The translations of the texts vary in both quality and quantity, since not all the inscriptions are translated in full. One point which can be mentioned here as it recurs frequently, is that *imshw hr* is surely better translated as 'revered before' rather than 'revered by'.

The following notes may be of value to any reader who has occasion to work from this publication.

Pl.1.3 and 1.6 (No.2). Stewart states that both these fragments have the same U.C. registration number but doubts that they belong to the same stela. Kaplony quotes a U.C. number for neither, presumably because they were unregistered when he worked on the collection. He was also doubtful about identifying the smaller fragment with Petrie's St.106¹ and remarks that the larger fragment was 'ohne marke, vermutlich aus dem Shty-Friedhof'.² The copies given by both Stewart and Kaplony of the larger fragment are quite different, both in the shape of the piece and the depiction of the seated figure, from that given by Petrie of St.106³ and it is certainly not to be so identified. The smaller fragment may be a part of the stela from St.106, but this is by no means certain.

Pl.1.2 (No.4). This stela is not from a subsidiary grave of the tomb of Djnet but from a subsidiary grave of the 'funerary palace' of the same king.⁴

Pl.1.5 (No.5). Petrie gives the provenance of this stela as subsidiary tomb 57 in the cemetery of Djer (O) at Abydos,⁵ but Stewart prefers to assign it to the cemetery of Djnet, without giving any reasons for this. He states 'Wrongly given as Djer in Petrie, op. cit (*Royal Tombs*), II, pls.58, 61'. Pl.58 is a general plan of the royal cemetery with the subsidiary graves unnumbered. Pl.61 shows the tomb of Peribsen (P), some of the subsidiaries of Djer (O) and cemetery W of Djnet, in which there is a tomb 57 but this is not the tomb 57 (of Djer) from which Petrie stated that U.C.14268 originated.⁶ Kaplony accepts Petrie's provenance for this stela⁷ and the published evidence would support the original assignation.⁸

Pl.3.6 (No.20). This fragment of the Pyramid Texts is from the pyramid of Pepi I⁹ and the final preserved line, which Stewart does not identify, is Pyr.2206, a-b, and is paralleled in the pyramid of Neith.¹⁰ This line should be translated '[//////] come forth from Re. This Pepi has come forth from between the th[ighs] of the Two Enneads'. Stewart's translation is impossible since *pr* 'house' is not written with the phonetic comple-

ment P.

Pl.4 (No.23). To the bibliography of this relief can now be added; Roquet, G., 'W^hm, verbe plein et semi-auxiliare à propos d'une inscription d'ancien Empire' in *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 487-495. Roquet's translation of the longest text is quite different to that of Stewart, but less convincing. Roquet would like the hieroglyph of the seated man with upraised arms to be holding a vessel, but the hands are, as Stewart has depicted them, empty. The determinative of the name of Sokar, the falcon in the boat, has a stern which Stewart has omitted, and the axes in the texts on the lowest register have a binding which is cross-hatched. The damaged signs above the figures in the boat are to be read *hm-k3*.

Pl.6.1 (No.26). Stewart has omitted the man's nipple which is quite distinct.

Pl.7.1 (No.27). The horizontal band at the top of this relief and the vertical band down the right-hand side are at a lower level than the rest of the relief, and have had their surfaces erased, clearly with the intention of presenting the block as a complete piece for sale. It comes from a tomb-scene showing offering-bearers in procession before the deceased. The main vertical text is misinterpreted by Stewart and can be restored as '[that which is brought from his *hwt*-foundations and *nwt*-foundations of] Upper and Lower Egypt, and that which is within the two desert-regions'. The expression *imy t trowi* is rare in such a text, and the only parallels I can find are all from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery at Saqqara¹¹ which may, therefore, be the provenance of this piece. The remaining texts, which Stewart runs together, are two distinct labels. The signs above the head of the offering-bearer 'for the ka of [//////]' would have been followed by the name of the deceased¹² which is, unfortunately, not preserved, while the vertical text gives the titles and name of the offering-bearer himself. The first sign is not $\overline{\text{r}}$ but $\overline{\text{p}}$ giving the title *hxp-sh* which is found elsewhere with offering-bearers in similar scenes.¹³ The *w'b*-sign has been wrongly copied, the figure has both arms upraised. Stewart takes this sign to be part of a name *w'b.i* which is, however, only attested by Ranke as a New-Kingdom female name.¹⁴ As Fischer has noted the writing of *w'b* with the phonetic complement *b* is rare¹⁵ so it would be preferable to read the text as 'The controller of the dining-hall, the *w'b*-priest, Bi'.¹⁶ The only remaining damaged sign on the lower register looks rather more like the pintail duck¹⁷ than Stewart has shown.

Pl.7.2 (No.28). Stewart omits the man's navel and also the horizontal lines within the *htp*-sign.

Pl.9.4 (No.48). Stewart misinterprets the title *hxp (i)m(y) ntrw* 'Director of those who are among the gods'.¹⁸ The signs $\overline{\text{p}}$ $\overline{\text{h}}$ ought not to be read as the end of one of the vertical columns, but as part of the title *imy-r hm-ntr* in the horizontal text above the figure's head.

Pl.13.1 (No.85). Although the provenance of this column is unknown, it is unlikely to come from the temple of Nubkheperre-Antef at Abydos since its dimensions would be totally unsuitable for use in temple architecture, and the columns of this king which Petrie did find at Abydos, although similar in appearance,¹⁹ are twice the diameter of the U.C. column.²⁰ The proportions of U.C. 16590, and the nature of its text, would be more appropriate for a private tomb, and it can be compared with a column of similar type and proportions from a Middle-Kingdom tomb at Abydos.²¹ The text on this column has parallels on coffins of the Middle Kingdom. The closest parallel occurs on the coffin of Sebekaa in the Berlin Museum, *dd mdw in Dws-mwt.f ii.n(i) htm(i) hnd imnty n Sbk-3*, 'Words to be recited by Duamutef, "(I) have come that (I) might destroy the right thigh for Sebek-aa".²² Similar texts which have $\overline{\text{p}}$ and $\overline{\text{h}}$ in place of $\overline{\text{p}}$ ²³ show that this sign is to be understood as 'leg' or 'thigh', not 'district'. The remaining signs in the column $\overline{\text{p}}$ will have introduced the deceased. I can find no name in Ranke's *Personennamen* which begins with $\overline{\text{p}}$; it could be part of a title, possibly $\overline{\text{p}}$ a writing of $\overline{\text{p}}$.²⁴

Pl.14.2 (No.60). The spout of the vase held by the standing offering-bearer can, in fact, be distinguished. Navels have been omitted from the two best-preserved kneeling figures. The *ps3-kr* is not a bread-offering, but the implement used in the 'Opening-of-the-Mouth' ceremony.

Pl.14.6 (No.74). $\overline{\text{Sm}}$ 'w is 'Upper Egypt' not 'Lower Egypt'.

Pl.15.2 (No.79). Lines x+4 and x+9; $\overline{\text{p}}$ $\overline{\text{h}}$ $\overline{\text{p}}$ is not 'treasury' but 'The house of the Golden One (Hathor)'. Line x+5; *rdi.n.i* is not 'I have been placed' but 'which I have placed', referring to *wd pn* 'this stela'. Lines x+6 - x+8; *m mrr.tn* should be 'as you wish', with the final *dd.tn* 'may you say'. In the translation of the list of offerings (x+9) Stewart has omitted 'alabaster'.

Pl.21 (No.91). $\overline{\text{p}}$ is not *pr w3dyt* 'Buto' but *w3dyt*, the name of the Tenth Upper-Egyptian Nome.

Pl.24 (No.101). The name of one of the daughters which Stewart says is 'lost' is, in fact, quite clear, $\overline{\text{Q}}$, probably to be read 'I' or 'Il'.²⁵ A son's name which Stewart reads as *K3t* is *K3i-33t*.²⁶

Pl.25.1 (No.102). Line 9; $\overline{\text{m}}$ is omitted in the name *Sp-n-mwt*, above the *mwt*-sign. *Pr-3* should not be translated as 'Pharaoh' before the New Kingdom.

Pl.26.3 (No.100). The seated figure in the name of the deceased before his figure on the lower register is $\overline{\text{p}}$ not $\overline{\text{h}}$.

Pl.30.2 (No.118). Upper register; the title is *nfw n pr-hd*, not *nfw pr-hd*. Middle register; Stewart omits a description of this register. It contains an offering-formula for *bnn* and also for a *nbt pr Nn-hm.sn* who is depicted, kneeling, and whose name recurs in the horizontal texts below as the mother of several men.

Pl.31.4 (No.121). The deceased is not 'born of 'I'-ib.f' as Stewart states. The name of his father, in the horizontal text is lost and 'I'-ib.f, which occurs in the vertical text, is the name of 'his wife whom he loves'.

Pl.37.1 (No.151). Stewart has incorrectly run together the two vertical texts. That on the left ends at *hrt-ntr* while the right-hand text should be read, 'Prophet of RE' in *Nhn-r'w* (the sun-temple of Userkaf), *hry s3t3*, the *w'b*-priest of Userkaf'. *Hnty-s* would be better translated as 'tenant land-owner' than 'gardener'.

No.9 (not illustrated). The reference to Kaplony's *Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit*, should be I, 201 (250).

No.77 (not illustrated). The damaged signs below the cartouche would seem to be 'nh̄ dt rather than dī 'nh̄.

- 1 Kaplony, P., *Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit*, I, (Wiesbaden, 1963), 188-9, St.106.
- 2 Ibid., I, 200, St.247. This reference (and also, Ibid., II, 1193) should be added to Stewart's bibliography for fragment a.
- 3 Compare, Ibid., III, pl.135, abb.822, with Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, (London, 1901), pl.27, 106.
- 4 See Stewart's bibliography.
- 5 Petrie, op. cit., II, pls.26, 57; 28, 57.
- 6 Ibid., II, pl.60.
- 7 Kaplony, op. cit., I, 184, St.57.
- 8 The stela itself has only traces of the original site-mark which would seem to have been an O (Djer).
- 9 Sethe, K., *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*, III, (Leipzig, 1922), 136, D.
- 10 Faulkner, R. O., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts*, (Oxford, 1969), 61.
- 11 Firth, C. M. and Gunn, B., *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, (Cairo, 1926), 155 (tomb of Tjetju); Von Bissing, F. W., *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, II, (Berlin, 1911), pl.5; James, T. G. H., *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi*, (London, 1953), 49 [94]; pls.14, 94.
- 12 Compare, The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, The Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, I, (Chicago, 1938), pl.79; Von Bissing, op. cit., I, (Berlin, 1905), pl.7, 1.
- 13 Compare, James, op. cit., pl.14, [87], [92]; Jéquier, G., *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*, (Cairo, 1929), 100, fig.115.
- 14 Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, (Glückstadt, 1935), 76, 30.
- 15 Fischer, H. G., *Dendera in the Third Millennium, B.C.*, (New York, 1968), 221-3.
- 16 Ranke, op. cit., I, 93, 9.
- 17 Gardiner, A. H., *Egyptian Grammar*, (Oxford, 1957), 471, G.39.
- 18 Fischer, op. cit., 172, n.732.
- 19 Petrie, *Abydos*, I, (London, 1901), pl.8.
- 20 Ibid., 28.
- 21 Garstang, J., *El-Arabah*, (London, 1901), pl.8.
- 22 Berlin Königliche Museen, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, I, (Leipzig, 1913), 238.
- 23 Lacau, P., *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, I, (Cairo, 1903), 80, 2; 81, 2; 81, 85, II, (Cairo, 1905), 82, 83.
- 24 Id., *ZÄS* 51 (1913), 57.
- 25 Ranke, op. cit., I, 5, 1; 8, 7 and 8.
- 26 Ibid., I, 332, 5.

PATRICIA SPENCER

Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, V. Early Dynastic Objects. By A. J. SPENCER. 365x 280 mm. Pp.110, pls.80. British Museum Publications Ltd., London, 1980. ISBN 0 7141 0927 4. Price £80.

This volume is precisely what a definitive museum catalogue ought to be. It deals with the objects of the first three dynasties in the British Museum, though a few of slightly earlier and later date are included. Over 800 objects are described, this material being arranged as follows: stone figures, stelae and reliefs, stone vessels, inscribed stone vessel fragments, pottery vessels, inscribed pottery fragments, clay seal-impressions, cylinder seals, ivory and wooden objects, games and gaming pieces, glazed composition objects, jewellery and amulets, palettes, maces and querns, copper objects, pottery figures, stone implements, miscellaneous objects.

I have given here the complete list of chapter headings to show what a comprehensive collection this is. While the author states that these objects "do not form a very large corpus of material", they nonetheless give a very good idea of what was being manufactured during Egypt's archaic centuries. Every object in the catalogue is presented in a uniform manner: kind of object, date, dimensions, provenance, date of acquisition, a concise but adequate description of the object, and a bibliography. Hence, all the information is readily available and is augmented by numerous footnotes. The reader is not over-burdened with theories or secondary information, but is given a clear and succinct presentation. All objects are shown in first-rate line drawings and there are ample photographs of the more important objects. Spencer obviously planned this work carefully.

There are several choice objects which are familiar to all such as the 'Hunters' and 'Battlefield' palettes (nos.592-3), the small ivory figure of a king wearing the cloak of the Sed-festival (no.483) and the limestone game-board (no.490). Much of this material has been published before such as the crude funerary stelae from

the subsidiary burials of the royal tombs at Abydos (nos.7-14). In general, this collection contains few objects of exceptional artistic value, though the period of concern is not as a whole noted for such. Notable are the statue of Ankhwa (see below) and the unique limestone mace-head (no.590) with raised bosses and a snake in relief winding round the object.

Many of these objects such as some of the stone bowls (Chap.III), copper tools (Chap.XIV) and stone implements (Chap.XVI) have not been published before so that in addition to the well-known material, there is a substantial group of objects which are seen here for the first time in print. It is important that unknown objects be published no matter how insignificant they may seem to be and I, for one, am pleased that it was decided to present the whole archaic collection (with the exception of the stone implements; p.91). Even duplicates have their value and the more objects we have available, the better we are able to piece together the archaeological picture of a relatively little-known period.

The inscribed material is mostly included in Kaplony's exhaustive work on archaic inscriptions (*Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit*. 3 vols. with *Supplement*, Wiesbaden, 1963-64) and Spencer provides copious references to this work in which discussions of individual objects are sometimes difficult to find. The British Museum material discussed by Kaplony includes most of the stelae, the cylinder-seals and impressions and the inscribed ivory labels.

One inscribed object not included in Kaplony's work is the statue of Ankhwa (no.1) which has been noted many times in the literature. This is justly so for this is one of the better works of art of the period. Spencer is certainly correct in his reading of the name Ankhwa and asserting that this is the name of the person represented. The word written to one side of the text must be read *Bāms*, as he states, though whether this is another name for Ankhwa or the name of his father is uncertain.

One point of interest in this short text is the extreme rarity of one of Ankhwa's titles, read *mḏh wš3* by Spencer. This appears elsewhere in the Old Kingdom only in Davies, *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said*, p.33, with a possible second example on pl.28. For the Middle Kingdom, the title is known only for one man who appears on two stelae from Dahshour now in Cairo (*Cairo Cat.* 20528, 20529). The obvious translation is 'Ship's Carpenter'. The only equivalent title I can quote from the Old Kingdom is *mḏh nwd*, 'Carpenter of the *nwd*-ship', found on a door-jamb probably from Saqqarah (Newberry, *ASAE* 28, 139); *nwd* must be the same word as *nwd.t*, the bark of the ointment-god found only in *Pyr.*545.

Spencer is careful at several points to emphasize the difficulties in dating archaic objects. This is especially true of the stone vessels catalogued in Chap.III where the majority were obtained by purchase. Individual types were produced over long periods of time and a given vessel, even from an excavation, may have been re-used for several generations. Spencer's essay on the classification of types of stone vessels and their date (pp.17-23) is an excellent introduction to the British Museum collection which comprises no less than 244 complete vessels. Each type is briefly discussed and the criteria for dating given.

A disappointment is that "The collection of Early Dynastic pottery in the Museum is not large, and many forms of the period are unrepresented" (p.43). A useful introduction, however, gives a summary of the few pottery types the Museum does have. The catalogue includes a few vessels which are called "of foreign type" from Abydos which were originally classified by Petrie as Aegean. These are Syrian: Ward *JESHO* 6 (1963), 19 with references. Some Early Dynastic Nubian pottery from Faras completes this chapter.

The collection of copper objects is rather extensive, including vessels of various types, tools and weapons, harpoon-blades, pins and the like. Several have been analysed and the results are presented in a table. The most interesting results of this analysis concern the ewer and basin from the tomb of king Khasekhemwy made of "high quality bronze" which "suggests that other examples of its use may well exist, but have not been detected because of the small number of objects which have been analysed" (p.83).

While other volumes of the recent British Museum catalogue publications seem not to be adequate - see Harden's review of the volume on glass, *JEA* 67 (1981), 197 ff. - I believe Spencer's catalogue of archaic objects justly deserves praise. It is not an easy matter to achieve uniform excellence in a work which must examine 17 different classes of objects, produce collateral evidence, intelligent appraisals and enough references so that the reader may indulge in further study. Spencer's ability to grasp and present such a wide variety of material in such a manner as to be comprehensible from beginning to end is to be highly commended. It is possible that the specialist on pottery (in which I have little interest) might find points to criticize, or the specialist on flint tools (in which I have no interest at all) might have preferred to see one of the more complicated flint typologies now in use, but these are quibbles for the specialists. The material as presented by Spencer can be understood by everyone which is as ample a criterion of a good book as there is.

W. A. WARD

Egyptian Mummies in Czechoslovak Collections. By EUGEN STROUHAL and LUBOS VYHNANEK. 240x170 mm. Pp.iv+199, tbs.13, text figs.141, pls.24. Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae, Vol.XXXV B, No.1-4, 1979. No price given.

Whereas in many western European countries both national institutions and private individuals have been collecting ancient Egyptian human remains during the past two and more centuries, in Czechoslovakia this has been the exclusive interest of a few wealthy people and aristocrats who visited the Nile valley. Consequently the collection in that country is not large and has been distributed throughout the land often under conditions far from ideal for long term preservation.

During the early 1970s the Department of Prehistory and Antiquities of the Náprstek Museum undertook the preservation and scientific investigation of all such material and under the direction of Eugen Strouhal enlisted the support of a team of specialists to carry out a multi-disciplinary project on the various mummies. The collection consisted of 24 whole mummified human remains, 29 heads and 48 examples of upper and lower extremities. There were also 69 specimens of mummified fauna.

As with almost every other collection only a small proportion is provenanced and this is always regrettable when statistics are needed for comparative purposes. A number of the specimens did however originate from the tombs of the royal workmen at Deir el-Medina, the daily life of whom has been so admirably and vividly described by the late Jaroslav Černý. In some instances however, a clue to the names and titles has been derived from

the hieroglyphs on the linen wrappings or the associated coffin.

As can be surmised from the title, the book has been translated into English. That there is an occasional phrase or term that is not strictly colloquial and gives rise to a momentary thought as to its meaning, is no detraction, but highlights the translator's command of the language.

Each of the complete mummified human remains is described under the following headings - History: Coffin: Funeral rites: Archaeological objects: Defects and dislocations: Surface of the body: Measurements: Mummification techniques: Age: Sex: Pathological findings: Conclusion.

All this information has been gained by non-destructive investigation and we must be grateful that radiological and visual evidence can provide such a fund of detail of what is hidden beneath layer upon layer of linen wrappings. The ancient Egyptian mummified materials in their possession are rightly regarded in Czechoslovakia as museum objects to be preserved in their entirety for future generations; consequently no destructive tests have been allowed. This is a quite different attitude from that in America, Canada and England, where during the past decade mummies have undergone complete unwrapping and anatomical dissection. Whilst our colleagues' attitude is to be defended and there is no suggestion that we return to the days of Pettigrew, when mummies were unwrapped before a selected audience for their sensational value, so much scientific enlightenment has been gained by carrying out these projects, that to negate completely such a project in a selected case is tantamount to withholding precious scientific knowledge from the present generation. The extra amount of factual information gained by these projects can best be judged by reading the reports published by the institutes concerned and the individual members of the teams involved. However, there was just one instance in which destructive tests were performed but these were only on minute pieces of exposed tissue and material.

Taking into account the poor quality of the paper used in the publication, the reproduction of the radiographs gives a surprising amount of information. This is especially true of the long bones of the body, but the amount of detail to be seen in the lateral and antero-posterior projections of the head is very limited. This must not be regarded as a criticism of the results obtained by radiology but rather an added condemnation of those who insist on the negative value of an autopsy. Additional information to be gained by an autopsy amongst many others may include - evidence as to the cause of death, presence and condition of the hair and soft tissues, cranial sutures and other non-pathological abnormalities of the skull, bony diseases such as osteoporosis and cibra orbitalia, and quite importantly, the details and extent of dental disease. This latter disease unfortunately for the ancient Egyptians affected the lives of almost every mature adult.

The statistics of the examinations are compiled in 13 tables and these are valuable for quick comparative reference to the findings in other collections. The report on the mummified fauna is substantially given by Lubos Vyhnanek and the species of each reptile, fish and bird recorded, unless the specimen had disintegrated beyond recognition.

The book ends with eleven pages of bibliography which show the diligence of the authors and this in turn is reflected in the scholarly approach made by them to this ever fascinating and rewarding subject. F. FILCE LEEK

Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, VI. Jewellery I, from the earliest times to the Seventeenth Dynasty. By CAROL A. R. ANDREWS, based on materials collected by Alix Wilkinson: drawings by Marion Cox. 362x279 mm. Pp.152, pls.48. British Museum Publications Ltd., London, 1981. ISBN 0 7141 0928 2. Price £75.

The latest volume in this admirable series deals with the collection of jewellery from the earliest times to Dyn.XVII. Subsequent volumes are promised for the jewellery of the New Kingdom, the Late Period and the Graeco-Roman Period. Miss Andrews, Research Assistant in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, is responsible for the form and content of this publication, but the preliminary work of identification and organization discharged by her predecessor, Mrs. Wilkinson, is properly acknowledged. The identification of materials, often a vexatious matter, has been confirmed by Mr. Stanley Baker, formerly of the Department, and Miss Bimson and Mr. Oddy of the Research Laboratory of the Museum. In this respect, the entries in the catalogue can be accepted with confidence even when they differ, as they not infrequently do, from recognitions made in the field and recorded in excavation reports. The bulk of the material is beadwork either of natural or artificial substances, and the scheme of classification by individual shapes conforms to that devised by Horace Beck in the corpus published by him in *Archaeologia* 77, with amplification in some categories. This scheme is more logical than the field improvisations made by Petrie and his school in various publications (e.g. *Harageh*, pls.XLIX-LXII; *Gurob*, pls.XLII-XLV), and the choice of Beck's system is to be commended.

The work has an introduction which defines the terms used and the system of arrangement adopted. The catalogue entries have been marshalled in twelve chronological groups from the Badarian Period (c. 4000 BC) to the end of Dyn.XVII (c. 1567 BC). The cultures of the Nubian A and C groups have also been included. Each section is prefaced by a succinct description of the distinguishing features of the jewellery of the period, emphasising innovations in style and materials, and drawing special attention to notable pieces, such as the modest, but technically fine, gold falcon (No.235) a very rare survival from the private jewels of Dyn.IV.

The catalogue entries deal with 675 items, all carefully described with full details including bibliographical references and occasional commentaries. There are 38 half-tone plates illustrating the more important specimens in black and white, and 10 plates of line-drawings of such details as types of beads, spacers and clasps, and methods of construction. Not the least valuable are 2 plates of careful drawings of the various shells that have been identified by conchologists. There are also 24 appendices treating at greater length such subjects as Tortoise or Turtle Amulets, Shell-shaped Beads, Confronted Bird Amulets, Metal Cylinders with Decoration, Beard (or Side-Lock) Pendants, Acacia-shaped Beads, and so on. These excurses cannot be exhaustive: a random check, for instance, has found that the list of oyster-shell pendants ignores the unique example inscribed with the prenomen of Ammenemes II (*JEA* 38, 130). To the tally of sphinx amulets should be added the Ramesside hieracosphinx in carnelian (ex-Maxwell collection) now in Edinburgh (RSM 1965.370), where there is also a carnelian recumbent lion with head turned dexter and front right paw over left of N.K. date (RSM 1965.371). Each is about 25 mm. long and perforated lengthwise. In addition to a Concordance of Catalogue and Collection numbers, there

are indexes of proper names and general subjects which include entries under individual materials. Indexes of sites and donors would have been a useful refinement.

The majority of the specimens catalogued were carefully excavated by Brunton, Caton-Thompson, Frankfort, Mace, Peet, Petrie and Randall-MacIver at Abydos, El-Badari, Faras, Hu, Matmar, Mostagedda, Qau el-Kebir, Tarkhan and elsewhere. They therefore comprise a convenient corpus of early jewellery, particularly of the prehistoric period, the First Intermediate Period and the era of the Pan-Grave people. It is evident, however, that the fine work produced for the personal adornment of a ruling elite is almost entirely lacking in such a conspectus, and caution must be exercised not to draw hasty conclusions from the absence of work of the highest quality. This caveat is necessary for the suggestion is insinuated that true cloisonné inlay, for instance, did not appear until the middle of Dyn.XII (p.61, No.554) whereas debris from the burial of Queen Iput has revealed that cloisonné jewellery was being made for royalty in the early Dyn.VI at the least (Aldred, *Jewels*, 113). The suggestion is also advanced that it was the Pan-Grave people who introduced the ear-ring as an item of jewellery, an interpretation which the reviewer regards with some scepticism. The ear-ring was well established as a jewel in Mesopotamia by the middle of the Third Millennium BC at the latest. It is more likely that Asiatic modes influenced Egyptian fashion during Dyn.XIII when, it is becoming increasingly clear, a number of innovations, including new forms of dress and jewellery, were imported into Egypt by Asian immigrants. The fact remains that the earliest gold ear-rings, found in a deposit of Dyn.XVII at Qurna, conform to a Syrian metric standard, according to Petrie (Aldred, *op. cit.*, 198). Little other comment is called for on the cataloguing of the excavated material, which is clearly and adequately described and recorded. A small misprint has been noted on p.61 where 553 should read 554.

In addition to excavated pieces, the British Museum contains a number of jewels of unknown or conjectured provenance, acquired by purchase in the art market, or donated by private owners. Such specimens are generally more attractive and colourful than the primitive bracelets, anklets, and necklaces of the prehistoric age, which consist so largely of bone and ivory, shells, roughly polished pebbles, or chips of hardstone. The extensive use of coloured glass and faience which wrought such changes in the design and proliferation of jewels, does not appear until the N.K. and lies outside the ambit of this volume; but rich materials in such coloured hardstones as carnelian, jaspers, amethyst, turquoise, feldspar and lapis lazuli, together with gold and silver, were widely employed during the historic period under review, though the surviving examples are almost exclusively confined to the M.K. Glazed steatite, and later faience, mostly blue, green and black, were also common, particularly for the mass-produced beads which are so characteristic of Egyptian jewellery from Badarian times onwards. The British Museum has a wide selection of such unrecorded pieces, but unfortunately cannot supplement them with examples of the spectacular royal jewels that distinguish the collections in Cairo and New York. A few small pieces of this degree of importance, however, are worthy of remark, especially jewels from the M.K. and Second Intermediate Period (Nos.566-578, pls.30, 31, 43).

As far as the haphazardly acquired pieces are concerned, in which dating is wholly dependent upon style and material, there is room for differences of opinion. For instance, the shape of the miniature vase elements in necklace No.449 conforms more closely to that of late Dyn.XVIII (cf. Hayes, *Scepter*, II, fig.187) than it does to that of late Dyn.XII. The composition of such necklaces (?) as No.435 is doubtful: there is reason for considering claw pendants to have been used only on anklets, examples having been found in position on the bodies of women. Most specialists are also likely to view the arrangement of No.414 with considerable reserve. It would appear that the main elements in a suite of M.K. jewellery have here been strung arbitrarily together. A similar lotus-flower pendant to that included in the string (see note 7 of the entry), also in silver with remains of red jasper inlays, was acquired by the reviewer in the London art-market some years ago and given to the RSM (No.1976.350).

It is such pieces, apparently re-threaded in modern times, that confront us with the fundamental problem of Egyptian jewellery - the elusive nature of its authenticity. It is not only strings of beads bought in the market that may consist of elements of different periods, beads were evidently also re-cycled in antiquity (cf. Nos.575, 666), and one can readily see that beads, particularly robust stone examples of little intrinsic value, lying derelict on plundered burial grounds, would have been worth retrieving and using again, just as in modern times the sands of Saqqara have yielded 'mummy beads' for re-stringing as necklaces for sale to tourists. Even where jewels have been recovered from properly conducted excavations, it is not always possible to discover the exact function and order of stringing (cf. Nos.598, 610, 617, etc.). One recalls the state of the royal jewels from Dahshur before Winlock's work on the comparable Lahun hoard resulted in re-arrangements that can be accepted with some confidence. It would appear that the broad collar (No.394), excavated by the EEF at the temple of Nebhepetrē at Deir el-Bahri, lacks a large number of small ring beads which tend not to be recovered except in the most careful operations. On the other hand, there is evidence for the belief that jewellery, especially that worn in life, was already in a worn or damaged condition when it was deposited with the deceased (cf. No. 325). In predynastic burials where the corpse is arranged in the embryonic position, it is often impossible to decide whether the collapsed mass of beads found near the head comes from a necklace or two or more bracelets, particularly if the burial has been disturbed. Where bead jewellery has been deposited in a bag of perishable material it is even more difficult to recover the original forms and purpose (cf. No.138). In dynastic burials flimsy funerary jewellery is often of a token nature, too short to encircle wrists, ankles, waists and necks, and may lack tie-strings. In a number of deposits, mostly from Mostagedda, quantities of beads found at the necks of the deceased have been re-threaded as two necklaces (e.g. Nos.234, 243, 248, 255, 321, 350). Perhaps it was difficult to determine the complete stringing pattern, if any ever existed, or whether more than one necklace was present. It is only rarely that the adornments of a Wah or Kha can be X-rayed in position on the body before they are retrieved and re-threaded. With all his conscientious care in the recovery of the jewellery on the mummy of Tut'ankhamūn, Carter was unable to do much with the collapsed beadwork, mostly embedded in a hard resinous carapace, which encircled the king's thorax.

The best that can be expected, therefore, in a modern display of Egyptian jewellery, or its cataloguing, is that each jewel should be identified from that part of the body on which it was found or worn (the two are not always synonymous, see No.326), and the shape and size of the beads should be recorded, and the material of which they are made should be identified wherever possible, bearing in mind that even expert identification is not

always conclusive. The work of so expert an operator as Lucas, for instance, in the identification of materials from the tomb of Tut'ankhamun, now requires occasional revision. If the original condition and order of stringing can be reliably recovered, so much the better. In the case of unexcavated material of uncertain provenance, the dividing line between fact and conjecture should be firmly drawn.

The catalogue under review fully measures up to these somewhat exacting standards and will be indispensable for any student of the subject with access to a library able to afford such a work, for the sad fact cannot be eluded that its cost will put it beyond the reach of all but the dedicated specialist. C. ALDRED

The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art. Catalogue. By B. V. BOTHMER, J. F. ROMANO, et al. 283x220 mm. Pp. xvi+220, pls.20, figs.169. Cairo, American Research Center in Egypt, 1979. ISBN 0 91396 30 7. Price £13.75.

C'est comme une très belle Histoire de l'art égyptien, réalisée uniquement à partir d'oeuvres de la région thébaine - car le Musée de Louxor est un musée de site, tel qu'on tente d'en créer un peu partout en Egypte, que se présente le Catalogue du Musée de Louxor; il va des origines à la période gréco-romaine et même au-delà, puisqu'il inclut aussi quelques bas-reliefs coptes et de la céramique islamique.

Ce beau livre est dû en premier lieu au fait que le Musée de Louxor ne contient que des pièces remarquables. Songeons à la quantité de sculpture royale qui y est exposée, au nombre de chefs-d'oeuvre que compte celle-ci: tête de Sesostris III, blocs de la 'Chapelle Rouge' d'Hatchepsout, buste d'Amenhotep II, non moins de cinq statues d'Amenhotep III, etc. Même en matière de sculpture privée, il s'agit généralement d'oeuvres de premier plan. Toutes les époques étant représentées à Thèbes et souvent avec abondance, les organisateurs n'ont eu qu'à faire leur choix dans les riches magasins de Karnak, de Louxor et de Gournah. Pour compléter le panorama de la civilisation thébaine, certaines oeuvres ont été 'empruntées' au Musée du Caire, comme des échantillons du trésor de Tod et de celui de Toutankhamon. Au total, le catalogue comporte plus d'une centaine de numéros.

Les notices, rédigées, pour la partie pharaonique, par J. Romano, pour la partie hellénistique, romaine et copte, par K. Parlasca, et pour la partie islamique par M. Rogers, sont toujours très courtes mais on y trouve l'essentiel de ce qu'il faut savoir. Tout cela doit plaire à l'amateur d'art à qui ce catalogue est destiné en premier lieu. Le seul reproche qu'on pourrait faire concernant la partie pharaonique est que certains commentaires stylistiques manquent de nuances, sont trop concis ou pèchent par une tendance à la généralisation (cf. pp.13, 25, 34, 52). D'autres notices contiennent cependant des remarques concrètes sur le style ainsi que sur certains critères de datation (pp.150, 172, 176). Il est dommage par ailleurs qu'on continue de parler de 'réalisme puissant' (pp.115, 120) à propos des colosses osiriyaques d'Akhénaton, alors que dans ce cas précis on se trouve vraiment devant des visages qui n'ont presque plus rien d'humain. A propos d'amarnisme, on peut encore faire observer que les princesses ne sont jamais coiffées de la perruque nubienne (No.117), mais que cette perruque est l'apanage de la reine et des dames de la Cour, musiciennes et dames d'honneur, par exemple.

Ces remarques n'empêchent que ce 'premier catalogue entièrement nouveau écrit pour un musée égyptien ces dernières années' - selon les mots de celui qui fut la cheville ouvrière de l'entreprise - à parfaitement atteint les buts que se proposaient ses auteurs.

NADINE CHERPION

Ancient Egyptian Figured Ostraca in the Petrie Collection. By ANTHEA PAGE. 240x170 mm. Pp.ix+67, pls.58. Warminster, Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1983. ISBN 0 85668 216 0. Price £16.

It might be well to state from the outset that the representation of figured ostraca with line drawings, while being adequate for the general identification of the object, is lacking for any incisive study of the material presented. It is an unfortunate tradition in the discipline of Egyptology to so represent ostraca, but it has been followed by a number of scholars, i.e. Vandier d'Abbadie, Baud and others. In some cases the results are good; the careful publication of the ostraca from Deir el Medineh is sufficient for most purposes. Baud's line drawings after Egyptian originals are often less than accurate. Brunner-Traut and Peterson have adopted the use of photographs rather than line drawings with the general result that the style and subtlety of the original are conveyed in their publications. Certainly it is sometimes necessary, where the condition or the preservation of the material dictates, to provide line drawings as additional illustrations. Photographs are not the simple or complete solution but, as in the publication of tomb paintings and temple reliefs, a judicious combination of the two is preferable. The photographic representation of the original is very important in the case of figured ostraca. To illustrate this most forcefully I cite the two illustrations of Catalogue No.18, 'Thoth in a Shrine'. If the other line drawings in this catalogue are of comparable quality some doubt is left in the reader's mind as to their accuracy. In this one example where photograph and drawing are juxtaposed it is possible to check some of the accuracy of the latter. The white (?) elements on the original are not indicated in the drawing. The repeated rectangles which make up part of the decoration of the shrine float like pieces of inlay which have lost their matrix. The photograph corrects this impression. If the figure was drawn on a previously used shard as indicated in the text, it would have been desirable to have some indication of these traces. There are a number of details in the original, visible in the photograph, not carefully reproduced in the drawing. However 'impressionistic' the ostrakon seems in the photograph, it still serves to confirm or deny the accuracy of the line drawing. It would have been greatly useful to have such photographic evidence for every example.

Of the 82 catalogue entries only a small number are of known provenance. These include Lahun, Amarna and Thebes while some others are assigned a probable provenance from their own evidence. It is to be regretted that a greater number of the examples included are not from known sites or at least identified by the general geographical areas in which they were acquired. Each piece is given a standard catalogue entry with physical description, discussion of conservation treatment, inscription, if such exists, and comment on interpretation. Parallels are cited for many, but not all, of the pieces. Since many of the known ostrakon in other collections are from the Theban area, particularly Deir el Medineh and the Valley of the Kings, it is tempting to assign a number of the examples in this work to these sources.

The following comments on individual entries are in part in the nature of questions which could be answered by direct examination of the objects. Some of the comments have to do with the interpretation of the subjects, not always easy without the actual object in hand. Others have grown out of an attempt to understand some of the workings of the ancient Egyptian artist's mind, as a student and as a trained craftsman.

No.1: The 'stand up' collar of the god Ptah is not clearly indicated and the 'tassel' is probably a schematic rendering of the *menat* counterpoise. The collar is drawn more carefully in No.2, in both cases there is the general question as to whether this collar is a particular attribute of the god or an Egyptian artistic convention to make the beaded collar more understandable on a figure which has other conventionalized characteristics such as hands emerging from an unarticulated garment.

No.3: From the illustration it is not clear that the subject is, in fact, a 'commoner before Ptah'. An alternative explanation, which might be confirmed by direct examination of the drawing, might be that it is a depiction of the rite carried out at the entrance of the tomb before the erect mummy. The general outline of the figure on the right and the crossed lines on its breast suggest more strongly a mummy rather than the typical and characteristic profile of the god Ptah.

No.4: The condition and preservation of this piece makes it far from clear that the seated Osiris is related to the platform and these elements may be parts of two different drawings.

No.5: The figure of Isis is better described as seated with one knee raised rather than 'kneeling on one leg'. For forms of this posture see: H. Schafer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, Baines translation, Oxford, 1974, fig.268 where similar types are called 'squatting'. The 'three strand necklace' is certainly artistic short-hand for a beaded collar.

No.7 and 8: Winged Bes figures are perhaps less uncommon in bronze than other materials. Bes clothed is also less to be found than late versions of Bes in Roman armour which are frequent. A good comparison for No.8, is Brooklyn 16.580.145 with similar lion mane, arms akimbo, out-turned knees and snakes. A faience piece in the Ashmolean, 1890.897, has Bes kilted and winged. James F. Romano's 'The Origin of the Bes Image' in the *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*, vol.2, New York, 1980, has some interesting contributions to the understanding of depictions of Bes.

No.9: Although Sekhmet is by far the most popularly represented of the leonine goddesses, the identification of this drawing may be considered too exact since there is no further indication that it is Sekhmet that is intended. Bastet, Mut, Tefnut, among others, are shown as lion-headed. In Constant De Wit: *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'égypte ancienne*, Leiden, 1951, over thirty lion-goddesses are listed. Any further discussion of the possible origin of this piece is extraneous.

No.10: For further discussion of the connection between the lotus and the goddess Hathor see; Jequier, *Considerations sur les religions égyptiennes*, Neuchatel, 1946, 'Les végétaux Hathoriens'.

No.11: It is not clear to me from the illustration if a bull or a cow was intended. Perhaps 'bovine deity' would have been a more appropriate designation. There are numerous ostraca of both bulls and cows.

No.12: Although it is interesting to speculate on this drawing representing a bull, if the piece were inverted it might stand comparison with No.76 which depicts an insect.

No.14: There is little evidence to suggest that this drawing served a dedicatory purpose. It is just as likely to have been a trial or sketch of an animal type slightly unfamiliar to the artist. In general the attempt to assign a role of dedication or other use to each piece requires the author to speculate where evidence is lacking. In some instances, where the piece is clearly of a regular shape, or where the textual evidence indicates such a use, the intent is clear. In others such characterization must be employed with great care.

No.16: A further parallel, which explains one of the uses of such Ram heads is Berlin (West) Kat. Nr.725, a drawing of the Sacred Bark of Amun.

No.23: The designation 'King or Osiris' seems overly cautious. The shape and curvature of the false beard tends to suggest a god rather than a king. The rule is not inflexible but kings' beards are usually straighter and squared-off at the end whereas the beards of gods are curved and rounded.

No.25: The 'nose' which appears on the right side of this example could be almost anything such as an elbow or perhaps the first trial drawing of the head, not used because it was begun badly. From the illustration it is difficult to identify this piece as a caricature or as simply an inept sketch. To attempt a commentary on the possible significance of the drawing goes beyond the evidence.

No.34: Frontal faces are not as rare in Egyptian art as is often suggested, to mention only a few there are: the hieroglyph *hr*, musicians playing wind instruments, foreigners, soldiers in battle, gods and goddesses such as Bes, Hathor, 'Fat Face' (on Shrine II from Tutankhamun's tomb), Nut (in coffins), and other cases where the frontal aspect helps to explain a particular action. When they are found on ostraca the frontal face usually represents a practice for the hieroglyph *hr*. The equally large number of practice pieces for the *m* owl suggests that the frontal aspect of both man and bird needed more drill.

No.40: There seems to be some confusion in the comment for this entry. It is difficult to understand how the plumed headdress of the goddess Anukis can follow 'these lines' which were not discussed and for which there seems to be no room on the preserved surface of the ostrakon.

No.42: It is impossible to say with certainty without examining this ostrakon, but this example seems to be a case of two hands at work, the lightly drawn figure corrected by heavy strokes of a teacher who has indicated with the drawing of the sloping seat the shortcoming of his student's work.

No.46: The identification of this figure as a peasant is, perhaps, a bit strong. The pleated kilt and summarily indicated shirt suggest a higher rank. The comparison with Brunner-Traut (Cambridge) does not provide a

convincing parallel. The offering-bearers in a Theban tomb such as Ramose (No.55), who carry bouquets of lotus flowers, might be a better comparison.

No.47: Stick-figure drawings arranged in registers, as on this example, suggest the process by which the artist planned the lay-out of a large wall decoration. This short-hand notation seems suitable for this step in the development of a composition and as such gives a valuable insight into the working processes of the ancient artist.

No.48: For another example of the addition of a second figure to an ostrakon for humorous effect, see Paris E 25.309, where an original drawing of a monkey has had a human figure added to it by a second hand.

No.54: The drawing of the door-bolt is probably included on this example with the head of a horse as some standard of proportion to provide a reference for size relationships.

No.55: The animal head on this piece suggests, rather than that of a donkey, some horned animal with the ear correctly placed behind the head. The horn sockets are indicated but the horns are badly resolved. Perhaps it is the head of the newborn bubalis (Gardiner, E9) which was being studied. The muzzle of the animal does not have the characteristic thickness expected in an ass or a donkey as it is so often depicted in Old Kingdom reliefs and New Kingdom paintings.

No.58: Another comparison for animals head-to-head is CCG 25062 where the combat is between two moufflon.

No.60: The lion on the 'A' side of this piece seems to be in the act of expiring rather than crouched to pounce. The oblique line from the mouth is perhaps a short-hand indication of the tongue extended in death. Compare the dying bull in the hunting scene on the back of the first pylon at Medinet Habu. The drawing of a man above, probably unrelated to the lion, suggests a study for a bearer of heavy loads such as the foreigners carrying heavy jars depicted on the handles of ornate New Kingdom cosmetic spoons, as Louvre N.1738.

No.66: A quail chick rather than a curlew is probably intended here. Great care must be exercised in the identification of animals and birds, particularly when the piece is in the nature of a sketch for the diagnostic details may be incorrect.

No.67: The two falcon heads represented here are probably an example of an interesting class of student work. The head on the left, at least from the illustration, gives the impression of understanding and deft execution while that on the right is less convincing. There are two possible explanations. Either the left-hand head was done by a master artist, to be copied by a student, or it was in the nature of a correction to indicate to the student where he had gone wrong. A number of such dual drawings exist which give evidence of two hands at work with a comparable difference in quality. These suggest something of the instructional process which was based on copying and correction.

The interpretation of drawings on ostraca with an attempt to designate such works as study, trial, sketch or votive piece, must be based on a careful examination of all available evidence and a familiarity with a great number of examples. Unlike many other classes of Egyptian art, the figures on ostraca might lend themselves to a wide variety of such interpretations. Great care and, often, reserved judgement must necessarily be employed. In general, it must be said that this publication makes known to a wider scholarly audience the holdings of the Petrie collection in the University College, London. With the collections in Cairo, Stockholm, Brussels and Cambridge as well as those published in larger groups such as the ostraca in Germany, there are a number of ostraca which have not received such treatment. The Archaeological Museum in Florence is just one example of a large and distinguished holding of ostraca which should be more widely known. One would hope that a world-wide corpus of figured ostraca might be considered by scholars who have a particular interest in their study.

W. H. PECK

Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982. Edited by T. G. H. JAMES. 240x165 mm. Pp.192, figs.80, 2 maps. London, British Museum Publications Limited, 1982. ISBN 0 7141 0932 0. Price £9.95.

In spite of increasing financial constraints, Egyptology in the last decade or so has entered upon a new age. The quality and quantity of publications, journal articles, new excavations conducted with more rigorous methods at the well known and at newer sites in the Delta and the oases, and the emergence of outstanding scholars of a new generation are making major contributions to the discipline. Projects such as the *Lexikon*, edited by Helck, Otto and Westendorf, now nearing completion, the *Année Lexicographique*, edited by Meeks, and detailed studies of tombs and temples under various sponsorship are welcome additions to scholarship. It is also a time for looking back and celebrating our anniversaries: the 150th anniversary of Champollion's famous letter on the Rosetta Stone (1822), the 100th of the French Institute in Cairo, the 75th of the German Institute, and the 25th of the American Research Center in Egypt. Seminars, lectures, and exhibitions have taken place in honour of Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, and others. The Egyptian Antiquities Organisation has created a hospitable environment for national and international scholarship and conceived salvage campaigns, promoted the conservation of monuments, and undertaken the renewal of older museums and the creation of new museums.

The Centenary of the Egypt Exploration Society has indeed been very properly celebrated by a major exhibition at the British Museum, several lecture series, other exhibitions in England, and an exhibition in Boston, Massachusetts, which served as the headquarters of the Society's American Branch until the founding of the American Research Center. The history, anecdotal lore, and programs of the Society are celebrated in this well written and illustrated account of its first one hundred years.

Several authors under the editorship of T. G. H. James contribute accounts of the Society's work. Margaret Drower provides a most engaging survey of the Early Years with a history of the founding and development of the Society, its aims and goals, and accounts of the vivid and occasionally antagonistic personalities involved. These are the men and women known to us from their scholarly publications. The author adds details of their

backgrounds, lives, interaction with others, rivalries both national and international, and a plethora of anecdotes. There are heroes such as Amelia Edwards and Francis Ll. Griffith, as well as a few villains. A. J. Spencer records the early work in the Delta with its Bible-oriented beginnings. The account is all the more useful in view of our general unfamiliarity with the nature of the work at these sites and the current interest in them. W. V. Davies describes the excavations and recording projects in the Theban area, unearthing interesting aspects of the work and the occasional feuds between personalities. For Abydos Barry Kemp records the projects conducted by Petrie, Peet, Weigall, Currelly, Frankfort, Calverley, and others. Access to diaries and visitors' accounts enhance our appreciation of the major contributions of this work. A felicitous choice of authors on the editor's part results in the assignment of El-Amarna to Cyril Aldred. He ably recounts the archaeological work at the site and the copying of tomb reliefs. Geoffrey Martin surveys the campaigns of Emery and his successors at Saqqara, and the copying of Old Kingdom tombs, with special attention given to his own work at the tomb of Horemheb in collaboration with the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden. Similarly, another former Emery colleague, H. S. Smith, describes the extensive campaigns in Nubia with emphasis on the excavations at Buhen and Qasr Ibrim. The editor, T. G. H. James, tells the story of the activities of the Archaeological Survey, of which the contributions of Norman de Garis Davies at various sites, Blackman at Meir, Calverley at Abydos, and Caminos in Nubia, as well as his own contribution at the tomb of Khentika at Saqqara, are among the best known achievements. Grenfell and Hunt are naturally the chief protagonists in the description of the work of the Graeco-Roman branch by Sir Eric Turner.

The projects of the Society exhibit a rare continuity, adaptation to new techniques, and the response to the challenge of constantly endangered remains. The current survey of the town and temple site of Memphis has already produced a reevaluation of its importance and geographical complexity. International in scope, Egyptology today is undertaken in a cooperative spirit to elucidate the history and achievement of an outstanding heritage. May the present day heirs live up to the aspirations of the pioneers of this noble tradition.

W. K. SIMPSON

Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt. By A. J. SPENCER. 305x214 mm. Pp.xv+150, figs.95, pls.56. Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1979. ISBN 0 85668 1 28 8. Price £28.

L'ouvrage que Jeffrey Spencer a consacré à la construction en brique reflète assez bien l'évolution marquée par l'archéologie égyptienne actuelle qui tend vers une meilleure compréhension de problèmes complémentaires à l'égyptologie classique: la technologie antique, l'urbanisme, la vie de tous les jours, les ressources naturelles, l'ingéniosité de l'artisan, reflets d'une culture dans son ensemble. Le fouilleur, pour qui la découverte d'objets ou de documents n'est plus la seule préoccupation, mais qui cherche aussi à retracer l'évolution d'un site y trouvera une aide précieuse. Chacun sait en effet que le mur de brique est son pain quotidien.

Dans l'optique de nos prédécesseurs, la brique crue n'a jamais été considérée comme un matériau noble et l'on en a vite déduit qu'un bâtiment qui n'était pas en pierre ne revêtait qu'une importance secondaire. Certains rapports sont éloquentes sur ce thème. D'où le fait qu'à quelques exceptions près nous possédons sur ce sujet une documentation assez pauvre.

Dans son introduction, l'auteur aimerait voir traités les différents aspects du problème dans les rapports de fouilles tels que la composition des briques, leurs dimensions, leur appareillage, les mortiers, les infrastructures de renforcement etc. Nous y ajouterons l'intérêt particulier que présentent les fondations, puisque dans la grande majorité des cas ce sont les seules structures conservées et accessibles au fouiller.

Le premier et le second chapitres traitent brièvement de la fabrication des briques en citant les quelques textes qui s'y rapportent, et du premier usage de la brique crue en Egypte parallèlement à la construction de murs en pisé renforcés par une armature en roseaux.

Le chapitre 3 traite de l'appareillage des briques (bonding). L'auteur reprend un corpus de différents appareils établi par Myers dans sa publication de Bucheum et parvient à le normaliser et à en simplifier la lecture. Cette nouvelle définition des appareils, illustrée par les pl.1 à 20 sera utilisée dans les chapitres suivants. L'auteur regrette que l'emploi d'un tel corpus n'ait pas été généralisé depuis l'époque de Myers. Nous voyons à cela au moins deux raisons:

1. Si la méthode est bonne en soi, son application peut conduire les auteurs d'études architecturales vers une classification simpliste où, prenant la partie pour le tout, ils auraient tendance à généraliser en associant tel mur à tel type d'appareil. Or tout fouilleur quelque peu attentif aura remarqué qu'un même gros mur peut comporter plusieurs appareils, plusieurs formats de briques, plusieurs compositions de mortier. Prenons le cas d'un simple mur d'ancienne dont l'épaisseur diminue avec la hauteur: coupé à 1 m. du sol, sa structure interne peut présenter toutes ses briques en boutisses (headers) sur une assise; à 2 m. apparaîtra au centre une disposition en fougère (herring-bone) qui sera remplacée à 3 m. par une rangée de briques longitudinales (stretchers). La même remarque peut s'appliquer pour les murs vus en élévation où entrent en jeu des différences de niveau des fondations.

2. Les fouilles de plus en plus complexes donnent lieu à des rapports où les coordonnées, les niveaux, les formes de céramique, les types d'objets sont inévitablement traduits par des informations codées qui en rendent la lecture peu attrayante. Y ajouter encore une codification des appareils du genre "Cx2" n'est pas fait pour la simplifier. Ce serait de plus renvoyer le lecteur à un autre ouvrage, le Corpus des Appareils. Si l'on cherche à toucher le plus grand nombre possible de lecteurs non spécialisés, on doit s'orienter vers une forme plus littéraire, mais précise, des descriptions, appuyées par les croquis perspectifs de qualité qui remplacent souvent une demi-page de texte. Chez Spencer, cette absence de qualité est heureusement compensée par l'abondance des dessins.

La seconde partie de l'ouvrage, d'un caractère descriptif, passe en revue l'architecture égyptienne: à la manière d'une histoire de l'architecture, les différents chapitres traitent de l'architecture funéraire, religieuse, officielle, domestique, militaire où domine la brique crue. Vus sous l'angle technique et structural, les monuments sont la source d'informations résumées sous forme de tableaux par genre et par époque où figurent le type d'appareil, le format des briques et où les commentaires apportent des précisions fort utiles.

Ces informations mènent aux conclusions contenues dans la troisième partie (chapitres 9 à 17), la plus inté-

essante du livre. Le chap.9 traite brièvement des problèmes de statique des murs de soutènement. Les murs d'enceinte à lits de briques ondulés donnent lieu à d'intéressants commentaires où l'auteur pèse le pour et le contre des théories émises à ce sujet. Il contribue ainsi à clarifier un peu un problème qui fera sans doute encore couler beaucoup d'encre.

Sols et fondations sont traités dans le chap.10 où l'auteur fait le point de la question au sujet des grandes plates-formes cellulaires, supports de bâtiments et non plus magasins comme elles avaient été parfois interprétées.

Le chap.11 est consacré à la typologie des voûtes, coupoles et voûtes en encorbellement. Est citée à ce propos une voûte relevée dans la tombe de Sabef à Gizeh faite de briques crues moulées spécialement dont les extrémités comportent chacune un triangle, l'un positif, l'autre négatif. Ces indentations sont destinées à se pénétrer d'une brique à l'autre. Nous voyons mal ce que peut ajouter ce dispositif fantaisiste à la solidité de la couverture et il semble bien que ce procédé n'ait jamais été répété ailleurs. Bien que l'auteur nous avertisse qu'il ne s'est pas étendu très loin dans l'architecture chrétienne d'Egypte, nous devons ajouter à sa documentation le site de Kellia où l'on note la présence de couvertures en forme de voûtes terminées aux extrémités par des demi-coupoles à l'appareil très particulier.

Les matériaux dont l'emploi est associé à la construction en brique crue sont décrits dans le chap.13. Le bois y figure en bonne place dans la construction de plafonds, cadres de portes et fenêtres, parements, tirants etc. Nous estimons que l'état dans lequel se trouvent les monuments lorsqu'ils sont mis au jour contribue à déformer l'image que l'on fait en général de l'utilisation du bois en Egypte. A lire les rapports de fouilles, sa présence dominerait dans les riches nécropoles des premières dynasties et dans l'architecture civile de l'époque romaine. Mais notre optique est faussée par l'état de ruine avancé des sites urbains couvrant toute la période dynastique. Toutefois, des fouilles récentes montrent bien que le bois associé à la construction en brique crue a été abondamment utilisé tout au long de l'histoire de l'Egypte.

Décrit au paragraphe "mortiers et enduits" et repris au chapitre suivant, le terme arabe couramment utilisé de *tafl* ne correspond pas à un mélange de sable, gravier et paille hachée mais bien à l'argile pure trouvée en bancs dans le désert (silicate d'alumine et différents oxydes).

Le chap.15 a trait aux briques de forme spéciale utilisées dans les voûtes, plafonds, colonnes ou corniches. Signalons au lecteur deux cas intéressants qui n'ont pu qu'échapper à l'auteur faute de publication, et relevés devant le grand temple d'Abou-Simbel: un mur d'enciente couronné par une corniche à gorge et son tore horizontal bien conservés ainsi que des dalles de sol en terre crue sur son grand parvis qui atteignent les dimensions exceptionnelles de 85 x 50 cm.

Les briques estampillées font l'objet d'une brève étude, nécessairement limitée dans le cadre de cet ouvrage. Le volume s'achève sur une synthèse concernant les formats des briques et leur signification possible pour l'archéologue, un addendum sur la métrologie, des index.

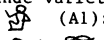
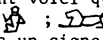
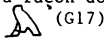
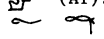
Ayant analysé brièvement le contenu de l'ouvrage, on en arrive à la conclusion que le titre qu'il porte peut être une source de malentendu: en effet, l'architecture peut se définir comme l'art d'ordonner un bâtiment selon des besoins et dans des conditions définies par un programme. Cette ordonnance est tributaire d'impératifs liés à la statique, à l'esthétique, au choix des matériaux utilisés. L'auteur s'étant attaché à la définition et à l'emploi de l'un de ces matériaux, un titre tel que "Brick construction in Ancient Egypt" eût été plus conforme à la réalité. Cette ambiguïté se retrouve dans le plan de la seconde partie de l'ouvrage (chap.4 à 8) où les monuments décrits sont classés selon leur fonction alors que les éléments qui les constituent, vus du point-de-vue constructif, sont souvent les mêmes: le mur sinusolde entourant une habitation se construit comme ceux qui sont associés à un tombeau ou à un sanctuaire. Il en découle que le panorama de l'architecture de brique égyptienne eut gagné à être présenté par éléments constitutifs plutôt que par catégories de monuments. La consultation de l'ouvrage en aurait été simplifiée.

Jeffrey Spencer s'est attaqué à un sujet très vaste qu'il a su maîtriser et présenter avec concision. Près de F300 références font de ce livre un ouvrage de base qui souhaitone-le conduira à des études plus approfondies dans différents domaines.

J. JACQUET

Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy. A Beginner's Guide to Writing Hieroglyphs. By HENRY GEORGE FISCHER. 305x225 mm. Pp.xiii+63, numerous figs. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979. ISBN 0 87099 198 1. Price \$10.

Dans l'introduction à la liste des signes hiéroglyphiques qui forme une importante partie de son *Egyptian Grammar*, Gardiner a examiné l'emploi qu'il convenait de faire, selon les cas, pour la reproduction de l'écriture égyptienne, de la forme typographiée ou de la forme autographiée des signes la composant. Ce qui l'a amené à observer: "The discussion of this question is not without a practical purpose: it aims at impressing upon the student the great desirability of a good hieroglyphic handwriting", ajoutant "Far too lax standards in this respect have been tolerated in the past". Si, entre temps, une tendance générale a mieux écrire les hiéroglyphes s'est manifestée (les hiéroglyphes dessinés n'étant pas en question), il ne manque pas de cas où la reproduction des textes en écriture courante est encore loin d'être satisfaisante. Le livre de Fischer, comme son sous-titre le montre, a précisément pour objet de fournir aux étudiants débutant dans l'étude de l'égyptologie les moyens d'acquérir une écriture hiéroglyphique correcte. Et il arrive à un moment opportun, quand le coût devenu prohibitif de la reproduction typographique des textes égyptiens impose un emploi de plus en plus fréquent de l'autographie.

La méthode utilisée par Fischer pour guider les premiers pas des futurs scribes consiste à leur fournir des modèles à reproduire - jusqu'à en obtenir des copies parfaites - qui sont soit des signes simples pouvant être facilement tracés entièrement d'un seul trait, soit des signes complexes qui sont alors décomposés en une succession de lignes simples devant être tracées l'une à la suite d'une autre pour qu'on en arrive à former un signe complet. Dans la première catégorie figurent des hiéroglyphes tels que (D58), (Q3), (N35), (N37), (D54), etc. Dans la seconde catégorie on trouve une grande variété de signes, dont voici quelques exemples montrant la façon dont l'auteur en a décomposé le trace: (A1): ; (E23): ; (G17): ; (F30): ; etc. Plus un signe est

compliqué, plus on peut trouver de façons d'en décomposer le tracé (cf. par ex. G30 p.28), sans qu'on puisse pour autant décider si l'une d'elles, pour tel ou tel signe, est meilleure que les autres. Celles qu'a choisies Fischer, et qu'il a occasionnellement justifiées (cf. G1 p.9; G43 et G17 p.10; V28 p.11), sont pratiquement toutes très bonnes et doivent amener les étudiants qui les observeront à former des hiéroglyphes corrects.

Les hiéroglyphes examinés par Fischer sont, d'une part les 24 signes dits alphabétiques (p.9-14), et d'autre part une sélection d'autres signes (p.15-52) qui, au nombre de 184, sont loin (même si on y adjoint les 24 signes alphabétiques) de représenter la totalité des hiéroglyphes figurant dans la liste de la grammaire de Gardiner. Mais une fois la technique acquise pour écrire les signes sélectionnés par Fischer, le reste de la liste de Gardiner, qui contient d'ailleurs encore de nombreux signes simples, ne doit pas offrir de difficultés particulières.

Il reste toutefois une difficulté certaine qu'aurait à affronter les étudiants, c'est d'obtenir l'automatisme nécessaire pour que le tracé des signes devienne vraiment, et simplement, une écriture. A l'âge où, habituellement les étudiants en égyptologie écrivent leurs premiers hiéroglyphes, ils ne possèdent plus la capacité d'acquiescer facilement un tel automatisme. Et c'est alors qu'ils devront veiller à ne pas accepter de se laisser aller à employer des formes mauvaises qui leur paraîtraient plus faciles.

En même temps qu'il indiquait comment les écrire correctement, Fischer a formulé pour la majorité des hiéroglyphes dont il s'est occupé des remarques paléographiques, souvent accompagnées de figures représentant des exemples appartenant pour la plupart à l'Ancien Empire: dans tous les cas on retrouve les excellents dessins que l'on est habitué à voir dans les études de cet auteur. L'ouvrage de Fischer est ainsi un très bon outil de travail aussi bien pour les égyptologues accomplis que pour les débutants s'initiant à l'écriture hiéroglyphique.

J. J. CLÈRE

Egyptian Art. By CYRIL ALDRED. 217x150 mm. Pp.252, figs.199 (20 in colour). London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980. ISBN 0 500 20180 3. Price £7.95.

Cyril Aldred has taught a generation how to understand the material culture of ancient Egypt. His latest effort, *Egyptian Art*, surveys the development of the "major arts" (sculpture, painting and relief) from the dawn of the Pharaonic era to the end of Dynasty XXX. Although intended for a general audience, the book deserves the attention of the professional art historian as well. Aldred's discussion of the philosophical and religious constructs underlying Egyptian art (chapter 1) and the techniques used by the ancient craftsmen (chapter 2) reflect insights the author has gained during a lifetime of study and connoisseurship. Aldred also peppers his text with several fresh ideas and important reattributions. For example, his new dating for an overlifesize calcite statue bearing the name of Sety I (Cairo CG 42139; p.189) has significant implications for the student of late Amarna and post-Amarna royal sculpture.

If the book is to be faulted, it is mostly for its scope and emphasis rather than its content. Aldred's omission of a discussion of the Predynastic Period could lead the beginner to conceive of Pharaonic art as bursting forth fully developed at the time of the Unification. Actually, many of the principles and iconographic themes of Egyptian art are already discernible in the Predynastic Period. Indeed, Dynastic art simply cannot be fully understood without an appreciation of its Predynastic antecedents.

Similarly, the meagre attention given to late Egyptian art seriously compromises the book's value as a thorough, representative survey. Aldred accords Dynasty XXVI, one of the most artistically fertile epochs in Egyptian history, precisely the same number of pages (7) given to the jejeune creations of the First Intermediate Period. The Ptolemaic Period is omitted entirely. This regrettable exclusion ignores the efforts of scholars such as Bianchi, Bothmer, and Kyrieleis that have enabled us to see Ptolemaic art as a subject not meriting the derision or avoidance it has repeatedly suffered.

Problems also exist with the illustrative material. A book intended to explicate the glories of ancient Egyptian art should never be blighted by such bad photographs. Many are underexposed (figs.27, 31, 67, 81, 84, 96, 113, 129, 130, 167, 178, 191, and 193), or improperly cropped (figs.72, 86, 87, 142, 144, 167, and 172). Shots of several statues were taken from too far below eye level thus distorting the proportions of the pieces (figs.32, 83, 85, 87, 120, 157, 159, and 191), and one unfortunate figure (42) seems out of focus.

These difficulties aside, several points in Aldred's text should be explored:

p.7: He identifies Manetho as High Priest at Heliopolis. Based on our limited knowledge of Manetho's career, any association of him with the Heliopolitan priesthood is problematic (H.-J. Thissen in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, III (1980), cols.1180-1181).

pp.7-9: Aldred would have better served the reader by mentioning the various sources for absolute dates in Egyptian chronology. The value of such information can be appreciated by perusing W. S. Smith's *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, (1960), pp.193-195.

p.26: Aldred claims that Egyptian sculptors eschewed foreshortening, preferring to "carve a statue that was perfect in itself". This position reflects a major change in Aldred's thinking since he had once speculated that the top-heavy nature of several statues of Amenhotep III demonstrated a conscious attempt at foreshortening; *BMAA* 14 n. s. (1956), p.118.

p.27: The discussion of when and why sunk relief was used is inadequate. Many factors - not necessarily exclusive - determined the type of relief used on a wall. These include an interior or exterior placement, the speed with which a commission had to be executed, archaism, and the relative position of the sun and the relief-decorated surface. The complexity of the question was recently underscored by E. F. Wente in the Preface to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago's *The Temple of Khonsu, I. Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, (1979). There Wente observes that the western wall of the Khonsu Temple's court was decorated in raised relief, while the opposite wall features sunk relief. The reader is directed to two discussions of sunk relief: R. A. Fazzini, in *Miscellanea Wilbouriana*, I, (1972), pp.48-49, and C. Vandersleyen, in *BSEF* 86 (1979), pp.16-38.

p.31: Aldred recognises a "clear gap" between the Predynastic and Dynastic Periods, but he fails to justify this singular position. Aldred's "gap" corresponds roughly to W. Kaiser's Naqada III Phase; *ZAS* 81 (1956), pp.

87-109.

Also, Aldred resurrects the notion of a broad-headed caste controlling the dolichocephalic indigenes at the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period. A far more prudent analysis of the physical remains of Early Dynastic man was offered several years ago by B. G. Trigger (in *Beyond History: the Methods of Prehistory*, (1968), pp. 76-77) who cautioned against such sweeping generalizations.

p.32: The three fragments of the 'Battlefield Palette' are Oxford, Ashmolean 1171-1892, British Museum 20791, and Lucerne, Kofler collection A3. Also, there is no reason to suppose that the 'Libyan Palette' dates to the reign of King Scorpion: H. G. Fischer, in *Treasures from the Cairo Museum*, (1970), p.24.

p.35: Numerous stylistic and iconographic parallels are evident between the Narmer Palette (Cairo JE 14716) and the fragmentary 'Bull Palette' in the Louvre (E.11255). However, Aldred's speculation that the pieces were the product of the same hand is hardly tenable. The dominant surviving image on the Louvre fragment shows a great bull trampling a fallen enemy. The artisan who fashioned this detail depicted the calf muscle of the victim flattening as the ponderous animal bore down on his leg. The same detail received a far simpler, more symbolic treatment on the Narmer Palette: the bull's foreleg merely passes in front of the arm of the helpless foe implying, but not realistically depicting, his death. The fundamental difference in the treatment of the two details militates against Aldred's suggestion.

Aldred speaks of the bovine goddesses atop the Narmer Palette as "...the sky and mother goddess...". For the identification of this deity as Bat, see H. G. Fischer, in *JARCE* 1 (1962), pp.11-15.

p.37: Here and elsewhere, Aldred refers to the First Dynasty royal tombs at Saqqara and the cenotaphs at Abydos. He fails to allude to the controversy surrounding the Saqqara burials. Even in a general introduction to Egyptian art, the reader should not be asked to confound theory and fact.

p.38: The correct spelling of the Mesopotamian site eponymous with the final phase of the Proliterate Period is Jamdat Nasr. Also Mesopotamia can no longer be considered the sole source of foreign influence in Egypt during the late Gerzean Period. Recent excavations and reappraisals of old evidence have clarified the role played by Elam in the transmission of artistic motives (and perhaps ideas) into the Nile Valley; R. M. Boehmer, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 89 (1974), pp.485-514, and in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 7 (1974), pp. 15-40.

p.40: Aldred perpetuates the traditional dating of the tiny ivory king from Abydos (London BM 37996) to the Early Dynastic Period. This piece, which has been irresponsibly guess-dated since the turn of the century, comes from an 'open' archaeological context quite useless for dating (B. J. Kemp, in *MDIK* 23 (1968), pp.153-155). Until the statuette has been thoroughly studied and the results published, a more advisable course would be to omit it from any discussion of Early Dynastic royal sculpture. Certainly if the statuette were to appear in today's art market (a wholly different form of 'open' context), no historian of Egyptian art would dare ascribe it to Dynasty I or II. (The piece has recently been published by A. J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, I. *Early Dynastic Objects*, (1980), p.67, no.483).

pp.46-53: The seven pages Aldred devotes to the Zoser precinct would have been more comprehensible to the reader not familiar with the monument had they included a plan of the complex. Also, a photograph of the Pyramid is to be expected; the view in fig.13 is unsatisfactory.

p.50: Aldred characterizes the Zoser precinct as a replica of Memphis. Individual structures within the enclosure no doubt emulate buildings in the Egyptian capital, but cities consist of far more than national shrines, a *sed*-festival court, and palaces. The Saqqara complex, more likely, should be interpreted as a 'petrified' version of part of Zoser's city or an amalgam of isolated elements thereof.

p.55: The gneiss statuette of a god in Brooklyn (acc. no.58.192) and its congener in Brussels (E.7039) are stylistically far closer to sculptures of the Fourth Dynasty than to any monuments securely dated to Zoser's reign.

p.58: The British Museum statue formerly identified as Bedjemes is now recognized as a representation of Ankhwa; see A. J. Spencer, op. cit., p.13, no.1.

p.62: Aldred fails to mention that the inscriptions flanking the doors to Chephren's Valley Temple at Giza are the earliest known examples of sunk relief in Egypt proper. The Qustul 'censer' (Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 24069) seems to show this technique in Nubia several centuries before its initial appearance in Egypt; S. Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity, the Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*, II, *The Catalogue*, (1978), p.117, no.4. (Cf. B. V. Bothmer's comments in *Meroitica* 5 (1979), p.179, n.6).

pp.64-66: The discussion of the development of the false door lacks sufficient illustrative aids. The only photograph of a false door shows that in the tomb of Mereruka at Saqqara (fig.49) which Aldred concedes is "the most developed realization" of the decorated false door. Here, the atypical is highlighted at the expense of the norm.

pp.68-69, 72: See N. B. Millet's provocative theory on the nature of the 'reserve heads' and the bust of Ankhaf (Boston, MFA acc. no.27.442); *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan; Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham*..., (1981), pp.129-131.

p.70: The statement "...in general, private persons tend to be represented by a stereotype of the contemporary royal features..." is valid for the Middle and New Kingdoms, and for different reasons, for the Third Intermediate Period. However, in the Old Kingdom, royal and private sculpture existed as discrete entities with statues of courtiers very rarely, if ever, emulating the royal visage.

p.75: The four Kawab statues are improperly cited. Three are to be recorded by their excavation register numbers: 24-12-1105, 25-1-393, and 34-4-1; only one of the four has a Boston Museum of Fine Arts number (acc. no.27.1127).

pp.78-90: This chapter is one of the most disappointing in the book. Almost three hundred years of royal relief are represented by four photographs - three illustrating reliefs from the same reign, and one out of focus (fig.42). The proclaimed significance of the 'Room of the Seasons' at Abu Gurob is not reflected by an illustration. Aldred neither mentions the numerous Old Kingdom royal reliefs from Lisht nor cites H. Goedicke's *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht*, (1971) in his Bibliography. Finally, in the context of the discussion of private relief, the editors would have better served their readers had they substituted photographs for two line drawings required to document the "more deeply cut style" (p.89) of late Old Kingdom relief.

p.78: Although Chephren used the designation $\epsilon\alpha$ -R', the earliest attestation of the expression occurs under Radedef; H. W. Muller, in *ZÄS* 91 (1964), pp.129-133.

p.92: The granite head of Userkaf in Cairo (JE 52501) is cited as "the first example known to come from a free-standing statue which greatly exceeded life-size". This creates the impression that - with the exception of the Giza sphinx - colossal royal sculpture began in Dynasty V. Actually, an example can be documented under Zoser in the Third Dynasty: C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, (1936), p.130, pl.95 (17).

p.93: The statement "...a limestone head, probably of Userkaf, has survived..." is useless without documentation. Does Aldred refer to Brussels E.7117, London UCL 14282, or perhaps Cleveland acc. no.79.2?

p.94 For two Nineteenth Dynasty parallels for the Brooklyn statuette of Pepy II and Meryreankhnes (acc. no. 39.119), see J. Leclant, in *Orientalia* 20 (1951), pp.345-346, figs.16-18.

pp.94-95: The Brooklyn schist statue of Pepy I kneeling and proffering a pair of *nw*-pots is not necessarily "...the first known example of a type of statue which was to have a long tradition in pharaonic sculpture". A gneiss fragment of a left hand holding a *nw*-pot, today in the collection of the Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim (n.69), is thought to date to the reign of Chephren. It undoubtedly belonged to a complete statue quite similar to the Brooklyn figure; E. Martin-Pardey, *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, I. Plastik des Alten Reiches (Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum)*, (1977), no.69.

p.102: Aldred identifies Brooklyn acc. no.37.17E (fig.63) as Irukaptah. Actually, this uninscribed statue has been associated with Irukaptah on rather specious evidence; J. D. Cooney, in *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 13 (1952), pp.11-12.

p.114: The mature relief style of Dynasty XI is treated as an innovation. Actually, like sculpture in the round, relief carving of this period harkened back to Dynasty VI Memphite prototypes; H. G. Fischer, in *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959), pp.240-252, and in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, XV. Das alte Ägypten*, (1975), pp.293-294.

p.115: The abbreviated discussion of Twelfth Dynasty private painting should be supplemented with W. S. Smith's *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, (1958), pp.106-110, and E. L. B. Terrace, *Egyptian Painting of the Middle Kingdom*, (1968), pp.42-52.

p.126: Aldred mistakenly claims that the Temple of Amun at Karnak "...received generous patronage from the rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty, particularly the last two kings". Architectural and sculptural remains from the Temple indicate that Sesostris I was unquestionably the most active Middle Kingdom ruler at Karnak. For a recently discovered statue of Sesostris I from the Amun Temple, see C. Leblanc, in *Karnak, VI*, (1980), pp.285-292.

p.137: The reattribution of the Lisht statues (Cairo JE 44951 and NY MMA acc. no.14.3.17) has been suggested by S. B. Johnson, in *JARCE* 17 (1980), pp.11-20.

p.146: Aldred remarks that, "The concept of the Holy Family with the child in the guise of the king is not given plastic reality until the reign of Tuthmosis III". Here, documentation of some sort would have been helpful. He also reiterates the position espoused by de Buck and Frankfort that the Egyptian temple is a visual metaphor for creation. Unfortunately, Aldred makes no mention of the recently published interpretation of New Kingdom funerary temples by R. Stadelmann in *MDIK* 34 (1978), pp.171-180, and in *MDIK* 35 (1979), pp.303-321.

p.147: In his discussion of the early Eighteenth Dynasty artisan's reliance on Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty style, Aldred fails to introduce the word "archaism". Certainly a definition and brief discussion of the term would have provided the reader with an insight into both the Egyptian's historical consciousness and one of the key factors in the development of Egyptian artistic expression. See H. Brunner's 'Archaismus' in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, (1975), cols.386-395 and J. F. Romano, in *BES* 5 (1983), pp.110-111.

pp.147-148: Aldred implies that the breakdown of austerity in the early New Kingdom art begins under Amenhotep I. Actually the placid idealization so typical of the mature Tuthmoside Period already existed during the reign of Ahmose. A head of that king in the Kelekian collection in New York displays a confident sweetness perfectly accordant with Tuthmoside taste; J. F. Romano, in *JARCE* 13 (1976), pp.103-105, pls.XXVIII-XXIX. Also, Aldred's attribution of a head of a youthful pharaoh in Cairo (JE 52364) to the reign of Amenhotep I or Tuthmosis I is by no means certain. The head, which the Cairo Museum's *Journal d'entrée* declares was purchased by Chevrier in 1928 and not excavated by him as is usually claimed, has been dated by most scholars to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Only one monument from this general time frame shows a uraeus with the same oblique S-curve of the Cairo head: the wooden coffin of King Sekenenre Ta'o II, penultimate ruler of Dynasty XVII; H. E. Winlock, in *JEA* 10 (1924), pp.248-249, pl.XVI. Since that coffin was probably fashioned after Sekenenre's unforeseen demise when Kamose ruled Egypt, the Cairo head may well represent that king or, at the very latest, his brother Ahmose.

p.150: Aldred rejects A. Page's suggestion (*Egyptian Sculpture, Archaic to Saite, from the Petrie Collection*, (1976), p.61) that a headless limestone statue in University College London (UCL 14665) may represent Hatshepsut wearing a vulture headdress. Instead he chooses to interpret it as Amenhotep II protected by the wings of the Horus falcon. For a similar piece, probably dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III, see M. L. Friedman, in *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 19 (1958), pp.1-5 (Brooklyn acc. no.55.118).

p.157: In discussing the statues of Senmut and Neferure, Aldred states that similar pieces were carved for near contemporaries of Hatshepsut's Chancellor but neglects to identify them. In all probability these are Cairo CG 638 and 42171.

p.158: At the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in April 1978, Yitzhak Margowsky of the Metropolitan Museum argued that NY MMA 44.468 dates to Dynasty XXI rather than XVIII; cf. W. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II (1959), p.143, fig.80.

p.163: For a recent discussion of Brooklyn acc. no.60.197.9, see K. Bosse-Griffiths, in *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 75-82.

p.166: Aldred follows R. Tefnin's suggestion that the wooden statuette of Tuyu in the Louvre (E.10655) may depict the mother of Queen Tiye; see *CdE* 46 (1971), p.49, n.1.

p.173: Technically, the site of Tell el-Amarna doesn't exist. Actually the name is a conflation of the hamlet Et-Till and the district of el-Amarnah; T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, (1923), p.v.

pp.175-180: Aldred's incisive comments on the revolutionary change in the depiction of space during the Amarna Period were first published by him in D. Schmandt-Besserat (ed.), *Immortal Egypt*, (1978), pp.58-60.

pp.176-177: Aldred's comments on representation of feet in the Eighteenth Dynasty should be supplemented by E. R. Russmann's article in *BES* 2 (1980), pp.57-81.

pp.180-182: Aldred speaks of the series of sandstone colossi from Karnak as a creation of Akhenaten's reign. Strictly speaking, since each was modeled before the royal family quit Thebes, the statues were the products of Amenhotep IV's workshop.

p.181; fig.147: Most of the impact of the celebrated plaster-mask from Amarna is lost in the profile.

p.186: The statement that in the post-Amarna Period "The lappets of the *nemes*-headcloth revived the Thirteenth Dynasty fashion of an inner border...." is misleading and at variance with the archaeological remains. Aldred, himself, published two statues of Amenhotep III featuring inner seams on the *nemes* lappets; *BMMA* 14n. s. (1956), p.117. These pieces are hardly extraordinary; at least three other statues of this king show the same detail: Cairo CG 42083, Luxor J.137, and NY MMA acc. no.1972.125 (blue faience sphinx; N. Scott, in *BMMA* 31, 3 (1973), frontis. [seam not visible in photo]). Seamed lappets occur sporadically throughout early Dynasty XVIII. Examples can be cited in relief and painting for Tuthmosis III (Cairo JE 38575; chapel from Deir el Bahri; accessible in K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt*, (1968) pl.XVII) and Amenhotep II (painted pillars in his tomb; see, for example, K. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, (1976), fig.109).

p.186: For royal staff-bearing statues of the New Kingdom, see M. Eaton-Krauss, in *SAK* 4 (1976), pp.69-73. The female staff-bearer mentioned by Aldred was last published in Christie's (New York) *Sale Catalogue*, (June 14, 1979), pp.60-61. His identification of the subject as Queen Nofretari is surprising since none of the published accounts of the statue mentions an inscription with a royal name.

p.189: The "benevolent smile" on the Metropolitan Museum's statue of Sety I (acc. no.22.2.21) is called an innovation of Ramesside sculptors. This treatment of the mouth actually owes its inspiration to the Tuthmosid Period. Far from being an invention, the "smile" reflects an archaism to Dynasty XVIII forms (cf., for example, Cairo CG 42074 [Amenhotep II]).

p.190: Since, as Aldred observes, the dominant themes of Ramesside tomb paintings are "...the scenes of burial in the necropolis, the last judgement before the gods of the Underworld, and vignettes extracted from the *Book of the Dead*....", his selection of an atypical scene for illustration (fig.156) is puzzling.

p.193: F. Yurco has contended that at least some of the colossi in the court of the Luxor Temple usurped by Ramesses II date to Horemheb's reign rather than Amenhotep III's; *Abstracts of Papers - First International Congress of Egyptology*, (1976), pp.146-147.

p.194: For the statue of Ramesses II at Mit Rahineh, see M. El-Amir, in *ASAE* 42 (1943), pp.359-363, pls.XXI-XXII. P. Cardon has matched the quartzite head in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no.34.2.2) with the lower part of a standing statue in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. F. Yurco has identified this statue as a work of Amenmesse; *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 14 (1979), pp.5-18.

p.198: The attribution of Cairo JE 49537 to the reign of Ramesses IV differs from that proposed by B. Letellier in *Ramsès le Grand*, (1976), p.119 ("XVIII^e dynastie?"). Neither the style nor the scale of the Cairo group can be paralleled on later Ramesside sculpture. The full broad faces, deeply cut inner canthi, and the wide horizontal mouths invite comparison with mid-Dynasty XVIII sculptures of Amenhotep II (Cairo CG 42014) and, to a lesser extent, Tuthmosis IV (Cairo CG 42080). The style of the Cairo group most closely recalls that of an undated queen's head in the British Museum (956) (formerly 64356; cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 370, note 1).

p.201: The relief of Amenhotep before a statue of Ramesses IX is located on the east face of the inner wall between Pylons VII and VIII at Karnak (*PM* II, (1972), p.172).

p.207: The correct accession number of the Brooklyn statuette of Osorkon I is 57.92.

p.212: The reading of the name of the owner of Louvre E.7693 is Bepshes; J. Yoyotte, in *BIFAO* 57 (1958), pp. 81-89, and R. Giveon, *Les bédouins Shosou*, (1971), pp.199-200.

p.216: Aldred correctly associates the headless basalt statue of Tanwetamani in Toledo (acc. no.49.150) with the "classical tradition" of Egyptian sculpture. Specifically, its pronounced bipartition, sombre dignified mien, the great breadth of its shoulders, the width of the flap on the royal *shendyt*-kilt, and the sharp modeling of shins all recall statues of King Mycerinus of Dynasty IV (cf. Aldred's figs.35 [where the extraordinary bipartition has been mitigated by improper lighting] and 36). Only in the typically Kushite jewellery, the tightness

of the kilt's goffering, and the more naturalistic handling of the knee does Tanwetamani's image deviate from its strict adherence to Fourth Dynasty paradigms. The reliance on Dynasty IV forms in the late Kushite and early Saite Periods is hardly limited to royal monuments. Private statues too evoke both the form and spirit of that most venerated era: for example, the standing-statue of Ir-aa-Khonsu in Boston (MFA acc. no.07.494; B. V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, (1960), pp.10-11, no.9), the scribal statue of Pet-amenophis (Cairo JE 37341; K. Michalowski, *L'art de l'ancienne Egypte*, (1968), fig.592), and the statue of Pakheredenmut, the son of Mentuemhat (Cairo CG 42243).

p.218: After discussing for some length Kushite block statues from Karnak, Aldred inexplicably illustrates an example from the Delta.

pp.220-221: Aldred correctly observes the eclectic taste of Mentuemhat in his selection of models for his archaizing statues. Thus we encounter statues fashioned in the style of the Old Kingdom (Cairo CG 42236; Aldred's fig.184), Middle Kingdom (Berlin 17271; F. and U. Hintze, *Alte Kulturen im Sudan*, (1966), fig.67), early Dynasty XVIII (NY collection; unpublished), and mid-Dynasty XVIII (Chicago, Field Museum acc. no.31723; B. V. Bothmer et al., pp.14-16, no.13). Occasionally Kushite and early Saite sculptors achieved so elevated a level of proficiency in their archaism that even the most critical eye can be deceived. For example, a diorite head in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no.14.2.1; W. C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, (1959), pp.162-163, fig.89), has been dated on the basis of style to the Tutmoside Period. But the modelling of the wig (especially the treatment of the curls) and the cold lifeless precision of the face bespeak an archaizing piece.

p.224: Aldred discusses a relief from the tomb of Nespekashuty in his chapter on Kushite art but introduces a statue of the vizier in the subsequent chapter on Dynasty XXVI. Such an inconsistency is most confusing.

p.226: The Cairo head cited by Aldred (JE 53496; previously unpublished), with its pencil thin eyebrows and upper eyelids, square face and beatific grin is strikingly similar to an over-lifesize fine-grained granite bust of Nectanebo I from Mansura (no.25; H. S. K. Bakry, in *RSO* 46 (1971), pp.13-15, pls.XIII-XV). The Cairo head must surely be post-Saite in date.

p.227: For the bronze statuette of Necho II (Philadelphia, University Museum acc. no.E.13004), as well as references to other Saite royal bronzes, see B. V. Bothmer et al., pp.50-51, no.43. For the bronze sphinx of Apries in the Louvre (N.515), see *Connaissance des Arts* 204 (1969), p.60 (ill.).

p.230: Aldred correctly notes how the treatment of the cow's legs on the statue group of Psamtik and Hathor in Cairo (CG 784) differs from earlier Egyptian three-dimensional renderings of animals. Rather than employing the convention of showing only two legs on either side of the infill, the artisan has depicted four per side, two in shallow raised relief and two nearly in the round. The inspiration for this innovation may well come from western Asia. Since early in the tenth century, the Assyrians handled the legs of their fantastic gate guardians (*lamassu*) in precisely this manner (e.g., E. Strommenger, *Mesopotamien*, (1962), fig.198). Although the Assyrian Empire had fallen by the time the statue of Psamtik and Hathor was carved, the similarity between it and the *lamassu* is far too close in conception and time to be dismissed as fortuitous. The artistic interchange between Egypt and Assyria may someday form the basis of an enlightening study of style, iconography, and technique in these two centres of civilization. Until such a work appears, however, we must content ourselves with isolated observations such as that of E. Porada, in *AJA* 84 (1980), p.535.

p.231: Aldred confuses the accession numbers of the two statues discovered with the Psamtik group. The figure of Osiris is CG 38358; Isis' image has the number CG 38884.

p.233: This chapter's title "The Late Period, Dynasties XXVII-XXX" as well as the chronology on p.8 indicate that Aldred begins the Late Period with the Persian conquest of Egypt. Since this position differs with that of every author who has dealt with the Late Period, Aldred was obliged to defend assigning such a late date to the beginning of Egypt's last great cultural epoch. B. Ruzsyczyc (in *Archeologia* 24 (1973), p.12, no.2) cites the opinions of several scholars who have tried to define the chronological limits of the Late Period. To this list should be added K. A. Kitchen's comments in *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B. C.)*, (1973), par.119.

p.235: The correct number of the headless statue of Nectanebo I in the Louvre is E.25492.

p.237: Aldred refers to statues of Nectanebo II standing between the talons of the Horus falcon; for a list of these, see J. Yoyotte, in *Kémi* 15 (1959), p.73.

p.238: Tyszkiewicz is misspelled.

The book contains an unusually high number of incorrectly cited museum numbers. Several have been mentioned in the discussion of the text. In addition, many have been improperly cited in Aldred's List of Illustrations (pp.242-248):

fig.4 - British Museum 20791

figs.6, 7 - Cairo JE 32169

fig.9 - Cairo JE 70164

fig.24 - Cairo JE 89289C

fig.35 - Boston, MFA acc. no.11.1738

fig.59 - Kansas City acc. no.51-1

fig.68 - Cairo JE 36195

fig.73 - Cairo JE 66337

- fig.105 - Cairo CG 34002
 fig.116 - Luxor J.2
 fig.119 - Chicago, Field Museum acc. no.173800
 fig.161 - NY MMA acc. no.15.2.1
 fig.190 - Cairo JE 36665 (the incorrect number is painted on the statue!).
 fig.197 - Rome, Vatican Museum, no.18
 fig.198 - Cairo JE 38064

J. ROMANO

Gelebte Mythen. Beiträge zum altägyptischen Mythos. By EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT. 145x210 mm. Pp.x+113. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981. ISBN 3 534 08425 X. Price DM32.50.

'Among the ancients there exists no concept at all of "Believing"; they call this "Knowing"'. The author of this striking dictum (p.37) is thinking of the Egyptians, and a word for 'believe' is indeed missing from their vocabulary, although other ancient peoples, including the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans had words for the idea. When the anthropologist Rodney Needham was studying the Penan in the interior of Borneo, he came to realize that these people had no means of saying 'I believe in God' (or in Peselong, a divine being whose existence they affirmed in other ways). In his book *Belief, Language, and Experience*, (Oxford, 1972), Needham explores the matter in many cultural areas ancient and modern. The word is often lacking in the terminology of primitive peoples and also in several sophisticated eastern cultures. On the other hand it is prominent in the cultures of the western tradition which have been heavily influenced by Christianity. The Pharaonic Egyptians were certainly not primitives, and their terminology in this respect is clearly outside the western tradition which derives from the Greeks.

The remark I have quoted (and translated) is a good example, although it is an *obiter dictum*, of the stimulating and perceptive energy which marks the essays here assembled by Professor Brunner-Traut. Most of them have appeared before - 'Der Skarabäus', 'Mythos im Alltag', 'Pharao und Jesus als Sohne Gottes', and 'Altägyptische Mythen im Physiologus', but they have richly merited a re-appearance in the present convenient form. A new contribution, 'Altägyptische und mittelalterlich-christliche Vorstellungen von Himmel und Hölle, Gericht und Auferstehung', deals with a theme which has been much neglected by theologians and it prompts one to lament the *Fach-isolationism* which has hitherto prevented the due recognition of Egyptian influence on Christian eschatology. Strangely enough, acquaintance with Iranian tradition is much more general, and the competing influences are here ably discussed.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

La Culture des Chasseurs du Nil et du Sahara. By P. HUARD and J. LECLANT with the collaboration of L. ALLARD-HUARD. Mémoires du Centre de Recherches anthropologiques préhistoriques et ethnographiques, XXIX. 2 vols. 270x214 mm. Pp.570, pls.18, figs.202, maps 7. Algiers, 1980. No price given.

The deserts of North Africa, from the Red Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, after a period of great aridity, came to experience one of humidity known as the Neolithic Subpluvial, which culminated in the seventh millennium B.C., but was in rapid decline by the end of the Old Kingdom, although the present aridity was not reached in some areas until the beginning of our era. This humidity was sufficient to cover the highest parts, such as the Tibesti, the Hoggar and the Atlas with temperate forest, to convert less elevated parts into savannah, and to fill the lowest parts with marsh and lake. The ergs, or sand seas, however, remained tending to separate major regions from one another, but never entirely. What are the deserts of today came to teem with game, especially noticeable being elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffalo, giraffe and antelope. This environment was infiltrated by men, few at first, but quickly multiplying in consequence of the abundant food supply. A Hunter Culture grew up lasting until the beginning of the Amratian of Egypt, to be followed by a Pastoral Culture dependent on domestic livestock, and as the humidity decreased, by cultures using horses and then camels.

The sole concern of this book is the Hunter Culture. The investigation of this culture is divided by the authors into four sections: an examination of the climatic and physical conditions obtaining, and of the data available, along with a very useful set of maps accompanied by a gazetteer; a study of the material features of the culture; a study of its non-material features; and finally a consideration of the state of our knowledge. In conclusion there is an essay entitled "Sketch of the Hunter Culture World". The basis of the whole investigation is the very large number of rock drawings (in this term I include drawings, engravings and paintings) made by these hunters, which are lavishly reproduced in black and white on almost every other page. This material is used to build a picture of the equipment and life style of the hunters, as well as to connect not a few of its characteristics with those evinced by Egypt, not only in prehistoric times but in historical periods also, thus indicating the likelihood of at least a degree of continuity. At present the forging of any links with other forms of archaeological evidence is not possible.

The authors show that the Hunter Culture falls into three regions: the Nile Area, the Central Sahara, and the Atlas Sahara. At no point is the coast of the Mediterranean reached so that the Nile Delta and Cyrenaica as well as coastal areas further west are excluded. These regions, clearly separate at the archaic level of the culture, and each with its own individual characteristics, yet have an underlying unity, shared features having developed from a common base. Such transmission as can be traced flows from east to west. By the time of the Pastoral Culture the regions have coalesced. Within each region the rock drawings are concentrated in a number of definite localities, quite widely separated, so seeming to indicate that they were headquarters of territories belonging to individual clans, probably used for initiations, magical and ritual rites, and other assemblies deemed necessary for the maintenance of the hunter's world and its animal basis.

The material features of the Hunter Culture put forward are their accoutrements, weaponry, and hunting devices.

In general the hunters are naked, beardless, without special hair styles, and wearing no ornaments. They frequently wear some form of penis protection, and belts with or without a false tail. The weaponry consists in the main of several sorts of simple bows and a number of types of curved sticks for throwing or striking. Maces are frequent in the Nile Area but uncommon elsewhere, while spears only appear at an advanced stage of the culture. The bolas is seen once, the sling never. Knives and axes must have existed but are absent from the rock drawings. It is particularly noticeable that no scenes depicting fighting are found. Since the weapons available were weak and of short range it was imperative to get as close to the quarry as possible and to keep the inevitable danger as low as possible. This was done by means of camouflage, using animal masks and skins, as well as by the use of the lasso and of pitfall traps equipped with a running noose. The dog, either individually or in packs, appears first in the Nile Valley and only very gradually spreads westwards.

The non-material features, referred to by the authors as "traits cultural de valeurs psychique", comprise, to mention only the out-standing elements: abstract signs; figures touching animals; sexual drawings; line linkage between animal and animals, between animals and men, between women and men; and persons in the so-called "orant" position. A dozen or more abstract signs are associated with the rock drawings: spirals and serpentine forms, chevrons, semi-circles, concentric arcs, and a Y-shape with two or three arms, to mention only the commonest. The authors suggest that all these signs serve to entrap magically the animals they touch or are near. In the table on page 506 dealing with all the abstract signs except the spirals and serpentine forms, the right hand column of totals does not accord with the individual items. I should read 53, 58, 42, 30, 18, 23, 4, 2, 9, 15, 6, and total 263. This makes no significant difference to the discussion. In equating the spirals and serpentine forms with the lasso and pitfall trap there can be little doubt that they are right. All across North Africa men, and sometimes women, are shown close to, touching, or even holding, for instance the tails, of wild animals; most commonly the elephant and giraffe. This, it is suggested, magically caught the animal, and this is of course very possible; but it seems to me that it might well depict a test of hunting skill and daring. In the Central Sahara men engaged in hunting are often depicted as ithyphallic and it is pointed out that today in Africa there are people who require continence before the hunt to conserve energy. Ithyphallic men also appear in other situations, while women, sexually open, are found, often in the act of intercourse. It is suggested that in this case the fecundity of both men and animals is being ensured. In both the Nile Area and the Saharan Atlas there are figures of both men and women in the "orant" position, that is with the arms raised in the manner of the hieroglyph "ka".

As to what is known of the hunters it is pointed out that drawings detailing facial features are rare, but that those in the Wady Djerat in the Central Sahara indicate a non-negro people. The possibility of some preliminary steps towards domestication having occurred in Hunter Culture times is discussed at length but without the possibility of any definite conclusion, at least at present. Certainly suitable animals abounded both in the Nile Valley and in the Central Sahara so that domestication could have begun to develop independently or by imitation and not necessarily by importation.

The echoes of the Hunter Culture that still exist in later Egypt are commented upon and stressed at every turn. Pharaoh's wearing of the belt with a false tail, the use of the lasso, the boomerang, the pitfall trap, the sem-priest with his leopard skin, the ka-gesture, the spiral with its possible connection with the *mhn*-game. An improved form of bow and the use of the dog as an assistant in hunting undoubtedly spread from Egypt. Finally the religion of Ancient Egypt is permeated with respect and feeling for the animal world.

This book does indeed contain a wealth of information on the one subject, the Hunter Culture of North Africa; a wealth to which it is impossible to do justice in the short space of a review. The two volumes, with their continuous pagination and figure and plate numbers, are well printed on good paper, making them a real pleasure to use. The illustrations are lavish, while the fullest references are provided on every page. The book is provided with an extensive bibliography, and indexes of figures, plates, maps, and content headings.

C. H. S. SPAULL

Egypt before the Pharaohs. By MICHAEL A. HOFFMAN. 243x163 mm. Pp.xxi+392, tbs.12, figs.84. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980. ISBN 0 7100 0495 8. Price £9.95.

Archaeologists and Egyptologists will admire Hoffman's bravery in offering this synthesis of prehistoric and early dynastic archaeology: as work goes on actively at Abydos, Hierakonpolis, Nagada, Merimde, and many prehistoric sites, almost anything one might write will soon be modified.

Hoffman's central argument concerns the "essential continuity" of cultural development in Egypt and the surrounding deserts from the earliest paleolithic to the early dynastic eras (p.xx). Hoffman aims to describe this supposedly coherent trajectory of development and the archaeological characteristics of its different phases. He also discusses the personalities, motives and achievements of excavators, sponsors and scholars. These latter pages make lively reading. Hoffman particularly favours Petrie, Reisner, and Oliver Myers, offering eloquent tributes to their abilities and often forward-looking accomplishments. Although some readers may find Hoffman too quick to judge, he is concerned to argue for scientific, scrupulous, and ethical method in archaeology.

Uneasiness in the balance of specialized and general discussion may stem from an initial unclarity about the kind of reader Hoffman expects. Students of archaeological or anthropological theory will find nothing novel; many sections, for example, rely on standard concepts in social anthropology, like theories of gift-exchange or functional integration popularized in the twenties. Hoffman is chiefly a 'formalist' in matters of economic anthropology - his categories derive from an orthodox liberal economic thought - rather than a 'substantivist' or 'materialist', although some pages show the indirect influence of Polanyi's *Trade and market in the early empires*. On the other hand, other sections of the book engage in polemical dispute about specialized aspects of environmentalist archaeology, although even here the larger assumptions - like the reliability of inference from lithic or ceramic units to cultural units - are sometimes left undefended. On the whole, Hoffman approaches theoretical problems deftly, but too infrequently.

The book is seemingly meant to be a popular one - or at least generally accessible. Unfortunately, although the bibliography is excellent, it is self-contained; in the absence of systematic citation a student will be

unable to follow up on many references. Examples can be pulled from every section. The description of Petrie's Sequence Date system, for instance, strikes me as sketchy and possibly confusing for a non-initiate (pp.118-21), who will be further bewildered to hear that modifications have been proposed without being provided any immediate reference to the work of Kaiser and Kemp. As a guide to early Egyptian archaeology, students must still consult the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Arkell's handbook, Hayes' unfinished chapters, or Emery's *Archaic Egypt*, although Hoffman correctly observes that none of these treatments is comprehensive.

The text is attractively produced and includes a helpfully detailed index. Unfortunately this praise cannot be extended to the illustrations: many photographs are very uninformatively captioned, many line-drawings require scales, many plans and reconstructions are so inadequately labelled as to be useless, and the drawings of pottery and other artifacts (except for drawings by the Combined Prehistoric Expedition) are often sloppy or inadequately labelled. Line drawings of relief-sculpture, ivory labels, and other objects of early art have been distorted by many slips of the pen and misperceptions, to such an extent that the drawings do very serious injustice to important documents like the label of King Den, the knife-handle from Gebel el-Arak, and the mace-head of the so-called Scorpion King.

These matters noted, I do want to stress that Hoffman is consistently interesting and provocative on all of the specialist problems, and the book will be required reading for all serious students of Egyptian cultural history.

The discussions of the differences between the Nilotic Khormusan and desert Aterian traditions in the middle paleolithic (pp.70-71), on the microlithic technology and possible plant domesticates of the innovative late paleolithic (p.82), and on the "epipaleolithic" at El Kab (p.99) are clear, convincing analyses of difficult recent discoveries, and take us far in clearing away misconceptions about paleolithic development. (Hoffman's analysis must be supplemented now by the detailed and definitive contribution of Wendorf, Schild, et al., in *The Prehistory of the Eastern Sahara*, released in the same year). As our material knowledge is so sketchy, the account of the "gap" between epipaleolithic cultures and the predynastic sequences (pp.102, 141) is bound to be less satisfying. Hoffman rightly stresses the problematic status of both the Badarian and Fayum B cultures (pp. 140, 188), and leaves open many questions of interpretation in the archaeology of these cultures. The problem of the origins of food domesticates (p.176) is summarily handled in view of the recent contributions, but perhaps Hoffman has refrained from taking a stand. Considerable space is taken over at several points to an examination of contrasts between Upper and Lower Egyptian predynastic traditions (pp.211-21, 299), although some of these differences surely derive artificially from the record. Hoffman is perhaps correct in contrasting the settlement patterns of north and south, and even in contrasting the "ornament-ridden and display-oriented" material culture of the south (p.181) with the sober northern tradition, exemplified by Maadi.

In Hoffman's account of the unification a great variety of themes are woven together almost seamlessly. The ultimate domination of "north" by "south" is traced back to the social formations elaborated to adapt to differing ecological situations. I remain unconvinced by the suggestion that Nagada was a "northern" centre absorbed by the south at the late moment of unification (p.323). Surely by this period, Nagada had long been assimilated in the Hierakonopolitan orbit of influence, as witness the similarities in detail between Nagadan and Hierakonopolitan material culture. Unification is a matter - as Hoffman says - of contact and conflict between the Delta proper, the desert or marginal peoples, and the southern "monarchy". Of course we should still be attentive to regional differences within the Upper Egyptian complex, although the evidence for these differences, such as regional pottery or the localisation of specialised industries, is unexploited in Hoffman's analysis.

Hoffman is particularly excellent on the relation between desert cultures and the Nile valley (pp.218, 238), stressing how many of the fundamental innovations we associate with the rise of the state in the valley appear earlier in the desert cultures. Yet I must still be persuaded that during the last half of the fourth millennium the desert cultures were actually in significant contact with the valley, a problem Hoffman recognises (p. 240). Unaccountably, Hoffman does not offer much discussion of key evidence for this problem, such as the site of Abka near the second cataract, where desert and Nilotic traits seem to co-exist at the crucial phases of neolithic development in the south.

On the broad scale, Hoffman's sections on the early dynastic period are informative. The discussion of Nubia is especially useful and will help to lay to rest recent arguments for the existence of an early independent Nubian monarchy or state (pp.253, 260). Hoffman favours Abydos as the site of the early dynastic royal burials but makes no commitments. His analysis of the role of the "ceremonial complex" in early dynastic political development (p.308) is extremely suggestive, although later in this discussion the crucial role of the temple - or, more accurately, of the institution of the temple - is only briefly treated (p.335).

In addition to a discussion of the material remains Hoffman attempts to reconstruct the composition of the "functioning social groups" in early dynastic society (p.326). Although the aim is laudable, most readers inevitably will find the discussion disappointing. Hoffman's analysis of predynastic and early dynastic demography and society appears to depend heavily on Butzer's population estimates (p.30). Little explanation or justification of these controversial figures is presented. To my mind Hoffman underestimates the extent of social stratification and specialisation in the pre-state period. Although it is noted in passing that the localisation and specialisation of craft-industries may have a great deal to do with regional development, no systematic work has yet been done to substantiate this possibility. Mond and Myers felt, for instance, that production of different ceramic wares may have been extremely localised, an hypothesis recently buttressed by Butzer's brief study of the sources of Qena ware. Similarly, a great deal of work could still be done even with the existing registers of predynastic cemeteries on the occupational specialisations and social differentiation of predynastic populations. Hoffman allows Baumgartel's extraordinarily helpful tabulation of Petrie's Nagada graves to go unexploited in this respect (p.116). Occupational distinctions can, I believe, be made out fairly clearly in many predynastic cemeteries, like those at Nagada, Matmar, and Naga ed-Der, and certainly in early dynastic deposits at Abydos (town and necropolis) and Sakkara. Perhaps it would be out of place for a text of this kind to undertake detailed analysis of the graves or of cemetery statistics. The discussion of early dynastic society is nonetheless quite detailed. The influence of Malinowski and more modern followers is clearly discernible in these pages (pp.325, 332). One wishes for a more focussed examination of the origins of the state: how and why do settled, loose, kin-based social formations develop into a stratified, militarised, auth-

oritarian state? Hoffman does not quite sharpen his remarks on kinship or early modes of production and reproduction. As Hoffman follows the Orientalists' established paradigm rather closely, it is odd that he devotes so little attention to the importance of writing in the emergence of an early state administration. Certain recent theories have stressed the importance of trade in cultural development, and Hoffman concentrates on this variable; his views on the extent of social networks of exchange and on the shell- and bead-trade (pp.164, 189, 203, 240) will warrant serious attention. The significance of portable, luxury objects is perhaps overestimated in relation to the importance of routine properties, like herds, and of access to stationary resources, like flint, copper, and foodstuffs. Given Hoffman's interest in exchange networks, oddly scant attention is given over to the extensive but problematic evidence for long-distance trade with Syria-Palestine and the Mesopotamian interior in the early dynastic period (p.330). Recent excavations in the Delta, Sinai, and Canaan have underscored the degree to which the early Egyptian administration involved itself in long-haul exchange. The matter of foreign influence in Egypt will require more attention. Hoffman apparently accepts Henri Frankfort's now controversial hypotheses about Mesopotamian influence in early Egyptian art (pp.129, 133, 302). Newer studies have focussed our gaze on the far more limited impact of Elamite motifs - an issue mentioned but not documented in the text - in the Nagada IIc-d period. Distinct regional styles in sculpture and pottery painting go unnoticed. Art historical evidence is handled much less well in Hoffman's presentation than the other kinds of archaeological evidence. Hoffman misreads the narrative and iconography of the Narmer Palette (p.130) and the label of King Den (p.246), confuses the Hunter's Palette with the Oxford Palette from the Main Deposit (p.302), and to my mind makes questionable assumptions about stylistic history, as in discussing the relation between luxury and routine arts (p.133) or the evolution of style in rock art (p.234). On the other hand, however, Hoffman is careful not to misuse representational evidence in fanciful reconstructions of early dynastic history, and concentrates less on the well-known monuments of style and rather more on other kinds of evidence.

Although this review has emphasised my points of difference and difficulty, it is only because *Egypt before the Pharaohs* deserves to be widely influential. It will undoubtedly be used by general readers, students, and archaeologists and anthropologists of other cultures as the most reliable and theoretically sophisticated study of the Egyptian evidence. Hoffman's text is the first attempt at panoramic synthesis and as such it proceeds with verve and learning.

W. DAVIS

Die Rollensiegel des Alten Reiches. By PETER KAPLONY. Monumenta Aegyptiaca, 2-3A&B, 3 vols. 285x225 mm. Vol.I, pp.xii+380; Vol.IIA, pp.x+550; Vol.IIB, pls.192. Brussels, Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1977-81. Price 8000 Belgian francs.

Cylinder seals have for too long been neglected as source material for the many facets of Ancient Egyptian culture of the Old Kingdom, although their importance has been recognised for the Early Dynastic period, for which they are the principal source material. The work under review sets out to redress the balance, incorporating pioneering discussions of many aspects of these objects. This account of Kaplony's work will proceed in a slightly different manner from the conventional one, as there is already in existence an excellent review by Ward in *BiOr* 37 (1980), 164-5, to which the reader is referred. The present review will concentrate on a number of particular points of more general interest.

Paramount among these are Kaplony's discussions of the succession of the rulers of the third and fifth dynasties. Of the premises on which Kaplony bases his argument, the most controversial is that the unfinished pyramid at Zawiet el-Aryan was begun in the third dynasty and that the disputed cartouche found in it (usually read *nb-k3*) is in fact *šn'-k3*. One of the many problems of this period is that certain parts of the royal titularies, notably the cartouches, are only known from later sources, which often differ from one another. It is possible, as the author suggests, that the Nebka and Nebkare of the later king lists are in fact the same person. He also enters the controversy over the reading of the royal name (Huni), interpreting it as "king Hu", *nswt ḥ(w)*.



From these premises he advances four theses: that there was an ephemeral king between Khasekhemwy and Netjerchet, that Zanakht was the owner of the great unexcavated enclosure at Saqqara, that *šn'-k3* was the *nswt-bity* name of the Horus Khaba and **nb-ḥdt* the Horus name of Huni, and that the Golden Horus name of Zanakht was *ḫnw*. His order for the dynasty is as follows:

| <u>Horus Name</u> | <u><i>nswt-bity</i>/Cartouche</u> |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Z | ? |
| Netjerchet | Djoser |
| Sekhemchet | Djoser-Teti (Djoserti) |
| Zanakht | Nebka(re) |
| Khaba | <i>šn'-k3</i> |
| <i>*nb-ḥdt</i> | Huni |

The evidence for Z3, or for any ephemeral king for that matter, is very thin; the name is found in Lauer-Lacau, *Pyramide à Degrés* V, 7, pl.7 (6), and Kaplony takes the 2 months 23 days from the Palermo Stone Rt.5.7-8. This can be better interpreted as the death of the previous king in the course of a year (compare the transition between [Menkaure] and Shepseskaf or Sahure and Neferirkare in the same document). One may provisionally identify Zanakht with the Nebka of the Turin and Abydos kinglists; he is associated with Netjerchet at Bet Khallaf, and as there is little dispute that Sekhemchet was the latter's immediate successor it would appear that he must have come earlier.¹ However, the sealings of Zanakht found in the mortuary temple of the Step Pyramid could well postdate Netjerchet, and show that the former king's place in the dynasty is by no means sure. The problem of the unfinished pyramid at Zawiet el-Aryan is simpler: Kaplony's assignation of this structure to the

third dynasty and the names to Khaba cause him to ascribe both pyramids at that site to the same king. Architecturally it cannot belong to the third dynasty but rather the fourth (Lauer, *RdE* 14 (1962), 21-36). $\text{ḥn}^{\text{c}}\text{-k}3$ still seems an unlikely reading of the difficult name in the cartouche; forms of the sign ḥn^{c} in the Abusir Papyri do not resemble those from the unfinished pyramid (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *The Abusir Papyri*, Pal. pl.XIII (U14)).

Any order for the third dynasty can be only tentative on current evidence, but Kaplony has produced the most detailed study of this subject for many years, and has made a valuable attempt to reconcile all the known royal names, based in part on his discussion of titularies earlier in chapter three. One hopes that more seals may some day be found to settle the question.

The other historical contributions are in chapter five. The author proposes a major change in the order of kings in the middle of the fifth dynasty, placing Neweserre as the successor of Neferirkare, with the two shadowy rulers Neferefre and Shepeskare occupying the throne before Menkauhor. The basic evidence for this is the seal Brooklyn Museum 44.123.30, which bears the serekhs of both Neferirkare and Neweserre; Kaplony takes this to indicate a coregency between the two. Certainly, it is usual to regard the use of the Horus name in a serekh as indicating a living ruler, in this case two living rulers. To be placed as evidence against this, as he notes, is the seal of Neweserre illustrated on Taf.77 (37) which mentions the sun temples of Neweserre and Neferefre. The author's solution to the problem that the sun temple of his successor was established in the reign of Neweserre is to postulate that Neferefre was designated Neweserre's successor in the latter's reign and subsequently established his own sun temple. Two parallels to this may be seal Taf.88 (23), bearing the serekh of Djedkare and the cartouche of Wenis, and the representation of Neferirkare in the mortuary temple of Sahure (Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'asḥu-rē'* II, Bl.17). The silence of other sources as to the status of the crown prince in the Old Kingdom is a problem in this respect; it can be argued that Neferirkare is represented in the temple of Sahure as the reigning monarch who completed the outer parts of the temple of his predecessor. None of these examples however have the apparent conviction of showing two different serekhs.

Further evidence in favour of the traditional ordering of these rulers can be drawn from the relative positions of their pyramids at Abusir: would Neweserre have set up his monument in an evidently less spacious plot than that of Neferirkare if the more suitable site occupied by the pyramid of Neferefre had been vacant? Using the sometimes very unreliable evidence of the order of priesthoods in private titularies, there are at least two examples of the sequence Neferirkare - Neferefre - Neweserre ($\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{-b}3\text{w-}p\text{ḥ}$, Mariette, *Mastabas*, 295; $\text{ny-m}3^{\text{c}}\text{-t-sd}$, id. ib., 329).² While I am reluctant to accept Kaplony's order, there can be no doubt that the material he presents is an important contribution and one which questions accepted thought.

Another coregency may be evident from a seal bearing the Horus names of Merenre and Pepy II together (Taf.112 top). With the proviso that the underlying principles of coregencies are still imperfectly understood, it would seem somewhat improbable that Merenre should take as coregent his brother who is supposed to have been very young at his own succession, since none of the normal reasons for such a practice would apply. Unless Merenre was simply trying to ensure the succession, the fraternal relationship between the two kings would seem a better explanation of the juxtaposition of their names.

The remainder of the general remarks concern the various religious institutions mentioned on the seals, principally the pyramid, sun and mrt temples. Kaplony notes the changes in the terminology of royal priesthoods from priest of a king to priest of a king's pyramid (although he makes no mention of the work of Baer in *Rank and Title* on this matter). On the analogy of the full sun temple title being $\text{ḥm-n}^{\text{c}}\text{r}^{\text{c}} \text{r}^{\text{c}} \text{m} <\dots>\text{-r}^{\text{c}}$, he reads pyramid titles written $\text{ḥm-n}^{\text{c}}\text{r}$ <pyramid of king> as $\text{ḥm-n}^{\text{c}}\text{r} <\text{king}> \text{m} <\text{pyramid of king}>$, even though there is perhaps only one example of the fuller writing. The reason he advances behind this change is that royal cults, which were previously not located in any one particular place, were now centralised at the pyramid. It is surely more likely that the cult would anyway have been at the pyramid (witness the various shrines in the temples); the changes in the mid-fifth dynasty were due more to unknown modifications of the ideological base rather than the physical location of the cults. Seals and other evidence show that the three types of temple mentioned above contained cults of the triad of the king, Re and Hathor. He suggests that the construction of sun temples in particular was used to localise the cults of the two deities; when such temples were no longer built, the cult of Re was relocated at Heliopolis and that of Hathor at Dendera, perhaps by Pepy I. The introduction of the cult of Horus, especially in the form of Re-Horakhty, was later than that of Re and Hathor. The existence of a cult of Min at royal pyramids suggested by other sources such as the Abusir papyri is supported by a figure of Min on a sealing of Weserkaf.³ Kaplony suggests that the mrt temples may have been equivalent to the much later birth-houses, basing this on the similarity of the Old Kingdom term to the later pr-mw^{c} . He also shows how the seals may be used to prove that the royal cult was taking place during the king's lifetime, although the evidence is very thin.

For much of the remaining discussion - the significance of the term r-ḡ , the bodies of the temple priests ($\text{z}3\text{w}$), and the administration of the various cult temples - it must be said that the evidence provided by the seals is very much secondary to that from other sources. In the latter context, I would disagree with the author's apparent view that the mention of a scribal or similar title and one of these temples on the same seal(ing) indicates that the owner necessarily held that office in that institution. Old Kingdom titles give away very little information about the actual offices with which their holders were associated, especially as far as scribes are concerned; it also has to be remembered that association with a royal temple, when mentioned in titles, is generally one of provisioning benefit to the title holder, and it tells us very little about his actual function.

These discussions are followed by a list of priestly titles in the institutions mentioned as evidenced by the seals. Two are worthy of note: a further example is found of the sun temple $\text{ḥtp-ib-r}^{\text{c}}$, otherwise known only from the tomb of ty , which may only be, as Kaplony thinks, an alternative writing of ḥtp-r^{c} , that of Neferefre, but could also be the sun temple of Shepeskare. The other also concerns the latter most obscure king, all of whose Old Kingdom attestations are from seals: Kaplony believes he has found a pyramid name for this ruler, $\text{rs-ḡps-k}3\text{-r}^{\text{c}}$, although closer inspection of Taf.82 (5) shows this to be a very optimistic reconstruction indeed. The work ends with a chapter on the provenances of the major groups of sealings and notes on the catalogue and plates.

From my own and Ward's comments, it will be evident that these criticisms of content are very much ones of interpretation rather than method. More serious remarks concern the actual presentation of the work. The time-scale over which it has been written and produced has been very extended, although the technical problems involved in a work of this type must be immense. The volume of analysis (I) appeared in 1977, and was followed in 1981 by the catalogue and plates (II). Reading the introduction to this volume, it appears that a third, containing additions and indices, is yet to come. The writing of this review has been delayed several years by the non-availability of the second volume: since so much new material is presented here for the first time, much of the argument of the first volume cannot be evaluated without it. The use of these volumes as a major work of reference is made almost impossible by the current lack of indices. The latter shows signs of its late 1960s origin, insofar as several reclassified seals still appear in their original locations, although there is a note to this effect in chapter seven.

Use of the first volume is not helped by the unrelenting style of the author; one reels at the assault of so many references in the text that it is often extremely difficult to follow the argument - as Ward noted, one frequently cannot see the wood for the trees! I would have appreciated the inclusion of a concluding chapter, where the author could have expanded his general comments in chapter one in the light of the main text. One also feels that the author expects his reader to have a knowledge of Early Dynastic seals and of the Old Kingdom that is in fact unreasonable. Many discussions in this book follow on from his *Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit*, and one may be at something of a disadvantage if not well-acquainted with this work. For example, to find the source of the Horus Z3 quoted above, it was necessary to consult p.409 of the earlier study, there being no direct reference to it in this text.

These criticisms aside, Kaplony has produced a valuable book which has put the study of these objects on a firm basis and opened up avenues of further research - one very obvious example would be a study of the state administrative titles found on the seal(ing)s and how they compare with what is already known about the administration and title sequences of the Old Kingdom. By the collection and publication of so much new material, Kaplony has provided us with a source for the study of the Old Kingdom parallel in many ways to the Abusir and Gebelein archives, and which is not solely biased towards the funerary aspect.

¹ The names of [nb]-k3 and Zanakht could be associated by the well-known sealing shown in Garstang, *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf*, pl.XIX (7), now in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, Liverpool. A particular problem of this is that it antedates the otherwise earliest known cartouches (of Sneferu) by many years.

² Yet in Kaplony's favour could be quoted the example of the false door of 'nh-m-r', where priesthoods of Neferefre and Menkauhor follow one another (id. ib., 283-4).

³ The title sm3 minw m h'-snfrw mentioned on page 310 is surely two titles, sm3 minw, imy-r h'-snfrw (*Hieroglyphic Texts in the British Museum I*², pl.X (1324)).

N. STRUDWICK

Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt. By N. KANAWATI. 208x147 mm. Pp.176. Warminster, Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1981. ISBN 0 85668 168 7. Price £12.50.

This book sets out to search for major changes in the administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, and to discover the extent to which these are the result of deliberate government policy. The method used is potentially very promising: by using as many criteria as possible, the officials relevant to the enquiry are dated, then the titularies of officials of similar date are compared with those of a different date, in order to observe changes in patterns of title-holding that reflect alterations in the administrative system and, by inference, government policy. Such concern for date was pioneered by Baer (*Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, Chicago, 1960), and used in his analysis of Royal Priests and Nomarchs (op. cit., 245-86), and has also been the concern of Kanawati in an earlier work (*The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, Warminster, 1977).

This fine dating that is the basis of this method is also its weakness. Very many Old Kingdom tombs are notoriously difficult to date, and often one is almost reduced to guesswork. One particularly difficult problem is the relative dating of the numerous provincial cemeteries - it may be possible to place in sequence the tombs at a given site, but to relate their size and decoration to those from another may not allow for local characteristics or constraints. Inevitably, the dates used in this book draw heavily on those given in the author's *Egyptian Administration*, the major criterion of which (that the size of an individual's tomb may permit him to be given a date) is felt by this reviewer to be suspect.

The work is divided into six chapters, in turn dealing with the fifth dynasty, the early sixth dynasty, the reign of Merenre, the first part of the reign of Pepy II, the latter part of the reign of Pepy II, and the eighth dynasty and after.

The author advances two interesting ideas concerning the vizierate in the Old Kingdom. He shows throughout the work that from some point in the fifth dynasty onwards there were holders of this office situated in the provinces, as may be seen from their tombs. The least clear aspect of this is the date at which it began; it is unfortunate that Kanawati's earliest example, hrwy at Akhmim (p.3), is the most obscure - one hopes that his work at Hawawish will shed more light on this individual. The reign of Djedkare for the introduction of this idea is thus only a possibility. The location of the Upper Egyptian vizier changes in the course of the Old Kingdom - Akhmim, Edfu, Abydos, Meir and Koptos - and Kanawati suggests that this is due to different priorities at different times. In the cases of Akhmim and Meir it was to control the output of the most productive regions of Upper Egypt (pp.11, 96), Edfu because of interest in southern expansion (pp.23-4), and Koptos because of concern over Theban expansionism (p.113). It is not clear whether there were any gaps in the succession of viziers, although the evidence for the office is least clear before the reign of Pepy I. The explanation given for the vizieral titular of nbṯ (p.31) seems implausible, and Fischer's suggestion quoted there is surely to be preferred.

Perhaps more controversial is the author's proposal that from the reign of Djedkare onwards the vizierate in the capital was split into two positions, with a division of responsibility which may have varied from time to

time (compare p.14ff. with p.24ff). There is an uncomfortably large number of viziers known from the period, and previous explanations have tended towards the concept of 'titular viziers' (Helck, *Beamten titeln*, 136-8); Kanawati's interpretation is a far more convincing attempt to account for this number. Perhaps towards the end of the reign of Pepy II the vizierate in Memphis returned to the hands of one man (pp.98-9), conceivably because of the effect of decentralisation. Contrary to the statement on p.98, the titles *imy-r kst nbt (nt nwt)* and *imy-r sm'w* are found with *h'-bzw-hnmw* (Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, pl.52).

The other major reforms concern Upper Egypt alone. Kanawati believes that nomarchs first began to reside and be buried in the provinces they governed in the reign of Merenre, and that the *imy-r sm'w* did likewise. These conclusions are based solely on the biographies of *qsr* at Edfu, *ibi* at Deir el Gebrawi, and *wnt* at Abydos, and it is not inconceivable that the reform may have taken place over a longer period of time.

In the first part of the reign of Pepy II, the author finds evidence for the elevation of many nomarchs to the office of *imy-r sm'w* (p.75ff.), with the Upper Egyptian vizier holding that title for the first time as the overall head. This assumes that all the nomarchs were more or less exact contemporaries; it may be possible to rearrange them so that fewer were *imy-r sm'w* at the same time. He does not believe in set divisions of Upper Egypt at this period (p.65ff), and is probably right to see the terms *tp sm'w* and *spwt hryw-ib* as being geographical rather than administrative terms, and the nine nomes controlled by *ny-nh-ppy* of Zawiet el Mayitin may have been those to which no nomarchs had yet been appointed. Kanawati believes these changes to be due to economic reasons; this may be why *ny-nh-ppy* received such wide powers, but expansion of the number of *imy-r sm'w* can have made little practical difference to revenue collection. The latter must presumably have been intended to elevate the status of these men.

In the latter part of the reign of Pepy II (Chapter 5), Kanawati believes that the number of *imy-r sm'w* was sharply reduced, being confined to the vizier *nh-ppy-hry-ib* at Meir and *nh-wnt* at Thebes. His arguments for his late sixth dynasty date for the latter are not particularly convincing (see the Appendix), and the early sixth dynasty date given by Baer (op. cit., 67 (112A)) among others has much to commend it, even though Kanawati's date leaves a very convenient situation. His explanation for this change is again to improve revenue collection (p.94). However, this reform is coupled with a decline in the holding of the title *iry-pt* among nomarchs, and one wonders whether there is not here a reassertion by the central government amid a situation of the nomarchs becoming uncomfortably powerful.

The analysis of the end of the Old Kingdom and after presented in Chapter 6 is interesting. The Southern Vizier at the end of the Old Kingdom was at Koptos, and at Deir el Gebrawi in the Herakleopolitan Period. Unrest in the nomes south of Koptos may explain that location of the vizier, but the prospect of Koptos allying with Thebes and then breaking away (pp.111-2) is rather implausible. It is perhaps better to place the events related by *nh-tyfy* in the Herakleopolitan Period (Fischer, *Dendera*, 130, n.575), when the situation would be that the vizierate had been moved after the probable loss of nomes 1-4, but that important officials were placed in the area immediately to the north of those nomes to control matters (*wsr* and *zwti* in the Koptite nome, *b-ihw* in Dendera).

The author is right to reject the old concept that the provinces were becoming more and more independent from the central government during the sixth dynasty, causing a slow decline that led to the eventual collapse of the Old Kingdom. He sees the motivation for these reforms as economic, but some changes do not easily conform to this idea, as the government seemingly felt it necessary to restrict periodically the power given to provincial officials. He has done a great service to the study of the Old Kingdom by attempting to locate and quantify these changes. The difficulty of dating these officials is the major problem of any work on the period, and although there is little doubt that most of these changes occurred, their timing and the extent of the simultaneity with which they were carried out in different parts of the country must remain to a large degree speculative.

N. STRUDWICK

Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des alten Reiches. Im Spiegel der Privatgräber der IV. und V. Dynastie. By BARBARA L. BEGELSACHER-FISCHER. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 37. 150x235 mm. Pp.336. Freiburg, Schwiez, Universitätsverlag and Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981. ISBN 3 7278 0249 9. Price DM 88.

Statements about the non-royal religion of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties have hitherto tended to be broad generalizations or observations related to particular gods. The aim of this study has therefore been to meet a manifest need, and it has resulted in a systematic and well-ordered study of the available material. The term 'private tombs' stands, of course, in contrast to 'royal tombs', although incidental use has been made, for purposes of comparison, of royal monuments; the expression 'tombs of officials' has sometimes been used, but since women are also represented in the group, the term used here is preferable. Inevitably the limitations of the available material have restricted the resulting picture in some ways, as the author points out in her Introduction. It is the cemeteries of the Memphite region that are mainly involved; and there are no pictorial representations of deities. Nor does the material contain much in the way of mythological allusion. The principal pointers to the world of the gods are priestly titles and expressions like *imshw*, 'provided for' or 'honoured'; theophorous personal names, which sometimes permit a link to be assumed between certain deities and human occupations; the names of funerary endowments, especially those that embody place-names which, in conjunction with the name of a deity, may point to local cults; and offering formulae, of which the most common indicates that the king gives an offering to a god or gods so that they may favour the deceased with it. A total of 370 private tombs have here been studied, and note is made of some deficiencies relating to the available sources. Detailed publication of Reisner's excavations at Giza is still lacking, while Mariette's *Mastabas de l'ancien Empire* urgently need collation with the originals.

Not unexpectedly one result of the study has been to show that some deities are mentioned much more frequently than others, and the seventeen deities of the first group are classified as 'great gods' and their names given in Roman script. The sixty-three 'minor gods', on the other hand, are usually referred to with transliterated Egyptian forms; but in this matter it is shown that the classification has no general validity since Bastet, Seshat and Seth, although not often attested here, have a wider importance than the present grouping might

suggest and so it is abandoned in respect of them. The main deities are dealt with in an alphabetical order, from Anubis to Thoth, and the second group of 'minor gods' are dealt with in an appended table. A convenient feature of the presentation is the listing of occurrences at the end of each discussion. One cannot fail to be impressed by the wealth of detailed material which the study has produced. While the author wisely disclaims any attempt to provide a conceptual analysis of the role played by each deity, her concluding references (pp. 249-270), which precede the full Indices and Bibliography, give a valuable conspectus of the results, with more attention given in this section to the lesser deities.

The majority of this latter group occur in priestly titles, but the assessment of the various factors in relation to any deity is not an easy task. Thus in the case of Ptah (p.251), who is attested in only nine *hm-nfr* titles but appears in 180 personal names, a lesser importance in cult is matched by a powerful impact on the life of families. On the other hand, a number of gods are only attested in priestly titles; and a few curiosities emerge, such as Akhet-ḥetep (Tomb 655), a priest of Sakhmet and Wadjet, who was clearly an ardent feminist, for his two other priesthoods were also of female divinities. The importance of Hathor and Neith as deities of the dead is well explained, especially the application to Neith of the term *wpt w3wt nfrwt*, 'she who opens the beautiful ways', with an illusion to her role as guide to the afterworld rather than as a goddess of war (pp. 113 and 255). In personal names the top scorers are Rē' and Ptah, but a significant difference of social orbit is seen in that the former begins his influence in royal circles, achieving wider circulation only in the Fifth Dynasty, whereas in the same period Ptah becomes popular from the start in broader social strata. It may be added that Ptah's high score (180) as opposed to Rē''s (111) probably reflects a regional and political factor since he was the principal god of Memphis, the capital city at the time. Occupational links emerge clearly - that of Ptah, for instance, with craftsmen and that of Seshat with architects and scribes; and the link is sometimes continued within a family from one generation to another. The importance of Khnum and Neith is clear even in earlier times, but the private tombs make no mention of Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Nut, Isis, Nephthys, Amun, Nun and Satis. The most potent influence was exerted by Ptah, Rē', and Hathor. In relation to Ptah an attempt is made (p.269) to use the evidence as a means of support for those, especially F. Junge and H. A. Schlögl, who would deny an Old Kingdom origin to the 'Memphite Theology' and assign it rather to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and the Nineteenth Dynasty respectively. Ptah has of course supreme status in the 'Memphite Theology'. He appears also in the royal monuments of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, but is especially honoured in a popular sense by the varied owners of the private tombs. The 'Memphite Theology' is hardly akin to the spirit of folk religion, being a work of sophisticated theological thought. Further, in this work Ptah is predominantly related to deities who are not attested in the private tombs although they occur in the Pyramid Texts, where Ptah himself is of lesser significance. It is doubtful, however, whether these facts in themselves demand a later origin for the 'Memphite Theology'; they could be construed quite plausibly as pointing to a composition of elitist origin in the Old Kingdom.

A few scattered comments may be proffered. On p.32 the title *māw ḥp*, 'staff of Apis', is discussed, and it is fairly clear, as Helck has shown, that the original sense of 'attendant, keeper' led to a status index of some import, although E. Otto (*Stierkulte*, 14, also cited here) was able to refer to the apparently comparable βουκόλος τοῦ Ὀσοπίου of the Ptolemaic era. The widely disparate point of time is there a difficulty, and the same objection attaches to M. A. Murray's suggestion, cited here in n.3, that the expression means 'speaker of Apis', since it was only in the New Kingdom that the oracular relevance might be firmly in evidence. On p.123 n.4 the author is sceptical about the 'earliest known representation of the god Osiris' as reproduced in the reviewer's *Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (1980), frontispiece. There is a hint of scepticism even about the reading of the name. In fact it is plain for all to see, in spite of the slight damage to the throne-sign. That the representation is 'atypisch' is, on the other hand, a perfectly sound dictum. From the funerary temple of the same king, Djedkaré', comes the figure of Seth, discussed on pp.182-3. An inscription designates him as *wr ḥk3w*, 'great in magical power', and we are invited to compare this with the view of Seth as a 'Trickster' which H. te Velde has cogently presented in *JARCE* 7 (1968), 37ff. There is something amiss here, for the expression was used of several other gods (and goddesses; see K. Bosse-Griffiths in *JEA* 59 (1973), 100ff.). Were all these deities regarded as just 'Tricksters'? To the modern mind magic may be a mere bag of tricks, but to the ancients, and above all to the Egyptians, it was a vital expression of divine power.

It should be stated again that this is in every way an exemplary work of research and that the author merits unreserved congratulation.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Untersuchungen zur Opfertafeln im Alten Reich. By MAHA M. F. MOSTAFA. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 17. 167x236 mm. Pp.xii+155, pls.37, figs.1, tables 6. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag, 1982. ISBN 3 8067 8073 0. Price DM 34.

Apart from museum catalogues and some articles in handbooks very little literature is at hand dealing with the ancient Egyptian offering table.¹ It is such a vast subject that it is wiser to study the offering table according to the main periods of Egyptian history rather than to try and cover the complete period of the ancient Egyptian culture. From this point of view the study that is the topic of this review is wise by choosing only one of these periods and in this particular case the Old Kingdom, taking the opportunity to lay a basis for the study of this subject for the later periods. So there was an opportunity for an all-embracing study into the many facets of the offering table in the Old Kingdom. This opportunity was not taken in its full extent by the author and, although some useful results were the fruits of the research, the final product is much less than I hoped for.

The book consists of only 136 pages of main text divided into four chapters of which the last two, even in the table of contents, do not have a title! Without the nine blank pages separating the chapters and only filled with the words 'Kapitel I' etc. and without the very spacious printing (e.g. pp.30-34, 76-77 *passim*), the book could have been even more condensed, probably not outnumbering 100 pages.

After his introduction in which he defines the subject of his book as being only the stone offering tables, the author describes in the first chapter the development of the offering table during prehistory and dynasties

1-3. Archaeological data show that in those early days the offering table was of a round shape and usually placed in the subterranean parts of the tomb; since dynasty 3 it is found sometimes in the cult chapel. From later texts its name appears to be *ḥꜣwt* and it primarily functioned as a 'dinner table', likely originating from shallow plates (Scharff).

In the next chapter the author discusses the tables of the 4th dynasty where he finds sound arguments for re-dating the offering table with *ḥtp*-sign of the allegedly bodily son of Snefru, Kanefer, to the late 6th dynasty. He bases his arguments e.g. on the results of B. Schmitz's *Untersuchungen zum Titel sꜣ-nꜣꜣwt*, and on his own re-interpretation of the pyramid complex of Snefru at Dashur. In the author's opinion the valley temple excavated by Fakhry is not the real valley temple, but the mortuary temple, because of the fact that function criteria 1, 4 and 5 established by Arnold (*MDAIK* 33, 1-14) for the mortuary or pyramid temple are applicable to Snefru's valley temple. The *ḥtp*-offering tables in the small structures to the north and east date from the period when Snefru was deified i.e. from Neuserre, while his cult became really popular in the 6th dynasty. This implies that the real valley temple still has to be found at the edge of the cultivation, as is usual for these temples. Although I find the arguments for dating the earliest *ḥtp*-tables in the 5th dynasty (see next chapter) and Kanefer's to the 6th convincing, such as the complete disappearance of the *ḥtp*-sign after Kanefer during the 4th and early 5th dynasty, if one assumes that the older dating is correct, I am not completely convinced by his re-interpretation of the Dashur complex for the following reasons: not all of Arnold's criteria are met with in Snefru's 'mortuary' temple, although its early date (not fully developed yet?) and/or damage may be responsible for this, but the second reason is more important, because it is surprising that Fakhry did not find any traces of a connecting causeway to the 'real' valley temple. The author seems not to be puzzled by this question. Further inspection at the site may settle this question. Other results of the study of the dynasty 4 material are the facts that the area in front of the false door in the cult chapel became the fixed place for the offering table, and that the disc on the rectangular offering tables represents the *ḥꜣwt* seen from above, as is proved by CG 1330, where the word is written above the disc.

Chapter 3 deals with the *ḥꜣwt*-table and the *ḥtp*-offering table. During dynasties 1-3 the *ḥꜣwt*-table is only known from representations, while from early dynasty 4 its name is known, mostly occurring in offering lists of dynasty 4-5, and from the end of dynasty 5 also outside the offering lists: Palermo stone, Abu Sir papyri and Pyramid Texts. This late appearance of the word *ḥꜣwt* is explained by the fact that the object was originally made of alabaster and, because of this, was silently understood as being part of the undifferentiated word 'alabaster' in the non-canonical offering list before dynasty 4. Further CG 1330 should be re-dated from dynasty 4 to dynasty 6 and finally, apart from its functional meaning as 'dinner table', there are indications in e.g. sp.82 of the Pyramid Texts of a *sacral* function, the *ḥꜣwt* being equivalent to the Horus eye. The section on the *ḥtp*-table is in the reviewer's opinion the most important part of the book. A new insight in the character, the meaning of the *ḥtp*-sign, its later incorporation and reasons for this in the offering cult and its appearance on offering tables is formulated. Lack of space prohibits giving details of the author's different steps of reasoning, but the gist is that the loaf-on-a-mat originally represents not the idea of 'altar' or 'offering table' as a kind of precursor of the *ḥꜣwt*-table, nor does it represent an offering meal, but rather a normal meal, from which a 'general satisfaction' (*ḥtp*) originated, indicated by *ꜣ* in the early spellings of *ḥtp*, implying an abstract feeling of satisfaction which is caused by the food. From mid-dynasty 5 *ꜣ* is found on offering tables where food offerings were consecrated and therefore it is likely that from the original meaning 'satisfaction' the word got its concrete meaning 'food offering', determined by the *ꜣ*-loaf, and later the word *ḥtp* was used for 'offering table' (Abu Sir papyri). The reason for the appearance of the *ḥtp*-sign on offering tables may be found in the domain processions of the mortuary temples where among abstract (!) gifts like *nh* and *wꜣs*, also *ḥtp*-signs were carried in the hands of the personifications. Such scenes were transferred to the sides of an offering table of which fragments were found in the mortuary temple of Sahure (*ZAS* 104 (1971), 156ff.). The final stage was that the *ḥtp*-sign alone, as most important part, was transferred in relief on top of the offering table, while the complete domain scenes remained on the walls, still in their function of guarantees for the physical existence of the king in the here-after.

In the final chapter the offering tables of the 5th and 6th dynasties are dealt with, while this era is divided into three periods: the time up to Neuserre, from Neuserre to the end of dynasty 5, and end of dynasty 5 to end of dynasty 6. The most common types are the basin-shaped table and the *ḥtp*-table. The former shows one or more basins for liquid offerings, for purification water (spout of wash basin in relief crosses border of the basin), and on one example (CG 1330) inscriptions make it explicitly clear that it also served as a substitute of a garden pond for the here-after. On the different *ḥtp*-tables the *ḥtp*-sign usually means 'satisfaction' and not 'offering table' as is proved by the rather frequent small representation of the deceased before a *ḥꜣwt*-table. Only at the end of the 5th dynasty, in the Abu Sir papyri a *ḥtp*-offering table is mentioned. The examples reached by a flight of usually four stairs are possibly connected with PT 5365 where the deceased climbs to heaven via a ladder.

So far the positive side of the book, the main points of criticism are the following. The typology code is rather chaotic. On p.38 in table 2 the material has been divided into 6 'groups', on p.56 however, the groups are called 'types': e.g. group 2 is type A. Further it appears on the same page that group 4 is sub-divided into 4a and 4b, but this is not indicated on the table. While reading the book it becomes gradually clear that group 2 corresponds to type A, group 3 to type C, group 4a to type B, and group 4b to type A+B. Groups 1, 5 and 6 are not referred to by type + letter. It would have been much more convenient, plus logical, to drop the use of the 'groups' and replace it by type A (corresponds to group 1)type F (group 6), sub-dividing each group by further letter and/or number system. A letter + number code is used in this book, but the typology could have been much more refined, leading to chronologically ordered typology trees, or families of each individual main type (A-F). It is not the place here to develop an alternative proper typology code system, but one example may show the crudeness of the system used in the present book. Plates 18,2 and 20 are both of the type (A+B)2 - on the latter plate the type code is absent; the author has been very careless in adding type codes to the plates, which makes it for the user, not for the systematic reader, a real trial to establish the types on e.g. pls.20, 22, 23,2, 24,1-2, 25 etc.; he has to be smart enough to consult pp.151-155 where a list of plates with the type code in brackets is printed, but they differ considerably from each other: the former shows one *ḥꜣwt*-

disc flanked by two rectangular basins, the other shows two *ḥꜣwt*-discs with two basins as a 'base' for each disc (it looks as if twice the *šn* (Ω) is represented).

A more refined typology could also have been visualized by schematic drawings of each type and its components. Further a catalogue of all examples of each type, at least of the published specimens, would have been very useful. As far as cataloguing is concerned the presentation of the material is very unbalanced: only in chapter 2 is (an incomplete) catalogue of material given, why not for the other types? Another interesting, but difficult, field of research, I admit, would have been to try and connect individual tables with known mastabas by using titles and name of the owners. A further example of the unbalanced presentation of material is the discussion of JdE 89379, which takes pp.103-110(!), including a two-page table of spellings of the title *imy-r ḥwt* 'ḥt which, in itself of interest, should not have been mixed up with a typological discussion. If the same space had been dedicated to all listed examples (pp.145-149) the book would have counted at least 700 pages.

An example of the superficial treatment of the material is the two-page table of spellings of the word *ḥꜣwt* (pp.64-65). On p.63, n.1 the author refers to the spellings collected in Hassan, *Giza VI*², about which he remarks that some of the former's examples had to be re-dated and for this reason are left out of his own collection of spellings. Apart from the fact that it would have been convenient to quote the plate nos. of Hassan, he does not specify which examples of Hassan had to be re-dated, and this is the more so unforgivable, as the author himself gives 65 spellings, while Hassan has over 100 undamaged spellings. I find it difficult to imagine that the 'some' just mentioned actually mean almost 40 (!) examples. The author gives no explanation for this enormous difference.

Interesting questions are ignored: e.g. the offering table with spout (the author's 'group' 6) is not further discussed, nothing about its *raison d'être*, development etc. This list may be enough to demonstrate some very weak points, but there is still more that cannot be left unmentioned. There is no bibliography, so the works used for this study have to be gleaned from the footnotes! The list of abbreviations is incomplete, e.g. on p. 75, n.3, *EAG* is quoted. For an insider it is not too difficult to see that Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* must be meant, but it is not in the abbreviations. Another example is p.74, n.4, *AV 5: Archäologische Veröffentlichungen*. The hieroglyphic texts are carelessly drawn and on pp.104-105 the author managed to copy five (!) times $\frac{1}{2}$ in the wrong direction. There were also two hands at work on the drawings. Of a good quality are, e.g. pls. 1-5, 8, 10-13 etc., and they are in the case of offering tables facsimiles, while, for example, pls. 6, 7, 14, 16, etc. show the hieroglyphic hand of the author. But worst of all are the references. Without checking every reference, it appeared very soon to me that the work bristles with wrong quotations so that the book is useless as a reference source. Before ending this review with a list in which only the worst misquotations are noted, the final verdict cannot be other than that the book is disappointing.

p.xi *BIFAO*, read: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, instead of *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*.

IFÄ, why not *IÄF*, *I*(inschriften der) *Ä*(gyptischen) *F*(rühzeit)?

p.1, n.8. No reference where these offering tables in the quoted work are discussed: I, pp.172 (B4)-173. Worse is that even the references given are wrongly quoted: for 20-21D read 20-21d, for 22E-24b read 22E-24B, e and add 20-21s (A13) = brass altar.

p.14, 1.3 below hieroglyphs read 'reinen', instead of 'reichen'.

p.15, n.1 read p.12, instead of 17.

p.25, n.3, reference incomplete, instead of p.180, read p.180, C II 7 (with reference to ill.).

p.26, n.2 the quotation in the main text is not from p.87 of the quoted book; I could not find it.

p.27, n.3, incomplete reference: p.23, 27-5-10.

n.4, instead of p.19, read p.17.

n.6, instead of p.36, read p.22; the highest plate no. in the publication is XXIV, instead of XXXVIIIb, read IIIb.

p.28, n.1, instead of 236, read 235.

n.3, add pl.XXXVIIIb.

line 4 from bottom in main text, read 5.0 cms., instead of 0.5.

p.51, n.1, instead of Fakhry, *ASAE*, read Ricke, *ASAE* 52.

p.61, n.6, instead of Junker, *Giza I*, fig.35, read 36. Junker, *Giza III*, fig.32 cannot be meant; add to Hassan, *Giza V*, fig.109: fig.111; pl.XI.

p.62, n.3, delete PT 581.

pp.64-65, no.24, the shape of the hieroglyph is not ∇ , but $\}.$

no.40 occurs twice in the quoted source.

nos.17, 48, 49, 54, the offering table determinative is very inaccurately drawn, except for no.17 all show only three loaves. Although Borchart's CG is abundantly quoted, yet his nos. 1380 (5th dyn.) and 1503 (Old Kingdom) are missing.

pp.66-67, 5, insert after *JEA* XIX (1933): "pl.XXII opposite" p.151.

18, Petrie, *Deshasheh* should be deleted, on the plate quoted the *ḥꜣwt* is destroyed.

21, instead of fig.3, read fig.9.

36, instead of Bd. II, read Bd. III.

38, in Posener-Krieger's *Les Archives* there is no plate 34a.

48, instead of pl.XL, read XLIII.

57, on pl.LVIII are more spellings of *ḥꜣwt* recorded, no.67 is the one reproduced by Mostafa.

p.68, n.2, line 8, read 33, instead of 32.

- p.76, n.5, why write here $\uparrow \circ$, while in quoted text on the same (!) page $\uparrow \curvearrowright$ is written?
- p.92, n.5, read 49, instead of 48.
- p.94, PT 1116d, read \circ instead of \circ .
- p.120, type (A+B)1, the quoted example CG 1316 is definitely type B.
- p.124, line 3 from bottom in main text, read CG 1353, not 1553.

¹ The only monograph on offering tables known to me is the unpublished thesis of O. Orloff, *La table d'offrandes*, Bruxelles, 1953, of which a copy is in the library of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden..

R. von WALSEN.

Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom. By CHRISTINE LILYQUIST. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 27. 287x208mm. Pp.xiii+107, pls.150. Deutscher Kunstverlag München/Berlin, 1979. ISBN 3 422 00801 2. Price not given.

Der Spiegel muss, schliesst man nach der Häufigkeit seines Vorkommens, sowohl als realer Gegenstand als auch in bildlichen Wiedergaben, im alten Ägypten eine recht bedeutende Rolle gespielt haben, die zweifellos diejenige eines reinen Gebrauchsobjektes überstieg. Besass die Ägyptologie lange Zeit nur Teilpublikationen von Spiegeln aus bestimmten Sammlungen, und waren Einzelaspekte ihres Vorkommens, ihrer Darstellung und ihrer Symbolik an verstreuten Orten behandelt worden, so hat Christine Lilyquist mit ihrer Arbeit über die Spiegel nun den ersten Teil einer umfassenden Veröffentlichung der Gattung vorgelegt. Diese, aus einer Dissertation der New York University herausgewachsen, musste in zwei Teile aufgespalten werden, weil das gesammelte Material zu umfangreich war, und weil sich die Autorin zum Ziel gesetzt hatte, den behandelten Stoff so vollständig wie möglich zu geben. Der erste Teil, der das Thema von den Anfängen bis und mit dem Mittleren Reich behandelt, liegt nun als MÄS 27 vor. Die Publikation des restlichen Materials stellt die Verfasserin für einen späteren Zeitpunkt in Aussicht, und man kann nur hoffen, dass sie dieses Versprechen wird einlösen können. Die bereits veröffentlichte Studie legt nämlich nicht nur das gegenständliche und das bildliche Material umfassend vor, sondern nimmt die Fundstellen so gründlich wie möglich unter die Lupe, um zu verlässlichen chronologischen Resultaten zu gelangen, und schliesst ausserdem noch weitere Teiluntersuchungen mit ein. Dabei ist allerdings bedauerlich, dass wohl wegen des umfangreichen Stoffs eine so kleine Schrift mit engem Zeilenabstand gewählt wurde; die winzigen Buchstaben der Anmerkungen lassen überdies die Lektüre für die Augen geradezu zur Qual werden. Man hätte sicher eine Lösung zwischen dieser Ausführung und dem anderen Extrem finden können, das in dem ungefähr gleichzeitig erschienenen Heft 38 der MÄS von Edgar Pusch über das Senet-Brettspiel mit seinen riesigen Lettern und breiten Abständen verwirklicht ist.

Lilyquist's Arbeit ist in einen Vorspann mit ihrer Zeilsetzung, drei verchieden grosse Hauptteile und einen Appendix angeordnet. Dieser steht, wie es sich für einen Anhang ziemt, in dem gedruckten Buch am Schluss (S. 102-144), wohingegen er in Wirklichkeit am Anfang der Untersuchung entstanden ist, und zwar deshalb, weil die Autorin ermitteln wollte, nach welchen Gesichtspunkten die Spiegel von ihren Ausgräbern jeweils datiert worden waren. Bei dieser Fragestellung stiess sie bald auf die Problematik archäologischer Datierungen überhaupt. Der Appendix widerspiegelt ihre Auseinandersetzung damit und gibt ihre Prüfung der Datierungsmethoden an ausgewählten Fundplätzen und eine Diskussion der Arbeitsverfahren verschiedener Archäologen, vor allem von W. M. F. Petrie und seinen Nachfolgern. Als Ergebnis folgt daraus, dass viele der überkommenen Datierungen in Frage gestellt werden. Weil die Verfasserin bei dieser im Anhang untergebrachten Studie nach Fundorten vorgeht, ergab sich auch eine Anordnung nach der Herkunft für den ersten grossen Teil des Buches, der das Corpus der datierten ägyptischen Spiegel und Darstellungen solcher Objekte enthält (S. 4-48).


Da es für Metallspiegel aus vorgeschichtlicher Zeit keine Anhaltspunkte gibt, beginnt diese Zusammenstellung mit der archaischen Periode (1.-3. Dynastie), überspringt die 4. und 5. Dynastie, da hier offenbar kein Material vorliegt, geht dann über zur Epoche des späteren Alten Reiches bis zum frühen Mittleren Reich (Ende der 5. Dyn. - 9. Dyn.), setzt fort mit der Zeit des frühen Mittleren Reiches, das von der 10. Dyn. bis zur frühen 12. Dynastie gezählt wird, und endest mit der mittleren 12. bis zur 17. Dynastie. Innerhalb dieser zeitlichen Gruppen werden jeweils nacheinander die Stücke behandelt, deren Kontext bekannt ist, und zwar sowohl die Spiegelfunde als auch die Darstellungen von Spiegeln, in geographischer Abfolge. Daraufhin schliessen die Objekte an, deren Fundzusammenhang unbekannt ist und Darstellungen, von deren Herkunft man nichts weiss. Bei den Originalobjekten werden, wo bekannt, jeweils die Fundumstände diskutiert und die für eine Datierung relevanten Mitfunde besprochen.

Der zweite grosse Hauptteil, als 'Analysis of the Subject' überschrieben (S. 49-95), befasst sich mit den äusseren Merkmalen der Objekte. Zuerst wird die reflektierende Oberfläche besprochen. Wir möchten allerdings die Erklärung (S. 49) der Stelle aus den Admonitions (8, 5), wo es heisst, dass diejenige, die ihr Gesicht im Wasser besah, jetzt einen Spiegel besitze, für eine Überinterpretation halten. Man braucht hier wohl kaum an ein kleines dunkles Behältnis zu denken, in dem das eingefüllte Wasser als reflektierende Fläche dienen konnte, sondern möchte die einfachste und natürlichste Lösung vorziehen: spiegeln konnte man sich schliesslich in jedem Tümpel.

Ein Problem entsteht bei den Metallspiegeln von 'herzförmiger' Gestalt, die der archaischen Periode zugeschrieben worden sind, da nach Ansicht eines Metallspezialisten, James Weinstein, diese Objekte nicht so früh datiert werden können (S. 50).

Spiegel der 6. Dynastie sind normalerweise elliptisch und weisen kurze breite Zapfen mit geraden Seitenbegrenzungen auf. Garstang fand in Abydos jedoch das seltene Exemplar eines Spiegels in der Form eines Lotosblattes; ein sehr ähnliches Stück ist heute im Museum von Kairo. Die exemplare des frühen Mittleren Reiches sind ebenfalls elliptisch bis zu kreisrund; sie haben aber im Vergleich zu früher kürzere Zapfen; dies bleibt auch später noch so, allerdings ist daneben Tendenz vorhanden, den oberen Rand der Schreibe abzuflachen und die Seiten herunterzuziehen, in der Art einer Herzform.

Spiegelgriffe sind aus dem Alten Reich nur wenige erhalten, aber es scheint, dass sie fast durchwegs die Gest-

alt von Papyruspflanzen mit mehr oder weniger ausladender Dolde besitzen. Diese Form findet auch noch später häufig Verwendung. Vom frühen Mittleren Reich an krönt das Haupt der Hathor einige Spiegelgriffe; oft wird der Kopf der Göttin direkt mit der Papyrusdolde verbunden. In der 12. Dynastie kommen an dieser Stelle auch Pantherköpfe vor. Ganz am Ende des Mittleren Reiches, d.h., im Zeitraum von der 13. - 17. Dynastie, begegnen Stücke, bei denen der Papyrusdolde zwei Falken zugefügt werden; die Stiele dieser Griffe werden oft mit einem einfachen oder komplizierteren Zopfmuster verziert. Seltener ist der obere Teil des Griffes als Lotosblüte ausgearbeitet, dieses seit dem früheren Mittleren Reich. Ausserdem erscheinen seit dem späten Alten Reich Beispiele, bei denen der Spiegelgriff als Götterstandarte ausgeführt ist, dieser Typ ist der zweithäufigste nach dem Papyrusgriff in den Darstellungen. Und schliesslich ist seit dem späten Mittleren Reich ein weiterer Grifftypus belegt, der in der Form des in der Hieroglyphe für *hm*  abgebildeten Schlägels gestaltet ist.

Weitere Abschnitte des 2. Hauptteils sind den Spiegelbehältern (S. 63-65) und den Bezeichnungen für den Spiegel (S. 65-71) gewidmet. Ein eigenes Kapitel (S. 71-80) behandelt den Kontext der originalen und der abgebildeten Spiegel. Daraus geht hervor, dass viele Spiegel in direktem Kontakt, auf dem Körper des Verstorbenen gefunden wurden. Auf Darstellungen sind vor allem Szenen belegt, in denen der Spiegel sich in der Nähe des oder Toten befindet, von der Verstorbenen in der Hand gehalten, vom Personal herbeigebracht oder geradezu präsentiert wird. Ausserdem sind einige wenige Darstellungen des Spiegeltanzes aus dem Alten Reich belegt. Ausserhalb der Szenen mit Personem erscheint der Spiegel in Bildern des Grabinventars auf Wänden von Sarkkammern und in den 'Frisen d'objets' von Särgen. Ein kurzer Abschnitt (S. 80-83) geht nochmals auf die Herkunft des Materials nach geographischen Gesichtspunkten ein. Weiter werden - verschiedene Spiegel tragen nämlich Inschriften - die bekannten Spiegelbesitzer nach Geschlecht und Titel untersucht (S. 83-91), wobei sich herausstellt, dass zwar auch Männer als solche belegt sind, dass jedoch den grössten Anteil Frauen bilden; bei ihnen ist der weitaus am häufigsten belegte Titel derjenige einer Hathorpriesterin. Es wird aber eigens (S. 86) bemerkt, dass auch in relativ einfachen Begräbnissen Spiegel gefunden wurden und dass diese bei allen Ständen und Altersstufen Verwendung gefunden haben.

Der sehr kurze dritte Teil, mit 'Conclusions' überschrieben (S. 96-99) bringt die vorsichtige Deutung des Materials. Es wird hervorgehoben, dass der Spiegel meist in Verbindung mit Frauen erscheint, aber trotzdem auch für Männer im funerären Kontext wichtig ist. Schwierig bleibt es, die religiöse Funktion des Spiegels für die Lebenden zu erkennen. Hingegen spielt er offenbar für die Wiedergeburt der Verstorbenen eine Rolle. Diesem Ergebnis möchte die Rezensentin auf Grund ihrer eigenen Studien lebhaft zustimmen und weiter unten nochmals darauf zurückkommen. Unterstrichen wird von der Verfasserin die Beziehung des Spiegels zur Hathor, insbesondere auch im Hinblick auf die Erklärung der Spiegelscheibe als Sinnbild für die Sonne, und es wird die Möglichkeit angesprochen, dass der Tote durch das im Spiegel symbolisierte Sonnenlicht seine Sehkraft wieder erlangen könnte.

Der Band wird beschlossen durch verschiedene Indices und vor allem durch einen sehr wertvollen und ausführlichen Abbildungsteil. Man kann der Verfasserin nur dankbar sein für die reiche und nahezu vollständige Dokumentation, die sie in ihrem Buch gebracht hat für die riesige entsagungsvolle Arbeit, die sie in dieses Werk gesteckt hat. Mit Spannung darf man dem in Aussicht gestellten weiteren Band über das Neue Reich und die Folgezeit entgehen und hoffen, dass die weitere Untersuchung vielleicht noch mehr Licht auf die Bedeutung des Spiegels werfen kann.

Inzwischen seien noch einige Überlegungen und Anregungen zu dieser Frage angefügt. Dass der Spiegel bei den alten Ägyptern, wie bei vielen Völkern mehr als ein normaler Gebrauchsgegenstand gewesen sein muss, dürfte zwangsläufig bereits in seinem Wesen beschlossen liegen. Der Mensch, der in die aus toter Materie bestehende Spiegelfläche schaut, erblickt darin sich eigenes lebendiges Antlitz (vgl. dazu die Bezeichnungen *nh* und *nh n m* *hr*, S. 65 ff.), das daraus wieder verschwindet, wenn er sich abwendet oder den Spiegel ablegt. Das Bild, das ihm aus dem Spiegel entgegenkommt, ist seitenverkehrt. Ausserdem sieht der Betrachter nicht wie sonst, das was vor ihm steht, sondern der Spiegel zeigt ihm, umgekehrt, das was hinter ihm liegt. Nun ist Verkehrtheit ein typisches Merkmal des Jenseits; dort ist alles umgekehrt als im Diesseits (vgl. E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, Zurich/Munster 1972, S. 31 f.). Die aufgezählten Eigenschaften verbinden den Spiegel eng mit dem Jenseits und dürften auch den Grund zu seiner Regenerationssymbolik darstellen: umgekehrt als im Diesseits, wo der Ablauf von Geburt zum Sterben führt, erhofft man sich im Jenseit; ein Wiederaufleben aus dem Tode. Der Spiegel fügt sich somit schön in die Reihe der anderen Toilettengegenstände wie z.B. Salbe oder Schminke ein, die für die Verjüngung eine ähnliche Bedeutung haben (vgl. dazu *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Mainz 1976, S. 140 f.), und es ist daher wenig erstaunlich, dass er auch im funerären Bereich bei Männern eine Rolle spielt. Er hat eben Amulett-Charakter, was besonders hervorsteht, wenn er auf der Leiche selber gefunden wird oder gar in die Bandagen eingewickelt ist (*Skarabäen Basel*, S. 141 mit anm. 573). Interessant ist jedenfalls auch die Übereinstimmung, dass während der Zeitspanne in der 4. und 5. Dynastie, in der die Spiegel fehlen, auch keine sonstigen Amulette vorkommen. Wird die Spiegelscheibe als Sonne verstanden, indem sie auf eine Götterstandarte gesetzt ist, wird die Regenerationsdeutung nur unterstrichen: das Gestirn, das jeden Abend stirbt und jeden Morgen neu entsteht, ist das augenfälligste Wiedergeburtssymbol der alten Ägypter. In die gleiche Richtung weisen die pflanzlichen Elemente am Spiegel: das Lotosblatt, die Lotosblüte und die Papyrusdolde. Sie alle können als Bild des ständigen Kreislaufes der Vegetation und damit als Chiffre für die Hoffnung auf Wiedererblühen aus dem Tode verstanden werden. Besonders der Papyrus steht in enger Verbindung mit der Göttin Hathor, was formal die Papyrusgriffe mit eingefügten Hathorköpfen auch deutlich vor Augen führen (zum Pantherkopf, der auch an dieser Stelle erscheinen kann, vgl. *Skarabäen Basel*, S. 129 f.). Die Dekoration mit den zwei Falken hat Lilyquist ebenfalls bereits mit der Göttin in Beziehung gesetzt (S. 95) aber wir glauben, auch in den Spiegelgriffen in Gestalt von Zöpfen mehr als nur ein dekoratives Element sehen zu sollen und möglicherweise 'Hathorlocken' erkennen zu dürfen (vgl. E. Staehelin, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 81). Überdies ist auch der Spiegeltanz, der in einigen Gräben abgebildet ist, ein Hathortanz. Es deutet also bei dem Spiegel sehr vieles auf die beiden Elemente Hathor und Regeneration. Nun ist Hathor nicht nur Patronin der Frauen und der Liebe und als solche Spenderin von Fruchtbarkeit und Geburt, sondern darüber hinaus Garant für die Wiedergeburt, was zu ihrem andern Aspekt als Todesgöttin gut passt. An vielen Beispielen lässt sich die Affinität der Hathor zur Regeneration aufzeigen (E. Staehelin, 'Zur Hathorsymbolik in der ägyptischen Kleinkunst', *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 76-84, spez. 80 ff), und wenn der Spiegel mit seinem dem Jenseits verbundenen Charakter besonders enge Hathorzüge

aufweist, so stimmen die Ergebnisse schön zusammen.

ELISABETH STAEBELIN

The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el Bahari. By DIETER ARNOLD from the notes of HERBERT WINLOCK. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition. 265x350 mm. Pp.xv+71. Pls.53. New York, 1979. Price £41.25.

This volume is a welcome publication of the work carried out by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari, during 1920-25 and 1930-31. The publication of old excavations from stored field notes is full of difficulties, even when full and detailed notes are available. It is particularly valuable, therefore, that this volume has been prepared by an author who possesses a comprehensive knowledge of the site, acquired during his own excavations and research in the temple of Mentuhotep. This knowledge has enabled the author to control and evaluate the material which he was invited to publish, as he states in his Introduction: 'I thought to serve Egyptology best by rendering the publication both as a report and as an updated review, including criticism and even rejection of Winlock's theories and conclusions when necessary'. This approach has resulted in an extremely valuable publication, which will be used in conjunction with Dr. Arnold's own volumes on the temple of Mentuhotep¹ and the older reports of Naville. Excluded from the book are the intramural tombs of royal and private ownership, and the poor burials found to the south of the temple, because these remains merit separate study and publication.

The text of the book is divided not only by chapters, but also into numbered sections on different topics, making it very easy to locate the description of any particular feature on the site. The first chapter contains a factual account of the buildings and their excavation, with clear descriptions supported by useful text-figures where necessary. Considerable detail is given, thanks to the careful records made by Winlock and his team. Certainly the information on measurements, building materials and the nature of different fills provides a valuable supplement to the publications of Naville.

In Chapters 2 and 3, concerning the reconstruction of the temple and its building-phases respectively, the text changes from a factual account to an exercise in interpretation. It is here that the author's familiarity with the site is of greatest value, as he discusses Winlock's theories in the light of his own recent studies. On the subject of the reconstruction of the temple only the points of disagreement have been noted, with an explanation of the problems and a useful comparative presentation of the solutions proposed by Winlock and by Dr. Arnold. The disputed nature of the central structure is briefly discussed once again, Winlock having accepted Naville's conclusion that there was a pyramid. The comments of Petrie on this matter are worth mentioning, as they do not seem to have been noted in the discussion in this volume nor in Dr. Arnold's publication of his own work.² In his *History of Egypt*, I, (1924 edn.) Petrie writes: 'But the difficulty is, that from the casing, which would consist of about 800 blocks, not a single chip of the pyramid angle has been found. The sloping-faced blocks are awkward material for a later builder, and the acute edges would naturally break away, so it is very difficult to suppose that there was a pyramid here'.³

In the consideration of the building phases of the temple, in Chapter 3, Dr. Arnold has adapted his theories published in *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep*, I, to take account of the true evidence of Winlock's notes, whereas previously he had been forced to take Winlock's conclusions on trust. The alterations are clearly shown in the summary chart on page 45, which also illustrates Winlock's own ideas about the building sequence.

With Chapter 4 there is a return to a straight report on the results of the excavations, consisting of a description of the finds. The statues of Mentuhotep are treated first, with comments on their original positions. In discussing Winlock's proposal that the statues on the north and south sides of the court wore the red and white crowns respectively, Arnold quotes the evidence of the Metropolitan Museum head 26.3.29, which wears the red crown (see Pls. 24-25 of the volume), and the New Kingdom stela found by Naville⁴ showing the statues of Amenophis I and Mentuhotep, where the latter are shown in both red and white crowns. But curiously, no mention is made of the sandstone head from Naville's excavations, now in the British Museum,⁵ representing Mentuhotep wearing the white crown. Despite the fact that this head was found in the south-west part of the temple it does seem to be about the right size to have belonged to one of the statues on the approach. Clearly, the heads must have been widely scattered, the Metropolitan example itself having been found in a rubbish-hole in the court of the Hatshepsut temple.

There follows an exemplary description of the foundation-deposits from beneath the corners of the temple platform, with detailed lists of the objects, their dimensions, and copies of the inscriptions. The description is supported by excellent photographs (Pls. 28-32) and plans (Pls. 52-53). The nature of these deposits agrees well with Middle Kingdom foundation-deposits elsewhere, with contents including meat-offerings and other food-stuffs, mud-bricks (some containing inscribed tablets of different materials) and pottery vessels. Some bread was included in these deposits, but more loaves were found in scattered holes in the northern half of the courtyard. These special bread-deposits are described separately on pages 57-8. The final part of the catalogue of finds comprises an account of the miscellaneous items discovered, including bread-moulds, workmen's tools and animal remains.

At the end of the text are a number of short sections providing useful supplementary information. The matters dealt with comprise the sequence of work of the Metropolitan Museum Expedition in the Mentuhotep temple, the staffing of the expedition, a handy list of brick types and sizes, and a contents list to Winlock's notebook. Finally, there is a descriptive section to accompany certain of the plates, stating the sources of the drawings and providing helpful comments on the sections. The plates themselves have been produced to a very high standard; the photographs, from the archives of the Expedition, are clear and informative, and have been supplemented by equally good views taken by the author or by D. Johannes; the drawn plans and sections, most of which have been inked in specially for this volume, are high-quality archaeological drawings.

The combination of good archaeological recording by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition and an author with first-hand knowledge of the site has resulted in a first-rate volume, showing that all is not lost when the publication of an excavation is delayed. In the Preface of the book, Dr. Lilyquist states that the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum is anxious to press ahead with the publication of the remaining work of the

Egyptian Expedition. It is sincerely to be hoped that scholars can be found who are as well equipped to deal with the material as Dr. Arnold.

- 1 D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, 3 vols, Mainz, 1974-81.
- 2 Ibid, I: *Architektur und Deutung*, 27-32.
- 3 Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, *From the Earliest Times to the XVIIth. Dynasty*, (11th ed.), 141.
- 4 Naville, *Eleventh-Dynasty Temple*, I, 60 and pl.XXV (B). This stela is in the British Museum, number EA 690.
- 5 Number EA 720. See Naville, op. cit., 26, n.1 and pl.XIII (G).

A. J. SPENCER

The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi. Part I: Text. By ASHRAF I. SADEK. 295x219 mm. Pp.vii+120, maps 2. Warminster, Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1980. ISBN 0 85668 162 8. Price £22.

Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-Wüste. By KARL-JOACHIM SEYFRIED. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 15. 238x170 mm. Pp.xiv+285, many text figs., map 1, pls.35. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag, 1981. ISBN 3 8067 8056 0. Price DM 45.

Though these two books are different in scope and treatment, they overlap considerably. Dr. Sadek is concerned primarily with republishing the corpus of Wadi el-Hudi inscriptions, most of which were given their *editio princeps* by the late Ahmed Fakhry; along with this major objective, he makes many comments about points of interest in each individual text and some observations on the nature of the expeditions. Dr. Seyfried, on the other hand, is interested first and foremost in the organisation, personnel, chronology and activities of the expeditions, in Wadi el-Hudi and in Sinai and Wadi Hammamat as well, but he dwells at length on the texts as the sources of his analyses. Wadi el-Hudi constitutes by far the longest section of his book; he republishes many of the inscriptions in Fakhry's edition and others which had already been published. He reproduces Fakhry's figures for the texts he includes, gives his own hieroglyphic transcriptions, and provides photographs and facsimiles of a number of Wadi el-Hudi texts as well as facsimiles of two Sinai texts. While the two works are complementary, the central concerns of each being more peripheral to the other, the amount of redundancy is such that it points to a need for better communication and cooperation in the discipline, especially as Sadek's work was presented as a Sorbonne dissertation in 1977, while Seyfried's was accepted by the University of Bonn in 1979. Though Seyfried notes that Prof. Leclant informed him that a new edition by Sadek was in preparation (p.7), it is ironic and unfortunate that the two authors did not or could not collaborate, and that neither was able to make use of the other's work.

Dr. Sadek's book, after a brief introduction, proceeds to the corpus, which it presents in chronological order, while keeping the Fakhry texts and others separated. (Why 'Undated Inscriptions, II', p.98, is a separate section, while all three texts appear in Fakhry's plates, is puzzling). The non-inscriptional graffiti are enumerated (pp.80-82). The entry for each text comprises number(s), date, bibliography, a brief description, a normalized copy in the clear and familiar hieroglyphs of K. A. Kitchen, textual notes, translation, commentary and footnotes. The commentary contains many observations and suggestions on the contents of the texts which could have formed the basis for the type of discussion of specific aspects of the texts provided by Seyfried. (The plates are awaited in Part II). The book concludes with a brief discussion of 'Amethyst Mining Expeditions of the Middle Kingdom in the Light of the Inscriptions' (pp.100-105), a useful set of indices including a glossary, and two maps.

Dr. Seyfried's introduction contains a table listing the dated expeditions of Wadi el-Hudi, Sinai and Wadi Hammamat, from S'ankhkarē' Mentuhotpe through Amenemhēt IV. The sections dealing with the respective sites follow. Apart from the presentation of the copious selection of Wadi el-Hudi texts (including transliterations, translations and thorough commentaries), the formats of the three parts are similar: a chronological catalogue of dated or datable expeditions, with participants (if any are listed), a tally of the attested staffs and manpower, a list of attested titles borne by members of each expedition, a suggested ranking and organizational scheme for each expedition in chart form (similar in principle to the charts in Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, but seldom as complex), remarks on the titles, and a tabulation and discussion of the recurring formulae in each set of texts. The Wadi el-Hudi section also includes notes on the designations of the Wadi el-Hudi (pp.135-136), the deities attested in the texts (pp.137-138), and an excursus 'ḥsmn = Amethyst' (pp.139-150) which discusses the attestation of the word, the material in archaeological contexts, orthography, the palaeography of the 'pestle' sign, and comparative lexicography. Seyfried notes the probable Akkadian equivalent *ḥašmanu* and decides that Hebrew *ḥašmal* is probably a different word corresponding to Akkadian *ešmaru*, Old Persian *išmaru* and Elamite *is-malu*. The plates conclude the volume.

Dr. Sadek publishes two new texts, ## 146-147, both dating to year 28 of Senwosret I. Dr. Seyfried presents no new texts, but he does add a new fragment of # 23. Seyfried entirely omits a number of texts (## 1, 5, 33, 41-42, 44-45, 49-50, 55-56, 60, 64-65, 67-92, 100), provides token entries for some (## 39, 51, 93, V = Sadek's 148), while in the case of # 38 he notes his inability to arrive at a meaningful transcription. In some of these instances, he notes that he did not have the opportunity to make collations.

Drs. Sadek and Seyfried have both done their work painstakingly and thoroughly. In his foreword to Sadek's volume, Dr. Kitchen writes, "We may consider the version of the texts here published by Dr. Sadek as being, if not definitive, as near to that ideal as is likely to be attained for a long time to come". The really formidable epigraphic difficulties of the Wadi el-Hudi inscriptions alluded to by Dr. Kitchen make the work of both these scholars impressive indeed, and it is hardly surprising that the two authors disagree on a number of readings. It is often difficult to decide between them, or among them and other commentators (especially in the absence of Sadek's plates); sometimes none of the suggested readings seems quite satisfactory. Though we cannot examine nearly all the disputed passages in the space of this review, we shall comment on several. (These remarks are extremely tentative, as the reviewer has not had the opportunity to examine or collate the texts and

is dependent upon published materials).

2) line 4: Sadek's $\dot{\imath}m\dot{y}-r\dot{z}$ 'w n(y) nb.f $\dot{q}<\dot{d}>$ hst.f is clearly preferable to Seyfried's $\dot{\imath}m\dot{y}-r\dot{z}$ pr n(y) $\dot{h}nm\dot{-}\dot{d}t$ $\dot{\imath}ntf$ (which closely follows Fakhry), despite Schenkel's arguments.

line 5: The reviewer suggests $w^{\dot{b}}\dot{s}w(y) m \dot{\imath}sft$, with $w^{\dot{b}}$ as a priestly title (more closely in accord with Seyfried).

14) line 9: Sadek's $\dot{s}z.n.\dot{\imath}$ is perhaps likelier than Seyfried's $w[p].n.\dot{\imath}$ or $wn(?)n.\dot{\imath}$.

line 14: Seyfried's emendation of $n \dot{d}t$ to $r \dot{d}t$ is unnecessary.

line 17: Sadek's $\dot{s}mst$ and $m\dot{z}$ rather than Seyfried's $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}t$ and $m\dot{z}m$.

line 18: Seyfried's $\dot{\imath}k\dot{r}.f$ (Sadek's second choice) rather than the $\dot{\imath}wn(?)f$ Sadek prefers.

53) line 4: Seyfried's $\dot{\imath}\dot{\imath}.n.(i) m...$ is probably preferable to Sadek's $\dot{s}ms(w) nmt\dot{y}$.

Altogether, as far as the reviewer can determine on the basis of published materials, in texts published in both works the preferable readings are about evenly distributed. The two commentaries together are quite exhaustive in presenting options for disputed signs and groups. Sadek's normalized texts reproduce the format and detail of the originals more faithfully than Seyfried's, which are all transcribed from left to right in horizontal lines. This is remedied to some extent by Seyfried's inclusion of Fakhry's figures (which are however sharply reduced and often faint) and the plates at the end.

With regard to the translations, another reviewer (V. L. Davis, *JAOS* 103 (1983), 791-792) notes that Dr. Sadek does not avail himself of current syntactic insights such as those of Polotsky and his school; the same general criticism can be leveled at Seyfried. Several points in Sadek's commentary can be noted as lacking a rigorous approach to syntax and terminology:

#143) line 14: The active Old Perfective in the formula $\dot{\imath}n.k(w\dot{\imath}) \dot{\imath}m r \dot{\imath}t wrt$ (for a tabulation of examples, see Seyfried, pp.133-134) is taken as "in its residual active role in the 1st person of verbs of motion (Gardiner, § 312, 3)". However, the class of verbs of motion is intransitive, so this occurrence would rather seem to exemplify the old active-transitive use (Gardiner, § 312, 1), unless the pregnant use of $\dot{\imath}n\dot{\imath}$ enables it to be treated as an intransitive. $\dot{s}hnn.\dot{\imath}$ is probably not a geminating $\dot{s}qm.f$ as circumstantial, but rather an anomalous writing of $\dot{s}hn.n.\dot{\imath}$; the circumstantial $\dot{s}qm.n.f$ yields an anterior circumstance, "when I had collected", which suits the context very well.

#147) line 3: $\dot{M}rr.f$ after the conjunction $n-\dot{\imath}t-n$ is not "circumstantial" but nominal $\dot{s}qm.f$.

For the suggested use of $\dot{d}n$ "behead" before the New Kingdom (# 143, line 1), cf. the reviewer in *JNES* 31 (1972), 338-339.

Seyfried's Abb.34, promised on p.107 for his Wadi el-Hudi inscription V, is apparently omitted; Abb.34 at the end of the book is Černý-Gardiner, #86 from Serabit el-Khadim, Sinai. On p.133 under VII, 1, $\dot{j}m\dot{j}$ is written for $\dot{j}n\dot{j}$. Both books are durable and typographically well-produced; the spacing of Seyfried's is easier on the eyes.

At the conclusion of Dr. Seyfried's study one misses a synthesizing chapter which would compare and contrast the salient features of the expeditions and texts of the three sites. Likewise, though Dr. Sadek's book is an edition, and though his textual notes and commentaries are extremely detailed and wide-ranging, the slowness of his excursions is somewhat disappointing. He has, however, admirably provided the raw material for many other specialized studies. In summation, though the duplication of so much of the work on the Wadi el-Hudi inscriptions seems gratuitous and wasteful, all who have occasion to work with these texts will find both books invaluable. Those who are concerned with the personnel, logistic, activities and chronology of the Sinai and Wadi Hammamat as well as Wadi el-Hudi expeditions, and with the formal features and phraseology of all the texts, will find Seyfried's study especially valuable but will have to utilize Sadek's volume as well. Both of these diligent scholars have made very important contributions without exhausting the field for future research.

E. S. MELTZER

A Royal Statue Reattributed. By W. V. DAVIES. British Museum Occasional Paper No.28. 297x212 mm. Pp.iv+34, pls.22. British Museum, London, 1981. ISBN 0 86159 028 7. Price £4.50.

Few events provide a curator with a better opportunity to examine the objects in his or her charge than the reinstallation of a gallery. Works pushed up against a wall or all but forgotten for decades in a storeroom drawer are suddenly exposed to fresh scrutiny, sometimes with unexpected results. When the British Museum recently reorganized the Egyptian Sculpture Gallery, W. V. Davies was able to study an over lifesize, inscribed, granite royal statue that has been in the collection since 1907 (BM 871). This thoroughly researched monograph represents the results of that reexamination. The study divides into two parts: 1) a description and discussion of the statue which Davies reassigns to Dynasty XVII, and 2) a catalogue of royal sculptures of the Second Intermediate Period (Dynasties XIII-XVII).

The statue depicts a seated king wearing a *nemes*, false beard, and *shendyt*-kilt. For generations, it has been identified as an image of Sobekhotep III of Dynasty XIII based on the reading of a name inscribed on the proper left side of the throne's front. Gauthier felt the name was $\dot{s}hm-R^c-w\dot{z}d-t\dot{z}wy$, which in 1912 he suggested to be a defective writing of Sobekhotep's prenomen, $\dot{s}hm-R^c-\dot{s}w\dot{z}d-t\dot{z}wy$. Hall, in his 1914 publication of the inscription, saw the last element in the cartouche as a pair of land signs, thereby helping to perpetuate Gauthier's tentatively proposed identification. Davies, however, convincingly demonstrates that this character is actually the \dot{h}^c hieroglyph (Gardiner, N28), resulting in a new reading, $\dot{s}hm-R^c-w\dot{z}d-\dot{h}^c(w)$, the prenomen of the third ruler of Dynasty XVII, Sobekemsaf I.

Since no more than four royal sculptures with their heads preserved can be dated to Dynasty XVII, this statue, with its numerous peculiarities of style and execution, takes on great significance for the understanding of Egyptian art in the years between the Middle and New Kingdoms. Davies is aware of this. With admirable thoroughness he describes the condition of the statue, the treatment of the face, torso, and costume, and the decor-

ation and inscription on the throne.

Davies' ability to observe and articulate what he sees provides much useful information. He notes, for example, that the artisan has defined the corners of the mouth with drill holes. Egyptian sculptors employed this technique throughout the New Kingdom and later. The presence of drilled corners on a securely dated Second Intermediate Period statue suggests that these craftsmen were actually reviving a far older tradition. The Sobekemsaf I statue also features a "thick fold of flesh [which] curves downward from the tip of each ala, ending in a fleshy pouch at the mouth's corners" (p.7). Variations of this fold appear sporadically throughout the New Kingdom and into the Late Period. Here too we seem to be dealing with a feature whose origins date far earlier than had previously been documented.

The highly naturalistic modelling of the royal visage, which Davies describes with great precision, contrasts markedly with the stylized treatment of the body. He lavishes great care in his description of the anatomical features such as the thin waist, broad hips, and tear-drop shaped cavity at the bottom of which rests the navel. These are all so heavily stylized as to be "almost grotesque in appearance" (p.6). Davies recognises in this extreme mannerism a stylistic tendency that began with Amenemhat III in Dynasty XII and continued throughout the Thirteenth Dynasty. So tenacious was the Second Intermediate Period sculptor's adherence to this model that it survived until the very end of Dynasty XVII on pieces such as a statue of Prince Ahmose (Paris, Louvre E.15682; C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* [1972], pl.II; recently discussed by C. Vandersleyen in *SAK* 10 [1983], pp.317-318). In his analysis of the details of the face and body, Davies makes extensive use of anatomical terminology. Terms such as tibial tuberosity, brachio-radialis, and zygomatic may well force a generation of Egyptologists to seek out the nearest textbook on human anatomy. Nevertheless, Davies is to be commended for elevating art historical description to a more scientific level.

The British Museum statue abounds in peculiarities. Foremost of these is the handling of the eyes. Rather than modelling them, the sculptor has carved deep cavities which in antiquity would have accommodated inlays. They were originally secured by an unusual system of dowels running through the eyebrows into the core of each inlay, anchoring it in place. Another arrangement of dowels was employed to fix thin strips of metal representing the eyebrows and cosmetic lines. Davies cites, describes, and illustrates a parallel for this technique, on a black granite private statue of mid-Twelfth Dynasty date also in the British Museum (BM 98).

The relationship between the *nemes* proper and the headcloth attracts special comment from Davies as well. Instead of being carved on the same plane as the headcloth, the frontlet is far more deeply cut. Davies' suggestion that this most unusual detail owes its inspiration to representations of a separate cloth fillet depicted on Seventeenth Dynasty coffins seems reasonable. The reviewer does not, however, agree with his claim (note 60) that parallels for this treatment of the frontlet appear on a head of Radedef in the Louvre (E.12626) and a mid-Dynasty XVIII king in Boston (MFA acc. no.11.1531). Yet another anomaly is the positioning of the *nemes* which, when seen from the back, rests well above the king's shoulders, exposing the neck. Davies cites two other statues (Boston MFA acc. no.20.1821 and Chicago Oriental Institute acc. no.8303), both stylistically datable to the Second Intermediate Period, that show this treatment of the *nemes*. This reviewer knows no comparable examples; this form may be a stylistic feature of Dynasty XIII to XVII.

The British Museum statue is one of the few from this era with extensive relief decoration on the throne. On the right side appears a partially preserved incised scene. The top portion shows a sun disk from which two uraei emerge. Flanking this group are a pair of identical inscriptions: $\overline{d}i \overline{h}y \overline{w}3s$. The scene beneath this heraldic scheme is now gone. Far better preserved is a pair of apotropaic hippopotamus deities on the rear of the throne. They stand, facing outward; between them appears a single column of hieroglyphs reading $s3 \overline{h}y \overline{nb} \overline{h}3.f$. The use of incised relief to create figures with vigorous, angular contours is perfectly accordant with the style prevalent in the Second Intermediate Period (Dynasty XIII: Liverpool E.30 [tp. Khenjer], K. A. Kitchen in *JEA* 47 [1961], pp.10-18, pls.II-III and W. K. Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* [1974], p.21 [ANOC 58, 3]; Dynasty XVII: London BM 833 [tp. Rahotep], J. J. Clère in *JEA* 68 [1982], pp.60-68, pls.IV-V).

Davies concludes his discussion of BM 871 by comparing it to another well-dated statue of Sobekemsaf I (Cairo CG 386). This sculpture is inadequately published, and Davies is forced to rely on personal observation and color transparencies in the research collection of the Brooklyn Museum. He points out a number of differences between the two statues, primarily in the shape of the *nemes* and the more naturalistic modelling of the Cairo statue's body. Nevertheless he sees enough common features, most notably in the treatment of the face, to speak of a "personal iconography" (p.10) for Sobekemsaf. Certainly the establishment of a stylistic paradigm based on only two examples involves risk. Given the great range in sculptural style discernible in more fully documented reigns (e.g. Amenhotep I; I. Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt* [1984], pp.26-48), only the most tentative conclusions about Sobekemsaf's iconography can be made.

The author's final statement, that Seventeenth Dynasty royal sculpture "is not readily distinguishable from that of the Thirteenth Dynasty" (p.11) underscores the great difficulty facing students of this obscure period.

In the footnotes to his first section Davies offers much useful information, some of which requires comment:

In notes 1, 14, and 66, he attributes eighteen royal statues to the Second Intermediate Period on the basis of style. These include:

- 1) Aswan 1364 - unpublished.
- 2) Berlin 10645 - anon., *ZAS* 28 (1890), p.54, not illustrated.
- 3) Boston MFA acc. no.20.1821 - W. S. Smith, *Egyptian Art as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1961; 4th edit.), p.95, fig.57.
- 4) Budapest 51.2049 - E. Varga, *Egyptomi Kiállítás* (1976), p.21, fig.10.
- 5) Cairo JE 46393 - W. V. Davies, in *JEA* 67 (1981), p.176, note 4, not illustrated.
- 6) Cairo JE 54857 - PM V 149.
- 7) Cairo JE 58926 - PM V 144.
- 8) Cairo CG 1197.
- 9) Cairo CG 42025.
- 10) Chicago, Oriental Institute acc. no.8303 - unpublished.
- 11) Copenhagen, AEIN 954 - O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* (1950), pp.17-18, pl.25.

- 12) Glasgow, Burrell coll. 13/242 - unpublished.
- 13) Karnak, statue *in situ* - PM II (2nd. ed.), 168 E.
- 14) London BM 26935 - unpublished.
- 15) New York, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, *Sale Catalogue* (May 16, 1980). no.312.
- 16) Paris Louvre A.21 - J. Vandier, *Manuel III* (1958), p.176, note 4, not illustrated.
- 17) Paris Louvre E.12924 - PM V 148.
- 18) Philadelphia, University Museum acc. no. E.635 - P. Miller, in *JEA* (1919), pp.1-7, pls.I-II.

To this list the reviewer would add three sculptures which seem to date to the Second Intermediate Period:

- 1) Berlin (West) 13255 - W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (1967), p.95 (no.948), illus. The statue of Gebu in Copenhagen (AEIN 27; O. Koefoed-Petersen *Catalogue* [1950], pp.18-19, pl.26), a work almost certainly of Second Intermediate Period date, offers a close stylistic parallel to the Berlin piece. If the latter does date to this time, its headdress may have relevance to the evolution of the Blue Crown as discussed by Davies in *JEA* 68 (1982), pp.69-76, especially note 18 which contains a reference to E. R. Russmann's attribution of this piece to "late Dynasty XII or early Dynasty XIII".
- 2) Brussels E.6342 - M. Werbrouck, *Musées Royaux, Département Egyptien* (1934), p.I 1, no.9. This piece bears a close resemblance to the two figures in a naos of King Neferhotep I in Cairo (CG 42022; Davies' cat. no.19) and should date close to them. Vandier linked the Brussels piece to sculptures of the first half of Dynasty XII; *Manuel III* (1958), p.183, note 2.
- 3) Cairo CG 42020 - Evers (in *Staat aus dem Stein I* [1929], p.112, pl.131, and Vandier (in *Manuel III* [1958], pp.197-198) grouped this statue with sculptures of Amenemhat III; Legrain (in *CGC* p.12) opted for "Amenemhat III (?)". The *CGC* citation for this piece contains an error. The correct *Journal d'Entrée* number is 37391.

The reviewer must also call the reader's attention to S. B. Johnson's article in *JARCE* 17 (1980), pp.11-20 in which she redates two wooden statues (Cairo JE 44951 and New York MMA acc. no.14.3.7) from the reign of Sesostri I to the very end of Dynasty XII or Dynasty XIII.

In note 1 Davies challenges the authenticity of the inscription on the statuette of Queen Teti-sheri in the British Museum (BM 22558) and calls the antiquity of the statue itself into question. Davies' suspicions are more fully explained in *The Statuette of Queen Tetisheri. A Reconsideration* (1984). For a figure of a queen that, from the single published photograph, appears to date to the Seventeenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty, see W. M. F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (1906), p.125, fig.131 (Cairo JE 38267).

The second part of Davies' book consists of a catalogue of fifty-three statues and statue fragments firmly placed in the Second Intermediate Period. He lists the pieces in chronological order primarily following von Beckerath's *Abriß der Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (1971) except for the later Sobekhotep kings. Numbers 1-43 date to Dynasty XIII; 44-53 to Dynasty XVII. Of this latter group, none can be dated with any certainty beyond the fifth reign (Mentuhotep VII, cat. nos.51 and 52). For each piece Davies presents a very general description including, when known, attitude, extent of preservation, costume, attributes, presence of inscriptions and of subsidiary figures, material, dimensions, provenance, current repository and inventory number. At least one bibliographic reference for each sculpture is given. In many cases these pieces are known only from highly inadequate publications. This situation proves particularly vexing for the seven pieces now lost. The term "unpublished" is used to describe statues for which a photograph has never been published.

Davies' citations are thorough. Only a few comments and emendations can be offered:

Cat. nos. 7 and 8 - Cairo CG 1159 (259) and 1163, wooden figures of Hor. Davies makes reference to the first edition of PM III, but for cat. no. 10 he cites the second edition.

Cat. no. 20 - Bologna 1799, statuette of Neferhotep I. Davies follows von Beckerath, Bresciani, and Pernigotti in identifying the material as obsidian. Bissing and G. Kminek-Szedlo, in *Catalogo di anchitità egizie* (1895), pp.146-147, state that the statue is made of black basalt. Porter and Moss, however, call the stone porphyry. These contradictions are confusing and require clarification. Also, the first reference should be Petrie, *History of Egypt I* (1923), pp.220-222, figs.127-128.

Cat. no. 28 - Beirut, National Museum, fragment of a statue of Sobekhotep IV. Add, W. Helck, in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8 (1976), p.104.

Cat. no. 39 - Cairo CG 42021, statuette of Mentuhotep V. Footnote 32 in this entry should include S. Sauneron, in *Kémi* 18 (1968), pp.57-60.

Cat. no. 44 - Fragment of a statue of Intef VI(?). The final citation for this entry should read von Beckerath, op. cit., 282, XVII, 1 (13). Wisely Davies includes this peculiar piece in his corpus. He is also correct in observing, in footnote 35, that the fragment may not be part of a royal statue at all.

Cat. no. 46 - London UCL 14209, statuette of Sobekemsaf I. Davies' heading for this piece should read (Dyn. XVII, 3). Also, the correct pages for the Petrie reference are 234-235.

The production and design of this book in no way match Davies' scholarship. An alarmingly large number of typographical errors have worked their way into the text (e.g., then for than on p.3, line 5; Landesgotter for Landesgötter on p.3, twelfth line from the bottom; schütz for schützt on p.4, line 7; to for too on p.8, sixteenth line from the bottom; kind for king, p.10, line 28; Altenmüller for Altmüller, p.15, note 39; deocrated for decorated, p.12, line 20). In each catalogue entry the word Bibliography appears in bold face. The reader would have been far better served if instead the name of each king had been so emphasized. Also, many of the photographs are of such poor quality that Davies' description and analysis cannot be followed. It frustrates this reviewer to read that "...the modelling of the face is remarkably sensitive with a number of features so subtly carved as to be undiscernible except by touch or under the most favourable lighting conditions" (p.6), and then to turn to plate 11 only to find a photograph showing the face more than half in shadow. These faults

are all the more lamentable since Davies has written a valuable book on a long neglected subject. He deserved better.
J. F. ROMANO

La reine Hatchepsout, Sources et problèmes. By SUZANNE RATIÉ. Orientalia Monspelensia, I. 270x198 mm. Pp. 372, pls.16. Leyden, Brill, 1979. ISBN 9 004 06064. Price 178 Dutch Guilders.

Peu de périodes de l'histoire d'Égypte présentent une densité de documentation suffisante pour en tirer ce tissu continu qu'on peut appeler 'histoire', a fortiori l'histoire d'une personnalité. L'expérience avait déjà été tentée pour Ramsès III par l'abbé Janssen. Madame Ratié présente cette fois l'histoire du règne d'Hatchepsout, on oserait même dire la biographie de la reine. L'abondance des textes et des figurations invitait en effet à traiter ce sujet. L'ouvrage est bien conçu et aborde tous les aspects possibles du règne: généalogie, chronologie, faits historiques et 'mythiques', activités politiques et architecturales. voyage à Pount, fin de la reine et persécution de sa mémoire, une précieuse prosopographie du règne en trois chapitres, un essai d'interprétation et un bilan, enfin un utile index. Toutefois, même pour l'époque d'Hatchepsout, l'information est fragmentaire, faite essentiellement de documents officiels; ce n'est qu'après une analyse approfondie et une critique serrée que ces documents peuvent devenir historiques. Cette analyse et cette critique ont été faites plusieurs fois, en un siècle et demi d'égyptologie, chaque essai apportant de nouvelles clartés et soulevant de nouveaux problèmes.

Écrire sur Hatchepsout en 1979, suppose à la fois l'examen direct des sources et la connaissance de ce cheminement hésitant de la recherche, et le devoir de l'auteur est de clarifier le débat et d'orienter le lecteur vers les solutions les plus probables. En fait, le livre ici recensé est formé d'une accumulation de toutes les opinions exprimées de Champollion à nos jours, comme si elles étaient toutes équivalentes, toujours acceptables, sans tenir assez compte de la chronologie de la recherche. L'auteur ranime dangereusement d'anciennes théories éteintes, comme si elles n'avaient pas été démontrées fausses par après (pp.79-80 par ex., sur la date du couronnement). A ce défaut de méthode s'ajoutent quelques négligences surprenantes: les inscriptions du Sinaï no. 175 et 176, ne contiennent pas une mention commune d'Hatchepsout et de Touthmosis III en l'an 5, mais seulement le nom de ce dernier (pp.81 et 179); la reine n'est pas mentionnée dans Urk IV 198 (p.75, n.11); l'an 8 n'est pas inscrit sur le 2e sarcophage d'Hatchepsout (p.90); les deux statues assises mentionnées distinctement (p.125) sont un seul et même monument cédé par le musée de Berlin à celui de New York; même situation pour une tête (p. 126); etc.

Cette absence de rigueur est un handicap pour une biographie de ce genre, où la tentation sera grande de voiler les lacunes de nos connaissances par des à-peu-près ou des hypothèses énoncées comme des certitudes: je pense à l'idée - non fondée - que Méritré-Hatchepsout serait une fille de la reine.

Tout ceci empêche l'ouvrage d'être fiable pour le professionnel auquel il est explicitement destiné; mais cela ne l'empêche pas d'être utile: l'auteur a vraiment rassemblé une très vaste documentation; tous les textes concernant la reine sont donnés en traduction; les notes contiennent de très nombreuses références bibliographiques. Enfin, le livre se lit agréablement et pourra plaire à de nombreux lecteurs.
Cl. VANDERSLEYEN

Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern. By JAN ASSMANN, with a glossary by SYLVIA SCHOSKE. Theban, Band 1. 345 x245 mm. Pp.lix+398, pls.9, many text figs. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1983. ISBN 3 8053 0512 5. Price DM 198.

This magnificent volume, the first of a most welcome series on the monuments of Thebes, is essentially a catalogue of the sun-hymns inscribed in private tombs from about the time of Hatshepsut together with notes on their context and significance. Included in the survey are stelae etc. attributable to specific tombs, other related and unplaced material being used for comparison only. However, the wider and more general aspects are to a large extent dealt with in the author's *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (MÁS 19) and *Re und Amun* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 51).

The main locations of the hymns are in the doorways and outer parts of the tomb, which are particularly vulnerable. Indeed, several texts noted in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* 1² are now said by Assmann to be virtually lost, and there must have been formidable problems in copying those that remain. Over 290 examples are presented, of which considerably less than half had previously been published by others. Each text is given in transliteration and translation, and in the cases of those hitherto published a hand-copy of the inscription is included. (The author mentions in the Foreword that more exact copying was impracticable through problems of access). Tomb plans showing the positions of the texts are grouped chronologically, and some typical categories of architectural feature bearing sun-hymns are illustrated in 9 plates. Most welcome is the very comprehensive index of Egyptian words (24 pages in double columns).

The Introduction traces the increasing use of sun-hymns in tomb reliefs and paintings, the differentiation of hymns to the rising and setting sun, and eventual accommodation of the latter type with the cult of Oriris. There follows a discussion of the texts themselves, their origins and composition. In order to facilitate comparison of the hymns seven frequently occurring examples (Standard-Texte) are distinguished, which had a fairly wide currency, with another four which seem to have been more purely local, and two which were peculiarly Saite. (It is curious that in the separate entries of the catalogue no mention is made of whether any such text is involved). Derivation from the temple liturgy is established in some instances, but their number is too small to prove any general origin in the liturgy. As Assmann observes, there seems to have been a surge of creative activity in this medium during the New Kingdom. Some of it was clearly innovative, expressing ideas about the sun-god's universality. For the less creative, however, composition inevitably meant some form of pastiche incorporating familiar tags, ingredients of which are themselves not without interest. The Introduction closes with a useful tabulation of the occurrences of the standard texts. It is a pity that yet another system of classification has had to be adopted for these, but since the examples are all from the Theban necropolis, the author's earlier and more general classification in *Liturgische Lieder* cannot be superseded. As I have indicated, this is an impressive piece of scholarship, and I have only a few reservations, most of which concern only matters of

preference and minor mishaps.

The order of Egyptian texts in the catalogue follows the sequence of Theban tomb numbers, but since the serial number of the text precedes the tomb number in each caption, this may not be immediately apparent. Once it is appreciated, however, the arrangement is certainly convenient. It might have been more informative to have dealt with the various architectural elements and their inscriptions in chronological order, so that the developments described might be seen to occur. Changes in the iconography that accompanied the hymns might thus have been highlighted also. An important phase is shown in Abb.2, where the sun-god himself is represented facing the worshipper. Had this been placed in sequence, the innovation would have been obvious. But perhaps all this would have resulted in a type of book different from what the author intended.

At first sight the nine photographic plates seem to lack an index, and it is not until one reaches p.16 of the catalogue section that it appears in a footnote facing the first plate. Here, however, it only lists them without saying where they occur in the book. Among 458 pages it takes some rummaging to find nine plates dispersed throughout. As the author explains, they were introduced at the suggestion of the publisher in order to fill certain blank pages resulting from the disposition of the Egyptian texts and their translations. Unfortunately, the citations and the plates appear to be at cross purposes. On p.XIV there are references to Abb.1-5 which bear no relation to the scenes illustrated. Footnote 33 shows indeed that Abb.1 was originally intended to contain a photograph of a different tomb (no.11 instead of no.41) which would have fitted the requirement in this instance. Were other plates also altered after the text was completed? One might certainly expect to find a plate reference on the page dealing with the inscription shown in the photograph, but this is not so.

Although the tomb numbers are given for every text, it would have been convenient if the latter had been dated in the catalogue to save continual reference to Porter & Moss. It is true that plans showing the positions of the hymns are grouped chronologically on pp.XXXIX-LVI, but the relevant page number is not quoted in the catalogue entry. Unless, therefore, one already knows the date of a tomb, one has to search through the whole series.

The plans are for the most part adapted from Porter & Moss with the addition of the serial numbers of Assmann's texts. In this section some errors have come to my notice. P.XXXIX, tomb 123: the position of text 127 should be indicated at the right end of the cross-hall marked in the plan by the small figure 6. P.XL, tomb 131: for texts 133 and 134 read 134 and 135. P.XLI, tomb 54: for texts 68 and 69 read 69 and 70. P.XLII, tomb 147: for texts 141 and 142 read 143 and 144. P.L, tomb 335: text 238 should be marked on the left of the small figure 3. P.LI, tomb 23: text 14 should be marked on the opposite side of the doorway from text 15. P.LI, tomb 158: text 158a should be marked near the small figure 6. P.LIV, tomb 410: the tomb number has been omitted. P.LV, tomb 43: there does not seem to be any reason for the inclusion of this plan. P.LVI, tomb 197: the text numbers 194 and 195 should be interchanged.

In the Introduction the following misprints must also be noted. P.XIX: in the table the numeral VI in the column headed TESH should be VII. P.XXIII (3.2.3): for Verse 9 and 10 near the end of the paragraph read Verse 10 and 11. P.XXX: in several references to the 6 standard texts the number should be 7 (see p.XIX). P.XXXIV: under Ungewöhnliche Hymnen read 84 for 85.

The edition of the hymns themselves is excellent and well presented, the metrical division of the texts into verses making it possible to set out the transliterations and translations in parallel columns. For reference the verses are numbered and, where hieroglyphic texts are included, the lines or columns also. One misses, however, some correlation between the systems, for in a long text it is not easy to locate a particular passage. In the transliterations some may find the profusion of hyphens distracting. They presumably indicate metrical groupings as propounded by G. Fecht. It is arguable, however, whether a catalogue is the place for such an exercise. Since the grammatical construction of Egyptian hymns is of the simplest kind, there are few problems in their translation. I have certainly no serious disagreement with Assmann's renderings, which seem to me to be admirable and well considered as are also his commentaries. My remarks on this section mostly concern peripheral matters.

Text 9b. The source of the pyramidion, unstated here, is tomb 8. See Porter & Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I², 17.

Text 30 (tomb 50). This text is clearly an acrostic, the beginnings and the ends of the columns having been divided to read also horizontally.

Text 34 (tomb 33). Three versions of this hymn are set out in parallel, identified by abbreviations. It might have been mentioned that P stands for Pedamenopet, not named here, the owner of tomb 33.

Text 52 (tomb 41). In verse 12 the amendment of *h̄hw* to *h̄'wt* suggested in footnote *a* of the transliteration seems to be confirmed by the Metropolitan Museum of Art photograph T.1879. In verses 79-80 Assmann translates *m̄3.n.ḏ. Hrw m iḥi-ḥm Dḥwtj m3't hr-'wy.fy* as 'Ich sah Horus als Steuermann und Thot, indem die Wahrheit auf seinen Armen war'. I prefer to regard this as referring to the common scene in which Thoth and Ma'at are represented in the solar barque as members of the sun-god's crew, and to render the latter part: '...Thoth and Ma'at being under his command'. See also text 17, verses 52-53, and text 51, verses 19-20. One would like to know why this tomb is dated to post-Amarna Dynasty XVIII in preference to Ramesses I - Sethos I(?) as suggested by Porter & Moss.

Text 90 (tomb 65). This hymn is paralleled in a funerary papyrus of Dynasty XX date from Thebes, which has the text in a longer version. See Ledrain in *Rec. Trav.* 1 (1870), 93 and plate.

Text 180 (tomb 192). On section C add Zandee in *JEOL* 27 (1981-82), 3ff.

Text 181 (tomb 192). Two different versions of this text are headed rather enigmatically: (a) Horizontal, and b) Vertikal. For the benefit of readers who do not have access to the Chicago Oriental Institute's publication of the tomb, it might have been explained that this is a 'crossword' text, cf. *JEA* 57 (1971), 87ff.

Text 247 (tomb 359). The first page reference following the abbreviation TESH should be 48ff. and not 77ff.

Tomb 329. No mention is made of two fragments from this tomb, one of them having a parallel to standard text E. See Porter & Moss, *ibid.* 398 (finds); Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 314 (13).

Although there is neither a bibliography nor a list of abbreviations, these are adequately covered in the author's other works already cited. This outstanding piece of research will be an essential source not only for the study of these texts, but also for the light it throws on related mythological and other problems.

H. M. STEWART

Egypt's Golden Age: the art of living in the New Kingdom 1558-1085 B.C. Catalogue of the Exhibition. 280x203 mm. Pp.336, frontis., figs.72, maps, many illustrations, bibliog. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1982. ISBN 0 87846 207 4. Price \$17.

Hardly a year goes by without a major exhibition devoted to Egyptian art being shown or planned in some part of the world. Such exhibitions play a very useful role in stimulating interest in, and a knowledge of, ancient Egypt among a cultivated public, and the resultant catalogues, often beautifully produced, survive as monuments to all the labour and expense that went into the mounting of the exhibits. These latter are often eye-catching major works of art, and it is sometimes assumed that such are the only things visitors will go out of their way to see. Catalogues of such masterpieces, so painstakingly brought together, do not always give radical new insights into Egyptian culture - at least not to the professional Egyptologist.

'Egypt's Golden Age', first shown in Boston and later in other locations, was clearly an exhibition with a difference, and is a remarkable exception to the rule. Perhaps for the first time a major museum has brought together an extensive loan collection, not of artistic masterpieces or objets de vertu (though some pieces merit that description) but of everyday objects made for (and more often than not used by) the well-to-do and even humble inhabitants of the Nile Valley during the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth dynasties. No less than 420 objects are dealt with, arranged according to category (too numerous to mention in full, though 'The farm and barnyard', 'Furniture', 'Food and drink', 'Baskets and basketry', 'Jewelry', 'Music', 'Writing', and 'The people's religion' may serve as examples). In short, there is hardly an aspect of daily life that is not covered in some way in the volume.

The catalogue proper is prefaced by an introductory essay, 'Egypt in an Imperial Age'. Each class of material is described in an informative essay by a specialist contributor, with citations of parallels and pertinent references to the literature. The museological details are succinct and adequate. Hand copies of hieroglyphic texts which occur on certain of the exhibits are provided at the end. There is an extensive bibliography, a concordance of museum and catalogue numbers, and brief addenda and errata. Good photographs of every piece are provided (object no.363¹ is shown in an identical photograph both as a frontispiece and in the body of the work). Much of the material is virtually unknown to scholars (as well as to the layman), and some objects are published here for the first time.

The assembling and mounting of the exhibition was largely the work of Edward Brovarski, assisted by Susan K. Doll and Rita E. Freed. The catalogue is a major achievement, and will always remain an important work of reference, ranking in this respect with Petrie's *Objects of Daily Use* (now somewhat outdated, though the illustrations are still useful), and with Volume 2 of Hayes', *The Scepter of Egypt* (though the scope of this work is of course much wider). The editors and contributors (as well as the lenders) deserve our warmest thanks.

¹ Its authenticity is questioned by Goedicke, *Bull. de la Soc. d'Égyptologie, Genève (BSEG)* 7, (1982), 33-8, but not wholly convincingly.

G. T. MARTIN

Das Ende der Amarnazeit - Beiträge zur Geschichte und Chronologie des Neuen Reiches. By ROLF KRAUSS. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 7. 238x170 mm. Pp.xvi+286, incl. 5 photos. Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1978 (reprint 1981). ISBN 3 8067 8036 6. Price DM 42.

The sub-title is a fairer summary of this book than its main title. Part I proper (just over 50 pages) in ten short sections with its Excursuses 1-10 (another 100 pages) deal with various issues affecting Akhenaten's immediate successors and their womenfolk and relations with Hatti. Part II - the rest of the book - attempts to cover the chronology of the New Kingdom (especially of the Eighteenth Dynasty) in a mere 40 pages. Its Excursus A then restudies the Manethonian traditions for the Eighteenth dynasty for over 60 pages; the very brief Excursuses B and C touch on the era of Menophres and "Sethos I in Pseudo-Eratosthenes". Rather modest indexes and some addenda et corrigenda close the work.

Part I opens with a summary of views on the Amarna kings from Eduard Meyer to the 1970s, which is somewhat unbalanced in its treatment of authorities cited; Fairman and Aldred are barely mentioned, for example. Sections 2-4 centre on the names Akenkheres, Akherres (etc.) which occur thrice in Manetho, one before and two after Ra-hotis [Tutankhamun]. In most versions, these are not further identified, but in Josephus' excerpt (repeated in Theophilus) the first of the three is called daughter of Oros (successor of Amenophis, our III). Following many predecessors, Krauss would see a form of Ankh-khepru-re (prenomen of Smenkhkare) in the name Akenkheres and variants. He argues that after Oros (who replaces Akhenaten) Manetho's list had originally both a daughter and a next king each called Akenkheres, and each with the Egyptian name Ankh-khepru-re, followed by Tutankhamun. At this point, he introduces scarabs which appear to read (i) 'nh-hprw-r' mr(y)t Nfr-hprw-r' and (ii) 'nh-t-hprw-r' mr(y)t W'-n-r'. Leaving aside the totally-false equation of Neferkheprure Akhenaten with the *Nibhururia* of the Deeds of Suppiluliuma (see below) still supported by Krauss, he suggests that Meritaten was Akhenaten's widow who followed him on the throne with the feminine prenominal Anket-khepru-re, before marrying Smenkhkare who then adopted the matching prenominal Ankh-khepru-re. This is all possible, but perhaps not all equally probable - the supposed ordering of events depends on two assumptions by Krauss: (i) that Smenkhkare was not coregent with Akhenaten, and (ii) that Akhenaten was Nibhururia, hence Dahamanzu was his widow, the queen who assumed the prenominal Anket-khepru-re, to be taken as Meritaten. (ii) is most likely false (see below), and (i) is simply not proven.

It is equally possible to suggest that Nefertiti did die during Akhenaten's last years, Kiya having gone also, - hence his need of a new consort, and his marriages to Meritaten and Ankhesenpaaten. If these marriages (which

produced daughters) were contemporaneous, the co-regency is an open question - Krauss has no proof against it, only the inadequate negative observation that we lack any double-datings at present (p.6). But if Akhenaten married these two daughters successively, then it is logical to suggest that (after losing Kiya and Nefertiti) Akhenaten first married Meritaten, then took Ankhesenpaaten when appointing Smenkhkare co-regent with Meritaten as his consort. During these later years, Neferneferuaten Junior appears once with the title royal wife, but the implications of this must remain uncertain. The one certainty about Smenkhkare's use of royal style is that his nomen was Smenkhkare (often with the added epithet Djoser-khepru) in his Year 1, but had been changed to (or had the alternative) Neferneferuaten, with the epithets 'beloved of Neferkheperure', 'beloved of Wanre' or just 'ruler' (𓎃𓏏𓏏), in Year 3, as is very clearly set out on the evidence by Krauss, pp.92-94. So, such a change probably occurred in his Year 2 or 3. If there had been a co-regency, it is tempting to suggest that Akhenaten died in Smenkhkare's Year 2, and that Smenkhkare sought to buttress his own authority as Akhenaten's successor by taking a familiar Atenist name plus epithets relating him to Akhenaten. This suggestion at least provides a possible reason for the change. If Smenkhkare was sole ruler from his Year 1, but only made the change a year or two years after Akhenaten's death, it is hard to see why he bothered to do it.

So much for Krauss's assumption (i); a more objective assessment than his would have admitted that the Akhenaten-Smenkhkare co-regency is neither proven nor disproven. The 'female' prenomen Ankh-khepru-re is perhaps more problematic than Krauss realises. It is surely a clumsy calque on an original Ankh-khepru-re - not the other way around! If the similar praenomina Neferkheprure, Nebkheprure, Kheperkheprure, Djoserkheprure, Userkheprure, mean something like 'Good/beautiful, are...., Lord of (forms is)...., Manifest are, Sacred are, Strong are....' the forms of Re, respectively (as often assumed), then Ankhkheprure must be 'living are the forms of Re' (or similar). But what is the significance of Ankhkheprure? Adjective-verbs are invariable in such use. Thus, syntactically, the *t* is uncalled-for, except to femininise clumsily a pre-existing prenomen.

Therefore, it is in the highest degree unlikely that Meritaten ever herself succeeded Akhenaten on the throne as sole ruler before becoming Smenkhkare's consort. She is, therefore, not 'Dahamanzu' of the Suppiluliuma text, on both this and other grounds. Rather, her career was (a) daughter of Akhenaten, (b) a wife of Akhenaten, (c) wife of the next king Smenkhkare (whether co-regent or not), who was accorded a prenomen as a twin to his. The reason for this is obscure; again, if it happened at the end of a co-regency, when Smenkhkare changed his style, then it may have occurred for the same reasons. It is methodologically unwise to press the statements in Manetho at this point, as they are secondary, not primary (first-hand) evidence, and his text is now so hopelessly muddled that manipulation of its fragments is wholly subjective, hence can prove nothing.

Then we come to assumption (ii) - that somehow Nibhururia can be identified with Naphururia and so with Akhenaten. This assumption is false, not because of any modern rhetoric (as Krauss imputes to this reviewer, p.10), but because of the clear facts. In relation to Egyptian and cuneiform transcription in the late second millennium BC, the facts are as follows. Egyptian *nfr* (initial or final) always appears as *nap*, *napa*, in cuneiform: Nefertari is Naptera, Neferkheprure is Naphuria, Zinapa is Tjinefer, Rianapa is Re-nefer; *nib/p* never occurs as a clear variant for *nap* in any such cases. The converse is also true, i.e. that in cuneiform (incl. Hittite), *nib/p* always represents Eg. *nb*: so, Nibmuaria/Nimmuria is Nebmare (Amenophis III), *nib-tawa* is the title *nb-tawy*, 'Lord of the Two Lands', Nimmahe (Nibmahe) is Neb-mehyt. Thus, we have no warrant whatsoever to make of Nibhururia anything other than Nebkheprure, Tutankhamun. Appeal to unpublished opinions of Fecht, and to *i/e* interchange in cuneiform (not *i/a*!!) cannot alter the facts cited. Krauss's claims that Dahamunzu has to be Akhenaten's widow, not the widow of Tutankhamun, cannot be bolstered from the historical sources either. He can only offer the hypothesis that the Hittite presence in Amki (EA 170) under Akhenaten is to be identified with similar action there at the time of the death of Nibhururia (p.9). This identification is pure hypothesis, not fact - hence it cannot be used to overcome the facts of *Nap/Nib* set out above. Finally, the supposed contradictions about the sequence of events if Nibhururia were Tutankhamun (p.13) are illusory and artificial. And Krauss fails entirely to account for the objections to Nefertiti having been the Dahamunzu which he quotes from this reviewer (p.15), and which condemn any attempt to date Dahamunzu's initiative to the time after Akhenaten, instead of after Tutankhamun.

The foregoing criticisms and reservations should, however, not be allowed to cloud the fact that Krauss has much useful discussion of many details of the late-Amarna period, in its internal and foreign affairs aspects. In both aspects, the ground has been well-trodden numberless times already, each researcher usually ends up presenting his own interpretation (Krauss and the reviewer included), and a definitive picture of either remains impossible to attain at present.

The same may be said of the second main topic in Krauss's book, i.e. of the overall chronology of the 18th Dynasty and the New Kingdom. He has pertinent appreciations and criticisms of the chronology set out by Wente and van Siclen. His main novelty is that he proposes to set the Sothic observation of P. Ebers neither in Memphis nor in Thebes but in Elephantine (pp.190ff.). The effect of this is to reduce still further the date BC for Year 9 of Amenophis I, and so for the beginning of the 18th Dynasty to c. 1540 BC. This is possible (on the growing view, also shared by Krauss, that the accession of Tutankhamun III should be in 1479 BC), but very far from certain. His reasoning from mythology, etc., in favour of Elephantine is all very well but is totally inconclusive. And it would appear that P. Ebers actually came from Thebes (noted by Parker long since), hence a Theban observation would have the trace of objective support that Memphis/Heliopolis and Elephantine alike lack. One suspects that Krauss's real reason for preferring the later date that Elephantine offers is just another assumption, i.e. that Tutankhamun I and II 'must' have had short reigns, cf. p.190, n.1. However, that assumption may well prove false - it cannot be ranked as historical fact, or be allowed to silence other data.

There is no point here in going over Krauss's treatment of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Manetho. The ill-transmitted and corrupted versions of that Epitome offer a free field for unlimited speculation (and no guaranteed results) which our German colleagues simply cannot resist. However, such speculations are a luxury.

In closing, it should be said clearly that Dr. Krauss's work shows clearly his very considerable ability. But, to use a legal metaphor, too often he seems not the impartial judge but appears more as the eager advocate for a particular case - not the best way to attain sound historical results. His book, nevertheless, is of value and cannot be ignored in future study of Egyptian and Near-Eastern history in the late second millennium BC.

K. A. KITCHEN

Le Décret d'Horemheb. Traduction, commentaire épigraphique, philologique et institutionnel. By JEAN-MARIE KRUCHTEN. Université Libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres LXXXII. 275x215 mm. Pp.x+252, pls. I-II (separate portfolio) and III-XII. Bruxelles, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1981. ISBN 2 8004 0767 0. Price 2000 Belgian Francs.

Le Décret d'Horemheb, découvert en 1882 au pied du Xe pylône de Karnak, est un texte célèbre qui a fait couler beaucoup d'encre et qui a suscité bien des commentaires, historiques ou institutionnels. La principale tendance consiste à faire de lui un témoignage explicite de la reprise en main vigoureuse du pays par Horemheb après l'"anarchie" amarnienne et immédiatement post-amarnienne; parfois cependant, on a cru y reconnaître également de fortes exagérations, comme si le tableau qui apparaît à travers ce texte avait été volontairement noirci à des fins partisans. Mais que ce fût pour cette interprétation historique d'ensemble ou pour des points d'ordre juridique ou administratif, le texte de base utilisé par les traducteurs, les commentateurs et les exégètes de toute sorte, était rien moins que sûr; et par conséquent il était souvent mal compris ou déformé. Malgré les apparences, il fallait donc tout reprendre à zéro.

C'est un des grands mérites (et ils sont nombreux) de Jean-Marie Kruchten d'avoir compris cette nécessité: "Il s'agirait donc exclu d'aborder le seul commentaire institutionnel du décret tant qu'une traduction rigoureuse, s'appuyant sur un examen serré du texte, n'avait pas été mis au point. C'était là, la condition préalable et nécessaire à toute approche ultérieure" (p.7-8). Après les travaux importants de Bouriant, Müller, Pflüger et Helck, sans parler de copies de Sethe et de Gardiner, il n'était pas aisé de conclure à cette nécessité et de passer à l'acte; un certain scepticisme pouvait même, semble-t-il, faire écho à un semblable projet. D'abord sous la forme d'une thèse de doctorat (1979), puis sous celle du présent ouvrage, Kruchten a montré qu'il avait eu raison de se lancer dans l'aventure.

Son succès n'a du reste pas de secrets. Il est fondé sur une approche systématique du texte, tant sur le plan du lexique que sur celui primordial, de la syntaxe, et il s'appuie également sur une très grande connaissance des textes et des faits institutionnels. Mais au préalable, l'auteur a dû établir un texte sûr, sans restitutions hasardeuses, avec prudence et bon sens (d'où la grande valeur des quelques restitutions essentielles qu'il propose finalement). La stèle est en effet très dégradée et on n'en connaît pour l'instant pas d'autres copies, mis à part un fragment provenant d'Abydos (Caire CGC 34162). Pour établir définitivement le texte, J.-M. K. a eu largement recours à une démarche fondée sur une étude rigoureuse de la langue, de la syntaxe et de la structure du texte, rendue d'autant plus malaisée qu'il s'agit d'une langue difficile où le moyen-égyptien se mêle à "un idiome plus proche du parler du peuple" (p.7), avec des tournures relevant tantôt de l'égyptien classique et tantôt du néo-égyptien. D'où l'importance de la "reconstitution de la structure grammaticale du texte sur la face principale de la stèle (lignes 13 et suivantes)", développée aux p.12-16. L'aboutissement matériel de cette reconstitution du texte, faite selon les méthodes philologiques les plus rigoureuses, peut apparaître sous une forme spectaculaire dans les pl. I et II, défilants détachables encartés dans l'ouvrage. Celles-ci donnent le texte hiéroglyphique de la face principale et des faces latérales de la stèle (y compris le cintre et ses représentations) dans sa disposition originale; en noir, les signes vus sur place en 1975 par l'auteur, en rouge, des passages établis avec rigueur d'après des copies anciennes, en bleu enfin les restitutions proprement dites proposées par J.-M. K., fondées sur la structure syntaxique et des comparaisons possibles (décret de Nauri), mais toujours extrêmement prudentes. L'ensemble ainsi obtenu (en partie vérifiable sur les photographies) est frappant et offre toutes les garanties de sérieux et de rigueur qu'on est en droit d'attendre de toute étude de ce genre.

Certes, des lacunes immenses demeurent, spécialement dans les 25 premières lignes du texte où elles représentent plus de la moitié de l'inscription. A certains égards, cela est décourageant. Peu de textes de ce genre, capitaux du point de vue institutionnel, administratif et historique ont subsisté; celui-ci fait exception, mais dans quel état nous est-il arrivé! Pourtant, grâce à l'étude pénétrante de sa structure, on n'a plus seulement affaire à des bribes d'allure plus au moins disparates, mais à un ensemble assez clair et ce résultat compense un peu le découragement qui peut saisir devant de telles lacunes. A ce propos, on observera en passant, avec l'auteur, que le texte ne cesse de se dégrader. Des passages entiers ont disparu depuis la découverte du monument, spécialement dans les lignes inférieures proches du sol. Les remontées d'humidité et l'érosion éolienne se conjuguent - comme en tant d'autres cas - pour faire peu à peu disparaître ce témoignage exceptionnel. N'est-il pas possible d'assurer sa protection sur place (il serait sans doute risqué de tenter de le déplacer)?

Le chapitre I était consacré à l'"examen critique du problème" et on vient d'en évoquer certains aspects. Mais c'est le chapitre II qui forme l'essentiel de l'ouvrage (les deux-tiers). Il s'agit tout simplement de la traduction et du commentaire philologique (lequel n'exclut pas d'ailleurs d'autres types de commentaires). La traduction est donnée pas à pas, subdivision par subdivision, et elle est disposée de manière à rendre visuellement la structure interne du texte; elle est accompagnée de la translittération du texte et suit du reste celui-ci de très près, car il s'agit d'une traduction pratiquement mot-à-mot (mais claire et explicite); c'est d'ailleurs là une démarche à laquelle l'A. tient beaucoup, avec raison semble-t-il. Une traduction continue est redonnée dans le chapitre III (p.193-201) et permet de suivre la progression générale du décret après l'analyse serrée du chapitre II.

Grâce à l'étude de Kruchten, la structure du texte apparaît fort clairement et sa compréhension s'en trouve naturellement fort améliorée. D'abord un préambule avec parfois des allures de *Königsnovelle*, où Horemheb est présentée comme restaurant Maât et édictant pour ce faire un certain nombre de mesures prises pour lutter contre l'iniquité. Suivent quatre grandes parties de contenu et de longueur disparates. La première occupe la plus grande part du texte (elle est aussi grevée de terribles lacunes). On y distingue une dizaine de "paragraphes". Les sept premiers sont à peu près clairs. Il s'agit de mesures normatives prises (ou restaurées) par le roi à la suite de la constatation d'abus divers. Deux paragraphes traitent de la "protection des bateaux utilisés par les particuliers pour exécuter les corvées dues à Pharaon", les suivants de l'"interdiction des réquisitions d'esclaves par les agents du Magasin à Offrandes de Pharaon", du "ramassage des peaux" et de l'"inspection du bétail de Pharaon", de l'"abolition de la contribution à l'approvisionnement des Débarcadères Royaux", de l'"abolition de l'impôt en fourrage collecté au profit des 'Wâbout' de Pharaon", et de la "suppression des gardiens de singes *kyky*"; les deux ou trois derniers paragraphes ne comportent plus que des bribes de texte.

L'analyse et le commentaire fouillés de ces paragraphes continuent, toujours dans le même chapitre II, avec la deuxième partie de la stèle où Horemheb se situe par rapport à l'organisation générale de la justice et son éthique. Là encore apparaît une volonté nette de lutter contre la prévarication et la corruption. La troisième partie revient sur un point plus particulier: la "rétribution de la garde palatine", et la quatrième traite apparemment du protocole à observer à la cour et au palais; dans ces deux parties, il s'agit encore une fois d'une réaction contre certains comportements ou abus. Une brève conclusion termine enfin le décret, dans laquelle le roi rappelle, selon la phraséologie en vigueur, ses mérites et parle explicitement de "ces nouveaux décrets", qu'il a fait rédiger après qu'il "se fut rappelé ces cas de vol qui se pratiquent au vu et au su de ce pays".

Il va sans dire que ce long chapitre II constitue une mine de première importance sur le plan lexicographique comme grammatical, d'exploitation aisée grâce aux index très détaillés qui terminent l'ouvrage (on notera que sur le plan grammatical, J.-M. K. a poursuivi certaines recherches amorcées avec le texte de Décret: "Études de syntaxe néo-égyptienne. Les verbes 'h', hmsi et sgr en néo-égyptien. Emploi et significations", in *An. de l'Inst. de Philologie et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves*, Supplément I, Bruxelles, 1982). Jamais cependant l'auteur ne perd de vue la signification d'ensemble du texte, sa structure propre, l'intention qui aimait Horemheb quand il fit rédiger ce décret. Cela est particulièrement important et c'est ce qui donne toute sa valeur à l'ouvrage de J.-M. K. Du reste, tous les résultats et toutes les questions qui se posent sont repris en détail et approfondis dans le chapitre IV: "Apport de l'étude du décret sous l'angle historique et institutionnel". En premier lieu, bien sûr, pour qui s'intéresse au droit égyptien et aux nombreux problèmes que son étude soulève, ce livre devient un ouvrage de référence obligé (voir entre autres les considérations sur la notion égyptienne de *hp* et ses rapports avec le terme *wdt*, p.214-223). C'est en fait une incursion en profondeur dans la société égyptienne de la fin de la XVIIIe dynastie, dans ses rouages, ses tares et ses tensions, que nous permet le Décret d'Horemheb. Et par là, ce texte est une source capitale pour l'historien, même si en même temps il pose à celui-ci un problème irritant, qu'on retrouve d'ailleurs *mutatis mutandis* avec bien d'autres textes: comment faire de l'histoire avec une pareille inscription? C'est d'ailleurs là une question qui préoccupé J.-M. K. au-delà de cette étude précise; n'a-t-il pas écrit peu après: "Comment on écrit l'histoire égyptienne: La fin de la XIXe dynastie vue d'après la section 'historique' du Papyrus Harris I" (in *An. de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Or. et Sl.* 25, 1981, 51-64), enquête où il fait preuve d'un pessimisme peut-être excessif sur la valeur historique des textes dits historiques?

Que peut nous apporter le Décret d'Horemheb sur le plan d'une histoire plus diachronique? Comment se situe-t-il par rapport aux événements qu'a connus le pays ("crise amarnienne" et ses suites) et se situe-t-il vraiment par rapport à eux? Voilà des questions qu'on avait cru résolues avant même de les poser, dans les études et les recherches ou commentaires antérieurs à l'ouvrage de Kruchten. Or, celui-ci a également le mérite de bien remettre les choses à leur place grâce à l'acuité et à la rigueur de ses analyses. Il montre avec d'excellents arguments que rien dans le texte du Décret ne laisse entendre que les mesures prises contre un certain nombre d'abus font suite à un soi-disant état de déréliction atteint par le pays après le règne d'Akhénaton et de ses successeurs. Cette stèle ne vise qu'à publier "un train de mesures disparates et de promesses, destinées à gagner à un nouveau souverain dont la légitimité était contestable, sinon contestée, l'appui ou tout au moins l'adhésion de larges couches de la population", pour reprendre les termes de l'A. (p.211). La présentation générale d'Horemheb comme celui qui restaure Maât ne fait que s'inscrire dans une phraséologie idéologique normale lors de l'arrivée d'un nouveau souverain sur le trône. La suppression de la fonction de gardien des singes *kyky* a parfois été comprise comme un coup porté à l'ancienne religion atonienne et à ses partisans, mais rien dans le texte ne confirme cette vue (du reste, ne se fonde-t-elle pas avant tout sur la volonté de valoriser cette fonction - et donc sa suppression - qui sinon paraissent dérisoires au commentateur moderne par suite de son ignorance?). De même, on ne peut pas induire des nouvelles dispositions relatives au protocole du palais que celles-ci font suite à un prétendu relâchement amarnien (sur ce point J.-M. K. serait prêt à admettre une explication allant en ce sens, mais la question resterait selon lui secondaire et sans conséquences sur son interprétation générale du texte - p.183 et 211). Ou du moins il faut bien reconnaître que la notion de relâchement amarnien parfois maniée par les historiens est fort sujette à caution et relève peut-être d'une interprétation abusive du nouveau langage religieux et artistique adopté à cette époque. Peut-être pourrait-on tout au plus, sur ces questions, parler en réalité de "crise post-amarnienne" plutôt que de "crise amarnienne". Et à cet égard n'oublions pas qu'Horemheb fut partie prenante dans cette crise; du reste, la tradition égyptienne ancienne elle-même l'entendit bien ainsi, qui tendit à l'associer aux souverains qui le précéderent.

Au terme de son introduction (p.X), Jean-Marie Kruchten émettait un espoir: "que le présent travail sera appelé à remplacer, comme ouvrage de référence, les études précédentes consacrées à un des grands textes du Nouvel Empire, et qu'il pourra en outre rendre service à toutes les catégories d'égyptologues, depuis les linguistes, qui y trouveront de nombreuses recherches particulières de syntaxe et de vocabulaire, jusqu'aux spécialistes des institutions pharaoniques et aux historiens". L'auteur peut être rassuré: son espoir peut se muer en certitude.

A.-P. ZIVIE

Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte. Eine ägyptische Kosmogonie des Neuen Reiches. By HERMANN SCHLÖGL. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 5. 297x210 mm. Pp.72. Basel, Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität; Geneva, Centre d'études orientales de l'Université. Geneva, Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1977. Price DM 30.

This stimulating short book, scarcely larger than a journal article, reviews and criticises the thesis of Morenz (S. Morenz & J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume (Artibus Asiae Supplement 12, Ascona 1954)*) that the motif of a god on a lotus goes back to the Pyramid Texts and was thus an ancient cosmogony, associated at first with Herishef and only later with the sun-god. Schlögl's conclusion is that the iconographic motif 'god on lotus' does not appear until after the Amarna period and is a New Kingdom innovation deriving specifically from the Amarna experience. The iconography would be evidence for a cosmogony not otherwise attested until a later date, and would reflect the formation of that cosmogony. His book has been reviewed in several places; I concentrate here on issues not discussed by others. (for reviews see B. Birkstam, *CdE* 53 (1978), 256-7; M.-L. Ryhiner, *BiOr* 37 (1980), 37-41; S. Hermann, *OLZ* 79 (1982), 124-7).

The destructive part of Schlögl's analysis is convincing, and support for Morenz's position is shown to be want-

ing. The new alternative, however, is itself problematic, because the evidence for it is in recondite and allusive material that is more likely to make play with a known complex of associations than to form the point of departure for a new conception. The precise chronology of the development is also uncertain, especially since there is more, and more varied, evidence from the later 18th Dynasty than from earlier times. The iconographic material starts with a faience amulet from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV which has the form of an 'nh-sign whose loop encloses a cartouche on a lotus flower (Cat. B.a 1). A more elaborate parallel from the next reign, published since the appearance of Schlögl's book, is a cup offered by Kheruef to the king (Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, OIP 102, 1980, pls.49-51, 52B). This has a lotus pattern on the body and above the rim a figure of the king sitting in a marsh consisting of groups of stems of papyrus and of the Upper Egyptian plant; the king grasps groups of stems. The composition alludes to the *zm tswj* motif and to that of Horus in the marshes, and in the latter respect constitutes a forerunner for the largely Graeco-Roman occurrence of youthful deities, such as Ihy and Harsomtus, on the lotus. Later material, from the tomb of Tutankhamun in particular, is also primarily royal, and depends on comparably elaborate chains of association. Schlögl believes that what he is studying is a cosmogony. The king is not assimilated so closely to the creator that his presence in these contexts should be primary: on Schlögl's arguments he must be adopting conceptions whose origin is elsewhere. Thus, whereas Schlögl is inclined to dismiss the Tuthmosis IV example and relate the development to the greater concentration of evidence surviving from the next century, I think its date should be taken seriously. The only other obvious solution would be that the cosmogony evolved out of the motifs, which would then have chronological priority. This is possible, but it is not what Schlögl proposes. I also consider it unlikely; although iconography does become self-sustaining in similar fashion, this is not normally in areas of central ideological concern. The iconography should thus point to the prior existence of a creator on a lotus, whose disposition the king mimics, and it becomes impossible to say when the conception originated. Such a conclusion emphasises both the importance of iconography as a source for religion and mythology and the difficulty of interpreting what it says.

Another reason for reserve is that Schlögl suggests no specific feature in the Amarna period that might give rise to the new conception. A basic development of Amarna religion is the 'demythologisation' of solar beliefs, in which the sun-god on the lotus hardly belongs, so that it would have to be part of a more general ferment. Assmann has argued convincingly that the 'new solar theology' began a reign or more before Amarna, so that the ferment itself seems to spread over a longer time, and in his interpretation has a forerunner in the reign of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III (*Re und Amun*, OBO 51, 1983, chs.3, 4). The god on the lotus could as well have originated that time as in the following reigns, but I see no compelling reason why it should not be altogether earlier. For relevant texts as for representations, the later record is so much better than the earlier that arguments from silence are very uncertain.

Schlögl's monograph is a valuable, clearly presented reconsideration of an earlier study and illustrates the importance of iconography, demonstrating that even a small additional corpus can form the basis of a new interpretation. One of its best qualities is that it provides the reader with the opportunity to make a different analysis.

J. R. BAINES

The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 10. Edited by M. L. BIERBRIER. 337x 212 mm. Pp.46, pls.100. London, Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications Limited, 1982. ISBN 0 7141 0926 6. Price £50.

Twelve years after the appearance of part 9 (by T. G. H. James), Dr. Bierbrier has edited the tenth volume of the series in which the texts on monuments preserved in the British Museum are published. The full stress lies on the texts, not on the monuments themselves. This is clear from the plates which, apart from the photographs, also bear facsimilies of the inscriptions. In some instances strict adherence to this rule leads to regrettable results, particularly when texts on statues form the subject. On pl.21, for instance, we find the inscriptions on a fragmentary statue of Queen Nefertari, the wife of Ramesses II (No.1133), which in the description (p.14) is stated to be a "fine female head"; but, although the bibliography mentions no other publication, the head itself is not depicted. Even more strange is one of the photographs on pl.46, of a kneeling statue representing the Viceroy of Kush Paser (No.1376). The back and base of this piece of sculpture are completely shown, but the upper part of the front with the torso and head are cut off, although a blank space is thus created in which the entire figure could have been depicted. It seems to me that here the in-itself defensible principle is pushed too far.

In total the volume presents the texts of 104 objects. Not all of them, however, are published here for the first time; some of them are already widely known or fairly recently studied and depicted in photographs. Two examples may be cited: the standard-bearing statue of Prince Kha'emwese (No.947; pls.33-35), to which Shorter devoted an article in the *Griffith Studies*, pp.128-132, and the stela of the royal butler Hori (No.588; pl.57), published by the reviewer in *JEA* 49 (1963), 64-70. Moreover, a dozen of the stelae from Deir el-Medîna had already appeared in vols.VI and VII of the same series. Admittedly, there they are presented in drawing only, whereas here a photograph is given plus an extensive commentary by Bierbrier. Yet, one may raise the question whether a new publication of monuments which are already known in a not too unsatisfactory manner is still advisable. The in-itself laudable effort of a museum to publish its possessions in an adequate fashion reaches, in my opinion, its limits in our time, when one has to carefully calculate whether the value of a new edition offsets the ever-rising costs. In a few instances these limits seem to have been crossed here.

I certainly do not imply that the present publication as a whole is superfluous. On the contrary, it constitutes a valuable contribution to our knowledge. Not only since documents that were as yet unknown, or unavailable in a reliable edition, can henceforth be fully studied, but also by the extensive comments which Bierbrier presents to each single object - comments that are generally even more extensive than those of James in part 9. Of course, the more commentary an editor presents to his readers, the wider he opens the gate for differences of opinion on the interpretation. The wide knowledge of Bierbrier, particularly as regards the inhabitants of Deir el-Medîna, guarantees that criticism on his commentary will be scarce. At the end of this review I will briefly

mention a few details. Most of the points, however, on which I am inclined to follow another explanation than those in the cited text are so unimportant, and their expose would require so much space, that I prefer to leave them aside. Rather I will indicate on which points the publication increases our knowledge, or could be utilized for further study.

The 104 objects all date from the New Kingdom. They are roughly arranged in chronological order, beginning with the royal monuments of each period, followed by those of private persons. The first plate contains fragments bearing the name and titles of Horemheb; the second, the standard-bearing statue of Tutankhamun usurped by Horemheb (No.37639; see now also Catharine Chadeauf, *Les statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Paris, 1982, pp.10-11), and a statue-base with the prenomen of that Pharaoh. Then follow monuments of officials from the late XVIIIth Dynasty. The second group consists of a fairly large number of pieces mentioning rulers of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. Then two pieces of the God's Adorer ʒst (for the pyramidion, No.1742, pls.30-31, see now Agnes Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, Leuven, 1983, pp.47-48¹); several monuments of officials from the XIXth and XXth Dynasties; a large group, mostly stelae, from the workmen of Deir el-Medina (pls.63-92); and, at the end, a few of fairly simple people from other sites.

As a point of general interest I would like to draw attention to the genealogies, to which Bierbrier rightly devotes much space in his comments. In themselves the details are of small interest, but they constitute the material which may enable us to solve in future some of the problems of kinship terminology as it was used during the New Kingdom, in the way that Franke has recently attempted for that of the Middle Kingdom (Detlev Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, Diss., Hamburg, 1983). With the solution of these problems demographic studies will become possible, e.g. those on infant mortality and marriage fertility. Unfortunately, the subject is full of pitfalls. Firstly, the Egyptians have been unbelievably inaccurate in carving the inscriptions of the stelae. Secondly, the small number of kinship terms have a wide range of meaning. Moreover, no more-or-less fixed system seems to have been applied to divide the generations over the various registers of a stela, nor is a fixed order of the persons represented in one register. At least, such a system has not yet been discovered. To a certain extent the problem is a circular one: any order could only be established if we knew the exact meaning of the kinship terms in a special case, and vice versa.

On pp.20-21 Bierbrier discusses the stela of the Viceroy of Kush *Wn-tʒ-wʒt* (No.792; pls.44-45). At the end of the second register two women are represented, followed by a child. Both women are designated as *snt.f*. As in so many instances, the question is to whom the suffix refers: to the owner of the stela, or to one of the preceding persons in the row? Moreover, *snt.f* may mean uterine sister, half-sister, sister-in-law, cousin, niece, probably even aunt. It is also used to indicate a wife, but in that case is usually followed by *nbt pr* - which, however, also occurs in those instances where the woman was married to another man than the owner of the stela. The first lady in this register, *ʒ-wʒrt*, was certainly Wentawat's wife. She is followed by a man called [ʒʒ]ʒ *Nʒ-ḥr-ḥr* (ʒʒ is certain, although destroyed). At face value one would be inclined to surmise that Naḥerḥer was not the son of Wentawat, but merely of his wife. That seems to be incorrect, as Bierbrier remarks. Wentawat's father was also called Naḥerḥer, so Naḥerḥer (II) was certainly a son of the couple. The next man in the row was, according to the inscription, *snt.f* (sic!) ^ʒ*Imn-wʒh-sw*, the women who follow, as stated above, are designated *snt.f*. If all suffixes refer to the first man in the row, they are all children of Wentawat and Tausert: but they may as well refer to Wentawat, the owner of the stela, in which case they belong to the preceding generation (unless in one or more instances the word *sn(t)* means nephew/niece or uncle/aunt). Both solutions are equally well possible, and Bierbrier, wisely, leaves the answer to the question open.

An important point, mentioned in passing, is the use of *snt.f* with the third person in the row, although it is clear from the representation, the title and the name that he is a man.² This is a clear example of the slovenliness with which the sculptors executed inscriptions, even, in this case, of a stela belonging to a Viceroy of Kush. What then could we expect on monuments of humbler persons? In several instances, particularly when the person is not depicted and the name and title are not decisively either masculine or feminine, the kinship relations have to remain uncertain.

For a second example I refer to the stela of *Ršpw* and ^ʒ*Imn-ms* (No.161; pls.52-53), indeed a model for the clumsy fashion in which family relationships are indicated. Very probably close relationship existed between the persons at the left hand side (Reshpu) and those at the right hand side (Amenmose). This is proved, as Bierbrier notes, by the statue of Amenmose in Bologna (No.1821). Most of the male persons of both groups were "overseer of cattle", nearly all women "chantress of Amun", which also points at a closely related group.

One of the problems as regards the identification of the relationship between the persons is, that at Amenmose's side three women are stated to be *mw.t.f*, namely the last two of register 3 and the first one of register 4. One of them may be a mother-in-law,³ but then two "mothers" remain. It is hardly possible that in one of these cases a grandmother is meant, since that may be indicated with the second woman of register 4. The only solution seems to be that the *.f* refers to different persons, but it remains obscure to whom. Or do we have to understand that here, at least in one instance, a term of address was used?

Another odd detail is that in all instances where a man is called *sn*, this is actually written *snt*.⁴ So the second person in the third register of Reshpu's side is called *snt.f* ^ʒ*Imn-ms*. From this Bierbrier first suggests that he was Reshpu's brother, in this way connecting both sides of the stela. However, the two men following Reshpu in the second register were very probably indeed his brothers (the second is called after Reshpu's father), whereas register 3 begins with the father and also represents his paternal grandmother and his mother. Therefore, it would be more "regular" if the second person in the row, *snt.f* ^ʒ*Imn-ms*, was an uncle of Reshpu, the brother of his father whose figure precedes; which means, that in this case the *.f* refers to the preceding person, whereas in other instances in the same row it refers to Reshpu himself. Indeed Bierbrier mentions the possibility that Reshpu and Amenmose were uncle and nephew, or even cousins. The matter, again, remains obscure. Either the system of dividing the generations over the registers has been applied here, in which case the use of the suffixes is confusing, or the suffixes are used consistently, but the generations are mixed up in the registers.

How easily the complications may lead to mistakes, by the sculptors as well as by the scholars, can be demonstrated from this document. The second woman in the bottom register, right side, is said to be *mw.t.f* *šmʒyt n mw.t.f* ^ʒ*Imn ḥwt-ḏw*. Bierbrier, without comments but very plausibly, interprets: "his mother or maternal grand-

mother, the chantress of Amun, *Hwt-ḫw*"; that is, the word *ḫwt* is misplaced, but whether one has to understand *mw.t.f* - that would mean, four "mothers" after each other - or *mw.t n mw.t.f*, which looks to me more probable, remains uncertain. Bierbrier himself also made a minor slip (p.21, second col., fourth line of the last paragraph) by writing "a brother Amenmose", where he means Neferronpe; whether Amenmose was Reshpu's brother is doubtful, as argued above.

With all these details I want to demonstrate how difficult it is to disentangle the family relationships from the date of these monuments. Unless we possess several documents of the persons involved, by preference mentioning them with their titles and with the names of their parents and wives, the reconstruction of genealogies is impossible. Therefore, it is only from Deir el-Medīna where the evidence is abundant and of various kinds (stelae, graffiti, ostraca and papyri, tomb inscriptions, etc.), that we may hope to be able, by careful comparison, to reach reliable conclusions regarding the real meaning of the kinship terms and their use. Whether it will appear possible to draw up family trees for more than a few families is as yet uncertain.







Turning to the material from the workmen's community published in the volume under discussion, Bierbrier comments on p.37 on the stela of *Ḳn* (No.8493; pls.84-85). He seems unaware of the publication by Pernigotti of a relief fragment belonging to the same sculptor *Ḳen* (*Studi classici a orientali* 19-20, (1970-1971), 123-124), in which the author deals with *Ḳen*'s genealogy, utilizing more documents than listed by Bierbrier, although not including the present stela. Together they offer a clear picture of the family tree; merely the order in which *Ḳen* married his two wives remains uncertain.⁵

Stelae Nos.316 and 272 (pl.70) plus 273 (pl.71) again present an example of the difficulties encountered in unravelling family relations, even those of the necropolis workmen. The first document shows at the top Nefersenu, doubtless the father of the later chief workman Paneb, who is well-known from Pap. Salt 124. This Paneb was the main subject of No.272 as well as of No.273, both made when he had been appointed to the office of chief workman. On No.273 he appears with *s3.f ʿ3-phty* and *s3.f Hd-nht*, on No.272 with *s3.f ʿ3-phty*, *s3.f P3-nb* and *s3.f Nb-mhy(t)*. The three kneeling men represented in the second register of No.316 are called *s3.f P3-nb*, *s3.f ʿ3-phty* and *s3 n s3t.f P3-nb*.

From other sources, e.g. Pap. Salt 124, we know that 'Apehty was a son of Paneb, but any relationship between the latter and Hednakht, Nebmehyt and Paneb II is obscure. Bierbrier suggests (p.30) that Nebmehyt was the son of 'Apehty, since a son of this name may be known from the Turin offering-table No.22-37. The proof is not quite decisive since it may be that Paneb also had a son of this name. In Deir el-Medīna many names occur in almost every generation. But even if we admit that Bierbrier's suggestion is plausible, the relationship between Paneb and the other men is uncertain. The order on No.272: *s3.f ʿ3-phty*, *s3.f P3-nb*, *s3.f Nb-mhy(t)*, and the absence of a title with the last two - 'Apehty is called *s3m-ʿs m st M3't* - suggests that Paneb II was 'Apehty's son. As regards Hednakht (No.273), Bierbrier simply states that no son of Paneb of this name is otherwise known. Perhaps he was a son-in-law, married to one of Paneb's five daughters (see Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 254).

The most intriguing problem is the identity of the *s3 n s3t.f P3-nb* on stela No.316. The suffix may as well refer to one of the preceding men, Paneb I or 'Apehty, as to Nefersenu, the owner of the stela. If it refers to Paneb, and we accept that here once more an erroneous *t* is written, he may be the same Paneb II as is mentioned on the other stela. But is the *t* indeed a mistake? The name is followed by the phrase *ḫr nḫr ʿ3*, which seems to indicate that he was deceased when the stela was made. Since it is a monument of Nefersenu, who was the grandfather of Paneb II, and No.272 was very probably carved at a (perhaps far) later moment when Paneb I was already chief workman, the identity of both Paneb IIs is improbable. But then the word *s3t* may indeed mean that this Paneb (a third one), who died as a boy, was a son of Nefersenu's daughter, or, less probably, of a daughter of Paneb I or even 'Apehty - less probably, because in the last case four generations would occur on one stela. If we admit, however, that people already deceased for years were sometimes represented on stelae as if still living, among their surviving relations, the Paneb II of No.272 could, again, be the same as the *s3 n s3t.f P3-nb*, when understood as *s3 n s3.f*, the last person mentioned on the stela No.316.

One could easily continue in this way, and that is equally well possible with most other documents from Deir el-Medīna, but I fear that the reader is already dazzled. Moreover, as said above, all this hardly has any historical value since it does not lead to a deeper insight into the use of kinship terms, the division of the persons over the registers, or the order within the registers, or of any other subject. This is certainly not meant to imply that Bierbrier's comments are superfluous. One never knows whether a particular detail will once appear to be the clue to an important conclusion. All an editor of such monuments can do is, like an excavator, to present the available material as clearly and as completely as possible, hoping that his efforts are not all wasted.

One more subject may be briefly mentioned. As stated above, Bierbrier adds to the photographs facsimilies of the inscriptions, as James already did in part 9. This modern custom is certainly correct, since even photographs of outstanding quality - as are indeed the majority of those in the publication under review - are never absolutely clear as regards the inscriptions. In general, the facsimilies look reliable. An obvious slip on pl.19 (B 2), where an  is forgotten, as the photograph above clearly shows, can easily be forgiven.⁶ I had, however, some doubts about the inscriptions of the statue of Prince Kha'emwese, particularly those on pl.35. In D 2 some signs differ from those which Shorter had given in *Griffith Studies* (pl.13), and it is not clear whether Bierbrier's facsimile is correct and Shorter's text presents (in itself correct) emendations. For instance, twice  occurs where clearly  is meant; the first sign of the verb-form *wn.f* in col.2 is given in the facsimile as , whereas Shorter has the correct . But most important is the difference occurring in E 2, where among Kha'emwese's titles one reads  instead of *Snty-ḫr*. The latter title occurs on other documents of the Prince (see Gomaà, *Chaemwese, Ägypt. Abh.* 27, Wiesbaden, 1973, p.18), and it is also what Shorter read. I have checked this, together with the author, on the original, and, although the signs are hardly legible, we could agree that *snty* with an *n* is certainly the correct reading.

On the other hand, the fact that we now have a photograph and a facsimile of the Buhen stela of Sethos I (No. 1189; pls.10-11) enables us to check the text in Kitchen's *Ramesseid Inscriptions* (I, 37-38) and to measure out whether his additions between brackets suit the available space; for instance, that of the largely destroyed line 7. So far as I can see, Kitchen's restorations are correct indeed.

A few remarks on minor details may be added. The present edition of the statue of Panehsy, the Overseer of the Treasury (No.1377; pls.49-51), gives us for the first time the name of his father, Ramose, written on the lap (pl.49, D). In note 1 of p.22 Bierbrier seems to hesitate as regards the provenance of the statue, although he states in the text that the divinities represented suggest that it was indeed Abydos. The prayer in I 2 (pl. 51) that the name of Panhesy may be remembered in the House of the Lord of the Thinite nome, strengthens the suggestion to almost certainty.

If Bierbrier correctly assigns stela No.1214 (pl.48) of a mayor Paser, to the functionary of that name from the reign of Ramesses IX, this piece gives us a portrait of the man who is so well-known from the Tomb Robbery Papyri.

The editor is cautious in ascribing the naos No.579 + Turin No.50220 (pls.66-67) to the later chief workman Anherkha'u (I), the son of Qaha - or is the word "probably" on p.28, second column, first line of the second paragraph, an understatement? Anyway, the occurrence of the *nbt-pr* *ḥmwt-ḏw* on the Turin fragment makes it certain.

One wonders why Bierbrier calls No.1103 (pl.12) "Inscription of Sethos I", whereas Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, I, 227, calls it a lintel of Amenophis II. certainly the latter Pharaoh is represented at the right and left hand sides. Bierbrier states that "the relief bears a renewal inscription"; does he imply that it is not usurped? In the description of No.37639 (p.9) he is not that reserved.

All these are decidedly minor points. The overall conclusion has to be that Dr. Bierbrier has really enriched our knowledge about the New Kingdom by this publication. The editor and the British Museum may be congratulated on the volume, and one would like to urge them to continue making the treasures of the collection available in this way to all who are interested in that period.

¹ In the same work (pp.42-44) also No.479 (pls.90-91).

² An even more confusing mistake occurs on the Bankes stela No.2 (Černý, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection*, Oxford, 1958), where the last person in the second register is called *ḥ3.f*, which according to Černý has to be *snt.f*.

³ Although the Egyptians possessed a term for in-laws, namely *šm(t)*, it is seldom used; never, so far as is known, during the period from which the documents here published date. See Franke, *op. cit.*, 148-151.

⁴ This type of mistake - easily to be explained since the *t* was not pronounced anymore - may be common, far more unusual is the writing *nbt-pr.f* instead of *nbt-pr* that occurs on the naos No.476 (pls.58-60), once in the inscription at the front, right hand side of the top, and twice at the rear.

⁵ As regards the two wives of *R-k3* (No.476; pls.58-60), one is inclined to suggest that the wife depicted with her children in the top register at the rear of the naos was the first spouse, the woman of the second register, of which the figure as well as those of her children was never carved, being the second. The more so since this later wife's name has been added afterwards at the top right hand corner of the front. Such clear indications are, however, fairly scarce.

⁶ Another slip is the transfer of the numbers on pl.81. For No.1248, the stela of *Wn-nḥw* (the lower one), see the drawing by Clère, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 177 (not mentioned in the commentary). For the Nos.186 and 276 (pls. 78 and 79), a reference to Tosi, *Una stirpe di pittori a Tebe* (Quaderno No 7 del Museo Egizio di Torino, Torino, 1972), would have been useful, since in the appendix to this study the family tree is presented.

J. J. JANSSEN

La Tombe de Néfer-hotep (I) et Neb-néfer à Deir el Médina [No.6] et autres documents les concernant. Vol II by HENRI WILD. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientales du Caire. T. CIII/2. 360x277 mm. Pls.35. Cairo, IFAO, 1979. Price 110 FF.

La Tombe de Pached à Deir el-Médineh [No.3]. By ALAIN-PIERRE ZIVIE. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. T.XCIX. 353x273 mm. Pp.144, 1 colour pl., pls.35. Cairo, IFAO, 1979. Price 245 FF.

The necessity for the publication of the painted tombs of the Theban area has long been recognized, but the actual work has fallen far short of completion. The exposed tombs yearly deteriorate with consequent loss to art and history. The activities of the French Institute at Deir el-Medina constitute one of the most successful chapters in the history of the recording of the Theban necropolis despite a momentary hiatus during and just after World War II. Apart from the two tombs reviewed here, twelve others have already been published in a final format. About thirty remain to be treated more completely although partial publication of texts or scenes of some of them might be found in J. Černý, B. Bruyère and J. J. Clère, *Répertoire onomastique de Deir el-Médineh* (Cairo, 1949) and in Bruyère's preliminary reports of the excavations of Deir el-Medina.

The joint tomb of the foremen Neferhotep and Nebnufer is represented as yet only by a volume of plates, but these are of course the most important part of the publication. These plates consist solely of line drawings, and it is to be hoped that the forthcoming first volume of this tomb will contain some photographs of the tomb for comparison. The text and scenes are not in the best state of preservation and this condition is accurately reflected in the drawings. It appears that signs which are only partially preserved are usually not restored, while those which are completely lost are completely restored in dotted lines whenever possible. However, the treatment is not consistent. On pl.4 no attempt has been made to indicate the certainty of the signs for '3 at the end of the column containing the name of the lady Iyi, while the name of the goddess Anuket is entirely restored on the same plate. On pl.12 whole names and all partial hieroglyphs are restored except curiously for the last column. Large sections of the pyramidions on pls.28-30 are reconstructed but not the obvious names on pl.27. It is also not too clear whether blank spaces amidst the hieroglyphs are indeed blank or have merely suffered loss, normally indicated by cross-hatching; for example pls.6 and 20. No doubt the full publication in the text volume will clear up some of these points. The published monuments of the foremen on pls.31-35 presu-

ably include only those found in the French excavations and do not represent a comprehensive list of their monuments (see Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II², pp.717-8), although perhaps BM 447, a relief which probably comes from the tomb, ought to have been included (T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* Part 9 [London, 1970], pl.XXXVIII).

The tomb of Pashed is completely published in one volume by means of a set of excellent black and white photographs which are of a high enough quality to make the provision of line drawings unnecessary. Hopefully a complete colour set of photographs has been taken for reference although naturally it was not possible to publish more than one colour frontispiece. However, the colours of the scenes are indicated in the text. The history of the discovery of the tomb is outlined in Chapter I. It was apparently found in 1834 and shortly thereafter examined by Robert Hay who fortunately made detailed copies of its interior. In the following chapters Zivie gives an architectural description of the tomb and then a wall by wall publication of the scenes and texts. The use of the printed fount for hieroglyphs does not detract too much from the study of its epigraphy since the photographs are so clear, and Zivie discusses aberrant signs on pp.27-8 and other individual peculiarities as they occur. In Chapter IV he is able to give a full transcription of the now destroyed painted sarcophagus, which was once the most conspicuous feature of the tomb, with the help of Hay's invaluable copies. In Chapter V the author enumerates the objects that can be identified as coming from this tomb, notably two offering-tables. Hay's view of the tomb on pl.7 appears to indicate that various objects were in place in the tomb on its discovery, but these have now disappeared or are unidentifiable.

The final chapter contains studies on Pashed's name, family, and career. The author draws attention to two stelae, one from Karnak and another from Deir el-Medina, to elucidate the problem of Pashed's wife's relations. Unfortunately it is not certain, despite the similarities in some names and titles, that both of these stelae can be ascribed to the family of Pashed. In fact, they serve to make the question of his relationships even more obscure. Zivie offers several possible solutions including the marriage of Pashed's father-in-law with his own niece who would become the tomb owner's mother-in-law, but none of these are totally convincing. Zivie argues that two children depicted in the tomb, Aapahte and Nebunefret, are in fact his grandchildren although named as son and daughter, because of their youth and the fact that Nebunefret is elsewhere shown as an adult and so must be distinguished from her like-named niece. The argument over ages does not necessarily follow since, given the large sizes of Deir el-Medina families, the youngest children could well have been of the same age as undoubted grandchildren of Pashed who are shown in this tomb. The double appearance of Nebunefret may or may not be significant. This daughter, or less likely the conjectured granddaughter, can probably be identified with Nebunefret, wife of the workman Hehnekhu (Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* [Warminster, 1975], p.24). Pashed's son Pendua is undoubtedly the same man depicted on Turin statue Sup. No.6127 since the latter's children include Pashed and Nedjembehdet, named after his parents, and Menna and Huy, named after his paternal grandparents (B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1930)* [Cairo, 1933], p.114). Zivie argues cogently that the workman Pashed of Tomb 3 should not be identified with the foreman Pashed of Tomb 326 despite the fact that the names of their wives are the same. He sees this as merely a coincidence. He may well be right, but the evidence at present is not conclusive. This well illustrated and well produced volume can proudly take its place among the published Deir el-Medina tombs. It is hoped that appearance of the remainder of the cemetery will not be long delayed.

M. L. BIERBRIER

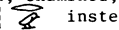
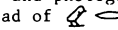
Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit. By ERHART GRAEFE. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen Band 37. 2 vols. 310x220 mm. Vol. I, Pp.xiv+247, figs.19, pls.36. Vol.II, Pp.vii+172, 1 table. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1981. ISBN 3 447 02174 8. Price DM 210.

This important and impressive study seeks to investigate the institution of the God's Wife of Amun at Thebes and its bureaucracy both civil and priestly, which administered its many resources. These had increased steadily from its inception in the early Eighteenth Dynasty until its apogee of power during the Saite period. The first part of volume one (pp.1-180) is composed of an alphabetical list of all known officials of the Divine Adorer from the New Kingdom until the end of Dynasty Twenty-Six, including those of the posthumous cult of Ahmes-Nefertari. Each entry gives the name and titles written in hieroglyphs plus a list of his/her monuments, notes on these, and a suggested dating for the official. A family tree is added whenever possible. There are two brief appendices (pp.181-186) on supposed officials and priests of Ahmes-Nefertari who ought to be deleted from further consideration and on the nurses and tutors of the God's Wives. In the second part of volume one (pp.187-247) the author publishes in full forty-four monuments of officials which have been inadequately dealt with in the past or have never been published before. These monuments have already been cited briefly in part one under the appropriate name.

The second volume consists of a detailed examination of the titles and functions of the various officials and priests of the Divine Adorer. Chapter I (pp.1-12) gives a brief introduction and a listing of the various titles. These are listed and written in hieroglyphs in Chapter II (pp.13-70) and discussed in detail in Chapter III (pp.71-100). Chapters IV and V (pp.101-118) contain a brief history of the institution of the God's Wife of Amun and its administration. Volume II is completed by five indices consisting of private names, corrections and additions to Ranke, titles, museum locations, and corrections and additions to Porter and Moss. There is a table of the administration of the Theban area at the back of the volume.

No list of officials can ever be said to be complete, but the author has diligently collected much new material, and his list far exceeds what has hitherto been available for the study on the institution of the God's Wife of Amun at Thebes. It is a moot point whether this list might have been divided chronologically as well as alphabetically since the functions of some of the officials in Dynasty XVIII may have been somewhat different and certainly more complex in Dynasty XXVI. The author has himself limited the list of office-holders. He has, for example, excluded from the prosopography, apart from incidental references, the category of *ḥsyṯ nt ḥnw n* 'Imn, although the title itself is discussed in Volume II with the indication that ninety-one holders are known to the author. To the author's list of officials of the cult should be added: *sš n ḏwst nṯr ḥꜣt-ḥꜣt* son of *sš*

n *dw3t n3r T3y-Mntw-3w.f-3nh* (BM 35623, a wooden stela of the Saite period), *3my-hnt n dw3t n3r Ps-3r-k3p* (BM 37975, a canopic jar, probably of the Third Intermediate Period) and *sdmw-3s n 3kw n dw3t n3r n 3Imm 3Ir...* who appears in the centre of a fragmentary genealogy on a broken piece of coffin (BM unregistered). Possibly of more interest is a Late Period block statue of the prophet of Ahmes-Nefertari Djedamunufankh seen in the antique trade about 1980.

The publication of new material from the British Museum has resulted in some slight errors. P22, a heart scarab (BM 7877), was not previously owned by Hugh (not Hugo) Smithson. This attribution has resulted from a misinterpretation of the plate in Alexander Gordon's publication of 1737 cited by Graefe in his bibliography of this piece. In fact, Hugh Smithson merely paid for the publication of the plate. Hans Sloane was the last owner of the scarab which came to the British Museum with his collection in 1753. According to a manuscript inventory of the Sloane collection now in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, the heart scarab was acquired by Sloane from a Mr. Waldo from the East Indies. If one assumes that Waldo picked up the scarab in Egypt on the way home from India, then the attribution of the provenance to the East Indies is understandable. The back of P23 has now been detached from its stand, examined, and photographed. The inscription on Tafel 9* line 3 should be corrected at the beginning to read  instead of .

The survey of titles used in the administration of the institution of the God's Wife is very thorough although excessive cross-referencing might have been avoided if Chapters I and II had been combined and each title or group of titles had been discussed completely at a given point. The historical discussion of the development of the office of God's Wife consists of several stages. Graefe divides the history of the office into four periods: Dynasty XVIII, Dynasties XIX-XX, Dynasty XXI until the accession of Shepenwepet, and finally Dynasties XXV-XXVI. There was apparently a fifth period not covered in this study since Greek sources indicate that the God's Wife, but not necessarily most of her functionaries, survived or was revived in the Ptolemaic period. The most recent account of the institution can be found in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* under Gottesgemahlin where a list of the officeholders is given. Such a list would have been a useful point of reference in the volumes under review. There can be no doubt that Dr. Graefe's work is a major contribution to the study of the Theban area in the New Kingdom, and more, importantly, the Third Intermediate Period. It will prove an indispensable tool for all future studies.

M. L. BIERBRIER

Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings. Volume III: The Late Period. By MIRIAM LICHTHEIM. 235x155 mm. Pp.xiv+228. Berkeley, Los Angeles/London, 1980. Price £8.75.

This, the last part of Lichtheim's selection of Egyptian texts in translation, covers the Third Intermediate to Ptolemaic periods. The contents range from a dozen private autobiographical inscriptions by way of three royal inscriptions, two "pseudepigrapha" (the Sehel and Bentresh stelae) and a number of temple hymns of the Graeco-Roman period to demotic tales such as Setna-Khaemwese, and the Instructions of Ankhsheshonq and Pap. Insinger. It may be doubted whether some of the texts have much strictly literary merit, but Lichtheim is faithful to the generous interpretation of the term set out in the preface to her first volume. A number (such as the inscriptions of Wedjahorresnet, Peftuaneith and Somtutefnakht) are of the first importance historically, and the value of this work is emphasised by the fact that a text as important as the Victory stela of Piye finds here its first full translation in English since Breasted's *Ancient Records*. There is a lack of balance in the devotion of over a quarter of the book to only two texts - Ankhsheshonq and Pap. Insinger - which, if different in spirit, belong to the same genre. The more extensive annotations accompanying these are due in part to the difficulties inherent in them, but also perhaps, but not unreasonably, to the translator's own special interests. (For further comment on these texts, see Lichtheim's corrigenda in *GM* 41[1980] 69-74, and her 'Observations on Papyrus Insinger' in *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, ed. Hornung and Keel, [OBO 28], 283-305).

As in the first two volumes, each text is prefaced by a concise introduction and bibliography, and accompanied by brief notes designed to justify philological nuances to the specialist or to elucidate more general matters, and especially proper names, for the lay reader. Some are useful and to the point; others testify to the extreme difficulty of trying to cater for two quite different audiences within the same apparatus, and there are numerous inconsistencies in the choice of points for explanation, or in the nature of the comment. For instance, almost the only name on which Lichtheim feels it necessary to expand (*3st-m-hb*, p.59, n.1) is the most common and least in need of it. Lichtheim explains who Harsaphes is (p.43, n.3) but the reader is left in ignorance of the identity of the at least as obscure Nehmetaway (p.47). The statement that Sep is "a god of the region" (p. 83, n.70) is scarcely enlightening. Obvious references are not always given; for example, the identification of Shai (p.159, n.5) cries out for a mention of Quaegebeur's monograph *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, just as the note on the interpretation of dreams (p.42) ought to include Ray's *Archive of Hor*. Significant bibliography is occasionally missing - the statue of Peftuaneith has been discussed in some detail by Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Oaïris au mois de Khotak I*, 255-60, and the stela of Isenkebe by De Meulenaere, *Phoenix* 8 (1962), 134-8 and fig.64. But if the notes are unsatisfactory, the translations are of a consistently high standard, fluent and readable, yet adhering quite closely to the structure of the originals. This is no mean feat and represents the real strength of the book.

There is inevitably room for disagreement over the inclusion of this autobiography rather than that ('Djedher the Saviour' is a notable absentee), the choice of the very fragmentary Serpot story in preference to one of the better preserved tales in the Pedubast cycle, or that of the Shellal stela of Psammetichus II rather than, for instance, the Nitocris Adoption decree. Such minor differences of opinion merely illustrate the richness of the sources from which selection has to be made. Of a different order, however, is the omission of two texts which are arguably more important than any of those included - Pap. Rylands IX and the Demotic Chronicle. Neither is available in a modern or easily accessible edition, and yet, however rambling the former or obscure the latter, each is, in its own way, quintessentially Egyptian. Pap. Rylands IX probably gives a more revealing picture of society behind the pharaonic facade, "wie es eigentlich gewesen war", than any other document that has come down to us. The Demotic Chronicle is the only extant annalistic native commentary on the deeds of kings and contains the most explicit statement of the moral concept, already present in the Tutankhamun Restoration Stela but at

variance with the spirit of much Egyptian religious literature, that impious behaviour inevitably incurs retribution. This is the closest the Egyptians came to a theory of historical causation, and is therefore of special interest. Such omissions make it difficult to regard the collection as fully representative and one does wish that Lichtheim had found room for them.

Despite these reservations, any review of this work must end on a note of gratitude and congratulation on the successful conclusion of a difficult and daunting enterprise. It should certainly fulfil the author's expressed aim of reaching "beyond the confines of specialization while at the same time making a contribution to the specialized discipline". Scholar and amateur alike will read it with pleasure and profit. For the former, these translations will serve as a reference point for many years to come, while it would be difficult to imagine a more felicitous presentation of Egyptian literature to the non-specialist than that contained in Lichtheim's three volumes.

M. A. LEAHY


La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak II (Texte et Documents). By CL. TRAUNECKER, F. DE SAOUT and O. MASSON. Recherche sur les grands civilisations: synthèse no.5. 2 volumes. 295x207 mm. and 320x245 mm. Pp.300, including many text figures; Pp.71 incorporating many plates. Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak. Editions ADPF, Paris, 1981. ISSN 0247 8552. ISBN 2 86538 010 6. Price not given.

The chapel "of Achoris", which lies slightly to the south-west of the First Pylon at Karnak, is a rare example of the architectural and artistic activity of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty, and is important for the period of transition between Persian rule in Egypt and the independent monarchy of the fourth century B. C., a period which is known principally from Greek sources. The traditional attribution is deceptive, as Traunecker points out, since the building may have been begun by Nepherites I (on the assumption that Psammuthis' one year reign was not long enough for the whole construction), decorated by Psammuthis and then merely usurped by Achoris. Volume I, which is to follow, will be devoted to the history of excavation and a study of the architecture. This volume covers, in three sections, the reliefs, inscriptions and graffiti. The first, by Cl. Traunecker, describes the decoration and texts, presents an iconographical study which includes a review of the evolution of the processional bark of Amun from its earliest known representation in the reign of Amenhotep I, and then assesses the ritual function and religious significance of the building, showing how an apparently motley collection of scenes relate to each other and to external sources. In a richly documented study, which reveals both the author's intimate knowledge of Karnak and his deep understanding of religious texts, the meagre remains of a small, unobtrusive, and apparently unimportant chapel are shown to reaffirm the profound connection between theology and liturgy, iconography and architecture, in ancient Egypt, and the major elements of the religious practice of Thebes in the later first millennium B. C. are reconstructed. The role of the building as a "chapelle-reposoir" is clear from its position and its decoration, but Traunecker plausibly argues that it stood on the temple-quay, as the last stopping-place of the sacred bark before embarkation, and convincingly explains the unusual dimensions and orientation of the doors as adapted for this purpose. His analysis shows how the representations anticipate rites to be celebrated on the other side of the river, at Medinet Habu, where the Twenty-ninth Dynasty was also active. He suggests that the decline in the importance of the Festival of the Valley after its Ramesside apogee coincides with the growth of the Eighteenth Dynasty peripteral temple at Medinet Habu as the cult centre of the primordial gods, and especially the demiurge Amun. In the course of this, the annual journey of Amun of Karnak to Deir el-Bahari for the Festival of the Valley gradually merged with the increasingly important visit of Amun to Luxor for the festivities of Djeme. Although the textual evidence is uneven and scarcely explicit, the Kushite additions to Medinet Habu, and the burial of the God's Wives there, mark an important stage in this development, and the Twenty-ninth Dynasty structures there may be regarded as formal proof of Traunecker's hypothesis. What confronts us is thus not an intellectually impoverished imitation of earlier ideas but testimony to, in the author's phrase, "l'extraordinaire vitalité de la pensée religieuse égyptienne". Only one point needs modification: while the Twenty-fifth Dynasty constructions at Medinet Habu testify to the site's growing importance, the disposition of the tombs of the God's Wives' officials in the Assasif, as illustrated in Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-hor I*, 30-37, strongly suggests that the processional route to Deir el-Bahari remained an important element in the religious topography of the West Bank until well into Saite times, and the final demise of the Valley festival probably did not occur until the Persian period.

The final chapter contains a complete publication with facsimiles and some photographs by O. Masson, of the sixty Greek graffiti on the undecorated exterior walls of the monument. These consist in the main of names, filiation and place of origin. Apart from their onomastic content, their especial interest is that they constitute a homogeneous group, unlike the Greek graffiti encountered on other monuments in Egypt. The 'authors' seem all to be from Cyprus, and Masson postulates a Cypriot garrison, part of the large Greek mercenary force known to have been hired by Achoris, and briefly resident at Karnak in the early fourth century B. C., as the explanation.

The middle section by F. Le Saout considers the palaeography of the monument. Since hieroglyphic palaeography is one of the most neglected areas of Egyptological studies, this is potentially the most significant aspect of the book. The forms of all the signs which occur in the texts are clearly presented following the order of Gardiner's list, but adopting the layout of Moller's *Hieratische Paläographie* to classify them according to their position on the walls of the chapel. This demonstrates the wide variations in thickness, style and quality of execution of the signs, and has the advantage of enabling Le Saout to identify different hands at work on the chapel. The essential prerequisite in any epigraphic study, that of exact presentation, is thus admirably fulfilled.

As a further step, ninety-five out of the one hundred and sixty-three hieroglyphs encountered are selected for more detailed treatment, on the rather vague basis of being either particularly representative of the building or showing most diachronic variation. The notes accompanying these discuss not only the palaeography of the signs found on the chapel itself, but also contemporary examples from the Theban region, a useful supplement since it gives a wider view of the forms current at Thebes in the Twenty-ninth Dynasty. If Le Saout had stopped there, with a clear account of the palaeography of the monument and some indication of its context, the reviewer

would have had only praise to offer. There is, however, a third section of notes entitled 'Varia' which is a grotesque parody of palaeographic method. These are intended to show the evolution and variety of signs over time, each of the examples cited being reproduced in facsimile. Although Le Saout in her conclusion shows some awareness of differences in medium, other fundamental distinctions which should be preserved, at least at the outset, are ignored. Any palaeographic study must distinguish differences in types of object, date, provenance (and should at least be aware of the possible existence of more than one workshop at the same site), and also whether a particular object is of royal or private origin, since the former may transcend local traditions. The examples which are used for comparison range widely in date (Archaic to Roman), place (Nubia to the Delta) and nature (temples to funerary cones!). The choice seems both arbitrary and unrepresentative. Dates are given erratically, and the method of reference is vague, sometimes unacceptably so (e.g., p.184, no.1502: "sarcophage de Basse Epoque, Musee du Caire" etc.). No indication is given as to the source of examples from unpublished monuments or objects, or whether a particular form has been personally collated. These failings may be in part a reflection of the absence of studies which could serve as reference points, but it is all the more astonishing to find that none of the few palaeographic studies available to us (e.g. those of Polotsky, Schenkel and, especially, Fischer) is cited even once. Such omissions are epitomised in the entry on one of the commonest hieroglyphs  (Y.l), which completely ignores, for example, the important Middle Kingdom variant with only one cord visible. In short, what is presented is a rag-bag of observations, culled quite unsystematically, and representing a giant step in the wrong direction. It is wise, as Le Saout suggests, not to be too sanguine in one's expectations of hieroglyphic palaeography as a means of dating, but a pessimism based on the infinite variety of the totality of forms used over three thousand years is ridiculous. It is in the "microcontext" of a single site or period that diachronic or synchronic study will demonstrate the worth of hieroglyphic palaeography. One could have wished that the energy which went into this enterprise had been channelled in a more worthwhile direction, such as a wider study of Karnak or of other monuments of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty elsewhere in Egypt. I do not wish to end on a wholly negative note, however. Le Saout has made a valuable contribution; may others follow her example in presenting a palaeographic analysis of the monuments they publish.

The book as a whole is clearly and attractively presented, with easily legible type and generous illustration. If the next volume is as good, it will complete a model publication.

M. A. LEAHY

Quseir al-Qadim 1980. Preliminary Report. By DONALD S. WHITCOMB and JANET H. JOHNSON et al. American Research Center in Egypt Reports, Volume 7. 280x214 mm. Pp.xi+406, including pls.74 and figs.29. Undena Publications, Malibu, 1982. ISBN 0 89003 112 6. Price \$33.50 cloth, \$23.50 Paper.

Cities of the Delta Part III, Tell el-Maskhuta, Preliminary Report on the Wadi Tumilat Project 1978-1979. By JOHN S. HOLLADAY, Jr. American Research Center in Egypt Reports, Volume 6. 280x215 mm. Pp.xii+163, including pls.50, figs.77. Undena Publications, Malibu, 1982. ISBN 0 89003 084 7. Price \$34.25 cloth, \$22.25 paper.

Access to the Red Sea, and thus to East Africa and ultimately to India and beyond, had always been felt desirable by the rulers of Egypt, and the two sites investigated in these reports were important at various periods of that country's history. Whitcomb and Johnson's report is concerned with the 1980 season of excavations carried out at Quseir al-Qadim; a similar preliminary report of the first, 1978, season has already been published, and the excavators are to be congratulated for their creditable swiftness in producing these most useful reports. Quseir al-Qadim is the site of the Roman port of Leukos Limen, on the Red Sea coast, at the east end of the Wadi Hammamat and about 180 km. from Coptos. It was not one of the major ports, like Berenike and Myos Hormos, but trade to Africa and India seems to have taken place. All water had to be imported, and it may well have had only seasonal occupation.

The excavations have revealed a Roman villa with storerooms (the latter discussed in a separate chapter) and also other buildings, possibly of an administrative nature, were found. Very full and useful discussions of the lamps and the pottery, both fine and coarse, imported and local, are given, and the site was apparently occupied from Augustan times onwards. The excavators suggest that it was abandoned no later than the beginning of the third century, but some of the amphorae and frog lamps may be rather later than that (incidentally it seems slightly perverse to catalogue the lamps using a numerical sequence, and to illustrate them using letters). Much Roman glass was found, and the textiles included cotton and flax, but, in the main, consisted of woollen cloth.

The site seems to have been deserted until the Ayyubid dynasty (AD 1175-1250), when Muslim occupation began. The first season's excavations found buildings of this period and into the fourteenth century, but the 1980 work exposed poor houses and courtyards of the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, probably inhabited seasonally. A fine and informative series of Islamic pottery and glass was found, and imported wares from the Far East include porcelains and celadons. The organic remains were even more plentiful than those from the Roman areas. Flax was the most prevalent textile, but some cotton, silk and wool were found; a group of printed fabrics may be Indian. Small finds, both Roman and Islamic, include faience, wood, stone and metal objects, basketry and leather goods. A large number of Arabic documents were recovered, and a selection is given in this report.

Useful chapters on animal and plant remains are included. During the Roman occupation, sheep and goats were the most plentiful of food mammals, with some cattle, pigs and camels; donkeys were probably used, but not as food. Chickens and partridges were found, and fish was a major item of diet (mainly parrot-fish). This pattern is much the same during Islamic times, except that pigs are lacking. Grains, pulses, fruits and nuts were amongst the many plants identified from the site, as were various sea-shells, the animals from which may have, in some cases, been eaten.

The report ends with a brief chapter on the Roman mining site of Bir Kareim, about 20 km. from Leukos Limen, and a discussion of six of the mosques in the modern town of Quseir. The conclusions reached are plain and straightforward, with no attempt to argue results beyond that which the evidence can bear.

The Wadi Tumilat project, an expedition organised by the University of Toronto, has, since 1977, surveyed the Wadi, which stretches from the Delta to Lake Timsah, and has excavated at the site of Tell el-Maskhuta, previously

examined for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Edouard Naville, who identified it with the city of Pithom. The recent work has shown that Naville's 'storehouses built by the children of Israel' are actually Ptolemaic warehouses. One of the reasons for excavating the site was to produce a well-dated sequence of pottery through the observance of a rigorous stratigraphic process: Holladay discusses the inadequacies of earlier published material throughout Egypt. The site has suffered enormously from erosion, agricultural work, Naville's excavations and the depredations of the *sebakhin*.

The earliest phase of the site was during the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period, and occupation levels and tombs with pottery of the contemporary Palestinian Middle Bronze Age II periods were found. The finds include a scarab of King Sebek-Hotep IV of about 1740-1730 BC. Thereafter, the areas examined indicate a gap of more than a millennium, and the next buildings seem to be of the Saite rulers. The author suggests that the town was founded by Necho II, probably in 609 BC, in connection with the work on the canal which he attempted to dig between the Pelusiac branch of the Nile and the upper reaches of the Red Sea. This canal was completed by Darius the Great in the early fifth century and its last recorded rehabilitation was undertaken by the Roman emperor Trajan. Holladay goes on to relate various destructions and rebuildings: 605 BC - town fortified; 601 BC - destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar II; 567 BC - town abandoned during Cambyses' invasion; 487-6 BC - rebellion against Darius indicated by blocked well. This is a fine example of 'text-hindered' archaeology, the constant striving to equate archaeological features with historical events, the assumption being that only attested happenings affect the archaeological record, and that no unrecorded happenings occurred. Buildings are destroyed and rebuilt for many reasons, not all of them to do with invasion and response. The arguments are not helped in that continuous stratification was not met with in any one area within the fortified town. It is suggested that this phase of the town's existence came to an end about 350 BC.

However, some massive warehouses seem to have been erected in Ptolemaic times, perhaps connected with traffic on the canal, but it is suggested that the canal was little used during much of the first century BC and the first century AD. This is deduced from the lack of Late Ptolemaic and Early Imperial housing and unconvincing arguments about the effects of the port of Caesarea Maritima on the Syrian coast and the use of the Red Sea ports like that of Quseir al-Qadim. The lack of housing may be due to the very denuded state of the site, or looking in the wrong place, and the existence of other ports does not preclude the use of the canal, a very obvious alternative to the long upstream journey to Assiut, Coptos or even Aswan and the expensive road routes therefrom to Myos Hormos, Leukos Limen and Berenike.

In an area which was apparently a Ptolemaic suburb of the town, a series of burials of the Roman period were found. These included brick-built tombs, plain inhumations, apparently put straight into the earth, and child-burials in amphorae. Holladay regards all these as belonging to one short period, Trajanic to Hadrianic or possibly early Antonine. His arguments for 'overall contemporaneity' (p.41) do not seem to me to stand up. Also, if it is indeed possible to work out the sex and age from a 'great mass of badly splintered and poorly-preserved bone fragments', an 'unnatural' peak in male 16-25 year-olds does not necessarily argue for a military function for the town at this time. Female infanticide, although admittedly a Greek rather than an Egyptian practice, could result in a predominance of males. People died young for many reasons in antiquity, and the effect by gender could be uneven.

The author is determined to have the town and its cemetery abandoned by the mid-second century. A single coin of Hadrian is a poor basis from which to argue. Certainly, the built tombs could be as early as the Trajanic period, but the jar burials are another matter. The dating of the 'top-shaped' amphora is not established at all closely and local variations of the shape confuse the picture. The reviewer has himself been wildly out in his assessments of the date of these jars. Their likely range is from the later first century until the early fourth century AD. Examples from Quseir may not be earlier than the end of the second century AD; at Hermopolis Magna they are not found in the late fourth, early fifth century levels, but at Kellia these amphorae (closer in appearance to the Tell el-Maskhuṭa jars than are the Quseir or the Hermopolis examples) are from contexts of the early fourth to the end of the fifth century; the majority are early within this period. The smooth Quseir jars may be early and the somewhat short-necked Kellia amphorae late, but if there is anything in typological development, the Tell el-Maskhuṭa examples would seem very likely to fall between these. I cannot see any justification for placing them with certainty before the early Antonine period. If the Tell el-Maskhuṭa jars could, as seems likely, fall within a period from the second to the early fourth century, then the arguments for a second century chi-rho in the early Christian burial should be reconsidered. Again, the rilled cooking-pot need not be as early as is suggested. It had a long history in Egypt and at both Kellia and Hermopolis they were in use from the late fourth century until the Arab Conquest (probably earlier at Hermopolis).

However, it must not be forgotten that this is a preliminary report, that a great deal of hard work and much thought has gone into it, that the excavation techniques were exemplary, producing much valuable information, and that the rapid publication of such a mass of material is a very desirable and useful exercise and to be greatly applauded. It is much better to publish one's views in a preliminary report and possibly modify them later, than, as is so often the case, not to publish an excavation at all.

D. M. BAILEY

Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan. I. The Essays. By WILLIAM Y. ADAMS, BRUCE G. TRIGGER, AHMED M. ALI HAREM, DAVID O'CONNOR, JEAN LECLANT, KARL-HEINZ PRIESE, FRITZ HINTZE. 305x220 mm. Pp. 144, figs.100, maps 4. II. *The Catalogue.* By STEFFEN WENIG. 305x220 mm. Pp.366, coloured frontispiece, numerous figs., coloured and monochrome. New York, The Brooklyn Museum, 1978. ISBN 0 87273 065 4 and 0 872-73 066 2. Price £8.75 and £13.

Il s'agit du catalogue d'une exposition concernant l'art qui a fleuri sur les bords du Nil nubien et soudanais entre la fin du Néolithique et la conquête de la Nubie par l'Islam; les oeuvres exposées se répartissent environ de 3000 avant J. C. jusqu'au début du XIIe siècle après. Le titre n'est pas trompeur dans la mesure où aucune autre région de l'Afrique ne présente une civilisation continue aussi ancienne, historiquement connue dès la plus haute antiquité.

L'exposition a eu lieu de septembre 1978 à novembre 1979, successivement à Brooklyn, Seattle, New Orleans et

La Haye, mais plus encore que de la présentation de près de 300 objets - trop pour les capacités d'assimilation d'un visiteur moyen - elle fut l'occasion d'une mise au point de ce qu'on sait sur les civilisations qui se sont succédé le long du Nil au sud de l'Égypte, et si l'exposition est terminée, les deux volumes de ce catalogue restent, comme un repère solide dans la connaissance de ce monde trop longtemps éclipsé par l'Égypte, mais qui forme le cordon ombilical entre une brillante civilisation historique - celle de l'Égypte pharaonique - et l'Afrique profonde où nous mènent une bonne partie de ses racines. Précisément l'Égypte a été trop longtemps détachée de son continent et envisagée par rapport à l'Asie; l'étude de la Nubie et du Soudan met en évidence l'autre face du monde pharaonique et l'on peut espérer que la publication complète, toujours attendue, des rapports archéologiques établis lors de la campagne de sauvetage de la Nubie, dans les années 60, viendra encore améliorer notre connaissance de cette région importante. Toutefois, le but des organisateurs ne fut nullement d'éclairer par là l'Égypte, mais au contraire d'étudier ces civilisations méridionales pour elles-mêmes, d'en souligner la valeur propre, autonome. Comme il s'agit d'un monde traditionnellement négligé, sinon méprisé, les organisateurs ont cru bon d'initier un peu l'amateur par un "cours" détaillé, en 9 chapitres, sur tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter savoir de cet univers; c'est le 1er volume ("The Essays") dont voici la table des matières, qui se passe de commentaires: 1. Geography and Population of the Nile Valley (William Y. Adams); 2. Nubian, Negro, Black, Nilotic? (Bruce G. Trigger); 3. A History of Archaeological Research in Nubia and the Sudan (Ahmed M. Ali Hakem); 4. Nubia before the New Kingdom (David O'Connor); 5. Egypt in Nubia during the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms (Jean Leclant); 6. The Kingdom of Kush: The Napatan Period (Karl-Heinz Priese); The Kingdom of Kush: The Meroitic Period (Fritz Hintze); 7. The Ballana Culture and the Coming of Christianity (Bruce G. Trigger); 8. Medieval Nubia (William Y. Adams); 9. Ceramics (William Y. Adams).

Le second volume intitulé "The Catalogue" est dû entièrement à Steffen Wenig, enseignant aujourd'hui Nubiologie et "Soudanologie" à l'Université von Humboldt de Berlin Est. Non seulement il commente les 295 nos. du Catalogue, mais il fait précéder ce catalogue d'une histoire de l'Art complète de la Nubie et du Soudan du Nord, histoire d'une admirable érudition. Il reste à ajouter que B. V. Bothmer a été l'âme de toute l'entreprise, donnant par son dynamisme un élan bienvenu aux études nubiennes et soudanaises. Bien à jour, d'un maniement aisé, pourvus de cartes, d'index, de bibliographie, ces deux volumes sont donc, bien plus qu'un catalogue d'exposition, une synthèse très riche, désormais indispensable dans toute bibliothèque africaniste ou égyptologique.

C1. VANDERSLEYEN

La Prospection archéologique de la Vallée du Nil au Sud de la Cataracte de Dal. Fascicule 12: La Nécropole de Missiminia. 1. Les Sepultures napatéenes. By A. VILA. 270x210 mm. Pp.178, figs.191, 1 colour plate. Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1980. Price f8.80.

This is the twelfth part of the series on the archaeological survey of Sudanese Nubia carried out by the French team working in collaboration with the Sudan Government Antiquities Service and so ably led for many years by M. Vila. As a result of this work a long stretch of the two banks of the Nile in the area unaffected by the flooding of Lake Nubia is now archaeologically known in a detail which would have been impossible had it not been for the excellent deployment of a skilled team. The work of the survey party has been a model of what such a survey should be and the prompt publication - the present fascicule having appeared only five years after the completion of the work - is much to be commended.

The series of reports of the survey have been factual accounts of the findings and the new information made available will not be fully analysed or incorporated into the synthetic literature for some time but already material from the survey permits some new views on the nature of the ancient occupation of Nubia. The present fascicule is of especial interest since it deals with a number of graves from a period under-represented in previous excavations and the existence of a Napatan community at this place, even if a small one, shows that there was a Napatan presence.

The cemetery of Missiminia, close to Abri, contained graves covering a considerable time span from as early as the ninth century B. C. until well into Nubian Christian times. Part number 12 now under review deals only with the graves from the Napatan period and a subsequent part, already published, describes the very interesting Meroitic cemetery. It is noticeable that most of the ancient sites found during the survey have been cemeteries and that almost nowhere have the habitation sites been found, leading many to question this and to suggest that such sites had been missed in the field work. Vila deals with this matter and points out that not only was the estimated population represented by the burials very small - he suggests about 30 people in Napatan times - but that the dwellings are likely to have been built in areas now covered with modern buildings or where later cultivation has removed all traces other than a scatter of potsherds. This suggestion seems satisfactorily to account for what would otherwise be an archaeological anomaly.

The graves reported on in this work are clearly Napatan in date and material from them corresponds closely with that from other sites of the period - a detailed description is not called for here - the work is largely a catalogue of the graves but Vila does have some useful general comments and also publishes a useful table listing similar material from other sites in Nubia of similar date. From this list it is clear that there was occupation in upper Nubia in Napatan times even if not on a large scale and certainly not comparable with the greatly increased population of later Meroitic. A-Group and Christian periods when Nubian population expanded as result, partly at least, of improved agricultural production made possible by the introduction of the ox-driven water wheel.

P. L. SHINNIE

The Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim. A Report of the Excavations conducted by W. B. Emery in 1961. By A. J. MILLS. The Egypt Exploration Society, Fifty-first Excavation Memoir. 320x250 mm. Pp.94, pls.93. Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1982. ISBN 0 85698 078 1. Price f42.

It is a difficult and unrewarding task to publish the rough field notes of another excavator and Mr. Mills deserves thanks for ensuring that the material from the late Professor Emery's work on the Qasr Ibrim cemeteries is now available. Excavated in 1961 in what must have been a hurried six week season the work remained unpub-

ished, and the material probably largely unstudied, when Professor Emery died in 1971.

It was very fortunate that Mr. Mills, who had worked at the site, was able to complete publication and to provide what is, in essence, a catalogue of the tombs and their contents. Under the circumstances, Mr. Mills quite rightly decided that the quickest possible publication must mean a purely factual list with minimal comment and this is what he has done competently and promptly although it was nineteen years before the publication appeared.

There is nothing strikingly new in the nature of the graves nor of their contents. A number of fine pieces were found, particularly in grave 192.2 where the bronze camel lamp adds to the small corpus of representations of that animal from ancient Nubia, but they are not markedly different from those found in Emery's earlier excavations at Ballana and Qustul and there is no doubt that the general time range given to the tombs in the various cemeteries studied is as given by Mr. Mills - that is, from late Meroitic times until well into the Christian period.

Of interest is the author's comment (p.5) that the battered sides of the superstructures of the Meroitic graves probably indicates that they were originally pyramids, though evidence, sufficiently convincing, is only presented as a drawing for grave 192c.1. This marks a further extension of the comparatively recent discovery that Meroitic pyramids were not restricted to royal cemeteries. It should be noted that in cemetery 192A the three graves which are considered Meroitic are specifically described as having no evidence that their sides were battered and they were therefore not pyramids - was there social or political significance in the difference?

In addition to the tomb catalogue, there are reports on the few inscriptional finds. Dr. Millet describes, with his usual scholarship, the two large and three fragmentary Meroitic inscriptions; all five are grave stones or offering tables. The persons mentioned on the grave stones were well connected but as both stones had been re-used they cannot be identified with any grave and therefore cannot be used to argue for social status of individual burials. As on previous occasions, Dr. Millet gives what he rightly calls a 'pseudo-translation' which, although it cannot be taken at face value, gives an impression of what such texts may have said. Dr. Melzer publishes five Coptic grave stones and three ostraca, two of these are Coptic but the third (no.1) appears not to be; Dr. Melzer considers whether or not it might be Old Nubian but is uncertain. Unfortunately, the photograph (Plate XCII, 1) does not help and it is a pity that a hand copy is not provided so that the reader could draw his own conclusions. Three appendices deal with grain samples, a woollen pile rug, and the chemical composition of some of the glass. The report on the grain shows it to have been sorghum and millet (*Pennisetum typhoides*). Sorghum had previously been found in the town at Qasr Ibrim, but the millet seems to be the first to be found in an ancient Nubian site.

The report, since commentary has been consciously eschewed, serves its purpose well enough. The nature of the field work raises some doubts and the author's rather embarrassed apology for failure to get information from the skeletal remains and his warning that what is said about sex and age of the remains must be taken with caution makes this reviewer wonder how it was possible that in the 60s an expedition could set off to excavate a cemetery without having a qualified physical anthropologist on the staff. Other archaeologists have been put in the position of being unable to make proper studies of human remains when they have been found unexpectedly in occupation sites and the reviewer himself has been in this position, but nobody should ever plan to investigate cemeteries and be unable to derive information from the individuals for whom the graves were made. Recent work by Dr. Armelagos and his colleagues has shown how modern physical anthropological studies can provide a better understanding of the Nubian past.

It would not be honest not to say that the field techniques show a somewhat old fashioned emphasis on finding fine pieces and this is reflected in the plans of the cemeteries where only the excavated graves are indicated, so that it is not possible to judge the size of the cemetery or the distribution of the graves, nor is the method used in selecting graves for excavation explained. It is also surprising to find that it was left to workmen to leave evidence of the size of the tumulus for subsequent recording - clearly the work was under-supervised, at least for the first half of a six week season.

P. L. SHINNIE

Religion populaire en Égypte romaine. By FRANCOISE DUNAND. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, 76. 245x160 mm. Pp.xii+286, pls.129. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1979. ISBN 90 04 05831 1. Price 196 gilders.

It is the subtitle of this book (*Les terres cuites isiaques du Musée du Caire*) that really tells us what it is about; and the adjective *isiaques* is taken in a fairly wide sense, as is the bibliography of *Isiaca* compiled by Jean Leclant and G. Clerc. Not that the main title is positively misleading. Discussing the religious history of Egypt in the Graeco-Roman era, Mme. Dunand states (p.4) that this history is generally based on written sources (texts of temples or tombs) which emanate mostly from priestly circles; one is thus rather better informed on the theology, the festive rites, the funerary cult, or again on the organizations and functions of the clergy than on the beliefs of the faithful, their modes of representing the gods, and their behaviour in relation to them. Other valuable data, she adds, are provided by inscriptions and dedications and by texts on papyrus; but these presuppose, in the authors of the texts, a minimum of 'culture', the ability to think and write, however inexpertly, in Demotic or Greek. Since it is likely that most people in Egypt in the Roman era were illiterate, we do not possess written evidence which expresses their beliefs directly. But the terracottas concerned with religion, it is urged, derive from the Egyptian *chôra* and they do provide a direct expression of popular beliefs, shaped as these objects were by local craftsmen. It may be suggested that there are some difficulties in this approach. The craftsmen, while they are not to be identified with their clientele, were doubtless in close touch with them. Nor should the scribe who provided inscriptions, dedications, magical papyri, and mummy-tickets, be rigidly demarcated from the people for whom he worked. If these people were illiterate, it does not follow that what the scribe produced had no relation to their beliefs. Even in the more literary effusions, such as the cycle of Setne Khaemwëse, the impress of popular religion is plain to see.

It remains true that the Graeco-Roman terracottas of the Cairo Museum are properly interpreted in this way, and Mme. Dunand is to be congratulated on her recognition of the need for a systematic publication of them and also on her success in achieving this aim. In some ways it was not too exciting a task, for certain factors,

especially the use of moulds, tended to result in a lack of variety, even 'une impression de monotonie' (p.2). She was fortunate to have the assistance of Monsieur J. F. Gout, the photographer attached to the French Institute in Cairo, who has been responsible for a large part - a little more than half - of the photographs, which add very much to the volume's worth. After an Introduction of 161 pages comes a Catalogue comprising 368 items, which are thematically subdivided under the titles Isis, Priestesses and followers, Harpocrates, Priests, pastophori, servants of temples, Sarapis, Osiris, and Various deities. There is a concordance of Catalogue Numbers and Numbers in the Cairo Inventory (the latter, as those who have used it will know, often with a dual entry); then a list of plates with titles, followed by the plates themselves and a map showing the places of provenance (mostly in Lower Egypt). What more could one wish for? Well, there is no Index. But the detailed 'Table des matières' makes partial amends for the omission, providing as it does a quick guide to the main topics, including those covered in the Introduction. As for the Catalogue, it is well-ordered and proffers constant comparisons with the remarks on similar objects by Adriani, Breccia, Von Sieglin, Weber, Perdrizet and others.

Among the instructive priestly figures are examples of pastophori carrying shrines in groups of two. In Pl. 106, No.329 (p.259) is seen an instance where a seated figure is shown in the naos; the figure is rather too firmly designated as Harpocrates, with a reference to Pl.99, No.284, where we see an indubitable Harpocrates (with youthful lock) seated. But No.329 shows a figure with no apparent similarity in hair and head-dress; at least the photograph does not show it. There is also a doubt concerning the figure in the naos in Pl.112, No. 339 (p.263); the suggestion is made that it is Hathor or Apis rather than Anubis; but the upright ears seem clearly to indicate Anubis. Harpocrates sometimes figures in such contexts. In Apuleius, *Metam.* ll. 10 a single priest is said to carry a high altar; a pastophorus is implied and a figure of Harpocrates as a saving deity may be involved: see my Comm. ad loc. 197f. A figure of an Isis priestess with a tambourine (Pl.43, No.84, p.193) contains a somewhat crude hieroglyphic inscription which includes the words *nb ꜥbꜥw* preceded by the signs for *nꜣm* and perhaps for *ib*. If the reading is correct, Osiris is being described as 'the joyful one, Lord of Abydos'. Mme. Dunand rightly refers to the formula 'Osiris, great god, Lord of Abydos', but goes on to say 'mais sans rapport avec la statuette'. The formula occurs, however, in the words of two priestesses who impersonate Isis and Nephthys in the *Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, a text of c.306 B.C.: see Faulkner in 22 (1936), 122 and id., *P. Bremner-Rhind*, I, 1; cf. *ibid.*, 12, 8 for *nꜣm* and Osiris.

A slightly problematical figure from Zagazig (No.118, Pl.67, p.206) is described as 'Femme assise' and included among figures of *Orantes*. She does not hold her hands in the manner of the *Orantes* grouped adjacently, and her affinities seem to be with Beset; she is herself, then, a deity rather than a worshipper; cf. Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren, *Apis* I (1975), Pl.68, No.104 with p.29 and also pp.32f. of the present volume. Parallels in other collections from Egypt are duly noted, and this makes the Greek Baubo a less likely competitor. Of special interest are two examples of an *Isis Lactans* where the child is a little Apis-bull (Nos.17 and 18, p.170 with Pl.12). No.17 is reproduced also in Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, Pl.72, No.112 with p.30, but Mme. Dunand provides a better photograph. She discusses such figures on p.60f of her Introduction and in her *Culte d'Isis*, I (1973), 97ff. What one misses is a reference to the importance of Isis as Mother of Apis in the evidence of the late dynasties which Emery and H. S. Smith have made available in Saqqara.

There are judicious remarks (pp.20ff.) on the Isiac dress, and its Egyptian origin is accepted. Schafer's theory of its origin has now been challenged by Robert S. Bianchi in *Bull. of the Egyptological Seminar* (Brooklyn), 2 (1980), 9-31, where he traces the evolution of an Egyptian 'tripartite knotted costume' which he regards as not specifically Isiac. On the problem of chronology Mme. Dunand (pp.18ff.) does not minimize the difficulties. Archaeological concomitants are rarely present. A bust from Kom Abou Billou (Pl.40, No.79 with pp.19 and 191) can indeed be thus dated to the early fourth century A. D.; in general form it resembles a Canopic Osiris (cf. Pl.125), but it is rightly associated (p.191) with Dionysus in view of the ivy leaves and grapes; apparently female, it may yet represent Dionysus himself rather than Ariadne or Leucothea; cf. Steuding in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* I (1890), 1136-7. It is shown that varieties of the material used may relate to areas rather than eras; but a more refined style may point to the Hellenistic era. The varieties in types of dress, coiffure, and symbolic attributes are carefully studied and presented also in tabulated form; a time sequence, however, does not emerge from these details.

Whatever problems remain, this work satisfies a basic need. Especially impressive is the final analysis (pp. 134) of what the 'popular religion' probably signified. Here the rather simple contrast of the opening discussion is abandoned in favour of an exposition which does full justice to the interpenetration of the 'official' and 'popular' beliefs, and also to the considerable differences, social and economic, which must have existed among the inhabitants of the *chora*. Indeed the whole concept of 'class' as applied to these people in that place and time is thoughtfully and healthily questioned.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Ancient Lamps in the Royal Ontario Museum I, Greek and Roman Clay Lamps. A Catalogue. By J. W. HAYES. 350x230 mm. Pp.xiv+156; pls.68. Toronto, The Royal Ontario Museum, 1980. ISBN 0 88854 253 4. No price stated.

In undertaking this discussion of John Hayes' catalogue of lamps in the Royal Ontario Museum for the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* it seems appropriate to concentrate on the lamps of Egyptian manufacture. Much more than this is included, however, with Greek lamps from various manufacturing sources, large groups of Roman lamps from Italy, from North Africa, particularly Tunisia, from Cilicia, Cyprus and Syria; but the largest proportion of the lamps described are Egyptian. Many of these were acquired by the first Director of the Museum, C. T. Currelly, in the early part of this century. It seems that a large number of Currelly's purchases (nearly 140 of them) are of lamps which Hayes has identified as being published by Flinders Petrie in his *Roman Ehnasya*, but which were not necessarily found at that site. It is useful that Hayes reminds us of this fact, as it tends to be forgotten that of this large body of published lamps only a comparative few were actually found at Herakleopolis Magna and its importance is thus diminished. Other Egyptian lamps in the collection at Ontario were acquired individually, but a group of some 18 lamps excavated at Armant were given by the Egypt Exploration Society in 1939.

Hayes has a most enviable grasp of Mediterranean pottery from archaic Greek times until the Byzantine period,

and the many fabrics of Egypt have not escaped his attention. Whether other workers will use his nomenclature is uncertain, but the attempt to separate fabrics and, in some cases, to suggest a manufacturing source is very welcome, although the term Nile Valley Ware is somewhat sweeping as every Egyptian clay could be thus described.

The lamps of Egyptian manufacture described by Hayes are as follows:

Lamps 6-9. Wheelmade open lamps of the sixth to fourth centuries BC. These reflect types which were made in neighbouring Palestine for millennia. The Egyptian versions come from Lower Egypt or the Fayoum.

Lamps 24-43. Wheelmade lamps mostly copied from imported Greek lamps, and mainly of the fourth to third centuries BC. Many Greeks, settling in Egypt after Alexander drove out the Persians, were used to the finely-made products of Athens, and many Egyptian versions copy Athenian shapes closely, but often with a red burnished slip rather than the black glaze of the Greek imports. Hayes suggests the Fayoum as a manufacturing source for these, rather than Alexandria, where imports may have supplied much of the market. For some of the lamps a Bubastite manufacturing source is put forward. The 'Jug' lamp 43 is a shape peculiar to Ptolemaic Egypt.

Lamps 70-206. Ptolemaic mouldmade lamps of the third to first centuries BC. It is possible that the making of lamps in moulds was of Graeco-Egyptian devising, but it soon became universal throughout the Hellenistic world, and the same general shape of the lamps thus made, a circular, carinated body with a long nozzle and often a lug on the side, remained in use from about the middle of the third century BC until Augustan times, when it was largely ousted by the Italian relief lamp. Other shapes included in this grouping are the plastically-modelled lamps 98, 144-5 and 190-91, the mouldmade 'Jug' lamps 183-4, the rectangular multinozzlers 185-9, and a type with a tall suspension handle, in the shape of an oval, covered bath-tub on three legs, lamps 192-5. Among the various wares, Hayes distinguishes four main fabrics: possibly Alexandrian; probably Bubastite; a possible Fayoum ware; and one described as the 'normal Nile Silt'.

Lamps 373-469. Lamps of the Roman Imperial Period up to the third century AD or a little later. The majority of these bear some relation to the shapes originally devised in Italy from Augustan times onwards, but which were copied throughout the Empire. Some are decorated with relief scenes, mainly of deities, particularly the Alexandrian triad; also included are large lamps with decorative handle-ornaments, a favourite Egyptian shape of the first century AD. Many of the lamps in this group are regarded as of Alexandrian origin, and others are of Hayes' Nile Valley Ware.

Lamps 470-547. Later Roman Imperial and Byzantine lamps, of the fourth century AD until the coming of Islam. Few of these lamps seem likely to have emanated from the Delta, although lamps with inverted scenes, like 522-5, may be from that area, despite the Fayoum find-spots of most of them; the early lamps 470-475 may also be from Lower Egypt. The red-slipped oval and elongated lamps 476-491 are very likely to be, as Hayes suggests, from Middle Egypt. In addition to those he cites from Antinoë, a large number have been found in the British Museum's excavations at Hermopolis Magna in 1981. Lamps 495-521 are, in the main, of Adams' Aswan Ware (Hayes' Egyptian Red Slip A Ware). These interesting lamps often bear relief inscriptions with the names of saints and holy fathers and were probably purchased by pilgrims at shrines. The elongated buff-ware lamps 526-9 are probably of Middle Egyptian origin, and unpublished examples in the British Museum are also known from Wadi Sarga, near Asyut. Lamps 530-539 are in a pale ware from Upper Egypt, with affinities to Frog Lamps. This grouping finishes with lamp 547, a typical Nubian wheelmade product of the sixth-seventh centuries AD.

Lamps 565-568. The Egyptian lamps described in this catalogue conclude with four lamp-houses, all probably of a votive nature.

To anyone working in later Egyptian archaeology this catalogue of the lamps in the Royal Ontario Museum can be thoroughly recommended (the only large group omitted is that of the Frog or Toad Lamps, difficult to date closely or to place geographically; but they are not left out for this reason, but for lack of space). Hayes knows the wares and has useful things to say about them, and his knowledge of published sources is very wide indeed. The catalogue is very well produced, well illustrated (which is absolutely necessary in a catalogue, otherwise it is of no use) and cheap.

D. M. BAILEY

Studien zur hellenistischen Tereutik. By CAROLA REINSBERG. Hildesheimer Aegyptologische Beiträge 9. 237x170 mm. Pp.xii+355, figs.130. ISBN 3 8067 8038 2. Hildesheim, 1980. Price DM 49.

The extraordinary collection of objects in plaster which is the subject of this study appeared on the art market in Cairo in 1907 and were first called to the attention of the academic community by Rubensohn's initial publication in 1911 (p.1). Despite repeated references to individual pieces and constant speculation about their value in defining the elusive Alexandrian landscape style, no modern reinvestigation of the corpus of such objects had been undertaken before that of C. Reinsberg. For her republication of this material one is thankful. One must also recognise, however, that the present volume is a published version of her doctoral dissertation, presented here for review with almost no substantial changes to the text of the thesis accepted in 1977. As a result, the following comments are tempered by an awareness that the expectations of a doctoral dissertation are not necessarily those of a monograph by an established scholar.

Reinsberg assumes from the very beginning that the collection in Hildesheim, which is comprised of two separate lots acquired in Cairo on the art market about three years apart (p.9), derived from one and the same archaeological context. She then posits that the reported findspot was a workshop (p.14), as others earlier had assumed. From these two initial positions, she divides the production into three groups (pp.9ff), the individual pieces of which she attempts to date by stylistic comparisons with other monuments. As a result, most of the text (pp.14-243) is given over to an intricate and elaborate series of self-contained discussions which attempt to place each of the seventy-nine examples in time from the fifth century B.C. to the Roman Period. These objects are again registered in a catalogue (pp.293-338), which contains ninety-two entries. Of that number thirteen are not discussed in the text proper. The dating of such a vast and disparate corpus of material is an awesome task with which Reinsberg has come to grips nicely. Although one might quibble with her dating of any

one of a number of her adduced parallels from the Hellenistic Period, her judgements are basically sound and her proposed datings acceptable.

Her concluding chapters attempt to synthesize the material and to integrate it into the larger context of Alexandrian art of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. In that regard the complete lack of documentation of objects in plaster in the pharaonic tradition from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and the absence of references to similar phenomena from the Classical World limit her conclusions. Her arguments are based in large part upon the evidence provided by the objects themselves. The presence of red lines on a plaster object from Egypt is no guarantee that the said object was used exclusively by a sculptor or craftsman, as I have argued elsewhere.¹ Moreover, the appearance of such lines may be the norm for certain objects in plaster made in Egypt during that time as the head of an Asiatic found in the vicinity of Memphis reveals.² Reinsberg's difficulty in attempting to differentiate the production of Memphis from that of Alexandria is based on a traditional prejudice within the discipline which regards each city as separate and incapable of any interaction. In point of fact, recent studies have painted a picture of closer and more cohesive interaction between these two cities on some levels.³ Our definitions of Alexandrian art must now begin to take cognizance of such interaction and we should eschew the parochial view that Alexandrian art was restricted to the area of Alexandria proper. In light of this developing picture of Alexandria's relationship with the chora one must constantly remember the baroque head of a Gaul which comes from the Faiyum.⁴ As a consequence the speculation on pages 252-253 can be dismissed, a concession which Reinsberg herself seems to recognise later in her discussions on page 279.

Her section on the processes of the workshop (pp.254-257) is interesting. Here and in the following section on the function of these plaster pieces (pp.258-269) one must consider the work of von Hees, which deals with actual plaster casts taken from bronze originals.⁵ Such processes were not limited exclusively to Greek workshops casting in plaster from Greek metal prototypes. To be sure, Bissing has speculated that plaster was the medium by which certain bronze vessels were cast into faience in Memphis.⁶ In addition, the Egyptians themselves used plaster as the medium by which they took direct casts from earlier stone statuary. This certainly seems to have been the case for a plaster wig now in London, The British Museum no.68047, which is apparently taken from a colossal statue of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This plaster cast also comes from the area of Memphis and has been dated to about 400 B. C. Within this larger context, one must also consider the role of lead as an alternative to plaster when used in transmitting motifs in gold and silver to other media. Such a technique appears to have been employed again at Memphis during the period of the First Persian Domination (525-404 B. C.), as the excavations of Petrie seem to indicate.⁷ These last two finds indicate that the Egyptians were casting in plaster and perhaps even in lead as a means of transmitting motifs before the arrival of the Greeks and that Memphis was, in fact, the seat of an enormous casting industry before 400 B. C. The plaster pieces in Hildesheim must, therefore, be regarded within this larger context of plaster casting at Memphis in the Late Period. These pieces can no longer be regarded as the product of an isolated and purely Hellenistic phenomenon.

Reinsberg's assumption for the chronology of the workshop (pp.270-282) may now have to be modified in light of the foregoing. Moreover, her acceptance of the report that all of the objects came from one and the same find-spot, based as it is on secondary information, is now open to question. Given the extent of the plaster industry at Memphis, one might argue that the finds of 1907 and 1911 come from several different loci within the area called Memphis. One must always exercise caution about such reported provenances of unexcavated material from Egypt as we are only now beginning to admit.⁸

Reinsberg concludes with a short exegesis about the Alexandrian landscape style (pp.283-292). She quite correctly states that the evidence provided by this plaster collection in Hildesheim cannot be employed as a major component in deriving a definition of that style. Her study of the individual objects is exhaustive, well-documented, and complete. Her stylistic arguments and use of comparanda in establishing individual dating criteria are sound. Her succinct catalogue and good photographic documentation will make this work invaluable for all subsequent works dealing with the several complex issues which remain unresolved in this connection.

¹ In *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 15ff.

² L. Keimer, 'Une curieuse tête de plâtre trouvée à Saqqara', in *ASAE* 42 (1943), 137ff.

³ E. A. E. Raymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis I* (Wiesbaden, 1981) - *ÄÄ* 38 -, 26ff; and J. Quaegebeur in D. J. Crawford et al., *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Louvain, 1980) - *Studia Hellenistica* 24 -, 43ff.

⁴ Cairo, The Egyptian Museum CG 27475: G. Grimm, *Kunst der Ptolemäer und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz, 1975), p.7, no.7, and pls.2-5; and Bianchi, in *AJA* 81 (1977), 257.

⁵ Christa von Hees, 'Antike Gipsabgüsse antiker Statuen', in *Antike Kunst* 21 (1978), 108ff; and, more fully, Christa Hees-Lanwehr, *Griechische Meisterwerke in römischen Abgüsse: Der Fund von Baia* (Frankfurt, 1982).

⁶ F. W. von Bissing, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Fayencegefäße* (Vienna, 1902) xxix.

⁷ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis III* (London, 1910), p.44 and pl.XXXIII, 12; and idem, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)* (London, 1909), pl.XV.

⁸ M. Brenson, 'Met Museum declares 17 Egyptian items Fake', *The New York Times* CXXXI, no.45 (June 15, 1982), Section 3, 45; and P. F. Dorman, 'Modern Inscriptions in the Three Princesses Treasure' *ARCE Annual Meeting, Abstracts* (Ann Arbor, 1983), 19. No one, however, has ever raised any doubts about the authenticity of the plaster objects in Hildesheim

R. S. BIANCHI

The *editio princeps* of this work, known as *C. Ord. Ptol.*, was given a warm welcome generally when it appeared in 1964; see, for example, the review by the late J. A. C. Thomas in this journal, vol.52 (1966) 196-7. Reviewers rightly praised the meticulous care which Mlle Lenger had lavished on the work and the accuracy with which it had been produced. It has since proved most useful to scholars working in the field of Ptolemaic history and Hellenistic civilisation, and this corrected impression is welcome. In addition to the reprinting of the whole of the *ed. pr.* there is a Supplement of some fifty pages. This notes the very few misprints and slips in the first edition, gives a list of additions to the 'Textes' and 'Allusions', and brings the bibliography up to date (to 1978). It is provided with full indexes.

As one would expect, the Supplement has been produced with as much care as the *ed. pr.* One feature, however, is a matter for regret. The 'Additions au Recueil des Textes' notes new editions of ordinances already published and brings up to date, but does not reproduce, the texts of the handful of ordinances first published or first recognised since the *ed. pr.* We merely have notes on these documents and it is necessary to refer to other publications for their texts. Thus the *Corpus* no longer entirely fulfills its original intention of including within one set of covers all ordinances issued by the Ptolemies. Since only four documents are involved (the inscription published by Frazer, *JEA* 56 (1970), 179-182; P. Petrie I 30(3); P. Merton III 116; P. Yale I 56), it seems a pity that a few pages were not added to the Supplement to enable the texts of these ordinances to be incorporated.

J. D. THOMAS

Zwei Landlisten aus dem Hermopolites (P. Landlisten). By P. J. SIJPESTEIJN and K. A. WORP. Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius Antiquum et Papyrologicam Pertinentia VII. 284 x 213 mm. Pp. x+174, pls. 4, Tafelheft I, II. Zutphen, Terra Publishing Co., 1978. ISBN 90 6255 200 5. Price DM 94.

The centrepiece of this volume is a re-edition of *P. Flor.* 71 together with the first full publication of a similar text from the Giessen collection. The importance of the document from Florence has long been recognised. It consists of a list of residents of the West Citadel quarter of Hermopolis and of the neighbouring town of Antinoopolis who owned land in the Hermopolite Nome and was the subject of a detailed analysis by A. H. M. Jones (*JRS* 43 (1953), 49-64 = *The Roman Economy* [ed. P. A. Brunt, 1974], ch. X) and a shorter and more recent one by R. P. Duncan-Jones (M. I. Finlay [ed.], *Studies in Roman Property* (1976), ch. 2). Since both these scholars were able to make significant observations about the state of landholding in Egypt in the fourth century A. D. it has to be emphasised that the new edition puts the study of these texts and the subject as a whole on to a completely new footing.

To put it briefly, the *editio princeps* of *P. Flor.* 71 contains numerous errors of reading which render the figures used by Jones and Duncan-Jones misleading in many important respects. And the importance of the Giessen text is that it makes it possible to compare two lists from the same area and roughly the same period, whose content overlaps to a considerable extent. Sijpesteijn and Worp have put historians and papyrologists further in their debt by including in this volume re-editions of a text first published in Wessely's *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* V, 120 (which is similar in content but earlier in date) and of *P. Flor.* 87, part of the same register as *P. Flor.* 71, to which is added a fragment of the same or a similar register. The book thus has a somewhat bizarre appearance, partly because it is an amalgam of bits and pieces and partly because the editors have adopted a somewhat idiosyncratic method of presentation and reference. The notes have been kept to a minimum because there was clearly a proper concern that publication should not be unduly delayed. Evidently the primary object was to put the best possible versions of the texts into the public domain as speedily as possible.

For this Sijpesteijn and Worp deserve our plaudits and our gratitude. Their work on the major texts is exemplary. I have not found it possible to check all their readings against the plates in a systematic fashion but I have found that in all significant instances where their printed reading looked dubious or capable of improvement I was unable to produce a more convincing alternative. This is a matter which needs particular emphasis in the present case because we are dealing with two long and similar, but not identical, texts. The differences between them are as important as the similarities and it is essential that the editions should reflect what the eye has seen and not what the historian's judgement thinks likely or inevitable. It is thus clear that the volume presents the raw material for a new and detailed analysis of landholding patterns in fourth century Egypt. My own attempt at this will appear in *JRS* 75 (1985) and I therefore here confine myself to brief comments on some points of general interest.

Others have taken issue with the editors' attempt to date the Florence text within the period A.D. 311/3 and 316 or 325, although they have found more general agreement in their view that this is likely to be later in date than the Giessen papyrus. Bagnall (*BASP* 16 [1979], 159-68) has argued that a date after A.D. 340 is essential and Worp's reservations (*Das Aurelia Charite Archiv*, 1980, 5-9, esp. 6) are not really convincing. A *terminus post* was proposed by W. Van Gucht in a paper presented at the XVII Congresso internazionale de Papirologia (Napoli, May, 1983) and his arguments seemed to put the matter beyond reasonable doubt. It is in any case *prima facie* likely that the date of the lists falls within or very near to the range of dates attested in the Aurelia Charite archive (A.D. 325-48) since she is listed as a landholder in both registers.

As far as individual landholders are concerned, some progress might be made by considering the detailed evidence of the Charite documents against the general picture which emerges from the Hermopolite registers at a time which is presumably near to the end of her life. Unfortunately, it seems to me, it is difficult to use the date in these registers to analyse patterns of inheritance and the mechanisms by which fragmentation of property was counteracted because they give us only the names of the owners, the location of their holdings and the category into which they fall (*ιδιωτική* or *δημόσια*, designations which I think must reflect merely different rates of taxation rather than any genuine state ownership of land). But the general patterns which can be considered include the proportion of Hermopolite land held by town, as opposed to village, residents, the range of the size of holdings and the degree of inequality of distribution, the geographical distribution of the holdings of town residents in the pagl of the nome and the extent to which land continued to change hands in the middle of the fourth century. It is worth saying that the registers provide no clear indication that the very wealthy were

systematically absorbing the holdings of the less prosperous in a greater degree than at earlier times in the Roman period, or that there was a build-up of large, consolidated estates worked by a tied peasantry.

A. K. BOWMAN

Das Aurelia Charite Archiv (P. Charite). By K. A. WÖRPF. *Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius antiquum et Papyrologica Pertinentia* XII. 210 x 285 mm. Pp. xviii+113, pls. 23. Zutphen, Terra Publishing Co., 1980. ISBN 90 6255 078 9. Price not given.

Of the forty-two papyri contained in this volume fifteen have already been published in full or in part, while the remaining twenty-seven are here edited for the first time. Most of the papyri belong either to the collection in Vienna or to the Cairo Museum. The reason for publishing or re-publishing them together in a single volume is that they all, either certainly or probably, relate to the same person, Aurelia Charite, daughter of Amazonios.

The texts are preceded by a general introduction, which indicates the usefulness of grouping together texts related in this way, and discusses the date of the archive, Charite's family and social position, and the taxes which figure so prominently in the accompanying texts. As to the date, only four texts have a fixed date given by the consuls, the limits being AD 325 and AD 348; the other texts are either undated or have only the imprecise chronological indication given by reference to an indiction-year. Worp argues that most of the texts can be placed in the period c.320-350, while allowing for one or two falling slightly outside these limits.

Of Aurelia Charite herself we know that she belonged to a reasonably prosperous family in Hermopolis and that she had extensive property in most of the sixteen *pagi* into which the Hermopolite nome was at this time divided. It is worth adding that, whereas a number of texts show her leasing out parcels of her land, in two texts (nos. 33 and 34) she is found applying for credit and having to mortgage some property in order to obtain it. We know also that she was literate (in fact nos. 8, 27, 36, 37 and perhaps 41 contain specimens of her handwriting) and that she had the *ius (trium) liberorum*. With regard to her family her father was a certain Amazonios, who had been a gymnasarch and councillor at Hermopolis. Her husband too had held these offices, but in no text does more than the initial alpha of his name survive. Worp deduces, with some probability, that his name was Aurelios Adelphios, perhaps also called Dionysodoros. It can similarly be deduced that her mother's name was Demetria and that one of Charite's children was the Aurelios Asklepiades known to have been *praepositus* of the fifteenth *pagus* of the Hermopolite nome towards the middle of the fourth century. A great difficulty in identifying members of Charite's family, as in assigning documents to her archive, is caused, as Worp stresses, by the uncertainty whether we are always dealing with the same person or whether we are dealing with different persons sharing the same name. Thus there is a temptation to assign all the papyri from Hermopolis in the first half of the fourth century in which a Charite occurs to this archive, as there is to assign all those referring to an Amazonios to the father of Aurelia Charite, especially as neither name is common. But we must be careful when making such assumptions. If all the identifications suggested as possibilities in the introduction are accepted, this is of some importance, since a considerable number of other texts would then relate to members of Aurelia Charite's family.

The texts themselves are all of well-known types: leases, tax receipts, loans, lists and letters. The more important texts were already known and little of special interest emerges from those published here for the first time. The value of the edition lies in bringing together all documents relating to a single person and thus enabling us to see more clearly some aspects of the life of a well-to-do landholder in Middle Egypt in the early Byzantine period. All the texts are accompanied by plates, which clearly show the very difficult task the editor often faced in transcribing such fragmentary and cursively written papyri. Worp is to be congratulated on producing such reliable texts from such intractable material.

Among minor points of interest note the occurrence in nos. 6-8 of soldiers of the Μαῦροι σκουτάριοι, and the unusual words ἀχειρίστος (12.3) and κοιμητήριον (40.10). In one or two texts it seems possible that more has been lost than the editor's supplements allow for, notably nos. 33 and 37 (at the right) and no. 21 (at the left). In no. 21 if we suppose that the *epimeletes* or his father had alternative names, we could have a much longer line and so account for the mysterious ἀπό at the end of line 1 by a supplement such as that from ZPE 32 (1978), 254, quoted in the note; then in line 3, if the initial trace is compatible with sigma, we could restore the common expression ἐξ ἐπιστάλματος, in which case the identity of Diokourides here with the strategos/exactor known from the period AD 337/347 (see Worp's note) becomes a near certainty.

Finally the question of the identity of the terms τοπαρχία and πάγος at this date needs a comment. This identity first became apparent in 1978, with the publication by Worp, jointly with P. J. Sijpesteijn, of *P. Landlisten*, and is further attested in the present volume. Since this has been questioned by Bärbel Karmer in *Gnomon* 55 (1983) 243, it is worth stressing that on this point Worp is quite right. Whatever one may make of the reading in 29.1 (see Worp's note and Kramer, p. 224), the words τοπαρχία and πάγος are used interchangeably in nos. 12 and 23; furthermore, since in this archive τοπαρχία, whenever it appears, is accompanied by a number, it must be the equivalent of *pagus*; when we hear of toparchies which are true toparchies in the Hermopolite nome, i.e. before AD 307, they always have names. What we have in this archive, therefore, is a misuse of an old term, now obsolete, instead of the correct use of the new term; such a phenomenon is extremely common in early Byzantine Egypt.

J. D. THOMAS

I papiiri vaticani greci di Aphrodito (P. Vatic. Aphrod.). By R. PINTAUDI. 330x235 mm. 2 vols. I: pp. 73, II: pls. 22. Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980. ISBN 88 210 0569 0. Price L.It. 70,000.

Dioscorus of Aphrodito has been regarded as a McGonagall of the ancient world. Be this possibly-unmerited reputation as it may, his papers and those of his fellow-villagers from Aphrodito in the Antaeopolite nome, the modern Kom Ishgau twenty-five miles northwest of Sohag, have contributed substantially to our knowledge of social and economic life in Byzantine Egypt. Rosario Pintaudi now offers us a further instalment of Aphrodito papers, this time 26 Greek items from the Vatican library (presented by Jean Doresse in 1961) to add to those already

published from collections in Cairo and London and numerous institutions elsewhere around the world.

Pintaudi offers us but a brief introduction; for a recent and fuller survey with extensive bibliography for Aphrodito and its persons and papyri the reader may be referred to the introduction to P. Mich. XIII (1977). The publication comes in two parts, a paperback volume with the texts, commentaries etc. and a slipcase with 22 large folded loose plates. 14 texts are presented in a full edition of the normal type; a dozen more are presented as *descripta*, that is to say summarily and frequently without transcription. (Nos.25-26 fall uneasily into this group, being extensive items which are fully transcribed but without notes or translation). All these texts are illustrated in full, whether transcribed or not, and indeed the plates offer yet more since they present a number of minor scraps additional to the twenty-six publication numbers. This lack of publication numbers for these scraps is a pity. To work with the volume it is necessary to keep three sets of numbers simultaneously in mind, viz. publ.-no., glass frame-no. and plate-no. (there are inv.-nos. too, but there is no need to keep those in mind!); to then find a group with but two numbers is confusing. Their treatment is not so very different from some of the *descripta*, and even a quite arbitrary allocation of publ.-nos. would have made for clarity in presentation. All the texts here are dated precisely or generally, to the sixth century A.D., but a small group (nos.13, 15, 21B, 23 and 24) are now believed not to be from the papers of Dioscorus and his contemporaries but to be the best part of two centuries later. All come from Aphrodito with the possible exception of no.15 (see *Aeg.* 61 [1981], 279). All are documents; there are no more nuggets here of Dioscorus' verse (for which see R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd. ed., nos.384 ff.).

This work has already been reviewed by among others R. S. Bagnall (*BASP* 18 [1981], 177-181) and especially J. Gascou (*Aeg.* 61 [1981], 274-281) who have made valuable textual contributions to many of the papyri in it, and their reviews are essential reading for the serious user of this book. I have hesitated to offer - or indeed seek - alternative readings here and there, deterred by a lack of specialist knowledge of these late Byzantine documents combined with the quality of the rather unwieldy plates, which often prove fuzzy precisely where a critical assessment is called for. The elephantine proportions of the plates from time to time match those of the papyri they illustrate, but more often the best the papyri can do is to have once had elephantine proportions. Nevertheless the even format gives a majestic style to the production.

The texts edited include land leases (1-3) and connected documents (11); house-sales (4-6); wills or other documents relating to inheritance (7, 25, 26); a loan on mortgage (8); the sale of wine "on delivery" or "in advance" (9); bibliography in the introduction to P. Mich. Xv 748); and accounts (12, 13, 15, 21B, 22 and 23). Of the land leases no.2 extends P. Köln II 104. 10 is from a contract of out-of-court settlement (cf. the immensely long - nearly 17 feet - P. Mich. XIII 659), and as a side benefit provides interesting information on family connections within the village of Aphrodito. 11 and 13 have monastic connections. 14 mentions the soldier Flavius Samuel, known from elsewhere: to Pintaudi's bibliography add J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 17 (1980), 145-154. Among the scraps grouped under 17 is a bit which may be more of P. Mich. XIII 659 just referred to above. 25, an agreement between heirs, stands as a tribute to Pintaudi's skill as a restorer. Many of his texts in this volume had to be reassembled from numerous fragments. This one was put together from over 70 pieces and though still fragmentary it occupies in whole or part no less than eight plates and attains a combined length of over seven feet. The casual use of Coptic in this text (see *BASP* 18 [1981], 180) shows how deeply embedded at this date that language was in the "Greek" mentality and emphasises the importance of including Coptic documentation for a fuller understanding of Dioscorus' life and times.

This is a magnificent presentation of challenging material which contributes to our knowledge of life in Egypt in the sixth century A.D. Let us hope that plans may be already under way to publish the Coptic pieces which the Vatican collection includes.

R. A. COLES

Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine. By MARIE-HÉLÈNE MARGANNE. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École pratique des Hautes Etudes, III. Hautes Etudes du Monde gréco-romain 14. 222x153 mm. Pp.x+409. Geneve, Librairie Droz, 1981. No price stated.

M.-H. Marganne's doctoral dissertation at the Université de Liège was a corpus of the Greek medical papyri, to which she is now adding the final touches for publication. In an interesting paper entitled "En préparant un corpus des papyrus grecs de médecine",¹ forthcoming in the *Actes de la XVII^e Session des Journées des Orientalistes Belges (28-31 mai 1979)*, she has described her work, which will appear in two stages. The first is the present catalogue, in which she describes in detail the 194 Greek medical papyri, ostraca, and parchment leaves that had been published or announced by the time of her compilation and in an appendix gives brief accounts of 12 others that have appeared in print since then. Her catalogue is much more than simply a version of the relevant parts of Pack² written for students of ancient medicine: for the individual texts, which are much more numerous than the medical entries in Pack² and are here arranged alphabetically by the conventional abbreviations of papyrological collections, she includes measurements of the papyri and observations, usually from her own inspection of photographs, about their palaeography - external data that can lead to conclusions about the intended readers of the texts. There follow the bibliography for each papyrus and an account of the content of the text, with medically significant words quoted in Greek and in French translation. The volume concludes with useful indices of personal names, medical terms, and the scientific names for the various plants mentioned.

The texts in the catalogue date from III^a to VII^p; IIP and IIIP, which have produced more literary papyri in general than any other period, are the centuries most represented here as well. Approximately a quarter of the entries are medical prescriptions, the purposes of many of which remain obscure. Fragments of anonymous treatises form the next largest group and far outnumber the fragments of known medical writers. White magic makes its appearance in five fragments, which preserve parts of folk remedies. Two fragments, from the Hippocratic Oath and from a commentary (?) on the Oath, attest some concern with medical ethics.

The *Inventaire* is a good augury for the success of the second stage of Marganne's work, the corpus itself. Unlike the *Inventaire*, it will have a thematic arrangement: anatomy, pathology, *materia medica*, ophthalmology, and surgery. It will not include the medical prescriptions. In her paper of 1979, Marganne remarked that with some notable exceptions Greek medical papyri have usually been edited in a middling way by philologists without

special competence in the history of medicine. This is a gap in our science that should have been filled long ago. It is therefore particularly encouraging to read that her corpus will include not only new editions and translations of the texts, with lexical and philological notes, but also commentaries on the medical content.

¹ The reviewer is grateful to Dr. Marganne for a copy of this paper in typescript.

D. R. JORDAN

Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology (New York, 24-31 July 1980). Edited by ROGER S. BAGNALL, GERALD M. BROWNE, ANN E. HANSON, and LUDWIG KOENEN. American Studies in Papyrology, Volume 23. 230x155 mm. Pp.706. Scholars Press, Missoula, Montana, U.S.A., 1981. Price \$ 67.50.

Papyrology, on parade at the New York Congress, covers a wide range. A few papers are of immediate concern to Egyptologists: Quaegebeur describes the 250 demotic ostraca of El Kab (many concerned with the local cult and clergy), Orlandi two Coptic rolls in the Chester Beatty Library, which contains letters of Pachomius' successor Harsiesis. Others deal with continuing features of the Egyptian scene - irrigation (Bonneau), grain measures (Vleeming), domestic architecture (Husson); or with the relations of Greeks and Egyptians within the country - the two legal systems under Ptolemaic rule (Wolff), the two languages in the military archives of Gebelen (Winnicki), the balance of population at Socnopaeu Nesus (Samuel), Roman regulation of the Egyptian priesthood (Stead). There is general interest too in the papers on conservation: Stohler-Zimmerman outlines a method of dismantling painted cartonnage, Wall methods of photographing carbonised papyri; Fackelmann gives comprehensive recommendations for the treatment and photography of papyri and the dissolution of cartonnage.

Papyrologists will note the announcement of new resources. There are new archives of the second century BC - in Milan, papers of the *archisomatophylax* Pancrates (Montevicchi), in Helsinki, papers to do with registration of property and the sureties of tax-farmers (Frösén, Kaimio); new ostraca from El Kab (Ptolemaic and Roman tax-receipts) (Quaegebeur) and from Dush (fourth century, army provisioning) (Wagner). Among individual documents of the Roman period, one concerns liturgical supervision of the farmed tax on beer (El-Mosallamy), another a veteran's claim to be exempted from tax (Eliassen), another has Arsinoite leases and a tax register from Theadelphia (Omar), in another priests of the crocodile god petition Hadrian (Lukaszewicz); accounts of the late fourth century (Poethke), and a receipt of AD 551 (Wherli), illustrate the Byzantine *annona*. On the literary side, most remarkable are the early epigram-incipits of Vienna (Harrauer), and new scraps of the late *Blennyomachy* (MacCoull). One glossary, copied just after the Roman conquest, caters for Latinless Greeks (Brashear); another of c. 600 AD (here fully commented for the first time) for Greekless Romans. The Herculeum papyri have their own section.

Many papers illuminate larger or smaller aspects of political and administrative history: the fiscal regime of Diocletian (Carrié) and of the Arab conquerors (El Abbadi); the oligarchy of the Ptolemaic court (Mooren), the cadres of the Roman strategate (Whitehorne); city and village, monks and laity in the fourth century (Keenan, Judge); the control of Ptolemaic cleruchs and of Byzantine serfs (Crisuolo, Geraci, Fikman). On the economic front, Forasboschi and Gara discuss interest-payments on loans in kind; Rowlandson the economic indicators deducible from land-sales; Hanson tax-levels at Philadelphia and their implications for the policies of Caligula. Linguistic discussion partly overlaps practical realities (Rupprecht on the meaning of ἀναέως in leases, Meyer on the meaning of λούει τὸ βαλανεῖον), partly covers general characteristics of later Greek (Gignac on morphological levelling Passoni dell'Acqua on vocabulary shared with the LXX). Law figures chiefly in the special section devoted to the Columbia *Apokrimata*: Katzoff concludes that the document represents a lawyer's collection of precedents; Nörr too inclines to regard them as *subscriptiones*, and in consequence to modify Wilken's theory of the rescript.

Two papers discuss reference-works already in progress: the *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, (Keefe). Two propose new works: a Demotic *Berichtungsliste* (Zauzich), a *Neue Testament auf Papyrus* (Grunewald).

These, and other, papers total 700 pages. An index of contributors would have been useful. But otherwise this prompt and handsome volume does the greatest credit to editors and printers alike. P. J. PARSONS

Ptolemäische Urkunden aus Mummienskartonage. By WILLIAM M. BRASHEAR. Ägyptische Urkunden aus dem Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Griechische Urkunden, XIV Band. 250x175 mm. Pp.xvi+298, 2 microfiches. Berlin, 1980. No price given.

The edition of Brashear of this new collection of Ptolemaic papyri forms a valuable addition to the evidence for the whole period, and more especially for the last century of Ptolemaic rule. The more recent provenance of the papyri (and ostraca) is disparate, 12 Berlin papyri from Amsterdam, three boxes of fragments discarded by earlier editors, a headless mummy case dismantled in 1975, its head fifty years ago, excavation documents and pieces from other museums. The earlier provenance of the texts is also disparate and their dates varied, from different parts of Egypt and from all periods of Ptolemaic rule. The most substantial part however comes from the Herakleopolite nome and these documents both amplify and modify the existing picture of this area in the mid-years of the first century B. C. when the Ptolemies were weak and Rome increasingly strong in the Mediterranean.

In this publication both international and interdisciplinary cooperation are, to the editor's credit, well illustrated. The Visser texts entrusted back to him have had a remarkable history (see p.vii), and the cooperation with demotic scholars (e.g. the bilingual receipt 2378) is a welcome characteristic of the present generation of papyrologists; the proper publication of bilingual documents is a real need. Mummy cartonnage is exploited here as an important new source of papyrus documents (p.vi-vii) and the joining of new texts with those already published both extends the single example and has cumulative value. *BGU* 2368 (63 B. C.) for instance joins on to *BGU* 1743, recording activities of Memphite shippers in the Herakleopolite nome; *BGU* 2363-8 belong to the collection of third century B. C. Oxyrhynchite cleruchic leases from Takona and Tholthis studies by Bingen, *Illinois Classical Studies* 2 (1978), 74-80.

The Herakleopolite evidence here is of both local and more general significance. Knowledge of the topography of the nome with its division into toparchies and villages is greatly expanded by this collection of surveys (see Appendix I) and there is new information on temples and cults in the area (see Index V); not surprisingly theophoric names with a Herakles-component abound in the area (Appendix II). The Egyptian names of most gods and villages stand in contrast to the wide-ranging Greek nomenclature of the immigrants; place-names however such as the toparchy *Agema* or the village *Peri Aulen* reflect the strong military settlement of middle Egypt.

Potamophylakes, who guarded the Nile and its cargoes, join soldiers and officials as recipients of land grants, and women (Appendix III) are not insignificant as land-holders in the area. Land in the Herakleopolite nome of the first century B. C. is bought and sold by the state and new fiscal categories are recorded in these documents. Besides the *Idios Logos* the Queen has revenues accorded to her, but which queen this is and whether this is in a private or official capacity is not known; the lack of precise dating is particularly unfortunate here. A further new, but unexplained, fiscal category of *euerges* () is recorded in several documents; perhaps this covered land granted originally to others than cleruchs, like *doreai* elsewhere?

The pattern of Herakleopolite land-holding (with private land and female ownership) is different from that shown in the Tebtunis surveys of the late second century B. C. In many respects however these two groups of surveys may helpfully be compared. Rent-rates in the Herakleopolite nome might be more varied than at Kerkeosiris but scribal arithmetic was equally faulty in both places and the bureaucratic background to the survey always imposed certain standard forms. It may be, for instance, that the two sets of agricultural information for land-holdings contained in *BGU* 2441 refer not, as the editor tentatively suggests, to crops of consecutive years but rather to later information within one year, before and after the crops had been sown - the γενισμὸς ἐκ τῆς ὑποθηκῆς and the information ἐκ τοῦ σπόρου which might lead to an adjustment, ἑκατοστία known from the Tebtunis surveys. The state's interest always is in what revenues it might levy or lack.

An important lesson to be gained from this publication is the provisional nature of any conclusion based on partial evidence - and partial evidence is what papyri always provide. The Herakleopolite documents of *BGU* VIII have long been cited as evidence for agricultural decline in the first century B. C., for the disappearance of peasants from the land and for the non-payment of dues. In *BGU* XIV 2370 (after 84-3 B. C.), a record of tax-arrears, the picture would at first sight seem to gain support. Here, however, the unpaid taxes and related problems are explicitly connected with the *ameixia*, or troubles, of recent years. As the editor argues (p.255), the general agricultural picture of the surveys is more encouraging. Egypt had an uncanny power for recovery from low Nile or temporary political turmoil. The more documents published, the more nuanced the picture.

There is much else here to note, from other areas also. New nationalities of the *epigone* are recorded (see Index IVA) and *BGU* 2372 (263 B. C.?) records two sons of Parmenon, one of whom is an Argive of the *epigone* and the other described as *parepidemos*; such status designations still continue to puzzle. Of wider historical interest perhaps is the title given to Kleopatra in an official document where she appears together with Caesarion (Ptolemaios also called Kaiser Theos Philopator and Philometor). She is described (*BGU* 2376, 1, 20; 2377, 23 [36-35 B. C.]) as Thea Neotera (the designation known otherwise only from coins) Philopator and Philopatrias. All verbal ingenuity was needed to boost her position back home in Egypt.

Late Ptolemaic hands are notoriously difficult. Brashear joins the handful of papyrologists with skill in deciphering these. Occasionally the reader suspects a ghost name or wishes to check a reading, to follow up a hunch. It is sad that one of the first uses of microficheplates to illustrate a volume of papyri should be so unsuccessful. The technique should enable a much fuller illustration of documents than has often been possible; the idea is good. The present examples however are disastrous and one can only hope for improvement in the quality of illustration in later volumes. These apart, a most welcome publication.

DOROTHY J. THOMPSON

Das Nilmosaik von Palestrina und eine Ptolemäische Expedition nach Äthiopen. BY ANGELA STEINMEYER-SCHAREIKA. Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Klassische Archäologie, Heft 10. 210x147 mm. Pp.168, pls.4, figs.59. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt, 1978. ISBN 3 7749 1413 3. Price DM 37.

La Mensa Isiaca di Torino. By ENRICA LEOSPO. Edition spéciale des Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, tome 70/Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, serie prima - Monumenti e testi, volume IV. 245x162 mm. Pp.100+xiv, pls.32. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978. ISBN 90 04 05665 3. Price Gld.96.

Kom Madi 1977 e 1978. Le pitture murali del cenotafio di Alessandro Magno. By EDDA BRESCIANI. Supplemento a EVO II (1979), serie archeologica, 1. 290x205 mm. Pp.61, pls.40, figs.19 and 4 fold-out plans. Pisa, Giardini, 1980. Price It. L.25,000.

Until 1798, the western view of ancient Egypt was conditioned by works of art, many of them Egyptianising rather than Egyptian, which had been discovered in Europe. None were more influential than the decorated bronze *Mensa Isiaca*, first heard of in the possession of Cardinal Pietro Bembo in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the great Nile landscape mosaic initially recorded at Palestrina between 1588 and 1607. The influence of these much-published pieces lived on well beyond the dawn of Egyptian archaeology; both pose formidable problems of dating and interpretation, and neither has received adequate monographic treatment in a publication in this century. The case of the Palestrina Mosaic, studied with intelligent enthusiasm in the previous two hundred years, is particularly frustrating: it is regrettable that Kyle Phillips's dissertation *The Barberini Mosaic: sunt hominum animaliumque complures imagines* (Ph.D., Princeton University, 1962) has never been published in any form, since it represents a significant attempt to analyse the mosaic in terms of Hellenistic, specifically manuscript, sources.

Angela Steinmeyer-Schareika's study approaches the mosaic from a number of different standpoints: a lengthy first section attempts to define the nature of ancient landscape representation, with many literary references and an excursion into the Renaissance. This is not particularly germane to the main topic (the most relevant section, a comparison with the Odyssey frescoes from the Esquiline, pp.17-26, does not take account of A. Gallina's study of these in *Studi Misc.* 6, 1960-61, 39-41), but amounts to almost a third of the book; it leads the author to a definition which necessitates the existence of a literary precursor for the landscape depicted.

This she finds in the next section, in the form of a putative account of Ptolemy II Philadelphus's zoological explorations to the south of Egypt; in this she concurs with Phillips, whose work was not accessible to her. The theory has much to recommend it in terms of our perception of a possible ultimate source for the kind of animal pictures which dominate the upper half of the Palestrina Mosaic; unfortunately the hypothesis (worked through in a much more scholarly and sophisticated way by Phillips) is here asserted dogmatically with minimal support, and allowed to colour many of the author's other observations. Dr. Steinmeyer-Schareika sees the picture presented by the mosaic as a unity, not feeling, as many other commentators have, that there is a difference between the upper half (the highlands of Ethiopia, with labelled animals) and the lower (the course of the Nile from the Delta to the southern confines of Egypt, a more integrated 'landscape' of unlabelled buildings and water); the maritime scenes in the lowest register are thus interpreted as portraying the departure of Philadelphus's expedition from Alexandria, and for the buildings higher up the author attempts to suggest specific locations, as many have done before. This approach is unfruitful with such generalised representations, and the attempt founders on the very evidence which is produced to support it; thus the author identifies the Egyptian-style temple centre right as Philae, citing Junker's suggestion that at the time of the coronation festival there, the sacred falcon was displayed to the faithful on the balcony above the main entrance, just where a spreadeagle appears flanked by the pylon towers in the mosaic (p.95). But this does not indicate that the temple is Philae: the falcon's appearance on a *sšd n h'* is feasible also for Edfu (Alliot, *Culte d'Horus a Edfou II*, 602-7) and the eagle on the pylon, in form akin to the dynastic bird of the Ptolemies, appears on a number of Roman coins minted at Alexandria, with various cult images appearing in the doorway below to identify the temple.

The author then attempts to date both the Nile mosaic and its companion piece, the 'Fish Mosaic', considering first of all the date of the source material (the usual comparison with the Marissa animal frieze is invoked here, with the author adopting the earliest possible date for the latter, the second half of the 3rd century); this leads to the surprising hypothesis that the subject matter for both mosaics reached Praeneste in the form of two 'illustrierte Schriftrollen' brought by Ptolemaic diplomats in 273 B.C., the year of Philadelphus's embassy to Roma (pp.206-8). For the laying of the mosaics themselves, a date post 175 B.C. is suggested (the popular Sullan dating usually supported by reference to the Praenestine *lithostrota* of Pliny *NH XXXVI*, 64, 189, is firmly rejected), and in a confused final section on their architectural setting, the author wrestles unsuccessfully with the problems posed by their findspots in the so-called Lower Complex at Palestrina, arriving at another surprising conclusion, that the mosaics and the two grottoes of which they are the pavements pre-existed the buildings of which they were an integral part. As elsewhere in this study, the text here is sustained by lengthy quotations, and, as with the earlier discussion of illustrated manuscripts as a possible source for the mosaic, the author seems to have underestimated the complicated nature of her topic. The *Literaturverzeichnis* at the end of the book is helpfully divided by subject, but the section devoted to the mosaic itself is hardly adequate as a bibliography of this much-studied work.

It is, perhaps, unfair to criticise too harshly what is essentially a student dissertation. Furthermore, many of the author's conclusions are vitiated or called into doubt by studies which appeared contemporaneously with, or shortly before or after her own, so that the value of her work is in any case diminished by circumstances beyond her control: P. Meyboom's analysis of Pompeian fish mosaics in *MededRome* 39 (1977), 49-93, placed the Praenestine example (discussed briefly by Dr. Steinmeyer-Schareika, pp.98-101) in a Hellenistic tradition and offered a date of c. 100 B.C. for both the Palestrina mosaics; the problems affecting the interpretation of the Lower Complex and its relation to the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the hillside above were lucidly reviewed by F. Zevi in his study of Palestrina in *Prospettiva* 16 (1979), 2-22, where fresh arguments were produced to support the identification of the Lower Complex as a secular area, a conclusion of much import for the mosaics. In finalising her text, the author was seemingly unable to take full account of the reviewer's 1976 publication of the 'lost' Dal Pozzo copies of the Nile mosaic which record it in its fragmentary state between discovery and radical restoration; the evidence of these watercolours necessitates more changes than she would allow, on more than 'subjektive Meinung' (p.57): once the first alteration (which she accepts) has been made by re-joining the *ONOKENTAYPA*, currently at the right, to the rocky outcrop at the left, it is impossible to maintain the present pictorial scheme, for reasons of space. Any consideration of the mosaic's contents has to bear in mind that all is not now as it once was, and that much is missing altogether; the composition needs to be dissected and re-arranged before it can be discussed. A year after the publication of the study under review, the re-discovery of another set of 'lost' drawings was announced (C. Pace in *PBSR* 47, [1979], 117-55); these were the watercolours by P. S. Bartoli (once owned by Cardinal Massimi and probably also by Richard Mead) and they proved to be copies of the Dal Pozzo copies; like the study of Palestrina and its archaeological complexities, the antiquarian history of its Nile mosaic continues to develop. Concerning the latter, one egregious error should be expunged from Dr. Steinmeyer-Schareika's text: Taddeo Barberini did not insert into the restored mosaic in the 1640's 'Stücke...die er in seinem Palast in Corton aufbewahrt hatte' (p.57): he is said by one source to have rescued further fragments from the *cantina* (i.e. the cellar in which it was found at Palestrina) with the assistance of the artist Pietro da Cortona.

Possessed of an equally rich antiquarian history, the *Mensa Isiaca* housed in the Museo Egizio in Turin is the subject of a study by Enrica Leoposo which offers no improvement on Ernesto Scamuzzi's monograph of 1939: the latter still stands as a more serious and ambitious attempt to interpret the *Mensa* and its decoration, despite the forlorn endeavour to read the names of the emperor Claudius and the putative craftsman Nilos engraved thereon. The new book begins inauspiciously, putting the cart before the horse by offering a bibliography in advance of an account of the object's intriguing history: this is an unreadable melange of book titles and comments; the information might have been more useful if listed conventionally, *en bloc*, but its value is in any case limited by the fact that most of the items are cited without volume or page numbers - the reader is left to search out all thirteen tomes of Gronovius's *Thesaurus* for himself.

The central, descriptive section opens with a disappointing technical assessment of the *Mensa*, which the author describes as 'probabilmente' mould-cast and damascened; this does not tell us much, and the latter term is strictly incorrect anyway, despite the support offered in the form of a monster footnote (p.29) consisting apparently of the greater part of an encyclopaedia entry on 'Agemina'. In fact, the object's imperfect state of

preservation makes it possible to deduce more about its manufacture: the appearance of the loculi on the upper surface, where inlays have fallen out, and also the surface texture of the underside, suggest that the *Mensa* was a direct (and therefore unique) lost-wax casting; the surface defects have been made good by the 'sticking-plaster' technique of patching (C. Mattusch in *AA* 82 [1978], 102-3), with the inserted square or rectangles often underlying the inlaid decoration; the author notes only the largest, in the top left-hand corner. The shallow, softly chiselled-out loculi interestingly display two different levels, apparently to take different inlays (as, for instance, the bull, centre register left, Leospo's pl.V, or the thrones at the centre, pls.VI and VI bis); the variety of inlays seems greater than the author describes, since in addition to the silver and niello which she notes, many of the figures are composed of a lighter-coloured metal than the bronze ground: this is perhaps copper, though only scientific analysis would produce a clear identification. It is a pity that, for a publication of the 1970's, no analyses were attempted, at least of a surface-scanning type, in order to distinguish the components of the *Mensa*. A major repair indicated by a lump of rough bronze on the underside, just a little below the pictorial centre, is not noted by the author (though it was by Scamuzzi, *La "Mensa Isiaca"*, p.30 and pl.IV); it seems to correspond with an area of the surface (the lower part of the central shrine in which Isis sits) where the inlays are lost or fused, and if it is ancient, it may tell us something about the *Mensa's* use.

The bulk of this descriptive section is devoted to an analysis of the three registers of cult scenes which make up the inlaid decoration of the surface, and the band of incised decoration inlaid with silver which runs round the vertical sides of the *Mensa*. This is a half-hearted effort which ventures less in the way of positive identifications than did Scamuzzi (whose reading of the divinities and rituals led him to suggest Hermapolitis Magna as the place of origin) but is replete with errors, sometimes of the most basic kind (the winged serpent of pl.XIV has the head of a falcon, not a vulture, p.71) and flawed by serious omissions and misinterpretations. Its shortcomings have prompted a fresh analysis of the compositional scheme and individual groupings on the surface of the *Mensa* (Ph. Derchain, in *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten*, Mainz, [1983] 61-66), and to this the reader in search of the Isiac nature of the work should now turn. A brief discussion of the garbled hieroglyphic inscriptions concludes the chapter (the possibility of distinguishing the cartouches of Claudius is dismissed); among the comparative material here the author cites quite uncritically the fragment of supposedly Roman painting, Louvre P.57, which repeats details from the central register of the *Mensa* (p.90 and pl.XXVIII): the relationship, which constitutes grounds for suspecting that the picture is a modern pastiche, is passed over without comment, and this dubious piece is even included amongst dating evidence later on (n.11 on p.99).

The final chapter, '*L'attribuzione*', is a sketchy attempt to set the *Mensa Isiaca* into its cultural and chronological context: a number of different parallels are briefly noted, without any fruitful discussion - temple reliefs and the rare painted shrouds with cult scenes in registers, for style and content, Roman *Égyptiennerie* of the first and second centuries A.D., for date. There is no consideration of the possible function of the *Mensa*: the parallel with the bronze base from Herculaneum which shares some of its decorative features (pp.90, 99) suggests one possibility, but the author's description of the Turin piece as 'una tavola rettangolare' (p. 29) implies perhaps that she shares Scamuzzi's view that it was a table-top. It might, however, have been a *ferculum*, like that carried by the priestly procession in the Palestrina mosaic: the square and circular perforations on the long sides of the base might have served for the fixing of carrying poles, rather than table supports (Scamuzzi, pp.31-33). The author's final conclusions on provenance and date - the *Mensa* is tentatively identified as a Roman work of the mid-first century A.D. - might have been supported by a more searching technical analysis: a bronze object decorated in a certain style with gold and/or silver inlays was probably as quintessentially 'Egyptian' to ancient eyes as a glossy black tea-tray with brightly coloured and gilt motifs is 'Oriental' to modern ones. But it seems likely that the *Mensa* is, so to speak, an example of 'japaning': the extensive use of niello is reminiscent of the florid black and silver decoration seen on some Roman bronzes of the first century A.D. (for this, see now S. la Neice in *Ant.J.* 83 [1983], 279-97; the analyses there presented suggest that the niello on the *Mensa*, which always appears contiguous to silver, would be a silver sulphide).

A discussion of these practical considerations would have been welcome, but its absence is just one of the deficiencies of this jejune study. Some compensation is forthcoming in the generous supply of black and white plates of details of the decoration (though these are not always sharply focussed, or even in tone where a montage has been made); there are no overall views of the surface or underside, though the former is to some extent supplied by the book's most useful feature, the large fold-out reproduction of Enea Vico's 1559 engraving (pl.XXXII). The reader may feel that the current selling price of this book is a high one to pay for 27 half-tones and a large engraving of the *Mensa Isiaca*. The volume is a slender addition to a series which has been marked by many peaks (some of those have been very high, it must be said) but also many troughs; tighter control over the quality and content of such very expensive books (in one instance the same material has been presented in two different volumes) would surely be welcome.

The kind of static composition in registers which makes up the surface decoration of the *Mensa Isiaca* was visible in Graeco-Roman Egypt not only on temple walls but also on humbler painted ones. These have rarely survived (rarer still are the illustrations on papyrus which may have served as their models), so it is good to welcome a new, and highly interesting, addition to the small number of survivors, the paintings discovered by the Italian expedition to Medinet Madi (narmouthis) in the late 70's. Because of their importance they have, with commendable speed, been accorded publication in a monograph by the expedition's director, Edda Bresciani, ahead of other reports on the site. A brief introduction sets the scene of the discovery - a *kom* to the south-east of the village, which the author suggests may be the site of the Ptolemaic necropolis. A central complex of monumental buildings has been partly cleared, and two of these, identified by graffiti and votive inscriptions as an *Anubieion* and a chapel of Imhotep, are given a brief preliminary description here.

A third building, to whose decoration the study is devoted, is a brick structure consisting of three chambers and a rectangular forecourt; the walls are preserved to sufficient height to show the lower part of the frescoes which decorated the court (the south-west corner of which is missing) and the central chamber, which is possessed of a brick podium abutting the back wall; this the author identifies as a non-Egyptian *Totenbett* (p.39). Adjoining it is an altar on which was lying a dish containing carbonised matter, a heap of discarded plates of

bread nearby: the room, here designated as the *cella*, was clearly a place of cult.

Professor Bresciani's study of the frescoes falls into two parts, a detailed description followed by a well-documented interpretative section. In many cases the figures in the paintings are preserved only from the knees down, so that much has to be deduced from hemlines, the occasional object pendant from a hand, legs, feet and footwear - of which latter there is 'un'impressionante mostra di modelli', as the author notes (p.47). There is a marked difference in subject in the two locations: the pictures in the *cella* belong to the Egyptian religious tradition - Osiris flanked by Isis and Nephthys on the wall above the 'Totenbett', Ptah and other divinities on the right, and a presentation scene with three unidentifiable gods and a non-Egyptian on the left. The scenes outside in the court consist of non-Egyptian figures portrayed in an Egyptian manner; these are extremely difficult to interpret, but the author offers candidates from Greek mythology for some of the scenes; the building itself she identifies as a chapel dedicated to the posthumous cult of Alexander the Great, whose person she recognises twice, pouring a libation to the right of the *cella* entrance and to the right of the main entrance, on a stretch of wall which has been carefully reconstructed from numerous fragments, with his back to a file of non-Egyptian soldiers. The adjoining wall is decorated with a tantalisingly ill-preserved scene in which winged panthers draw a car before which flee a gazelle and an antelope; a pair of feet in colourfully striped boots is all that remains of a figure standing on the car, plausibly identified by Professor Bresciani as Dionysus. The author rightly notes the traditional Egyptian models which underlie both this 'desert hunt' and the 'smiting scene' which appears on the wall to the left of the *cella* entrance, where a cowering nude figure is followed by legs in short boots and loriacte leggings surmounted by lion protomes - evidently a warrior, whom the author identifies as Herakles, victor in the Gigantomachia, or possibly Dionysus. It is worth noting also that the placing, as well as the content of these scenes, follows traditional Egyptian practice: the entrance to the holy place is flanked by the purifying slaughter of the enemy on one side, and the gesture of offering to the divinity on the other.

These are extraordinary pictures, with their melange of Greek and Egyptian elements; the parallel that springs most immediately to mind is the decoration of the tomb of Petosiris (cited by the author, p.47). The Kom Madi frescoes are much cruder, probably the work of a village artist, but possess an engaging and almost documentary vividness. For the pictorial details, the author draws some judicious parallels with the painted tombs of the Siwa Oasis and other Ptolemaic representations in various media, but there is really nothing closely comparable, and the difficulties of interpreting these scenes *in vacuo* are immense. In view of the partial state of preservation of most of the figures, and the absence of any other evidence (such as the graffiti on the other two buildings), the Alexander theory seems too venturesome; might there not, if this were the case, be a more prominent reference to the divinised Alexander in the *cella*, where the dominant figure is certainly Osiris? The booted non-Egyptian among the gods on the left-hand wall is on a smaller scale than they, and would therefore not qualify; it seems unlikely also that the small-scale booted legs standing to the left of the large warrior figure in the smiting scene outside could belong to Alexander, as the author tentatively suggests (p.42), if he is the same figure who appears, writ large, pouring a libation at the other side of the entrance. The smiting figure could be royal rather than divine, if we imagine a straight transition from the Pharaonic type of this scene to a new Ptolemaic version. Such problems can probably be resolved only when similar pictures in a better state of preservation are found; in the meantime, Professor Bresciani's study of these unique and fascinating Graeco-Egyptian paintings (for which she suggests a date at the end of the second century B.C., in keeping with other features of the site - one sympathises with her feeling that they look earlier, however, p.49) provides ample matter for further thought. The text is accompanied by a commendable supply of coloured plates, though cross-reference between these, the description and the sectional plans on the fold-out pages would have been facilitated if the numbering system for the scenes employed in the text and the ground plan, fig.12, could have been extended to these too.

HELEN WHITEHOUSE

Le nome hermopolite: Toponymes et sites. By MARIE DREW-BEAR. American Studies in Papyrology, 21. 260x180 mm. Pp.xvi+401, pls.6, 2 maps. Scholars Press, Missoula, Montana, USA, 1979. ISBN 0 89130 258 1. Price US\$ 45.

The substantial core of this book (Ch.V, pp.51-337) is the alphabetical list of about one thousand Greek and Coptic place-names, each accompanied by references and, where possible, by a summary account of what is known of its location and administrative importance. The nome capital, Hermopolis, is excluded on the very reasonable plea that it would (and does) require an extended study to itself (p.9); so too is Antinoopolis (p.10).

Four introductory chapters treat the sources, the archaeological sites, the terminology of the geographical units, and administrative geography. The sources (Ch.I) are chiefly the Greek papyri, covering rather patchily the period from the second century B.C. to the eighth century A.D.; a list of them by century forms Ch.XIII, pp. 391-8. These are supplemented by inscriptions, geographical literature in Greek and Latin, Coptic papyri, and Greek and Coptic ecclesiastical literature. It is interesting to note how little overlap there is in the list between the Greek and Coptic material. The comparatively small extent of the Coptic sources (as regards geography) is the prime cause of this. The next most important cause is that the Greek papyri come mostly from the metropolis, which was somewhat comparable to an English county town, and from Antinoopolis, a similar case, and therefore reflect the relations between them and the countryside, while the Coptic material chiefly concerns the monasteries and reflects their relations with their smaller hinterlands. The later and shorter date range of the Coptic also had its effect.

There is a lack of overlap too between the archaeology of the nome (Ch.II) and the place-names. This reflects the concentration of the archaeologists on town, cemetery, and desert sites, hardly touching the village areas. The chapter on terminology (III) explains some expressions denoting types of locality; the paragraphs on ἐπίκ-ιοι and νῆσοι are noteworthy. Administrative geography (Ch.IV) identifies approximately the areas covered by the fourth-century numbered *pagi* and especially by their earlier larger predecessors the named toparchies, see now J. Vergote, *CE* 56 (1981), 384-6, who acknowledges the advances made here over his own earlier work.

After the list proper (Ch.V) we have two chapters (VI and VII) on damaged and doubtfully Hermopolite names, a table showing the chronological extent of the evidence for each place with a Greek name (VIII), two lists of

villages for which a toparchy (IX) or *pagus* (X) is known. Ch.XI gives a list divided by type, under headings ranging from γεωργιον, through ἐποίκιον, κλήρος, κώμη etc., to χωρίον. Ch.XII on Greek toponymy hammers home the point that the names are of Egyptian derivation to an overwhelming extent, with only a tiny tincture of Greek. Ch.XIII, already mentioned, is the list of Greek papyri arranged by century. The final chapter (XIV) is an impressive three-page list of passages where the author has been able to correct the published texts of papyri. At the end are six photographs of places in the Hermopolite nome, chiefly of ancient sites, and two maps of the nome, divided into north and south.

Here are some notes on entries in the list which caught my attention particularly:

Ἄλαβαντίς. This would be unique, though Ἄλαβανθίς is a well-known place in the Arsinoite nome. A photograph of P. Osl.III, 134.7, supplied by the International Papyrological Photographic Archive, shows that Ἄλαβαντίς [os is far from certain and that Ἄλαβαστρέϊνης is probable. The low price of the donkey foal shows that the document belongs, not to the fourth century, as suggested, but between A.D. 212 and 250, see O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 35, 41-2. The handwriting suits this date.

Ἄλλαι. BGU II 553 B III has,
 Σιναλαβή
 5 Σιναλαβὴ ἄλ(λης)
 Ἄλλαι

Cf. II 6 Μογκανεὶ ἄλ(λης), III 14 Πεντάλεω ἄλ(λης).

In her discussion of the other three village names the author points out that there is no other sign of pairs of villages with the same name and correctly suggests that αλ() denotes a second entry with a quantity of grain for the village named. We can go further. Since in this list each entry originally ended with a quantity of grain in artabas, αλ() represents ἄλ(λαι) followed by (ἀρτάβαι) *n*. In the three entries for Σιναλαβή αλλαι is not a name but ἄλλαι, and the passage means, 'Sinalabe: so many artabas, Sinalabe: another so many artabas, Another so many artabas'.

Ἐξβυθ.ρα. Probably this is a misreading of ἐκ βορρᾶ in P. Stras.579, i.e. read γεωργίου διακειμένου ἐν πεδιάδι τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἐκ βορρᾶ καὶ ἐξ ἀπληρώτου τῆς ἡμῶν κώμης (17-19), 'field situated in the territory of the same village (i.e. Taruthis, line 8) to the north and west of our village'.

Ἑρμαῖος ποταμός. This relies on Wilcken's restoration of CPHerm.95.11 as τὸ πρὸς τῷ ποτ|αμῷ Ἑρμαίω Νυμφαίου καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδίσι[...], '...the Nymphaeum by the Hermaeus Canal and the....in the temple of Aphrodite...' (*Archiv* 3 [1906], 546-7). But the proximity of the temple of Aphrodite suggests that we ought to be thinking of Ἑρμαῖον, 'temple of Hermes'. Dr Hermann Harrauer has kindly consulted the original in Vienna and confirmed that we should read |γαλω (I suggested |αλω) in place of |αμω. Restore therefore τὸ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Ἑρμαίῳ etc., 'the Nymphaeum in the great temple of Hermes' etc. The allusion is to the great temple of Thoth in Hermopolis, the chief cult centre of the city and the nome, cf. G. Roeder, *Hermopolis*, 54.

Ἡγίου κώμη. P. Grenf.I 57.3, 58.3, 23. Ed. pr. had Ἡλίου. Wilcken 'corrected' this (BL I 183). Gamma and lambda are very similar in these sixth-century documents, cf. 57.7 ζυγικοῦ ὄργάνου corrected (properly) to ξυλικοῦ ὄργάνου. Photographs of the texts supplied by the International Papyrological Photographic Archive show a conformation very similar to that in Αὐρηλίου in 58.2. In my opinion this κώμη is likely to be the same as the ἐποίκιον Ἡλίου appearing later in the list, cf. p.42 for these terms used of the same place. Furthermore, there are no breathings in these papyri, so that Ἡλίου, genitive of the proper name Elias is possible and also more likely, since an ἐποίκιον 'prend généralement le nom du propriétaire' (p.41), and since Greek place-names are so rare here (pp.389-90). Further still, the place called Ἡλία, 'sans doute ἐποίκιον', presents another genitive of the same name and is likely to be the same place. Finally Ἰλίου ἐποίκιον is phonetically identical with Ἡλίου ἐ. and might possibly be the same, though the former appears in P. Strasb.359 in connection with three villages probably of the toparchy Patemites Ano, while the latter appears in various lists, SPP X 32.7, 34.3, 45.10, with three villages of the Patre Ano.

Θαλλοῦ κώμη. The author argues that this is derived from a personal name and not from θαλλός. If so, accent Θάλλου cf. H. W. Chandler, *Greek Accentuation*, §280 and esp. §283, Pape-Benseler, *Lexicon*, s.v. Θαλλος, and the preceding item in her own list Θάλλου κλήρος. This accentuation makes the identification with Talla, which she takes as probable, at least phonetically possible.

Θαμῶου. The name is cited from P. Oxy. XXVII 2480, but what appears there four times is Θαμῶου (1,15,26,36), which may or may not be the same.

[Θεο]κρισίου or [Θεο]κρισίου. Neither is in F. Priesigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, while Ἀκρισίος is in both. The indications of space in SPP XX 83 i 4 favour a longer name, but even if the indications are correct they are only an estimate and not decisive.

Κρηως κώμη. The plate of P. Lond. III 979.7 (p.234; Facsimiles III No.72) shows rather ...εως, cf. ε in ἔκωσι following. Θῳῳεως is perhaps a possibility, but there are many short village names ending in -εως.

Κιρκᾶ. Add that it was in the Upper Theodosiopolite nome and in the late Byzantine period, see ZPE 48 (1982), 101 n.15, and is probably the same as Κερκᾶ in P. Wisc. I, 10, see P. Oxy. LI 3636.2 n.(p.99), M. Drew-Bear, *CE* 54 (1979), 301, *REA* 83 (1981), 29 n.37.

Λυναίου. In P. Ant. III 200.1 for α'' πάγου κώμης Ληναίῳ υ' νομοῦ Ἑρμ(ο)π(ολίτου?) read α'' πάγου κώμης Ληναίῳ λόγ(ος) ἔξουβερ(). The *pagus* number is uncertain. It ought to be an Antinoite *pagus*, not Hermopolite, since the papyrus is from Antinoopolis and the village is elsewhere attested as Antinoite. For λόγ(ος) ἔξουβερ() see P. Oxy. XIV 1660.3.

Λυσίδος. Accent Λύσιδος, decidedly not 'un nom de femme'.

Μαγῶλα Βουκόλων. This village is here assigned doubtfully to the toparchy Patre Ano, but now in CPR VII 18 it has appeared in close connection with Μαγῶλα Μιρή, known to belong to the Peri Polin Cato, and is assigned by

the editor, M. Kaimio, to the same toparchy.

Μαρσιπ() κώμη: P. Sarap. 55 (=P. Amh. II, 126).49. Plainly this accounting entry should be expanded ἀπὸ μαρ - σίπ(πού) or μαρσιπ(πίου) (δρ.) χ, 'from the purse (=drawn from cash in hand?) 600 drachmas'. The six entries following account for the expenditure of these 600 dr.

Ματαχραϊρη: P. Laur. II 26.8. The plate (Tav.XXVI) clearly shows μαγδ/μιση, i.e. expand κώμης Μαγδ(άλων) Μιρή, a well-attested village.

p.181. Add Νεκρικὴ (διώρουξ?): P. Charite 8 (=SPP XX 98).13, see n. It does seem that ἐπὶ τῆς Νεκρικῆς διώρου- [γ]ος is the most likely interpretation. If so, this name may be significant support for the identification of Θύνις with Tuna El Gebel, where one of the necropolises of Hermopolis has been discovered, see pp.32, 120. The land in this lease falls into two parcels, one 'in the marsh by the Corpses' (Canal?'), the other at the village of Ἄμμωνος, which appears twice in connection with Thynis (p.63). The canal may be imagined running from Hermopolis to the necropolis at Tuna El Gebel.

Πατεδῶρου κώμη: P. Cair. Preis. 30.3,36,128. A photograph supplied by the International Papyrological Photographic Archive shows that 3 has [ω]ρου, but 36 has Παπλώου and 128 Παπλώου, cf.15,44,59 etc. The toparchy concerned, Leucopyrgites Ano, contains two places ending in a way to suit 3, i.e. Διοδῶρου and Ἰσιδῶρου.

Πατριμο(). Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite*, 139 s.v. Πατριμοξναλ(). These look like allusions to the imperial *patrimonium*, cf. S. Daris, *Lessico Latino*, 89-90, P. Charite 14.2 n., 15.4-7 n.

Πεμαλ: SB XII 11-76.5. To judge from the plate in CE 48 (1973), 123, Πεσλ[α, which is well-known, would suit.

p.202. Add Πεντάλις, see p.199, n.351. The Πεντάλις in CPR V 9.10 is virtually certain to be Hermopolite, and is presumably the same as Πεεντάλις.

Σελιλῆις. Cf. Σεσόγχα.

Σενοάβις. The new edition of SPP XX 89 as P. Cahrite 26 (with Taf.XXII) has shown that Σενέβεως was a mere misreading of Σενοάβεως. This permits certainty that Senoabis belonged to the third *pagus* in A.D. 341.

Σεσόγχα. Its change from the 15th (A.D. 331) to the 12th *pagus* (A.D. 349) is paralleled not only by the case of Sinarchebis, but also now by those of Selilais and Sinape, see (K. Worp) P. Charite, p.12 n.3. It begins to look as if the boundaries of *pagi* in the north of the nome were revised in this period.

Σιναπή. Cf. Σεσόγχα.

Σιναρχῆβις. Cf. Σεσόγχα. On a photograph of P. Cair. Goodspeed 11(=W. Chr. 421), supplied by the International Papyrological Photographic Archive, the reading ι' (=δεκάτου) πάγου is clear, as is the reading θ (=ἐνάτου) πάγου in P. Vindob. Worp 8.7 (Taf.8a).

Τέλκε. There is an unresolved contradiction. If this formed part of the parchy of Antinoopolis, which is NE of Hermopolis, it can hardly be identified with Dalgah, about 20 km. SW of Hermopolis.

Τιτιλάμεως. Cf. Τιτκῶις, last para.

Τιτκῶις. At least three new documents mentioning the monastery of Apa Apollon 'in the desert of Titcois' have now been published, see J. Gascou, *Anagmesis* 1 (1981) 219-30, H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, CE 57 (1982), 296-302. In the bibliography cited in both places is an article by R.-G. Coquin, *Orientalia* NS 46 (1977), 435-446 on the disputed identification of the monastery concerned with the famous site of Bawit. He concludes that the eponyms of these monasteries were the same but that there were two different houses. Our author also rejects the identification with Bawit, chiefly because the village of Titcois is known to have belonged to the toparchy Cussites Cato. Moerae (Mir) and Cussae (El Qusiya) both belonged to the Cussites Ano, and Senaobis (Sanabu) belonged to the Leucopyrgites Ano. In Egyptian geography Ano (Upper) meant southern and Cato (Lower) meant northern. Therefore we might expect to find the Cussites Cato entirely confined to the small area north of an east-west line between Moerae and Cussae and south of Senoabis, while Bawit is far to the north and west of Senoabis. But it may be better to argue that we can satisfy the two difficulties of the strangely small size of the Cussites Cato and the strangely elusive ancient name of Bawit by supposing that the Cussites Cato consisted of a long tongue of land stretching north and west of Cussae along the desert.

It is said that the name of Titcois does not occur among the inscriptions of Bawit, but the γραμματεὺς Τιτιλάμεως (?) of J. Maspero, E. Drioton, *Fouilles ... Baouit*, 334.2, might well be a village scribe of Titcois. There is no photograph and no indication of what doubt is implied by the editors' question mark, but the beginning Τιτ- and the ending -εως certainly invite the conjecture that the middle was -κω-. The misreading of such a graffito would not be surprising. This, of course, even if it were certain, adds nothing substantial to the problem discussed above.

Τῶλκις. The plate of P. Laur. II 45.4 (XLV) positively favours reading Τῶλκεως rather than the editor's Τάλκεως, which should not be regarded as a variant or alternative.

Ἐπαντα: P. Giss. I 74.6. The text has γείνωσκε ... Χαίρημονα ἐξεληλυθ[έναι] εἰς Ἐπαντα σὺν Οὐλιανῶ. For Ἐπαντα σὺν read ὑπάντησιν (?), see BL I 462 (C. Wessely, whose publication in *Wochenschr. klass. Phil.*, 1914, p. 38, I have not seen) and F. Preisigke, *WB* s.v. This looks convincing, cf. NT Ev. Jo. 12.13 ἐξῆλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῶ.

Χῦσις (p.326). On the illusory 'bronze gate', an invention of the Devil which I ascribed to the church of this village, see my *peccavi* in *ZPE* 35 (1979), 128.

Ῥνιανίσκου γεώργιον: P. Bad. IV 95.155. The text has γεωργ(ίου) τοῦ Ῥνιανίσκ(ου), which invites the articulation Τοῦ Νιανίσκ(ων), see s.v. Τοῦ Νεανίσκων(p.306). SPP X 25A 6.14 also has the spelling Τοῦ in this name. For the vulgar spelling Νιανισκ- for Νεανισκ- cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, 249 (ε > ι before a back vowel)

Perhaps the chief lesson to be learnt from these comments is that the published texts must be treated with particular scepticism in the case of Egyptian names, where unfamiliar matter is added to the difficulties of reading Greek handwriting and damaged papyri. The author is well aware of the problem. Her three-page list of texts which she has been able to correct (399-401) shows how much work she has done in this direction herself. Her energy and thoroughness in tackling the archaeological and the Coptic sources, where there is a great deal that is usually ignored by the Greek papyrologists who will mostly use this book, are much to be admired. In every way it deserves to become the standard work on the subject, as it certainly will. J. R. REA

Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive (P.L. Bat. 20). Edited under the General Direction of P. W. PESTMAN. 2 volumes. Text: 280x216 mm. Plates: 340x240 mm. Text: Pp.xvi+291. Plates: Pp.vi, pls.30. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1980. Text: ISBN 90 04 06113 4 and 90 04 06114 2. Plates: ISBN 90 04 06113 4 and 90 04 06115 0. Price D. Gld.240.

This volume consists of eighty-two text editions of papyri (and one inscription) deriving from, or related to, the Zenon archive. It is a product of the same international team which under the supervision of Professor Pestman has also produced the extremely useful *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, P. L. Bat. 21 (Leiden, 1981). The aim of the book is to make the corpus "more accessible" (p.VI), that is, the documents selected have hitherto been only available in obscure publications, unedited, or poorly understood. The resulting range of texts is thus broad indeed, including everything from demotic receipts to a fragment of Archilochus.

The majority of the papyri are Greek, but the first part, the work of Pestman, comprises editions of thirteen bilingual receipts from the archive. The standard collection of Zenon *demotica* has long been Wilhelm Spiegelberg's *Die demotischen Urkunden des Zenon-Archivs* (Leipzig, 1929). However, his volume did not include all the extant demotic texts, and has, in any case, naturally become outdated. Most of the receipts dealt with by Pestman have to do with agricultural work, particularly the clearing of land, on Apollonios' estate. By way of introduction Pestman contributes an overview of the Zenon archive together with concise discussions of various topics, e.g. Graeco-Roman interaction, chronology, and the use of papyrus. The editions themselves of these brief, but by no means easy to read texts are first-rate. Pestman has improved on Spiegelberg's readings in numerous places, eliminating several ghost-words and names. Lexicographically the receipts are more interesting than one might expect, and contain some words not to be found in W. Erichsen's *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), e.g. *sf* "to cut" (pp.28-9), *qrbn* "axe" (p.28), and *pwꜣꜣ*, a type of container (p.69). As is true of other publications of Pestman, even the notes on relatively well-known words and phrases are quite valuable (see, for example, the remarks on *wꜣ st*, pp.76-77). It is to be hoped that Pestman will next turn his attention to the other Zenon demotic texts contained in Spiegelberg's book, several of which would well merit republication.

Texts fourteen through seventy-six (an additional six are published in a series of supplements) are Greek. W. Clarysse and W. Tait are responsible for most of the editions. The other contributors are M. Muszynski, P. Pestman, T. Reekmans, A. Schutgens, J. K. Winnicki, and Aly Zaki. Not infrequently the editors have proposed important new readings and interpretations. Where possible, a detailed physical description of each papyrus and translation are provided. In several instances (numbers 32 and 38) the editors of this volume have made new joins, and the reconstructed texts are published here for the first time. Of particular interest to Egyptologists is Tait's reedition of the famous letter from the priests of Aphrodite to Apollonios concerning the burial arrangements of the deceased Hesis-cow (number 50).

With this model publication Professor Pestman and his colleagues have made a substantial contribution to the study of this most famous of Ptolemaic archives. R. JASNOW

Other books received

1. *Der Gott Tatenen Nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*. By HERMANN ALEXANDER SCHLÖGL. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 29. 235x160 mm. Pp.203, 14 pl. figs. Freiburg, Schweiz, Universitätsverlag, 1980. ISBN 3 7278 0228 6. Price DM 54.
2. *Hymnes d'Égypte et d'Israël. Études de structures littéraires*. By PIERRE AUFFRET. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 34. 235x160 mm. Pp.316. Fribourg, Suisse, Editions Universitaires, 1981. ISBN 2 8271 0189 0. Price DM 80.
3. *Images of Women in Antiquity*. Edited by AVERIL CAMERON and AMELIE KUHRT. 214x133 mm. Pp.xi+323. London, Croom Helm Ltd., 1983. ISBN 0 7099 0753 2. Price (paperback) £8.95.
4. *Das Davidische und Salomonische Königreich und seine Beziehungen zu Ägypten und Syrien. Zur Entstehung eines Grossreichs*. By ABRAHAM MALAMAT. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte 407 Band. 240x148 mm. Pp.42. Wien, Verlag des Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983. Price OS 98.
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8. *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten*. Edited by G. GRIMM, H. HEINEN and E. WINTER. *Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 2. 315x230 mm. Pp.211, pls.44. Mainz-am-Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1983. ISBN 3 8053 0514 1. No

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11. *Karnak Nord V. Le Trésor de Thoutmosis Ier. Étude Architecturale*. By JEAN JACQUET. 2 vols. 320x247 mm. Vol.I, Pp.x+162, pl.1, 1 plan. Vol.II, Pp.12, pls.66, 1 map. Cairo, Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1983. Price LE 26.
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14. *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*. Edited by DOUGLAS M. PARROTT. *Nag Hammadi Studies* XI. 245x160 mm. Pp.xxii+553. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1979. ISBN 90 04 05798 6. Price D. Gld. 180.
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