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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

In addition to its planned commitments in the field this year, the Society has been able to respond rapidly to the appeal of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization for foreign missions to participate in the North Sinai Rescue Project, which aims to survey archaeological sites threatened by the El-Salaam canal development. From 26 June to 19 July 1992, a team consisting of Dr S. R. Snape and Dr P. Wilson worked in the region of Tell Farama (Pelusium), mainly on a Late Roman industrial complex. A larger expedition is planned for next year.

Accounts of the continuing work at Memphis and a new survey at Gebel el-Haridi appear on pp. 1–27 below. The results of our fieldwork at other sites are summarized briefly here:

*Qasr Ibrim.* The hinterland survey of the Meroitic and associated structures was concluded. About 550 structures have been mapped and described, with detailed plans made of the most interesting. Fourteen wares have been identified as Early Meroitic, and dated through comparison to the early Roman levels at Ibrim. Much of the assemblage shows strong links with the south, including Meroe. Some vessels in a very distinctive fabric form elaborately decorated hand-made jars and may have come from the area of Soba.

A second area of hinterland survey was on a headland to the south of the main site. On a triangular-shaped peninsula covering an area 150 m by 60 m, there was an intricate network of low walls or mounds of piled stones forming a cellular pattern. There was little trace of entrances into the cells or of track-ways between them. While most of the cells were sub-rectangular, some were hexagonal with a low mound in the centre. Around the edges of these structures are more recognizable hut remains, some terraced into the hillside and containing entrances and linking pathways. No excavation was attempted, but the associated pottery included *qadus* knobs and other ceramics of typical Late Meroitic/Early X-group date. The function of the complex is unclear, but a temporary settlement seems more probable than a cemetery.

The final area of the hinterland to be investigated was a group of structures, 9561 and 9776. Excavation in 1990 determined that this was a church with five complex building periods. The period I building was a simple rectangle entered from the north and south sides, with a stone flagged floor throughout. This season, work concentrated on the floor levels of the additions. These included a north range, heavily robbed, but domestic, possibly monastic, in function. A sequence was recovered from the site that spanned construction, a major destruction horizon, containing glazed Fatimid lustre ware, followed by a period of disuse and then temporary repair. This latter phase was associated with a graffito of Bishop Mielk, who is otherwise known from the Cathedral, where he was responsible for late thirteenth or early fourteenth century repairs. All the pottery from this site is late Early Christian or Classic Christian in date and this site has the potential to clarify the ceramic sequence of the Christian period. Important finds from the church included parchment manuscript fragments and mud jar sealings.

Our work at the Cathedral has attempted to elucidate the precise form of the period I structure, preserved in fragments below the period II reconstruction. No excavation was undertaken, but careful stone by stone drawings of the fabric together with an analysis of the primary Aswan granite columns, allows a plausible reconstruction of both plan and elevation. The project is now in a position to proceed with the publication of the Cathedral in the very near future.

The main excavation effort was concentrated on structure 265 and ancillary buildings located at the southern end of Tavern Street. Here a large mudbrick building was found in 1990, with preserved floors and crypts. To the south, against the girdle wall, a further, more fragmentary

building was investigated. Between the two was a domestic shrine, which contained many ritual objects and was successively rebuilt and refurbished. These buildings were shown to date to the very end of the Meroitic period, with occupation spanning the X-group. Indeed, study of the ceramics from the series of sealed crypts has already indicated that these cultural divisions, on the basis of pottery, are inappropriate at Qasr Ibrim. These deposits have continued to yield important finds of late Antique metalwork, while sieving has produced a series of late Roman coins from stratified levels. The study of material from this excavation will enable revision of the chronology and culture of this most difficult period. Underlying these buildings, traces of yet earlier structures were exposed and finds obtained from disturbed levels. These included fragments of a Meroitic building with painted plaster decoration, a mudbrick building retaining a stone fill and mortared floor levels with regularly placed cists. These may be Roman in date. Finds include a piece of scale armour and a letter in Greek and Demotic, as well as other Demotic fragments, some written in red ink.

As in previous seasons, work at Ibrim continued to produce an exceptional range of finds. A total of 81 objects were registered, rather fewer than last season, as floor levels rather than room fills were under investigation, while in some areas penetrated water had damaged deposits. Objects included decorated leather, shoes and sandals, bronze basins and a founder's cache of bronze scraps, as well as many wooden domestic items. Textiles and basketry fragments were also of importance, but perhaps the spectacular find was that of a complete donkey saddle.

*Saqqara, New Kingdom necropolis.* The recording of the reliefs in the substructure of the tomb of Maya was completed, and most of the material for a publication is now to hand. Work was concentrated on Room H, which served as an anteroom leading to Rooms K and O, the principal burial chambers. Many small fragments were replaced on the walls of the latter, particularly in the Osiris text and the Geb scene in Room K. In 1991 the loose blocks from K and O were reassembled (in the site studio) into complete scenes. In 1992 the line-drawings of these were checked, and corrections made where necessary. An additional photographic record in colour and black-and-white was made of details in the decorated substructure rooms. More photographs of the architecture of the superstructure and general site work were taken, as well as of hieratic docketts and a selection of pottery. Once the epigraphic recording and photography were completed, the second level of the substructure of Maya's tomb was made safe and protected, as an interim measure, by the insertion of substantial timbers to support the ceilings and walls of the chambers. Access to the reliefs remaining *in situ* is still possible.

Work began on the 150 crates of plain-ware pottery recovered from a deposit east of the south wing of the pylon of the tomb of Maya in a previous season. A selection of funnel-neck jars, 'beer-jars', and plates was reconstructed, and many hundreds of rim and base fragments were recorded. The main types present are vessels for the presentation of food and drink, and these pots were probably used during the funeral ceremonies or in the cult rituals. Perhaps among the large, red funnel-neck jars reconstructed this year are some of the very pots smashed during the ritual 'Breaking of the Pots' conducted at Maya's funeral. Additional work was carried out on marl clay vessels from the underground chambers of the tomb of Maya. For the first time, flasks which contained *nḥḥ*- and *bꜥk*-oil were reconstructed. The corrosive nature of the decomposed oil is evident from the exceeding thinness of the sherds: the walls of the vessels have been literally eaten away. Dr van Dijk completed his study of the hieratic docketts and it is hoped to publish these with other hieratic material in a separate monograph.

Study of bone concentrations in subsidiary shafts vi, vii and ix in the tomb of Maya, ranging in date from Ramesside times to the early Ptolemaic period, revealed a number of interesting anomalies and pathological conditions. All the preserved bones were subjected to anthropometric and descriptive analysis. The results can usefully be compared with other dated ancient Egyptian population samples. Professor Schneider continued his work on Vol. 2 of *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, which nears completion.

*Amarna.* Work at the Small Aten Temple began by completing the study of the inner rooms of the north side buildings attached to the front of the Sanctuary. The plan of the mud-brick door reveals was recovered and more of the earlier floor level was found. The sweeping of the gypsum

foundations in the trench to the north of the inner rooms uncovered block-marks from lost walls not seen previously, bearing clear impressions of the sacking used to keep the gypsum wet prior to block laying. The season's main research was concentrated on the remains of the Sanctuary itself, both the large area of gypsum concrete foundations where the stone building had originally stood, and the mud-floored area in front which separated it from the third (innermost) pylon entrance.

As work progressed, serious errors in the published plan were uncovered, sufficient to modify considerably our picture of the original appearance of the building. Two revisions are particularly noteworthy. The front part of the Sanctuary contains two large well-preserved areas of gypsum with block-marks which the original excavators seem to have considered to be the foundations for a large altar situated in the front court. Their newly determined position, however, sets them much further back. They now line up with two foundation setting-out bricks which lie inside the thick return wall of the northern L-shaped wing to the rear of the north side buildings. Together, this evidence is consistent with foundations for a major stone front wall or even pylon across the Sanctuary, rather than with a large central altar. The second major alteration to the established plan concerns the curious staggered entrance walls behind the front portico. These are unlikely to have existed in this configuration. The study of the gypsum floor of the forecourt has also revealed clear areas in front of the Sanctuary which would provide suitable locations for the bases of the colossal columns of which pieces were found in 1931. A tentative new reconstruction of the front of the Sanctuary, with colonnade of colossal columns in front of a major pylon or wall, has consequently been sketched out.

Excavation of the north side of the terrace in front of the Sanctuary uncovered a build-up of mud and lime floors, and we picked up traces of the mud-brick ramp which led up to the Sanctuary forecourt gate. The stumps of timber scaffolding poles were still present in some post holes, but the most striking feature was a large and deep circular tree pit, perhaps from the first phase which was later floored over. The pit, the mud fill of which had been carefully layered, had contained a tree growing within the neck of a blue-painted pottery jar. The stump and roots of the tree were well preserved. Around the pit faint traces of brickwork were visible in the eroded floor, and these may well be remnants of the first-phase building encountered elsewhere in the temple.

Architectural conservation also focused on the Sanctuary. The north side buildings of mud brick were capped and consolidated. The isolated (and very vulnerable) patches of gypsum block-marks in the middle of the Sanctuary were protected by building low walls around them and by a partial covering of white sand. A few of the column fragments studied over the last two years were this year protected by installing them in a restored one-third column and base. Each piece is packed with foam and plastic, leaving the face visible but elevated above the destructive sand erosion at ground level. Damaged fragments have had some restoration with lime mortar. It is hoped to continue this with a second but full-height column. The column bases are set at the original Sanctuary floor level, so providing a clearer indication of the nature of the original building.

The removal of the old Pendlebury dumps was continued with the aid of wheelbarrows and the conveyor belt. A great volume of material was removed (and sieved) from around the Sanctuary. Numerous sandstone fragments were found, mostly from the colossal columns, together with a few pieces of fine limestone statuary and granite stele.

Outside the Sanctuary court the only work carried out was the clearance and planning of the gateway in the north wall of the middle court, together with a broad strip of ground running north and linking with the south wall of the King's House, which is here pierced by a corresponding gateway. The latter was flanked by thickened portions of wall which could have been small pylons, matching the pair flanking the north entrance to the Kings' House.

*The North Palace.* As a further step towards bringing a detailed report to publication a start was made in September 1990 on a fresh plan of the building. The part then studied was the north-east court, containing a sunken garden and the 'Green Room'. This year two further parts have been planned and certain of their elements examined in more detail. One part is the cattle building, which was found in the original excavation to be fitted with carved limestone feeding-troughs. These surrounded the walls not only of the innermost room, but also of the central room as well.

The second area of detailed study was the residence building which runs across the rear of the inner court. A new outline plan was made, and constructional details noted and drawn. A significant discovery was that the gypsum concrete foundations in front of the central entrance to the main hall of the residence had been only partially cleared in 1924-5. On uncovering it fully it was found to be in fairly good condition and a fresh detail plan was made of the entire feature. From this it is possible to identify a number of individual walls and other elements which had originally stood on these foundations. Together they formed a veranda, probably with small side platforms, which was generally at a higher level than the floor of the main hall behind. The whole gypsum area was backfilled once it had been planned.

Towards the end of the season a number of aerial photographs of the North Palace were taken by Mr Owen using a remote-controlled camera mounted on a small hot-air balloon (see below).

*Building R42.9.* In connection with the research project on ancient cereal processing at Amarna some attention was paid to area D of building R42.9 in the Central City, in the vicinity of which the pottery survey had earlier identified a concentration of beer jars and bread moulds. Area D had contained other elements to suggest that cereal processing and at least baking had been carried out, namely a set of granaries, numerous ovens, a hall of what could have been limestone mortars, and four rooms containing what Pendlebury described as bread-drying racks. The parts containing the last two elements were re-cleared and studied with a view to reducing the ambiguities present in Pendlebury's account.

*Magnetometer survey.* Ian Mathieson was able to provide ten days of magnetometer survey. This was devoted to a search for further kilns, in continuation of the research initiated in 1987. Four sites were surveyed. The first was Q48.4, of which a small part was excavated in 1987 and published in *Amarna Reports V*. The whole of the remainder of the site was covered by a magnetometer grid, and the contour plan of the eastern end of the site was completed (by Hans Barnard). By the end a number of what are likely to be small ovens had been identified and located, but it seems that there are no additional kilns present. A brief survey was then done of the area of M50.14, dug in 1922 and said to contain a glazing kiln. This was rapidly pinpointed. Attention next turned to an area just to the south of the modern water tower. The magnetometer was used to survey a one-metre-interval grid over the area, and within this a linear concentration of very high readings points to the presence of one or more kilns.

During the last week on site the opportunity was taken to make fresh outline plans of the Kom el-Nana bakeries and house P46.33 and to take additional notes, ready for their publication in the next two volumes of *Amarna Reports*. A few days were also spent clearing part of a dump of discarded objects from earlier excavations at Amarna which lies just to the north of the expedition house. Some belong to the early 1920s and the existence of this dump has been known to us for some time. It includes pottery, small finds, and a surprisingly large and varied collection of carved stonework, much of it architectural and a valuable complement to our current study of stonework from the Kom el-Nana shrines and the Small Aten Temple. Some of it derives from Maru-Aten. A start on a preliminary catalogue was made by Ann Cornwell.

*Aerial photography.* For several seasons Mr Owen has been experimenting with systems of aerial photography. This year he has had considerable success with a small hot-air balloon which has reached heights probably in excess of 1,000 feet. Black-and-white photographs have been taken of the North Palace, Small Aten Temple, Records Office and environs, two of the larger estates (southern house of Panehsy and Q44.1), and the expedition house; a roll of colour slides was shot along a path running southwards from the King's House and across the Small Aten Temple.

*Research projects.* Work on the Roman pottery of Kom el-Nana was continued by Jane Faiers. An analysis of material studied during the two seasons 1990 and 1991 showed close comparability, the assemblage being dominated by local wares and Egyptian-made brown amphorae (42% wt/49% sherd count; 50% wt/44% sherd count respectively). African Red Slip wares and Egyptian 'A' fine wares (Aswan) provided a date of AD 500-plus, although a rapid sorting of the remaining large sherd collection gave a date (from African Red Slip wares) slightly earlier, in one case AD



475-550. A corpus of 300 drawings has now been made. More was also done to pinpoint Roman sites in the area around Amarna, with a view to placing Kom el-Nana within a late Roman pattern of settlement and activity. The sites visited this season included the watch tower in the North Suburb (dug by Pendlebury), two sites on the cliff top and in the cliff side overlooking the Great Wadi, two cemeteries near el-Hawata, and several sites on the cliffs above el-Arbain (south of el-Hawata), some of which were recorded for the first time. The dates for the above sites accord with the date for Kom el-Nana of AD 475 plus, except for a slightly earlier date given by African Red Slip wares on site S1 of AD 400-450 (Hayes Form 67, no 5, and Hayes F 82B type AD 460-500 plus).

In order to determine the areas where cereal processing took place throughout the ancient city, a quernstone survey was undertaken by Delwen Samuel. The entire excavated portions of Amarna were first methodically examined, a note was made of all complete or fragmented quernstones, mortars, and related objects visible on the surface, and their positions were marked on survey sheets. By the end of the survey a total of over 730 items had been found. Using the expedition vehicle and trailer every one was then collected, marked, and recorded ready for storage in the expedition magazine. In their different sizes, shapes, details of wear patterns, and kinds of stone they constitute a major collection for several lines of future research, including that of geological sourcing. One important immediate result has been the identification of the hitherto unrecognized grinders for the Great Aten Temple, which must have supplied the known bakeries. Other archaeobotanical work carried out included experiments on ancient Egyptian cereal processing techniques using modern barley, and the setting up of a large flotation machine. This will be able to isolate plant remains from sampled archaeological deposits on a large scale.

Following the completion of the recording of the South Shrine material from Kom el-Nana last season, work this season (Margaret Serpico and Gavin Kitchingham) concentrated on the drawing of relief fragments and the recording of the North Shrine. This material represents about half of the 4,000 fragments originally excavated in 1989. Although very little is known of the total ground plan of this building (due to the limited excavation so far carried out), component architectural elements can be identified from fragments of cornices, mouldings, and numerous fragments of sandstone and limestone columns, some with a projected diameter of about two metres. This information will be added to the database previously created for the South Shrine. It will then be possible to compare the elements from these buildings, both with each other, and, one hopes, with other buildings at Amarna. The architectural pieces newly recovered from the old dump beside the expedition house are useful additions to the available corpus of comparative material.

The recording of resins and residues found adhering to pottery vessels and loose on the site was continued by Margaret Serpico. The over-350 samples found during excavations form the largest collection of such material from ancient Egypt to be studied in detail. The evidence confirms the suspected widespread use of resin as incense at Amarna, and suggests that large quantities must have been readily available. Analysis of museum samples from earlier excavations at the site, using infrared spectroscopy and gas chromatography/mass spectrometry is providing information which will lead to the identification of the resins.

Paul Nicholson continued his programme of thin sectioning of pottery, which is now done at the expedition house. The focus this year was on silt wares. The main experimental kiln was also fired, its height having first been raised to 2 m, so that it resembles the taller pottery kilns seen in some ancient representations. Filled with a load of unfired vessels bought from a local potter, and fitted with thermocouples and pyrometer, it was successfully fired with temperature monitoring. A firing at the local potter's (in Deir Mawas) was filmed by Willeke Wendrich. Running parallel with Dr Nicholson's research, Catherine Powell continued her experimental work with local clays and replica Eighteenth Dynasty wheel, searching for the clay mixtures and tempers which match ancient fabrics, and for the precise throwing technology used. Her season's output has been successfully fired in a small kiln built for the purpose. Some of these vessels have also been thin-sectioned for comparative purposes.

The season also saw progress on the study and drawing of pottery, basketry, and small finds from the Workmen's Village and from Kom el-Nana by Pamela Rose, Willeke Wendrich, and Andrew Boyce.

The discovery of new material and its analysis from different points of view are essential to any academic discipline, and both were in evidence at a colloquium held at the British Museum on 9 July 1992. Papers under the rubric 'Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant' included contributions from Professor Manfred Bietak on the startling discoveries of Minoan wall paintings at Tell el-Dab'a, and on the abundance of the site's Palestinian connections, as well as responses from distinguished Aegean and Levantine specialists. Excellent colour illustrations of some of the Minoan paintings are published, together with a wealth of other interesting material, in the second number of the Society's popular bulletin, *Egyptian Archaeology*, which appeared in the same month. The same volume announces an exhibition at the British Museum from 19 November 1992 to 31 May 1993, to commemorate the work of Howard Carter *before* the discovery with which his name is so closely associated, that of Tutankhamun's tomb.

It is a pleasure to record that Dr Penelope Wilson, whose Ph.D. topic was a lexicographical study of the Edfu temple texts, and who has worked for the Society at Qasr Ibrim, has joined the Department of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum as Assistant Keeper. The appointment of a second Egyptologist to the museum's staff is a proper recognition of the importance of its Egyptian holdings, and should facilitate publication of the collection.

Among a number of deaths to be lamented is that of Ricardo Caminos, sometime Professor at Brown University, on 25 May 1992, at the age of 76. His great interest in papyri is illustrated by numerous publications from *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (1954) to *A Tale of Woe* (1977). Professor Caminos was also renowned for his epigraphic skills, developed as a member of the Chicago House team and honed, from 1955 onwards, on Society projects at sites such as Gebel Silsila, Buhen, Qasr Ibrim and Semna and Kumma. Publications of exemplary care resulted from this work, and more are imminent. A fuller obituary will appear in next year's *JEA*. Another long-standing member of the Society, Dr Veronica Seton-Williams, who served on the Committee from 1969–84 and was director of the Society's excavations at Tell el-Farain/Buto from 1964–8, died only a few days later on 29 May 1992, at the age of 82. Both will be sadly missed.

A loss to papyrology has been the early death of John Shelton on 16 March 1992. For some years Professor at Trier, he helped the Society by his knowledge of economic minutiae and his familiarity with cursive hands in numerous contributions to *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, some of which are still to be published, and in *Tebtunis Papyri*, iv (1976). He was also one of the world's most able editors of Greek ostraka, and published *Greek Ostraka in the Ashmolean Museum* (1988).

The subject has also suffered by the demise of several foreign colleagues. A. M. Bakir, formerly Professor of Egyptian Philology at Cairo University and a member of the Society since 1968, died on 24 January 1992, aged 83. Professor Bakir will be remembered as the author of *Slavery in Ancient Egypt* (1952) and *The Cairo Calendar* (1966), as well as for a number of introductory works on Egyptian grammar with a distinctively Semitic approach. The noted Belgian scholar, Josef Vergote, author of important work on the phonetics of ancient Egyptian, much of it enshrined in *Grammaire copte* (1973), died on 8 January 1992.

Saddest, because least expected, was the death at only 50 in a traffic accident on 12 November 1991 of Dr Martha Bell, a specialist in the New Kingdom and especially Egypt's relations with Mycenae. Many will remember with affection the warmth and

vivacity with which she and her husband, Professor Lanny Bell, made Chicago House in Luxor such a welcoming place for so many years.

With the present volume (his seventh), this editor departs, and inevitably has debts to acknowledge. Those which cannot pass unmentioned are to Professor John Baines, who has supplied hieroglyphs and Coptic from Oxford's Lasercomp, and much judicious advice besides; to Mr Jim Vickers and his staff at Unicus Graphics and Mr Neville Laws of Whitstable Litho, who have provided constant support on the printing side; and to Dr Lisa Leahy who has generously taken on many of the more tedious tasks of editing. The 1993 volume of the *Journal* is already in preparation, in the very capable hands of Dr Helen Whitehouse (Editor-in-Chief) and Dr Lisa Leahy and Dr Richard Parkinson (Assistant Editors).

# MEMPHIS, 1991

By LISA GIDDY *and* DAVID JEFFREYS

The Survey of Memphis continued in 1991 with three main objectives: (1) to explore the buried stratigraphy beyond the ruin field by means of drill cores and resistivity meter survey; (2) to study the material excavated from six seasons of excavation on Kom Rabi'a; (3) to complete the first stage of the Epigraphic Survey by copying the large Middle-Kingdom inscribed block found re-used as a support beneath the granite statue of Ramesses II at the west gate of the Ptah enclosure. As in previous seasons, work was also carried out at Memphis in collaboration with inspectors of the EAO, notably on Kom Qal'a and Kom Rabi'a, as well as with other colleagues at Saqqara.

THE Society's Survey of Memphis team worked from the beginning of October to mid-December, staff members being Norbert Böer (photographer), Ingrid Blom-Böer (ceramicist), Janine Bourriau (Director, Pottery Group), Dr Lorelei Corcoran (Memphis State University representative), Kathryn Eriksson (ceramicist and draughtsman), Dr Barbara Ghaleb (zooarchaeologist), Dr Lisa Giddy (Deputy Director), Jean-François Gout (photographer), David Jeffreys (Field Director), Ian Mathieson (geophysicist), Dr Jaromir Malek (Director, Epigraphic Survey), Mary Ann Murray (archaeobotanist), Dr Paul Nicholson (ceramicist), Dr Stephen Quirke (epigraphist), William Schenck (draughtsman), Sally Swain (ceramicist), Ana Tavares (archaeologist), and Sylvie Weens (registrar). Thanks go, as always, to the officers of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, particularly Chairman Dr Mohammed Ibrahim Bakr, Dr Ali Hassan, Dr Ali el-Khouli, Mr Ahmed Moussa and Mme Samia. At Giza Dr Zahi Hawass, Director of Antiquities for Giza, Saqqara and Mit Rahina, was extremely helpful to the Survey in every way, as were Mr Yihya Aid at Saqqara, and Mr Rida Ali Mohammed and Mr Ahmed Farghali Qandil at Mit Rahina. The EAO was again represented on site by Mr Adel Mahmud, to whom we are particularly grateful for his enthusiastic help and support.

As in recent years, the Society's field projects have been assisted by our friends and supporters in Egypt, particularly Rosalind and William Haddon, Sir James Adams and Lady Adams, the staff of the British Council (especially Dr David Burton, Deputy Representative, and Hayam Mazen, Assistant Administrative Officer, the Cairo-based electrical firm of Keen and Associates, Stan and Paula Krekler, the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire, Mounira (Director Dr Nicolas Grimal, for allowing the Institute's photographer M Jean-François Gout to work with us, and Director of Studies Dr Christian Décobert), and Dr Fred Leemhuis, Director of the Dutch Institute, Zamalek. Outside Egypt the Survey has also benefited greatly from financial and other help from Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee, Mr P. V. Mayes of Wong and Mayes (Chartered Accountants, Sydney), and the Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation, University of Sydney.

## Fieldwork

There was no formal excavation at Memphis this season, but the decision to have a study season has enabled us to proceed with the ground-based sensing work begun in 1982, which is a vital part of the continuing long-term aims of the Survey.

*Drill cores* (David Jeffreys, Lisa Giddy, Ana Tavares). Nineteen cores were sunk this season, bringing the total to seventy (figs. 1, 2). The area sampled lies between the *gizr* (the raised road to the Saqqara Antiquities Area) and Abusir town, immediately east of the desert escarpment and west of three pilot cores made in 1990.<sup>1</sup>

The underlying black clay (*ibliz*) was recorded at 16 m+ and even as high as 18 m+ (core 75) quite close to the cliff face, and was overlain in almost all cores by deep deposits of coarse windblown driftsand, over which the modern alluvium has now spread westwards once more as the valley floor has risen. The latest sherds in the clay are late Old-Kingdom or (at latest) early Middle-Kingdom, suggesting that the encroaching desert sands began to engulf this western part of the Old-Kingdom settlement during the First Intermediate Period. Old-Kingdom (and Early-Dynastic?) occupation levels lie near the top of the black clay and over a shelf in the cliff face at 3306N (core 78), which is at a comparable level. Comparisons with the results of other current fieldwork at Giza and Lisht<sup>2</sup> suggest that these findings are part of a general pattern of increasing sand deposition at this time (perhaps due to progressive denudation and erosion of the savannah lands of what is now the eastern Sahara), and provide one possible explanation for the shift in the nucleus of settlement to the south and east, towards the present surviving ruin field at Mit Rahina. This massive dune reached out at least half a kilometre from the escarpment (fig. 3), and was probably still a prominent feature in the medieval period, since the 'drain of sand', *masraf al raml*, and the 'canal of sand', *tir'it/khalig al raml*, (ancestors of the Bahr Libeini waterway?) skirt the very edge of the sand belt.<sup>3</sup> In the Middle Kingdom, with more intrusion into the Nile valley by east-bank gravel fans, the valley floor may well have been no more than 3–4 km wide. By and large the sand is archaeologically sterile, except (significantly) in front of the Hellenistic enclosures of the Anubieion and Bubastieion, where traces of very ephemeral activity were recorded roughly halfway down in the sand. Of particular interest is core 75, where the underlying clay was recorded at its highest level so far (18.4 m SL), which is well above the mean groundwater level in this area.

*Resistivity meter survey* (Ian Mathieson, Ana Tavares). This year the silts buried beneath the cultivated area between the Shubramant Canal and the North Saqqara escarpment were explored in an attempt to delineate any canal or waterway existing in pharaonic times. Several cores had already been taken from this area (see above), and resistivity lines were placed as close as possible to these, so that some correlation could be made.

Six main profiles, MEM9101–6 (fig. 2), consisted of 144 overlapping resistivity lines each containing 70 readings at 2 m intervals of depth down to 8 m. Four profiles lay east–west, from the west bank of the Shubramant Canal to the Saqqara escarpment (overlapping with the east side of the First-Dynasty cemetery in order to reach the deepest buried alluvial deposits). The fifth and sixth profiles, which form one continuous line, were in a north–south direction near the present desert edge and along the assumed line of the valley edge in Early-Dynastic times.

<sup>1</sup> JEA 77 (1991), 5–6.

<sup>2</sup> Conversations with Dr M. Lehner and Dr D. Arnold. These findings also appear consistent with those of K. Butzer in Middle Egypt, where dunes occur from approximately the point of departure from the Nile of the Bahr Yusuf (MDAIK 17 (1961), 62–4, 65 Abb. 1; B. Mortensen, *Ägypten und Levante* 2 (1991), 19).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JEA 76, 3 fig. 2, 12; 77 (1991), 5–6.

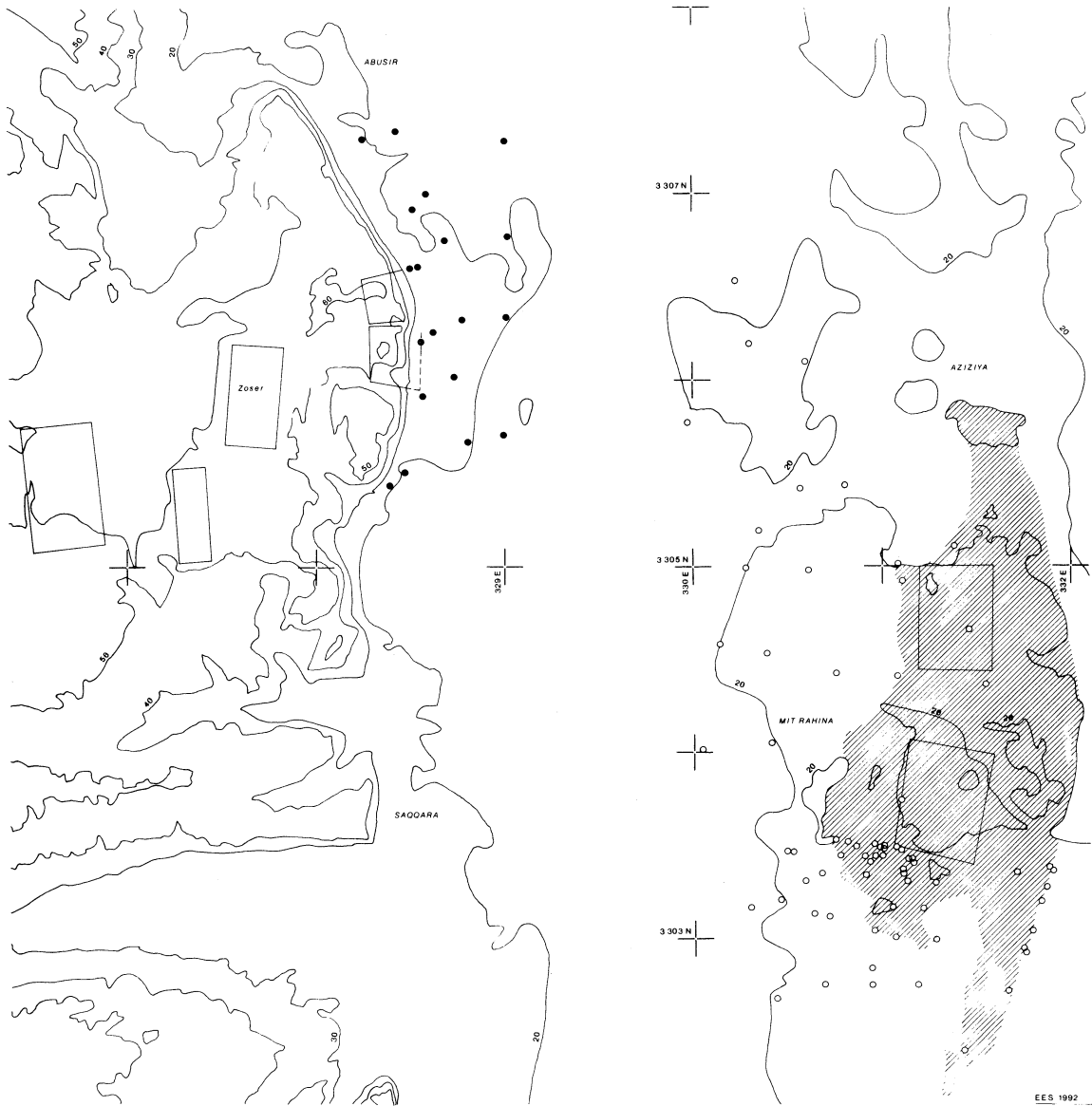


FIG. 1. The Memphis region with earlier core sites (open circles) and 1991 core sites (filled circles). Grid intersects at 1 km intervals; contours at 10 m vertical intervals.

EES 1992

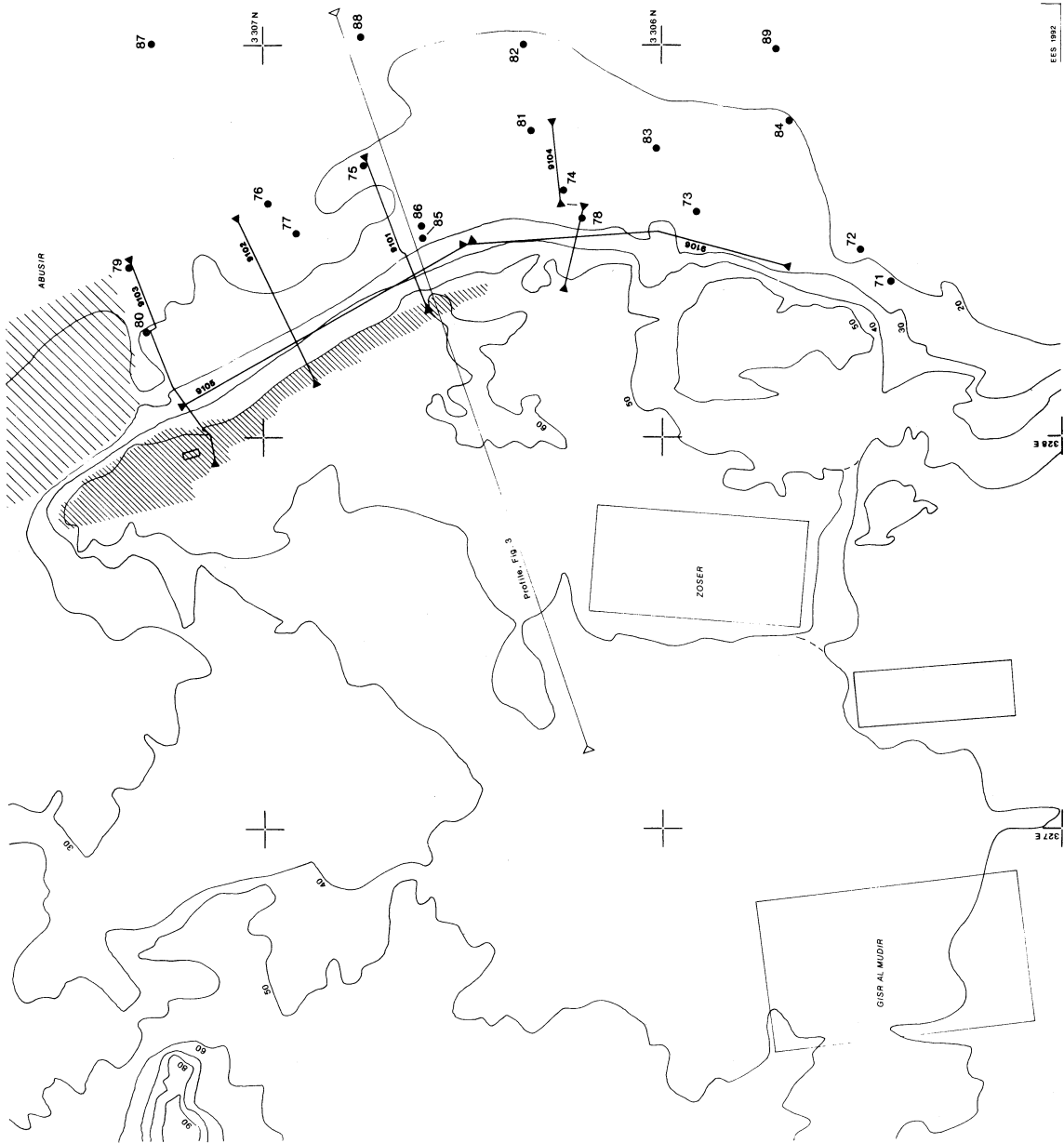


FIG. 2. The 1991 survey area with core sites and resistivity lines.

MEM9101 ran from the Shubramant Canal, following the line of a local footpath. For 215 m the data show various layers of Nile silts of different composition, samples of which appeared in core 75. From 280 m there are signs of mudbrick (occupation?) layers, as well as extensive sand cover at all depths which continues to 350 m. MEM9102 (fig. 4) starts at the west side of tomb 3504, whose brick structure shows at all depths for a distance of 40 m, after which the profile enters the sand covering the cliff face. At 85 m readings typical of mudbrick structures in deep sand begin at all depths, and these continue to 175 m, where there are indications of a deep stone structure. From 190 m there are signs of material very different from the usual silts, and from surface indications this could be ancient cultivation or occupation. MEM9103 starts 10 m east of core 79 and shows variable silts to a distance of 160 m, where the line moves 20 m north to cross a canal near core 80. Here the resistivity values rise markedly to 250 m, perhaps due to cultivation by lift irrigation (since the ground level also rises here) or to occupation on the former desert edge. At 275 m the profile begins to climb the escarpment, and here there are strong brick/sand readings at the edge of a large circular crater (the medieval brick quarry for Abusir town) where the bedrock is close to the surface. MEM9104 followed a small gully towards the east gate of the Bubastieion discovered by the EAO in 1987. From 30 m to 50 m there are traces of mudbrick at 2 m and 4 m over bedrock covered by sand. From 85 m to 200 m there are indications of mudbrick and sand cover at all depths, then the line passes the east gate and core 78 before moving 60 m north at 225 m to follow a modern boundary wall, passing core 74 at 370 m. Here the subsurface consists of standard silt formations to the end of the line at 450 m, with a noticeable distortion (very low resistivity) at 337 m, where a nearby waterwheel has caused a locally high water table. MEM9105 starts 7 m north of the 637 m point at 9103 on the edge of the Abusir brick quarry at the foot of the escarpment, and shows mudbrick traces and deep sand cover at all depths to a distance of 80 m, then sand with rock near the surface at 105 m, then more brick structures irregularly distributed, which could be associated with the Early-Dynastic necropolis. From 500 m to the end of the line at 840 m there is deep sand cover over bedrock, with occasional indications of structures at 620 m, 720 m, and 800 m. MEM9106 is an extension of 9105, but on a different bearing, along the line of old electricity poles running from the ticket office to the EAO Inspectorate. At 10 m there are indications of a buried feature crossing the line at 2 and 4 m depths, and from 70 to 220 m mudbrick and sand readings are found at all depths to 8 m. Rock readings are found near the surface at 125 m (near the Sign Yusuf), and any of the buried structures between 150 m and 250 m could be connected with causeways to pyramids on the North Saqqara plateau. From 220 to 360 m there is further deep sand with occasional features crossing the line at 240 m, 260 m, 300 m and 340 m. From 360 m to the end of the line at 829 m the data suggest that the profile runs along the original edge of the cultivation, with various old ponded silts and the remains of occupation areas. Structural indications are found at 440 m, 470 m and 520 m, and at 740 m the structure is in line with the projected causeway of the Userkaf pyramid,<sup>4</sup> although the foundations of the Bubastieion south wall also lie in this area.

Cores 74-6, 78-81 and 86 are all within the resistivity survey area and by comparing the results we can now give the following approximate ohm-m values to the sands, silts

<sup>4</sup> V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi, *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite*, VII, text (Rapallo, 1970), 40-2.



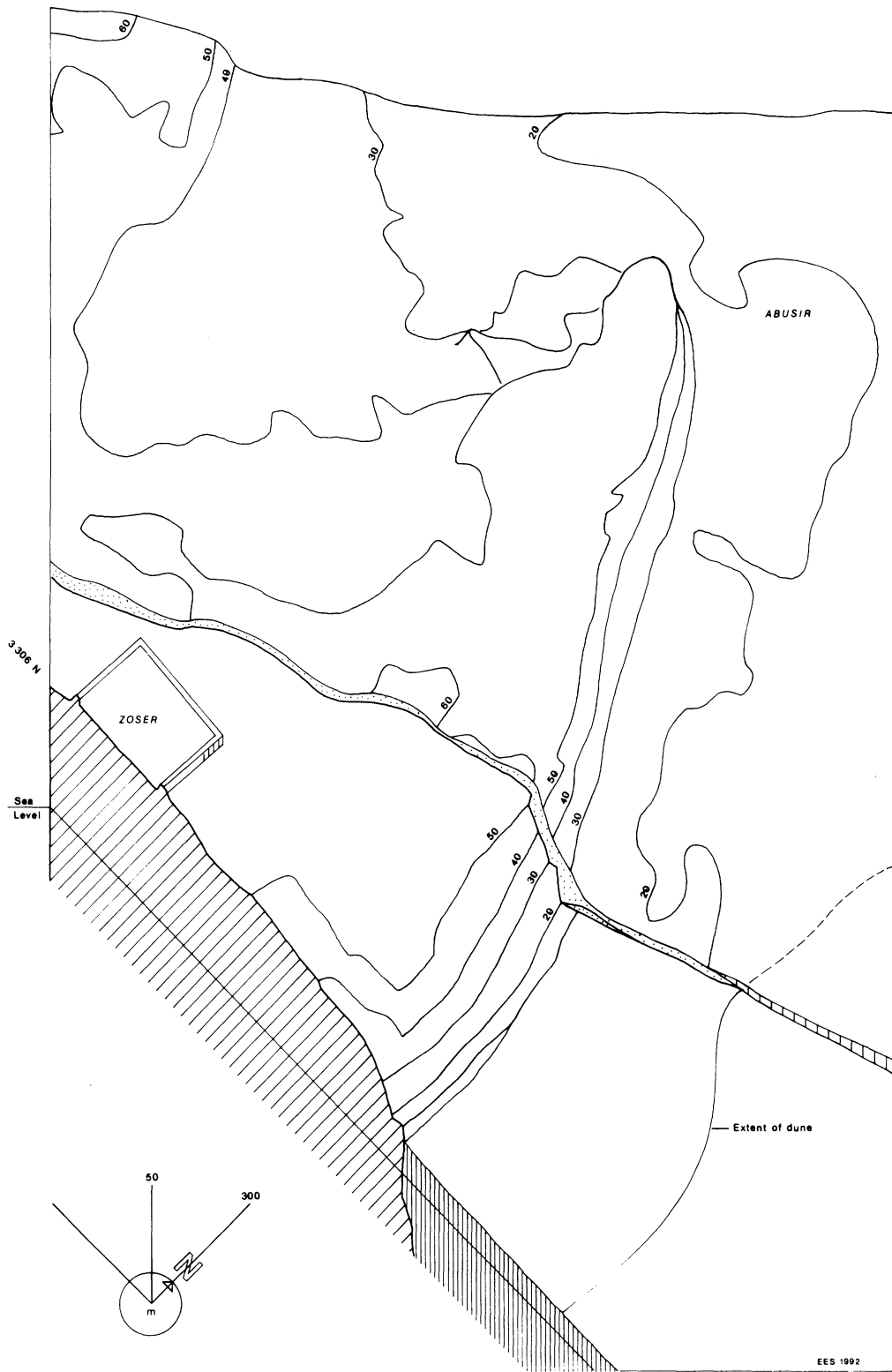


FIG. 3. Axonometric view looking NW of North Saqqara ruin field, showing extent of sand dune. Contours/form lines at 10 m vertical intervals.

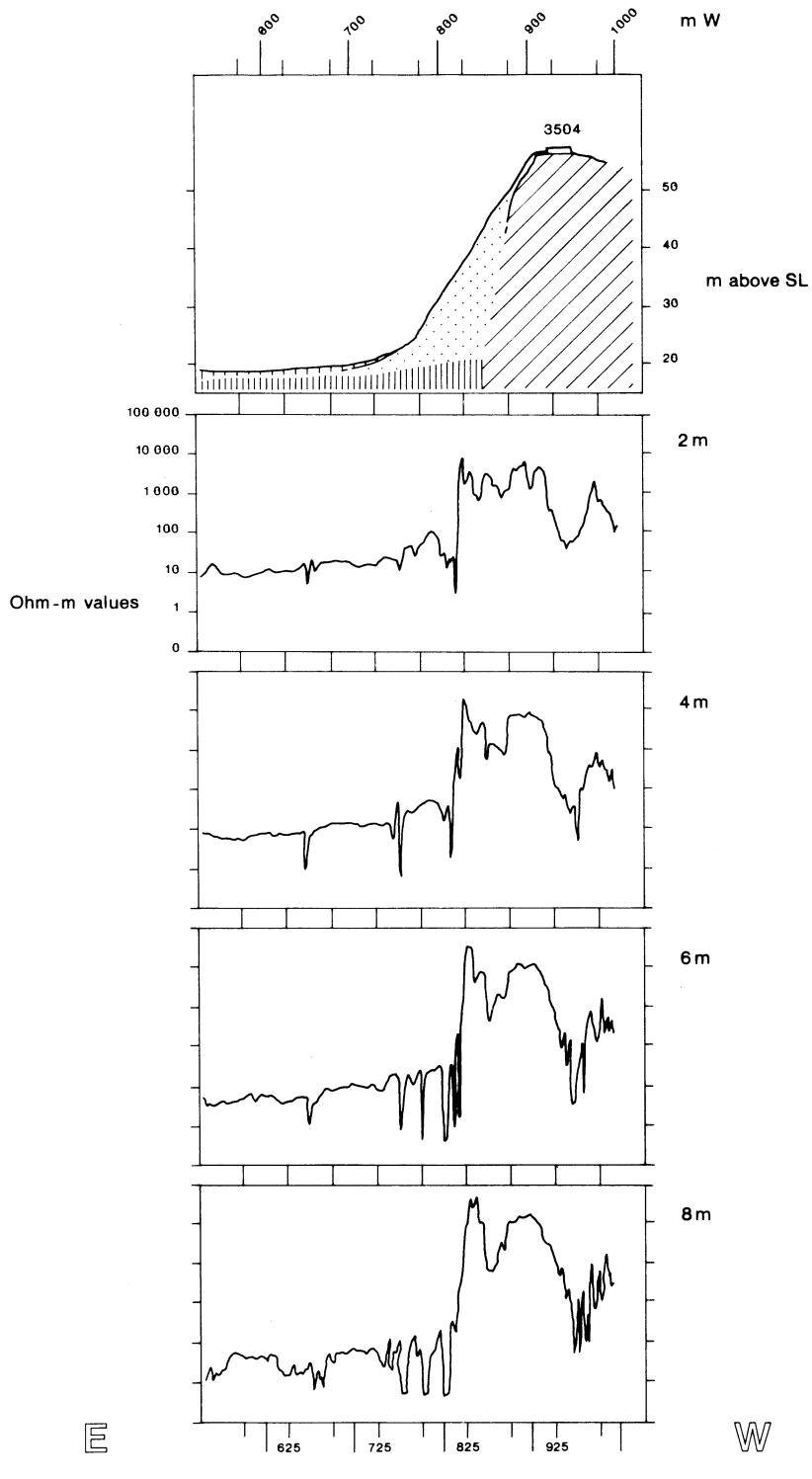


FIG. 4. Sequential view of resistivity line g102.

and clays recorded: dry sandy silts 25.0; wet sandy silts 1.0–2.0; clays 8.0; dry silty clays 8.0–12.0; wet silty clays 0.5–1.5. The local water table, which depends on the permeability of the buried soils and the elevation of ground level, seems to vary between 2 and 4 m depth. A close study of the ohm-m values reveals fluctuations which could be caused by the salt content of the waterlogged soils giving greater conductivity, e.g. in areas where old ponded silts tend to hold the water for longer periods: on recently dried surfaces close to working wells white salt flakes can be seen on the plough ridges.

Figure 5 is an attempt to interpret the combined resistivity and core data. At 8 m depth all profiles are affected by groundwater but differences in soil composition can still be seen in the higher values to the north and north-east, suggesting that the old river (or other waterway) here moved from west to east, leaving ponded zones in some areas. At 6 m depth the water table still exerts a considerable effect on readings, with the ponding still showing on 9104 and 9105. At 9102: 200–250 m an area of silt giving much higher values suggests an old occupation layer subsequently cultivated, but the general trend still suggests an old waterfront in existence for a long period before the river moved rapidly to the east. From 4 to 2 m we start to see the values for material not affected by groundwater or the retained salts: again the sweep to the north-east is evident, with alternate layers of sand and clay perhaps showing where material of differing densities was deposited by moving water and/or wind as the river changed direction. At 2 m the shift appears to have been more rapid, with a suggestion of a new ponded zone in the extreme north-west of the survey area which could be the start of the recent Abusir lake (*Birket Mukhtar Pasha*).

The breadth of the band of mudbrick and sand readings appears constant throughout the four east–west profiles, with 9102–4 showing more brick readings than 9101. Since 9105 also shows fewer indications of structures where it crosses 9101, it seems that the main area of occupation is most likely to have been to the north. The values for deep sand (2,000–4,000) are interspersed with high readings (5,000–30,000) from brick areas, and at 9102:170 m there is a definite stone-built structure where one might expect a quay or some other waterside feature. On 9103 there are strong indications of some buried feature, and there are indeed brick traces on the surface. Bedrock values (75–200) are consistent with accepted values for bedrock found all over the Saqqara plateau and confirm the findings of Dolphin, who pointed out the low electrical resistance of the bedrock here.<sup>5</sup>

Further cores located at or near the resistivity lines would give a better calibration of the ohm-meter values, and more accurate and reliable mapping of the movement of the river in ancient times would need profiles at approximately 100 m intervals over the whole area between the Shubramant Canal and the escarpment, as well as along the full length of the line between the EAO ticket office and the position of the old Abusir lake, where resistivity survey is currently being undertaken by the National Museums of Scotland.

### Post-excavation work

*Small finds* (Lisa Giddy). Over 1,000 small finds from the 1984 and 1985 seasons of excavation at Kom Rabi'a not registered with the EAO were transferred temporarily

<sup>5</sup> A. H. Moussa and L. T. Dolphin, *Applications of Modern Sensing Techniques to Egyptology* (Menlo Park, 1977).

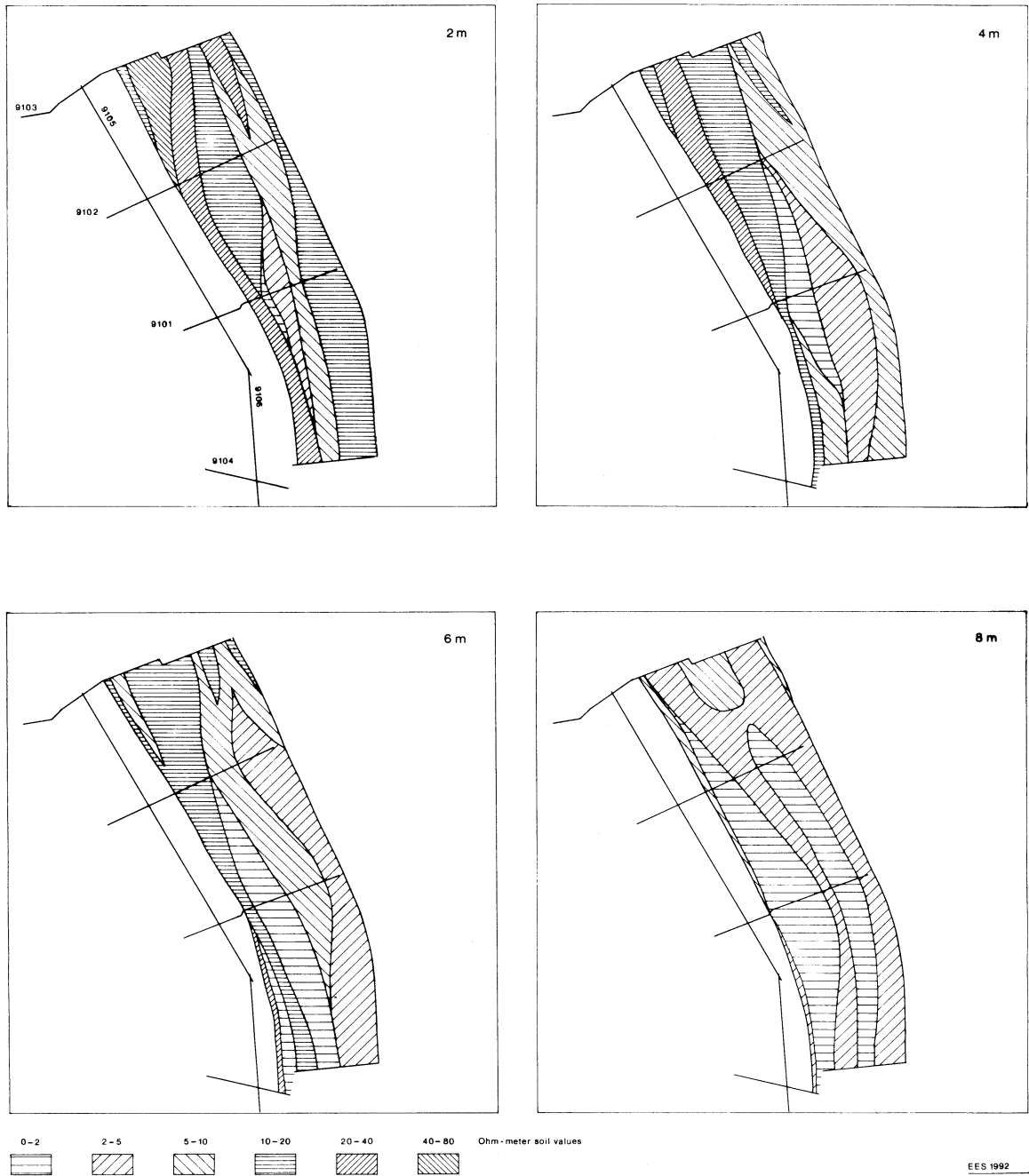


FIG. 5. Interpretation (plan) of resistivity survey results along North Saqqara escarpment.

from the Society's magazine at Mit Rahina in order to complete final recording for publication. The objects, which were all from New-Kingdom contexts, were re-grouped and treated by object class; all original field descriptions and measurements were checked and revised where necessary, and over 300 pieces were redrawn for publication. A selection was also photographed in colour and black and white. Certain classes of object which seem to us to contribute to the dating and understanding of the nature of the site (notably scarab seals and amulets, some types of pottery figurine, and jewellery and fittings) are to be fully published with descriptions and line-drawings, and photographs where appropriate. Other classes (e.g. stone, bone and copper-alloy objects) will for the moment be presented in more summary form, with representative examples only being fully described and illustrated.

*Pottery* (Janine Bourriau). Priority was given to sorting pottery from the Middle-Kingdom contexts excavated at Kom Rabi'a in 1990. Pottery from 70 contexts was sorted and weighed, and diagnostic sherds selected for detailed recording. Once this huge task was finished the cataloguing of the New-Kingdom pottery could be started, and by the end of the season 35 New-Kingdom contexts had been completed, and 300 new shapes for the New-Kingdom corpus of Egyptian pottery had been drawn and selected shapes photographed. Study of New-Kingdom marl clay fabrics, involving some microscope work, was also undertaken. In addition, all of the Cypriot and some of the Mycenaean material from New-Kingdom contexts was catalogued.

*Thin sectioning* (See article by Paul Nicholson and Janine Bourriau, pp. 29-91 below).

*Zooarchaeology* (Barbara Ghaleb). The focus of the zooarchaeological work this year was analysis of the New-Kingdom animal remains from Kom Rabi'a recovered from 51 contexts between 1987 and 1990. The total sample from these is relatively small (the material from earlier seasons is being prepared by Dr Howard Hecker). As previously reported,<sup>6</sup> animals represented include the expected range of domesticates (cow, sheep and goat, pig, dog) and a variety of species of Nile genera of fish, with at least one species of seafish. At least thirteen genera of Nile fish have so far been identified: *Oreochromis* (*Tilapia*), *Lates*, *Barbus*, *Labeo*, *Synodontis*, *Clarias*, *Bagrus*, *Mormymus*, *Hyperopisus*, *Mugil*, *Hydrocyon*, *Alestes*, and *Polypterus*. The marine genus identified, *Sparus*, is today most commonly found in the Mediterranean, although some species inhabit the Red Sea. Different species of bird are also present as well as lizard and rodent remains. Although well preserved, the bone remains are in general very fragmentary, and particular attention is being paid to their condition (degree of fragmentation and surface weathering, presence or absence of exposure to fire, animal gnawing and butchery marks) and to stratigraphic context.

*Archaeobotany* (Mary Anne Murray). Emphasis this year was on the analysis of the 25 New-Kingdom samples recovered during the 1988 and 1990 excavation seasons at Kom Rabi'a. All the analysed material had been preserved by charring and was recovered by flotation. A wide variety of species were identified, including emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), hulled barley (*Hordeum sativum*) and their associated chaff, lentils (*Lens culinaris*), bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia*), vetch (*Vicia* spp.), vetchling (*Lathyrus sativus*), clover (*Trifolium* sp.), medik (*Medicago* sp.), scorpion tail (*Scorpiurus* sp.), lupin (*Lupinus* sp.), *Astragalus* sp., *Trigonella* sp., and other legumes; grape (*Vitis vinifera*), olive (*Olea*

<sup>6</sup> JEA 76 (1990), 15; 77 (1991), 4-5.

*europaea*), two types of fig (*Ficus cf. sycomorus* and *cf. carica*), jujube (*Zizyphus* sp.), *Crataegus* sp., edible sedge tubers (*Cyperus* sp.), sedges (*Scirpus* spp.), rye grass (*Lolium* sp.), canary grass (*Phalaris* sp.), mallow (*Malva* sp.), amaranth (*Amaranthus* sp.), *Beta vulgaris*, cf. *Ammi majus*, *Silene* sp., *Gypsophila* sp., brome grass (*Bromus* sp.), dock (*Rumex* sp.), *Glinus* sp., *Anthemis* sp., and several other species from the families *Graminae*, *Labiatae*, *Compositae*, *Euphorbicae*, cf. *Campanulicaceae* and *Cruciferae*. Most of the assemblage appears to be waste fractions from various crop cleaning residues, which were commonly used as fuel in domestic fires and cooking.

*Epigraphic survey* (See the article by J. Malek and S. Quirke, pp. 13-18 below).

### Other work

In addition to the Society's own work, the Survey, as in the past, has cooperated with the Antiquities Organization and with other colleagues on several surveying jobs:

*Kom Rabi'a*. An excavation near the 'Ramesses Museum' at Mit Rahina, conducted earlier in 1991 by Adel Mahmud, was planned by Mr Mahmud and Dr Giddy and tied to the Survey's site grid. A base map was also produced for two sites excavated in 1989 and 1991 near 'Ezbet Khatib on the SW side of the Kom; one of these contains a poorly preserved circular *laconicon* with remains of several footbaths.

*Kom Qal'a*. Architectural remains exposed in 1991 by EAO trial trenches at two locations, in advance of new magazine construction, were planned. The more northerly of these sites lies beneath the foundations of the old Pennsylvania Museum expedition house ('Ezbet Abu'l-Hol al-sharqiya) and contains domestic buildings just outside the SE corner of the Ptah enclosure-wall; the other site, to the south of a 1970 army trench, contains part of a domestic or religious structure, and the hardcore of what appears to be an east-west roadway running past the north side of the 'southern *birka*' (Hathor enclosure?).

*North Saqqara*. Ana Tavares surveyed sites in the Abusir *wadi* for Ian Mathieson (National Museums of Scotland remote-sensing project), and began the planning and elevation drawing of the New-Kingdom tomb entrances surrounding the tomb of 'Aper-el for Alain-Pierre Zivie (CNRS New-Kingdom necropolis project).

## MEMPHIS, 1991: EPIGRAPHY

By JAROMIR MALEK *and* STEPHEN QUIRKE

A brief account, with facsimile, of the recording of two fragments of an exceptionally important inscription dating to the reign of Amenemhet II.

THE epigraphic section of the Egypt Exploration Society's expedition to Memphis continued its work in the large temple of Ramesses II<sup>1</sup> by recording two fragments of a Middle-Kingdom monument,<sup>2</sup> probably parts of an inscribed temple wall rather than a stela. Neither piece represents a new discovery. Photographs of the larger fragment and a hand-copy of the text made from these photographs (all, apparently, based on the same negative) were published in a preliminary way by Sami Farag in *RdE* 32 (1980), 75-82, pls. 3-5, and its contents were commented on by G. Posener in *JSSSEA* 12 (1982), 7-8. A study entitled 'Die historische Inschrift Amenemhets II. von Memphis' has been announced by H. Altenmüller *et al.* in *Informationsblatt der deutschsprachigen Ägyptologie* 39.1 (Jan. 1990), 18 [v] and 41.1 (Jan. 1991), 17 [iv]. A facsimile copy of the smaller fragment,<sup>3</sup> by J. H. Walker, was included in Petrie's *Memphis*, 1, 6-7, 17-18, pl. v. The inscription relates events at the court of Amenemhet II, apparently in a chronological order, and is not specifically Memphite in its contents. Nevertheless, the Middle-Kingdom temple of Ptah at Memphis seems the likeliest original provenance of the monument. Each entry consists of a concise heading with detailed numerical data. Among events included are expeditions sent abroad, either for military purposes or in order to procure rare materials and manufactured objects. Temple donations, with precise indications of the recipient institutions, are also recorded. There is no obvious parallel to this text.

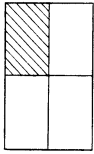
In view of the exceptional importance of the inscription for the history of the Twelfth Dynasty and its interest for the study of Egyptian economy, cults, geography and lexicography, we believe that a good copy should be made available to Egyptologists as soon as possible, and so we are taking this rather unusual step and are publishing our copy of the larger fragment in this preliminary report. It is a reduced facsimile copy, initially made onto a sheet of acetate, which then underwent two stages of collation and additional checking of selected details to confirm orthography and palaeography. A full edition of both fragments, with a less heavily reduced facsimile copy, translation, commentary, and

<sup>1</sup> BAA on pl. 8 of D. G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis*, 1. *The Archaeological Report* (London, 1985), and SCHISM 701. Previous work was described in *JEA* 74 (1988), 26-9 with plan on fig. 7; 76 (1990), 4-7. For acknowledgements see the main report by L. L. Giddy and D. G. Jeffreys above. We are also indebted to Mrs M. E. Cox for the preparation of the tracings for publication.

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Ward, *AJA* 91 (1987), 528 nn. 90-1, suggests in unequivocal terms that the inscription dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty. We have found nothing to support this. The text has recently been discussed by H. Goedicke, *RdE* 42 (1991), 89-94.

<sup>3</sup> PM III, 2 832 (as an endowment stela, temp. Sesostriis I).

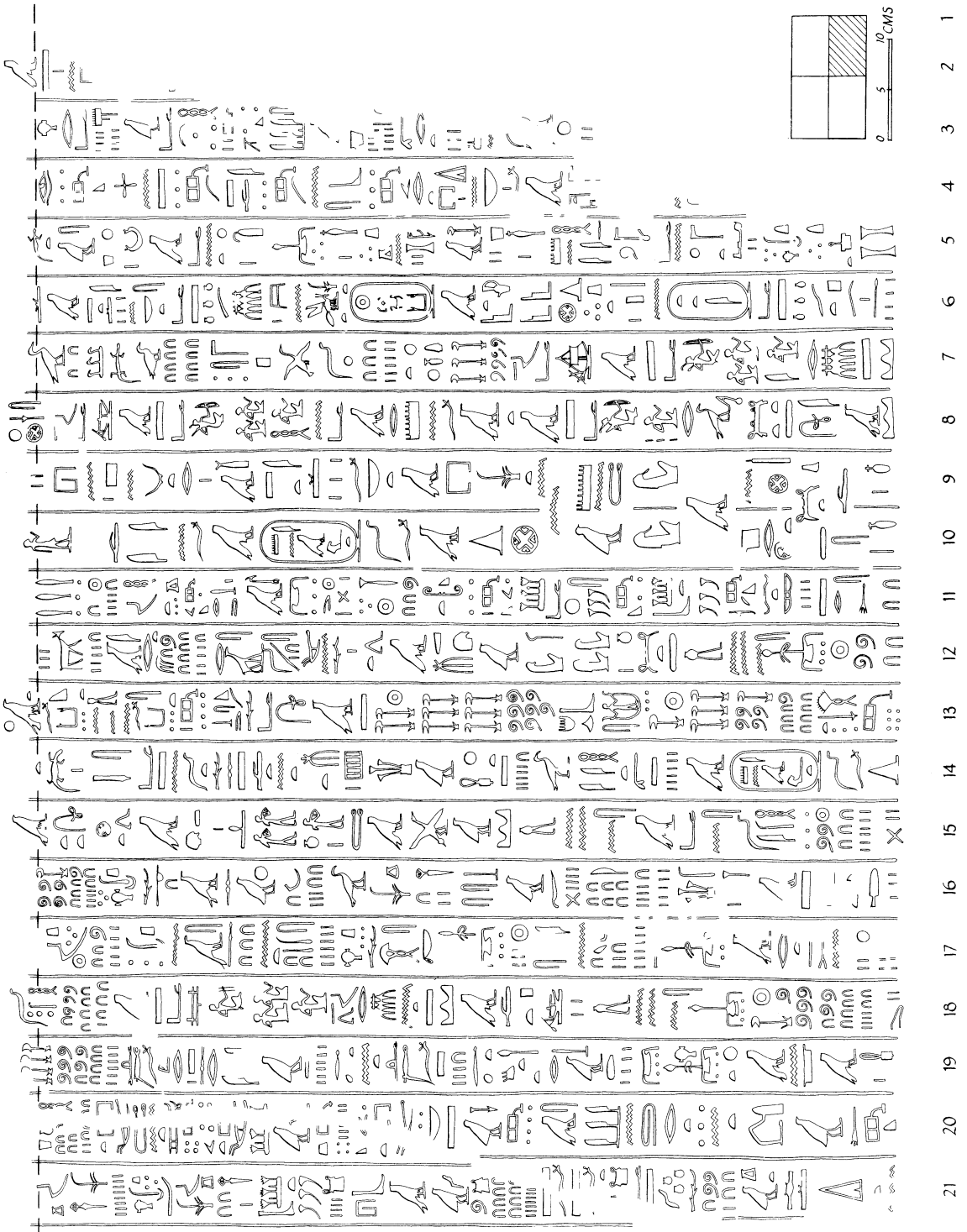
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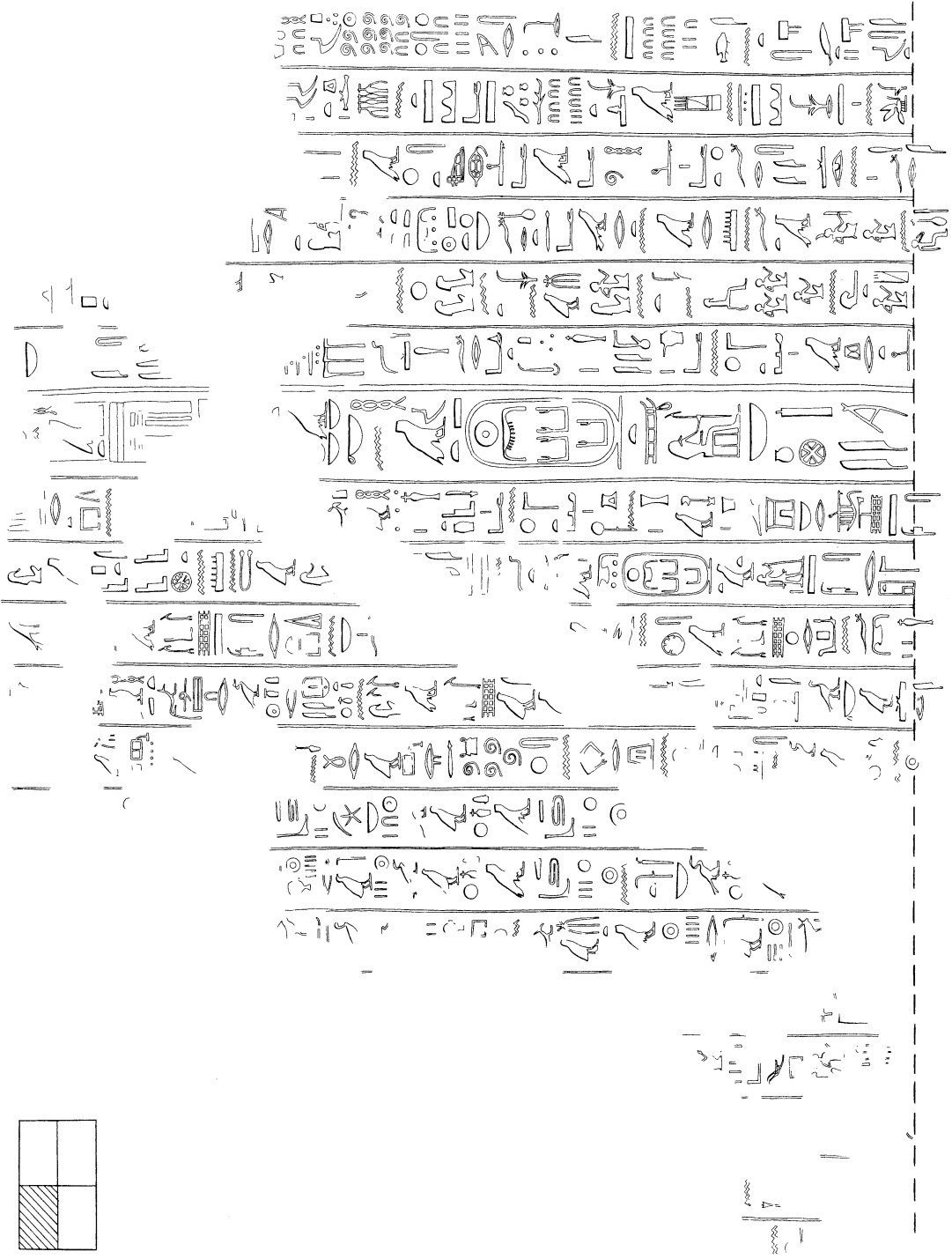
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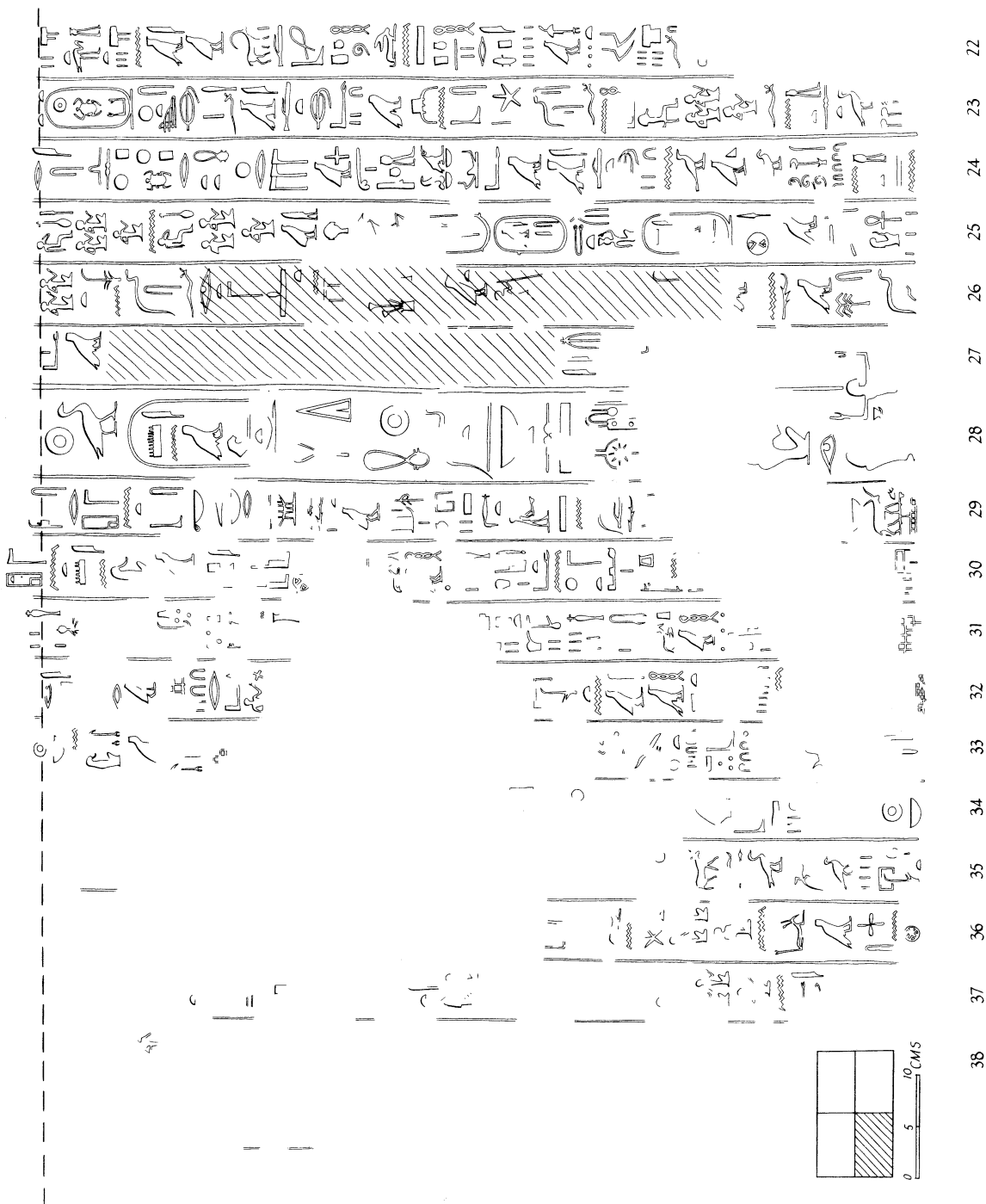
Hieroglyphic text arranged in 21 horizontal lines. The text is written in a cursive style. Line 9 contains a hatched rectangular area. Line 20 includes a small diagram of a circle with a vertical line through its center, and some additional symbols below it.





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complete photographic record,<sup>4</sup> will be included in the forthcoming *The Survey of Memphis*, II. *The Epigraphic Report on the large Temple of Ptah built by Ramesses II*.

*Fragment 1:* (pls. II–III, facsimile pp. 14–17)

The larger piece is a massive block of pink granite (248 × 191.5 cm, thickness 48 cm). It forms part of the built (not monolithic) pedestal of a colossal statue of Ramesses II (SCHISM 3701)<sup>5</sup> which originally stood to the south of the southern side entrance in the temple's pylon. According to Posener, the original discovery that there was a re-used inscribed block in the statue's pedestal was made by G. Haeny at the time when Labib Habachi was chief inspector at Memphis (although W. Kelly Simpson was probably the first to become aware of the presence of the inscription). In 1974 the remaining base with the feet of the colossus was shifted further north by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization and the inscription revealed.<sup>6</sup>

Forty-one columns (average width *c.* 5.7 cm, except for col. 28 with the names and titulary of Amenemhet II, which is wider, *c.* 8.6 cm) of incised hieroglyphs (*c.* 3–4 cm high) of the original inscription remain. The number of columns which preceded and followed is uncertain, as is the height of the margin lost at the top. The slab is broken in two parts, already visible on the published photograph, but in the past seventeen years the inscription has deteriorated, particularly along the block's upper and left edges, where the condition of the surface is very poor. The hand-copy published in *RdE*, doubtless due to Posener's unrivalled knowledge of Middle-Kingdom texts, is brilliant considering that it is based on a far from perfect photograph; nevertheless, we were able to make a large number of significant corrections and additions.

*Fragment 2:*

Only part of the surface of the smaller fragment (137 by 126 cm, thickness 55 cm), also of pink granite, remains and preserves the Middle-Kingdom inscription. It was discovered by Flinders Petrie 'in front of the west pylon' in 1908, and can now be seen near the museum of the colossus of Ramesses II at Mit Rahina.<sup>7</sup> Although the two fragments do not physically adjoin, they clearly come from the same inscription. The smaller fragment probably became detached from a slab which may have been re-used in the pedestal of another colossal statue, perhaps SCHISM 3864.<sup>8</sup> Altogether thirteen columns of text are at least partly preserved and we have, again, been able to make some improvements to the published copy, although these are less important than in the case of the larger fragment.

<sup>4</sup> By Norbert Böer, whose help we gratefully acknowledge.

<sup>5</sup> *JEA* 73 (1987), 19; 74 (1988), 29, pl. v. 3; 76 (1990), 4, pls. ii, iii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Posener appears somewhat inaccurate in his description of the circumstances in which the inscription was found. It seems that the block did not have to be turned over during the removal of the statue-base. It rests on a box-like structure made of large granite blocks and was not placed directly on the ground.

<sup>7</sup> We are grateful to Michael Jones for bringing it to our attention.

<sup>8</sup> *JEA* 76 (1990), 4, pl. iv. 2.

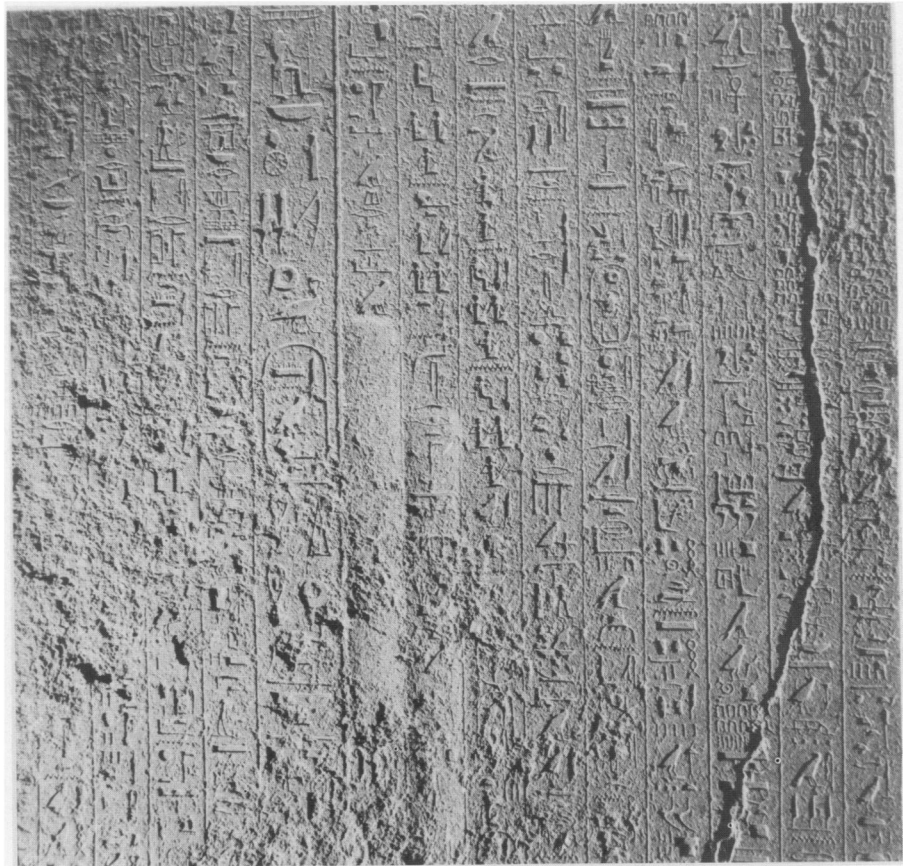


The inscription of Amenemhat II at Mit Rahina. Fragment I

MEMPHIS, 1991: EPIGRAPHY (pp. 13-18)



1. The inscription of Amenemhat II at Mit Rahina. Fragment I. General view looking east. The base with the feet of a colossal statue of Ramesses II (SCHISM 3701) is visible on the left



2. The inscription of Amenemhat II at Mit Rahina. Fragment I. Part of the text-columns 19-32

## PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE FIRST SEASON OF WORK AT GEBEL EL-HARIDI, 1991-92

By CHRISTOPHER J. KIRBY

The preliminary survey of this site identified archaeological material ranging in date from the Old Kingdom to Coptic period. Three areas were assessed for their archaeological potential: a group of quarries apparently associated with an inscription of Ramesses III (north of El-Khazindariya), large quarry terraces (Nazlet el-Haridi), and a complex association of quarries, tombs and domestic dwellings (Abu el-Nasr). The main focus of work was at Abu el-Nasr, where tombs of Old (and possibly New) Kingdom date, situated in terraces at the top of the slope, were planned and photographed. Two large quarries, containing previously unrecorded Ptolemaic inscriptions, were also studied. Preliminary investigation was started on an area of mud-brick and occupation debris, located directly below the terraces, at the base of Abu el-Nasr.

A new survey project supported by the Egypt Exploration Society took place at the Upper Egyptian site of Gebel el-Haridi from 14 December 1991 to 4 January 1992.<sup>1</sup> The team comprised: Gerry Allaby (site photographer), Salima Ikram (administrator and site archaeologist), Christopher Kirby (Field Director and surveyor), Wendy Monkhouse (site archaeologist), and Sara Orel (pottery specialist). The project would like to thank Dr Mohammed Bakr and his fellow members on the Permanent Committee of the EAO for giving us permission to survey at Haridi. Special thanks must also go to the Inspectorates of Sohag and Akhmim, and in particular, Dr Yahya Musri; to the antiquities inspector assigned to our project, Mr Abdul Sittar; and to the antiquity guards at Gebel el-Haridi, Abdul Al and Mandur.

### *Location and Topography* (fig. 1, pl. IV, 1; PM v, 16)

The site of Gebel el-Haridi lies approximately 350 kilometres south of Cairo in the provincial governate of Sohag, on geographical coordinates 26 degrees 46 minutes North by 31 degrees 34 minutes East. The site consists of a large, curved promontory close to the banks of the Nile. At the north end of this jutting headland is the plain of Nauwarra, a large bay of desert sand. Further south, the cliff moves closer to the river. The largest village on the site is El-Khazindariya which lies just south of the 'Mountain of Ramesses', an area of the gebel named locally after the large inscription of Ramesses III. Farther south is the village of Nazlet el-Haridi, the nearby wadi of which contains the tomb of the

<sup>1</sup> The writer would like to thank the staff of the E.E.S. office, Dr Patricia Spencer and Ms Sylvie Weens, for their generous help, and Dr Barbara Ghaleb for reading and correcting this article and for her support. The project gratefully acknowledges the grants and awards made by the following: the Wainwright Fund, the Egypt Exploration Society (Centenary Studentship), Northeast Missouri State University Development Fund and Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology, and the Baring Foundation.



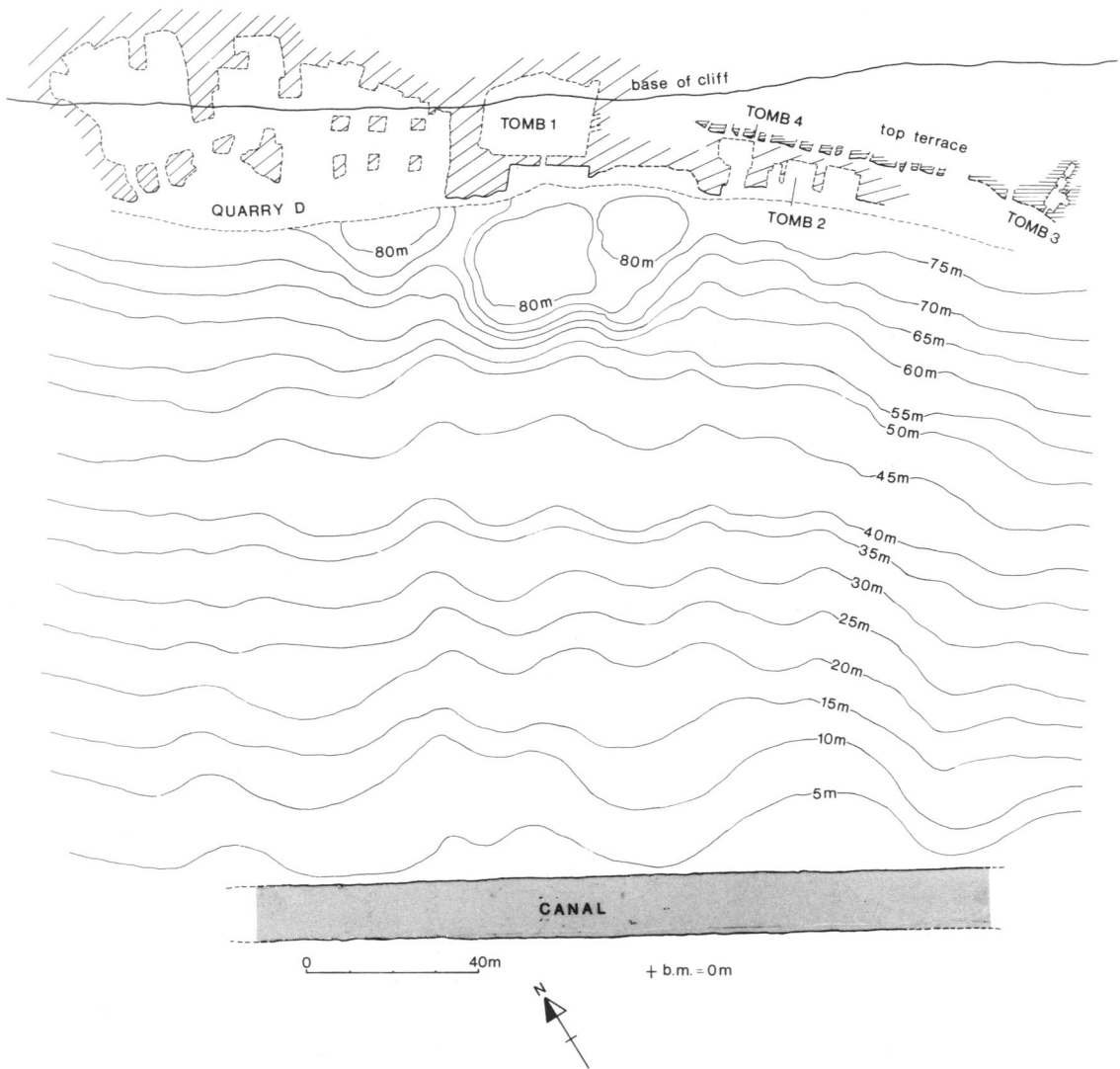


FIG. 1. The site of Abu el-Nasr showing main areas of study.

(The bench-mark has been given the value of 0 m for convenience until its precise height above sea level can be calculated.)



fabled Sheikh el-Haridi and his son Hassan.<sup>2</sup> Just below Nazlet el-Haridi is a large area of modern quarrying and beyond this the mountain of Abu el-Nasr (named after the Sheikh Abu el-Nasr whose tomb lies at the base of the mountain). The bottom of the gebel is bisected by the modern cutting of the El-Isawiya Canal (called locally El-Khazindariya Canal).

The topography of the mountain consists of steep foot hills dissected by dry wadi channels, rising up to 80 m above the canal. Above these are sharp, vertical cliffs of limestone, with occasional strata of clay, flint and pebbles, about 100 m high (pl. IV, 1), which form part of the Ma'aza limestone plateau.

### *The Survey*

Three main areas of the site were studied: an area of large stone quarries to the north of El-Khazindariya, an area of extensive quarrying in the cliffs above Nazlet el-Haridi, and the hillside of Abu el-Nasr near the southern limit of the concession, north of the village of Galawiya. This last area exhibited archaeological material from the Old Kingdom to the Coptic period.

### *The Quarries at El-Khazindariya*

Three large quarries were recorded (designated A, B and C). Quarry A lay directly above the large rock inscription of Ramesses III,<sup>3</sup> the other two a little farther to the north. Each was photographed in detail, measured and planned. Quarry B was planned in detail using an E.D.M. theodolite, and the surface pottery was analysed.

The dimensions of Quarry B were 42.50 m north to south and 36 m east to west; the maximum height from floor to ceiling was 6.45 m. The overall shape was rather irregular: the main body spread out from the two entrances on the south to form a large and a small 'fan-shaped' cavern with many faceted niches and cuts. Wedges of uncut stone formed supporting columns positioned at well-spaced intervals, although in some cases these had been partly quarried. On the back walls of the deepest recesses of the quarry (presumably the last areas to be cut) were partially quarried blocks, cut on all four sides, which had not been removed from the vertical rock face. The measurements of these blocks varied between 120 cm × 60 cm × 34 cm to 195 cm × 59 cm × 55 cm. Although Quarry B had experienced some modern intrusion, the quarried chippings appeared relatively undisturbed. These had been collected to form high banks (one nearly 4.50 m high) against the north and south walls of the quarry. This resulted in a clear pathway through the middle of Quarry B to the deepest, and therefore latest, areas of working at the back of the cavern.

Measured sketch plans were done of Quarries A and C. The dimensions of the former were 29.5 m (east to west) by 17.95 m (plus a side room of 11.80 m), with a height of

<sup>2</sup> Sheikh el-Haridi was one of the best known religious men in Upper Egypt. Legend states that the Sheikh sometimes appears as a snake with the ability to heal the sick: see J. G. Wilkinson, *The Murray's Handbook* (London, 1880), 392; N. Biegmen, *Egypt: Moulides, Saints and Sufis* (London, 1990), 99-100.

<sup>3</sup> L. Habachi, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 69-75. On p. 73, Habachi suggested that this quarry can be dated to Ramesses III as similar 'underground quarries' are associated with Ramesses III stelae from Tihna and El-Babein.

3.50 m. The plan formed a simple rectangular shape with an additional smaller rectangle on the north side. Quarry C was shaped like an amphitheatre with a terrace of partly-cut blocks on its southern side. It was 14.35 m deep by 12.25 m wide, with an average height of 4.75 m.

### *The Ptolemaic Quarries (fig. 1)*

The majority of the season's work focussed on the mountain of Abu el-Nasr. Located on the upper part of the slope, at the base of the vertical cliff, were a series of rock-cut features in distinct terraces (pl. IV, 1).

A group of three quarries cut at the top of the slope of Abu el-Nasr are dated by royal inscriptions found in them to the Ptolemaic period. One, Quarry E, cut into the base of the cliff, contained a large inscription of Ptolemy XIII recorded by Spiegelberg.<sup>4</sup>

Large representations of Ptah and Thoth, both noted by Robert Hay,<sup>5</sup> are on either side of the north entrance walls, facing outwards to the south. The Ptah figure is mummiform with a skull cap and uraeus; in his hands he clutches a staff with a head composed of the symbols *ankh*, *djed* and *was* and the crook and flail. It stands on a pedestal within a series of shrines, the outermost of which is supported by two poles with diamond-headed terminals. The Thoth inscription shows the ibis-headed god wearing a kilt and an elaborate crown and clutching a *was*-headed staff. At the base of the crown are two, long, horizontal horns mounted by uraei with sun-discs; above this is a tall, bulbous crown, reminiscent of the white crown, surrounded on either side by *atef*-feathers. This in turn is crowned by much smaller horizontal horns with a sun-disc on a mount between them. The hieroglyphic text above Ptah is totally mutilated; the Thoth inscriptions (a horizontal band of text above, and a vertical band before, the figure) were better preserved. Both figures were traced and photographed.

The substantial remains of a mud-brick complex, built up in terrace blocks, were situated directly in front of Quarry E.

Farther north, on the second terrace of rock-cut features, was a quarry similar to Quarry E, but larger. This quarry (D) (fig. 1) contains a royal Ptolemaic inscription similar to that of Ptolemy XIII but not previously recorded. It was photographed and traced, except for four lines of demotic script below the main scene. The scene shows a king presenting a basket with a burning offering to three divinities.<sup>6</sup> The first deity, as in the Ptolemy XIII inscription, is Min, wearing a large two-feathered crown, with his arms extending behind him and clutching a flail. The fragmentary remains of a pillar or fetish are positioned behind him. The second figure is the hawk-headed god Horus, wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, and clutching a staff. Last is the goddess Hathor, who wears a sun-disc and horns and holds a *was*-headed staff. Above Horus and Hathor are two bands of mutilated hieroglyphic text, and above the king is a block of text with almost completely destroyed cartouches.

<sup>4</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 51 (1913), 65-75. A paper squeeze, now in the Egyptian Department library of the British Museum, was done by Wilkinson at Haridi. It shows the head of a god who is probably the Min deity in the Ptolemy XIII inscription.

<sup>5</sup> R. Hay, MS. 29814 (c. 1830), 104, 107.

<sup>6</sup> J. G. Wilkinson, MS. XII (1855), 120. Wilkinson drew the king offering a Maat figure.

To the north of Quarries D and E, near Nazlet el-Haridi, is the most impressive quarry at the site. This quarry (F) lies directly above the tomb of the Sheikh el-Haridi and is only accessible via a wadi behind the village. The ceiling of this quarry is over six and a half metres above the ground and, like Quarries D and E, is supported by large, rectangular-sectioned columns of uncut rock.

On the northernmost of these columns are the remains of a third Ptolemaic inscription, which was traced and photographed. Although badly vandalized, the scene shows a king offering to a series of deities, only the last of whom is preserved. This is Hathor, who wears a *nemes*-headcloth surmounted by the spread wings and tail feathers of a bird. Above this is a large sun-disc between two vertical cow horns set on a pedestal. Below the scene are three lines of demotic.

Numerous discarded quarried blocks were noted on the pathway which leads down from Quarry F to the Sheikh's tomb, showing that this was the main route for the removal of quarried stone.

### *Tomb 1* (fig. 1)

Next to Quarry D were the remains of an Old Kingdom tomb observed by Wilkinson.<sup>7</sup> The present façade of the tomb (Tomb 1) bears two sculptured figures, with heads destroyed, on each side of a central doorway. On each side of the figures are two shallow, vertical niches. The area in front of the tomb is enclosed by projecting walls on its north and south sides, forming a three-sided court. The main wall of the court (20.35 m in length) almost certainly represents the remaining back wall of the first chamber of the tomb, the rest of the walls being almost totally quarried away. Exactly the same thing has happened to Tomb 2 (see below) and the other rock-cut features on this terrace.

On the southern wall of the eroded first chamber is a raised relief figure of a nobleman, wearing a pointed kilt and holding a sceptre and staff, before a vertical band of hieroglyphic text. The small area of text exposed (over half lies below the ground surface) includes the symbols *pr-ntr*, suggesting that the tomb owner had a position as a temple official. On stylistic grounds, the relief (and therefore the tomb) can be dated to the Sixth Dynasty.

The interior of the tomb had been extensively quarried, although two side chambers appeared to be preserved. In the centre of the tomb were signs of modern digging which had revealed part of a sloping ramp,<sup>8</sup> perhaps part of a passage-way to a burial chamber. The overall dimensions of the interior of the tomb, in its present state, are 25 m in length by 17.70 m in width. The two side chambers off the south side are not included on the plan as they were inhabited by a large population of bats, although it was noted that both of the corridors leading to the chambers were partly filled by large blocking stones. A coin from the Ptolemaic period was discovered, which may date to either Ptolemy VI or Ptolemy XI.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 121.

<sup>8</sup> N. Kanawati, *Hawawish*, III (Sydney, 1982), fig. 4. The tomb chapel of Tjeti (Sixth Dynasty) has a sloping corridor in the middle of the room leading to a small burial chamber.

<sup>9</sup> Ms U. Wartenberg of the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum kindly supplied this information, based on a tracing of the coin. See G. T. Martin, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra* (London, 1981), 52-5, pl. 45 for similar examples.

*Tomb 2* (fig. 1, pl. IV, 2)

Farther to the south, on the same terrace level, are a series of square-cut rooms. The front walls of these rooms were totally quarried out and the side division walls partly so (this area was designated Quarry H) (pl. IV, 2). Mud plaster over part of the quarried walls shows that the rooms had been reused for occupation or burial at a later date.

One of the rock-cut chambers had very fragmentary remains of painted scenes from a tomb of pharaonic date. The north wall, the bottom half of which had been totally removed through quarrying, contains the best-preserved painted fragments. The remains of a register of men pulling on a rope attached to a clap-net were located in the top central portion of the wall. Directly to the east of this were remains of flying birds. These two groups represent the scene of bird-catching common in tomb iconography. The east wall was more difficult to decipher but contains several representations of plants or trees and a bending man (hoeing?). The ceiling decoration has an array of large, yellow, four-pointed stars with red centres, in the middle of which was a large yellow figure or object(s) of uncertain identification (perhaps a fish, in which case the ceiling might be astronomical?). The use of stars to decorate the ceiling is the most unusual feature of this tomb. Although the tomb could date to the Old, Middle or New Kingdom, its proximity to Tomb 1 favours an Old Kingdom date.

*Tomb 3* (fig. 1)

The first terrace, directly above Quarry D, Tomb 1 and Tomb 2, contains a series of similar small rock-cut tombs (pl. IV, 1). Each consists of a small, square entry chamber with a ramp leading down to a small, rectangular burial chamber. On either side of the top of the ramp is a low, rock-cut bench. A larger tomb (Tomb 3) exists at the southern end of the group. This contains three separate burial chambers leading off a large entrance room. The north wall of this latter chamber has two small, semi-circular lamp niches. Both the niches and surrounding walls are covered by large fragments of gypsum plaster. A fragmentary representation of at least one human figure, painted directly on to the rock, was discovered on the back (east) wall of the room. This decoration is partially sealed by later gypsum plaster. The figure, represented by the red pigment remains of feet and upper torso, appears to have a second figure clothed in a long dress to his left and perhaps part of a third to the right. This register of figures must originally have adorned a crude tomb of pharaonic date.

*Tomb 4* (fig. 1)

Several tombs on the uppermost terrace contain burial debris. This one yielded a significant concentration of bone and textile material. Some of the textile fragments were covered with layers of bitumen or paint, and one was wrapped around bone (part of a phalange from a bovid?) covered with bitumen. One other nearby tomb contained a large fragment of painted cartonnage.

*Tomb 5*

Numerous rock-cut tomb chambers were discovered between the terraces at the top of the slope and the canal at the base of the mountain. The most impressive of these (Tomb

5) consists of a large, square entrance chamber with round-topped niche set in the west wall. Running off the chamber to the north and west are three sloping shafts, each leading to a small, rectangular burial chamber. Each shaft has a line of footholds running down to the lower chamber. In two of the chambers, human bone and textile covered in pitch and bitumen were found. Further down the slope, many more rock-cut tombs were located. Because many of them had been partially cleared in modern times, their general plan could be discerned. Several contained substantial amounts of human skeletal material, some in a semi-articulated state.

### *The Mud-Brick Area*

Near the base of the slope of Abu el-Nasr is a large area of ruined mud-brick walls and occupation debris. A long wall ran south-east to north-west up the side of the steep mountain slope for over 50 metres, and was surrounded by smaller complexes. At several points on the wall, secondary walls ran off down a steep slope to the canal. These walls were almost totally covered by pottery and mud-brick debris. The area also revealed subterranean brick-vaulted chambers almost completely filled with debris and partly packed around the edges by limestone chippings. Another distinct feature of this area were large rock-cut rooms with mud-brick structures built on to the front of them. One of these (called Tomb 6 but almost certainly not a tomb) has an impressive doorway with triangular stone projections on each side. On one of the rock-cut ledges above the entrance and on either side of the doorway were walls of mud-brick.

Directly to the north of the mud-brick area were large mounds of pottery, some mud-brick, and chippings. The amount of pottery sherds over this part of the site shows intensive occupation, possibly over a long period of time. Provisional analysis of this pottery suggests occupation of the Roman and Coptic periods (see below).

### *The Quarries above Nazlet el-Haridi*

Numerous underground quarries were located just to the north of the wadi containing Sheikh el-Haridi's tomb, above the village of Nazlet el-Haridi.<sup>10</sup> These showed the same pattern of later domestic occupation noted in the Abu el-Nasr quarries. Large amounts of Coptic pottery were found on one quarry terrace (collectively called Quarry I). In one quarry, a round-topped window to the outside had been cut in the quarry wall and the interior was plastered with gypsum on both the walls and floors. Due to lack of time, it was only possible to photograph this area.

### *Pottery Analysis (by Sara Orel)*

Preliminary investigation of surface sherds was carried out primarily in two areas. All the surface pottery was collected from Quarry B. The quarry was divided into seven areas and the pottery from each studied separately. Preliminary analysis indicates that the sherds date from the Ptolemaic to the Coptic period with some contamination from modern water jars. The other area of pottery study was the mountain of Abu el-Nasr. No area at Abu el-Nasr was as methodically investigated as Quarry B, although collections

<sup>10</sup> *Description de l'Égypte*, IV (Paris, 1822), pl. 62 (6-8). The Napoleonic expedition visited and mapped the area of Nazlet el-Haridi noting 'Grottes' and 'Carrières Égyptiennes'.

were made of surface sherds in tombs and quarries as well as two areas of mud-brick construction: the walls in front of Quarry E and those on the lower slope beneath Quarry D. Some sherds were also collected from Quarries F and I.

At Abu el-Nasr, the collection of pottery concentrated on those areas which were thought to have had a single major occupation or period of reuse with little subsequent disturbance. The areas most extensively collected included Quarry E (dated to Ptolemy XIII by inscription) and the rock-cut tombs. The latter only produced a few sherds.<sup>11</sup> Tomb 2, Tomb 6 and another, which we called 'Tomb of the Skulls' because of its human remains, produced the most pottery, each having sherds at the mouth of the tomb and on the immediate slope as a result of ejection at a time of looting.

The sherds were drawn and information recorded. This data included fabric (origin of clay and type and size of inclusions), ware (method of vessel manufacture, surface treatment), part of vessel, diameter at mouth or base and percentage of complete circumference of vessel preserved.

Between 15 and 35 per cent of vessel body was found attached to the rim sherds studied. It was only in the debris below the 'Tomb of Skulls' that a large number of joinable sherds were found, most of the breaks being ancient. The sherds and other debris on the slope (human bone, fragments of wood and cloth) may reflect no more than a single episode of grave-robbery from one tomb.

The pottery of all the studied areas is between 97 and 98 per cent Nile silt with the remainder of the sherds a pinkish marl (Munsell 5.0 YR 7/6). The Nile silt was predominantly Nile B2,<sup>12</sup> with some examples of Nile C.<sup>13</sup> Over half the coarser fabric sherds are from large storage jars of the Coptic period. The fragments of these vessels, decorated on the exterior with black and red vine motifs on an orangey-buff surface, all came from the area of Abu el-Nasr. Fragments from a single storage jar were found in Tomb 2 and those from a similar vessel in the area of the mud-brick walls in the front of Quarry E.

Other Coptic pottery came from inside Quarry E. A white-painted amphora with a band of black around the upper neck and over the rim to the interior of the vessel is similar to those of the fourth through seventh centuries AD,<sup>14</sup> while a large platter with horizontal burnishing, blackened through firing, may date from the same period.<sup>15</sup>

The pottery from the area of mud-brick walls on the lower slopes of Abu el-Nasr includes several shapes found in Late Roman pottery from Alexandria, particularly those classified by Rodziewicz in his group B.<sup>16</sup> These are dated between the middle of the fifth century and the third quarter of the seventh century.

Although Coptic pottery has been primarily discussed, there are a few examples of Roman pottery with moulded designs from the lower slopes of Abu el-Nasr. There are

<sup>11</sup> The lack of pottery collected from Tomb 1 was, in part, due to adverse conditions: a lack of daylight, the presence of numerous bats and the complete coverage of the floor with chippings.

<sup>12</sup> With medium to coarse sand and organic fibres of 2-5 mm as temper. The fabric classification is based on D. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York, 1986) and J. Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab* (Cambridge, 1981).

<sup>13</sup> Nile Chas coarse sand, stone particles, ash and organic debris as temper.

<sup>14</sup> For a similarly shaped example, see Bourriau, op. cit. 92 (no. 181). Examples similar in shape and decoration can be found in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, dating to the sixth and seventh centuries AD.

<sup>15</sup> The site of Karanis, abandoned after the mid-fifth century AD, had no platters of this type (B. Johnson, *Pottery from Karanis* (Ann Arbor, 1981). Examples in the Coptic Museum are dated to the sixth century.

<sup>16</sup> M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie 1: La ceramique romaine tardive d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw, 1976), 31-8 and pls. 2-7.

also scatters of (largely undiagnostic) faience fragments, particularly on the northern side of the slope of Abu el-Nasr, perhaps associated with the mud-brick walls nearby.

Future work on the site will include the development of a typology for the Late Roman/Coptic pottery at Abu el-Nasr and an analysis of the pottery already collected. In particular, the pottery from the slopes below the 'Tomb of the Skulls' should provide a number of reconstructable vessels of a similar date which will offer a good departure point for the creation of a catalogue of pottery types at Gebel el-Haridi.

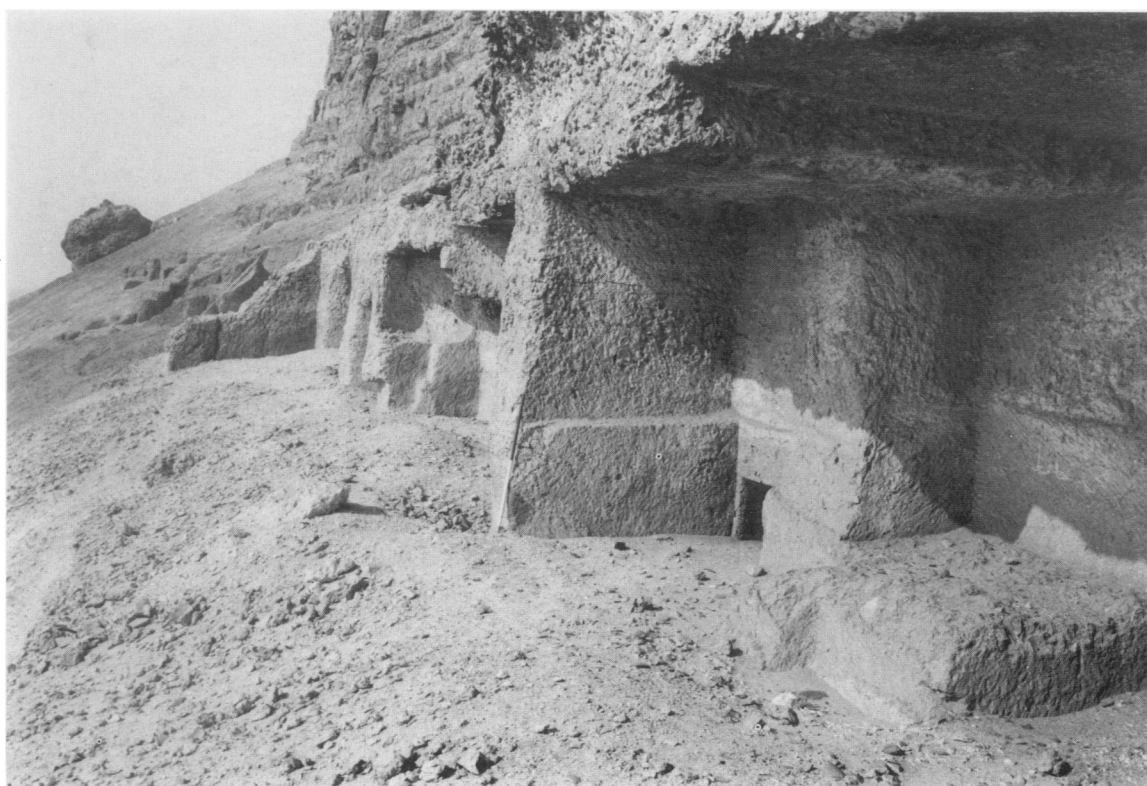
### *Conclusion*

The project fulfilled its objectives for the season by assessing the archaeological potential of several areas of the site, which revealed evidence of a wide range of activities from the Old Kingdom to the Coptic period. Of particular importance was the confirmation of Wilkinson's observation that an Old-Kingdom necropolis existed at Gebel el-Haridi.<sup>17</sup> The discovery of two previously unrecorded Ptolemaic royal inscriptions shows that the site was an important source of stone under the Ptolemies, perhaps supplying building projects at Antaeopolis. The large quarries north of El-Khazindariya may indicate a similar exploitation in the Twentieth Dynasty. The mud-brick remains at the base of Abu el-Nasr are at present enigmatic. The nature of the architecture and the scale of the walls suggest the remains of an official building complex, possibly even a Coptic monastery.

<sup>17</sup> Nestor L'Hôte's observation of a New Kingdom tomb at Haridi has not yet been confirmed by our field-work. (See Nestor L'Hôte, MS. 20409, third carton: 'Carrières de Sheikh Haridy'.)



1. View of Abu el-Nasr (looking east), showing terraces of quarries and tombs



2. View of Tomb 2 (looking north)



# MARL CLAY POTTERY FABRICS OF THE NEW KINGDOM FROM MEMPHIS, SAQQARA AND AMARNA

By J. D. BOURRIAU *and* P. T. NICHOLSON

This paper attempts to introduce a research tool essential for the study of production and trade and the way they were organized in ancient Egypt by examining marl clay pottery fabrics from the New Kingdom. Marl clay was the preferred raw material for the containers used in the transport of food within the Nile Valley and beyond. Sample sherds from Memphis, Saqqara and Amarna are described and illustrated macroscopically (20× magnification) and microscopically (from thin sections). The results are used to create a concordance between the fabric classifications used at these sites, and with that used at Qantir and with the Vienna System. The data given will allow other archaeologists to link their own material to that described and so have access to the evidence this pottery provides on chronology and commodity exchange.

THE purpose of this paper is not simply to provide a description of the raw materials from which pottery was made, but to introduce a research tool essential for the study of production and trade and the way they were organized in ancient Egypt.

Egyptologists have long taken account of the documentary evidence relating to production, trade and administration, but the physical composition of the traded objects and their containers has received less attention. This study sets out to describe the marl clays of the New Kingdom, important for their use as the raw material of amphorae and other specialized containers. This can then be used both to refine the dating of New Kingdom pottery (and hence the sites on which it occurs) and to improve our knowledge of regional contacts. Sources of production can sometimes be suggested even if the location of individual workshops cannot yet be identified.

The Egypt Exploration Society is currently excavating three major New Kingdom sites: Memphis (Kom Rabi'a, site RAT), Saqqara (New Kingdom necropolis) and Amarna. Pottery is the most plentiful class of material collected from all three and a considerable part of the excavations' resources is devoted to the thorough recording of it. We thus have an unparalleled opportunity to integrate the information derived from the ceramics from all three sites, desirable because the sites themselves are complementary and information from each should help explain the data from the others. For the New Kingdom Kom Rabi'a provides a stratigraphic sequence from relatively modest houses from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Third Intermediate Period; Saqqara has closely datable high status and minor burials of the late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties; Amarna provides a variety of sites: Workmen's Village; chapels; pottery workshops; villas; and administrative, temple and royal buildings from a short period of occupation in the reigns of Akhenaton and Tutankhamun.

Any differences between Memphis/Saqqara and Amarna pottery of the late Eighteenth Dynasty should be explicable by the different nature of the sites and the activities taking place, since New Kingdom marl clay ceramics do not exhibit great regional variation.

From the Delta to Nubia, the same forms, decoration and technology appear, though there is sometimes evidence of local preferences in the choice of raw materials, as will be seen.

The other salient characteristic of New Kingdom pottery significant for this study is the fact that *fabric* represents the fundamental division to which other properties such as *shape*, *decoration*, *surface treatment* and *shaping-process* can be related. For example, almost all blue-painted pottery of the New Kingdom occurs on a Nile B2 fabric (in the Vienna System)<sup>1</sup> and the relatively few examples utilizing a fine marl clay occur in a distinctively different range of shapes and sizes and have a much more restricted distribution.<sup>2</sup> Fabric may be defined as the raw clay, plus any *inclusions* naturally occurring in it or added by the potter, plus characteristics acquired during firing: *colour*, *hardness* and *porosity*.<sup>3</sup> *Ware* is the *fabric* plus the *surface treatment* of the vessel, whether it is slipped, burnished, painted or incised, for example, plus the *technology* of the shaping process.

The primary importance of fabric means that the first step towards comparing the pottery from Amarna and Memphis/Saqqara is to establish a concordance between existing fabric classifications. The Amarna system has been described by Paul Nicholson and Pamela Rose,<sup>4</sup> and the Memphis/Saqqara system by Janine Bourriau and David Aston.<sup>5</sup>

It was decided to compare fabrics by studying a representative series of thin-sections of each fabric class, rather than relying on inevitably more subjective comparisons made at macroscopic level. The examination of thin-sections allowed us to refine the existing field classifications by testing the homogeneity of the classes in terms of the inclusions in the clay matrix, at the same time as we sought criteria for deciding whether a fabric was present at both sites or not.

All ceramicists working in Egypt would agree that the most difficult aspect of pottery recording is the description of fabric. Attempts are being made to standardize terminology and to introduce a framework (the 'Vienna System')<sup>6</sup> within which the fabrics of individual sites can be consistently described.<sup>7</sup> It should be emphasized that the Vienna System was conceived as a framework within which subdivisions could be created by field classifications from individual sites: thus, closely related fabrics H2 and H4 at Memphis/Saqqara both belong to the Marl A4 group and H9 and H10 to the Marl A2 group. The purpose of the Vienna System definitions is to provide a point of reference so that comparisons of fabrics from different sites may be easier to express.

The problem remains of publishing meaningful verbal descriptions of a property (fabric) which is recognized visually. The speed with which fabrics can be recognized if

<sup>1</sup> Set out by H. Nordström, *LÄ* vi, 629-34, and J. Bourriau, *Umm el Ga'ab. Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981), 14-15. (Hereafter cited as Bourriau, *Pottery*.) A fuller account of the Vienna System will appear as a fascicle in the *Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Pottery* entitled *Ceramic Technology. Clays and Fabrics*, by Hans-Åke Nordström and Janine Bourriau, now in press.

<sup>2</sup> C. A. Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Victoria, 1989), cf. figs. 9-12 with 13.

<sup>3</sup> H. Å. Nordström, *Neolithic and A-group Sites. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia*, III (Uppsala, 1972), 40.

<sup>4</sup> P. T. Nicholson and P. J. Rose, in B. J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports*, II (London, 1985), 133-74. (Hereafter cited as *AR* II.)

<sup>5</sup> J. Bourriau and D. Aston, in G. T. Martin, *The Tombs of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqara* (London, 1985), 32-55. (Hereafter cited as Bourriau and Aston, *Paser*.)

<sup>6</sup> See n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The 'Vienna System' works best for Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom pottery for the simple reason that most of the sherds upon which its groupings are based came from these periods.

actual sherds are examined contrasts sharply with the difficulty of recognizing the same fabrics from a verbal description alone. At Memphis it has become the practice to photograph through the microscope the 'fresh break' (i.e. a newly made fracture) of representative sherds so that a visual image can be placed alongside the description for reference purposes. In this article we reproduce a series of these pictures together with a new series taken of Amarna sherds from the study collection in Cambridge. Thanks are due to Alfred Baxendale and Colin Harris of Cementone Beaver and their associates H. E. Boddy and Co. Ltd who have made possible the colour printing of the breaks and thin-sections. The British Academy also provided a grant to cover the cost of the black and white plates. Thanks are also due to Neville Laws of Whitstable Litho for his help in producing the colour plates.

The thin-sections covered by this report were selected to include all marl fabrics of the New Kingdom from the EES excavations at Amarna, Memphis and Saqqara. Some comparative material was also examined from the contemporary site of Qantir currently being excavated by the Hildesheim Museum. Marl fabrics are defined by a positive reaction of the clay matrix to dilute HCl (though this reaction may not occur on highly fired examples). Some pieces which do not show a reaction are nevertheless included as marls because of their pale pink/white/green colour on the surface or in the break. Marl clays also exhibit a greater hardness and lower porosity than Nile clays.<sup>8</sup> Nile clay fires through brown to red and is used for perhaps 80 per cent of the pottery in the New Kingdom. We use the term 'marl' in preference to the traditional terms 'Qena' and 'Ballas' clays,<sup>9</sup> because these presuppose the source of the clay used in antiquity. Mixtures of marl and Nile clays are hard to identify and our 'marl clays' may include some of them.

The British Academy and Egypt Exploration Society have together funded the work of Paul Nicholson in making and analyzing the thin-sections during the academic year 1990-1. Work on the Nile clay fabrics and imported pottery is now under way (Autumn 1991).<sup>10</sup>

### Macroscopic description and analysis

The fabric of almost all the thin-sectioned sherds from Amarna and Memphis/Saqqara is described here, as seen macroscopically, by Janine Bourriau. In a few cases the actual sherd thin-sectioned was not available and another example of the same fabric was substituted or a description made after placing the thin-section under the microscope.

<sup>8</sup> 'Nile clays', also known as 'Nile silts', are terms in general use by archaeologists working in Egypt to describe the alluvial deposits resulting from the annual inundation of the Nile. Geologists might dispute the validity of these terms since both clay and silt are terms for specific size fractions of material rather than for the material itself.

<sup>9</sup> Used for example by A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* <sup>4</sup> (London, 1962).

<sup>10</sup> The authors acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of the Dept. of Ceramics, Glasses and Polymers and the Dept. of Archaeology and Prehistory of the University of Sheffield and the McDonald Institute and Fitzwilliam Museum, both of the University of Cambridge, for providing access to necessary equipment. Barbara and David Aston gave information on the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis pottery and that from Qantir, along with a most useful initial concordance of fabrics based on macroscopic examination. Pamela Rose provided samples for macroscopic description and information on her fabric classes from Amarna. Kate Trott assisted in the calculation of standard deviation figures and their entry onto computer and Kathryn Eriksson made the drawings used for figs. 1-4. Finally, we thank the Egyptian Antiquities Organization who allowed transfer of pottery study material to England from Amarna (1977), Memphis (1985) and Saqqara (1986). Without this material the present study would not have been possible.

The sherds are described 'macroscopically' as seen under the binocular microscope at 20× magnification, when viewing a fresh break made parallel to the vessel mouth. This degree of magnification was chosen to permit a more precise and consistent description than is possible using a 10× hand lens but to avoid enlarging the image so much that identification of the same fabric with a hand lens is not practicable.

At 20× magnification, with an eyepiece graticule (a measuring device), the identity, size and quantity of the most common inclusions in the clay can be recorded. Straw is usually represented by rectangular voids, sometimes containing impressions or silica skeletons from burnt out plant remains; it is graded as fine < 2 mm; medium 2–5 mm; or coarse > 5 mm. Mineral inclusions are graded as fine 60–250 microns; medium 250–500 microns; or coarse > 500 microns (= 0.5 mm). Limestone, mica, grog (crushed potsherds), lumps of unmixed marl clay and sand can be identified at this magnification. Some inclusions are not positively identifiable and it is preferable to describe them only by colour, such as grey-white, red-brown or dark, and state their size and quantity. The term 'sand' is used, in conformity with the practice among ceramicists, to describe the translucent particles (mainly quartz) visible in all pottery.<sup>11</sup> Shell, when it occurs as microfossils in limestone, as it does most commonly in this material, can only rarely be seen at 20×. An attempt, inevitably subjective, has been made to quantify the inclusions present. This estimate is expressed numerically: '1' means the inclusion is rare, '2' that it is common and '3' that it is so common that particles are touching each other.

The other fabric properties included in the description are: *porosity*, defined as open, medium, dense or showing clear traces of the process of vitrification; *hardness*, defined as crumbly, medium-hard or hard, based upon how the sherd breaks; *structure*, defined by the presence or otherwise of decomposed limestone particles and/or elongated pores; *wall thickness* graded as thin 2–4 mm; medium 5–9 mm; thick 10–19 mm; or very thick > 19 mm; and finally *colour* of both the break and the surfaces of the sherd, taken using a Munsell Colour Chart in shaded natural light.

### Thin-section techniques and analysis

Three sherds were selected as representative of each fabric, where possible, and from each sherd three thin-sections were made, designated a, b and c, rather than a single one which might in some way be atypical. The recording of inclusions is based on examination of all three sections and is done for each of the three sherds; thus a more complete picture of the fabric is obtained than would be given by examination of a single sherd. Furthermore, the results from point-counting (below) are more reliable if based on several sections.

For reasons of space, descriptions of all eighty-nine thin-sectioned sherds cannot be given here, but are summarized on disk along with point-count data; this is available on application to the authors.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Strictly speaking the word should be reserved for mineral particles of a specific size range (0.0625–1.99 mm).

<sup>12</sup> Please send unformatted disk of required size and details of word-processor to be used. Where word-processors are not compatible with those used by the authors, ASCII format text will be supplied. Addresses: J.D.B. c/o The McDonald Institute, University of Cambridge, 62, Sidney Street, Cambridge CB2 3JW; P.T.N. University of Sheffield, Dept. of Archaeology & Prehistory, Sheffield S10 2TN.

### Thin-sectioning

The thin-sectioning process is well known, for both geological materials and ceramics, and the method used here is fairly standard.<sup>13</sup> However, to ensure that the complete suite of inclusions was retained in the thin-section, some extra stages were included in the impregnation process.

Because thin-sectioning involves the cutting and grinding of sherds, there is a tendency for the mineral grains and other inclusions to become loosened and so pull out of the sherd/section and be lost to analysis. This is countered by the use of various resins to bond them more firmly into their clay matrix. For the current project there were two stages of impregnation. Initially the whole sherd was dipped in Araldite epoxy resins (MY753 and HY956) diluted with acetone. Once these had cured, the impregnated sherd was sawn into blocks with two flat faces, one of which was then given a surface impregnation with a low viscosity resin (Petropoxy 154) prior to lapping (smoothing on an abrasive powder) and bonding to the glass slide. All the sections examined were cut parallel to the vessel mouth so that any 'preferred orientation' of the inclusions resulting from wheel throwing could be observed more clearly.

### Analysis

Analysis consisted of examination of the thin-section, using a petrological microscope, in order to identify the mineral and other inclusions in the clay matrix.<sup>14</sup> Thin-section analysis does not examine the clay itself in any detail, but rather what has been included in it, either by nature or by man. It is the identity of these inclusions and sometimes their size and shape which are of value in differentiating between fabrics. Sections are examined first in Plane Polarized Light (PPL) and then under Crossed Polars (XPL). The effect of crossing polars is not only to show interference colours in the minerals present, but also to change the observed colour of the clay body material. The colour of the clay body as observed under the petrological microscope is recorded in the following descriptions. However, it should be borne in mind that, as with macroscopic observation of this property, the colour of a thin-section varies across the section. Furthermore, sherds of the same fabric can have very different colours or shades of colour as a result of different firing conditions. Colours under the polarizing microscope are seen in transmitted light (light passing through the section) rather than in reflected light (which falls onto a specimen) as under the conventional binocular microscope, and so may appear somewhat different from those observed macroscopically. Similarly the use of XPL changes the observed colour so that two colours for each section are given in the description.

The character of the distribution of inclusions, their sorting and size can lead to miscalculation of inclusion frequencies. To help reduce these problems visual estimation charts are available, though these too need to be used with caution,<sup>15</sup> and for the present

<sup>13</sup> For details see I. W. Cornwall, *Soils for the Archaeologist* (London, 1958); I. W. Cornwall and H. W. M. Hodges, *Institute of Archaeology Bulletin* 4 (1964), 29–33; H. W. M. Hodges, *Institute of Archaeology Bulletin* 3 (1962), 58–68; R. T. Smith and K. Atkinson, *Techniques in Pedology* (London, 1975).

<sup>14</sup> For an introduction to the examination of geological thin-sections see K. G. Cox, N. B. Price and B. Harte, *The Practical Study of Crystals, Minerals and Rocks* (London, 1967).

<sup>15</sup> For a recent and useful series of these charts, see A. J. Matthew *et al.*, in A. Middleton and I. Freestone (eds.) *Recent Developments in Ceramic Petrology* (London, 1991), 211–63.

study it was decided to use the data obtained from point-counting to estimate frequency of inclusions. The point-count figures are given as mean ('average') figures where several sections were counted; otherwise only the figure for a single count appears (Appendix).

Point-counting provides a quantitative estimate of the proportions of different types of inclusion in a fabric.<sup>16</sup> The underlying assumption on which the technique is based is that 'the ratio of the area occupied by a mineral "A" to the area occupied by all minerals (the total measurement area) is a consistent estimate of the volume percentage of mineral "A" in the rock' (or in this case, sherd).<sup>17</sup>

For the purposes of the current study no grain size or shape analyses were undertaken since visual and point-count data proved sufficient. However, some indication of shape is given below, based on comparison of the sherd with a visual chart<sup>18</sup> (fig. 1). This gives only a rough guide since most sherds contain a great range of shapes and, without examination of a large area of the sherd and detailed recording, only a general impression can be given. Further separation could be achieved by providing rough estimates of the shape range for the main inclusion types, but for general purposes the overall shape range probably serves equally well.

The sorting of inclusions is also based on work undertaken by Pettijohn and others<sup>19</sup> (fig. 2). Geologists use sorting criteria to help determine sediment maturity. In ceramic analysis these can also be helpful but because of the common practice of adding 'opening materials' (sometimes called 'temper' or 'filler' by archaeologists) to the clay it is also used (as it is here) simply to give some indication of the size range of the inclusions present. A poorly sorted fabric has a range of inclusions from, for example, very small to very large, whereas in a very well sorted fabric the range might tend to be from large to very large only.

Pottery fabrics are the creation of the potter and so do not occur with the same consistency as the clays from which they derive. The terminology we use, taken largely from geology, should not blind us to the fact that we are dealing with a man-made object. Nor is the study of ceramics an exact science, but rather a statistical or probabilistic one. Thus, the point-count gives objectively derived data for the material examined. Where

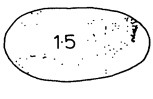

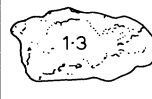



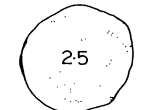





5. Well-rounded	4. Rounded	3. Subrounded	2. Subangular	1. Angular	0. Very angular	
 15	 14	 13	 12	 11	 10	LOW SPHERICITY
 25	 24	 23	 22	 21	 20	HIGH SPHERICITY

FIG. 1. Categories of roundness for inclusions of low and high sphericity (after Pettijohn *et al.*, *Sand and Sandstone*).

<sup>16</sup> P. T. Nicholson, *Iron Age Pottery Production in the Hunsrück-Eifel Kultur of Germany* (Oxford, 1989), 101 ff. (Hereafter cited as Nicholson, *Iron Age*.) For description of the apparatus used see especially F. Chayes, *American Mineralogist* 34 (1949), 1-11.

<sup>17</sup> F. Chayes, *Petrographic Modal Analysis* (London, 1956), 13.

<sup>18</sup> After F. J. Pettijohn, P. E. Potter and R. Siever, *Sand and Sandstone* (Berlin, 1973).

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* *ib.*

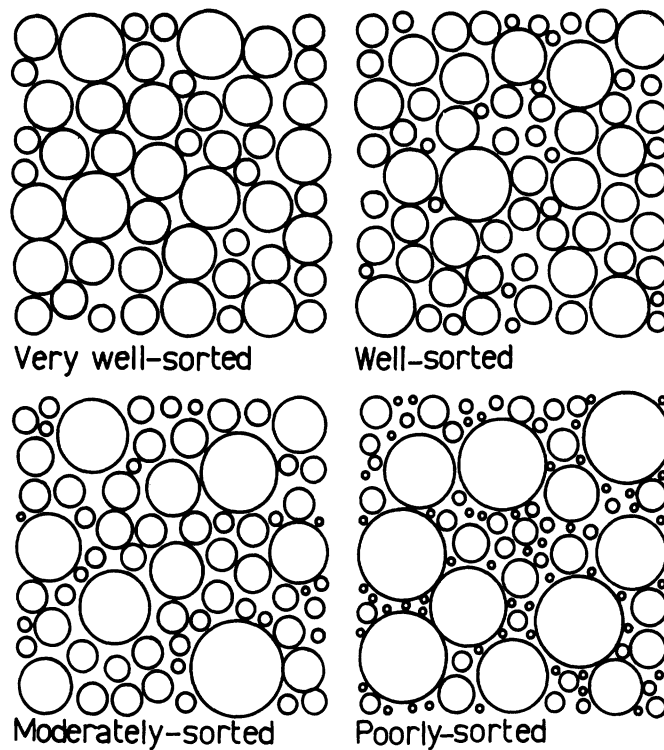


FIG. 2. Sorting in thin-sections (after Pettijohn *et al.*, *Sand and Sandstone*).

there are counts on several sections per sherd, and on several sherds per fabric, a good impression of the overall range of variation within the fabric should be obtained. This does not mean, however, that if the *average* count of inclusions for a fabric is 55 per cent, of which say 15 per cent are quartz, that a thin-section of a sherd having 56 per cent inclusions and 12 per cent quartz cannot be of the same fabric. All other criteria must be taken into account and careful judgement used. Particular caution should be urged in the use of the shape range, sorting, and colour criteria. They describe what was observed in the examples in question, but it is in the nature of 'traditional' ceramics that even a 'specialized' industry will show a degree of variation.

### Defining 'fabrics'

Unfortunately there is no easy and correct way to define a 'genuine fabric'. What appears to be a clear and genuine division at the macroscopic level (i.e. using a hand lens or low powered microscope) need not be so when examined microscopically in thin-section. Similarly, what the archaeologist identifies as a fabric may have had no meaning to the ancient potter.

We need to be very clear about how we characterize a fabric, and take into account evidence at a number of different levels. For example it might be found that two fabrics which are considered different at the macroscopic level contain exactly the same range of inclusions when examined microscopically, and that the quantity of these inclusions is sufficiently similar for them to be viewed as a single fabric at this level. The macroscopic difference must therefore be accounted for by some other factor. Perhaps the most likely

is that of firing, whereby a vessel may change not only colour but also appearance, due to vitrification and the (often nearly complete) destruction of some inclusions, such as limestone.

In the above example neither macroscopic nor microscopic analysis might be sufficient to answer the question 'are one or two fabrics represented?'. If it could be demonstrated that firing conditions had produced the differences,<sup>20</sup> the two macroscopically defined fabrics could be treated as one and time saved in differentiating between them. However, it is also possible that the ancient potter actually wanted to produce two separate 'fabrics'. If this is so, then the particular firing characteristics should occur in association with vessels of a specific shape, size, surface treatment or technology. In other words the same ceramic paste may be fired differently for different types of vessel. In this case, the macroscopic definition becomes meaningful to the archaeologist, even if it represents only a firing stage of an existing fabric as defined on the basis of inclusions seen in thin-section.

Similarly, if one macroscopic fabric can be divided into two or more groups on the basis of petrological examination, especially on the basis of point-counting or grain size analysis, but the two groups show no correlation with the other properties of the pottery (shape, size, decoration or technology of manufacture), then one might assume that the potter intended these two microscopic fabrics to be one, and that the variation is accidental, or that two or more workshops were engaged in making essentially the same vessel from essentially the same mixture of clay.

It follows from this that until a full analysis of the pottery types in relation to fabric has been made it is not possible, particularly with reference to rarely occurring fabrics, to say that they are 'genuine' groupings meaningful to the archaeologist. A fabric classification is an essential step in the analysis of the pottery but it does not mean that the same classification will emerge in the final reports of two similar sites. This is reflected here in the different degree to which fabrics have been subdivided at Memphis/Saqqara and Amarna. However, an examination such as this one can suggest similarities in fabrics between sites which can then be tested further.

### The samples

The following section describes the sherds, both macroscopically and in thin-sections. The sherds are grouped by fabric. Each entry begins with the provenance and excavation number of the sherd followed by a thin-section number, if appropriate. Table 2 provides a list of all thin-sections in numerical order, including those not described in the text. Point-count data summarized for each fabric appear in appendix 1 so that comparison can more easily be made. Data for individual point-counts are available on request. This work supersedes the preliminary study made of Amarna pottery<sup>21</sup> by Nicholson and Rose since the sample used here is larger and takes into account modifications in the macroscopic fabric classification.

### Memphis and Saqqara

The macroscopic fabric classifications used at Memphis and Saqqara are the same, and the prefix H is used to denote marl fabrics of the New Kingdom.

<sup>20</sup> Re-firing might help to determine this, cf. Nicholson, *Iron Age*, 121 ff.

<sup>21</sup> See Nicholson and Rose in *AR* II.



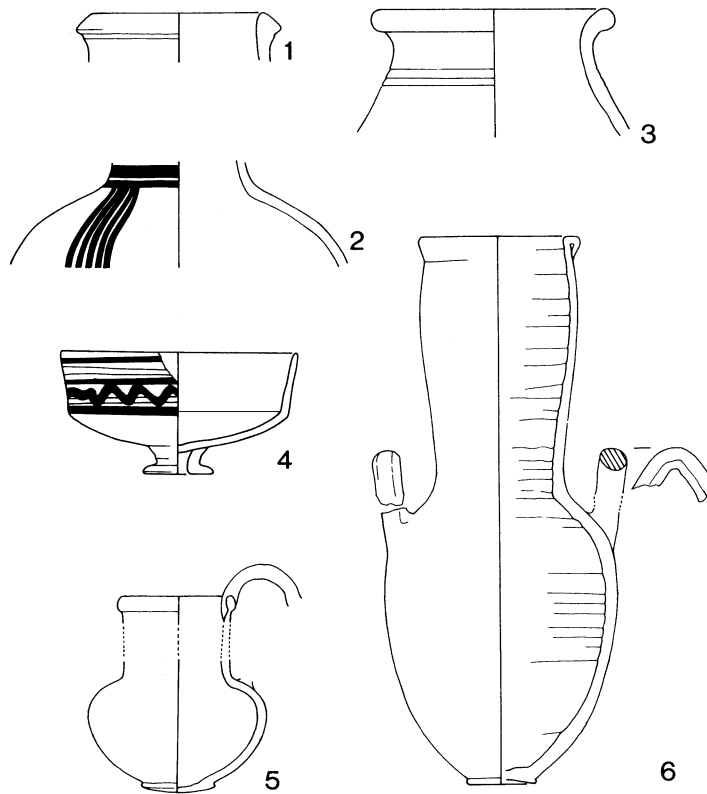


FIG. 3. Memphis/Saqqara vessel forms occurring in the fabrics discussed in this study (cf. fig. 4).

### Fabric H1

This is the most common marl clay at Memphis/Saqqara throughout the Eighteenth–early Nineteenth Dynasties.<sup>22</sup> It is used for a wide range of closed forms, including amphorae, fig. 3, 5–6. It corresponds to Marl D in the Vienna System and at Amarna to III: 2; III: 3; III: 5 and III: 6. At Qantir it corresponds to II.D.01, II.D.02,<sup>23</sup> and at Malkata to Ba.I.<sup>24</sup> The clay source or sources for H1 may have been in the Memphite or Delta region<sup>25</sup> since the fabric is much less common in Upper Egypt and a wine jar from Malkata with a label names a Delta vineyard. There are undoubtedly other examples of jar labels to be identified when as much attention is given to the fabric and shape of storage jars as to their inscriptions.<sup>26</sup>

RAT-40 2601. Section 1, pl. V, 1.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Shoulder and handle from an amphora, cf. fig. 5, 21. Fabric H1.

<sup>22</sup> Bourriau and Aston, *Paser*, 38–9.

<sup>23</sup> See D. Aston and B. G. Aston, *Ägypten und Levante* (forthcoming). (Hereafter cited as Aston and Aston, 'Qantir'.)

<sup>24</sup> C. A. Hope, *Malkata and the Birket Habu: Jar Sealings and Amphorae* (Warminster, 1977), 66–9. (Hereafter cited as Hope, *Malkata*.) See also C. A. Hope, H. M. Blauer and J. Riederer, in Do. Arnold (ed.), *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik* (Mainz, 1981), 139–66.

<sup>25</sup> See below under discussion of fabric H14.

<sup>26</sup> It is encouraging to note in the introduction to Y. Koenig, *Catalogues des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques de Deir el Médineh* (Cairo, 1979–80), that Helen Jacquet-Gordon plans a study of the pottery vessels upon which the labels occur.

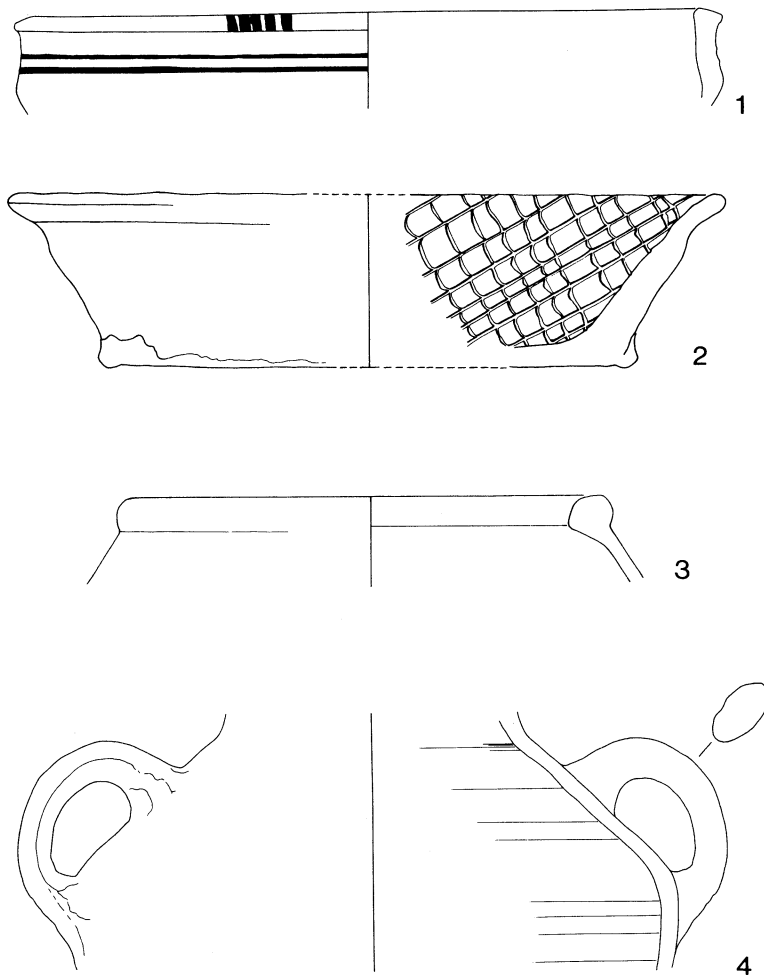


FIG. 4. Memphis/Saqqara vessel forms occurring in the fabrics discussed in this study (cf. fig. 3).

Inclusions: sand—fine [3]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [1]; ?shell—fine [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with fine elongated pores [1] and decomposed limestone [3].

Thin wall—4 mm wide. Break colour: narrow outer zones light reddish brown 5YR 6/4, core reddish brown 5YR 4/3. Surfaces pink 7.5YR 8/4.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Grey brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 32.2 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate to well sorted.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

There are abundant inclusions consisting mostly of quartz and limestone but also including both plagioclase and K-feldspar, the latter showing perthitic texture or appearing as microcline in some slides. There is also a small amount of amphibole and pyroxene. Some of the limestone contains forams (microfossil sea creatures) and shell fragments. A small amount of unmixed clay or grog (crushed fired pottery) is also found in some specimens.

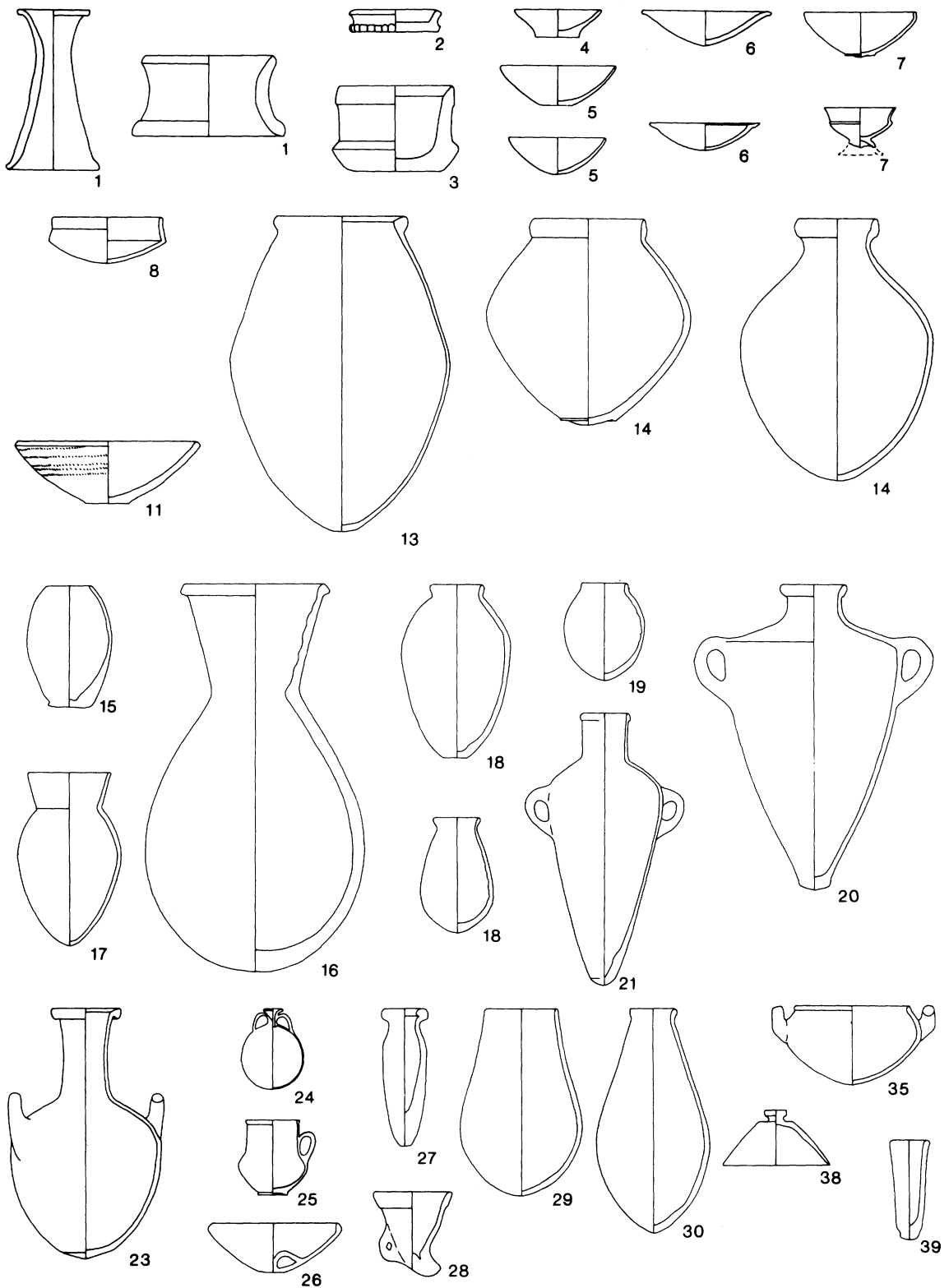


FIG. 5. The vessel groups occurring in the Workmen's Village pottery at Amarna, reproduced from *Amarna Reports* 1, fig. 10.1.

RAT-192 1089. Break, colour pl. 1, 15-16. Section no. 3, colour pl. 3a.  
Nineteenth Dynasty. Base of an amphora, cf. fig. 5, 21. Fabric H1.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; mica—fine [2]; rounded sand—medium [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores [1] and decomposed limestone—fine [2].

Medium vessel wall—7 mm. Break colour: narrow outer zones reddish yellow 5YR 6/4, core reddish brown 5YR 5/3. Outer surface: matte slip pinkish grey 7.5YR 7/2.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 18.2 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

Quartz and limestone comprise the majority of the inclusions though both plagioclase and K-feldspar are present (including microcline) along with small amounts of amphibole and pyroxene. Some muscovite mica is to be found in the clay. Microfossils were not noted. This, along with section 2 (not described) may come from a somewhat different limestone source than the more fossiliferous variety used in 1.

RAT-160 4638. Section no. 4.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Bowl rim, cf. fig. 5, 7 (upper). Fabric H1.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [2], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [1], medium [2], coarse [1]; mica—fine [1]; shell—fine [1]; rounded sand—coarse [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1], medium [1], coarse [1].

Dense and hard.

Medium vessel wall—8 mm. Break colour: zones light brown 7.5YR 6/4, core light grey 7.5YR 6/o.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Pale brown.

Colour XPL: Brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 25.7 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.2-2.5.

Quartz and limestone make up most of the inclusions, supplemented by plagioclase and K-feldspar (including perthite and microcline), amphibole and pyroxene. Some opaques (metal oxides) are also present. These are a common inclusion in pottery and derive either from naturally occurring inclusions in the clay or from material added to it as an opener (also called a temper or filler). Some of the quartz appears in its chalcedonic form and is probably derived from flint or chert. There are also some possible clay pellets. The limestone contains some microfossils and the overall appearance is similar to that of section 1.

#### *Comments on fabric H1: macroscopic*

The fabric's most conspicuous characteristic is the many fine irregular particles of limestone in a dark matrix. If it is tested with dilute HCl the reaction is spectacular. It is likely that the limestone particles have been deliberately added by the potter. Given the high quality of many vessels in this fabric, the pale surface colour may be intended to imitate stone.

Section 3 is typical of the fine textured, well sorted examples of H1, of which section no. 1 is another example. At the other end of the spectrum is section 4, which seems macroscopically to be close to H14. The thin-section confirms the relationship and there are examples of bowls, of the type to which section 4 belongs, made in fabric H14. As a result of this study the attribution of this vessel to H1 should be changed to H14.

RAT-105 4197 (section 2) is not described. The sherd is an amphora base with a pot mark and is close macroscopically to section 3, differing only in having more coarse and medium limestone inclusions and no dark mineral particles. Section 1 showed the presence of forams in the limestone particles as well as actual shell fragments in the matrix. These were difficult to identify under the microscope, even at 45× magnification. It was hard to differentiate them from the 'reaction rims' left by the decomposition of fine limestone particles during firing.<sup>27</sup>

Fabric H1 at Memphis/Saqqara corresponds to four different fabrics at Amarna and illustrates well the different approach to fabric classification of the ceramicists involved.<sup>28</sup>

#### *Comments on fabric H1: microscopic*

Though this has a fairly large SD (standard deviation) (6.2) the group has some visual consistency. Some differences are clear, however. Sections 1 and 4 both have quartz making up more than 20 per cent of the inclusions and they also have fossiliferous limestone, whereas samples 2 and 3 have under 20 per cent quartz and the limestone is more coarse and lacks fossils. This may reflect different limestone beds in a single vicinity or different workshops. A review of the vessel forms associated with these differences would be useful here.

#### **Fabric H2**

This fabric occurs at Memphis/Saqqara from the early- to late-Eighteenth Dynasty deposits. It does not seem to be present at Amarna, but since it was not possible to make thin-sections of examples,<sup>29</sup> this remains unproven. A group of bichrome painted ovoid jars in this fabric was found west of the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara.<sup>30</sup> The vessel section at a fresh break is illustrated on colour pl. 1, 11-12. A painted cup from an early Eighteenth Dynasty context, RAT-308/334 1252, seems macroscopically to belong to this fabric (see break on colour pl. 1, 9-10) but stylistically the vessel is related to Middle Bronze Age Palestine, rather than to Egypt.<sup>31</sup> Like H4, H2 belongs to the Marl A4 group in the Vienna System.

RAT-308/334 1252. Break colour pl. 1, 9-10. No thin-section.

Early Eighteenth Dynasty. Cup, fig. 3,4. Fabric H2.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—fine [1]; mica—fine [1]; shell—coarse [1]; grog—medium [1], coarse [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense and hard.

Thin vessel wall—3.5 mm. Break colour: zones light reddish brown 5YR 6/4, core pale yellow 5Y 7/3. Surfaces pale yellow like core.

Saqqara, Paser and Ra'ia. Break, colour pl. 1, 11-12. No thin-section.

Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Ovoid Jar.<sup>32</sup> Fabric H2.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—fine [2]; mica—fine [2]; ?shell—fine [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense, medium hard with decomposed limestone—fine [1]. Not well sorted.

Medium vessel wall—5 mm. Break colour: zones pale yellow 5Y 7/3, core light reddish brown 5Y 6/4. Surfaces: outer pale yellow like zones, inner light reddish brown like core.

<sup>27</sup> These show as voids or pits edged with a yellow or yellow-white ring of burned limestone.

<sup>28</sup> Nicholson and Rose, in *AR* II, 134; Bourriau and Aston, *Paser*, 38-9.

<sup>29</sup> It is hoped to make some this year to add to the final report.

<sup>30</sup> Bourriau and Aston, *Paser*, 39-40, pls. 36-7 nos. 92-4.

<sup>31</sup> Kathryn Eriksson (pers. comm.) has suggested a date in MBIIC/LBI for the type. In the same context were sherds of closely similar cups but made in an Egyptian Nile B2 fabric.

<sup>32</sup> Bourriau and Aston, *Paser*, 39-40, pls. 36-7 nos. 92-4.

*Comments on fabric H2: macroscopic*

Macroscopically H2 appears closely related to H4 but examples are less well sorted, showing a wide range of fine to coarse mineral inclusions, and both examples contain shell. Without the confirmation that would be provided by thin-sections this identification is not secure. The break shows no elongated pores, unlike H4, and exhibits distinct zones: reddish brown core with yellow outer zones. The Saqqara example is distinctly softer, but this may be due to different firing conditions.

**Fabric H4**<sup>33</sup>

H4 is not as common as H1 in the New Kingdom deposits at Memphis and is used mainly for medium sized jars and amphorae. Vessels sometimes carry bichrome (red and black) and polychrome (blue, red and black) decoration. It also occurs rarely in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. H4 corresponds to Marl A4 in the Vienna System, to II.A.04.01 at Qantir and Ba.II at Malkata.<sup>34</sup>

RAT-166 4442. Section no. 5, pl. V, 2.

Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Rim of bowl. Fabric H4.

Inclusions: sand—fine [1], medium [2]; straw—fine [1]; limestone—fine [2]; mica—fine [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard, with elongated pores [2] and decomposed limestone—fine [2].

Medium vessel wall—8 mm. Break colour: zones pink 7.5YR 8/4, core light brown 7.5YR 6/4. Surfaces like zones pink 7.5YR 8/4.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Green-brown.

Colour XPL: Reddish-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 15.8 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.2–1.5 and 2.2–2.5.

The section has a generally more sparse appearance than the sections of H1. The main inclusion is quartz, limestone being quite rare. Both plagioclase and K-feldspar are present and there are small amounts of muscovite mica and amphibole, along with opaques. The frequency of inclusions and the sorting are moderate. A number of elongated voids may be the result of the burning out of organic inclusions. Overall this is a less angular and less inclusion-filled fabric than those above.

RAT-94 3110. Section no. 6.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Rim from large jar. Fabric H4.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3]; straw—fine [1]; limestone—medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense and hard.

Medium vessel wall—8 mm. Break colour: zones light grey 5Y 7/2, core reddish yellow 5YR 6/6.

Surfaces: outer, like zones, light grey, and inner, like core, reddish yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Chocolate-brown/brown and orange.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 17.2 per cent.

Sorting: Well sorted.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

<sup>33</sup>There is no H3 in the current classification. Gaps in the number sequence have no significance. They have arisen as the fabric groupings have evolved and remain because of a reluctance to confuse the record by renumbering fabrics.

<sup>34</sup>See Nordström *LÄ* vi, 629–34; Aston and Aston, 'Qantir'; Hope, *Malkata*, 66–9.

Quartz is much the commonest inclusion, with limestone being very rare and present only as tiny fragments. K-feldspar is present and includes microcline and in addition there are amphibole and opaque oxides. Biotite mica is common, almost certainly a natural constituent of this particular clay. There are a few elongated voids, probably from plant material. Although this fabric is not identical to section 5 it does share more in common with it than with the H1 fabrics discussed above.

RAT-189 643. Section 8.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Amphora base, cf. fig. 5, 21. Fabric H<sub>4</sub>.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—coarse [1]; mica—fine [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense, hard, with elongated pores [1].

Medium vessel wall—8.5 mm. Break colour: pale olive 5Y 6/3. Surfaces: pale yellow 5Y 7/3.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown-black.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 19.5 per cent.

Sorting: Well sorted.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.0–1.5 and 2.0–2.5.

Under XPL this has a similar appearance to section 7 (not described), although the current specimen has more inclusions and macroscopically appears much more sandy, the vitrification being less evident. Quartz is the most abundant inclusion, with plagioclase and K-feldspar, amphibole and pyroxene and a very small amount of limestone also represented. A large clay pellet is found in two of the examples of this section and may be a deliberate addition to the mixture. Inclusions are generally well sorted and encompass the complete shape range, although the majority tend toward angularity. The red grains observed macroscopically are not evident in the thin-section.

*Comments on fabric H<sub>4</sub>: macroscopic*

Section 7, not described, is notable only for the absence of limestone particles which is confirmed by the thin-section. The sherd was tested with dilute HCl and no reaction was visible. The reason for this effect is that at firing temperatures between 700 and 800 degrees centigrade limestone begins to decompose. The high firing temperature of the sherd is shown by its colour, the break exhibiting a pale yellow<sup>35</sup> core 5Y 7/3 and lighter zones 5Y 8/3. Sections 6 and 8 were both originally described as containing many fine inclusions of limestone, but at 45× magnification it became clear that the limestone was calcareous material in the clay matrix and not discrete particles included in it. The distinction is an important one because we must try to differentiate if we can those characteristics which belong to the raw clay from those which were acquired during the potter's preparation of his paste.

*Comments on fabric H<sub>4</sub>: microscopic*

Although this has a low standard deviation and a range of similar inclusions throughout, it is not so homogeneous visually. Samples 5 and 6 are not especially similar, while 7 and 8 are more closely related but not identical. The specimen of Qantir II.A.04.01 which is supposed to be uniform with this fabric is closest to section 8. Point-counting of the Qantir specimen places it in the general H<sub>4</sub> range.

Macroscopically section 7 shows clear bands and speckles of brown against the olive-green clay, and these are observed microscopically also. Some sherds from RAT show what is clearly staining from the effects of burial, but this is not what is represented here. Rather it is suggested

<sup>35</sup> The names given to colours in the Munsell Color Chart are sometimes misleading; the colour of this sherd is close to white.

that this patterning might come from the incomplete mixing of two different clays whose composition has led to different colouring of the fired vessel. This needs further investigation but is suggested as a possibility.

### Fabric H8

At Memphis this fabric is used for medium-sized storage vessels, and large ring-based carinated bowls. It is common in deposits from the early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty but then becomes rare and is replaced by H1. This restricted date range explains why we have not found it at Saqqara and is rare at Amarna. Jars frequently carry incised decoration. The fabric occurs also in Upper Egypt, at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, and its appearance in quantity at Memphis appears to be both sudden and characteristic of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. The vessels from Memphis may be actual imports from Upper Egypt since Neutron Activation Analysis of some sherds of H8 from Memphis has grouped them with sherds of the same fabric, from Ballas.<sup>36</sup>

The fabric corresponds to Marl B in the Vienna System and to II.B at Qantir. Macroscopically it seems close to Amarna III: 8.

RAT-293 6295. Section no. 10, pl. VI, 1.

Mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Jar rim, cf. fig. 3,3. Fabric H8.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; limestone—coarse [1]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand—coarse [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—medium [2]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with decomposed limestone [3].

Medium vessel wall—5 mm. Break colour: zones pale yellow 5Y 8/4, core light reddish brown 2.5YR 6/4. Surfaces both pale yellow like the zones.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 22.5 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

This is at once clearly separable from H4 by its lower frequency and greater size of inclusions. The fabric is quartz rich but also contains a fairly high proportion of limestone and lesser amounts of plagioclase and K-feldspar (the latter including microcline and perthite), amphibole, pyroxene and opaques. There are some rock fragments believed to be igneous and also clay pellets in some specimens. Muscovite mica occurs, though rarely, in the clay.

RAT-310 5371. Section no. 11.

Early Eighteenth Dynasty. Rim from jar, fig. 3,3. Fabric H8.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [2], coarse [1]; stau—fine [1]; limestone—medium [1]; mica—fine [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1], coarse [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1], medium [1].

Dense, hard with decomposed limestone.

Medium vessel wall—5.5 mm. Break colour: zones light reddish brown 2.5YR 6/4, core pink 5YR 7/4. Surfaces both pinkish white 5YR 8/3.

<sup>36</sup> See A. Bellido, J. Bourriau and V. Robinson, forthcoming. For Ballas pottery see J. Bourriau, in P. Lacovara, *Deir el-Ballas. Preliminary Report on the Deir el-Ballas Expedition, 1980–1986* (Winona Lake, 1990), 20–1, figs. 4.4, 4.5. (Hereafter cited as Bourriau, *Ballas*.)



Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 24.7 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.5 and 2.1–2.5.

The overall appearance is like that of the previous specimen. Quartz is the commonest inclusion, there are good examples of plagioclase feldspar, and K-feldspar includes both microcline and perthite. Amphibole, pyroxene, opaques and limestone are present and there are also some volcanic rock fragments. Muscovite mica occurs in small amounts.

*Comments on fabric H8: macroscopic*

This fabric is characterized visually by the number and size range of the sand inclusions and this is what differentiates it from H4. It is ill-sorted and surfaces are gritty to the touch. It is usually highly fired, yellow to greenish white, and this accounts for the fact that little or no reaction to HCl was noted. The appearance of all H8 examples is macroscopically very homogeneous. RAT-20 2343, section no. 12, which is not described, has the most numerous coarse particles of sand and dark mineral particles, but the sherd comes from a large potstand with an exceptionally thick vessel wall—16 mm wide. It is likely that the potter deliberately chose a coarse mixture of his paste to make such a heavy vessel.

The comment made above in relation to limestone in the clay matrix of sections 6 and 8 applies also to sections 10 and 11.

*Comments on fabric H8: microscopic*

This has one of the lowest standard deviations recorded for any fabric (1.5) and is also visually consistent. This is also the case when the section is viewed macroscopically as it has a very open 'holey' appearance from the numerous quartz inclusions. The Qantir specimens (fabric II.B) are very similar visually, and a confirmatory point-count does not detract from this, though they do have slightly more inclusions in most cases.

**Fabrics H9, H10 and H9-10**

H9 was first identified macroscopically as a fine variant of fabric H10. It proved difficult to separate the two fabrics consistently, so the group H9-10 was created. Examination of thin-sections alongside fresh breaks of the same sherds has suggested the following groupings: Sections 17, 18, 19, 23 for H9; sections 22 and 24 for H10. What remains is a heterogeneous group related to the other two but too diverse to make a satisfactory group of its own. This makes up H9-10 and consists of sections 15, 16, 20 and 21.

Both fabrics, H9 and H10, probably correspond to Marl A2 in the Vienna System. H9 corresponds to II.A.04.02 at Qantir and to Amarna III: 4 and V: 6. It may be significant that three of the four examples of H9 come from Saqqara.

Vessels in fabric H10 form a distinct category at Memphis which is missing from the material at the New Kingdom necropolis. They occur in early- to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty contexts, in the form of squat, often carinated, jars. They are carefully made and finished, with burnished surfaces often painted in black with rim ticks and linear decoration.<sup>37</sup>

Saqqara, surface above the tomb of Maya. Section no. 17.  
Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Body sherd. Fabric H9.

<sup>37</sup> Bourriau, *Pottery*, no. 264. The fabric is there identified as Marl A1 in the Vienna System. Subsequent experience of Eighteenth Dynasty pottery suggests Marl A2 to be correct.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [1]; limestone—fine [3], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; silica formations—fine [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [1], medium [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores and decomposed limestone particles [1].

Medium vessel wall—9 mm. Break colour: zones reddish yellow 5YR 6/6, core light reddish brown 5YR 6/3.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 43.2 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

The section contains mostly quartz and limestone, the latter associated with microfossils. Plagioclase feldspar, biotite and muscovite mica, and amphiboles are also present.

Saqqara, tomb of Maya, New Kingdom deposit. Section 18, pl. VI, 2.

Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Body sherd. Fabric Hg.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3]; limestone—fine [3]; mica—fine [2]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores [2] and decomposed limestone—fine [3].

Medium vessel wall—5 mm. Break colour: light red 2.5YR 6/6. Surfaces pink 7.5YR 8/4.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 38.7 per cent.

Sorting: Well sorted.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

This resembles the previous sample closely. Quartz and limestone make up the bulk of the inclusions, though the limestone seems to have yielded relatively few microfossils. Plagioclase and K-feldspar are present, the latter including microcline. Biotite and muscovite mica occur as do amphibole, pyroxene, and opaques. Some probable grog also occurs.

Saqqara, New Kingdom deposit, tomb of Maya. Break, colour pl. 1, 1–2. Section no. 19.

Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Body sherd from amphora, cf. fig. 5, 21. Fabric Hg.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—coarse [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores [2] and decomposed limestone—fine [2].

Medium vessel wall—5 mm. Break colour: light red 2.5YR 6/6. Surfaces pink 7.5YR 8/4.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 35.7 per cent.

Sorting: Well sorted.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.0–1.5 and 2.0–2.5.

In PPL this section is red-brown, becoming dark red-brown under XPL. Quartz and limestone comprise the majority of the inclusions in this fabric, with plagioclase and K-feldspar, biotite and muscovite mica, amphibole and opaques making up the rest.

RAT-20 2414. Section 23.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Rim of large jar, cf. fig. 5, 16. Fabric Hg.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [2]; limestone—fine [3], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2], medium [2]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense, hard with decomposed limestone particles—medium [1].  
Medium vessel wall—9 mm. Break and surfaces light red 2.5YR 6/6.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 37.3 per cent.

Sorting: Well sorted.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.5.

The principal inclusions are quartz and limestone. Plagioclase and K-feldspar (including microcline), biotite mica, amphibole and opaques are also present. The biotite is particularly clear.

RAT-308 334 1247. Break, colour pl. 1, 6–7. Section no. 22, pl. VII, 2.

Early Eighteenth Dynasty. Shoulder of squat jar with linear decoration, fig. 3, 2. Fabric H10.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [1]; grey-white particles—medium [2]; red-brown particles—fine [2], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense and hard with decomposed limestone—fine [1].

Medium vessel wall—6 mm. Break colour: 2.5YR 5/8 red. Surfaces 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 30.8 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate–poor

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.5.

The main inclusions in this section are again quartz and limestone, though as in the previous two samples the limestone is not obvious under XPL. There are also a number of microfossils derived from the limestone. Plagioclase and K-feldspar are present, the latter including microcline. Biotite mica is very obvious while amphibole, pyroxene and opaques are also present. The fabric is stained, presumably from burial or use, but this is readily distinguished from patching caused by clay mixing.

RAT-276 5104. Section no. 24.

Early Eighteenth Dynasty. Rim of squat jar with linear decoration, fig. 3, 1. Fabric H10.

Inclusions: sand—fine [1]; limestone—fine [2]; mica—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense and hard.

Medium vessel wall—5.5 mm. Break colour: 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown. Surfaces 5Y 7/3 pale yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red/grey-brown.

Colour XPL: Red/grey-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 30.5 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

Quartz and limestone comprise the bulk of the inclusions in this section. Plagioclase and K-feldspar, the latter including microcline and perthite, also occur along with biotite and muscovite mica, pyroxene and opaques. One small fragment is apparently volcanic, though as with most of the multi-mineralic rock fragments certain identification is not possible. This specimen also shows staining from burial or use.

RAT-20 2420. Break, colour pl. 1, 3–4. Section no. 15.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Rim of a large jar, cf. fig. 5, 16. Fabric Hg-10.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; silica formations—fine [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores [1] and decomposed limestone—fine [1].

Medium vessel wall—7 mm. Break colour: zones reddish yellow 5YR 6/6, core reddish yellow 5YR 6/6. Surfaces both pink 5YR 7/4.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 29.3 per cent.

Sorting: Well sorted.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.2–2.3.

Quartz is the commonest inclusion but plagioclase and K-feldspar (including microcline and perthite), biotite and muscovite mica, amphibole and pyroxene, opaques and limestone are also present. The section shows patches of black which seem to be staining of the fabric from burial conditions or possibly from use before burial.

RAT-408 1372. Section no. 16.

Mid-late Eighteenth Dynasty. Ring base of bowl, cf. fig. 5,7 (upper). Fabric Hg-10.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [1]; straw—fine [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; grey-white particles—fine [2], medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense and hard.

Thick vessel wall—10 mm. Break colour: zones 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, core 5YR 5/3 reddish brown. Surfaces both reddish brown like the core.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 34.2 per cent.

Sorting: Well sorted.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

Like no. 15 this is quartz rich, and plagioclase and K-feldspar, biotite and muscovite mica, amphibole and pyroxene opaques and limestone are all present. There are some voids from plant material. However, the overall appearance of the specimen is rather different.

The limestone is much more common and shows much more clearly and a number of microfossils are present.

RAT-367. Break, colour pl. 1, 5. Section no. 20, pl. VII, 1.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Body sherd. Fabric Hg-10.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3]; staw—fine [2]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; silica formations—fine [1]; grog—coarse [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1], medium [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores [1] and decomposed limestone—fine [2].

Medium vessel wall—7 mm. Break colour: outer zones 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, core 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown. Surfaces: outer covered by red burnished slip 10R 5/4 weak red, inner 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Red.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 29.5 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.5 and 2.2–2.4.

This section comprises mostly quartz and limestone inclusions with plagioclase and K-feldspar, biotite, and amphibole. A number of elongated voids seem to be from plant remains, added as either fine chaff or possibly dung. There are also some fragments believed to be grog.

RAT-302. Section no. 21.

Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Body sherd. Fabric H<sub>9</sub>-10.

Microscopic Description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 32.5 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

This section resembles the previous one very closely, not least in that under crossed polars the limestone is not obvious, except in section 21 c where there is a particularly large piece. The main inclusions are quartz and limestone, and there are also plagioclase and K-feldspar (including perthite), biotite and muscovite mica, amphibole and pyroxene. Some of the limestone includes particles of quartz, and is thus rather more coarse than in some of the other specimens. There seems to be a loose division between these rather coarse limestones and those which are fossiliferous. Plant remains, or rather the voids left from their decay/removal in firing, are also visible.

*Comments on fabrics H<sub>9</sub>, H<sub>10</sub> and H<sub>9</sub>-10: macroscopic*

The sherds in these three groups are extremely difficult to distinguish by eye using a hand lens with 10× magnification and even with a microscope. However, H<sub>10</sub> appears to be a 'genuine' fabric used for a restricted range of vessel types so it seems worth retaining the distinction if possible. H<sub>9</sub> examples show many fine sand and limestone inclusions and are highly fired. Some examples, (see section 17) contain silica formations from burnt out fine straw and these also show a distinct colour zoning in the break. H<sub>10</sub> never contains plant remains or shows zoning and contains fewer sand and limestone inclusions and these are less well sorted.

*Comments on fabrics H<sub>9</sub>, H<sub>10</sub> and H<sub>9</sub>-10: microscopic*

The macroscopic observations are generally borne out by the thin-sections for these three groups. H<sub>9</sub> is visually quite consistent and this is largely confirmed by the point-count. Section 23 is the least uniform with the group, having more quartz and less limestone, but it does seem to belong more comfortably there than elsewhere. H<sub>9</sub> contains more inclusions than H<sub>10</sub>, showing limestone at 19.9 per cent in contrast to 6.3 per cent for H<sub>10</sub>. H<sub>10</sub> is represented by only two examples, but has good overall similarity, both examples having precisely the same inclusions to clay ratio when point-counted. There are, however, variations in the counts for individual inclusions, with limestone varying between 4.3 per cent and 8.3 per cent in the two specimens. However, there is little doubt that the two belong together.

The H<sub>9</sub>-10 group is diverse with variations in inclusion to clay ratios and in individual inclusions. The percentage of limestone is again particularly variable with individual specimens showing between 0.7 per cent and 16.3 per cent. It is possible that if a large number of H<sub>9</sub>, H<sub>10</sub> and H<sub>9</sub>-10 sherds were examined in thin-section and point-counted, the degree of variation between the classes would lead to their being assigned to the same fabric group, but for the moment H<sub>9</sub> and H<sub>10</sub> seem useful and definable categories macroscopically, with the H<sub>9</sub>-10 category a convenient 'group' for clearly related but peculiar examples. Sections 15 and 16 are silty in appearance and contain plant remains, and may be an indication that this group comprises mixed marl and Nile clays.

**Fabric H<sub>11</sub>**

This rare fabric corresponds to Marl E in the Vienna System.<sup>38</sup> In terms of colour, texture and

<sup>38</sup> Nordström *LÄ* VI, 629-34.

inclusions it is close to H8 (Marl B in the Vienna System) but contains quantities of straw temper. It occurs only in the early Eighteenth Dynasty deposits at Memphis and in only one form, see fig. 4.2. This suggests that the deliberate addition of straw by the potter was related to the special function of this single form. Similar vessels, typically hand-made, oval in shape and with incised decoration on the inside, occur in Second Intermediate Period to early Eighteenth Dynasty levels at Ballas in Upper Egypt and in a straw-tempered Nile clay.<sup>39</sup> They are commonly called 'bread-trays' or 'bread moulds'. At Memphis they are found from the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty to the early Eighteenth Dynasty but the pre-Eighteenth Dynasty examples are all made of a different coarse marl clay, Marl C.<sup>40</sup> Given the restricted date range of H11 at Memphis, it is not surprising that it has no equivalent at Amarna or Saqqara. If the association of this pottery type with bread-making is correct, then its abrupt disappearance from the Memphis pottery repertoire after the early Eighteenth Dynasty may indicate a change in methods of breadmaking at that time. Perhaps the current investigation into bread and beer making at Amarna by Delwen Samuel will help to explain this in due course.

RAT-308 334 1225. Section no. 25, pl. VIII, 1.

Early Eighteenth Dynasty. Bread tray, fig. 4.2. Fabric H11.

Inclusions: sand—medium [2], coarse [1]; straw—fine [1], medium [1], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—coarse [1]; pellets of unmixed clay; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—medium [2], coarse [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Medium and crumbly with decomposed limestone—fine [1].

Medium vessel wall—9 mm. Break colour: zones 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown, core 5Y 8/4 pale yellow. Surfaces 5Y 8/4 pale yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green-brown.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 23.7 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.5 and 2.2–2.5.

Although the inclusions in this section are less common than in H10, the section still appears densely packed with mineral fragments. The main constituents are, as usual, quartz and limestone. Lesser constituents are K-feldspar including perthite and microcline, biotite mica, amphibole and pyroxene, opaques and some clay pellets. There are also voids from plant remains which are larger and more common than in most fabrics, giving a ragged appearance to the thin-section.

#### *Comments on fabric H11: microscopic*

This is represented by only a single sample so that conclusions are difficult to draw; however it has similarities to H8, especially to section 12.

#### **Fabric H13**

This is a rare fabric, composed of marl clays of different colours so poorly mixed by the potter as to give a streaked appearance. Nicholson and Patterson have noted that the modern potters at Deir el Gharbi mine clay as lumps comprising bands of different colours but then mix them into an evenly coloured paste.<sup>41</sup> There seems to be no visible difference in composition between the brown streaks and the paler matrix, and the fabric seems to be related to H8 (Marl B). It has no equivalent at Amarna and only one section could be made from it. At the time of writing, further examples have recently been discovered in early Eighteenth Dynasty deposits at Memphis but it remains uncommon, and it has not so far been found at Saqqara.

<sup>39</sup> Bourriau, *Ballas*, 19, fig. 4.1: 12–13. Marl E also occurs at Ballas, used there for storage jars and cooking pots, *ibid.* 21–2, fig. 4.6: 8–11.

<sup>40</sup> A fine example is illustrated in *JEA* 75 (1989), 5, fig. 3.

<sup>41</sup> See P. T. Nicholson and H. L. Patterson, *World Archaeology* 17/2 (1985), 222–39.

RAT-547. Break, colour pl. 1, 8. Section no. 30, pl. VIII, 2.  
Eighteenth Dynasty. Body sherd. Fabric H13.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [1]; straw—fine [1]; mica—fine [1]; silica formations—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; ochre—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [2], medium [1].

Medium and crumbly.

Medium vessel wall—8.5 mm. Break colour: zones 5YR 7/3 pink with streaks of 2.5YR 6/4 reddish brown, outer zones 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green-brown and red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 17 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

This unusual fabric is sufficiently rare to be represented by only a single sherd in this collection. The main inclusion is quartz though plagioclase and K-feldspar (including perthite), muscovite mica, amphibole and pyroxene (including aegirine augite), opaques and a small amount of limestone are also present. Clay pellets and small plant voids are also visible. Nonetheless, the most interesting feature of the fabric is its banding, believed to be evidence for clay mixing and giving the sherd a distinctive variegated appearance (best described by its field epithet of 'raspberry ripple'). This banding shows clearly in both macroscopic and microscopic section, though it is less clear when viewed under XPL.

#### *Comments on fabric H13: microscopic*

Only one specimen of this fabric is included in the sample, which makes any conclusions difficult. Although it shares affinities with H4 it cannot be identified with it, and the characteristic banding renders it distinct from any of the other fabrics examined in this study.

#### **Fabrics H14, H14? and H14 Coarse**

This grouping of coarse marl fabrics seems macroscopically to be closely related to H1 at the coarsest end of its range (see above p. 37) although the absence of many fine irregular limestone particles and the distinctive zoning of the break easily distinguish it from H1. Characteristically, H14 is a poorly mixed clay with many elongated pores and many varied and coarse mineral inclusions. Because the fabric is so coarse it is easy to see differences between almost any two examples and for this reason subdivisions have been created.

The fabric is used chiefly for large amphorae such as fig. 4,4 and large storage jars and spinning bowls. It is much more common at Memphis than at Saqqara where it occurs only in the form of amphorae. H14 and H14? seem to correspond to III: 9 of Amarna and to II.F.02 at Qantir, where it is common and used for open as well as closed vessels. The Astons have suggested that H14 originates in the Delta region and H1 in the Memphite/Faiyum area.<sup>42</sup> This study neither supports nor refutes this interesting suggestion<sup>43</sup> but confirms that a strong relationship existed between the two fabrics. As a result it is suggested that H14 may be related to the Marl D group in the Vienna System to which H1 belongs.

Both examples of H14 Coarse come from Saqqara and the fabric has so far not been identified at Memphis. It is very rare and the only shape in which it is known to occur is an amphora, cf. fig. 5,23. This study suggests strongly that vessels of this fabric are imports to Saqqara, possibly from Aswan (see comments) and should therefore be differentiated from the rest of the H14 group.

RAT-85 2852. Section no. 31.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Rim of 'meat jar', cf. fig. 4,3. Fabric H14.

<sup>42</sup> Aston and Aston, 'Qantir'.

<sup>43</sup> Analysis of the clay as well as the inclusions would be required for this.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [2]; straw—fine [1?]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; mica—fine [2]; shell—fine [2]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1], medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [1], coarse [1] and decomposed limestone—fine [1], medium [1].

Medium vessel wall—8.5 mm. Break colour: 5YR 5/4 reddish brown. Surfaces: outer 5Y 8/3 pale yellow slipped and burnished; inner 5YR 5/1 grey.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Dark brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximated Shape Range: 1.0–1.3 and 2.2–2.4.

The main constituents of this section are quartz and limestone, the latter in large angular pieces and clearly visible under both PPL and XPL. Some of the limestone contains quartz grains, and though there are some large rounded fragments, many are quite angular and may have been deliberately crushed for adding to the fabric. There are some elongated pieces of limestone which may actually be badly preserved pieces of shell. Plagioclase and K-feldspar, the latter with microcline and perthite, are found along with biotite, amphibole, pyroxene and opaques. Some elongated voids probably result from the burning out of plant remains. A large void resulting from the folding over of the rim is clearly visible in section 31 a.

RAT-327 5417. Section no. 32.

Early Eighteenth Dynasty. Shoulder and handle from an amphora. Fabric H14.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [2], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—coarse [1]; grog?—fine [1], medium [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1], medium [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—medium [1] and decomposed limestone—fine [2], coarse [1].

Thin vessel wall—4 mm. Break colour: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Surfaces 5Y 7/3 pale yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Dark red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 19.5 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

The limestone inclusions in this slide are much less apparent than in the previous specimen, and quartz is the most common inclusion. K-feldspar is represented by microcline, and perthite and muscovite mica and amphibole are also present. Clay pellets/grog are also found.

RAT-94 2714. Section no. 33, pl. IX, 1.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Rim of bowl, cf. fig. 5, 5 lower. Fabric H14.

Inclusions: sand—fine [1], medium [2], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [1]; silica formations—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1], coarse [1]; ochre—medium [1], coarse [1]; grey-white particles—fine [2], medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1], medium [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [1] and decomposed limestone—coarse [1].

Medium vessel wall—5.5 mm. Break colour: zones 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, core 5YR 6/3 light reddish brown. Surfaces 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 32.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.



Approximate Shape Range: 1.0-1.3 and 2.2-2.4.

The similarity between this and section 31 is immediately apparent, the limestone showing very clearly under both PPL and XPL. The limestone is notable for its microfossils, particularly a very well preserved piece of fossil wood in 33 a, along with forams and nummulites. Quartz is the other major constituent, with plagioclase and K-feldspar both present (including microcline and perthite), along with muscovite mica, amphibole, pyroxene and voids left by the destruction of organic material. Like several other specimens examined, this sherd shows staining from burial or use.

RAT-88 2641. Break, colour pl. 1, 17-18. Section no. 38, pl. X, 1.

Nineteenth Dynasty. Rim of a large jar, cf. fig. 5, 16. Fabric H14.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1], coarse [1]; unmixed marl—coarse [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1], coarse [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [2], medium [2] and decomposed limestone—fine [2].

Medium vessel wall—6 mm. Break colour: 5YR 6/3 light reddish brown. Surfaces inner 5YR 6/3 light reddish brown, outer 5Y 7/3 pale yellow, slipped and burnished.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 33 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.5 and 2.1-2.5.

This is like the majority of the H14 fabric specimens, with quartz and limestone as the main constituents. There are some nummulites from the limestone. Plagioclase and K-feldspar, amphibole, opaques and clay pellets are also present. Biotite mica can be found in some sections but is rare.

Saqqara, New Kingdom necropolis, surface. Break, colour pl. 1, 21-2. Section no. 36, pl. IX, 2.

Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Body sherd. Fabric H14 Coarse.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2]; limestone—fine [1], medium [1], coarse [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; grog—medium [1]; green rock inclusions—medium [1]; very dense red-brown rock inclusions; grey-white particles—medium [1], coarse [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [2], medium [1].

Dense and hard with decomposed limestone—coarse [1].

Medium vessel wall—7 mm. Break colour: 7.5YR 6/2 pinkish grey. Surfaces 5Y 7/3 pale yellow. The surfaces show pitting.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Green-brown.

Colour XPL: Brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 31.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.2-2.5.

This is a particularly distinctive specimen, and though it has some features in common with other H14 specimens it is readily separable from them. Quartz and limestone are the commonest inclusions but there are also large fragments of pyroxene, as well as K-feldspar and volcanic and schist fragments. Some forams are to be found in these specimens too. The limestone itself is variable in appearance, some being yellow brown, others a fine white and still other fragments containing quartz. Grog is also present, closely resembling the limestone.

Saqqara, tomb of Maya, surface. Break, colour pl. 1, 19-20. Section no. 37, pl. 3.b.

Late Eighteenth Dynasty. Amphora, cf. fig. 5, 23. Fabric H14 Coarse.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2]; limestone—coarse [1]; mica—fine [2]; rounded sand grains—medium

[1]; grog—medium [1], coarse [1]; green rock fragments—fine [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2], coarse [1]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [2], coarse [1]; and decomposed limestone—coarse [1].

Medium vessel wall—5 mm. Break colour: 7.5YR 6/2 pinkish grey. Surfaces 5Y 7/3 pale yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green.

Colour XPL: Dark olive green.

Frequency of Inclusions: 32.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.2–2.5.

This is very similar to the previous specimen and contains mainly quartz and limestone. K-feldspar, biotite mica and pyroxene are also present. The pyroxene inclusions are large and angular like those in section 36; there are also volcanic rock fragments, a ferruginous nodule with quartz in it and also a fragment of the heavy mineral (those minerals with a specific gravity above 2.9) kyanite, characteristic of low grade metamorphism. It is possible that some of the discoloured limestone recorded here is actually grog, but it is even more difficult to distinguish than in the previous specimen.

*Comments on fabrics H<sub>14</sub>, H<sub>14</sub>? and H<sub>14</sub> Coarse: macroscopic*

The presence of shell noted in section 31 under the microscope was not confirmed unequivocally by the thin-section. Two sections, 34 and 35, are not described but were placed macroscopically in the category of H<sub>14</sub>?. Study of sherds alongside their thin-sections confirms that they belong in the H<sub>14</sub> class. The doubtful class H<sub>14</sub>? can effectively be eliminated. H<sub>14</sub> Coarse, on the other hand, is macroscopically distinct. The range of mineral inclusions is greater and they are of larger size. The paste appears to be even more poorly sorted than H<sub>14</sub> resulting in a distinctive surface pitting where large mineral particles have burned away during firing. The volcanic rock particles peculiar to this fabric, identified in thin-section, are visible under the microscope as green, translucent, medium sized particles. This is reassuring since it confirms that this distinctive fabric can be recognized by eye.

*Comments on fabrics H<sub>14</sub>, H<sub>14</sub>? and H<sub>14</sub> Coarse: microscopic*

H<sub>14</sub> and H<sub>14</sub>? are visually quite similar, except for section 32 which has many fewer inclusions, particularly limestone, something clearly borne out by the point-count data. The suggested relationship between H<sub>1</sub> and H<sub>14</sub> is strongly supported by the point-count data though H<sub>14</sub> is generally coarser than H<sub>1</sub>.

As discussed above, H<sub>14</sub> Coarse has more volcanic minerals than standard H<sub>14</sub>, and is readily distinguished from it. However, internally it is very consistent, with a standard deviation of only 0.7 (this is based on one count per sherd, rather than three, but it does appear to be representative).

If this is an Egyptian fabric, and the shape type and method of manufacture belong firmly to the Egyptian repertoire, then the source for it may be in the Aswan area since the volcanic mineral and rock fragments are larger and more angular than would be expected from material derived from a sediment.

### Amarna

Descriptions of the Amarna pottery fabrics have already been published by Pamela Rose in *Amarna Reports* II.<sup>44</sup> In order to make comparisons with the Memphis/Saqqara classification easier, a sample set of Amarna sherds was described macroscopically and photographed to match those made for Memphis/Saqqara. Pamela Rose's attributions to fabric classes were followed in every case. Where the thin-sectioned sherd was not available, another example of the same fabric was

<sup>44</sup> Nicholson and Rose, *AR* II, 133 ff.

used. Only one example of each fabric class was usually available, and occasionally not even one example of the rarest fabrics could be spared. In these cases a macroscopic description was made by looking at the thin-section under the binocular microscope as though it were a sherd, but the results were not wholly satisfactory and should not be relied upon.<sup>45</sup>

The Amarna marls are divided into two classes, denoted by III and V. This division was originally made to ease computer coding and has no meaning in ceramic terms. Since the V's are, however, a later addition to the system they tend also to represent the less common marl fabrics. Hence in the following sequence there are some omissions where rare fabrics were unavailable, and single examples where normally three separate sherds would have been chosen.

### Fabric III: 1<sup>46</sup>

Used for spinning bowls, medium sized bottles, jars and vases, cf. fig. 5,26, this is comparable macroscopically to H<sub>4</sub> at Memphis/Saqqara, Ba.II at Malkata and II.A.04.01 at Qantir and Marl A<sub>4</sub> in the Vienna System.

TA-77 X172. Section no. 45.

Amarna Period. Spinning bowl, cf. fig. 5,26. Fabric III: 1.

Described from macroscopic examination of thin-section.<sup>47</sup>

Inclusions: sand—fine [2]; limestone—fine [1]; mica—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense and hard.

Medium vessel wall—7 mm.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green and red.

Colour XPL: Olive green and red.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 23.2 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.3 and 2.1–2.4.

This specimen is characterized by small grains of quartz and limestone, only the former being readily visible under XPL. The limestone is close to the colour of the clay and is not readily differentiated from it. Plagioclase and K-feldspar, the latter including perthite and microcline, biotite, muscovite, amphibole, pyroxene and opaques are also present. Some sections also contain forams. The biotite is natural to the clay and emphasizes the preferred alignment of the other particles.

TA-77 X91. Break, colour pl. 2, 4–5. Section no. 46, pl. 4.a.

Amarna Period. Carinated bowl, cf. fig. 4, 1. Fabric III: 1.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1], medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [1].

Medium vessel wall—7 mm. Break colour: 10R 5/6 red. Surfaces 10R 5/4 weak red.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 38.5 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

<sup>45</sup>The Amarna sherds, from the study collection in Cambridge, were photographed using the Wild microscope in the Conservation Laboratory of the Fitzwilliam Museum, which has an adjustable lens aperture. As a result the photographs of the Amarna sherd breaks appear darker and sharper than those taken at Saqqara. Thanks are due to Julie Dawson for the use of this equipment.

<sup>46</sup>Nicholson and Rose, in *AR* II, 135–6.

<sup>47</sup>Where a macroscopic description is given from a thin-section only, break and surface colours, and in some cases quantity of inclusions, are not given.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

Though this is very similar to the previous specimen it is slightly more coarse. The same range of inclusions is also present; quartz and limestone, including forams, are the most common. K-feldspar with microcline is present along with biotite mica, amphibole and pyroxene. There is also some chalcedonic quartz.

*Comments on fabric III: 1: microscopic*

Two of the sections of this fabric are very similar visually (46 and 47) and this is borne out by point-counting: however, one section (45) is dissimilar both visually and quantitatively, and this accounts for most of the high standard deviation for this otherwise consistent fabric.

**Fabric III: 2**<sup>48</sup>

This amphora fabric is also used for vases and handled jars, see fig. 5, 21–25. It corresponds to H1 at Memphis/Saqqara, and seems, according to this study, to belong to the same fabric group as Amarna fabrics III: 3, III: 5 and III: 6. It belongs to the Marl D group in the Vienna System and to the Qantir II.D group.

TA 52482. Section no. 49, pl. X, 2.

Amarna Period. Amphora, cf. fig. 5, 23. Fabric III: 2.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

Very closely similar to section 48, dominated by quartz and limestone with plagioclase and K-feldspar (including microcline), muscovite mica, amphibole, pyroxene, opaques and clay pellets also present. Nummulites are especially noteworthy among the microfossils.

TA-77 X54. Break, colour pl. 2, 17–18. Section no. 50.

Amarna Period. Amphora, cf. fig. 5, 23. Fabric III: 2.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; grey-white particles—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [2] and decomposed limestone—medium [1].

Medium vessel wall—5.5 mm. Break colour: outer zones 7.5YR 6/4 light brown, core 7.5YR 5/2 brown. Surfaces 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, outer slipped and burnished.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.0–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

Quartz and limestone are the commonest inclusions: plagioclase and K-feldspar (with microcline) are also present, as are amphibole and pyroxene and clay pellets. Nummulites are again common. The specimen has many elongated voids, though not from plant remains. Dark bands in the fabric may suggest poor mixing of the clay, though this is not so clear as in the Memphis fabric H13, and mixing is by no means certain.

*Comments on fabric III: 2: microscopic*

Although the standard deviation for this fabric is fairly high (6.1) it is visually quite homogeneous.

<sup>48</sup> Nicholson and Rose, in *AR* II, 136.

Although sample 48 has a greater number of inclusions, this is not immediately apparent, and it is suggested that it genuinely belongs to this group.

**Fabric III: 3**<sup>49</sup>

This fabric is used at Amarna almost exclusively for meat jars, fig. 5,13. It was thought to be closely related to III: 6 and possibly III: 2 and the present study confirms this, equating all three with III: 5 and Memphis/Saqqara H1. This is Marl D in the Vienna System and II.D at Qantir.

TA-77 XI65. Break, colour pl. 2, 9-10. Section no. 51, pl. XI, 1.

Amarna Period. Hearth, cf. fig. 5,11. Fabric III: 3.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [2]; limestone—fine [1], medium [1], coarse [1]; mica—fine [2]; silica formations—medium [1]; grey-white particles—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [1] and decomposed limestone—medium [1].

Medium vessel wall—8 mm. Break colour: zones 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown, core 5YR 5/3 reddish brown. Surfaces 5Y 8/4 pale yellow, outer slipped and burnished.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

Quartz and limestone are the major inclusions in this fabric. The nummulites from the limestone can be very well preserved. Plagioclase and K-feldspar, muscovite mica, amphibole and pyroxene are also present along with opaques. There are a number of voids, which are probably the result of the burning out of plant remains.

TA 21. Section no. 53.

Amarna Period. Body sherd from closed form. Fabric III: 3.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 38 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

Quartz and limestone predominate, the latter including quartz and some microfossils. Plagioclase and K-feldspar (including perthite and microcline), biotite mica, amphibole and pyroxene are present in smaller quantities.

*Comments on fabric III: 3: microscopic*

The low standard deviation for this fabric is consistent with the visual examination of it, and it is to be regarded as sufficiently homogeneous to stand as a distinct group.

**Fabric III: 4**<sup>50</sup>

This fabric is used at Amarna for bowls, often carinated and footed, fig. 5,7 (cf. the similar bowl in the same fabric from Memphis, fig. 4,1) and for medium sized closed vessels, fig. 5,14. It corresponds to Hg at Memphis/Saqqara and to the Marl A2 group in the Vienna System.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 136.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 136.

TA-77 X86. Break, colour pl. 2, 3. Section no. 54, pl. XI, 2.  
Amarna Period. Jar rim, cf. fig. 5, 14. Fabric III: 4.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—fine [1], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; silica formations—fine [1]; grog—medium [1], coarse [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with decomposed limestone—fine [1], medium [1].

Medium vessel wall—5 mm. Break colour: 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown. Surfaces: outer slipped 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown, inner 2.5YR 6/2 pale red.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 26.7 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.2–1.4 and 2.1–2.5.

Though there is limestone in this specimen it is less common than quartz. Plagioclase and K-feldspar occur, along with biotite mica, amphibole, pyroxene and opaques. There are voids from organics though their preferred alignment is fairly weak. Grog, showing a dark red colour, is also quite common.

TA-77 X71. Break, colour pl. 2, 1–2. Section no. 56, colour pl. 4.b.

Amarna Period. Meat jar cf. fig. 5, 13. Fabric III: 4.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [1]; straw—fine [1]; limestone—fine [1]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense and hard.

Thick vessel wall—11.5 mm. Break colour: 2.5YR 6/6 light red. Surfaces: inner 2.5YR 6/6 light red; outer burnished 2.5YR 5/6 red.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: mean 21.2 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

Quartz and limestone are the predominant inclusions, some of the quartz being polycrystalline. Plagioclase feldspar and K-feldspar (including perthite and microcline), amphibole and pyroxene are present. Very fine muscovite mica inclusions occur, but are not common. There are also plant voids.

#### *Comments on fabric III: 4: microscopic*

This is a rather problematic fabric, with a high standard deviation (11.4), though this is probably to be accounted for by section 55 which has unusually large quantities of inclusions and is slightly coarser (grain size not objectively determined). Visually, however, and in terms of the types of inclusion, the three specimens do seem to belong together in a single group, and the slightly coarser nature of section 55 is not obvious macroscopically.

#### **Fabric III: 5<sup>51</sup>**

All the examples of this fabric come from amphorae, fig. 5, 21. Section no. 60 represents, macroscopically and microscopically, an atypical sherd of III: 5. It groups more satisfactorily with V: 4. In *Amarna Reports*, it was suggested that this fabric was difficult to distinguish from IV: 1, which is a

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 136–7.

foreign fabric used for imported amphorae. There is no confirmation from this study that the fabric is not an Egyptian one.

TA-77 X58. Section no. 57.

Amarna Period. Amphora base, cf. fig. 5,21. Fabric III: 5.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Dark red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown/black.

Frequency of Inclusions: 30.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.5 and 2.1-2.5.

Quartz and limestone predominate in this densely packed fabric. The limestone is fossiliferous and there are numerous forams including nummulites. The lesser constituents are plagioclase and K-feldspar, amphibole, pyroxene, opaques and clay pellets. There may also be some grog, but this could be simply irregular clay pellets.

TA-77 X68. Break,<sup>52</sup> colour pl. 2, 15-16. Section no. 59, pl. XII, 1.

Amarna Period. Vertical handle for small amphora. Fabric III: 5.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—fine [2]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; grey-white particles—fine [3], medium [2]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [2].

Dense and hard.

Medium vessel wall—5 mm. Break colour: zones outer 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown, inner 2.5YR 4/6 red, core 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown. Surfaces: inner 5Y 6/3 pale olive; outer 5Y 8/3 pale yellow, slipped and burnished. Note: colour descriptions made on an epoxy impregnated sherd.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 41 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.5.

Quartz and limestone are the major constituents of this specimen. The limestone is fossil rich, and there is an example of opaline amongst the quartz. Plagioclase and K-feldspar, biotite and muscovite mica, amphibole and opaques are all present in lower quantities. There are also some volcanic rock fragments and possible grog inclusions.

TA-77 X52. Section no. 60.

Amarna Period. Base, cf. fig. 5,25. Fabric III: 5 Atypical.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2]; limestone—fine [3], medium [2], coarse [1]; mica—fine [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with decomposed limestone—fine [2].

Medium vessel wall—6 mm. Break colour: zones 2.5YR 6/6 light red, core 2.5YR 6/2 pale red. Surfaces: inner 2.5YR 6/2 pale red; outer 5Y 7/3 pale yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.5 and 2.0-2.4.

<sup>52</sup> When photographed the sherd had been impregnated with resin for thin-sectioning, which has the effect of darkening the colour.

Although classed as III: 5 this specimen was marked as atypical at the macroscopic level. In thin-section this is borne out, mostly by the condition of the limestone and the lower proportion of quartz, some of which is strained and some chalcedonic (though these remain the main inclusions). The limestone seems to have decayed more markedly than in other specimens suggesting that it has been subjected to higher temperatures. Fossils are to be found in some of the limestone inclusions. Plagioclase feldspar, K-feldspar (with microcline), amphibole and pyroxene as well as opaques are present as inclusions at lower levels.

*Comments on fabric III: 5: microscopic*

There are three sherds represented in the sample (57-9), plus one described as atypical (60). The three type sherds show a good deal of variation in themselves, though this is based on counts of a single section per sherd, and visually they are similar. The atypical specimen does not fall especially close to any of the three more typical specimens, but has quartz and limestone inclusions most similar to section 58 in quantity. It is certainly to be related to this group, and like them can be placed in the Marl D category of the Vienna System.

**Fabric III: 6<sup>53</sup>**

At Amarna this fabric is used primarily for 'meat jars', fig. 5, 13, and it is suggested that the fabric is a variant of III: 3. The present study supports this view and like III: 3, III: 6 corresponds to H1 at Memphis/Saqqara (Marl D in the Vienna System). The relationship of III: 6 Coarse (represented in only one example) to these groupings is less clear, see below.

TA. Break, colour pl. 2, 11-12. Section no. 62, pl. XII, 2.

Amarna Period. Jar rim, cf. fig. 5, 14. Fabric III: 6.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—fine [3], medium [1], coarse [1]; mica—fine [2]; shell?—fine [1]; silica formations?—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; grog—coarse [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2].

Dense, hard with decomposed limestone—fine [3], medium [1].

Thick vessel wall—10 mm. Break colour: zones 5YR 4/3 reddish brown, core 5YR 5/4 reddish brown. Surfaces 5Y 7/3 pale yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Dark brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 32 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

This specimen also shows abundant decomposed limestone (including microfossils) which along with quartz makes up the majority of the inclusions. Plagioclase and K-feldspar (including perthite), amphibole and pyroxene are present and also kyanite. Some muscovite mica occurs as well as possible grog. There are numerous elongated voids from plant remains, some of which I believe to contain silica from the decayed plants themselves.

TA-77 X133. Break, colour pl. 2, 13-14. Section no. 63, pl. XIII, 1.

Amarna Period. Fabric III: 6 Coarse.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [2]; limestone—fine [2], medium [2], coarse [1]; shell?—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—fine [1]; very coarse unmixed marl; red-brown particles—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1].

Dense and hard, though crumbly, with elongated pores and decomposed limestone—fine [1], coarse [1].

Thick vessel wall—11 mm. Break colour: zones 5Y 6/2 light olive grey, core 5Y 4/2 olive grey. Surfaces: outer 5Y 8/3 pale yellow; inner 5Y 6/2 light olive grey.

<sup>53</sup>Nicholson and Rose, *AR* II, 137.



Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Dark brown.

Colour XPL: Black.

Frequency of Inclusions: 38 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.5 and 2.1-2.5.

Unlike the other III: 6 samples, this one, though featuring limestone and quartz as predominant inclusions, has less decayed limestone and the inclusions are generally larger. There are some microfossils. Plagioclase and K-feldspar are also present, some of the feldspars being particularly large and in one case microcline and perthite are intergrown. Amphibole and pyroxene are also present as are clay pellets, some of them very large.

*Comments on fabric III: 6 and III: 6 Coarse: microscopic*

III: 6 is represented by two sherds only (see III: 6 Coarse), and though counted on only one section per sherd shows a low standard deviation. The two are visually similar, both showing the so-called reaction rims of burned out limestone. III: 6 Coarse is represented by a single specimen, which is related to the two previous ones. The epithet 'Coarse' is well applied, since it has both slightly more inclusions and a larger overall grain size (not objectively determined) than the previous specimens. The limestone is generally better preserved.

**Fabric III: 7<sup>54</sup>**

Only a few sherds occur at Amarna and the forms are unknown. It is suggested by Rose that it might be a foreign fabric but at present this study does not confirm this. It has not been related to any of the fabrics from Memphis/Saqqara.

TA. Section no. 64, pls. XIII, 2; XIV, 1.

Amarna Period. Body sherd. Fabric III: 7.

Described from macroscopic examination of thin-section.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; grog—medium [1], coarse [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Medium and crumbly.

Thick vessel wall—10 mm.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 26.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.5.

Quartz and limestone are the main inclusions: some of the limestone contains unusual fossil fragments, one of which appears to be a small coral or sponge. Plagioclase and K-feldspar (including microcline) occur in the fabric and also in some of the limestone fragments. Amphibole, pyroxene, opaques and grog also occur. The large fragments make the fabric distinct from most of the Amarna specimens discussed above.

**Fabric III: 8<sup>55</sup>**

This is a rare fabric at Amarna, all examples known coming from small open bowls. Rose, however, relates it to the Marl B group in the Vienna System. This is confirmed by the present study which suggests that III: 8 should be equated with H8 at Memphis/Saqqara which belongs to the Marl B group. Since the fabric is most common at Memphis during the early Eighteenth Dynasty, it is not surprising that it is rare at Amarna.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. 137.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 137.

TA-77 X164. Break, colour pl. 2, 19-20. Section no. 65, pl. XIV, 2.

Amarna Period. Carinated bowl, cf. fig. 5,7 (lower). Fabric III: 8.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [2], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2]; mica—fine [2], medium [1]; grey-white particles—coarse [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [2].

Medium, hard with decomposed limestone—fine [2].

Medium vessel wall—9 mm. Break colour: zones 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, core 7.5YR 6/4 light brown. Surfaces: outer 5Y 8/4 pale yellow; inner 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green-brown.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 23 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

Unlike most of the previous fabrics there is little limestone in this specimen, accounting for only a small proportion of the inclusions. Quartz is the predominant inclusion; plagioclase and K-feldspar (including microcline and perthite), muscovite, amphibole, pyroxene, opaques and biotite are also present.

TA-NC 160. Section no. 66.

Amarna period. Spinning bowl, fig. 5,26. Fabric III: 8.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Dark olive green.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 29.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.5.

This is a distinctive and interesting specimen, in that the minor inclusions are present in larger fragments and larger quantities than usual. Quartz makes up the greater part of the inclusions, though plagioclase and K-feldspar are present, including particularly clear examples of microcline feldspar. Amphibole and pyroxene are present along with opaques. There are small fragments of volcanic rock as well as chert (chalcedonic quartz). There are forams in the clay, probably as naturally present inclusions since limestone does not seem to have been deliberately crushed and added to this fabric.

TA 40088. Section no. 67.

Amarna Period. Base of uncertain type. Fabric III: 8.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green.

Colour XPL: Dark yellowish brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 25 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

This specimen is closely similar to the previous one. Preferred alignment of particles is weak and the angularity of the inclusions gives the fabric an irregular appearance. Quartz predominates, but there is also plagioclase and K-feldspar, the latter including good examples of microcline, amphibole and pyroxene as well as opaques and limestone. There is some chert also.

#### *Comments on fabric III: 8: microscopic*

This fabric is not easy to characterize. Close visual examination suggests that sections 65 and 68 are different from sections 66 and 67 and that, though closer to one another than to 66 and 67, they are not identical. The point-count data bear this out. The standard deviation is fairly low, and would be lower still were it not for section 68.

**Fabric III: 9**<sup>56</sup>

This fabric is used primarily for amphorae, fig. 5, 21. Occasionally it is used for vases and fineware jars. It corresponds to H14 at Memphis/Saqqara and to II.F.02 at Qantir.

TA-77 X61. Section no. 69.

Amarna period. Carinated vessel. Fabric III: 9.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Light brown.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.5.

Quartz and limestone are the commonest inclusions in this fabric. The limestone is fossiliferous, including nummulites. Many of the limestone and quartz grains are large, whereas the more minor inclusions are of smaller size. These secondary inclusions consist of plagioclase and K-feldspar (with microcline), biotite mica, pyroxene and opaques. There are also clay pellets.

TA-77 X60. Break, colour pl. 2, 21–2. Section no. 70, pl. XV, 1.

Amarna Period. Neck of large pilgrim flask, cf. fig. 5, 24. Fabric III: 9.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [2], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; silica formations—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; grog—medium [1], coarse [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense and hard with elongated pores—fine [2] and decomposed limestone—fine [1].

Medium vessel wall—6 mm. Break colour: zones outer 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown, inner 5YR 5/3 reddish brown, core 5YR 5/3 reddish brown. Surfaces: outer 5Y 8/4 pale yellow; inner 5YR 5/3.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.5.

This is closely similar to the previous specimen. Quartz and limestone make up the bulk of the fabric, with plagioclase and K-feldspar (including microcline), muscovite mica, amphibole, pyroxene, and opaques. However, some of the limestone is of especial interest. The limestone is fossiliferous, and as well as forams includes fossil wood. The fabric has elongated voids; however, only a certain number of these are from the burning out of plant remains.

*Comments on fabric III: 9: microscopic*

Despite a high standard deviation, largely the result of section 71, which has a density of inclusions only half that of sections 69 and 70, this is a fairly uniform group when visually examined and can be satisfactorily grouped together.

**Fabric V: 2**

TA-NC 183. Section no. 73, pl. XV, 2.

Amarna Period. Rim of vase, possibly amphora, cf. fig. 5, 23. Fabric V: 2, published in *AR* 11 as III: 12.

Described from macroscopic examination of thin-section.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2]; limestone—fine [2], medium [2]; mica—fine [1]; grog—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 137–8.

Dense, hard with incipient vitrification and decomposed limestone.

Very thick vessel wall—20 mm.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green.

Colour XPL: Dark olive green.

Frequency of Inclusions: 14.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.3 and 2.1–2.4.

This has all the characteristics of a heavily overfired specimen, and as such may not be a 'genuine' fabric, in as much as it may not have been intentionally produced, being simply an overfired version of some other fabric. Most of the limestone inclusions have burned away to leave only reaction rims, so that the fabric appears to be a mixture of quartz and voids only. In fact, a small amount of plagioclase feldspar and pyroxene are present also. This burning away accounts for the very low density of inclusions represented in the point count.

### **Fabric V: 3**

TA. Non-sectioned example.

Amarna Period. Body sherd. Fabric V: 3.

Inclusions: sand—fine [1], medium [2], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [2], coarse [1]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—coarse [1]; pale green rock fragment—medium [1]; grey-white particles—medium [2], coarse [1]; dark particles—fine [2], medium [2].

Dense but crumbly with decomposed limestone—fine [2].

Medium vessel wall—5 mm. Break colour: zones 5Y 7/3 pale yellow, core 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown. Surfaces 5Y 7/3 pale yellow.

TA 42691. Section no. 74.

Amarna Period. Body sherd. Fabric V: 3.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green.

Colour XPL: Dark olive green.

Frequency of Inclusions: 21 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

This fabric has predominantly rounded inclusions of quartz, with other inclusions making up a relatively small proportion of the fabric. These minor inclusions comprise K-feldspar, amongst which are some well formed microcline grains, pyroxene, amphibole and limestone. There are also some eroded fragments of a volcanic rock.

TA. Section no. 76.

Amarna Period. Body sherd. Fabric V: 3.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green.

Colour XPL: Dark olive green.

Frequency of Inclusions: 26.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

This specimen closely resembles sample 74, with clear quartz and limestone inclusions supplemented by narrow striped plagioclase feldspar, K-feldspar, amphibole and pyroxene. There is also a volcanic rock fragment.

### *Comments on fabric V: 3: microscopic*

This fabric is represented by three sherds; two of them (74 and 76) are visually similar while one (75) is not. This difference is borne out by the point-count data, which give 75 a very low density

of inclusions, probably the result of overfiring. There are affinities to fabric III: 8 both in general appearance and, broadly speaking, in point-count results. III: 8 has been linked to H8 and this is borne out when V: 3 is compared with that fabric.

#### **Fabric V: 4**

This is an uncommon fabric, but so far as is known only appears in amphora forms, some of which seem to be related to those more usually found in fabric III: 2.

TA. Section no. 77.

Amarna Period. Shoulder from an amphora. Fabric V: 4.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 39 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.5 and 2.1–2.5.

This specimen has mainly small inclusions of quartz and (usually larger), limestone fragments as its principle components. The limestone itself contains much quartz and is readily differentiated from the fine fossiliferous limestone found in some of the fabrics discussed above. K-feldspar, which includes microcline, is also present as are muscovite, opaques and clay pellets.

TA 497. Section no. 78, pl. XVI, 1.

Amarna Period. Body sherd. Fabric V: 4.

Described from macroscopic examination of thin-section.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—fine [1], medium [1]; unmixed marl—coarse [1]; grey-white particles—coarse [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Medium, hard with elongated pores and decomposed limestone—medium [1].

Thick vessel wall—17 mm.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

This sample is similar to the previous one: the biotite mica, naturally present in this clay, is very obvious. The largest particles are of limestone, and these along with quartz make up the main inclusions of the fabric. Clay pellets and opaques are the minor constituents.

#### *Comments on fabric V: 4: microscopic*

There are only two samples of this fabric, and though they differ visually they are sufficiently close to be considered as similar (but not identical). The point-count data confirm this view, giving a low standard deviation but clear differences in the percentages of quartz they contain.

#### **Fabric V: 5**

None of the sherds in this fabric selected for thin-sectioning was available for examination under the microscope. Four other sherds of V: 5 (published in *AR* II as III: 13) were examined instead and appear to belong to the group of fabrics used for amphorae imported into Egypt from Syria-Palestine, the so-called Canaanite jars.<sup>57</sup> Further study is needed to confirm that V: 5 is not an Egyptian fabric.

<sup>57</sup> See J. Bourriau, *Eretz-Israel* 21 (1990), 18–26, and bibliography there cited.

TA. Non-sectioned example.

Amarna Period. Body sherd. Fabric V: 5.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3], medium [2]; limestone—fine [3], medium [1], coarse [1]; grey-white particles—fine [2]; red-brown particles—fine [1], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [1] and decomposed limestone—fine [3].

Medium vessel wall—9 mm. Break colour: zones 2.5YR 5/2 weak red, core 2.5YR 5/0 grey. Surfaces: inner 2.5YR 5/2, outer 5Y 7/3 pale yellow.

TA 50182. Section no. 79.

Amarna period. Body sherd. Fabric V: 5.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Very dark brown.

Colour XPL: Black.

Frequency of Inclusions: 38 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

This fabric has large and very obvious inclusions of limestone, which along with the more numerous quartz inclusions characterize this specimen. Plagioclase feldspar and K-feldspar, which includes perthite, and amphibole are also found in this fabric, as are opaques.

TA. Section no. 81.

Amarna Period. Body sherd. Fabric V: 5.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Brown.

Colour XPL: Dark brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 42 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1–1.4 and 2.1–2.4.

Although macroscopically classified as V: 5 this specimen is unlike the others examined (nos. 79 and 80). There are more fragments of limestone, and although quartz is very common it is less obvious. The minor inclusions are plagioclase feldspar and opaques. Although it is possible that this is basically the same mixture as the other samples, it is visibly different. The limestone also contains microfossils, both as forams and shell. These microfossils are not obvious in the other specimens of this fabric.

#### *Comments on fabric V: 5: microscopic*

Visually the three samples which comprise this fabric can be broken into two divisions. Specimens 79 and 80 are alike, while 81 differs. This is confirmed by the point-count analysis, which gives 81 a higher percentage of inclusions, notably more limestone and less quartz than the other samples. So different are these that they do not even appear to be closely related when simply viewed under the microscope. Macroscopically, however, the three do appear similar.

#### **Fabric V: 6**

TA 38. Break, colour pl. 2, 7–8. Section no. 82, pl. XVI, 2.

Amarna Period. Body sherd. Fabric V: 6.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—fine [1], medium [1]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; unmixed marl—medium [1]; grey-white particles—fine [2], medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1], medium [1]; dark particles—fine [1], medium [1].

Dense, hard with decomposed limestone—fine [1].

Medium vessel wall—9.5 mm. Break colour: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Surfaces: inner 5YR 5/8 yellowish red, outer 5YR 4/6 yellowish red. Colour determinations made on epoxy resin impregnated sherd.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red brown.

Colour XPL: Red brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 24.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

This is a fine fabric, its inclusions mostly small quartz grains with some limestone. The limestone includes large rounded grains; one large fragment includes a large calcite crystal. In addition to the quartz and limestone there are inclusions of plagioclase and K-feldspar, including microcline, biotite mica, amphibole and pyroxene and clay pellets and opaques.

TA-77 X90. Break, colour pl. 2, 6. Section no. 84.

Amarna Period. Fabric V: 6.

Inclusions: sand—fine [3]; limestone—fine [2], medium [1]; mica—fine [2]; grey-white particles—fine [1]; red-brown particles—fine [2]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, hard with elongated pores—fine [1] and decomposed limestone—fine [1].

Medium vessel wall—8 mm. Break colour: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Surfaces 5YR 7/4 pink.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green-brown.

Colour XPL: Brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 45 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.4.

Quartz and limestone make up the bulk of this fine-textured specimen. There are numerous plagioclase and K-feldspar, biotite and muscovite mica, amphibole and pyroxene inclusions as well as clay pellets in the matrix. There are some especially fine microfossils in specimen 84 c.

*Comments on fabric V: 6: microscopic*

This fabric has a high standard deviation. All three samples show rather different overall percentages of inclusions as against clay body. However, two of them are visually more similar to one another than to the third. The exception is sherd 82, which has a smaller grain size (not objectively determined) than 83 and 84, which helps to account for its lower point-count.

**Fabric V: 7**

TA. Section no. 85, pl. XVII, 1.

Amarna Period. Carinated bowl, cf. fig. 5,7 (upper). Fabric V: 7.

Described from macroscopic examination of thin-section.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; limestone—medium [1]; mica—fine [1]; rounded sand grains—coarse [1]; grog—medium [1]; red-brown particles—medium [1], coarse [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense, medium hard with decomposed limestone—medium [1].

Medium vessel wall—7 mm.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Dark brown.

Colour XPL: Black.

Frequency of Inclusions: 35 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate shape range: 1.1-1.6 and 2.1-2.5.

Quartz and limestone are the prominent inclusions; K-feldspar (including microcline), amphibole and pyroxene make up the rest. The limestone includes shell fragments. The overall appearance of the piece resembles a Nile clay, but when tested with HCl, it gave a positive reaction. It may be a mixture of marl and silt.

**Fabric V: 8**

This fabric is used in the production of breadmoulds, though it is less common for this purpose than Nile silt fabrics.

TA. Section no. 87, pl. XVII, 2.

Amarna Period. Rim of breadmould, cf. fig. 5,39. Fabric V: 8.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 15.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.5 and 2.1-2.4.

This specimen has slightly less rounded inclusions than those in section no. 86, though the specimens are clearly related. Quartz and limestone, which includes microfossils, make up the major inclusions; plagioclase feldspar and amphibole are the minor constituents.

TA 87254. Section no. 88.

Amarna Period. Rim of breadmould, cf. fig. 5,39. Fabric V: 8.

Described from macroscopic examination of thin-section.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1], coarse [1]; limestone—fine [1], medium [2]; rounded sand grains—medium [1]; grey-white particles—medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1].

Open, crumbly fabric.

Thick vessel wall—14 mm.

Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Red-brown.

Colour XPL: Dark red-brown.

Frequency of Inclusions: 14.5 per cent.

Sorting: Poor.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.1-1.4 and 2.1-2.5.

Though the fabric is macroscopically designated as V: 8 the inclusions in this specimen are less rounded than in 86 and 87. Quartz and limestone are predominant and much the same suite of minor inclusions is present (plagioclase and K-feldspar, including perthite, biotite and muscovite mica and pyroxene) as in the other specimens, but the overall appearance is different.

*Comments on fabric V: 8: microscopic*

Though the percentage of inclusions varies widely between sections 86, 87 and 88, the overall appearance of these sections is much the same. Section 86 has more voids than the other two, and more inclusions though this is not immediately obvious. The three sherds do seem to be quite closely related. Given that this fabric is most commonly used in manufacturing breadmoulds, which may be regarded as disposable containers, it is likely that paste composition would not be strictly adhered to and much variability may be expected.

**Fabric V: 9**

TA. Section no. 89, pl. XVIII, 1.

Amarna Period? Body sherd. Fabric V: 9.

Described from macroscopic examination of thin-section.

Inclusions: sand—fine [2], medium [1]; limestone—fine [1], coarse [1]; clay pellets—medium [1], coarse [1]; grey-white particles—fine [1], medium [1]; red-brown particles—fine [1]; dark particles—fine [1].

Dense and hard.

Very thick vessel wall—22 mm.



Microscopic description:

Colour PPL: Olive green.

Colour XPL: Olive green.

Frequency of Inclusions: 45.5 per cent.

Sorting: Moderate.

Approximate Shape Range: 1.0–1.5 and 2.1–2.5.

This fabric is unique. Quartz, limestone and clay pellets make up the bulk of it, and most of these are well rounded and large. The minor inclusions are plagioclase feldspar and opaques. It is unusual to find so many clay pellets, which are obvious even macroscopically. This fabric is so far represented only by a single sherd, a surface find, though believed to be Eighteenth Dynasty, and from some sort of large amphora. It has 45.5 per cent inclusions, the highest of any fabric examined (though based on a single count) and this density is equally obvious at the macroscopic level. Only further discoveries will determine the importance of this fabric.

#### **Concordance between Amarna, and Memphis/Saqqara fabric classifications**

The first stage of this study was to verify the homogeneity of the fabric classes in the two classification systems and the results of this stage have been discussed above in the comments on individual fabrics. Certain fabrics from one site were believed, on the basis of macroscopic examination, to equate to given fabrics from another, and this provided a starting point for the second stage of the study. For this we examined thin-sections and sherd breaks from different sites alongside one another and checked their visual groupings against the point-count data. In this way the concordance was established (see table 1). Summary details of all the sherds examined can be found in table 2.

#### **Fabric H<sub>1</sub> (Memphis/Saqqara) and III: 2, III: 3, III: 5 and III: 6 (Amarna)**

Microscopically fabric H<sub>1</sub> is fairly consistent in its overall appearance, although the percentages of quartz and limestone do vary considerably, and this is responsible for the large standard deviation (6.2) found for the fabric as a whole. Fabrics III: 2, III: 3, III: 5 and III: 6 vary in their internal consistency, but there are clear similarities between them, sufficient to relate them both to one another and to the broad H<sub>1</sub> grouping.

It has been suggested by Pamela Rose that Amarna fabrics III: 2, III: 3, III: 5, III: 6 and III: 9 might be firing stages of one another. Although there is sufficient variability within the fabrics to yield high standard deviations for some of the groups, the mean figure of the inclusions/clay ratio, for three of the fabrics (III: 2, III: 3 and III: 5) is very close (all have between 38.3 and 39.0 per cent inclusions). When examined under the microscope they are generally very similar (above). III: 6, though having a slightly different inclusion/clay ratio can still be linked to these other fabrics. III: 9 has a high standard deviation and is not so close in its overall appearance to these other Amarna fabrics and to H<sub>1</sub>; rather its coarseness suggests concordance with the related fabric H<sub>14</sub>. It cannot be said with certainty on the basis of this sample that all of these are firing stages, but it is suggested that there is strong evidence that this is the case for the first four groups.

#### **Fabric H<sub>4</sub> (Memphis/Saqqara) and III: 1 (Amarna)**

It has been suggested on macroscopic grounds that fabric H<sub>4</sub> may be uniform with III: 1, and this is borne out by most of the specimens examined here. Although section 5 is visually somewhat dissimilar to the other specimens of H<sub>4</sub> its point-count is fairly typical, and this large group of specimens has a low standard deviation (2.0) suggesting the homogeneity of the group as a whole. Fabric III: 1, on the other hand, has a much higher standard deviation and none of the estimates of quantity of inclusions is as low as those recorded for H<sub>4</sub>. Section 45 is aberrant within the III: 1 group in that although clearly similar it is not precisely uniform with the others. This is a case where visual similarity is not borne out by the quantitative data, and it may be suggested that although similar clay is being used for the H<sub>4</sub> and III: 1 fabrics, the material added to the clay is in rather different proportions. This may reflect different preparation of the clay in different

workshops in a small region, such as is observed today in the Ballas area of Upper Egypt. It should be mentioned, however, that when the sections of these fabrics are viewed macroscopically, there are differences not only in colour (an unreliable guide to fabric because it varies with different firing conditions) but also in texture, the latter probably the result of slightly different grain size, again possibly the difference between workshops or different batches in the same workshop. It should also be borne in mind that the Memphis/Saqqara sherds cover the whole of the Eighteenth–early Nineteenth Dynasties and so represent the products of many workshops.

Pamela Rose has also suggested<sup>58</sup> that fabric III: 1 might be similar to III: 4, and this looks probable at the macroscopic level. However, when III: 1 and III: 4 are examined in thin-section the similarities are less apparent, the latter tending to look rather more sparse in terms of inclusions than the former, and showing differences between sections. When the point-count data are examined the III: 1 fabric is only slightly more inclusion-filled than III: 4 and both have high standard deviation readings. The closest similarity is between III: 1 section 46 and III: 4 section 55, but otherwise the connection is less clear. The general range of inclusions within all these (H4, III: 1 and III: 4) are sufficiently similar to suggest a related origin, but not an exact correlation.

#### **Fabric H8 (Memphis/Saqqara) and III: 8, V: 3(?) at Amarna**

Pamela Rose's suggestion that III: 8 belonged to the Marl B<sup>59</sup> group prompted comparison between III: 8 and H8 since the latter was also placed in the Marl B group. In terms of both their point-count data and their overall appearance, the H8 and III: 8 groups seem closely matched. The overall percentage of quartz inclusions is identical, as is the overall percentage of inclusions against clay matrix. Though V: 3 shares some features in common with these two groups, notably the overall clay/inclusions ratio, it is not uniform with them, and shows a higher standard deviation than either of the other two groups.

#### **Fabric H9 (Memphis/Saqqara) and III: 4, V: 6 (Amarna)**

The concordance between these fabrics was suggested by their similarity when viewed macroscopically. However, fabrics H9 and III: 4 are not very homogeneous in themselves so that the link between them remains tenuous. On average, however, III: 4 has fewer inclusions than H9. Sections 17 of H9 and 55 of III: 4 have the same overall percentage of inclusions although the percentage of individual inclusions is variable. They remain the most closely matched examples, though section 17 is not especially typical of H9. Section 23, however, is still less typical of that group, but does have a link with 84 of V: 6. Were these examples more typical it would make the concordance between the three fabrics more convincing.

III: 4 and V: 6 appear more closely related than H9 and III: 4. Sections 56 and 82, 54 and 83 are particularly close matches and 55 and 84 are less close but recognizably similar.

#### **Fabric H14, H14?, H14 Coarse (Memphis/Saqqara) and III: 9 (Amarna)**

This is an interesting group overall, and can be broken down for simplicity of examination. First of all the H14 Coarse samples, both of which come from Saqqara, are to be differentiated from the other specimens on account of their obvious volcanic minerals, occurring as large angular fragments. Although the overall clay/inclusions ratio is similar to that of the other H14 examples and although limestone is a dominant inclusion, the quartz percentage is only about one-third that of the other specimens, further indicating that these two specimens should be differentiated from the remainder. Aswan has been suggested as a possible provenance for the manufacture of these vessels. They are certainly imports into the Saqqara/Memphis region but their shape and technology of manufacture indicates an Egyptian origin for them.

H14 and H14? are visually similar, though the clay/inclusions ratio is rather different. The closest match is between section 34 of H14? and 38 of H14, which have similar point-count percentages though the grain size distribution makes the microscopic appearance rather different.

<sup>58</sup> AR II, 136.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 137.

Section 35, though having a somewhat different point-count from most of H14, seems to have a more similar grain size distribution, so that although neither section of H14? is an exact match for H14, the similarities do seem to suggest that they should be merged.

Although it has a large standard deviation, fabric III: 9 is similar in its clay/inclusions ratio to H14 and in particular to sections 31, 33 and 38. Furthermore, section 70 of III: 9 contains a fossil plant inclusion which is virtually identical to one in section 33 of H14, and this may suggest that a similar limestone source was used for this temper. Together with the general visual similarity in fabrics, this fossil evidence strongly suggests that these can be grouped together. The fabric is rather variable in terms of point-count results, but is nonetheless visually fairly consistent. The green colour of the III: 9 group viewed macroscopically is often indicative of a marl clay fired to a high temperature.<sup>60</sup>

#### **Fabric III: 5 Atypical and V: 4 (Amarna)**

Neither of these fabrics is well represented in the current collection, and III: 5 Atypical as a category recognizes the unusual nature of a particular sherd. On the basis of those specimens examined it seems possible to amalgamate the two groups as V: 4. The links between the example of III: 5 Atypical and section 78 are the closest.

#### **Fabric III: 6 Coarse and III: 9 (Amarna) and their relationship to H1 and H14 (Memphis/Saqqara)**

Although there is only one example of III: 6 Coarse, it seems possible to group it with fabric III: 9, notably section 71, in terms of overall appearance, although in terms of clay to inclusions ratio and percentage of quartz and limestone it is more similar to section 69.

The Amarna fabrics III: 2, III: 3, III: 5 and III: 6, together with III: 9 and III: 6 Coarse, appear to be related to one another as are their equivalents at Memphis/Saqqara, namely H1 and H14. All of these fabrics may belong to the Marl D family following the Vienna System.

### **Qantir**

There are difficulties in reconciling the concordance given by the Astons<sup>61</sup> between the Qantir, Amarna, Memphis/Saqqara marl clay fabrics and the Vienna System with that given here. They arise for two reasons: firstly because their concordance is based on macroscopic examination of sherd breaks only, and secondly because they have looked for exact equivalents between fabrics, perhaps not taking into account sufficiently the fact that the Vienna System and the Memphis/Saqqara classification (in relation to H1 and H14, for example) create much broader fabric groups than do those from Qantir or Amarna. Where we have been able to sample Qantir fabrics<sup>62</sup> we have been able to resolve discrepancies. It is hoped that more thin-sections will be made of the Qantir material in the future.

### **Conclusion**

The concordance established between the marl fabric classifications at Memphis/Saqqara and Amarna is a necessary step towards a comparative study of the ceramics from the two sites. While it would be premature to begin this before the pottery from both sites is fully recorded, two characteristics of the material already stand out clearly. Firstly, regional diversity is much less significant than in the period before the New Kingdom. This may be due to improved communications and internal trade as much as

<sup>60</sup> P. T. Nicholson and H. L. Patterson, *World Archaeology* 21/1 (1989), 71-86.

<sup>61</sup> Aston and Aston, 'Qantir', passim.

<sup>62</sup> The resulting correlations are given in normal type in table 1.

to a decline in local styles of pottery making. Secondly, the difference between the pottery of the early Eighteenth Dynasty and the late Eighteenth Dynasty is very marked. This can be clearly seen at Memphis but is reinforced by this study, which shows how the marl fabrics common there in the early Eighteenth Dynasty became rare in the late Eighteenth Dynasty deposits at Amarna and Saqqara. With the changes of fabric appear changes of shape, decoration and technology of manufacture.

We plan to continue the work by examining first the Nile clays and then the clays used for vessels imported into Egypt, of which the largest group is the Canaanite jars. It will be interesting to see how this evidence relates to the trends which we can already see.

TABLE I. *Concordance*

Memphis/Saqqara	Amarna	Qantir	Vienna System
H1	III: 2 III: 3 III: 5 III: 6	<i>II.D.01</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>II.D.02</i>	Marl D
H2			Marl A4
H4	III: 1	II.A.04.01	Marl A4
H8	III: 8 V: 3(?)	II.B	Marl B
H9	III: 4 V: 6	<i>II.A.04.02</i>	Marl A2
H10			Marl A2
H11			Marl E
H13			
H14	III: 9 III: 6 Coarse	II.F.02	Marl D?
H14 Coarse	III: 5 Atypical V: 4 V: 5 V: 7 V: 8 V: 9		Marl D

<sup>1</sup> Qantir fabrics shown in italics have been correlated macroscopically by D. Aston, those in normal type have been confirmed by thin-section analysis.

TABLE 2. *Summary List of Samples*

TS no.	Fabric	Break plate	TS plate	Provenance	Sherd no.	Form	Date
1	H1		V, 1	RAT-40	2601	cf. fig. 5, 21	Nineteenth Dyn.
2	H1			RAT-105	4197	cf. fig. 5, 14 <sup>1</sup>	Late Eighteenth Dyn.
3	H1	1.15-16	3.a	RAT-192	1089	cf. fig. 5, 21	Nineteenth Dyn.
4	H1			RAT-160	4638	cf. fig. 5, 7 upper	Nineteenth Dyn.
5	H4		V, 2	RAT-166	4442	Bowl rim	Late Eighteenth Dyn.
6	H4			RAT-94	3110	Rim of large jar	Nineteenth Dyn.
7	H4			RAT-310	5358	Rim of jar	Early Eighteenth Dyn.
8	H4			RAT-189	643	cf. fig. 5, 21	Nineteenth Dyn.
10 <sup>2</sup>	H8		VI, 1	RAT-293	6295	cf. fig. 3, 3	Mid-Eighteenth Dyn.
11	H8			RAT-310	5371	fig. 3, 3	Early Eighteenth Dyn.
12	H8			RAT-20	2343	cf. fig. 5, 1 r.	Nineteenth Dyn.
15	H9-10	1.3-4		RAT-20	2420	cf. fig. 5, 16	Nineteenth Dyn.
16	H9-10			RAT-408	1372	cf. fig. 5, 7 upper	Mid-late Eighteenth Dyn.
17	H9			Saqqara Maya surface		Body sherd	Late Eighteenth Dyn.
18	H9		VI, 2	Saqqara Maya NK deposit		Body sherd	Late Eighteenth Dyn.
19	H9	1.1-2		Saqqara Maya NK deposit		cf. fig. 5, 21	Late Eighteenth Dyn.
20	H9-10	1.5	VII, 1	RAT-367		Body sherd	Nineteenth Dyn.
21	H9-10			RAT-302		Body sherd	Late Eighteenth Dyn.
22	H10	1.6-7	VII, 2	RAT-308/334	1247	fig. 3, 2	Early Eighteenth Dyn.
23	H9			RAT-20	2414	cf. fig. 5, 16	Nineteenth Dyn.
24	H10			RAT-276	5104	fig. 3, 1	Early Eighteenth Dyn.
25	H11		VIII, 1	RAT-308/334	1225	fig. 4, 2	Early Eighteenth Dyn.
30	H13	1.8	VIII, 2	RAT-547		Body sherd	Eighteenth Dyn.
31	H14			RAT-85	2852	cf. fig. 4, 3	Nineteenth Dyn.
32	H14			RAT-327	5417	Amphora body sherd	Early Eighteenth Dyn.
33	H14		IX, 1	RAT-94	2714	cf. fig. 5, 5 lower	Nineteenth Dyn.
34	H14?			RAT-465	1297	Ring base of large bowl	Early Eighteenth Dyn.
35	H14?			RAT-40	2595	cf. fig. 5, 26	Nineteenth Dyn.
36	H14 Co.	1.21-2	IX, 2	Saqqara NK nec. surf.		Body sherd	Late Eighteenth Dyn.

TABLE 2. *Continued*

TS no.	Fabric	Break plate	TS plate	Provenience	Sherd no.	Form	Date
37	H14 Co.	1.19-20	3,b	Saqara Maya surface		cf. fig. 5, 23	Late Eighteenth Dyn.
38	H14	1.17-18	X, 1	RAT-88	2641	cf. fig. 5, 16	Nineteenth Dyn.
45	III: 1			TA-77	X172	cf. fig. 5, 26	Amarna Period
46	III: 1	2.4-5	4,a	TA-77	X91	cf. fig. 4, 1	Amarna Period
47	III: 1			TA	83	Body sherd	Amarna Period
48	III: 2			TA			Amarna Period
49	III: 2		X, 2	TA	52482	cf. fig. 5, 23	Amarna Period
50	III: 2	2.17-18		TA-77	X54	cf. fig. 5, 23	Amarna Period
51	III: 3	2.9-10	XI, 1	TA-77	X165	cf. fig. 5, 11	Amarna Period
52	III: 3			TA	7		Amarna Period
53	III: 3			TA	21	Body sherd	Amarna Period
54	III: 4	2.3	XI, 2	TA-77	X86	cf. fig. 5, 14	Amarna Period
55	III: 4			TA-77	X95		Amarna Period
56	III: 4	2.1-2	4,b	TA-77	X71	cf. fig. 5, 13	Amarna Period
57	III: 5			TA-77	X58	Base, cf. fig. 5, 21	Amarna Period
58	III: 5			TA-77	X59		Amarna Period
59	III: 5	2.15-16	XII, 1	TA-77	X68	Handle	Amarna Period
60	III: 5 At.			TA-77	X52	Base, cf. fig. 5, 25	Amarna Period
61	III: 6			TA	22		Amarna Period
62	III: 6	2.11-12	XII, 2	TA			Amarna Period
63	III: 6 Co.	2.13-14	XIII, 1	TA-77			Amarna Period
64	III: 7		XIII, 2 and XIV, 1	TA	X133	Rim, cf. fig. 5, 14	Amarna Period
65	III: 8	2.19-20	XIV, 2	TA-77	X164	Body sherd	Amarna Period
66	III: 8			TA-NC	160	cf. fig. 5, 7, lower	Amarna Period
67	III: 8			TA	40088	cf. fig. 5, 26	Amarna Period
68	III: 8			TA	8155	Base	Amarna Period
69	III: 9			TA-77	X61		Amarna Period
70	III: 9	2.21-2	XV, 1	TA-77	X60	Neck, cf. fig. 5, 24	Amarna Period
71	III: 9			TA	84		Amarna Period
73	V: 2			TA-NC	183	cf. fig. 5, 23	Amarna Period
74	V: 3		XV, 2	TA	42691	Body sherd	Amarna Period
75	V: 3			TA	159/524	cf. fig. 5, 21	Amarna Period

TABLE 2. *Continued*

TS no.	Fabric	Break plate	TS plate	Provenance	Sherd no.	Form	Date
76	V: 3			TA		Body sherd	Amarna Period
77	V: 4			TA		Body sherd	Amarna Period
78	V: 4		XVI, 1	TA	497	Body sherd	Amarna Period
79	V: 5			TA	50182	Body sherd	Amarna Period
80	V: 5			TA			Amarna Period
81	V: 5			TA		Body sherd	Amarna Period
82	V: 6	2.7-8	XVI, 2	TA	38	Body sherd	Amarna Period
83	V: 6			TA	60876	Body sherd	Amarna Period
84	V: 6			TA	X90		Amarna Period
85	V: 7	2.6	XVII, 1	TA-77		cf. fig. 5, 7 upper	Amarna Period
86	V: 8			TA			Amarna Period
87	V: 8		XVII, 2	TA		cf. fig. 5, 39	Amarna Period
88	V: 8			TA	87254	cf. fig. 5, 39	Amarna Period
89	V: 9		XVIII, 1	TA Surf.		Body sherd	Amarna Period?

<sup>1</sup> This is a base with pot mark.

<sup>2</sup> Where numbers are omitted from the sequence, they represent material from Qantir or sherds of non-NK material examined for comparison.

Abbreviations: At. = Atypical, Co. = Coarse, nec. = necropolis, NK = New Kingdom, r. = right, surf. = surface, TS = thin-section.

### Appendix 1: Point-count data—fabric summaries

The following are average compositions, based on all the sections of a fabric. Where there is only one specimen the readings are actual. Some of the figures may not tie in precisely with the individual readings due to rounding. Inclusions not featured in the actual point-count are not included here.

For every section, 200 points were counted. As a rule, the more points counted the more accurate the results. It has been found that 200 points gives a good representation of this material, and is confirmed by counting, where possible, more than one section per sherd. All the figures are expressed as percentages. The magnification used for these point-counts was  $\times 30$  and the stepping interval 0.3 mm horizontal and 0.5 mm vertical. Although the tables give a good idea of the contents of the fabric, the description should be consulted for full details. The abbreviations used for the inclusions are explained in the table below. The other abbreviations are as follows:

SEC<sub>1-3</sub> This refers to the mean composition of each section counted, listed in the order given above the table; thus if the sherds are 15, 16, 20, 21, SEC<sub>1</sub> will be section 15 and so on. Some sherds were counted on only one section, others on three (see below) and full details of these individual counts are available on request. COUNT<sub>1-3</sub> refers to fabrics represented here by a single sherd only and gives information for each count made on sections of that sherd.

$\bar{x}$  Mean. This is the 'average' value calculated by summing the row or column and dividing by the number of entries. Hence a row consisting of 40, 50 and 60 has a mean  $40 + 50 + 60$  divided by  $3 = 50$ .

SD Sample Standard Deviation. This is a measure of the uniformity of the data. The deviation from the mean is calculated; in the above example this would be  $-10, 0$  and  $+10$ . These are squared giving  $100 + 0 + 100 = 200$  and then divided by the number of counts minus one (in this case  $3$  minus  $1 = 2$ ) thus  $200$  divided by  $2 = 100$ . This is the variance and the square root of this figure gives the Sample Standard Deviation, here  $10$ .

Q	Quartz
P	Plagioclase Feldspar
K	K-(Alkali) Feldspar, may include microcline and perthite, see text
B	Biotite (brown) mica
M	Muscovite (white) mica
A	Amphibole, in these specimens usually Hornblende
PY	Pyroxene, in these specimens usually Augite
OP	Opaque oxides
C	Calcite
L	Limestone
MF	Microfossils
G	Grog
RF	Rock fragments other than limestone
CP	Clay pellets
OR	Organic material or voids from such
KY	Kyanite
CH	Chert

CLAY Percentage of clay

INCL. Percentage of inclusions

All sherds except those listed below were point-counted on three sections. The exceptions were counted on only one section.

Exceptions:

30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89.



**Fabric H1 Sections 1, 2, 3, 4**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	SEC <sub>4</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	20.8	15.8	11.0	21.2	17.2	4.8
P	0.2	—	—	—	0.1	0.1
K						
B						
M						
A						
PY						
OP	0.2	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
C						
L	10.3	14.5	7.2	3.2	8.8	4.8
MF						
G						
RF	0.7	—	—	—	0.2	0.3
CP	—	—	—	1.2	0.3	0.6
OR						
CLAY	67.8	69.7	81.8	74.2	73.3	6.2
INCL.	32.2	30.3	18.2	25.8	26.6	6.2

**Fabric H4 Sections 5, 6, 7, 8**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	SEC <sub>4</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	15.5	17.2	14.8	18.8	16.6	1.8
P						
K	0.2	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
B						
M						
A	—	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
PY	—	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
OP						
C						
L	—	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
MF						
G						
RF	0.2	—	—	—	0.1	0.1
CP						
OR						
CLAY	84.0	82.8	85.2	80.5	83.1	2.0
INCL.	15.8	17.2	14.8	19.5	16.8	2.0

**Fabric H8 Sections 10, 11, 12**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	17.0	18.7	23.5	19.7	3.4
P					
K	0.7	1.3	1.0	1.0	0.3
B	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
M	—	0.2	—	0.1	0.1
A	0.2	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
PY					
OP	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.4
C					
L	2.7	3.2	—	2.0	1.7
MF					
G					
RF	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.4	0.3
CP	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.3
OR					
CLAY	77.3	75.3	74.4	75.7	1.5
INCL.	22.5	24.7	25.5	24.2	1.5

**Fabric H<sub>9</sub> Sections 17, 18, 19, 23**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	SEC <sub>4</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	15.3	14.5	13.2	19.2	15.6	2.6
P	—	0.2	—	0.3	0.1	0.2
K	—	—	—	0.5	0.1	0.2
B	3.3	1.7	0.7	4.0	2.4	1.5
M						
A	0.3	—	—	—	0.1	0.2
PY	—	0.2	—	—	0.1	0.1
OP	0.3	0.8	0.8	—	0.5	0.4
C						
L	23.8	21.4	21.0	13.3	19.9	4.6
MF						
G						
RF						
CP						
OR						
CLAY	56.8	61.1	64.2	62.7	61.2	3.2
INCL.	43.2	38.7	35.7	37.3	38.7	3.2

**Fabric H9-10 Sections 15, 16, 20, 21**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	SEC <sub>4</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	23.8	19.3	19.0	14.0	19.0	4.0
P	0.8	—	—	—	0.2	0.4
K	1.2	0.3	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.4
B	1.2	1.8	1.0	0.2	0.4	0.7
M	—	—	—	0.2	0.05	0.1
A	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.3
PY	0.2	0.2	—	0.2	0.2	0.1
OP	1.2	1.8	1.0	0.5	1.1	0.5
C						
L	0.7	9.8	7.3	16.3	8.5	6.5
MF						
G						
RF	—	—	0.2	—	0.1	0.1
CP						
OR						
KY	—	—	0.2	—	0.1	0.1
CLAY	70.7	65.8	70.5	67.5	68.6	2.4
INCL.	29.3	34.2	29.5	32.5	31.4	2.4

**Fabric H10 Sections 22, 24**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	17.7	20.0	18.9	1.6
P	0.3	0.3	0.3	—
K	0.7	—	0.4	0.5
B	2.7	5.3	4.0	1.8
M				
A	0.3	—	0.2	0.2
PY	—	0.3	0.2	0.2
OP	0.7	0.2	0.5	0.4
C				
L	8.3	4.3	6.3	2.8
MF				
G				
RF	0.2	—	0.1	0.1
CP				
OR				
CLAY	69.2	69.5	69.4	0.2
INCL.	30.8	30.5	30.7	0.2

**Fabric H11 Section no. 25**

	COUNT <sub>1</sub>	COUNT <sub>2</sub>	COUNT <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	22.0	14.5	12.5	16.3	5.0
P					
K	2.5	3.5	1.0	2.3	1.3
B	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.3
M					
A					
PY	—	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
OP	—	—	1.5	0.5	0.9
C					
L	4.5	—	6.0	3.5	3.1
MF					
G					
RF					
CP		2.0		0.7	1.2
OR					
CLAY	70.5	80.0	78.5	76.3	5.1
INCL.	29.5	20.0	21.5	23.7	5.1

**Fabric H13 Section 30**

	COUNT <sub>1</sub>	COUNT <sub>2</sub>	COUNT <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	15.0				
P	0.5				
K	1.5				
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP					
C					
L					
MF					
G					
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	82.0				
INCL.	17.0				

**Fabric H14 Sections 31, 32, 33, 38**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	SEC <sub>4</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	21.5	16.0	21.0	15.5	18.5	3.2
P	1.0	—	0.5	—	0.4	0.5
K	1.0	2.0	—	2.0	1.2	0.9
B						
M						
A						
PY						
OP						
C						
L	11.0	1.5	11.0	14.5	9.5	5.6
MF						
G						
RF	0.5	—	—	—	0.1	0.2
CP	—	—	—	1.0	0.2	0.5
OR						
CLAY	65.0	80.5	67.5	67.0	70.0	7.1
INCL.	35.0	19.5	32.5	33.0	30.0	7.1

**Fabric H14? Sections 34, 35**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	15.0	15.0	15.0	—
P				
K	—	1.0	0.5	0.7
B				
M				
A	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
PY				
OP	—	1.0	0.5	0.7
C				
L	15.0	18.0	16.5	2.1
MF				
G				
RF				
CP	2.5	3.0	2.7	0.3
OR				
CH	0.5	—	0.2	0.3
CLAY	67.0	61.5	64.2	3.9
INCL.	33.0	38.5	35.7	3.9

**Fabric H14 Coarse Sections 36, 37**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	6.0	5.0	5.5	0.7
P				
K	1.5	0.5	1.0	0.7
B				
M				
A				
PY	3.5	—	1.7	2.5
OP				
C				
L	19.5	26.0	22.7	4.6
MF				
G				
RF	1.0	0.5	0.7	0.3
CP				
OR				
CH	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
CLAY	68.5	67.5	68.0	0.7
INCL.	31.5	32.5	32.0	0.7

**Fabric III: 1 Sections 45, 46, 47**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	16.8	23.2	22.3	20.8	3.5
P	—	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
K	—	—	0.2	0.1	0.1
B	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.6	0.1
M					
A	—	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
PY	—	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
OP	2.3	1.3	2.5	2.0	0.6
C					
L	2.5	11.7	13.3	9.2	5.8
MF					
G					
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	77.0	61.5	59.7	66.1	9.5
INCL.	23.2	38.5	40.3	34.0	9.4

**Fabric III: 2 Sections 48, 49, 50**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	11.0	8.0	12.5	10.5	2.3
P	—	0.5	—	0.2	0.3
K					
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP					
C					
L	22.0	26.0	23.0	23.7	2.1
MF					
G					
RF					
CP	13.0	1.0	—	4.7	7.2
OR					
CLAY	54.0	64.5	64.5	61.0	6.1
INCL.	46.0	35.5	35.5	39.0	6.1

**Fabric III: 3 Sections 51, 52, 53**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	14.0	16.0	11.0	13.7	2.5
P	—	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
K	—	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
B					
M					
A	—	—	1.5	0.5	0.9
PY					
OP	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.3
C					
L	20.5	26.0	24.5	23.7	2.8
MF					
G					
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	65.0	58.0	62.5	61.8	3.5
INCL.	35.0	42.0	38.0	38.3	3.5

**Fabric III: 4 Sections 54, 55, 56**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	10.8	21.8	13.7	15.4	5.7
P					
K	0.2	0.2	—	0.1	0.1
B	0.7	3.2	—	1.3	1.7
M					
A	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.1
PY	—	0.2	—	0.1	0.1
OP	1.3	1.0	0.3	0.9	0.5
C					
L	7.3	16.3	7.0	10.2	5.3
MF					
G	6.0	—	—	2.0	3.5
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	73.3	56.8	78.8	69.6	11.4
INCL.	26.7	43.2	21.2	30.4	11.4

**Fabric III: 5 Sections 57, 58, 59**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	6.5	6.0	11.0	7.8	2.7
P	1.0	1.0	—	0.7	0.6
K	—	0.5	—	0.2	0.3
B	—	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
M					
A	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.3
PY	—	0.5	—	0.2	0.3
OP	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.3
C					
L	17.5	35.5	29.5	27.5	9.2
MF					
G					
RF					
CP	4.5	1.0	—	1.8	2.4
OR					
CLAY	69.5	55.5	59.0	61.3	7.3
INCL.	30.5	44.5	41.0	38.7	7.3



**Fabric III: 5 Atypical Section 60**

	COUNT <sub>1</sub>	COUNT <sub>2</sub>	COUNT <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	5.5				
P					
K					
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP					
C					
L	30.0				
MF					
G					
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	64.5				
INCL.	35.5				

**Fabric III: 6 Sections 61, 62**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	12.0	12.5	12.2	0.3
P	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
K	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
B				
M				
A				
PY				
OP				
C				
L	22.0	18.5	20.2	2.5
MF				
G				
RF				
CP	1.0	—	0.5	0.7
OR				
CLAY	65.0	68.0	66.5	2.1
INCL.	35.0	32.0	33.5	2.1

**Fabric III: 6 Coarse Section 63**

	COUNT <sub>1</sub>	COUNT <sub>2</sub>	COUNT <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	7.5				
P	0.5				
K	1.0				
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP					
C					
L	27.0				
MF					
G	2.0				
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	62.0				
INCL.	38.0				

**Fabric III: 7 Section 64**

	COUNT <sub>1</sub>	COUNT <sub>2</sub>	COUNT <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	11.0				
P					
K	0.5				
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP					
C					
L	10.0				
MF					
G	5.0				
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	73.5				
INCL.	26.5				

**Fabric III: 8 Sections 65, 66, 67, 68**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	SEC <sub>4</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	17.5	24.5	20.0	17.0	19.7	3.4
P	1.5	—	—	—	0.4	0.7
K	3.0	3.0	1.5	1.0	2.1	1.0
B						
M						
A	0.5	0.5	0.5	—	0.4	0.2
PY	—	—	0.5	—	0.1	0.2
OP	—	—	1.0	—	0.3	0.5
C						
L	0.5	1.0	1.5	—	0.7	0.6
MF						
G						
RF	—	0.5	—	—	0.1	0.2
CP						
OR						
CLAY	77.0	70.5	75.0	82.0	76.1	4.8
INCL.	23.0	29.5	25.0	18.0	23.8	4.8

**Fabric III: 9 Sections 69, 70, 71**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	9.0	13.0	6.5	9.5	3.3
P					
K	—	—	1.0	0.3	0.6
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP					
C					
L	28.5	22.5	11.5	20.8	8.6
MF					
G					
RF					
CP	—	—	3.5	1.2	2.0
OR					
CLAY	62.5	64.5	77.5	68.2	8.1
INCL.	37.5	35.5	22.5	31.8	8.1

**Fabric V: 2 Section 73**

	COUNT <sub>1</sub>	COUNT <sub>2</sub>	COUNT <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	7.0				
P					
K					
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP					
C					
L	7.5				
MF					
G					
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	85.5				
INCL.	14.5				

**Fabric V: 3 Sections 74, 75, 76**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	17.5	6.0	18.0	13.8	6.8
P					
K	1.0	—	1.5	0.8	0.8
B					
M					
A					
PY	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.3
OP	0.5	—	1.5	0.7	0.8
C					
L	1.5	10.0	5.0	5.5	4.3
MF					
G					
RF	—	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
CP					
OR					
CLAY	79.0	84.0	73.5	78.6	5.2
INCL.	21.0	16.0	26.5	21.2	5.2

**Fabric V: 4 Sections 77, 78**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	17.5	6.5	12.0	7.8
P				
K				
B	—	1.5	0.7	1.1
M				
A				
PY				
OP	—	1.5	0.7	1.1
C				
L	21.5	25.5	23.5	2.8
MF				
G				
RF				
CP				
OR				
CLAY	61.0	65.0	63.0	2.8
INCL.	39.0	35.0	37.0	2.8

**Fabric V: 5 Sections 79, 80, 81**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	31.0	26.0	17.5	24.8	6.8
P	—	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
K	2.0	—	—	0.7	1.1
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP	—	—	1.0	0.3	0.6
C					
L	5.0	9.5	23.0	12.5	9.4
MF					
G	—	1.5	—	0.5	0.9
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	62.0	63.0	58.0	61.0	2.6
INCL.	38.0	37.0	42.0	39.0	2.6

**Fabric V: 6 Sections 82, 83, 84**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	15.0	17.0	22.5	18.2	3.9
P	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.3
K	—	1.5	—	0.5	0.9
B	—	—	1.0	0.3	0.6
M					
A					
PY					
OP	—	0.5	—	0.2	0.3
C					
L	6.5	12.0	21.5	13.3	7.6
MF					
G					
RF					
CP	2.5	—	—	0.8	1.4
OR					
CLAY	75.5	69.0	55.0	66.5	10.5
INCL.	24.5	31.0	45.0	33.5	10.5

**Fabric V: 7 Section 85**

	COUNT <sub>1</sub>	COUNT <sub>2</sub>	COUNT <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	21.5				
P					
K	0.5				
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP					
C					
L	13.0				
MF					
G					
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	65.0				
INCL.	35.0				

**Fabric V: 8 Sections 86, 87, 88**

	SEC <sub>1</sub>	SEC <sub>2</sub>	SEC <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	24.5	12.5	8.5	15.2	8.3
P					
K					
B	—	—	0.5	0.2	0.3
M					
A	0.5	—	—	0.2	0.3
PY					
OP					
C					
L	6.0	3.0	5.5	4.8	1.6
MF					
G					
RF					
CP					
OR					
CLAY	69.0	84.5	85.5	79.7	9.2
INCL.	31.0	15.5	14.5	20.3	9.2

**Fabric V: 9 Section 89**

	COUNT <sub>1</sub>	COUNT <sub>2</sub>	COUNT <sub>3</sub>	$\bar{x}$	SD
Q	8.0				
P					
K					
B					
M					
A					
PY					
OP	0.5				
C					
L	32.5				
MF					
G					
RF					
CP	4.5				
OR					
CLAY	54.5				
INCL.	45.5				

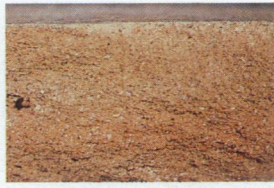
Colour plate 1



1. H9 Saqqara × 10



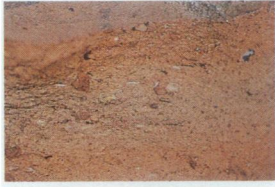
2. H9 Saqqara × 20



3. H9-10 Memphis × 10



4. H9-10 Memphis × 20



5. H9-10 Memphis × 10



6. H10 Memphis × 10



7. H10 Memphis × 20



8. H13 Memphis × 20



9. H2 Memphis × 10



10. H2 Memphis × 20



11. H2 Saqqara × 10



12. H2 Saqqara × 20



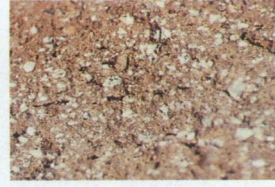
13. H8 Memphis × 10



14. H8 Memphis × 20



15. H1 Memphis × 10



16. H1 Memphis × 20



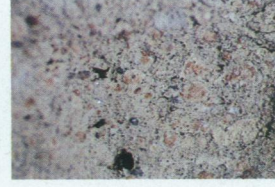
17. H14 Memphis × 10



18. H14 Memphis × 20



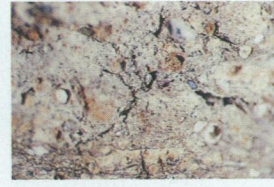
19. H14 Coarse Saqqara × 10



20. H14 Coarse Saqqara × 20



21. H14 Coarse Saqqara × 10



22. H14 Coarse Saqqara × 20

Memphis (RAT) and Saqqara, New Kingdom Necropolis: breaks of sherds representing marl clay fabrics

*(Colour printing and separations courtesy of H. E. Boddy and Co. Ltd)*

MARL CLAY POTTERY FABRICS



## Colour plate 2



1. III:4 Amarna × 10



2. III:4 Amarna × 25



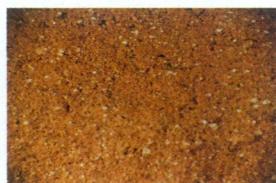
3. III:4 Amarna × 25



4. III:1 Amarna × 10



5. III:1 Amarna × 25



6. V:6 Amarna × 25



7. V:6 Amarna × 10



8. V:6 Amarna × 25



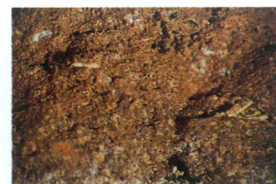
9. III:3 Amarna × 10



10. III:3 Amarna × 25



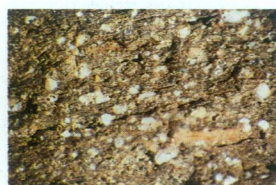
11. III:6 Amarna × 10



12. III:6 Amarna × 25



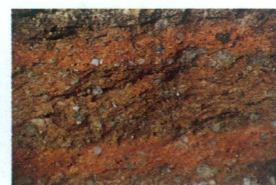
13. III:6 Coarse Amarna × 10



14. III:6 Coarse Amarna × 25



15. III:5 Amarna × 10



16. III:5 Amarna × 25



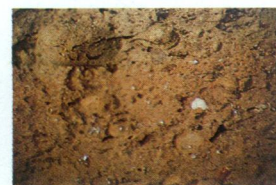
17. III:2 Amarna × 10



18. III:2 Amarna × 25



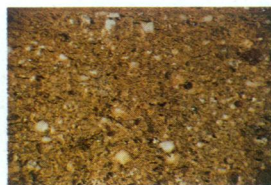
19. III:8 Amarna × 10



20. III:8 Amarna × 25



21. III:9 Amarna × 10



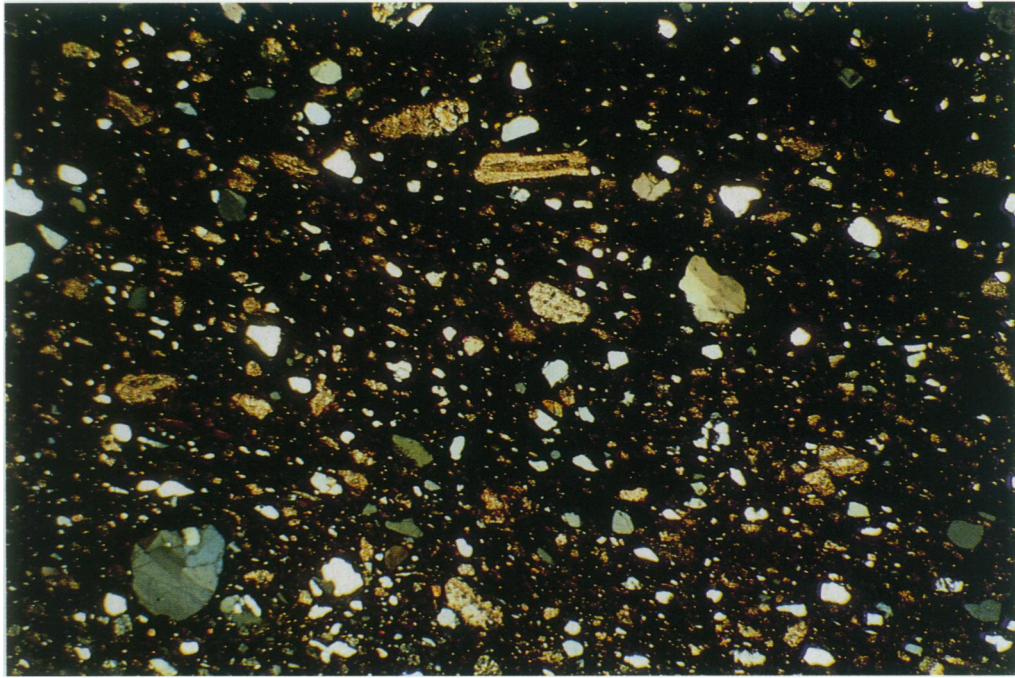
22. III:9 Amarna × 25

Amarna: breaks of sherds representing marl clay fabrics  
(Colour printing and separations courtesy of H. E. Boddy and Co. Ltd)

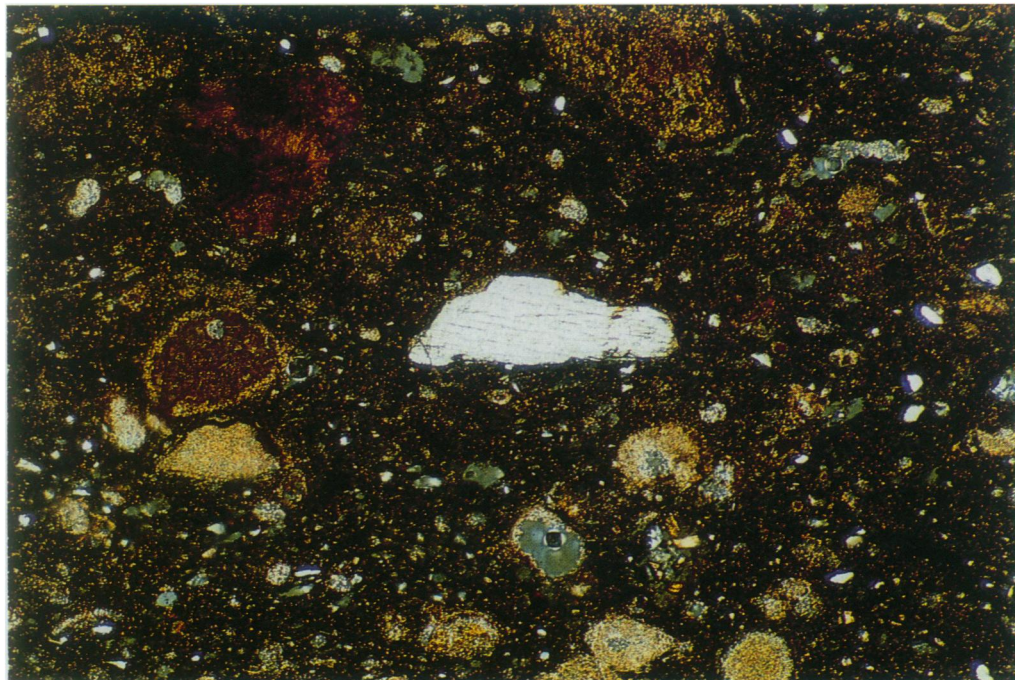
MARL CLAY POTTERY FABRICS



Colour plate 3



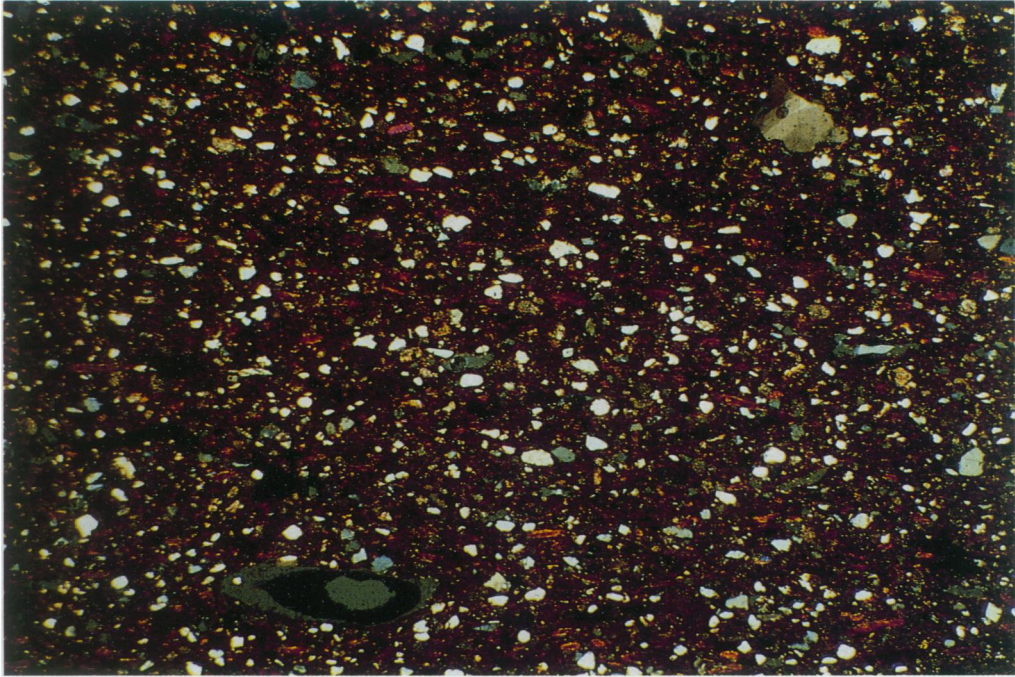
a. Fabric H1. Memphis. The fabric is rich in quartz (mostly white and grey inclusions) and limestone fragments (yellowish brown/white inclusions) RAT-192 1089. Thin-section no. 3. Taken under XPL. Field of view  $6.2 \times 4.4$ mm



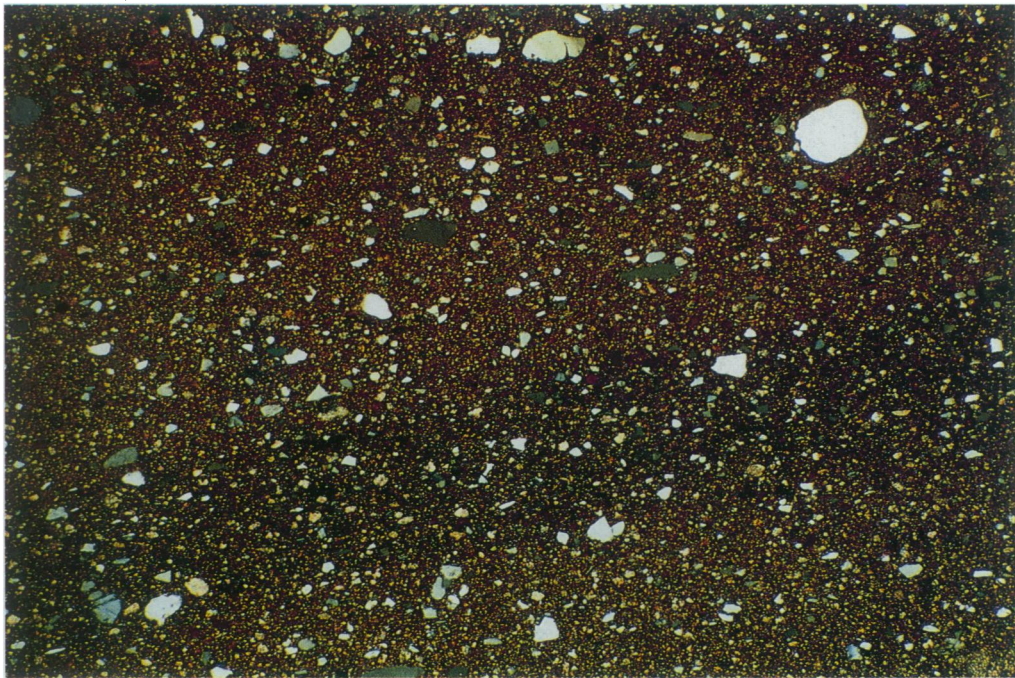
b. Fabric H14 Coarse. Saqqara. The large white inclusion at the centre is kyanite, though limestone is more common in the fabric (yellowish brown inclusions) along with some quartz. The limestone has been affected by firing so that some has burned out. Tomb of Maya, surface. Thin-section no. 37. Taken under XPL. Field of view  $3.1 \times 2.2$  mm

*(Colour printing and separations courtesy of H. E. Boddy and Co. Ltd)*





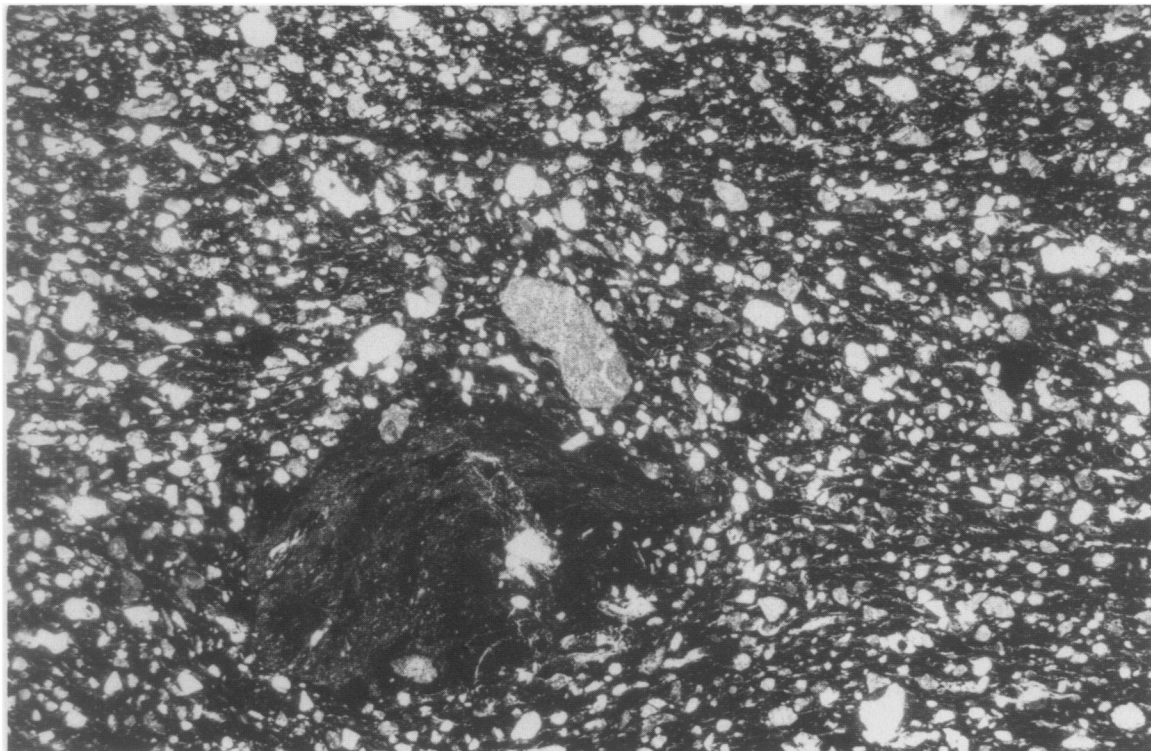
a. Fabric III: 1. Amarna. A fabric rich in quartz (white and grey) with biotite mica (red-brown laths). The elongated oval toward bottom left showing grey and black is a hole in the thin-section. Thin-section no. 46. TA-77 X91. Taken under XPL. Field of view  $6.2 \times 4.4$  mm



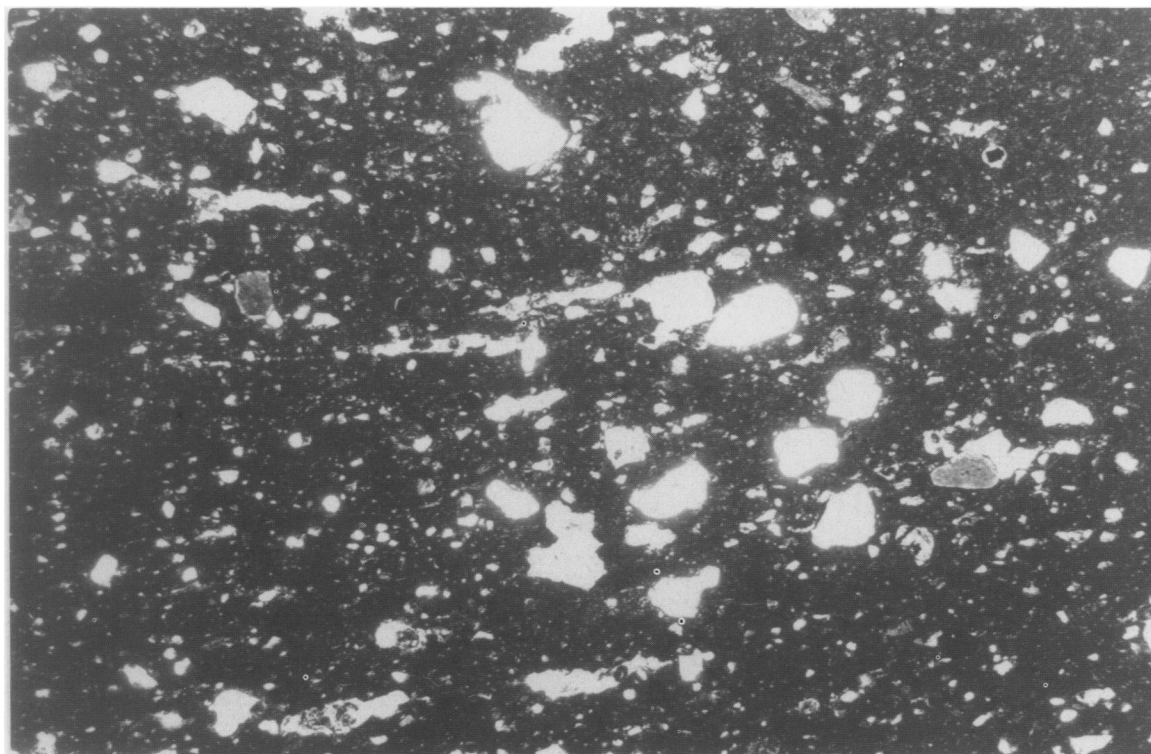
b. Fabric III: 4. Amarna. A fine quartz rich fabric with some limestone. The dark line running from lower middle right to bottom left represents a fold in the clay where the rim was turned over. Thin-section no. 56. TA-77 X71. Taken under XPL. Field of view  $6.2 \times 4.4$  mm

*(Colour printing and separations courtesy of H. E. Boddy and Co. Ltd)*

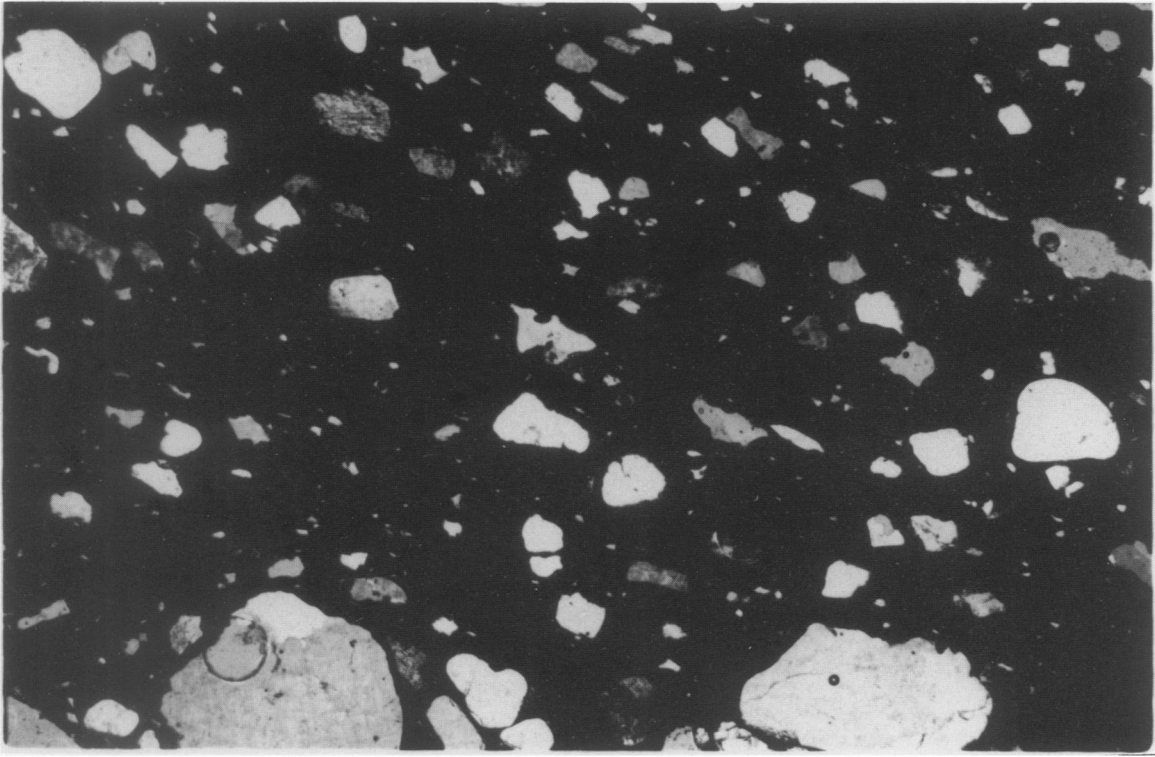




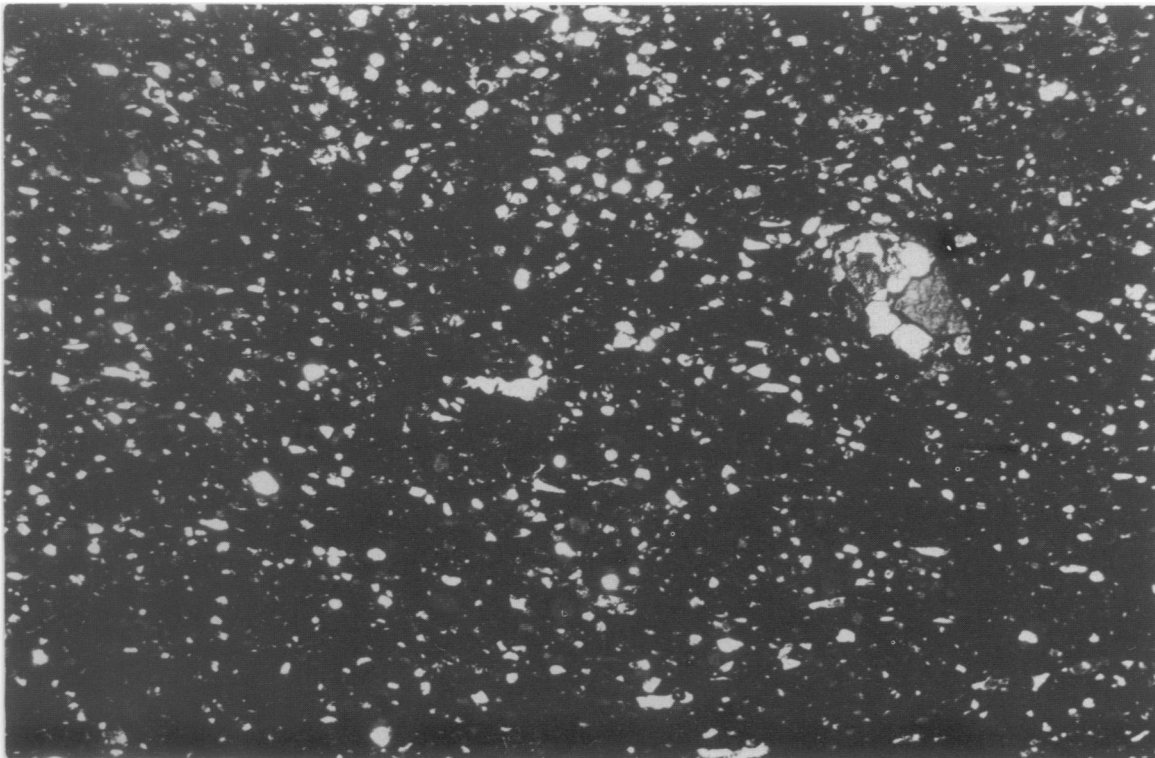
1. Fabric H1. Memphis. This fabric is rich in quartz (mostly showing white and grey). The dark line running from top left to right shows the joint between the handle and body. The large dark inclusion, bottom centre, is a pellet of unmixed marl clay. Taken under PPL. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Thin-section 1 (p. 37)



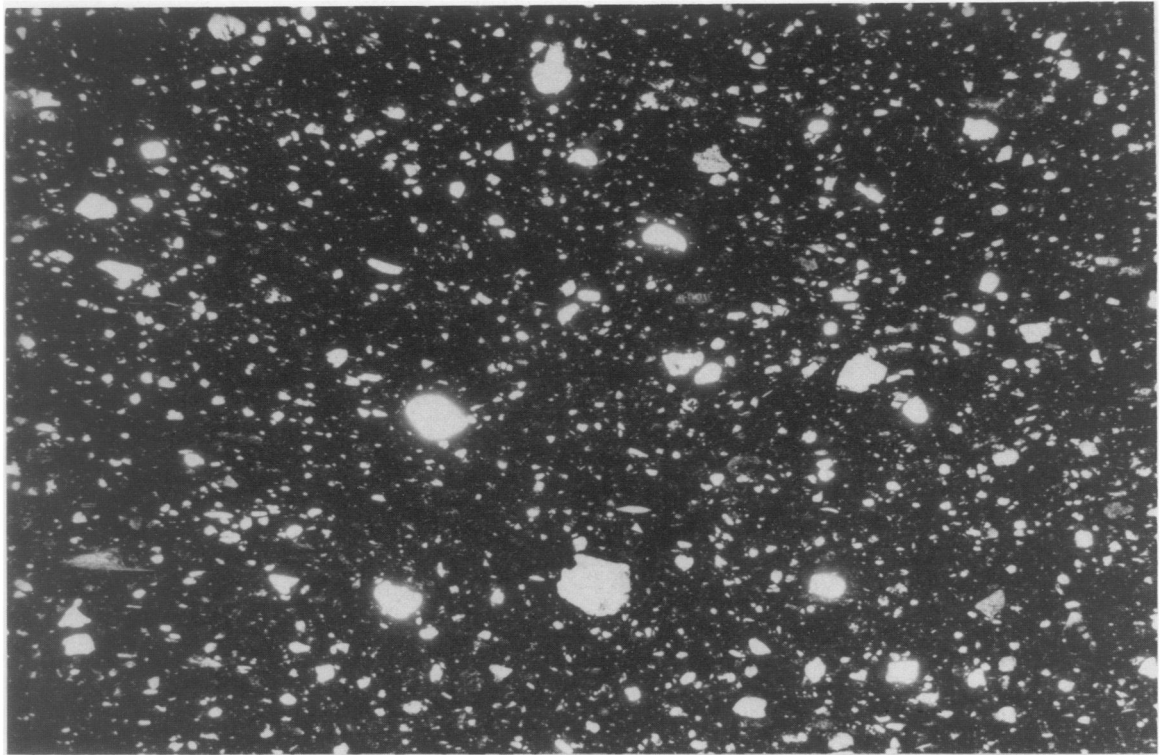
2. Fabric H4. Memphis. Elongated voids, some from burned out plant remains, are clearly visible, together with rounded quartz particles (showing white). Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 5 (p. 42)



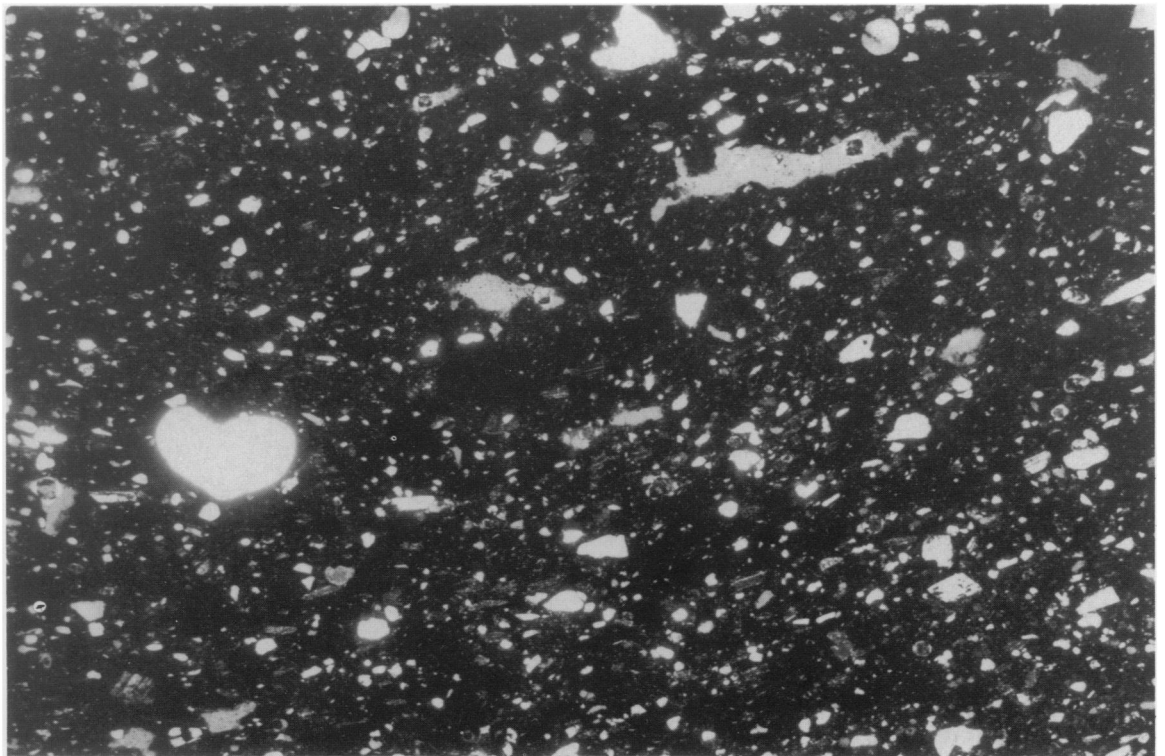
1. Fabric H8. Memphis. This view shows the poor sorting of this quartz rich fabric. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 10 (p. 44)



2. Fabric H9. Saqqara. Note the rock fragment at centre right, amongst the finer quartz inclusions. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 18 (p. 46)

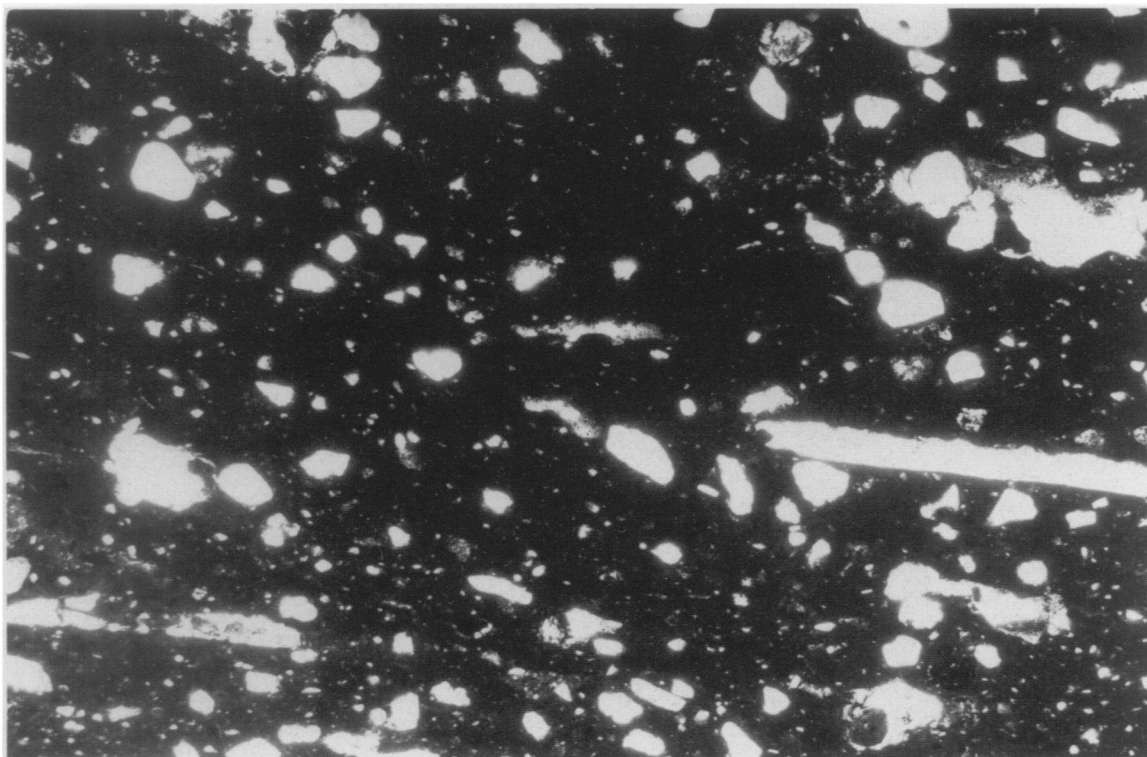


1. Fabric Hg-10. Memphis. A moderately well sorted fabric rich in quartz (white) and limestone (grey). Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 20 (p. 48)

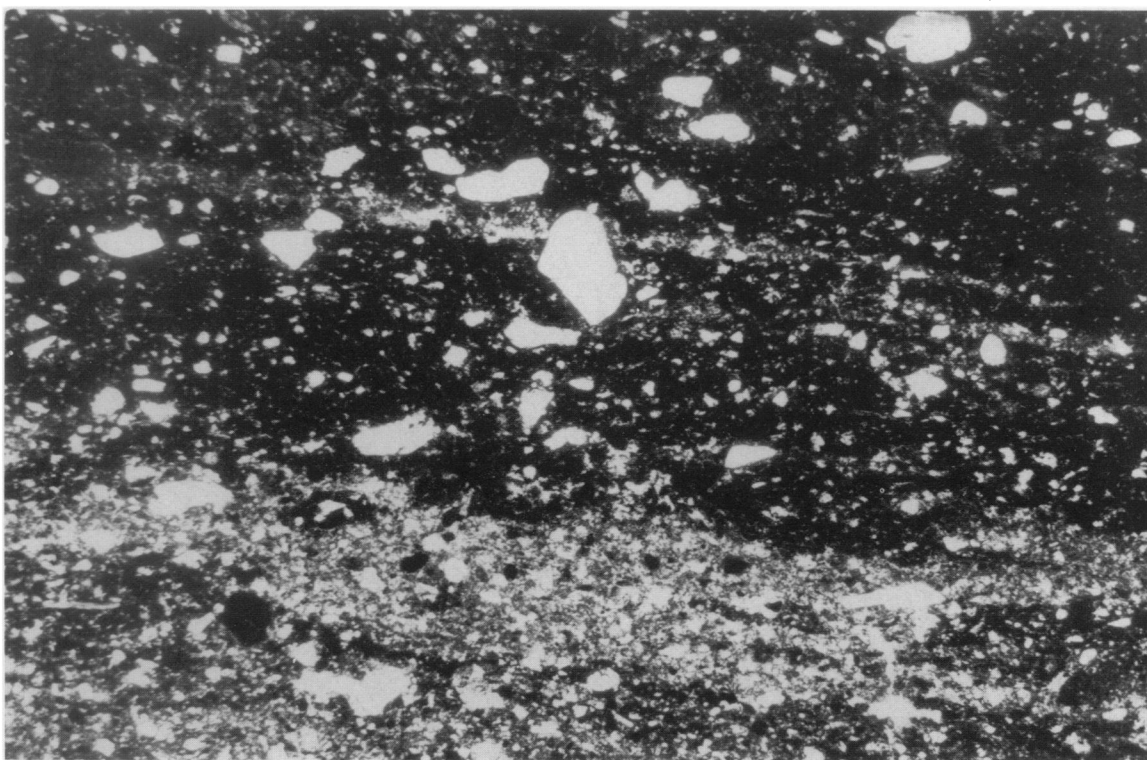


2. Fabric H10. Memphis. Elongated voids are visible toward top right amongst the quartz. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 22 (p. 47)

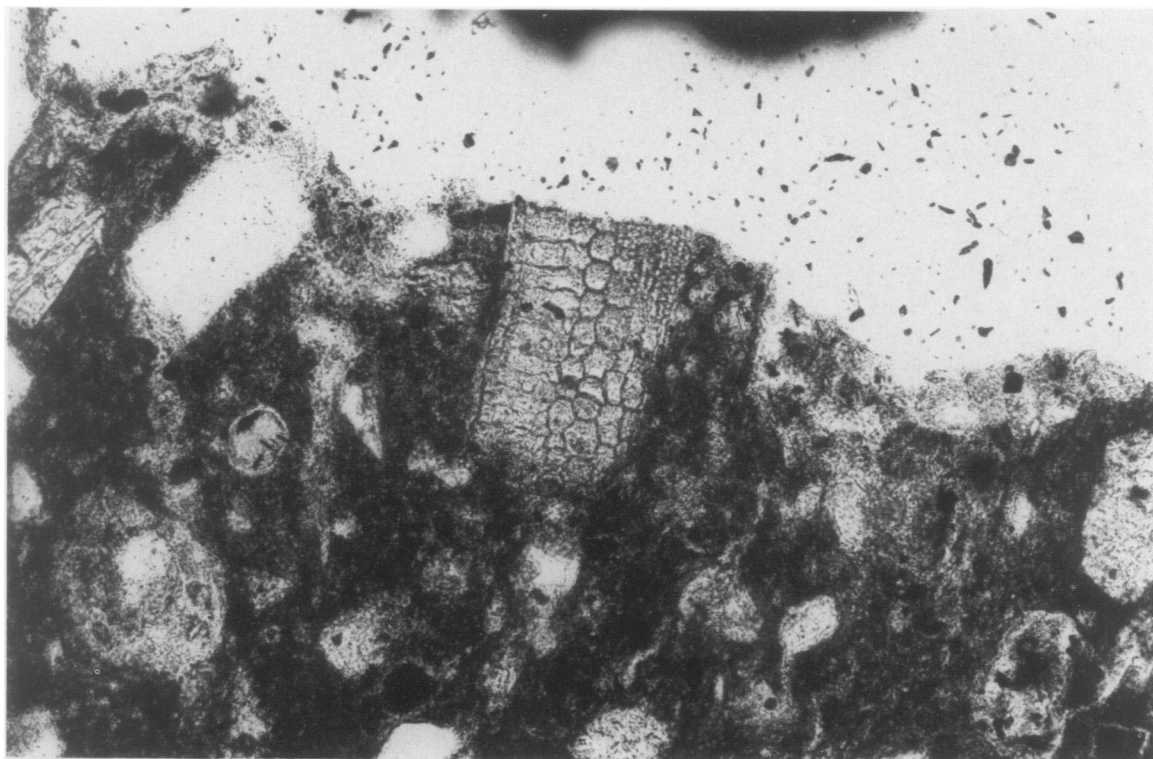




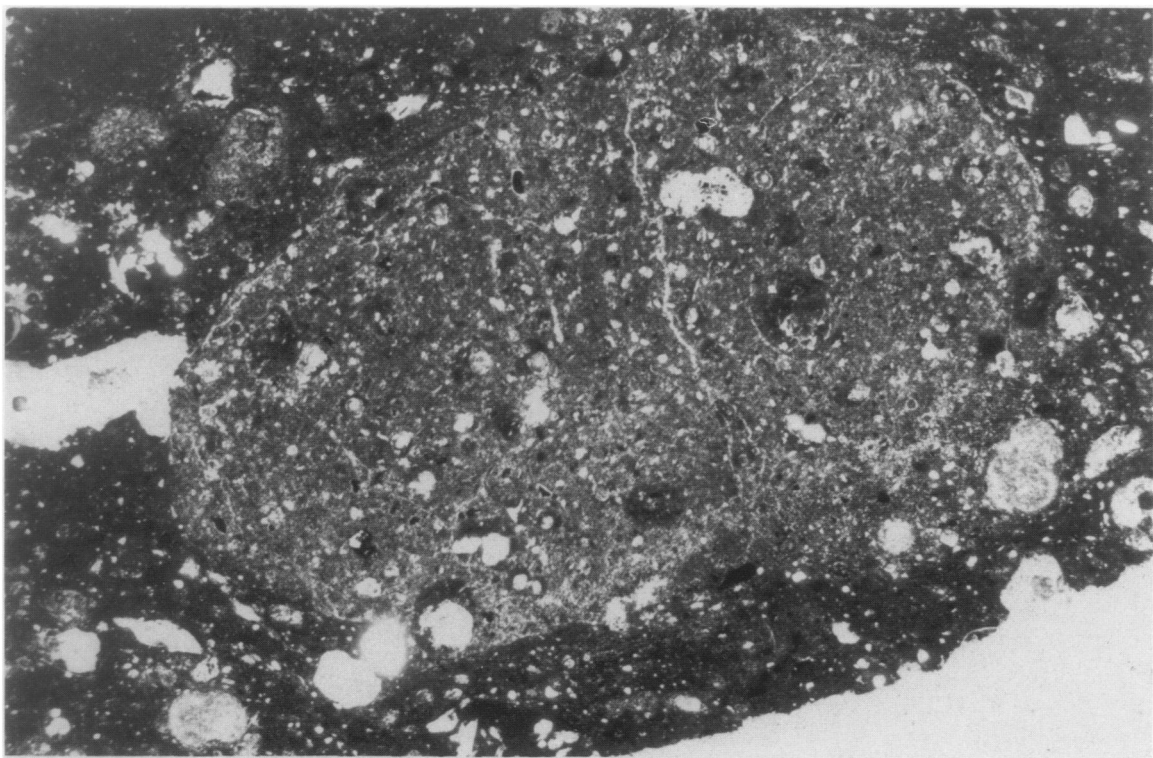
1. Fabric H11. Memphis. This fabric shows clear voids (left and right) from the burning out of plant material. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 25 (p. 50)



2. Fabric H13. Memphis. The clear banding of the clay seen here is characteristic of this fabric. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 30 (p. 51)

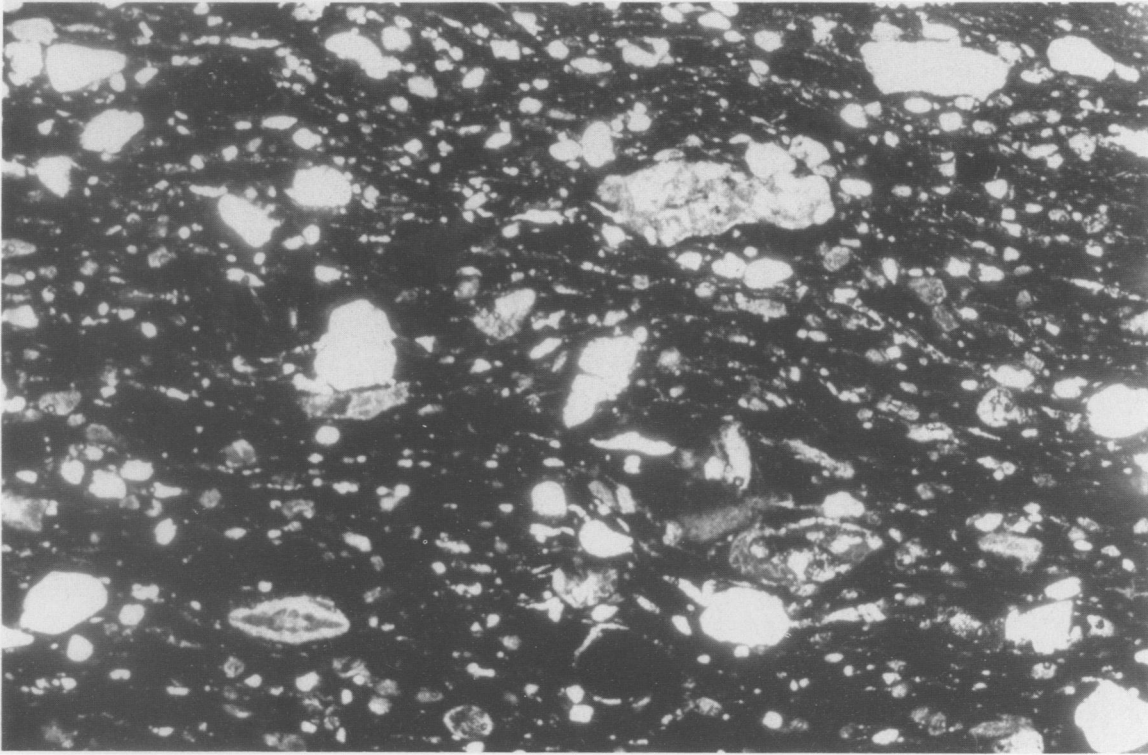


1. Fabric H14. Memphis. This shows a well preserved plant fossil (centre) similar to one found in fabric III:9 Amarna, thin-section 70. Field of view  $0.75 \times 0.5$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 33 (p. 52)

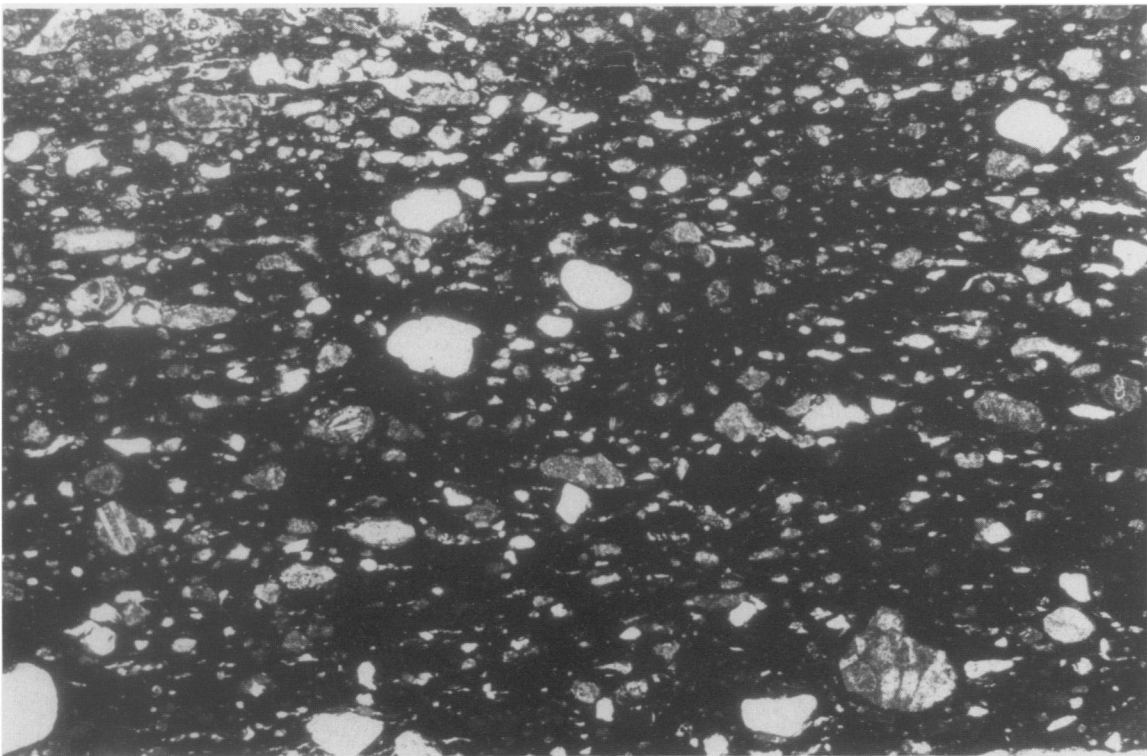


2. Fabric H14 Coarse. Saqqara. A large grog inclusion. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 36 (p. 53)

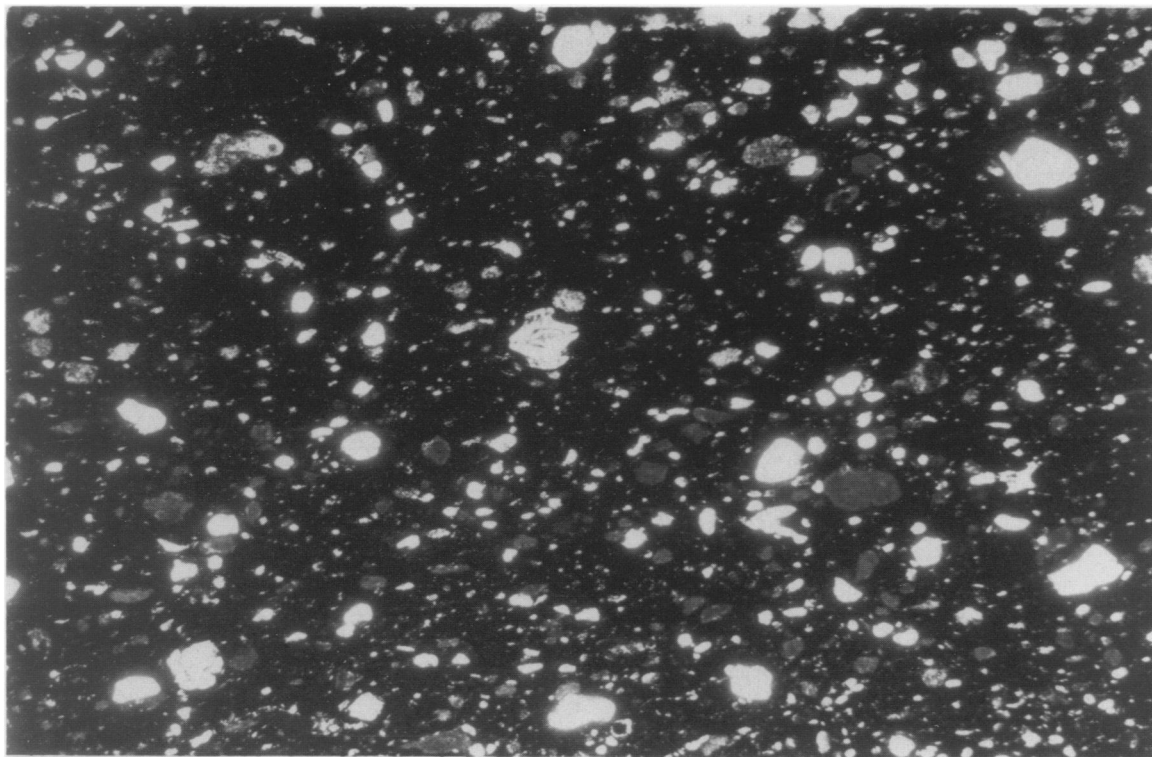




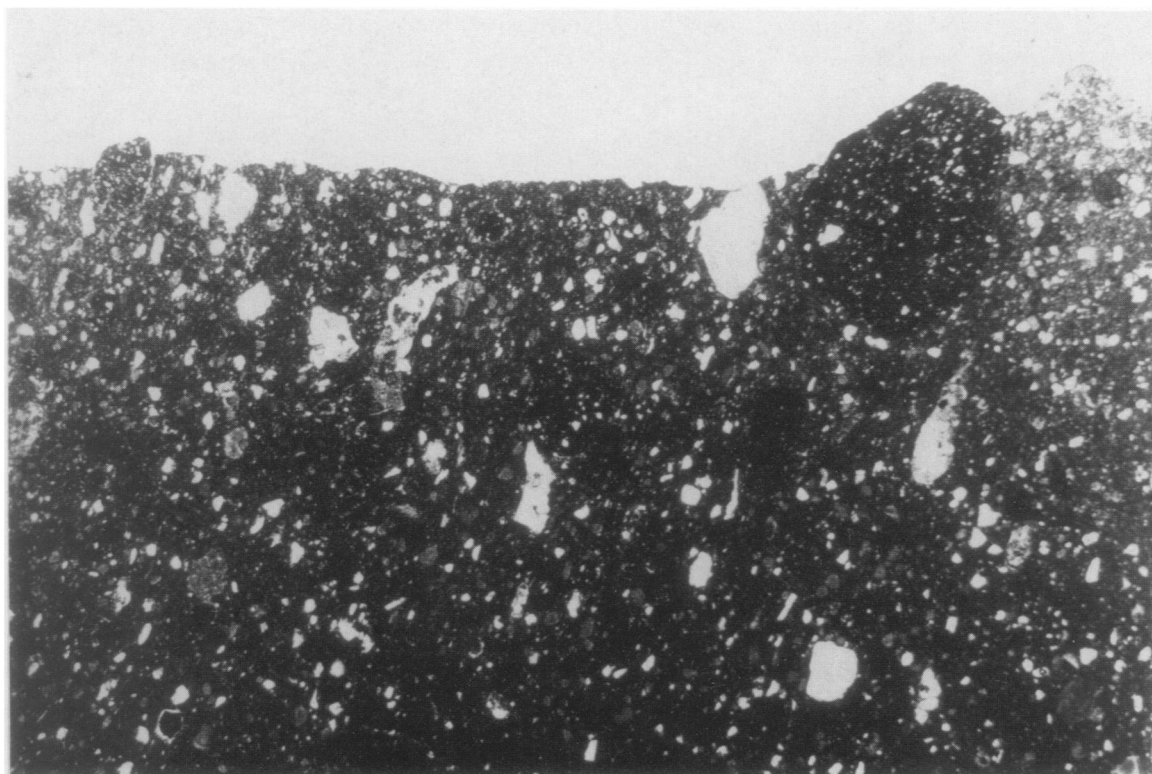
1. Fabric H14. Memphis. This quartz (white) and limestone (mostly grey) rich fabric contains microfossils, mostly nummulites, such as that toward bottom left (white oval with darker core).  
Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 38 (p. 53)



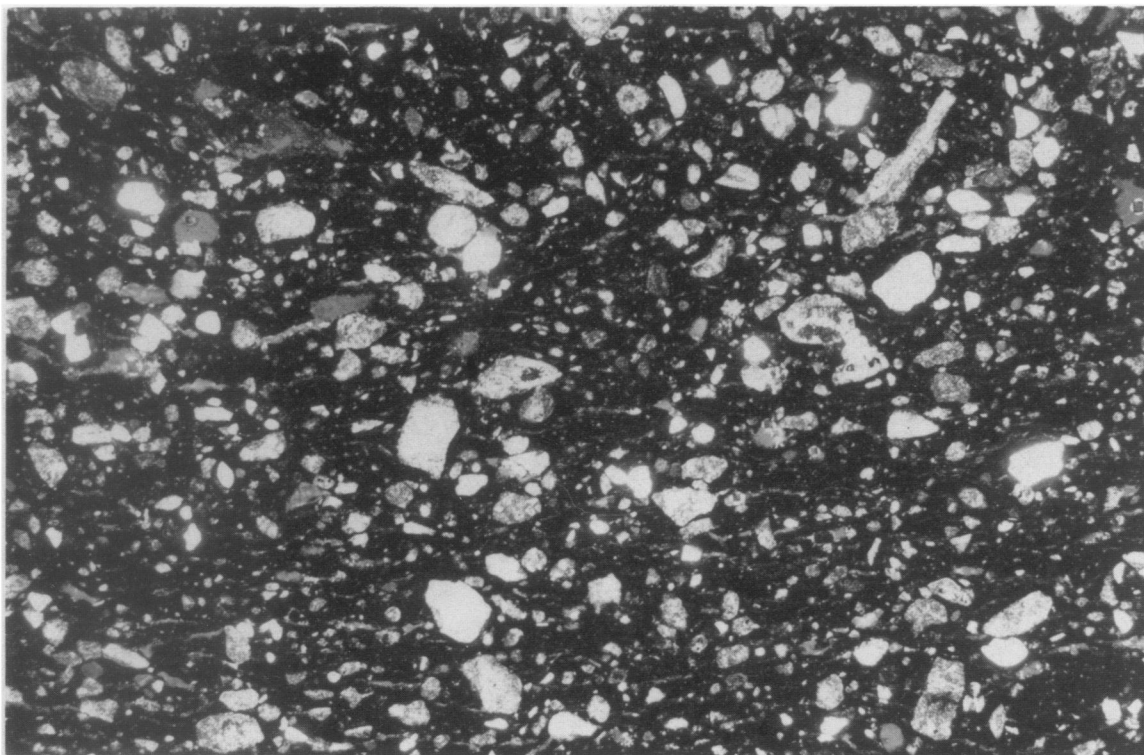
2. Fabric III:2. Amarna. Fossiliferous limestone, such as that at bottom right, is scattered throughout this fabric. The white inclusions are mainly quartz. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL.  
Thin-section 49 (p. 56)



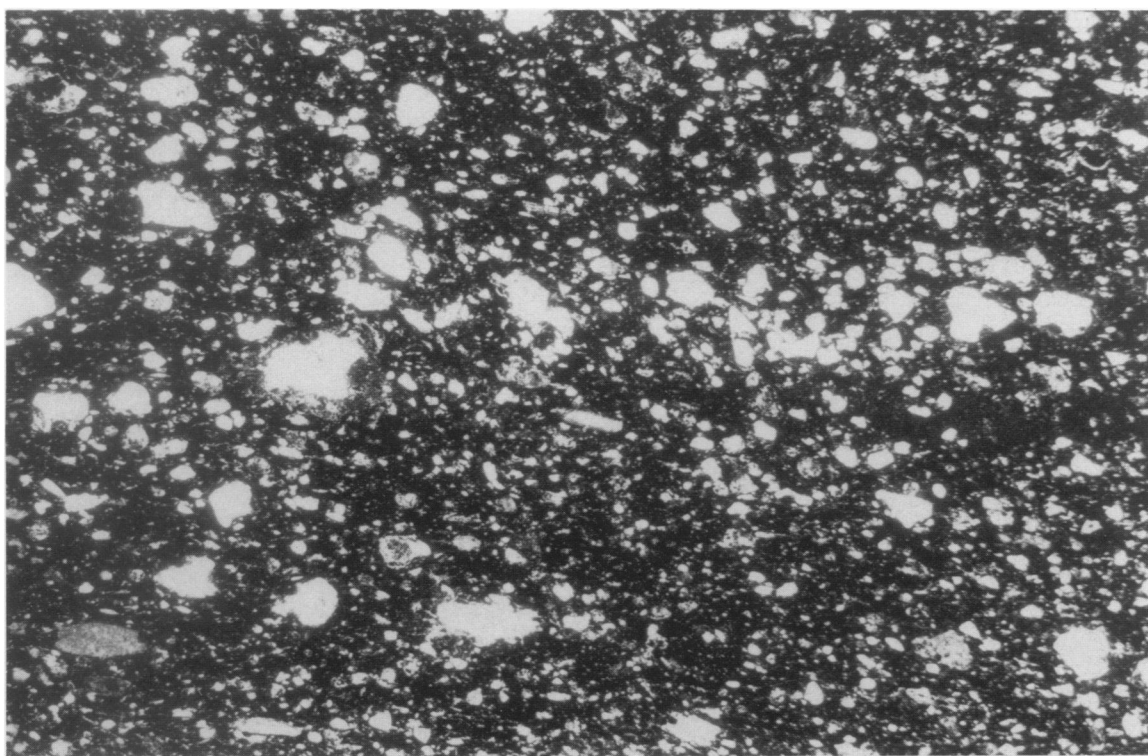
1. Fabric III:3. Amarna. The inclusions seen here are mostly quartz (white) and limestone (mostly grey). A nummulite can be seen just left of centre. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL.  
Thin-section 51 (p. 57)



2. Fabric III:4. Amarna. This fabric includes several fragments of possible grog; a large example is to be seen at top right. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 54 (p. 58)

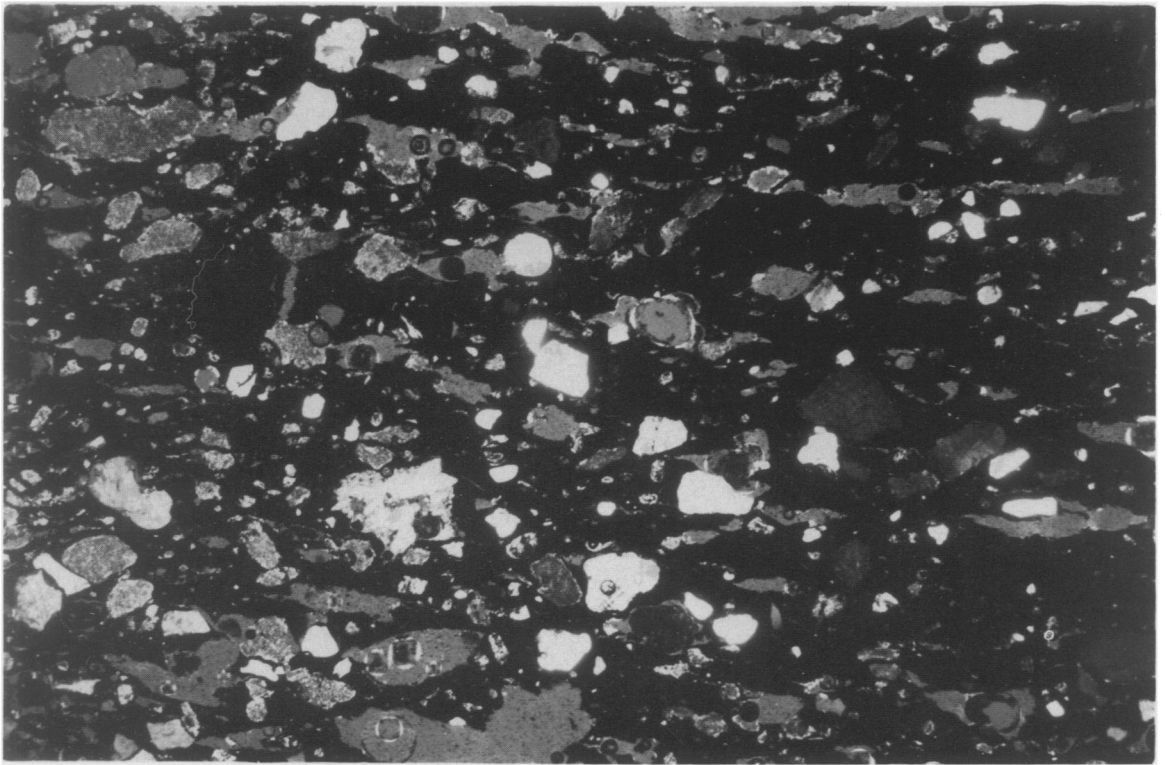


1. Fabric III:5. Amarna. This fabric contains numerous inclusions of fossiliferous limestone. Note also the many pores showing deep grey. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 59 (p. 59)

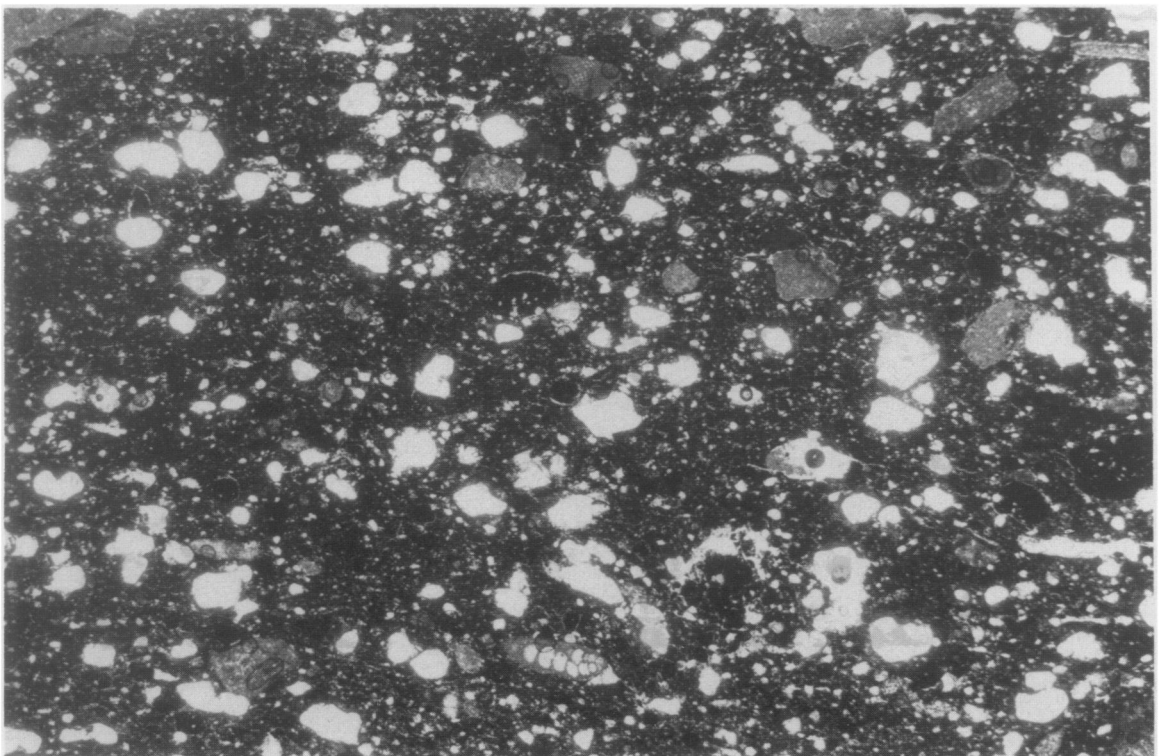


2. Fabric III:6. Amarna. This fabric shows rings left from the burning away of limestone (left of centre, large white area surrounded by grey) as well as quartz inclusions. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 62 (p. 60)

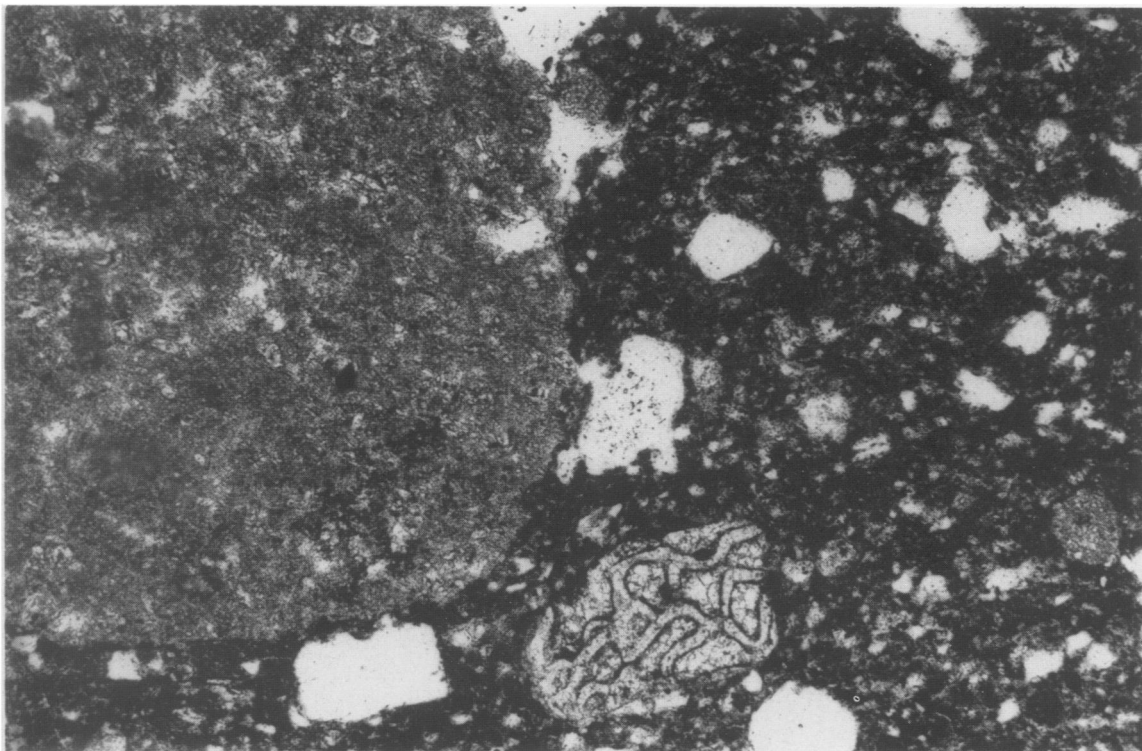




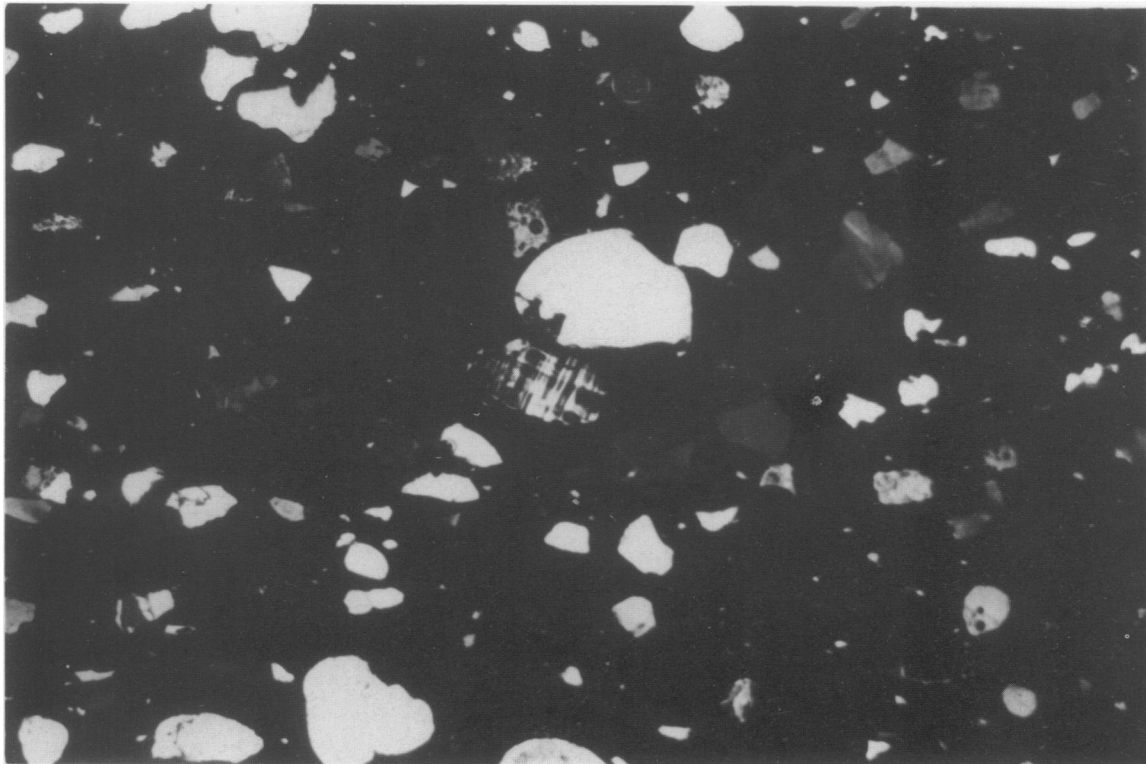
1. Fabric III:6 Coarse. Amarna. The pores in this specimen clearly show preferred orientation. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 63 (p. 60)



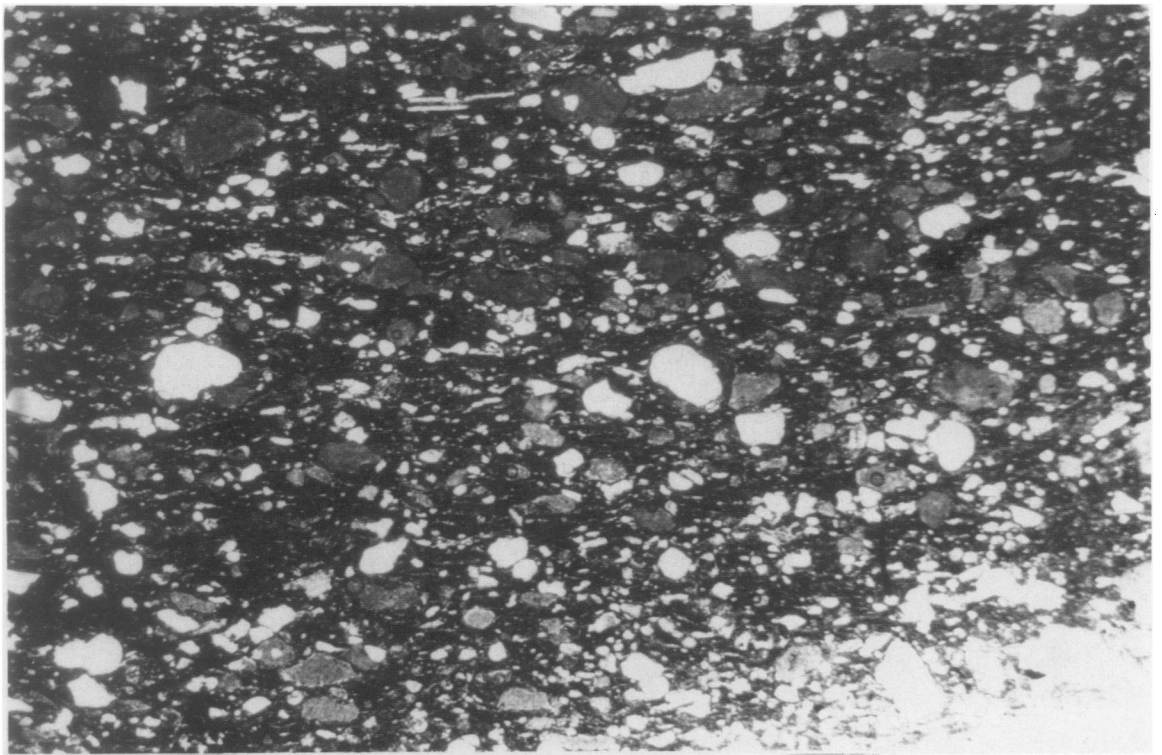
2. Fabric III:7. Amarna. This specimen has well preserved microfossils such as that at bottom centre. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 64 (p. 61)



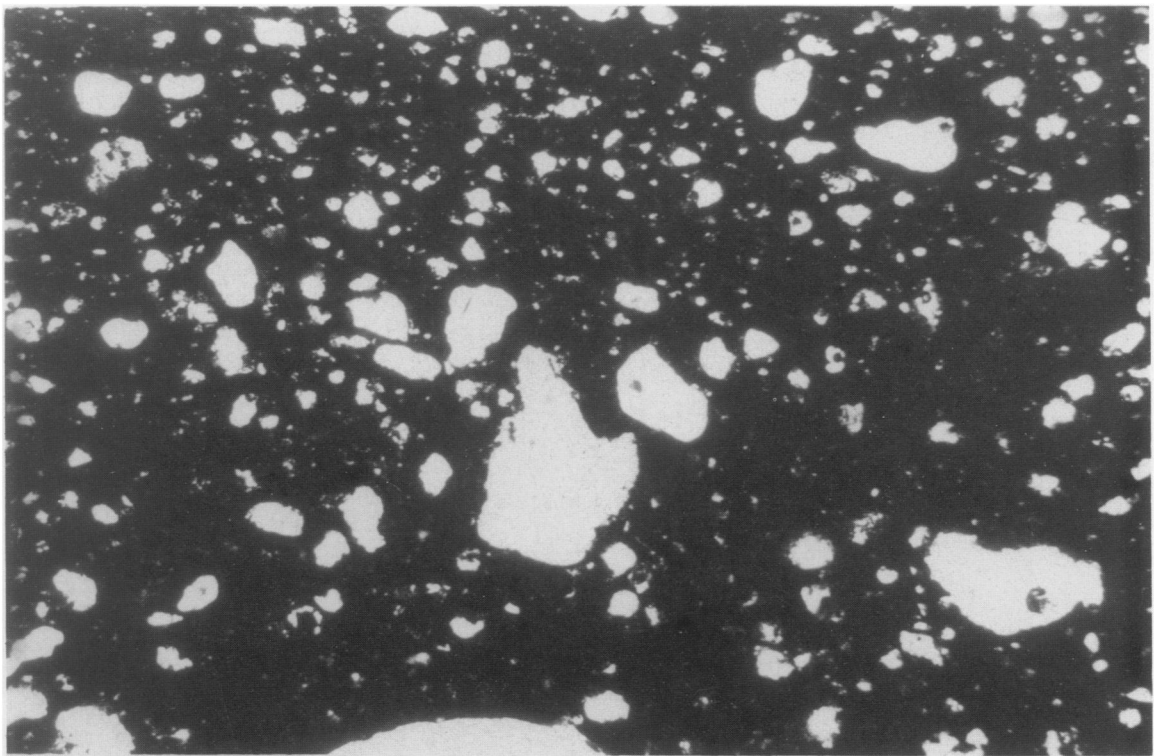
1. Fabric III:7. Amarna. This view is dominated by a large piece of limestone, below which is a piece of fossil coral or sponge (?). Field of view  $1.5 \times 1$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 64 (p. 61)



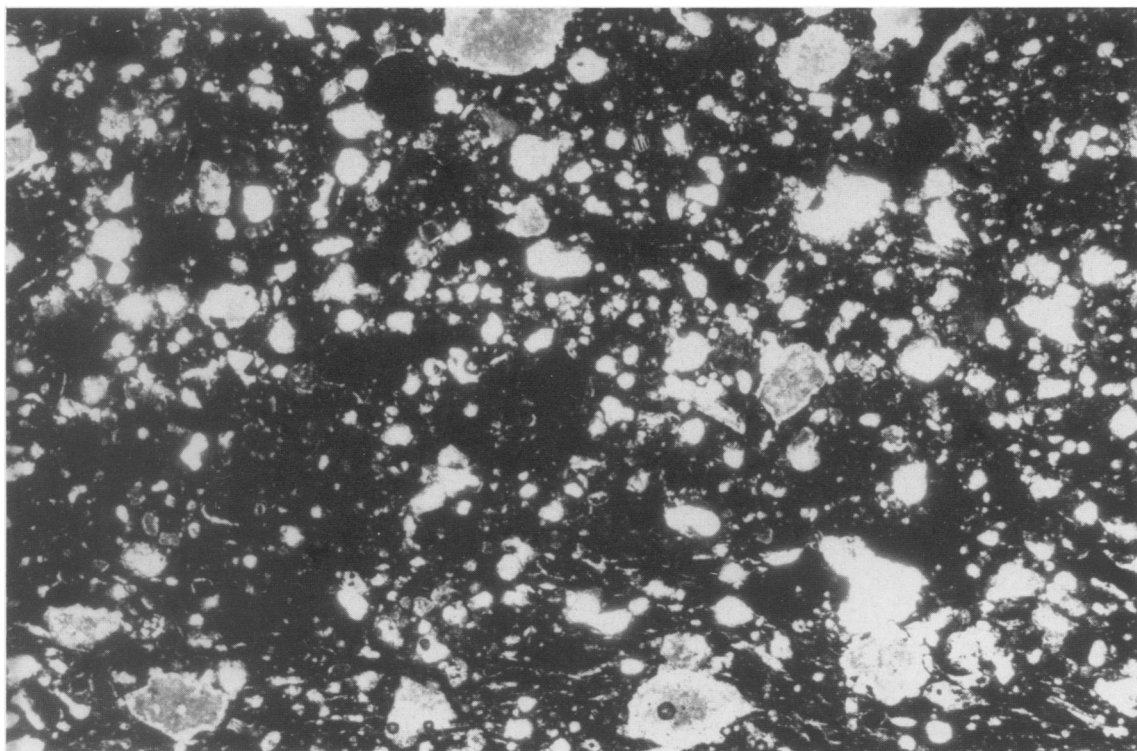
2. Fabric III:8. Amarna. A microcline feldspar ('crosshatched') shows clearly at the centre of the field. The other inclusions are mainly quartz. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 65 (p. 62)



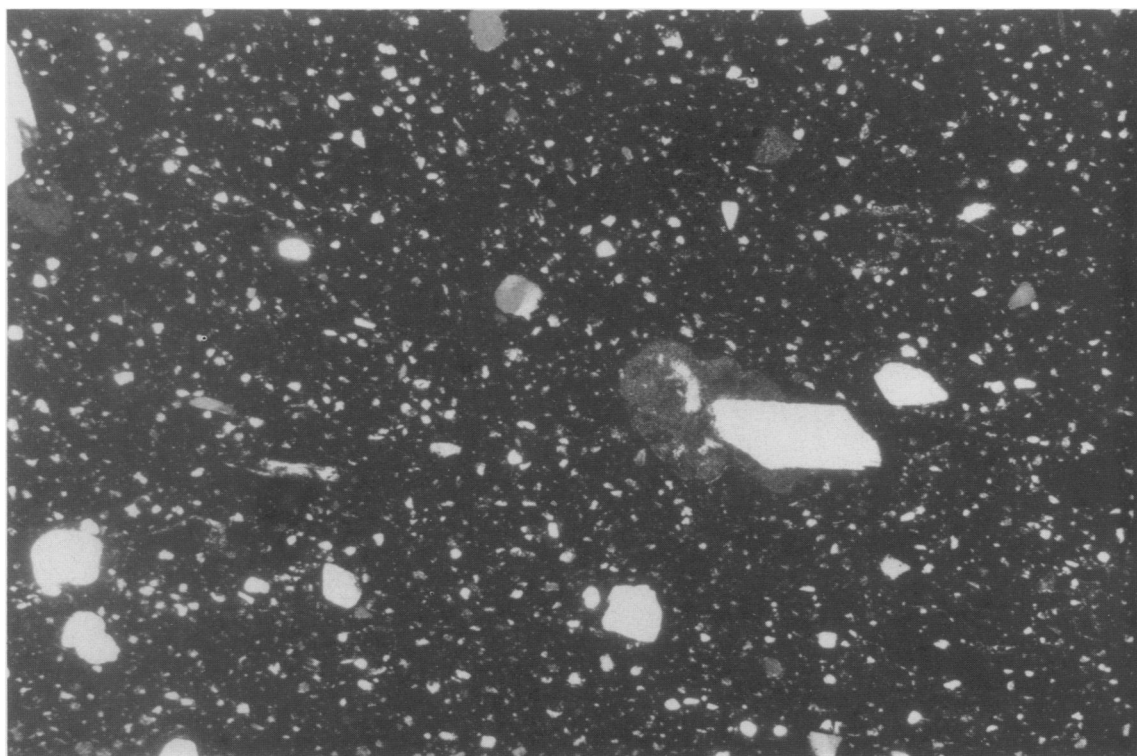
1. Fabric III:9. Amarna. Like H14 this fabric contains fossiliferous limestone, including plant fossils. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 70 (p. 63)



2. Fabric V:2. Amarna. Dominated by quartz. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 73 (p. 63)

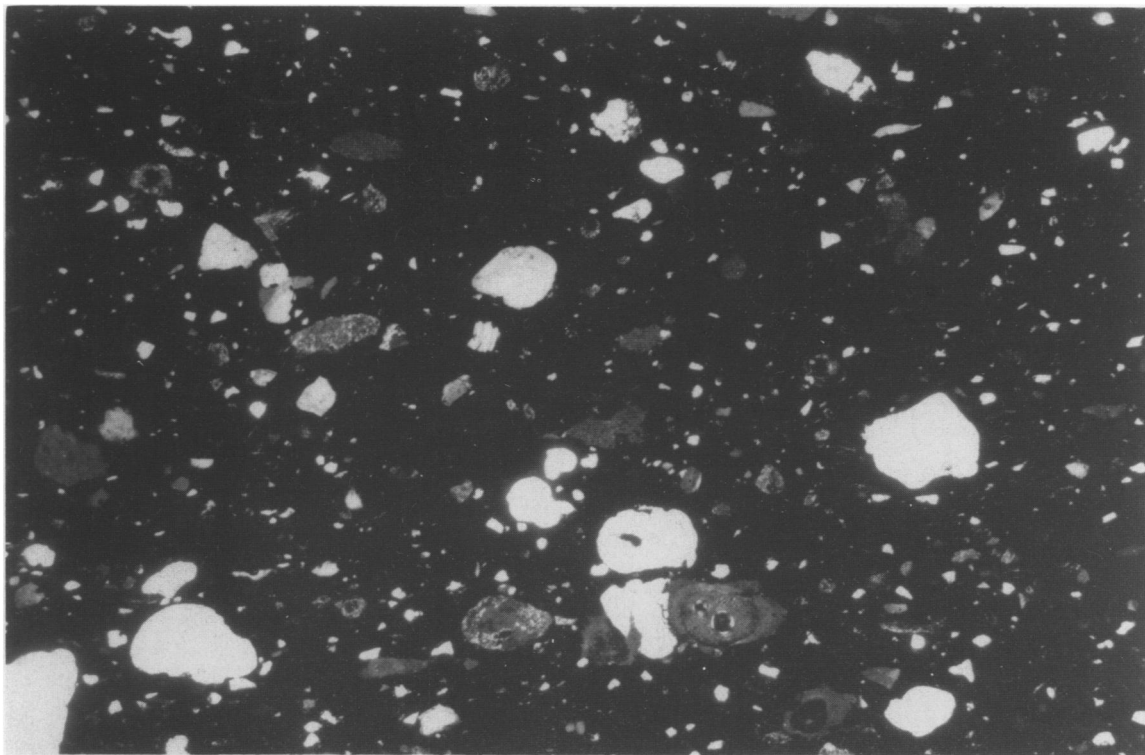


1. Fabric V:4. Amarna. Quartz (white), limestone (grey) and opaques (dense black) are visible in this specimen. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 78 (p. 65)

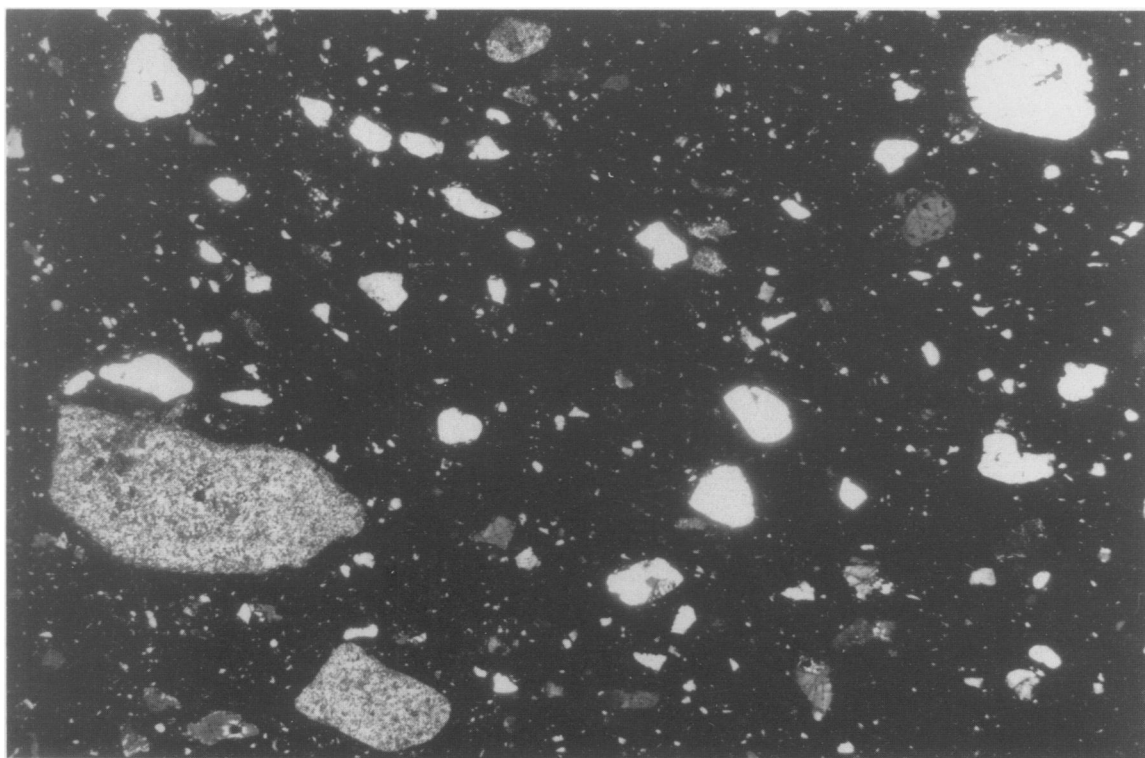


2. Fabric V:6. Amarna. The large inclusion (right of centre) is limestone with a large rhomb of calcite protruding from it. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under PPL. Thin-section 82 (p. 66)



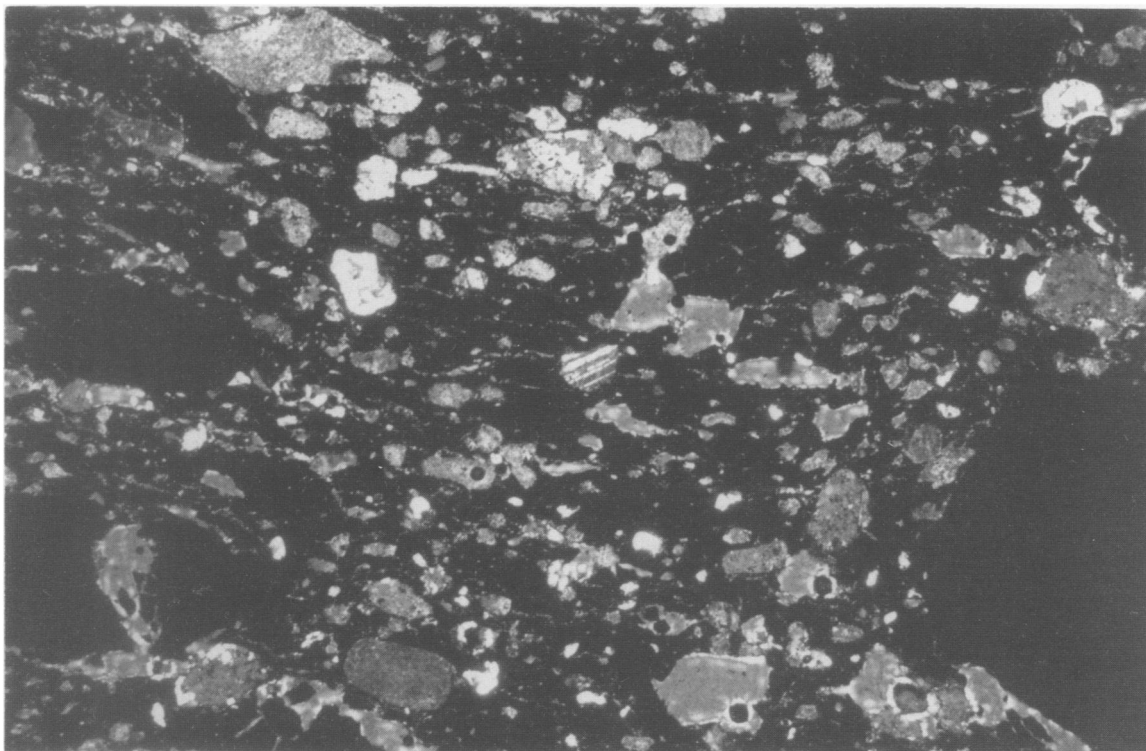


1. Fabric V:7. Amarna. Predominantly quartz and limestone. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 85 (p. 67)



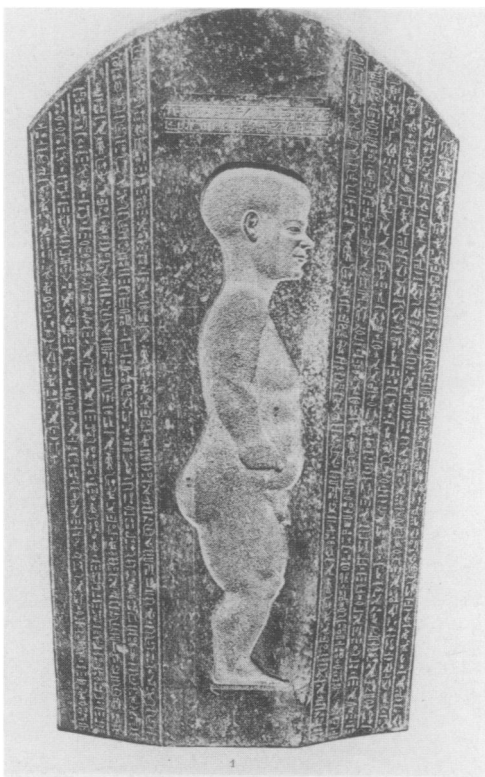
2. Fabric V:8. Amarna. A coarse fabric showing large pieces of limestone (bottom left). Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 87 (p. 68)





1. Fabric V:9. Amarna. This specimen clearly shows a plagioclase feldspar (striped inclusion at centre) among the quartz and limestone. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 89 (p. 68)

MARL CLAY POTTERY FABRICS



2. Lid of sarcophagus of Djeho, Cairo CG 29307

MERIT BY PROXY (pp. 241-57)

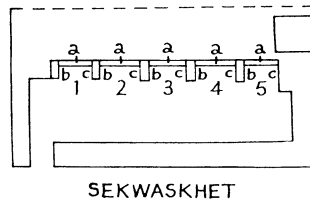


FIG. 1a. Plan of the cenotaph after PM

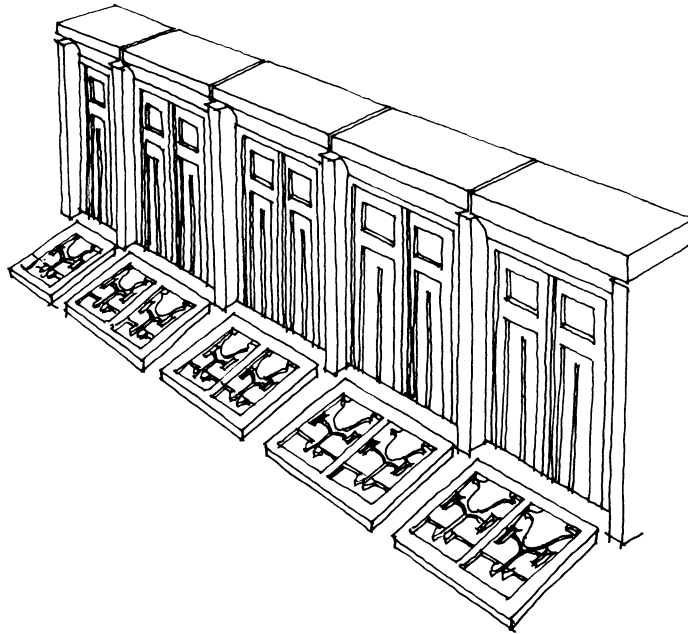


FIG. 1b. Reconstruction of the five offering niches

false door, with side pieces which separate the false doors one from another; in the pavement in front of each false door was an offering table.<sup>7</sup>

At least three of the niches were sent to the Cairo Museum on 23 and 24 July 1930. In the letter mentioned above<sup>8</sup> Firth says that: 'I have sent to the Museum today and yesterday the following objects a b c 3 double stelae with side pieces and d e f 3 double offering-tables. The above are all from Saqqara. a b c d e f formed the west wall of a mud-brick chapel of the early Middle Kingdom (x-xi Dynasties) at Saqqara.' It is not known for certain when the other two niches were sent to the Cairo Museum. It would seem that they were kept in a local store-house or magazine for a few years. It was not until the summer of 1930, when this store-house was cleared out, that some or all of its objects were sent to the Cairo Museum, with the niches among them. This would explain the lapse of time between their discovery and their acquisition by the Cairo Museum.

<sup>7</sup> Three false doors and two offering tables were photographed by Hakim Abu Seif *in situ*; see Posener, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.

<sup>8</sup> No sketch accompanied this letter.

Another letter, dated to 16 July, sent by Firth to Engelbach, would support this suggestion: 'There are 3 stelae in a row from a single chapel with side pieces A  $\bar{A}$   $\bar{A}$  1 2 3. The two pieces  $\bar{A}$   $\bar{A}$  2 are inscribed on both sides and shared by the adjoining stelae 1 & 3 so that we cannot deal with the 3 stelae except as a whole.'<sup>9</sup>

In the Cairo Museum the five niches were reunited as they had been originally, and in 1931 all were given the Journal d'Entrée number 55618 (fig. 1a and b). Their present serial registration number is 9625. They are made of limestone; their total length is 5.33 m and their average height 1.21 m. Niche no. 1 consists of a single false door, two side pieces and a single offering table, while nos. 2–5 each consists of a double false door, two side pieces and a double offering table.

### Niche no. 1: Sekwaskhet


The false-door (pl. XIX, 3; fig. 2a), with upper left part broken away, measures 121 × 78 × 14 cm. It is surmounted by a cavetto cornice whose upper part is also badly damaged. The panel is decorated with a scene representing the deceased, with one arm across his chest, seated at an offering table piled with offerings. A line of hieroglyphs fills the upper edge of the panel. The lower left and right parts of the outer jambs are decorated with a standing figure of the deceased holding a stick in one hand and a sceptre in the other. The inner jambs are also decorated with a standing figure of the deceased holding a stick in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other.

Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busir[is],  
 Left jamb: the great g]od, lord of Abydos, offerings to him the honoured Sekwaskhet.  
 Right jamb: May he travel in peace in the necropolis, the honoured Sekwaskhet.  
 Lower lintel: May he be led by his *kas* to the West, the honoured Sekwaskhet.  
 Inner jambs: The honoured Sekwaskhet.  
 The panel: A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing, for the honoured Sekwaskhet.

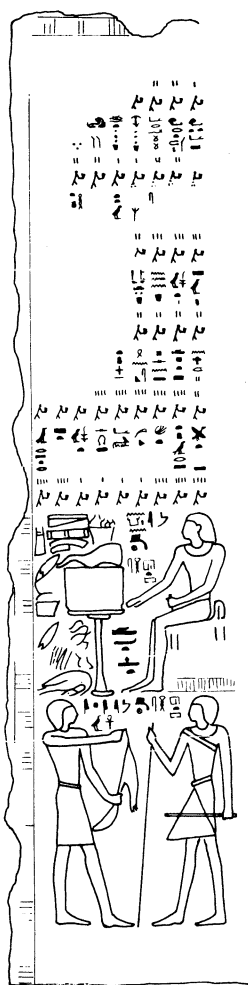
The left side piece (pl. XIX, 1; fig. 2b) measures 126 × 45.5 × 14 cm and is decorated with an offering list consisting of 54 different types of offerings distributed in six groups across nine columns of hieroglyphic text. It is incised in summary fashion and the surface of the upper left part is now worn away. Below the list are two scenes, one above the other. The upper represents the deceased, depicted in traditional manner, seated at an offering table and placing one hand on it, while holding a piece of cloth in the other. The table is piled high with different types of offerings. Before the man's face is a text which reads: 'For the *ks* of the honoured Sekwaskhet.' The lower scene depicts the deceased holding the *sh*m-sceptre in one hand and a stick in the other, standing before another man whose name is Ipyankhu. He offers two geese, one in each hand, to the deceased. Between them is a line of hieroglyphs which reads: 'The honoured Sekwaskhet.'

The right side piece (pl. XIX, 2, 3; fig. 2c) measures 121 × 41 × 13.5 cm and is divided into five registers. It is carved in both raised and incised relief. The upper register is decorated with five oil vessels. The second shows two pairs of bracelets and anklets, formed of seven rectangles, two bangles and three bead necklaces. The third depicts a *wsh*-collar, a counterpoise, two small bracelets (*h*dr̄t and *d*nt), a *mnb*-axe and a *mtnit*-battle-axe. The fourth register represents a man lassoing a bull with a rope. The text above reads: 'lassoing a bull by the herdsman<sup>10</sup> of the *pr-dt*.' The fifth register is now missing, but an old photograph in the possession of the Griffith Institute shows the whole side piece intact.<sup>11</sup> It depicts the deceased holding a stick in one hand and a piece

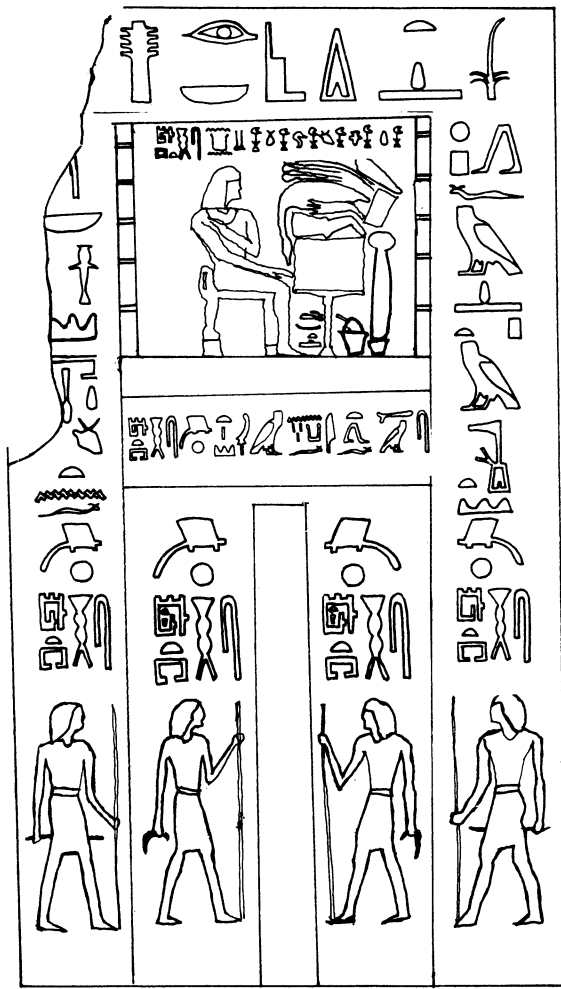
<sup>9</sup> Gunn MSS, notebook no. 12. The statuettes discovered in this cenotaph were also stored in a magazine at Saqqara until 1938, when they were sent to the Cairo Museum. See Posener, *Princes et pays*, 15, and Posener, *CdE* 14, 41.

<sup>10</sup> The sign  *mnizw*, 'herdsman', could also be read as *iry*, 'employee'; for a brief discussion on the confusion of the meaning of this sign, see W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), 95.

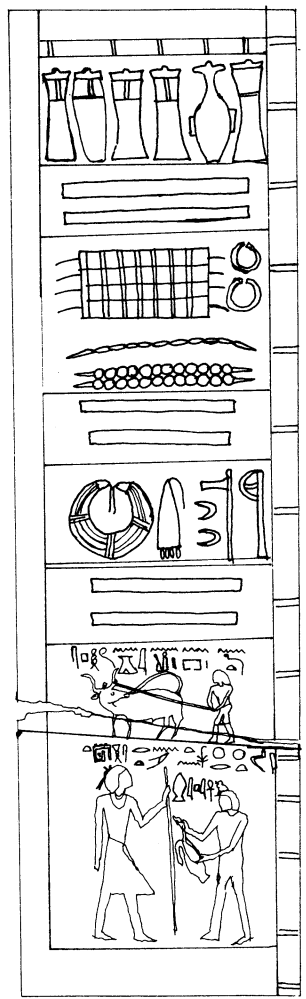
<sup>11</sup> Photograph kindly supplied by the Griffith Institute.



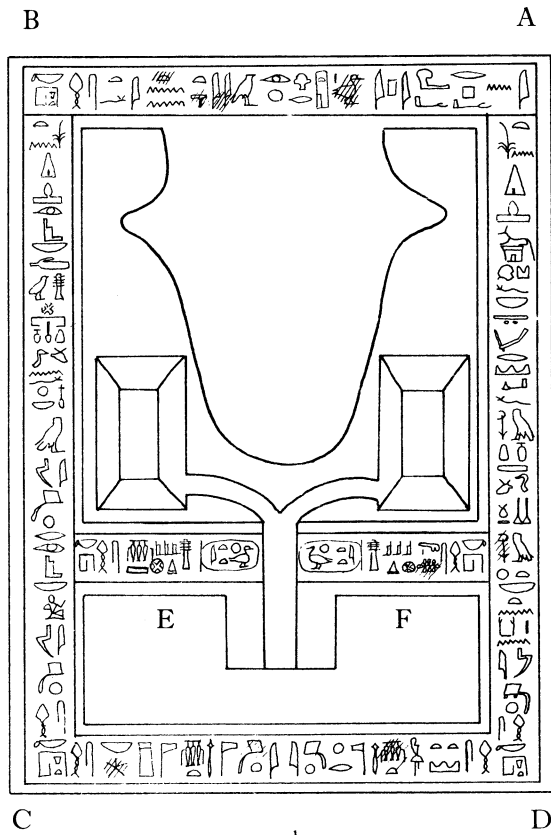
b



a



c



d

FIG. 2. Niche no. 1 (pl. XIX)

of cloth in the other. He is labelled as 'The honoured one with the king, his beloved Sekwaskhet.' Standing in front of him is the *ka*-priest<sup>12</sup> Ipyankhu, who offers him two geese. Traces of red colour are still visible on the man depicted in the fourth register.

The offering table (pl. XIX, 4; fig. 2d) measures 60 × 70 × 14 cm. Its outer surface is carved in low relief, incorporating the shape of the *hṭp*-sign. The inscribed text reads:

- A-B: By the noble, the mayor Ipyahathor, who made this offering table for his father Sekwaskhet.  
 B-C: A boon which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris. Good invocation offerings for him every day for the honoured one with Osiris, the possessor of honour Sekwaskhet.  
 A-D: A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, who is upon his mountain, lord of the sacred land, that he may give a thousand of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster, clothing (and) a thousand of everything for the *ka* of the honoured Sekwaskhet.  
 C-D: The honoured one, with the great god, the foremost of the west, Sekwaskhet. The honoured one with the great god, who is before the divine booth, the possessor of honour Sekwaskhet.  
 E: The tenant of 'Enduring are the Places of Teti Son of Re', Sekwaskhet.  
 F: The controller of the priestly phyle of 'Enduring are the Places of Teti Son of Re', Sekwaskhet.

#### Niche no. 2: Niankhhor and Shedy

This pair of false doors (pl. XX, 3; fig. 3a) measures 121 × 93 × 15 cm. They are surmounted by a cavetto cornice, the flat surface of which is inscribed with a line of hieroglyphs giving the names of the seven sacred oils. The false doors are bordered and divided by torus moulding. The left door is dedicated to Niankhhor and the right to the lady Shedy. Traces of red are visible on the body of the deceased, who is depicted on the lower part of the left door. Traces of green remain on some of the hieroglyphic signs and on the collar of the man. Traces of black survive on the hair of the male and female figures.



##### *Left door*

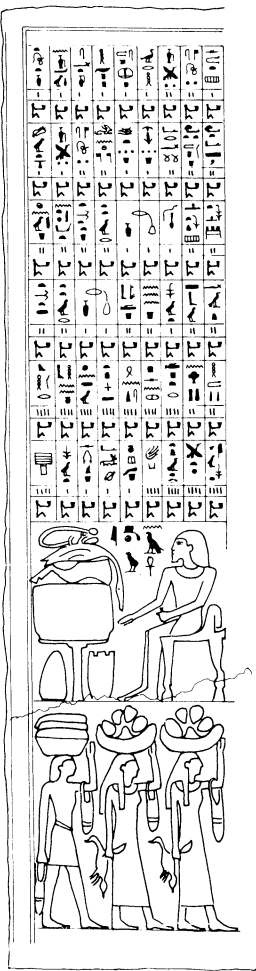
- Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris,  
 Right jamb: [the great god], [lord of Abydos]. Good invocation offerings for him in his tomb, the honoured Niankhhor.  
 Left jamb: May he travel in peace in the necropolis and be led by his *kas*, the honoured Niankhhor.  
 Lower lintel: The truly beloved and honoured Niankhhor.  
 Inner jambs: Offerings every month for the honoured Niankhhor.  
 The panel: As panel no. 1, but for Niankhhor.

##### *Right door*

- Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris,  
 Right jamb: the great god, lord of Abydos. Good invocation offerings for her, for the honoured one with the king, Shedy.  
 Left jamb: May she travel in peace to the good West and be led by her *kas*, the honoured Shedy.  
 Lower lintel: The honoured one with Anubis Shedy.  
 Inner jambs: Offerings every month for the honoured Shedy.  
 The panel: As panel no. 1, but for Shedy.

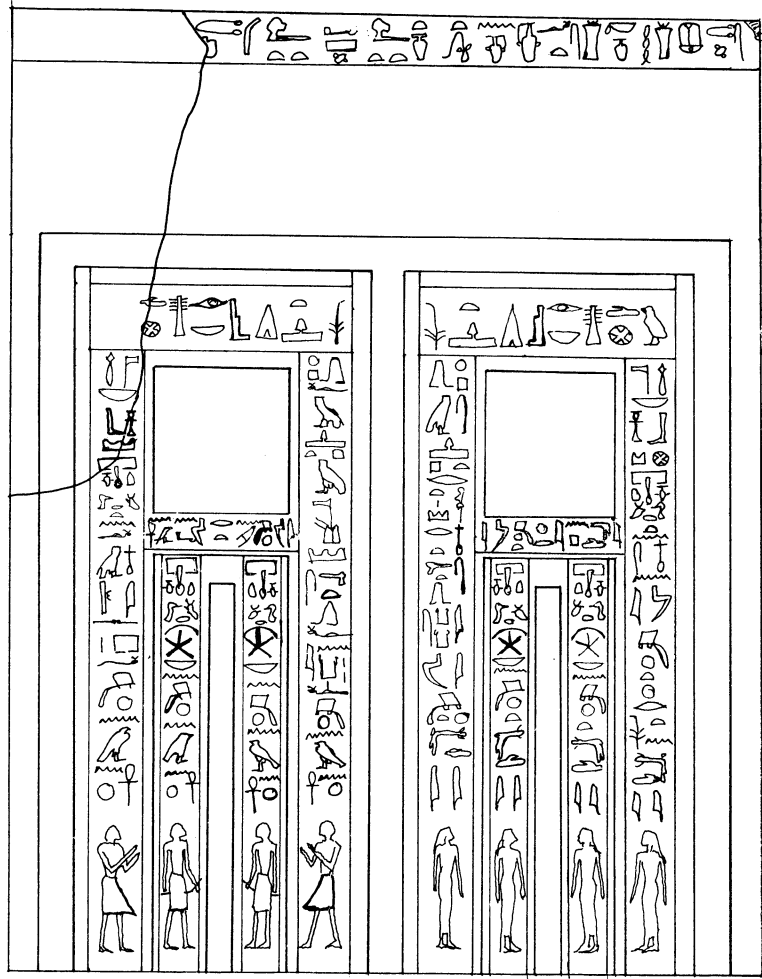
The left side piece (pl. XX, 1, 3; fig. 3b) measures 121 × 41 × 13.5 cm and is decorated with an offering list and two scenes, one above the other. The list consists of 54 different types of offerings distributed in six groups across nine columns of text. The upper scene shows Niankhhor seated on a chair at an offering table piled with food. He stretches one hand towards it and holds a piece of cloth in the other. Traces of red are still visible on his chest and legs, on the leg of beef, on

<sup>12</sup>The sign  should be understood as 



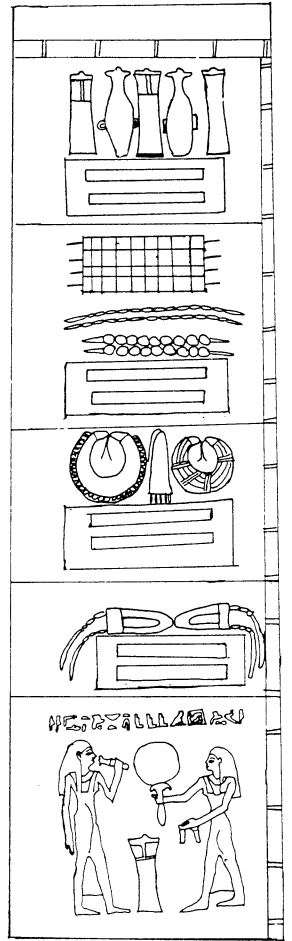
b

B



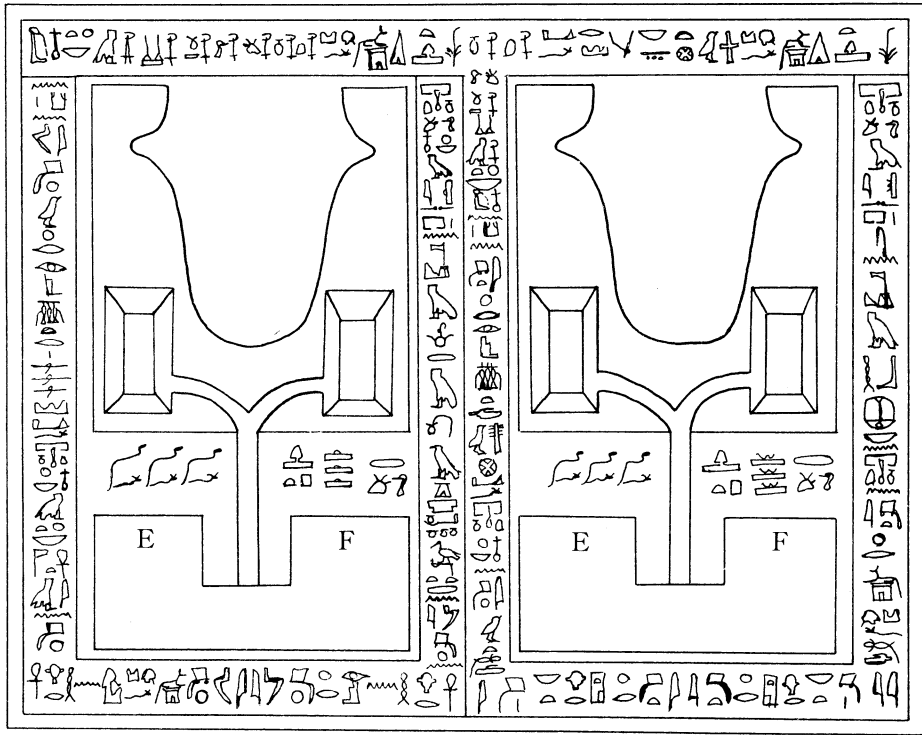
a

A B



c

A



C

d

D C

D

FIG. 3. Niche no. 2 (pl. XX)

parts of the geese and on some vegetables. The now lost lower scene can be described from an old photograph in the Griffith Institute (pl. XX, 3). It depicts two standing women, each holding a goose in her right hand. With their left hands they support baskets full of offerings (probably bread) on their heads. Behind them is the standing figure of a man carrying a basket of food on his head, and holding a vessel in his right hand.

The right side piece (pl. XX, 2; fig. 3c) measures  $120.5 \times 45 \times 15$  cm. It is divided into five registers. The uppermost is decorated with five oil vessels. The second register shows two pairs of bracelets and anklets, formed of six rectangles, and four bead necklaces placed one above the other. The third register depicts two *wsh*-collars with a counterpoise between them. The fourth is decorated with two *mnt*-collars placed on a stand. The bottom register is a scene showing two women facing each other with an altar between them. To the left a woman stands with her right arm at her side and with the other she raises a small jar towards her face, perhaps to show that she is smelling it. She is labelled as 'The honoured one of Hathor-in-all-her-Places, the honoured Shedy'. In front of her stands another woman holding a piece of cloth in one hand and offering a mirror with the other.

The offering table (pl. XX, 4; fig. 3d) measures  $61 \times 89 \times 17$  cm.

#### *Left part*

- A-B: A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, who is upon his mountain, (that he may give) a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing, a thousand of every good and pure thing
- B-C: for the *ka* of the honoured one with Osiris, who is before Rosetau, (*rj-stjw*).<sup>13</sup> May he give good invocation offerings every day, consisting of everything on which the god lives, to the honoured Niankhhor.
- A-D Good invocation offerings every day in the tomb of the necropolis in the New Year's day festival, in the Wag-festival and in the Thoth-festival for the justified Niankhhor.
- C-D The honoured one with Anubis Niankhhor. The honoured one with Osiris Niankhhor.
- E Provisions.
- F Offerings.

#### *Right part*

- A-B A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, who is upon his mountain, who dwells in the place of embalming (*wit*), lord of the sacred land, that he may give a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer,
- B-C of oxen, of fowl, of alabaster, of clothing, a thousand of every good and pure thing for the *ka* of the honoured one with Osiris, who is before Busiris. May he give good invocation offerings every day for the honoured Shedy.
- A-D Offerings in her tomb of the necropolis in every festival of offerings for the honoured one with Anubis, who is upon his mountain, Shedy.
- C-D The honoured one with Hathor, the possessor of honour Shedy (twice repeated).
- E Provisions.
- F Offerings.

#### Niche no. 3: Sekwaskhet the elder and Mutemsaes

This pair of false doors (pl. XXI, 3; fig. 4a) measures  $121 \times 96 \times 16$  cm. They are surmounted by a cavetto cornice and bordered by torus moulding. The flat area of the cornice bears the names of the seven sacred oils, but parts of the surface are badly worn away. The left door is dedicated to Sekwaskhet the elder and the right to Mutemsaes. Traces of red on the body, black on the hair, and green on the collar are visible on the male figure depicted on the jambs of the left false door.

#### *Left door*

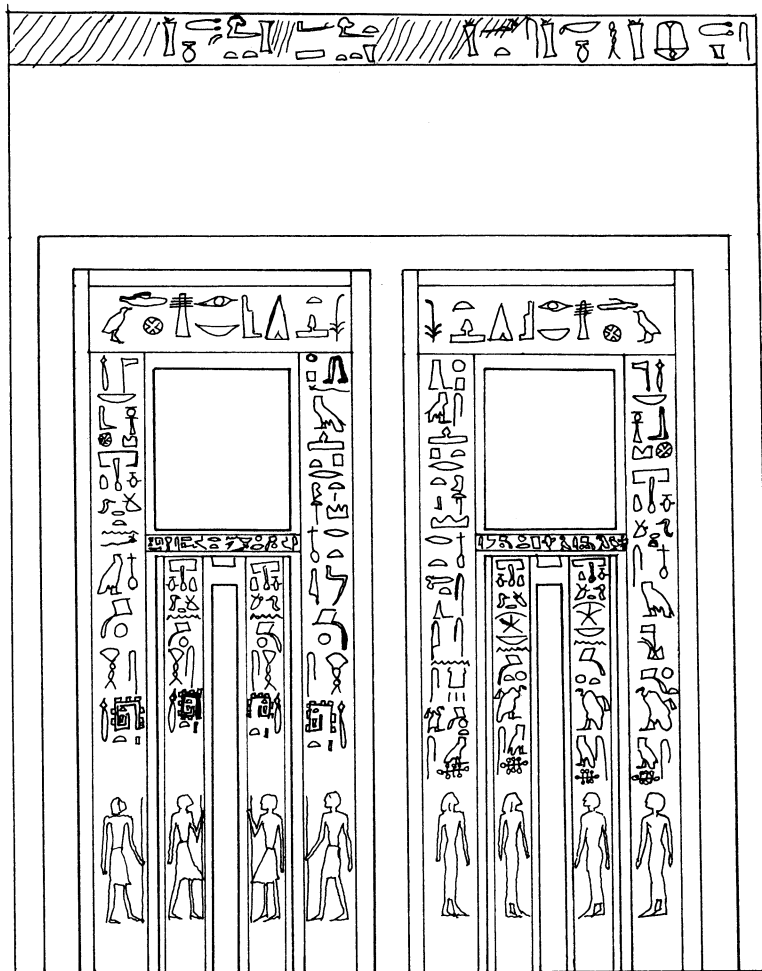
- Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris,
- Left jamb: the great god, lord of Abydos. Good invocation offerings for him, in [the necropolis],<sup>14</sup> the honoured Sekwaskhet the elder.

<sup>13</sup> For the possible location of *rj-stjw*, see I. E. S. Edwards, in L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* (Hanover and London, 1986), 27-36.

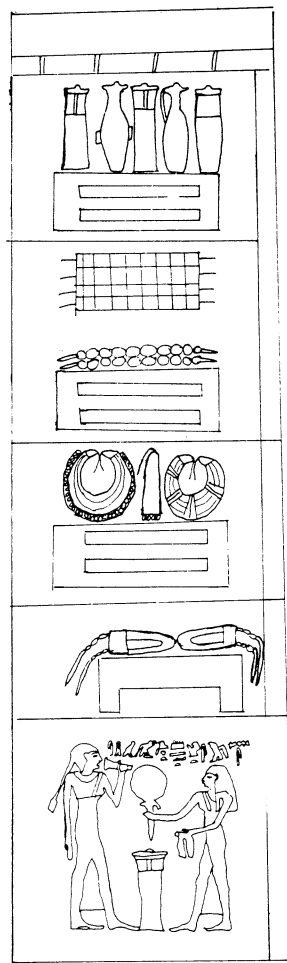
<sup>14</sup> See the right jamb of the false door of Mutemsaes.



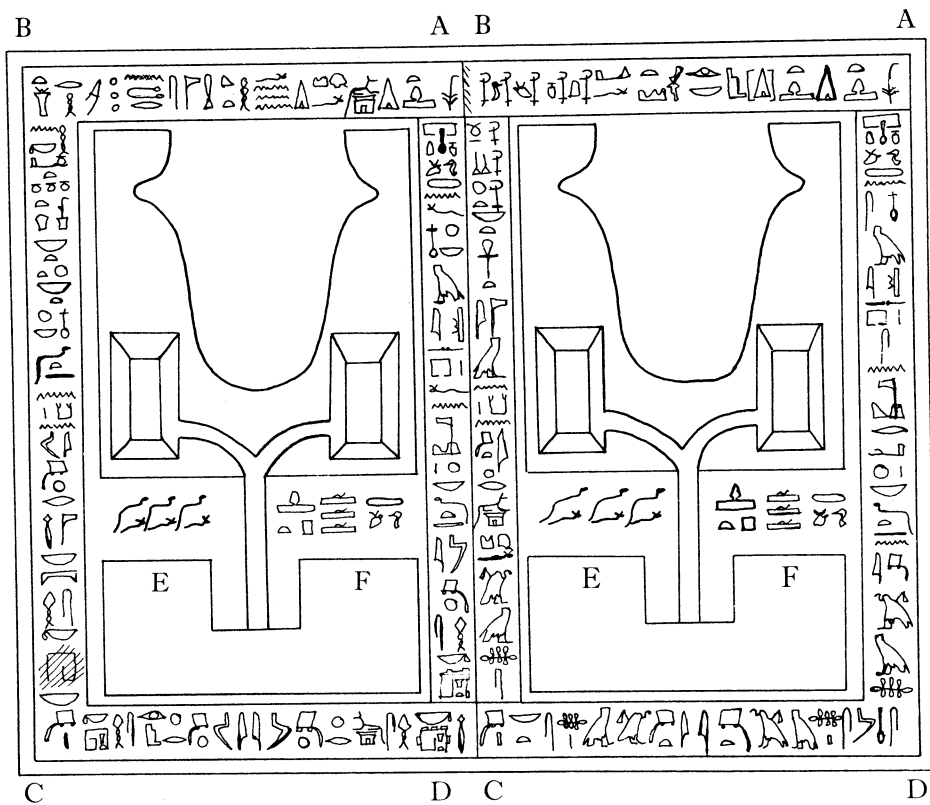
b



a



c



d

FIG. 4. Niche no. 3 (pl. XXI)



- Right jamb: May he travel in peace to the good West, the honoured Sekwaskhet the elder.  
 Lower lintel: The honoured one with his lord, the truly beloved and the honoured Sekwaskhet the elder.  
 Inner jambs: Offerings for the honoured Sekwaskhet the elder.  
 The panel: As panel no. 1, but for Sekwaskhet the elder.

*Right door*

- Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris,  
 Right jamb: the great god, lord of Abydos. Good invocation offerings for her in the necropolis, the honoured Mutemsaes.  
 Left jamb: May she travel in peace to the good West and be led by her *kas*, the honoured Mutemsaes.  
 Lower lintel: The honoured one with Hathor, the honoured Mutemsaes.  
 Inner jambs: Offerings every month for the honoured Mutemsaes.  
 The panel: As panel 1, but for Mutemsaes.

The left side piece (pl. XXI, 1; fig. 4b) measures 120.5 × 45 × 15 cm. It is decorated with an offering list below which are two offering scenes, one above the other. The list consists of 40 different types of offerings distributed in five groups across eight columns of text. The upper scene shows Sekwaskhet the elder, seated at an offering table piled with offerings. The lower scene depicts two standing women in similar attitudes to those shown on the side piece of Niankhhor. Behind them stands a man, supporting a basket on his head with his left hand, and his right arm held at his side.

The right side piece (pl. XXI, 2; fig. 4c) measures 121 × 42.5 × 10.5 cm, and is divided into five registers. The upper one is occupied by the five oil vessels. The second depicts two pairs of bracelets and anklets and two bead collars. The third shows two *wsh*-collars with a counterpoise between them. The fourth is decorated with two *mnt*-necklaces, placed on a stand. The fifth shows two women in similar attitudes to those on the side piece of Shedy. Above their heads is written: 'The honoured Mutemsaes. Her nurse Mutenes.'

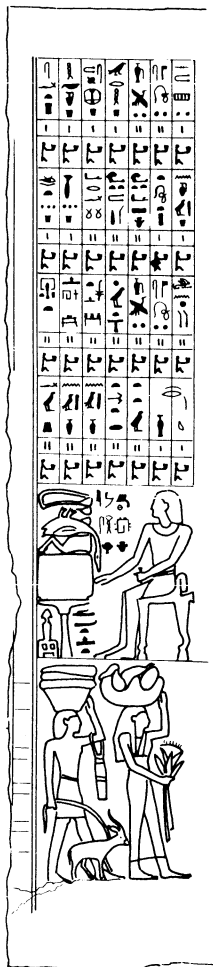
The offering table (pl. XXI, 4; fig. 4d) measures 61 × 90 × 15.5 cm.

*Left part*

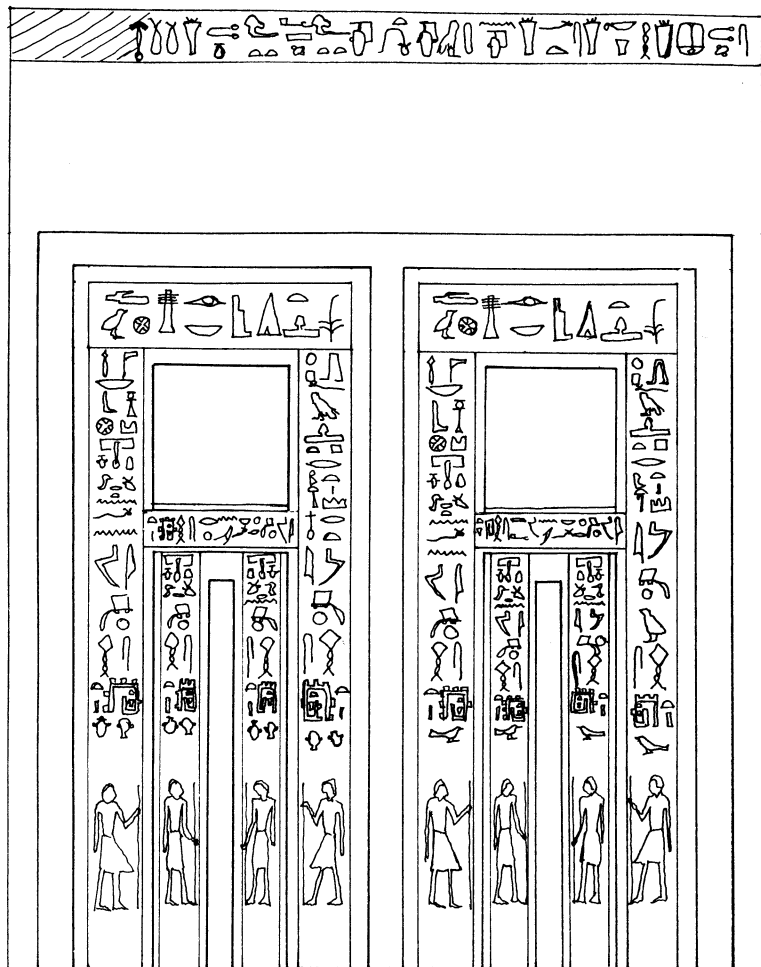
- A-B A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, who is upon his mountain, that he may give water, beer, incense, ointment,  
 B-C oils, all vegetables, and every good thing every day (and) for ever, for the *ka* of the honoured one with the great god, lord of the sky, Sekwaskhet the elder, possessor of honour.  
 A-D Good invocation offerings for him every day in his tomb of the necropolis, every day (and) for ever, the honoured Sekwaskhet the elder.  
 C-D The honoured one with Osiris, Sekwaskhet the elder. The honoured one with Anubis, Sekwaskhet the elder.  
 E Provisions.  
 F Offerings.

*Right part*

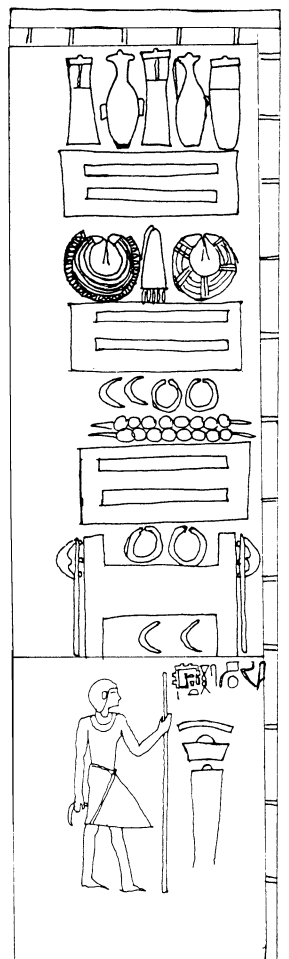
- A-B A boon which the king gives, a boon which Osiris gives, lord of the West. May he give a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl,  
 B-C a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing, a thousand of every good thing on which a god lives for the *ka* of the honoured one with Anubis, who is upon his mountain, Mutemsaes.  
 A-D Good invocation offerings for her in her tomb of the necropolis, every day for ever, for the honoured Mutemsaes.  
 C-D The honoured Mutemsaes, possessor of honour. The honoured Mutemsaes, justified.  
 E Provisions.  
 F Offerings.



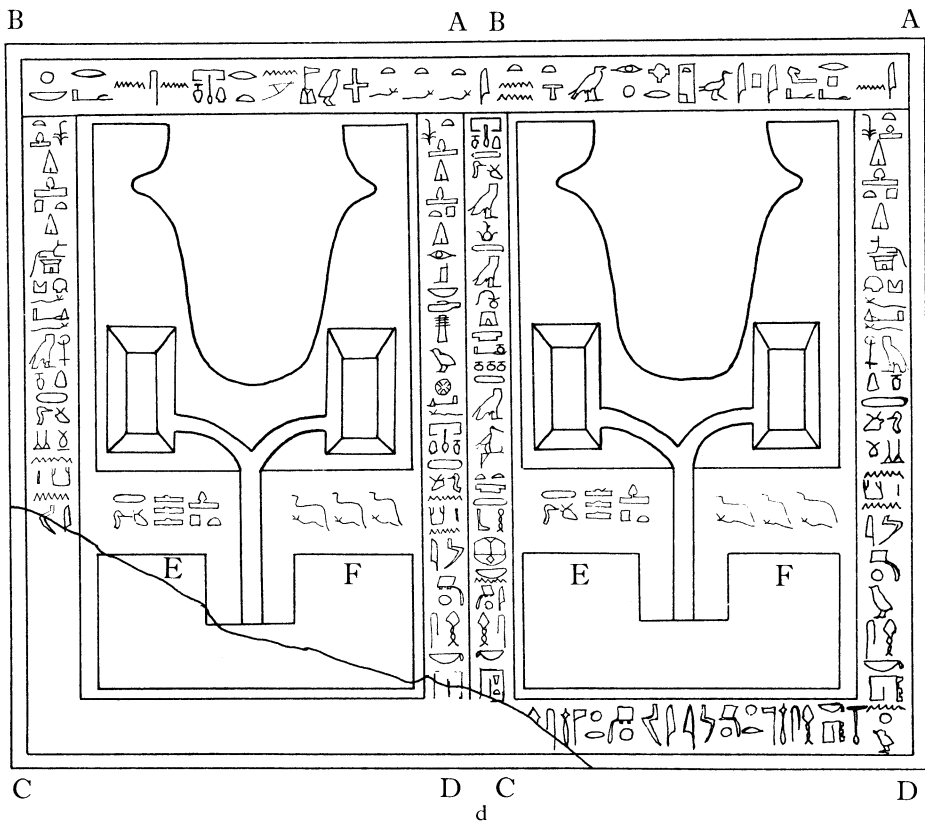
b



a



c



d

FIG. 5. Niche no. 4 (pl. XXII)

**Niche no. 4: Sekwaskhet the middle and Sekwaskhet the younger**

This pair of false doors (pl. XXII, 3; fig. 5a) measure  $121 \times 95 \times 16$  cm. They are bordered by torus moulding and surmounted by a cavetto cornice, the top flat surface of which is inscribed with the names of the seven sacred oils. The left false door is dedicated to Sekwaskhet the middle and the right door to Sekwaskhet the younger.

*Left door*

- Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris,  
 Left jamb: the great god, lord of Abydos, (that he may give) offerings for him, for the honoured Sekwaskhet the middle.  
 Right jamb: May he travel in peace in the good West, the honoured Sekwaskhet the middle.  
 Lower lintel: The honoured one with his lord, his truly beloved Sekwaskhet the middle.  
 Inner jambs: Offerings for the honoured Sekwaskhet the middle.  
 The panel: As panel no. 1, but for Sekwaskhet the middle.

*Right door*

- Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris,  
 Left jamb: the great god, lord of Abydos, offerings for him, for the honoured Sekwaskhet the younger.  
 Right jamb: May he travel in peace to the West, the honoured Sekwaskhet the younger.  
 Lower lintel: The honoured one with his lord, his truly beloved Sekwaskhet the younger.  
 Inner jambs: Offerings for the honoured Sekwaskhet the younger.  
 The panel: As panel no. 1, but for Sekwaskhet the younger.

The left side piece (pl. XXII, 1; fig. 5b) measures  $120.5 \times 42.5 \times 10.5$  cm and is decorated with an offering list, below which are two scenes, one above the other. The list consists of 28 different types of offerings distributed in four groups across seven columns of text. The upper scene depicts the deceased seated at an offering table piled high with offerings, and before his face is inscribed: 'The honoured Sekwaskhet the middle'. The lower scene represents a female servant carrying a basket on her head. She supports it with her left hand and holds lotus flowers in the other. Behind her is a standing figure of a man leading an oryx with a rope held in his right hand. His upraised left arm supports a food basket on his head and from his left elbow a vessel hangs.

The right side piece (pl. XXII, 2; fig. 5c) measures  $121 \times 39 \times 7.5$  cm and is divided into five registers. The uppermost shows five oil vessels. The second register depicts two *wsh*-collars with a counterpoise between them. The third is decorated with two small bracelets, two bangles and two bead collars. The fourth register represents two bangles and two small bracelets, placed perhaps in a box and flanked on either side by a battle axe. The fifth shows 'The honoured Sekwaskhet [the younger]' holding a stick in his left hand and a piece of cloth in the other. Before him is an altar, above which are a bowl containing a natron ball and an incense burner containing a pellet of incense.

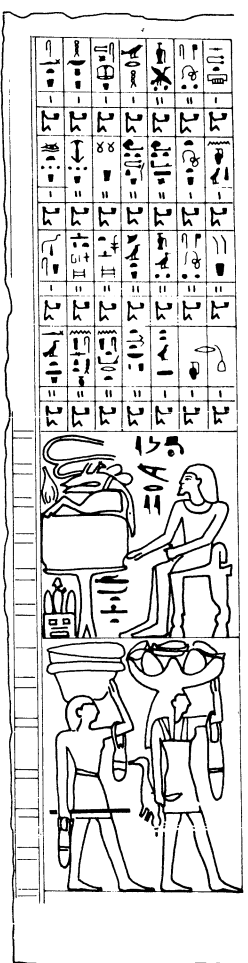
The offering table (pl. XXII, 4; fig. 5d) measures  $60 \times 91 \times 14$  cm.

*Left and right parts*

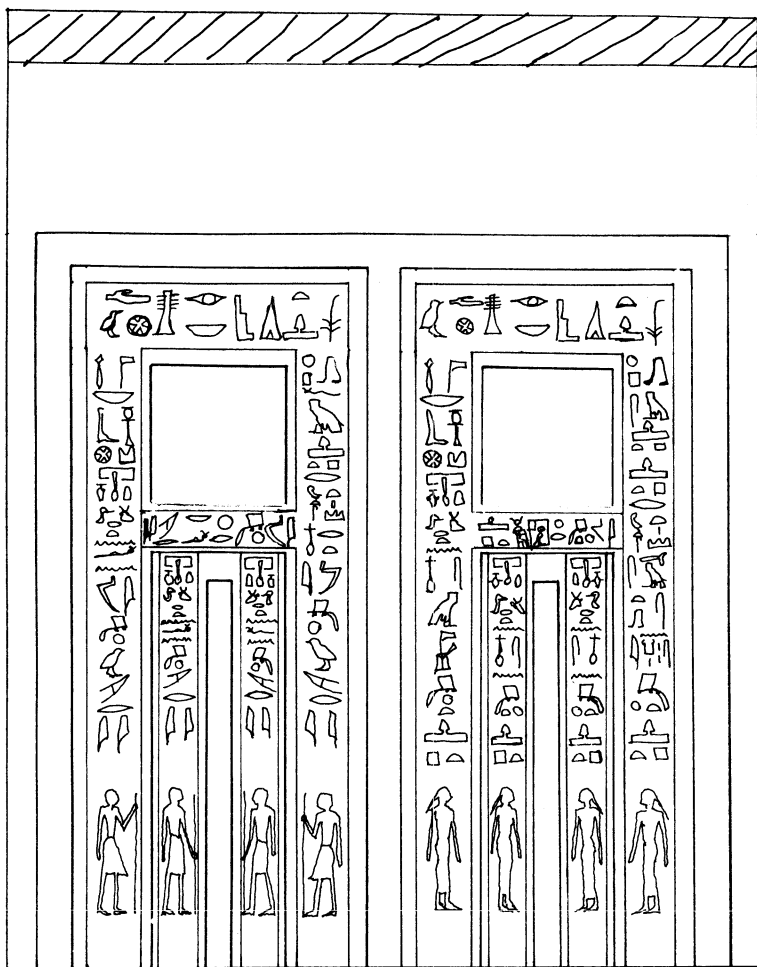
- A-B By the noble, the mayor Ipysahathor, who made this offering table for (his) fathers, who dwell in the necropolis for the sake of offerings for them every day.

*Left part*

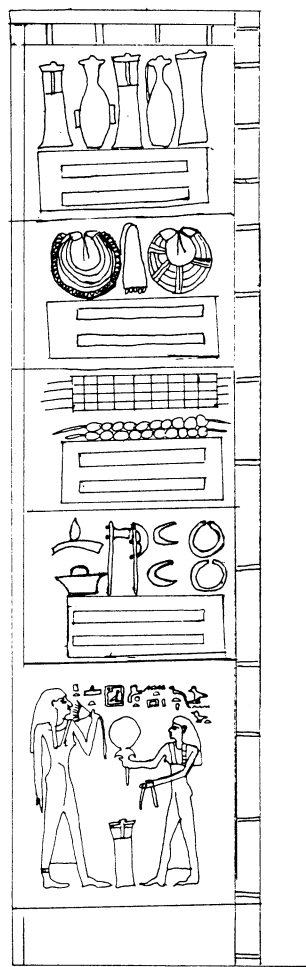
- B-C A boon which the king gives, a boon which Anubis gives, who is upon his mountain, that he may give a thousand of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster and clothing for the *ka* of the honoured [Sekwaskhet the middle].  
 A-D A boon which the king gives, a boon which Osiris gives, lord of Busiris. May he give offerings for the *ka* of the honoured Sekwaskhet [the middle].  
 C-D [Broken away].  
 E Offerings.  
 F Provisions.



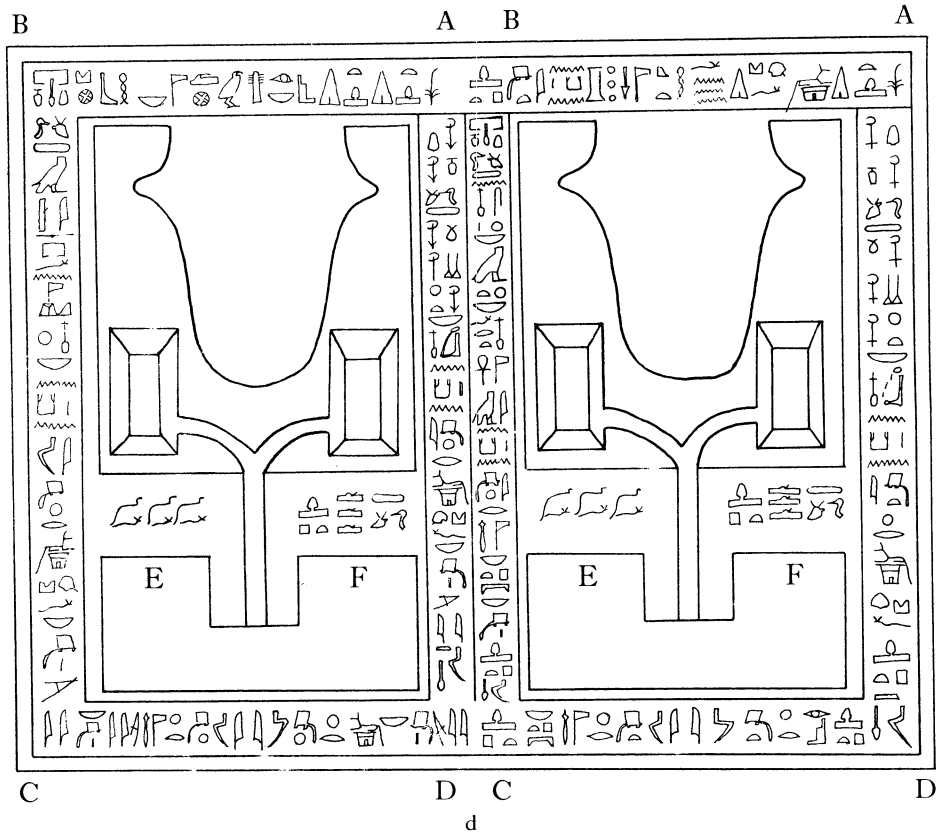
b



a



c



d

FIG. 6. Niche no. 5 (pl. XXIII)

*Right part*

- B-C Offerings in the New Year's day festival, in the Wag-festival, in the Thoth-festival and in every festival, for the *ka* of the honoured Sekwaskhet [the younger]
- A-D A boon which the king gives, a boon which Anubis gives, who is upon his mountain. May he give a thousand of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster and clothing for the *ka* of the honoured Sekwaskhet the younger.
- C-D The honoured with the great god Sekwaskhet the younger.
- E Offerings.
- F Provisions.

**Niche no. 5: Mery and Hetep**

This pair of false doors (pl. XXIII, 3; fig. 6a) measures 122 × 99 × 18 cm. They are surmounted by a cavetto cornice whose flat surface is worn away.

*Left door*

- Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris,  
 Left jamb: the great god, lord of Abydos. Offerings for him, for the honoured Mery.  
 Right jamb: May he travel in peace to the good West, the honoured Mery.  
 Lower lintel: The honoured one with his lord, Mery.  
 Inner jambs: Offerings for him, for the honoured Mery.  
 The panel: As panel no. 1, but for Mery.

*Right door*

- Upper lintel: A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris,  
 Left jamb: the great god, lord of Abydos. Good invocation offerings for her in the necropolis, the honoured Hetep.  
 Right jamb: May she travel in peace, in peace (sic) in the good West (and) be led by her *kas*, the honoured Hetep.  
 Lower lintel: The honoured one with Hathor, Hetep.  
 Inner jambs: Good invocation offerings for her, for the honoured Hetep.  
 The panel: As panel no. 1, but for Hetep.

The left side piece (pl. XXIII, 1; fig. 6b) measures 121 × 39 × 7.5 cm. It is decorated with a list of offerings, below which are two scenes, one above the other. The list contains 28 kinds of offerings distributed in four groups across nine columns of text. The upper scene depicts 'The honoured Mery' seated on a chair before an offering table piled with food. The lower scene represents a standing female figure carrying a basket of offerings on her head. She supports it with her left hand and holds a goose in the other. Behind her is a standing male figure, supporting a basket on his head with his upraised left hand and holding a jar in the other. Jars are hung at the elbows of the upraised arms of both figures.

The right side piece (pl. XXIII, 2; fig. 6c) measures 120.5 × 39 × 11.5 cm. It is divided into five registers. The top one is decorated with five jars of sacred oils. The second depicts two *wsh*-collars with a counterpoise between them. The third shows two pairs of bracelets and anklets and two bead collars. The fourth depicts two bangles, two small bracelets, a battle axe, an axe, a bowl with a natron ball and an incense burner with a pellet of incense. The bottom register is a scene representing two women in attitudes similar to those on the side pieces of niches nos. 2 and 3. The lady on the left is: 'The honoured of Hathor, Hetep.' The woman on the right making offering is '(She) of *pr-dt*, Satgemni'.<sup>15</sup>

The offering table (pl. XXIII, 4; fig. 6d) measures 63 × 92 × 17 cm.

*Left part*

- A-B A boon which the king gives, a boon which Osiris gives, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos.

<sup>15</sup> The similarity of her name with that of one of the owners of a false door of almost the same date, found to the north of Teti's pyramid, suggests a possible identification between them; see Firth and Gunn, op. cit., 1, 54, 188; II, pl. 75.

- B-C Good invocation offerings in his tomb of the necropolis every day, for the *ka* of the honoured one under Anubis, who is upon his mountain, the possessor of honour, Mery.
- A-D A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, oxen, fowl, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing and a thousand of every good and pure thing for the *ka* of the honoured one with Anubis, who is upon his mountain, the possessor of honour, Mery, justified.
- C-D The honoured with the great god Mery, the possessor of honour. The honoured one with Anubis, the possessor of honour, Mery.
- E Provisions.
- F Offerings.

*Right part*

- A-B A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, who is upon his mountain, that he may give water, beer, natron, ointment for the *ka* of the honoured Hetep.
- B-C Good and pure invocation offerings every day consisting of every good thing on which a god lives, for the *ka* of the honoured one with the great god, lord of the sky, the possessor of honour, Hetep, justified.
- A-D A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, oxen, fowl, a thousand of alabaster, a thousand of clothing and a thousand of every good and pure thing for the *ka* of the honoured one with Anubis, who is upon his mountain, Hetep, justified.
- C-D The honoured one with the great god, lord of the sky, Hetep. The honoured one with Osiris, Hetep, justified.
- E Provisions.
- F Offerings.

On these double false doors, the senior figure is consistently shown on the left side: the male figure on the left side and the female on the right, or the older brother on the left and the younger the right (niche no. 4). The exact significance of this arrangement is not clear.

The false doors are carved in low sunk relief and the standard of carving is superior to that of the side pieces and the offering tables. The lower parts of their inner and outer jambs are always decorated with a standing figure of the deceased. The top flat surfaces of the cavetto cornice surmounting the false doors are all inscribed with a line of hieroglyphs giving the names of the seven sacred oils.

The left side pieces are carved in incised relief, although that of niche no. 1 is executed in a lightly incised and summary fashion. Their upper parts are occupied by offering lists and their lower parts with two scenes, one above the other. The offering lists depicted vary in the number of their contents. The lists of niches nos. 1 and 2 are the longest, each comprising 54 different kinds of offerings. Those of nos. 4 and 5 are the shortest, each containing 28 offerings. These lists are of the traditional type of this period.<sup>16</sup> The upper scene always depicts the deceased seated at an offering table piled high with offerings. The lower scene represents offering bearers, except for niche no. 1, where the deceased is shown receiving offerings from Ipyankhu.

The right side pieces are carved in incised or raised relief. They are divided into five registers. The uppermost is always decorated with five oil vessels. The second, third and fourth registers show personal equipment and jewellery of the deceased,<sup>17</sup> with the exception of niche no. 1, where the fourth register is carved with a funerary scene representing one of the workers of the *pr-dt* lassoing a bull. The fifth register depicts the deceased receiving offerings. When the deceased is a man, he is either shown receiving two geese (niche no. 1) or standing before an altar (niche no. 4). When the deceased is a woman, she is shown smelling a lotus flower or a perfume jar while being offered a mirror by another woman (niches nos. 2, 3 and 5). The offering of mirrors, which was

<sup>16</sup> For a comprehensive study of the offering lists of this period, see W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* (Berlin, 1963), 90–104.

<sup>17</sup> For a study of the personal objects and the jewellery of the deceased which are depicted in a funerary context, see G. Jequier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du moyen empire* (Cairo, 1921).

mainly connected with the goddesses Hathor<sup>18</sup> and Isis, but also with Horus,<sup>19</sup> symbolizes the victory of the forces of light over the forces of dark and chaos in the Underworld; in other words the resurrection of the deceased.<sup>20</sup> The types of mirrors shown here are dated by Lilyquist to the Heracleopolitan Period or early Middle Kingdom.<sup>21</sup>

The offering tables are cut in low sunk relief. They are inscribed with similar and standard *hṯp di nsw* formulae, but in no two cases are their texts identical. This is also the case with similar formulae inscribed on the false doors.<sup>22</sup>

### Commentary

The cenotaph dates roughly to the Heracleopolitan Period or early Middle Kingdom.<sup>23</sup> This general type of false door niche seems to appear in Egypt in tombs from the early or mid-Sixth Dynasty.<sup>24</sup> Then, towards the very end of the Old Kingdom, they were gradually developed to include offering scenes. During the First Intermediate Period a further development may have taken place when they were decorated with offering lists, offering bearers and representations of the deceased. Lilyquist goes further and adds that 'it would seem that in the Heracleopolitan Period at Saqqara, the false door niche became a microcosm of the tomb superstructure'.<sup>25</sup>

Stylistically, the monument appears to be a single work, erected at one time, and not a composite shrine or cenotaph to which pieces were added over a long period. Two of the offering tables (niches no. 1 and 4) carry dedications that claim they were made 'by *rpꜥt hṯy-ꜥ* Ipysahathor, who made this offering table for his father(s)'. Additionally, the side pieces of niche no. 1 depict the *ka*-priest Ipyankhu making offerings to Sekwaskhet. The similarity of the names may imply that Ipyankh and Ipysahathor were related, although this is not stated, nor are their relationships to the main figure of the monument whom they served.

The element 'Ipy' in their names indicates a strong local relationship with the site of Saqqara. The goddess 'Ipi, called also 'Ipt or 'Ipt wrt, occurs in a few other names from the same area during this period and is also attested from earlier and later dates.<sup>26</sup> 'Ipi is a female hippopotamus, usually depicted standing, in iconography similar to Taweret (Thoeris). She was a benign and sage goddess. According to the Pyramid Texts, her main role was to suckle and nurse the king.<sup>27</sup> This choice of her name is suitable for the name of a person working in royal mortuary cult.

It is difficult to connect the people commemorated on these offering niches with other monuments, but the attempt can be made. Ipysahathor is the only one who can be

<sup>18</sup> For some surviving examples of offering mirrors inscribed with the names of their owners and the title *hmt-ntr Hwt-hr*, see J. Bird, *JEA* 72 (1986), 187-9; C. Ellis, *JEA* 70 (1984), 139-40; A. Watson, in J. Ruffe *et al.* (ed.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1979), 16.

<sup>19</sup> C. Husson, *L'Offrande du miroir dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque gréco-romaine* (Lyon, 1977), 22.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 22, 42.

<sup>21</sup> For a study of the types of mirrors and their chronology, see C. Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom* (Berlin, 1979), 16 n. 170, fig. 137.

<sup>22</sup> The *hṯp di nsw* formulae are exhaustively studied by W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, 1968).

<sup>23</sup> The presence of funerary texts on the coffin of Ipyankhu supports the dating to the second half of the Eleventh or early Twelfth Dynasty at the latest.

<sup>24</sup> H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (New York, 1968), 87 [2].

<sup>25</sup> Lilyquist, *op. cit.* 16 n. 171.

<sup>26</sup> For such names see PM III<sup>2</sup>, 957.

<sup>27</sup> D. Meeks, *LA* III, 172-6.

identified with certainty, as the owner of an unpublished tomb at Saqqara, the exact location of which is not recorded.<sup>28</sup> The owner of the tomb and the man mentioned on the offering tables of niches nos. 1 and 4 bear the same name and titles.<sup>29</sup>

Sekwaskhet, the owner of niche no. 1, is perhaps to be identified with a man of the same name whose tomb is in the vicinity of the cenotaph.<sup>30</sup> The texts on the walls of the burial chamber (Sq 1 Sq) were published by de Buck from Gunn MSS,<sup>31</sup> but the absence of Sekwaskhet's titles in that publication does not help in confirming the identification of the two men.

A third possible identification is Niankhhor, one of the owners of niche no. 2, with a man of the same name depicted on the side piece of the roughly contemporary false door of a woman called Satinteti, which was found by Firth and Gunn in the nearby area to the north of the pyramid of Teti.<sup>32</sup> This Niankhhor is shown holding a bull, lassoed for ritual butchering, apparently in charge of the slaughter. Again, however, lack of titles makes the identification uncertain.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, Ipyankhu, who dedicated the side pieces and the false doors to his family, is perhaps to be identified with the owner of tomb HMK 26.<sup>34</sup> The proximity of this tomb both in date and location support this suggestion. Moreover, Ipyankhu, the owner of the tomb, held the titles of *shd-hnty-š*, 'the inspector of tenants' and *mty-n-sj*, 'the controller of the priestly phyle', while Sekwaskhet, the owner of niche no. 1, held the titles *hnty-š* and *mty-n-sj* of the pyramid of Teti. It would seem likely that Ipyankhu inherited the titles *hnty-š* and *mty-n-sj* from his father Sekwaskhet and then outranked him and became *shd-hnty-š*.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the owner of tomb HMK 26 usurped part of the shaft of the tomb of Satinteti<sup>36</sup> on whose side piece Niankhhor is depicted.<sup>37</sup> This would indicate that Ipyankhu died after Satinteti, which agrees with the proposed succession of this family.

Despite the fact that the texts on this monument do not record the personal relations of its beneficiaries, it is possible to reconstruct a hypothetical genealogy of the family. The first known members are Mery and his wife Hetep. The next generation all shared the name of Sekwaskhet, but were differentiated by epithet. The elder was called *ꜥj*, the middle *hry-ib* and the younger *nhi*. Sekwaskhet the elder, the father of the following members of the family, married Mutemsaes. Their son Niankhhor<sup>38</sup> married Shedi. This latter pair had a son called Sekwaskhet. No wife of his is recorded on the niche. The absence of her name might indicate that she out-lived her husband and was also still alive

<sup>28</sup> The funerary texts on the walls of the burial chamber (Sq 2 Sq) are published by A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, v (Chicago, 1954); vii, (Chicago, 1961).

<sup>29</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 701.

<sup>30</sup> The reason for locating this tomb (to the north of Teti's pyramid) near the cenotaph is that the texts on the walls of the burial chamber are among the Gunn MSS from Saqqara.

<sup>31</sup> De Buck, op. cit., iv, (Chicago, 1951); v, vi (Chicago, 1956); vii.

<sup>32</sup> Firth and Gunn, op. cit., i, 203-4; ii, pl. 21 B. The reason for such a dating is the depiction of the offering list on the side piece, which did not appear before this period.

<sup>33</sup> A lower part of a damaged false door from Saqqara gives the name of its owner as Niankhhor, but lacks the titles. See J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906)*, (Cairo, 1907), 25, pl. 17.

<sup>34</sup> The texts on his coffin (Sq 5 Sq) are also published in de Buck, op. cit., v, vi. A few men bearing this name are known, some of them from different periods. For a list, see PM III<sup>2</sup>, 957.

<sup>35</sup> Firth and Gunn, op. cit. 199. Unfortunately the rest of the title which contains the name of the pyramid is not given. However, the title *hnty-š* unattached to a pyramid occurs frequently in the Old Kingdom. For examples, see K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Midway, 1973), 273.

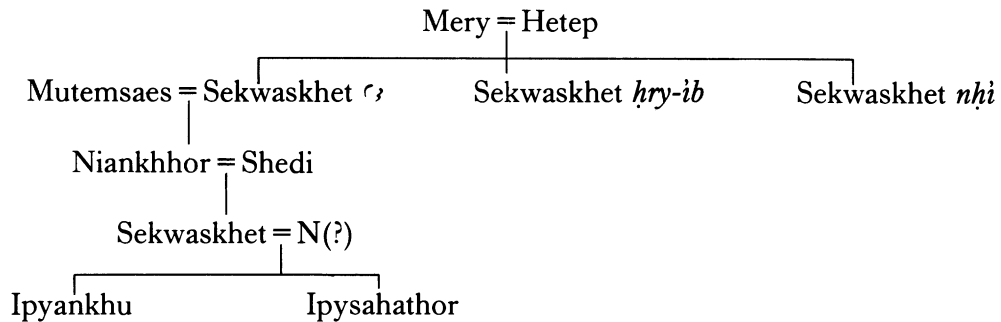
<sup>36</sup> Firth and Gunn, op. cit. 38, 50-1.

<sup>37</sup> Only if the identification is correct.

<sup>38</sup> Less likely, Shedi was their daughter who married Niankhhor.



at the time of the construction of the cenotaph. The dedicator Ipyahathor was perhaps his son,<sup>39</sup> in which case Ipyankhu would probably be another son. The hypothetical family tree would appear thus:



If the identification of Ipyankhu with the owner of tomb HMK 26 is correct, he should be the elder son because the tradition in ancient Egypt was that the eldest son would be the only one who inherited the property and function of his father.<sup>40</sup> The succession to the title *ḥnty-š*, which would imply retaining a plot of agricultural land, would naturally go to him.<sup>41</sup> Another indication of Ipyankhu being the elder son is the construction of the cenotaph and the dedication of the false doors and side pieces by Ipyankhu, which should have been done before the dedication of the offering tables.

These people have titles, either honorific or functional.<sup>42</sup> Ipyahathor held the titles *iry-pꜣt* and *ḥty-r*. These became honorific towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty,<sup>43</sup> unless the *ḥty-r* of Ipyahathor is not purely ranking, but indicates that he was the local mayor, as is found in the Middle Kingdom proper. Sekwaskhet and Ipyankhu held functional titles connected with the cult of Teti. The former held the titles *ḥnty-š* and *mty-n-sj* of the pyramid of Teti. The latter held at least the title of *ḥm-kj*, and most probably other titles indicating those of *šd-ḥnty-š* and *mty-n-sj*.

The title *ḥnty-š* appeared first in the Fifth Dynasty, perhaps during the reign of Djedkare,<sup>44</sup> who introduced this type of domain administrator. It would seem that the holder was granted a piece of land or one of the fields of the pyramids to cultivate in return for his cult service.<sup>45</sup> The title *mty-n-sj*<sup>46</sup> was of religious nature and was also connected with the royal institutions.<sup>47</sup> This may explain the religious function which Sekwaskhet and Ipyankhu were required to perform in return for acquiring the plot of field and the title *ḥnty-š* and *šd-ḥnty-š*.

<sup>39</sup> He dedicated the offering table (niche no. 1) to this Sekwaskhet 'his father'. The other dedicatory inscription is to 'his fathers', apparently a mere general dedication, although admittedly the specific offering table (niche no. 4) is that of the two brothers Sekwaskhet, the middle and the younger.

<sup>40</sup> For an extensive article on inheritance in ancient Egypt, see T. Mrsich, *LA* I, 1235-60.

<sup>41</sup> See C. J. Eyre in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten* (Tübingen, in press), 47-50. I am grateful for Dr Eyre for allowing me to consult the manuscript of his article.

<sup>42</sup> Baer, op. cit. 6.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. 6-7, 272.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 272-3, 279, 301.

<sup>45</sup> Eyre, op. cit. 47-8. For a further discussion of the exact definition of the function of the *ḥnty-š*, see P. Posener-Krieger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Neferirkare-Kakai* (*Les papyrus d'Abousir*), II (Cairo, 1976), 577-81.

<sup>46</sup> For titles beginning with *mty-n-sj* in the Middle Kingdom, see Ward, *Index*, 96-7. For a supplement to these administration titles, see H. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* (New York, 1985). For general comments on this title, see W. Helck, *LA* IV, 1044.

<sup>47</sup> N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1985), 262.

The family evidently obtained their living from their temple service and their rights to lands and income from the endowment of Teti's pyramid, a connection that goes back at least to Niankhhor if he is rightly identified as the butcher (?) serving Satinteti. Yet they had the resources for building tombs and a cenotaph of some substance, and partly in stone, which implies that the cult of Teti retained some real wealth. The role of this family may indicate that the organizational structure of the pyramid cults as introduced in the Fifth Dynasty, and in practice in the Sixth Dynasty, never died in the First Intermediate Period. This may show the survival of a degree of order in society and some government authority, perhaps local, even in this dark period of Egyptian history. Such cult for kings of the Old Kingdom is attested through the Middle Kingdom and persisted down to the Nineteenth Dynasty or later.<sup>48</sup>

The discovery of this cenotaph to the north of Teti's pyramid and the recovery of large numbers of either complete or fragments of false doors, offering tables and side pieces<sup>49</sup> which might have been originally placed in similar cenotaphs, suggests that this area may have been consecrated or dedicated for the construction of such cenotaphs. In the Middle Kingdom a more extensive area of this sort existed in the northern cemetery at Abydos, exemplified by the monuments recently excavated by the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition in the area of the 'Portal' (temple) of Ramesses II.<sup>50</sup> One of the many names of this cenotaph area was *wꜣrt ꜥt hmhmt* 'District of great renown.'<sup>51</sup> According to Simpson, "Topographically, the area formed part of or else was adjacent to the *rwdw n nꜣtr ꜥ*, "The stairway of the great god" in the *wꜣrt ꜥt hmhmt* "district of great renown", cited so constantly in the inscription."<sup>52</sup> The mud brick cenotaphs<sup>53</sup> in here contained stelae, offering tables and statuettes.<sup>54</sup> The reason for choosing such an area for the erection of these Abydene chapels is discussed by Simpson, who states that "This private chapel is in the nature of an ex-voto whereby the dedicator seeks for himself and his family first an eternal association with the mysteries of the local deities, at such time as they are celebrated, and second a share of the offerings then made after they have been used by the gods."<sup>55</sup>

A similar explanation would seem to lie behind the erection of chapels or cenotaphs at Saqqara. It would seem plausible that the owners of Saqqara cenotaphs thought that they would profit from some of the offerings rendered there during the different episodes of the rites of the pyramid cult service.

It would appear, then, that there were at least two centres for such cenotaphs or chapels in Egypt during the Heracleopolitan Period, one at Abydos<sup>56</sup> serving Upper Egypt, another at Saqqara serving the Memphite area.<sup>57</sup> The cult centre of Osiris at

<sup>48</sup> D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, 1 (Berlin, 1969), 72, 126.

<sup>49</sup> Firth and Gunn, op. cit. passim. See also Quibell, op. cit. passim.

<sup>50</sup> For a general plan of this area, see D. O'Connor, in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (Cairo, 1985), II, 169, fig. 2. For a description of these cenotaphs, see ibid. 161-77; for further discussion, see A. Leahy, *JEA* 75 (1989), 52-3.

<sup>51</sup> For the other names and discussion on their significance, see W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974), 2, 11, 13.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 3.

<sup>53</sup> D. O'Connor, *Expedition 12* (1969-70), 32-3. For the reconstruction of one of these chapels, see Simpson, op. cit. 7, fig. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. 2.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. 3. See also B. Kemp, *LÄ* 1, 32.

<sup>56</sup> Cenotaphs of Eleventh Dynasty date have also been found at Abydos, Simpson, op. cit. 9.

<sup>57</sup> For an extensive study of the use of stela-chapels at the end of the Old Kingdom and down to the First Intermediate Period, see id., *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 11 no. 2 (December, 1972), 2-13.

Busiris would be another likely site. With the advance of the Middle Kingdom and the increasing popularity of Osiris as the national god of the dead, Abydos, as his cult centre, became the main and prominent centre for the erection of such cenotaphs.<sup>58</sup>

At later periods, the parallel seems to be clearer between Abydos and Saqqara (or Rosetou), as sacred precincts associated with the cult of Osiris and of dead kings, and so as places of pilgrimage suitable for the deposit of votive memorials. This role of Saqqara is well known from the Late Period, in connection with animal cults. Earlier, an interesting direct comparison can be made between Saqqara and Giza on one hand and Abydos on the other as sites at which the so-called extra-sepulchral shabtis were deposited. Such shabtis begin to appear in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Their purpose seems to have been to symbolize the deceased taking his desired place in the cult and kingdom of Osiris, and this is similar to the purpose of the Abydos cenotaphs and stelae of the Middle Kingdom. Cenotaphs<sup>59</sup> such as that of the Sekwaskhet family would seem to show that similar ideas and motivations were part of cult at Saqqara as well during the Middle Kingdom.

The cenotaphs so far discovered in Egypt are either royal or private. The former are mainly the cenotaph-temples, such as those built by Ahmose, Seti I and Ramesses II.<sup>60</sup> The latter are two types. The first type was built to commemorate ordinary people, either by themselves, as is the case with some chapels at Abydos,<sup>61</sup> or by a member or members of their family, as is the case with the Sekwaskhet family cenotaph. The second type was also built for ordinary people who were, for one reason or another, deified after their death. Their cult became popular among the people either on a local scale, for example, the Memphite vizier Kagemni, whose tomb was very close to the Sekwaskhet cenotaph, Isi the governor of Edfu, and Heqaib, whose cenotaph is at Aswan<sup>62</sup> — or on a national scale, for example, Imhotep at Saqqara and Amenhotep son-of-Hapu at Thebes.<sup>63</sup> This indicates that the erection of cenotaphs was not considered as a royal prerogative, at least from the later part of the Old Kingdom. The monument published here is a clear, and perhaps rare, example of a private cenotaph built at Saqqara by ordinary people for their forefathers.

A full publication of the tombs in the area north of Teti's pyramid is urgently needed, along with a comprehensive study to establish relationships between the people buried in this area during this period, and to define its religious significance. The area seems to have been an important burial ground from the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty onwards. Strudwick tentatively suggests that it was the location of the administration of the Saqqara necropolis towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>64</sup> At a later date, during the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom, it may have retained a special focus as an area of cult, focused around the monuments of the Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>58</sup> A man called Rehu-er-djer-sen, whose tomb is at Lisht, has a stela said to have come from Abydos; Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God*, 3, n. 18.

<sup>59</sup> Edwards, in Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, 27–36; cf. C. Zivie, *JEA* 70 (1984), 145; id., *LA* v, 303–9.

<sup>60</sup> Simpson, op. cit. 9.

<sup>61</sup> Id. ib. 3, n. 20; id., *CdE* 47 (1972), 52–3.

<sup>62</sup> L. Habachi, *Archaeology* 8 (1956), 8–15. For a full publication of the cenotaph of Heqaib, see id., *The Sanctuary of Heqaib. Elephantine*, IV (Mainz am Rhein, 1985).

<sup>63</sup> For a general study of the deification of Imhotep and Amenhotep son-of-Hapu, see D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints* (New York, 1977).

<sup>64</sup> Strudwick, op. cit. 346.



1. Left side piece



2. Right side piece



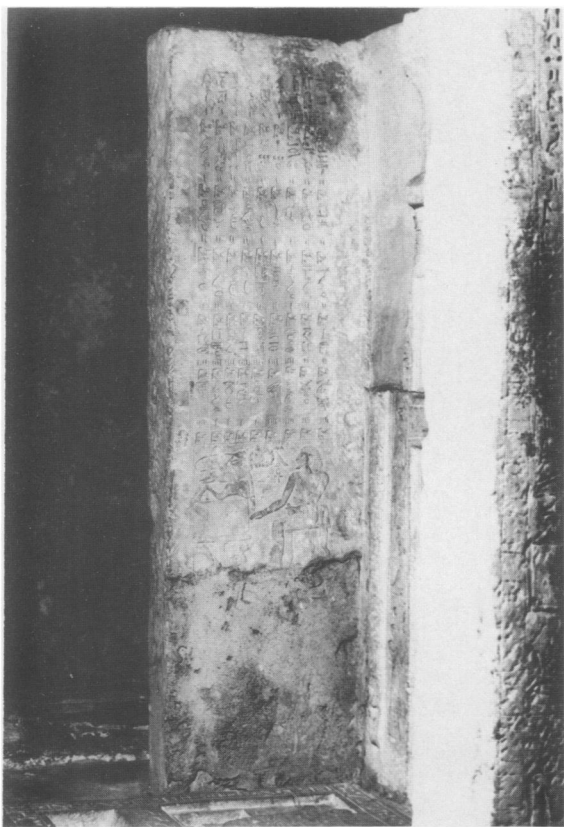
3. False door and right side piece, as discovered (courtesy of Griffith Institute)



4. Offering table

Niche no. 1, Sekwaskhet (pp. 95-7)

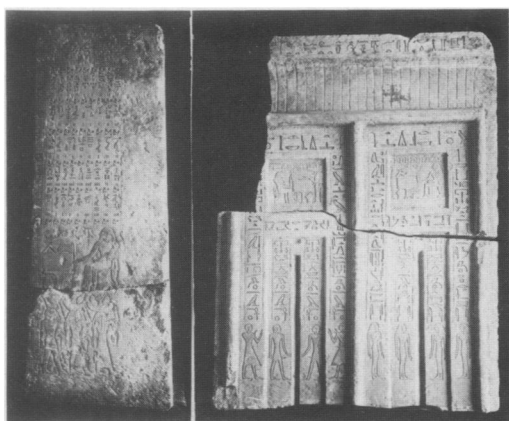
THE CENOTAPH OF THE SEKWASKHET FAMILY



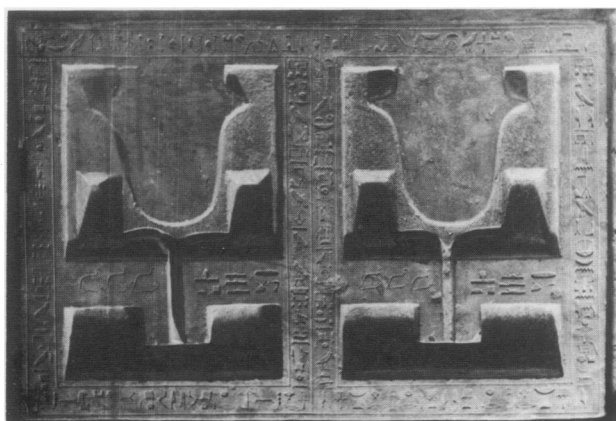
1. Left side piece



2. Right side piece



3. Left side piece and false doors, as discovered  
(courtesy of Griffith Institute)



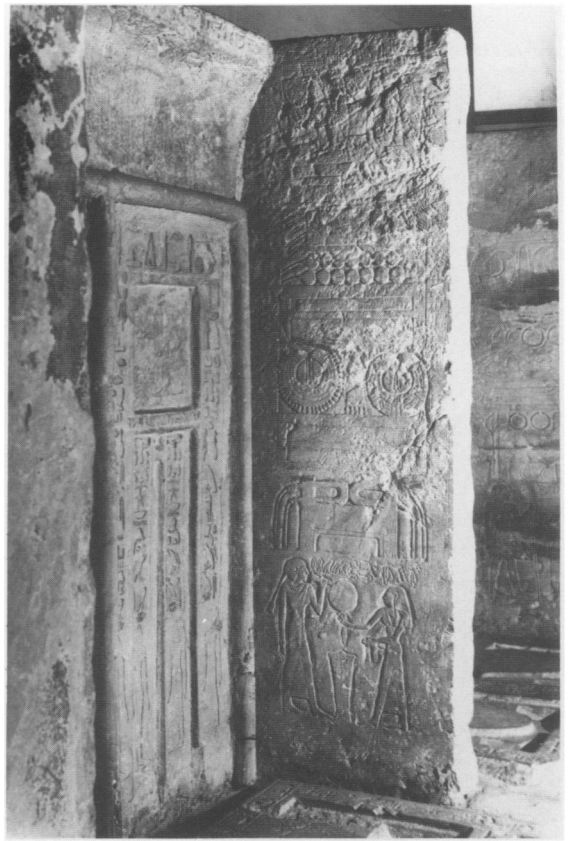
4. Offering table

Niche no. 2, Niankhor and Shedy (pp. 97-9)

THE CENOTAPH OF THE SEKWASKHET FAMILY



1. Left side piece



2. Right side piece



3. Pair of false doors



4. Offering table

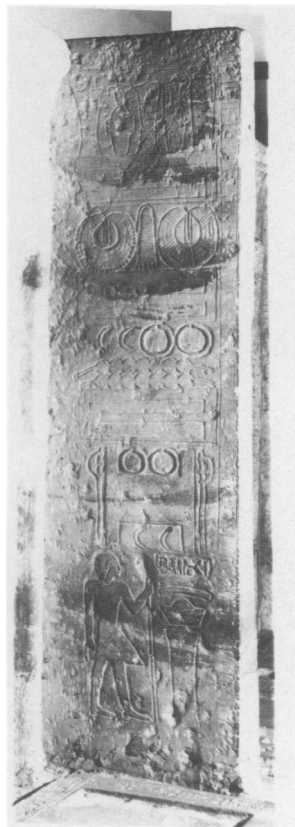
Niche no. 3, Sekwaskhet the elder and Mutemsaes (pp. 99-101)

THE CENOTAPH OF THE SEKWASKHET FAMILY





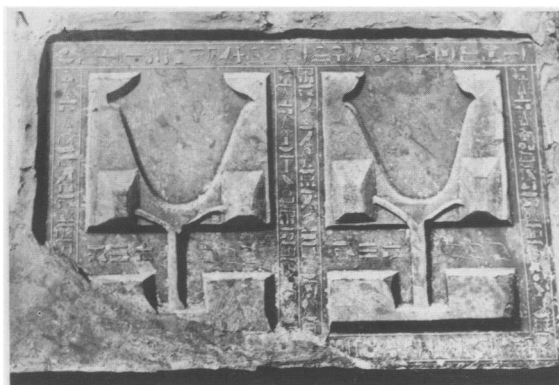
1. Left side piece



2. Right side piece



3. Pair of false doors



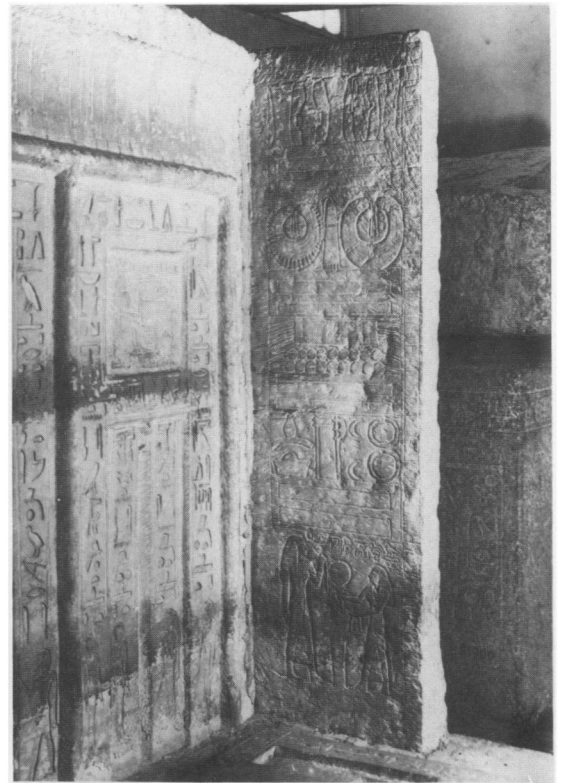
4. Offering table

Niche no. 4, Sekwaskhet the middle and Sekwaskhet the younger (pp. 102-5)

THE CENOTAPH OF THE SEKWASKHET FAMILY



1. Left side piece



2. Right side piece



3. Pair of false doors



4. Offering table

Niche no. 5, Mery and Hetep (pp. 105-7)

THE CENOTAPH OF THE SEKWASHKET FAMILY



## THE *PSŠ-KF* AND THE 'OPENING OF THE MOUTH' CEREMONY: A RITUAL OF BIRTH AND REBIRTH<sup>1</sup>

By ANN MACY ROTH

In archaeological and textual evidence alike, the *psš-kf*-knife consistently occurs as part of the same collection of objects. In the Pyramid Texts, these objects are presented in a sequence that is the earliest attested form of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony. The speeches accompanying the presentations suggest that the *psš-kf* and the objects associated with it were the equipment for a ritual mimicking birth and childhood, and that the role of the *psš-kf* in this process was to cut the umbilical cord of a newborn baby. Further archaeological, textual, and iconographic evidence is adduced to support this interpretation.

ONE of the more enigmatic types of artifact to survive from ancient Egypt is the *psš-kf*-knife, a flake of flint, usually between 10 and 20 cm in length, that broadens to a fork at one end. Sometimes also called 'fish-tail knives', 'forked lances', or 'fish-tail lance heads', they are best attested in assemblages of the Predynastic period. Although flint *psš-kfs* are rare after the beginning of the First Dynasty,<sup>2</sup> models of the implement, often made of other types of stone, are known from Old Kingdom tombs and continue to occur occasionally as late as the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

The *psš-kf* is best known for its role in the 'opening of the mouth' ritual,<sup>4</sup> a sequence of speeches and actions that allowed a mummy or a cult statue to partake of offerings. Some sources even identify the *psš-kf* as an instrument used in the principal act,<sup>5</sup> although that interpretation is based upon New Kingdom versions, where the *psš-kf* seems to have been confused with other implements used in the same ritual. In the earliest redaction of the ritual, that preserved in the Pyramid Texts,<sup>6</sup> the *psš-kf* is offered to the deceased in the spell immediately before the spell for the opening of the mouth.

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation proposed here emerged from catalogue entries I wrote for S. D'Auria *et al.*, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), 81, 224–5. I am grateful to Ms Sue D'Auria, for preliminary bibliography, and Mr Stephen P. Harvey, for bringing to my attention two previously unnoticed *psš-kf* amulets in the storage collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. I have benefited from audience comments on presentations of earlier versions of this paper at the 1988 ARCE meetings in Chicago, at the Fall 1989 meeting of a study group on ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures at the University of California, Berkeley, and at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Yale University. Dr James P. Allen was kind enough to correct my interpretation of some of the Pyramid Texts, and to offer me many useful criticisms and additional references. I am very grateful to Dr Rene van Walsem for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper, which clarified my understanding of his own article on the topic and raised useful questions. Dr Arnold Cohen, director of the Division of Maternal Fetal Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, has kindly answered several questions about the technical processes of modern childbirth for me. Two anonymous reviewers for the *JEA* also offered useful suggestions. Any remaining errors are, like the conclusions, all my own responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> Only one flint example has been dated after the Sixth Dynasty, according to R. van Walsem, *OMRO* 59 (1978), 231, table 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 224–5.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden, 1960), *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Notably, *Wb.* 1, 555, 2.

<sup>6</sup> The texts preserved in the first register of the offering ritual in the pyramid of Unas, spells 16–40, are recorded photographically in A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas* (Princeton, 1968), pls. 58–62.

The original function of the *psš-*kf** has been the subject of considerable speculation. W. M. F. Petrie identified it as a hunting weapon. One of the examples he found was wrapped with a cord with two alabaster knobs at the outer end, which he explained as a leash that would allow it to be retrieved easily by a hunter without leaving his position in ambush.<sup>7</sup> E. J. Baumgartel, however, disagreed with this interpretation and argued that the cord was not sufficiently long for this purpose. She regarded the cord wrapping as haft, although she had no explanation for the alabaster knobs.<sup>8</sup> H. Schäfer proposed that knives of this shape served as ordinary table knives during the Predynastic period;<sup>9</sup> this suggestion is unlikely, given their painstaking workmanship and their concave edges, which would rule out common applications such as sawing and chopping. O. H. Myers<sup>10</sup> pointed out the remarkable similarity of their shape to the instrument traditionally used in the Jewish ritual of circumcision, but he rejected this interpretation himself on the basis of the occurrence of the *psš-*kf** in tombs. The presence of both models and the implement itself in tombs of women<sup>11</sup> makes this hypothesis even more untenable, as does the representation of circumcision performed with a knife of a different shape.<sup>12</sup>

The most extensive investigation into the *psš-*kf** is that of R. van Walsem, who has collected the basic artifactual and textual information in a comprehensive article that must surely serve as the point of departure for all future work on the problem.<sup>13</sup> His study concludes that the *psš-*kf** was used in the terminal Predynastic and early Protodynastic periods not as a knife, but as a wedge to hold the jaw of a corpse closed during the process of mummification. His interpretation is based principally upon the spell in the Pyramid Texts where the *psš-*kf** is said to 'make firm (*smn*) the lower jaw' of the deceased, a passage that survived intact in later funerary texts. The models of the *psš-*kf** and the bottles and jars associated with it, van Walsem argues, are models of an early embalming kit, placed in the tomb as evidence of proper mummification.

Despite its aptness to the mortuary texts, however, van Walsem's interpretation does not accord well with the forms of the *psš-*kf** or the archaeological context in which examples have been found. Even the textual references, when seen in their larger setting, suggest an alternative explanation. Using primarily the evidence that van Walsem has collected, it can be argued that the *psš-*kf** had both a practical and a ritual use in the process of childbirth and, by extension, a ritual function in the rebirth of the dead.

### The *psš-*kf** set

The *psš-*kf** does not normally occur in isolation. In the Old Kingdom, it was consistently grouped with a set of other objects. In tombs, these objects were sometimes stored in a

<sup>7</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas* (London, 1896), 50-1. The knife, of Nagada I type, was found in tomb 1388 at Nagada, and is drawn on plate 73.

<sup>8</sup> E. J. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, II (London, 1960), 31.

<sup>9</sup> H. Schäfer, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 67 n. 1.

<sup>10</sup> O. H. Myers, in R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant*, I (London, 1937), 37.

<sup>11</sup> E. Massoulard, *RdE* 2 (1936), 152, notes the presence of models in a woman's tomb. For examples of flint *psš-*ks** found with female remains, see E. J. Baumgartel, *Petrie's Nagada Excavation, a Supplement* (London, 1970), pl. 42 (Nagada tomb 1417); W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva: Cemeteries at Abadiyeh and Hu, 1898-1899* (London, 1901), 33, pl. vi (tomb B 109).

<sup>12</sup> A. Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhm'rahor at Saqqara* (Berkeley, 1978), pl. 30.

<sup>13</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 193-249.

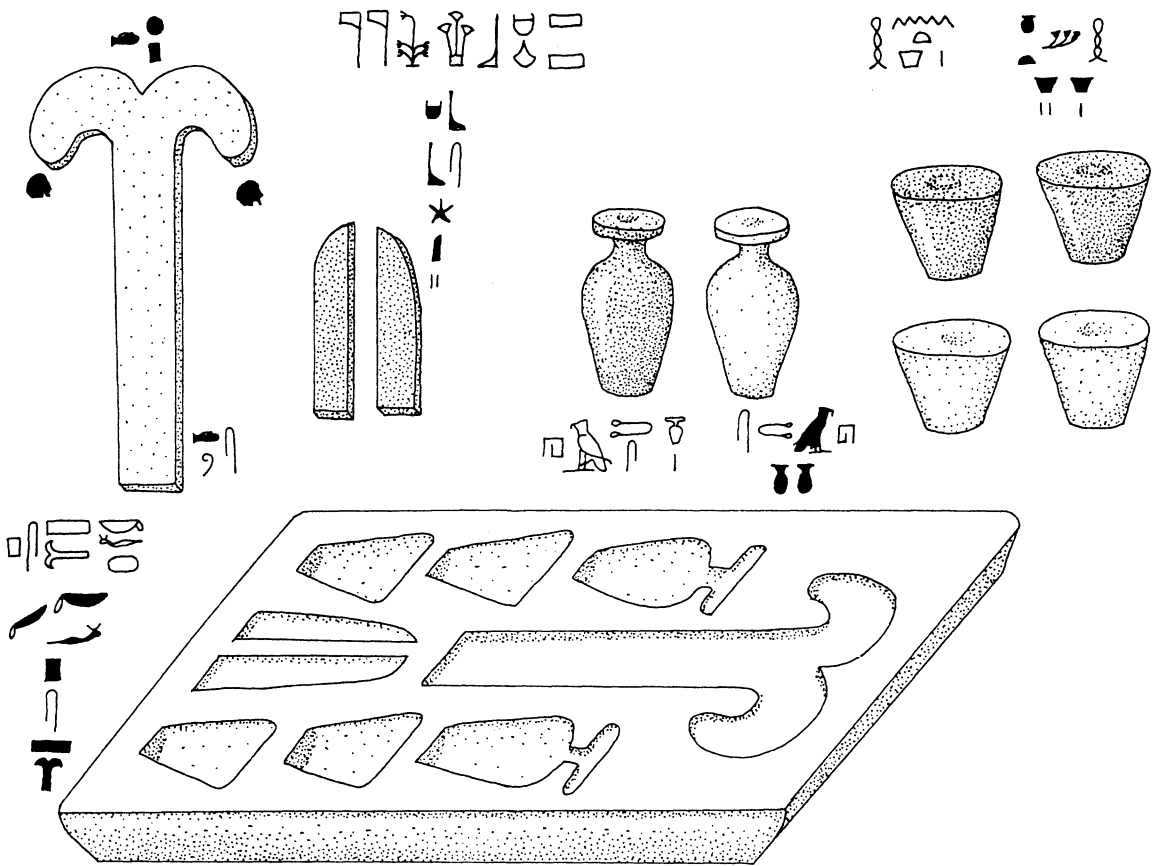


FIG. 1. The elements of a typical *psš-kf* set with hieroglyphic labels from the Abu Sir papyri and the Pyramid Texts. The solid hieroglyphs represent the names of the implements and their parts in the Abu Sir papyri; the outlined hieroglyphs represent the writings in the pyramid of Unas. A composite drawing.

limestone slab, into which had been cut recesses that conformed to their shapes (fig. 1). These recesses make it possible to deduce the presence and association of the implements even when they are missing. Van Walsem has located twenty-seven examples of these slabs.<sup>14</sup> The sets invariably include the *psš-kf* and two types of vessel: usually four straight-sided flared cups and two narrow-necked bottles with round or oval bodies and flaring rims. When the vessels themselves are preserved in a set, half of each type are made of dark stone and half of white stone or crystal. Also occurring in many sets are two narrow, rectangular blades, usually made of dark stone. The blades of the pair (they never occur individually) are mirror images of one another. One is rounded on the upper right corner and square on the upper left, while the other is just the opposite.

The components of such sets were clearly not actual functioning utensils. Some of the *psš-kfs* are of polished flint, but most are carved from limestone or alabaster, and have blunt, even square, edges. The vessels rarely have any interior space beyond a slight

<sup>14</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 224-5. A further example is to be found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 13.3144, published in D'Auria *et al.*, *Mummies and Magic*, 81. More such slabs may be similarly hidden in other museum collections.

depression in the top. This would not, of course, prevent their use in ritual presentations; but they clearly had no practical function.

The recesses in most slabs are symmetrical, with the implements arranged in three columns parallel to the long sides. The *psš-ḳf* is placed above the pair of blades in the centre, and the bottles and cups divided on either side. Some slabs omit the blades, while others have recesses for additional objects. Slabs containing *psš-ḳf* sets have been found in private tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties and somewhat later, in both the Memphite and provincial cemeteries. Associations of the same group of objects without a slab are known from as early as the Fourth Dynasty: a collection of the bottles, cups and a *psš-ḳf* inscribed for Khufu was excavated in the Menkaure valley temple area.<sup>15</sup> These are presumably already models, because the vessels are too small to be practical. No blades were recorded in this collection.

### The *psš-ḳf* in temple inventories

The *psš-ḳf* occurs in the same context in written sources. The Abu Sir papyri group the elements of the *psš-ḳf* set in inventories of temple equipment that record their state of repair as they are handed over to a new phyle of priests.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the names of the objects themselves, the temple inventories provide names for their parts, since the location of damage is specified. (The hieroglyphic forms of these names are shown with the objects in fig. 1.)

The name of the *psš-ḳf* has clearly been shown to have had two parts. The word *ḳf*, which occurs first in some contexts, refers to its material, which is either flint in general or a special type of flint.<sup>17</sup> *psš* is a participial form of the verb 'to divide', and refers to either the instrument's shape ('that which is divided'), or to its purpose ('that which divides'). The two tips are called *tpwḳ*, 'the two heads', and the handle is called the *sd*, 'tail'. The notch between the tips, or, more probably, the entire forked part, is called *ḥpd*, 'bottom' or perhaps literally, 'buttocks'.

The flat blades directly precede the *psš-ḳf* in these inventories. They are called *sbj*, 'the two stars', a name that may be related to the fact that they are said to be made of *bj*, perhaps meteoric iron.<sup>18</sup> One part of these implements is also described as a *ḥpd*, probably the curved edge, as Posener-Kriéger has suggested.<sup>19</sup> The other objects in the *psš-ḳf* sets are listed immediately following these implements and are said to be made of *mnw*, 'hard stone'. The narrow-necked bottles are called *ḥst*: one black and one white bottle are noted in each inventory. The cups are called *ḥnwt*, but in contrast to the model sets, only three are listed, one white and two black cups. Two similar cups of *bj* (meteoric iron) and *htm* (galena) follow; the extra white cup may have been intended to represent one or both of these.

<sup>15</sup> G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus* (Cambridge, 1931), pls. 65 a,b; 61 f (*in situ*). These objects are now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>16</sup> P. Posener-Kriéger and J.-L. de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri* (London, 1968), pls. 21-4. These terms are summarized and identified in P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, I (Cairo, 1976), 190-1.

<sup>17</sup> J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), 228, and W. Helck, *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 38-9.

<sup>18</sup> Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 166-8.

<sup>19</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, I, 190.

### The 'opening of the mouth' ritual

E. Otto argued that it is impossible to trace the history of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual prior to the New Kingdom version, which he saw as a jumble of spells taken from six separate rituals.<sup>20</sup> A statue ritual, he argued, formed the oldest, most fundamental part of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony; it was augmented by an offering ritual, an embalming ritual, a funerary ritual, a slaughtering ritual, and a temple ritual. Otto suggested that the spell that deals with the *psš-kf* might be associated with the embalming ritual, since he could not reconcile it with the statue ritual.

Van Walsem concurs.<sup>21</sup> He points out that, in the Pyramid Texts, the *psš-kf* occurs near spells that mention natron and bodily efflux, which are both involved in the process of mummification. The reference to the 'opening of the mouth' in the spell after the Pyramid Text *psš-kf* spell, he argues, cannot be the 'original statue (= opening of the mouth) ritual',<sup>22</sup> since there is no reference to the woodcarving adze that is so essential in the New Kingdom version. Since the model *psš-kf* sets also lack woodcarving tools, they, too, are assigned to another ritual. He concludes that the equipment grouped with the *psš-kf* should be completely disassociated from the 'opening of the mouth' ritual and explained instead as for an embalming ritual.

The centrality of the statue ritual and the adze is, however, difficult to support for the Old Kingdom. The 'opening of the mouth' ritual was well established by that period,<sup>23</sup> hence the ritual equipment must be among the objects recorded in the temple inventories from the mortuary temple of Neferirkare at Abu Sir. Yet there is no mention of an adze anywhere in these papyri,<sup>24</sup> certainly not in the equipment inventories. Since the adze is not present, the *sbj*-blades, said to be of meteoric iron like later mouth-opening implements, must have been used to perform the ritual. These blades, then, must have been the precursor of the adze and a central element in the earliest 'opening of the mouth' rituals, rather than part of an embalming ritual accidentally incorporated at a later date.

The adze is unattested as an 'opening of the mouth' tool in the Pyramid Texts before the pyramid of Mernere.<sup>25</sup> The earliest redaction of the Pyramid Texts, dating to Unas, attributes this function to the two *sbj*-blades (although they are there called *ntrtj*),<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, II, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 220.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 222.

<sup>23</sup> The 'opening of the mouth' is part of the mortuary ritual as early as the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Metjen (Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, II, 1). There is no explicit mention of the ritual in the Abu Sir papyri, unless the phrase *wn r* that occurs in the equipment inventories as part of the notations of damage can be connected with this ritual. Posener-Kriéger, *Néferirkarê-Kakai*, I, 198–9, argues that this phrase is not related to the ritual, but indicates a hole. It is, however, used only in connection with the implements associated with the *psš-kf* (twice with a white *hst*-vase and once with a black; and once each with a galena *hnwt*-cup and a silver offering table that directly follows the sequence).

<sup>24</sup> The paleography of the Abu Sir papyri gives only one example of an adze of any kind, Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pal. pl. xii, U20. This sign occurs as a phonetic sign in the word *nwh*, 'rope', *ibid.*, pl. 19A.

<sup>25</sup> Pyr. 13, as cited in K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, I (Leipzig, 1908), first occurs in the pyramid of Pepi II; however, parts of the same spell occur on fragments from the pyramid of Mernere, J. Leclant, *Or* 42 (1973), pl. 15, fig. 20. On this fragment, it directly precedes the beginning of the sequence given on the north wall of the burial chamber of Unas.

<sup>26</sup> The evolution of this term for the blades into *sbj* was discussed by Helck, *MDAIK* 22, 39–40. The Pyramid Texts uniformly write *ntrj*, omitting the feminine *t* ending. The transliteration *ntrtj* is adopted here for purposes of consistency.

which are said explicitly to open the mouth. These are clearly the two blades from the *psš-ḳf* set and are offered immediately after the *psš-ḳf* in the text of this ritual.

### The Pyramid Text sequence

These spells occur in the top register of the ‘offering ritual’ on the north wall of the burial chamber of Unas (fig. 2).<sup>27</sup> The offerings that accompany this ritual are given in compartments at the end of the first line of each spell. All of the vessels and implements that are offered in this top register, except for perishable items of food, can be found in the *psš-ḳf* set; none of the items of the set is omitted from the text. It is clear that the *psš-ḳf* set contains the durable objects needed to perform this single ritual. Any explanation of the *psš-ḳf* spell and the ‘opening of the mouth’ spell, therefore, should also be consistent with the spells connected with the other elements of the set, as well as those connected with the intervening perishable commodities.

While some spells that directly precede the spell that offers the *psš-ḳf* could be connected with mummification, as van Walsem argues, based on their references to purification and bodily efflux, there are many other offerings in the register which are inconsistent with such an explanation. These same spells could also represent the purification rites and the bodily fluids associated with birth. The context of the surrounding spells clearly favours this second interpretation. Taken together, the spells of the first register of the Unas ‘offering ritual’ can be seen to be a coherent sequence, reflecting a progression from birth through the childhood development of a human being.

The register in question begins with a spell in which Osiris and Thoth are called upon to seize all those who hate Unas and then admonished not to loosen themselves from such enemies (Pyr. 16). The verb used, ‘loosen’ (*sfhḥw*), is a geminated form of the verb *sfh*, which is normally applied to the separation of a child from the womb of its mother.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps this represents a pun on the fact that Unas is now himself loosened, and magically prevents inimical beings from participating in his rebirth. This sequence is accompanied by *stj*, the poured offering. Significantly, the substance of this offering is left unspecified: it is the pouring that is important. This pouring is probably an example of sympathetic magic used to expedite birth. When a baby was born, it was said by the Egyptians to *wʿrt*, ‘flee’, the same word used to describe the rush of the waters of inundation.<sup>29</sup>

The second spell, accompanied by the burning of incense, reminds Unas that ‘The one who has gone, has gone with his *ḳʿ*’, beginning a sequence that reassures Unas of the continued closeness of his *ḳʿ*. Four gods associated with the four cardinal points,<sup>30</sup> Horus, Seth, Thoth, and Dewen-‘anwy, as well as Osiris and Khenty-irty, are each said to ‘go forth with his *ḳʿ*’ and Unas is told ‘you also, will go forth with your *ḳʿ*’ (Pyr. 17). The repetition again indicates sympathetic magic, creating a sort of ‘peer pressure’; such a formula may have been used to entice a child from its mother’s womb. The closeness of

<sup>27</sup> Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas*, pls. 58–62. They occur in the same place in the pyramids of Pepi II and Queen Neith, although other spells have been added before them. In the pyramids of the intervening kings, Teti, Pepi I, and Mernere, the corresponding area of the burial chamber wall has been lost.

<sup>28</sup> P. Ebers 800, as quoted in H. Deines, H. Grapow, and W. Westendorf, *Grundriß der Medizin* IV/1 (Berlin, 1956), 291.

<sup>29</sup> *Wb.* I, 286, 16 and 18.

<sup>30</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), 5.



FIG. 2. The top register of Pyramid Texts spells on the north wall of the burial chamber of Unas. (Drawn from photographs in the publication.)

the king to his *kꜣ* is further emphasized by a passage which describes an embrace: 'The arm of your *kꜣ* is before you, the arm of your *kꜣ* is behind you; the leg of your *kꜣ* is before you, the leg of your *kꜣ* is behind you' (Pyr. 18a-c). In conclusion, the eye of Horus is offered (Pyr. 18d). These spells are distinguished by the prominence and apparent physical nature of the *kꜣ*, the double, who is (by the interpretation offered here) in the womb along with Unas. The *kꜣ* continues to be prominent in the spells immediately following, but it is not mentioned in the spell accompanied by the *pss-kf* or in the nine spells following it.

Cold water and two pellets of natron are offered next, and Unas is urged to go forth to his son, Horus, who has brought him the eye of Horus, and to take to himself the efflux

that has come forth from him. The spells that accompany this offering end with the phrase, repeated four times: 'Come, you have been summoned' (Pyr. 22-3).<sup>31</sup>

The next two offerings probably represent the actual birth. Five pellets of southern natron from el-Kab are offered (Pyr. 26) and the king is directed to open his mouth. The spit of Horus and Seth is mentioned in connection with the mysterious *zmjn*, a word that is similar in sound to the word 'natron', *hzm̄n*,<sup>32</sup> which is being offered and which is carefully spelled out in the following line. In later periods, *zmjn* is sometimes determined with a sun-disk, which suggests a relationship with *mjn*, 'today';<sup>33</sup> it may have been a reference to the day of birth. Next, five pellets of northern natron from Wadi Natrun are offered to the mouth of the deceased. They are associated with the same group of gods cited in Pyr. 17 (Pyr. 27a-c, e). Then the mouth of Unas is compared with the mouth of a nursling calf on the day of his birth (Pyr. 27d), again suggesting that Unas is a newborn at this point in the sequence. Incense is then offered, and identified with the incense of the four gods associated with the cardinal points, of the *k* of Unas, and of itself.<sup>34</sup> Unas's fellow gods are then said to cleanse all his limbs (Pyr. 28, 29c) and the eye of Horus is offered once again (Pyr. 29a-b). These spells represent the birth and the cleaning of the newborn.

The *ps̄-kf* is offered, and is said to fix the lower jaw of the deceased (Pyr. 30a). The mouth is opened with two *nrtj*-blades that are identified with Upper and Lower Egypt. As in the Abu Sir papyri, where they are called *sbj*, these blades are said to be made of *bj* (Pyr. 30b). Pellets of incense (again southern and northern) and an unknown substance called *šjk*<sup>35</sup> are presented (Pyr. 31). Two containers that represent the breast of Horus and the breast of Isis are offered; oddly, the former contains milk while the latter is empty (Pyr. 32). These two spells mimic the nursing of the newborn child.

After this, there is a repetition of the lines calling upon Unas to come forth before his son, Horus, and presentation of the eye of Horus (Pyr. 22-3), this time accompanied by cold water from Lower Egypt rather than natron. Since these lines again contain references to efflux, they may refer to the birth of the placenta, which occurs some time after the birth. It would be appropriate to use the same spells here as were used for the actual birth, given the symmetrical nature of the events.

Two bottles, black and white, are lifted up and identified with the black and the white eyes of Horus (Pyr. 33a-b). Their light and dark colour may serve further to distinguish the newborn and his placenta. The Unas spells do not call these vessels *h̄ts*-bottles, but they are so called in later Pyramid Texts and offering lists,<sup>36</sup> and it is safe to assume that these are the bottles associated with the *ps̄-kf* in the model sets. In the next three lines the

<sup>31</sup> Literally, 'the voice has gone forth for you' (translation suggested by Dr Allen). The phrase *pr.tj n.k hrw* has usually been related to invocation offerings. It is, of course, possible that invocation offerings themselves are related to a summons to rebirth.

<sup>32</sup> The word *hzm̄n* also occurs in medical texts as a word for menstruation, an association which may be relevant here. (*Wb.* III, 163, 8.)

<sup>33</sup> *Wb.* III, 453, 5-6. The entry notes that the Hebrew and Arabic roots *z-m-n* also relate to time.

<sup>34</sup> I am again indebted to Dr Allen for this interpretation.

<sup>35</sup> Several equivalents have been suggested for this word, including fat (G. Maspero, *Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes* (Paris, 1893), 313), a kind of grain (W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste* (Berlin, 1963), 79), cheese balls (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI/2 (Cairo, 1948), 80), and pellets of perfume (*ibid.*). Its determinative, three little circles, suggests something small and granular.

<sup>36</sup> Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, fig. 5. This parallel is discussed below.



deceased is described as surrounded by offerings and is presented with a 'fresh' cake (*pꜣt wdꜣt*) (Pyr. 34), which was probably chosen because it was soft.

Five cloves of garlic<sup>37</sup> are then given to Unas and are said to be 'teeth' (Pyr. 35a). A 'cake of offering' or, more likely, a 'cake of weight' (*pꜣt nt wdn*) is presented (Pyr. 35b-c); then wine is offered in the black and white *hꜣts*-bottles (Pyr. 36).<sup>38</sup> This sequence of the ritual represents the weaning and teething of a child. Wine can be used to numb the gums during that painful process, and the heavy cake was, like zwieback, something tough and hard for the baby to cut his teeth against. In the final part of the register, the deceased is given a full meal, including meat, with wine and beer in *hnt*-cups (Pyr. 37-40).

The dead person had to be reborn to participate in the afterlife<sup>39</sup> and this sequence suggests that, like other newborns, he could not at first eat adult food. In view of the extreme importance of food in Egyptian mortuary religion, an efficient ritual was needed for 'bringing up baby'. The initial sequence of spells in the offering ritual of the Pyramid Texts performed this function, taking the deceased through his (re)birth and the developments necessary to allow him to enjoy his funerary banquet. Passing quickly through the transitions of birth and childhood, the ritual focuses primarily on the developments that will allow him to eat. Thus, the firmness of the jaw that allows the child to nurse and the teething process that allows him to eat solid foods are emphasized, while other developments, such as walking and talking, are not mentioned. Some parts of the sequence may be based on actual rituals of birth and childhood transitions, while others are probably purely mortuary; however, the underlying metaphorical unity and purpose of the sequence is clear.

Van Walsem's contention that the implements of the *pss-*kf** set represent the equipment for an embalming ritual ignores the presence of the *hꜣts*-bottles and *hnt*-cups in the Pyramid Texts, where they are explicitly described as containing wine and beer, rather than more conventional embalming materials. Moreover, the contents of these vessels are clearly offered to be consumed along with the other food offerings, rather than to be used in embalming. By their position, the intervening offerings must have belonged to the same ritual, and many of these elements are difficult to reconcile with a ritual of embalming, notably the metaphorical breasts and teeth.

The connection of this first register of the offering ritual with birth and rebirth is particularly interesting in view of the observation that the cosmological premise of the Pyramid Texts was the king's daily rebirth with the sun.<sup>40</sup> If the deceased king was seen

<sup>37</sup>The word used, *hꜣw*, is normally translated 'onions'. However, three commodities, *thwj*, *jꜣkt*, and *hꜣw*, are frequently interchanged, and may have been varyingly defined as garlic, onions, and leeks. See K. R. Weeks and M. Mosher, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 187-8. In the late Old Kingdom private offering lists, the offering of five *hꜣw* is determined by a clump of green onions, although it is also called *trw* there, which normally implies a pellet or a little round thing of some kind (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI/3 (Cairo, 1948), pl. 137). The determinatives in the royal offering lists and the Pyramid Texts are small ovals (*ibid.*, pl. 144). The shape of a clove of garlic, when peeled, is clearly a better analogue for a tooth than a green onion.

<sup>38</sup>These appear to be the same bottles as those described shortly before as the black and white eyes of Horus. The same bottles, presumably, could be used more than once during the ritual.

<sup>39</sup>J. Assmann, in *Religion and Philosophy of Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. K. Simpson (New Haven, 1989), 140, has cited several passages to support his argument that the dead, though reborn, are not actually delivered: 'O Great Mother, whose children are not delivered!' (referring to the sky goddess) and 'I shall never give birth to thee'. (spoken by the same). As I understand his interpretation, however, these passages by no means deny the rebirth of the deceased, but only his delivery from the sky goddess, i.e. his rebirth upon earth.

<sup>40</sup>J. P. Allen, in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, 14-23, has made this point most recently.

as being reborn every day, the *psš-ḳf* and the other implements used in this ritual would clearly have served to facilitate the process.

### The *psš-ḳf* set in late Old Kingdom offering lists

The unity of the Pyramid Texts sequence is apparent from the fact that the commodities and implements that it associates with the *psš-ḳf* occur in the same order in the offering lists of Barta's type A/B.<sup>41</sup> This sequence of offerings began to be inserted into offering lists in private tombs, as a complete unit, at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, about 150 years after the first occurrence of the same offerings in the Pyramid Texts. The new sequence was inserted at the beginning of the list. Its first two offerings, poured offerings and incense, duplicate the beginning of the traditional form (Barta's type A). The seven sacred oils that previously followed the incense directly now follow the funerary meal. The lists thus represent the equipment and commodities required for a single ritual that was performed for both royal and non-royal dead, using the implements that composed the *psš-ḳf* set, and other, perishable, commodities.

The Pyramid Texts spells outlined above were also followed directly by a ceremony of anointing with the seven sacred oils that begins the second register in the Unas pyramid. These oils were apparently dispensed from the seven depressions in special limestone oil slabs (see fig. 3).<sup>42</sup> Like the *psš-ḳf* sets, oil slabs are frequently found in tombs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. It is likely that these two similarly-shaped limestone tablets, one holding the *psš-ḳf* assemblage and the other with depressions for the oils, represented the durable equipment required for two successive rituals. The ritual involving the *psš-ḳf* was thus performed in non-royal cults long before it appeared on the walls.<sup>43</sup>

Interestingly, although the older offering lists in private tombs (Barta's type A)<sup>44</sup> omit the offerings that correspond to the *psš-ḳf* ritual in the Pyramid Texts, they include what may be a related sequence of offerings. This sequence also occurs in the late Old Kingdom offering lists (type A/B) and in the Pyramid Texts, after the offering of the seven oils. In this older sequence, several types of bread are offered, followed by the presentation of four *ḥḏw*, 'onions'. Although they are determined with a bunch of green onions in both royal and private contexts, the accompanying Pyramid Text spells describe them as 'teeth'. These onions (or garlic?) are followed immediately by offerings of various cuts of meat and a sequence of poultry, so that again teeth are offered before solid food.<sup>45</sup> The varieties of bread that precede the *ḥḏw* in this sequence may represent

<sup>41</sup> Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, 94–5 and fig. 5. This form of the offering list is comparatively rare, according to S. Hassan's study of the type, *Excavations at Giza*, vi/2, 135–42. It occurs in eight tombs, five of which are at south Saqqara, in the cemeteries surrounding the pyramid of Pepi II. The correspondence of these lists with the offering spells of Pyramid Texts has long been known. See, for example, H. Junker, *Giza*, II (Vienna, 1934), 69–96.

<sup>42</sup> D'Auria *et al.*, *Mummies and Magic*, 81–2, no. 12.

<sup>43</sup> The adoption of this sequence into the offering lists is thus not necessarily a result of the oft-cited 'democratisation of the afterlife', as Otto suggested (*Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, II, 2). It may instead have been a function of the rarity of decorated burial chambers in private tombs in the late Old Kingdom, since both the Pyramid Text ritual and most of the type A/B offering lists occur in inaccessible underground chambers.

<sup>44</sup> Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste*, fig. 4.

<sup>45</sup> This is not, of course, the first meat offered, since the A/B type includes the *psš-ḳf* ritual and the meat included in it has already been listed before this sequence. Further, in both A and A/B types, some meat offerings are included in a sequence of offerings between the seven sacred oils and the sequence under discussion. I would suggest, however, that these sequences each represent a separate ritual, perhaps further variant versions of the same ritual.

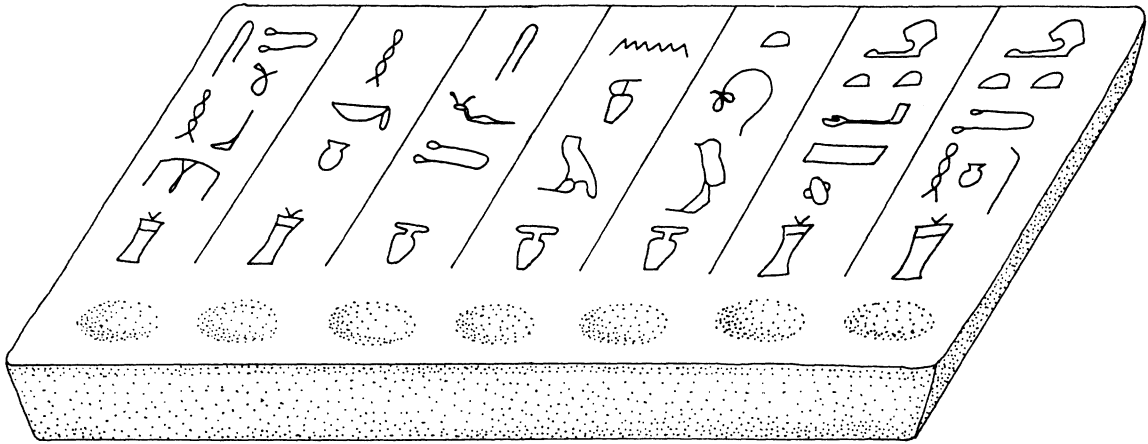


FIG. 3. An Old Kingdom oil slab with indentations for the seven sacred oils. A composite drawing.

actions in the ritual rather than food, the names of the varieties making puns on the actions that would have accompanied the offering. One of these varieties is *rth*-bread, which is determined with a sign that resembles the *psš-kf*:  $\leftarrow$ . The *rth*-bread is preceded indirectly by natron (*bd*), with which the mouth of Horus is said to be cleansed (*bd*) in the Pyramid Text spells. The ritual here may be an earlier, more metaphorical, version of the same ritual of birth and child development that occurs more explicitly in the *psš-kf* ritual.

In view of the conservatism of Egyptian mortuary religion, the retention of an older version alongside a new variant would hardly be surprising. The same phenomenon would explain the addition of Pyr. 12–15, the first spells to mention the adze and the *hps* as implements of opening the mouth, in the later versions of the Pyramid Texts. In the Pyramid Texts of Mernere, these spells were placed on the wall just before the offering sequence, and probably represent a further development of the same idea.<sup>46</sup>

### The practical and magical function of the *psš-kf*

The *psš-kf* and the *nrtj* are offered in the Pyramid Texts ritual after the spells that mimic the king's passage through the birth canal and before he begins to nurse. This would imply that they were used soon after the birth of a child. In view of the fact that the *psš-kf* has a cutting edge, its most likely role in birth would have been to cut the umbilical cord. The umbilical cord is rubbery and slippery, and since ancient Egyptian women gave birth in a squatting position, raised on a stool of bricks, it probably required some dexterity to tie and cut it. A knife with a concave cutting surface would have kept the cord from slipping away while it was being cut, while the serrated points and curved outer edges would offer the midwife the possibility of cutting the cord from a number of different angles as circumstances might dictate.

The principal problem with this interpretation is the fact that the *psš-kf* is associated with the jaw. It is 'to fix the jaw' that the implement is offered in the Pyramid Text and

<sup>46</sup> These texts are only preserved in fragments, but their relative position is clear (Leclant, *Or* 42, pl. 15, fig. 20). They are first preserved on the wall in the burial chamber of Pepi II, again on the north wall of the burial chamber.



Perfective, but translated it as a clause of result in order to arrive at a translation in which the *psš-*kf** opens the mouth rather than closes it: 'I have established for you your jaws, so that they are divided (= open)'. Van Walsem argues that this use of the Old Perfective is unattested.<sup>55</sup>

Van Walsem correctly rejects the possibility of taking this word as a passive participle on the grounds of the fully written *.tj* ending in several post-Old Kingdom examples. He also contends that an Old Perfective describes a 'special situation' of the jaw, and is thus more suitable to the case than a passive participle which describes a 'characteristic circumstance'.<sup>56</sup> Like Otto and Maspero, he would like to take *psš.t(j)* as a third person feminine dual Old Perfective, but adopts a more conventional translation: 'they having been divided', which he interprets as a sagging of the lower jaw. (He notes correctly that the dual *rtj* refers not to the upper and lower jaws, but to the two halves of the lower jawbone.)<sup>57</sup>

The difficulty with both translations is that Edel<sup>58</sup> gives no writing of the third person feminine dual form with a single *t* ending. Van Walsem counters this problem with the arguments that (1) Edel lists only the most characteristic spellings and not necessarily all possible spellings and (2) that the Old Perfective is an adverbial form, not an adjective, and thus need not agree with antecedent nouns. The first argument ignores the fact that, if this writing of the third person feminine dual occurs at all, it is extremely rare.<sup>59</sup> A rare writing would be less troubling were it not the only writing of the verb attested in this context: it occurs in all eight of the Old Kingdom examples van Walsem cites.<sup>60</sup>

The second argument is correct insofar as the Old Perfective is an adverbial form and need not agree with the antecedent noun; but it is also a verb and must have a subject that makes sense. If the Old Perfective is not an anomalous dual, but an independent third person feminine singular, consistent with its morphology, it must be translated as 'she having been divided', which, though grammatical, makes no sense, as no feminine singular noun precedent exists to which this adverbial form might refer. The only possible antecedent subjects for the Old Perfective *psš.t(j)* mentioned in the spell are the feminine dual 'jaws', which creates morphological difficulties, or Unas himself, who is addressed in the second person. This suggests a more productive approach. The word *psš.t(j)* would be a normal writing of the second person Old Perfective: 'you having been divided'. If the *psš-*kf** was an instrument that cut the umbilical cord, clearly what has been divided is not the jaw, but Unas himself from his placenta and his mother. The passage can then be translated in accordance with the many examples cited in Edel's §587.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> J. P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu, 1984), 405-6, §589, cites three examples, however, of which at least the first seems impossible to interpret otherwise.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 201.

<sup>57</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 197-202.

<sup>58</sup> E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, 1 (Rome, 1955), 271, §572. According to Edel's chart, the only forms of the Old Perfective written with a single *t* ending are the second person singular and the third person feminine plural.

<sup>59</sup> Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb*, 387, §564 I, cites only three occasions where the third person feminine dual Old Perfective is written with a single *t* ending: *psš.t* (the case under discussion), *wꜥd.t* (Pyr. 55d), and possibly *tm.t* (Pyr. 304e). *wꜥd.t* could also be parsed as a second person, however (Allen, pers. comm.).

<sup>60</sup> *OMRO* 59, 199. The possible exception is N, the version from the pyramid of Pepi II, where Dr Allen informs me that a trace under the *š* of *psš.t(j)* might represent the top of a tall *tj*-sign. The spacing of the text, as shown in van Walsem's copy, would not allow this; however, even if the copy is in error, the remaining seven spellings are consistently anomalous.

<sup>61</sup> Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, 1, 283; similarly, Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, 404-5, §588.

'I have made firm for you your lower jaw (to your face), you having been divided: the *psš-ḳf*'.

Unfortunately, there is another problem that also exists in van Walsem's interpretation. The verb *psš* cannot mean 'separate from', but only 'divide into two or more pieces'.<sup>62</sup> In van Walsem's interpretation, this would not imply that the lower jaw had been divided from the upper (or sagged), but that it had been divided into two or more pieces, which, as van Walsem points out, occurs in animal jaws, but not in human ones.<sup>63</sup> In the interpretation offered here, Unas must himself be in two pieces, if he is to be described as *psš.t(j)*. One might argue, as van Walsem does, that the meaning of the word has been stretched in order to make a pun on the name of the implement, but this is unlikely. More probably, the name and the divided tip itself are reflections of the function it performs.

### The *psš-ḳf* and the *ḳ*

The use of the modifier *psš.tj* can be explained by returning to the observation, made in the analysis of the Unas texts above, that the *ḳ* of Unas is especially prominent in the first few spells of the register and seems to have a physical existence in the womb along with Unas. This relationship suggests that the *ḳ* was identified with the placenta, an identification that has been proposed previously on other grounds by A. M. Blackman and H. Frankfort.<sup>64</sup> As the scenes of divine birth at Deir el-Bahari, Luxor temple, and the later mammisi show, the god Khnum forms both the child and his *ḳ* of clay on his potter's wheel at the time of conception; and the goddess of birth, Meskhenet, places them both in the womb of his mother.<sup>65</sup> The word *ḳ* is related to the word *ḳw*, 'food, sustenance', and the placenta is the source of that sustenance in the womb.<sup>66</sup>

By this reconstruction, Unas is embraced by his placenta before birth ('the arm of your *ḳ* is before you, the arm of your *ḳ* is behind you'). After the spell offering the *psš-ḳf*, the *ḳ* is not mentioned again until the 'teeth' have been presented, although the spells summoning Unas may have been repeated to induce the birth of the placenta. If it is the

<sup>62</sup> J. P. Allen, personal communication.

<sup>63</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 200. The example he cites to circumvent this difficulty, in which Horus is said to be *psš* with respect to his side-lock, is isolated; furthermore, the translation 'the being sagged of his sidelock' does not seem 'feasible' to me. The passage works better as a parallel to the cutting of the umbilical cord: cutting off the side-lock marked a major transition in life, and the operations are quite similar in some respects. But one would like a more general explanation for the use of the term.

<sup>64</sup> A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 3 (1916), 241 n. 3, first proposed the equivalence. It was argued more fully by H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 70-4. Both base their ideas on accounts of kingship among the Baganda of Uganda and contemporary Egyptian attitudes towards the placenta. Frankfort believed that only the king's placenta served as a *ka*, the personified life force that protected the king and preceded him, immediately after birth, into the afterlife. U. Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der Alten Ägypter* (Glückstadt, 1956), 15, has argued that the appearance of the king's *ka* in ritual scenes taking place on earth contradicts this hypothesis. In the modified view adopted here, any thing or being or conception that supports and sustains a person's life can be regarded as his *ḳ*. Thus the *ḳ* is not limited by the physical location of the placenta.

<sup>65</sup> H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1971), 458.

<sup>66</sup> It is not at all clear whether the Egyptians were aware of the role of the placenta, which is not explicitly identified in any of the medical texts. The term *mwt-rmṯw*, 'mother of people', which is sometimes translated 'placenta' and which might be used to support this argument, seems more likely to mean 'uterus'. This is not only because it can be said to belong to the woman (*mwt-rmṯw.s*) but because *rmṯ* is plural: one would expect a placenta to serve as the 'mother' only to the child to which it is attached. It is perhaps significant that half of the women who nurse the newborn child in the Deir el-Bahari birth scenes (E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, II (London, 1896), pl. 51) are identified as *ḳ*, perhaps because they are giving him sustenance. The adjective *bḳ* (*Wb.* I, 481), 'pregnant', may also be related.

placenta that is summoned as 'Unas' in this repetition of the earlier spells, this would support the assumption that the *psš-ḳf*, in cutting the umbilical cord, has divided Unas in two, justifying the use of the verb *psš*.

An identification of the placenta with the *ḳ* would also explain the use of the phrase 'to join the *ḳ*' as a euphemism for death. At least in the Predynastic period, death clearly meant a return to the womb. The deceased was buried in an oval womb-like grave, with the limbs arranged in a fetal posture.<sup>67</sup> In later periods, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are placed at the head and foot of coffins, duplicating their position with respect to the royal triplets in the description of birth in P. Westcar.<sup>68</sup> Here too, they are ready to assist at (re)birth, after the deceased has joined his *ḳ*. This rebirth, as the antithesis of joining the *ḳ* (= death), would again require a division from the *ḳ*. The great quantities of food that are provided in Egyptian mortuary ritual could be seen against this background as providing *ḳw* that would sustain independent life after death at those times when the deceased is again separated from his *ḳ*.<sup>69</sup>

Thus, in addition to having a divided tip, the *psš-ḳf* served to divide the child from the placenta, his 'double', and also from his mother. The nature of both the form and the function of the knife are reflected in its name, since the participle *psš* could mean either 'the divided one' or 'the divider' or possibly both simultaneously (at least in unvowelled textual references). Such a pun would have appealed to the Egyptians for religious reasons as well as practical ones. The beginning of independent existence that is marked by the cutting of the umbilical cord is probably one of the most momentous transitions in life. It is at this moment that food begins to be needed for sustenance and thus that the individual begins to exist independently. Given the importance of this transition at birth, it is not surprising that it was repeated and marked by ritual during the process of rebirth.

The tradition of cutting the umbilical cord with something that had itself been divided may have survived even into Islamic times. A tenth century Andalusian physician, ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd al-Kātib al-Qurṭubī, in a treatise on childbirth, made special mention of the fact that in Egypt it was traditional to cut the umbilical cord with a reed split into two.<sup>70</sup> Whether this was a misunderstanding of some ritual connected with birth, or whether Egyptian midwives retained the ancient custom of 'dividing with a divided thing', this reference is quite possibly an echo of the original use of the *psš-ḳf*.

### The form and evolution of the predynastic *psš-ḳf*

The sequence recorded in the Pyramid Texts derives from a very old ritual, to judge from the occurrence of *psš-ḳfs* and other elements of the ritual as early as the Nagada I

<sup>67</sup> M. A. Hoffman, *Egypt before the Pharaohs* (New York, 1979), 110.

<sup>68</sup> P. Westcar 10, 7-8. Isis sits before the mother and Nephthys sits behind her. When the children are born, Isis receives them; when she lays them down on the bricks, their heads would thus be towards Nephthys, while Isis would be positioned at their feet. This would explain the position of these goddesses on coffins, where Isis is placed at the foot and Nephthys at the head, seemingly contradicting Isis' primacy with the deceased. In fact, however, the mummy, like the children in P. Westcar, is facing her.

<sup>69</sup> The common phrase *n ḳ; n X* would then have to be understood as 'for the sustenance of X'.

<sup>70</sup> *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn wa-Tadbīr al-Ḥabāla wa'l-Mawlūdīn* (Le Livre de la génération du foetus et le traitement des femmes enceintes et des nouveau-nés), translated and annotated by H. Jahier and Noureddine Abdelkader (Algiers, 1956), 51 (Arabic text) and 56 (French translation). I am grateful to Dr John Hayes and Professor Everett Rowson for discussing the Arabic text with me. The latter suggests that although the Arabic seems to imply that the reed has been completely separated, the two pieces must have remained at least partially attached so they could be used jointly in the cutting.

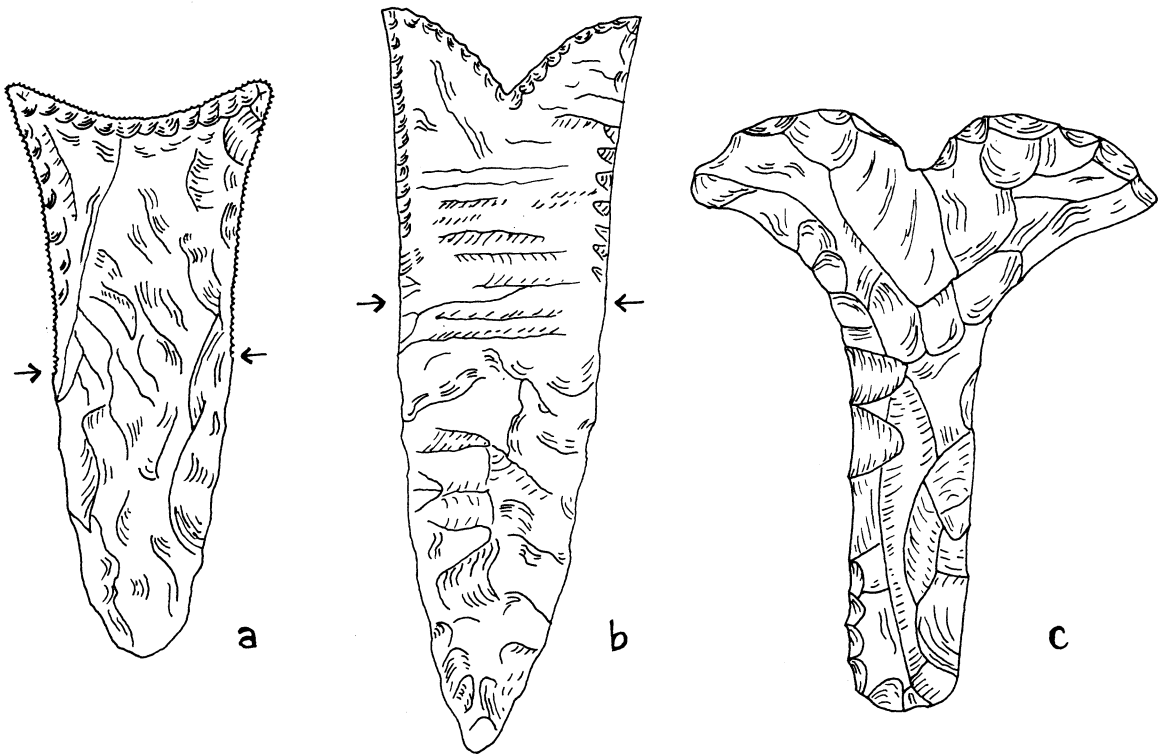


FIG. 4. *pss-kf* knives (a) of the Nagada I-IIb period (CG 64.857); (b) of the Nagada IIc-III period (CG 64.864); and (c) of the middle First Dynasty (Petrie, *Abydos*, pl. 51). The arrows mark the end of the fine retouching on the blade. Drawn from the publications.

period. The flint *pss-kf* occurs in both tombs and settlements during the Predynastic period,<sup>71</sup> principally in Upper Egyptian sites but also at Maadi<sup>72</sup> and in the Fayum.<sup>73</sup> The predynastic *pss-kf* was clearly hafted on the end opposite the fork, since on most examples the retouching of the edges stops at the point where the stone would have been covered by a handle (this point is indicated by arrows on the examples shown in fig. 4). Often, all of the exposed edges were sharpened and evenly serrated, including the inner faces of the notch. However, in one model example,<sup>74</sup> only the inner edges of the notch

<sup>71</sup> See Baumgartel, *Cultures*, II, 31. Mond and Myers, *Cemeteries of Arment*, I, pl. 68, give examples found in a settlement, as does J. Garstang, *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf* (London, 1903), pl. 4.

<sup>72</sup> I. Rizkana and J. Seeher, *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 243 and fig. 8.1. See also O. Menghin, *MDAIK* 5 (1934), pl. 20a. The more complete of the two *pss-kfs* found at Maadi appears to have been manufactured differently than the southern examples: it is extensively retouched only on one side, after preliminary grinding, while the other surface has the smooth face of the original flake, retouched only around the edges and to reduce the bulb of percussion. The same type of unifacial edge retouch with grinding (albeit of cortex rather than a worked surface) is seen on tabular scrapers from the same site, thought to be of Palestinian inspiration and possibly of Palestinian flint: I. Rizkana and J. Seeher, *Maadi II: The Lithic Industries of the Predynastic Settlement* (Mainz am Rhein, 1988), 29. This would suggest that the *pss-kfs* found at Maadi were locally manufactured rather than imported from the south.

<sup>73</sup> H. W. Seton-Karr, 'Flint Implements of the Fayum, Egypt', *Report of the United States National Museum for 1904* (Washington, 1906), 751, pl. 12.

<sup>74</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuna* (London, 1912), 24. This is a tiny serpentine model (about 3.25 cm in length, including its ivory handle); however, the pattern of sharpening may be significant.



were sharpened, while another flint tool that was retouched only on the interior of its forked edge may have been a less elaborate *psš-kf* meant for practical rather than ritual use.<sup>75</sup>

These examples would be consistent with the hypothesis above, in which the notch is seen as the main site for the cutting of the umbilical cord. The care and skill demonstrated in the knapping of most of these flints suggests a ritual function even at this early period when it probably still had a practical function as well.<sup>76</sup> Red ochre is associated with two flint *psš-kfs* at Nagada,<sup>77</sup> and probably represented blood in a ritual context.

An evolution in the *psš-kf* is shown in the predynastic assemblages described by Kaiser.<sup>78</sup> In the periods he calls Nagada I and Nagada IIa, it is roughly the shape of an isosceles triangle, with a slight concave curve to the long sides, and a more marked concavity on the short side, between the two points of the divided tip (fig. 4a). The Maadi examples are of this earlier type. Beginning in the Nagada IIb period, Kaiser's corpus shows a *psš-kf* with a sharp notch flanked by two convex edges that curve up to the two tips. The long sides were more parallel; and, although slightly concave towards the tips, they were essentially straight, and even convex in the area that was covered by the haft (fig. 4b). These later examples only occasionally exhibit the careful serration that is so striking on the earlier examples. These changes are, if anything, intensified in the Archaic period example found in the tomb of Den at Adydos (fig. 4c), which has widely curving tips and a deeper central notch.<sup>79</sup> The Old Kingdom models are generally of the later form, with a sharp notch and convex curves between the notch and the out-turned tips, and no serration at all.

The change from the earlier, smooth, concave curve to a notch probably represents a refinement of the shape that would have rendered it more effective in securing and cutting the umbilical cord. At the same time, it was probably noticed that the triangular shape of the *psš-kf* corresponded to the shape of a uterus, a similarity that would have increased its magical significance and its restriction to this particular use. Since the Egyptians tended to use bovine body parts as substitutes for those of humans in their representations,<sup>80</sup> the convex curves that resulted from the development of a notch may have been emphasized and turned outward to increase the resemblance to the bicornate uterus of a cow. The changes seen in the shape of the *psš-kf* thus probably have both practical and symbolic explanations.

<sup>75</sup> Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*, pl. 73 no. 70.

<sup>76</sup> A use-wear analysis of these knives has failed to show use of the cutting edges, T. R. Hester, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 3 (1976), 346–51. However, D. L. Holmes, in *The Human Uses of Flint and Chert* (Proceedings of the 4th International Flint Symposium, April, 1983), G. de G. Sieveking and M. H. Newcomer, eds. (Cambridge, 1987), 91–6, argues that the microstructure of Egyptian flint differs from that of European flints. Her experiments show that sustained use is required before any detectable polish appears. Artifacts that were used only sporadically will thus normally show no use-wear, and this is probably true of the *psš-kf*. (I am grateful to Ms Renée Friedman for bringing the latter article to my attention.)

<sup>77</sup> Baumgartel, *Cultures*, II, 31.

<sup>78</sup> W. Kaiser, *Archaeologia Geographica* 6 (1957), 69–78, pls. 21–2.

<sup>79</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, I (London, 1902), pl. 51 no. 22.

<sup>80</sup> For example, the hieroglyphs for jaw, tongue, and ear (see A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford, 1957), 463, F19, F20, and F21). The bicornate uterus of a cow is also used to represent the female sex in general (Ibid. 466, F45), for example, of ducks. It seems not to be applied to humans, except as a specific medical term for 'uterus'.

Although van Walsem does not deny that the *psš-*kf** was used as a knife originally,<sup>81</sup> he does suggest that one *psš-*kf** of the early type was ‘a probable first use of a prehistoric *psš-*kf** as a support for the chin’, because it was covered with a woven sheath that could not be removed without destroying it,<sup>82</sup> which he argues was intended to protect the skin from damage.<sup>83</sup> If this was a problem, however, it would have been simpler not to have sharpened the edges in the first place; it is more probable that this covering was a temporary sheath, intended to prolong the knife’s sharpness. Furthermore, the Nagada I-IIa *psš-*kf** would have been badly adapted to the role of wedge, since the tips of the fork are quite sharply angled and would almost certainly have lacerated the skin under the chin had they been positioned as van Walsem suggests (perpendicular to the face with the handle wedged in the collarbone, one tip under the chin and the other above it).<sup>84</sup>

The development of the *psš-*kf** over time would have intensified these problems. The later shapes had increasingly pointed tips and new convex edges. As the weight of the jaw pressed into the central notch, the upper convex edge would scrape the skin of the soft front part of the chin. The resulting disfigurement of the face would have been directly contrary to the basic tenets of mummification, which stressed the recognizability of the face. Beginning in the Fourth Dynasty, van Walsem has argued, the tips of the *psš-*kf** were more rounded, to prevent damage to the skin beneath the jaw and to fulfil better their function as a prop to the jaw.<sup>85</sup> But this development occurred only in models, which were often made of stones other than flint and were rarely sharpened.

The principal problem with van Walsem’s reconstruction is that it posits a change in function from knife to jaw-prop just as the functional flint *psš-*kf** is disappearing from the archaeological record. This hypothetical second function is assigned to a period when few examples of the implement are attested,<sup>86</sup> and those few are of expensive materials and probably already served a principally ritual function. Yet from this ephemeral second function, van Walsem has attempted to derive the long-lasting ritual importance of the *psš-*kf**.

### The placement of the *psš-*kf** in predynastic tombs

Despite the connection with the jaw in the Pyramid Texts, according to Petrie, the most common position for the *psš-*kf** was behind the pelvis of the contracted burials.<sup>87</sup> Tables 1 and 2 give the placement of the two different forms in the predynastic tombs where this

<sup>81</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 243 and especially nn. 209–10.

<sup>82</sup> O. H. Myers, *JEA* 19 (1933), 55, pl. 11, 1. Myers gives no provenience or accession number for the piece, which is in the collection of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. The white cross-lined bowl which is published with the *psš-*kf** was not accessioned at the same time. (I am grateful to Dr Catharine Roehrig for checking this point for me.)

<sup>83</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 243.

<sup>84</sup> Van Walsem’s demonstration of the placement he proposes was made using a replica of the *psš-*kf** of Khufu (Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pl. 65b), which is a polished flint model and, at 18 cm in length, is longer than most of the predynastic examples. A photograph of this experiment is published in van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, pl. 38.4.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* 230.

<sup>86</sup> Van Walsem lists only one ‘historic’ *psš-*kf** prior to the Fourth Dynasty (*ibid.* 227). There are noticeably fewer in the later Predynastic phases as well.

<sup>87</sup> Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, 30. The placement within the tomb of most of the *psš-*kf**s excavated by Petrie at Nagada cannot be determined from published sources, which makes his general overall impression significant.

has been recorded.<sup>88</sup> Models are cited along with flint *psš-kfs*, since presumably in the context of a tomb their purpose was the same.

TABLE I. *Placement of the psš-kf of the Early Predynastic Type*<sup>89</sup>

Site	Tomb	Placement	
Abadiyeh	B109	in front of the body	
	B86	behind an intact body (nine examples)	
Abydos	E132	forked tip at shoulder, end to west	
El-Amra	b143	before face (which is turned away)	
Matmar	3073	at south end of tomb (two examples)	
Nagada	223	behind pelvis	
	271	north of feet	
	1388	at feet	
	1416	mid east wall	
	1417	mid east behind pelvis of the eastern body	
	1676	behind pelvis of western body (three examples)	
	1773	behind pelvis	
	1821	before chest	
	1909	between arms, wrapped in leather	
	Naga el-Der	N7014	handle in white cross-lined bowl at face, forked end outside
		N7016	lying on ankles
N7120		at the tip of the left knee	
N7625		between pelvises of two bodies (wooden haft under handle)	

#### Summary:

Seventeen behind body, usually behind pelvis, or east  
 Five in front of the body (west)  
 Three near feet (usually north)  
 Two before face (west, near face)  
 Two at head (south)

It is normally assumed that the tools and other objects buried with the dead in the Predynastic period were placed in accordance with the way in which they were used. For example, the drinking cup was set next to the face and the palette and grinding stone near the hands. The *psš-kf* was most often placed behind the body, especially in the earlier period. This was the normal position for knives and other potentially dangerous weapons. Like these other flint implements, the *psš-kf* was often intentionally broken before the burial,<sup>90</sup> which supports the assumption that it had a similar function.

The later tombs, however, show placements predominantly in front of the body, usually at the level of the chest or abdomen, but rarely also in front of the face. In this latter position, the implement is twice associated with a bowl that has flaring sides,<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> The sample given in these tables is neither complete nor necessarily representative. They list only the published tombs in which the placement of the *psš-kf* was recorded.

<sup>89</sup> Sources for this table are: Abadiyeh: Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*; Abydos: E. Naville, *Abydos*, 1 (London, 1914); El-Amra: D. Randall-Maciver and A. C. Mace, *El-Amrah and Abydos* (London, 1902); Matmar: G. Brunton, *Matmar* (London, 1948); Nagada: Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*; Naga el-Der: A. M. Lythgoe and D. Dunham, *The Predynastic Cemetery N 7000* (Los Angeles, 1965).

<sup>90</sup> Hester, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 3, 349.

<sup>91</sup> Naga el-Der tombs 7014 and 7271; see tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 2. *Placement of the psš-*kf* of the Later Predynastic Type*<sup>92</sup>

Site	Tomb	Placement
Armant	1523	centre of north side of tomb (no body)
El-Amra	ag6	in front of body, resting on legs (five examples)
Gerza	G21	in front of hands, with galena (serpentine model)
Hierakonpolis	100	middle west side, opposite partition wall
El-Mahasna	H83	on south ledge (no body)
	H85	at south-east corner (body disturbed) (metal model)
Nagada	178	mid east side (two examples)
	218	behind neck of body furthest to the east
	218	north (three examples)
	414	south end (no body)
	430	middle south end (no body)
	T22	before knees (two examples)
	1237	middle east side (no body)
Naga el-Der	7271	forked end outside bowl at west; handle at missing face

*Summary:*

Five behind body, usually behind pelvis, or east

Nine in front of the body (west)

Four near feet (usually north)

One before face (west, near face)

Three at head (south)

presaging the way it is sometimes presented in New Kingdom 'opening of the mouth' rituals.<sup>93</sup> Presentation in a bowl occurs only at Naga el-Der, but it is attested during both periods. The use of a bowl suggests that liquid might have dripped from the *psš-*kf** in the course of the ritual. The red ochre staining on some examples cited above suggests that the liquid was blood, which confirmed to the newborn his detachment from his mother.

One further example of the role of the *psš-*kf** as a signifier might be cited. As mentioned above, an example of the early type from tomb 1388 at Nagada was found wrapped with a cord.<sup>94</sup> This cord, with two alabaster knobs on its outer end, has never been satisfactorily explained. In view of the interpretation proposed here, the cord might be seen to represent a model umbilical cord, wrapped around the knife as a further demonstration of its detachment.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Sources for this table additional to those in n. 89 are Armant: Mond and Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant*, 1; El-Mahasna: E. R. Ayrton and W. L. S. Loat, *The Pre-dynastic Cemetery at el-Mahasna* (London, 1911); Gerza: Petrie, *The Labyrinth*; Hierakonpolis: J. E. Quibell and F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II (London, 1902).

<sup>93</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 232, fig. 2, numbers 10 and 17.

<sup>94</sup> Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*, 51 and pl. 73 no. 66.

<sup>95</sup> Dr Helen Whitehouse of the Ashmolean Museum very kindly sent me a photograph of this *psš-*kf**, which is registered as Ash.1895.1001. (I am also grateful to Dr Barbara Adams for alerting me to the present whereabouts of the knife.) The photograph and Dr Whitehouse's description also show fragments of leather and wood inside the cord which are presumably the remains of an original haft. The cord was thus not itself the haft, and it is far too long to have served to attach one.

A human umbilical cord measures between 30 and 100 cm in length. The cord wrapping the *psš-*kf** is now fragmentary; but using the photograph as a guide to the pattern of wrapping, I loosely wrapped a scale model of the handle with cord of the same thickness as that in the photograph (about 3 mm). This wrapping

If these circumstances are interpreted correctly, the *psš-ḳf* was already used in a ritual to communicate the severing of the umbilical cord by the Nagada I period. The change in the placement to the front of the body that took place in the later period may signify the *psš-ḳf*'s increasing ritual associations and the lessening of its use as a knife. Both the placement and the evolution of the *psš-ḳf* in predynastic burials are thus consistent with the interpretation suggested by the analysis of the Pyramid Text spells above.

The placement of the *psš-ḳf* argues against its use as a prop for the jaw. The fact that no intact *psš-ḳf* was found where it might have fallen from such a propping position makes it almost certain that it was not used for this purpose in predynastic burials. The frequent occurrence of more than one *psš-ḳf* with a single body is a further argument against this interpretation.<sup>96</sup> Van Walsem therefore limits this hypothetical use of the *psš-ḳf* to 'historic' *psš-ḳfs*.<sup>97</sup> He suggests that the *psš-ḳf* became a part of the embalming toolkit during 'late prehistoric to protodynastic times'.<sup>98</sup> However, by this period, the use of the *psš-ḳf* as an amulet and as a model, as well as its ritual presentation in a bowl, seems to have been well-established. The ritual use thus was at best contemporary with, and probably prior to, the development of the function from which he derives its ritual meaning and to which it is not very well suited.<sup>99</sup> It is much simpler to assume that the instrument's ritual associations were acquired in connection with its clearly attested use as a knife. To postulate an ephemeral change in function during a period from which the implement itself is almost unattested, based on texts of a much later date, seems unnecessarily elaborate.

The fact that the flint *psš-ḳf* is no longer frequently attested in the Old Kingdom suggests that it evolved into a purely mortuary implement, and that umbilical cords began to cut with ordinary knives, or perhaps with forked knives made of less durable material than flint, such as the split reeds mentioned by Ḳarīb ibn SaḲīd.

### Models

The *psš-ḳf* knife appears as a model implement already in predynastic contexts, usually made of clay or pottery.<sup>100</sup> All four of the predynastic models cited by Petrie are drilled at the base and probably served as amulets. The only example to which he was able to

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required about 130 cm of cord, which exceeds the maximum length of a human umbilical cord, but not egregiously.

The alabaster knobs are no longer with the object. They may have represented handles at either end of a short second cord wrapped around the umbilical cord to stop the flow of blood before cutting it. (This possibility was suggested to me by Dr John G. Roth.) The obstruction would have been placed between the baby and the point where the cord was cut and thus should not appear on the cord that was removed. However, as an implement involved in the operation, it might have been included in the model for the sake of completeness.

<sup>96</sup> This circumstance does not argue against the use of the implement to assist in rebirth, since birth occurred daily for the sun and may have also been seen as a repeated event for people in this period. That remummification was also required every night is possible, but it seems less likely. Even if this were the case, it is hard to imagine that this aspect of the cycle would be emphasized by the provision of specialized funerary equipment.

<sup>97</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 243.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* 225.

<sup>99</sup> '[It] is not surprising that the instrument as such went out of use, since the *psš-ḳf*, being placed under the chin, did not possess great stability'. *Ibid.* 225.

<sup>100</sup> Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. xxviii, nos. 14, 15, 16 and 18.

assign a clear provenience was found at Hierakonpolis, and belongs to the post-Nagada IIb type. Its shaft is painted a buff colour with wide black bands at top and bottom, presumably to imitate some sort of wrapping; and the edges and tips of its forked end are coloured with red ochre,<sup>101</sup> as with the flint *psš-ks*, probably to indicate blood. Petrie illustrates very similar models of more conventional knives, also with red staining on the blade, further confirming the association of the *psš-ks* with knives.<sup>102</sup>

A triangular piece of sandstone also stained with red ochre was discovered in tomb 1457 at Armant, in association with a flint *psš-ks*.<sup>103</sup> Other early stone models were of serpentine and alabaster.<sup>104</sup> A single copper model, carefully serrated to resemble the flint prototype, was discovered at el-Mahasna.<sup>105</sup> Although the tomb in which it was found is of the later Nagada II period, the shape of the copper knife corresponds to the earlier form. Like the clay models, it was drilled and may have been worn as an amulet. Although they are capable of functioning as knives, many other predynastic and early dynastic examples were probably also models for the tomb, especially those made of expensive materials. Examples include two obsidian knives<sup>106</sup> and the *psš-ks* with an embossed gold handle in the Cairo Museum.<sup>107</sup>

Another element of the *psš-ks* ritual, the garlic cloves that represent teeth, is also attested as a model in predynastic tombs: white-painted pottery models of clumps of garlic have been identified in tombs from both the Nagada I and Nagada II periods (see fig. 5).<sup>108</sup> Since teething is one of the most important transitions in the Pyramid Texts ritual, they suggest that a form of the growing-up ritual was already being practiced in these early periods.

The model sets dating from the Old Kingdom have been discussed above in connection with the Pyramid Text ritual. The slabs with depressions for model

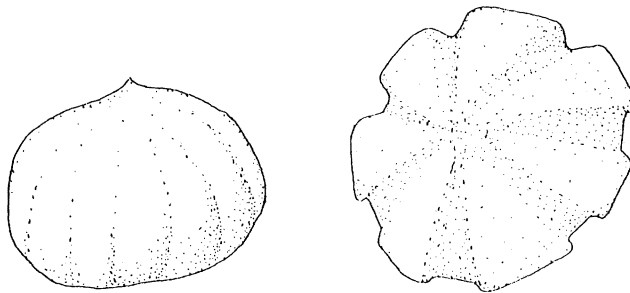


FIG. 5. White-painted clay models of a cluster of garlic. After Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 46, nos. 23 and 24.

<sup>101</sup> Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II (London, 1902), 51, pl. lxxvii.

<sup>102</sup> Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 28, nos. 12, 13, 17, 19 and 20.

<sup>103</sup> Myers, in Mond and Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant*, I, 37, pls. xv, xiii.

<sup>104</sup> Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. 9, nos. 32-3.

<sup>105</sup> Ayrton and Loat, *Pre-dynastic Cemetery at el-Mahasna*, pl. xix no. 5.

<sup>106</sup> Massoulard, *RdE* 2, pls. 1-2.

<sup>107</sup> J.-P. Corteggiani, *The Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum* (Paris, 1986), 21-2, has argued that this knife (purchased at Gebelein in 1906) is probably genuine.

<sup>108</sup> Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 43, noted that there are seven examples in the University College collection alone, from excavations at Nagada (tomb 260) and Mahasna (tombs H41 and H85). For a complete listing of the finds so far identified, see V. Täckholm, *The Flora of Egypt*, III (Cairo, 1969), 102-3.

implements are not attested after the early Middle Kingdom, but full-sized stone models of the *psš-ḳf* continue to appear occasionally. Van Walsem<sup>109</sup> has cited two examples from the Middle Kingdom, and two from the New Kingdom, all but one carved of granite.

There seems to have been a minor vogue for these models at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, perhaps as a result of the connection made between the sun cult of that period and that of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>110</sup> The two New Kingdom models that van Walsem lists come from the Amarna area. Further models, which he cites but omits from his list because of their obscurity, include two models of 'greyish schist' that were discovered in a foundation deposit in KV 55, one of which was inscribed with the name and titles of Queen Tiy,<sup>111</sup> and a bronze model found just outside the gold burial canopy in the northeast corner of the burial chamber of Tutankhamun, mounted on a wooden platform between two little shrines<sup>112</sup> (see fig. 6). Each shrine contains two faience cups that are the same shape as the four *hnt*-cups in the Old Kingdom sets, one serving as a lid for the other. One of these pairs contained natron and the other resin.<sup>113</sup> This model set represents the only example I know of in which the *psš-ḳf* is clearly associated with the substances used in mummification. The fact that the vessels associated with the *psš-ḳf* are used in the Pyramid Text spells to present wine and beer, rather than natron and resins, would suggest that the understanding of their function had become somewhat muddled by the late Eighteenth Dynasty, perhaps because the *hnt*-cups had no role in the New Kingdom 'opening of the mouth' ritual. Their association with the *psš-ḳf* here, long after the metamorphosis of the Pyramid Text ritual, demonstrates the closeness of the original association of the objects that made up the *psš-ḳf* set.

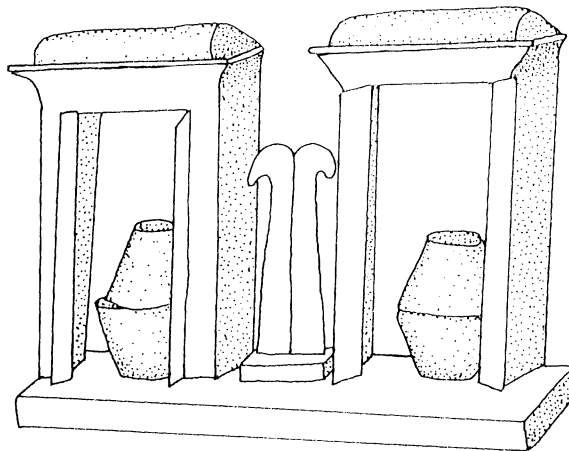


FIG. 6. Model of a bronze *psš-ḳf* from the tomb of Tutankhamun, flanked by shrines containing four faience cups that hold natron and resin. After Carter and Mace, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, II, pl. 53b.

<sup>109</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 229, nos. 35, 37 and 38.

<sup>110</sup> The version of the 'opening of the mouth' ceremony in the tomb of Seti I, which is otherwise quite complete, omits the offering of the *psš-ḳf* and several subsequent scenes (37-42). Along with the absence of *psš-ḳf* models from post-Eighteenth Dynasty contexts, this suggests a reaction against the earlier vogue.

<sup>111</sup> T. M. Davies *et al.*, *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi* (London, 1910), 30-1. There is no drawing or photograph of these examples.

<sup>112</sup> H. Carter and A. Mace, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun*, II (London, 1927), 234, pls. liiib and v (*in situ*).

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* 214-15, (2) and (5).

***psš-*kf** amulets**

In the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom, the *psš-*kf** is attested rarely as an amulet in which the forked blade hangs from a human head. All seven known examples are illustrated in fig. 7.<sup>114</sup>

In all cases but one, the head has a long wig and appears to be female. In the earliest example, that from Qau (fig. 7a), the head wears no wig and, according to Brunton, is 'surely intended to be male'.<sup>115</sup> Its baldness, however, when taken together with the gaping mouth, the large, squinting eyes, and the general proportions of the head, suggests a newborn baby rather than a man. The position of the *psš-*kf**-blade in these amulets is the reverse of the position that would be expected from the use van Walsem has proposed: the forked end is not placed under the chin, but at the opposite end. If the fork of the *psš-*kf** was seen as analogous to the ovaries, however, the head might seem to be emerging from the womb.

In the later amulets, the head is female. The examples from Lisht and Sheikh Farag (fig. 7e and 7g) have protrusions for rivets that, in addition to attaching the *psš-*kf** to the head, presumably represent breasts and confirm the femininity of the heads. In the Lisht example, probably the latest of the group, the head surmounting the blade seems to be wearing a tripartite wig with curls associated with the goddess Hathor. These curls may reflect the curled ends of the *psš-*kf** which would have extended below them. The amulets were often made of very rare and expensive materials: gold, silver, carnelian, and even meteoric iron. All of them were found in burials.

In the two cases where the sex was recorded, the occupant of the tomb was a woman, and two others were probably also female.<sup>116</sup> Brunton indicates that men are almost never buried with amulets during this period.<sup>117</sup> While this undercuts the argument that such amulets are exclusively feminine, it does not contradict that hypothesis, and in fact makes it more probable that all seven amulets were buried with women.

Van Walsem passes over these amulets cursorily, arguing that 'their small number, their peculiar shape and the fact that they were found almost exclusively in female contexts, give them a completely separate place among the total phenomenon of the *psš-*kf**'.<sup>118</sup> In fact, all of these attributes correlate well with the connection of the *psš-*kf** with childbirth proposed here. These amulets of rare and expensive materials were probably given to women to ensure a safe delivery, extravagant displays of concern being a common instinct at such times. Whether their appearance in burials implies that the

<sup>114</sup>The five examples at the top of the figure (a-e) are taken from G. Brunton, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 213-17. The two examples at the bottom (f and g) were excavated by Reisner at Mesheikh, tomb 2122, and Sheikh Farag, tomb 162, along with other amulets and beads. These last examples are now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (12.1264 and 13.3920). They were identified as *psš-*kf** amulets by Stephen P. Harvey, and are published in D'Auria *et al.*, *Mummies and Magic*, 224-5.

<sup>115</sup>Brunton, *ASAE* 35, 261.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid. 213-16. Brunton's number 1 (= a in my figure) and 4 (= d) clearly belonged to women; he also attributes number 2 (= b) to a woman, based on the other objects in the find, and number 5 (= e) likewise on the basis of probability. Of the thirteen individuals in the tomb, eight were identified as women and only three as men by the excavator, and thus the burial seemed to be principally of women. This latter argument may be stronger than it appears, since early analysts of human remains in Egypt frequently misidentified women as men, but rarely made the opposite error, a circumstance pointed out to me by Dr Lane Beck of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid. 216.

<sup>118</sup>Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 236-7.



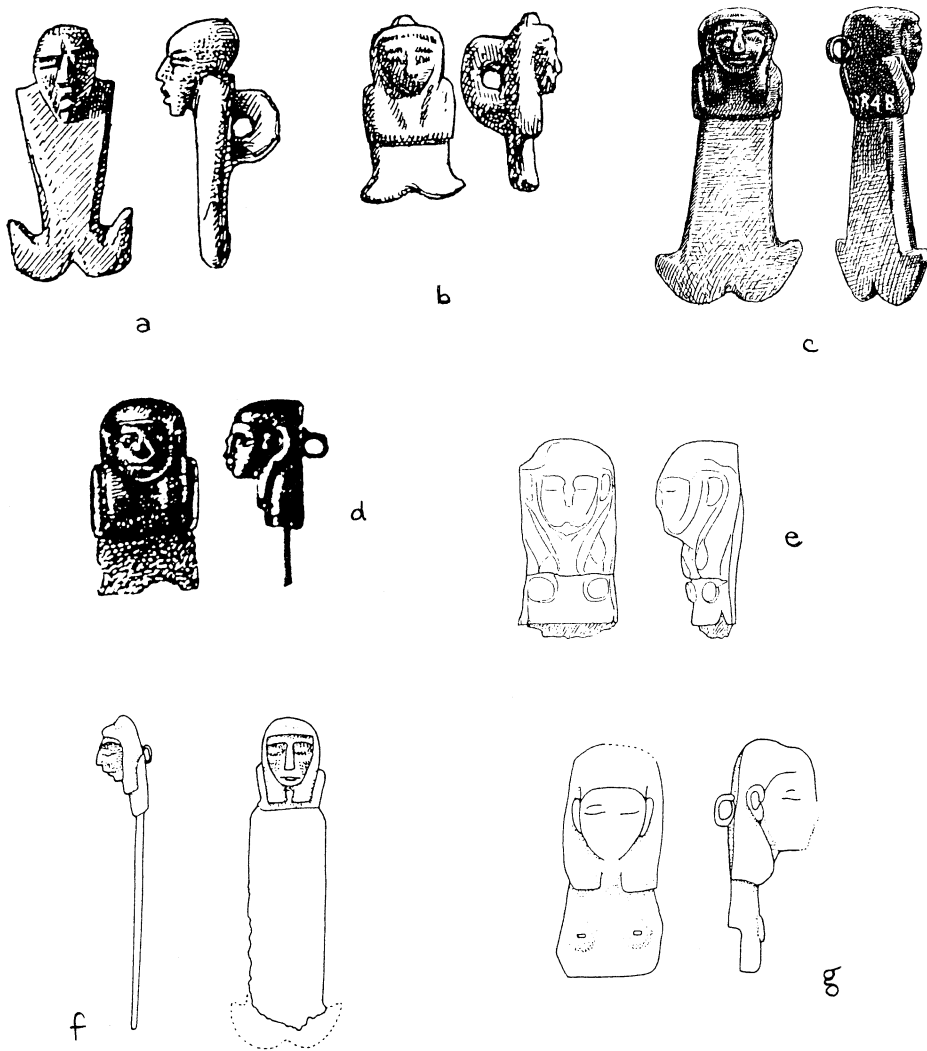


FIG. 7. Human-headed *ps-kf* amulets from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom: (a) Qau 970 (an adult female burial), of green glazed steatite; (b) Gurna A4 (probably female burial), of faience; (c) Hu Y61, of gold, with a carnelian blade; (d) Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari, tomb of Ashayit, of silver with a blade of meteoritic iron; (e) Lisht 954 (predominantly female burial), of gold, with a blade of copper-silver alloy; (f) Mesheikh 2122 (extended burial of undetermined sex), of silver or bronze with traces of gilding at neck, with bronze blade; (g) Sheikh Farag 162 (skull only), of gilded silver. a-e are taken from Brunton, *ASAE* 35 (1935); f-g are taken from *Mummies and Magic*, 224, Cat. no. 177, and from tomb cards in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

women died in childbirth or before their children were born is impossible to tell without an analysis of the mummified remains, which has not been done in any of the cases yet excavated. Should similar amulets be found in the future, such analyses might clarify their purpose. The use of meteoric iron in example 6d may have mortuary connotations, since the 'opening of the mouth' is often performed with iron; but this material may also simply have been selected for its rarity.

Other *psš-kf* amulets, without the human head, are cited by Petrie.<sup>119</sup> These are in many cases almost indistinguishable from the ‘two plumes’ amulet, and it seems clear that the two types were confused by the Egyptians themselves. Although he did not give specific dates for the ‘forked lance’ amulets, Petrie cited an example from the reign of Ramesses II, and placed the ‘two plumes’ type in a range between the Nineteenth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic period. Petrie’s account of the placement of these amulets shows that of the 17 amulets of both types, 2 were worn around the throat of the mummy like the human-headed examples, while 12 were placed on the chest and 3 on the stomach.<sup>120</sup> These lower locations would also argue against the connection of the *psš-kf* with the jaw and for a connection with the navel.

Three anomalous forms of this amulet are especially interesting (fig. 8a, 8b and 8c).<sup>121</sup> Example 8c was found by Mariette in the tomb of Ramesses II’s son Khaemwase, with whose name and titles it is inscribed. Petrie<sup>122</sup> suggested that the bulky appearance of these amulets results from the imitation of a cloth, wrapped around the *psš-kf* as a handle. Such wrapping is otherwise attested only in the very schematic painted clay model from Hierakonpolis discussed above. Particularly on the bronze amulet (fig. 8a), the wrapping is thicker than a cloth; and on that of Khaemwase (8c), its two ends are clearly round in section. These amulets appear to be related to the *psš-kf* from Nagada discussed above,<sup>123</sup> which was wrapped in a cord that may have served as a model umbilical cord. The chronological distance between the Nagada example and the New Kingdom amulets makes this connection somewhat tenuous; however, there is a parallel to these amulets in the representation of a *psš-kf* in a Sixth Dynasty offering list,<sup>124</sup> and the motive is parallel to that proposed for the phenomenon of red staining. Interestingly, in this connection, the Khaemwase amulet is of red carnelian. (Khaemwase’s known interest in the past may also be a relevant factor here.)

A further type of New Kingdom amulet (fig. 8d) has been identified as a ‘Bogen-ähnlich’ variant of the *psš-kf* amulet by C. Müller-Winkler.<sup>125</sup> The twelve examples she illustrates differ markedly from the other types, in that the two halves are clearly separate at both top and base, and attached only by the binding. These amulets resemble nothing so much as two reeds bound together, and are reminiscent of the ‘split reed’ cited by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd as the implement used to cut the umbilical cord in tenth century Egypt. While the examples illustrated has curved tips, like the earlier *psš-kfs*, other examples show the split tips bent down at an acute angle, so that the amulet resembles the hieroglyph  $\uparrow$ .

### The umbilical cord as the snake of chaos

Stricker has equated the umbilical cord with Apophis, the snake-formed god of chaos and non-existence.<sup>126</sup> In order for a potential human being to come into existence, he must

<sup>119</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets* (London, 1914), 16, pl. 4.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. 16. The distribution of the two types is almost identical.

<sup>121</sup> Petrie, *Amulets*, pl. 4, g and h; A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, III (Paris, 1857), pl. 20.

<sup>122</sup> Petrie, *Amulets*, 16.

<sup>123</sup> Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*, 50–1; Baumgartel, *Cultures*, II, 31.

<sup>124</sup> G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Cairo, 1929), 112.

<sup>125</sup> C. Müller-Winkler, *Die ägyptischen Objekt-Amuletten* (Freiburg, Schweiz, 1987), 405–13.

<sup>126</sup> B. H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus (III)* (Leiden, 1975), 287–8. Stricker’s idea and its relevance to my explanation of the *psš-kf* was kindly brought to my attention by Dr Huub Prag.

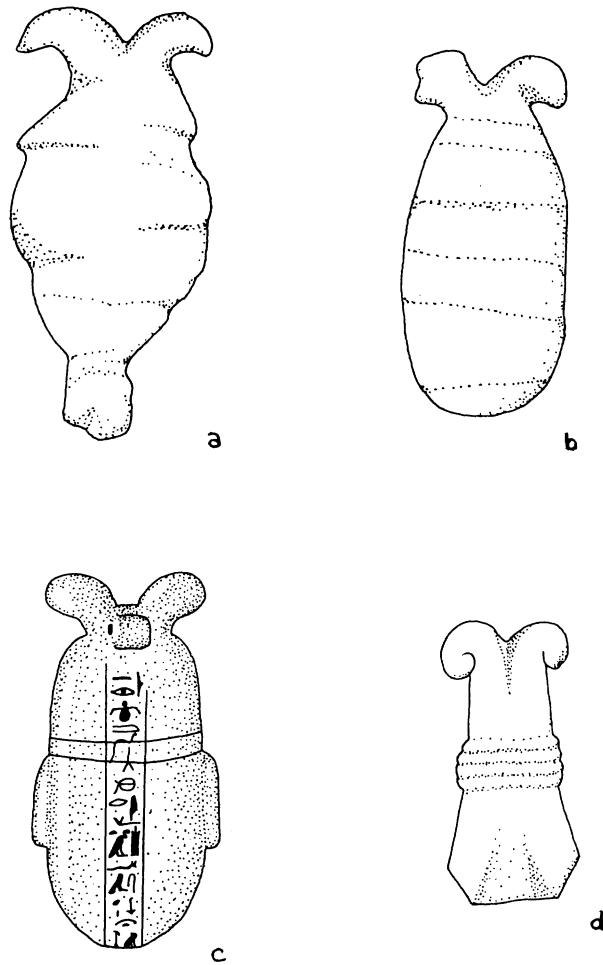


FIG. 8. Four peculiar *pss-kf* amulets of the New Kingdom. Examples (a), of bronze, and (b), of green glass, are in the University College collection, London, and published in Petrie, *Amulets*, pl. 4. Example (c), of carnelian, was discovered by Mariette in the burial of Khaemwase (Mariette, *Sérapéum*, III, pl. II). Example (d), one of twelve similar amulets published by Müller-Winkler, *Die ägyptischen Objekt-Amuletten*, 405-14, seems to represent a different variant. Drawn from the publications.

defeat the undifferentiated non-existence that Apophis represents. To change the amorphous non-existent into something that exists, according to Egyptian conception of existence, the non-existent must be differentiated and made specific.<sup>127</sup> In birth, this differentiation is accomplished by cutting the umbilical cord that attaches the newborn child to the primeval waters of the womb, thus making him something separate and specific. The creation of the child thus mimics the creation of the world, which is accomplished daily by cutting the snake's body of Apophis in two.

In vignettes attached to Chapters 7, 15B and 39 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased is shown spearing Apophis, sometimes with a stick that is forked at the tip.<sup>128</sup> This action

<sup>127</sup> E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. J. Baines (Ithaca, 1982), 172-85.

<sup>128</sup> For example, in the papyrus of Ani, E. Rossiter, *The Book of the Dead Papyri of Ani, Hunefer, and Anhai* (London, n.d.), 49.

is comparable to that of the god Seth, who stands at the prow of the sun bark and attacks the Apophis snake every morning so that the sun can rise (be born). Seth's role as a divider of the undifferentiated (and hence uncreated and chaotic) snake, Apophis, into two different (and therefore extant) parts may be reflected by his forked tail. The fork of the *psš-ḳf* thus acquires still another explanation: a forked stick is used to attack snakes, and the umbilical cord represents a snake, the primeval snake of chaos, which must be divided in order for creation (birth) to occur. Like the *psš-ḳf*, the forked stick is not only the divider, but is itself divided, as a symbolic representation of its function.

Although Seth is usually seen as a force inimical to childbirth, because of his role as an opener of the womb and instigator of abortion and hemorrhage, the opening of the womb can also be a good thing that is necessary for the purpose of impregnation and birth.<sup>129</sup> His undeniable presence as a beneficent force at the daily rebirth of the sun god demonstrates that a positive role in childbirth is, at least, not out of the question.

### Dance troupes and the sign ξ—

An implement resembling the *psš-ḳf* is used as a determinative sign in the word for dance troupe (*ḥnrt*).<sup>130</sup> The use of the forked sign in this word is still problematic.<sup>131</sup> There is some evidence, however, that the female dancers who composed these troupes often took on the role of midwife. The *psš-ḳf*, as an implement used in facilitating a birth, might be connected with them for that reason and be used in the writing of their name.

The sign that is most commonly used to determine the word *ḥnrt* is a long fork with two angled prongs, also used in the words for baker, for the *rth*-bread that occurs in offering lists (as has been discussed above), and for words connected with restraint, such as prison. In his sign list, Gardiner suggests that this sign was an implement used in baking, and he notes that the form used in the Third and Fourth Dynasties was curved rather than angled at the ends.<sup>132</sup> This early form of the sign (which occurs only in connection with bread, since the word *ḥnrt* does not survive in monumental texts from this early period) very closely resembles a *psš-ḳf*. (See fig. 9 for a Third Dynasty example.)

<sup>129</sup>R. Ritner, *JNES* 43 (1984) 214–21, although in the later evidence with which Ritner is mostly concerned, the god Khnum is generally responsible for opening the womb when such an opening is desirable. Seth does preside in at least one instance (*ibid.* 217), however, and it does not seem unlikely that in earlier periods, when the reputation of Seth was more balanced, he played a positive role in childbirth.

<sup>130</sup>Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, 519, sign U31. For examples of the writing of the word and the demonstration of its meaning 'dance troupe' rather than 'harem', see D. Nord, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honor of Dows Dunham*, W. K. Simpson and W. Davis, eds. (Boston, 1981), 137–45.

<sup>131</sup>B. Bryan, *BES* 4 (1982) 49–50, has suggested that the sign derives from the two curved sticks used as clappers. The occurrences of the sign with a double handle, suggesting crossed clapping sticks, tend to be later provincial examples, suggesting that this was a reinterpretation rather than the original explanation for the use of the sign. The principal association of the implements seems to have been with the dancers rather than their accompanists, the clapping women. These women were in some cases separately designated, by the word *mšwt*: *Wb.* II, 30, 14; and W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, III (Leipzig, 1936), pl. 29 (upper left). This word is never, to my knowledge, given the sign in question as a determinative.

<sup>132</sup>Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, 519 (U31), especially n. 1, as cited above in connection with an offering of bread written with this sign, which perhaps served as a metaphor for the role of the *psš-ḳf*.

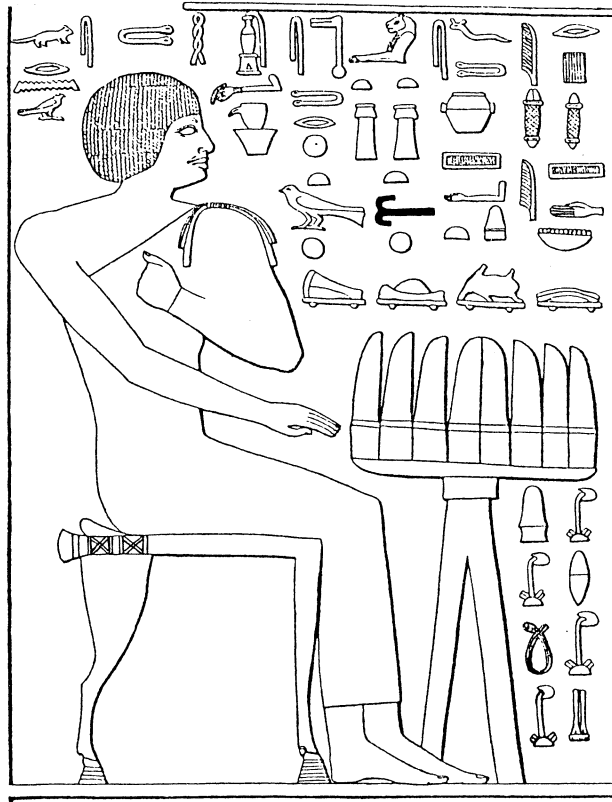


FIG. 9. False door panel from the Third Dynasty tomb of Khabausokar, with the hieroglyph U31 highlighted. From M. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, 1 (London, 1905), pl. 1.

The dancers of the *hnrt* are clearly connected with childbirth in a scene in the Sixth Dynasty Saqqara tomb chapel of Princess Watetkhethor.<sup>133</sup> (See fig. 10.) In the five surviving registers, female dancers perform before the mistress of the tomb, accompanied by a song that makes several references, explicit and implied, to childbirth. The second register from the bottom begins 'But see, the secret of birth! Oh pull!' The register above continues with related phrases:

See the pot, remove what is in it!  
 See, the secret of the *hnrt*,  
 Oh Four!<sup>134</sup> Come! Pull!,  
 It is today!<sup>135</sup> hurry! hurry!  
 See,...<sup>136</sup> is the abomination of birth.

<sup>133</sup> Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pl. 29. The drawing of this wall that appears in fig. 8 is adapted from a facsimile made in 1986 as part of an epigraphic and iconographic study of this chapel supported by a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities supported by the American Research Center in Egypt.

<sup>134</sup> The four bricks of the birthing stool.

<sup>135</sup> The word used here, *mjn*, may be related to the enigmatic term *zmjn*, discussed in connection with the Pyramid Texts sequence above.

<sup>136</sup> The word seems to have originally been carved *jkjkh* and changed to *hkkj* in paint. I can suggest no meaning for either spelling, unless the consistent doubled *k* is related to *kkw*, 'darkness'.

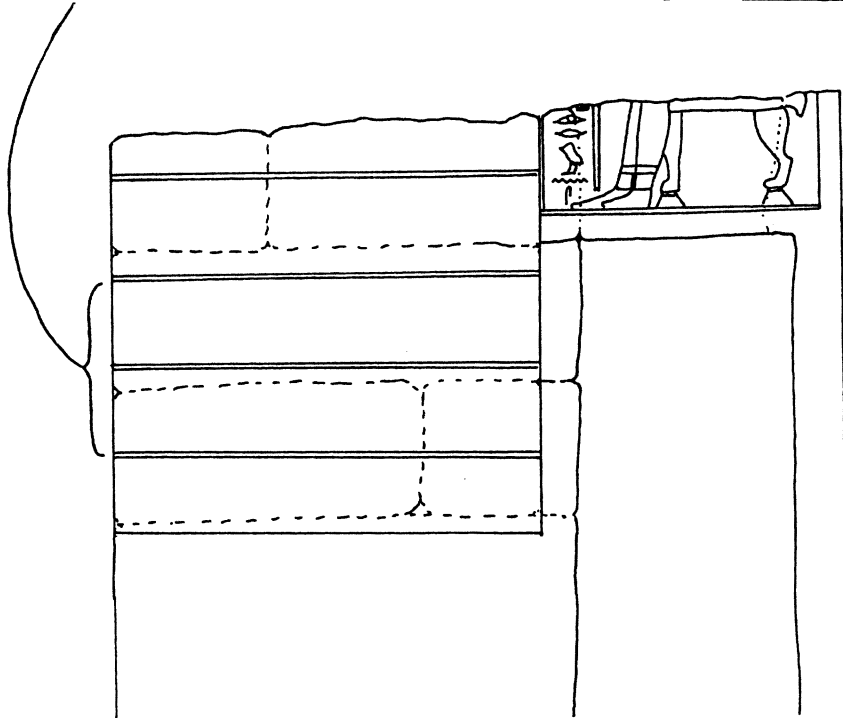
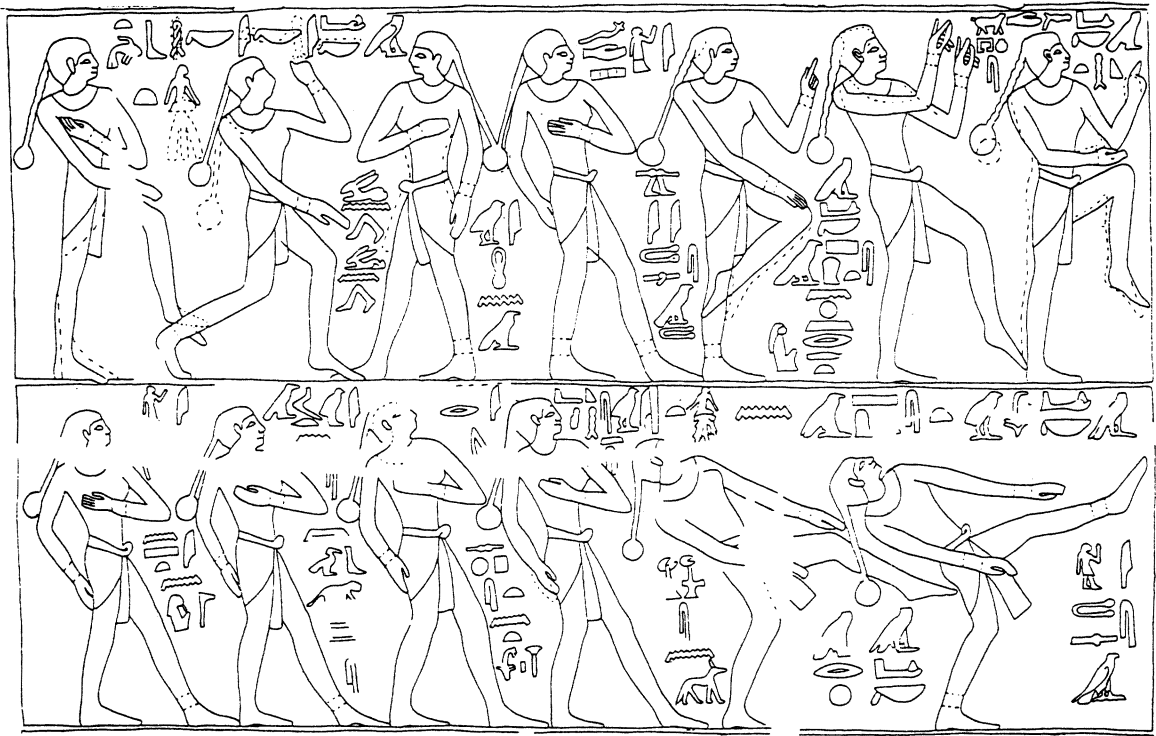


FIG. 10. The dancers in the chapel of Watetkhehor, north wall of room B3 of the chapel of Mereruka. Detail of second and third registers from the bottom. Copied by the author and collated by R. Ritner. Inset: entire wall.

Although the figure of Watetkhethor is only preserved below the knees, it is clear that she is watching this dance by herself; her son, who is present in all the other scenes of daily life in the tomb, is absent here. Such dances, referring as they did to purely feminine concerns, were thus probably done for women only. Both modern dancers and anthropologists have suggested that there is a connection between the physical movements of modern Middle Eastern dancing and childbirth;<sup>137</sup> if the connection exists, this scene from the tomb of Watetkhethor demonstrates that it has a long history.

A further reference to a connection between dancers and childbirth can be found in the fictional account of the birth of the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty preserved in P. Westcar.<sup>138</sup> Dating from the Second Intermediate Period, this papyrus contains the most extensive description of childbirth that has survived from ancient Egypt. The birth is supervised by the god Khnum<sup>139</sup> and four goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, Heqat and Meskhenet, who disguise themselves as members of a dance troupe in order to gain admission to the expectant mother. When they assure her husband, 'we understand childbirth', they are immediately invited to assist. This story can be used to argue that the women of a dancing troupe were often experienced midwives, not only because the distraught husband admits them without question (for he is clearly desperate), but because it is this disguise that the goddesses chose as the most likely to inspire his confidence. The geographical range of a travelling dance troupe and the many associations of such dancers could have given these women a reputation for being especially knowledgeable about the problems of childbirth. Moreover, the movements of their dance, as seen in the chapel of Watetkhethor, may have been used to encourage women in labour, although the goddesses in the papyrus Westcar story did not resort to this expedient.

If assisting at births was a role of the *hnrt*, and the *psš-*kf** was a principal tool in that profession, the occurrence of this sign in the word *hnrt* becomes clear. The angled ends in all surviving occurrences of the word would be explained by the circumstances that when the form of the baking tool changed in the later Fourth Dynasty, the *psš-*kf** was viewed as a purely mortuary implement. In other contexts, its form may have been puzzling, at least to male scribes. Its similarity to the baking tool may have caused the sign in *hnrt* and related words to be changed along with examples in the words connected with baking.

Another possible explanation is suggested by some of the latest type of amulets discussed above, which are angled like the *hnrt* determinative. The sign may simply have changed to correspond to a change in the form of the implement in practical use for the

<sup>137</sup> Most notably by a late nineteenth-century dancer in her memoirs, who describes belly dancing as 'a poem of the mystery and pain of motherhood': Armen Ohanian, *The Dancer of Shamahka*, trans. R. W. Lane (New York, 1923), 261, as cited in L. Wood, *Arabesque* 5 no. 5 (Jan.-Feb. 1979), 12. Wood dismissed this statement as an apologetic 'attempt to give her art some meaning beyond the obvious'. She argued that it had been overstressed by feminist historians of dance in attempts to find evidence for a ritual of motherhood. Nonetheless, such a statement by an indigenous practitioner of the dance should perhaps not be so lightly dismissed, in view of the Watetkhethor scene. (I am grateful to Ms Barbara Siegel for locating these references for me.)

<sup>138</sup> P. Westcar 9,27-11,4.

<sup>139</sup> H. Goedicke, *Varia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1985) 23-6, has suggested that Khnum waited outside with the husband of the mother.

cutting of the umbilical cord. The implement used in mortuary rituals, in keeping with the conservatism of religious contexts, would have remained the same.

The occurrence of the sign as a determinative in words for restraint might be explained by the homonymic relationship between the words for ‘dance troupe’ and ‘prison’ (both *hnrt*) and between the words ‘baker’ and ‘restrain’ (*rthtj* and *rth*, respectively). It is clear, however, from the account in P. Westcar<sup>140</sup> that a fourteen-day period of purification restricted the movements of a woman after giving birth; and one is reminded of the use of the word ‘confinement’ as a euphemism for the period of childbirth until comparatively recent times.<sup>141</sup> The connection between the words may be closer than an accidental occurrence of the same consonants.

A final illuminating context where the sign  $\Upsilon$  appears is a late writing of the word *mwt*, ‘mother’, in epithets of goddesses and female priestly titles.<sup>142</sup> Enigmatic writings of the Ptolemaic and later periods often contain references to arcane associations from the earliest periods of Egyptian history. It has been suggested<sup>143</sup> that this writing is a ‘debased’ version of the sign  $\Upsilon$ ,<sup>144</sup> representing the bicornate bovine uterus, whose shape may also be related to the shape of the *psš-*kf**. Nevertheless, since this writing is used exclusively in connection with female divinities, it is more likely to be a reference to an archaic tool of childbirth, thought to be appropriate to such primeval beings, rather than an anatomical reference common to females of all species.<sup>145</sup>

### Meskhenet

A final confirmation of the connection of the *psš-*kf** with birth is provided by the headdress shown on the goddess Meskhenet, the patroness of childbirth, who is depicted as part of the ‘divine birth’ scenes at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (see fig. 11).<sup>146</sup> The emblem has been identified as the uterus and uterine horns of a cow.<sup>147</sup> However, the hieroglyphic form of bovine uterus usually has a rather more undulating vertical and a deeper central notch than is shown in the Deir el-Bahari headdress.<sup>148</sup> Furthermore, although this sign is used to indicate the sex of various animals, it is not usually applied to female human beings.<sup>149</sup> The sign Meskhenet wears is probably a *psš-*

<sup>140</sup> P. Westcar 11, 18–19.

<sup>141</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* (Compact Edition, Oxford, 1971), 806, gives as its fourth definition of ‘confinement’: ‘being in child-bed; child-birth, delivery, accouchment (the ordinary term for this in colloquial use)’, citing examples from the 1770s through the 1870s.

<sup>142</sup> *Wb.* II, 54, 1–17. The *Belegstellungen* gives this writing for *mwt* in *mwt ntrw*, an epithet of Hathor (Dendera, Mar. IV 27b); in *mwt ntr nt Wnn-nfr*, an epithet of Nut (Edfu I 157); and perhaps also in a title of a priestess (Edfu I 330).

<sup>143</sup> F. Ll. Griffith, *PSBA* 21 (1899), 277.

<sup>144</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, 466, sign F45.

<sup>145</sup> The same sign is a standard writing of the phoneme *m* in the Ptolemaic period, as Griffith has noted (*PSBA* 21, 277). This equation cannot explain its appearance as the word *mwt*, since that usage is limited to religious contexts. However, as Griffith also suggests, the connection with the word *mwt* may be an explanation for the broader application of the sign.

<sup>146</sup> Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, II, pl. 51. The figure is my own drawing, based on a photograph.

<sup>147</sup> See H. Frankfort, *JNES* 3 (1944), 200, for a discussion of the theories about this headdress, and for the suggestion of a possible connection with the Mesopotamian goddess Ninghursag.

<sup>148</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, 466 (F45), is a simplification; more paleographically correct versions are shown in *Wb.* III, 76, 1, and G. Möller, *Hieratische Paleographie*, I (Leipzig, 1909), 17 no. 182.

<sup>149</sup> *Wb.* IV, 76, 1–14, gives the words for ‘female’ when applied to animals (*hmt*), in which the sign occurs frequently as a determinative. In the following words, dealing with women (*hmt*), *ibid.* 76, 16–78, 15, the sign never occurs. (It does occur in the specific word ‘uterus’ in medical texts, however.)



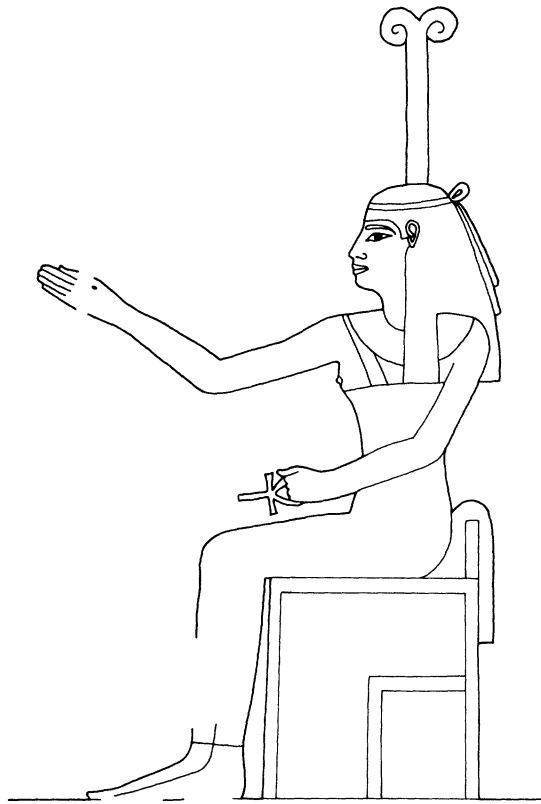


FIG. 11. The goddess Meskhenet from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.  
From a photograph by the author.

*kf*, which is well attested in offering lists of the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>150</sup> The *pss-kf*, as the divider that definitively separates the mother and child, is a more appropriate emblem for the goddess of birth than a bovine uterus that simply indicates femaleness.

The goddess Meskhenet is, at least in the Middle Kingdom, a personification of the four birthing bricks (*mshnt*, literally 'place of causing to alight'), upon which the mother squats to give birth, and on which the newborn baby is placed after it has been washed and its umbilical cord cut.<sup>151</sup> Meskhenet is present in P. Westcar as one of the disguised goddesses helping with the birth. She is entirely passive during the birth (possibly because she is the bricks on which the mother is squatting); but after the newborn child has been cleaned, and its umbilical cord cut, and been placed on the bricks,<sup>152</sup> she comes forward to pronounce his future kingship.<sup>153</sup> Meskhenet's role as a goddess of fate is well




<sup>150</sup> Van Walsem, *OMRO* 59, 209, nos. 43-9.

<sup>151</sup> Interestingly, Meskhenet is later divided into four separated goddesses, each identified with one of the goddesses of the Heliopolitan Ennead: Meskhenet-weret (Tefnut), Meskhenet-aat (Nut), Meskhenet-neferet (Isis) and Meskhenet-menkhet (Nephthys) (M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel, *LÄ* IV, 107.) These identifications with goddesses whose functions are so closely connected with mortuary rites again reinforces the associations of birth with those same rites.

<sup>152</sup> I would here take *jfd m jdbt* as 'four bricks', referring to the well-known four bricks of birth.

<sup>153</sup> In the last repetition of the procedure, P. Westcar 10,22-11,3, she appears earlier, immediately after the description of the newborn child, and before the cleaning.

known; in this role she is frequently associated with the harvest goddess Renenutet. The *psš-ḳf* on her head is also appropriate to her role as a determiner of fate, since it is only when the umbilical cord is cut that the child's fate diverges from that of its mother.

The pronouncement made by Meskhenet in the papyrus Westcar story is strikingly similar to the speech she makes at the birth of Hatshepsut in the scenes recorded at Deir el-Bahari. Hatshepsut demonstrably consulted earlier prototypes for her temple's architecture, the language and orthography of its inscriptions, and its iconography. The 'divine birth scenes' themselves, though they have no surviving Old Kingdom prototype, have the same underlying religious premise as papyrus Westcar and presumably the same underlying political purpose: to legitimize an irregular succession, the monarch is said to be the physical child of a divinity. The roots of the story must lie in the Fifth Dynasty, since such propaganda would have been purposeless in later periods, and Hatshepsut may have adapted her 'divine birth' scenes from lost scenes dating to that period. Supporting this assumption is the fact that Meskhenet is depicted with a headdress similar to that in the Deir el-Bahari scene in a passage in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 1183-5).<sup>154</sup> There, the word *mshnt* is determined with the signs , , and  in the pyramids of Pepi I, Mernere, and Pepi II, respectively. That the latest version substitutes two ostrich feathers for the earlier headdress confirms that this headdress is the *psš-ḳf*, which is known from other sources to have metamorphosed into two feathers, and not the cow's uterus, which is not known to have done so.<sup>155</sup> The hypothetical source of Hatshepsut's scenes must then predate the metamorphosis.

The word *mshnt* is not determined with a brick or bricks until the Middle Kingdom.<sup>156</sup> It has been suggested that *mshnt* in these early examples can refer not only to the place of birth but to birth itself.<sup>157</sup> Like the *psš-ḳf* in the Pyramid Text offering ritual, however, it seems to follow birth, and could perhaps be applied to a related transition: the separation from the mother by the cutting of the umbilical cord and the birth of the placenta. Meskhenet's later character as a brick may be connected with the clay out of which the child and its *ḳr* are formed by Khnum. It is interesting that a potter occurs in the obscure spell (Pyr. 1183-5) cited above.

### Conclusions

The 'opening of the mouth' ceremony seems to have derived from a ritual sequence of actions and spells ensuring the ability of a newborn and developing child to partake of nourishment. By analogy, the same ritual would have allowed the newly-reborn deceased person to eat the real and symbolic food that Egyptian mortuary customs went to such great lengths to provide. This ritual could also be extended to a newly-carved cult statue, since the verb for making such a statue is *ms*, 'to give birth'. The statue-like characteristics of the Old Kingdom mummy, and even more the anthropoid coffin before

<sup>154</sup> These spells are not included in the pyramid of Unas, so the forms of the signs are taken from Sethe, *Die altägyptische Pyramidentexte*, which was based on squeezes.

<sup>155</sup> M. Derchain-Urtel, *Synkretismus in ägyptischer Ikonographie: Die Göttin Tjenenet* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 6-12, discusses the occurrence of the same headdress in the late New Kingdom and later periods on the goddess Tjenenet, the consort of Montu, who is also connected with childbirth. It is difficult to determine whether this headdress is a continuation of that worn by Meskhenet or an interpretation of it.

<sup>156</sup> *Wb.* II, 148,9.

<sup>157</sup> *Wb.* II, 148,14.

which the New Kingdom rite was performed, would have favoured the reinterpretation of many of these spells as statue spells, and thus led to the prominence of the adze in the New Kingdom ritual. This later prominence, and the mistaken assumption that the statue ritual held an analogous place in the Old Kingdom ritual, has led scholars to dismiss too quickly the evidence for earlier mouth-opening implements of a different type. When the Pyramid Text spells are examined without reference to later developments, their associations with birth and childhood are indisputable. These associations can then be found in the later ritual as well.

That the *pss-kf* played an important role in the earlier versions of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual is clear from its position between the coming forth of the reborn person from the womb and his beginning to take nourishment. If that role was the cutting of the umbilical cord, both its connection with rebirth and its name would be explained. The most problematic aspect of this interpretation, the connection of the *pss-kf* with the jaw, can be explained as a reinterpretation of a ritual gesture. The brandishing of the blood-stained *pss-kf*, perhaps wrapped in the umbilical cord itself, in front of a baby's face to demonstrate that he had been separated from his mother and needed to eat to survive, was reinterpreted as a ritual that ensured his ability to do so by giving his jaw the firmness required for nursing. The distinctive shape of the *pss-kf* may be connected with the shape of the bovine womb, with the hieroglyph used in the word *hnrt*, with the headdress of Meskhenet, the goddess of childbirth, with the curls of Hathor, with the forked sticks used to attack the serpent Apophis, and with the tail of Seth. All of these associations reinforce its meaning and suggest the richness of the symbolism relating to childbirth and rebirth.

The implements used for the actual 'opening of the mouth' in the earliest version of this ritual, the *nrtj*-blades, must also be reconciled with this interpretation. I will argue in a future article that the central ritual of the 'opening of the mouth' represents a metaphorical enactment of the midwives' clearing of the child's mouth with their little fingers, and that the *nrtj*-blades are ritual substitutes for these fingers.<sup>158</sup> Another interesting consequence of this interpretation of the 'opening of the mouth' ritual is the support it gives the suggested equation of the *k* with the placenta. The nature and duration of this equation also clearly require more research.

The ancient Egyptians saw birth and rebirth after death as closely related events, both of which were regarded as dangerous transitions. Given their importance, we should not be surprised by the variety and complications of the rituals, symbols, and implements used to ensure their successful completion. The fact that this fundamental metaphor for rebirth is referred to exclusively by allusion and indirection is puzzling, and can only be attributed to a conscious reticence regarding the messy operation of earthly childbirth. The connection of childbirth with women, sex, and blood is viewed with alarm in many societies, and discussion and depiction of the process is avoided for the same reasons that it is considered powerful and mysterious. The extent of such taboos in ancient Egypt itself deserves further study, as does the general question of the Egyptian connection of resurrection with birth.

<sup>158</sup> This argument was presented in a preliminary form at the Sixth International Congress of Egyptology at Turin in September 1991, and is outlined in the abstracts of that congress. Although I had initially planned to present these arguments as a part of the present paper, considerations of space and the necessity for further work on the question favoured a separate presentation.

# WHEN JUSTICE FAILS: JURISDICTION AND IMPRECATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE NEAR EAST

By JAN ASSMANN

In this comparative study of ancient belief and practice, the Egyptian evidence is analysed first, then placed in the wider context of the Near East. It is argued that, while laws and curses are both ways of preventing damage by threatening potential evildoers with punishment, the difference lies in the fact that in the one case punishment is to be enforced by social institutions, in the other by divine agents. Curses take over where laws are bound to fail, as when crimes remain undetected and when the law itself is broken or abandoned. The law addresses the potential transgressor, the curse the potential law-changer who may distort or neglect the law. The law protects the social order, the curse protects the law. These points are illustrated by extensive quotation from Egyptian and Near Eastern texts.

## I. Egyptian Curses

IN a recent contribution, Harco Willems<sup>1</sup> proposed a new interpretation for a genre which J. A. Wilson had called ‘curses and threats’ and rubricised under the general heading of ‘Rituals, incantations’.<sup>2</sup> Willems holds that these texts, or at least a considerable part of them, do not belong to the domain of magic or religion, but to that of legislation and jurisdiction. He takes punishments such as burning,<sup>3</sup> and even cooking<sup>4</sup>—which have generally been held to refer to infernal punishments in the hereafter, belonging more to the history of hell than that of jurisdiction<sup>5</sup>—as legal sanctions against desecration of monuments which were actually executed in ancient Egyptian legal practice. To prove his case, he compares the punishments which potential desecrators or violators of monuments are threatened with, with penalties occurring in undoubtedly legal texts such as the Neferhotep decree and the Tod inscription of Sesostri I, where burning appears as a legal punishment.<sup>6</sup> The Neferhotep decree even fixes this penalty for crimes like trespassing on land declared ‘holy’ by strolling around while not on duty. Given such jurisdiction, it is indeed plausible that tomb-owners threatening trespassers with burning would rather refer to that law than to religious concepts about the hereafter.

<sup>1</sup> *JEA* 76 (1990), 27–54.

<sup>2</sup> In J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*<sup>3</sup> (Chicago, 1955), 326–8. For an extensive treatment of the subject, see now the dissertation by Scott N. Morschauser, *Threat Formulae in Ancient Egypt*, Baltimore, 1987 (UMI: Ann Arbor, 1987).

<sup>3</sup> Siut III, ed. E. Edel, *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut-Gräber* (Opladen, 1984), fig. 5, pp. 25–37: ‘Their flesh will burn together with that of the criminals, they having been turned into ones who do not exist’; for context see below.

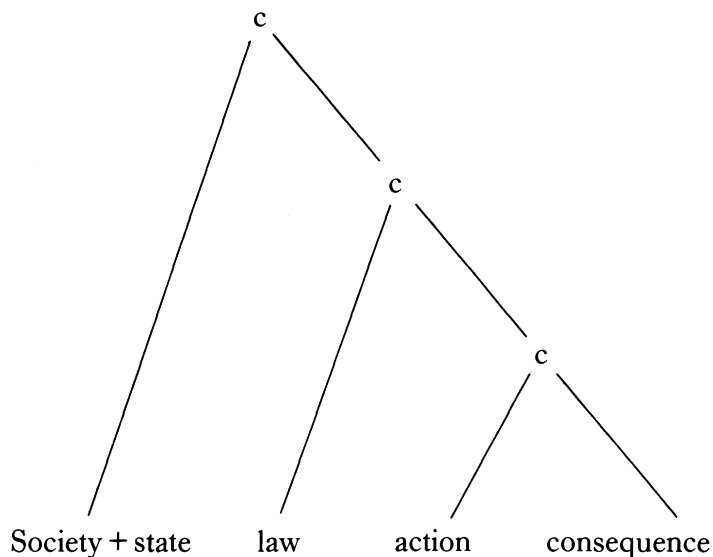
<sup>4</sup> Siut IV, lines 79–80, Edel, op. cit. 120–7: ‘He shall be cooked together with the criminals, whom god has cursed; his city-god shall abominate him, his fellow-citizen shall abominate him’; for context see below.

<sup>5</sup> E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen* (Leipzig, 1968).

<sup>6</sup> A. Leahy, *JESHO* 27 (1984), 199; id., *JEA* 75 (1989), 45 n. (n).

But Willems somewhat misconstrues the alternatives. The alternative to legal prosecution is not 'mere threats, that we need not take at face value' (p. 38), but imprecation or cursing. The distinction between laws and curses, jurisdiction and imprecation, is not that the one expresses a certainty and the other 'vague hopes or expectations', but that the one refers to the agency of social institutions and the other to the intervention of divine, or demoniac—in any case transcendent—powers. It is only to people living in an 'enlightened' and institutionally secure age such as ours that the efficiency of social institutions such as police and law-courts seems much more 'certain' (i.e. real and reliable), than that of metaphysical agency. In the ancient world, the situation was at least different, if not inverse. Willems' otherwise brilliant argumentation suffers from this form of anachronism and an ensuing underrating of the tradition and importance of cursing. It seems therefore necessary, in order to complement his arguments and to demonstrate the real importance of his findings, briefly to outline a more adequate historical reconstruction, distinguishing the respective functions of laws and curses, legislative and imprecative texts.

Jurisdiction establishes a nexus between norm and sanction on the one hand, and action and consequence on the other. If an action implies violation of a law, then as a consequence there will be a penalty. The nexus between crime and penalty is to be defined by jurisdiction and to be enacted by judicative and executive institutions, i.e. by society and the state. This is what I call 'connective justice'.<sup>7</sup> Connective justice provides and protects the link between action and consequence, doing and faring. The following diagram illustrates this link by using the symbol *c* ('causation') for a relation where what is on the left side 'causes' what appears on the right side:<sup>8</sup>

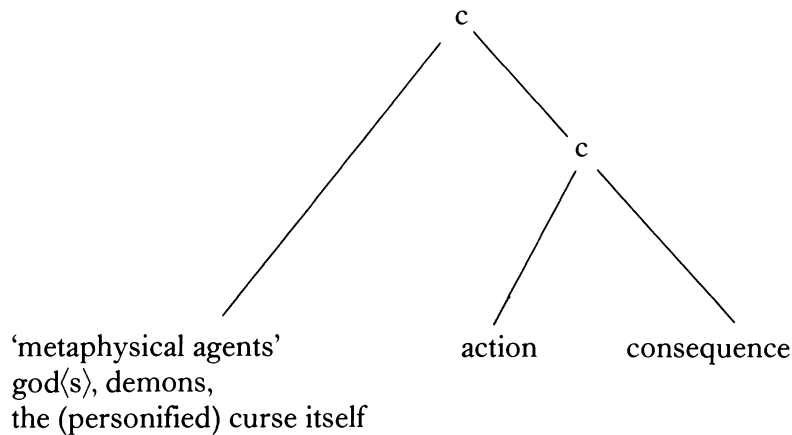


But there are two cases where connective justice is bound to fail: (1) if the crime is committed secretly and there is no accuser, and (2) if the law as a whole is not properly enacted, or is altered or even completely done away with by society and/or the state. In

<sup>7</sup> J. Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1990), 66–9, 283 ff.; id., *History and Memory* 2.1 (1990), 5–33, esp. 21–6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. my article in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), 64.

these cases, other agencies must take care of the nexus between action and consequence, agencies which I shall call, for want of a better term, 'metaphysical':



This is the formal structure of a curse or imprecation. A curse triggers 'metaphysical agents' to bring about the consequence of a given action. It establishes a link between crime and penalty which is independent of socio-political institutions and therefore quasi-automatic.<sup>9</sup> Oaths and curses extend the range of efficiency of 'connective justice' beyond the sphere of legal institutions into the sphere of divine maintenance of cosmic order. They presuppose and confirm a world-view where both cosmic and social order follow the same principle of retribution. Causation, in this world-view, assumes the more concrete form of retribution. The coherence and continuity of the world depends not on 'causality' but on 'connective justice'. This explains how the Egyptian term *Maat* could refer both to cosmic and social order, truth and justice.<sup>10</sup>

Disbelief in metaphysical agents will cause a decline in the tradition of cursing,<sup>11</sup> disbelief in the functioning of socio-political institutions will have the opposite effect. The most obvious difference between legal sanctions and curses is to be seen in the fact that curses are complemented by blessings, whereas sanctions have no positive complement. No law-code ever provides a reward for those who keep the law, whereas imprecation texts as a rule balance curses against a trespasser by blessings for the obedient. The reason for this asymmetry is simple: a judge does not dispose of rewards for every loyal citizen, a 'metaphysical agent' does.

Secret criminality and breakdown of connective justice provide the two cases where jurisdiction stops and imprecation takes over. Desecration of tombs belong to both

<sup>9</sup> This touches upon the problem of 'magic', i.e. the idea of a mechanical link between cause and effect, established by some ritual device, and in our case by the pronunciation of a curse (cf. the literature quoted by W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch* (Neukirchen, 1969), 16 n. 2). But this is not how inscriptional curses work. They require metaphysical (not 'mechanical') agency and therefore do not suggest a distinction between magic and religion.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Assmann, *Ma'at*, chapters 1 and 6. Hans Kelsen, a specialist in constitutional law, showed 50 years ago that social and judicial concepts of retribution almost universally precede scientific and abstract concepts of causality: H. Kelsen, *Vergeltung und Kausalität*, written 1941, appeared in English as *Society and Nature*, (Chicago, 1943), and in German (Den Haag, 1947). For the concept of causality, see also A. Malamet, *VT* 5 (1955), 1-12.

<sup>11</sup> This, as R. Wagner informs me, seems to be the case in ancient China, where cursing in these functions is virtually unknown.

classes. Secret criminality is involved in desecration caused by a visitor who enters a tomb 'in his state of impurity' or 'without being pure'<sup>12</sup> because nobody except the person himself can tell whether he has 'eaten what a spirit abominates'<sup>13</sup> or not.<sup>14</sup> The tomb-owner protects himself against such abuses by calling in 'metaphysical agency' in the form of himself and presenting himself as a source of terror and violence: 'I shall grab his neck like a bird's, I will spread in him the terror which I inspire, in order that the living on earth may see, so that they will fear a potent spirit who has passed on to the West...'<sup>15</sup> Some texts go even farther: 'I shall exterminate their offspring, I shall prevent their farmsteads from being inhabited' (*Urk.* 1, 256). But these texts would not correspond to Egyptian convictions if the deceased were to act on his own arbitrary decision. Before using violence he has to get authority for revenge by a formal verdict. Therefore the imprecations include the threat to accuse the trespasser before the 'tribunal of the Great God': 'There will be judgment against him in the West in the tribunal of the Great God' or 'He will be judged on account of it by the Great God'.<sup>16</sup> Only with a verdict in his favour will the deceased himself be qualified as, and turned into, a metaphysical agent of justice (what in Egyptian is called *mꜣ'-hrw*, 'justified'). Only then will he be given the power (*šm*) to use revenge.<sup>17</sup>

Some inscriptions from the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasties invoke crocodile and snake against him 'who will do anything against "this"':

The crocodile against him in the water,  
the snake against him on earth  
who will do anything against 'this'.<sup>18</sup>

But a later text shows that this menace, too, might refer to the transformed deceased himself. In one of the Middle Kingdom texts which Willems proposes to interpret as legal edicts we read: 'I shall be against him as a crocodile in the water, as a snake on the earth and as an enemy in the necropolis.'<sup>19</sup> Here, the same images refer to the retaliating activities of the deceased as an effective spirit, who is able (as the 'transformation spells' of mortuary literature show) to transform himself into any form he wishes, including snake

<sup>12</sup> *m'bw=f*. The latter translation, which takes *m* to be not the preposition 'in' but the negation *jm*, has been proposed by Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, II (Rome, 1964), §1112 Anm., and has the great advantage of disposing of an otherwise unattested word *'bw*, 'impurity', having the same orthography as *'bw*, 'purity', but opposite meaning. Cf. also Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944); but see now E. Blumenthal, in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten* (Louvain, 1991), 47-56.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Ankhmahor, *Urk.* 1, 201-2; Wilson, *op. cit.* 327 (d).

<sup>14</sup> Here belongs also the concept of 'immaterial evil', i.e. evil not in the form of manifest deeds but of thought and speech, against which Pharaoh is protected by execration rites; see my contribution to the *Festschrift Leclant* (in press), 'Spruch 23 der Pyramidentexte und der Schutz Pharaos vor Herz und Mund seiner Feinde'.

<sup>15</sup> From the inscription of Khentika, T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi* (London, 1953), pl. v.

<sup>16</sup> Edel, *MDAIK* 13, 5-15. Cf. also G. Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott in den Mahnworten des Ipuwer* (Heidelberg, 1972), 136 f., who comments on the particular 'Gewalttätigkeit' and 'Selbstherrlichkeit' of these formulae, which express an unmistakable 'Unabhängigkeitsdrang' and 'Unabhängigkeitsbewußtsein'.

<sup>17</sup> For curses implying litigation, see Morschauser, *op. cit.* 224-40. Such a lawsuit is frequently alluded to and even elaborately depicted (spell 149) in the Coffin Texts, cf. R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 131-48.

<sup>18</sup> *Urk.* 1, 23, 11-16, similarly *Urk.* 1, 226, 13-14. On the mastaba of Meni and its date, see A. Scharff, *MDAIK* 8 (1939), 17-33.

<sup>19</sup> Heqaib stela no. 9, Willems, *JEA* 76, 34.

and crocodile, and to summon an enemy to the tribunal in the hereafter. This menace is directed not against any ordinary visitor who might secretly or overtly violate the mortuary cult and the legal institutions protecting it, but against those who are in charge of these very institutions or of this cult: 'Any governor, any *wab*-priest, any *ka*-priest, any scribe or any nobleman, who will take it [the offering] away from my statue'. This refers to the second case when justice fails: the breakdown or wilful alteration of legal institutions. The Mo'alla inscription (no. 8), which is Willems' main piece of evidence and is given a very thorough and careful commentary, is placed in a similar setting: 'As regards any ruler who will rule in Mo'alla, and who will commit a bad, evil act against this coffin, and again any part of this tomb, his arm will be cut off for Hemen at his procession from the district...' Ankhtifi is not thinking of criminals who out of greed might rob his funerary property, but of his own successors who will rule in Mo'alla and who might neglect the laws that he has established. The common criminal would be dealt with by the law and its executors, the later rulers of Mo'alla. But how to deal with a ruler who invalidates the law itself, either by changing or by failing to enforce existing law?<sup>20</sup> He will be opposed by the god in the course of what appears to be a 'this-worldly' enactment of a 'that-worldly' law-court, on the occasion of the processional festivals of Hemen.<sup>21</sup> In terms of genre, Ankhtifi is evidently doing the same thing as his predecessors, the tomb-owners of the Old Kingdom: he is protecting his tomb by dreadful curses, threatening a trespasser with cruel punishment. But in terms of form, he is not cursing but legislating. He institutes a kind of 'sacred law' which he thinks will be safe against abuse by his successors, because it is not enacted by political institutions but by the god himself during his processional appearance. This follows from Willems' convincing arguments, and it follows also from a very simple observation: the absence of blessings. Ankhtifi's inscription has to be classified not as a curse, but as a decree. But the originality of this procedure and the absolutely exceptional character of this text are obscured as soon as one follows Willems in taking this as a model case and in interpreting all the other imprecation texts in its light. The exceptional step taken by Ankhtifi must be explained in the context of the exceptional historical situation, when the political and juridical institutions of the centralistic pharaonic state had collapsed and the gods had to fill the breach.

It is not quite clear to what extent the protection of private tombs in Egypt fell within the scope of the state and its institutions. It is very probable that the state held a much larger share in this responsibility than was the case in other countries. For in Egypt, the erection of monumental tombs also seems to be controlled by the state, at least in the capital necropoleis. In his still unsurpassed study on the protection of funerary property in ancient Egypt, Sottas devoted a long chapter to 'mesures édictées par le roi fondateur-bienfaiteur'.<sup>22</sup> The most interesting document, in this respect, is Koptos decree 'R' for the benefit of the funerary monuments of a certain Idi, in which king *Dmd-jb-tꜣwꜣ* lays down a list of punishments closely resembling what a trespasser is threatened with in curses: excommunication from society in this world (*ꜥnhꜣw*, 'the living') and the other world (*ꜣhꜣw m hꜣrt nꜣtr*, 'spirits in the necropolis'), loss of property, imprisonment under the 'verdict'

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Nauri decree ed. F. Ll. Griffith, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. xliii, lines 107-14, where Osiris is invoked to punish those who fail to respond to violations.

<sup>21</sup> In this I agree completely with Willems, who refers on p. 30 n. (c) to the parallel in CT I, 74: 'Your enemy's foreleg is cut off for you' and stresses the possibility of an earthly enactment of a kind of divine judgement (p. 36 n. 38).

<sup>22</sup> H. Sottas, *La préservation de la propriété funéraire* (Paris, 1913).



(*mdw*) of the king, Osiris and the city-god.<sup>23</sup> With this text, the borderline is crossed (or taken down) which normally separates the realm of social institutions from that of divine agency, the range of laws from that of curses. It seems that with this decree a tradition was started which Ankhtifi in his description continued or usurped.<sup>24</sup>

It seems therefore desirable to sketch, however briefly and incompletely, the outlines of the history of that genre to which the Ankhtifi text belongs, albeit as a borderline case or as an exception: the genre of 'monumental imprecation'. I think it even necessary to extend this survey beyond the borders of the pharaonic world because Egypt obviously shared a much more general tradition. A survey of other examples from the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom (all already quoted by Willems) shows that all of them invoke the intervention of gods and spirits (highlighted by italics in the following translations). The punishments typically consist of (1) deprivation of burial; (2) bodily destruction (e.g. by burning); (3) exclusion from divine communication (offering) and social memory, a kind of 'excommunication' including outlawry.<sup>25</sup> All these punishments might reappear in royal edicts as legal sanctions.<sup>26</sup> But here they are clearly meant as the destructive consequence of a curse laid upon the violator, and not as the announcement of legal prosecution ('trespassers will be prosecuted'). For all of these inscriptions contain blessings for him who will act piously.

As regards any nome governor, any son of a man, any nobleman or any civilian, who will fail to protect this tomb and its contents, *his god will not accept his white bread*, he will not be buried in the West, and their flesh will burn together with that of the criminals, they having been turned into ones who do not exist.<sup>27</sup>

As for any rebel who will rebel and who will plan in his heart to commit blasphemy against this tomb and what it contains, who will destroy the inscriptions and damage the statues in the tombs of the ancestors in the necropolis of Siut and the temple of the lord of Ra-qert without being afraid of the tribunal which is therein, he shall not be glorified in the necropolis, the seat of the glorified spirits, his property shall not exist in the necropolis, his children shall be expelled from their tombs, *he shall be an enemy of the glorified spirits, whom the lord of the necropolis does not know, his name shall not be called among the spirits*, his memory shall not be among those living on earth, water shall not be poured for him, offerings shall not be given to him on the *wag*-feast and any other beautiful feast of the necropolis. He shall be delivered to the tribunal, *his city god shall abominate him*, his relatives shall abominate him, his farm shall fall to fire, his house to the devouring flame. *Everything which comes forth from his mouth, the gods of the necropolis shall pervert it.*<sup>28</sup>

As for any rebel and any adversary who will commit destruction in spite of what he has heard: His name shall not exist, he shall not be buried in the desert, he shall be cooked together with the damned, *whom god has cursed; his city-god shall abominate him*, his fellow-citizen shall abominate him.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Koptos R, ed. R. Weill, *Les Décrets royaux de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1912), pl. iv.1.; Sottas, op. cit. 90-7; W. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 23 f; Morschauer, op. cit. 243-5.

<sup>24</sup> Another case in point, not dealt with by Willems, is the decree of Nubkheperre Intef (ed. W. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 73 f. In this text, curse and punishment go very close together. The king prescribes the punishment of a certain criminal—which has to be considered as an act of jurisdiction—and threatens future kings who would show mercy to this man or to his descendants—which has to be considered as an act of cursing.

<sup>25</sup> The verdict of outlawry, i.e. deprivation of legal protection, appears rather in royal than in private texts; cf. e.g. PT 1278-1279c, where the term *nš* or *nš*, 'to expel', is used.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. especially Koptos Decree R (n. 23).

<sup>27</sup> Siut III, Edel, *Grabfronten*, fig. 5, pp. 25-37.

<sup>28</sup> Siut III, Edel, op. cit., fig. 7, pp. 37-66.

<sup>29</sup> Siut IV, lines 79-80, Edel, op. cit. 120-7.

As for anybody who will not recite this, *he shall fall to the anger of his city-god*, and to the slaughter of the king. *He shall not be remembered among the spirits* and nevermore shall his name be mentioned on earth; he shall not be buried in the West, he shall be burned together with the damned, *since Thoth has condemned him*; his face shall be spat at.<sup>30</sup>

As for anybody who will displace this stela from the tomb which I have built, he will not stand before *Thoth and Maat shall not judge him*.<sup>31</sup>

During the New Kingdom, imprecation formulae seem almost to disappear from tombs, but appear on other kinds of monuments such as statues, graffiti, and stelae, especially those recording private and royal donations. Few of them predate the Amarna revolution and there is a conspicuous increase in curses after it. This has to be seen within the wider context of Egyptian ideas about 'divine impact on human affairs'. Unlike Griffiths,<sup>32</sup> I am not of the opinion that these ideas were typical of all periods of Egyptian history, but think that the New Kingdom and especially the post-Amarna age marks a profound transformation of Egyptian beliefs concerning divine intervention in human life. Morschauser also sees in the increase and different formulation of maledictions in Ramesside texts 'a shift, or change in the outlook of the Egyptians towards the ordering of their world, and the intervention of the divine in mundane affairs'.<sup>33</sup> The new ideas find expression in a variety of new genres and institutions, such as stelae containing psalms of penitence and thanksgiving,<sup>34</sup> biographies<sup>35</sup> and royal inscriptions<sup>36</sup> narrating cases of divine intervention, and oracular texts. Central to these ideas is the concept of divine wrath; only now does the term *brw* assume this specific meaning.<sup>37</sup>

Typical of this new style of cursing is a formula, in which divine vengeance is apportioned to a triad of gods:<sup>38</sup>

As to anyone who shall be deaf to this decree, Osiris shall pursue him, Isis his wife, and Horus his children, and the great ones, the lords of the Holy Land, will make their reckoning with him.<sup>39</sup>

As to anyone who shall speak against it, Amon-Re, king of the gods, shall pursue him to destroy him, Mut shall pursue his wife and Khonsu his child, (so that) he shall hunger, he shall thirst, he shall become weak, and he shall suffer.<sup>40</sup>

[And as to] any people in the whole land to whom any person belonging to the House of *Min-mus'a-Ri'a* has come saying ['a certain...'] interfered [with me] and took my ox; or he took my ass,<sup>41</sup> or he took my goat or anything which is stolen from people,' or 'such a one, the inspector,

<sup>30</sup> Tomb at Hasaya, Late Period, ed. Edel, op. cit. 190 f.

<sup>31</sup> Louvre C 108; P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites*, II (Paris, 1878) 1; Sottas, op. cit. 55 f.; G. Möller, *Das Dekret für Amenophis Sohn des Hapu* (Berlin, 1910), 943, Anhang No. 4.

<sup>32</sup> J. G. Griffiths, in J. R. Baines *et al.* (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays, presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 92-102.

<sup>33</sup> Op. cit. 277.

<sup>34</sup> For a fairly comprehensive collection of these texts in German translation, see my *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich, 1975), nos. 147-200.

<sup>35</sup> See especially inscriptions in Theban tombs 194 and 409, id. *ib.*, nos. 172 and 173.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. the Qadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II, see Th. von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qadeš-Schlacht* (Hildesheim, 1984), and the Israel Stela of Merenptah, see H. Sourouzian, *Les monuments du roi Merenptah* (Mainz, 1989), 167 ff.

<sup>37</sup> See J. F. Borghouts, in R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1982), 1-70.

<sup>38</sup> For more examples, see Morschauser, op. cit. 286 f., 293, 296-8.

<sup>39</sup> After Wilson, op. cit. 328 (h); cf. S. Schott, *Kanais. Der Tempel Sethos' I. im Wādi Mīa* (Göttingen, 1961), 158 f. Similar curses appear in Theban inscriptions which are expressions of 'popular religion', see A. I. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (Hildesheim, 1987), 242-4.

<sup>40</sup> Steindorff, *Aniba*, I, pl. 101.

<sup>41</sup> Following A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1942), 32.

has taken my man by capture to do some work,' and they fly not at his word to have his opponent brought in haste in order to try him, Osiris Khentamenthes, the owner of the person, the owner of the goods, shall pursue him and his wife and his children to blot out his name, to annihilate his soul, to prevent his corpse from resting in the necropolis.<sup>42</sup>

With the multiplication of donations (or their monumental records) in the Third Intermediate Period, curses become very common. I limit myself to one example which surpasses the rest in length and variety: an inscription purporting to be a copy of a foundation document of the funerary temple of the sage Amenhotep son of Hapu:

As for the general or military scribe who will follow after me and who will find the *ka*-chapel falling into ruin together with its male and female servants who are cultivating the fields for my endowment, and shall take away a man therefrom in order to put him to any business of Pharaoh or any commission on his own behalf, or if another will trespass on them and will not answer on their behalf: he shall be exposed to the destruction of Amun..., he shall not let them enjoy their office of royal scribe of the army, which they received on my behalf. He shall deliver them to the fire of the king on the day of his anger. His Uraeus shall spit fire on their heads, annihilating their bodies and devouring their flesh, they becoming like Apophis on the morning of New Year. They shall capsize in the ocean that it may hide their corpses. They shall not receive the dignity of the righteous; they shall not eat the offering cakes of the 'cavern-dwellers' (the deceased in their tombs); one shall not libate for them water from the river; their son shall not be installed at their place; their wives will be raped while their eyes see it; the superiors shall not set foot (*ts*) in their houses as long as they are upon earth; the leaders of the two sides shall not introduce them, nor shall they hear the words of the king in the hour of gladness. They shall belong to the sword on the day of destruction, they shall be called enemies; their bodies shall be consumed, they shall hunger without bread, and their bodies shall die. If the vizier, overseer of the treasury, chief overseer of the estate, superintendent of the granary, high priests, divine fathers, and priests of Amun, to whom has been read this edict, issued for the *ka*-chapel of... Amenhotep, shall not show solicitude for his *ka*-chapel, the edict shall touch them, and them especially.

But if they shall show solicitude for the *ka*-chapel, with the male and female servants who are cultivating the fields for my endowment, then all favour shall be shown them. Amon-Re, king of gods, shall reward them with prosperous life. The king of your day, shall reward you as he rewards... There shall be doubled for you office upon office, you shall receive from son to son and heir to heir. They shall be sent on as messengers, and the king of their day will reward them. Their bodies shall rest in the West after 110 years, doubled to you shall be the mortuary oblations likewise.<sup>43</sup>

It is near the end of the New Kingdom that 'obscene' curses appear among these formulae. In the decree for Amenhotep occurs the idea that the trespasser will see his wife raped before his eyes. Even more common in this genre of literature (especially on donation stelae) is the strange idea that the trespasser himself, together with his wife, will be sexually abused by a donkey,<sup>44</sup> which must have been considered a particularly destructive blow against the personality of the culprit:<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> F. Ll. Griffiths, *JEA* 13 (1927), 205, pl. xliii.

<sup>43</sup> C. Robichon and A. Varille, *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (Cairo, 1936), 3-4; *BAR* II, §§925 f.; Möller, *Das Dekret für Amenophis*, 932-48; Morschauser, op. cit. 307-13.

<sup>44</sup> Morschauser records 9 instances, see op. cit. 130-2, 301-3, 342-5.

<sup>45</sup> Rape by a donkey: cf. W. Spiegelberg, *RT* 25 (1903), 190 ff. Spiegelberg adduces some more examples of this formula, which appears to be fairly common in the Twenty-second to Twenty-fourth Dynasties; the earliest example, however, is a Ramesside graffito from Deir el-Bahari: Sadek, *Popular Religion*, 244; cf. also Sottas, *Préservation*, 149-50, 153, 165-8; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 26 (1940), 23-9; J. G. Griffiths and A. A. Barb, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22 (1959), 367-71. Some examples are discussed by J. J. Janssen, *JEA* 54 (1968), 171 gg; K. A. Kitchen, *JARCE* 8 (1969-70), 60 f.; A. E. Bakir, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 78; D. Meeks, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II (Louvain, 1979), 625-6.

As for him who will make this endure, his son shall endure in his place, one after the other, his name shall not perish in eternity. But as for him who will remove them, the power of Neith will be against him in all eternity, his son shall not remain in his place, the donkey shall abuse him, his wife and his children. He shall go to the fire from the mouth of Sakhmet and to the... of the lord of All and all the gods; he who will destroy this donation for Neith, his property will be destroyed, his tomb will burn and not receive his children. Beware of Neith...<sup>46</sup>

The donkey reminds us of the snake and crocodile which the tomb owner of the Old Kingdom threatened to mobilize against a trespasser, albeit in the guise of his own agency as an 'effective spirit'. But here the animal seems to be a manifestation of the god Seth, who is appealed to in much the same way as the devil in Christian curses.

## II. Near Eastern Curses

As far as the technique and genre of monumental cursing is concerned, Egypt shares a tradition which is common to many countries of the ancient Mediterranean world and the Near East.<sup>47</sup> In this broader context, the affinity between jurisdiction and imprecation seems even closer than in Egypt, because curses (and blessings) appear not only on monuments but also in legal texts, viz. in treaties and boundary stones.<sup>48</sup> The distinction between law giving and cursing is, however, very neatly drawn. As in Egypt, cursing complements criminal prosecution in those cases where justice is bound to fail: secret criminality and alteration of law. Among the Mesopotamian law-books, two of the texts preserved contain an imprecatory section: that of Lipit-Ishtar and that of Hammurapi. But the blessings and curses do not belong within the main body of laws and sanctions. They are clearly set apart in the form of an epilogue, with a clear predominance of curses. What these two texts have in common, as against the other law codes, is that in both cases a stela is involved. The Lipit-Ishtar code is preserved on clay tablets purporting to be the copy of a stela, and the epilogue refers to that stela,<sup>49</sup> while the code of Hammurapi is actually preserved on a stela.<sup>50</sup> The other Mesopotamian codes, which do not use or mention a monumental form of recording, do not contain an epilogue or imprecatory

<sup>46</sup> Stela of *Tj.f-nht*, in Athens, ed. Spiegelberg, *RT* 25, 190 ff.; R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités* (Cairo, 1975), 37-8, 43, pl. 7.

<sup>47</sup> A. Parrot, *Malediction et violation des tombes* (Paris, 1939); F. Pomponio (ed.), *Formule di maledizione della Mesopotamia preclassica* (Brescia, 1990). For the concept of divine agency, see the important study by B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods. An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (Lund, 1967).

<sup>48</sup> J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (1914), esp. 64-107; A. A. B. Mercer, *JAOs* 34 (1915), 282-309; B. Landsberger, *Altorientalische Studien B. Meissner* (1928-9), 295-321. For boundary stones (*kudurru*), cf. Pomponio, op. cit. 65-78. A very specific context for imprecation is supplied by the custom of safeguarding written tablets by adding a colophon containing curses against potential mistreatment of the document; see G. Offner, 'A propos de la sauvegarde des tablettes en Assyro-Babylonie', *Rev. d'Ass. et d'Arch.* 44 (1950), 135-43, and Pomponio, op. cit. 103-5.

<sup>49</sup> R. Borger, in O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, 1, fasc. 1 = R. Borger, et al., *Rechtbücher* (Gütersloh, 1982), 30 f.: 'The day on which I established justice in Sumer and Akkad, I verily erected this stela. May he be given a long life who will not commit bad actions against it, who will not destroy what I erected, who will not efface its inscription and not write his own name upon it. May he lift his neck to heaven in Ekur and may the radiant front of Enlil from heaven return his look; but who will commit bad actions against it, who will destroy or store away what I erected, who will change its place, efface its inscription, write his own name upon it or let another do it, be he a king, or a priest [...] may he flee... (a series of curses follows).

<sup>50</sup> Borger, loc. cit. 39 ff.

catalogue. This shows that the blessings and imprecations belong, not to the act of law-giving, but to that of stela-erecting. The parallels for the epilogues in the codes of Lipit-Ishtar and Hammurapi are to be found not in law-books but on monuments and in treaties. Thus we read on a statue of Gudea of Lagash, several centuries earlier:

Whosoever will change the decree (and) will violate the decision — Anu; Enlil; Ninkhursag; Enki of just speech; Sin of irresistible name; Ningirsu, lord of the weapon; Nanshe, mistress of the Indub magazine; Nindar, the hero king; the mother of Lagash, the pure Gatamdu; Baba, the first-born of Anu; Inanna, the mistress of the battle; Utu, the lord of light; Khendursag, the herald of Sumer; Igalima; Shulshagana; Ninmar, the first-born of Nanshe; Dumuziabzu, the mistress of Kinunir; my (personal) god Ningizzida shall change his destiny; in that day he shall be slain like an ox; he shall be seized in his strength like a wild bull; the throne which he has built shall be cast to the dust; the will of the gods shall be directed towards the destruction of his inscription (and) his name; his name shall be removed from the temple of his god and from his inscription; his god shall not look on the affliction of his people; the rain of the sky shall be kept away from him; the water of the earth shall be kept away from him. A no-name shall have precedence over him. During his reign the corn shall be low (?); that man shall be there...like somebody who has done evil to a just man; he shall not be released. In the destruction (coming) from the gods the country will learn to recognize the power of the lord Ningirsu.<sup>51</sup>

The style of Mesopotamian curses, however, is very different from the Egyptian ones. The main difference lies in the concept of divine intervention. In Egypt, this is rather unspecific, the only specification applying, in the Ramesside age, to triads where the god is to pursue the man himself, the goddess his wife and the child-god his children. In Babylonia, on the other hand, the deities each represent intervention in a specific sphere of human existence, such as lifetime, destiny, health, prosperity, intelligence, procreation, burial, social and political order etc. The idea of divine impact on human life seems so central to Mesopotamian religion, that the defining aspects and qualities of the deities are derived from the sphere of activity rather than from cosmology or mythology.

The imprecatory section of Hammurapi's epilogue outweighs its few blessings (3 lines of blessings, 100 lines of curses!).<sup>52</sup> It proves beyond doubt that cursing has to be considered, much more so in Mesopotamia than in Egypt, as a highly elaborated technique and an important literary genre.<sup>53</sup> In this section, 10 particular gods and then the totality of the gods are invoked to take care of the trespasser,

who did not heed my words which I wrote on my stela, and disregarded my curses, and did not fear the curses of the gods, but has abolished the law which I enacted, has distorted my words, has altered my statutes, effaced my name inscribed thereon and has written his own name...

Enlil, the supreme god, is invoked to incite revolts, bring misfortune, shorten his days, destroy his city, abolish his name and memory from the land. Ninlil, 'the mighty mother', shall induce Enlil to decree 'the destruction of his people, the pouring out of his life like water'. Ea, the god of wisdom, shall 'deprive him of knowledge and understanding, and constantly lead him astray, dam up his rivers at the source, take away grain, the life of his people'. Shamash, the sun god and supreme judge, 'may he cause the foundations of his nation to crumble', give evil omens, cut him off from among the living and even 'below, in

<sup>51</sup> After Pomponio, *op. cit.* 23 f. no. 13.

<sup>52</sup> After Pomponio, *op. cit.* 31 ff. no. 28.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Pomponio, *op. cit.* 7-12.

the underworld, may he cause his shade to thirst for water'. Sin, the moon god and lord of destiny, shall 'lay upon him heavy guilt' and 'determine as the fate for him a life that is constantly wrestling with death'.<sup>54</sup> Adad, the lord of abundance, shall bring famine and destructive floods. Zababa and Innana, the deities of war, shall 'let his enemy trample upon him' and 'deliver him into the hands of his enemies'. Nergal, the lord of the underworld, shall 'break his body in pieces like an earthen image'. Nintu, the goddess of birth, shall 'deny him an heir'. Ninkarrak, the goddess of maladies, shall 'inflict upon him a serious injury which never heals, whose nature no physician knows'. Finally, all the gods, and again Enlil, are invoked to 'curse him with these curses'.

I would like to stress three aspects of this text, which illustrate the difference between jurisdiction and imprecation:

(a) *The person of the addressee.* In the case of Hammurapi, the person involved is specifically a ruler. This shows beyond doubt that the addressee of the curses is not identical with the addressee of the laws. The legal penalty threatens him who *transgresses* a law, the curses him who *alters* it. The laws address and concern everybody, but the curses address and concern only future kings, who are responsible for their functioning. The gods are invoked to protect the law, not against a simple trespasser—this protection being provided for by institutionalized 'connective justice'—but against a future ruler of Babylon who might change or neglect the law and thereby weaken connective justice. The ruler's task is to watch over the application of the law, and the god's task is to watch over the ruler.

(b) *Concepts of person and annihilation.* Penalties aim at restoring the damage which has been done by transgressing a particular rule or law. They are devised to meet and to match a particular crime. Curses, on the other hand, aim at total destruction and annihilation. They do not know any measure and limitation in drawing on the imagery of destruction. They aim at the total dissolution and decomposition of a person in all his aspects, in this world and in the hereafter. In so doing, they provide important insights into the concepts of person involved in these images of destruction. The technique of cursing consists in knowing how to undo a person. It presupposes a concept of person, a knowledge of what constitutes and belongs to a person and how these different elements and constituents are most effectively disintegrated and annihilated.

(c) *Prescriptive vs. performative sentences.* The Hammurapi code makes the difference between jurisdiction and imprecation absolutely clear. Legislative sentences are prescriptive. They acquire a performative function only when applied by a judge to a given case and transformed into a verdict. Curses, on the other hand, are performative. They do not describe or refer to a fact, but create it. But what they create is a 'potential fact', not an actual one, because they are aimed at a person who is (negatively) specified but not identified. This, by the way, is the defining difference between monuments and treaties, to be considered in the concluding part of this article. Curses in treaties concern persons who are identified, but not (yet) negatively specified. Curses on monuments refer to persons who are negatively specified, but not yet identified.

Treaties provide the most typical context for blessings and curses in ancient Near

<sup>54</sup> For curses invoking the moon god Sin, see K. Watanabe, *Acta Sumerologica* 6 (1984), 99–119.

Eastern texts. Hillers even went so far as to postulate a specific genre of 'treaty-curses'.<sup>55</sup> A covenant, or treaty of alliance, is made, or rather sealed, by swearing an oath.<sup>56</sup> This conforms to very ancient oriental practice, dating back to the third millennium BC.<sup>57</sup> The oath automatically subjects the parties to the powers who watch over the observance of the treaty. Breaking a treaty means breaking an oath and becoming exposed to the curses which are included in and released by swearing an oath. The oldest text of this kind is a boundary stela between the cities of Lagash and Umma. The transgressor is threatened with destruction at the hands of Enlil and Ningirsu, and it is stated that this will occur as political misfortune: his people will deny him obedience and kill him.<sup>58</sup> The idea of a treaty also differs from that of a law code in that it provides not only penalties but also rewards. Thus we find in many ancient treaties a section containing the typical combination of blessings and cursings.<sup>59</sup> After the enumeration of the deities by whom the treaty is to be sworn and who are invoked to act as metaphysical agents watching over the observance of the treaty, there follows a list of blessings for him who keeps the treaty and a list of curses for him who breaks it.<sup>60</sup>

Instead of one of the many actual treaties which have survived, and among which the Neo-Assyrian treaties provide the most impressive examples with respect to the 'art' of cursing,<sup>61</sup> I would like to turn to a text which connects with our own tradition. The Biblical book Deuteronomy has convincingly been shown to be part of the same tradition of ancient oriental diplomacy discussed here, and might even be claimed a particular highlight in the history of the genre.<sup>62</sup> It is important in this context in that it mentions two different kinds of blessings and curses, which exactly correspond to the two cases when justice fails, jurisdiction stops and imprecation takes over: secret criminality and breaking of the treaty or deviation from the law.<sup>63</sup>

In chapter 27 it is stated that, after the crossing of the Jordan and the conquest of the Promised Land, stones should be set up on Mount Ebal, covered with plaster and bearing as an inscription the whole text of the Tōrâ 'in very plain characters' (27.7). Then

<sup>55</sup> D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets* (Rome, 1964); H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of 'Curse' in the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia, 1963). For treaties in general, see now L. Canfora, M. Liverani, C. Zaccagnini (eds.), *I Trattati nel Mondo Antico. Forma, Ideologia, Funzione* (Rome, 1990) (I owe this reference to the kindness of K. Deller).

<sup>56</sup> M. Weinfeld, *UF* 8 (1976), 379-414. H. Tadmor, 'Treaty and Oath in the Ancient Near East: an Historian's Approach', *Shnaton* 5-6 (1981/2), 165 ff. (In Hebrew).

<sup>57</sup> P. Artzi, *Bar Ilan Studies in History* 2 (1984), 25-39.

<sup>58</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1907), 36 ff.; Pomponio, op. cit. 17 f., no. 1. The treaty between Ebla and A-BAR + SĪLA<sup>ki</sup> (Pomponio, op. cit. 49 f.) might even be somewhat older.

<sup>59</sup> F. C. Fensham, *ZAW* 74 (1962), 1-9.

<sup>60</sup> Many examples in O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, 1, fasc. 2. = R. Borger et al., *Staatsverträge* (Gütersloh, 1983). The Assyrian treaties provide an exact model for Deuteronomy, as seen especially by M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford, 1972).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. S. Parpola, K. Watanabe, (eds.), *State Archives of Assyria II: Neoassyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (Helsinki, 1988); above all, the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon, for which see Pritchard, op. cit. 534 ff.; Borger et al., *Staatsverträge*, 160 ff.; R. Frankena, *OTS* 14 (1965), 122-54; Parpola and Watanabe, op. cit. 28 ff.; Pomponio, op. cit. 50-62.

<sup>62</sup> The affinity of Deuteronomy to the form of a treaty and its many resemblances to political treaties of the ancient Near East has been often observed; see especially Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 116 ff., and D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* (Rome, 1978). See now M. Weinfeld, in L. Canfora, et al. (eds.), *I Trattati nel Mondo Antico*, 175-91.

<sup>63</sup> For Biblical forms of cursing, see W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch* (Neukirchen, 1969).

six leaders should stand on Mount Gerizim, and six others on Mount Ebal. The former should shout blessings (27.11–13) and the latter curses. The ensuing text gives 12 verses of curses (15–26). The next chapter (28) starts with 14 verses of blessings in case of diligent obedience to the voice of god (3–13), but then again follow no less than 53 verses containing an apparently endless enumeration of elaborate and painful punishments (16–68) for disobedience. It seems that those on Ebal have a task 4 times heavier than those on Gerizim. But a closer analysis reveals that the curses and blessings to be shouted from Ebal are to be distinguished from those of chapter 28. This first set of curses (27.11–13) begins with ‘cursed be he who (*āriûr*)’, then follows a specific crime. These curses are to be shouted before all the people and the people is to confirm everyone of them by responding ‘Amen’; therefore, they are actually self-imprecations and the repeated ‘cursed be he’ has to be understood as ‘cursed shall I be if I...’. These are curses which concern undetected or undetectable crimes.<sup>64</sup> The second set of (blessings and) curses shows an inverse structure. Here, the curse is specified, and the crime consists invariably in not hearkening to the voice of God. These curses refer to the second case: if the treaty is broken and if the law as a whole ceases to be valid among the people. These curses are not to be shouted from Mount Ebal, and not to be confirmed by ‘Amen’. They constitute a fact of literature. Their purely literary or rather ‘literal’ (i.e. written) character is stressed by the text itself, which refers to them as ‘the curses of the treaty which are written in the book of the Tōrâ’ (29.20). This points to both their literal and their contractual character.<sup>65</sup>

In this context it is important to remember the prescription that the treaty including the curses and blessings is to be written on stones to be placed on Mount Ebal, the mountain of cursing. This is the point where ‘treaty-curses’ and ‘monument-curses’ merge. But the stone which the partners of a treaty set up as a visual sign of the binding force of the contract is not only a monument but also fulfils the function of a ‘witness’. This testimonial function is made explicit in the book of Joshua, where the same covenant ceremony as in Deuteronomy is related:

So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shekhem. And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the Tōrâ of God, and took a great stone, and set it up there under the oak, that was the sanctuary of the Lord. And Joshua said to all the people, ‘Behold, this stone shall be a witness to us; for it has heard all the words of the Lord which he spoke to us: it shall be therefore a witness to you, lest you deny your God.’ (Joshua, 24.25–28)

The stones act as witness of the oath by which the treaty is sealed. They materialize, visualize and eternalize the oath.

Curses are part of the religious world-view of ancient oriental society. They do not express ‘vague hopes and expectations’ but appeal to what must have been believed to be the highest authority and ultimate reality, framing the limited scope of human institutions. Under properly defined and carefully observed circumstances, the spoken word and the monumental inscription were both held capable of reaching beyond that scope into the framing sphere of divine agency. Generally speaking, pharaonic Egypt does not seem to have been an exception. But the particular concept of divine kingship, which in many

<sup>64</sup> A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften*, 1, 302–32 (Munich, 1953), 314.

<sup>65</sup> The literal character of ‘treaty-curses’ is also stressed by Assurbanipal in one of his historical inscriptions: the gods brought ‘the complete number of curses which were laid down in writing’ in the record of the treaty over the disloyal Uate’ and the Arabs (cf. Pritchard, *op. cit.* 300a).



respects surpasses comparable conceptions in other oriental societies, might explain why the borderline between jurisdiction and imprecation is sometimes blurred, and why texts like Koptos Decree R and those of Ankhtifi were possible.

Curses and laws are parallel in that both establish a link between crime and punishment, the defining difference being that curses are to be enforced by superhuman powers and laws by legal institutions. In Egypt, the vizier acts as the head of legal institutions, whereas the king already belongs to the superhuman sphere. Curses and oaths, on the other hand, are parallel in that both invoke the divine sphere, but in a different way. Curses request intervention, they are to be *fulfilled* by the superhuman powers invoked. Oaths request supervision, they are to be fulfilled by the people swearing. There is also the evident parallel between cursing and blessing. Both invoke divine intervention, one in punishing, the other in rewarding, intention. Curses, blessings and oaths are oral acts of legally binding character. This explains their strong affinity to legislation and jurisdiction. But their functioning does not depend on police and law-courts but on the belief in 'metaphysical agency'.

# LITERARY FORM AND THE *TALE OF THE ELOQUENT PEASANT*<sup>1</sup>

By R. B. PARKINSON

The *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* is a complex work, for the interpretation of which literary form is crucial. The text is a unity, incorporating diverse styles and genres. It combines two modes of narrative and discourse which are indirectly complementary, being antithetical in their articulation of meaning. This antithesis is also presented through stylistic contrasts within the Tale and by a pervasive use of irony. Although the Tale is concerned with its own writing, the subject matter is not restricted to this. The formal tension between narrative and discourse parallels the dichotomy of awareness which underlies the plot, and which is between the situation as it appears to the protagonist and as it is presented to the audience. Form and content cannot be separated; the literary form which embodies this dichotomy is at one with the creation of the Tale's meaning.

## Introduction

LITERATURE cannot be regarded as a given entity. Its definition and circumscription in Egypt are debated and critical discourse about its nature has great relevance to Egyptological approaches to texts of all types, which have often concentrated on the texts as sources of historical or cultural information, rather than as artefacts with their own internal coherence. Attention to literary form is vital to the understanding of texts; an appreciation of form should if possible precede other types of analysis.

The *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* is a good example of the significance of such methodological considerations. It has received less critical acclamation than the *Tale of Sinuhe*, with which it is associated by many factors, including manuscript history. Leaving evaluative factors aside, it has not received such extensive study. One reason for this lack of regard is the fact that its literary form has been less immediately accessible to modern commentators, because it does not match any western genre closely.<sup>2</sup>

This article is intended to contribute to the discussion of the Tale's literary form. I do not discuss the interpretation of the Tale's meaning, but focus on the more basic elements and structures through which that meaning is created by author and audience. As is emphasized in critical theory, literary form and genre are of great importance in determining the context for any reading.<sup>3</sup> Failure to comprehend the Tale's generic position,

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to J. Baines for reading various drafts.

<sup>2</sup> See the remarks of J. Baines on Egyptological approaches to literature in general in *JEA* 68 (1982), 31. For the text see Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991). I use that edition's line numbers for B1 (31 higher than the old numbers). For bibliography and recent studies see also Parkinson, 'Teachings, Discourses and Tales from the Middle Kingdom', in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 91-122. Translated quotations show metrical 'line' divisions.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven and London, 1967), 222; A. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: an Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford, 1982), 256-76.

which happens to lack parallels or ‘posterity’ in the western tradition, has led to radical misunderstandings of its character and style. Compounded with the problem of genre is the tendency of many commentators to base their expectations of literature solely on characteristics of their own, western, tradition. Thus, for example, Hornblower described the Tale as a practical collection of ‘models . . . for the use of petitioners’, while Gardiner’s negative evaluation, in which he spoke of an author who was ‘anything but a literary artist’ was similarly extraneous.<sup>4</sup> Such a judgement accords ill with the Tale’s own praise of the petitions’ style and with the esteem implied by the high number of surviving manuscripts from the Middle Kingdom. These evaluations arise in part from an atomistic approach to the text. The literary form, which they ignore, is integral to the meaning of the Tale, although it does not in itself constitute that meaning.

### The unity of the text

Before analysing the literary form of a text, it is desirable to examine the nature of the archetype, and to consider whether the text was always a single, unified and unitary composition.<sup>5</sup>

As with the Book of Job, the juxtaposition of the two modes of narrative and discourse in the Tale has been taken as evidence that the extant text was a redaction of at least two sources.<sup>6</sup> On a further level, it has been suggested that differences in style and theme within the petitions are evidence of a multiple composition; this redactional criticism is exemplified by Siegfried Herrmann.<sup>7</sup> While redactional activity is attested in Egyptian texts<sup>8</sup> it is uncertain whether it can be detected in the Tale. There is a simple case for the basic unity of the narrative and petitions. Without the introductory and concluding narrative, the petitions would implicitly have the opposite meaning to their affirmation of Maat and their (ultimately ironic) denunciations of the state. Without the petitions, the narrative would be superficially simple to the point of dullness: a peasant is robbed and his goods are returned. The two parts also cohere in references to specific characters and situations, in motifs, and in style. An example of the coherence of motif is the metaphor of grain. This runs throughout the petitions, as where Maat is ‘measured well’ (B1 281–3), echoing the opening scene of the narrative, in which the peasant tells his wife to ‘measure out for me the grain’ (R 1.2–1.6). An example of stylistic coherence is the paronomasia with patronyms in B1 53 and 309.<sup>9</sup> From such evidence, it seems—as Fecht has concluded—inadmissible to question a unitary conception of the archetype.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> G. D. Hornblower, *JEA* 10 (1924), 44–5; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 9 (1923), 6–7.

<sup>5</sup> On the transmission of the text see Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, 1.5.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. S. Herrmann, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgestalt mittelägyptischer Literaturwerke* (Berlin, 1957), 92. For Job, see e.g. E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (London, 1967 [1926]), lxi–cx.

<sup>7</sup> *ZAS* 80 (1955), 34–9. *Untersuchungen*, passim.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. the two different versions of *The Teaching of Ptahhotep* known from the Twelfth Dynasty (P and L1). See G. Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 192–246. For other examples see R. J. Williams, *JAOS* 101 (1981), 7; W. Schenkel, *LÄ* VI, 459–60.

<sup>9</sup> Discussed by H. Fischer, in J. Assmann *et al.* (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 159–60.

<sup>10</sup> G. Fecht, *LÄ* 1, 640. The same conclusion is reached by e.g. H. Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with his Ba (P. Berlin 1024)* (Baltimore, 1970), 62 n. 23; H. Brunner, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der altägyptischen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1986), 24.

On another level, Herrmann's redactional critique relies on the assumption that different styles and themes could not ultimately arise within a single literary work of such an early date but must relate back to distinct 'Sitze im Leben'. This is a simplistic evolutionist approach to genre, of a sort described by Dhorme: 'There is no need to refute in detail such theories, which . . . could impress only those who require conformity to the most prosaic laws of association of ideas in a literary genre which permits the most varied movements and the loftiest flight of poetic imagination.'<sup>11</sup> The manuscripts present the Tale explicitly as a unified composition, as is implied by the presence of a colophon (B2 142). The text as available to the owner of the 'Berlin library' of literary papyri had 'a single implied author, a homogenous philosophical and artistic consciousness.'<sup>12</sup>

Thus, the burden of proof should lie on the critics who propose the disunity of the text, a proposition which requires evidence of external or internal indicators of disunity. There is no external evidence for the existence of the Tale in another form. Internal indications whose presence would suggest a disunified archetype include:

- (1) significant contradictions in factors or happenings<sup>13</sup>
- (2) an absence of systematic structure or development together with stylistic variation
- (3) juxtaposed sections which are distinctive in subject matter and form and without cross references
- (4) non-contemporary linguistic features which are considered inexplicable within a consistent style
- (5) stylistically distinct doublets.

In preparing a commentary on the tale I have been unable to find such features. If this cohesiveness were the result of 'collage', in which the components had been transformed into parts of the unified whole (as idioms are in any original composition), the distinction between original author and redactor, which is central to redactional criticism, could not in any case be made.<sup>14</sup> Although a unified work may have many creators, a redactional approach is a valid method of interpretation only if this distinction can be detected, or separate components of the text can be identified. In the Tale the pattern of the unitary whole dominates the diverse sub-patterns of style and the like to such an extent that a single composition by an author or author-redactor is the most plausible hypothesis—as is also the case with the two halves of the *Loyalist Teaching*.<sup>15</sup> There are no features which require a hypothetical redactor. The episodic nature of the style, with its multiple antitheses and the lack of a single simple thematic progression, must not be mistaken for indications of collation or redaction, but is characteristic both of such discourse and wisdom texts in general and specifically of the Tale.<sup>16</sup> Not through such factors alone do texts achieve unity, but through a 'coherence of thematic and verbal texture'.<sup>17</sup> I attempt

<sup>11</sup> *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, cx; cf. lxiii–v, ciii.

<sup>12</sup> On literary texts in general, M. V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, 1985), 258–9 n. 7; the following discussion draws on *ibid.* 202–26. For a discussion of unity in the Middle Kingdom literary corpus, see Parkinson, in *Middle Egyptian Studies*, 94–6.

<sup>13</sup> I do not include minor discrepancies, such as that in *Sinuhe* noted by Baines, *JEA* 68, 44 n. 52.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Fox, *Song of Songs*, 220.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. G. Posener, *L'Enseignement loyaliste: sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire* (Geneva, 1976), 12.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. A. Fletcher, *Allegory: the Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca NY, 1964), 171, on the 'allegorical style' in the west; Fox, *Song of Songs*, 226, on Near Eastern parallels.

<sup>17</sup> Fox, *Song of Songs*, 226.

here to show how the varied genres are parts of such a whole, and trace their interaction in forming a unified pattern.

### Genre and the components of the Tale

Genre is crucial to any interpretation, and ‘the processes of generic recognition are in fact fundamental to the reading process’, but a general definition of genre is problematic.<sup>18</sup> ‘Representational modes’ such as narrative or discourse are elemental, rather than generic,<sup>19</sup> and play a more fundamental role in patterning texts; for this reason, I discuss the Tale’s ‘modal’ structure before its ‘generic’ structure.

The Tale consists of two interwoven parts, the petitions and the narrative. The narrative is written in an ‘objective’ style, which is an example of Hintze’s ‘Erzählung’, or Benveniste’s ‘récit historique’.<sup>20</sup> Amongst Middle Kingdom narratives it is most similar to that of *The Words of Neferti* in its distribution of *sdm.jn:f* and *ḥc.n-sdm.n.f* with dialogue, and it differs from *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* and *The Discourse of Sisobek* in this respect. The petitions are ‘discourse’, which is in contrast a subjective representational mode, used in wisdom texts as a highly wrought literary form.

These two representational modes are juxtaposed principally in the overall pattern Narrative-Discourse (the ‘petitions’)-Narrative. They are also interwoven when discourse occurs as dialogues within the narratives, and when narrative introduces and interrupts episodes of discourse (the ‘interludes’). This interweaving is more pronounced at the transition from the narrative to the petitions, than in the later petitions, where the transition is more subtly effected. At the transition there are narrative ‘interludes’ after the first and third petitions, and the second petition is interrupted by a riposte by the High Steward (B1 134-5), while later there are references within the petitions to the situation of the plot. The different paces of narrative and discourse are integrated with such devices as explicit references to the extraordinary length of the peasant’s eloquence:

‘Long is the petitioner(’s task), onerous the divide;

“Who is that there?” will be said’ (B1 159-60).

‘O a fourth time in appealing to you! Shall I spend all my time at it?’ (B1 256).

This fusion of representational modes seems to be standard in the Middle Kingdom literary corpus: a modally bipartite text would not have struck an audience as unusual, but as belonging to a formally defined literary group. *Sisobek* is an exact parallel, especially in its style of discourse, which combines gnomic statements with injunctions and descriptions, and expresses similar sentiments. *Sisobek* dates to the Middle Kingdom, as do other bicorporate works such as *Neferti* and *The Account of the Sporting King*, in which the discourses are elaborate figurative praise songs.<sup>21</sup> The same phenomenon occurs on a generic, rather than ‘elemental’ level in the bipartition of Middle Kingdom

<sup>18</sup> Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 259, 256-72. See also Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation*, passim; H. Dubrow, *Genre* (London, 1982), 4-7. For a survey of genre in relation to the Middle Egyptian literary corpus, see Parkinson, in *Middle Egyptian Studies*, 99-100, passim.

<sup>19</sup> Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 235-7.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (Geneva, 1986), 13. For a characterization of the style of the narrative in the Tale, see E. Perry, ‘A Critical Study of the Eloquent Peasant’ (PhD Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1986), 46-8.

<sup>21</sup> See Parkinson, in *Middle Egyptian Studies*, 110-11, 112, 118-19 (nos. xi, xv, xxix).

texts such as the *Teachings of Amenemhat*, *Khety, a Man for his Son*, and *Kemit*.<sup>22</sup> However, the Tale is distinct from these parallels in that its narrative is longer (186 metrical lines out of 607), and is significant beyond being a frame: ultimately, it supplies the context for the Tale's meaning and determines it. This importance is displayed by the introduction of the text as a narrative: *s-pw wn*, 'There was once a man . . .' (R 1.1).<sup>23</sup> More significantly, in the Tale the two representational modes are indirectly complementary, being antithetical in their articulation of meaning: the assumptions underlying the petitions—principally that the peasant is unheard—are the contrary of those embodied in the narrative—that he is heard. Thus, while the peasant denounces the High Steward's silence as an evil, the narrative asserts that it is good. Neither can be read correctly on its own, and this factor is significant both formally and in the creation of meaning.

On a less elemental level the Tale is a fusion of various genres: stylistically (with both verbal and syntactic formulae) it alludes to and incorporates various genres, a procedure that is central to many texts, particularly *The Tale of Sinuhe*.<sup>24</sup> Such inclusion is a universal phenomenon, which is often contemporary with a common use of framing devices.<sup>25</sup> In the Tale, genres are often used ironically (see below). I review the genres included:

(a) Pessimistic 'Discourses' or 'Laments'. These sections of the petitions are characterized by descriptions of the evil state of the land, as in B1 225-34:

'Destroyed is good without its union,  
(as is) casting to the ground of Falsehood's back  
...  
Who sleeps till dawn?  
For destroyed is going by day and traversing by night'

They are also characterized by sequences of antithetical descriptions of undesired social and ethical states and transformations.<sup>26</sup> Most of these passages are in the first two triads of petitions (e.g. B1 129-34, 136-9, 279-81). The social concern of 'Laments' is also found in the description of professions in B1 199-209 ('Look, you are a wretch of a washerman . . .'), where it is given a second person reference within the context of the petition.

(b) *sbyjt*. The 'teaching' genre is incorporated throughout the petitions in injunctions and gnomic statements, and to a lesser extent in conditional clauses.<sup>27</sup> Much of the discourse has a primarily didactic aspect aimed in context at the High Steward Rensi. However, the context of 'Teachings' is usually characterized by the established office of the teacher and the 'liminality' of the junior person to whom they are addressed;<sup>28</sup> here,

<sup>22</sup> Posener, *L'Enseignement loyaliste*, 12-13; E. Blumenthal, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), 95.

<sup>23</sup> The same construction is an introductory narrative statement in *Neferti* (ed. Helck) 13a; *Urk.* IV, 1989.7 [= P. Vernus, *RdE* 30 (1978), 115-19]. Other partial parallels include *Ipuur* 16.1, where a parable begins *wn-s-pw*, and *P Westcar* 6.26. See G. Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott in den "Mahnworten des Ipu-wer"* (Heidelberg, 1972), 36-7, 189-94, 232.

<sup>24</sup> K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (London, 1966), 125-6; E. Bergman, in E. Hornung and O. Keel (eds.), *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (Freiburg, 1979), 82-3; Blumenthal, *ZÄS* 111, 95-9; Baines, *JEA* 68, 34-5.

<sup>25</sup> Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 179-81, with Renaissance examples.

<sup>26</sup> See Blumenthal, *ZÄS* 109 (1982), 9-10; W. Schenkel, *WdO* 15 (1984), 51-61.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Blumenthal, *ZÄS* 111, 95-6.

<sup>28</sup> L. G. Perdue, *ZAW* 93 (1981), 114-26.

ironically, it is the 'liminal' peasant, from the edge of society, who is the teacher of a senior official.

(c) Eulogy. Eulogistic epithets and phrases, with non-verbal predications,<sup>29</sup> occur frequently in the petitions (e.g. B1 93-5, 171-3), and evoke primarily royal eulogies, as is shown by the presence of a sequence of epithets which is presented as a mock-titulary:

'Let me make your name in this land, according to every good law:  
Leader free from selfishness,  
Great one free from baseness,  
Destroyer of falsehood, Creator of truth' (B1 41-2).

While themes and phrases allude to the self-eulogies of private autobiographies, this subgenre is not included so explicitly as in *Sinuhe*. In Petition 7 there is a passage of first person 'récit historique', which may allude to the narrative sections of autobiographies:<sup>30</sup>

'Now then, I plied my pole, baled out my water,  
unloaded what was in my body, washed my soiled clothes! (B1 307-10).

The idealizing acclamations display the same attitudes and phraseology as the 'Teaching' elements; the two genres are closely related, both historically and thematically.<sup>31</sup>

(d) Lists. These are a self-contained genre<sup>32</sup> and occur in both the narrative and the discourse of the Tale: the goods carried by the peasant are listed in the introductory narrative, as are the possessions of Nemtinakht in the conclusion (B1 1-14; B2 135-8), while in the petitions the High Steward is likened to various workers and officials, with extended lists of corrupt or undesirable professions (B1 199-209, 258-61). This genre implies inclusiveness, and its frequency mobilizes the Tale's potential universality.

Two other genres have been considered relevant:

(e) *Königsnovelle*. The definition of this genre is problematic. Blumenthal<sup>33</sup> rightly argues that Middle Kingdom *Königsnovellen* are formally distinct from the motif of the king and courtiers found in *Neferti* and *The Tales of the Court of King Cheops*. A comparable example of this motif is *The Sporting King*, where the king is presented with speeches at his request (A.2.1-3). While elements reminiscent of it are present in the Tale's setting—the High Steward Rensi approaches the king with news of the peasant (B1 102-18), and the council scene between the High Steward and the courtiers (B1 73-82) recalls the royal court setting in *Königsnovellen*—this motif is at most alluded to; it is not included within the Tale.

(f) Folktale and 'oral' elements. Herrmann considers one component included in the Tale to be an old folktale. The basic situation of the plot—a subtle peasant who is robbed—would make a plausible folktale and Perry discusses folktale motifs in the narrative. However, these are more likely to be a conscious stylistic device of mock

<sup>29</sup> Assmann, *LÄ* II, 40-6, esp. 42-3.

<sup>30</sup> As does the narrative monologue of *Amenemhat*: Blumenthal, *ZÄS* 111, 96-7.

<sup>31</sup> See principally J. Assmann, in A. Assmann (ed.), *Schrift und Gedächtnis: Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation*, 1 (Munich, 1983), 64-93.

<sup>32</sup> See Baines, in Baines *et al.* (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 130-3.

<sup>33</sup> *ZÄS* 109, 17-21; see also A. J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven and London, 1982), 101-5.

simplicity.<sup>34</sup> The related phenomenon of 'oral' elements has also often been over-estimated in arguments proposing that the Tale evolved from various pieces of 'oral literature'. While the narrative and the petitions include several explicit citations of oral sayings (B1 50-1, 140-1, 177), this device is well attested in other texts. Proverbial and formulaic elements are characteristic of all Middle Kingdom wisdom literature, which is presented in written texts as being orally delivered.<sup>35</sup> This does not indicate that the texts are transcriptions of oral works—they belong rather to a distinct 'grapholect' of the language—but that they are written works created within 'an orally constituted sensibility and tradition'.<sup>36</sup> Oral features are inherent in the Tale's modes and genres and cannot be isolated as an 'included' phenomenon; they are, however, a stylistically significant aspect, being made prominent by the presentation of the petitions (see further below).

The Tale is structurally complex and allusive in its representational modes and genres, which are often used ironically. The inclusion of genres often contrasts their implications with the context in which they occur in the Tale. Thus, titularies and the like are used to elevate the High Steward's status, occurring both seriously (B1 96-8; B1 191-3) and ambivalently or ironically (B1 252-5, 258-62; extensive parody of eulogy: B1 199-209, 220-4). In a similar fashion, the juxtaposition of the two modes of narrative and discourse is not complementary, as one might expect with such a framing pattern, but are anti-theoretical in their meaning.

### Style

In the present context, it is sufficient to investigate some characteristic features of the style which reflect the structure of text in the creation of meaning.<sup>37</sup> Several previous interpretations have overemphasized the autonomy of the role of style, as well as misreading the style itself. Early in its critical history, the Tale was taken by Spiegelberg and Schneider to be a satiric pastiche of Middle Kingdom literary tendencies.<sup>38</sup> A similar view of it as excessively distinctive is perpetuated by Fox, who argues that the peasant's eloquence is 'a deliberate polemic' against the rhetorical canons of silence and restraint enjoined in other wisdom texts.<sup>39</sup> However, all the petitions imply that the peasant is forced to speak by the High Steward's neglect. The peasant's laments emphatically justify his apparent violation of the canon of restraint, as in B1 307-12, where he describes his

<sup>34</sup> Herrmann, *Untersuchungen*, 92; Perry, 'A Critical Study of the Eloquent Peasant', 39-44. Compare Baines, *JEA* 76 (1990), 58-60, on folktale elements in the *Shipwrecked Sailor*.

<sup>35</sup> For the 'oral' aspect of formulae see e.g. W. J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982), 34-6; examples of references to oral wisdom include *The Teachings of Hardedef* (ed. Helck), 5.1; *Ptahhotep*, 210, 292, 568; *Merikare* (ed. Helck), 9i-j. Compare the discussions of the formulaic aspect of Egyptian texts by C. J. Eyre, in S. Israelit Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), 1, 153-60; W. Guglielmi, *SAK* II (1954), 347-64.

<sup>36</sup> Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 99; for the limited literacy of the predominantly 'oral' Middle Kingdom culture see Baines and Eyre, *GM* 61 (1983), 65-72; for the oral influence on style see Eyre and Baines, in K. Schousboe and M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Literacy and Society* (Copenhagen, 1989), 106-13.

<sup>37</sup> For the problem of assessing style, see e.g. R. Wellek and A. Warren, *Theory of Literature* (Harmondsworth, 1985 3rd ed. [1963]), 177. Full stylistic analyses of Egyptian texts include H. Grapow, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Stilistik I: Der stilistische Bau der Geschichte des Sinuhe* (Berlin, 1952); H. Brunner, *Die Lehre des Cheti, Sohnes des Duauf* (Glückstadt, 1944), 50-8; compare also W. Guglielmi, *LÄ* VI, 22-41.

<sup>38</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *Die Novelle im alten Aegypten: ein litterar-historischer Essay* (Strasburg, 1898), 20; H. Schneider, *Kultur und Denken der alten Aegypter* (Leipzig, 1907), 174-5.

<sup>39</sup> M. V. Fox, *Rhetorica: the History of Rhetoric* I (1983), 17, 12-15.



appeal in verses ending:

‘and my speech is done, my wretchedness finished before you—what more do you want?’

and then continues the petition. Similarly in B1 242 and 346–7, he ironically alludes to himself indirectly as a ‘silent man’. He represents the ideals of oratory found elsewhere, and the petitions are a highly wrought instance of the ‘normal speech-code’ of Middle Kingdom literary texts. For example, wordplay (polyptoton and paronomasia) is extensive, but this is not unparalleled; even the extreme instance of B1 337—*nfr-nfrr-nfr-r:f* ‘(Only) the goodness of the good man is good beyond him’—is equalled in several texts.<sup>40</sup> The petitions are neither a collection of ‘commonplaces’<sup>41</sup> nor elaborate beyond the bounds of artistry. The style is integrated with the plot, and is crucial in the creation of meaning.

As in *Neferti* and *Sisobek*, the style of the narrative is objective and concise, like other Middle Kingdom narratives, in contrast to the petitions. Although there are narrative interludes, within the petitions there are no stylistically comparable narrative sections (unlike the parables narrated by the *ba* in the *Lebensmüder*, 68–85). The simplicity of the narrative is probably studied in order to heighten this contrast:<sup>42</sup> whereas there is a uniform progression in the narrative and its dialogues, the petitions present a swiftly changing and allusive monologue, which varies between direct and indirect address of the High Steward, and which presents the complexity of the peasant’s arguments. The prominence of interrogative sequences (e.g. B1 179–81), although not unique to the Tale,<sup>43</sup> emphasizes the discursive, oral character of the petitions. Exhortation and injunction have a varying prevalence in individual petitions, although they are quite pervasive. They articulate the rationale for the discourse, which is not so directly emotional and introspective as that of the *Lebensmüder*, and is less personal in its concerns, but is still strongly ‘subjective’. Shifts in emotional tone—from eulogy to denunciation, from subtle to direct abuse—mark the peasant’s desperate recourse to different approaches, and are patterned to express his mounting anxiety. The tendency towards abstraction in the final petitions is balanced by the peasant’s increasingly direct references to himself and his opponent, which maintain awareness of the dramatic context. This is in any case kept in mind by the fact that all the petitions are one-sided dialogue rather than an interior monologue (‘Hearer, you do not hear!/Why do you not hear?’ B1 211), which highlights the partiality of the peasant’s perception, in contrast to the objectivity of the narrative.<sup>44</sup>

Since the petitions are both the majority of the text and stylistically the most complex part, I concentrate on their salient features, notably repetition and partition, imagery, antitheses and irony.

In the petitions the repetition of individual words, including such key terms as *nfr*, is extensive and significant, and so is that of motifs of imagery like that of steering a boat. At

<sup>40</sup> See Fecht, *LÄ* 1, 641–2. Other examples of such wordplay include *Sisobek* Bii.15; *Khakheperresonbe* rt. 3, 5; *Ptahhotep* 535–7; *Merikare* (ed. Helck), 15a.

<sup>41</sup> F. Ll. Griffith, *PSBA* 14 (1892), 471.

<sup>42</sup> Compare assessments of the style of the *Shipwrecked Sailor*: Baines, *JEA* 76, 57–8.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Blumenthal, *ZAS* 111, 97–9.

<sup>44</sup> A sympathetic interlocutor is also lacking in the *Lebensmüder* 5–6, 103–30; P Ramesseum II vs. ii.4. Similarly, the *Words of Khakheperresonbe* are addressed to his unresponsive heart, urging it to answer: rt. 7, vs. 1, 5–6.

the start of the second petition this image is introduced at its most forceful, universal and abstract: 'O helm of heaven' (B1 121); thereafter he is the helmsman (B1 157), the holder of the helm (B1 158), he is a steerer (B1 187-8, 194), a ferryman (B1 202-3), a ferry (B1 221-2), and again a helmsman (B1 252). The same phenomenon occurs to a lesser extent in the narrative, as with the 'two attendants' who feature in the narrative sections several times (B1 217, B2 116, 134).

This repetition has led to erroneous characterizations of the vocabulary as poor.<sup>45</sup> Schenkel has calculated the 'word density' of *Sinuhe* as 0.83, and of *Lebensmüder* as 0.85.<sup>46</sup> By my calculations, that of the Tale is 0.79. While they may be significantly lower and may exemplify a more repetitive style, the vocabulary as a whole, rather than being 'poor', is recherché. This is clearest in the longer version of the list of goods preserved in R 2.1-5.6, and in the list of fishers in Petition 5, where the three preserved fish-names are all *hapax legomena* (B1 258-61).<sup>47</sup> The same is probably true to some extent of all Middle Egyptian literary texts, which aim for

'unknown phrases, strange verses  
in a new speech which does not pass,  
free from repetition' (*The Words of Khakheperresonbe* rt. 2-3).

The number of *hapax legomena* does not seem higher than that of other literary texts, nor is the Tale's vocabulary strikingly different in character. The repetition of larger units of several words is significant, but is not used to pattern long passages with refrains (as for example in *Ipuur*). There are extended sequences of epithets (e.g. B1 119-22: 'Greatest of the great!/Richest of the rich! . . .') and eulogistic statements (e.g. B1 319-20: 'The officials are repeller of evil, they are lords of goodness . . .'); these are stylistic features of the genre 'Eulogy' (cf. *Sinuhe* B 46-72).<sup>48</sup> Series of negative constructions are particularly common (B1 87-91, B2 100-3, 109-11, 316-18),<sup>49</sup> as are sequences of vetitives (B1 301-3), which are often combined with epithets or similar eulogistic elements (e.g. B1 122-3, 190-2); there are corresponding affirmative sequences with *mk* (e.g. B1 199-209) and *jw* (e.g. B1 221-3). These features of patterning and repetition make the petitions more forceful. They essentially operate in the same way as the Tale's extensive formulae and generic references, but allude to specific instances within the Tale, rather than to a general body of literary phraseology. For example, the petitions contain several almost exact doublets (e.g. 'For mercy has passed you by: how miserable is the wretched one whom you destroy', B1 235-6 = 148-9; 'One cannot know what is the heart', B1 287 = 304). These are probably not due to textual corruption,<sup>50</sup> but are rather heightened recollections of earlier phrases, topics and syntactic patterns.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Gardiner, *JEA* 9, 10 n. 3.

<sup>46</sup> *GM* 5 (1973), 21-4.

<sup>47</sup> *jj, wbbw, pqrw*; see I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 46.

<sup>48</sup> Note, however, that such statements with *pw* are not always part of a eulogy: e.g. B1 140-2; cf. *Lebensmüder* 56-9; *Sisobek* Bi.15, 18, Bii.20.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Amenemhat* [ed. Helck] 7e-f.

<sup>50</sup> A possible exception is R 26.3-6, which seems to me to be an erroneous repetition of R 16.5 ('Look, I am laden with woe./Look, I am in your hand, so may you judge me! Look, I am in suffering'), inspired by the doublet *dr-sjr*, a phrase which occurs in both passages.

<sup>51</sup> The same feature occurs in *Ipuur*: Fecht, *Vorwurf an Gott*, 13-14.

A related phenomenon is the use of synopses, which summarize as well as developing preceding arguments and images. Clear instances in relation to the structure as a whole are Petition 5, whose style reflects its role as a central résumé of the Tale's social aspect, and Petition 9, whose recollections of previous phrases mark it as a summation. There are also synopses within petitions (e.g. B1 192-4), and as epitomizing codas (e.g. B1 353-7). Like the use of phrases and generic elements, the form of the nine petitions creates an episodic presentation which is cyclical and repetitive in that they have a single theme variously and repeatedly expounded, and which contrasts with the unitary progression of the dialogues in the narrative.<sup>52</sup> This division and episodic presentation complements the length and number of the petitions, which is an expression of comprehensiveness and manifold totality ( $3 \times 3$ ), also embodying the quality of the peasant's oratory by virtue of the text's all-inclusiveness and volubility.<sup>53</sup>

These features of repetition and partition, as well as a more or less formulaic style, are characteristic of literature in an 'oral' society and show the psychodynamics of orality. An 'oral' sensibility can be traced both in the narrative, which is additive rather than subordinating, and in the petitions, which are aggregative rather than analytic.<sup>54</sup> However, it is uncertain whether the oral context alone can account for the salience of such features in the Tale. The prominence, handling, and presentation of such oral features as repetition within the structure, which itself draws attention to orality, suggest that they are used as a 'literary vehicle' for creating intentional associations and connections' in order to increase the intensity of the text.<sup>55</sup> Attention is drawn not only to the virtuosity of the style. Much of the Tale's meaning is presented through viewing the same themes in different ways, revealing new implications and associations of the fundamental subject matter—Maat. Furthermore, the 'orality' of the petitions heightens their 'subjectivity'.

Imagery is prominent, more than in many other literary texts.<sup>56</sup> It is both pervasive and repetitive, both explicit in similes and implicit in metaphors and figurative language. It is not kept within continuous extended sequences of extravagant similes, as in the *Lebensmüder* or *The Account of the Sporting King*. The only non-pervasive imagery is the use of extended metaphors in the final petition, which amount to personification allegories similar to the parables of other texts.<sup>57</sup> As is usual in Egyptian texts, the motifs of the imagery reflect not the character of the speaker, but the subject matter.<sup>58</sup> Many are drawn from basic life-situations and features of daily life, as if to emphasize the daily relevance of the petitions. Others embrace the divine and the cosmic, as if to bring out the universal importance of what is said. Specific instances present absolute principles with a technique of 'expansion' common in wisdom literature. For example, the idea that every action will

<sup>52</sup> The restatement of positions in a dispute can be paralleled in the *Lebensmüder*, as noted by W. Barta, *Das Gespräch eines Mannes mit seinem Ba (Papyrus Berlin 3024)* (Munich, 1969), 99.

<sup>53</sup> Fecht, *LÄ* 1, 639. Repetition to the point of redundancy is a virtue in an oral composition: Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 39-41.

<sup>54</sup> See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 30-57.

<sup>55</sup> On Job see N.C. Habel, *The Book of Job: a Commentary* (London, 1985), 49. Compare the remarks of Baines on *Sinuhe*, where there is 'a very uneven flow of events, focusing the reader's attention . . . on the examples of fine writing . . . The smaller forms are used in virtuoso fashion' (*JEA* 68, 35).

<sup>56</sup> Noted by M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, A Book of Readings 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley, 1973), 10; Fecht, *LÄ* 1, 646.

<sup>57</sup> J. Osing, *LÄ* II, 618-24; Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster, 1985), 17. 'Parables' occur in *Ipuur* 16.1-4 (see Fecht, *Vorwurf an Gott*, 190-1); *Lebensmüder*, 68-80, 80-5.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. Posener, *L'Enseignement loyaliste*, 13-14.

have an inevitable consequence is expressed with the specific image of a man feeding: 'It is the eater who tastes', and the next verse points to the relevance of the wider significance of this to the peasant's situation as petitioner: '(so) does one who is accused reply' (B1 246-8). Only in part can the Tale's presentation of the abstract theme of justice in concrete and metaphorical terms be related to the necessity for 'oral cultures [to] conceptualize and verbalize . . . knowledge with more or less close reference to the human lifeworld'.<sup>59</sup> The tendency to juxtapose different images such as steering and weighing (B1 187-98) and to maximize the 'metaphoric distance'<sup>60</sup> of some mobilizes them for their figurative rather than their literal value:

'Your tongue is the plummet;  
your heart is the weight;  
your lips are its arms' (B1 196-8).

The details of the image are self-consciously bizarre.<sup>61</sup> In B1 342-4 the imagery of Maat as a balance and scales is formulated to focus attention on Maat as the metaphorically represented entity, rather than on the scales *per se*:

'If it [Maat] is scales, it cannot tilt;  
if a balance, it cannot incline to one side'.

This exemplifies the petitions' concern with the realization of an ideal: the balance's role in this figurative description is explicitly connected with its embodiment of Maat's immutability. Thus, this aspect of the imagery, which is displayed by the prominence of personification and role imagery and of analogies,<sup>62</sup> is no mere rhetorical decoration, nor an incidental or inevitable 'oral' feature: it is thematically integral to the Tale's treatment of its subject-matter of Maat.<sup>63</sup> The imagery enacts a literary embodiment of Maat, even as the High Steward is urged to become its human embodiment.

Amphiboly occurs throughout the petitions, but is less extended than in *Ptahhotep*, where an entire maxim can have two complementary readings.<sup>64</sup> In the Tale amphiboly deepens the meaning of particular phrases, such as 'Rescue<sup>65</sup> *hr-nfrjt* at the tiller = *hr nfrt* on account of goodness' (B1 195), and particular passages (e.g. the imagery of navigation and of excretion in B1 309-10), but not of whole sections.<sup>66</sup> The 'expansion' of literal meaning is achieved rather by the structural use of imagery and irony. As well as this complementary role, amphiboly relates to the ironic presentation of the genre 'Eulogy'. In B1 316-18 there is a series of eulogistic statements which are deeply ambiguous. The verse 'There is none whom you have made to speak (who is still) silent' may express the High Steward's power, but, since 'silence' is a desired state for the peasant and his speaking a result of agony, it implies a denunciation.

<sup>59</sup> Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 42.

<sup>60</sup> For this term see Fox, *Song of Songs*, 272-7.

<sup>61</sup> Balances which are modelled on parts or all of the human body are known (C. Sourdivé, *La main dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Bern, 1984), 366-8), but this image is possible in visual terms. See n. 73.

<sup>62</sup> Noted by Osing, *LÄ* 1, 621.

<sup>63</sup> See J. Assmann, *Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1990), 58-60.

<sup>64</sup> G. Fecht, *Der Habgierige und die Maat in der Lehre des Ptahhotep (5. und 19. Maxime)* (Glückstadt, 1958).

<sup>65</sup> Lit. 'remove (danger)'.  
<sup>66</sup> Compare the treatments of 'bringing a vile deed to land' in B1 356-7 and *Ptahhotep* 93—a highly amphibolistic passage.

Antithetical formulations ('then'-'now') which are characteristic of the genre of 'Lament' are not restricted to that genre, and they can articulate positive statements (as in the albeit ambivalently eulogistic passage just noted: B1 316-18).<sup>67</sup> Antithesis is used within individual stanzas and, as a broader principle, to contrast what is and what should be. Most of the peasant's antithetical statements present a unitary attitude, but there are more extensive antitheses between attitudes, as in the striking juxtaposition of eulogy and denunciation within Petition 3: 'You are Re the lord of heaven' (B1 171) and 'Look, you are a wretch of a washerman' (B1 199-200). This principle of juxtaposition and alternation is not unique to the Tale,<sup>68</sup> but it is prominent here in expressing the ambivalence of the authority which the peasant confronts both in the High Steward and in the officials: compare

'Beware of the officials:  
hearers and sifters, they are a basket,<sup>69</sup>  
(but) their herb is speaking Falsehood,  
so that it is light to their hearts' (B1 163-5).

with

'The officials are repellers of evil, are lords of goodness;  
they are craftsmen of creating what is, joiners of the severed head' (B1 319-20).

In the final petition the contradictory situation behind such varied and contrasting statements is formulated into a single paradoxical stanza which provides a resolution to the use of antithesis:

'(Even) when its portion exists, Falsehood [sallies forth(?)].  
To face it, Truth turns herself back;  
Truth is the goods of Falsehood,  
is making it flourish; (yet) it has not been gathered(?)' (B2 95-9).<sup>70</sup>

Thus, descriptions of the High Steward as an evil justice lead to statements of the paradoxical relationship of Maat and Falsehood—a progression which constitutes a movement in the text from metaphor to abstraction.

Related to these antitheses is the pervasive use of irony. Within the petitions this is especially clear in the treatment of genres (see above), and it becomes increasingly prominent after the initial eulogies, which are not ironic or sarcastic.<sup>71</sup> In Petition 4 the opening eulogy of the High Steward (B1 272-3) is parodied in the concluding denunciation (B1 294-6), with ironic repetitions of several words (*grg*, *shpr*, *bw-*). Within the Tale incidents are also ironically recalled; thus two attendants are sent to bring the peasant to

<sup>67</sup> See Schenkel, *WdO* 15, 54-5; for other examples of positive antithetical statements see, e.g. *The Teaching of Man for his Son* (ed. Helck), 5.1-3.

<sup>68</sup> Different attitudes to death are juxtaposed and reconciled in a similar fashion in the Harpist's Song from the Mansion of King Intef (M. V. Fox, *Or* 46 (1977), 419-20), as they are in the dialogue of the *Lebensmüder*.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *CT* vi, 283s.

<sup>70</sup> I suggest a paraphrase for this problematic passage: Falsehood is aggressive, while Maat will only defend itself. Falsehood cannot exist without Maat, is dependent on it, and exists only as its contrary. Thus while Falsehood enslaves Maat, it cannot ultimately prevail.

<sup>71</sup> Such as that of Petition 1 (B1 93-102); contra, G. Lanczkowski, *Altägyptischer Prophetismus* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 72.

be vindicated in B2 115–16, just as they were sent to beat him in B1 217. The effect of this irony has been considered humorous, but humour is not easily identified and is not an inevitable concomitant or irony. Irony is, rather, ‘common ground between tragedy and comedy’,<sup>72</sup> and the context determines whether a particular instance is humorous. Thus, while a humble man speaking like a sage is potentially comic, other examples of humble sages in wisdom literature—see n. 88—suggest that this is not the effect in this literary context. Similarly, the use of striking archaisms or extreme ‘metaphoric distance’ in imagery is not necessarily humorous (e.g. B1 192–3, 196–8).<sup>73</sup> An example from the petitions is the group of satiric denunciations of the High Steward (B1 199–209), which can be compared in subject matter with the *Teaching of Khety* (ed. Helck) 4–21, where exaggeration produces humour.<sup>74</sup> Here, however, the peasant’s ‘humour’ is very grim, culminating in a sarcastic invocation to the crocodile to prey on him, in which the idea of a shepherd who should ward off the crocodile but who cannot even count is an expression of despair unlikely to produce laughter:

‘Look you are a shepherd—  
Is it not wrong for me that you cannot reckon?  
(if not), may you create loss, as a predatory crocodile!’ (B1 209–10).<sup>75</sup>

Furthermore, such sarcastic irony, which has the serious didactic purpose of ridiculing the unjust,<sup>76</sup> is not pervasive. Thus, although the Tale can be characterized as having occasional flashes of dark humour, its general tone is not ‘comic’ or ‘satiric’.<sup>77</sup> The response of the audience to its irony is of another kind.

The irony is structurally significant, operating on two levels. The peasant is often ironic, which befits the role he considers to be his—a perceiver of ignored Maat—but the irony is also ‘dramatic’: the true situation, known by the audience, is hidden from the peasant and adds a further dimension to many of his remarks. Thus, his references to food are unknowingly ironic—for the High Steward is feeding him—as are ultimately all his complaints. This ironic presentation of his situation does not make him laughable or lessen the forcefulness of his petitions, and the tension between the detached presentation and the sympathy the peasant arouses is central to the structure of the Tale. This ironic use of structure, which juxtaposes the two ‘representational modes’ of narrative and discourse (whose styles are made conspicuously different), is ‘scriptible’ in the creation of meaning: the meaningful relationship between the petitions and narrative is never explicitly presented to the audience. While the dramatic irony is by its nature clear to the audience,<sup>78</sup> it is never stated directly that the answer to the peasant’s petitions is inherent in his situation, and this strategy of presentation is reflected in the (stylistic) dichotomy between narrative and discourse. Although the formal structure of the Tale can be

<sup>72</sup> Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 187. See the discussion of W. Guglielmi, *GM* 36 (1979), 69–85.

<sup>73</sup> As noted by Guglielmi, *GM* 36, 78–9. A similar image to that of B1 196–8 occurs in *CT* IV, 298b–299b where it describes a hostile demon ‘whose eyebrows are the arms of the balance’; there the striking imagery may express an alarming appearance. This parallel suggests that the peasant’s image is not meant to be humourously grotesque.

<sup>74</sup> So Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1, 194.

<sup>75</sup> So U. Luft, *Oikumene* 4 (1983), 135.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Lanczkowski, *Altägyptischer Prophetismus*, 71–2.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 106–11.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Guglielmi, *GM* 36, 74–5.

paralleled, the tension between the objective and the subjective, between irony and suffering, cannot. In *Sinuhe*, for example, the structural significance of genres and modes of discourse—prayer, eulogy, narrative, reflective monologue etc.—runs parallel to the action of the narrative,<sup>79</sup> but in the Tale tension is maintained between the passionate suffering of the petitions and the irony of the plot, and this is echoed in the treatment of various genres within the petitions. The style consistently articulates and intensifies this tension. Rather than being simply comic or concerned with suffering, the mode is ‘tragicomic’; the mixture of subjective sympathy and objective irony is ‘the very essence’ of the Tale.<sup>80</sup> The text is complex, both in its use of style and the narrative’s treatment of the peasant’s oratory, and in its allusive, ironic structure.

### Literariness and meaning

These stylistic features are also significant in the creation of meaning. The way in which style and structure mobilize the Tale’s meaning is highly literary, as is the subject matter; the structural centre is the nine petitions, whose production is the main concern of the narrative plot. The Tale almost describes its own writing: the observation advanced most strongly by Formalist literary criticism—that ‘awareness of form constitutes the subject matter’ of all literature—is particularly illuminating in the case of the Tale.<sup>81</sup> However, an exclusive concern with oratory is not, and does not determine, the meaning of the Tale. In any oral culture knowledge has agonistic dynamics, and is expressed in rhetorical arguments, with concepts being used ‘in situational operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract’.<sup>82</sup> Although this oral or quasi-oral aspect can only partially account for the Tale’s emphasis on orality, it suggests that the Tale’s use of oratory need not reflect an overriding concern with oratory for its own sake, at the expense of other, more conceptual concerns. The modern critical history of the Tale shows a growing perception that its subject is not merely its own form. Herrmann and Brunner have emphasized that the Tale is not just an exercise in fine style or a treatise on the value of rhetoric—although these aspects are integral to any appreciation.<sup>83</sup> Nor are the discourses produced only ‘for the king’s aesthetic pleasure’, as Fox has suggested.<sup>84</sup> Assmann, by contrast, has recognized that Maat is the subject matter of the text—a matter of high intellectual seriousness.<sup>85</sup> Lichtheim analyses the Tale as ‘the intertwining of a plea for justice with a demonstration of the value of rhetoric’,<sup>86</sup> but this presupposes a straightforward conceptual distinction between form (rhetoric) and content (justice). Such a distinction is supported neither by the Egyptian term ‘perfect speech’ which denotes both ideas, nor by literary theory.<sup>87</sup> The relationship between form and content is more subtle.

<sup>79</sup> Baines, *JEA* 68, 31–44.

<sup>80</sup> As noted by Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1, 169.

<sup>81</sup> A. Jefferson and D. Robey, *Modern Literary Theory: a Comparative Introduction* (London, 1986), 37.

<sup>82</sup> Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 49.

<sup>83</sup> Herrmann, *Untersuchungen*, 79–93; Brunner, *Grundzüge*, 24. A survey of opinion is provided by Perry, ‘A Critical Study of the Eloquent Peasant’, 24–31.

<sup>84</sup> Fox, *Rhetorica* 1, 15–16; similarly O. D. Berlev, in J. Osing and G. Dreyer (ed.), *Form und Mass: Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht* (Wiesbaden, 1986), 82.

<sup>85</sup> See Assmann’s assessment of the ‘great tradition’ of Middle Kingdom literature: *Ma’at*, 48–51.

<sup>86</sup> *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1, 169.

<sup>87</sup> See B1 106 where the peasant is ‘one truly perfect of speech’, and B1 349–50, where the petition is ‘this perfect speech’. On ‘truthfulness’ as a canon of oratory see Fox, *Rhetorica* 1, 15–16; Assmann, *LÄ* v, 196. See also Jefferson and Robey, *Modern Literary Theory*, passim.

The stylistic and figurative oratory of the petitions makes reference to, and allies the Tale with, the tradition of 'perfect speech' found in Egyptian wisdom literature. This alliance is more specifically reflected in the fact that the petitions include the 'Teaching' genre, and even in the narrative's emphasis on the eloquent petitioner's 'peasant' status.<sup>88</sup> The petitions are highly literary, and it is impossible to determine any relationship between them and the actual pleas of peasants.<sup>89</sup> In wisdom literature 'words *are* deeds':<sup>90</sup> the text and its recitation are themselves the articulation and, thus, a manifestation of wisdom.<sup>91</sup> The Tale expresses this aspect of the genre in the image of the High Steward's representing justice as the palette of Thoth (B1 336), which evokes the significance of speech in a judicial context (among other implications). The peasant's laments describing the destruction of Maat embody Maat; through the synonymy of 'saying' and 'doing'—or 'creating'—Maat they reveal the peasant not merely as a rhetorician, but as an upholder of order, whose 'fine speech/comes forth from the mouth of Re himself' (B1 350). Thus, the Tale's concern with the bringing about of justice has a correlative in its involvement with its own production—in its being spoken and especially in being recorded. This last aspect is an image of the continuity of Maat, which is a goal of wisdom: the writing down of the 'perfect speech' ensures its transmission to future audiences. The association of writing and death, which is common to many cultures,<sup>92</sup> may be evoked in the Tale with respect to writing's being an embodiment of the ideal Maat, which is often associated with the other world,<sup>93</sup> and Maat's causing its 'doer' to endure in the other world.

The potentially fallible nature of recording—awareness of which is implicit in colophons—is important to the Tale, although it is not explicitly referred to when the king orders the writing down of the peasant's words (B1 102–18). The fallibility of speech is also important. A man's speech, like his acts, determines his destiny, but also inevitably reveals and judges his character:

'Be your tongue exact that you may not go astray;  
the limb within him is a man's bane(?)' (B1 162–3).  
'The tongue of men is their balance' (B2 92–3).

In discussing speech's realization of Maat, the peasant also emphasizes the correlative of this: speech may not incorporate Maat correctly or completely, and if it does not, this amounts to speaking Falsehood. Thus a distinction is drawn between 'the standard' itself (e.g. B1 356–7) and 'the standard of speech' (B1 129). This distinction is comparable to

<sup>88</sup> Lowly people who are also wise are a motif in wisdom texts, such as *Discourse of the Fisherman* (see Parkinson, in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 111, no. xiii); *Ptahhotep* (ed. Dévaud) 58–9. See also the 'sages' in the *Hirtengeschichte* 12–13.

<sup>89</sup> Contra Hornblower, *JEA* 10, 44–5; C. Lalouette, *Textes sacrés et profanes de l'ancienne Egypte: Des Pharaons et des hommes* (Paris, 1984), 331 n. 2.

<sup>90</sup> E. M. Forster, *Maurice*, Chap. 5. On the close relationship between 'speaking' and 'doing' Maat see Assmann, *Ma'at*, 76–8.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *Ptahhotep* 608–9, on wisdom as a textual tradition.

<sup>92</sup> Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 81. For an Egyptian example, see the use of writing to ensure immortality in the Eulogy to Dead Writers in P Chester Beatty IV vs. 2.7–11; translation in R. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (London, 1991), 148–50.

<sup>93</sup> Assmann, *Ma'at*, 117 n. 91.



that between the infallible Thoth and his potentially fallible 'palette':

'O reed, roll, palette of Thoth,  
may you avoid doing evil' (B1 336-7).<sup>94</sup>

This dichotomy is mobilized by the prominent role of imagery in the Tale—bizarre and contradictory images in which the High Steward could prove himself to be either Re, the standard and scales, or a wretched washerman (e.g. B1 171, 192-3, 199-200). The potential fallibility of speech and writing has an analogy in the ambivalent treatment of the peasant's oratory, which is both inspired and unwarranted and which at once promotes and delays justice. This awareness that the truth of the legal cause and the eloquence through which it is argued are not the same relates less to the nature of 'rhetoric'<sup>95</sup> than to the more universal paradox that things are not necessarily as they seem, and that one must distinguish between Maat and its fallible embodiments, whether in speech, written words, or deeds.

The Tale's emphasis on the petitions' oral aspect articulates their partial and subjective nature. The incident at the conclusion, in which the peasant's petitions are returned to him in written form on a 'new roll' (B2 128-9), brings about his final, more objective perception of his situation. It is, significantly, recitation from the roll which informs him of his vindication. The dichotomy in awareness between the peasant on the one hand, and the High Steward and the audience on the other, is most explicitly presented in the first interlude, where the king says:

'As you wish to see me healthy,  
may you cause (the peasant) to linger here,  
without answering anything that he says.  
For the sake of his speaking, be silent!  
Then shall we be brought (it) in writing, that we may hear it' (B1 109-11).

I have considered diverse features of genre, style, tone and structure as crucial factors for an interpretation of the Tale. They cannot be isolated from the thematic material and subject matter, but cohere in a unified whole. The Tale itself acts out the importance of literary form: writing marks the creation and resolution of the fundamental dichotomy between the actual situation and the situation as perceived by the peasant. The dichotomy in the plot and in the drama parallels the formal tension between the narrative and the subjective discourses. The literary form embodying this is both central to the Tale's ironic structure and at one with its creation of meaning.

<sup>94</sup> See Fecht, *LÄ* 1, 641-2. Cf. *Book of the Dead* (Naville) 175, 7-8.

<sup>95</sup> Pace Fox, *Rhetorica* 1, 18.

# PAINTED PAVEMENTS IN THE GREAT PALACE AT AMARNA\*

By FRAN WEATHERHEAD

During excavations at the Great Palace at Amarna, three large floor-paintings were found in the area known as the North Harim. Two of the pavement designs are published here for the first time. All three were connected by a painted pathway of captives. Study of the painted pavements, together with plans of the Great Palace and other New Kingdom palaces, suggests that the room called the Main Hall may have been a throne room.

## *Introduction*

In 1891–2, when Petrie excavated the Great Palace at Amarna, he found the remains of several wall-paintings and painted pavements. The excavation of this area was continued in 1934–5 by the Egypt Exploration Society, under the direction of J. D. S. Pendlebury. The three large pavements found in the Great Palace, in what has become known as the North Harim, are the subject of this report. More information has come to light on all three, mainly from early photographs recently identified in the E.E.S. archives, from the discovery of an unpublished set of copies of one of the pavements, and from notebooks from the later excavations. This has thrown new light on the decoration of the three halls, and suggested new ideas about the function of this area of the palace.

## *History of the Excavation*

In the area south of the Garden Court in the North Harim Petrie's excavations included two large rooms, which Pendlebury later called E and F, and the northern part of the 'Main Hall' (see figs. 1 and 5).<sup>1</sup> The areas immediately to the south and west of these, which he found much denuded, were not excavated. The first room to include a painted pavement, discovered by Petrie in November 1891, was room F. This was recorded as 'astonishingly fresh and clear' in his site diary.<sup>2</sup> Recognizing its importance he immediately started a 1:10 colour copy,<sup>3</sup> and decided that the room must have a protective building over it, so that the pavement could be preserved for posterity.<sup>4</sup> About

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<sup>1</sup> The room designations used here are those of Pendlebury.

<sup>2</sup> Diary, 37. Petrie's diary is kept in the Petrie Collection, University College, London.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell El Amarna* (London, 1894), 14.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie also wanted to protect the pavement against possible plunder, because of the belief among the locals that treasure was buried under it. Diary, 37.

three weeks later, when this was begun, two more rooms with painted pavements were found—one which was to become well-known in room E, and the other in the Main Hall. All were later described in his excavation report, with particular attention paid to room E. Altogether there were about 250 sq. yd (210 sq. m) of painted pavement.<sup>5</sup> A second building was finished in January 1892, which covered room E and the northern part of the Main Hall.

In the Main Hall, only the north and east parts of the painted pavement were well preserved,<sup>6</sup> and Petrie must have decided not to roof the whole of the connecting area between the two primary rooms. The shape of the two rooms can be seen outlined on an early aerial photograph.<sup>7</sup> The new walls of room F were built over the old ones, which included the more southerly wall belonging to the south annexe, room G. The other new room was built over the north, east and west walls of room E, but extended some way south of the south wall, now believed to be in line with the north wall of room F. Petrie then set about building a continuous raised walkway, 80 m in all, around the pavements. Already fellow archaeologists had called in to see the pavements, and Petrie anticipated large groups of visiting tourists from the Nile steamers. It is not entirely certain how the walkway was arranged, but the route included passage through doorways inserted midway into the east and west walls of room F. The latter was thought to have been ancient by Pendlebury,<sup>8</sup> who ignored the ancient doorway discovered by Petrie farther north.<sup>9</sup> Such was Petrie's care for the ancient masterpieces that he ensured that the windows of the protective buildings could not be opened, to prevent desert dust settling on the pavements. The consequent lack of ventilation and probable discomfort to the tourists took second place to the well-being of the pavements.<sup>10</sup>

The final cleaning and fixing of paint surfaces of all three pavements was done by Petrie towards the end of the season.<sup>11</sup> Drawing of the pavements was also continued until the end.

Visits to the Amarna pavements were a tourist attraction until 1912, when the 'Great Pavement' of room E was hacked to bits by a vengeful local. Explanations for this vary; one is that it was a result of a village feud.<sup>12</sup> The other two pavements may have been attacked too. The extent of the damage is not recorded, but some 22 large pieces were recovered and sent to Cairo for reconstruction.<sup>13</sup> The restored pavement now lies in the Cairo Museum.

During the excavations of Pendlebury in 1934–35 at the Great Palace, remains of more pavements were found in both North and South Harims. In the area of the three halls under discussion, only the south part of the Main Hall was uncovered, and the dilapidated walls of the protective building over rooms E and F were used to contain spoil.

<sup>5</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (London, 1931), 137.

<sup>6</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 8.

<sup>7</sup> J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III (London, 1951), pl. xxiv, i (hereinafter *COA*, III).

<sup>8</sup> *COA*, III, pl. xiv.

<sup>9</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, pl. xxxvi.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie, *Seventy Years*, 139–41.

<sup>11</sup> Petrie records that the tapioca consolidant was best applied by finger, but that progress was slow due to abrasion of the skin (!), Petrie, *Seventy Years*, 139.

<sup>12</sup> F. L. Griffith, *JEA* 10 (1924), 300.

<sup>13</sup> Temporary museum no. T.27.1.16.1.

This was in spite of protests from Fairman and others that the room should be re-dug.<sup>14</sup> The two rooms must already have contained much rubble from the roofs and upper walls. There is no mention of floor plaster in room F in *COA*, III, and one presumes it was unrecognizably smashed and covered with debris, or that pieces had been removed to Cairo or pilfered by locals. The account of room F in *COA*, III, re-states Petrie's brief description.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Areas of the Pavements*

In any discussion of floor paintings, a good starting point, especially when reconstructions are being considered, is to find out their original size. But this is not straightforward for room F and the Main Hall. Two plans of the Great Palace were published in *COA*, III, pls. xiiiia and xiv, the latter being termed a 'restored' plan. Unfortunately, in the area of the pavements there are discrepancies. This may be because mistakes were made with the overall measurements from room E to the back wall of the five cubicles to the south.<sup>16</sup>

The plan on pl. xiiiia shows room E corresponding with Petrie's outline on his plan.<sup>17</sup> For room F the north, east and west walls on pl. xiiiia correspond with Petrie's, but the south wall is slightly too short. On pl. xiv this is moved to become more in line with Petrie's wall. The south wall of annexe G (which is the same as Petrie's modern wall built over his planned ancient one), which occurs on pl. xiiiia, is now missed off the restored plan, pl. xiv. This is presumably because the later excavators no longer believed it was ancient when they revised their plan.

In the restored plan, pl. xiv, the middle section (the Main Hall, corridor H and the five cubicles), has been moved south when compared with pl. xiiiia. By extending the Main Hall, this brings the south wall of the cubicles into line with the south wall of Petrie's new building covering room F, and also with Petrie's dotted line on his plan. The southern extension of the Main Hall is probably correct, given Pendlebury's observation, in a letter,<sup>18</sup> that such was necessary to rectify the initial plan. Close study of an aerial photograph<sup>19</sup> taken before Pendlebury excavated the area confirms that the southern extension to the whole block is correct. Moreover, my reconstruction of the pavement design in the Main Hall would make its extension to the south necessary. The Main Hall is also moved west on the plan, pl. xiv, but this is probably exaggerated, in the light of my reconstruction (see figs. 1 and 2).

Since the planning of the North Harim has not been exact, fig. 1, which shows the area of the three large halls, is presented only as a guide. The sizes of room F and the Main Hall have been based on different published plans, each coinciding with the dimensions obtained from the pavements (see below). The surrounding rooms are a compromise, based mainly on the revised plan in *COA*, III.

<sup>14</sup> Fairman's letter to the E.E.S., in the form of a 'statement' (undated) relating to the excavations of 1934-35. Kept in E.E.S. archives

<sup>15</sup> *COA*, III, 41; Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 14.

<sup>16</sup> Pendlebury's letter to the E.E.S., in the form of a 'statement' (undated) relating to the excavations of 1934-35. Kept in E.E.S. archives.

<sup>17</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, pl. xxxvi.

<sup>18</sup> See n. 16.

<sup>19</sup> *COA*, III, pl. xxiv, i.

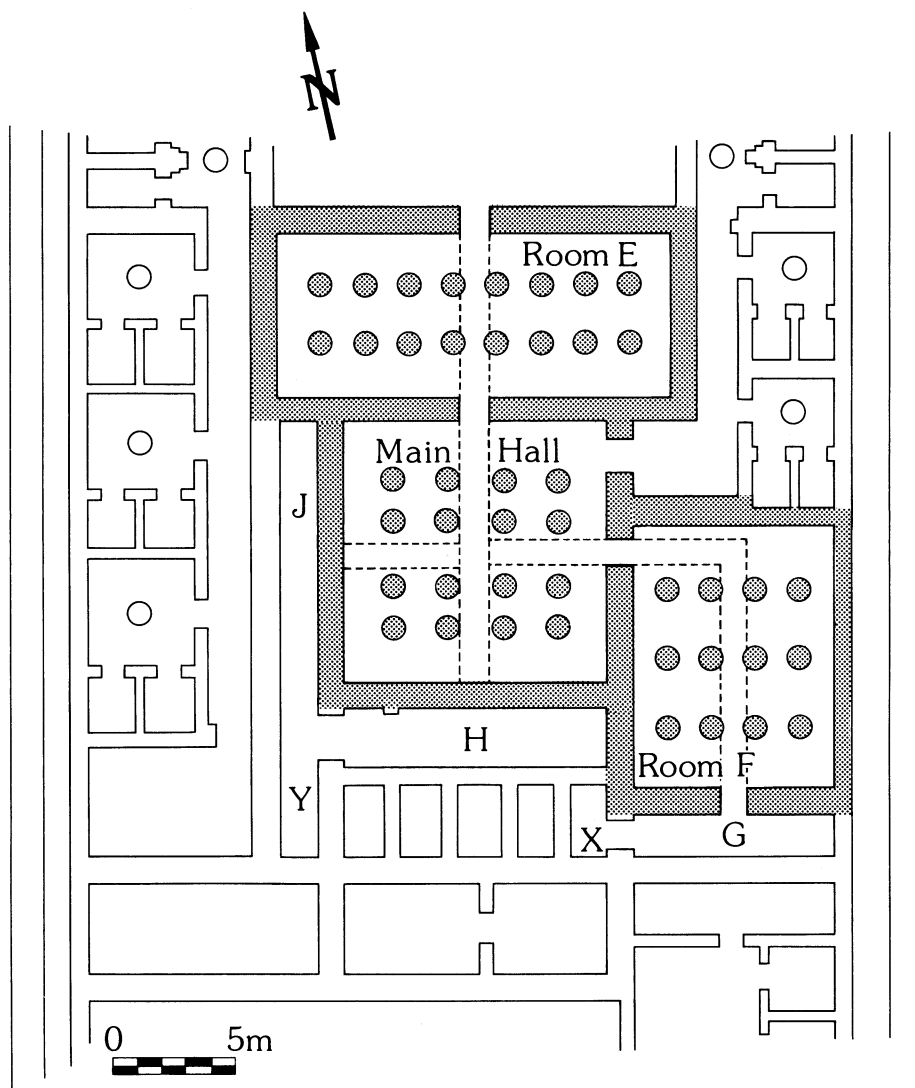


FIG. 1. Plan of the Main Hall and rooms E and F with painted pavements, connected by a pathway of captives.. Several surrounding rooms also contained floor paintings.

G — Remains of a design, probably bouquets and stands (Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 14; *COA*, III, 41).

H — Panels depicting bouquets, and dishes on stands bearing fruit. In the central area is a grape-vine (*COA*, III, 41, fig. 10)

J — Series of clumps of plants arranged in pairs, between coloured borders (*COA* III, 42, fig. 11)

X — All five of the small southern rooms appear to have had painted pavements. Only the easternmost room had a recognizable design, showing blue papyrus plants (*COA*, III, 41).

Y — The south end of corridor J was thought to have been a separate room. Fragments of duck and flower designs were found here (*COA*, III, 41).

*Room E: the Great Pavement*

The long cross hall E, south of the Garden Court is 15.6 m × 6.5 m,<sup>20</sup> or 101 sq. m. Of this, Petrie records in his site diary<sup>21</sup> that about 85 sq. yd (78 sq. m) were in almost perfect condition. An account of its discovery and a description are given in his excavation report.<sup>22</sup> The western part was exceptionally well preserved, except for a strip along the north. From his drawing made on site using a grid laid over the pavement, a 1:20 line drawing appears as Petrie's pl. ii. This only shows the western part of the pavement. Details shown on his pls. iii and iv were initially copied full size. In spite of Petrie's initial intention, the eastern part was not copied through lack of time, except for details appearing as his pl. iii. 1, 2. Petrie notes that this part of the room, which repeated the design in the western half, did not match the high artistic standard found in the latter.

The eastern and western halves of the design were separated by a pathway of painted captives which ran centrally across the hall. On each half, between the rows of columns, were two rectangular ponds. Around the ponds on all sides were rows of repeating scenes of ducks flying over marsh plants, and bounding calves. An outer formal border was composed of the motifs of ceremonial bouquets alternating with offering stands containing what may be unguent cones. A small exposed patch of an earlier painting shows a different plan of design from the main one above it.

Turning to the restored pavement in the Cairo Museum, one notes that the restorers did not always follow Petrie's drawing of the design. Areas of pavement have been incorrectly positioned, and in some cases new designs have been included, possibly from the eastern half. Perhaps most unfortunate of all is the dislocation of the surviving area of captives which is moved south and reversed, so that the figures are in the wrong order and the bows are upside down. Other obvious mistakes are a new area of duck-and-marsh border and bouquet-and-stand border to the west of the pond. In the pond a circular area of water with a fish snout and the rear of a duck is moved considerably to the west, and a very large fish now lurks where there was once other subject matter at the north-west corner of the pond.

Recently discovered glass plate negatives indicate the extent of the painting as it was *in situ*, under the protective building. Pl. XXIV, 1 shows that this was a substantial structure with thick walls and a ceiling supported by upright beams where the columns had been originally. The edges of the pavement were protected by plaster of Paris. The left walkway was built north of the ponds, over three remaining column bases. The one on the right was built over the line of the original wall. At the far end a new wall was built over an ancient one. The western part of the pavement is shown in the foreground, and the eastern part in the background. The designs cannot be seen in the eastern part, except for the lines of the borders, but the photograph shows that it was as complete as the western half, with its northern part similarly missing. It also gives an idea of the excellent state of preservation of the whole pavement.

Pl. XXIV, 2 shows the south-east part of the western section of the Great Pavement. A detail appears as pl. ii, 3 in Petrie's report. A central part of this plate occurs in Petrie's *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* as fig. 48, perhaps implying that he took the picture

<sup>20</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 8.

<sup>21</sup> Petrie's diary, 63.

<sup>22</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 8, 12-14.

himself. Another early photograph, pl. XXV, 1 shows the south-western section with the exposed patch of under-painting close to a space where one of the columns had been.

### *The Main Hall*

This hall was not measured by Petrie, since no south wall was excavated. On his plan<sup>23</sup> the dotted line extending the south wall of room G may imply traces of a wall, or where one was expected. Of the plaster, 40 sq. yd (33.5 sq. m) were recorded in his diary<sup>24</sup>. It was described as having similar designs to those in the other two halls, but there was less of it, and it was more decayed. What remained was mostly on the north and east sides.<sup>25</sup> Pl. XXIV, 2 shows a fraction of the intact northern part only just visible beyond the raised walk-way. Again, Petrie had intended to draw the designs, but had to abandon the idea through lack of time.

The room size, which was unknown to Petrie, varies according to the later excavators' plans, in *COA*, III, pls. xiii and xiv. The east-west dimension (10.7 m) has been obtained from the excavator's site notebook.<sup>26</sup> Less precisely the north-south dimension (c. 10.6 m) can be obtained from the restored plan (pl. xiv) and also from a combination of measurements gleaned from the site notebook. Petrie's 40 sq. yd of painted pavement would thus cover about one third of the total area.

Details of Pendlebury's excavation in the Main Hall are very scanty in the excavation report, although considerable remains of the south part of the pavement were noted.<sup>27</sup> For more information on the pavement, reference has to be made to the site notebook. A measurement of 6.43 m is given for the distance from the south wall to Petrie's modern wall of the building protecting room E and the north part of the Main Hall. The best part of the pavement in the north, under the building, must therefore have been about 3.0 m wide (see fig. 2).

In the published description it is noted that a pathway of captives runs north to south, and east to west. But only in the site notebook is the east-west pathway noted as off-centre, although the amount was not recorded. The crossroads of pathways can, however, be gauged with a fair degree of accuracy. The eastern branch can be plotted on a reconstruction of the pavement by continuing the line of the pathway emerging from the doorway of room F across the Main Hall (see fig. 1). A useful measurement places the western branch in relation to the south wall. The bottom of it begins 4.6 m from the south wall, on the fragment no. 11 (see fig. 2). When the two branches are placed together it turns out that the deviation is very small, only a few centimetres (8 cm were plotted on fig. 2). It can be seen from the reconstruction that the whole length of the east-west pathway occurs approximately in the middle of the room.

The east-west pathway may have been narrower than the north-south pathway, if it is taken to be the same width as that coming from room F. The north-south pathway, recorded on a sketch in the notebook as 1.3 m, is the same as the one coming from room E (see figs. 2 and 3, no. 8). Not enough of fragment no. 8 survives to be able to tell if the north-south pathway crosses over the other one, but such a 'priority' might be expected.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pl. xxxvi.

<sup>24</sup> Petrie's diary, 63.

<sup>25</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 8.

<sup>26</sup> Amarna document no. 11.8. Kept in E.E.S. archives.

<sup>27</sup> *COA*, III, 40.

Other details of the overall design can to some extent be filled in by recourse to the notebook. From this, the reconstruction shows that there are two rows of duck-and-marsh scenes bordered by a row of bouquets and stands, along the east and west sides. Only one row of duck-and-marsh was found along the south wall, with no outer border of bouquets and stands. There is also evidence of two ponds, one on either side of the lower central pathway of captives. Two more are expected in the upper part of the room. The western pond appears not to have a yellow border surrounding its black 'bank'. A feature of the eastern pool is a kingfisher flying over it (see fig. 2, no. 3). From the reconstruction (fig. 2), it can be seen that the extra borders along the east and west sides of the hall, and the four rectangular tanks longer in the north-south direction, create an emphasis on the north-south axis of the room. Four columns have been provisionally placed around each of the four ponds. The shape of fragment no. 8 suggests where two columns had been removed below the point of the central cross-roads.

A problem arises in the general placing of the Main Hall in relation to room E above it. The plan in *COA*, III, pl. xiii, shows it offset slightly to the east. On pl. xiv, it is moved west. For both of these positions, continuing the pathway of captives in a straight line from room E would mean that there would have been considerably more space on one side of the captives in the Main Hall than on the other. This would create size differences between the ponds and borders on either side of the captives. Moreover, the design would fit awkwardly with the columns, which would have been regularly placed. Instead, it is proposed that the north-south pathway was approximately central in the room, and that the designs were equal on either side. For this, the plan of the hall would fall between the two published plans in *COA*, III.

A curious feature of the fragments found in the south part of the Main Hall is the fact that they show the plant bases and the feet of the flying ducks facing out towards the walls. In rooms E and F the orientation of these motifs is in towards the central ponds. From this observation a large piece of pavement photographed *in situ* (pl. XXV, 2) can be identified as coming from the Main Hall. The photograph was taken from the raised walkway, which was built over the ancient wall between room E and the Main Hall. Although difficult to distinguish, it shows a leaping bull, which, like the bulls in the eastern section of the Great Pavement, looks back over its shoulder.<sup>28</sup> The back appears to arch down deeply, and parts of the body are covered with dark blotches as on the bulls of the Great Pavement. The very outstretched limbs, especially the front ones, give an exaggerated prancing motion. Three ducks flutter overhead, and clumps of poppies, rushes and possibly cornflowers make up the background. Pls. iii and iv of Petrie's excavation report show similar plants on the Great Pavement.

### *Room F*

Petrie recorded in his diary<sup>29</sup> that about half the area in room F had intact painted pavement, the rest having been destroyed by robbers extracting stone column bases. The design was similar to that in room E, but in a poorer state. He mentioned that he made colour copies of the pavement,<sup>30</sup> and these have recently come to light in a portfolio of

<sup>28</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 13.

<sup>29</sup> Petrie's diary, 45.

<sup>30</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 14.



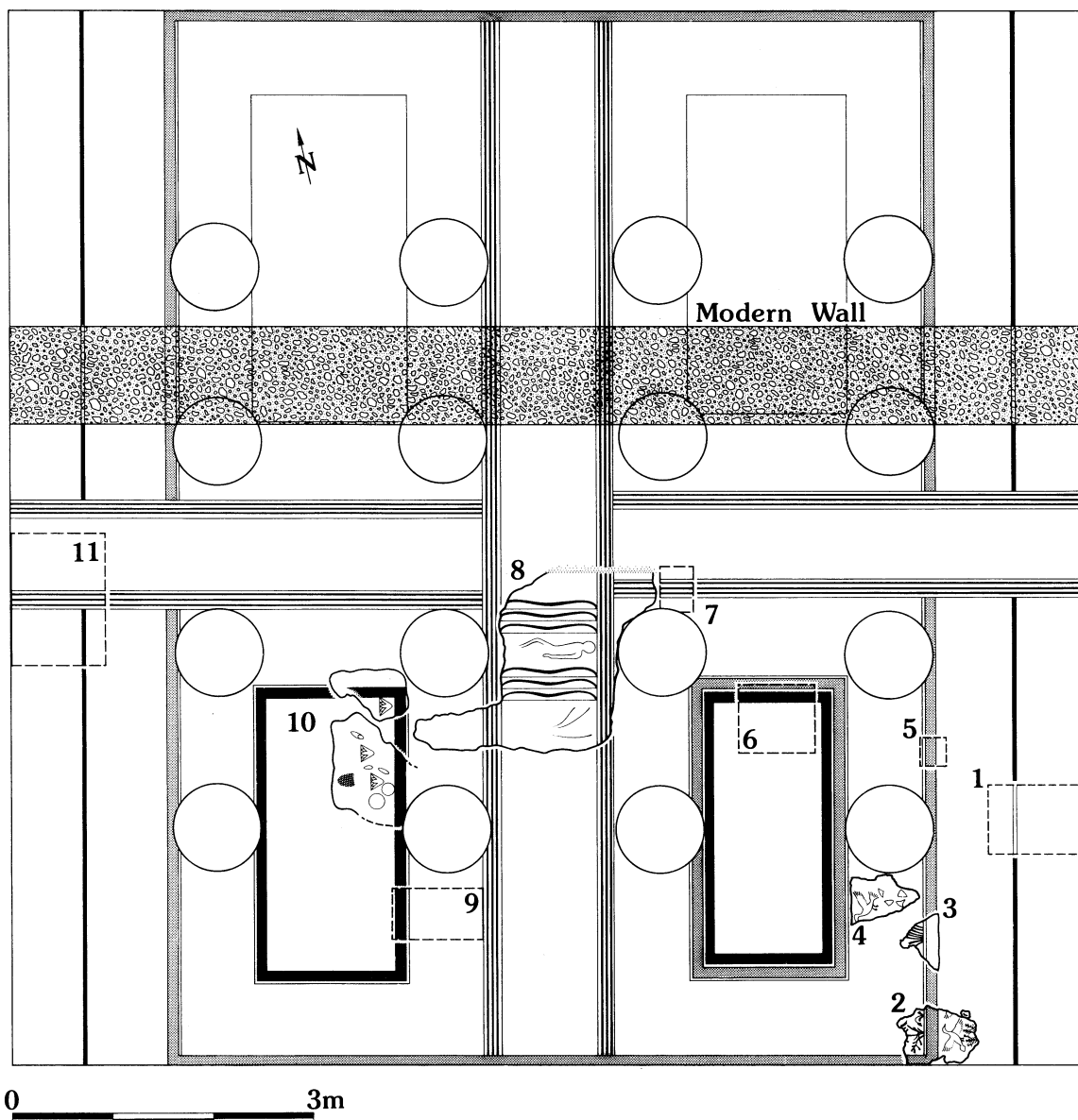


FIG 2. Restored design of the pavement in the Main Hall from surviving records. Where the shape and exact details of fragments are not known, they have been shown as rectangular areas.

1. Area showing a border of bouquets and stands, 69 cm wide, next to an inner blue band 4 cm wide including black outlines. No outer band was noted.

2. Fragment showing parts of two duck-and-marsh borders, separated by a yellow band 10 cm wide. Lower border: pale brown and black duck, over cornflowers. Upper border: curling green leaves, and pink and blue flowers. Fragment against south wall; corner 1.5 m from east wall. 60 cm north-south dimension, 81 cm east-west dimension. Fragment drawn from original sketch with measurements.

3. Fragment provisionally placed, showing base of a plant in a border. 58 cm north-south dimension. Fragment drawn to scale from original sketch with measurements.

4. Fragment 80 cm north of no. 2. Duck with blue neck, head outlined in red, yellow beak. Red poppies below. 69 cm east-west dimension. Placed in border 74 cm wide. Fragment drawn to scale from original sketch with measurements.

5. Area of yellow band 10 cm wide, 2.4 m above no. 2. Edge on west side.

6. Area of blue water with zigzag watermarks, next to east-west black 'bank' of pond. 8.5 cm wide. In the water, lotus flowers and wing of a black and white bird, probably a kingfisher.

7. Area of coloured strips of captives pathway, north of and 2.6 m west of no. 5.

8. Fragment of central captives pathway with outer striped bands. Part of east branch of pathway present. Shows two sets of bows, and traces of two captives, the north one a negro, the south one with traces of blue and yellow paint probably a Syrian. The north end of the fragment is hidden by a spoil heap. Captives 97 cm wide, total pathway with outer bands 1.3 m. Fragment drawn from original sketch with measurements.

9. Area of duck-and-marsh border 74 cm wide. Then black line 1 cm wide, white band 4 cm wide, and black band of pond 'bank' 10.5 cm wide.

10. Fragment showing corner of pond. Black 'bank' 10 cm wide. Water showing lotus flowers, buds and leaves. Traces of red (?) fish. Eastern edge of fragment not shown on original sketch. Width of water 74 cm, height of pond 1.40 m. Traces of green leaves in area extending 20 cm above north 'bank' of pond. Top of fragment is 58 cm to base of west arm of captives pathway (This makes the duck-and-marsh border north of the pond, 78 cm wide). Fragment drawn from original sketch with measurements.

11. Fragment against the west wall, showing part of captives pathway with bouquet-and-stand border below. 94 cm east-west dimension, 1.35 m north-south dimension. 4.03 m from south wall. Bands 16.8 cm wide, separating captives pathway from bouquet-and-stand border. Bands 4.6 m from south wall.

Petrie's work in the Petrie Collection, University College, London. This is in the form of thirteen small sheets, drawn 1:10. From the cut-off outlines it is clear that not all the paintwork was copied, probably the reason it was not published by him.

The restored drawing made from Petrie's copies (fig. 4) confirms that the room had twelve columns. Assuming that the overall design was symmetrical, it can be estimated from the restored drawing that the room was about 8.0 m by 10.6 m. This is close to the dimensions obtained from Petrie's plan. It does not match either plan in *COA*, III, pls. xiii a and xiv. The design fits the description given by Petrie.<sup>31</sup> A central north-south band of captives turns west at the north end of the room to approach the north doorway. When the facsimile is compared with a suitably enlarged version of Petrie's plan, the western pathway of captives fits the position of the doorway on the plan exactly.

The central pathway is composed of alternating Asiatics and negroes, representing the northern and southern enemies of Egypt. Their dress varies slightly, as on the Great Pavement. There are remains of five negroes, probably Nubians. All have white or pale blue-grey all-in-one outfits, the latter colour probably indicating the skin colour showing through the cloth. This dress is similar to that of the negroes on the Great Pavement, but unlike the short or long skirts known elsewhere, for instance at Malkata.<sup>32</sup> All have sashes passing over the shoulders and around the hips. Two have extra hanging tassels. Numbering the captives from top to bottom on fig. 4, no. 1 and no. 5 have flared sleeves, more in the Egyptian style. Negro no. 2 has a necklet and a large white earring. The hair or skull-cap is shown by white spots on brown on no. 1; on no. 2 this is plain red. The other captives are all Syrians, probably Amorites, identified by their distinctive hairstyle, beards and tiered clothing. All six figures have slightly differently arranged, and coloured, clothing. Some pieces are fringed. All have capes and upper skirts over long spiralled skirts. The captives, who face north, then west across room F, form part of a continuous line of captives following one behind the other through the three large halls discussed here. The sets of bows separating the figures, however, face the opposite way from the

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 13-14.

<sup>32</sup> Y. Watanabe and K. Iseke, *The Architecture of 'Kom El Samak' at Malkata South. A Study of Architectural Restoration* (Tokyo, 1986), pl. 14.1; G. Daressy, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 170 and accompanying plate.

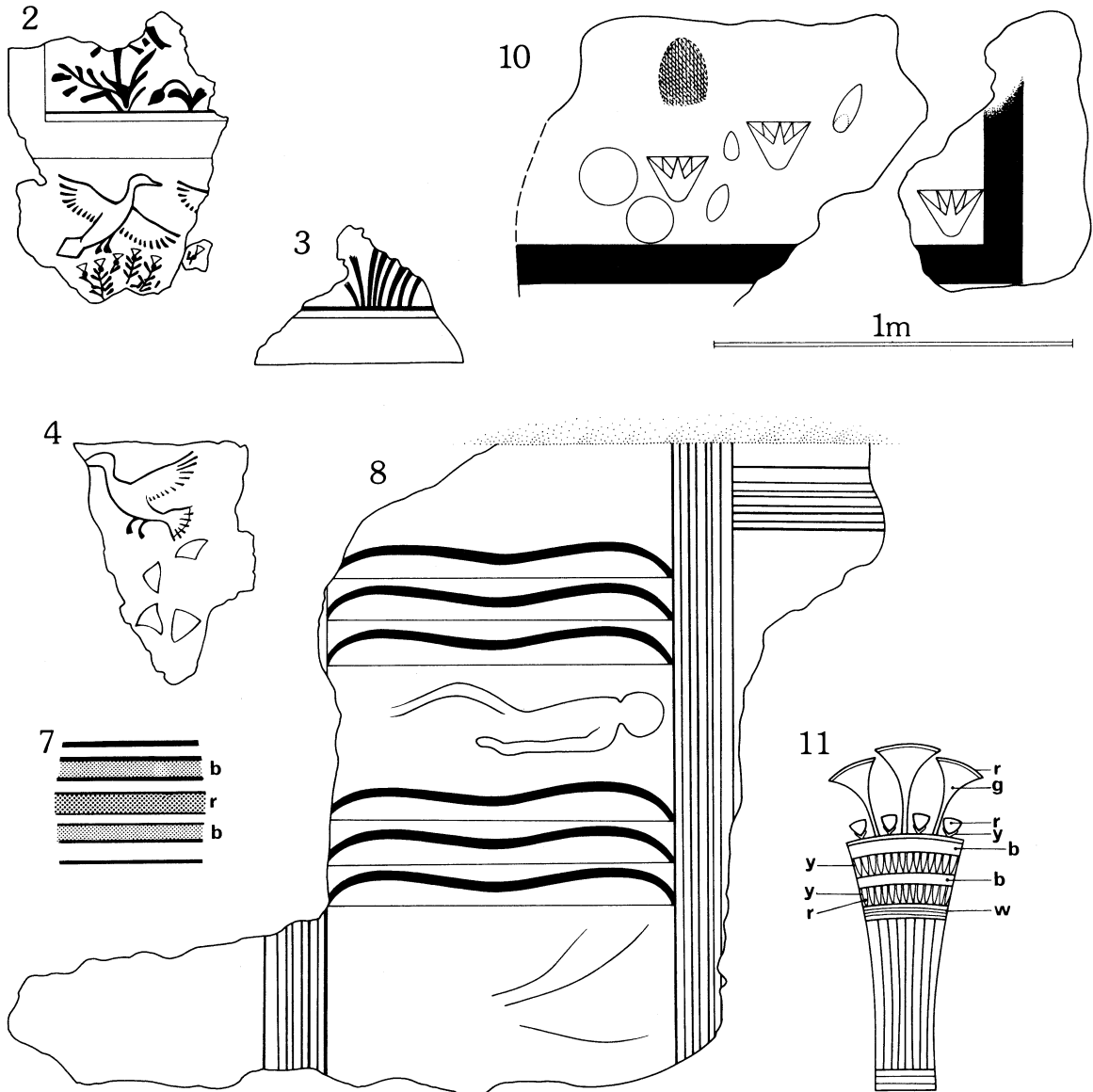


FIG. 3. Details of fragments from the Main Hall, as described in Fig. 2. All pieces drawn 1:20, except nos. 7 and 11 at 1:10. No. 7 shows a section of coloured stripes bordering the captives pathway; b = blue, r = red. No. 11 shows a reconstruction of the bouquet design from a written description; height overall 49 cm, width unknown; b = blue, g = green, r = red, w = white, y = yellow.

bows on the Great Pavement; the direction may have been changed at the 'cross-roads' in the Main Hall.

On either side of the central pathway between sets of columns are two ponds, one slightly larger than the other. These teem with fish and plant life. The fish are the mullet and the 'bolti'. Ducks swim in the water and flutter over the surface. In both ponds lotus plants, fish and ducks are predominantly positioned with their bases to the north, probably emphasizing the north to south route of the viewer across the hall. Fish and

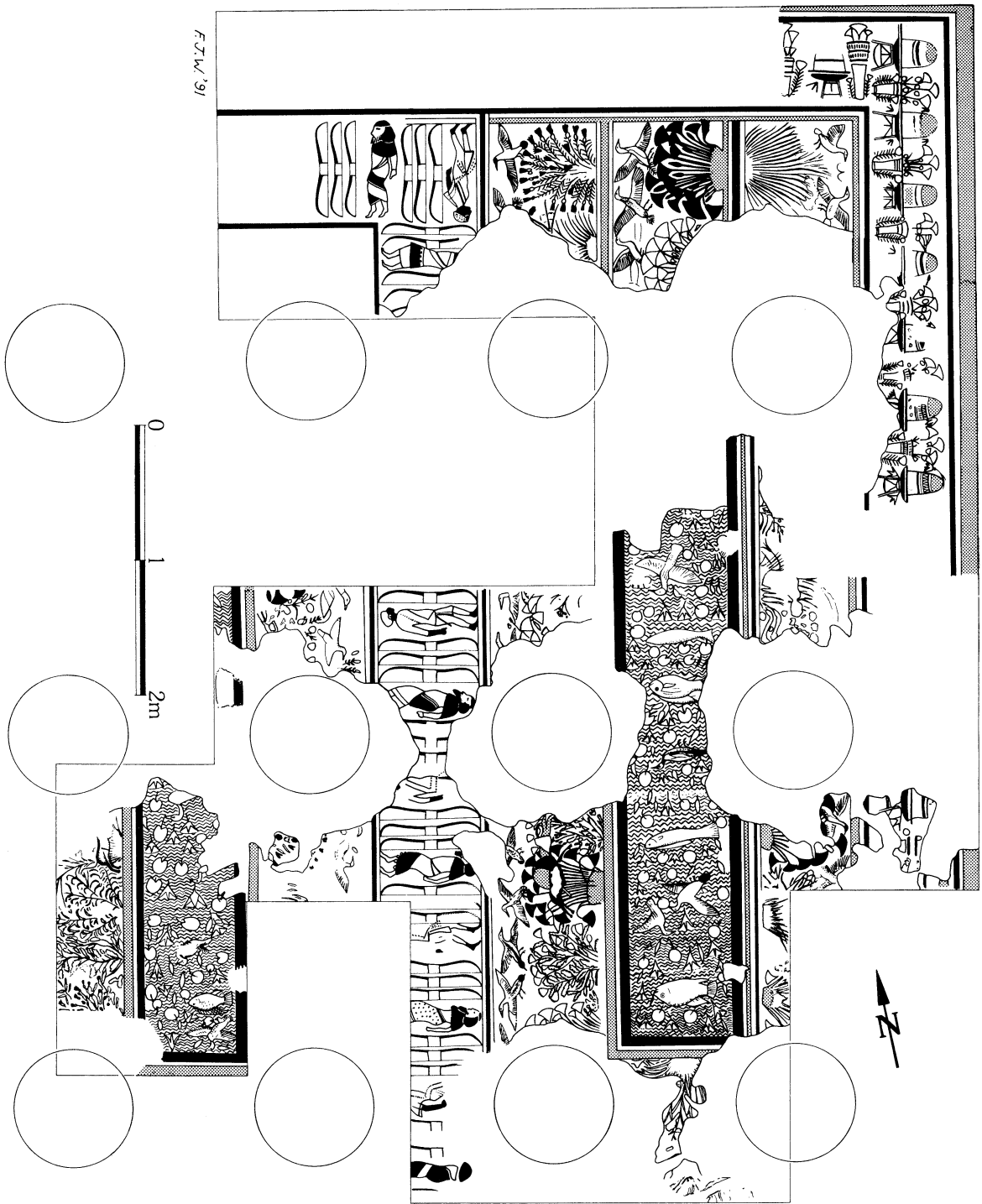


FIG. 4. Pavement design in Room F, drawn from Petrie's copies.

birds face west, which may relate to the Egyptian preference for writing, and thus reading, hieroglyphs from right to left. The zigzags of the water run across the smallest distance of the ponds. All these features are the same as on the Great Pavement. Comparison with the ponds in the Main Hall is not so easy, since only one corner was sketched in the site notebook (figs. 2 and 3, no. 10); but here the lotus flowers that do exist are placed inconsistently with those in the other halls, with their bases to the east.

Duck-and-marsh scenes surround the pools as colourful borders. As on the other pavements, clumps of wild plants include papyrus and rushes, along with possible garden plants such as cornflowers and poppies. As on the other pavements, too, large animals occur. The rear of a calf can be seen at the west end of the room but more central is the unusual depiction of a lion attacking a bull, noted by Petrie.<sup>33</sup> The details of the design are unclear but the outstretched lion is leaping at the bull from the front, and appears to be attacking it behind the neck (see fig. 4). This is a motif known from the Eighteenth Dynasty, for example, on a small sculpture from the Records Office at Amarna,<sup>34</sup> and on an unguent jar from the tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>35</sup> Lions also occurred on wall-plaster at Amarna, at the Maru-Aten, but their posture was not recorded.<sup>36</sup>

On the surviving portion of the outer border of the pavement, there are two types of bouquet. One has poppy and lotus flowers between papyrus flowers at the top of the bundle of stems. The other, of which only one remains, has a taller bundle of stems with a different scheme of bands at the top, from which sprout papyrus flowers only. There are two types of offering stands, one with green dishes, the other with blue. The garland design on the cones also differs slightly (see fig. 5). Both the bouquets and the stands are similar to those on the Great Pavement, but there is more variation of the forms here.

### Conclusion

On all three pavements there appear to be two main themes. One, showing pond and marsh scenes, alludes to material abundance and fecundity,<sup>37</sup> and perhaps also to the primeval marsh of the creation myth. The other, showing pathways of bound foreign captives, represents the king's dominion over foreign lands. The less prominent depiction of bouquets and garlanded offering stands shows objects which would have been present at ceremonial occasions.

On the pavements of the three halls, the duck-and-marsh scenes are repeated with little variation; the only exception, which interrupts the tranquil idyll, is the attack on the bull by the lion. Similar waterside scenes occur on pavements at the Maru-Aten.<sup>38</sup> They are also found at the North Palace as wall paintings, in several rooms which surround the central water-court, at present being studied by the author. Waterside scenes are known at other palace sites too. They decorated pavements at the palace of Amenophis III at

<sup>33</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 14.

<sup>34</sup> H. R. Hall, *JEA* 11 (1925), 159–61.

<sup>35</sup> I. E. S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York, 1976), pl. 10; Carter no. 211.

<sup>36</sup> A brief note in *COA*, 1 mentions that lions were depicted with plants and other animals on the walls of the kiosk of Building II at the Maru-Aten: T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *COA*, 1 (London, 1923), 122.

<sup>37</sup> D. O'Connor, *CRIPPEL* 11 (1989), 78, suggests that such scenes represent nature given life by the rising sun.

<sup>38</sup> *COA*, 1, 118–19, pl. xxxvii.

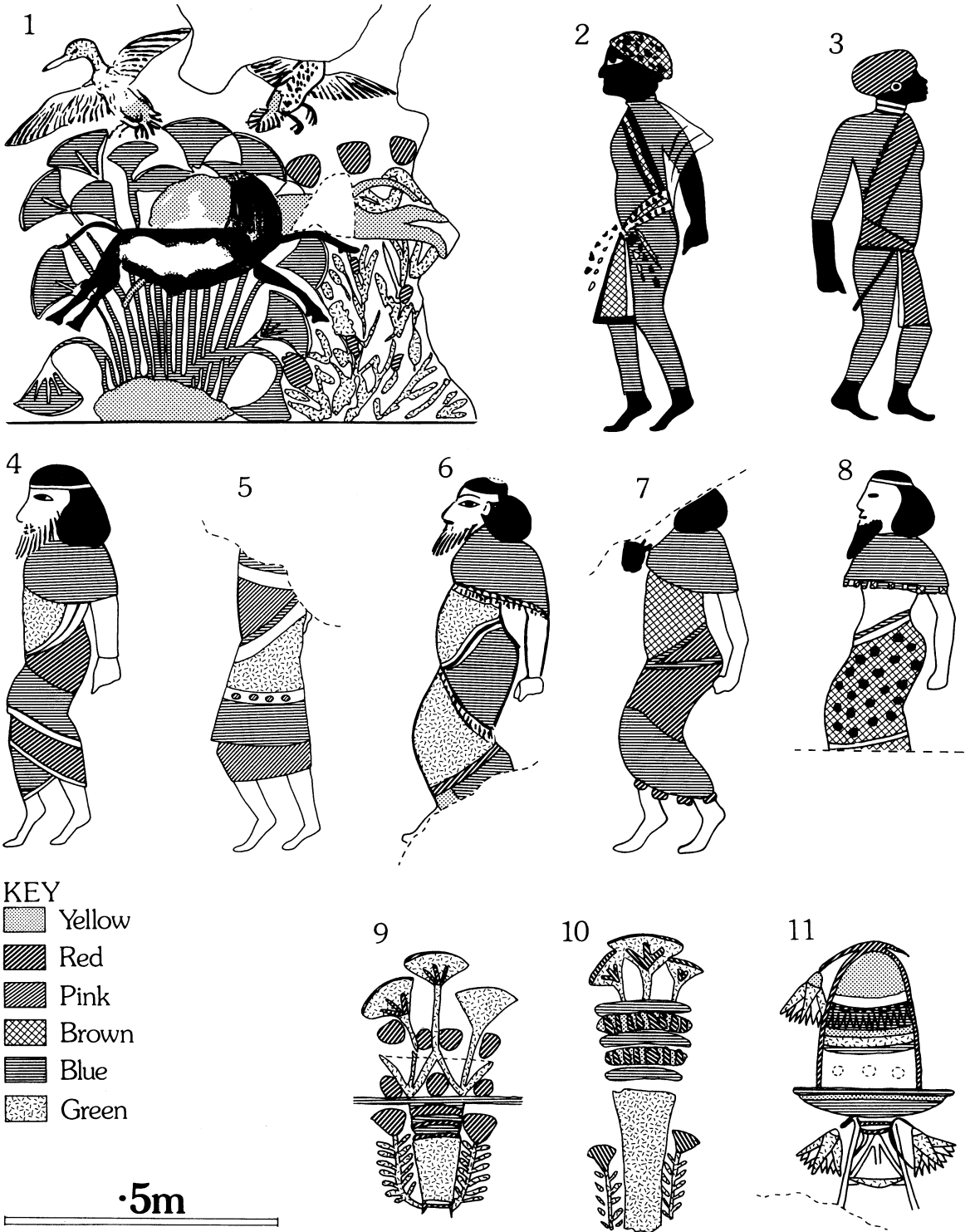


FIG. 5. Details of pavement designs in Room F, showing colours.

- No. 1. Lion attacking bull.
- Nos. 2, 3. Negro captives.
- Nos. 4-8. Syrian captives. Skin colour, light tan.
- Nos. 9, 10. Bouquets, outer border.
- No. 11. Offering stand, outer border.

Malkata, and possibly at the palace of Merneptah at Memphis, the former in one of the throne rooms and its antechamber,<sup>39</sup> the latter in a cross hall before a throne room.<sup>40</sup>

It has been shown that the three main pavement rooms in the North Harim were interconnected by the pathways of bound captives. Such depictions are known to be associated with royalty, especially with the seat of power, the throne. At Malkata, in the hall with the surviving pavement of pond and marsh scenes, the endpoint for a pathway of captives was a throne dais,<sup>41</sup> while elsewhere at the same site, the steps of a dais and of a pavilion were decorated with painted captives.<sup>42</sup> The steps of daises of the Nineteenth Dynasty palaces at Memphis<sup>43</sup> and at Qantir<sup>44</sup> were similarly decorated.

At Amarna, in room F the north-south pathway leads towards annexe G, which was slightly raised. But neither Petrie nor Pendlebury recorded how the pathway ended, or whether it ended in room F or extended into the annexe. In the Main Hall, too, it is not known how the west and south arms of the captives pathway ended. In *COA*, III, no doorway was noted in the south wall, and no remains of captives were found to cut across corridor H. But a doorway was considered possible in the west wall, leading to corridor J.<sup>45</sup> If a pathway had passed into this corridor, it must have cut across it, rather than running up or down it, as this space was taken up by other floor painting designs. The destination could have been further west, but no floor plaster was noted here in *COA*, III.

As it is unlikely that the west and south arms were added for the sake of symmetry to balance the east and north ones, and if they did not lead to places outside the Main Hall, then it is reasonable to assume that they led to features associated with kingship, now lost. This is particularly likely for the southern one, and I suggest that there was once a throne dais against the south wall. As has been pointed out, the overall design in the Main Hall emphasizes the north-south axis. Support for such a throne dais comes from study of plans of other palaces. The plan of the Great Palace, in the area of the North Harim, has a striking equivalent at the palace of Merneptah at Memphis,<sup>46</sup> and also at the first palace of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.<sup>47</sup> The latter both contain throne rooms in the space corresponding to the Main Hall at Amarna, with throne daises against their south walls.<sup>48</sup> All three palaces are orientated in the same direction, north-south.

The closer parallel is Memphis where the surrounding rooms match those at Amarna (fig. 6). These are a large open court, a pillared cross hall, a central hall (the throne room) flanked by other rooms, and a series of small rooms to the south including an L-shaped corridor. At Memphis the latter are thought to be private rooms, including a bathroom, but at Amarna they are too poorly preserved to allow interpretation. Both palaces had painted pavements in their columned halls, signifying their importance. As already mentioned, this feature was found in the cross hall at Memphis,<sup>49</sup> and it is believed to have

<sup>39</sup> Robb de P. Tytus, *A Preliminary Report on the Re-excavation of the Palace of Amenhetep III* (New York, 1903), 16-17; Daressy, *ASAE* 4, 165-6.

<sup>40</sup> C. S. Fisher, *Museum Journal* III, no. 4 (Dec. 1917), 216.

<sup>41</sup> Tytus, *op. cit.* 17.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 17; Watanebe and Iseke, *op. cit.* 32-5.

<sup>43</sup> Fisher, *op. cit.* 218, fig. 82; D. G. Jeffreys, J. Malek and H. S. Smith, *JEA* 72 (1986), 12.

<sup>44</sup> W. C. Hayes, *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses II at Kantir* (New York, 1937), 13, fig. 1.

<sup>45</sup> *COA*, III, 41 footnote.

<sup>46</sup> Fisher, *op. cit.*, fig. 79.

<sup>47</sup> U. Hölscher., *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, III; the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III, pt. 1* (Chicago, 1941), fig. 23.

<sup>48</sup> This has also been shown by O'Connor, *op. cit.*, figs. 1-2.

<sup>49</sup> Fisher, *op. cit.* 218.

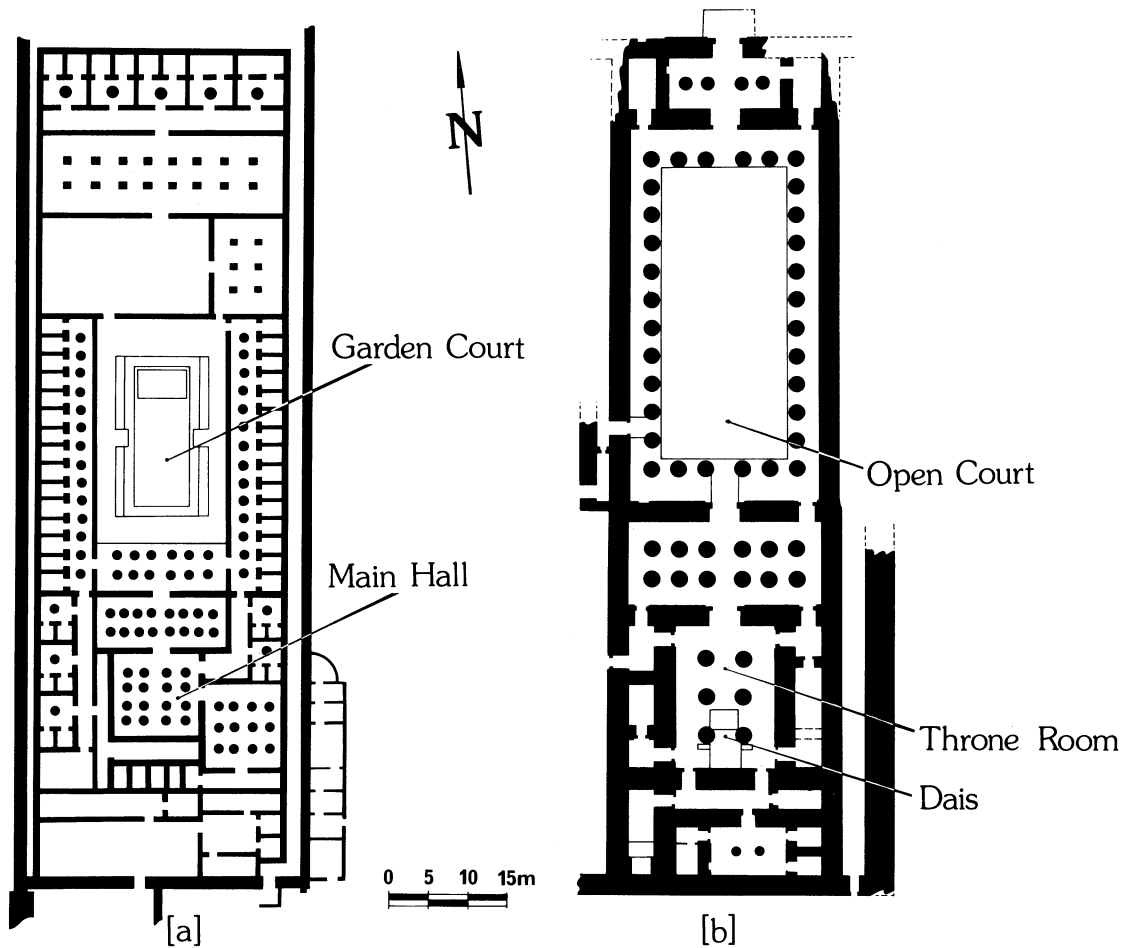


FIG. 6. Comparison of the North Harim at the Great Palace (a) with the palace of Merneptah at Memphis (b) (after *COA*, III, pl. xiv, and Fisher, *Museum Journal*, 1917, fig. 79, respectively).

once existed in the throne room. Moreover, painted pavements occur in the surrounding rooms and corridors at both sites. At Amarna, the plant designs and the bouquet-and-stand designs found in the three halls are repeated. Clumps of plants, for example, occur in the southern cubicles and in corridor J,<sup>50</sup> and bouquets and stands bearing fruit, enclosing a vine design, occur in corridor H.<sup>51</sup> Remains of a design were also found in annexe G, probably bouquets and stands (see fig. 1).<sup>52</sup>

Elsewhere in the Great Palace, possible evidence of another processional way involving bound captives was found in stone in one of the Central Halls close to the entrance to the Broad Hall.<sup>53</sup> This may have been the remains of a dais similar to that

<sup>50</sup> *COA*, III, 41, fig. 11.

<sup>51</sup> *COA*, III, 41, fig. 10.

<sup>52</sup> *COA*, III, 41; Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 14.

<sup>53</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 8.



found at the palace of Merneptah at Memphis.<sup>54</sup> It should thus be considered possible that, as at Malkata, more than one throne room was built at the Great Palace.<sup>55</sup>

The overall impression of the three halls is one of magnificence and splendour. There is evidence in room F that the columns were covered with moulded faience plant designs,<sup>56</sup> and that there were tiles and inlays from other architectural features which repeated the arcadian scenes on the pavements. It is likely that the attempt to create a total environment also occurred in the Main Hall, but this was so thoroughly robbed that no architectural features or ornamentation survived: note that, unlike the other two halls, all the column bases had been removed. In the later excavations, Pendlebury found faience column fragments, tiles and inlays showing ducks and marsh plants, water with lotus plants and fish, scattered throughout the palace, but possibly deriving from this area.<sup>57</sup>

My conclusion is that the portion of the Great Palace previously known as the North Harim is most likely to have been a set of rooms including a throne room, which would have been used by the king on state occasions, and for rituals connected with his function as ruler. As has been shown the layout falls within the tradition of New Kingdom palace architecture. The building appears to have been planned as a microcosm of an idealized world, represented partly in reality by the water-garden to the north, and partly in imitation by the decorated halls to the south. Like the backdrop of a stage-set, this created landscape may have provided an evocative setting against which real-life dramas were enacted.

The functions of the myriad of rooms making up the Great Palace must have been truly complex. Their proper understanding by modern-day minds unfamiliar with the preoccupations and duties of a king in the remote past would seem to be ultimately beyond grasp. But it is hoped that the analysis of the painted pavements put forward here will go some way towards explaining their role in the palace's decoration, and also provide an acceptable reinterpretation of part of this once magnificent building.

<sup>54</sup> Fisher, *op. cit.* 218, fig. 82; Jeffreys, Malek and Smith, *op. cit.* 12.

<sup>55</sup> The possibility that room F was another throne room, subsidiary to the Main Hall, can probably be discounted. The most likely position for a throne would be against the north wall, approached by the captives pathway from two directions, but the available space would be too small, being only the width of the border of bouquets and vases.

<sup>56</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 12.

<sup>57</sup> Currently being studied by A. D. Boyce.



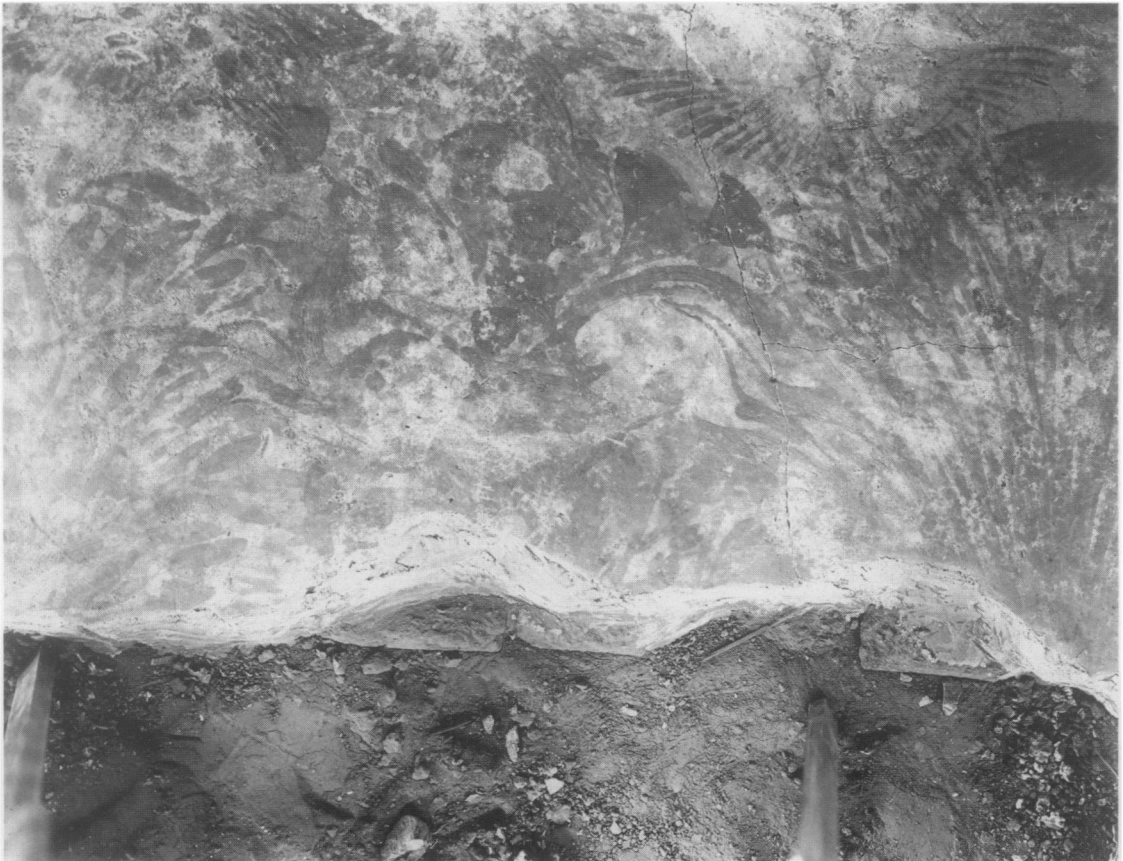
1. The Great Pavement *in situ*, looking east (*Courtesy E.E.S.*)



2. South-east part of western section of the Great Pavement (*Courtesy E.E.S.*)



1. South-west part of western section of the Great Pavement (*Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)



2. Leaping bull advancing to the left, from north part of pavement in Main Hall (*Courtesy E.E.S.*)

## AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY BY THE WORKMEN OF DEIR EL-MEDINA\*

By ANDREA McDOWELL

It is generally agreed that the workmen engaged in agricultural activity, although not to what extent. Farming is best documented in the late Twentieth Dynasty, when conditions were perhaps exceptional, but there is indirect evidence of agriculture at all periods. The workmen kept oxen and donkeys which they may have used in cultivation, and some had large numbers of private servants who perhaps worked the land. Agricultural tools and silos found in the village are further signs of farming. The source of land is a matter of speculation; some fields may have belonged to local cults, but a few texts suggest that workmen themselves owned land. Baer has shown that farming could be very profitable, and it is known that some New Kingdom officials enjoyed an extra income from land. Despite the lack of explicit textual evidence, it is possible that some Deir el-Medina workmen did the same.

BARRY Kemp has suggested that some, perhaps many, New Kingdom officials owned or leased agricultural lands from which they enjoyed an extra income.<sup>1</sup> One would not suppose that the workmen of Deir el-Medina were in a position to do the same, even on a much smaller scale, since they were not of the official class, had full-time employment in the Valley of the Kings, and were more than amply supplied by the state with all they needed. Nevertheless, it is well known that the workmen were engaged in a certain amount of farming, although it has never been clear how many workmen farmed or to what extent.<sup>2</sup> The only incontrovertible proof of farming comes from the very end of Deir el-Medina's history, when the village itself had been abandoned and conditions were very different from those of the community's heyday. From the period of the village's occupa-

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Place of publication, primary sources: Černý, Notebooks=Notebooks which comprise Černý Ms. 17, unpublished manuscripts of J. Černý in the Griffith Institute, Oxford; *HO*=J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 1 (Oxford, 1957); *KRI*=K. A. Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, I-VIII (Oxford, 1975-90); *LRL*=J. Černý, *Late Rameside Letters* (Brussels, 1939); O. Cairo 25501-25832=J. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques* (Cairo, 1935); O. DeM 1-456=J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non-littéraires de Deir el Médineh, Nos 1-456* (Cairo, 1935-51); O. DeM 550-623=S. Sauneron, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non-littéraires de Deir el Médineh, Nos 550-623* (Cairo, 1959); O. DeM 624-705=J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non-littéraires de Deir el Médineh, Nos 624-705* (Cairo, 1970); O. Turin 57001-568=J. López, *Ostraca leratici, N. 57001-57568, Tabelle Lignee, N. 58001-58007* (Milan, 1978-84); *RAD*=A. H. Gardiner, *Rameside Administrative Documents* (London, 1948).

Abbreviations, secondary sources: Bruyère, *Rapport (1924-5)* etc.=B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924-5)* (Cairo, 1926) etc.; Černý, *Community*=J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramessid Period* (Cairo, 1973); Helck, *Materialen*=W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, pts. 1-6 and index (Wiesbaden, 1961-70); Janssen, *Prices*=Jac. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975); Valbelle, *Ouvriers*=D. Valbelle, "Les ouvriers de la tombe", *Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside* (Cairo, 1985).

<sup>1</sup> B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 309-17.

<sup>2</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 255; C. J. Eyre, *SAK* 11 (1984), 202-3.

tion itself there is none of the clear written evidence which we have come to expect from the workmen's community: no explicit references to farming, to sales or loans of farming equipment, or to disputes over land. There are, however, many circumstantial signs of agricultural activity, such as references to oxen, servants, and fields, on the one hand, and finds of winnowing equipment and silos on the other. This certainly raises the possibility of limited farming by the workmen throughout their history, a possibility which is sufficiently interesting to justify the following presentation of the data, inconclusive though it may be.

The strongest evidence for farming is found in the Late Ramesside Letters from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, which contain many instructions on the subject from the scribe *Dḥwtj-ms* to his son *Bw-thr-'Imn*. It happens that during the administrative confusion of the late Twentieth Dynasty these two were also involved in collecting the grain for the gang's rations directly from the cultivators,<sup>3</sup> so that it is not always entirely clear whether the agricultural instructions concern their own, privately cultivated land or state land; but there are sufficiently clear-cut references to the former to present a picture of very extensive agricultural activity. That both grain and vegetables were cultivated is clear from *Dḥwtj-ms*'s admonition, 'Further, do not [w]eary of any commission of mine which is in the country (*shṯy*) namely the grain, to cultivate (it), and to plant for me the vegetables as well.'<sup>4</sup> Another instruction which also seems to concern a family holding is more difficult to interpret: 'And you shall look to these riparian plots (*idb.w*) of ours, and cause the trees which are on their mound to be cleared, like the fields (*shwt*) which *Nsw-Mntw* used to cultivate. And you will clear its trees from the boundary of *Pi-R* up to the well of the boundary.'<sup>5</sup> Wente points out that the word for clearing, *shd*, has a brazier determinative, suggesting clearing by burning;<sup>6</sup> perhaps, then, the land is to be cleared of brush or driftwood for cultivation. A few lines further on there are instructions about the yoke of cattle which are with the herdsman *Nsw-'Imn*, but are to be given to another individual;<sup>7</sup> these, too, are presumably for ploughing. In an earlier passage *Dḥwtj-ms* instructed his son about the donkeys used to transport grain (*LRL* 9, 9-16), which is to be registered and put in the granaries, but here we may have to do with deliveries of rations to the gang. It is clear, at any rate, that the family of *Dḥwtj-ms* had the use of several fields, as well as oxen, and cultivated both grain and vegetables.

These letters belong to a time when the villagers had already moved to Medinet Habu, but there are many signs of farming at an earlier date. The most important is a unique scene of ploughing in the tomb of *Rc-ms*; his servant, *Pth-s'nh*, guides the plough, and says 'the field is in a very good state and their (sic) grain will be excellent... My attention is on "the West" and "the Beautiful Flood".'<sup>8</sup> As Černý pointed out, this *Pth-s'nh* also appears on a small stela dedicated to Hathor by his master *Rc-ms*,<sup>9</sup> lending confidence that the tomb scene depicts this world rather than the owner's hopes for the hereafter.

<sup>3</sup> See the Turin Taxation Papyrus (*RAD*, 35-44).

<sup>4</sup> *LRL*, 5, 15.

<sup>5</sup> *LRL*, 11, 1-5.

<sup>6</sup> E. F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), 31 nn. *ae* and *ag*.

<sup>7</sup> *LRL*, 11, 11-12.

<sup>8</sup> Tomb 212: Bruyère, *Rapport* (1923-24), 65 and pl. 19. See also Černý, *Community*, 324-5; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 255.

<sup>9</sup> Černý, *Community*, 324-5; *Tablets and Other Egyptian Monuments from the Collection of the Earl of Belmore Now Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1843), pl. 5, upper left.

Now *Rc-ms* had come to the gang from the temple of Thutmosis IV, and it has been suggested that he acquired his fields during this earlier stage of his career, so that his case is not representative.<sup>10</sup> However, it does demonstrate that it was possible for a workman to hold land, cultivated by his own household, in the hey-day of the village's history.

Presumably workmen who wished to farm could have leased land if they preferred,<sup>11</sup> so that we need not expect many references to land ownership; but a few texts do mention land owned outside the village, in some cases small plots of a few cubits,<sup>12</sup> and in others actual fields, *šwt*. O. Strassbourg H 106,<sup>13</sup> for instance, lists *n n šht n Wn-nfr*, 'the fields of *Wn-nfr*', in a number of different locations. The only relatively complete entry concerns a plot 'north of the tree...' (*mḥty n t šn*) which sound as though it was quite local. The fields total 17 arouras, enough to support two or three families. O. Gard. 165,<sup>14</sup> although it concerns a dispute over a donkey,<sup>15</sup> furnishes interesting evidence that fields could be bought by members of the community. The lady from whom the donkey is demanded offers an exchange: 'I will buy it and I will give you [its] price [from f]ields (*šwt*) in Armant.' This does not satisfy the speaker, who responds, 'I will not take...fields. Now give [the] donkey *itself*!' The lady in this case, therefore, owned fields, and her correspondent had the opportunity to buy them, although he turned it down. We might also note here that the chief of police of the Necropolis *Min-in-iwy* had the use of fields in the countryside (*šht*),<sup>16</sup> as did, apparently, the chief of police *Nb-smn*.<sup>17</sup>

In contrast to the rather meagre evidence for use of land, the references to cattle owned by the workmen are numerous and unambiguous. Some of these are sales, and are discussed by Janssen; the price of an ox varied from around 20 *dbn* for a young animal to 141 *dbn* at the top of the range, well over a year's salary for a workman.<sup>18</sup> Cattle were owned by a large number of individuals from every branch of the community.<sup>19</sup> Doorkeepers are known to have bought or sold cattle,<sup>20</sup> as are chiefs of the gang.<sup>21</sup> Although

<sup>10</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 255.

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. Kemp, in P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham and G. W. Dimbleby (eds.), *Man, Settlement, and Urbanism* (London, 1972), 672. That it was possible to lease land in the Theban area at this time is suggested by P. Berlin 8523 (S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen, 1972), 274-5 and pls. 76-7) concerning a field (*šht*) near Thebes which its owner had not at first intended to allow a tenant farmer (*mḥty*) to cultivate; his wife, however, persuaded him to change his mind.

<sup>12</sup> P. Boulaq 10, vs. 5.13 (see Jac. J. Janssen and P. W. Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 145): *Bs* inherits a plot (*iwtm*) of 6 × 6 cubits 'beside the house of the mayor'. See also O. DeM 593, where a *iwtm* is sold for 5 copper *dbn*.

<sup>13</sup> Černý, Notebook 35, 69.

<sup>14</sup> Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 183-4 and pls. 44-5; *KRI* III, 548-50. See also Allam, *CdE* 62 (1987), 160; Černý, *Community*, 270, suggests a date in the reign of Ramesses II.

<sup>15</sup> The opening lines which name the protagonist are lost, but since the recto of the ostrakon bears an account of another court battle over a donkey narrated by the workman *Nfr-snt*, it is more likely that the speaker on the verso is either this same man or another workman.

<sup>16</sup> O. Toronto A. 11 rt. 27 (A. H. Gardiner, H. Thompson, J. G. Milne, *Theban Ostraca* (London, 1913), 16g-16h).

<sup>17</sup> See the question addressed to an oracle on O. IFAO [855] (Černý, Notebook 105, 85): 'Shall one cultivate (*iri*) this field (of) the chief of police *Nb-smn*?' (for *iri* meaning 'cultivate', see Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 70 n. b).

<sup>18</sup> Janssen, *Prices*, 173.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Janssen, *Prices*, 536-7.

<sup>20</sup> O. Turin 57362, O. DeM 56 (in both of these cases the doorkeeper was *Hc-m-Wst*, also mentioned as the owner of an animal in O. DeM 428 rt. 1).

<sup>21</sup> O. Gard. 152 (Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 43); O. IFAO 1373 (Černý, Notebook 62, 71).



the chiefs of police were not inhabitants of the village, it is of some interest that they also owned and sold cattle,<sup>22</sup> particularly since one of the sellers, *Nb-smn*, is elsewhere mentioned in connection with fields.<sup>23</sup> Some policemen had cattle to sell,<sup>24</sup> but others were involved in what may have been loans.<sup>25</sup> The scribe *Hri* gave two oxen in partial payment for some tomb equipment,<sup>26</sup> sold another ox to a foreman,<sup>27</sup> and perhaps yet a fourth to another party.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, the scribe *'Imn-nht* promised to pay with an ox but never did.<sup>29</sup> The scribe *P-n-t-[hwt-nht]* appears to have been given two oxen by the gang as compensation for expenses he met on its behalf.<sup>30</sup> Women were also involved in such transactions, as seller,<sup>31</sup> person appealed to for an animal owed by her deceased husband,<sup>32</sup> and as possible part owner.<sup>33</sup> Of course, most individuals involved in the buying, selling, and borrowing of cattle were either workmen or untitled.<sup>34</sup>

Now, almost all of the references are to male animals,<sup>35</sup> which were clearly not kept for milk. It is also unlikely, for various reasons, that they were intended primarily for slaughter; I know of only two references to the slaughter of a private ox,<sup>36</sup> and indeed meat furnished by a single ox would be beyond a single family's capacity to consume, while there are virtually no references to sales of meat.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, oxen were kept for long periods of time, as is clear from several texts which deal with the difficulty of feeding them. The notorious *P;-nb* got someone else to feed his ox as often as he could, once for two months,<sup>38</sup> while a boy belonging to *Qnn* was brought especially to feed another ox, and a chief policeman ordered the workman *Mry-R* to shepherd a cow belonging to the

<sup>22</sup> O. Turin 57456; *HO*, 77 rt. 9; a chief of police is said to own an animal in O. Turin 57381 vs. 6-7.

<sup>23</sup> See above, n. 17.

<sup>24</sup> *HO*, 16, 3; O. Vienna H2 = Aeg. 2 (*WZKM* 59/60 (1963/4), 2).

<sup>25</sup> *HO*, 69, 2; O. DeM 433 (so Helck, *Materialien*, 487 and Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 124, although this case is not entirely clear); O. DeM 672.

<sup>26</sup> O. Turin 57368, formerly 9599. On this and the following sales by *Hri*, see Janssen, *Prices*, 538.

<sup>27</sup> O. IFAO 1373 (Černý, Notebook 62, 71).

<sup>28</sup> *HO*, 24, 1; the crucial word is missing, but see Janssen, *Prices*, 174.

<sup>29</sup> O. Berlin P 12630, 2-4 (Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 11).

<sup>30</sup> G. Botti and T. E. Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe* (Turin, 1928), pl. 42, 1.

<sup>31</sup> O. Cairo 25725 + O. Louvre E 3259 (the latter published in Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 59, 6); intermediary in O. Turin 57150 (see Janssen, *Prices*, 504).

<sup>32</sup> O. Berlin P 12630 (Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 11).

<sup>33</sup> Oracle inquiry O. IFAO [884] (Černý, Notebook 105, 92).

<sup>34</sup> Workmen: O. Cairo 25725; O. DeM 433; O. DeM 672; *HO*, 16, 3; *HO*, 26, 3 vs. 4; *HO*, 69, 2; perhaps borrowed in O. Gard. 143 (*KRI* VII, 376). No title: O. DeM 113; O. Gard. 152 (Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 43); O. Vienna H 2 (*WZKM* 59/60, 2). In the tomb of the workman *Sn-ndm* there is a scene of a small herd of cattle led by a group of named individuals who might represent *Sn-ndm*'s son and grandsons, but this could be idealized or meant to represent the funeral.

<sup>35</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, 485.

<sup>36</sup> *HO*, 3 vs. 4, where someone is absent from work slaughtering the ox of *Hwy-nfr*; and *LRL*, 63, 13-15, where instructions (now broken) are given about a male calf, including something about 'slaughtering it at his festival'.

<sup>37</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, 839-40. Cattle for slaughter were occasionally delivered with other provisions to the gang as a whole: *RAD*, 65, l3 vizier's office and treasury deliver one head of cattle each; O. Cairo 25504 vs. I, 2, six slaughtered cattle delivered; O. Prague H 14 rt. 6 (*KRI* VII, 302-3), Year 31, III *h*t 9, 18 cattle delivered to the left side by the scribe *Hri*; O. Berlin 12337 (*Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königliche Museen zu Berlin*, III (1911), pls. 31 and 31a), account of yearly supplies from the treasury to the workmen includes cattle of various sorts; O. Varille 6 + O. IFAO, l 4 (Černý, Notebook 107, 47a), receipt of oxen. In *HO*, 60, four parts of an ox are divided up among workmen; it is not clear whether the animal was a private one or supplied by the state.

<sup>38</sup> O. Cairo 25519 vs. 21; O. Cairo 25521; P. Salt 124, rt. 2, 20; see Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 257.

goddess Hathor.<sup>39</sup> *Hry* fed the doorkeeper *Hr-m-Wst*'s ox for four full months, but then, he counted this among the latter's debts to him;<sup>40</sup> and the speaker of O. Turin 57381 went to court to get reimbursed for the costs incurred in looking after someone else's animal. (One suspects that tending oxen was so irksome not only because they ate a great deal, but also because one had to go down to the cultivation to feed them.)<sup>41</sup> If cattle were kept for long periods of time, not for milk and evidently not all for slaughter, it may be supposed they were used for ploughing and threshing. Indeed, O. IFAO 1425 records the loan of an ox to *Pj-Rc-htp* for ploughing on two separate occasions.<sup>42</sup> Several court cases concerning cattle may also have to do with animals which borrowers failed to return to their owners;<sup>43</sup> if so, it may well be that these, too, were used for ploughing or some other agricultural employment, inasmuch as one can hardly imagine any other reason for borrowing an ox.

There are also a number of references to 'ploughing' (*skj*) with donkeys, mostly by watercarriers who had borrowed them from workmen; however, since ploughing with donkeys was very rare in the ancient Near East,<sup>44</sup> we should perhaps understand the use of *skj* in these texts to mean 'cultivate, farm' in a broader sense.<sup>45</sup> In O. DeM 624 vs. 4-5, for instance, the workman *Mnnj* loans a donkey to the watercarrier *Hnj* in order to cultivate. (*Mnnj*, incidentally, is known from other texts to have owned cattle as well.)<sup>46</sup> On one occasion a donkey borrowed for cultivation from this same *Mnnj* died while it was with the watercarrier; the difficulties which arose from this are recorded on two separate texts in almost identical words:<sup>47</sup>

1. Year 28, IV *šht* 25, day of giving the
2. donkey to the watercarrier *P-n-tj-Wrt* for cultivation.
3. It died in his possession in the first month of *prrt*; he was ordered to pay for its hire (*bjkw*) amounting to 5 *dbn*, and he
4. swore an oath to replace the donkey in the second month of *prrt*.<sup>48</sup>

In fact, *P-n-tj-Wrt* was nine months late in replacing the donkey. *HO* 29, 1 also records the loan of a donkey for cultivation, also for three months, and commencing at the end of the month of *šht*, as did the loan in the case quoted above. O. IFAO 1310 (Černý,

<sup>39</sup> O. Cairo, 25589.

<sup>40</sup> O. DeM 428.

<sup>41</sup> In *HO*, 33,2 vs. 2-4 the speaker seems to be unable to find the animal in question: 'Indeed, I do not know the place where the cow is. It is in order to hear what you will say that I do not go to bring it.' O. DeM 636 rt. mentions going to the temple of Seti, perhaps in connection with feeding an ox (text broken).

<sup>42</sup> *KRI* vi, 372. Interestingly, in a court case recorded on another ostrakon (O. Gard. 143; *KRI* vii, 376) the defendant swears that the ox he gave to the workman *Pj-Rc-htp* son of *Mnnj* was his own property and not that of the High Priest. This could be the same *Pj-Rc-htp*, since O. IFAO 1425 can be dated to Ramesses VI (Janssen, *GM* 29, 45-6) and *Pj-Rc-htp* son of *Mnnj* is attested under Ramesses IX (e.g. M. Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation*. 1, *Die 20. Dynastie*. (Hildesheim, 1983), 341). But the name *Pj-Rc-htp* was not uncommon.

<sup>43</sup> O. DeM 433 (Helck, *Materialien*, 487); O. DeM 672; *HO*, 69, 2; O. IFAO [294] (Černý, Notebook 103, 122).

<sup>44</sup> B. Brentjes, in *In Memoriam Eckhard Unger: Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des Alten Orients* (Baden-Baden, 1971), 140.

<sup>45</sup> Eyre, *SAK* 11, 203.

<sup>46</sup> O. DeM 672 and *HO*, 77.

<sup>47</sup> *HO*, 71, 1 and *HO*, 42, 3.

<sup>48</sup> *HO*, 71, 1 has *prrt*, where *HO*, 42, 3 has *šht*.



Notebook 62, 18) concerns yet another donkey loaned to a watercarrier for cultivation; in another text recording such a loan the names of the parties are lost.<sup>49</sup>

The examples just cited make up only a small portion of cases of donkeys hired by watercarriers from the members of the gang,<sup>50</sup> although the reason for the loan is usually not given. Most of these arrangements were for longer periods of about three months, perhaps because long contracts were the norm, although it is also possible that longer contracts were more likely to be written down than shorter ones. The figures are surprising; prices ranged from 1/4 to 1/2 *oipe* per day, with more examples of the higher prices than the lower.<sup>51</sup> As Janssen points out,<sup>52</sup> this is more than a watercarrier's wages. It is necessary to postulate some outside source of income for the watercarriers; Janssen suggests that perhaps they charged for the errands they ran for the workmen, but another alternative is that the donkeys were regularly being used for cultivation, either by the watercarriers themselves, or by outsiders for whom the watercarriers were acting as middlemen. At any rate, the owners of the animals earned substantial sums from this practice, since they charged high prices; at 1/2 *oipe* per day, a loan of about 100 days would cost 12 1/2 *hrr* or up to 25 *dbn*, the total value of the donkey, as in fact happened in the case recorded on *HO*, 29, 1. If the owner could let the donkey for the entire year at 1/3 *oipe*, and had no related expenses, he would earn 30 *hrr*, a 200% return, although if he could only find a customer for part of the year, such as the season for cultivation, or had to furnish the fodder himself, his returns would naturally be reduced. This much seems clear, at any rate: some village families enjoyed an extra income from hiring out their donkeys.<sup>53</sup>

This raises the possibility that the workmen kept oxen to hire them out for profit, as well as, or instead of, for their own use. Outside Deir el-Medina, there is good, although not abundant, evidence for the leasing of cattle for cultivation in later periods of Egyptian history,<sup>54</sup> and it seems reasonable to suppose that it was also practised in the New Kingdom.<sup>55</sup> As it happens, however, there is very little hard data for ox-hire at this early date,<sup>56</sup> and in particular no indication of what prices were charged.<sup>57</sup> It is possible that this would be an interesting option for workmen who wanted to invest surplus capital, and that it would account for some of the very many cattle owned by members of the community. However, only the one text mentioned above (O. IFAO 1425, *KRI* vi, 372)

<sup>49</sup> *HO*, 29, 1 rt.

<sup>50</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, 491-9; Eyre, *SAK*, 11, 203-4; in fact, the owner is seldom named in these documents, perhaps because they were drawn up for and kept by himself.

<sup>51</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, 491-6; Janssen, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979), 12.

<sup>52</sup> Janssen, *Prices*, 449; cf. id., *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin*, 14, 12.

<sup>53</sup> Eyre, *SAK* 11, 203-4.

<sup>54</sup> S. von Bolla-Kotek, *Untersuchungen zur Tiermiete und Viehpacht im Altertum*<sup>2</sup> (Munich, 1969), 16-17; J. Rea, *JEA* 68 (1982), 277; W. Ghoneim, *Die ökonomische Bedeutung des Rindes im Alten Ägypten* (Bonn, 1977), 247-8.

<sup>55</sup> Von Bolla-Kotek, op. cit. 30-1.

<sup>56</sup> W. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.* (Leiden, 1975), 211 and 280-1. Besides the one text from Deir el-Medina concerning the loan of an ox for ploughing (O. IFAO 1425), the only certain New Kingdom reference appears to be that in P. Anastasi V 16, 4 (See A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 19 n. 3). Possibly *LRL*, 11, 11-13 contains a reference to ox-hire: *Bw-thi-'Imn* is instructed to receive back a yoke of oxen from one cultivator and hand it over to another.

<sup>57</sup> The prices given in P. Louvre E. 7833 A and 7837 (= 7833 B) are difficult to interpret (see K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 31, and G. R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (Chicago, 1952), 51-70). Other prices mentioned in documents of the Graeco-Roman period (Rea, *JEA* 68, 277) are both very diverse and almost impossible to convert to New Kingdom equivalents.

refer explicitly to the loan of an ox. It may be that the transactions involving cattle took place outside the village, so that the records were kept elsewhere as well, but this does not seem a fully adequate explanation for the almost complete lack of references.

Let us return to the possibility of farming by the workmen. A further problem with this idea is that it would be difficult for members of the gang to run farms if they were working almost full-time in the Valley of the Kings. The men were given decade-end days off and had many other free days, especially near the end of a reign, but farming requires concentrated stretches of labour, at least at certain seasons. Of course, other family members could have helped, but, remembering that *Rc-ms*'s fields were cultivated by his slave (*hm*) *Pth-s'nh*, one might also speculate that the large numbers of servants (*b'kw* and *hmw*) kept by some village families were engaged in farming. The evidence for private slaves owned by the workmen has been discussed by others,<sup>58</sup> and points to quite large numbers of slaves in some households. According to P. Salt 124 rt. 1, 3-4, for example, the future foreman *Pj-nb* bribed the vizier with five servants who had belonged to his predecessor the foreman *Nb-nfr*; some of these, or yet other servants of *Nb-nfr*, are depicted in the tomb of his son *Nfr-htp*<sup>59</sup> as well as on a statue group of the latter and his wife.<sup>60</sup> The family of *Rc-ms* also apparently had more slaves than just the *Pth-s'nh* mentioned above, inasmuch as several slavewomen were buried along with his wife *Mwt-m-wi* and women of her family in tomb 250.<sup>61</sup> In *HO*, 51,2 the sculptor *Qn* passes on 'days' (*hrw*) of ten slaves (*b'kw*) which had belonged to his mother, to his son *P-n-dw*. They include six men, one woman, and three children. It is possible that the fact that *P-n-dw* inherits 'days' means that he only had a part share in these servants, but for our purposes that is not so important. (O. Glasgow D.1925.83 [*KRI* VII, 192-3] concerns shares in these same slaves inherited by another party). P. Berlin 10460<sup>62</sup> seems to concern the sale of a slave (*b'k*) by or to the guardian of the tomb *Kj-drt*, but the text is really too broken to be sure. Finally, the author of the letter O. BM 5631 informs his father that twelve family slaves (*b'kw*) were confiscated by the authorities as security for missing tools.<sup>63</sup> There is, in short, ample evidence that some workmen not only had slaves, but had them in large numbers. These would be available for farming, and indeed it is difficult to imagine what other work there would be for up to twelve private servants, since the workmen were supplied with almost all the necessities of daily life, including washermen to do their laundry and slave women to grind their grain. There would hardly have been even enough physical space for them in the already overcrowded workmen's houses.

Other requirements for farming would have included huts for storage of tools and perhaps overnight stays in the cultivated area, farm equipment such as ploughs and

<sup>58</sup> E.g. by E. Endesfelder, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 5 (1977), 2-23; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 174; on chattel slaves in Egypt see also C. J. Eyre, in M. A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1987), 209-11.

<sup>59</sup> See Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 174, with her references (also J. Černý, B. Bruyère, and J. J. Clère, *Répertoire onomastique de Deir el-Médineh* (Cairo, 1949), 103, 106, 108). The slaves here are two girls and a boy, *Hsy-sw-nb.f*; on the status of the latter see Janssen, in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, ed. R. J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen (Leiden, 1982), 109-10.

<sup>60</sup> Valbelle, loc. cit. with her reference to PM I<sup>2</sup>, 314 (19).

<sup>61</sup> Valbelle, loc. cit. with her reference to Černý, *Community*, 320-1, and Bruyère, *Rapport* (1926), pl 5; several children of the slavewomen are depicted at the funeral.

<sup>62</sup> Published in Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pls. 78-9. See also Endesfelder, in *Altorientalische Forschungen* 5, 23.

<sup>63</sup> *HO*, 88; Endesfelder, loc. cit.

sickles, and grain storage facilities. All of these were available to the workmen. Some workmen certainly had huts and chapels at the *mryt*, the riverbank,<sup>64</sup> we know of one that he kept some foodstuffs in such a hut, *kyllestis*-loaves and *nhh*-oil, but this turned out to have been a mistake, since they were vandalized (O. BM 5637)<sup>65</sup>. Such structures are also named in divisions of property;<sup>66</sup> like other private buildings, they were particularly often left to women, who might otherwise have had no place to live when their fathers or husbands were dead.<sup>67</sup> Huts in the cultivated area are less easy to identify because of the ambiguity of the word for ‘countryside’, *sh̄ty*,<sup>68</sup> which is also used to refer to the Valley of the Kings, particularly in the form *sh̄ty* ʿ, ‘Great Field’.<sup>69</sup> When, in an assignment of official property, two men each get an ʿt *m sh̄ty*, it is reasonable to suppose that these huts were near their work, and that *sh̄ty* refers here to the Valley of the Kings.<sup>70</sup> More puzzling is a protest to the oracle against the workman *Nfr-htp* on the grounds that ‘he took the hut of *Biki*, my father, which is in *sh̄ty* ʿ (“the Great Field”) on the share of *Sh̄mt-nfri*’ (*HO*, 16, 4). The latter is a woman’s name, and it is difficult to imagine what use a woman would have for a hut in the Valley of the Kings. These two examples together make it difficult to know what is meant in a case like O. DeM 112 rt. 5, where *t̄* ʿt *m sh̄ty*, ‘the hut in the field’, is left to a woman in an inheritance; a hut on the cultivation would make the most sense, but a structure in Biban el-Muluk cannot be ruled out—indeed, a hut *m t̄* *st nfrw*, ‘in the Valley of the Queens’, is left to another woman in the same legacy (*ibid* vs. 5). Yet another reference to a hut *m sh̄ty* occurs in *HO*, 47, 1 (O. Nash 2) rt. 4; *Nb-nfr* found the allegedly stolen chisels in the accused’s ʿt *nty m sh̄ty*, ‘hut which is in the field’ (cf. rt. 16 of the same text); a final example of an ʿt *m sh̄ty* occurs in a context too vague to be of use (O. Cairo 25587). In short, the possible existence of huts on the cultivation is obscured by ambiguous terminology; we can be certain only of the huts at the riverbank.

Tools for farming would presumably have been stored in such huts, but a few have been found in the village itself. Most notable are perhaps the teeth of sickles found by Bruyère (the wooden frame of the sickle itself having evidently been lost).<sup>71</sup> Surprisingly, only one hoe seems to have been discovered, in the burial chamber 1347.<sup>72</sup> Basketry used in farming (seed baskets, winnowing fans, sieves, etc.) is more difficult to identify because many of the same shapes may have had other, domestic uses as well. Schiaparelli found

<sup>64</sup>Jac. J. Janssen, *De markt op de oever* (Leiden, 1980), 13–14; Černý, *Community*, 95; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 254.

<sup>65</sup>JEA 12 (1926), pls. 37 and 42.

<sup>66</sup>E.g. O. DeM 112 rt. 4, *t̄* *hb mryt*; vs. 9, *t̄* *hb n mryt*.

<sup>67</sup>E. C. Bogoslovsky, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1. 147, (1979), 7.

<sup>68</sup>Černý, *Community*, 90–1. For *sh̄ty* clearly referring to the Nile Valley in general, see *HO*, 70, 1, 3–5: ‘As for me, the sickness came to me, and I said to your (or her?) sister [...] of my property. (But) she went off to *sh̄ty* and I spend a month dwelling here alone.’ *sh̄ty* is used this way repeatedly in the Late Ramesside Letters; see *LRL*, 2, 4; 5, 16; 10, 12.13; 14, 12.

<sup>69</sup>Černý, loc. cit. E.g. O. DeM 45 rt. 16–17, where individuals go up to the *sh̄ty* to find a suitable site for the tomb of Ramesses IV; O. Cairo 25504, 9–10, various high-ranking officials come to *sh̄ty* to cause the coffins of Pharaoh to be lowered into place.

<sup>70</sup>*HO*, 43, 4. There were huts in the Valley of the Kings (e.g. those cleared by Carter over the entrance to the tomb of Tutankhamon: H. Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, 1 (London, 1923), 87 and pl. 10), but the usual place for the workmen’s own huts was the col on the route between the village and the Valley.

<sup>71</sup>Bruyère, *Rapport* (1934–35), pt. 3, pl. 42.

<sup>72</sup>Bruyère, *Rapport* (1933–34), 95 (no. 3) and 101 fig. 43; same illustration in *Rapport* (1934–5), pt. 2, 46 fig. 20. There are a number of textual references to *qr̄dn*, which Janssen tentatively interprets as ‘hoe’, (Janssen, *Prices*, 318–21), but, he says, this may be a different type of hoe, not for agricultural use.

many small bags in his excavations of 1911, which, in the opinion of Bongioanni, 'were almost certainly intended as receptacles for the seed scattered over the fields during the sowing season'.<sup>73</sup> Such a bag is shown being used in the famous scenes of agriculture in the tomb of *Sn-ndm*,<sup>74</sup> but presumably it could also have had other, non-agricultural, uses. A much greater problem is that this type of object was particularly poorly published by Bruyère; he claims to have found very numerous types of baskets, sieves, winnowing baskets, flat bags, and dom-palm leaves to the north of the chapel annexed to the temple of Amon,<sup>75</sup> but neither illustrates these nor gives any details apart from the average measurements of a winnowing basket (0.48 m by 0.30 m.). The pottery found in this area led him to believe that it was inhabited mainly (or exclusively?) in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and he notes,<sup>76</sup>

La présence de ces accessoires agricoles indiquerait que les ouvriers de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie n'étaient pas encore soumis au régime de rationnement de l'époque ramesside. De plus la fréquence de silos dans le quartier nord corroborerait cette opinion. Ils devaient donc accumuler des provisions de grains dans leurs maisons et s'occuper du vannage et du criblage alors que plus tard les rations toutes prêtes étaient distribuées par les magasins du Ramesseum à des dates très rapprochées et en petites quantités.

There are several improbable assumptions in this passage: so far as I am aware, there is no other reason to believe that the system of supply for the gang was different in the Eighteenth Dynasty; the handful of surviving texts for this period suggest rather that it was essentially the same.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the walled village itself was founded in the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>78</sup> so the workmen of that time did not live in this northern quarter, and it is difficult in any case to imagine that this area, just outside the main entrance to the village, was not used at all times of the gang's history. Therefore, the fact that the baskets and silos (on which see below) were found here need not say anything about their date, nor about a change in the system of provisioning; it is equally possible that finds were concentrated in this sector because it was the area devoted at all times to the storage of farm equipment and produce. However, without adequate publication of the objects and their find-spots, nothing is certain. (Incidentally, Bruyère says so little about this type of object in general, that it is possible examples were found elsewhere in the valley which were not mentioned in the publication.)

The silos found in this northern quarter are striking. They are of the rectangular variety,<sup>79</sup> sunk one to three metres into the ground,<sup>80</sup> and are found in clusters of from one to nine silos each; there were over a dozen such clusters in all.<sup>81</sup> Bruyère gives no dimensions for any of the individual silos, so that it is almost impossible to estimate their capacity. He does say of his most fully discussed example that it is 2.2 m in depth;<sup>82</sup>

<sup>73</sup> In A. Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Egyptian Civilization, Daily Life* (Turin, 1988), 112.

<sup>74</sup> TT 1; PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 3 (9).

<sup>75</sup> Bruyère, *Rapport (1948-51)*, 90.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 21-3.

<sup>78</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 1-4.

<sup>79</sup> In contrast to the mainly circular type found at el-Amarna: Kemp, in Ucko *et al.*, *Man, Settlement, and Urbanism*, 670-1.

<sup>80</sup> Bruyère, *Rapport (1931-32)*, 84-5.

<sup>81</sup> For a general description, see Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 120; for a detailed description of one such group of silos, see Bruyère, *Rapport (1933-34)*, 25-6.

<sup>82</sup> Bruyère, *Rapport (1933-34)*, 25-6.

measured from the drawing, the surface area of this cluster appears to be roughly 5.5 m × 3 m. This would give a capacity of over 470 *hrr* (over five times a foreman's yearly ration). Of course, we have no idea how many families or other groups made use of this cluster of four silos. This, even more than the question of dating, is the greatest impediment to our use of the silos as evidence for farming. It is unlikely that these were used to store grain delivered to the gang for rations, because this was brought in from outside monthly as it was needed rather than kept at the site, and there was a 'granary of the Tomb' at the *htm*, or administrative area, in which the grain could be stored if necessary (until the distribution, for instance). The cults of the various gods and pharaohs presumably had some grain income, about which little is known; this could perhaps account for some of the silos,<sup>83</sup> although it is absolutely impossible to guess how much capacity the cults would require.<sup>84</sup> It seems safe to say at least that no argument against farming by the workmen can be made on the basis of lack of evidence for grain storage.

It should perhaps be noted here that five rectangular grain silos were found in the village itself.<sup>85</sup> Again, the capacity is impossible to estimate, but seems to be very roughly from 13 *hrr* for the smallest to 50 *hrr* for the largest, if they were 1 m deep; greater depth would, of course, mean greater capacity. Two of these silos, those inside VI SO and IV SE, appear to have taken up a whole room each. They are much smaller than the silos outside the village, but by the most conservative estimate the largest would still hold seven times a foreman's monthly ration.

In short, the circumstantial evidence for farming by members of the gang is sparse but varied. Although this is unexpected, it is perhaps not so very strange that an Egyptian community of such long standing should have some links to the land. There are several possible origins for such links, such as, for instance, through the endowments of cults in the village, of which the workmen were the priests.<sup>86</sup> Unfortunately, very little is known about how these cults were maintained. Some appear to have received reversions of offerings from larger temples,<sup>87</sup> and perhaps this is what is meant in the grain ration lists where the *htp-ntr* (god's offerings) drew a ration like everyone else.<sup>88</sup> There is, however, a hint of more substantial endowments in P. Turin 1879,<sup>89</sup> the recto of which bears the famous map of the gold mines, and the verso three separate texts. The one which concerns us appears to be an extract from a letter to the king. The author, who is not identified, speaks of two statues; the first is a cult statue of Ramesses VI which is to be set up in the temple of [Hathor], Mistress of the West,<sup>90</sup> and which will receive regular offerings. The source of these offerings is not specified. The other is a statue for which Ramesses II had provided in some way, but this early endowment was dissolved under

<sup>83</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 120; Kemp, *JEA* 67 (1981), 13.

<sup>84</sup> See below on endowments, and particularly *LRL*, 58, 8–11, where a chantress of Amon mentions having had 30 *hrr* for offerings, though this was presumably not a whole year's supply.

<sup>85</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 261 n. 3; Bruyère, *Rapport (1934–35)*, 246, 253, 269, 331.

<sup>86</sup> J. Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 191–7; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 328–30.

<sup>87</sup> Helck, *Materialien*, 196 (on O. Cairo 25552) and 200 (the latter concerns a statue of *Rc-ms*; see Bruyère *Rapport (1935–40)*, pt. 2, pls. 12 and 35 [no. 115]). See also *LRL*, 58, 8–11 and 58, 14–15, in which *Hn-trwy*, having used 30 *hrr* of the grain under her supervision for the offerings of Amon United with Eternity, hopes that the Overseer of the Granary will supply more grain for the offerings.

<sup>88</sup> E.g. O. DeM 200, 4; P. Turin 1932 + 1939 rt. 2, 3 (*KRI* vi, 685–7); P. Turin 2018 A, rt. 2, 12 (*KRI* vi, 851–6).

<sup>89</sup> *KRI* vi, 335–7; Helck, *Materialien*, 197–8.

<sup>90</sup> At Deir el-Medina: see Eyre, *SAK* 11, 204 n. 36.

Tawosret. The author appears to suggest that the endowment be revived, and perhaps that a deserving soldier should work the fields and provide the offerings. The text becomes very difficult at this point, and it is not clear what will be the letter-writer's connection to this endowment, although some connection is relatively certain. This does provide evidence that at least one cult statue at Deir el-Medina was endowed with land. In another document, O. Cairo 25589, the policeman *Bsk-n-wrl* entrusts a workman with the care of a cow belonging to Hathor, Mistress of the North Wind, a local manifestation of the goddess.<sup>91</sup> Meagre though this evidence is, it does provide some support for agriculturally based endowments of local cults.

Another possible source of farmland is inheritance through women who married into the village. Inheritance of land by women is very well attested in the New Kingdom,<sup>92</sup> and indeed the clearest example of land ownership cited above (O. Gard. 165) concerned fields which were the property of a woman. However, there is no actual evidence that land was brought into the community in this way, and we do not know enough about the backgrounds of the wives of the workmen to guess whether this is likely to have been an important source of property.

A final possibility is that the workmen themselves bought or rented land to farm at a profit. Some villagers did have surplus capital,<sup>93</sup> and the ways in which such capital could be invested were limited. Lending grain at interest, donkey hire, and cattle hire were all possibilities, and all were practised,<sup>94</sup> but the obvious investment for well-to-do and well connected individuals of the New Kingdom would naturally be land.<sup>95</sup> We know that it was possible to buy land at this time because two of the suspects in the Great Tomb Robberies investigations testified that they had spent their loot on land.<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, in O. Gard. 165 a woman offers to sell her land to a workman, as was noted above. It is less clear whether one could rent land, although some such possibility is suggested in P. Berlin 8523 (see above n. 11). Baer has shown that farming either one's own or rented land could be a very profitable proposition, especially if one's own household could furnish the labour.<sup>97</sup> As we have seen, some villagers did have servants, and sons of workmen who were not employed in the Necropolis could perhaps also have worked on a family farm. Indeed, if a workman's household included extra able-bodied members, these would almost have to be put to work of some sort to contribute to their own support.

However, although the idea of agricultural activity by some workmen is plausible, and is supported by a certain amount of circumstantial evidence, it remains troubling that there is so little explicit evidence. Of the agricultural scenes in tombs, only that of *Rc-ms*'s slave behind the plough clearly represents life in this world (the famous garden scene from the tomb of *'Ipy*, TT217, looks too good to be true). More importantly, there is

<sup>91</sup> Eyre, *SAK* 11, 204 n. 38.

<sup>92</sup> S. Allam, in B. Lesko (ed.), *Women's Earliest Records* (Atlanta, 1989), 126-33.

<sup>93</sup> On the wealth of the workmen, see Janssen, *Prices*, 533-8.

<sup>94</sup> On grain lent at interest, see Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 313-17 and pl. 109 (re. P. Turin 1881 col. ix); on donkey and ox hire, see above.

<sup>95</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 309-17; C. J. Eyre, 'Feudal tenure and absentee landlords', in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten* (Tübingen, in press).

<sup>96</sup> P. BM 10052, 2.19 and 22 (T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, II, plates (London, 1930), pl. 26.

<sup>97</sup> K. Baer, *JAOS* 83 (1963), 14-16.

almost no explicit textual reference to farming before the Late Ramesside Letters, or to trade in farming equipment such as ploughs. This need not damn the thesis outright; the Late Ramesside Letters are exceptional in many ways, and the further texts contemporary to them are as silent on the subject of farming as is the literature of other periods. Records of sales of ploughs could conceivably have been kept elsewhere, as on the cultivation. Nevertheless, in light of these omissions, the notion of farming on a significant scale by a relatively large number of villagers can only be called probable and not proven.

## THE ADOPTION PAPYRUS IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

By C. J. EYRE

The social context of the Adoption Papyrus is discussed. It is argued that the motivation behind the text was to ensure the material security and social position of a childless woman, first through a 'non-divorce' settlement, and then through control of succession to the role of head of the family. This is related to issues of family solidarity, marriage strategies, and the administration of property rights. These are discussed in the context of norms of social behaviour in the Near East, and in particular through comparison with Aramaic documents from Elephantine and with more modern village life in Egypt.

THE so-called Adoption Papyrus<sup>1</sup> has been the subject of extensive discussion, for the text is a primary source of the first importance for Egyptian family law. Yet despite recent attention, a series of questions remain unanswered, for the Adoption Papyrus exemplifies in a particularly acute way the difficulty of reconstructing and explaining social behaviour on the basis of legal documents.<sup>2</sup> As with letters, such texts were not written for an external audience. They were private documents, kept in family archives, and not official court records. The background events were well known to the parties involved, and the scribe wasted little effort on explanatory narrative. He simply transcribed the necessary detail, and in particular the formal declarations of consent, in the form of a partial *procès verbal*. This was enough if the matter were later subject to challenge. The holder of the document had a record of the occasion, and of the normal declarations by which the business had been solemnized and publicized before witnesses.<sup>3</sup> Yet, to describe social behaviour it is important to analyse motivation, and not simply the actions listed in the text. Although such analysis may often seem subjective and speculative, and the argumentation circular, it is not entirely so, and it can be the only way to put an isolated legal text into its wider context.

Briefly, the Adoption Papyrus is a single document, written at one sitting, although it contains two formally distinct memoranda. The first carries the date of the coronation of Ramesses XI. The Chantress of Seth Nanefer tells how on this day her husband, the stablemaster Nebnefer, made a document for her. He formally adopted her, his wife, as his child, having no other children. He gave her, by deed, rights to his matrimonial property—'all profit I have made with her'<sup>4</sup>—to the exclusion of his blood relatives. She

<sup>1</sup>P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 26 (1940), 23-9; A. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 12 (1965), 79-142; S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen, 1973), 258-67, no. 261; S. Groll, in F. Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (Göttingen, 1984), 1, 41-61; E. Cruz-Urbe, *JEA* 74 (1988), 220-3; Allam, *JEA* 76 (1990), 189-91.

<sup>2</sup>Gardiner, *op. cit.* 28-9; Allam, *JEA* 76, 189.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. J. Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), 42; B. Menu, *JEA* 74 (1988), 166-8; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 17 (1970), esp. 134-5, 138-9, 204-5, 214; A. G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the workmen's community of Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1990), 3-8.

<sup>4</sup>For such formulaic definition cf. P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, 1961), 115-28, 153.



quotes verbatim her husband's formal declaration: the words of the gift and the exclusion clause. She also lists the witnesses.

The second memorandum is dated to year 18 of the same king. It begins with a joint declaration by Nebnefer and his wife, whose name is now spelt Rennefer,<sup>5</sup> that they have together bought a slave-girl. This woman has given birth to three children: a boy and two girls. At this point, the declaration switches abruptly to a first person narrative in the singular. It is evidently the wife speaking. She says that she has taken the children and brought them up, being otherwise childless; that the children have behaved properly towards her; that her younger brother Padiu (another stablemaster) has entered her household; that with her consent he has married the older of the two girls; and that 'he is with her today'. Of the children, she declares 'I have made them freemen of the land of Pharaoh'. The younger offspring are to be with their elder sister in the 'house' of her husband; and 'I am making him my child today just like them'.

So far the text is essentially explanatory. The legal substance follows, in the oath before witnesses by which Rennefer formalized her arrangements: 'I am making these people, which I have *sphr*-ed,<sup>6</sup> as freemen of the land of Pharaoh'. She bars any claim on them from the families 'of their mother or their father', except the claim of Padiu to act as the head of their household: 'They are not with him as slaves any longer; they are with him as younger siblings'. All her property, including fields in the countryside and movables of different kinds, are assigned as shares to the four children. This is entrusted to Padiu, 'this child of mine, who shall have treated<sup>7</sup> me well, in my widowhood, my husband being dead'.

The best understanding of the document as a whole is that it transcribes the key parts of the 'case', with its supporting evidence, as presented by the woman to the 'court' of witnesses in order to 'notarize' her arrangement through publicity. The text is simply the abbreviated and partial *procès verbal* of her statement in year 18.<sup>8</sup> The specific occasion

<sup>5</sup> For an etymological resolution see Groll, *op. cit.* 61. The spelling change occurs at line 10, the last line of the first memorandum. This change might imply the first memorandum was copied from an earlier text written by a different hand, a conclusion that would be of particular procedural and compositional interest. The current text does not make clear who the scribe was.

<sup>6</sup> *sphr* need mean no more than 'publicize', and cannot be taken to prove a formal registration in writing of the free population. Gardiner, *op. cit.* 24 translates 'put on record'—in general the term need mean nothing more technical than 'copy out', 'write down' (*Wb.* iv, 106–7). However, for registration, cf. D. Valbelle, *CRIPÉL* 7 (1985), 75–87, and 9 (1987), 33–49; for specific *exx. cf.*, e.g., *Urk.* 1, 211, 5–11; 293–5; 295–6; *Urk.* iv, 1006–7; 1820–1; P. Kah. pls. ix–xi; An. I 11, 8–12, 6; Ani 3, 1–9.

Théodoridès, *RIDA* 12, 88 n. 24 and Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 261 n. 29, prefer to emend *sphr* to *shpr*, 'bring up'.

<sup>7</sup> The natural tense for the participle is past, 'who has treated me well'. This does not necessarily define the whole narrative as past, and will not do so unless we assume that the arrangement is a death-bed will. The relative past translation (English future perfect) is admissible, and the good treatment in widowhood is at least expected to continue, and may be entirely in the future, as presumably would be any actual division of the interests in her property; see also below, n. 37. Cruz-Urbe, *op. cit.* 221 n. 2, attempts to read *jr. t(w)*, a 'non-initial prospective *sdm=f*', but the spelling is against it and the emendation unnecessary.

<sup>8</sup> Cruz-Urbe's attempt (*loc. cit.*) to place part of the declaration in the mouth of the husband is conclusively dismissed by Allam, *JEA* 76, 90, on orthographic grounds. This removes Cruz-Urbe's assumption that the beneficiary Padiu was the brother of the husband, but not his assumption that the husband was still alive. The joint statement of purchase of the slave is apparently dated to year 18, but unless this is taken to be the actual date of purchase, the statement is simply an undated internal quotation (perhaps 'quoted' from undated oral memory rather than a written text). It is necessary to Rennefer's statement, forms part of it, is not a separate declaration, and is therefore not independent evidence in the matter.

for the document is not revealed, and can only be guessed at from its purpose, which is to define the succession to matrimonial property, and to connect that succession directly to provision and security for the widowed Rennefer. The very existence of the document probably implies that the arrangement falls outside the self-evident line of succession, so that special measures were required to obviate challenge from interested parties. Since the writing of a document was the exception rather than the rule, analysis should work from the assumption that either the agreement was in some way exceptional, or that its terms were irksome, or that some party might wish to avoid or skimp their performance, and therefore an extra written support would be helpful. The underlying irregularity here is evidently that Rennefer's marriage had no direct issue. Marriage is a contract, and its end the procreation of children.<sup>9</sup> Without children the remedy is divorce, which is socially disastrous for the woman. Indeed, at a rather later date, the maxims of Ankhsheshonq stress that a woman who was barren should not be divorced.<sup>10</sup> Such a divorce involves return to her (and her family) of the property she brought into the marriage.<sup>11</sup> Rennefer's husband was a man of some means, a stablemaster. She came from the same stratum of society—her brother Padiu was also a stablemaster—and she will have brought substantial resources into the marital household.<sup>12</sup>

The first of these memoranda is a preamble in which Rennefer explains the arrangement her husband had made for her long ago. This was formalized, in writing, before many witnesses, during celebrations for the accession of Ramesses XI, an occasion that would give them the maximum of publicity. This deed has in it the elements of both a marriage settlement and a will, although the device is that of adoption. The circumstances can only be guessed at:

1. The opportunity of the special occasion may have been taken to make and publicize a property settlement, that was in itself simply an expression of unusual affection.

It may seem more likely that the husband was dead by year 18 from the way Rennefer refers to her widowhood (Allam, loc. cit.), but the Egyptian text is not unambiguous. Nebnefer himself had referred to his future death (rt. 6), when defining provision for his wife's (future) widowhood. Such potentially ill-omened references are part and parcel of testamentary arrangements—and indeed a common reason why people hesitate to make their wills: cf. Bezael Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 185.

Similarly, it seems to have been the wife, and not, as expected, the husband, who accepted Padiu as suitor (rt. 21), but this also is not evidence of independent value. It was her independent property rights—in her role as 'eldest son' (see below)—which were passed on, and not those of the husband. Judgement of when the husband died depends entirely on judgement as to the purpose of the text.

<sup>9</sup> Allam, *JEA* 67 (1981), 116–35, provides the most perceptive description of the realities of Egyptian marriage. For extensive discussions of the material see also Allam, *LÄ* 1, 1162–81; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 23 (1976), 15–55; R. Tanner, *Klio* 49 (1967), 5–37. Cf. W. S. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (London, 1927/1968), chs. V–VI; R. T. Antoun, 'Litigant strategies in an Islamic court in Jordan', in D. H. Dwyer, *Law and Islam in the Middle East* (New York, Westport and London, 1990), 35–60, for material of particular comparative interest for issues of marital dispute, property rights, the conflict of consanguine vs. conjugal relationships, and the woman's right to maintenance.

On adoption see Allam, *ZDMG Suppl* II = XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag (1974), 1–7; Tanner, *LÄ* 1, 66–7.

<sup>10</sup> 14, 16: 'Do not divorce a woman of your household who does not conceive a child'. Cf. also Antoun, op. cit. 54–5, on the status of the undivorced woman when another wife is taken.

<sup>11</sup> Allam, *JEA* 67, 118–21; id., *Or.An.* 16 (1977), 89–97.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 262. Her bequest to Padiu includes agricultural land.

2. This might be the occasion of the marriage itself,<sup>13</sup> and the declaration was a(n unusual?) form of marriage settlement.
3. The settlement might be a will. The point of the adoption was explicitly to provide security for the wife in the matrimonial property after the future death of the husband.
4. The text might be a non-divorce settlement; that is to say, an agreement to guarantee the financial security of the barren woman without divorce, and thereby obtain her agreement to an additional and lower status second marriage for the sake of producing issue.

A written contract was not a necessary part of an Egyptian marriage settlement. Documents that do record marriage settlements were not necessarily, nor even typically, written on the occasion of the marriage, nor do they record all the terms of the 'contract'. The normal terms were generally understood. They went without remark, and oral agreements to the negotiated detail obviously sufficed. Marriage documents were only written because, in some way and at some time, the social context required some specific detail of the property settlement to be formally asserted and publicized.<sup>14</sup> A will is a guarantee of family provision, written in advance, in which case the context and immediate motivation for its composition may be as interesting as the specific terms of the settlement. It may be written at any stage in a relationship, from the moment of its formation or even beforehand in the case of an entail for unborn children. It may be formalized or altered at any time until the death of the testator. Indeed, it is possible to visualize circumstances in which it might actually be written out post mortem, if there were a desire to keep it as evidence, and to use it as a public assertion that the settlement of property accorded with the deceased's known wishes. Such documents, of their nature, are merely witnessed *procès verbal*, and it is typical of Egyptian documents that a 'will' is virtually indistinguishable from any other class of property transfer.<sup>15</sup>

The suggestion that this text is a non-divorce settlement makes it a cross between a marriage settlement, a property settlement, and a will, or rather a mixture of all three. Although the text does not state explicitly who the father of the children was, the text seems fairly clearly to represent an arrangement well attested elsewhere among the propertied classes in the ancient Near East. Where a wife is unable (or unwilling) to provide a legitimate heir, her social and economic status as a married woman can be protected by provision of a surrogate mother, typically a slave-woman bought for the purpose.<sup>16</sup> The actual status of such a woman, and that of her children, is a complex one,

<sup>13</sup> On the publicizing function of marriage ceremonies, Théodoridès, *RIDA* 23, 19-21; C. J. Eyre, *JEA* 70 (1984), 101, for references; cf. Blackman, *op. cit.* 92-5; Hamed Ammar, *Growing up in an Egyptian Village* (London, 1954), 197; Middle Assyrian Laws §§40-1 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 183.

<sup>14</sup> Allam, *JEA* 67, esp. 117-19, 122, 132; E. Lüddeckens, *LÄ* 1, 1181-3; *id.*, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden, 1960); Pestman, *Marriage*, esp. 24-32. The occasional stress in Mesopotamian law codes on a sealed document as proof of the full status of a marriage is probably to be associated with a different attitude to the means of publicizing, and a wider use of documentary procedures at an earlier date in Mesopotamia. It was, however, an ideal, and the use of such documents was in reality as special and irregular as in Egypt: when property arrangements required some special confirmation, cf. S. Greengus, *JAOS* 89 (1969), 505-32; M. T. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements, 7th.-3rd. Centuries B.C.* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1989), 17-18, 25-8; Porten, *op. cit.* 207-12.

<sup>15</sup> Théodoridès, *RIDA* 17, 117-216; K. B. Gödecken, *LÄ* III, 141-5.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. de Zulueta, in Gardiner, *op. cit.* 28; Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 264-5. For the most accessible examples see Laws of Hammurapi §§141-9 (esp. §§145-6) = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 172; Laws of Lipit-Ishtar

since any rights they received potentially diminished those of the wife proper. It is typical in such arrangements that the status of this woman is expressly and markedly subordinate to the main wife, although it is essentially respectable and to a degree privileged.<sup>17</sup> At minimum she seems to have an assured right to provision, the same as that of any other wife or family member (cf. below, n. 53). In the end, however, the position of such a woman and her children might depend on the formality of the arrangement made for her (cf. below, n. 74). There is a spectrum of possible circumstances, not easily identifiable in the documentation. The father may provide for 'bastards'. He may recognize a 'bastard' as heir in the absence of a child of the marriage. Or he may deliberately procure a 'bastard' as heir, which seems to be the case in the current document. In general the status of the children from such a relationship—slave or free—will depend on the father's choice whether or not to recognize them.<sup>18</sup> The rights of such children to the role of heir, even potentially above later 'legitimate' children, will depend on the formality of the arrangement between husband and wife that allowed and accepted their procreation. Such arrangements are only feasible in practice with the agreement of all interested parties, which include the natural residuary heirs on both sides of the marriage. The current document records the formal satisfaction of these criteria. The key declaration by Nebnefer contains typical exclusion clauses against his brothers and sisters, made effective by the list of witnesses, and in particular by the presence of his sister Huirimu at the 'handing over (*swd*) to his wife on this day'. This witnesses to the fact that Nebnefer's family had accepted the alienation of property to his wife.<sup>19</sup> The status of Rennefer was protected, as was the social and property alliance between her family and that of Nebnefer, which lay behind the original marriage.

We are unlikely to find much further evidence to show how typical the role of this slave-girl and her children was in Egypt.<sup>20</sup> It is clear that such complex formality in the arrangement was only meaningful, and was only likely to be written down, when the families were well-off, substantial resources were at issue, and where there was no legitimate offspring or other heir acceptable to both sides. This is a situation in which, and for which, polygamy may be justified in modern Egypt, where monogamy is the

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§§25-7 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 160; an Old Assyrian marriage contract, H. Hirsch, *Or.* 35 (1966), 279-80 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 543, which specifies that the wife will provide a slave-girl for this purpose if a child is not forthcoming within two years; Roth, op. cit. 13, 15-16, 41-3 no. 3, for the property arrangements in a second marriage specifically to obtain children; cf. R. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law* (Horn, 1988), 107-9.

<sup>17</sup> Cf., e.g., Genesis 16: 1-6; Proverbs 30: 21-3; Laws of Hammurapi §§119; 145-7 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 171-2; Laws of Ur-Nammu B §§29-30 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 525; Laws of Lipit-Ishtar §§27-8 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 160.

<sup>18</sup> Note that Naunakhte, when discussing whether her children have earned recognition as her heirs by their behaviour, refers to them as *bik*: P. Ash. Mus. 1945.27, 2, 2; Černý, *JEA* 31, 45; Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 270, n. 6. Cf., e.g., Laws of Hammurapi §§170-2 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 173. The status of such children remains, however, subordinate to children of the main wife, on the basic premise that the children of any second marriage cannot impinge on or reduce the rights of children of a first marriage: cf., e.g., Genesis 21: 8-10; 25: 5-18; Laws of Lipit-Ishtar §§24-6 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 160; Hammurapi §§167; 173-4; 177 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 173-4; Deut. 21: 15-17; Roth, op. cit. 16, 30 and 33-4 (= Neo-Babylonian Laws §§8 and 15). For the status of the slave-woman and her children, and the patterns of inheritance, cf. also E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley and London, 1895), 111-12, 115-18, 193-7 (reprinted The Hague, London and Cairo, 1978/1981, 102-3, 106-9, 184-8).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. esp. P. Turin 2021 = Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, no. 280; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 12, 100-4; Allam, *Or.An.* 16, 93-5.

<sup>20</sup> For possible exx. cf. W. A. Ward, *GM* 71 (1984), 51-9; D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983), 266-7.

social norm.<sup>21</sup> If correct, this interpretation of the Adoption Papyrus throws light on the vexed question of polygamy in pharaonic Egypt.<sup>22</sup> It causes us to focus on a series of related social issues, so common and self-evident to the native Egyptian that they are rarely commented on in literature or documents, but nevertheless vital to all women and family social security. Polygamy, like marriage itself, is an economic contract and not simply a licence to extra sensuality.

The real issue is not whether a man has more than one wife, or concubines,<sup>23</sup> or sexual relations with his slave-girl(s),<sup>24</sup> or uses prostitutes. Much more important is a definition of the social pecking-order within the household, and of the respective property rights of the children of such relationships. For instance, the term *ḥbsyt* certainly does sometimes mean 'concubine' in the generally accepted sense of the term. Thus one of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Third Intermediate Period promises 'I shall make fruitful his concubines, to bear male and female children as seed which has come forth from his body'.<sup>25</sup> Yet it sometimes seems to be merely a homonym to the normal word *ḥmt*, 'wife', and the terms interchangeable.<sup>26</sup> The best guess seems to be that *ḥbsyt* refers to a perfectly respectable but secondary relationship,<sup>27</sup> whether a remarriage or concubinage. Whether or not the first wife is still living, the *ḥbsyt* would be a cohabitant of lower property status, whose property rights would be secondary to, and restricted by, those arising from the original marriage. The rights of any children she might bear would be restricted in the same way.<sup>28</sup>

The first deed of the Adoption Papyrus served as preamble and context for the second, 18 years later. Indeed, on the view taken here, all the parties concerned would hope and intend from the beginning that an arrangement of this sort might follow after a proper interval. Again a variety of circumstances can be envisaged for Rennefer's final formalization of the arrangements:

1. The occasion was the marriage of Padiu to the elder step-daughter, and the declaration represents a marriage settlement. If we assume that the slave-wife was purchased at the time of the earlier deed, the daughter should indeed have reached marriageable age by the time of the second. The marriage is said to be a fact as of

<sup>21</sup> Ammar, *op. cit.* 201 (quoting the Pocket Census of 1948, p. 12), notes that in 1937 96.86% of Egyptian marriage was monogamous. Cf. Blackman, *op. cit.* 37. For the sorts of dispute over rights that arise with a second marriage, cf. the cases quoted by Antoun, *op. cit.* 44-9.

<sup>22</sup> Allam, *LÄ* I, 1166-7; A. Spalinger, *RdE* 32 (1980), 98, 109; Allam *JEA* 67, 123 n. 43, with collections of references. More recently Franke, *op. cit.* 61-2, 340-3; W. A. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects* (Beirut, 1986), 57-9.

<sup>23</sup> Allam, *LÄ* II, 106; Ward, *Berytus* 31 (1983), 67-74; *id.*, *GM* 71, 51-9.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Urk.* IV 1409, 11-13 = Gardiner, *ZAS* 47 (1910), 92-5, Tf. I, 5; the High Priest of Amon, Amenemhet, portraying himself as a model son in respect to his father: 'I did not know a slave-woman of his house; I did not get a servant-girl of his pregnant'.

<sup>25</sup> I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, HPBM, 4th Series (London, 1960), I, 48 = BM 10730, 38-40 (L7). The *ḥbsyt* are specifically plural, although admittedly the decree is for a royal prince.

<sup>26</sup> P. BM 10052, 3, 8-9; 15, 4-7; P. Turin 2021, 3, 9-11; Edwards, *op. cit.* 103, n. 5; Pestman, *Marriage*, 10-11.

<sup>27</sup> Ward, *Berytus* 31, 73; *id.*, *Essays on Feminine Titles*, 65-9; Tanner, *Klio* 49, 8-9.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. below, n. 74. One does not expect to find the term 'mistress of the house' associated with the term *ḥbsyt*. Ward, *Berytus* 31, 73, asserts that examples occur, but quotes no apposite references. For an example of two apparently consecutive wives entitled *nbt pr*, see B. G. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh* (Sydney, 1988), 11-12, 16.

'today', but it is not explicit whether it was formalized 'today' or had been in existence some time.

2. The document was a will, perhaps to come into effect later, in which case the reason and the time of its formalization are of interest.<sup>29</sup>
3. The document was a cross between a marriage settlement and a will: a sort of trust.
4. The occasion was the recognition of Padiu as presumptive heir, in which case both Rennefer and Nebnefer may have been alive.
5. The death of Nebnefer might have brought on the need for a formal settlement, to recognize Padiu as the new and actual head of the household, in which case Padiu's marriage might have been occasioned by the death of Nebnefer.

The family archive of Padiu seems the most likely deposit for the finished document.<sup>30</sup> Rennefer's declaration is completed by the formulation 'As for all the words which I have said (*nṣ mdt jdd=j*), they are conveyed (*swḏ*) to Padiu'.<sup>31</sup> Similarly her husband's formal declaration was 'See, I have conveyed (*jrj=j swḏ*) (this) to Rennefer, my wife, on this day, in the presence of Huirimu, my sister'.<sup>32</sup> This *swḏ* before witnesses forms the key act. Although normally taken in an abstract sense to mean the transfer of ownership,<sup>33</sup> it is likely here also to refer to the physical and symbolic conveyance of the written text. Rennefer keeps the text she has received from her husband, after transcribing the relevant section into the current document, which is formally conveyed to Padiu on this occasion.

Much of the content of the Adoption Papyrus is difficult to parallel from native sources of the pharaonic period. This is not to say that the arrangements would have seemed in any way odd or foreign to an Egyptian of the late New Kingdom. The most instructive parallels are, nevertheless, to be found in the Aramaic documents from Elephantine, recording the family affairs of members of the Jewish colony during the Persian period, some five hundred years later. This is not the place to discuss the relationship between the legal forms and social practice of the native and immigrant populations, or the extent to which Egyptian documentary forms and practices that developed in the Third Intermediate Period may have borrowed from Assyrian and general Near Eastern habits.<sup>34</sup> Assessment of the Aramaic documents as evidence for native Egyptian practice (and vice versa) must be tentative, but the similarities are more striking than the differences, and the detailed arrangements of interest here belong to a very mixed native-immigrant milieu.

The texts of immediate relevance come from the private archive associated with the name of Anani, son of Azariah.<sup>35</sup> They record Anani's relationship through marriage to

<sup>29</sup> Whether or not this text is to be classed as a will, there are necessary comparisons to be made with the will of Naunakhte and its associated documents: Černý, *JEA* 31, 29–53; Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 268–74, no. 262. Naunakhte was aged, and cannot have lived long after her will was written out, but writing a will is not of itself an indication that death is near; cf. J. J. Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 151–2.

<sup>30</sup> Théodoridès, *RIDA* 12, 136, n. 226; Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 263.

<sup>31</sup> vs. 10.

<sup>32</sup> rt. 11–13.

<sup>33</sup> For refs. see T. Mrsich, *LÄ* 1, 1252, n. 32.

<sup>34</sup> The relevant data has not been collected or analyzed in a sufficiently systematic way to allow conclusions to be drawn readily about the extent to which similarities represent specific borrowings or merely similarities in practice and social custom across the whole of the ancient Near East.

<sup>35</sup> Porten, op. cit. 203–13, 219–34; Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 2 *Contracts* (Winona Lake, 1989), 53–99.

the family of Meshullam and his son Zakkur. Anani applied to Meshullam, and received in marriage Meshullam's slave-girl Ta(pa)met, apparently of native origin. The original draft of the marriage contract gave Meshullam rights over Tamet's half share of the matrimonial property, although this was then crossed out. She remained his slave. In essence the procedure seems to have been similar to the marriage of a daughter, although a dowry of substance is not provided. Tamet remained the slave of Meshullam, but his rights over her son Pilti are discounted in favour of Anani.<sup>36</sup> Whatever the detailed history, Anani has obtained a male heir from his marriage. He also later obtained a daughter, Jehoishma.

Many years later,<sup>37</sup> Meshullam declared to Tamet: 'I thought of you in my lifetime. I released you as a free (person) at my death and I released Jeh(o)ishma by name your daughter whom you bore me'. In return the two women declared 'We shall serve you as a son or daughter supports his father, in your lifetime.<sup>38</sup> And at your death we shall support Zakkur your son, like a son who supports his father, as we shall have been doing for you in your lifetime'. They promise high monetary compensation if they fail to do so, a normal Aramaic contractual penalty. The text appears to be a will, providing for manumission on the eventual death of Meshullam, although there is no reason to associate it with the time of his death. Seven years later the son Zakkur accepted a suitor for the hand of his 'sister' Jehoishma, providing her with a respectable dowry and an extensive marriage contract.<sup>39</sup> This provides explicitly that if the pair have no children, the surviving partner shall inherit without challenge. It also bars both parties from taking other marriage partners.<sup>40</sup> A few months earlier Jehoishma's real father Anani had given her a house,<sup>41</sup> and he later gave her other property, making her in effect his heir.<sup>42</sup> He also sold property to her husband.<sup>43</sup> The husband, Anani, son of Haggai, son of Meshullam, was apparently the nephew of Zakkur,<sup>44</sup> and so the family property was reconsolidated and not dispersed by this marriage. It is possible that in the typically endogamous society of Egypt, this immigrant community had difficulty in obtaining wives of propertied status from the indigenous community.<sup>45</sup> These texts seem to illustrate the way in which the

<sup>36</sup> Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.*, B3.3, dated 449. For a discussion of the background see also Porten, *op. cit.* 207-12.

<sup>37</sup> Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.*, B3.6 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 548, dated 427.

<sup>38</sup> For the phraseology, placing the wife in the role of child as the basis for a will/matrimonial property settlement, see Théodoridès, *RIDA* 12, 103-4, and see also P. Turin 2021, II, 3-4, 7-8.

<sup>39</sup> Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.*, B3.6 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 548-9, dated October 420.

<sup>40</sup> Such clauses may have been standard in the community at Elephantine, cf. Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.*, B2.6; B3.3. Similarly, the earliest Greek document from Egypt, from Elephantine, is a marriage contract in Greek mercenary families, guaranteeing monogamy, no other wife, and no children by other women: P. Eleph. 1 = A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri*, 1 (London, 1932), no. 1, discussed by Porten, *op. cit.* 297-8 and by J. Modrzejewski in P. Dimakis (ed.), *Symposion 1979* (Cologne, 1983), 63-7.

The Aramaic documents (Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.*, B2.3 and B2.4) provide an interesting variation, the father making an irrevocable grant of a building plot, limiting his son-in-law's rights to usufruct, and creating an entail to their joint children, for which cf. B3.5, B3.7. Clauses of this type lie outside the expected pattern of inheritance. They probably belong to the 'negotiable' options of a marriage settlement, although the family context of the marriage may also be important. The underlying purpose, with its stress on lifetime security for the woman, is not however outside the context of contemporary Egyptian practice, cf. below n. 80.

<sup>41</sup> Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.*, B3.7, dated July 420.

<sup>42</sup> Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.*, B3.10, B3.11.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, B3.12. These last three texts all date to 402, the first to March, the last two in December.

<sup>44</sup> Porten, *op. cit.* 225; Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.* B3.13, B3.8, 45.

<sup>45</sup> Although for this particular community Jewish religious suspicion of intermarriage may have complicated the situation more than for other immigrant groups: see Porten, *op. cit.* 248-52 and cf. 148-9, 174, 178.

purchase and, in effect, adoption of slave-girls and their children,<sup>46</sup> and their marriage arrangements, then helped establish normal family, marriage and property alliances within the immigrant community. Although the social situation of this community may have been special, the forms of adoption and marriage they undertook to provide heirs are unlikely to have been outside the norms of the country.

Many of the circumstances behind the Adoption Papyrus will, and must, remain obscure forever. The specific events that led to these legal formalizations cannot now be fully defined, but a degree of speculation is permissible. A likely scenario would be the moment at which the stablemaster Padiu was formally recognized as the head (or the prospective head) of the family. Padiu is 'adopted' with the children, but it is clear that he is to be head of the household, responsible for the step-children and perhaps also for his sister, the widowed step-mother and matriarch of the family. One should not lose sight of the fact that adoption does not just provide for the upbringing of children and a line of inheritance, but looks to provide social security in age or infirmity for the parents and 'protection' for the female members of the family. This appears very clearly in the comparable case of Tuthmosis III's barber, Sibastet.<sup>47</sup> He freed his slave, obtained when on campaign with the king. Evidently being himself childless, and perhaps lacking close male relatives, he married this ex-slave to his niece, and made him co-heir to his property, along with his wife and his sister. He seems also to have passed on to him the (hereditary) function of royal barber. The consolidation of property and social security for the women is the same as achieved by the marriage and adoption of Padiu.

It seems probable that the formal recognition of heirs was always important in Egypt,<sup>48</sup> firstly of the leading heir, the 'eldest son', and then of the other children with rights to a share. The role of 'heir' (*jwꜣw*) is central, since he is successor to the position and function of the father. It is his duty not only to serve and provide for his father during his lifetime, but also explicitly after his death to bury and maintain the cult of his father, from his heritage.<sup>49</sup> Ideologically, structurally, and so far as possible in fact, this was the role of the 'eldest son', who is single successor to the father<sup>50</sup> in the role of patriarchal head of the family.<sup>51</sup> This is a role of particular importance where, as often seems the case, family

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Porten, *op. cit.* 203, and note Porten and Yardeni, *op. cit.*, B3.9, apparently the adoption of a 'slave' child.

<sup>47</sup> J. de Linage, *BIFAO* 38 (1939), 217-34; Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 265-6.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Genesis 25:29-34:27, and see above n. 18; Pestman, *Marriage*, 136-9; Hermopolis code VIII, 31-IX, 8; Eyre, in S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten* (Tübingen, in press), after n. 37. The formulae referring to good treatment by children has the appearance of a formal declaration of recognition. In practice the function of a 'will' is to recognize the heir(s), as, e.g., the 'will' of Kebi, P. Kah. pl. xi; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 17, 125-36; E. Blumenthal, in J. Osing and G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 85-6, where the father revokes an earlier 'will' in favour of the mother, in order to confirm the son in succession to office as his 'staff of old age'; or the assertion by Harkhuf that 'My father made for me a will (*jmyt-pr*). I was an excellent [...], one loved by my father; praised by my mother; whom all my siblings loved', *Urk.* 1, 122, 1-5.

<sup>49</sup> Mrsich, *LÄ* 1, 1235-60, esp. 1248-9; Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11, esp. 167-9; Allam, *RIDA* 30 (1983), 29, 35.

<sup>50</sup> Eg. Helck, *LÄ* 1, 148, 228-9; Mrsich, *LÄ* 1, 1235-60, esp. 1238-42; Allam, *LÄ* II, 108; Gödecken, *LÄ* III, 143; Helck, *LÄ* v, 1054; Tanner, *Klio* 49, 29-30; Lüddeckens, *op. cit.* 279-83; Allam, *RIDA* 30, 30; P. Posener-Krieger, *CRIPPEL* 13 (1991), 107-12.

<sup>51</sup> For the implications in a landed family, cf., e.g., Allam, *LÄ* II, 105-7; Franke, *op. cit.* 263-5, 268-76; the letters of Hekanakhte, discussed by Eyre, in *Grund und Boden*, at n. 17; or the Kahun household registers, P. Kah. pls. ix-xi, xxi, discussed in Valbelle, *CRIPPEL* 7, 77; B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 156-8 and cf. 305-8; cf. also the career of Nekhebu, D. Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), 1-8; Eyre, in M. A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1987), 38-9.



property and land were not divided, but worked as a joint enterprise under the supervision of the family head or representative (*rwdw*). It was also important where there was need to deal with business that impinged on the rights of the family as a whole, or where there was a social need to marshal family support. This means that there was a single direct line of succession—the ‘heir’ or ‘eldest son’—but at the same time a right of all children to provision and sustenance from the family resources, by a share in the inheritance.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the central obligation taken on by the husband at marriage, and the core subject of so-called ‘marriage contracts’ from Egypt, was his obligation to provide house and subsistence for the wife during her life, and provision for their children after his death, the precise level of this provision naturally being the subject of negotiation, and dependent on the economic status of the families involved, and the resources (dowry) contributed by the wife and her family.<sup>53</sup>

The best description of the legal role of head of the family is found in those sections of the Demotic ‘Legal Code’ that define the functions of the ‘eldest son’. There is no reason to doubt that these provisions can, by and large, be projected back to earlier periods. In general terms the relevant passages<sup>54</sup> imply that undivided property administered by the ‘eldest son’ is the natural succession, unless the father has made special arrangements for favoured children by means of a ‘document of division’ (*sh n dnj*).<sup>55</sup> The younger children may then demand that their shares be assigned, and the eldest son will be responsible for making the division, choice among the shares falling according to order of seniority.<sup>56</sup> However, the ‘eldest son’ retains all documents relating to the property;<sup>57</sup> if any of the siblings die without issue, their share reverts to the ‘eldest son’; he retains the family house undivided, so long as he does not sell it, but if he does sell the sum realized is subject to the normal division among the siblings;<sup>58</sup> and it is only the ‘eldest son’ who is able to prove ownership by claiming that property had belonged to his father.<sup>59</sup> The

<sup>52</sup> Lüddeckens, *op. cit.* 276–86, and *cf.*, for example, the Inscription of Nikaankh, discussed by P. Der Manuelian, *JNES* 45 (1986), 1–18; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 17, 140–5.

On the non-division of shared family property see Allam, *Or.An.* 16, 97; Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11, 169; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 24 (1977), 21–64; Eyre, in *Grund und Boden*, esp. at nn. 24–6, 39–40, 73–6. *Cf.* also D. W. Hobson, in N. Lewis (ed.), *Yale Classical Studies 28 Papyrology* (Cambridge, 1985), 220–5, for Roman Egypt, and Ammar, *op. cit.* 23–4, 42–4, on more recent Egypt. The issue here is vital in respect of farming land, important for buildings, but irrelevant to movable household property.

<sup>53</sup> Pestman, *Marriage*; Lüddeckens, *Eheverträge*; Allam, *JEA* 67, 119–20; S. Grunert, *Das Altertum* 21 (1975), 87–91; A. F. Shore, in J. Baines *et al.* (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 201; Girgis Mattha and G. R. Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West* (Cairo, 1975), 92; K. Baer, *ZAS* 93 (1966), 6–7; Hobson, *TAPA* 113 (1983), 311–21; see below, n. 77; and *cf.* Antoun, *op. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> Col. VIII, 30–X, 10; Mattha and Hughes, *op. cit.*; K. Donker van Heel, *The Legal Manual of Hermopolis* (Leiden, 1990), 92, who quotes a study of these passages by Pestman, in *Studia Demotica*, vi (in press). *Cf.* also Pestman, in S. P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (Louvain, 1987), 61–2.

<sup>55</sup> *Cf.* Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11, 167.

<sup>56</sup> Seniority is by sex, then age. A girl can be ‘eldest son’, but only if there is no boy. This in practice was the role envisaged for Rennefer/Nanefer through the original deed of adoption. On the shares *cf.* Allam, *RIDA* 30, 36–8, for New Kingdom Deir el Medina, and Hobson, *TAPA* 113, 316–21 for Roman Egypt.

<sup>57</sup> VIII, 33–IX, 1. *Cf.* Pestman, *Marriage*, 83–5.

<sup>58</sup> IX, 14; 23–6. Černý, in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, II (Milan, 1957), 51–5, basing his argument on the limitations of kinship terminology, overestimates the fragmentation of the Egyptian family into independent nuclear families: a fragmentation that is accurate in the sense that the nuclear families live in separate houses and not a large communal dwelling, but inaccurate in relation to the socio-economic ties that bound the larger family together.

<sup>59</sup> IX, 32–X, 3.

practical situation is one of considerable subordination to the head of the family, from whose claims it would be difficult wholly to separate even divided property. It seems to illustrate clearly the reality of the formula of succession 'son to son, heir to heir', that runs through earlier legal documents.<sup>60</sup>

In the first document of the Adoption Papyrus, the husband had sought to avoid divorcing his wife, while providing the means of obtaining direct issue through a slave-girl. At this stage any residual heirs on Nebnefer's side of the family had reasonably been excluded from succession. Indeed, once Nebnefer recognized the three children as his, it is likely that they would have a direct claim to his property superior to that of his brothers and sisters.<sup>61</sup> It is quite clear from the regular use of exclusion clauses in Egyptian legal documents, of the type whereby Nebnefer excluded his brothers and sisters, that collateral relatives maintained rights and a potential interest in family property that obstructed its disposal without their consent.<sup>62</sup>

The preferential rights of these children to the property of Rennefer may have been less self-evident, even though she stresses that the slave-girl was a joint purchase.<sup>63</sup> Her family will have claimed an interest, whether in the family investment she originally brought into the marriage in the form of her dowry, or her share of the common matrimonial property: the 'profits' of the marriage partnership. It is for this reason that the wording of her declaration must switch from the first person plural to the singular. It concerns the transmission of her personal property rights, in a way that impinged on her collateral relatives.<sup>64</sup> In the absence of a son, the wife's property should revert to her brother;<sup>65</sup> to *her* family and not to that of her husband.<sup>66</sup> The second deed parallels the

<sup>60</sup> Mrsich, *LÄ* 1, 1255, n. 74-6, and Eyre, in *Grund und Boden*, nn. 24-6 for references.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. above, n. 18. On the legitimacy of slave children in Egypt, cf. the critical assessment by Théodoridès, *RIDA* 23, 24-8 of Strabo 17, 2, 5.

<sup>62</sup> For the type of clause, cf. Pestman, *Marriage*, 136-42; Allam, *Enchoria* 13 (1985), 1-5; Menu, *JEA* 74, 165-81; Franke, op. cit. 220-2. For the significance, cf. Mrsich, *LÄ* 1, 1250-1. 'Brother' is not a narrow limitation, but potentially includes all collateral relatives, cf. Franke, op. cit. 67, 158-66, 344-6; Eyre, in *Grund und Boden*, n. 43.

<sup>63</sup> On some of the issues involved see Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 263-4, 266-7.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 12, 104-6. Of itself, this says nothing about whether the husband was still alive or not.

<sup>65</sup> Specifically here vs. 6-7, the husband fears that at his death his family members will demand 'Let me be given the share of my brother.' Cf. also vs. 3-4; Hermopolis Code (above); Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11, 164-7; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 23, 35-44, on the dispute revealed in the Cairo Letter to the Dead (= A. H. Gardiner and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), pl. i). In the story of Horus and Seth (P. Ch.B. I) the claims made by the parties stress that the expected lines of inheritance for the role of heir are: 1) Elder brother has preference over younger (8, 7); 2) Son inherits from father, and the rights cannot be diminished by mother's remarriage (6, 8-12; 7, 6-11); 3) Son takes preference over mother's brother (4, 6-8); but 4) The woman is expected to show loyalty to her collateral family—her brother—at least as much as to her husband and child (9, 4-7). On the role of the mother's collateral relations see below, n. 90; Franke, op. cit. 34, 94, 104-6, and cf. Blackman, op. cit. 38-9; Ammar, op. cit. 54-6.

<sup>66</sup> On family claims to property of childless women, Janssen and Pestman, op. cit. 164-6; Mrsich, *LÄ* 1, 1250; and cf., e.g., Laws of Hammurapi §§163-4; 178-83 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 173-4; Neo-Babylonian Laws §10 = Roth, op. cit. 31. Porten, op. cit. 225, notes that the granting of full rights of inheritance to marriage partners in the Aramaic texts quoted above may reflect special arrangements similar to those of our Adoption Papyrus, rather than a 'foreign' norm in the Jewish community.

On the family duty to finance marriage compare the Will of Naunakhte (P. Ash. Mus. 1945.27, 2, 3; Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, 270 n. 7) with the Laws of Hammurapi §§165-6; 184 = *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 172, 174. For terms of marriage as governed by family negotiation cf. Roth, *JESHO* 31 (1988), esp. 189-92, 205; for a circumstantial account of the necessary social role of the family in arranging marriage cf. Ammar, op. cit. 190.

first, by consolidating the wife's matrimonial property into the adoptive line. However, the socially preferred solution is also seen here: to re-consolidate the family property by further intermarriage.<sup>67</sup> It is not often that we can trace very clearly the relationship between marriage partners in pharaonic Egypt, although there are indications that it was every bit as endogamous a society as mediaeval and early-modern Egypt.<sup>68</sup> The preference for marriage between cousins, so marked in Moslem Egypt, would not have been unfamiliar to their pharaonic ancestors,<sup>69</sup> and for the same reasons: to preserve family property, and consolidate social relations within a tightly knit local community. Such marriage is not merely a private matter, but one of necessary social relations within the community.<sup>70</sup>

Of the two 'adoptions' of this papyrus, the first seems to secure the position of Rennefer during the lifetime of her husband; to avoid relegating her to the inferior status of divorced woman. The second set of 'adoptions' is concerned to ensure that her position as widow is the happy one of matriarch, and not the inferior status of unprotected destitute; by this date she could hardly look to remarry.<sup>71</sup> Where women marry young, often to much older husbands, and death in child-birth is common, widowhood and remarriage are the norm rather than the exception,<sup>72</sup> and property conflicts are predictable.<sup>73</sup> In the family alliance formed at a first marriage—especially where families of substance are involved—a better deal can typically be made than at a subsequent marriage where there are already children. All resources, on both sides, can be committed towards the prospective offspring, to the potential exclusion of future marriages and their offspring.<sup>74</sup> Such a wife is recognized as the 'Mistress of the House' (*nbt pr*).<sup>75</sup> In principle, it is clear that at the death of the head of the household the main

<sup>67</sup> For a circumstantial example see Blackman, *op. cit.* 38–9.

<sup>68</sup> Most explicit, Ankhsheshonq 15, 15; Janssen, *GM* 48 (1981), 63–6; Allam, *LÄ* 1, 1164–5; II, 568–70; Pestman, *Marriage*, 4. Cf. also the New Kingdom Dream Book, P. Ch.B. III, 3, 7–8: 'If a man sees himself in a dream, copulating with his mother ..., good; [his?] clansmen will cleave fast to him. If a man sees himself in a dream, copulating with his sister, good; it means the bequeathing of something to him.' Psychologically the interpretations of these dreams seem most plausibly to fit an essentially endogamous social context, with a great stress on the maintenance of family property and alliances.

Franke, *op. cit.* 340–3 expresses doubts, stressing the rarity of proved cases of cousin marriage. Conversely, one may stress the lack of evidence for marked exogamous practice; the tendency to refer to the wife as 'sister' (= collateral relative), *op. cit.* 310, 343; the use of direct kinship terminology in preference to a special vocabulary for reference to in-laws, *op. cit.* 148–52, 167–8; the typically bilateral pattern of inheritance, in which all children take a share from both parents, which would otherwise lead inexorably to the disintegration of family property and of family solidarity; and the basic realities of life in the naturally closed community of the Egyptian village. Family and neighbours provide the marriage partner, cf. Ammar, *op. cit.* 21–2, 71–3, 83.

<sup>69</sup> For circumstantial accounts see Ammar, *op. cit.* 193, 196; Blackman, *op. cit.* 38, 92.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Ammar, *op. cit.* 62–6.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Franke, *LÄ* VI, 1279–82.

<sup>72</sup> For the difficulty of assessing the data see Franke, *op. cit.* 15, 35, 40–2, 61–2, 68, 104–6, 340–3. The problem is particularly acute for the remarriage of women, although there is no reason to suspect that this was unusual.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Ammar, *op. cit.* 42–5, 53–4.

<sup>74</sup> See Mrsich, *LÄ* 1, 1242, no. 1, and cf. the demands of Tabubu in the Setna Romance, not just that Setna's previous family be divorced and disinherited. Her position will not be secure until they are killed, and she is of too high status to be willing to accept a secondary role; Setna I, 4, 38–5, 36; cf. Eyre, *JEA* 70, 95 n. 30, 103 n. 99.

<sup>75</sup> Tanner, *Klio* 49, 26–9, and cf. above nn. 27–8. Cf. Roth, *JESHO* 31, 186–206, making the same point, that the Akkadian term *as̄satu*, 'wife', carries with it similar advantages of property and status, and corresponding obligations as to behaviour.

inheritance passed to the children, and the role of family head to the eldest son. The wife merely retained her rights to a lifetime interest in her dowry and her share (1/3) of the matrimonial property.<sup>76</sup> Reality was evidently more complex. The social unit was the family group rather than the individual,<sup>77</sup> and specific shares in an inheritance only become fully significant when there is an actual division, which of itself implies a degree of disintegration in the family.<sup>78</sup> It is also likely that the wife's expectation of a lifetime interest in undivided matrimonial property has generally been underestimated.<sup>79</sup> For instance, the Middle Kingdom will of Wah guaranteed his widow a lifetime interest in property he had received from his brother, before it should pass to their children.<sup>80</sup> The will of Naunakhte (see above) shows that she not only retained property from her (childless) first marriage,<sup>81</sup> but apparently also lifetime control of the property, or at least the household property, of her second marriage: the division appears to come after her death. Such arrangements will not have been wholly exceptional. She had at least a continuing right to provision. The norm will have been for the mother to continue to live undisturbed in the family house—in practice to rule the family home—in view of the honour due to her from the heir, her son,<sup>82</sup> who was the new head and occupant of the house.<sup>83</sup> Normal social pressure protects the widow. Only where there is no heir, or the heir is not her natural son, as in a case like this, does it make good sense to give the woman explicit protection against family conflict that would be potentially disastrous to her position and security.

The 'contradictions' between the role of 'heir' as head of the family, and the personal property rights of each individual family member—male and female—lie at the heart of some of the most interesting and difficult legal texts from Egypt.<sup>84</sup> Property disputes arising from the disintegration of a family, and the resulting division of its property, are always likely to be the bitterest, and the potential consequences of enduring bitterness provide a good motivation for seeking the extra security of a written record. It is only by investigating the social context in a way such as this, that the reality of women's property rights can be properly understood. The rights of women individually to hold property are extensively and clearly documented.<sup>85</sup> It is clear that such holdings did not, by and large,

<sup>76</sup> Mrsich, *LÄ* I, 1243, no. 4; Allam, *LÄ* I, 1172-3; Franke, *LÄ* VI, 1279-82 n. 21-3; Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11, 164-7.

<sup>77</sup> Allam, *LÄ* II, 104-13; on family property rights, solidarity, and the duty of support, see Franke, op. cit. 183-4, 228, 244, 271, 320; Allam, *RIDA* 30, 17-39; id., *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, nos. 233 (= O. Petrie 18), 249 (= O. Prague 1826); T. G. H. James, *The Heḫanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), pl. 2, 14.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Eyre, in *Grund und Boden*, at nn. 39-45.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Allam, *JEA* 67, 120; Pestman, *Marriage*, 83, 115-42; id., in Vleeming, *Aspects*, 60; Allam, *LÄ* I, 1173.

<sup>80</sup> P. Kah. pls. 11-13; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 7 (1961), 41-76; id., *RIDA* 8, 24, 32-7; R. B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991), 108-10, and cf. above n. 48 on the will of Kebi.

<sup>81</sup> Possibly her first husband had no other residual heirs, but there is also room for comparison with the Aramaic document quoted above, n. 40.

<sup>82</sup> E. Feucht, *LÄ* IV, 255; Allam, *LÄ* II, 107; note esp. Ani 7, 17-8,1; Ankhsheshonq 13, 16-22; Blackman, op. cit. 37-8, 45; Ammar, op. cit. 53, 137-8.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Franke, op. cit. 263-5; Allam, *LÄ* II, 105-6; Gödecken, *LÄ* III, 143; Valbelle, *CRIPPEL* 7, 77. Cf. also above nn. 51-3.

<sup>84</sup> As, for example, P. Berlin 3047, or the Inscription of Mose, discussed in this light by Eyre, in *Grund und Boden*, at n. 36-46.

<sup>85</sup> Allam, in B. S. Lesko (ed.), *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Atlanta, 1989), 123-35; id., *JESHO* 32 (1989), 1-34; cf. id., *RIDA* 30 (1983), 17-39; and note additionally W. Brunsch, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 11-20. Cf. also Hobson, *Yale Classical Studies* 28, 224-6; id., *TAPA* 113, 311-21, on the Roman period.

arise from property acquisitions made by women personally in business. They came through inheritance, from well defined rights to share in family property, and a claim to provision from family resources on a par with their brothers. This provision may appear as a dowry or as an inheritance; the dowry naturally counts as (or as part of) the girl's share. Such property rights are always well defined, and recognized within family or matrimonial property. Women regularly appear in the documents dealing with property transfer, whether that transfer is by sale, inheritance, or even lease. Such evidence makes clear that the woman's individual participation and formal consent was required when her material interests were at stake: her personal consent was required, not that of a manager or guardian, such as the Greek *kurios*.

The extent to which such texts can serve as evidence for women acting as their own business manager, especially in the crucial farming sector, is more questionable. Unless a property was very small and local, it would be difficult for the woman to manage it personally, and it must always have been quite exceptional for a woman to have personally supervised farming work. For instance, the Inscription of Mose arises from a case in which the widow was unable to enforce her claim to administration of the land that her husband had controlled. It fell to her son to regain the role of *rwdw*.<sup>86</sup> The rights and the practicalities of the matter are not necessarily identical. That a woman is not technically restricted from exercising her property rights freely does not mean that in practice she did not need a man—husband, brother/cousin or son—to maintain those rights. These rights can serve primarily to define the economic status of the woman within the family, in relation to her husband, brothers/cousins, and children. They define her rights to provision and proper treatment, protecting her against divorce or abuse through economic ties, rather than expressing her right to deal or dispose of property outside the family.

Such rights for women<sup>87</sup> lie behind the tendency to endogamy in Islamic Egypt, where cross-cousin marriage has been the normal means to consolidate family property and social solidarity. In the village context this often means that the woman—matriarch, wife, widow—has considerable economic power within the family, and may effectively hold the purse-strings. Her male relatives are constrained by the fact that they work lands belonging to her, or over which she has property rights. In public, however, the society is overtly patriarchal. The family needs a male head. The woman can in practice only marry within a limited circle, and she can only delegate (or lease) the management of her lands within her family, unless she is willing to risk a breakdown in family solidarity that would endanger the family support that is socially necessary to her. The widow may have rather more room for manoeuvre than the wife or unmarried woman, but she still needs to work through an agent she can trust, and preferably a relative.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Allam, *JEA* 75 (1989), 103–12; Eyre, in *Grund und Boden*, nn. 37–8. One might compare the attempt by Seth to exclude Isis from the court in P. Ch. B. I, 5, 2–5, and so exclude her infant son from inheritance. Cf. also Antoun, *op. cit.* 53–8, and L. Rosen, *The Anthropology of Justice* (Cambridge, 1989), 7–10, for the practicality of women's rights to act and speak on their own behalf.

<sup>87</sup> The woman under Islamic and modern Egyptian law should have a half, not a full, share compared to her brother, but in other respects her rights are similar to his. In practice, among the modern Egyptian peasantry, there is widespread avoidance of the letter if not the spirit of the law. Families will often try to exclude daughters from a freehold share in the farmland, since this risks the transfer of its management to a husband's family, if not its complete alienation through sale; cf. the remarks of Hobson, *Yale Classical Studies* 28, 321.

Such a context can give a plausible interpretative frame for the ancient data. For instance, a New Kingdom letter<sup>88</sup> tells how a husband had given orders not to continue the lease on a plot of land, but when he informed his wife, she in effect overruled him, and had him return the plot on lease to the previous cultivator. Her interest in the land is likely to have been more than merely giving good advice to her husband. In another case, an abnormal hieratic stela<sup>89</sup> records the deposition of a shoemaker Peniunu: 'The lady Shedese, a servant of mine, came to me saying "Provide for me while I am alive, and you shall control this field of mine. Do not make me give it to another, who is an outsider (*ḏrḏr*)",<sup>90</sup> and she gave me 1/4 rod of land'. Such transactions would be familiar in a modern village, and are likely to represent the ways in which the management of women's land was normally transacted. The widow or divorced woman needed a 'husband', a 'brother' or a 'son' to stand up for her rights. Rennefer, of the Adoption Papyrus, apparently needed Padiu for the role of son and heir in the same way that Mose's mother needed him to grow up and reclaim the property, or Sibastet's sister and niece required a man to take over their uncle's office and manage their joint inheritance.

At first sight the terms of the Adoption Papyrus seem eccentric. At least they seem to show the device of 'adoption' being used as a 'legal fiction' to enable property to be transferred out of the normal line of succession. However, the real issue is not one of legal technicality, but of custom and social behaviour. If these arrangements are considered in the light of the endogamic realities of Egyptian village life, or indeed, if the text is treated as evidence for the continuity of social custom, the motivation behind the 'legal' devices becomes clearer. Indeed, the text can serve to illustrate essential similarities in the working of ancient society across the whole of the ancient Near East, that do not derive from simple direct borrowings, but from a more extensive cultural and social community.

<sup>88</sup> P. Berlin 8523; W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 107-111; Allam, *Hierat. Ostr. u. Pap.*, no. 263.

<sup>89</sup> Cairo T. 27.6.24.3., 2 = A. M. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt* (Cairo, 1952), pls. 2-4, quoted in Černý, *JEA* 31, 33, n.g.

<sup>90</sup> The term *ḏrḏr*, normally translated 'stranger' does seem to carry the quasi-technical sense of a person who is 'not kin' or 'not family', even in this sense including a woman's husband in contrast to her collateral relatives: cf. above, n. 65, on the Story of Horus and Seth where (P. Ch. B. I, 9, 6 = P. Sall. IV, rt. 3, 2 = Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637*, rt. VII, 11-VIII, 1) Seth makes the appeal to collateral obligation over conjugal, and where (P. Ch. B. I, 6, 10-12 and 7, 5-9) Seth is tricked into defining the role of property administrator, probably the role of second husband to the widow (and incidentally defining himself) as *s ḏrḏr*, 'not-kin'. On the issues involved cf. Antoun, op. cit. 36-8; E. Leach, *RAIN* 15 (1976), 19-21.

## ROYAL ICONOGRAPHY AND DYNASTIC CHANGE, 750-525 BC: THE BLUE AND CAP CROWNS\*

By ANTHONY LEAHY

Over the last thirty-five years the blue and cap crowns have come to serve as convenient symbols distinguishing the iconography of the kings of the Libyan, and later the Saite, Periods, from that of the Kushites who separated them in time. In what is still the fundamental study of Late Period sculpture, Bothmer has noted that the blue crown (*khepresh*) was the 'favorite helmet' of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> In a more general introduction to Egyptian art, Aldred wrote '...the Saite had shown their execration of all things Kushite by carefully stressing their own Lower Egyptian character. They wore for preference the Blue Crown, a form of headgear never assumed by the Kushite kings'.<sup>2</sup> In a wider historical survey of the Late Period, Lloyd has observed that 'during the Saite period, the blue crown was particularly popular, probably for two reasons: in the first place, since it was never worn by the Nubian conquerors of Egypt...its use in the Saite period was probably tantamount to a forceful affirmation of the Egyptian origin of the Saite Dynasty itself; secondly, inasmuch as the use of this crown seems always to have expressed a claim to legitimacy...its insistent employment by Saite kings amounted to nothing less than assertion of their right to rule'.<sup>3</sup>

Although none of these scholars cites evidence or authority, all were probably influenced by Müller's view, expressed in the fullest discussion of the blue crown in the Late Period, that 'kein Äthiopenherrscher sich mit der "Blauen Krone" darstellen liess, während seine Vorgänger, die Könige der libyschen Dynastie, und seine Nachfolger, die Saitenkönige, sich in Reliefbildern und Statuen häufig in diesen helmartigen Kopfputz zeigen'.<sup>4</sup> Müller explained Kushite avoidance of the blue crown—which has come to be generally acknowledged—as a reaction against an element of royal regalia that, in addition to being comparatively new and having political connotations, was closely associated with the Libyan kings. In this context, he tentatively suggested that the blue crown might

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<sup>1</sup> B. V. Bothmer *et al.*, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (New York, 1960), 68.

<sup>2</sup> C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1980), 225.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Lloyd, in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, by B. G. Trigger *et al.* (Cambridge, 1983), 289.

<sup>4</sup> H.-W. Müller, *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 146 (addendum to the main discussion, pp. 47-50); all subsequent references to Müller are to these pages. For the earlier history of the blue crown, see W. V. Davies, *JEA* 68 (1982), 69-76; cf. also C. Strauss, *LA* III, 814, and, for references to more recent literature, R. S. Bianchi, in *Cleopatra's Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1988), 143 no. 48.

have originated in Lower Egypt.<sup>5</sup> Russmann has subsequently endorsed his interpretation: 'There seems some cause to believe that the Kushites associated the Blue Crown with their rivals in the Delta'.<sup>6</sup>

Müller also observed a number of differences between New Kingdom representations of the blue crown and those of the Saite and later periods. The latter was squatter, less flaring at the 'wings', lacked the discs covering the surface, and had a much narrower inner band visible across the brow and behind the ears. The coiled uraeus characteristic of the New Kingdom blue crown was no longer current. These led him to conclude that whereas the earlier version had been of cloth or leather covered with circlets, the late form was actually 'ein metallner Helm'. He argued, as others had before him and have since,<sup>7</sup> that it should be identified with the bronze helmet which according to Herodotus (II, 151) played such a prophecy-fulfilling role in the rise to power of Psammetichus I.

The context of Müller's discussion was sculpture in the round—specifically the publication of Bologna 1801, a head from a statue of either Psammetichus II or Apries—and his remarks on headdress form were based largely on that medium. However, his evidence for dynastic distinction relied heavily upon relief sculpture. The identification of the blue crown as the headgear of three submissive kings on the victory stela of Piye and of Psammetichus I on a temple block from Rosetta now in the British Museum (BM 20) respectively proved to him the crown's close association with the Libyan kings and its immediate revival 'am Beginn der 26. Dynastie'. The fact that Müller's interpretation of BM 20 has not been followed by others,<sup>8</sup> whereas his view of the Piye stela has,<sup>9</sup> has not prevented the conclusions he drew from it having the influence already noted.

Perceived fluctuations in the use of this item of royal headgear have thus been explained in adversarial and dynastic terms: the Kushites avoided the blue crown because of its close association with the Libyans, and the Saites favoured it precisely because the Kushites had not. In between, the Kushites favoured a distinctive cap crown. Such an explanation raises questions of wider cultural interest. I shall suggest that the actual pattern of usage was somewhat different, that the dynastic transitions of the eighth and seventh centuries BC, in this respect as in others, are characterised more by continuity than contrast, and that the explanation for the changes that did occur lies in the close, if obscure, relationship between the blue and cap crowns, and in general social developments, rather than in dynastic antitheses.

<sup>5</sup> ZÄS 80, 146. C. Traunecker *et al.*, *La Chapelle d'Achoris à Karnak*, II (Paris, 1981), 73 n. 50, adds to this suggestion the gloss that this would explain the popularity of the blue crown in the 'Basse Epoque'.

<sup>6</sup> E. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Brussels-Brooklyn, 1974), 27–8.

<sup>7</sup> ZÄS 80, 50. The idea goes back to Fr. W. v. Bissing, ZÄS 42 (1905), 84; cf. also H. De Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie* (Louvain, 1951), 25 with n. 54; *ESLP*, 30, comment on no. 25 (curiously at variance with the more likely description of the crown on p. 58 of the volume as of leather and faience); Russmann, *Representation*, 28, n. 2; L. Török, *The Royal Crowns of Kush* (Oxford, 1987), 90 n. 60. The equation is rejected by A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, III (Leiden, 1988), 130.

<sup>8</sup> W. Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958), pl. 182 b, 2nd ed., revised by W. K. Simpson (1981), 417 n. 410, *ESLP*, 91, and Russmann, *Representation*, 32, all recognise the headgear as a cap.

<sup>9</sup> J. Yoyotte, *Mélanges Maspero*, I (Cairo, 1961), 161 n. 3, Russmann, *Representation*, 28, and M.-A. Bonhême, *Les Noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (Cairo, 1987), 214, 221, all regard the kings as wearing the *khepresh*.



### The blue crown

It is true that the Saite blue crown generally differs slightly from earlier versions. Examples of the Libyan Period continue in the New Kingdom tradition, and the changes identified by Müller in the way the crown is depicted may be more precisely datable to the early sixth century BC (see below). There is, however, no reason to believe that it was intrinsically different. Even in the New Kingdom, its form and the amount of detail shown varied far more than for any other crown.<sup>10</sup> Our understanding of the crown is defined primarily by shape, despite its modern name, since colour and other decorative detail are often absent or hard to discern today. The inner band, the side ridges, streamers and, in the New Kingdom, the coiled uraeus are also important features. Saite and later relief representations continue consistently to show the distinctive shape, and, usually, the ridge of the 'wing' on one side.<sup>11</sup> The general absence of circlets on Saite depictions might be due, in sculpture in the round, to the contemporary preference for uniformly smooth, matt surfaces which is so obvious in private sculpture. In relief, such details were probably standardly added in now-lost paint. In any case, many earlier examples in both two- and three-dimensional art also lack the circlets, while some late examples do show them, especially in the fourth century, when the inclusion of such detail in carving may have come back into fashion.<sup>12</sup>

The nature and significance of the crown remain elusive, and the late evidence is too fragmented to shed much light on either. Its identification as a military helmet, formulated when war was regarded as its principal connotation, or even origin, still survives in some quarters,<sup>13</sup> and has led to specific political significance being attributed to its use.<sup>14</sup> Yet it has been convincingly shown that nothing in the earliest examples of the crown requires such an explanation,<sup>15</sup> and there is nothing in the post-New Kingdom evidence to suggest that it was then so regarded. One could perhaps argue that its frequent depiction on Thirtieth Dynasty rulers is connected with their background as army commanders, but the scenes in which it occurs represent a variety of cult ritual activities, while

<sup>10</sup> Cf. K. Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal dans le bas relief du nouvel empire* (Warsaw, 1976), pls. passim. For the diversity exemplified within a single reign, see *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. L. H. Berman (Cleveland, 1990), pls. 3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 20, 22, 25.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX* (Mainz, 1988), pls. lxix, lxxii, lxxviii, lxxxvii, xc, xcvi.

<sup>12</sup> For probably Libyan Period examples in the round, see J. Cooney, *RdE* 27 (1975), pl. 6, and Russmann, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, ed. W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (Boston, 1981), 155 n. 46. Saite examples in relief are a donation stela of Necho II (n. 47 below) and a bronze plaque of Psammetichus II (n. 35 below). For the fourth century, see *ESLP*, 88-9; D. Spänel, *Through Ancient Eyes* (Birmingham, Alabama, 1988), 126 n. 45; J. Leclant (ed.) *L'Égypte du crépuscule* (Paris, 1980), 154, no. 135. The circlets can also be seen on representations in the Graeco-Roman temples (personal observation).

<sup>13</sup> E. g. J.-P. Corteggiani, *The Egypt of the Pharaohs* (London, 1987), 163 no. 108; B. V. Bothmer, *Antiquities in the Collection of Christos G. Bastis* (Mainz, 1988), 76; E. Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae* (Louvain, 1989), 92; W. Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao* (Vienna, 1992), 412-13.

<sup>14</sup> B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, ed. L. H. Lesko (Hanover and London, 1986), 8 n. 24, has drawn attention to the fact that the blue crown is worn by kings offering to gods in miniature representations which adorn pectorals on three statues. Bothmer dates these to the Persian Period and suggests that the blue crown is 'perhaps a sly allusion to the revenge by a hoped-for native king ready to fight the Persians'. But at least one of these, *ESLP*, no. 57, belongs in the later Twenty-sixth Dynasty (cf. n. 46 below), and the Persian ruler Darius I is also shown in the blue crown: Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. lxix a (Hibis temple), pl. lxx b (wooden shrine); Yoyotte, *CRIPÉL* 11 (1989), 113 n. 2 (bronze inlay).

<sup>15</sup> Davies, *JEA* 68, 75-6.

military scenes are conspicuously absent from temple decorum of the fourth century, as of the whole first millennium BC. In the few smiting scenes which survive, other crowns are shown.<sup>16</sup> The bronze helmet attributed to Psammetichus I by Herodotus has been identified with the blue crown on the assumption that the latter was military, but there is nothing in either the Greek vocabulary<sup>17</sup> or the implied usage<sup>18</sup> to suggest that what Herodotus describes was a crown. The colour of the blue crown is also difficult to reconcile with bronze, and the most plausible explanation of all its features is that it was of leather, ornamented with faience discs.<sup>19</sup>

The blue crown is now more widely regarded as being primarily connected with legitimate rule on earth.<sup>20</sup> Bianchi has suggested a particular late application of this, pointing out that there are 'no unequivocally identified examples in sculpture in the round' of Ptolemaic kings wearing the blue crown, and suggesting that they were denied this symbol of legitimacy.<sup>21</sup> However, as he acknowledges, the Ptolemies frequently wear it in temple relief, and it is hard to see why it should be allowed in one medium and not in another when the physical context of the two—a native temple—was essentially the same. The wider history of state and temple relations does not suggest that the Egyptian priests sought to deny legitimacy to the Ptolemaic kings, or indeed that they had the power to openly deny anything. The Ptolemies could have insisted had it been a live political issue.

In fact, it remains unclear in what way the blue crown, more than other royal headgear, conferred legitimacy. Even for the New Kingdom, studies have shown that the blue crown occurs in all sorts of scene, and no pattern consistently distinguishing its use from that of other crowns has been identified.<sup>22</sup> Whether its original significance was actively

<sup>16</sup> Siamun (short wig, Tanis), Sheshonq I (white crown, Karnak; *nemes* with complex, El-Hibeh). The first two are conveniently illustrated in *Tanis. L'or des pharaons* (Paris, 1987), 78–9; for the last see E. Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar* (Berlin etc. 1986), fig. 224b.

<sup>17</sup> v. Bissing, *ZAS* 42, 84, noting that the same word, *κυνέη*, was used by Herodotus to describe the crown placed on Amasis' head by the rebels against Apries, suggested that it referred to the blue crown in both cases. But there is no need to assume that a proper crown is involved: the significance of the soldier's act lies in its bestowal of recognition on Amasis (cf. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, III, 176), not the particular headgear. *κυνέη*, etymologically a dog-skin, has no royal connotations in Greek usage.

<sup>18</sup> The conventional translation of Herodotus' *βασιλεύς*, which means essentially a recognised leader, or 'big man' in current anthropological terminology, as 'king' may have misled. Herodotus' statement that all the twelve 'kings' wore bronze helmets must exclude identification with the blue crown, since most of them were not *nsw(-bity)*, and there is no evidence that the blue crown was worn by anyone other than the king. In the 660s power in Egypt was in the hands of numerous individuals all called *šarru*, 'chiefs', by the Assyrians, but who held titles of varying rank in the Egyptian hierarchy: K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (Warminster, 1986) §§ 356–8.

<sup>19</sup> The blue crown seems to have continued to be painted blue, to judge from traces surviving in late temple reliefs (personal observation), but the value of its colour in establishing the material is problematic. Blue does not suggest bronze because it was the golden hue that the Egyptians valued in that metal: J. R. Baines, in his translation of H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 50 n. 114. R. Tefnin, in *Artibus Aegypti*, ed., H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme (Brussels, 1983), 157, commenting on an example of the blue crown painted yellow, suggests that the colour variation corresponds to silver and gold versions of the crown. But one might expect silver to be shown as white, as silver vessels commonly are in New Kingdom tomb scenes. Vassilika's suggestion, *Ptolemaic Philae*, 92, that the colour of the blue crown would allow its interpretation as sheet iron is difficult to reconcile with its appearance in the first half of the second millennium BC.

<sup>20</sup> Davies, *JEA* 68, 75–6, summarises opinion; Traunecker *et al.*, *La Chapelle d'Achoris à Karnak*, II, 73 n. 50, suggests that the association is 'la notion de souveraineté terrestre du roi', 'la marque de son pouvoir temporel'.

<sup>21</sup> Bianchi, in *Cleopatra's Egypt*, 143 no. 48.

<sup>22</sup> E. g. M.-N. Elie-Lefebvre, *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain* 12 (1979), 246–7.

remembered in later times is debatable—pattern books or other models may have been the determining factor rather than contemporary understanding. It is hard to discern, for example, any significance beyond artistic variation in the variety of crowns (including occasionally the blue) in which the king was depicted on donation stelae, when the essence of the royal role remained unchanged from one stela to another.<sup>23</sup> Again, if legitimation were integrally or exclusively bound up with the blue crown, one might expect the Kushites to have worn it, since they had the same need to justify their right to rule as the Persians or the Ptolemies.

Given the paucity of well-dated material surviving from the period between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemies, it is almost as difficult to establish a reliable picture of the frequency or context of depiction for any item of royal headgear as it is to assess its significance, and any conclusions must be correspondingly cautious. The blue crown is hardly attested in sculpture in the round between the New Kingdom and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>24</sup> Examples in relief do occur sporadically throughout the period at the major sites,<sup>25</sup> but it cannot be said to be common compared with other items of royal headgear. Such occasional continued use of the crown is only to be expected, and does not in any way imply that particular significance attached to it in the iconography of the Libyan kings.

The representation on the Piye stela thus becomes crucial.<sup>26</sup> There is, as Müller observed, a difference in headgear between the three kings shown prostrating themselves in the lower register on the right of the arc—Osorkon, Iuput and Pefthjauawybast—and another king, Nimlot, who stands upright in the register above, apparently wearing a wig. The significance of this distinction, and indeed of the separate representation of

<sup>23</sup> For the corpus, see D. Meeks, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (Louvain, 1979), II. The *nemes*, red, white, double, *atef*, cap crowns and various wigs are all attested as well as the blue crown. To take another example, the blue crown is the one most often worn by kings when offering mirrors in the Graeco-Roman temples (C. Husson, *L'Offrande du miroir dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque gréco-romaine* (Lyon, 1977), 55–6), but it is not the only one, and no discernible significance attaches to its replacement by another crown.

<sup>24</sup> A rather crude squat *hpr̄s* is depicted on a bronze statuette inscribed with the name of crown prince Pediese, a contemporary of Piye, in the Michaelides collection: Yoyotte, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 161 § 64, pl. II/3. Another possible example is illustrated by M. Müller, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 121–30, where the difficulty of dating first millennium bronzes is discussed. A third bronze showing a kneeling king wearing the blue crown, in Munich (ÄS 6043), has been dated to c. 900 BC in *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst*<sup>2</sup> (Munich, 1976), 185, but to c. 600 BC in S. Schoske, *Schönheit, Abglanz der Göttlichkeit, Kosmetik im alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1990), no. 19. The royal bronzes dated by cartouche within the Libyan Period wear crowns other than the blue, e.g. C. Ziegler, in *Tanis. L'Or des pharaons*, 85–91.

<sup>25</sup> Examples in chronological order are, Siamun: Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. xii b, xiii b. Sheshonq I: H. Ranke, *Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karara und der Amontempel Scheschonks I. bei El Hibe* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), pl. 21.1 = E. Feucht, *SAK* 6 (1978), pl. xxii = Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar*, fig. 224b = Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. xv b; Ranke, op. cit. 51 = A. Kamal, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 86–7 = G. Daressy, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 154; Kamal, op. cit. 88; R. A. Caminos, *JEA* 38 (1952), pl. x. Osorkon I: E. Naville, *Bubastis* (London, 1891), pls. xxxix, xl; *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, III, *The Bubastite Portal* (Chicago, 1954), pl. 15. Osorkon II: E. Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (London, 1892), pl. xvii = pl. xxviii. Sheshonq III: P. Montet, *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis* (Paris, 1960), pl. xv top right. Takeloth III: D. Redford, *JEA* 59 (1973), 21. Among attributed blocks, note Sheshonq V (crown only partially preserved): Montet, *Le lac sacré de Tanis* (Paris, 1972), pl. xviii no. 117 = pl. lvii no. 117.

<sup>26</sup> For bibliography of the Piye stela, see N. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale du roi Pi(ankh)y* (Cairo, 1981), xi–xiv. Among published photographs are id. ib, pl. i; W. Y. Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (London, 1977), pl. xii. Close-ups of the relevant scene: Müller, *ZÄS* 80, 146, W. W. Hallo and W. K. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East. A History* (New York, 1971), 289; Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 174 (B); 2nd ed., 397 fig. 389.

Nimlot, is obscure. In any case, scrutiny of the monument (pl. XXVI, 1) shows that the three rulers in question wear a cap, not the blue crown, a possibility already mooted by Russmann.<sup>27</sup> Although internal detail is impossible to discern, the position of the uraei and the ears show that most of the area which comprises head and crown consists of head. There is sufficient bulge to dispel any idea—*a priori* improbable—that the trio are bareheaded, but the immediate recession of the outline from the brow above the uraeus, the lack of further height, and the distinctly rounded rather than angular line to the back of the head area similarly exclude the blue crown. The kings thus wear the same headgear as did the Kushites later: the significance of this will be considered below.

On the other hand, Kushite ‘avoidance’ of the blue crown may not have been as absolute as is supposed. An often illustrated relief from Taharqa’s chapel by the sacred lake at Karnak (pl. XXVI, 2), with the top frustratingly lost, shows the king wearing what looks very much like the blue crown.<sup>28</sup> The inner band across the forehead (its breadth still in the New Kingdom tradition), the line of the curve at the back and the descending streamers strongly support this view. The only possible alternative, the white crown, is excluded by comparison with another representation in the same building which shows it without the inner band or streamers and with an archaising ‘hook’ around the bottom of the ear-lobe.<sup>29</sup> The blue crown also appears on bronze inlays from a Theban hoard found at Memphis, which are probably Kushite in origin but on which the names have either been erased or usurped by Psammetichus II.<sup>30</sup>

These modest indications of continued use during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty are complemented by an absence of evidence for a sudden Saite ‘revival’. On BM 20, the block of Psammetichus I quoted by Müller as evidence for this, both representations of the king show him wearing a cap (pl. XXVI, 3).<sup>31</sup> Even in the stone’s worn condition, the shape of the head area excludes the blue crown, and the outline of the cap is visible across the brow and behind the ear. This is confirmed by the better-preserved depiction of a king in

<sup>27</sup> *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan*, 155, contra her earlier acceptance of Müller’s identification (n. 9 above). Grimal does not discuss the headgear of the kings, but his line-drawing (*La Stèle triomphale*, pl. v) suggests a cap.

<sup>28</sup> J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Cairo, 1965), pl. xlv A = *The Edifice of Taharqa*, ed. R. A. Parker *et al.* (Providence, 1979), pl. 9B = R. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* (Paris, 1982), II, pl. 334 = Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. xl b. Goyon identified it as a ‘*hprš*-crown’ without comment in his description (*Edifice*, 16).

<sup>29</sup> *Edifice*, pl. 10b = Myśliwiec, *op. cit.* pl. xl a. This feature is common in Twenty-fifth Dynasty reliefs generally (Myśliwiec, *op. cit.* 38).

<sup>30</sup> The hoard was published by Daressy, *ASAE* 3 (1902). Some of it is now on display in the Cairo Museum under the number JE 35107. One example has an erased cartouche, which according to Daressy, *op. cit.* 139, no. 1, pl. i, 1, ended with an *ankh*-sign. Daressy felt that it could not be the name of Piye, but if his reading is correct, there is no known alternative. Yoyotte, *CRIPPEL* 11 (1989), 114–15 n. 14, regards that interpretation as ‘tempting’ while suggesting that the erased name might alternatively be ‘Iny’. On a second inlay, the name of Psammetichus II is not original, and the piece may be one of the many usurped by that king from the Kushites: Daressy, *op. cit.* 140, no. 8, pl. i, 3; Yoyotte, *loc. cit.* The head and neck of the royal figure suggest that the original was Kushite and not Necho II. In both cases, the blue crown is in the New Kingdom tradition, with a single uraeus which seems original.

<sup>31</sup> I am grateful to the trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this photograph, and to W. V. Davies and J. H. Taylor for assistance in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. For a general view of BM 20, and a detail of the other figure of the king, see Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 46, pls. liii–liv, adding Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pl. 182 (B), 2nd ed., 417 fig. 410, to his bibliography. Myśliwiec, *op. cit.* 51, is wrong in describing the king as having a ‘bald or shaven head’.

a cap on a closely-related block in Vienna.<sup>32</sup> BM 20 occupies an important place in the non-idealising strand of Egyptian art which developed in the seventh century BC. Although previous descriptions of it have emphasised the ugliness of the royal physiognomy,<sup>33</sup> the indications that it shows a man well advanced in years are important here. They suggest that the block must date to at least the middle, if not the end, of the king's reign, c. 630–610 BC. Rather than providing evidence of an instant return to the blue crown under the Saïtes, the relief shows, on the contrary, that at least thirty years into his reign Psammetichus I was still being depicted in a cap not significantly different from that worn by the Kushite kings. There are also a number of representations in bronze showing a skullcap and round head resembling the Kushite type, but with sufficient differences to suggest that they are in fact early Saïte.<sup>34</sup> One stylistically similar example is as late as Psammetichus II,<sup>35</sup> and the cap continued as part of the royal repertoire down to the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>36</sup> Such transcendence of the political changes of the period is paralleled in contemporary private sculpture, in which a marked persistence of 'Kushite' style into the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is apparent.<sup>37</sup>

With the removal of BM 20 from the picture, evidence for the early revival of the blue crown is totally lacking. The only two extant statues which are certainly of Psammetichus I are now headless, but the remains of lappets on the chest show that he wore the *nemes* in both cases.<sup>38</sup> This is also the headgear depicted on the bronze statuettes known for Necho I or II.<sup>39</sup> Nor are there any certain representations of the blue crown in the small amount of known relief sculpture. The only possibility is on part of a lintel or other relief from

<sup>32</sup> The exact relationship is uncertain. M. Eaton-Krauss has shown, below pp. 285–7, that the names of Psammetichus II on the Vienna block are not original, and it was probably made for Necho II. See E. Rogge, *Statuen des Spätzeit*, (CAA, Vienna, 1992), s.v. AS 5911, for the usurpations of Psammetichus II from his predecessors.

<sup>33</sup> Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 250; Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 51–2. The depiction belongs to the strain of 'brutal realism' described in *ESLP*, xxxviii.

<sup>34</sup> Russmann, *Representation*, 32–3 n. 8, cf. Appendix II, nos. C. 34–36 especially (her C. 35 may actually bear the cartouche of Psammetichus: see H. De Meulenaere, *BiOr* 48, 1/2 (January–March 1991), 123, no. 5); C. Insley Green, *Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra 1964–1976* (London, 1987), 22–3 no. 41.

<sup>35</sup> This is on a bronze plaque, Cairo T. 27.11.26.3 published by Daressy, *ASAE* 3, 143, no. 14, pl. II. 1, and by M. Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973), 101–3, no. 15. According to Daressy, both the king's cartouches were visible when the object was found but were destroyed in cleaning; the private name on the object leaves no doubt that it is a Saïte original.

<sup>36</sup> In addition to the BM and Vienna blocks, and the bronze plaque (previous note), Amasis is shown in a cap on temple blocks, S. Farag *et al.*, *OrAnt* 16 (1977), pls. xxii, probably xv; L. Habachi, *ASAE* 42 (1942), 398–9, pl. xxvii; perhaps A. Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis* (Cairo, 1942), 1, 170 fig. 121; donation stela, Cairo T. 14.2.25.2 (contra G. Maspero, *ZAS* 23 (1885), 11, lxxiv). A cap is worn by Darius I at Hibis, Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, op. cit. 97, nos. 42–4 (there called wig). For Thirtieth Dynasty examples, see Russmann, *Representation*, 32 n. 7; Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. 1 c–d, lxxxvi. For the Ptolemaic Period, see Russmann, *Representation*, 33 n. 2 and Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*, 93, 311; S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum* (Leningrad, 1982), no. 163.

<sup>37</sup> E. g. Russmann, *MMJ* 8 (1973), 99 n. 4; Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 16 n. 17.

<sup>38</sup> For these, see Leahy, *GM* 80 (1984), 61, 1.1–2. For other representations of this king, see Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 46, subject to the comments of De Meulenaere, *BiOr* 48, 123. The suggestion (*ESLP*, 30) that a torso in Brooklyn (58.95), without traces of lappets on the chest, comes from a statue of Psammetichus I wearing the blue crown is doubly doubtful. The absence of lappets shows only that the headdress was not the *nemes*. The king may in any case be Apries since only the name *W3h-ib-rꜥ* is preserved, (Leahy, *GM* 80, 60–1, 69).

<sup>39</sup> See Leahy, *GM* 80, 63, II.1 and 70, IX.1–2. All are attributed to Necho II by Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 47.

Abydos, which shows a king 'Psammetichus' wearing a very tall blue crown, with a broad inner band in New Kingdom style (pl. XXVII, 1).<sup>40</sup> The evidence for its date is provided by the name of the Chief Steward of the God's Wife Padihorresnet B on the other half of the block. Since he is known principally from the reign of Necho II, the scene cannot be earlier than the last years of Psammetichus I. It might equally belong in the reign of Psammetichus II.<sup>41</sup> On present evidence, the first Saite king who is definitely represented in the blue crown is Necho II on a donation stela (n. 47 below).

In the later Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the blue crown does seem to have become more popular, in the modified form identified by Müller. An exaggerated impression is probably given by its appearance on both the Bologna head he published and the head of Psammetichus II in the Jacquemart-André collection with which he compared it.<sup>42</sup> As two of the small number of royal heads attributable by inscription to kings of the dynasty, these are bound to influence perceptions of royal sculpture, but perhaps misleadingly, since they are the only known definitely Saite examples with the blue crown. Several of the numerous uninscribed late heads with this crown have been assigned to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty,<sup>43</sup> but a comparison of the two most recent contributions on the subject shows how little agreement there is on criteria for distinguishing between heads of the sixth and fourth centuries, or between the fourth century and the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>44</sup> In such uncertainty, the importance of confining initial analysis to pieces dated by inscription cannot be overstated.<sup>45</sup> The appearance of the blue crown on a number of small objects bearing the name of Amasis may suggest a vogue late in the dynasty,<sup>46</sup> but occurrences in relief remain few in number.<sup>47</sup> In the latter medium, the blue crown seems to

<sup>40</sup> A. Mariette, *Description de fouilles*, 1 (Paris, 1869), 5 (6), pl. 2b left = Cairo JE 20340; pl. 2b right = Cairo JE 19769. The crown is unusually tall compared to other post-New Kingdom examples and its form may have been inspired by locally accessible Ramesside prototypes.

<sup>41</sup> Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 46 A.2, follows PM v, 70 and Gauthier, *LR* v, 76 XLI, in assigning the block to Psammetichus I, although A. Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), no. 1289, had already suggested Psammetichus II. For the dating of the official, see E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 80. Building in the reign of Psammetichus I is not otherwise attested at Abydos, whereas a block of Psammetichus II lies in the temple of Ramesses II there, J. R. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster, 1985), 241 fig. 141.

<sup>42</sup> Müller, *ZÄS* 80, pls. iv–vi.

<sup>43</sup> The most plausible attribution is Louvre E. 3433: see Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 47–8 for bibliography.

<sup>44</sup> The frailty of the criterion for distinguishing between pre- and post-Persian blue crowns proposed by Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 91–2, and again in *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 263–8, is well brought out in a review by H. De Meulenaere, *BiOr* 48, 122–6. Compare also the very different opinions of Myśliwiec and J. Josephson, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 93–7, on pre- and post-Persian royal heads. On the problem of fourth century or Ptolemaic dating, see Bianchi, in *Cleopatra's Egypt*, 143.

<sup>45</sup> As I have argued elsewhere (*GM* 80, 72–3), a comparison between one miniature head (Jacquemart-André, 12.5 cm high) and one over life-size head (Bologna, 40 cm high) is not an adequate basis from which to elaborate a distinction in iconography between two kings—especially when the identity of the second is uncertain—still less on which to found the royal iconography of an entire dynasty.

<sup>46</sup> E. g. the side of a wooden figure of Wadjet, BM 11482, published by T. G. H. James, *JEA* 68 (1982), 162 and pl. xix. 3; a wooden naos panel, Louvre N. 504, illustrated in J. Yoyotte, *RdE* 24 (1972), pl. 19 B; a bronze object in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Müller, *ZÄS* 80, 63 n. 7; also in a graffito, J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (Cairo, 1912), pl. xxi, no. 88; on a pectoral carved on a statue of one of Amasis' officials, *ESLP*, no. 57 (cf. n. 14 above, where the continuation of the fashion into the Persian Period is noted).

<sup>47</sup> Amasis is the only Saite king depicted in the blue crown in extant temple relief, and he only rarely: Philae, Farag *et al.*, *OrAnt* 16, pls. xiii (squat), xxi (tall); Karnak, *LD* III, 274 o. In the temple Amasis had built at Ain Muftalla, many crowns survive in a variety of offering scenes but not the blue: A. Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*,

have been much more frequently worn in both the Thirtieth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period,<sup>48</sup> and if there is a correlation between its use in two- and three-dimensions, one might expect the majority of heads in the round to date to those periods rather than to the Saite. It was the *nemes* which remained pre-eminent throughout the Libyan and Saite Periods.<sup>49</sup>

The period during which the blue crown seems not to have been often depicted thus extends beyond the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to encompass, in very round terms, the years 750–600 BC. Several explanations for its revival in the sixth century might be considered. One could argue that both Amasis' doubtful legitimacy as king and his probable army background might have been factors in his case, but the revival is already apparent under Psammetichus II, to whom neither applies. If one wished to preserve the idea that the revival of the blue crown was in some way anti-Kushite, one might assert a connection with Psammetichus II's Nubian campaign and his erasure of the names and usurpation of the monuments of the Kushite pharaohs. But the blue crown is attested for Necho II before him. While such considerations might in theory have given fresh impetus to the blue crown, none are probable primary causes. Its gradual reappearance may be better understood in relation to the new artistic style which developed in the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty<sup>50</sup>—that is, as a fashionable revival in popularity of a royal iconographic feature.

Similarly, the fact that the Kushites are not often shown in the blue crown, despite being more substantially represented in the extant monumental record than any other dynasty between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemies, can be explained without reference to political circumstances. Without a specific association between the Libyan kings and the blue crown, the case for a Lower Egyptian origin for the latter (see above) evaporates, and with it the likelihood that the rarity of the blue crown under the Kushites was the result of such a connection. The Kushites were not, in any case, averse to being depicted when appropriate in the red crown, which has well-known Lower Egyptian connotations.<sup>51</sup> The earliest examples of the *khepresh* are all from Upper Egypt or Nubia,<sup>52</sup> and the blue crown first became common on the monuments of the Theban Eighteenth Dynasty. Another theory is that the relatively late appearance of this crown, and its political associations, may explain Kushite avoidance of it.<sup>53</sup> But by the time the

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1, 150–73, pls. xliii–lxii. Only a few examples occur on the over 40 donation stelae preserved for the dynasty: Necho II, H. S. K. Bakry, *SCO* 19–20 (1970–1), 325, pl. 1; Apries, *Vom Euphrat zum Nil* (1985), 39, and G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka* (London, 1979), pl. 44 no. 159; Amasis: T.23.10.24.2 (unpublished).

<sup>48</sup> A good range of examples can be found in Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. lxxii–lxxiii, lxxviii, lxxxvii–lxxxviii, xc, xcv–xcvi; cf. Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*, 92, 311.

<sup>49</sup> Whether or not one accepts Josephson's attribution of a series of uninscribed statue heads to Amasis (*JEA* 74 (1988), 232–5)—and there must be doubts because they do not greatly resemble the only inscribed head of Amasis, on the Capitoline sphinx—it is noteworthy that they all sport the *nemes*. On categories as diverse as donation stelae, naoi and bronzes, this remains the most common Saite royal headgear.

<sup>50</sup> See e.g. Russmann, *MMJ* 8, 99 n. 4. Bianchi, *MDAIK* 35, 16–17, gives this change a political dimension, ascribing the demise of the 'Kushite' style in part to the policy of Psammetichus II. It seems doubtful that by the early sixth century a 'Kushite style' would have been recognisable enough to be reacted against in the way this implies, or that such a politically motivated reaction is likely.

<sup>51</sup> Leclant, *Recherches*, 322–3.

<sup>52</sup> Davies, *JEA* 68, 71–2.

<sup>53</sup> Müller, *ZAS* 80, 53; Russmann, *Representation*, 27.

Kushites arrived in Egypt, it was the best part of a thousand years old and firmly embedded in the regalia of kingship. A better explanation is that it was directly replaced during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty—but also just before and just afterwards—by the cap, and that this was in some way due to the close early relationship between the two.<sup>54</sup> This envisages a development which was the inverse of that of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when close-fitting headgear was largely eschewed and the blue crown came into prominence.

### The cap crown

As it happens, two of the three kings who wear the cap on the Piye stela are, in all probability, shown wearing it—depicted in much greater detail—elsewhere. One is Iuput II of Leontopolis, to whom a faience plaque in the Brooklyn Museum (pl. XXVII, 2) is now generally assigned.<sup>55</sup> The other is Pefthauawybast of Heracleopolis, to whom a bronze statuette in Boston (p. XXVII, 3) bearing the prenomen Neferkare has been plausibly attributed.<sup>56</sup> In both cases, similarities to the characteristic headdress of the Kushite kings have been noted. This headdress (pl. XXVII, 4) has been much discussed, and I confine my remarks to essential points. Török<sup>57</sup> has argued convincingly that the ‘classic’ Twenty-fifth Dynasty combination consists of three separate elements: 1) a close-fitting cap or helmet;<sup>58</sup> 2) a gold diadem with the distinctive pair of uraei emerging from the front, their bodies coiling back over the head to join the rear of the diadem, thus reinforcing an otherwise fragile object; 3) a pair of streamers which hang loosely from the back of the cap or the diadem. That the band around the head is of metal, rather than a piece of cloth knotted at the back,<sup>59</sup> is strongly suggested by the consistent absence of any indication of a knot,<sup>60</sup> by the thickness of the band, which stands well out from the head in sculpture in the round, and by the elaborate frieze of minute snakes which emerges

<sup>54</sup> Davies *JEA* 68, 75 n. 41.

<sup>55</sup> Brooklyn 59.17, first published by W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Egypt* (1925, part 1), 1–2, and most fully discussed subsequently by R. A. Fazzini, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1 (Brooklyn, 1972), 64–6. For further references, see Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 18 E, 34–5, to which add particularly Fazzini, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1989), no. 69. I am grateful to Richard Fazzini for permission to publish a photograph here.

<sup>56</sup> Boston M. F. A. 1977.16, published by Russmann, in *Studies*, 149–56, to which add Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 18–19 F, 34–5. I am grateful to Rita Freed for permission to publish a photograph here.

<sup>57</sup> Török, *The Royal Crowns of Kush*, 4–6. For clarity of exposition, and breadth of Egyptian, as opposed to Meroitic, reference, Russmann, *Representation*, remains fundamental.

<sup>58</sup> The idea that close-cropped hair is shown, as suggested by Russmann, *Meroitica* 5 (1979), 49–53, followed by Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 36, and repeated by Russmann in *Egyptian Sculpture. Cairo and Luxor* (London, 1990), 167, is untenable for a variety of reasons (for some, cf. Török, *op. cit.* 4–5). Natural hair is shown beneath a *different* cap on a Cairo head of Taharqa (CG 560: Russmann, *Representation*, fig. 9). There, the cap is cut straight across above the ear, while the hair, in front of and behind the ear, is depicted as vertical segments, and is quite different in appearance from the circlets which characterise the cap.

<sup>59</sup> A passage in the Piye stela has been influential in the development of the cloth interpretation. The rite *ts sdb* which Piye celebrated in the temple of Heliopolis has been taken as a reference to the tying of a fillet around the head by the king: e.g. Russman, *Meroitica* 5, 49–50, and Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale*, 137, n. 410, following P. Derchain *CdE* 28 (1953), 265–9. Török, in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa* (London, 1991), 197 n. 35, offers an alternative explanation of the phrase as connected with a ‘coat’ worn by the Kushite kings. This is no more compelling given the lack of detail in Piye’s account, which contains nothing to show that an item of royal apparel is involved.

<sup>60</sup> A clear representation of a knotted fillet around a cap, with pendant ends, distinctly different from the Kushite diadem, can be seen in Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. I c–d, temp. Nectanebo I.



from the top of the band around its whole circumference in three-dimensional representations and which is best comprehensible in a metal medium.<sup>61</sup>

Of particular importance to this interpretation are the colours used in a wall-painting of Tantamani from his tomb at El-Kurru, which shows him wearing a white cap with a yellow band around it, and red streamers depending behind.<sup>62</sup> The colour distinction between band and streamers is borne out by other examples.<sup>63</sup> However, where colour survives, the Kushite cap is usually also painted yellow or gilded,<sup>64</sup> so that it too might be understood as golden, and the white colour of the Tantamani instance as a silver variant.<sup>65</sup> The colour probably represents that of the circlets which decorate the surface when detail is shown.

Despite several uncertainties, a recently identified late Assyrian royal inscription which records the plundering of a royal palace may describe just such a golden diadem.<sup>66</sup> Although the names of both the Assyrian ruler and the sacked city are missing, a strong case has been made for taking the text as a description of the sack of Memphis during the defeat of Taharqa by Esarhaddon in 670 BC. The list of booty includes ‘...(so-many)-hundred and twenty large gold headdresses from the heads of [...] on which [were set] golden vipers and golden serpents’. The lacuna is short and might be filled by a single word, ‘kings’. While the number—a minimum of 120—is surprisingly large, the snakes (in an Egyptian palace context) would seem to exclude anything other than regal headgear. ‘Golden vipers and golden serpents’ implies a multiplicity of each of two different kinds of snake, not just the double uraeus, and the description would thus fit the detailed representations of the diadem worn by the Kushites, which show a series of minute, stylised uraei protruding from the top of the band around its circumference, in addition to the two large serpents which emerge from the front. Although these are strictly all uraei, the different size and detail might have led a viewer unfamiliar with what he saw to understand them differently.

This snake-adorned diadem is worn by Neferkare on the Boston bronze, over a cap decorated with circlets, and the latter is also worn by Iuput on the Brooklyn plaque. These and other similarities of costume and style between the two objects and Kushite iconography have been interpreted as ‘Kushite influence’. Petrie was the first to express

<sup>61</sup> For the thickness of the band, see Russmann, *Studies*, 152; for further examples, see Bothmer, *Antiquities in the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, 39–41, no. 12, and Davies, in *Egypt and Africa*, 317, pl. 14.2 (BM 63595). For the frieze of uraei on sculpture in the round, see Russmann, *Studies*, 151, n. 9; cf. id. *Representation*, figs. 1, 15–20, and the two publications just cited. Many relief examples show a horizontal division of the band (e.g. pl. XXVII, 4 here), on the upper part of which the uraei would have been painted.

<sup>62</sup> This is illustrated in colour in S. Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity* (Brooklyn, 1978), II, 47, fig. 21, and in black and white in Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. xlviii b, together with a similar representation, also from Tantamani’s tomb (pl. xlviia).

<sup>63</sup> It seems to be discernible on a block of Shebitku, now in Berlin, from the temple of Ptah at Karnak: *Ägyptisches Museum*, ed. K.-H. Priese (Mainz, 1991), 257, and is certainly so (personal observation) on some of the blocks from a Kushite building usurped by Psammetichus II recently discovered during excavations beneath the forecourt at Edfu. On the numerous representations of the Kushite headgear there, the whole was coloured yellow, except for red streamers, as were garments and jewellery, in contrast to reddish skin. On these blocks see M.v. Falck *et al.*, *GM* 87 (1985), 15–16, and J. Leclant and G. Clerc, *Or* 55 (1986), 287–8; *Or* 56 (1987), 349 and figs. 56–9; *Or* 58 (1989), 396.

<sup>64</sup> See the previous note, as well as Leclant, *Recherches*, 324 n. 3; Russmann, *Representation*, 29 n. 2; Bothmer, *Antiquities in the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, 39 fig. 12 a.

<sup>65</sup> I do not share Török’s view, *op. cit.* 5, that the white represents an ‘unpainted’ surface.

<sup>66</sup> W. G. Lambert, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982), 61–70.

this view, in his publication of the Iuput plaque in 1925: 'The art of this piece is remarkable. By the time of the XXIIIrd dynasty Egypt was sunk in great degradation. The royal monuments are worse than at any other period; the small objects, such as scarabs, are barbarous. Here, however, is a vigorous work worthy of almost the best periods. The head is excellent and has a strong resemblance to Taharqa; this raises the question of the influence of the Ethiopians. That they brought back a fine style of art to Egypt is obvious, as their works show, before the Saite supremacy; what is usually called the Saite revival was really Ethiopian'.<sup>67</sup>

Probably, no-one describing the piece today would do so in such terms. The later Libyan Period is no longer seen as quite such a nadir,<sup>68</sup> and the 'revival' is known to have been underway before the Kushites arrived in Egypt. Petrie's observation of the close relationship between the figure on the plaque and the monuments of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty still holds, however, so much so that the Brooklyn plaque is now assigned to Iuput II, rather than his earlier namesake, precisely because of its 'Kushite' features.<sup>69</sup> Petrie's impressionistic judgement has been given substance by more detailed commentaries on Iuput's cap and costume, as well as his physiognomy and proportions. Although the bronze of Neferkare Pefjtjauawybast is in a different medium, the form of his cap and the diadem he wears are even closer to Kushite exemplars.

A political explanation—the vassal status of the two kings—has been offered for the Kushite influence discerned on the two objects.<sup>70</sup> The same interpretation might be extended to their appearance on the Piye stela, although that would mean modifying the slant suggested by Müller. Instead of showing the three subservient kings in a crown (the blue) which the Kushites were to avoid, presumably with the intention of setting them apart, the stela would show them in a crown (the cap) which was to become the Kushites' own distinction.

But the interpretation of the representations in terms of 'Kushite influence' is not without difficulties, mostly arising from our very limited knowledge of the circumstances in which these pieces were produced. It is hard to believe, on present evidence, that there could have been Kushite influence on Egyptian art, in either two or three dimensions, at the time of Piye's campaign. The history of Nubia between the end of the New Kingdom and the arrival of the ancestors of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty at El-Kurru is gradually becoming less of a 'dark age', with evidence for occupation at Qasr Ibrim and the emergence of a number of 'Viceroys of Kush' in Egypt,<sup>71</sup> but the degree of contact with Egyptian culture which the Kushites had before Piye remains obscure. The supposition of long familiarity, perhaps based on a continued Egyptian occupation at Gebel Barkal after the New Kingdom is widespread, but evidence for this remains elusive. The archaeology of the El-Kurru cemetery suggests that the background of the Kushites was

<sup>67</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1925 (part 1), 1–2.

<sup>68</sup> On the creativity of the Libyan Period, see Bianchi, *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World* (Malibu, 1990), 61, adding, notably, the essays by various scholars in the exhibition catalogue *Tanis. L'Or des pharaons*.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, 447.

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 212, and n. 87 below.

<sup>71</sup> For Qasr Ibrim, see M. Horton, in Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 264–8. For a survey of the evidence for Egyptian-Nubian relations in the period, see K. Zibelius-Chen, *SAK* 16 (1989), 329–45, adding to her list of Viceroys of Kush the Vizier Pamiu (D. A. Aston and J. H. Taylor, in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 BC* (London, 1990), 147–8.

distinctly Nubian, and that the reign of Piye marks a sharp change materially,<sup>72</sup> with an 'Egyptianisation' best explained as a result of his invasion. There is no sign of any Kushite monumental artistic or iconographic tradition in two or three dimensions before that, whether wholly native or showing awareness of Egyptian tradition.<sup>73</sup>

The distinctive iconography of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty first becomes visible in the reign of Shabako and is a product of several decades of contact with Egypt; it cannot have emerged fully-fledged and cannot properly be projected back upon the early years of the dynasty, for which evidence is entirely lacking. There is no trace of royal building activity in Egypt in Piye's reign,<sup>74</sup> and the most recent analysis suggests that all the decoration at Gebel Barkal and the construction of the El-Kurru tombs of his reign are to be dated after his year 21.<sup>75</sup> A sudden transfer of Egyptian scribes, sculptors and masons to the south following his campaign would be a sufficient explanation for that. There is not a single contemporary depiction of Piye which might establish the existence of a model which could have influenced the artists who produced the Brooklyn plaque and the Boston bronze.<sup>76</sup> To assert that those two objects show the influence of Kushite iconography, and at the same time that they are themselves the evidence for the existence of that iconography<sup>77</sup> is an unacceptably circular argument.

However, our knowledge of the precise synchronism between these kings, which is crucial in evaluating the cultural relationship of their monuments, is confined to the fact that all three were reigning in year 20 of Piye. The chronology of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty is secure only from the beginning of Taharqa's reign. Although 712 BC has come to be regarded as a fixed point for the accession of Shabako, and therefore the end of Piye's reign, on the basis of an Assyrian synchronism, this is less certain than has been assumed.<sup>78</sup> Piye himself probably reigned over thirty years, since correlation with the rulers of Sais implies the elapse of at least ten years between year 21 of Piye and year 1 of Shabako.<sup>79</sup> This may be supported by the evidence for a *sed*-festival for Piye reported from Gebel Barkal,<sup>80</sup> but how much longer he reigned cannot yet be known. Nor is it

<sup>72</sup> See Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*, 257-8, for a general survey.

<sup>73</sup> In a paper on 'The Origin of the Napatan State' to be presented at the Meroitic conference in Berlin in September, 1992, T. Kendall identifies a crude, unpublished relief in the chapel of Ku. 9 as a representation of Alara. I am most grateful to him for advance notice of this.

<sup>74</sup> Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 30 B.1, perpetuates an old mistake in assigning early Twenty-sixth Dynasty blocks from the temple of Mut to the reign of Piye; see Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 202-5.

<sup>75</sup> T. Kendall, personal communication, the evidence to be presented in the paper referred to in n. 73 above; cf. the same scholar in Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 312 nn. 43-4.

<sup>76</sup> So Fazzini, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, 69. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale*, 154 n. 465, shows awareness of the problem in arguing that the representation of Iuput 'à l'éthiopienne' suggests his survival 'assez longtemps' after the campaign of Piye.

<sup>77</sup> This is in effect the position taken by Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 34.

<sup>78</sup> The weakness of current assumptions on this point was exposed by Leo Depuydt in a paper on the chronology of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty presented at the 1991 ARCE conference, in which he argued for a 'low' chronology for the dynasty as a whole. I am grateful to Dr Depuydt for a copy of his paper.

<sup>79</sup> On the basis that 21 Piye = 1 Tefnakht; 8 Tefnakht = 1 Bocchoris; 5 Bocchoris = 1 Shabako. This assumes the 'sharing' of civil calendar years suggested by D. Redford, *JARCE* 22 (1985), 5-15, but is otherwise essentially the position of Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, 593 and Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale*, 154, 216-17. If Tefnakht reigned longer or started later, the period could be extended. A shorter chronology is postulated by Redford, who argues, loc. cit., that Piye's highest attested year (24) was in fact his highest, and that year 1 of Shabako followed directly. But the necessary assumption, that Tefnakht was already king at the time of Piye's invasion, and that this fact was suppressed in Piye's record, is not convincing.

<sup>80</sup> Kendall, in Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa*, 312 n. 44. Further evidence in support of a reign of over thirty years will be presented by Kendall in the paper referred to in n. 73 above.

clear whether Shabako's accession provides a terminal point for the Libyan dynasts. It resulted, according to Manetho, in the temporary suppression of the Saite line, but a local line seems to have continued at Tanis during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and the same might be true elsewhere in the Delta and Middle Egypt.<sup>81</sup>

Neferkare Pefjauawybast was related by marriage to the Theban kings of the eighth century,<sup>82</sup> but nothing is known of any heir at Heracleopolis. Iuput II is even more obscure—the ruler of a central Delta kingdom without known predecessors or successors.<sup>83</sup> The attribution to him of a stela in Geneva yields a highest attested date of year 21.<sup>84</sup> Depending on the exact synchronism between his reign and that of Piye, this gives a span of up to forty years within which the plaque could have been made: twenty years before the campaign, i.e. at the beginning of Piye's reign, or twenty years after it, under Shabako. If Iuput had the much longer reign of 35–40 years attributed to him by some, then the plaque could even have been made under Taharqa!<sup>85</sup> In either of the last two cases, the notion of Kushite influence is much more credible. The present highest known year–date of 10 for Pefjauawybast would allow his statuette to have been made up to ten years before or after year 20 of Piye, and so within his reign.<sup>86</sup>

Implicit in the foregoing discussion, however, is a 'Kushitocentric' point of view: because the objects resemble Kushite representations in certain respects, they have been explained as influenced by them. This perspective is not surprising, given that the Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings are so much more securely fixed in time and place than their immediate predecessors, their monumental evidence much more abundant and its style eventually distinctive, but it is not the only possible approach, nor, in my view, the most appropriate. It is bound to emphasise contrast rather than continuity. If the question posed begins with the culture of late Libyan Egypt, a different answer emerges.

It is not obvious why rulers in the Delta and Middle Egypt should rush to have themselves represented 'à la nubienne' on a bronze statuette and a faience furniture inlay when

<sup>81</sup> References to the 'kings of Egypt' as well as to the king of Kush among the opponents of Sennacherib in 701 BC (Pritchard, *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 287) imply the existence of recognised Egyptian rulers under Shabako. Not all these will have been *nsw(-bity)*, but some may, and a political situation closely approximating that described on the Piye stela may well have existed. For Tanis, see Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, §357.

<sup>82</sup> The Theban links in the family of this king noted by Aston and Taylor in Leahy (ed.) *Libya and Egypt*, 146–7, are supplemented in the recent study of E. Graefe, in *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath*, ed. A. Eggebrecht and B. Schmitz (Hildesheim, 1990), 85–90.

<sup>83</sup> Recent studies have suggested that Iuput II should be detached from the 'Twenty-third Dynasty': F. Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 119–23; P. A. and A. J. Spencer, *JEA* 72 (1986), 198–201; Aston and Taylor in Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt*, 143–4.

<sup>84</sup> The stela is fully published by J.-L. Chappaz, *Genava* 30 (1982), 71–81, but had already been assigned to Iuput II by Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer*, 121, and this seems now to be the general view: cf. Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 448–9. However, Bonhême, *Les Noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire*, 213, ascribes the stela to Iuput I without discussion.

<sup>85</sup> The arguments for such a long reign (Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 450, p. 592–3; Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale*, 154, 216–17) depended on the assumption that Iuput II could be placed in sequence at the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty, and in particular that he was the 'senior' king referred in the Wadi Gasus inscription of the God's Wives of Amun. These grounds cannot be maintained in the light of the studies mentioned in n. 83, although a reign of such length remains a theoretical possibility.

Cooney's suggestion, reported by E. Ertman, *JARCE* 14 (1977), 125, that the plaque was made in the reign of Taharqa as a representation of Iuput deceased, as one of a series which 'paid homage to earlier rulers' has rightly been treated with reserve by Russmann, *Meroitica* 5, 53 n. 14, and Fazzini, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, 69.

<sup>86</sup> See Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 318.

their conqueror had already retired to Nubia.<sup>87</sup> Both pieces were probably temple dedications in their respective localities,<sup>88</sup> so that the audience would have been very limited, and the benefit to either of them or to Piye is not apparent. Recent commentators have remarked on features other than orthodox Kushite, and conjured up a vision of Iuput, or his sculptor, deliberately blending, and agonising over just how much Kushite influence to allow or what balance to strike.<sup>89</sup> It is doubtful whether artistic style develops in so calculating a fashion. It is, at least, not consistent with the general picture of the Delta rulers' dislike of the Kushites. If, as allowed above, the two images are much later than Piye's invasion, then a more credible picture of the gradual creation of a Kushite style is possible.

But what exactly is 'Kushite' in these representations? Perhaps the most important consideration is the cap, which has been argued to be either non-Egyptian in origin,<sup>90</sup> or not a cap at all but natural hair. Russmann's observation that a close-fitting cap decorated with circlets had long been one of the traditional crowns of the Egyptian king<sup>91</sup> has been reinforced by other studies on the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>92</sup> and by the demonstration that the early form of the *khepresh* was just such a cap.<sup>93</sup> It enjoyed considerable popularity in the Ramesside Period,<sup>94</sup> and continued to be shown between then and the arrival of the Kushites,<sup>95</sup> who would then have given special prominence to it. Those who believe the Kushite headgear to be different have to argue that the very strong similarities to this traditional Egyptian cap are coincidental. The main difference—the characteristically round, rather than slightly elongated, shape of the Kushite version—is explicable in terms of a different, but equally stylised, concept of head shape.<sup>96</sup> The best indication of the Egyptianness of the cap is provided by Psammetichus II's usurpation of Twenty-fifth Dynasty monuments.<sup>97</sup> In arrogating to himself the numerous representations of these

<sup>87</sup> Russmann, *Meroitica* 5, 51, regards Iuput's 'public allegiance' as 'a likely and sufficient explanation for Iuput's being represented in Kushite regalia'. Török, *Royal Crowns*, 5–6, sees the reason as to 'emphasize his position as recognized vassal of Piye'.

<sup>88</sup> Aldred's suggestion that Iuput's plaque was made for a shrine at Thebes (*The Egyptians* (London, 1961), 259 no. 72; *Egyptian Art*, 212) rested solely on the fact that Hood, from whose collection the piece came, had acquired most of his objects there.

<sup>89</sup> A belief in such a 'balancing act' is common, with varying emphases, to Russmann, *Meroitica* 5, 51, Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 212, and Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 34–5.

<sup>90</sup> Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity* (Brooklyn, 1978), II, 49.

<sup>91</sup> Russmann, *Representation*, 29–32 (see also id. *Studies*, 155 nn. 45–6).

<sup>92</sup> J. R. Harris, *Acta Orientalia* 35 (1973), 10–11; E. Ertman, *JARCE* 13 (1976), 63–7. These studies explain the significance of the cap in terms of priestly functions, but Russmann, *Serapis* 7 (1984), 105, is properly cautious on this point.

<sup>93</sup> Davies, *JEA* 68, 69–71.

<sup>94</sup> E.g. Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, figs. 206, 254, 287, 303–4.

<sup>95</sup> For Libyan Period examples in the round, see Russmann, *Studies*, 155 n. 46. In relief, a donation stela of Sheshonq V depicts the king wearing a simple cap, unadorned except for the uraeus (P. Montet, *Le Lac sacré de Tanis* (Paris, 1972), pl. v no. 26 = pl. xlvi no. 26). There is a possible example of Takeloth III, Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. xxv c. What seems to be a cap with diadem and single uraeus appears on a block of a king Pedubast from Tanis, *ibid.* pl. xxx, no. 230 = lxxiii, no. 230 = L. Habachi, *ZAS* 93 (1966), pl. v a (better). This king has been regarded as contemporary with the later Twenty-fifth Dynasty, but I have argued elsewhere for his identification with the first king of Manetho's Twenty-third Dynasty, the predecessor of Osorkon IV, so contemporary with the early part of Piye's reign, *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 BC*, 188–90.

<sup>96</sup> Russmann, *Meroitica* 5, 51, makes the point that the Kushite cap lacks the inner band of earlier versions, but the area where that is most conspicuous—across the brow—is obscured by the diadem on Kushite representations.

<sup>97</sup> The fundamental study remains that of Yoyotte, *RdE* 8 (1951), 215–39.

predecessors in 'Kushite' costume, Psammetichus II ordered the changing of the cartouches, the erasure of one of the two uraei, and, in sculpture in the round, the removal of the ram-head amulets worn around the neck by Kushite kings.<sup>98</sup> The rest of the depiction, including the cap and diadem, was a perfectly acceptable image of a pharaoh within the Egyptian tradition and remained unchanged.<sup>99</sup>

In descriptions of Iuput's plaque over the years, Fazzini has consistently pointed to parallels for its other 'Kushite' features—even the allegedly negroid physiognomy—in the art of the earlier eighth century BC.<sup>100</sup> Of particular interest are two objects commemorating rulers of Sais, both because they must be earlier than Shabako and because the kings' continuing refusal to accept Kushite authority makes any direct Kushite influence on their monuments improbable. Two features of Iuput's plaque, the archaic costume and the depiction of a king holding an *ankh*-sign—both commonly found on Kushite monuments—also appear on a donation stela dated to the reign of Tefnakht in the Michaelides collection.<sup>101</sup> It is still more difficult to envisage Kushite influence on the faience vase of Bocchoris found in Tarquinia when the purpose of the vessel's decoration is to assert Bocchoris' legitimacy as king and to assert, however mutedly, his triumph over his southern adversary.<sup>102</sup> Yet an archaizing interest in the modelling of the body is a feature of the vase's decoration, and comparison has been made in other respects with ivories from the tomb of Shabako.<sup>103</sup> The appropriate inference is surely that all of these pieces reflect artistic developments of the period generally, and that there is nothing specifically 'Kushite' about them. The objects of Tefnakht and Bocchoris may not be of the same quality as the Brooklyn plaque or the Boston bronze, but they are no less valid evidence for artistic trends.

A different interpretation of the cap thus emerges: it is worn by Iuput and Neferkare, and shown on both of them and on Osorkon on the Piye stela, not because of Kushite influence, but because it was current at the time. This complements recent work on a variety of topics—and art cannot be divorced from the general cultural background—which shows that the Kushites simply built on developments already taking place within Egypt. It is hard to see how it could have been otherwise at the outset. The linguistic and literary riches of the Piye stela are the expression of Egyptian scribal skills; just so in art, developments stem from Egyptian sculptors' expertise.<sup>104</sup> In so far as it is appropriate to speak of 'influence', it was in the opposite direction, as the logic of the respective backgrounds of the various kings suggests. The revival of the terse style of royal titulary used in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, which has long been evident under the Kushites, had

<sup>98</sup> See, e.g., Russmann, *Representation*, Appendix II, nos. B, 5, 10, 13. Bothmer, *Antiquities in the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*, 39–41, no. 12.

<sup>99</sup> Leclant, *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 79 n. 3, remarks that, in removing the second uraeus 'on transformait automatiquement une effigie éthiopienne en celle d'un traditionnel souverain d'Égypte'. That the cap was left untouched is noted by Russmann, *Representation*, 33 n. 1.

<sup>100</sup> These points are most succinctly made in a finely nuanced and balanced exhibition catalogue description of the plaque, *Neferut net Kemit: Egyptian Art from the Brooklyn Museum* (Yomiuri Shimbun, 1983), no. 57.

<sup>101</sup> Yoyotte, *Kémi* 21 (1971), figs. 1–2; Fazzini, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, 69.

<sup>102</sup> G. Hölbl, *Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien*, (Leiden, 1979), 1, 81–94. The argument that the 'archaic' features of the vase mean that it is not Egyptian is outdated, as Hölbl notes. The decoration of the vessel is very closely tied to the specific circumstances of Bocchoris' reign.

<sup>103</sup> Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture*, 243–4; 2nd ed., 404.

<sup>104</sup> Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, 212, 215.

already occurred in both the north and south of Egypt, under Sheshonq V and Osorkon III respectively,<sup>105</sup> and models of those periods were also becoming influential in pre-Kushite art.<sup>106</sup> The origins of this movement are not yet clear.<sup>107</sup> However, the reading of the cartouches on a royal stela which had been happily accepted as dating to the reign of Piye as those of a king Iny,<sup>108</sup> up to several decades earlier, reinforces the impression of continuity in style between the late Libyan and early Kushite periods, but also emphasises the non-Kushite origin of 'Kushite' features.

### Conclusion

Any consideration of the relationship between the blue and cap crowns must take account of the fact that *hprš*, the standard New Kingdom name for the blue crown, originally designated the cap.<sup>109</sup> It may be, as Davies suggests, that the latter acquired a different name after its divergence from the blue crown in the Eighteenth Dynasty, although no such name has been discovered. It is not apparent whether the Egyptians recognised a *hprš* (etymology unknown) by shape, colour, decoration, material, by a combination of these, or by some less tangible criterion such as symbolism. The features common to the two crowns—coiled uraeus, disc decoration, inner lining, and probably material—and the striking similarities between them in some representations<sup>110</sup> suggest that they remained in some sense complementary, and may even have continued to share the same name. To quote Russmann, '...the contrasting patterns of their use throughout the New Kingdom and Late Period suggest that the significance of the cap at any one time was largely a product of its relationship to the blue crown, whether as equivalent, alternative or (possibly) opposite'.<sup>111</sup> One might reverse this formulation, since the cap was the older form. In a period of high profile for the cap, c. 750–600 BC, the blue crown is scarcely to be seen. The beginning of this period coincides approximately with an artistic movement characterised by an increased element of archaism, with particular reference to the Old and Middle Kingdoms; its end coincides with the appearance of the later Saite style. Perhaps mere fashion played its part,<sup>112</sup> although the preference for the cap within this period might be due specifically to the fact that it was the form of *kheprsh* associated with the later Middle Kingdom.

<sup>105</sup> Yoyotte, *Cahiers de Tanis*, I, 145–6; cf. id. *CRIPÉL* II, 113–31.

<sup>106</sup> E.g. Russmann, *Studies*, 153 n. 38, where the verdict on the quality of these pieces is unduly harsh; cf. C. Ziegler, in *Tanis. L'Or des pharaons*, 92.

<sup>107</sup> I have suggested elsewhere (Fs. J. Gwyn Griffiths (forthcoming), 154–7) that—like the archaism in the royal titulary (n. 105 above)—the revival of basiliphorous names of the type *nh-KN* in the eighth century BC occurred at approximately the same time throughout Egypt, with a slight priority for the north on present evidence. Redford's assertion, *JARCE* 22, 6 n. 12, that the inspiration for the archaising elements of the late Libyan Period is 'specifically to be localized in the NW Delta along the Sais-Buto axis', varied in his *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (Mississauga, 1986), 329, as the 'Sais-Memphis axis' is not borne out by the evidence. The three items he cites in support (op. cit. 329 n. 200), are: 1) the Brooklyn Iuput plaque, for which there is no reason to suppose a western Delta origin; 2) a bronze statuette of 'Bocchoris', which is actually the one of Neferkare discussed above; 3) the faience vase of Bocchoris from Tarquinia (n. 102 above). This last does show archaising tendencies in the western Delta late in the eighth century BC, but these are apparent significantly earlier both in the eastern Delta and at Thebes (n. 105, above).

<sup>108</sup> Yoyotte, *CRIPÉL* II, 113–31.

<sup>109</sup> Davies, *JEA* 68, 69–71.

<sup>110</sup> The representations in the temple of Sety I at Abydos are a good example.

<sup>111</sup> *Serapis* 7, 105.

<sup>112</sup> On the possibility of fashion in crowns, see A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 27.

The not unreasonable assumption of a close correlation between royal iconography and dynastic change thus proves not to be tenable for the period and topic under review. The royal crown must be removed from the politico-ethnic domain, and on the view presented here the period from 800–600 BC appears as more of a cultural continuum, and less an era of ethnically or dynastically generated change. A few remarks on royal involvement in artistic change generally are therefore appropriate.

It is a tacit assumption in much writing on Egyptian art that kings played an important role in artistic change, hence, in part, the categorisation of art by dynastic terminology. This is bound up with the assumption that unity and central control of resources were prerequisites for artistic excellence. While a broad correlation is observable for ancient Egypt, the Libyan Period shows that it was not a necessary one. High standards were maintained, innovation occurred, and the revival which was once considered Saite, then Kushite, can now be seen to have begun in the divided Egypt of the eighth century BC.<sup>113</sup> Developments are always easier to date in a royal context than in a non-royal one because the former is by definition at least relatively dated, and this reinforces the idea of a close royal involvement. Kings may have been important as patrons but need not have been the originators, dictators or even stimulators of change. The ethnic and social developments in Egypt in the first millennium BC concentrated skills of many kinds in the temple workshops and we should probably regard them as the principal ‘engines of change’.<sup>114</sup>

A corollary of this is that the advent of the Kushites in Egypt was less important than is often supposed. The fact that an iconography was developed for the kings which sets them apart in certain respects from their predecessors and successors has been influential in suggesting a significant Kushite contribution to artistic developments generally. Such an interpretation is fostered by a term such as ‘Kushite art’, which, while a perfectly proper and convenient shorthand for chronological categorisation, all too easily attributes to the initiative of the kings changes which were merely contemporary with them. In a paper entitled ‘What is truly Kushite in the art of Dynasty XXV?’ presented at a colloquium in connection with the 1990 Glanville lecture in Cambridge, B.V. Bothmer persuasively argued that there is no tangible Kushite influence in private statuary during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and that all the points of detail have precedents in the Egyptian repertoire. He concluded that the Kushites contributed only a ‘liberalisation’. In my view, this consisted of stimulating in Upper Egypt and Nubia building activity which had been lacking there in previous centuries, and which allowed the display and flourishing of sculptors’ skills: that is to say, an enabling contribution. But the artistic developments of the period were the products of the temples, their craftsmen and their archives, whose immediate traditions were those of late Libyan Egypt. They should be seen as independent of changes of rule and representing the ‘natural’ progression of archaising and other tendencies that were already well under way before Piye arrived in Memphis.

<sup>113</sup> Yoyotte, *Tanis. L’or des pharaons*, 75.

<sup>114</sup> The building initiatives of private individuals such as Montuemhat are relevant here.





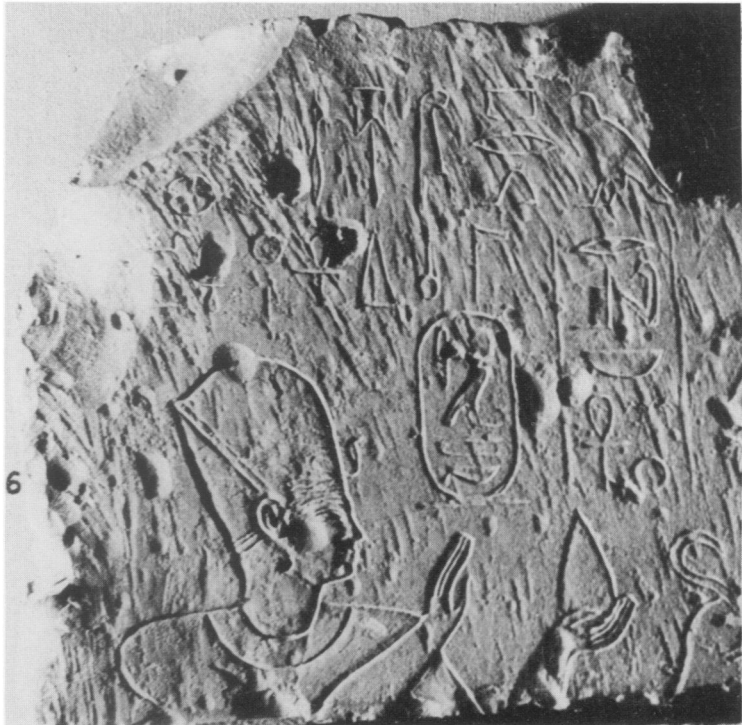
1. Cairo JE 48862: the stela of Piye, upper right section showing the three prostrate kings. From left to right. Osorkon (IV), Iuput (II) and Pefjtjauawybast (p. 228)



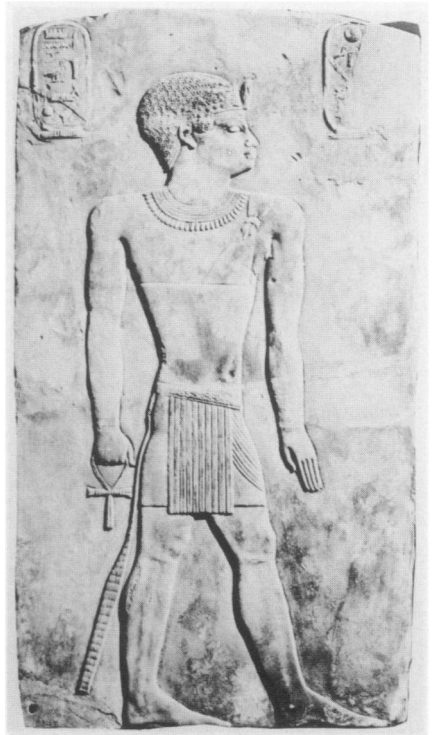
2. The 'Edifice' of Taharqa by the sacred lake at Karnak: the king in a blue crown (?) (p. 228)



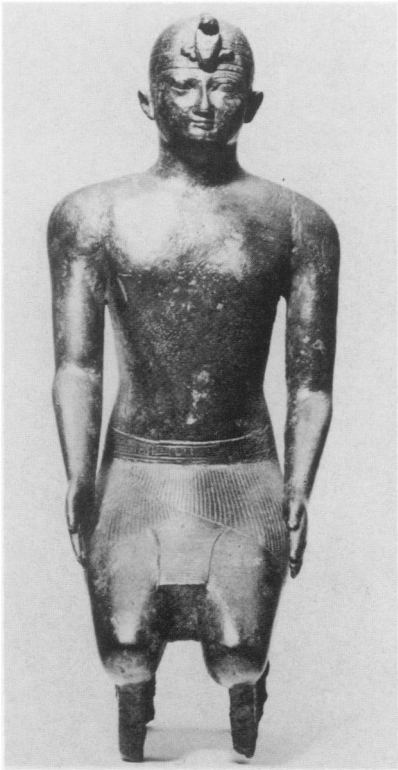
3. BM 20: upper part of one of the representations of Psammetichus I (p. 228)



1. Cairo JE 20340, left portion only: Psammetichus I or II (p. 230)



2. Brooklyn 59.17: faience plaque of Iuput (II) (p. 232)



3. Boston M.F.A. 1977.16: bronze statuette of Neferkare (p. 232)



4. The chapel of Osiris Heqadjet at Karnak: head of Shebitku (p. 232)

# MERIT BY PROXY: THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE DWARF DJEHO AND HIS PATRON TJAIHARPTA<sup>1</sup>

By JOHN BAINES

The Thirtieth Dynasty biography and figure caption on the sarcophagus of the dwarf Djeho (Cairo CG 29307) and a passage from the sarcophagus of the high official Tjaiharpata (CG 29306) are presented in annotated translation. Djeho's longer text appears unique in being concerned more with the other-worldly destiny of another person, Tjaiharpata, than with Djeho himself. The two similar hard-stone sarcophagi were buried in a single tomb near the Sarapieion road at Saqqara, together with at least seven other people. The presentation of one person's merits through another is probably connected with Djeho's role in dancing at the mortuary ceremonies of the Apis and Mnevis bulls. Among other questions, the find raises issues of royal and non-royal patronage, of the location of tombs, the placing of biographies on sarcophagi, the use of intermediaries before the gods, and the implications of Tjaiharpata's partial deference to Djeho in relation to general conceptions of the person.

THE sarcophagi of the high official Tjaiharpata and the dwarf Djeho come from a single tomb at North Saqqara that contained at least nine burials.<sup>2</sup> Tjaiharpata's burial is dated by an inscription on his sarcophagus to year 15, 3rd month of *akhet*, of Nectanebo II, 346–345 BC. Djeho's burial was probably within no more than a few years of that of Tjaiharpata (see p. 249 here). The chamber was at the base of a shaft near the tomb of Wennofer,<sup>3</sup> between the pyramid of Teti and the Sarapieion road. This location was probably within the area of the Sacred Animal Necropolis<sup>4</sup> and hence was near where, according to the inscription on his sarcophagus, Djeho performed for the funeral ceremony of the Apis Bull. The sarcophagi are similar in material, design, and style of execution, and are likely to have been made in the same workshop and during a short space of time. The inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata include the statement that his burial was performed by a man named Harentabat, suggesting that Tjaiharpata was dead when this

<sup>1</sup> The initial stimulus for this study came from Véronique Dasen's work for her *Dwarfs in Egypt and Greece* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, in press). A translation of relevant parts of the inscription of Djeho will be published there. I should like to thank Dr Dasen for discussion, Alan Bowman, Marianne Eaton-Krauss, Andrea McDowell, Jaromir Malek, Richard Parkinson and Mark Smith for advice, and the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung which granted me a fellowship at the University of Münster in 1989, when I began on this topic.

I am immensely grateful to Anthony Leahy, who has provided much of the material in the article but has with undue modesty, or perhaps sensible reserve, stopped short of acting as joint author. His many contributions are not individually noted. Without his advice I should not have ventured into this area.

<sup>2</sup> Cairo, CG 29306 (Tjaiharpata), 29307 (Djeho). PM III<sup>2</sup>, 504–5. G. Maspero and H. Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, I (Cairo, 1914), 218–315 with pls. 19–21 (29306); I, pls. 22–6, II (Cairo, 1939), 7–8, pls. 1–6 (29307) (1–3 contain the inscriptions and figure of Djeho; the plates in vol. II are superior to those in vol. I); see also H. de Meulenaere, *Le Surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque* (Istanbul, 1966), 8, no. 20; K. J. Seyfried, *L'Á VI*, 1433 with 1435, n. 22. The find was briefly described and illustrated by J. E. Quibell, *Archaic Mastabas* (Excavations at Saqqara 1912–1914; Cairo, 1923), 13–14, pls. 34–5. See also Spiegelberg (n. 6 here).

<sup>3</sup> On this tomb, see F. von Känel, *BSFE* 87–8 (1980), 31–45. Lisa Montagno Leahy plans a new study of the tomb's architecture.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, 1988), 21–31, with fig. 4.

decoration was completed, so that the whole burial complex might date near the end of his life.<sup>5</sup>

The essential passages of the inscriptions with biographical content on the sarcophagi were presented by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in 1929.<sup>6</sup> Since then, Frédérique von Känel has translated passages in the inscriptions of Tjaiharp<sup>ta</sup>,<sup>7</sup> but no study has been devoted to the material.<sup>8</sup> Apart from the unusual evidence of the dwarf's activities, the find merits consideration in several respects, notably because of questions it raises about the nature of biographies and of religious participation. These are discussed after a rendering of the principal texts in the form of a metrical transcription, translation, and commentary. The texts of Djeho have been collated against the excellent photographs in vol. II of Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* (see n.2 here).

### Texts

#### Band

The longer inscription of Djeho runs in a band round the sarcophagus, above the registers of decoration and below the frieze, beginning at the right end of the head face.<sup>9</sup> Notes are keyed to the translation, not to the transcription.

<sup>1</sup>*dd-mdw jn-wsjrj-nmj*  
*d-ḥr nb-jmḥ*

*zḥ-pḥ-dj-ḥnsw mḥr-ḥrw*  
*ms.n-tḥ-wnšt dd.tw-n.s tḥ(-nt)-ḥpw mḥr(t)-ḥrw*

5 *j-nb-nbw ḥpw-wsjrj ḥntj-jmntt*  
*nb-nḥḥ njswt-ntrw*

*jnk-nmw ḥbj*  
*m-km šn-qbḥ m-ḥḥb-dt*  
*nḥt(.j)-nbt-ḥr.k jrj.k-sw-n.j*

10 *ḥsj-<sup>2</sup>kḥ.k jrj-pḥt*  
*ḥḥtj-ḥj mr-šmḥw*

*wḥd-qd nfr-bjt*  
*sjḥ-jb bnr-ns*  
*dns-mḥwt ḥq-ddw*

<sup>5</sup> This ignores the seven burials additional to those of Tjaiharp<sup>ta</sup> and Djeho. There is no available means of establishing their date or character.

<sup>6</sup> 'Das Grab eines Grossen und seines Zwerges aus der Zeit des Nektanebès', *ZÄS* 64 (1929), 76-83.

<sup>7</sup> *Les Prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket* (Paris, 1984), 112-15.

<sup>8</sup> The inscription is characterized briefly by Ola el-Aguizy, 'Dwarfs and Pygmies in Ancient Egypt', *ASAE* 71 (1987), 56.

<sup>9</sup> Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 64, 79; Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, 7-8, pls. 2-3. The superscript numbers in the transcription and translation give the sides of the sarcophagus.

15 *hsj-pw mrwtj-ntrw*  
*pgʔ-drt n-bw-nb*  
*mrj.n-njswt hsj.n-ntr jrj-mrrwt-rmtw*

*qrs-jtj.f m-zmjt(?)f*  
*zmʔ-tʔ n-mwt.f m-hwt.f*

20 *mr-ʔht tʔj-hrw-pʔ-tʔ ʔnb-jmʔh*  
*zʔ-cnh-hpw mʔc-hrw*  
*jrj.n-nbt-pr tfnt mʔc-t-hrw*

*špsj-dt.j r-gs.f m-cc.f*  
*n-cʔ-n-snd.k m-jb.f*

25 *dj.k-n.f cnh*  
*ʔw n.k-jmj-sw*  
*rnpwt m-ʔsnb-hr.k*

*nhb.k-kʔ.f hntj-kʔw-cnhw*  
*zbj(w) r-jmʔh m-ndm-jb*

30 *jw-hsw(t).f hr-njswt*  
*qrs.w.f m-htp-rdj-njswt*

*zmʔ-tʔ-jm.f m-rʔ-stʔw jnb-hd*  
*r-hft-hr n-nb-ntrw*

*cq-prj.f hr-šms-kʔ.k*  
 35 *šsp.f-htpw hr-wdhw.k rcw-nb*  
*shʔ.tw-rn.f m-hwt-ntr.k n-dt*

*dj.k-mn.j r-gs.f jmj-cc.f*  
*hr-šms-kʔ.k rcw-nb*  
*m-jsw n-jrjt.n.f-n.j*

### Lid

There is a shorter text in two horizontal lines above the figure of Djeho on the lid (pl. XVIII, 2). For its position and carving, see p. 248-9.

*ʔjmʔhw hr-wsjrj hntj-jmntjw*  
*ntr-cʔ nb-rʔ-stʔw*

*nmj hbj m-km*  
*m-hrww zmʔ-tʔ-hpw-wsjrj*  
*ntr-cʔ njswt-ntrw*

hbj 2m-šn-qbh  
m-hrww hb-dt-wsjrj-mrwr ntr-ꜣ

pꜣ-wn-hꜣt.f rn.f-nfr d-hr  
zꜣ-pꜣ-dj-hnsw ms-tꜣ-nt-hpw mꜣꜣ-hrw


### Band

- <sup>1</sup>Speech by the Osiris<sup>a</sup> of the dwarf  
Djehe, possessor of reverence,  
son of Petekhons, true of voice,  
born of Tawenshe who is called Tenthapu, true of voice:<sup>b</sup>
- 5 O lord of lords, Apis-Osiris, foremost of the West,  
lord of ‘eternity’, king of the gods:  
I am the dwarf who danced  
in Kem and in Shenqebeh<sup>c</sup> at the festival of everlasting.<sup>d</sup>  
Any prayer of mine before you—may you grant it to me:
- 10 may <sup>2</sup>your *ka* favour the Prince,<sup>e</sup>  
Count, Overseer of Upper Egypt,  
fresh of character, good of qualities,<sup>f</sup>  
perceptive, sweet-tongued,  
reserved of expression,<sup>g</sup> whose sayings enter,<sup>h</sup>
- 15 favoured one,<sup>i</sup> beloved of the gods,  
who extends his hand to everyone/thing,  
whom the king loved, whom the god favoured, who did what people loved,  
who buried his father in his desert (tomb),<sup>k</sup>  
who interred<sup>l</sup> his mother in his mansion (tomb),
- 20 the Overseer of Fields, Tjaiharpta, <sup>3</sup>possessor of reverence,  
son of Ankhhapu, true of voice,  
born of the mistress of the house Tefenet, true of voice.  
May my body be exalted beside him in his tomb<sup>m</sup>  
inasmuch as respect of you (*snd. k*) is in his heart.
- 25 May you give him life  
—for length (of life) is (in) your (gift)<sup>n</sup>  
and years in <sup>4</sup>health are yours<sup>o</sup>—  
may you endow his *ka* before the *kas* of the living<sup>p</sup>  
(and provide) his attaining a revered state in contentment
- 30 —for his favour is with the king  
and his burial is a funerary gift<sup>q</sup>—  
that he be interred in Rosetjau<sup>r</sup> of the Memphite nome  
in the presence of the lord of the gods,  
that he come and go in following your *ka*,<sup>s</sup>
- 35 that he receive offerings from your offering table<sup>t</sup> daily.  
May his name be remembered in your temple for ever.<sup>u</sup>  
May you cause that I remain beside him, within his tomb,  
following your *ka* daily  
in exchange for<sup>v</sup> what he has done for me.

## Lid


<sup>1</sup>The revered one before Osiris, foremost of the Westerners,  
 great god, lord of Rosetjau,  
 the dwarf who danced in Kem  
 on the day of interment of Apis-Osiris,  
 the great god, king of the gods;  
 who danced <sup>2</sup>in Shenqebeh  
 on the day of the festival of everlasting of the Osiris of Mnevis, the great god,  
 Pwenhatef, whose good-name is Djeho,  
 son of Petekhons, born of Tenthapu, true of voice.

## Notes

- (a) For this understanding of the 'title' Osiris, see M. Smith, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum III: The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London, 1987), 75-9, note to III, 8 of text.
- (b) The opening caption-like statement cannot be fitted easily into metrical form.
- (c) For *km* as the Sarapieion, see Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 64, 80 n. 1; E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1938), 19-20. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, IV, 140, placed *šn-qbh* in the Heliopolitan nome. The name evidently refers to the burial place of the Mnevis bulls, but there seems to be no detailed evidence for its significance. See further L. Kákosy, *LÄ* IV, 165-7.
- (d) *hḥb dt*. While this could refer to the festivals' perpetual character, it is more likely to be a stylistic variant for the *zmḥ-tḥ* applied later in the text to the interment of the Apis Bull; Djeho will then have performed at the mortuary ceremonies of both bulls. Since the climax of the display associated with the cults was mortuary, this will have been the most important function he could perform.
- (e) This sequence of titles, the last of which was probably substantive for Tjaiharta, goes back as far as the Old Kingdom, and is likely to be used in part for its hallowed character.
- (f) Reading assured by parallels; for this pair of epithets, see references cited by A. Leahy, *GM* 108 (1989), 52 n. 29.
- (g) There have been several discussions of this phrase: J. J. Clère, *JEA* 35 (1949), 38-42; id., *JEA* 37 (1951), 112-13; H. de Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 248. The etymology and precise significance of *mhwt* remain unclear; a Nineteenth Dynasty example substitutes *mdwt*, 'speech': *Wb. Belegstellen* II, 114, 15 = 'Theb. Grab Nr. 158 (1382)'.
- (h) This rendering, which is offered only as a suggestion, assumes a literal meaning 'one who enters in respect of speech (*ddwt?*)'.
- (j) *hsj pw* is quite obscure; the construction would suggest an independent clause, but this seems impossible in context.
- (k) The writing  could be read either *rḥ-stḥw* or *zmjt*, on the assumption that a complex hieroglyph has been used for a simple one of similar shape; see n.r. Because of the following suffix, inappropriate to a place name, I read *zmjt* here. As with the words for burial (next note), the variation in words for tomb seems here to be principally stylistic. These clauses may mean that Tjaiharta's parents were among those buried with Djeho and himself, but the wording does not require this (see p. 251).
- (l) *zmḥ-tḥ*. The translation distinguishes renderings of *qrs* and *zmḥ-tḥ*, but the two seem to be used as stylistic variants here.
- (m) *j' > r'*, *Wb.* I, 40, 3. The word occurs again at the end of the text.
- (n) The expansions suggest an appropriate rendering for this very concise clause; the basic understanding is assured by parallelism with the next line. The word *rw*, 'length', referring to time is normally feminine: *Wb.* I, 4, 14-16.
- (o) This long sentence is interrupted by two couplets in parenthesis, both of which proclaim ownership. The first states why the god should give gifts to Tjaiharta, while the second is concerned with the gifts from the king to him. The latter are more limited, but in context

are the principal subject; in some sense, they probably also embody the divine gifts. The royal phrase applied to Tjaiharpata in the intervening couplet (see next note) provides an apt linking passage between the two parentheses.

It is not possible to analyse the literary character of these texts here, but the formulation of this passage is highly wrought. Extensive use of parenthesis seems to be rare in Egyptian texts—and is generally difficult to identify.

- (p) The phrase *hntj kꜣw nḥw* is typically royal, and is found pervasively in captions written behind figures of kings on stelae and in temple relief, being ultimately subsumed in the vertical separating column on the royal side in the second main register of decoration on Graeco-Roman temple walls; see E. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Vienna, 1968), 47–9, 63–8.
- (q) The phrase *ḥtp-rdj-njswt*, ‘boon-which-the-king-gives’, here retains little reference to its theoretical model of the circulation of gifts through the temple; my rendering reflects this simpler understanding. The idea that a status in death could be a mortuary gift is paralleled altogether earlier. In the biography of Djaʿu the Younger at Deir el-Gabrawi, the conferring of *hntj-j* status on Djaʿu’s father (also Djaʿu) is said to be a *ḥtp-rdj-njswt* requested from the king by the son: N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, II (London, 1902), pl. 13; *Urk.* I, 147, 15–16; see also e.g. A. Roccati, *La Littérature historique sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien* (Paris, 1982), 227–8.
- (r) *rꜣ-stꜣw* or *zmjt* (see n. k). The text makes play with permission to locate a tomb, and the former may be the better reading as referring specifically to a place of burial, whereas *zmjt* may signify more generally the desert as necropolis. *rꜣ-stꜣw* is used in an extended meaning, because its ultimate location appears to be at Giza. A Sarapieion stela of year 3 of Nectanebo II locates the burial of the Apis Bull ‘by (*r-gs*)’ *rꜣ-stꜣw*; see C. M. Zivie, *L’A* v, 303–7 with n. 24 (see also n. 14 here); the usage is quite common: Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte*, 19 with n. 9.
- (s) That is, the *ka* of Apis-Osiris (see also metrical lines 10, 38). This formulation relates in part to Djeho’s role in the burial of the Apis Bull: the funerary persona of the Apis is addressed, rather than the Apis Bull in general. The mortuary appeal of the Apis Bull was widespread and the most spectacular associated activities were funerary; see e.g. J. Vercoutter, *L’A* I, 338–46.
- (t) This word could read *wḏḥw* or *ḥꜣwt*; the writing  slightly favours *wḏḥw*.
- (u) *rꜣw nb* can mean both ‘every day’ and ‘perpetually’ (*Wb.* II, 402, 1–5); both are appropriate here. The wish may relate to statues of Tjaiharpata that would participate in the reversion of offerings, thus extending the inscription’s significance beyond the context of the sarcophagus. At the same time, the tomb’s location as near as possible to the mortuary structures of the Apis Bull makes the sentence relevant to the present context too.
- (v) The metrical status of *m-jsw n* is uncertain. If it forms a single colon with *jrjt. n. f-n. j*, the phrase will belong with the preceding two cola and the text will be one ‘line’ shorter. Compare *n-ḡ-n-* in metrical line 24, which I have taken as not forming a separate colon.

The use of *jsw* to describe reciprocity between king and god is common. The current phrase constitutes an extension of such an idea, but Djeho could not aspire to direct reciprocity with the gods, and his ‘exchange’ has a different character, being essentially the result of the mortuary provision which we must assume Tjaiharpata gave to him. Since Tjaiharpata was to have the privilege of following the Apis Bull in the next life, so should Djeho (see further pp. 254–7).

### *Inscription on the sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata*

A band of inscription above the decoration on the south face of the sarcophagus of Tjaiharpata gives a date which is probably that of the final decoration, and hence of Tjaiharpata’s death; in either case, the figure might have been adjusted to fit the circumstances. This text supplies a background context for the sarcophagus of Djeho. The



translation here largely follows von Känel.<sup>10</sup> In addition to this text, several others give sequences of titles and epithets (gathered by von Känel), but without continuous narrative.

*rnpt-sp-15 3bd-3-3ht*  
*hr-hm (n)-njswt-bjtj z3-r'w*  
*nht-hrw-hbjt mrjj-jnj-hrjt*  
*nh(w) dt*

5 *sphr-sh n-ct-jmntt*  
*jn-smr m-p3-hntj n-t3rt*

*hpr n-hrw-j3btj*  
*wr-thnw n-hrw-jmntj*  
*sh-md3t-ntr hrw-(n-t3)-b3t nb-jm3h*

10 *r-jrt-s3-wsjrj h3tj-ctj mr-šm'w*  
*hrj-wdb mr-3ht*  
*t3j-hrw-p-t3 nb-jm3h*

*r-ntrj-h3t.f m-hrt-ntr*  
*jrj.f-hprw-nb r-šsp(?)-jb.f*  
*dt nhh*

Year 15, 3rd month of *akhet*,  
 before the Person of the Dual King, the Son of Re,  
 Nakhtharhebe, beloved of Onuris,  
 may he live for ever.

5 The writing of the hidden space<sup>w</sup> was copied  
 by the companion in the domain of Tjaret,<sup>x</sup>

the *hpr*-priest of Horus of the East,  
 the *wr-thnw*-priest of Horus of the West,  
 the Scribe of the Divine Book Harentabat,<sup>y</sup> possessor of reverence,



10 in order to perform protection for the Osiris of the Count, Overseer of Upper Egypt,<sup>z</sup>  
 the Overseer of the Bank, Overseer of fields,<sup>aa</sup>  
 Tjaiharta, possessor of reverence,

in order to deify(?) his corpse<sup>bb</sup> in the necropolis,  
 so that he might take on any manifestation he desires<sup>cc</sup>  
 for ever and ever.

### Notes

(w) As von Känel observes, this is the title of the Amduat, which was widespread as a funerary book in the Late Period. This section of the sarcophagus decoration is largely drawn from the Amduat, so that the statement may have a precise relevance in context.

<sup>10</sup> *Les Prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, 114-15. Text: Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, 1, 256; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 64, 76-9. The text cannot be read on Maspero's photograph, pl. 19.

- (x) Von Känel notes that this is the name of the *wꜣw* of the Twelfth nome of Lower Egypt. See P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, 1 (Paris, 1957), 109. For *tꜣrt*, see *ibid.* 106.
- (y) For this reading of the name, see the discussion of M. Thirion, *RdE* 42 (1991), 236–9, with list of examples (not including this one). Presumably Harentabat, who is given no local priestly titles in this passage, was a relative of Tjaiharpta, and came especially for the burial.
- (z) Reading *šmꜣw* after von Känel, not the *tꜣ-mꜣw* of Maspero and Spiegelberg. The two signs are very similar in some forms, and Upper Egypt fits much better with the rest of Tjaiharpta's titulary.
- (aa) These are the basic titles which, in addition to *sntꜣ* (absent from this passage, see p. 250 here), established Tjaiharpta's status. See further D. Inconnu-Bocquillon, *RdE* 40 (1989), 66–8.
- (bb) This reading, which assumes a transitive meaning for *nꜣtrꜣ*, follows Spiegelberg, against von Känel's 'possesseur de l'état d'imakh auprès du dieu, pour son corps dans la nécropole'. The writing of *nꜣtr* with concluding *r* and the grouping reported in Maspero's copy, , support Spiegelberg's reading (the point cannot be checked on a photograph, see n. 10; Spiegelberg's copy seems not to respect the groupings of the original); this also allows a coherent rendering of the entire text, which then forms one long sentence after the date.
- (cc) The group  is of uncertain reading, but the general meaning seems clear in context.

### The sarcophagi and the place of burial

The short lid inscription and figure of Djeho (pl. XVIII, 2) are exceptional, as Gauthier remarked in publishing the sarcophagus.<sup>11</sup> Normally, the lid would have been carved with purely religious texts and there would be no figure of the deceased. Spiegelberg<sup>12</sup> noted that the surface was recarved to take the inscription, which is therefore secondary. The figure of Djeho is also likely not to have been part of the original design, because it spills over from the central flat surface onto the two sloping sides, whose outer parts contain separate religious texts. I suggest that the figure and the brief text above were added at the same time. Whereas the carving of the inscription affected the surface of the stone, the figure, which is more deeply carved in sunk relief, left the surface around it relatively intact. This difference could be due to damage sustained by the surface in the quite intricate carving of the text, or might simply reflect the execution of figure and inscription by different craftsmen.

The reason for this change in design is not apparent, but the most plausible explanation is that the band of inscription on the sarcophagus box—which appears to be original—was in the end thought inadequate to express Djeho's role or person, so that an appropriately captioned identifying figure was added: Djeho's entitlement to be buried in this location derived partly from his performing a ritual role as a dwarf, and his nature as a dwarf was intrinsic to his social and individual person. The carving could have been done between his death and burial, particularly if there was a substantial delay before the latter.<sup>13</sup> The figure itself is remarkable. Djeho is nude and shown in full profile except for his eye. This rendering allows a more detailed rendering of anatomy than normal, and could also imply that a statue is being shown. The thick baseline, no longer than the foot,

<sup>11</sup> *Sarcophages*, II, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 64, 82–3; the differences in surface are visible in Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, II pl. 1.

<sup>13</sup> In her forthcoming *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, Marianne Eaton-Krauss discusses in detail how long it took to execute the decoration of a hard-stone sarcophagus.

could be understood as a plinth, and Djeho could well have had a statue in a temple; these details are not, however, conclusive. The treatment is strongly plastic, with the limbs and musculature prominently modelled. Aspects of the iconography relate the figure to Ptah-pataikos figures and hence to the world of the gods.

Thus, part of the reason why the figure could be shown on the sarcophagus may be that it displayed in perpetuity Djeho's status between the human and the divine, making visible the intermediary character of his role (discussed below). A different, but perhaps supplementary, explanation for the figure's presence might be that Tjaiharpata, who I assume bore the cost of the sarcophagus, wished Djeho's identity to be evident and visible between the dwarf's death and his own. In the prestigious matter of commissioning and decorating a large sarcophagus, this striking figure could have attracted renown. However, this may be, in its final form the figure complements significantly the themes of the texts.

The lid text looks like a varied expansion of metrical lines 1–8 of the band on the box, and could have been important for its owner's destiny in the next life, because it gives his birth name Pwenhatef, as against his 'good name' Djeho which was used elsewhere, and thus may have completed his identity for the hereafter.

The wording of the band text suggests that Tjaiharpata was still alive when the text for Djeho was composed, whereas his own sarcophagus seems to have been completed after his death. The relevant passage in the band of Djeho (ll. 24–8) asks the gods for favours for Tjaiharpata while he lives on earth, not just in death and in his passage to the next life. The request for length of life may be conventional and does not indicate how far apart in time the two died. Nonetheless, the allusion to the royal grant of burial in 'Rosetjau' to Tjaiharpata suggests that the latter's death was in prospect when Djeho's sarcophagus was being prepared. Thus, I assume that Djeho died before Tjaiharpata, who was at the peak of his career and ready to prepare his burial by the same time.

The presence of these burials here may relate to the rebuilding of many structures in the Sacred Animal Necropolis under Nectanebo II, as described on a stela of that king and visible around the catacomb of the Mothers of the Apis, and in the baboon, ibis, and falcon galleries.<sup>14</sup> The tomb was located well within the area defined on the east by the later Anubieion temples, all of which was probably dedicated much more to the cult than to human burial. The general area nonetheless contained many burials of lower and quite humble status,<sup>15</sup> so that the privileged sectors must have been demarcated from others either by royal decision, or by physical markers,<sup>16</sup> or by both.

The statement that the burial of Tjaiharpata was a royal funerary favour is significant. By implication, he could not have had a tomb in this area at Saqqara without royal permission. In view of the high status of those buried in this area, this is plausible. The fact that at least seven others were buried in the tomb and the presence nearby of the tomb of Wennofer, and quite possibly of others, shows that the privilege was not unique.

<sup>14</sup> See M. Jones, *JEA* 76 (1990), 145–7; W. Spiegelberg, in J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908)* (Cairo, 1909), 89–93 (see also n.r above). For the Sacred Animal Necropolis, see H. S. Smith, *A Visit to Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1974), 21–63 with pl. 1B.

<sup>15</sup> See H. S. Smith and D. G. Jeffreys, *JEA* 65 (1979), 19; 66 (1980), 18.

<sup>16</sup> For such a boundary in the Middle Kingdom Abydos necropolis, see A. Leahy, *JEA* 76 (1990), 41–60. As Janet Richards has pointed out to me, the absence of burials in the area of the Shunet el-Zebib at Abydos for nearly a millennium between the Second Dynasty and the Middle Kingdom suggests the existence of a similar demarcation there.

The person who stands out in the burial is Djeho, who had the second most splendid sarcophagus and yet held no high title. Although the texts do not express the matter in this way, his claim to a privileged place of burial must have lain both in the status of his patron and in his religious role.

Tjaiharpta was the highest financial official in the country, holding the title *snjtj*,<sup>17</sup> forerunner of the Greek *dioiketes*.<sup>18</sup> Wennofer was a medical man holding many Delta priesthoods (n. 3 here). Neither man referred in his inscriptions to the cults or the region of Memphis. It must be assumed that they were buried here because the city and necropolis were the leading centres of the country, and possibly because the Sacred Animal Necropolis, near the Apis Bull, was more privileged than any other possible location for a tomb: the only deity addressed in Djeho's inscription is the deceased Apis Bull, together with its *ka*.<sup>19</sup> In some sense, the cultural and religious centrality of Memphis must have predominated over local or dynastic loyalties. This position of the ancient city is not surprising during a period when dynasties, rulers, and royal residences changed frequently.

Burial within the Sacred Animal Necropolis can be compared with that of kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty and later who were buried in cult temple precincts,<sup>20</sup> a privilege enjoyed or emulated by a few others.<sup>21</sup> While Tjaiharpta asserted his high standing by his choice of burial place—even if this depended on a royal grant—the interment of Djeho in the tomb recalls other royal practices. The ultimate among these is the sacrificial burial of retainers with kings of the First Dynasty at Abydos,<sup>22</sup> but the Valley of the Kings provides a more relevant parallel. A few non-royal persons were buried in the Valley, most of them connected with the family or personal service of kings.<sup>23</sup> The burial of Tjaiharpta and Djeho together in a single tomb can be related to the increased prevalence of communal burial in the Third Intermediate and Late periods.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For the title, see J. Yoyotte, *CRAIBL* 1989, 73–90. For the office in Ptolemaic times, see J. D. Thomas, in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposions 27.–29. September 1976 in Berlin* (Mainz, 1978), 187–94. One wonders why this highest national title of Tjaiharpta does not occur in the dated sarcophagus inscription. Perhaps as a relatively 'modern' term it did not belong in this solemn context.

<sup>18</sup> For other monuments of Tjaiharpta, see J.-L. Chappaz, *Les Figurines funéraires du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire et de quelques collections privées* (Geneva, 1984), 126–8, no. 160 (shawabtis). Following a suggestion of Jean Yoyotte, several authors have attributed a statue torso with similar titles, Brooklyn 68.10.1, to Tjaiharpta: J.-F. and L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes, chaouabtis, ouchebtis* (Paris, 1974), 247–8; D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (Munich, 1977), 44–5 with pl. 7; von Känel, *Les Prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, 115. A graffito in the Wadi Hammamat also belongs to him: H. de Meulenaere, *CdE* 61 (1986), 205–6 with 206n.1, attributing H.-J. Thissen, *Enchoria* 9 (1979), 65 no. 2. This refers to Tjaiharpta's activities in Upper Egypt from year 3 of Nectanebo II (358). (H. Gauthier, 'Notes et remarques historiques VIII: Ziharpto, fonctionnaire de Nectanebo Ier.', *BIFAO* 12 (1915), 53–9, is superseded by later work.)

A shawabti of a Tjaiharpta with mother Tefenet perhaps belonged to a relative, since the titles are different: P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque* (Anthony [Paris], 1985), 168 doc. 241.

<sup>19</sup> The 'lord of the gods' mentioned in metrical line 33 may be Osiris, who was in any case identified with Apis.

<sup>20</sup> R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 111–23.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. tombs of Third Intermediate Period high priests of Memphis at the edge of the temple precinct of Ptah: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 846–7.

<sup>22</sup> Most recently: G. Dreyer *et al.*, *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 67, 81–6.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings*, trans. D. Warburton (New York, 1990), 185–6.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. P. Lacovara, in S. D'Auria *et al.*, *Mummies and Magic* (Boston, 1988), 24.

The burial of Djeho with his patron might thus be a special case of someone otherwise unqualified for a restricted location who acquired the privilege through someone else. Such an explanation, however, does not do justice to the splendour of the dwarf's sarcophagus or to his role in the cult of the bulls. Although Djeho was subordinate to Tjaiharpata, his status was such that his presence in the tomb with his sarcophagus cannot be reduced to that of a retainer.

The rest of those buried in Tjaiharpata's tomb could have had access to the necropolis through him. Two may have been his parents. The undocumented others might have been buried there at a different date, or they could have been further dependents of his. No superstructure is preserved for the tomb, and it may have been less prominent than that of Wennofer. There are remote analogies for the possibly modest scale of the tomb itself in the non-royal burials in the Valley of the Kings, all of which are undecorated and far less superficially prestigious than the tombs of people of similar rank elsewhere in the Theban necropolis: such a location was inherently more significant than the character of a tomb.

For the Late and Graeco-Roman periods, the sarcophagus is important in assessing a burial complex. The large hard-stone sarcophagi, of which significant numbers are known,<sup>25</sup> represent a much greater expenditure of resources on the burial itself than is found earlier, and compensate to some extent for the dearth of major superstructures. In this perspective, the tomb containing the sarcophagi of Tjaiharpata and Djeho is one of the principal private 'monuments' of its period, whatever superstructure it may have had. Tjaiharpata probably also possessed statues in temples (n.18 here) that added to his prominence.

The significance of the sarcophagus might be seen as relating to confidence in the afterlife. The normal decoration of these sarcophagi is exclusively mortuary, incorporating material from the Book of the Dead and the underworld books.<sup>26</sup> To inscribe these in the most durable possible form for an otherworldly destiny would be to guarantee that the aid they offered for the next life was as efficacious as possible. There are, however, difficulties in assuming that these monuments demonstrate absolute assurance about the next world. The most general of these difficulties is the overall decline in mortuary provision in the Late Period, as compared with earlier times, and the increasing focus on communal religious forms, on the temples and animal cults—patterns into which the present find fits well. Eberhard Otto argued on the basis of biographical inscriptions that there was a decline in confidence in the afterlife, and hence a concentration on the religious implications of this life, in the Late Period.<sup>27</sup> Although the implications of his views for beliefs in the hereafter are problematic because of the large amount of general mortuary material and new mortuary compositions surviving from the period, the general this-worldly focus of these texts can hardly be doubted, and the possibility remains that the disappearance of the most ostentatious tombs is symptomatic of a lack of assurance about their value. These tombs invited robbery, but this fact cannot have gone unnoticed for more than two millennia, so that a further reason for their decline should be sought; allowance should also be made for possible divergent views about the hereafter.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*; M.-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi* (Copenhagen, 1959); see E. J. Brovarski, *LA* v, 478–80.

<sup>26</sup> E. Hornung, *LA* 1, 184–8; A. Piankoff, in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* [Grapow Festschrift] (Berlin, 1955), 244–7.

<sup>27</sup> *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1954), 43–65.

### Biographies, the sarcophagi, and their owners

A salient question raised by the burial and by the texts is the significance of placing biographies on sarcophagi, a practice known from other Late Period examples<sup>28</sup> and paralleled by the inclusion of biographical passages in mortuary texts on papyri deposited with burials.<sup>29</sup> A second question is that of Djeho's position and his relation with his patron Tjaiharta in life and in death. More broadly, the nature of the merit claimed by Djeho on behalf of Tjaiharta and the location of their tomb relate to questions of religious participation and of personal prestige in this life as well as in the beyond.

The biographical inscriptions on the sarcophagi could have had a role in promoting the deceased's reputation among the living, perhaps by being known among the living while the burial equipment was being prepared, but they must have contributed more directly to the deceased's destiny in the next life. Apart from other arguments, considered below, for the importance of a person's moral stature to his or her destiny in the next world, parallel instances of biographies among Graeco-Roman Period mortuary compositions integrate such texts more directly with burial. They also demonstrate the serious significance of the gods and the world of the dead as audiences for biographical and other textual matter. Since the numbers who could read inscriptions set up in public places were small, a divine audience may not have seemed so much more remote.

Apart from the public, this-worldly aspects of biographies, some texts, particularly ones with little narrative content, are closely related to mortuary prayers, liturgies,<sup>30</sup> and laments<sup>31</sup> that would have been pronounced by others on behalf of the deceased, either spoken in reality by priests and other participants in the funeral, or recorded in aspiration for the next world in mortuary texts deposited with the burial. Biographies themselves might have been declaimed during mortuary ceremonies,<sup>32</sup> as is suggested specifically by

<sup>28</sup> E.g. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften*, 128–9, nos. 37, 41, 58 (two versions), 61. This is a small proportion of the biographies preserved. For another 'biographical' text on a sarcophagus, see the presentation by E. Lanciers of the 2nd century text of the high priest Harmachis from Memphis (Leiden AMT 3; *RdE* 42 (1991), 143–4 with pl. 2). This is placed between figures of the deceased in a gesture of adoration on the left and of Re-Harakhte on the right, and is also unconventional in style and content. The placing between deceased and god plainly implies that the biography will speak for the deceased in the next world, as discussed here for the texts of Djeho and Tjaiharta.

<sup>29</sup> Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, 22–4, 36–7, 64–8 (first person). The two Rhind mortuary papyri begin with biographies of their owners, including precise dates, presented in the third person and continuing with a narrative of the burial: G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg* (Leipzig, 1913), 12–17, 53–9. The dates might seem untraditional—such details are better known for sacred animals—but they do have parallels: Baines, in J. Osing and G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass . . . : Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 48–9, 53 with n. 8.

<sup>30</sup> See J. Assmann, in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), I, 1–45, esp. 22–5.

<sup>31</sup> These had a public celebratory character when they accompanied funeral processions. E. Lüddeckens, *Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen* = *MDAIK* 11 (1943), esp. text 81, pp. 158–60; see also e.g. G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris* (Cairo, 1923–4), I, 62–3; II, 133–5, text 82.

<sup>32</sup> The passage, including a biography of the deceased, in the mortuary ritual of P. BM 10507, which is written in the first person, forms part of what was to be declaimed as part of a burial ritual: Smith, *Mortuary Texts*, 22. The third-person biographical enumerations of the Rhind papyri (see n. 29) may be relevant here. Note also that the long biographical inscription of Petosiris (text 81, see last note) is set above a funerary procession.

a text that was not inscribed in the first person,<sup>33</sup> and thus would bridge the various genres involved. The Eighteenth Dynasty tomb stela, of which the best preserved example is that of Paheri,<sup>34</sup> provide a good illustration of this material.<sup>35</sup> In this light, Djeho's address to Apis-Osiris has some of the character of a mortuary prayer, interweaving requests on behalf of Tjaiharta and of himself while including praise of his patron, biographical material about himself, and some information about the circumstances of burial.

For further analysis, the biographical texts should be set in the broadest context. The fuller texts which present achievements in narrative form, rather than enumerating titles and epithets, normally laud meritorious aspects of the deceased's character and actions or recount prestigious episodes in his life. These two aspects focus on the deceased's qualifications for passage into the hereafter or on his status in this world and possible posthumous renown. Some biographies, such as that of the first century BC wife of the high priest of Memphis, Taimhotep,<sup>36</sup> go further in expressing subjective feelings—of a literary character in that case, since the text is probably posthumous in composition as well as in presentation. In general, Late Period biographies are more diverse, and probably more personal, than those of earlier times.<sup>37</sup>

Explicit statements of the deceased's moral worth that are found from as early as the Old Kingdom are most simply interpreted as meaning that such worth would carry weight in any assessment there might be before the 'great god', or 'in the place where judgment is'.<sup>38</sup> The most straightforward understanding of this assessment is that it was an ethical judgment after death, whether or not it had the formal character known from Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead.

The actions of Tjaiharta should be placed within this age-old tradition of asserting worth partly for the next life and partly in order to appeal to later generations. The placing of his and Djeho's biographical materials on their sarcophagi ruled out their being read by later generations, whereas inscriptions in the outer areas of tombs implied, and often deliberately fostered, such a possibility.<sup>39</sup> At most, as with many aspects of mortuary provision or of temple decoration, the existence of the inscriptions would have been known to the circle of those involved in creating the monuments and discussing them during their lengthy preparation, mostly while the tomb owner was still alive. The

<sup>33</sup> This is a biography of the First Intermediate Period where the king and the tomb owner are addressed in succession in the second person, in a form that could be directed more suitably to an audience than the first person of other biographies: W. Schenkel, *Memphis. Herakleopolis. Theben* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 86–9 with n.a.

<sup>34</sup> In e.g. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II (Berkeley etc., 1976), 15–21, with references.

<sup>35</sup> A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie* (Glückstadt etc., 1940), 102–55; *Urk.* IV, 1515–39; W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22* (Berlin, 1961), 136–40.

<sup>36</sup> See [R. S. Bianchi], *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies* (The Brooklyn Museum, 1988), 230–1 no. 122, with fig. and bibliography; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III (Berkeley etc., 1980), 59–65.

<sup>37</sup> See Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften*.

<sup>38</sup> For the formula, see E. Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944), 9–12; see e.g. *Urk.* I, 122, 14–123, 2; Roccati, *Littérature historique*, 202–3. For a related study, see E. Blumenthal, in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain* (Louvain, 1991), 47–56. See further Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften*, 55–6.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. K. P. Kuhlmann, *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 205–13. Compare the proverb at the beginning of the biography of Ahmose son of Ebana (*Urk.* IV, 2, 5–6):

The reputation (lit. name) of a brave man is (in) what he did;

(it) will not be effaced in this land for ever.

circle involved was probably small, being limited at the least to those who knew hieroglyphs and Middle Egyptian, but it was no less important for that.

Tjaiharptra followed a practice, again attested back to the Old Kingdom, of claiming a role in the cult that gave him merit.<sup>40</sup> What is novel, and seemingly unparalleled, is that he did this through the dwarf he patronized and did not express the point in his own inscriptions. The participation he claimed was thus more indirect than that of earlier times, despite the strong priestly focus of Late Period titularies and biographies of officials. Since his own sarcophagus is completely preserved, it is known that in his burial he did not claim to participate in the rituals in which 'his' dwarf was involved.

The rituals are the chief events recorded in the text of Djeho, and so must be the main focus of interpretation. Here, the claim of Tjaiharptra is multiply indirect: the dwarf was the one who participated, and also the one who announced his participation to the gods. Furthermore, the inscription implies Tjaiharptra's patronage of Djeho, but does not state it explicitly. Djeho claimed relatively little on behalf of himself, subordinating his aspirations to those of Tjaiharptra. In the next life, as in this one, he depended on his patron, as the last three metrical lines of the main band of inscription make clear.

Tjaiharptra's approach can be contrasted with that of Djaꜣu the Younger in the Sixth Dynasty (n. q above), whose burial of his father in the same tomb as himself fills about half of his biographical inscription. Both men expressed their moral stature more in relation to actions for another than in connection with themselves, but Djaꜣu took the credit explicitly, and his values were focused on the family and on status in civil society. Tjaiharptra himself left unsaid the fact that their burial was communal, while the religious focus of the actions involved is given indirectly in their texts but is nonetheless unmistakable. The extensive differences between the two, which I do not enumerate, characterize two epochs with different values and concerns, despite general cultural continuities. The two texts are likely to be independent, but a copy of Middle Kingdom inscriptions at Asyut on a Graeco-Roman Period papyrus probably from Tebtunis illustrates that they could have been connected, rather as the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Ibi, which is at Deir el-Gabrawi like that of Djaꜣu, relates to that of his Twenty-sixth Dynasty namesake at Thebes.<sup>41</sup>

Djeho was specially qualified by his physical abnormality to perform the cult dances, and so had a privileged role in the burials of the sacred bulls.<sup>42</sup> The use of dwarfs in 'god's dances' is referred to as far back as the Pyramid Texts, and they seem to have had a special affinity with solar deities, Ptah and bulls.<sup>43</sup> Analogous roles in the rituals known from the Ptolemaic period include that of the Egyptian 'Twins' of the second century BC attested in the Sarapieion papyri, but those people had a status much inferior to that enjoyed by Djeho, at least in death.<sup>44</sup> The graffiti and stelae of the Sarapieion and the

<sup>40</sup> See Baines, in B. Shafer (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca and London, 1991), 143, with references.

<sup>41</sup> For the tombs of the Ibi's at Deir el-Gabrawi and Luxor, see K. P. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun*, I (Mainz, 1983), 89–90. The hieroglyphic papyrus alluded to, which is similar in date to Papyrus Jumilhac, is in the Carlsberg collection of the University of Copenhagen; I owe knowledge of it to the kindness of John Tait.

<sup>42</sup> Dasen explores these points in detail in *Dwarfs in Egypt and Greece* (n. 1 here).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*; for officials who oversaw dwarfs 'of the god's palace', see her ch. II.5. A possible parallel on a donation stela, perhaps of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, may be of an endowment for a dwarf who was either a deity or a performer in the cult: W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 56 (1920), 59–60; D. Meeks, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II (Louvain, 1979), 674, no. 26.o.6.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. Baines, *Or* 54 (1985), 472–3 with n.51; Thompson, *Memphis*, index s.v. 'Twins'. The parallel of Djeho suggests that I dismissed too easily the possibility that the women were real twins, as against playing that role.



Mother of the Apis gallery make clear that these were normally kept closed and access was possible only for people involved in constructing them and burying the deceased bull or cow.<sup>45</sup> It is uncertain whether those who were not personally involved in the funeral of an Apis could have attended. Since Tjaiharptra held no relevant titles, he presumably did not perform the ritual; we cannot know whether he observed it. But by having a tomb near the processional way for the funeral, both he and Djeho could participate perpetually in the ceremonies.<sup>46</sup>

There are thus various ways in which Tjaiharptra enhanced his stature for the next world. His provision of Djeho's burial, implied in the inscription on the latter's sarcophagus, was a special case of action for the 'needy' that was meritorious for the wealthy. He probably also made Djeho available for the rites of the bulls, and in doing so performed a pious act for the deities—either Ptah and Re or more directly the bulls themselves. This action had a communal significance because the cults were so important in the life of Memphis and Heliopolis, so that Tjaiharptra will have been a general benefactor. Such a role is in keeping with the orientation of Late Period religious life toward temples and public religious manifestations.

In not claiming to have performed the cult himself, even though his titularies included many priesthoods,<sup>47</sup> Tjaiharptra differed from the majority of Late Period statue owners, who made their priestly status central to their display. Djeho's statement of his patron's claims to merit seems to have allowed Tjaiharptra, whose local role was essentially secular, closer access to the gods than he would otherwise have attained. In this sense, as an 'initiate' who performed important cult actions, Djeho was an intermediary on Tjaiharptra's behalf, rather as some owners of statues in temples claimed that they could be intermediaries for petitioners who addressed them, or as sacred animals themselves were approachable manifestations of deities.<sup>48</sup> Because of his anomalous physical character and consequent association with dwarf gods, Djeho may have been seen as a liminal being especially qualified to intercede before the gods on behalf of others.

The obvious parallel for Tjaiharptra as a patron of dwarfs who performed in the cult is the king. The dwarfs or pygmies acquired for Old Kingdom kings were for 'god's dances (*jbꜣw ntr*)'.<sup>49</sup> In a period when kings enjoyed less prestige than in the Old Kingdom, one of the richest people in the land might well act similarly to kings of old. Djeho's inscription ascribes quasi-royal qualities and aspirations to his patron (nn. o-p above). Like a king, Tjaiharptra may have legitimized his position and wealth before his peers by using it for the general good. Yet, unlike kings, Tjaiharptra had no special status in the cult, and his aspirations in this regard were channelled through Djeho.

The burials of the Old Kingdom dwarfs or pygmies imported for 'god's dances' have not been found. Although their tombs could have been significant, this may be unlikely in view of the lack of tombs of foreigners in Old Kingdom necropoleis. Some dwarfs, such as

<sup>45</sup> See J. Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1962), 124; id., *LÄ* 1, 345-6; Smith, *A Visit to Ancient Egypt*, 37-41, 64-82.

<sup>46</sup> This situation parallels that at Abydos: W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974); and in the Deir el-Bahri area of the Theban necropolis, in relation to the Beautiful Festival of the Wadi: E. Graefe, *LÄ* vi, 187-9.

<sup>47</sup> Von Känel, *Les Prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, 113-15.

<sup>48</sup> For a valuable summary of the Apis cult, see Thompson, *Memphis*, 190-211. See also H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 812-24.

<sup>49</sup> Inscription of Harkhuf, *Ürk.* 1, 128-31, with the letter of Pepy II mentioning another dwarf/pygmy brought back under Izezy about a century earlier.

Seneb<sup>50</sup> and Pereniankh,<sup>51</sup> held office in the civil administration and apparently did not derive their status from their physical abnormality or their religious role—although rich households, and no doubt royal ones, kept dwarfs as something like personal curiosities, acting principally as attendants. Djeho, by contrast, displayed no civil titles and apparently derived all his status from his dancing for the bulls, even though the performances themselves can have filled only a small part of his life. This difference may relate to the styles of the dwarfs' respective periods. In the Old Kingdom, religious display of the non-royal was quite restricted, in part for reasons of decorum, and it centred on the tomb, while in the Late Period secular display was generally outranked by activities focused on temples. There might therefore have been less difference between the activities of the early and late dwarfs than the record would imply. However this may be, Tjaiharpata's action seems to have aspired higher than comparable ones of Old Kingdom officials and to be more nearly royal.

Not all aspects of the find relate only to Tjaiharpata's patronage of Djeho's rituals. Several strands of meaning merge the two men's destinies, paralleling Book of the Dead 125.<sup>52</sup> The address to the gods in the chapter's third main section includes statements that the deceased has lived a righteous life—as against the exculpatory denials of the preceding sections—has made due offerings to the gods and the spirits, and has 'given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, and a ferry to the boatless'.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the deceased asserts that he has not transgressed against numerous specific rules, that he has been ritually pure, and that he has lived the life of a benefactor comparable to that presented in ideal biographies; he subsequently displays specific pieces of knowledge about the approach to the next world which will secure him access.

These assertions and stages offer an analogy for the complementarity of Djeho and Tjaiharpata. While Djeho's inscription makes Tjaiharpata's superior status clear, it also emphasizes how each enhanced the other's claim to the gods' attention. Tjaiharpata was the person who did the good deeds, both in supporting the cult and in his provision of Djeho's burial, while Djeho was the one with ritual and personal qualifications. This distinction is in some ways analogous to that in Western tradition between faith and works. Djeho was 'naturally' qualified for the cult and as an intermediary. Tjaiharpata's claim, based on his qualities, status, and actions on behalf of others and of the gods, was not so intrinsic. Such a polarity reflects basic possibilities of religious experience and legitimation, rather than pointing to specifically Egyptian distinctions. Moreover, the texts give the distinction a rather literary symmetry and extension. In this life, Djeho acted ritually in the cult, in contrast with Tjaiharpata's 'morally' motivated provision. In the next life, this position is to be reversed and elaborated: Djeho speaks for Tjaiharpata, who may as a result act in a way that he was not able to in this life, but will in turn incorporate Djeho into his otherworldly religious existence (metrical lines 23–39).

Both for this life and for the next, Tjaiharpata could have gained a twofold advantage through having his case for favour from the gods presented by implication, rather than explicitly, and through the medium of another person. First, Djeho's role and person gave

<sup>50</sup> H. Junker, *Giza*, v (Vienna, 1941); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 101–3.

<sup>51</sup> Z. Hawass, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 157–62.

<sup>52</sup> For arguments for an early date for the core of the text, perhaps in the Middle Kingdom, see references in Baines, *JARCE* 27 (1990), 14.

<sup>53</sup> E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, II (Berlin, 1886), 315–16.

him an intermediary status that brought him nearer to the gods. Second, there could be a moral gain in having one's understated case presented by another. The latter point is uncertain. While the value of such deference may seem evident to us, Egyptians were not modest in their biographies and there seems no clear reason why Tjaiharptra should not have proclaimed his own virtues. Nonetheless, his inscriptions do not mention his connection with Djeho, and the majority of owners of inscriptions in the Sarapieion who were involved in the burial of the Apis Bull were people of lower status than himself. A Sarapieion stela states that its high-ranking owner acted humbly and participated in the mourning and burial of the bull despite the fact that others taking part were 'poor (*nds, šwꜣw*)'.<sup>54</sup>

Thus, even though Tjaiharptra's rank alone would have allowed him to be buried in the area, he may have had no direct access to the cult and may not have been able to state directly his claim to participate and his benefactor's status, because in some sense he was not well entitled to them; as noted, he held no priesthoods of local cults. Here, he could aspire to more in the next life than in this one. In a few contexts, then, wealth and personal standing could be outweighed by other qualifications such as those of Djeho. It is probably better to see Tjaiharptra as being constrained by role and by decorum than as showing an un-Egyptian moral reticence.

### Conclusion: the role and person of Djeho

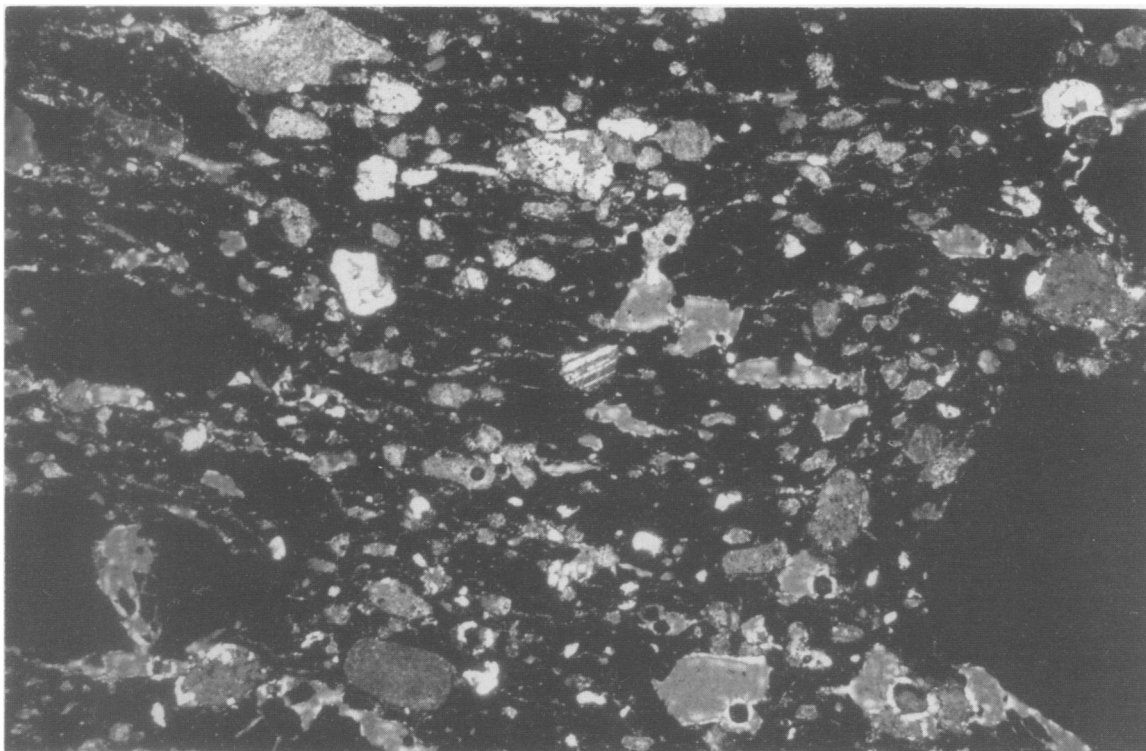
Approaches to interpreting the find of the sarcophagi and their texts all come back to Djeho's ritual role and his special physical status in that role. Yet, despite these rare circumstances and the seemingly unique case of a biography's being placed for perpetuity in the mouth of another person, his inscription has a more general significance. Apart from its literary qualities, it speaks to the importance of intermediaries and liminal beings, the more so since the addressee, the Apis Bull, itself acted as an intermediary. The text's layering of moral and religious values has a different character from most New Kingdom biographies and is less self-assured in tone, while the symbiotic complexity of the connections between Djeho and Tjaiharptra may relate in part to multiple conceptions of the person and of manifestations.<sup>55</sup>

In this light, there is another parallel between Tjaiharptra and Djeho and the position of the Twins of the Sarapieion (n.44). Twins of earlier periods seem to have shared a social person, and probably a moral identity, to a still greater extent than this pair; they too were anomalous or liminal beings like Djeho.<sup>56</sup> In such cases, more than we can easily conceive for ourselves, people could inhabit domains intermediate between the human and the divine or between the ordered and the disordered, and each of a pair could be a moral extension of the other. The inseparability of the religious and the moral in these roles legitimized Tjaiharptra's aspiration to a status in the next life that would be different from, but comparable to, what he enjoyed in this life; but he needed Djeho to state that aspiration for him.

<sup>54</sup> Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques*, 48–58, Text G ll. 5, 9. Not all such people were poor, as is clear from other stelae.

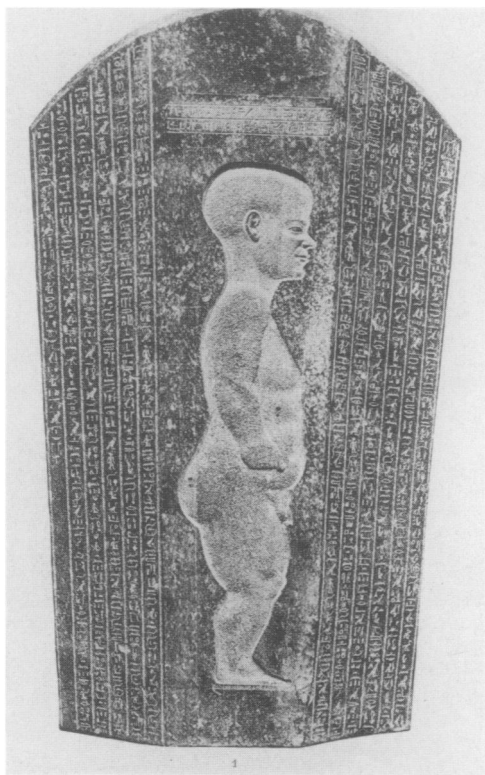
<sup>55</sup> For conceptions of the person, see J. Assmann, *LA* IV, 963–78. For manifestations, see E. Hornung, in O. Loretz, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich, 1967), 123–56; B. Ockinga, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament* (Wiesbaden, 1984). In this respect, the text may have a remote literary analogy in the Dispute of a Man with his Ba, which shares the context of confronting the next life.

<sup>56</sup> Baines, *Or* 54 (1985), 461–82.



1. Fabric V:9. Amarna. This specimen clearly shows a plagioclase feldspar (striped inclusion at centre) among the quartz and limestone. Field of view  $6 \times 4$  mm. Taken under XPL. Thin-section 89 (p. 68)

MARL CLAY POTTERY FABRICS



2. Lid of sarcophagus of Djeho, Cairo CG 29307

MERIT BY PROXY (pp. 241-57)

## CYRIL ALDRED

By T. G. H. JAMES

'I have examined Mr Cyril Aldred and I have found him to have a very fair knowledge of Egyptological subjects especially that of Egyptian Art.'

So wrote Howard Carter in June 1933 after he had seen Cyril Aldred on several occasions following an introduction in the previous year arranged through one of Aldred's school-teachers who knew William Carter, the accomplished portrait-painter brother of Howard. The written testimonial for the eighteen-year-old Cyril says something about Carter's judgement of an untried talent. The episode, in general, says much more for the interest, determination, and ability of the young man who would in due time become the leading British art-historian in the Egyptian field, and an authority in certain periods of Egyptian history, in particular the later Eighteenth Dynasty.

At the time when the meetings between Carter and Aldred took place, the former had only recently completed his work on the clearance of the tomb of Tutankhamun, the latter was in his last year at the Sloane School, Chelsea, in London, and in some doubt about the proper next step to take. A general interest in painting, in literature, and an incipient but very imperfect knowledge of ancient Egypt—as he himself readily admitted—made Aldred's encounters with Carter both fascinating and rather trying. Nevertheless he managed to impress the famous excavator sufficiently to be offered a season in Egypt, all expenses paid, and, as Carter accepted, a very uncertain future in a field in which few secure positions existed in the 1930s. The alternative was a conventional progression to university and a future which would depend on how the conventional order of events turned out.<sup>1</sup> The conventional in the end won, and Cyril Aldred proceeded firstly to King's College, London, and then to the recently established Courtauld Institute of Art of London University, acquiring an academic equipment for life, such as Carter lacked, and a formal introduction to the fine arts (in particular Venetian painting) which would furnish him with the skills of observation, analysis and connoisseurship crucial for his subsequent work in the Egyptian field.

Cyril Aldred was born in London on 19 February 1914, the third son of Frederick Aldred and Lilian Ethel Aldred (*née* Underwood). His father was a civil servant in the Post Office, and the Aldreds as a family were inclined to the public service, a tradition which Cyril himself would follow when he became an Assistant Keeper in the Royal Scottish Museum in 1937. His first introduction to Egyptology came unexceptionally through one of the immortal works of Sir Ernest Wallis Budge, brought to him by a brother when he was about eleven years old, and confined to bed with some sickness. The extent to which he pursued this awakened interest seems to have been moderate,

<sup>1</sup> The Carter episode is more fully dealt with in T. G. H. James, *Howard Carter. The Path to Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), 325 f.

PLATE I



CYRIL ALDRED 1914-1991

although continuing sufficiently to make his meeting Howard Carter an occasion of real significance.

More important in his formative years were the fine arts and English literature. A mention of Sir Henry Rushbury R.A., the eminent architectural and topographical artist, elicited some revealing comments on his own precocious early interests:<sup>2</sup>

I have been familiar with the brilliant work of Henry Rushbury since my late schooldays, when I first made weekly pilgrimages to exhibitions of the art societies in the West End galleries particularly of etchers, engravers and painters in water colour...I think I once met Henry, as he then was, at the studio of his fellow etcher, engraver and later Academician, Stanley Anderson, in Recliff Square. Stanley was the father of my particular school chum, Max Anderson, and I frequently joined in the soirées of the family, enlivened with beer, darts and art discussions that used to brighten the gloom of a Sunday evening. Max was a brilliant caricaturist and I treasured his cartoons of my rugged features for many years...

He himself dabbled a bit, to use his own dismissive term, in drawing and painting, and throughout his life his early interest in the graphic arts informed his approach to and his achievement in everything that occupied him.

Equally his aptitude for literature and the written word, was recognized and promoted by the headmaster of the Sloane School, Guy Boas, a man who, to judge from the number and variety of his published works, wrote easily and enjoyed wide literary and artistic interests. He was clearly the kind of old-fashioned schoolmaster who encouraged and developed the talents of his charges far beyond the limits of duty. In the case of Cyril Aldred he trusted his taste and judgement sufficiently to recruit him to help with the editing of School texts and standard classics of English literature. Between 1934 and 1936 six small volumes appeared under the Aldred editorship: three novels of Thomas Hardy, an edition of two books of *Paradise Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and a selection of the poems of Robert Browning. In 1935 Guy Boas with Cyril Aldred produced *A New Matriculation English Course based on the study of literature*; it was frequently reprinted, and continued to be used and purchased until long after the Second World War.

It was, however, not in English that Cyril Aldred was to take his degree in due course, but 'perversely', as he once said, in History. Nevertheless, a love of English literature and a dedication to the practice of good writing were to remain significant factors in his later development as a scribbler—to use another of his self-deprecating terms—on Egyptological matters. How a thing was written was almost as important as what was written; the imagination and elegance of all his writings contributed greatly to the influence they brought both to the study of Egyptian art and culture, and particularly to the general standard of popular writing in Egyptology.

In 1937 Aldred entered the Department of Art and Ethnography in the Royal Scottish Museum (now part of the Royal Museum of Scotland), and spent his first years working principally on the rich collection of ethnographical material in Edinburgh. It was not in his nature to undertake any piece of work without careful preparation and close study, and throughout his life he maintained an interest in primitive art, which was certainly not wasted in the consideration of the byways of Egyptian sculpture when his attention changed direction in later years. A memory from the early 1950s recalls Aldred in the British Museum surveying and poking about among the huge assemblage of miscellaneous ethnographica from the Wellcome Collection, which turned the Duveen Gallery, still

<sup>2</sup>In a letter to the writer of this memoir, dated 12 November, 1989.



unrepaired after war-time damage, into a kind of vast, but superior, junk-shop. His eyes were there for the assegais, ritual masks, feather capes and pre-Colombian treasures, but he did not miss the unexpected Egyptian delights, like Badarian pottery.

Cyril Aldred had spent the war years, at first briefly in the Scottish Education Office, and then for five years in the Royal Signals. When the Royal Scottish Museum reopened and faced post-war reorganization and re-exhibition, he was more than ready to take up the challenges enthusiastically. Now his principal focus of interest, from a scholarly point of view, if not wholly within the general requirements of his museum duties, moved steadily towards Egyptian sculpture. It has always been something of a mystery to his colleagues to understand how he was able, with the very inadequate library facilities at his disposal at that time, to acquire the basic knowledge of material and of written sources, which made his first three little books on Egyptian art not only so comprehensive, but also so authoritative—*multum in parvo* indeed. *Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* of 1949 was quickly followed by two more on Middle-Kingdom and New-Kingdom art in 1950 and 1951. The three were amalgamated into one volume, *The Development of Ancient Egyptian Art*, in 1952. By these superficially modest books, described by the publishers as 'concise monographs on interesting phases in art', Cyril Aldred sprang into the consciousness of Egyptologists, almost fully formed, a real art-historian, representative of a species which had not been observed in Britain for many years. In later times Aldred was inclined to be dismissive about his Egyptological debut, but, if pressed, was prepared to admit that what he attempted in these 'concise monographs' was original in general approach and quite novel in its detailed consideration of individual pieces. It should not be forgotten that the writing of works on Egyptian art in English had until that time been considered something of an occasional activity for scholars who would be more at home writing about texts, history and religion.<sup>3</sup> It was only in 1946 that William Stevenson Smith's *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* had been published, the first serious art-historical study of Egyptian material in English; the same author's important, if unequal, *Art and Architecture in Ancient Egypt* would not appear until 1965.

By establishing profitable contacts with museums holding important Egyptian collections, Cyril Aldred had begun a process of research, including the building up of a substantial photographic archive, which enabled him to pursue his studies of Egyptian art in the apparent isolation, Egyptologically speaking, of Edinburgh. He was, however, trained in the techniques of general art history, and was further blessed with a visual memory of remarkable precision. It did not do to argue with him on the ground he had made his own, without careful preparation and a good battery of evidence.

Throughout his very productive career, sculpture remained Cyril Aldred's principal love, and it was always a matter of great regret to his colleagues that he never attempted a comprehensive survey in which he could have included and fully expounded his many new ideas, and elaborated the insights which were suggested in journal articles and in correspondence with his colleagues. Sculpture does represent the principal element in his *Egyptian Art* of 1980, but the size of this volume did not offer the possibility of extensive discussion. Nevertheless, except in matters of style, it is not an easy text; few concessions are made to the general reader at whom the *World of Art Library* was directed, and the careful student will learn from it much about the fundamental principles of Egyptian art,

<sup>3</sup> A glance at the 'Suggestions for further reading' in *The Development of Ancient Egyptian Art* will indicate the paucity of useful books in English available in the post-war period.



and the subtle changes which marked its development over the centuries. Aldred could write dispassionately about sculpture, but enthusiasm and joy in the material had a tendency to break through when he allowed his pen the freedom to express his love for fine things.

The specialized surveys of sculpture which he wrote for the three volumes edited by Jean Leclant for Andre Malraux's *L'Univers des Formes*,<sup>4</sup> provided him with the opportunity to trace Egyptian sculpture in all its materials and forms (but not relief sculpture) from the early dynasties down to the Roman Period. These three *tranches* provide the latest and best exposition of the subject from Cyril Aldred's pen. But his most enduring contribution to its study was undoubtedly his catalogue of the great Brooklyn/Detroit/Berlin exhibition 'Akhenaten and Nefertiti'.<sup>5</sup> In the consideration of the rich collection of material brought together for the exhibition, along with much that could not be included, and with the allowance of ample space to analyse and place the material in the successive stages of the period, he sensibly and persuasively brought order to the chaos of thinking about Amarna art, and with it the history of the reigns of Akhenaten and his immediate successors.

Amarna indeed was a major interest which engaged Cyril Aldred's attention for much of his career. There are some who might claim that in his pursuit of solutions for many of the problems which bedevil this short, but highly significant, interlude in the history of New-Kingdom Egypt, he rode particular hobby-horses beyond the limits of the available evidence, notably the pathology of Akhenaten, the family relationships of the principal characters in the Amarna tragedy, and the question of coregencies. There are others who would suggest that in later years, particularly in his *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (1988), a rewriting, not a simple revision of his *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt* (1968), he did not adequately address some of the more recent and hotly disputed questions such as the identity of Smenkhkare. There are few, however, who could deny that in his identifying of problems, his utilization of the whole range of evidence available for consideration, and in his careful and critical use of the proper procedure of historical scholarship, in which he had been well trained, Cyril Aldred brought new impetus to the study of the Amarna Period. His engagement was not particularly with the personality of Akhenaten himself—he was not unprepared to express strong reservations about the 'hero' of his two extended studies—but with the untangling of the historical difficulties which new evidence seemed never to assist but only to complicate further.

The excellent use that Cyril Aldred was able to make of the limited collection of Egyptian antiquities of the Royal Scottish Museum (which was not without its treasures) depended substantially on the ingenuity he was able to bring to the exhibitions prepared under his supervision. He imaginatively supplemented the museum's holdings with dioramas, models, and even copies of important material, in particular reproductions of jewellery and other related objects made by himself. A trained and skilled metal-worker and enameller, he delighted in the close examination of the products of the ancient craftsman, and he tested his findings in the simple domestic facilities which passed for his workshop, and which seemed less than adequate to one whose own skills were rather

<sup>4</sup> *Le Temps des Pyramides* (Paris, 1978); *L'Empire des Conquérants* (Paris, 1979); *L'Égypte du Crépuscule* (Paris, 1980).

<sup>5</sup> The exhibition opened in Brooklyn in 1973, and the catalogue was republished as a monograph in London, 1974.

differently directed. From personal experience and informed observation he was able to challenge accepted views on technical matters like, for example, the question whether the Egyptians understood and used the technique of enamelling in addition to simple *cloisonné* inlay.<sup>6</sup> In this last matter he was personally convinced that some pieces of true enamelling could be found among the Tutankhamun jewellery; but he would, I believe, have been more certain if he had been able to handle and examine at close quarters those pieces which he had identified as probable examples of enamelling on the basis only of visual inspection at a distance.

Craftsmanship in the Egyptian field never ceased to delight Cyril Aldred for its competency, artistry and ingenuity. Among his earliest essays were 'Fine woodwork' and 'Furniture to the end of the Roman Empire', contributed to the *History of Technology*<sup>7</sup>—small innovative studies for the preparation of which there was little published on which he could draw. Closer to his own special interests was his *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (1971), for which his text was commissioned to accompany the excellent photographs of jewellery in the Cairo Museum taken by Albert Shoukair. Although conceived as a popular publication of possible ephemeral appeal, it was transformed by Aldred's knowledge and his instinctive rejection of producing what might be considered a piece of semi-scholarly hack-work, into a book of lasting value. It is essentially a study of materials, techniques, and design, all matters which had engaged his attention over many years. Like all his published work, it is written in the precise, but easy style of a clear thinker and master of exposition, aimed as much at the scholar as at the general reader.

It was this capacity to assemble ideas, assimilate evidence, to compose with authority, and write with grace and without pretension, that made Cyril Aldred such a consummate popular writer on Egyptological subjects. He had much of the journeyman professional about himself, ever prepared to set himself to write almost to order. He could grumble much about improper pressure and lack of time, but he enjoyed a challenge and could rise splendidly to the occasion. It might be to write the Amarna chapter for the *Cambridge Ancient History* after two earlier authors had failed the editors.<sup>8</sup> It might be to compose the study, *The Temple of Dendur*, for the Metropolitan Museum when earlier arrangements collapsed.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the latter, the Roman temples of Nubia had never been of particular interest to him, but he had seen them *in situ*, and was professionally able to produce, rather speedily, a more than adequate popular account with excellent and imaginative illustrations.

His more general works, aimed specifically at a wide public were always thoughtfully planned, splendidly illustrated, and in no way hastily or superficially composed. *The Egyptians* (1961) introduced many readers to the fascination of ancient Egyptian civilization with a breadth of reference unusual in the broad conspectuses available at the time. His *Egypt to the End of the Old Kingdom* (1965) presented a picture of what for many Egyptologists remains the classic formative period of Egypt's culture, but not one with which Cyril Aldred is generally associated. The revised edition of *The Egyptians* (1984)

<sup>6</sup> See his *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London, 1971), 128, 221.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by C. Singer, M. Holmyard and A. R. Hall: 'Fine woodwork' in vol. I (Oxford, 1954), 684 ff.; 'Furniture to the end of the Roman Empire' in vol. II (Oxford, 1956), 221 ff.

<sup>8</sup> 'Egypt: The Amarna Period and the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty'; first published separately in 1971, and subsequently in *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, pt. 2 (2nd ed. 1975), 49 ff.

<sup>9</sup> First published in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Summer, 1978; later published separately, New York, 1978.

was far more than an up-dating of the original after almost a quarter of a century. It was completely rewritten and was essentially his last and mature statement on a culture he had himself done so much to illuminate throughout his long and creative career.

His working life as a museum man ended formally in 1974 when he retired early from the Keepership of Art and Archaeology in the Royal Scottish Museum, a position he had held since 1961. During his time there his institution had benefited greatly from his energy, discrimination, and international standing; it had profited materially from the many fine acquisitions he had added to its collection. Edinburgh had been the centre of his work and life ever since he had migrated north in 1937. There he had been very content to remain, apart from a year spent in the Department of Egyptian Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1955-6). Brought to America by William C. Hayes, Curator of the Department at the time, with the undoubted hope that he might be tempted to stay longer, he found scope there for Egyptological development which he could never have experienced in Edinburgh—splendid collections, an excellent library, and very congenial colleagues. It was perspicacious of Hayes to see in Cyril Aldred, still a relative tiro Egyptologically speaking, a suitable recruit for a great museum and potentially a future curator. At this point he did not know Aldred very well except through the correspondence which had passed between them—from Scotland, long letters, often hand-written, full of searching questions and telling comments, the indications of a lively and well-informed mind. It was an acquaintance enjoyed by many colleagues in museums and other institutions abroad, one which in most cases blossomed into delight and friendship when the man himself was encountered. I remember well the pleasure expressed by the great Egyptologists, and their wives, the Clères, Malinines, Vandiers and Posener, after a visit by Aldred and his wife to Paris in the early 1950s. The same was the case in America; relations on a scholarly level quickly developed into friendships; there were few who could resist the warmth and charm of one whose initial, sometimes gruff, approach (for there was a distinct element of shyness in Cyril Aldred's make-up) was quickly transformed by a witty comment and a revealing chuckle.

A year in New York was to be enough, although subsequently there would be many short visits across the Atlantic. Cyril Aldred had become well-rooted in Edinburgh with his charming Scottish wife Jessie (or Jessica, as she later preferred to be called), whom he had married in 1938, and their daughter Jane, forming a close-knit family deeply involved in the life of a city which was rich in cultural activities long before its Festival was invented. There was much to regret in leaving New York, the stimulation of collections and colleagues in particular, but it was for him a relief to return to the slower pace of life in Edinburgh, to the pleasure of gardening, the practice of his craftsmanship, the new excitements of wine-making, gentle travel in comfortable and interesting places. He was more than content with the ease of living in an agreeable environment, supported by a wide and varied friendship with people, mostly professional and always cultured, some of whom were, like him, members of a dining club, The Monks of St. Giles, the practices of which gave him the opportunity to exercise his skills as a writer of light verse, a talent first identified and encouraged by Guy Boas. It was very appropriate that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1978; a proper recognition of one who had identified himself with the city and done so much to add to its distinction.

Although he enjoyed meeting people and was, in the right circumstances, a most entertaining person, Cyril Aldred did not much like formal occasions or the regularities

of the organized lecture. But he did appreciate the opportunity to expound his knowledge and ideas to informal groups with whom he could speak off his well-prepared cuff in relaxed manner. When tours of Egypt began to redevelop in the early 1960s, he showed some reluctance at first to expose himself to the questions and enthusiasms of the eager but untutored visitor to Egypt; but he soon became a most successful guest-lecturer and for many years enjoyed the adventitious mix of tourists found in Egypt in those busy but less crowded days. Tours also provided him with the opportunity to visit the places and the monuments he knew otherwise only from books. He never enjoyed the opportunity of a period of extended field-work in the country, although two chances were frustrated by political events.

In the years after his retirement in 1974, Cyril Aldred fitted a substantial amount of his best Egyptological work into a life which was neatly divided between his many interests. Some of the last might only be revealed by chance in casual conversation, for example, a passion for late nineteenth-century French culture, for its literature and its painting, and above all for its song, particularly the works of Chausson, Duparc, Debussy and Fauré. There were few proper intelligent topics (and even a few less proper) on which he did not have well-considered views. In his own specialist field he was very much consulted and his opinion highly regarded. During the 1970s and 1980s popular interest in ancient Egypt was stimulated both by tourism and the peripateticism of Tutankhamun. For the latter Aldred was much in demand as adviser, lecturer and writer. He had already introduced a memorable series of television programmes for the B.B.C. at the time of the exhibition in the British Museum in 1972. But he was not an easy broadcaster, and was much more at home writing *Tutankhamun. Craftsmanship in Gold in the Reign of the King* (1979), to accompany the American showings of the treasures from the tomb.

Ill-health, sadly, dogged his last years; travel became a hazardous business for him, and he felt obliged to refuse many requests for attendance at conferences and other engagements which he would gladly have accepted in better times. Excursions from Edinburgh were at first restricted to Europe, and then to Great Britain, and then finally to places from which a quick return to the haven of his own home was simple and speedy. His true condition was frequently masked by his capacity for putting on a good front, by his natural ebullience of spirit, his hospitable way of life and his continuing epistolary skills. His letters continued to be full of interesting comments, sharp remarks and characteristic wit. What increasingly annoyed him, however, were the impatient demands of publishers and the arbitrary requirements of deadlines; such diminished the pleasures of writing and publishing. The problems may not always have been on one side, but for him in particular they were very upsetting. His last book, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*, gave him special trouble and plagued him almost to the end; although the paperback edition (1991) satisfied him rather more than the original version of three years earlier. He greatly regretted the replacement of old-fashioned printing by modern methods of book-making.<sup>10</sup>

In his last years, between painful bouts of illness, he continued to take a lively interest in particular Egyptological debates, and was ever ready to offer an opinion on a piece of sculpture, or to react with much of his old spirit to some article which offended his

<sup>10</sup> A bibliography of Cyril Aldred is published in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Greatest of Seers* (London, 1992).

precise standards. In his time he had readily helped and encouraged young scholars, been generous in the sharing of information, ever eager to join in a controversy or to contribute to a debate. His inability to continue in such activities upset him greatly. In a letter received on 20 June, 1991, he said, 'My powers such as they have ever been, are declining rapidly, and I doubt very much that I shall be able to plague you with them for very much longer.' He died at home three days later. There must be few who would not have wished to be plagued by him for very much longer. A letter from Cyril Aldred was never a hardship, a telephone conversation with him was always a delight.

xx; Sandstone grindstone 36632, pl. xvii (map); greywacke grindstones 36630-1; section limestone sharpening stone 36638, pl. xvii (map). From Abydos.

12. Fragment of greywacke bracelet, University College 36636, *ibid.*, pl. xvii (map). From Abydos.

13. Weaving tools, University College 36555 A-S, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map), pl. xx (register). From Abydos.

14. Fragment of limestone stele, University College 36618. From Abydos.

15. Fragments of copper wire, University College 36512, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map); narrow strip of copper 36629, pl. xvii (map). From Abydos.

16. Ivory arrowhead, University College 36497; rectangular ivory plaques 36498 A&B; fragments of rectangular bits of ivory 36499 A-D; and of rods 36500 A-C; carved ivory bull's leg 36503, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map), pl. xx (register); rectangular hippopotamus ivory plaque 36513; fragments of hippopotamus ivory 36548; fragments of hippopotamus ivory bracelet 36521 A&B, 36523 A-C; rectangular ivory box lid 36566; fragment of carved ivory 36514; tapered fragment of elephant ivory 36520; elephant ivory plaque in form of cylinder jar 36554, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map); fragment of ivory draughtsmen 36508; elephant ivory gaming pieces 36509 A&B; ivory gaming pieces 36543-7, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map), pl. xx; reconstructed hippopotamus ivory knob or stopper 36637, *ibid.*, pl. xvii (map). From Abydos.

17. Two shell bracelets, University College 36556 A&B, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map); cowry shell 36620. From Abydos.

18. Fragments of long rectangular bone inlay, University College 36501 A-C; small carved bone bull's leg 36502; bone gaming pieces 36510 A-D, 36511; bone plaque 36582; and/or gaming piece 36567; bone hairpins 36568-71, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map); bone arrowheads 36628 A-F, pl. xvii; 36507 A-N, pl. xx (register). From Abydos.

19. Strings of beads, University College 36517, 36527, 36542, 36550, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map); 36504, pl. xx (register); faience spheroid bead 36549, *ibid.*, pl. xvi (map). From Abydos.

### Old Kingdom

20. Red granite sarcophagus with panelled exterior surfaces and a separate vaulted lid, British Museum EA 71620. Fifth Dynasty, from Giza. Formerly in the Lowther Castle Collection.

### First Intermediate Period

21. Painted wooden standing female figure, University College 31810-11; wooden striding female 31812; wooden crouching female 31815. From Sedment.

22. Painted wooden standing male figures, thought to be sailors from model boats, University College 31813-14, 31826-32, 31849, 31861, 31887-9, 33613, 33785-96, 33798-800; Nude example 31804; seated overseers (?) 31850, 33615; seated rowers 31870-2, 31876-9; seated rowers (?) 31862, 31864, 31865; squatting males 33614, 33616-18, 31866, 31875, 33784; from bakery/brewery(?) model 31800-02; asymmetrically kneeling males 31851-9; kneeling males 31867-9, 31873-4, 31880-6, 33621-3; male block figures 33619-20, 33624-5, 33628-49, 33651-5; male block kneeling figures 33658-9, 33661, 33663; body parts: head 31822-3; pair of red painted wooden arms

33667-9, 33671-3, 33690-771, 33684-9; yellow arms: 33674-5, 33676 A&B, 33677-83, 33772-81; single arms: red 33670; arm(?) 33665; arm fragments 33898-918; hand 33919; foot 33842. From Sedment.

23. Wooden boats and equipment: boat, University College 31848, 33797, 33806-8; oar 33843-68; oar fragment 31825; rudder oar 31836, 31799, 33809-12; rudder rests 31816 A&B, 31819-20, 33666, 33813-15; rudder post 31834; wood post 33883-6, 31863; pegs 31817 A&B, 31835, 33816-28, 33882; wood pin 33829-30; fragment 31821; spars 33832-5, 31837 A&B; paddle 31840-7; door(?) 33804; gangplank 33836-9; booms 33840-1. From Sedment.

24. Wooden offering trays, their contents and other model objects: tray (?), University College 31824; conical loaves of bread 33876-80; turtle dove 31805; ox haunches 33869-75; haunch(?) 33881; bushel(?) measure 31806; grain sack(?) 31809; basket 31803; mallet 31808; Unidentified wood: 31807, 33887-97, 33920 A-Z, white and black wooden fragment 33782-3. From Sedment.

25. Linen: twisted grey flax rigging, University College 31839; linen mast with pair of painted wooden spars 31838; linen sail wrapped around wooden boom and two wooden spars 33831; linen bundle 33805; coarse linen fragment 33616A, (tabby) 33626-7; fragments 33650, 33656-7/60/62/64, 33801-3A, 31833; with red stucco attached 31860. From Sedment.

26. Fragment of terracotta mould(?), University College 31818. From Sedment.

### Middle Kingdom

27. Limestone head from a figure of a sphinx, British Museum EA 73809. Late Middle Kingdom.

28. Black steatite head from a figure of an official, British Museum EA 71645. Late Middle Kingdom. Gift of the National Arts Collections Fund.

### New Kingdom

29. Painted pavement plaster, University College 38112-22, 38124, 38128-33, 38136-46; undecorated plasters; mud 38123, 38125-7, 38151-7; gypsum 38134-5; clay 38147. From Amarna.

30. Calcite (alabaster) *necef*-weight, University College 35789. From Koptos(?).

31. Two pottery funerary cones of Nedjem, British Museum EA 73810-11. Eighteenth Dynasty.

### Third Intermediate Period

32. Hieratic ostrakon on limestone flake, University College 32067, Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 6, pl. xix, 2. From Deir el-Medina (?).

### Late Period

33. Headless [Horus *cippus*] stelophorous of a Saite priest ('festival chief, cloth of the god'). The name is not preserved but those of his parents are: *Pth-htp* and *Tj-šrjt-nt-jḥ*. Ashmolean Museum 1990.60. See Ashmolean Museum, *Annual Report* (1989-90), 22,

pl. i, and H. Whitehouse, 'To seal the Mouth of all Snakes', *The Ashmolean* 19 (Christmas 1990/Spring 1991), 4-6.

34. Electrotpe of a gold handle, University College 38087. Petrie, *Tanis, Nebesheh and Defenneh*, II, 75, pl. xli, 10. From Defenneh.

### Ptolemaic Period

35. Greek ostrakon on redware sherd, University College 32061. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* (1899), no. 1362. From Thebes(?).

36. Terracotta figure of an actor, slave on altar, British Museum GR 1983.7-24.1. Ex Mustaki collection.

37. Terracotta inkwell with decorated top, British Museum GR 1990.6-1.3. Ex Mustaki collection.

38. Lamps: stamped ΔHME retrograde, British Museum GR 1982.3-2.14; in form of Bacchic head, GR 1983.7-28.2; Eros holding torch, GR 1982.3-2.15. Gift of the Wellcome Trustees; with radiating tongues, GR 1987.4-1.1; with Eros playing kithara, GR 1987.4-1.8. Gift of Charles Ede, ex Mustaki collection; with dolphin-lug, GR 1987.4-2.10; with large palmette decoration, GR 1987.4-2.11; with palmette handle, GR 1987.4-2.19; three-nozzled wheelmade lamp, GR 1987.4-2.22; 'pitcher' lamp, GR.1987.4-2.28. The above from the Mustaki collection.

39. A glazed composition lid surmounted by a figure of a frog, from a cosmetic jar, British Museum EA 73812. Ex Mustaki collection.

40. Four stamped amphora handles (two Rhodian, one Cnidian, one unknown), Ashmolean Museum 1989.579-82. Transferred from Devizes Museum. From Alexandria.

### Ptolemaic/Roman Period

41. Fragment from coloured basket, University College 38097. From Sedment or Lahun(?).

42. Wooden comb, University College 38098. From Sedment or Lahun.

43. Wax encaustic portraits, University College 38102-3. From Hawara.

### Roman Period

44. Greek ostrakon on redware sherd, University College 32062. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* (1899) no. 1374; examples on brown ware sherd 32068; 32064; 32065, J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library and Other Collections*, I (1930), nos. 76, 89, 90. From Thebes(?).

45. Greek pottery ostraca: letter from Calpurnius to Onnophris about lyres, British Museum GR 1988.10-5.2; letter on a military subject, GR 1988.10-5.4; letter on a military subject, GR 1988.10-5.5. The above found near Esna. Receipt for poll tax, GR 1988.10-5.3. From the Memnonia district, Thebes. Published by H. Harrauer and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *BSAP* 20 (1983), 52-3.

46. Latin pottery ostraca: report on a military subject, British Museum GR 1988.10-5.1; report on a military subject, GR 1988.10-5.6. Both published by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *TAAANTA* 5 (1973), 72-84. Found near Esna.



47. Alabaster cameo portrait of a Roman woman wearing the *stola*, British Museum GR 1987.7-28.1. Said to be from Alexandria.

48. Bronze figure of a woman, British Museum GR 1987.3-1.1. Gift of Mrs L. Haffner.

49. Terracottas: group of Isis and Harpokrates, British Museum GR 1986.10-6.4; figure of Isis-Thermouthis, GR 1987.4-2.29; sacred Couch of Sarapis, GR 1986.10-6.3; figure of Harpokrates seated, with amphora and patera, GR 1986.10-6.5; figure of Harpokrates in a shrine, GR 1986.10-6.11; figure of Harpokrates in a chariot, GR 1986.10-6.12; figure of Harpokrates with lantern, GR 1990.6-1.2; figure of Eros at a glass-furnace, GR 1986.10-3.2; head of Eros, GR.1986.10-6.7; group of priests carrying a shrine, GR 1986.10-6.13; portable shrine, GR 1986.10-6.10; woman tambourine player, GR 1986.10-6.8; standing woman, GR 1986.10-6.6; flask in the form of a bust of a Nubian, GR 1990.6-1.1; group of a man on a two-wheeled cart containing silver plate, GR 1989.11-1.1; group of two dogs playing, GR 1988.4-11.1. All the above ex Mustaki collection. Figure of Harpokrates, GR 1982.3-1.1, gift of Canon E. W. Scott; plaque, Helen between the Dioskouroi, probably moulded from a Roman sword scabbard, GR 1987.4-1.9, gift of Charles Ede, ex Mustaki collection. Figure of a Roman emperor with captive, Gr 1983.7-23.1, gift of Mrs J. Davies in memory of her husband Roy Davies, ex Mustaki collection; woman's head, GR 1987.3-1.2, gift of Mrs L. Haffner.

50. Clay lamps: two-nozzled with wreath on discus and Isis Lactans on handle-ornament, British Museum GR 1987.4-2.26; Isis-Pelagia, GR 1987.4-2.20; bust of Sarapis carried by erotes, GR 1987.4-2.4; Osiris-Canopus, GR 1987.4-2.18; busts of Demeter, Sarapis and Isis above an altar, inscribed ΜΙΑΗΣΟΥΥ, GR 1987.4-2.21; Demeter, signed ΑΓΑΘΟΥΥ, GR 1987.4-2.12; Eros on dolphin, GR 1987.4-2.15; Eros and amphora, GR 1987.4-2.4; Psyche with lantern and torch, GR 1990.6-1.5; frog-type lamp: heads of Helios and Selene, GR 1986.10-3.3; maenad wearing the *hemhem*-crown, GR 1987.4-2.2; Dioskouroi, GR 1987.4-2.13; hanging lamp: Amazon leaning on shield, GR 1986.10-3.1; *Firmalampe* with comic mask, signed PHOETASPI, GR 1987.4-2.8; plastic lamp: seated Nubian holding lamp, GR 1990.6-1.4; lion with bust of Sarapis on handle-ornament, GR 1987.4-2.17; volute-lamp with wreath, signed FAVST, GR 1987.4-2.7; volute-lamp, signed FAVSTI, GR 1987.4-2.14; plain signed FAVST, GR 1987.4-2.16; plain inscribed ΣΑΓΓΑΛΑΣΣΙΚΟΝ, GR 1987.4-2.1; frog-type, GR 1987.4-2.25; frog-type with a turquoise vitreous glaze, GR 1987.4-2.24; plain volute, GR 1987.4-2.3. All the above purchased, and all are ex Mustaki collection. Multi-nozzled example: shrine of Isis, GR 1983.7-28.1, purchased; bust of Isis, GR 1982.3-2.29; sacred couch of Sarapis carried by erotes, GR 1982.3-2.26; Harpokrates between Sarapis Agathadaimon and Isis-Thermouthis, signed ΑΓΑΘΟΥΥ, GR 1982.3-2.25; volute-lamp: Amaltheia with goat and the infant Zeus, signed FAVSTI, GR 1982.3-2.16; Leda and the Swan, GR 1982.3-2.24; frog-type lamp: head of an African Attis, GR 1982.3-2.30; Pthonos, personification of envy, GR 1982.3-2.23; bust of a third-century Roman empress, GR 1982.3-2.28; vine-and ray lamp, signed ΠΟΥΣ, GR 1982.3-2.27; volute-lamp with rosette, GR 1982.3-2.17; volute-lamp: band of tongues, GR 1982.3-2.20; volute-lamp signed PHOETASPI, GR 1982.3-2.18; *Firmalampe* form, GR 1982.3-2.19; plain signed STROBILI, GR 1982.3-2.22; frog-lamp, very large, GR 1982.3-2.31; frog-type lamp, GR 1982.3-2.32; frog-type lamp with two nozzles, GR 1982.3-2.33; plain, GR 1982.3-2.21. The above given by the Wellcome Trustees. Fragment: satyrs with bunches of grapes, GR 1987.4-1.7; fragment: the Three Graces, GR 1987.4-1.3; fragment: actors on stage, GR

1987.4-1.6; fragment: uraeus and vine-leaf, GR 1987.4-1.4. The above given by Charles Ede, and all ex Mustaki collection. Eros and dog, GR 1984.3-8.1, gift of Mrs G. Findlay.

51. Clay lanterns: with a Bacchic head, British Museum GR 1986.10-6.2; in the form of a shrine, GR 1986.10-6.1; with head of an African, GR 1986.10-6.9; miniature example in the form of a seated slave with a lantern, GR 1987.4-2.23. Ex Mustaki collection.

52. Plaster lamp-mould, British Museum GR 1987.4-2.6. Ex Mustaki collection.

### **Nubia**

53. Group of sherds of the Khartoum Neolithic Period, British Museum EA 71809-12, 72506. From Gebel Moya.

54. Rough pottery figure. Khartoum Neolithic Period. British Museum EA 72505. From Gebel Moya.

55. Group of painted pottery fragments, British Museum EA 71813-6. Sixth to eleventh century AD. Gift of the British Institute in Eastern Africa. From Soba East.

56. Blown-glass vessel with faceted decoration, British Museum EA 71817. Ninth to eleventh century AD. Gift of the British Institute in Eastern Africa. From Soba East.

57. Collection of over 500 antiquities from Qasr Ibrim, including textiles, pottery, wooden furniture fragments and metal tools, basketry and carved stonework, British Museum EA 1990-1-27. Chiefly Meroitic, X-Group and Christian date, third century BC-tenth century AD. Gift of E.E.S.

### **Varia**

58. Collection of glazed composition beads and amulets, recently strung, British Museum EA 71644. Dates of components range from Second Intermediate Period to Late Period. Gift of Mrs Ave Bolton.

59. Collection of small antiquities including amulets, beads, tools, an Early Dynastic stone vessel, and a New Kingdom theriomorphic cosmetic palette, British Museum EA 73813-74. Ex H. Dewey collection. Gift of Dr E. H. Walker and Mrs C. Marchionne.

60. Collection of Aksumite antiquities including jewellery, animal figures and amulets, British Museum EA 73812. Ex Tringali collection.

61. Large dish decorated with central ostrich and debased vine, Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1990. Medieval Period.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### The Sir Gardner Wilkinson papers: an update<sup>1</sup>

A brief account of the papers of Sir Gardner Wilkinson and the circumstances leading to their deposition in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

SIR (John) Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875) is a figure well-known to Egyptologists. Spending twelve years in Egypt from 1821 until 1833, he engaged in an active programme of scholarship that took him to most of the major archaeological sites in the land, many of which he sketched and described in detail in his notebooks. After returning to England he published his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837), the most widely-read book about ancient Egypt in the nineteenth century. *Who Was Who in Egyptology* credits him with being ‘the real founder of Egyptology in Great Britain’.<sup>2</sup>

Best-known in his own time for his *Manners and Customs*, Wilkinson’s most enduring contribution to Egyptology is the enormous collection of sketches and notes that he made throughout his career. In the opinion of *Who Was Who*, his copies of Egyptian antiquities ‘have never been surpassed and hardly equalled by other copyists’.<sup>3</sup> While this may be a slight exaggeration, the quality of his copies is of a high standard indeed. Their value as evidence for monuments subsequently damaged, destroyed, or simply lost has been demonstrated repeatedly.

Wilkinson knew his notebooks were important, and arranged and rearranged them several times during his later years. Because his published work presented only a fraction of the material that he had gathered in Egypt, he hoped his notebooks might someday be published in full. His will bequeathed all of his papers, Egyptological and otherwise, along with his personal library, to his cousin by marriage, Sir John Harpur Crewe of Calke Abbey in Derbyshire. They were, the will stipulated, to be preserved there in perpetuity.

Calke Abbey, although a magnificent country house, was a rather out-of-the-way place where the papers were rarely seen.<sup>4</sup> Earlier this century, however, they came to the attention of F. Ll. Griffith, then in the process of helping to prepare the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. In 1925, with the permission of the owner of Calke, Griffith borrowed fifty-six volumes and rolls (less than half of all the manuscripts) that had the greatest Egyptological interest, with the understanding that they would be returned upon the completion of the bibliography, or upon request. During the late 1930s they were, with the owner’s permission, transferred to the Griffith Institute. There they remained for over forty years, frequently consulted by Egyptologists.<sup>5</sup>

The latest owner of Calke died in 1981, leaving his heir with not only the estate but also a debt of £8 million in capital transfer taxes. There was a serious danger that the Gardner Wilkinson manuscripts, together with all or part of the contents of the house, would have to be sold to pay the tax, and, with this end in view, the manuscripts were recalled from the Griffith Institute, reunited

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge with gratitude information that I received from Mary Clapinson, Jaromir Malek, and Howard Colvin.

<sup>2</sup> W. R. Dawson and E. H. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1972), 305. For Wilkinson, also see Jason Thompson, *Sir Gardner Wilkinson and His Circle* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> *Who Was Who*<sup>2</sup>, 306.

<sup>4</sup> For Calke Abbey, see Howard Colvin, *Calke Abbey, Derbyshire: A Hidden House Revealed* (London, 1985).

<sup>5</sup> Correspondence pertinent to the borrowing and transfer of the manuscripts is in the Archives of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

with the rest of the collection at Calke, and valued for sale as a collection. In the event, in 1985 both house and contents were transferred to the National Trust in partial settlement of the tax, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson's papers, together with his library, passed into the possession of the Trust. At the suggestion of Dr Howard Colvin of St John's College, Oxford, who had been closely involved in the negotiations between the owners, the Government, and the Trust, Wilkinson's papers were deposited in the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library.

The movement and consolidation of the Wilkinson papers has had both advantages and disadvantages. The removal of the papers from the Griffith Institute took them from a congenial home where they were expertly kept in a first-class Egyptological archive and library. Also, they were shelfmarked according to a system devised by the Griffith Institute; many publications subsequently cited them accordingly. One hopes that for the sake of continuity the Bodleian Library will provide a concordance when it proceeds with its own shelfmarking.

On the plus side is the fact that Wilkinson's papers are together again. Even for Egyptologists this has an advantage, because some of the material that was left at Calke in 1925 has at least peripheral Egyptological value. Also, Wilkinson's papers are now available to a wider range of scholars than hitherto, for his varied career impinged upon many branches of learning besides Egyptology. There is, for example, material about his travels in other parts of the Arab world and in Europe. He also made extensive notes pertinent to his wide interests, whether history, British archaeology, or literature, to mention just a few. One finds among his papers not only correspondence with colleagues in Egyptian studies such as Robert Hay and Edward William Lane, but also letters from Harriet Martineau, John Ruskin, Ada Lovelace, and many others. Until the end of his life he continued to make sketches and water colours, some of which have artistic as well as scholarly value. At Calke Abbey these valuable papers were virtually inaccessible, whereas at the Bodleian Library they are available to scholars, and indeed have already been consulted there by many. The consolidation of the papers at the Bodleian also facilitates a project currently under way to publish them, which will realize one of Wilkinson's last wishes.

Some difficulties remain. One problem is that the Bodleian Library has not yet catalogued the collection, it being necessary to sort and arrange the material first. The severe budget cuts imposed upon the Bodleian in recent years do not permit the library to undertake this large task, though it has applied for a special grant to do the work. That means that some of the riches of Wilkinson's collection are not readily available, for much of it is disorganized, despite and perhaps partly because of his repeated rearranging. There must also be some regret that Wilkinson's manuscripts have been separated from his large personal library, which will remain at Calke where it is currently being catalogued. The handwritten dedications in books by his friends and colleagues as well as his own extensive marginalia are important documents in themselves.

All things considered, the acquisition of the Wilkinson papers by the Bodleian Library should be for the best. Although Wilkinson never envisioned his papers being in that particular institution, he would doubtless have been pleased to know that they are together, well maintained, and available for the perusal of scholars at the university that gave him an honorary degree in 1852. The intent if not the letter of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's will has thereby been fulfilled.

JASON THOMPSON

### **Stelae of the Middle and New Kingdoms in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge**

The publication of six New and one late Middle Kingdom stelae in Cambridge. Two are of uncertain provenance, but one may be from Hermopolis, and the other four derive from field-work at El-Kab, Sesebi, Amara West and Buhen.

THE Egyptian collection of Cambridge University's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (CUMAA) is one of the least known to scholars, but is of significant size, and contains objects of

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THE Egyptian collection of Cambridge University's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (CUMAA) is one of the least known to scholars, but is of significant size, and contains objects of

considerable interest. Unfortunately, considerations of space mean that only a few Predynastic pieces are on display in the museum's Downing Street galleries, although some items, mainly sculpture, may be seen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where they are held on long term loan.<sup>1</sup>

The seven stelae here published are all currently held in reserve; they date between the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside Period and differ widely in preservation and provenance.

**1** *Accession number:* Z 43846. *Date:* Dynasty XVII/XVIII. (pl. XXVIII, 1; fig. 1)

*Provenance:* unknown.<sup>2</sup> *Material:* limestone. *Dimensions:* 21.0 × 14.5 cm.

*Remarks:* a funerary stela of conventional form and very fair workmanship; its preservation is generally very good, with some colour still surviving. From the irregular form of the reverse, it was clearly intended to be built into a niche. On the recto, the lunette comprises a centred *sn*-sign, flanked by two eyes, surmounting *mn* signs. Below this are four and a half lines of text:

*htp di nsw Mntw nb Wst kꜣ hry-ib*  
*'Iwꜣny di. fprt-hrw (m) t hntꜣ kꜣw ꜣdꜣw hrt nbt nfrt*  
*wꜣbt nꜣht nꜣtr ꜣ im. sn n kꜣ n*  
*ssꜣ 'Iꜥ-ms ms n nbt-pr*  
*'Iꜥ-hꜣtp*

'A royal offering (to) Montu, lord of Thebes, the bull who is in Hermonthis, that he may give invocation offerings, consisting of bread, beer, oxen and fowl, all requirements good and pure on which a great god lives, to the *ka* of the scribe Ahmose, born of the lady of the house, Ahhotpe'.

Little comment is required, save to note the use of *hrt*, rather than *ht* in l.2, and that Ahhotpe's name is erroneously determined by a bearded divine figure.

Below the text, Ahmose and his mother face each other across a laden offering table, below which stand beer and wine jars. The style of their figures is typical of Theban work of the very end of the Seventeenth Dynasty or the beginning of the next, a dating fully supported by the individuals' names. From the invocation of Montu, lord of Thebes, a Western Theban provenance would seem extremely likely.

*Bibliography:* none.

**2** *Accession number:* 1951.555. *Date:* Dynasty XVIII/XIX. (pl. XXVIII, 2; fig. 2)

*Provenance:* bequest of F. W. Green;<sup>3</sup> from El-Kab, desert temple of Amenophis III. Found by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in February 1896. *Material:* limestone. *Dimensions:* 19.0 × 13.0 cm.

*Remarks:* left-hand part of upper section of a stela; the major figure is a human-headed goddess,

<sup>1</sup> A brief account of the history of the collection is given in Dodson, *GM* 99 (1987), 93–6; recent publications from its holdings have been box fragment 1948.2744 (A. Dodson and C. N. Reeves, *JEA* 74 (1988), 223–6), dagger 1951.716 (J. D. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (Cambridge, 1988), 162–3 [188]), and bovid figure Z 39527 (B. J. Kemp, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 205–8). The vast majority of the museum's Egyptian holdings were summarily catalogued and placed on its computer database by me in 1986–7; I am most grateful to the Curator, David Phillipson, and the then-Assistant Curator, Mary Cra'ster, for entrusting me with the task and to the latter's successor, Christopher Chippindale, for his continuing cooperation. It is intended to publish discrete groups of objects in a series of papers over the coming years. The next two will deal respectively with the Old Kingdom stelae and dynastic sculpture in the round.

<sup>2</sup> This piece, together with a large number of other objects, including Z 43846, Z 45905 and two Old Kingdom stelae to be published in the near future by Salima Ikram, were numbered in 1986/7, following the transfer of all Egyptian antiquities owned by the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge, to CUMAA. Through location together in storage, their pieces had become mixed with unnumbered CUMAA material; thus, the simplest solution was determined to be the merger of the two groups under CUMAA auspices. Barry J. Kemp is to be thanked for his help in achieving this and his encouragement throughout my work.

<sup>3</sup> Born 1869, died 1949; W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1968), 124. Green was closely involved with Cambridge Egyptology for many years, both at the Museum of Archaeology and (then) Ethnology and at the Fitzwilliam, where he was Honorary Keeper of Antiquities. A number of objects were bequeathed to the University on his death, some to CUMAA and some to the Fitzwilliam, but Barry Kemp informs me that no information on them appears to exist among those of his papers currently held in the Faculty of Oriental Studies.



FIG. 1.

holding a long *was*-sceptre. Her name is lost, but the following epithet, 'lady of *R-int*' (El-Kab),<sup>4</sup> makes it clear that she is the local patroness, Nekhbet. Behind her is a ram's head, mounted upon a cavetto-corniced pedestal, wearing a sun disc and uraeus and labelled 'Amun of the Lake'.

Only a small portion of a lower register is preserved. On the far left a moon lies above the very top of a rounded head; the label *Dhwtj p*[...] makes it very probable that the latter belonged to a baboon. Below the goddess is a double-crowned figure, in front of which is a triangular cutting, of uncertain interpretation. Above the latter one reads '[Horus] Avenger-of-his-father'.

<sup>4</sup> While the second sign of the toponym appears to be †, it must surely read as ⚭, cf. W. Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 62 (1926), 25 n. I. For various orthographies of this place-name, see Gauthier, *DG*, III, 113.



FIG. 2.

1951.555 [EUMAN]



FIG. 3.

1951.554 [EUMAN]

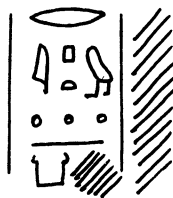


FIG. 4.

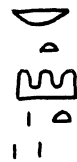


FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

Z 45905



Spiegelberg dated the piece to the Nineteenth Dynasty, but it could equally be slightly earlier.

*Bibliography:* PM v, 189; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 62, 25–6.

3 *Accession number:* 1951.554. *Date:* Dynasty XVIII/XIX. (pl. XXVIII, 3; fig. 3)

*Provenance:* bequest of F. W. Green. *Material:* limestone. *Dimensions:* 21.3 × 18.0 cm.

*Remarks:* votive stela, with top left and bottom right corners missing; the remains of winged sun disc survive on the right side of the lunette. Below, a man wearing an elaborate kilt adores the ibis of Thoth, the latter wearing a *menat*; the brief text reads: 'A royal offering (to the benefit of) Hesen; peace to the lord of the Eight' (i.e. the Ogdoad of Hermopolis). Hesen's attire suggests a date near the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty, while the subject matter and text make it likely that the stela came from Ashmunein or its necropolis, Tuna el-Gebel.

*Bibliography:* none.

4 *Accession number:* 1938.770 *Date:* Dynasty XVIII/XIX. (pl. XXVIII, 4)

*Provenance:* gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, from the cellar of house G.6.10 at Sesebi (excavation no. SE.37–38 15).<sup>5</sup> *Material:* limestone. *Dimensions:* 32 × 24 cm.

*Remarks:* stela of conventional form; upper and lower parts rather denuded. It has deteriorated badly since discovery, much surface detail being lost, while the bottom left-hand quarter has at some stage become detached and been repaired with adhesive.<sup>6</sup>

Nothing of the lunette survives; in the upper register, a figure on the right, probably the king, offers (milk?) to two standing figures, who wear long skirts and face right. The left-hand figure holds a long staff, from which hangs a streamer. The central figure is somewhat taller than the others, and proffers what seems to be a shield (now almost entirely lost). Below this is a small offering stand. No texts survive to allow the positive identification of any of the figures.

The lower register is now almost totally lost, with the exception of a few traces of a head in its top right-hand corner. When found, an adoring (female?) figure stood here. The object of her devotion is unclear, since almost nothing now survives on this part of the stela, but the excavation photograph shows a bowl of stylized flowers above traces of what may have been a squatting figure, behind which is a vertical line.

The object's condition makes any dating based on style almost impossible; most datable finds from the town range from Amenophis IV to Ramesses II, suggesting that the stela should be placed somewhere in this period.

*Bibliography* PM vii, 174; Fairman, *JEA* 24, 152.

5 *Accession numbers:* 1939.553 and Z 18080.<sup>7</sup> *Date:* Dynasty XIX. (pl. XXIX, 1)

*Provenance:* gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, from the store-rooms of the temple at Amara West (excavation no. AW. 38–39 224).<sup>8</sup> *Material:* limestone. *Dimensions:* 25 × 22 cm.

*Remarks:* upper part of a broken stela, in a number of rejoined pieces; the lower edge is badly eroded. As in the case of no. 4, there has been deterioration since discovery.

In the upper register, a ram stands before a brazier; the text above it is now entirely unreadable, but the excavation photograph reveals the name 'Amun-Re' behind the animal's head, followed by an epithet, conceivably ending *nb nswt twy*, to judge from a horizontal sign, followed by three

<sup>5</sup> Information derived from material now housed in the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society, for access to which I am grateful to Patricia Spencer. The stela was found with two others, a figurine, scarabs and some LH IIIA Mycenaean sherds. In the late 1930s, the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology was making an annual donation of £10-0-0 to EES excavations; the present item was one of various antiquities presented in 1938. For the published account of the 1937–8 season, see H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 24 (1938), 151–4; a full publication of the site is being prepared by Robert Morkot.

<sup>6</sup> The stela's condition is such that a facsimile was not practicable; fortunately, excavation negative 0.47 provides a reasonably clear illustration of the object as found. I am indebted to the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to publish it and the photograph of no. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Although numbered when received in 1939, the piece erroneously acquired a further, 'date of acquisition unknown', Z-prefixed number some years ago.

<sup>8</sup> Sent to the museum on 14 August 1939; information from EES archives (cf. n. 5 above).

squat hieroglyphs.<sup>9</sup> Above the brazier is a further group, but all that can be read from the photograph is a probable *yodh*.

In the lower register, to the right a man adores, but the object of this act cannot be discerned. Only the far left-hand column of the accompanying text is at all readable (fig. 4), apparently giving [...] *r i p t w n k i n* [...]: '... 4 *hqst* (of grain) for the *k i* of [...]'.

To judge from the man's apparel, the stela should be dated to the Ramesside Period, which is consistent with the temple's period of use, which runs from the reign of Ramesses II to that of Ramesses IX.<sup>10</sup>

*Bibliography*: PM VII, 163.

6 *Accession number*: Z 43848. *Date*: Dynasty XIX. (pl. XXIX, 2; fig. 5)

*Provenance*: unknown.<sup>11</sup> *Material*: sandstone. *Dimensions*: 8.7 × 6.5 cm.

*Remarks*: upper part of a small votive stela, on which a totally destroyed figure pays homage to the harvest-goddess Renutet. Two columns of text accompanied the former, but only the left-hand one is at all readable, giving *ir n k r y* [...], 'made by the gardener [...]'. The goddess, in the form of a cobra, wearing horns and a sun disc, is described as 'Renutet, lady of foreign lands (*h s w t*)'. On the basis of style, one would suggest a Ramesside date.

*Bibliography*: none.

7 *Accession number*: Z 45905. *Date*: Dynasty XIII.<sup>12</sup> (fig. 6)

*Provenance*: gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, from *radim* of house 6 (block C, house E) in Buhen town (excavation no. 17-100). *Material*: red sandstone. *Dimensions*: 17.0 × 23.0 cm.

*Remarks*: lower part of stela, broken vertically and repaired. One partial and three complete lines of deeply incised text survive:

[... *h*] *t n f r t*  
*w b t n h . t i n t r i m*  
*n k i n i m y - r h w N f r w n b - i m s h*  
*ir n n b t - p r M r r t m s - h r w*

'[...] good and pure things upon which a god lives, to the *ka* of the overseer of the fleet Neferu, the revered, begotten of the lady of the house, Mereret, true of voice.'

This piece is the second of two stelae of Neferu to be found at Buhen, the other being from the area of the South Temple and now in the British Museum (EA 489).<sup>13</sup> The Cambridge stela presumably came originally from Neferu's tomb, its presence in the town being due to reuse.<sup>14</sup>

*Bibliography*: Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 10 [579], 67, pls. ii [4], lviii [3].

AIDAN DODSON

<sup>9</sup> This epithet accompanies a ram on an early Ramesside stela from the same site, Brooklyn 38.544: PM VII, 162.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. PM VII, 157-64.

<sup>11</sup> The figure '170' appears to be marked on the reverse, presumably an excavation number.

<sup>12</sup> H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions* (London, 1976), 10, 91-2.

<sup>13</sup> PM VII, 141; Smith, *op. cit.* 49-50.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* 67.



1. CUMAA Z 43846.



2. CUMAA 1951.555



3. CUMAA 1951.554



4. CUMAA 1938.770 (*Courtesy E.E.S.*)

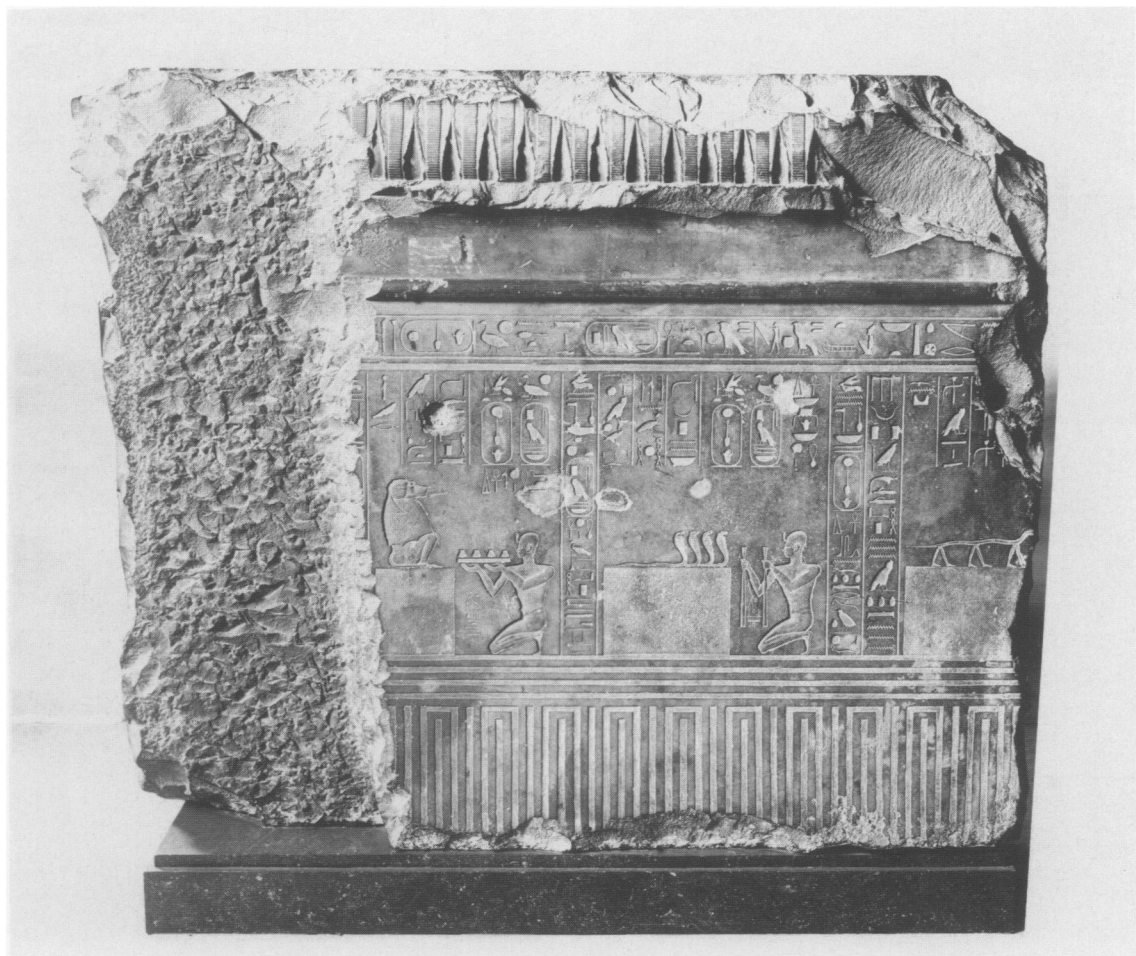


1. CUMAA 1939.553 (*Courtesy E.E.S.*)



2. CUMAA Z 43843

STELAE OF THE MIDDLE AND NEW KINGDOMS (pp. 274-9)



3. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 213

A FALSELY ATTRIBUTED MONUMENT (pp. 285-7)

## Yet again the wax crocodile: P. Westcar 3, 12 ff.

The nature of the magic crocodile is defined by a pun on its size.

THE pun, play on words, or *double entendre* is the commonest of literary devices in Egyptian texts:<sup>1</sup> often obvious at first hearing or reading, sometimes serving as mainspring of an episode or explanation, and sometimes creeping up on the hearer or reader as the text unfolds. In the story of the Westcar Papyrus,<sup>2</sup> the Chief Ritualist Webaoner made a wax<sup>3</sup> crocodile seven [fingers(?)] long to deal with his erring wife (2, 22-3). When thrown into the water after the lady's paramour, 'it turned into a crocodile of seven cubits (*n mh sfhw*), and it seized (*mh*) on the fellow' (3, 12-14). Webaoner was detained with the king 'for seven days' (*n hrw sfhw*),<sup>4</sup> during which time the crocodile kept the fellow in [the depths] of the lake (3, 15-16). The vital word is damaged, but it is probable from the traces that there was a pun here between *mdwt* 'depths' (Coptic ΜΤΩ) and *mdst* 'in the Underworld' (Coptic\* ΜΤΗ).<sup>5</sup> Then, 'after the seventh day dawned' (3, 17: *hr m-ht p: hrw sfhw hpr*), Webaoner came with the king, and called on the crocodile to bring up the fellow. The word-play now makes clear to the listener that this was not only a crocodile 'of seven cubits'; three and a half metres is good-sized but not monstrous for a Nile crocodile.<sup>6</sup> Through the pun it is now also understood to be a crocodile who 'seizes and releases' (*mh sfh*) when the 'day of releasing dawns' (*p: hrw sfh hpr*).<sup>7</sup> The text is broken (3, 24) where Webaoner tells the crocodile to surrender the man, and restoration of the following words must be speculative. However, this is the point at which the verb *sfh*, 'release', would have to appear in the text for the pun to be worked through fully, and this seems a plausible solution: '[Then the Chief] Ritualist [Webaoner] said [to the crocodile, "Release] him!" Then [he released] him'. Such 'release' by the crocodile would be equivalent to resurrection, and by reclaiming him Webaoner would be bringing the man back to life briefly. Finally, in judgement, the king consigned the man to the crocodile, which took him away to the bottom of the lake<sup>8</sup> for good (4, 5-6).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Guglielmi, in F. Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens: zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf* (Göttingen, 1984), I, 491-506; id., *LÄ* VI, 24 and 1287-91.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians. Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033)* (Reading, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> See M. J. Raven, *OMRO* 64 (1983), 7-47, and *VA* 4/3 (1988), 239-41, for the use and symbolism of the wax, and of clay used in the same way. Also R. Fuchs, *LÄ* VI, 1090; S. Schoske, *LÄ* VI, 1010-11; G. Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier* (Cairo, 1985), 19-20, 31-3; id., *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement* (Cairo, 1987), I, 10-11; R. K. Ritner, *GM* 111 (1989), 85-95; H. Willems, *JEA* 76 (1990), 46-7.

<sup>4</sup> See Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier*, 23, for comparison with the seven-day fatal illness predicted for the king.

<sup>5</sup> 3, 16; 4, 7. Cf. O. Chicago 12074, vs. 5 = J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I (Oxford, 1957), pl. lxxix.; Guglielmi, *WdO* 14 (1983), 159, n.x; H. Goedicke, *RdE* 38 (1987), 73, no. 46: to the metaphorically shipwrecked son, *ptr tw=k hrp.tw m dwt mdwt bw rh n šdj=k*, 'See, you are submerged in the Underworld of the deep, and no means is known of rescuing you.' For this same play on words cf. Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar no. 86637* (Cairo, 1966), rt. VII, 6; P. Sallier IV, rt. 2, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. I. Hofman, *VA* 4/1 (1988), 47-51.

<sup>7</sup> Note *Wb.* IV, 117, 14, for *sfh* as a funerary ceremony. For seven as a symbolic or magical number in general, see K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern* (Strassburg, 1916), 33-7; W. R. Dawson, *Aegyptus* 8 (1927), 97-107; J.-C. Goyon, in A. Roccati and A. Siliotti (eds.), *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei faraoni* (Verona, 1987), 60-8; M. Vallogia, *CRIPEL* 13 (1991), 136. For seven as a specific word-play with *sfh*, 'release', see Dawson, op. cit. 100; R. Moftah, *CdE* 39 (1964), 51, 54-7; Guglielmi, in *Stud. Westendorf*, 500.

<sup>8</sup> See above n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> There seems to be structural parallelism in the Westcar stories. The 'contemporary' Chief Ritualist Djedi is also able to bring the dead back to life; he can control fierce animals (7, 4-5; 8, 26-9, 1); and, like Djadjaemankh in the other story (6, 8-13), he can manipulate the water on the sandbanks (9, 17-18; see A. Gutbub, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I (Cairo, 1979), 420-1). Evidently, Djedi first shows himself capable of all that was claimed for his predecessors. He then outdoes them all, through his knowledge of the future and in dealings with the king.

In general, the symbolism of the crocodile in this passage is clear enough.<sup>10</sup> An irresistible, untameable, primaeval power, it destroys completely, utterly, finally and without pity. It does not willingly disgorge its prey.<sup>11</sup> Yet the crocodile is also a symbol of regeneration and rebirth: a creator god who inhabits the marshes of the primaeval ocean from which the sun is born. In particular a crocodile swallows the evening sun, to regurgitate it anew each morning.<sup>12</sup> Webaoner is the magician who controls the uncontrollable: the power of death and resurrection. Similarly, later in the Westcar stories, the Chief Ritualist Djedi is able to control the lion and the bull, animals that, with the crocodile, are typically symbolic of uncontrolled or uncontrollable natural or royal power. Djedi can make them walk or stand behind him with their  $\overline{\text{r}}$  fallen to the ground.<sup>13</sup> The word used for 'rope' here is uncertain, but the writing at least implies a visual pun, since one obvious reading for the sign is *fh*, a root with the general meaning of 'loose', 'released'.<sup>14</sup> These word-plays would doubtless be clear to any Egyptian audience. The more interesting question is how far the mythological symbolism, which is typical of all the stories of the Westcar Papyrus, would be clear to a general public.

C. J. EYRE

### Head injuries in Egypt and Nubia: a comparison of skulls from Giza and Kerma\*

Report on the examination of two groups of Egyptian and Nubian skulls with head injuries. A system of categories to define head injuries is presented and comparison made with work done by other researchers.

TRAUMATIC lesions, especially fractures, are frequently found in ancient skeletal material. It has been suggested that the main interest in studying trauma is to gain information about the cultural significance of the lesions in question and to arrive at a closer understanding of people's behaviour and types of occupations.<sup>1</sup> Trauma represents the effect of many extrinsic factors upon the skeleton, and so the types and locations of injury will vary between populations and between individuals within a given population. Thus, populations engaged in hunting activities will acquire

<sup>10</sup> Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, in W. Helck (ed.), *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 28-37; id., *LÄ* III, 791-801; C. J. Eyre, *SAK* 4 (1976), 103-14; L. Kákosy, *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 116-20; Raven, *OMRO* 64, 20-1; Gutbub, op. cit. 427-8; P. Vernus, in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain* (Louvain, 1991), 335-8; W. Westendorf, *LÄ* VI, 122-8, esp. n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. references in Eyre, op. cit. 114; Kákosy, op. cit. 119.

<sup>12</sup> A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953), 68-9; Gutbub, op. cit. 413-25, 427-8; Brunner-Traut, in *Fs. Schott*, 32-7; Kákosy, *LÄ* III, 808.

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different types of injuries from settled agriculturalists or town dwellers. Those engaged in militaristic activities will sustain different injuries from civilians.

Whilst fractures of the post-cranial skeleton may or may not indicate intentional blows, skull fractures are more likely to indicate deliberate violence. Studies indicate that in antiquity skull injuries were more frequent than injuries to any individual bones of the post-cranial skeleton.<sup>2</sup> Despite the observed cultural differences between injuries, it may be suggested that even widely differing cultures sustain injuries at similar positions on the skull. Cranial injuries are commonly found on the frontal and parietal bones, particularly on the left parietal area. This probably reflects face-to-face assault. The general tendency for the lesions to occur on the left side may indicate that the attacker was usually right-handed. Concurrence of site of head injury does occur between differing cultures. For instance, a predominance of left-sided head injuries has been demonstrated in late Nubian cemeteries.<sup>3</sup> Yet, far from Egypt, the pre-Hispanic Guanche population of Tenerife (Canary Islands) also sustained a preponderance of depressed injuries to the left side of the skull.<sup>4</sup>

It has been suggested that in most cultures more males than females sustain traumatic injuries. The sex difference is especially noticeable with regard to head injuries.<sup>5</sup> Men are more likely to be involved in military activities and heavy manual labour and thus are more likely to sustain injuries to the skull. Yet, in one case, a slightly higher ratio of head injuries in women has been reported.<sup>6</sup>

The writer has recently examined head injuries in two groups of skulls from sites in Egypt and Nubia which now form part of the Duckworth Collection, Department of Biological Anthropology, University of Cambridge.<sup>7</sup> Group One is a series of 309 skulls excavated in the 'Eastern Cemetery' at Kerma by Reisner in 1913-14 and 1915-16.<sup>8</sup> The series is numbered 'SUD 1' to 'SUD 309'. This group had thirty-four head injuries (i.e. 11 per cent). Group Two is a series of 1726 skulls from Giza, known as the 'E' Series. Petrie excavated the material, which is believed to date from the Twenty-sixth to Thirtieth Dynasties. No further information is known about this series.<sup>9</sup> This group had twenty-one head injuries (i.e. 1.2 per cent).

Both groups were aged and sexed. With regard to aging, five criteria relating to the skull were utilized: tooth eruption, tooth wear, cranial suture closure, palatal suture closure and parietal thinning.<sup>10</sup> A consideration of each criterion allowed each skull to be allocated to one of the following broad age groups: sub-adult (up to 21), young adult (21-35), mature adult (35-45), old adult (45+). Of the thirty-four Kerma skulls with injuries, twenty-eight (82.4 per cent) fell into the mature to old age groups, whilst six (17.6 per cent) fell into the young adult group. There were no

<sup>2</sup> V. Alexandersen, 'The evidence for injuries to the jaws', in D. R. Brothwell and A. Sandison (eds.), *Diseases in Antiquity* (Springfield, Illinois, 1967), 623-9.

<sup>3</sup> E. Strouhal and J. Jungwirth, 'Palaeopathology of the Late Roman-Early Byzantine Cemeteries at Sayala, Egyptian Nubia', *Journal of Human Evolution* 9 (1980), 61-70.

<sup>4</sup> C. R. Martin, R. G. Anton and F. E. Gonzalez, 'Cranial Injuries in the Guanche Population of Tenerife (Canary Islands): A Biocultural Interpretation'. Paper presented at the Colloquium on Biological Anthropology and the Study of Ancient Egypt, British Museum, 4-6 July 1990 (in press).

<sup>5</sup> K. Manchester, *The Archaeology of Disease* (Bradford, 1983), 59.

<sup>6</sup> Martin *et al.*, *op. cit.*, reported a 2.9 per cent ratio for female head injuries against a 2.3 per cent for males in the Northern Guanche populations of Tenerife.

<sup>7</sup> This research was part of an MSc on human remains funded by the Wellcome Foundation. I am grateful to Dr Robert Foley, Department of Biological Anthropology, University of Cambridge, for permission to publish the photographs.

<sup>8</sup> G. A. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma*, 1-III, Harvard African Studies v (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), 59-528. For the Kerma skulls in the Duckworth Collection, see M. Collett, 'A Study of Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty Skulls from Kerma (Nubia)', *Biometrika* 25 (1933), 254-84, pls. 1-6.

<sup>9</sup> The above information was obtained from handwritten notes which accompanied the Pearson Collection when it was transported from University College London to the Duckworth Biological Anthropology Laboratory, Cambridge. Karl Pearson, a biometrician, undertook a study of variability in a large series of skulls. He was provided with this sample of Egyptian crania by Petrie. The series is mentioned briefly in W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), 29, where the material is dated to 'about 600-300 BC'.

<sup>10</sup> The limitations of suture closure as an age indicator are recognized. See D. R. Brothwell, *Digging Up Bones* (London, 1972), 38. Whilst dental eruption and wear patterns are better indicators of age, in the absence of dentition (or post-cranial remains), sutures may be of value in estimating age.



sub-adults. Of the twenty-one Giza skulls, fifteen (71.4 per cent) fell into the mature to old age groups and six (28.6 per cent) fell into the young adult age group. Again there were no sub-adults.

In sexing the skulls, twelve criteria based on Brothwell's work<sup>11</sup> were selected to make observations about the face, mandible and vault. As some skulls did not fulfil all the characteristics of a particular sex, the following range was allowed: male, probably male, indeterminate, probably female, female. Due to the absence of post-cranial remains (of all the Giza skulls and many of the Kerma skulls) it was not possible to confirm the sex through pelvic examination. Of the thirty-four Kerma skulls, eighteen (52.9 per cent) were male/probably male, fifteen (44.1 per cent) were female/probably female, while only one individual proved indeterminate. Of the twenty-one Giza skulls, twelve (57.1 per cent) were male/probably male, four (19.1 per cent) were female/probably female and five individuals (23.8 per cent) were of indeterminate sex. After aging and sexing the skulls, a range of injuries was established and the results analyzed in the light of the above observations on cranial injury.

A system of seven categories, some with sub-sections, was devised to define the types of head injuries found.

I. *Severe gashes* are realized as a long and deep cleft, which may be of uniform depth or undulating. It may present a  $\cup$ -shaped depth or an oblique edge opposite a wedged edge. This would indicate the direction of the blow. The Kerma group had no severe gashes. In the Giza group the most common type of injury is the severe gash, with five skulls presenting this type of lesion (see pl. XXX, 1). Four of the individuals concerned are male or probably male and it seems likely that the gashes were made by axes or swords smashing down onto the head. Thus, it is difficult to suggest a cause other than a military one. The fifth skull is female and it is probable that the mid-frontal gash was sustained during a civil or domestic dispute.

II. *Pierced lesions* are realized as a hole of small to medium size made right through the outer and inner tables of the skull. The inner aspect of the lesion will be wider than the external. They may be (i) a regular shape, with a symmetrical outline or (ii) an irregular shape, with a non-symmetrical outline. Only one Kerma skull presented a regularly-shaped pierced lesion. The lesion is small, round and deep, implying that it was caused by a narrow implement. As the individual is female, this may have been of a domestic nature. The Giza group presented three regularly-shaped pierced lesions. Pl. XXX, 2 shows one of these lesions. It is likely that this individual, a mature adult of indeterminate sex, died as a result of the injury. The lesion shows no healing, retaining its sharp edges, and it is likely that the displaced fragments of bone entered the brain causing fatal damage. Two skulls in the Kerma group, and one in the Giza group, had irregularly-shaped lesions. None showed any signs of healing. Again, it is likely that bony fragments entered the brain, causing infection and death. Military activities (such as spear attacks) may be postulated for these two types of pierced lesions, except for one of the two Kerma skulls, which was from an elderly female.

III. *Depression*: a hollow sunk below the horizontal plane of the skull. Oval, round and kidney-shaped depressions were recognized. Only five of the Giza skulls presented depressions of any kind. The depression was by far the most frequently occurring injury, oval/pear-shaped depressions being the most common form represented. The Kerma group had a high ratio of these injuries, with thirty out of thirty-four skulls (88.2 per cent) exhibiting one or more of the three forms of depression. In the Kerma group both sexes were well represented, seventeen males/probably males and thirteen females/probably females having a depressed injury. Whilst militaristic activities may be postulated as causes for the male depressions, this does not seem likely for the female injuries; there is no evidence that females in Kerma were engaged in military activities. It is possible that females were camp followers providing food for males engaged in war-like activities, or that they were civilian victims of war who received blows from opposing forces. An alternative for both sexes is that they sustained injuries in civil or domestic skirmishes involving clubs, sticks or stones. If this is the case, it may point to a quarrelsome and aggressive community. The high percentage (11 per cent) of head injuries and the high amount of female

<sup>11</sup> Brothwell, op. cit. 51-3.

involvement would support this suggestion. This may be contrasted with the relatively low incidence (1.2 per cent) of head injuries found in the Giza group. Depressions can be seen in pl. XXX, 3-4.

IV. *Cuts*: these are less dramatic lesions of two kinds. (i) Linear: long, narrow and of uniform depth; (ii) nick: a notch of shallow depth and of regular or irregular shape. Two Kerma skulls and three Giza skulls presented linear cuts. They are consistent with a glancing sword action. The Kerma and Giza groups each had only one skull with a nicked cut which may have been made by daggers, arrows or knives. The Kerma example is interesting in having a nicked cut to the lower edge of the left orbit, a type of injury found in the remains of the Eleventh Dynasty soldiers discovered at Deir el-Bahari, one of which had an ebony-tipped arrow head *in situ* in the left eye socket.<sup>12</sup>

V. *Sliced lesions* may also be regarded as 'cuts' but are of a more serious nature. They fall into two categories: (i) complete, where a roundel of bone is totally removed from the skull; (ii) incomplete, where the slice of bone is not severed from the skull. In both types the perimeters of the lesions may indicate the direction of the blow. None of the Kerma group had any sliced lesions. The Giza group had two complete sliced lesions (see pl. XXX, 5). The example illustrated shows a clearly defined porous area of non-healing, suggesting that fragments of bone entered the brain, causing the death of this young adult male. The lesion was probably caused by a sword and may be instructively compared with an example from Lisht.<sup>13</sup> Of the two groups only the Giza group presented incomplete sliced injuries (seven skulls). These fall into two categories: (i) where sections of bone are lifted up from the skull and upon replacement leave a sheared effect. A particularly interesting case shows an incomplete sliced injury down the left temporal area into the auditory meatus. It is likely that this individual, a mature male, suffered a hearing loss after the lesion healed. One of two types of deafness, or a combination of both, may have occurred under these traumatic conditions;<sup>14</sup> (ii) where deep fracturing occurs. A sheared effect may or may not occur, depending on the amount of healing.

VI. *Mandibular fractures*: these may present a complete or partial break in the bone. There were no examples of mandibular fractures in the Giza group and only one in the Kerma group. In addition to having a round depressed fracture of the left parietal, this individual may have a fractured left mandible. Unfortunately, the left ramus is absent, making any diagnosis tentative. The possible fracture has healed with the jaw setting badly aligned. This lesion may be compared with the female described by Nielson as having a face deformed due to fracturing of the temporo-mandibular joint.<sup>15</sup>

VII. *Nasal fractures*: where the right or left (or both) nasal bones are depressed below the normal horizontal plane of the bridge. There were three probable nasal fractures in the two groups. One, from Kerma, has a healed fracture of the left nasal bone (pl. XXX, 6). Two Giza skulls also show healed fractures of the left nasal bones. These suggest a blow from a right-handed person in a frontal assault.

Overall, the two groups showed a different distribution of types of injury. This may reflect different behaviour patterns. The Kerma groups presented mainly oval and depressed head lesions, consistent with attack from stones, sticks, maces and clubs. While the Kerma Nubians may have been in conflict with the Egyptians during the Middle Kingdom and we might therefore

<sup>12</sup>H. E. Winlock, *The Slain Soldiers of Neb-Hepet-Re' Mentu-Hotpe* (New York, 1945), no. 41.

<sup>13</sup>D. J. Ortner and W. G. J. Putschar, *Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains* (Washington, 1985), 78, pls. 81-2.

<sup>14</sup>J. Filer, 'Spelling and the Hearing-Impaired', unpublished MSc thesis, The City University, London, 1987.

<sup>15</sup>O. V. Nielson, *The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia. 9: The Human Remains* (Uppsala, 1970), 114 and pl. 16.

expect to find severe injuries associated with military activity, the types of injuries displayed are in general more suggestive of civil or domestic disputes. The Giza group presented the full range of head injuries, except for mandibular fractures. It had a greater number of severe injuries, including severe gashes and incomplete and complete sliced injuries. These are more suggestive of militaristic behaviour. These injuries are consistent with attack from swords, axes and crushing weapons and suggest a more advanced technology. Whilst the use of bronze cannot be discounted, iron, needed for more durable weapons, was available during the Twenty-sixth–Thirtieth Dynasties.

In keeping with the findings of other researchers, it was found that the two groups showed a similar distribution in the sites of injury. The greater number of injuries occurred on the frontal and parietal bones. Previous researchers reported a high incidence of left-sided injuries. Both the Kerma and Giza groups also showed slightly more left-sided than right-sided injuries, consistent with a right-handed frontal assault. It has been found that, generally, males sustain more traumatic injuries than females. This was the case in the Giza group but the Kerma group showed a high incidence of female injury with fifteen female/probably females out of the thirty-four cases (44.1 per cent) sustaining head injuries. The lack of evidence for women in military activity in ancient Egypt and Kerma would suggest these injuries were incurred in other than military forms of dispute.

JOYCE M. FILER

### A falsely attributed monument

The cartouches naming Psamtik II as the king shown on the 'intercolumnar slab' in Vienna (Kunst-historisches Museum 213) are secondary. The monument was originally made for Psamtik I or Necho II.

FIVE so-called intercolumnar slabs are known to Egyptologists: three of them are in the British Museum (BM 20, 22 and 998), a fourth is in Bologna (Museo Civico 1870) and the fifth in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum 213). They seem to be made of the same dark, grey-green stone,<sup>1</sup> and were originally of approximately the same height (c. 120–125 cm). It has been plausibly suggested that all five derive from one and the same structure,<sup>2</sup> but exactly how they were employed architecturally is disputed.<sup>3</sup> Two of the slabs in London (BM 22 and 998) and that in Bologna were commissioned by Nectanebo I<sup>4</sup> in imitation of the remaining slabs, BM 20<sup>5</sup> and the piece in Vienna,<sup>6</sup> both inscribed for kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. BM 20, discovered at Rosetta, bears the cartouches of Psamtik I, while the texts on the Vienna slab (pl. XXIX, 3) name that king's grandson, Psamtik II.

In June 1990, I had the opportunity to examine the slab in Vienna. I was surprised to discover that the cartouches which identify the royal figures on both sides of the slab are secondary. In

<sup>1</sup> Identified in the case of the Vienna slab as *Grünschiefer* by Dr Helmut Satzinger, Director of the Ägyptisch-Orientalische Abteilung in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, who generously furnished this and other information on the piece. *Pace* K. Mysliwicz, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz, 1989), 47, who describes its material as 'grey granite'.

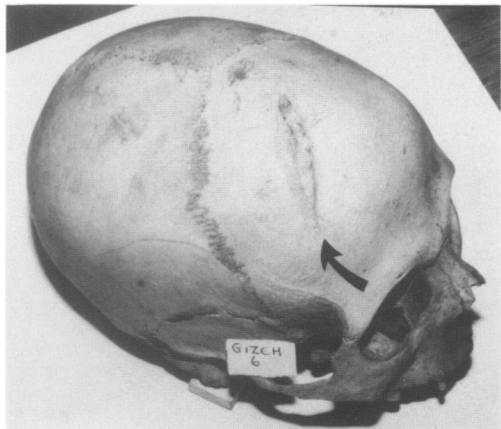
<sup>2</sup> B. V. Bothmer *et al.*, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (exhibition catalogue; The Brooklyn Museum, 1960), 91 (comment); cf. H. Satzinger, *Ägyptische Kunst in Wien* (catalogue of the Egyptian section, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Vienna, no date), 57.

<sup>3</sup> While most authorities assume they served as screen walls erected between columns of a kiosk or pavilion—hence the descriptive designation 'intercolumnar slab' (see, e.g. Satzinger, *op. cit.* 57)—Bothmer (*op. cit.* 91) calls them 'barrier reliefs'; cf. also E. Komorzynski's remarks, *Das Erbe des alten Ägypten* (Vienna, 1965), 210.

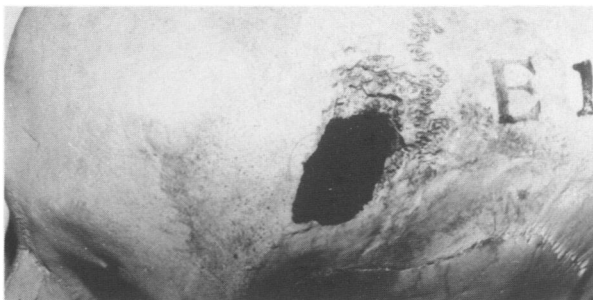
<sup>4</sup> Bothmer, *op. cit.* 91. See the entries in Mysliwicz, *op. cit.* 69 (Nectanebo I, doc. 1a–b and 2).

<sup>5</sup> Mysliwicz, *op. cit.* 46 (Psamtik I, doc. 1).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 47 (Psamtik II, doc. 4).



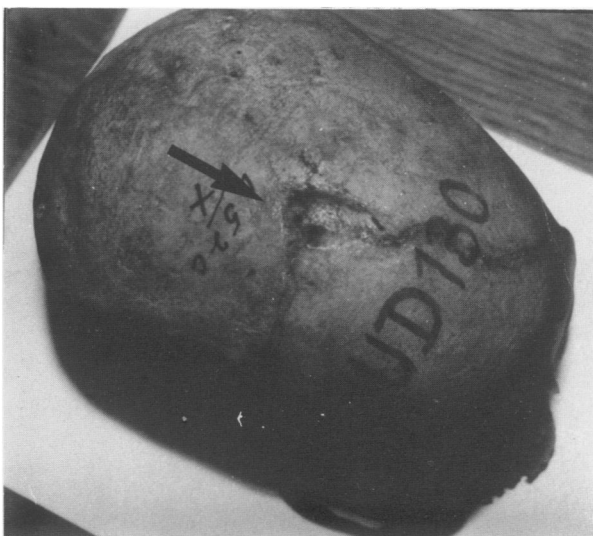
1. A severe gash, mid and right frontal bone (arrowed). Giza 6 (E492). Mature probable male



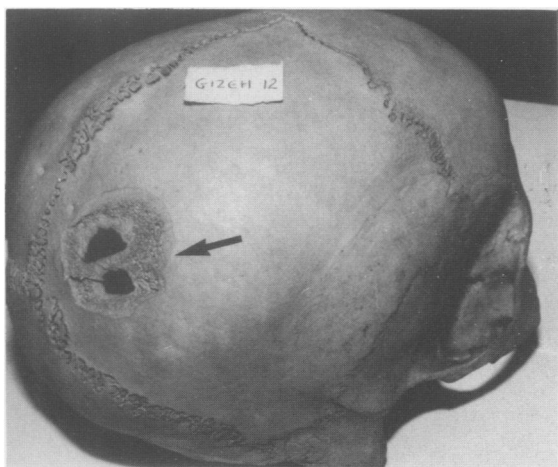
2. A regularly-shaped pierced lesion, left temple. Giza 16 (E1463). Mature adult, sex indeterminate



3. An oval depression, left frontal bone (arrowed). SUD 30. Mature male



4. A kidney-shaped depression, posterior part of the mid frontal bone (arrowed). SUD 130. Elderly female



5. A complete sliced lesion, right parietal posterior position (arrowed). Giza 12 (E1085). Young adult male



6. Fracture left nasal bone (arrowed). SUD 66. Mature probable male

expect to find severe injuries associated with military activity, the types of injuries displayed are in general more suggestive of civil or domestic disputes. The Giza group presented the full range of head injuries, except for mandibular fractures. It had a greater number of severe injuries, including severe gashes and incomplete and complete sliced injuries. These are more suggestive of militaristic behaviour. These injuries are consistent with attack from swords, axes and crushing weapons and suggest a more advanced technology. Whilst the use of bronze cannot be discounted, iron, needed for more durable weapons, was available during the Twenty-sixth–Thirtieth Dynasties.

In keeping with the findings of other researchers, it was found that the two groups showed a similar distribution in the sites of injury. The greater number of injuries occurred on the frontal and parietal bones. Previous researchers reported a high incidence of left-sided injuries. Both the Kerma and Giza groups also showed slightly more left-sided than right-sided injuries, consistent with a right-handed frontal assault. It has been found that, generally, males sustain more traumatic injuries than females. This was the case in the Giza group but the Kerma group showed a high incidence of female injury with fifteen female/probably females out of the thirty-four cases (44.1 per cent) sustaining head injuries. The lack of evidence for women in military activity in ancient Egypt and Kerma would suggest these injuries were incurred in other than military forms of dispute.

JOYCE M. FILER

### A falsely attributed monument

The cartouches naming Psamtik II as the king shown on the 'intercolumnar slab' in Vienna (Kunst-historisches Museum 213) are secondary. The monument was originally made for Psamtik I or Necho II.

FIVE so-called intercolumnar slabs are known to Egyptologists: three of them are in the British Museum (BM 20, 22 and 998), a fourth is in Bologna (Museo Civico 1870) and the fifth in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum 213). They seem to be made of the same dark, grey-green stone,<sup>1</sup> and were originally of approximately the same height (c. 120–125 cm). It has been plausibly suggested that all five derive from one and the same structure,<sup>2</sup> but exactly how they were employed architecturally is disputed.<sup>3</sup> Two of the slabs in London (BM 22 and 998) and that in Bologna were commissioned by Nectanebo I<sup>4</sup> in imitation of the remaining slabs, BM 20<sup>5</sup> and the piece in Vienna,<sup>6</sup> both inscribed for kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. BM 20, discovered at Rosetta, bears the cartouches of Psamtik I, while the texts on the Vienna slab (pl. XXIX, 3) name that king's grandson, Psamtik II.

In June 1990, I had the opportunity to examine the slab in Vienna. I was surprised to discover that the cartouches which identify the royal figures on both sides of the slab are secondary. In

<sup>1</sup> Identified in the case of the Vienna slab as *Grünschiefer* by Dr Helmut Satzinger, Director of the Ägyptisch-Orientalische Abteilung in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, who generously furnished this and other information on the piece. *Pace* K. Mysliwicz, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz, 1989), 47, who describes its material as 'grey granite'.

<sup>2</sup> B. V. Bothmer *et al.*, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (exhibition catalogue; The Brooklyn Museum, 1960), 91 (comment); cf. H. Satzinger, *Ägyptische Kunst in Wien* (catalogue of the Egyptian section, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Vienna, no date), 57.

<sup>3</sup> While most authorities assume they served as screen walls erected between columns of a kiosk or pavilion—hence the descriptive designation 'intercolumnar slab' (see, e.g. Satzinger, *op. cit.* 57)—Bothmer (*op. cit.* 91) calls them 'barrier reliefs'; cf. also E. Komorzynski's remarks, *Das Erbe des alten Ägypten* (Vienna, 1965), 210.

<sup>4</sup> Bothmer, *op. cit.* 91. See the entries in Mysliwicz, *op. cit.* 69 (Nectanebo I, doc. 1a–b and 2).

<sup>5</sup> Mysliwicz, *op. cit.* 46 (Psamtik I, doc. 1).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 47 (Psamtik II, doc. 4).

response to my subsequent query, Dr Helmut Satzinger advised me that I was not the first to have noticed this fact, but that it had remained unpublished, with the exception of his own passing comment in a recent general guide to the collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum,<sup>7</sup> a publication that might easily escape the notice of most Egyptologists, as it had mine. For this reason it seemed worthwhile to us both that I publish my brief observations.

I was not able to discern any trace of the original hieroglyphs within the cartouches that label the royal figures,<sup>8</sup> but the area each encloses is unquestionably deeper, sloping inward from the ring toward the centre, unmistakably indicating usurpation. By contrast, the inscriptions naming Psamtik II in the horizontal register below the torus moulding across the top of the slab on both sides do not show any sign of having been altered.<sup>9</sup> To explain this discrepancy, it might be suggested that the area below the torus moulding was not (yet) inscribed, but that the figures were already supplied with identifying labels, when Psamtik II ordered the slab's usurpation. Alternatively, the entire horizontal register could have been cut back carefully to remove completely an original text and then reinscribed in favour of Psamtik II.

Certainly the Vienna slab was made to 'match' the piece in London inscribed for Psamtik I.<sup>10</sup> A comparison of the compositional elements and measurements clearly demonstrates this.<sup>11</sup> On one side of each slab, a cavetto cornice is surmounted by a uraeus frieze, while on the other the same position is occupied by a frieze of falcons. The total height of this zone on the slab in the British Museum is 33.7 cm on the former side and 33.6 cm on the latter, while the same areas on the Vienna slab measure 33.5–33.8 cm and 33.7–34.0 cm respectively. The figured zone of both monuments is approximately a cubit in height. The kneeling figures on the 'uraeus side' of the British Museum slab<sup>12</sup> are 19.2 cm tall, and the vertically oriented cartouches that identify them 10 cm compared to 19/19.2 cm and 9.4/9.5 cm, respectively, on the Vienna relief. The dado, which bears a niched pattern, measures 34.9 cm on the 'uraeus side' of the British Museum slab, while the same area on the Vienna slab is slightly smaller, varying in height from 33.5 to 33.8 cm. The figures on comparable sides face in opposite directions; in other words, the slabs would seem to have been arranged symmetrically, perhaps to flank a doorway.

But which king originally commissioned the Vienna slab? Three alternatives merit consideration: (1) a Kushite ruler, who cannot be more precisely identified, (2) Psamtik I<sup>13</sup> or (3) Necho II. Since Psamtik II's usurpation of monuments made at the order of his Twenty-fifth Dynasty predecessors is well documented,<sup>14</sup> the possibility that the figures on the Vienna slab once depicted a Kushite king—remote as it may seem—should not be dismissed outright, especially in view of the 'Kushite' iconography of the depictions.<sup>15</sup> Since the Vienna slab was made as a pendant to BM 20, that slab needs to be examined to determine whether it, too, preserves evidence of alteration. But if Psamtik I can be shown to have indeed commissioned BM 20, then possibly he ordered the Vienna slab as well. The physiognomic similarities of the figures on both slabs would then be attributable to the fact that they depict the same person, while the discrepancies might be explained by postulating that two different sculptors worked

<sup>7</sup> *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Führer durch die Sammlungen* (Vienna, 1988), 37.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly detailed, intensive study might reveal them. It was not, nor is it, my intention, either in this context or elsewhere, to undertake an in-depth study of the Vienna and related monuments.

<sup>9</sup> On the side of the slab with the semi-prostrate figure of the king, illustrated by Mysliwiec, *op. cit.*, pl. liii, this text comprises the complete titulary of Psamtik II.

<sup>10</sup> As were probably the slabs of Nectanebo I as well. But the published data on these later reliefs are inadequate for comparative purposes.

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted both to Dr Satzinger and to Dr A. J. Spencer, Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum, who supplied the following measurements.

<sup>12</sup> Dr Spencer advises that the surface of the 'falcon side' below the torus moulding is abraded with only traces of the decoration remaining.

<sup>13</sup> The alternative suggested by Satzinger in the guide cited above, n. 7.

<sup>14</sup> For which see J. Yoyotte, *RdE* 8 (1951), 235–9.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Mysliwiec, *op. cit.* 51; for the 'Kushite cap' that Psamtik I wears on the British Museum slab (contra Mysliwiec's comments), see E. R. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Brussels—Brooklyn, 1974), 32 f; A. Leahy, above pp. 228–9.

simultaneously, each on his own slab.<sup>16</sup> In that case, the Vienna slab would represent the first documented case of Psamtik II usurping one of his grandfather's monuments. Alternatively, the Vienna slab was commissioned by Necho II to serve as a pendant to his father's slab BM 20, only to have it usurped by his son Psamtik II.<sup>17</sup>

M. EATON-KRAUSS

### A small note on early demotic texts and archives

A recent suggestion that nearly 45 per cent of all early demotic texts once belonged to a single archive is challenged, and the reading of a personal name in P. Louvre 7854 on which it was based is corrected.

In an article entitled 'A Saïte Request for Payment' (*JEA* 71 (1985), 129-33; re-edition of early demotic P. Louvre 7854), E. Cruz-Urbe stated that nearly 45 per cent of all the early demotic texts known at present may once have constituted a single choachyte's archive. I think that this is not necessarily correct. Cruz-Urbe's assumption was based on a reconstruction of the beginning of P. Louvre 7854 *l.* 2: [*Pj-dj*]-*Mn*. Now P. Louvre 7854 comes from the archive of this man's brother, the choachyte *'Ir.t.w-rt*, son of *Dd-hj*, who is mentioned in the same line in P. Louvre 7854.<sup>1</sup> In another text from his archive, early demotic P. Louvre 7840 (edited by F. de Cenival, in *RdE* 37 (1986), 13-29, pls. 3-4), we find mention of a certain *Hj<sup>r</sup>=w-s-n-Mn*, son of *Dd-hj*.<sup>2</sup> If we then take a good look at the beginning of 7854 *l.* 2, we will find that a reading [*Hj<sup>r</sup>=w-s<sup>1</sup>-(n)-Mn*] fits the extant traces perfectly. Consequently, the basis for assigning nearly 45 per cent of all early demotic texts to a single choachyte's archive no longer exists.

KOEN DONKER VAN HEEL

### 'Analecta Iranica' aus den demotischen Dokumenten von Nord-Saqqara\*

A number of Iranian names found in demotic papyri and ostraca from the 'Sacred Animal Necropolis' in North Saqqara are identified and discussed.

UNTER den Achaimeniden ist Ägypten insgesamt mehr als ein Jahrhundert lang Teil des mächtigen persischen Reiches gewesen:<sup>1</sup> Der Einzug von Kambyses II. in Memphis hatte die erste persische

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Mysliwiec's discussion of the similar and differing features, *op. cit.* 56 f.

<sup>17</sup> Only a single royal monument inscribed for Necho II is known to have been usurped in favour of Psamtik II; see the remarks of A. Leahy, *GM* 80 (1984), 74 f. nn. 13-14. For non-royal monuments bearing cartouches of Psamtik II replacing those of Necho II, see *ibid.* and cf. Bothmer *et al.*, *op. cit.* 50 f.

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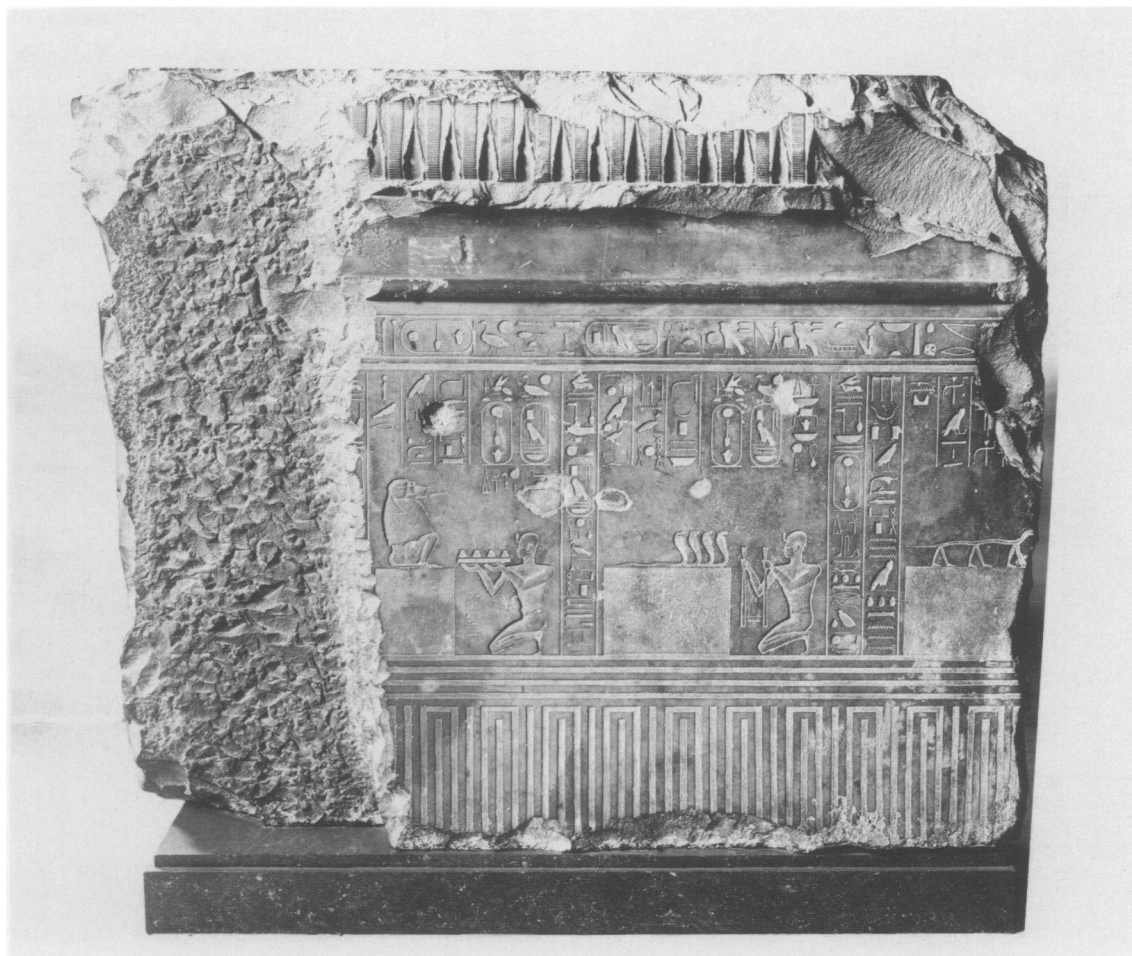


1. CUMAA 1939.553 (*Courtesy E.E.S.*)



2. CUMAA Z 43843

STELAE OF THE MIDDLE AND NEW KINGDOMS (pp. 274-9)



3. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 213

A FALSELY ATTRIBUTED MONUMENT (pp. 285-7)



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Herrschaft und damit zugleich die 27. Dynastie (525–402 v.Chr.) eingeleitet, und nach einer etwa sechzigjährigen Unterbrechung ist Ägypten während der 31. Dynastie unter Artaxerxes III. abermals für kürzere Zeit (343–332 v.Chr.) in achaimenidischen Händen gewesen, bis Alexander der Große der persischen Macht in Ägypten ein Ende bereitete. Diese etwa 135 Jahre achaimenidischer Herrschaft bilden nichtsdestoweniger nur einen winzigen Bruchteil der ruhmreichen ägyptischen Geschichte; es darf daher nicht wundernehmen, daß die Perser in dieser Zeitspanne weder die ägyptische Administration<sup>2</sup> noch die Kunst<sup>3</sup> dauerhaft geprägt haben.

Spuren ihrer Anwesenheit lassen sich jedoch noch in beachtlicher Menge in überreichen Textfunden aus Ägypten feststellen, die in den verschiedensten Schriftarten und Sprachen redigiert sind. Der Reiz dieser schriftlichen Dokumente liegt dabei nicht zuletzt in dem ungemein zahlreichen Belegmaterial an iranischen (Titeln und) Namen, insbesondere Personennamen.<sup>4</sup> Auf den folgenden Seiten sollen nun einige ausgewählte iranische Titel und Namen der demotischen Papyri und Ostraka von Nord-Saqqara betrachtet werden. In der Zeit von 1964 bis 1976 hat die Egypt Exploration Society (EES) in der sogenannten 'Sacred Animal Necropolis' von Nord-Saqqara in der Nähe von Memphis, der perserzeitlichen Hauptstadt der Satrapie Ägypten, Ausgrabungen durchgeführt, zunächst unter W. B. Emery, ab 1971 unter H. S. Smith und G. T. Martin. Die dabei ans Licht getretenen Textfunde sind auch für Iranisten nicht ohne Bedeutung;<sup>5</sup> nachdem das iranische Wortgut in den dort zutage geförderten aramäischen Papyri und Ostraka bereits an anderer Stelle<sup>6</sup> behandelt worden ist, soll nun die Aufmerksamkeit auf Iranisches in den demotischen Dokumenten gelenkt werden. Grundlage für die hier vorliegende Untersuchung bildet der Text eines im September 1990 auf dem 'Chicago Demotic Congress' gehaltenen Vortrages von H. S. Smith.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Viele hohe Beamte, die unter den säitischen Königen der 26. Dynastie gedient hatten, konnten ihre Karriere während der Perserherrschaft mit gutem Erfolg fortsetzen, wie es, als das bekannteste Beispiel, die Karriere des Udjahorresnet eindrucksvoll zeigt (s. etwa A. B. Lloyd, *JEA* 68 (1982), 166–80; A. Spalinger, *LÄ* vi, 822–4).

<sup>3</sup> Die imposantesten Denkmäler Dareios' I. (521–486 v.Chr.) in Ägypten, der von ihm gestiftete Tempel von Hibis in der el-Kharga Oase in der libyschen Wüste—s. den Bericht der Expedition (1909–13 und 1924–25) des New Yorker Metropolitan Museum of Art bei N. de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis*. III. *The Decorations* (New York, 1953), und E. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, 1 (San Antonio, 1988)—wie die anlässlich der Vollendung des Suezkanals errichteten Stelen (dazu s. aus iranistischer Sicht W. Hinz, *AMI* 8 (1975), 115–21 und Ch. Tuplin, *Achaemenid History* vi. *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop* (Leiden, 1991), 237–83) wurden in typisch ägyptischem Stil ausgeführt.

<sup>4</sup> Zu iranischem Wortgut in altägyptischen Quellen s. M. Burchardt, *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 78–80; K. Sethe, *NGWG*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1916, 112–33; Posener, a.a.O.; Ranke, *PN* II, 412a; E. Edel-M. Mayrhofer, *Or* 40 (1971), 1–10 [Wiederabdruck in: M. Mayrhofer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 142–51]; in griechischen Quellen s. Ph. Huyse, 'Iranische Namen in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens'. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, v/6a (Wien, 1990) und dens., *Achaemenid History* vi, 311–20. Bezeichnenderweise enthalten die aramäischen Papyri, Pergamente und Ostraka Ägyptens das meiste Belegmaterial; sie wurden dementsprechend auch am häufigsten und gründlichsten auf iranische Elemente untersucht. Vgl. etwa H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge*, 1. (Halle/Saale, 1930), 255–73 (passim) [Nachdruck Hildesheim-New York, 1972]; E. Benveniste, *JÄ* 224 (1934), 177–93 und *JÄ* 242 (1954), 297–310; W. Eilers, *AfO* 17 (1954–5), 322–35; G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1957), 19; P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte. Introduction, traduction, présentation* (Paris, 1972); R. Schmitt, *BNF* 7 (1972), 143–6; W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*. SÖAW 333 (Wien, 1978); J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983); P. Swiggers, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983), 177–9; R. Zadok, *Ilj* 29 (1986), 41–4.

<sup>5</sup> Für die Erforschung des Karischen bedeuten die Inschriften auf Grabstelen in dem memphitischen Karerviertel sogar einen wesentlichen Schritt voran auf dem Wege zur endgültigen Enträtselung dieser südwestkleinasiatischen Sprache; vgl. etwa O. Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqara and Buhen* (London, 1978); J. D. Ray, *JEA* 68 (1982), 181–98.

<sup>6</sup> Segal, a.a.O.; dazu s. auch die iranistisch ausgerichteten Rezensionen von R. Schmitt, *Kratylos* 32 (1987), 145–54 und S. Shaked, *Or* 56 (1987), 407–13.

<sup>7</sup> H. S. Smith, 'Foreigners in the documents from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, Saqqara'. Herrn Prof. Smith sei an dieser Stelle der herzlichste Dank abgestattet für die Liebenswürdigkeit, mit der er mir einen Entwurf seines Referats zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Ich zitiere die demotischen Dokumente im folgenden nach diesem Vortragsmanuskript und beschränke mich auf die wesentlichsten Angaben.

Neben der für den Satrapentitel schon länger bekannten Form demot. *ḥštrpn*,<sup>8</sup> die auch in Nord-Saqqara in einem bruchstückhaften, wahrscheinlich ins 5. Jh. zu datierenden Bericht eines Protokolls [S.H5-450] auftaucht, findet sich nun auch in der zweiten Zeile eines Ostrakons [S.75/6-7] eine bisher unbelegte Form *ihštrpny*. Bereits Sethe<sup>9</sup> hat die später von iranistischer Seite bestätigte<sup>10</sup> Feststellung gemacht, daß iranisches Wortgut im Ägyptischen durch das (Reichs-)Aramäische vermittelt worden ist. Dies trifft auch hier zu: demot. *ḥštrpn* entspricht genau der reichsaramäischen Form *ḥštrpn*, die ihrerseits als getreue Wiedergabe von altiran. \**xšaθra-pā-na-* aufzufassen ist.<sup>11</sup> Die zweite Form bedarf einer näheren Erklärung: Die Lesung des Endbuchstaben *-y* ist einigermäßen problematisch, doch mag eine Lösung eher mit Hilfe der demotischen Paläographie als innerhalb des Iranischen zu suchen sein. Anders hingegen steht es um die Anlautschreibung *i-*, die auch aus dem Hieroglyphisch-Ägyptischen bekannt ist;<sup>12</sup> so gibt es für den Namen des Königs Dareios I., altiran. \**Dāraya-vaus* 'das Gute festhaltend'<sup>13</sup> Formen mit und ohne Stützvokal *i-*, etwa *ntrywš* neben *intrywš*.<sup>14</sup>

Der Adressat eines mit ziemlicher Sicherheit ins 5. Jh. zu datierenden Briefes, von dem nur zwei Fragmente [S.H5-269 + 284] bewahrt geblieben sind, ist ein fremder Militärbefehlshaber namens demot. *šytrh* oder *mytrh*; die beiden Papyrusfragmente wurden bereits andernorts von Smith

<sup>8</sup> Für die Belege des Titels im Hieroglyphisch-Ägyptischen und im Ägyptischen in demotischer Schrift s. R. Schmidt, *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics. Offered to Leonard R. Palmer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, June 5, 1976.* (Innsbruck, 1976), 378.

<sup>9</sup> Sethe, a.a.O., 112.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. etwa M. Mayrhofer, *AÖAW* 109 (1972), 319 Anm. 8; R. Schmitt, *MSS* 45 (1985), 202.

<sup>11</sup> Für weitere Einzelheiten über die verschiedenen Formen des Satrapentitels in den iranischen Sprachen und in der Nebenüberlieferung (\**xšaθra-pā-van-*, \**xšaθra-pā-na-*, \**xšaθra-pā-φ*) sei auf die bereits erwähnte Studie von Schmitt, a.a.O. (Anm. 8)—insbes. S.388-90—verwiesen.

<sup>12</sup> Zu dem Hilfsvokal in der Anfangssilbe im Altägyptischen vgl. Sethe, a.a.O., 116 und Clarysse in W. Clarysse und G. Van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leiden, 1983), 163 ('prothetic *ι* at the beginning of a word' in der demotischen Schrift). Reste eines solchen Stützvokals begegnen auch im Griechischen von Kleinasien; dazu s. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, 1 (München, 1953), 123.

<sup>13</sup> Zur Erklärung des Namens s. zuletzt R. Schmitt, *Iranica Varia: Papers in honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater. Acta Iranica* 30 (1990), 194-9.

<sup>14</sup> Zu diesen und den sonstigen belegten Formen *trš*, *trwš*, *trywš*, *trywš*, *trwš*, *intrš*, *intrwš* s. Kornfeld, a.a.O. (Anm. 4), 104 mit Literaturhinweisen. Da die stimmhaften Laute /d/, /g/, /z/ seit dem Mittleren Reich ihre Sonorität verloren haben und dadurch mit den stimmlosen Lauten /t/, /k/, /s/ zusammengefallen waren (vgl. etwa demot. *prntt* [DN I, 468] neben *prndd* für iran. \**Farna-dāta-*, s. Mayrhofer, *AÖAW* 109, 317-18, und *mhrtt* [DN I, 614] für altiran. \**Miθra-dāta-*, vgl. latein. *Meherdates* (Tac.) oder demot. *kbq* neben demot. *gm:q* s. Kornfeld, a.a.O., 108, für den Kambyses-Namen), wurde während der Perserzeit gelegentlich der Versuch unternommen, die stimmhaften Laute in Fremdwörtern trotzdem genauer zu bezeichnen: /d/ wird (ähnlich wie im Neugriechischen) durch *-nt-* oder *-nd-* wiedergegeben (s. Sethe, a.a.O., 117). Die Laute /b/ und /p/ werden dagegen strikt getrennt gehalten; gleichwohl sind bei den iranischen Namen in demotischer Schrift zwei Ausnahmen bekannt und zwar demot. *pgtt* [Sethe, a.a.O., 127] für iran. \**Baga-dāta-* 'von Baga/Gott/den Göttern beschützt' und *rtbtw-rtbs* [DN I, 38] für iran. \**Rta-pāta-* 'von Arta beschützt' (dazu s. auch Clarysse in Clarysse-Van der Veken, a.a.O., 137). Da prosopographische Identität vorliegt (vgl. Van der Veken in Clarysse-Van der Veken, a.a.O., 78 und DN, a.a.O.) mit dem aus mehreren griechischen Papyri (zu den Belegen s. Huyse, *Iranische Namen*, 37 Nr. 36a-c) bekannten Ἀρταπάτης, Vater eines eponymen Priesters Τληπόλεμος, ist an der Deutung der demotischen Namensform *rtbtw* nicht zu zweifeln. Der Name *štrpn* [DN I, 49], den Mayrhofer, *AÖAW* 109, 319-20 als Wiedergabe von iran. \**Ātr-bānu-* 'mit dem Glanz des Feuer(gotte)s' erklären wollte, ist möglicherweise eher als \**Ātr-pāna-* 'den Schutz des Feuer(gotte)s habend' (vgl. mittelpers. *'twrp 'n Ādurbān/*) zu analysieren und dürfte daher nicht als weiterer Beleg für ein Schwanken bei der Wiedergabe von /b/ oder /p/ betrachtet werden. Insofern die wenigen iranischen Namen in demotischer Schrift ein sicheres Urteil gestatten, wäre iran. /u-/ wahrscheinlich durch demot. *-w* wiedergegeben worden; vgl. jedoch oben *rtbtw* und daneben noch demot. *prnw* [DN I, 468], das als exakte Wiedergabe von aram. *prnw* wohl altiran. \**Farna(h)va-* reflektieren soll (dazu s. M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana. Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen.* SÖAW 286 (Wien, 1973), 214 Nr. 8.1287 und Kornfeld, a.a.O., 110). Da die iranischen Namen in demotischer Schrift außerdem meistens eine getreue Wiedergabe der durch das Aramäische vermittelten Namensformen sind, würde iran. \**bānu-* demnach wohl als demot. *-bnw* (vgl. etwa aram. *'rtbnw* 'den Glanz des Rta habend': Kornfeld, a.a.O., 99) in Erscheinung treten.

publiziert.<sup>15</sup> Es fällt nicht immer leicht, unbestrittene Lesungen vorzuschlagen. Dies gilt auch für den vorliegenden Fall: Der Herausgeber stellte zwar einerseits fest, daß 'the first sign of the name approaches the normal form of š more nearly than that of m', räumte aber andererseits ein, daß 'the possibility that *mytrh* was intended must be borne in mind'.<sup>16</sup> Die alphabetische Schreibung des Namens wie das Auftreten eines Fremdnamendeterminativs drängen allerdings den Schluß auf, daß hier ein Name nicht-ägyptischen Ursprungs vorliegt. Es ist das Verdienst Kuhrts<sup>17</sup> gewesen, hierin einen iranischen Personennamen vermutet zu haben, doch ihre spekulativen etymologischen Vorschläge sind für Spezialisten der iranischen Onomastik weitgehend inakzeptabel.<sup>18</sup> Die Frage der Namensdeutung wurde deshalb von Schmitt 1985 (s. Anm. 10) erneut aufgegriffen, ähnlich wie bereits Mayrhofer<sup>19</sup> kam er zu dem überzeugenden Ergebnis, daß der Name als Wiedergabe eines zweistämmigen Hypokoristikons altiran. \**Miθra-x-a-* zu dem Vollnamen \**Miθra-xšāθra-* 'durch *Miθra* die Herrschaft habend' oder allenfalls eines entsprechenden Hypokoristikons altiran. \**Ciθra-x-a-* zu dem Vollnamen \**Čiθra-xšāθra-* 'mit glänzender Herrschaft' aufzufassen ist. Hiermit wäre eventuell auch in der ägyptischen Nebenüberlieferung in demotischer Schrift ein (weiterer<sup>20</sup>) Beleg für die in den iranischen Sprachen so zahlreich vertretenen mit dem Gottesnamen \**Miθra-* gebildeten Personennamen<sup>21</sup> gefunden. Den methodisch beispielhaften Erläuterungen Schmitts ist nur noch eine kleine Bemerkung hinzuzufügen: Zur Erklärung des Namens schloß er eine Form altiran. \**Miθra-x-aya-* mit hypokoristischem Suffix \**-aya-* für die hier belegte demotische Namensform aus,<sup>22</sup> da dieses in irgendeiner Weise im Schriftbild in Erscheinung hätte treten müssen. Dieser Einwand könnte nun möglicherweise eine Bestätigung finden durch zwei neue Belege (s. unten demot. *rrty* und demot. *bgj*).

In einem stark zerstörten Papyrusfragment [S.H5-434] eines offensichtlich längeren und wichtigen Schriftstückes, das aber inhaltlich nicht genau bestimmt werden kann, begegnet wiederholt<sup>23</sup> der Name demot. *rrsm*. Sollte dieser Arsames dem aus vielen Quellen<sup>24</sup> bekannten Satrapen Ägyptens unter Artaxerxes I. (465-424 v.Chr.) und—vorausgesetzt, daß prosopographische Identität vorliegt—während der ganzen Regierungszeit Dareios' II. (424-404 v.Chr.) gleichgestellt werden können, so wäre das Dokument nach den spärlich vorhandenen Zeitangaben vielleicht ins Jahr 435 v.Chr. zu datieren [Smith]. Auch hier ist demot. *rrsm* die getreue Wiedergabe von aram. *ršm*;<sup>25</sup> der Name ist am ehesten als Bahuvrihi-Kompositum altiran. \**aṛša-ama-* 'die Kraft eines Helden habend' zu deuten.<sup>26</sup>

In demselben Fragment [S.H5-434]<sup>27</sup> findet sich auch der Name demot. *mspt*, der ebenfalls aus aramäischen Texten in den Formen aram. *mspt*<sup>28</sup> und, falls es sich um den gleichen Namen

<sup>15</sup> H. S. Smith und A. Kuhrt, *JEA* 68 (1982), 199-209.

<sup>16</sup> Smith in Smith-Kuhrt, a.a.O., 200 Anm. d.

<sup>17</sup> Kuhrt in Smith-Kuhrt, a.a.O., 206 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Sie wurden ausführlich von Schmitt, a.a.O., 204 widerlegt, so daß hier nicht mehr darauf zurückzukommen ist.

<sup>19</sup> Mayrhofer (brieflich) apud Smith-Kuhrt, a.a.O., 206 Anm. 6-7; 207 Anm. 16.

<sup>20</sup> Wahrscheinlich gehört in den gleichen Zusammenhang auch der Männername demot. *mytrf*...?..! [DN 1, 611].

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. sehr ausführlich hierzu R. Schmitt, *Etudes mithriaques. Actes du 2e Congrès International. Téhéran, du 1er au 8 septembre 1975. Acta Iranica* 17 (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège, 1978), 395-455.

<sup>22</sup> Schmitt, a.a.O., 208 Anm. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Recto, Kol.I, Zl.1 und 12; Verso, Kol.II, Zl.1, 9 und 13.

<sup>24</sup> Der Arsames des Dareios II. ist bekannt aus den aramäischen Papyri von Elephantine (s. A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), Nr.17, 21, 26-7, 30-2), den aramäischen Briefen auf Leder von Memphis (?), dem unpublizierten demotischen Papyrus P. Mainz 17.1 (dazu s. G. Vittmann, *Or* 58 (1989), 224), mehreren jungbabylonischen Inschriften und griechischen Autoren (zu den dort belegten Namensformen s. R. Schmitt, *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1979), 122); zu seiner Person s. ausführlich Driver, a.a.O., 88-96.

<sup>25</sup> Zu den Belegen im Aramäischen s. Kornfeld, a.a.O., 99.

<sup>26</sup> Weitere Literaturhinweise in Huyse, *Iranische Namen*, 34 Nr. 17.

<sup>27</sup> Verso, Kol.II, Zl.7 und 11.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. Kornfeld, a.a.O., 108; einmal begegnet auch die evidentermaßen falsch geschriebene Form *mpt* (s. Driver, a.a.O., 102 Sp.2).

handelt, aram. *msšpt*<sup>29</sup> bekannt ist. Es könnte nach Smith sogar prosopographische Identität mit dem Namensträger in Brief XII der Textausgabe von Driver 1957 (s. Anm. 4) vorliegen. Allerdings ist der ebenda von Henning<sup>30</sup> vorgenommene Vergleich mit griech. *Μασαβάτης* aufzugeben, da dieser Name eines Eunuchen bei Plutarch, *Artoxerxes* 17.1 und 17.7 anders zu bewerten und von dem hier belegten fernzuhalten ist. Bei der Behandlung der iranischen Namen in aramäischer Nebenüberlieferung aus Ägypten stellte Kornfeld 1978 (s. Anm. 4) zwei Deutungsvorschläge für aram. *mspt* zur Wahl, ohne sich klar für einen von beiden zu entscheiden: Entweder sei der Name mit altpers. \**Miça-pāta*-,<sup>31</sup> elam. *Mi-iš-ša-ba-ud-da*<sup>32</sup> usw. 'von Miθra beschützt' oder aber mit dem plutarchischen Namen griech. *Μασαβάτης* in Verbindung zu bringen, der aus altiran. \**Masa-pāta*- 'vom Großen beschützt' (vgl. avest. *mas-* 'groß') herzuleiten sei. Es geht aber aus zweierlei Gründen nicht an, aram. *mspt* an griech. *Μασαβάτης* anzuknüpfen,<sup>33</sup> auch wenn es keine phonologischen Einwände dagegen gibt. Ein erstes Gegenargument ist formaler Art: Bei Namenkomposita mit \**-pāta*- erwartet man im Vorderglied einen Gottesnamen o.ä., was bei der letztlich auf Justi zurückgehende etymologische Erklärung aus altiran. \**masa-pāta*- nicht der Fall wäre.<sup>34</sup> Das zweite Argument liegt bei dem Namen des von Plutarch erwähnten Eunuchen: Bei Ktesias<sup>35</sup> tritt er unter dem Namen *Βαγαπάτης* (aus altiran. \**Baga-pāta*- 'von Baga/Gott/den Göttern beschützt') auf. Von Werba<sup>36</sup> wird die plutarchische Namensform als eine anatolische (*masa* = 'Gott') «Adaptierung» der ktesianischen erklärt. Dadurch würde griech. *Μασαβάτης* isoliert, und es bliebe nur die Möglichkeit, aram. *mspt* an altpers. \**Miça-pāta*- anzuknüpfen.<sup>37</sup> Das letzte verbleibende Problem liegt dann nur noch in der Wiedergabe von altpers. ⟨ϕ⟩ durch aram. (und demot.) ⟨s⟩; die Annahme von Hinz (s. Anm. 33), daß altpers. ⟨ϕ⟩ durch aram. ⟨s⟩ wiedergegeben werde, ist zwar richtig, doch ist aram. ⟨s⟩ nicht zwingend die einzige Realisierung, wie einige weitere Beispiele zu verdeutlichen vermögen, die aram. ⟨s⟩ für altpers. ⟨ϕ⟩ zeigen.<sup>38</sup> Sogar für die schon eingangs vermutete Schreibung -ss- für altpers. ⟨ϕ⟩ in aram. *msšpt* ließe sich möglicherweise eine Parallele finden in aram. *rthššš*,<sup>39</sup> altägypt. *rthššš/rthššš*,<sup>40</sup> demot. *rthššš*<sup>41</sup> für altpers. \**Rta-xšāca*- 'dessen Herrschaft sich auf die Wahrheit/rechte Ordnung gründet'.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Segal, a.a.O., 13.2.

<sup>30</sup> W. B. Henning apud Driver, a.a.O., 81; s. auch W. B. Henning, *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (Berlin, 1968), 144 Anm. 38 [= W. B. Henning, *Selected Papers*. II. *Acta Iranica* 15 (Leiden-Téhéran-Liège, 1977), 665].

<sup>31</sup> Auch die nicht-echtpersische, aber für die meisten Ausprägungen des Altiranischen anzusetzende Form des Namens, \**Miθra-pāta*- (vgl. elam. *Mi-ut/tur-ra-ba-da* bei Mayrhofer, *SÖAW* 286, 207 Nr. 8.1168, griech. *Μιτροπάτης* in Xen., *Hell.* 1.3.12, lyk. *Miθrapata*- bei R. Schmitt, *Iranische Namen in den indogermanischen Sprachen Kleinasien* (Lykisch, Lydisch, Phrygisch). *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, v/4 (Wien, 1982), 23 Nr.17), ist im Aramäischen vertreten in der Form *mtrpt* (s. R. A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis* (Chicago, 1970), 74); vgl. im weiteren noch M. Mayrhofer, *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1979), 112.

<sup>32</sup> Mayrhofer, *SÖAW* 286, 204 Nr.8.1138.

<sup>33</sup> Für diese Anknüpfung treten explizit auch Grelot, a.a.O., 478 und W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. Göttinger Orientforschungen, III.3 (Wiesbaden, 1975), 161 und 165 ein; s. zuerst F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), 505 s.v. *pāta* [Nachdruck Hildesheim, 1963].

<sup>34</sup> Würde jemand einwenden, \**masa*- sei vielleicht ein Epitheton für einen Gott, so müßte er nicht nur überzeugend nachweisen können, welcher Gottheit dieses dann zuzuschreiben sei, sondern auch unter den vielen *-pāta*-Namen ein weiteres einleuchtendes Beispiel anführen.

<sup>35</sup> Zu den Belegen s. Schmitt, a.a.O., 127 Anm. 62.

<sup>36</sup> Ch. Werba, *Die arischen Personennamen und ihre Träger bei den Alexanderhistorikern* (*Studien zur iranischen Anthroponomastik*). Diss. (Wien, 1982), 266 mit ausführlichen Literaturangaben.

<sup>37</sup> Schmitt, a.a.O., 426, 427 Anm. 47 hatte den Namen aram. *mspt* bereits ohne Zögern in die Liste der mit dem Gottesnamen \**Miθra*- komponierten Namen aufgenommen, und auch Swiggers, a.a.O., 178 hat diese Lösung vorgezogen.

<sup>38</sup> Etwa altpers. *ācina*-: aram. *šyn*; altpers. \**ācidāta*-: aram. *šydt*; altpers. \**Čiça-farnah*-: aram. *ššprn*.

<sup>39</sup> Kornfeld, a.a.O., 100.

<sup>40</sup> Ranke, *PN* II, 259. 12; Posener, a.a.O., 163.

<sup>41</sup> A. F. Shore, *NC* (1974), 5-8; M. Alram, *Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis. Materialgrundlagen zu den iranischen Personennamen auf antiken Münzen*. *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, IV (Wien, 1986), 117 Nr. 370.

Eine sehr umfangreiche Gruppe von iranischen Personennamen sind die Namen mit dem Element *\*aRta-*. Auch in Saqqara stößt man auf mehrere Belege: Noch immer in demselben Dokument [S.H5-434] begegnet beispielsweise zweimal<sup>42</sup> der Name demot. *ṛty*, der sich vielleicht am ehesten als ein Hypokoristikum altiran. *\*aRt-aya-* (vgl. elam. *Ir-da-ya*, *Ir-te-ya*, griech. *Ἀρταίος*)<sup>43</sup> mit dem oben genannten Kosesuffix *\*-aya-* analysieren läßt (vgl. auch unten demot. *bgy*). Des weiteren ist ein Name demot. *ṛtkš* belegt;<sup>44</sup> sein Träger hat offensichtlich einen Sohn mit (wenn auch unsicher gelesenen) ägyptischem Namen. Anders als in dem gleich unten zu besprechenden Fall braucht es sich hier nicht unbedingt um einen iranischen Namen zu handeln.<sup>45</sup> Sicher ist die Verführung groß, auch hierin einen *\*aRta-*Namen erkennen zu wollen, doch gibt es meines Wissens unter den bisher bekannten Namen<sup>46</sup> keinen, der uns einer Lösung auch nur einen Schritt näher brächte. Eine Anknüpfung an eine hypokoristische Wurzel<sup>47</sup> *\*aRta-xš<sup>o</sup>* (vgl. etwa griech. *Ἀρταξίας*, *Ἀρτοξάρης*) darf deshalb nicht gesucht werden, weil altiran. */-x-/* in den bisherigen Belegen im Anlaut wie im Inlaut ausschließlich durch die Schreibung *-h-*, nie durch *k-* wiedergegeben wird.<sup>48</sup> In einem weiteren Fund<sup>49</sup> begegnet ein *ṛt* [...]. Der Verdacht, daß sich dahinter—ohne daß man ihn aber zu ergänzen vermag—ein iranischer Name verbergen könnte, wird dadurch verstärkt, daß in demselben Kontext ein Name *Wštn* auftaucht,<sup>50</sup> dieser ist eindeutig eine Wiedergabe von aram. *wštn*,<sup>51</sup> das seinerseits altiran. *\*(H)u-štāna-* 'guten Stand habend' reflektiert. Aus den bisher bekannten Belegen<sup>52</sup> ergibt sich, daß altiran. *\*aRta-* in demotischer Schrift durch *\*ṛt/ṭ-* wiedergegeben wird. Es gibt nur eine Ausnahme, bei der altiran. *\*-r-* nicht als demot. *-r-*, sondern als *-l-* erscheint,<sup>53</sup> doch der Träger des Namens demot. *ṛtbs* ist prosopographisch mit dem Träger des Namens demot. *ṛtbtw* zu identifizieren.<sup>54</sup> Demnach ist der Name demot. *ṛtbs* als zweistämmiger Kosename altiran. *\*aRta-p-a-* zu analysieren; es liegt hier somit ein Fall vor, bei dem eine Person sowohl mit ihrem Vollnamen wie mit einem Kurznamen bekannt ist.<sup>55</sup>

Mit zwei nicht in allen Einzelheiten klaren Personennamen soll diese kleine Untersuchung abgeschlossen werden: In einem Papyrus [S.H5-202] begegnen die Namen demot. *bgyṭ* (Zl.1) und *bgy* (Zl.2). In beiden Fällen ist man geneigt, an einen von den ebenfalls sehr zahlreichen *\*Baga-*Namen zu denken. Angesichts der genauen Wiedergabe in der demotischen Schrift von iranischen, durch das Aramäische vermittelten Namen, ist es aber unmöglich, demot. *bgyṭ* an alt-

<sup>42</sup> Recto, Kol.I, Zl.3, Verso, Kol.II, Zl.3.

<sup>43</sup> Mayrhofer, *SÖAW* 286, 166 Nr. 8.610, 169 Nr. 8.655, 285; Schmitt apud Mayrhofer, *SÖAW* 286, 292.

<sup>44</sup> S.72/-35, Zl.7.

<sup>45</sup> Es sei hier nur beiläufig hingewiesen auf den meroitischen Frauennamen demot. *ṛtry*/*Aretroye* (*DN* I, 36).

<sup>46</sup> Mayrhofer, *SÖAW* 286, 163 ff. verzeichnet beispielsweise über 60 (mögliche) *Rta-*Namen in den elamischen Persepolis-Täfelchen.

<sup>47</sup> Unter 'hypokoristische Wurzel' versteht man nach J. Kurylowicz, *Indogermanische Grammatik*. II. *Akzent-Ablaut* (Heidelberg, 1968), 347, eine Form aus erhaltenem Vorderglied, aber mit verkürztem Hinterglied eines Vollnamens.

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. etwa *mytrh* = altiran. *\*Miθra-x-a-* (s. oben und *DN* I, 585) oder *ṛthšš* = altiran. *\*aRta-xšaθra-*. Daneben noch im Hieroglyphisch-Ägyptischen: *ḥmns* = altiran. *\*Haxāmaniš* bzw. *°išiya-*, vgl. aram. *ḥmns*, griech. *Ἀχαμέννης* (s. Burchardt, a.a.O., 78 Anm. 5 und Posener, a.a.O., 60, 195b); *ḥšy(ṛ)š* = altiran. *\*Xšaya-ṛšan-*, vgl. aram. *ḥšy(ṛ)š*, griech. *Ξέρξης* (s. *PN*, II, 310.28 und Posener, a.a.O., 163).

<sup>49</sup> S.H5-450: Recto, Kol.II, Zl.1 und 4 (bereits wegen des Satrapentitels erwähnt).

<sup>50</sup> Zl.4: *Wštn irm ṛt* [...]: 'Uštāna und Art[...]'.  
<sup>51</sup> Kornfeld, a.a.O., 106; für weitere Einzelheiten verweise ich auf Mayrhofer, *SÖAW* 286, 250 Nr. 8.1780.

<sup>52</sup> Hinzuzufügen sind noch demot. *ṛtbtw* (*DN* I, 38) wie *ṛtptw* (Clarysse nach mündlicher Auskunft von Yoyotte) = altiran. *\*aRta-pāta-* 'von [der Gottheit] Arta beschützt', vgl. griech. *Ἀρταβπάτης* und *ṛtešws* (Clarysse, *P.dem.Lille*, IV, in Vorbereitung) = altiran. *\*aRta-vazdah-* 'durch Arta kraftvoll, ausdauernd', vgl. griech. *Ἀρτάβαζος* (s. Huyse, *Iranische Namen*, 35 ff. mit weiterer Literatur).

<sup>53</sup> Zur Schwankung von *l* und *r* in demotischen Quellen s. Clarysse in Clarysse-Van der Veken, a.a.O., 142 und bes. Anm. 15.

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 14.

<sup>55</sup> Auch aus den griechischen Papyri in Ägypten ist ein solches Beispiel bekannt; vgl. Huyse, *Iranische Namen*, 35 Nr. 23a *Ἀρταβάζας* und 37 Nr. 27d *Ἀρταβᾶς*.

iran. \**Baga-pāta*- (vgl. oben) zu verbinden;<sup>56</sup> auf eine plausible Namensklärung muß deshalb derzeit wohl verzichtet werden.<sup>57</sup> Anders verhält es sich im Fall des Namens demot. *bgy*, der wohl am ehesten als Hypokoristikon altiran. \**Bag-aya*-<sup>58</sup> (vgl. oben demot. *ṛty* ≡ altiran. \**aRt-aya*-) zu erklären ist. Die beiden Namen, *ṛty* und *bgy*, machen deutlich, daß das altiranische Kosesuffix \*-*aya*- wohl erwartungsgemäß durch demot. -*y* repräsentiert wird. In dem Fall von *bgy* scheint zwar noch ein -*r* zu folgen, doch liegt durch Vergleich mit einem weiteren Beleg des Namens, bei dem der ganze Kontext eindeutig zu lesen ist,<sup>59</sup> die Annahme nahe, daß dieses *r* ein Personendeterminativ ist.<sup>60</sup>

Anders als für die Wiedergabe griechischer Namen in demotischer Schrift, bei der Vieles—trotz wichtiger Einzeluntersuchungen (wie Clarysse in Clarysse-Van der Veken, a.a.O., 131–65)—noch im unklaren bleibt,<sup>61</sup> lassen sich iranische Entsprechungen demotischer Grapheme leichter ermitteln; ein zusätzliches Hilfsmittel dazu bietet die bereits von Sethe gemachte Feststellung, daß Iranisches im Ägyptischen durch das Aramäische vermittelt worden ist (s. oben). Die Entsprechungstabelle demotischer Grapheme und altiranischer Phoneme, die sich aufgrund der bisher bekannten Belege iranischer Namen in demotischer Schrift ermitteln läßt, führt größtenteils nur zu trivialen Ergebnissen, weshalb hier auf eine vollständige Aufzählung der Entsprechungen verzichtet wird. Daneben muß man aber feststellen, daß sowohl Kurzvokale (/a/ in (*i*)*ḥštrpn*(*y*), *prndd*, *prntt*, *slbs*, *prnw*, *mytrḥ*, *ṛšm*, *mspt*, *ṛthšš*; /i/ in *mhrtt*, *mspt*) wie auch Langvokale (/ā/ in (*i*)*ḥštrpn*(*y*), *prndd*, *prntt*, *mhrtt*, *ṛtḥb/ptw*, *štrpn*, *mspt*, *ṛthšš*, *wšṛn*) häufig unbezeichnet bleiben. Abschließend kann man nur die Hoffnung zum Ausdruck bringen, daß in den noch nicht erforschten demotischen Dokumenten aus Nord-Saqqara bald weitere iranische Namen ans Licht kommen werden, die das hier geschilderte Bild ergänzen könnten.

PHILIP HUYSE

*Postscript:* [Der oben in Anm. 7 erwähnte Vortrag von Herrn Prof. Smith liegt nun vor in: *Life in a Multi-cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (Chicago, 1992), 305–11].

<sup>56</sup> Eher zu erwarten wäre, wie auch im Aramäischen (s. Kornfeld, a.a.O., 103), eine Form demot. \**bgpt*.

<sup>57</sup> Zu den *Baga*-Namen im Aramäischen s. Kornfeld, a.a.O., 101–3 und Schmitt, a.a.O., 151.

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. elam. *Ba-ke-ya* (Mayrhofer, *SÖAW* 286, 138 Nr. 8.227) und griech. *Βαγίος* (Werba, a.a.O., 100 mit ausführlicher Literaturangabe).

<sup>59</sup> S.H5-174, Recto, Zl.1 *Bgy mwot=f Tḥ-(nt-)hs*; der Fall ist auch insofern interessant, als der Träger des iranischen Namens eine ägyptische Mutter hatte!

<sup>60</sup> Obwohl D. Devauchelle, *RdE* 39 (1988), 208, den Namen demot. *pwry* an den auf einem elamischen Verwaltungstäfelchen von Persepolis belegten Namen *Pu-ra-ya* (s. Mayrhofer, *SÖAW* 286, 221 Nr.8.1376) hatte anknüpfen wollen, erscheint es mir sicherer, den Namen, wie im *DN* 1, 455 geschehen, mit griech. *Πυρρίας* zu verbinden. Somit würde auch dieser Beleg von demot. -*y* für altiran. \*-*aya*- ausscheiden und bleibt es bei der Annahme, daß dieses hypokoristische Suffix durch demot. -*y* wiedergegeben wird.

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. E. Lüddeckens, *DN* 1, 3: 'Eine Durchsicht der bilingual, prosopographisch oder durch evidente Übereinstimmung des Konsonantenbestandes gesicherten demotischen Belege genuin griechischer Namen ergibt, daß die Ermittlung von Regeln für die Beziehungen zwischen den griechischen Lauten und den demotischen Schriftzeichen auf Schwierigkeiten stößt (zumal bei Lauten, die jeweils nur in einer der beiden Sprachen existieren), solange hier noch keine spezielle, fundierte Untersuchung mit gesicherten Ergebnissen vorliegt'.



### A pair of papyrus sandals

Publication of a rare pair of funerary papyrus sandals in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam (APM 11988), belonging to the singer of Amon-Re, *Mry-'Imn-it.s*. Probably from Thebes, and dating to the Ptolemaic Period.

IN 1991, the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam acquired a rare pair of funerary sandals,<sup>1</sup> fabricated of several layers of re-used (inscribed) papyri. The sandal-straps, consisting of simple thin rope, were still partly in place. Both sandals are damaged. On the inside of both, the Nine Bows are depicted in red, bordered by a blue line. The insides as a whole are lined by a band of blank, red and blue boxes in an irregular order. The outside of both bears a single column of hieroglyphs in black ink, containing the following text: 'The enemies are fallen, when both my sandals are united. The singer of Amon-Re, Mery-Amon-ites, the deceased, borne by the Lady of the House, Nehmes-Ratawy' on the right sandal, and on the left the same text, except for the last phrase: '... daughter of the God's Father, User-Khonsu' (fig. 1a-b, pl. XXXI, 1-4). Somewhat remote parallels can be found in Turin, where there are several pairs of sandals, each with one bound prisoner (Nubian or Asiatic); one of these has a related, but abbreviated, text.<sup>2</sup>

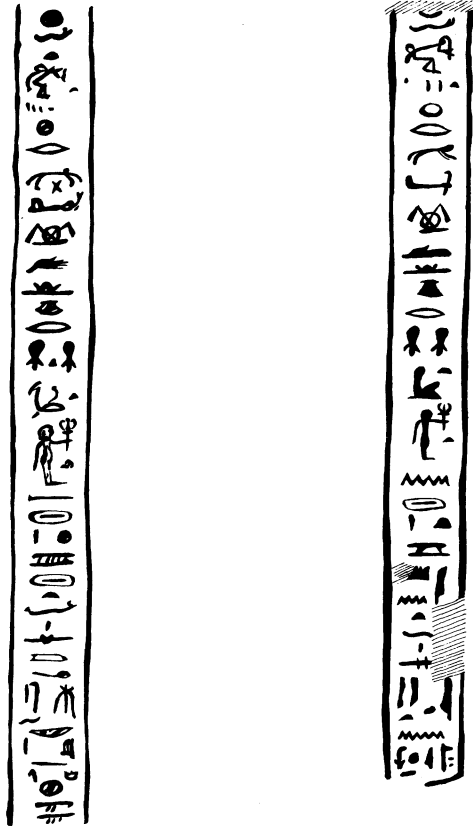


FIG. 1a. The text on the right sandal.      FIG. 1b. The text on the left sandal.

<sup>1</sup> APM 11.988. Length: 22.5 cm (left one now 21.8 cm), width of both: 6.5 cm.

<sup>2</sup> Turin, Museo Egizio: nos. 2327, 2328, 2330; no. 2329 bears the text mentioned (unpublished).

The family mentioned is attested from several other sources: some bronze libation vases,<sup>3</sup> an offering table,<sup>4</sup> and probably a wooden stela<sup>5</sup> produce more members of this family of Amon-priests from Thebes. Moreover, some of the names current in this family occur among subsidiary burials from the Thirtieth Dynasty and later in the tomb of Ankh-Hor (TT 414) in the Asasif.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, in all probability, the sandals originate from Thebes, and are to be dated in the Ptolemaic Period.

WILLEM M. VAN HAARLEM

### Ein verschollener Reliefblock von der Grabkapelle einer frühmeroitischen Kandake

A drawing preserved in the Griffith Institute, Oxford, records an early Meroitic relief block which is now lost. It shows a woman's arm and an inscription, and comes from a tomb chapel in the southern cemetery of Begarawiya, where it was found by Ferlini. Its precise provenance may be either S1 or Sg. The inscription attests a hitherto unknown Kandake, who can be dated to the first half of the third century BC. From about the same time comes the representation of another royal lady, whose demolished tomb chapel was at least partly reused in the construction of the pyramid Beg N16.

IN ihrem Bericht über nubische und meroitische Materialien im Griffith Institute, Oxford, erwähnen J. Malek und D. N. E. Magee<sup>1</sup> unter den Beständen auch: '5.23 Letter from U. Monneret de Villard, dated November 4, 1931, enclosing a 19th c. drawing of an inscribed relief found by Ferlini in a "pyramid at Sennar"'. Mein aufrichtiger Dank gebührt Herrn Dr. Jaromir Malek für die Übersendung von Kopien des Briefes und der Zeichnung sowie die Erteilung der Publikationsgenehmigung.

Die Darstellung (Fig. 1) zeigt den erhobenen linken Unterarm einer Frau; in der geschlossenen Faust sind noch die Stiele von drei Lotosknospen erhalten. Rechts davon befindet sich das untere Ende von vier vertikalen Kolonnen eines Hieroglyphentextes, wobei eine Zweiteilung zu erkennen ist. Während die ersten drei Kolonnen durch bis an die Enden des Textes reichende Linien voneinander getrennt sind, befindet sich zwischen dem dritten und vierten Schriftstreifen ein breiter, durchgehender Steg, der, entsprechend den Analogien, zu einem Baldachinträger gehört. Damit sind die ersten drei Kolonnen Fragmente eines zusammengehörenden Textes, der von einer Kartusche und der Titulatur abgeschlossen wird, während die vierte getrennt davon zu betrachten ist. Wir werden uns später mit dieser Inschrift noch detaillierter auseinandersetzen, zunächst wollen wir uns aber der Frage nach der Herkunft des Reliefblocks zuwenden.

Es handelt sich dabei eindeutig um das Fragment von der Nordwand einer Pyramidenkapelle, deren Inhaberin eine Frau war. Wir haben jedoch davon auszugehen, daß die Aussage bezüglich des Herkunftsortes falsch ist. Bei Sennar fand sich zwar der südlichste bislang bekannte meroitische Friedhof,<sup>2</sup> er besaß aber weder Pyramiden noch Mastabas. Ebenso ist von einer Aktivität Ferlinis in diesem Gebiet nichts bekannt. Aufgrund dessen müssen wir uns jenem Ort zuwenden, der mit dem Namen des Italieners untrennbar verbunden ist, nämlich den Nekropolen von Begarawiya. Besondere Berühmtheit erlangte Ferlini durch den Schatzfund in der Pyramide Beg N6 der Königin Amanisaheto.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> U. Bouriant, *RT* 7 (1885), 119.

<sup>4</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *RT* 21 (1899), 52.

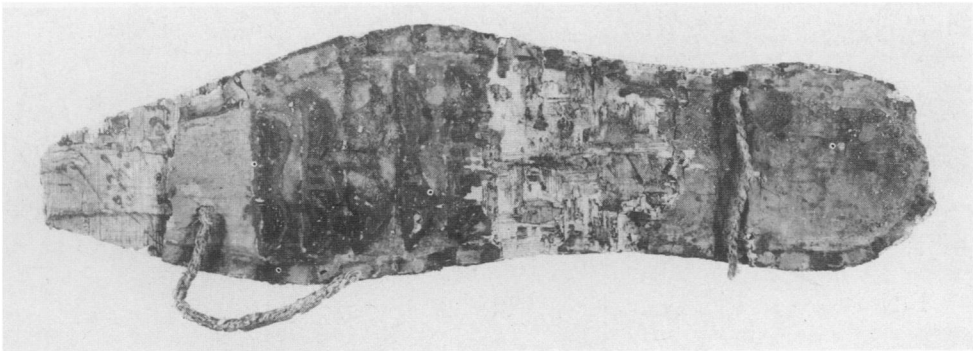
<sup>5</sup> M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, 11 (London, 1987), 44 pls. 92-3 (BM 8477).

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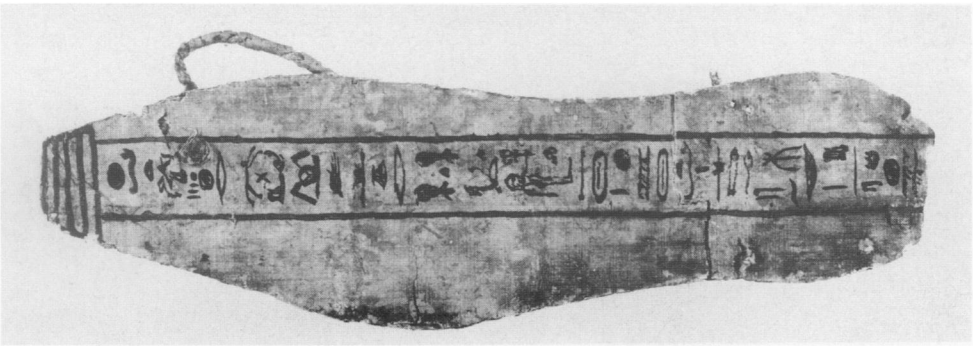
<sup>1</sup> J. Malek und D. N. E. Magee, *BzS* 3 (1988), 49-55. Siehe 51.

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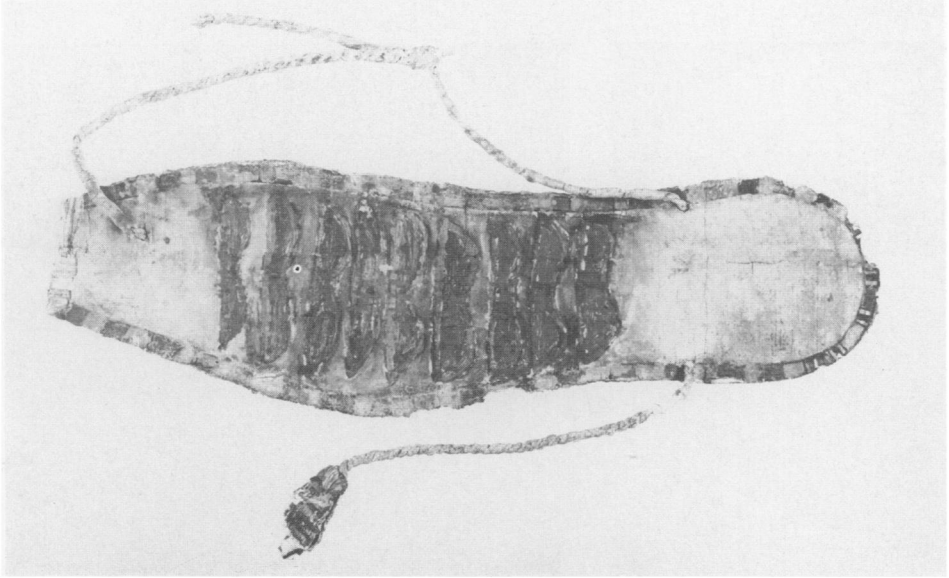
<sup>3</sup> Beginn des 1. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts: datiert nach I. Hofmann, *Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie* (St. Augustin, 1978), 108f. Zum Schatz vgl. umfassend H. Schäfer, in *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten* (Berlin, 1910), 92-238.



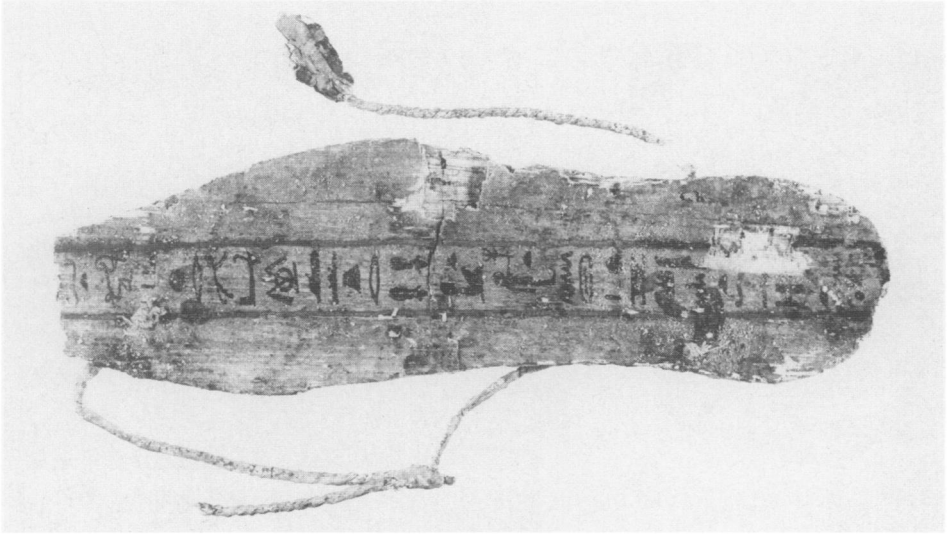
1. Inside, right sandal



2. Outside, right sandal



3. Inside, left sandal



4. Outside, left sandal

A PAIR OF PAPYRUS SANDALS (p. 294)

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WILLEM M. VAN HAARLEM

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<sup>2</sup> F. Addison, *Antiquity* 24 (1950), 12-24; D. M. Dixon, *Kush* 11 (1963), 227-34.

<sup>3</sup> Beginn des 1. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts: datiert nach I. Hofmann, *Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie* (St. Augustin, 1978), 108f. Zum Schatz vgl. umfassend H. Schäfer, in *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten* (Berlin, 1910), 92-238.

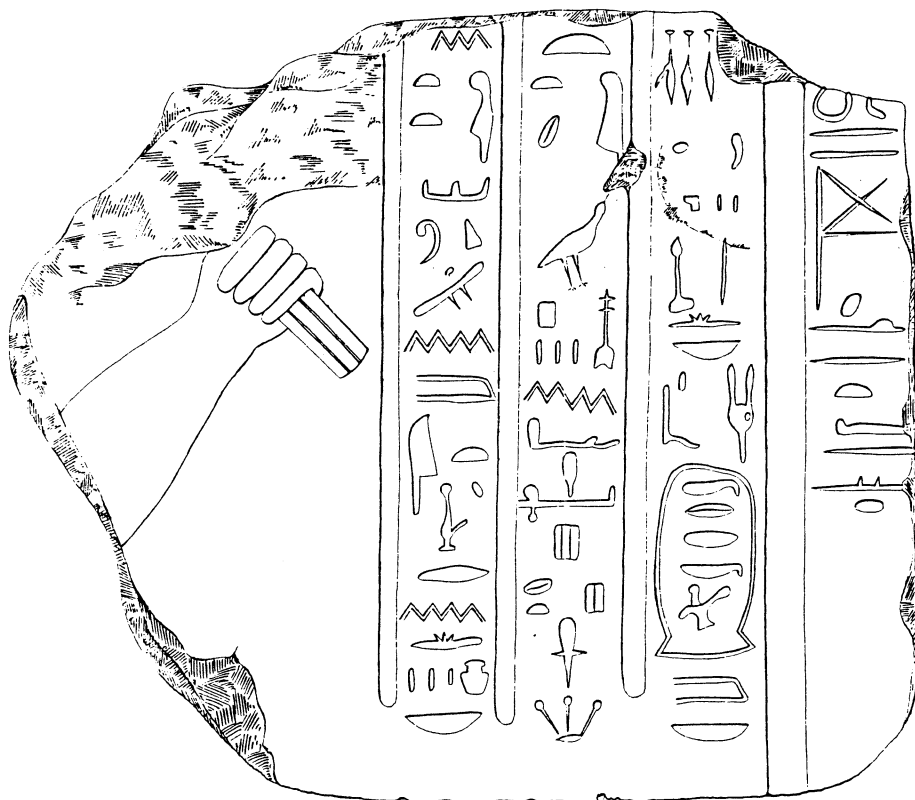


FIG. 1. Zeichnung des Ferlini-Reliefblocks (Griffith Institute, Oxford, No. 5.23).

Und hier läßt sich auch tatsächlich die Herkunft unseres Blocks lokalisieren, denn Ferlini<sup>4</sup> erwähnt unter den am Nordfriedhof von Begarawiya gefundenen Gegenständen in der Rubrik 'Rocce' als Kat. No. 149 folgendes Objekt: 'Pezzo di pietra staccato dalla grande Piramide dove trovasi l'anterior parte di braccio di un uomo che stava seduto sopra un Leone; il rimanente della pietra è diviso in quattro compartimenti verticali dentro i quali sono iscrizioni geroglifiche, e cartello. La natura di questa pietra è di un Grès quarzoso a grani minuti giallo pallido'.<sup>5</sup>

Aufgrund dieser Beschreibung handelt es sich eindeutig um unseren Block. Die Legende würde darauf hinweisen, daß er aus der Wand der Grabkapelle von Beg N6, der 'grande Piramide', stammt. Verstärkt wird dieser Eindruck durch den Ausgrabungsbericht Ferlinis,<sup>6</sup> wo es heißt: 'Dall'altezza segnata colla lettera B dopo un lavoro di venti giorni, aveva demolito la piramide fino al piano del colle, ed apparivano lastre di pietra nera dette da Nubiani Galla. Il vestibolo però era ancora intatto; ... Era questo vestibolo tutt'inciso di geroglifici a molte linee; di fronte all'entrata, era un uomo maestosamente seduto sopra un leone, che non so qual cosa stringeva nella destra. Per utilità della scienza archeologica, e della storia avrei desiderato di staccare tutti questi macigni. Ma pensando che per la mole, ed il peso di essi non avrei potuto trasportarli pe' deserti, staccai una parte di quello posto di fronte all'entrata, da me creduto il più interessante, perchè in esso è scolpito il cartello, ed è segnato nel catalogo col N.149'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> G. Ferlini, *Cenno sugli scavi operati nella Nubia e Catalogo degli oggetti ritrovati dal Dott. Giuseppe Ferlini, Bolognese* (Bologna, 1837).

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. auch Schäfer, in *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 237, der den Vermerk 'nicht mehr nachzuweisen' anfügt.

<sup>6</sup> Ferlini, *Cenno sugli scavi*, xviii.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. auch Schäfer, in *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 221.

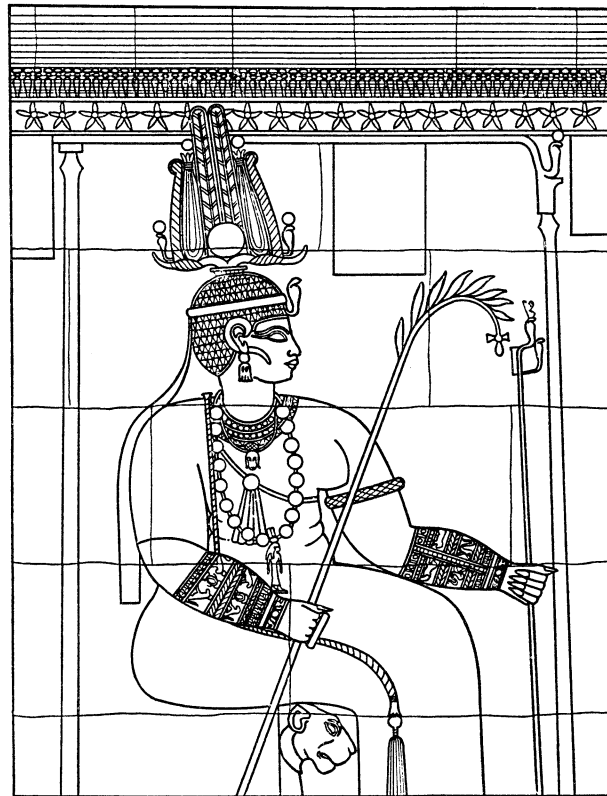


FIG. 2. Nordwand der Grabkapelle von Beg N6 (Ausschnitt).

Demnach hätte Ferlini den Block beim Abriß der Pyramide 'bis auf den Felsboden' als wegen der Kartusche interessantestes Stück aus der Wand der Grabkapelle gebrochen. Diese Meinung vertreten auch Budge<sup>8</sup> and Schäfer<sup>9</sup> in ihren Kommentaren zum Ausgrabungsbericht Ferlinis, wobei sie sich allerdings lediglich auf dessen Angabe stützen, ohne das entsprechende Relieffragment auch tatsächlich zu kennen.

Eine eingehende Analyse läßt aber bezüglich dieser Aussage berechnete Zweifel aufkommen. Zunächst zeigt eine Betrachtung der Kapellennordwand von Beg N6, daß bei der auf einem Löwenthrone sitzenden Amanisaheto der relevante Block nicht fehlt. Abgesehen davon ist die Armhaltung eine völlig andere, und außerdem umfaßt die Königin mit ihrer linken Faust einen Uräenstab und keine Lotosknospen.<sup>10</sup> Letztendlich ist der Unterarm auf unserem Block schmucklos wiedergegeben, während jene der Amanisaheto von breiten Armreifen bedeckt sind, die bis an die Ellenbogen reichen (vgl. Fig. 2).

Wenn wir uns nun der Beschriftung zuwenden, so zeigt sich auch hier ein erheblicher Unterschied zu Beg N6. So fehlen auf den Kapellenwänden dieser Pyramide jegliche Inschriften. Über den dargestellten Personen sind lediglich rechteckige Namensschilder angebracht, deren heute verlorengegangener Inhalt jedoch ursprünglich aufgemalt war. Angemerkt sei auch, daß die Inschrift auf unserem Block in ägyptischen Hieroglyphen ausgeführt ist, während bei Beg N6

<sup>8</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan. Its History and Monuments* (London, 1907), I, 292 f.

<sup>9</sup> Schäfer, in *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 95 und Anm. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Siehe RCK, III = S. E. Chapman und D. Dunham, *Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroe and Barkal. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, III (Boston, 1952), Pl. 16 A. Zum Uräenstab vgl. I. Gamer-Wallert und J. Dittmar, *Der Löwentempel von Naq'a in der Butana (Sudan)*, III: *Die Wandreliefs* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 170 ff. und 272 Abb. 90 ff.

meroitische verwendet wurden (so bei den Kartuschen der Amanisaheto auf beiden Pylonentürmen ihrer Grabkapelle).<sup>11</sup>

Somit verweisen sowohl die stilistische Ausführung des Armes mit dem Accessoir der drei Lotosknospen, als auch die Inschrift unseren Reliefblock in die frühmeroitische Zeit. Entsprechend der von Wenig<sup>12</sup> aufgestellten Klassifikation der Kapellenreliefs von Begarawiya, gehörte er zu einer Grabkapelle des Typs A, dessen Hauptcharakteristika u.a. folgende sind: 'Type A chapels, the earliest, have three registers of offering scenes accompanied by hieroglyphic texts. From these scenes and in one case labels accompanying them, it is clear that libations and cattle are the offerings most prized ... The prominence of Isis and Anubis both on these walls and on offering tables from this period, demonstrates that their claim to these duties, so pervasively illustrated in later Meroitic funerary remains, can be traced to this early period ... Funerary offerings are given to the ruler, who is Osiris, to support him in the afterlife'.<sup>13</sup> Als zeitliche Einordnung ist das 3. vorchristliche Jahrhundert gegeben.

Aus all diesen Gründen muß unser Block vom Südfriedhof von Begarawiya stammen, wo die meisten Kapellen dieses Typs vertreten sind, während die derartigen frühesten Pyramiden des Nordfriedhofes aus ikonographischen Gründen aus unserer Betrachtung ausscheiden. Damit sehen wir uns vor die Notwendigkeit gestellt zu untersuchen, welche der dortigen Pyramiden Frauen zuzuordnen sind und ob es unter den wenigen auf dieser Nekropole belegten Frauennamen einen gibt, der mit jenem in der Kartusche des von uns behandelten Blocks in Zusammenhang gebracht werden kann.

Als Orientierungskriterien für die in Frage kommende Zeitspanne liegen uns bedauerlicherweise nur die publizierten Kapellenwände von Beg S<sub>4</sub> und S<sub>10</sub> vor,<sup>14</sup> wonach sich aber, trotz der Spärlichkeit des Materials, recht konkrete Feststellungen tätigen lassen. Demnach läßt sich sagen, daß die Pyramide, zu deren Kapelle unser Block gehörte, in unmittelbare zeitliche Nähe zu Beg S<sub>4</sub> zu setzen ist, wenn nicht sogar überhaupt gleichzeitig mit dieser errichtet wurde. Grund für diese Aussage bietet einerseits die nahezu identische Darstellungsweise des Königinnenarmes betreffend die Anwinkelung zum Körper sowie die Haltung der Lotosknospen, andererseits die Anordnung der Inschrift, deren erste beiden Kolonnen ebenfalls Parallelen in der Beschriftung der Nordwand von Beg S<sub>4</sub> besitzen (vgl. pl. XXXII, 1). Beg S<sub>10</sub> ist hingegen in einem schlechteren Relief ausgeführt und unterscheidet sich in einer Vielzahl von Details von S<sub>4</sub> (vgl. pl. XXXII, 2). Ich danke an dieser Stelle dem National Board for Antiquities and Museums des Sudan für die freundliche Zustimmung zur Publikation der beiden Kapellenwände.

Unter diesen Gesichtspunkten können wir für das 3. vorchristliche Jahrhundert folgende Aufstellung vornehmen, wobei wir uns notgedrungen des nur groben chronologischen Gerüsts von Dunham bedienen müssen.<sup>15</sup> Die Pyramide Beg S<sub>15</sub> der Pasalta, die von Dunham seiner Generation 26/27 zugerechnet wurde, fand bei uns keine Berücksichtigung, da sie nur eine Grabkammer aufweist<sup>16</sup> und somit keiner königlichen Frau gehörte (fig. 3).

Von den Kapellen der Pyramiden Beg S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>9</sub>, S<sub>503</sub> und S<sub>3</sub> sind lediglich die Grundmauern erhalten geblieben, trotzdem ist wahrscheinlich, daß zumindest einige davon ebenfalls Reliefs besessen hatten.<sup>17</sup>

Aus all dem ergibt sich, daß als Herkunftsort unseres Blocks lediglich S<sub>1</sub> und S<sub>9</sub> (S<sub>3</sub> scheint mir aus zeitlichen Gründen ebenfalls auszuschließen) in Betracht kommen. Eine präzisere Zuordnung ist vorderhand aufgrund der gegenwärtigen Forschungslage nicht möglich. Damit könnte aber

<sup>11</sup> RCK, III, Pl. 17.

<sup>12</sup> St. Wenig, *MIO* 13 (1967), 5. Zuletzt behandelt von J. Yellin, *Meroitica* 12 (1990), 361-74.

<sup>13</sup> Yellin, *Meroitica* 12, 363.

<sup>14</sup> RCK, III, Pl. 3A und B; Pl. 4A und B.

<sup>15</sup> Zu einer weiteren Einteilung vgl. F. Hintze, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981), 91-8. Die relevante Aufstellung findet sich 97 Tab. A7.

<sup>16</sup> RCK, v = D. Dunham, *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroe. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, v (Boston, 1963), 395.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. G. A. Reisner, *JEA* 9 (1923), 34-77. Er nimmt 41, Tab. A für sie alle, allerdings auch für die undekorierte Kapelle von S<sub>2</sub>, Reliefdekoration an.

Pyramide	Generation		Name	Kapellendekoration
Beg S <sub>1</sub>	D: 28/1	H: 33	?	?
Beg S <sub>2</sub>	28/2	33	?	undekoriert
Beg S <sub>4</sub>	28/3	33	Sar ... tiñ	Reliefdekoration
Beg S <sub>9</sub>	28/4	33	?	?
Beg S <sub>503</sub>	29/1	34	Kheñuwa	?
Beg S <sub>3</sub>	29/2	34	?	?
Beg S <sub>10</sub>	30	34	Bartare	Reliefdekoration
Beg N <sub>3</sub>	31/1	34	?	undekoriert

FIG. 3

auch der Block Ferlini Kat.Nr. 150<sup>18</sup> mit der Darstellung einer Opferszene, der gleichfalls nicht aus Beg N6 stammt, von derselben Pyramidenkapelle kommen.<sup>19</sup>

Eine noch zur meroitischen Zeit erfolgte Verschleppung auf den Nordfriedhof ist grundsätzlich ebenfalls in Betracht zu ziehen. So finden sich in mehreren Pyramiden dieser Nekropole eine Anzahl von sekundär verbauten Reliefblöcken, von denen in unserem Kontext einer von besonderem Interesse ist. Er wurde in der Nordseite des Mantels von Beg N16 wiederverwendet und stammte ursprünglich ebenso von der Nordwand einer älteren Grabkapelle. Darauf dargestellt ist der Oberkörper einer Frau mit der Geißel in der rechten sowie drei Lotosknospen in der linken Hand. Denselben Block zeigt auch Breasted Foto P2918 (unsere pl. XXXII, 3).<sup>20</sup> Ich möchte an dieser Stelle dem Oriental Institute der University of Chicago meinen herzlichen Dank für die Übersendung des Fotos sowie die Erteilung der Publikationsgenehmigung aussprechen.

Breasteds Aufnahme zeigt außerdem den rechts davon anschließenden sekundär verbauten Block, auf dem noch der dazugehörige Kopf einer Frau mit der eng anliegenden Schädelpappe zu erkennen ist.<sup>21</sup>

Die Ikonographie ist bis auf die fehlenden Armreifen identisch mit der Darstellung auf der Nordwand von Beg S<sub>4</sub>, wodurch die besagten Blöcke aus der gleichen Zeit wie diese stammen dürften. Der einzige Unterschied liegt in der Technik, denn während bei S<sub>4</sub> Hochrelief Verwendung fand, wurde bei den Blöcken aus N16 die Darstellung vertieft angebracht.

Damit haben wir auch hier Fragmente eines frühmeroitischen Grabkapellenreliefs vor uns, das wahrscheinlich ebenfalls in die Generation von Beg S<sub>4</sub> zu datieren ist. Unter dieser Voraussetzung läßt sich die Gültigkeit der obigen Aufstellung auf diese in Beg N16 verbauten Blöcke ausdehnen. Überhaupt scheint diese Pyramide zum großen Teil aus wiederverwendeten Architekturelementen errichtet worden zu sein,<sup>22</sup> so daß sich vielleicht sogar die gesamte in Frage kommende Kapellenwand rekonstruieren lassen könnte.

Wenn wir uns nun der Inschrift auf unserem Block zuwenden, so ist leicht zu ersehen, daß der Anfertiger der Umzeichnung wahrlich kein Meister seines Faches war. Wie aber bereits eingangs erwähnt, scheint eine Zerteilung zu erkennen sein, die durch den Baldachinträger zwischen dritter und vierter Schriftkolonne gekennzeichnet ist. Nur mit Hilfe der Parallelen auf der Nordwand von

<sup>18</sup> Ferlini, *Cenno sugli scavi*, 16.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Schäfer, in *Ägyptische Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 237, mit Hinweis auf Ferlini, *Cenno sugli scavi*, xiv.

<sup>20</sup> H. Tomandl, *BzS* 1 (1986), 100, Abb. 2. Vgl. auch J. H. Breasted, *The 1905-1907 Breasted Expedition to Egypt and the Sudan. A Photographic Study* (Chicago, 1975), II, Foto P 2918 = Microfiche 2B3 mit der allerdings unrichtigen Herkunftsangabe 'Beg N24'.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. auch LD v, Text, 316.

<sup>22</sup> LD v, Text, 316f. So auch St. Wenig, *WZHU* 20 (1971), 271.

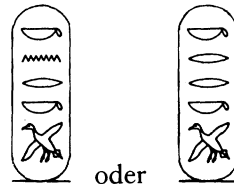


Beg S4 lassen sich die ersten zwei Kolonnen wie folgt rekonstruieren:






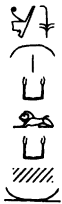
Bedauerlicherweise konnte ich für die letzten beiden Kolonnen keine Vergleichsbeispiele auf einer der Kapellenwände finden, womit ich auch keine Rekonstruktionsvorschläge anbieten möchte, da diese nicht über den Bereich der Raterei hinausgehen können.

Dasselbe Problem stellt sich auch bei der Kartusche. Falls es sich dabei um einen Personennamen handelt, so besitzt er ebenfalls keine Parallele unter den wenigen bekannten Frauennamen vom Südfriedhof von Begarawiya. Eine mögliche (und mit allem Vorbehalt durchgeführte) Lesung, wobei vor allem das zweite Graphem höchst unsicher ist, ergibt



Allerdings erscheint mir viel wahrscheinlicher, daß es sich dabei um einen Titel und nicht um

einen Eigennamen handelt. So hatte bereits Dunham<sup>23</sup> erkannt, daß es sich bei der Kartusche der Bartare aus Beg S10 um den Titel 'kandake' (d.h. 'Königsmutter') handelt, wobei  /L/R/ mit dem Laut /RD/ = /D/ gleichgesetzt und  /N/ ausgelassen worden wäre. Ersteres wäre jenes Graphem, das später im Meroitischen mit  wiedergegeben wurde und als zerebrales *d* /*d*/ zu verstehen ist.<sup>24</sup>



Ebenso nahm Wenig<sup>25</sup> unter Berufung auf die unpublizierte Dissertation von Priese<sup>26</sup> an, daß




<sup>23</sup> RCK, IV = D. Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroe and Barkal. The Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, IV (Boston, 1957), 47, Anm. 4.


<sup>24</sup> I. Hofmann, *Material für eine meroitische Grammatik* (Wien, 1981), 39 mit weiterer Literatur.

<sup>25</sup> Wenig, *MIO* 13, 39.

<sup>26</sup> K.-H. Priese, 'Das meroitische Sprachmaterial in den ägyptischen Inschriften des Reiches von Kusch' (phil. Diss., Berlin, 1965), 155.



auch die zweite Kartusche  der Sar ... tiñ aus Beg S4, die bislang als Kanarta gelesen wurde, ebenfalls als 'kandake' zu verstehen sei, wobei  für  stünde.

Da nun das zweite Graphem in unserer Kartusche äußerst unsicher ist, wobei vielleicht eine Beschädigung des Blockes vorliegt, ist es natürlich verlockend, dieses mit  zu rekonstruieren, womit wir wiederum den Kandake-Titel vors uns haben.

Daraus geht hervor, daß sie die Mutter eines regierenden Herrschers war. Um wen es sich dabei konkret handelt, läßt sich nicht präzisieren, doch müßte sie eine Zeitgenossin des Arqamaniqo *Hnmw ib Rr* gewesen sein, der am Beginn des 3. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts regierte<sup>27</sup> und unter dem der königliche Begräbnisplatz nach Begarawiya verlegt wurde.

Als Resümee unserer Untersuchung können wir feshalten, daß auf der Zeichnung No. 5.23 des Griffith Institute in Oxford der Block Ferlini Kat.Nr. 149 abgebildet ist, dessen Aufbewahrungsort seit langem unbekannt ist. Keinesfalls aus der Pyramide Beg N6, sondern vom Südfriedhof von Begarawiya stammend, ist er ein Beleg für eine weitere frühmeroitische Kandake, die wahrscheinlich in der ersten Hälfte des 3. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts lebte. Etwa in die gleiche Zeit datiert die Darstellung einer weiteren königlichen Frau, deren abgerissene Grabkapelle zumindest teilweise in der Pyramide Beg N16 sekundär verbaut wurde.

Damit wird wiederum die Erkenntnis offenbar, daß einerseits in Museen und Sammlungen noch immer eine ungeahnte Menge von unbekanntem, wichtigem Material verborgen liegt, und andererseits eine Fortführung der Arbeiten an den archäologischen Stätten des Sudan dringend erforderlich wäre, um unser Bild von der einzigartigen Kultur des Reiches von Meroe zu erweitern.

MICHAEL ZACH

### The *Kline* of Anubis

This article examines the possible funerary character of a feast of Anubis newly attested by UC 32068, a third century AD papyrus from Oxyrhynchus now in the Petrie Museum, University College, London. The text of the papyrus is given in full, with translation, and the nature of Egyptian ritual and funerary banquets in the presence of deities is discussed in the commentary.

THE small and unprepossessing scrap of papyrus published here (see pl. XXXII, 1) comes from the 1920 excavations of Sir Flinders Petrie at Oxyrhynchus. In 1991 it came to light in a box of papyrus fragments in the Petrie Museum, University College London, and was inventoried as UC 32068.<sup>1</sup> Most of the Petrie Museum fragments are small and badly damaged, and this piece would probably have been overlooked had it not preserved the distinctive abbreviation  $\Phi$  for  $\omega\rho(\alpha\zeta)$ , so characteristic of Oxyrhynchite dinner invitations on papyrus. On closer examination the papyrus

<sup>27</sup> Hofmann, *Beiträge zur meroitischen Chronologie*, 41 ff. und 192.

<sup>1</sup> UC 32068 is published here by courtesy of the Petrie Museum, University College London. I am extremely grateful to Mrs R. Janssen, Assistant Curator of the Museum, for all her help with conserving the text and obtaining photographs. Thanks are also due to Dr Helen Cockle and T. G. Wilfong for reading preliminary versions of this article.



1. Kapellennordwand von Beg S 4






2. Kapellenwand von Beg S 10




3. Breasted Foto P 2918 (*Courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*)

EIN VERSCHOLLENER RELIEFBLOCK (pp. 295-301)



auch die zweite Kartusche  der Sar ... tiñ aus Beg S4, die bislang als Kanarta gelesen wurde, ebenfalls als 'kandake' zu verstehen sei, wobei  für  stünde.

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proved to be just such a dinner invitation, couched in the standard terms but to a hitherto unattested occasion—a κλίνη or 'banquet' of the god Anubis.<sup>2</sup>

In its present state the fragment measures 2.4 × 4.9 cm and preserves seven to eight letters per line from a seven-line invitation. One to two letters are lost from the beginning of each line and about four to eight from the end. The lower margin of 0.5 cm is preserved, and when complete the invitation would have measured about 6 × 7 cm, within the normal size range for this kind of text. The hand is an upright cursive with some indications of Schubart's *Kanzleischrift*, bilinear except for ρ and υ which descend below the line, and typical of the mid- to late third century AD. P. Oxy. L3568 of 273/4 AD is comparable, though written with a blunter pen.

The reconstructed text of UC32068 runs as follows:

- 1 Ἐρωτᾶσε [c. six to eight letters]
  - 2 [δ]ειπνήσαι[εἰς τὴν]
  - 3 κλείνην τ[οῦ κυρίου]
  - 4 [Ἄν]ούβιδος ἐν[τῷ]
  - 5 [οἰ]κῷ τοῦ Σα[ραπείου]
  - 6 [α]ύριον[τ]ῆ[. ἀπό]
  - 7 ὥρ[(α)ς.]
- 3 l. κλίνην 5 οικῷ pap. 7 † pap.

#### Translation

[X] invites you to dine at the banquet of the [Lord An]ubis in the *oikos* of the Se[rapeum(?)], tomorrow, namely the [xth], at the [xth] hour.

#### Commentary

1. Ἐρωτᾶ σε. As is common in dinner invitations, the ε of ἐρωτᾶ was written disproportionately large as an *incipit*. The papyrus does not diverge from the usual invitation formula, with the name of the host (now completely lost) stated but that of the guest omitted, followed by the reason for the feast, the venue, and the date, usually the next or the same day. The hour when the celebrations were to start is indicated by the ὥρας abbreviation followed by a numeral. The closest parallels to the format of UC 32068 are the numerous invitations to the Serapis banquets (τὴν κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος) which are listed in M. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (Cologne, 1985), 124–7.

4. [Ἄν]ούβιδος. The letters are damaged but the reading is certain, and [Σαρ]άπιδος definitely cannot be read; the cursive β like an open box is unmistakable, and traces of the high floating omicron ligatured to the upsilon (as in τοῦ, line 5) are clearly visible on the horizontal fibres. This also discounts the possibility that [Σαρ]αβιδος was written for [Σαρ]άπιδος, since the letter before the β cannot be reconciled with α. None of the invitations to Serapis banquets listed by Totti (op. cit.) seem to be misidentified Anubis feasts.

5. [οἰ]κῷ; restored on analogy with P. Oxy. XIV 1755 and P. Coll. Youtie I 52, both invitations to the κλίνη of Serapis. It is possible that the venue of the dinner was in a private house (cf. P. Oxy. III 524, P. Oxy. I 111), although the term for house used in these invitations is invariably οἰκία, never οἶκος. The funerary banquets in P. Tebt. I 118 seem to be taking place in a private house, though we may again be dealing with a temple room. For references to the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus, see L. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon Rerumque Sacrarum et Divinarum* (Milan, 1977),

<sup>2</sup> A list of all the dinner invitations known to me is: P. Oxy. I 110, 111, 181 descr. (re-edition forthcoming); P. Oxy. III 523–4; P. Oxy. IV 747; P. Oxy. VI 926–7; P. Oxy. XII 1484–7; 1579–80; P. Oxy. XIV 1755; P. Oxy. XVII 2147; P. Oxy. XXXI 2592; P. Oxy. XXXIII 2678; P. Oxy. XXXVI 2791–2; P. Oxy. XLIV 3202; P. Oxy. XLIX 3501; P. Oxy. LII 3693–4; five examples included in my doctoral thesis, forthcoming in a volume of P. Oxy; P. Coll. Youtie I, 51–2; P. Fay. 132; P. Fouad I, 76; P. Fouad Univ, VII; P. Oslo III 157; SB V 7445; SB X 10496; SB XII 11049; SB XIV 11944; SB XVI 12511, 12596; P. Yale I 85; *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 21 (1971), 46; *ZPE* 58 (1985), 95. For an ostrakon from Medinet Madi identified as a dinner invitation, whose text is suspect, see P. Oxy. LII 3693 introd.

fasc. v, 961–5. There seems to be no evidence for an Anubeum at Oxyrhynchus, although it could have been a separate structure joined to the Serapeum by a dromos, as at Saqqara. According to Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride* 72) the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus once showed great disrespect to the Anubis cult by killing and eating a dog after the Anubis-worshipping Cynopolitans had eaten a sacred oxyrhynchus-fish.

6. The most usual way of expressing the date is *ἡτις ἐστίν* (X) *ἀπὸ ὥρας* (X), but this restoration is too long for the lacuna at the end of the line; for the form of the date restored here, see P. Oxy. XIV 1755. The most likely possibility for the missing hour numeral is *θ* for the ninth hour, about 2–3 p.m. depending on the time of year. The seventh hour (*η*, P. Oxy. XII 1485), the eighth (*ζ*, P. Oxy. XII 1486–7) and the tenth (*ι*, P. Oxy. I 181) are also attested.

*ὥρας* or its abbreviation is not usually indented, but no ink is discernible before it, and the surface of the papyrus is not rubbed or stripped at this point.

### Discussion

The chief interest of this papyrus is the nature of the festival—what could the ‘*kline* of Anubis’ have been, and what connection, if any, might it have had with the *κλίνη* of Serapis? The latter festival, known from some fifteen papyrus invitations, has received considerable attention from scholars: interpretations of it have ranged from the *κλίνη* being a purely secular affair, a sort of dining-society,<sup>3</sup> to L. Koenen’s suggestion that its religious character was paramount and that the dates of the invitations could be related to specific Isiac festivals.<sup>4</sup> The most reasonable view is probably that of H. C. Youtie,<sup>5</sup> who thought that the term *κλίνη Σαράπιδος* could apply to a *theoxenion*—any banquet, whether exclusively religious in character or not, where an image of the god was displayed.<sup>6</sup> The *kline* of Anubis, therefore, could have been just such a sacred meal held in a sanctuary, and one is immediately reminded of Josephus’ account of the seduction of Paulina.<sup>7</sup> Decius Mundus was infatuated with the aristocratic and virtuous Paulina, but all his efforts to sleep with her had failed. He confided in his freedwoman Ida, who bribed the priests of Isis to visit Paulina and deliver an invitation, ostensibly originating from Anubis, to dine with him in his temple and then spend the night with him. This story might suggest that temple feasts in honour of Anubis were not exceptional events: Paulina’s husband, whom she tells of her summons to the god, expresses no surprise at the invitation and is happy to let his wife attend the feast because he has complete faith in her chastity. It could be that the priests of Isis were luring Paulina to the temple by subverting a normal procedure of inviting individuals to ritual feasts,<sup>8</sup> a procedure that was common enough not to arouse suspicion in Paulina or her husband.

<sup>3</sup>J. G. Milne, *JEA* 11 (1925), 6–9.

<sup>4</sup>*ZPE* 1 (1969), 121–6. In fact, none of the five invitations to Serapis meals published since 1969 can be accommodated by Koenen’s theory.

<sup>5</sup>*HThR* 41 (1948), 9–29 = *Scriptiunculae*, 1 (Amsterdam, 1973), 487–507, with addenda on 508–9.

<sup>6</sup>Youtie, *op cit.* 13 and n. 21. The idea is that the god attends the banquet both as guest, magically present in his image, and as host: see SB X 10496 and P. Oxy. LII 3694, where the invitations to dine are notionally sent by the god himself, respectively Serapis and Amun.

<sup>7</sup>Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* XVIII, 73–4.

<sup>8</sup>It is interesting that Paulina’s invitation from the priests was delivered orally. The Oxyrhynchite dinner invitations, which are almost invariably to feasts taking place on the same day or the next, are probably written reminders of oral invitations already issued. T. C. Skeat’s suggestion (*JEA* 61 (1975), 254) that ‘the possession of a number of these small scraps of papyrus might have formed a kind of “status symbol” in the upper classes at Oxyrhynchus ... in the same way as the bowl of visiting cards in the hall of a Victorian residence’ is manifestly unlikely. Although these invitations are circulating in a comparatively high social stratum, they are a purely functional item, mass-produced by scribes writing stacks of identical ones (hence the omission of the name of the guest) with an average useful life of about 48 hours. Formal invitations are known, but are very differently composed from the usual examples: the best example, P. Oxy. LII 3694, specifies the month and day, suggesting a longer interval than usual between the sending of the invitation and the event, and gives the name of the guest. Its importance is further emphasized by its large size and more calligraphic hand.

One might arrive at another interpretation of the *kline* of Anubis by considering Anubis' role as a god of the dead. Serapis had a wide range of functions, including fertility and chthonic associations,<sup>9</sup> so it is not surprising that invitations to his *kline* could be for events ranging from the exclusively religious to the quasi-secular.<sup>10</sup> Anubis, however, is mostly encountered in Roman Egypt as a funerary deity. He appears on mummy cases anointing the embalmed dead, on painted linen 'shrouds' and mummy labels as a *psychopompus* leading the deceased into the next world,<sup>11</sup> and on the walls of temple mammisi holding a lunar disc that has connotations of rebirth.<sup>12</sup> In this context, the obvious meaning of the *κλίνη Ανούβιδος* would be some form of funerary meal. These were an integral part of the Egyptian mortuary cult from the earliest periods onwards.<sup>13</sup> From the Graeco-Roman period, the earliest evidence for them is a Ptolemaic account of the expenditure on a banquet from Tebtunis,<sup>14</sup> and it is a common stipulation in Roman period wills that a meal be celebrated annually at the tomb of the deceased on his birthday.<sup>15</sup> This may represent an amalgam between indigenous customs and those of the Roman citizens resident in Egypt, who also attached ritual importance to visits to the dead and meals at the tomb or elsewhere in the necropolis.<sup>16</sup> Roman funerary meals were characteristically celebrated on the birthday of the deceased<sup>17</sup> rather than on the anniversary of death, which was the usual Egyptian practice. Papyrus accounts of burial costs from Roman Egypt often include some outlay on foodstuffs for a meal celebrated at the time of burial.<sup>18</sup> P. Lips. 30—written at Oxyrhynchus in the mid-third century AD and thus roughly contemporary with UC 32068—is a fragment of a will specifying the amount to be spent on wine and grapes as food offerings on future days for remembering the dead man (*ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις*), and that afterwards the mourners be entertained sumptuously (*εὐωχεῖσθαι*) in a public dining-room. Such dining-rooms (*δειπνητήρια*) are known from Egyptian temples, and a term for them is *οἶκος*.<sup>19</sup> If lines 5–6 of our invitation are to be restored as *ἐν τῷ/[οἶ]κῳ τοῦ Σα[ραπειῶν]*, then the papyrus could well refer to a funerary banquet held in a temple dining-room, as in P. Lips. 30. Tombs were apparently often situated in the environs of the Serapeum, as at Hermopolis Magna,<sup>20</sup> so it is conceivable that after performing the accustomed funeral rites at the tomb itself, the mourners could have withdrawn to the banqueting hall of the Serapeum nearby.

<sup>9</sup> For Serapis' chthonic functions, see Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* V, 26; *καὶ γὰρ χθόνιος ὁ θεὸς εἶναι νενομίσται καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει λόγον τῷ Πλουτίωνι*. Serapis rarely appears on funerary sculpture from Roman Egypt, although mummy labels sometimes say that the deceased is 'with Serapis for all eternity': see B. Boyaval, *Corpus des étiquettes de momies grecques* (Lille, 1977), nos. 1091 and 1293.

<sup>10</sup> Religious Serapis meals: SB X 10496. Secular ones: P. Oxy. XII 1484, the *mallokouria* (for discussion of this festival, see D. Montserrat, *BASP* 28 (1991), 43–9).

<sup>11</sup> For the 'shrouds', see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pls. 12.1, 35.1 and 61.2. A mummy label with Anubis as *psychopompus* was published in *CdE* 45 (1970), 337, and another example is in the Oriental Institute, Chicago (publication by T. G. Wilfong, forthcoming). See also J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain* (Leiden, 1977), pls. ix–xi.

<sup>12</sup> R. K. Ritner, *JEA* 71 (1985), 149–55.

<sup>13</sup> *LÄ* vi, 677–80.

<sup>14</sup> P. Tebt. I 118 = Sel. Pap. I 185.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. P. Oxy. III 494, 22–5.

<sup>16</sup> K. Hopkins, *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge, 1985), 226–34. For an excellent summary of the evidence from Graeco-Roman Egypt, see T. K. Thomas, 'Niche Decorations from the Tombs of Byzantine Egypt: Visions of the Afterlife' (Diss., New York Univ., 1990), 183–92.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. CIL V 2072 (Feltria, II AD); CIL VI 10248 (Rome, II AD). The Roman custom of a deceased person's death being commemorated with a meal by the members of his guild (e.g. CIL XI 5047) seems to have been practised at Antinoöpolis in Egypt (P. Ant. II 109).

<sup>18</sup> E.g. SPP XXII 56 (II AD) where there is expenditure on sweets, barley and two artabas of bread; P. Grenf. II 77 (III–IV AD) where 100 drachmas are spent on bread, wine, oil and relishes (*προσφαγία*), although some of this food may have been for the man who transported the body.

<sup>19</sup> For references to the term *οἶκος* as a temple dining-hall, see P. Coll. Youtie I 52, n. 2, though, like the corresponding Demotic term *ꜥwy*, *οἶκος* can be any sacred or profane temple room. The dining-room in the temple at Karanis apparently had thirteen tables (see P. Fay., p. 33, no II = IGRR I 1120), although sanctuaries with much more extensive dining facilities are known elsewhere in the Empire.

<sup>20</sup> See P. Ryl. I 153, 5–6.

The custom of the funeral banquet at the tomb survived the onset of Christianity, although attempts were made to suppress it. The Theodosian Code stipulated that tombs be outside the city walls, and forbade the celebration of funerary meals in the necropolis itself.<sup>21</sup> Slightly earlier, in Milan, Augustine's mother Monica discontinued her 'African custom' of taking food offerings to the tombs of the dead on their memorial days when she learned that it was prohibited by the Bishop.<sup>22</sup> At about the same time, Gregorius Naziazenus wrote some 60 epigrams on the subject of tombs being violated, destroyed or improperly used. Among the improper uses he decried is the practice of feasting in shrines, and our evidence for meals closely associated with funerals in Egypt finally disappears with the Copts.<sup>23</sup>

If the *kline* of Anubis is a funerary banquet, it may be worth re-examining some of the representations on Egyptian coins, terracottas, funerary stelae and other objects of Anubis and associated deities reclining on couches. In *Deutsche Münzblätter* 56 (1936), 201-11, Ph. Lederer published an Alexandrian bronze drachm of Marcus Aurelius with a hitherto unknown representation of a *theoxenion* of Demeter, Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates and the syncretistic Hermanubis. Lederer thought that this was connected with the plague of 166 and Marcus Aurelius' *lectisternium* at Rome to propitiate the gods, which went on for seven days at the height of the panic induced by the plague and the Macromannic war.<sup>24</sup> All the deities shown on this coin have strong associations with death and rebirth. The same divine quintet is also found on a clay money-box from Egypt now in Munich.<sup>25</sup> On both the Alexandrian coin and the money-box, the gods are equipped with typical funerary symbols: Serapis with a garland, Demeter with a torch, and Hermanubis with a caduceus. The lid of a pottery vessel in Augsburg (see fig. 1) has Harpocrates, Isis, Serapis and a cynocephalic Anubis reclining on a *kline*. Harpocrates is seated on a lotus and Anubis has a palm branch in his right hand. The gods are surrounded by other objects connected with death and regeneration: a phoenix on a globe, a snake coiled around a basket, and a tripod table. Artemidorus says that the Isis-Serapis-Anubis-Harpocrates quartet and their co-templar gods signify disturbance, danger and crisis in dreams because their mysteries are associated with mourning.<sup>26</sup> Relevant here are the numerous funerary stelae from Kom Abu Billou in the Delta, the necropolis of the ancient Terenouthis. These stelae fall into two main categories: those where the deceased stands, arms in the *orans* position, flanked by Anubis-dogs under a stylized pediment (see pl. XXXII, 2),<sup>27</sup> and those where he or she reclines on a couch pouring a libation. Under the couch are a set of standard items, indicating a funerary banquet: a bunch of stylized vegetation, an amphora on a stand, and a tripod table with vessels on it, just like the one on the terracotta in Augsburg. Very often there is an Anubis figure, apparently mounted on a bracket or small plinth, on the right of the stela, above the hand of the deceased with his libation cup. On one stela, the Anubis figure

<sup>21</sup> *Codex Theodosiani*, XVI, 10.19.3: *Non liceat omnino in honorem sacrilegi ritus funestioribus locis exercere convivium vel quicquam sollemnitatis agitare* (Reign of Honorius and Theodosius, c. AD 407-8).

<sup>22</sup> Augustine, *Confessionum* VI.2: *itaque cum ad memorias sanctorum, sicut in Africa solebat, pultes et panem et merum adtulisset atque ab ostiario prohiberetur, ubi hoc episcopum vetuisse cognovit, tam pie atque oboedienter amplexa est, ut ipse mirarer, quam facile accusatrix potius consuetudinis suae quam disceptatrix illius prohibitionis effecta sit.*

<sup>23</sup> J.-P. Migne, *PG* XXXVIII, 99-130, epigrams 31-93 (especially epigram 47). Modern Copts hold a funerary meal in the house of the deceased to break the fast observed since death (*The Coptic Encyclopaedia*, ed. A. Atiya (New York, 1991), IV, 1125) but I have not been able to find any evidence of the continuity of this custom from earlier.

<sup>24</sup> *Historia Augusta, Vita Marci* XIII. J. F. Gilliam (*AJPh* 82 (1961), 243 n.66), however, thought that this coin was connected with Serapis banquets rather than Marcus's *lectisternium*.

<sup>25</sup> Illustrated in *Numismatic Chronicle* 18 (1938), 78.

<sup>26</sup> Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* II 39: *Σάραπισ καὶ Ἴσις καὶ Ἄνουβις καὶ Ἄρποκράτης αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καὶ πᾶς ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος καὶ τῶν τούτοις συννάων τε καὶ συμβῶμων θεῶν θεῶν ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἀπειλὰς καὶ περιστάσεις σημαίνουσιν ... ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τὰ μυστήρια αὐτῶν πένθους ἐστὶ σημαντικά.* See also IG XI.4 1223, a dedication of *klinai* by synod members to Serapis, Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates.

<sup>27</sup> For further examples, see F. A. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou* (Ann Arbor, 1961), pls. vib, c and d, viia and c, viiia, ixb. Plates viid and viiid show the deceased between Anubis on the left and Horus on the right.





FIG. 1.

seems to form part of the footboard of the funerary couch itself (see pl. XXXII, 3).<sup>28</sup> It is uncertain whether the libations are being poured to Anubis himself, or whether it is an unspecific sacrificial gesture: some of the stelae with libation pourers have no divine figures. The scene represented on the Kom Abu Billou stelae could well be a *kline* of Anubis: a funerary meal ritually partaken of by the dead person while lying on a *kline* in the magical presence of the god himself, incarnate in his statue. Perhaps the statuettes of Anubis shown on the stelae could have been displayed at the meal subsequently enjoyed by the mourners, a practice attested by the papyri mentioned earlier. It has been plausibly suggested that the terracottas of Serapis were placed in the midst of the diners at the *κλίνη Σαράπιδος*, particularly at those meals not celebrated in his temple.<sup>29</sup> Images of Anubis are not common among Graeco-Egyptian terracottas,<sup>30</sup> although he is present in the *theoxenion* of the five deities on the clay money-box in Munich which, as J. F. Gilliam has suggested,<sup>31</sup> may have been displayed at banquets with the practical purpose of collecting coins to cover the cost.

<sup>28</sup> See also Hooper, *op. cit.*, pls. ixc, xb and c, xiia, c and d. Plate xiiib and d exemplify a different type, where the dead man stands making an offering at an altar of Greek type, with Anubis mounted on a bracket at the left.

<sup>29</sup> L. Castiglione, *Acta Antiqua* 9 (1961), 294.

<sup>30</sup> Figures of Anubis alone from lamps are illustrated in Grenier, *Anubis*, pl. xxix, but I know of no individual free-standing statuettes. Line 21 of SPP XXII, 56 (see n. 18) has the puzzling entry *κννι* costing 9 drachmas among a list of items of burial equipment. The entries on either side are *πρόξυμα* (engraving) for 4 drachmas, and *προσωπίδιον* (usually a three-dimensional stucco mask or a portrait on a board, but puzzling here since a *πρόσωπον* costing 64 drachmas has already been entered in line 10) for 14 drachmas. Could this be a payment for some kind of dog-image used during the burial? The proximity of *κννι* to *πρόξυμα* may be significant if one considers that the Anubis beasts on the Kom Abu Billou stelae are almost always added by much cruder hands after the main figure(s) had been carved, along with the conventional representation of the funeral banquet and the identifying inscription (see pls. XXXII, 2-3). Could SPP XXII 56, 21, therefore could be interpreted as a payment for the inscribing of Anubis dogs on a stock, pre-carved funeral stela?

<sup>31</sup> P. Coll. Youtie 51 introd, n. 9.

Therefore, the evidence for the nature of the feast mentioned in UC 32068 suggests that, like the *κλίνη Σαράπιδος*, the *kline* of Anubis was a cult meal where the god was present. Because of Anubis' primary role as a god of the dead and patron of funeral obsequies, the likelihood is that his *kline* was a funerary banquet, perhaps that enjoyed by the deceased person himself and subsequently shared by the mourners, whether at the time of the burial itself or on some commemorative day in subsequent years. In this case, there may have been some play on the multiple meanings of *κλίνη* as the bier on which the dead person was laid out,<sup>32</sup> the couches on which the diners reclined to partake of the funerary banquet, and the banquet itself. At the same time, the banquets may have formed a part of the regular cultic worship of the god in his own sanctuary or as a co-temple of Isis and Serapis, as Josephus' story could imply.

DOMINIC MONTSERRAT

### The Roman 'carrot' amphora and its Egyptian provenance

Publication of an inscription painted on a sherd of a Roman 'carrot' amphora found at Carlisle. Its apparent reference to the fruit of the doum palm (*κούκια*) suggests that this class of amphora, whose provenance has been uncertain, was made in Egypt and was used to export Egyptian preserved fruit.

THE Roman 'carrot' amphora (pl. XXXIII, 4) is a small amphora of distinctive shape, usually no more than 0.40–0.50 m long, which tapers evenly to a point like an elongated cone or carrot, hence the name. Formally it is Class 12 in the classification by Peacock and Williams, or Camulodunum Form 189.<sup>1</sup> In Britain, sherds or whole amphorae have been found at Richborough, Canterbury, London, Colchester, Fishbourne, Caerleon, Birrens and Carlisle, usually in first-century AD contexts.<sup>2</sup> A rilled, 'cigar-shaped' amphora in a similar fabric has also been found at the early legionary base of Gloucester-Kingsholm.<sup>3</sup> At Fishbourne the 'carrot-shaped' amphora was one of the most common types, 62 sherds being found, but the largest sample is from Colchester, where more than 150 sherds were found in the 1930s excavations, and the excavators noted its characteristic 'plain-moulded rim with no neck, the small loop-handles, and the almost universal horizontal rilling of the whole body'.<sup>4</sup> On the Continent sherds and whole vessels have been found, again usually in first-century AD contexts, at Pompeii and in the Rhine provinces. In 1970 the evidence was collected by Reusch and fully discussed.<sup>5</sup>

Reusch concluded that 'carrot' amphorae, with their wide opening, were not filled with liquid, but contained solids, probably dried fruit. The most direct evidence is a pair of amphorae found with others in 1873 in the ruins of a Roman storeroom at Avenches. They are not typical 'carrot' amphorae, since they both have necks, and one is rather longer than usual (0.74 m) while the other

<sup>32</sup> For an actual funerary bed probably contemporary with UC 32068, see W. Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Chicago, 1963), 1–29.

<sup>1</sup> D. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy* (London, 1986), 109–10; C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum: First Report on the Excavations at Colchester, 1930–1939* (Oxford, 1947), 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* and W. Reusch, *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 27 (1970), 54–62; C. M. Green, in D. M. Jones, *Excavations at Billingsgate Buildings, 1974* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Special Paper 4, 1980), 45; P. Arthur, *Britannia* 17 (1986), 239–58, at 253; B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne, 1961–1969* (London, 1971), II, 208. 'A fragmentary example at Caerleon' was noted by R. E. M. Wheeler in *London in Roman Times* (London, 1946), 141, where there is a photograph of two 'carrot' amphorae from London (*ibid.*, pl. liv). A. S. Robertson, *Birrens (Blatobulgium)* (Edinburgh, 1975), 178. For Carlisle, see *herewith*.

<sup>3</sup> Peacock and Williams, *op. cit.* 217, no. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Cunliffe, *loc. cit.* Hawkes and Hull, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*



1. UC 32068



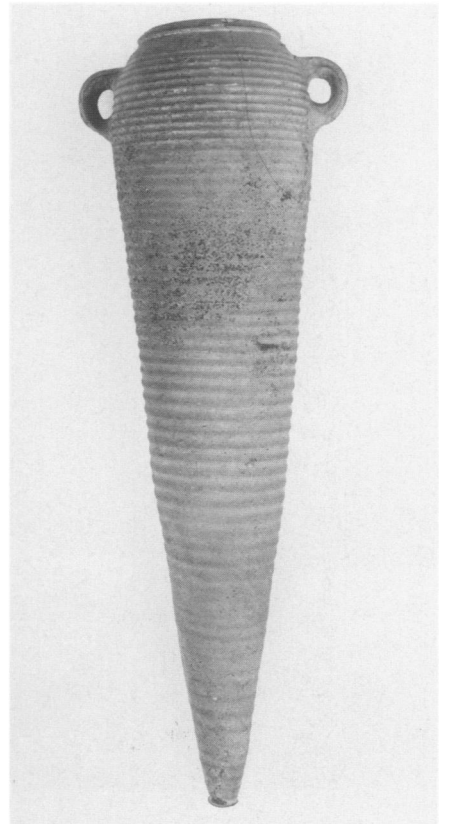
2. Stela of Herac(l)eia from Kom Abu Billou (Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor, Inv. 21071). Late second century AD

THE *KLINE* OF ANUBIS (pp. 301-7)



3. Stela of Heras from Kom Abu Billou (Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor, Inv. 21150). Late second century AD

THE *KLINE* OF ANUBIS (p. 306)



4. Museum of London, acc. no. 29. 9/1  
THE ROMAN 'CARROT' AMPHORA  
(pp. 307-12)

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THE Roman 'carrot' amphora (pl. XXXIII, 4) is a small amphora of distinctive shape, usually no more than 0.40–0.50 m long, which tapers evenly to a point like an elongated cone or carrot, hence the name. Formally it is Class 12 in the classification by Peacock and Williams, or Camulodunum Form 189.<sup>1</sup> In Britain, sherds or whole amphorae have been found at Richborough, Canterbury, London, Colchester, Fishbourne, Caerleon, Birrens and Carlisle, usually in first-century AD contexts.<sup>2</sup> A rilled, 'cigar-shaped' amphora in a similar fabric has also been found at the early legionary base of Gloucester-Kingsholm.<sup>3</sup> At Fishbourne the 'carrot-shaped' amphora was one of the most common types, 62 sherds being found, but the largest sample is from Colchester, where more than 150 sherds were found in the 1930s excavations, and the excavators noted its characteristic 'plain-moulded rim with no neck, the small loop-handles, and the almost universal horizontal rilling of the whole body'.<sup>4</sup> On the Continent sherds and whole vessels have been found, again usually in first-century AD contexts, at Pompeii and in the Rhine provinces. In 1970 the evidence was collected by Reusch and fully discussed.<sup>5</sup>

Reusch concluded that 'carrot' amphorae, with their wide opening, were not filled with liquid, but contained solids, probably dried fruit. The most direct evidence is a pair of amphorae found with others in 1873 in the ruins of a Roman storeroom at Avenches. They are not typical 'carrot' amphorae, since they both have necks, and one is rather longer than usual (0.74 m) while the other

<sup>32</sup> For an actual funerary bed probably contemporary with UC 32068, see W. Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Chicago, 1963), 1–29.

<sup>1</sup> D. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy* (London, 1986), 109–10; C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum: First Report on the Excavations at Colchester, 1930–1939* (Oxford, 1947), 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* and W. Reusch, *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 27 (1970), 54–62; C. M. Green, in D. M. Jones, *Excavations at Billingsgate Buildings, 1974* (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Special Paper 4, 1980), 45; P. Arthur, *Britannia* 17 (1986), 239–58, at 253; B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne, 1961–1969* (London, 1971), II, 208. 'A fragmentary example at Caerleon' was noted by R. E. M. Wheeler in *London in Roman Times* (London, 1946), 141, where there is a photograph of two 'carrot' amphorae from London (*ibid.*, pl. liv). A. S. Robertson, *Birrens (Blatobulgium)* (Edinburgh, 1975), 178. For Carlisle, see *herewith*.

<sup>3</sup> Peacock and Williams, *op. cit.* 217, no. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Cunliffe, *loc. cit.* Hawkes and Hull, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

is bulbous in shape; but they both have the horizontal rilling, and the fabric of the bulbous one at least is like that of the 'carrot' amphora. Clearly they were related to it. The long amphora contained carbonized olives, the bulbous one carbonized dates.<sup>6</sup> There is, incidentally, a rilled amphora of the same bulbous shape depicted with foodstuffs and the slaughter of a pig on an altar from Cologne.<sup>7</sup> It may also be noted that Colchester is the only Roman site in Britain to have produced (carbonized) dates: they were found in a mass, not however associated with any container, in the centurion's quarters of a barrack block burnt down in AD 60 during the Boudican revolt.<sup>8</sup> At Pompeii 'small dried fruits' are said to have been found in a conical amphora; and in a wall-painting at the Villa of Julia Felix there is a still-life of a glass bowl of figs, a jar of grapes, and a small, sealed, conical amphora. This amphora is not rilled, but otherwise it is reminiscent of 'carrot' amphorae; olives or honey have been suggested as its contents, but the accompanying figs and grapes suggest that figs, raisins, or other dried fruit are more likely.<sup>9</sup> Lastly, there is an epigram by Martial (xiii 28) on a jar of figs (*cottana*) too small to be called figs proper (*ficus*):

*haec tibi quae torta venerunt condita meta  
si maiora forent cottana, ficus erat.*

Note that the jar itself, by implication, is small; and that it resembles the tall, conical turning-point (*meta*) in the Circus, given a twist (*torta*), surely a reference to the rilled, tapering form of the 'carrot' amphora.

The 'carrot' amphora was, therefore, the first-century AD Roman equivalent of the modern box of dates or preserved fruit, of distinctive shape, and a luxury import from a warmer climate, the dates in particular implying Africa, Egypt, or the Levant. This has been independently confirmed by microscopic examination of the fabric. The clay was tempered with quartz sand grains whose shape was typical of 'an aeolian depositional environment': the wind-blown sand of a desert, rather than sand from a seashore or glacial deposit. This conclusion was checked against an amphora of known provenance, from Palestine: the sand grains in its clay were of the same shape, implying that 'carrot' amphorae were made in a similar 'hot sandy climate'.<sup>10</sup>

It is now possible to be still more definite. Until 1990, the only scrap of epigraphic evidence was a brief inscription painted on the wall of a 'carrot' amphora found at Pompeii. The first letter is undoubtedly *K*, but the next is uncertain: the Corpus reads it as a peculiar ligature of *V* and *F*, but *KV* or *KV*[...] might be a safer reading.<sup>11</sup> Then in 1990, sherds from two 'carrot' amphorae were found in a late-Flavian context at Carlisle, during excavation underneath the basement of Tullie House Museum, immediately south of the Roman fort.<sup>12</sup> One sherd (fig. 1) carried a brief inscription painted in black Greek letters, which is complete and whose reading is not in doubt: KOYK.

<sup>6</sup> F. Keller, *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Alterthumskunde* 2 (1872-5), 580-1; Reusch, loc. cit., figs. 1.5 and 3. See also Peacock and Williams, op. cit. 216, no. 65 (the bulbous one), with photograph and note of fabric. The similarity had already been noted by M. H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae* (London, 1965), 39.

<sup>7</sup> F. Fremersdorf, *Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln*, II (Cologne, 1950), pl. 90.

<sup>8</sup> P. Murphy, in P. Crummy, *Colchester Archaeological Report 3: Excavations at Lion Walk, Balcerne Lane, and Middleborough, Colchester, Essex* (Colchester, 1984), 40; P. Crummy, in G. Webster (ed.), *Fortress into City* (London, 1988), 44-5, pl. 2.18.

<sup>9</sup> S. Loeschke, *Das Römerlager in Oberaden*, II (1942), 111, cited by Reusch, op. cit. 61, but not seen by me; B. T. Maiuri, *Museo Nazionale, Napoli* (Novara, 1971), 108.

<sup>10</sup> M. L. Shackley, *Archaeological Sediments: a Survey of Analytical Methods* (London, 1975), 57-9. A sample of a few grams was used. Green, loc. cit., takes this to mean that 'carrot' amphorae came from Palestine, but this need not follow.

<sup>11</sup> *CIL* IV, 2834, illustrated by Reusch, op. cit. 57, fig. 2.1. The ligature would be peculiar since *V* is regularly written above the line when ligaturing to the right, and its right-hand part is distinguished from the downstroke of the next letter, even if it coalesces with it. The two apparent strokes of *F* might be understood either as a continuation of *V* (and a smudge) or as trace of a third letter. *KVF* has not been explained. For *KV* or *KV*[...] see below, n. 13.

<sup>12</sup> The same context contained half a stylus writing tablet bearing the date 7 November AD 83. Excavation by Carlisle Archaeological Unit was directed by Ian Caruana, to whom I am indebted for details. He also made the sherd available for examination, and has agreed to its publication here.

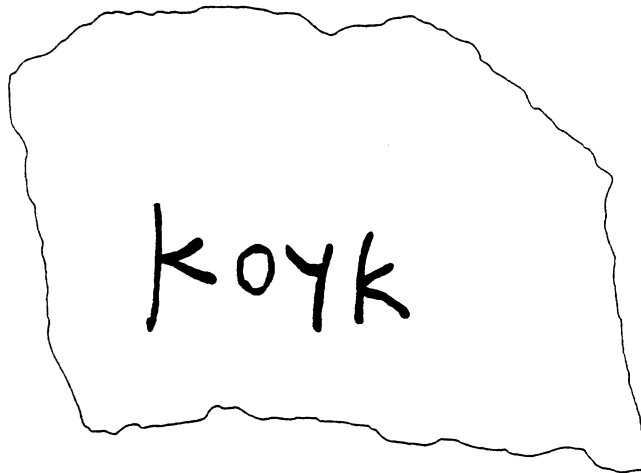


FIG. 1. Sherd from a Roman 'carrot' amphora found at Carlisle, bearing a painted inscription in Greek letters. Scale 1:1. Drawing: Carlisle Archaeological Unit.

Inscriptions painted on amphorae are not the owner's name (this would be a scratched graffito), but refer instead to the contents, recording either what they are, or where they come from, the name of the producer or shipper, the weight or quantity, the customs control. In so brief an inscription which is not a numeral, most of these possibilities can be discarded at once, and there is no obvious Greek personal name or place-name which has been abbreviated here. A note of the contents is the most likely answer. Callender notes that a great variety of Mediterranean products, not just wine and oil, were shipped in amphorae, but his list of 'amphora-borne commodities' does not include *CVC* (the transliteration of *KOYK*).<sup>13</sup> However, there is fortunately an obvious candidate, and this is *κούκ(ιον)*, Latin *cuci*, the fruit of the doum palm.

The doum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*) is accurately described by Theophrastus among the trees peculiar to Egypt. After noting that *τὸ κουκινόφορον* (in Greek named from its fruit) is the only palm whose stem branches, he continues:

It has a peculiar fruit, very different from that of the date-palm in size, form and taste; for in size it is nearly big enough to fill the hand, but it is round rather than long; the colour is yellowish, the flavour sweet and palatable. It does not grow bunched together, like the fruit of the date-palm, but each fruit grows separately; it has a large and very hard stone, out of which they turn the rings for embroidered bed-hangings.<sup>14</sup>

In modern times the *Flora of Egypt* describes the fruit as 'typically 7–8 cm long, 7 cm broad, irregular, bumpy, brown-glossy, punctate. Stone about 4 cm long, 2.5 cm broad with narrow cavity, albumen entirely white'.<sup>15</sup> The pulp (mesocarp) which surrounds the stone is fibrous and tough, but sugary, and tastes like gingerbread or caramel; it can be eaten after soaking or 'if

<sup>13</sup> Callender, *op. cit.* 37–41. He does not cite *CIL* IV, 2834 (see above, n. 11) nor another amphora from Pompeii (*CIL* IV, 9773 = *Notizie degli Scavi* (1914), 200, no. 27), which carries an inscription painted in black Greek letters: KOY. The type of amphora is unfortunately not stated, but if it were a 'carrot' amphora, it would be reasonable to read *κού(κία)*; this would strengthen the case made here for the Carlisle inscription. If *CIL* IV, 2834 does read *KV* or *KV*[...], perhaps an abbreviated *cuci* or *κ(ο)ύκία* was meant.

<sup>14</sup> *Historia Plantarum* IV.2, 7, translated by A. Hort (Loeb Classical Library); followed by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XIII 62. The Greek and Latin sources simply transliterate the Egyptian word for the fruit, *q(w)q(w)*, which is said by V. Täckholm and M. Drar, *Flora of Egypt*, II (Cairo, 1950), 280, to survive in Libya as *kouk* (etc.). The Egyptian name for the palm itself, *mms* (a reference to its branching stem), does not seem to have been transliterated. The modern name is from the Arabic.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 274.

gnawed with considerable patience'. Alternatively a syrup can be extracted from it (in 1825 there was an attempt to exploit it commercially like molasses), or it can be ground up and made into cakes.<sup>16</sup>

The doum palm in antiquity was limited to the Nile valley, and still grows freely in Upper Egypt and the Sudan, although it has been planted elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> It was cultivated in Egypt for many centuries before the Roman occupation, and the fruit has often been found in tombs. Several basketfuls were buried with Tutankhamun.<sup>18</sup> The stones have recently been identified in a midden of the Trajanic period at the Roman fort which supervised the quarries of Mons Claudianus.<sup>19</sup> An ostracon from Upper Egypt of slightly later date, Hadrianic/Antonine to judge by the handwriting, is evidence of large-scale commerce in the fruit. Its context is obscure, but this is what it lists:

Eleven artabas of dates, sold for 5 drachmas per artaba; 55 drachmas. And likewise doum palm fruit (κούκεια) to the number of 56,300 (?), sold by us likewise for export (ἐπι τῆς ξένης): 840 drachmas, 2½ obols. Price of dates and doum palm fruit: 895 drachmas, 2½ obols.<sup>20</sup>

The word κούκιον in papyri of the Roman period usually means 'basket' (a basket woven from the leaves of the doum palm),<sup>21</sup> but on this ostracon the reference is clearly to the fruit as distinct from dates. By implication, the fruit are larger than dates, since they are not being sold by volume, but by number. Theophrastus, in the passage quoted, distinguishes doum palm fruit from dates by saying that they do not grow in bunches, but separately. The ostracon is also evidence that they were being harvested and sold 'for export' in large numbers.

Another word for 'basket' is κούξ.<sup>22</sup> The word used by Theophrastus of a palm-tree common in 'Ethiopia', whose 'fruit in shape, size and flavour differs from the date, being rounder, larger and pleasanter to the taste, though not so luscious. They make loaves out of it'.<sup>23</sup> These details all fit the fruit of the doum palm, and the identification has been made.<sup>24</sup> It may be possible to go further by adding Pliny's notice, which is largely based on Theophrastus, that there are date palms known as *coecas* (from κούξ) whose fruit is 'round, but larger than an apple'.<sup>25</sup> Pliny continues with a reference to *Thebaidis fructus*, but unfortunately it is not clear whether he is still speaking of *coecas*, or has silently introduced another palm tree: 'the fruit of the Thebaid', he continues, 'is packed into jars (*in cados*) at once, before it has lost its natural heat. If this is not done, it quickly loses its freshness and dries up unless it is warmed up again in ovens'.<sup>26</sup> Whether or not Pliny's reference is

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 276-7. For a detailed scientific description of the fruit, see J. W. Purseglove, *Tropical Fruits: Monocotyledons*, II (London, 1972), 425. The quotation is from F. Nigel Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers: the Botanical Treasures of Tutankhamun* (London, 1990), 59-60.

<sup>17</sup> Täckholm and Drar, op. cit. 274-7. See also Ethelbert Blatter, *The Palms of British India and Ceylon* (London, 1926), 161-7, and Thomas H. Everett, *New York Botanical Garden Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Horticulture* (New York, 1980-), v, 1767 s.v. *Ilyphaene*.

<sup>18</sup> Täckholm and Drar, op. cit. 280-8. Hepper, loc. cit., with plate.

<sup>19</sup> Information from Dr Walter Cockle.

<sup>20</sup> C. Préaux, *Les Ostraca grecs de la collection Charles-Edwin Wilbour au Musée de Brooklyn* (New York, 1935), 106-8, no. 76. The numeral queried is incompletely preserved and the (restored) reading is not certain; since the unit of reckoning is half an obol (one-twelfth of a drachma), one would have expected '10,805' (i.e. twelve fruits to the drachma) or a multiple thereof.

<sup>21</sup> References are collected by S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona, 1971) s.v. κούκιον, especially *P. Nessana* nos. 90 and 91, explained *ibid.* 283; and by P. Viereck, *Griechische und griechisch-ägyptische Ostrake der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass* (Berlin, 1923), no. 601, where κούκίων κ ('9 baskets') are listed individually on the verso. The ostracon cited above (n. 20) seems to be the only sure instance of the word in the sense of the fruit.

<sup>22</sup> References are collected by S. Daris, op. cit., s.v. κούξ, for example, *P. Michigan* iii 212.7 (a basket of loaves); *ZPE* 46 (1982), 195 (a basket of dates).

<sup>23</sup> Op. cit. ii.6, 10; compare *ibid.* i.10, 5, where it is implicitly distinguished from the date palm (φοίνιξ).

<sup>24</sup> Ch. Joret, *Revue des études grecques* 5 (1892), 415-19.

<sup>25</sup> *Hist. Nat.* xiii 47-8, translated by H. Rackham and W. H. S. Jones (Loeb Classical Library).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* The identification of the *Thebais* with the doum palm is refused by Täckholm and Drar, op. cit. 281, 'for whereas Strabo [xvii.1, 51] praised the Thebaic date as being the best, Pliny despised it, as the worst date grown in Egypt'. But while Strabo is speaking of two types of date grown *in* the Thebaid, it is not clear that Pliny is speaking of a date palm at all.

expressly to the harvesting of doum palm fruit, it is certainly evidence that in Upper Egypt fruit was being harvested from palm trees and packed into locally-made amphorae.

These amphorae, I suggest, were none other than the 'carrot' amphorae found by European archaeologists. Made of clay tempered with desert sand, they would have carried figs, dates and olives, as well as *κούκλια*, from Egypt to consumers overseas who could afford these exotic luxuries, notably the soldiers in their cantonments at the other end of the empire. Yet another item, doum palm fruit, can thus be added to the already varied Roman military diet.<sup>27</sup>

Two questions remain, for the archaeologist rather than the epigraphist. Doum palm fruit are 'the size of tennis balls but more or less cubic in shape with rounded corners'.<sup>28</sup> They contain an inedible seed almost the size of a golf ball, which has been used as a substitute for ivory. It does seem extravagant to cram them whole, one by one, into a long slender 'carrot' amphora. The seeds have not been found, so far as I know, on Roman sites in western Europe.<sup>29</sup> Despite what Pliny says, therefore, was it only the sugary pulp which was usually packed into 'carrot' amphorae for export?

The second question is raised by Peacock and Williams: why is the 'carrot' amphora not found in Egypt itself?<sup>30</sup> Maybe it was a comparatively expensive means of storage, justifiable for long-distance trade in exotic foodstuffs, but not needed locally in the dry climate of Egypt. Or has it been overlooked? I ask this in some ignorance of the archaeology of Roman Egypt, which to an outsider seems to be mostly papyri or early monasticism. Is the 'carrot' amphora a forerunner of published late-Roman types? Egloff's splendid corpus of the pottery from the monastic site of Kellia includes Type 173, dated to the period AD 630-700, a tapering, conical amphora with ribbed sides which Egloff himself likens to a carrot.<sup>31</sup> It belongs to the range of 'markedly conical' amphorae found at the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, whose 'most characteristic feature is the treatment of the surface with close, horizontal, wheelmade ribbings'.<sup>32</sup> The fabric is a micaceous alluvial clay from the Nile tempered, like the 'carrot' amphora, with rounded grains of quartz. The likely origin is Middle Egypt, where extensive manufacturing sites have been identified but not yet excavated.<sup>33</sup> These amphorae were containers for liquids, water, wine or oil, but take away the narrow neck which held the stopper, and they would look very like 'carrot' amphorae. In any case, the anomalous amphorae from Gloucester-Kingsholm and Avenches suggest that the 'carrot' amphora was not unique, but that related forms with necks were also being made.<sup>34</sup> It is clear from the parallels collected by Egloff that his Form 173 and related forms were widely distributed in Egypt in the late-Roman or Byzantine period, the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>35</sup> They were also being exported: examples have been found at Carthage and Athens.<sup>36</sup> The problem

<sup>27</sup> The classic account is by R. Davies, *Britannia* 2 (1971), 122-42, republished in his posthumous *Service in the Roman Army* (Edinburgh, 1989), edited by D. Breeze and V. A. Maxfield, 187-206. For the import of figs and olives into London, not necessarily from Egypt, see *Britannia* 8 (1977), 330-1 (D. Williams), and G. Milne, *The Port of Roman London* (London, 1985), 110-11 (a Spanish (?) amphora containing 6,000 olives).

<sup>28</sup> Hepper, loc. cit.

<sup>29</sup> Bearing in mind that fruit seeds tend to survive in the damp anaerobic conditions of Roman cesspits, to which (for obvious reasons) doum palm seeds are unlikely to have found their way.

<sup>30</sup> Loc. cit.: 'A Mediterranean source seems likely, but the dearth of finds from this area is curious. It seems that the manufacturing centre directed most of its produce to the northwestern parts of the empire'.

<sup>31</sup> M. Egloff, *Kellia: la poterie copte* (Geneva, 1977), 114-15: 'Le profil est parfois comparé à celui d'une carotte.' Types 174 and 175 are very similar. All three are cited by L. I. Levine and E. Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima, 1975, 1976, 1979: Final Report* (Jerusalem, 1986), 103-4, as parallels for their own Amphora Type 7, with its 'carrot-like shape'.

<sup>32</sup> H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York, 1926), 1, 78-9 and pl. xxviii. See also W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya* (London, 1905), 31 and pl. xxxiv, nos. 134-6. No. 136 in particular, without its neck and with its small loop-handles moved to the shoulder, would look like the 'carrot' amphorae illustrated in Reusch, op. cit. figs. 1.6 and 2.3.

<sup>33</sup> P. Ballet and M. Picon, *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne* 1 (1987), 17-48, at 36-8.

<sup>34</sup> See above, nn. 3 and 6.

<sup>35</sup> More parallels are collected by J. W. Hayes, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum: a Catalogue* (Toronto, 1976), 68. See also B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Clysmo-Qolzoum (Suez), 1930-1932* (Cairo, 1966), pl. xxiv.

<sup>36</sup> Ballet and Picon, loc. cit.



is the lapse of four or five centuries. However, amphora design being conservative and slow to change, it does not seem impossible that these late-Roman forms were descended directly or collaterally from the 'carrot' amphora and its kinsmen. This hypothesis could be checked in various ways: by excavation of the possible manufacturing sites in Middle Egypt, by excavation of other (first-century) Roman sites in Egypt,<sup>37</sup> by renewed analysis of the fabric itself.<sup>38</sup> Evidence may even already exist in the published record and the unpublished stores of past excavation to support this argument from epigraphy, that the Roman 'carrot' amphora has an Egyptian provenance.

R. S. O. TOMLIN

<sup>37</sup> There is no 'carrot' amphora in B. Johnson, *Pottery from Karanis: excavations of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1981), and it may be that a site is needed which had no local source of dates and other dried fruit, whose inhabitants had the disposable income to buy such things as luxury imports. Mons Claudianus springs to mind.

<sup>38</sup> Compare Ballet and Picon, *op. cit.* 19-21.



1. UC 32068



2. Stela of Herac(l)eia from Kom Abu Billou (Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor, Inv. 21071). Late second century AD

THE *KLINE* OF ANUBIS (pp. 301-7)



3. Stela of Heras from Kom Abu Billou (Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor, Inv. 21150). Late second century AD



4. Museum of London, acc. no. 29. 9/1  
THE ROMAN 'CARROT' AMPHORA  
(pp. 307-12)

## REVIEWS

*Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization.* By BARRY J. KEMP. 250 × 190 mm. Pp. viii + 365, figs. 103, pls. 11. London and New York, Routledge, 1989. ISBN 0 415 01281-3. Price £35.

If one were to read, in the order of their year of appearance, the more important books on Egyptian civilization or its major aspects (e.g. religion or literature) which have been published during the past hundred years, one would above all appreciate the impressive progress in our knowledge. However, that is merely one aspect in which they differ from each other. Each of them also bears the imprint of its author's personality, his interest in special subjects — or his lack of feeling for particular spheres of life. Erman's *Die Religion der Ägypter*, for instance, shows how little affinity this great scholar had for the phenomenon of religious belief, while Breasted's *Development of Religion and Thought* is a typical product of an American historian at the beginning of our century. Or, to quote one other instance: Gardiner's *Egypt of the Pharaohs* is as clearly the creation of a philologist as Petrie's *A History of Egypt* was that of an archaeologist.

There is still a third element that governs the various surveys, namely the spirit of the period in which they were composed. Breasted's famous *History of Egypt*, to cite another work of this scholar, reflects the spiritual climate of its time and place of origin no less than Avdiev's *Istoria Drevnego Vostoka* of 1948 (see *BiOr* 7 (1950), 48–50). Both are serious studies; it would therefore be wrong to call the first one 'objective' and the latter 'prejudiced'. It is an illusion to suppose that the spirit of the age was less vital for Egyptological research than for other fields of history.

The book under review is a clear example of the impact of its author's personality as well as of modern trends in Egyptology. The latter may have been late to appear, more than half a century after the rise of the *Annales* school, but ten to fifteen years ago our science too turned its attention to the social and economic aspects of civilization. The first general survey dominated by this tendency was *Ancient Egypt. A Social History* (1983), of which Kemp was one of the four co-authors. The present book is the first monograph by a single scholar to focus on socio-economic developments.

Apart from an introduction, in which the author renders an account of his frame of mind, that is, of the concepts with which he will attempt to create order in the chaotic evidence, and where he also presents remarks on landscape and chronology and suchlike, and a very brief Epilogue (pp. 318–20), the book consists of three parts, two of two chapters, one of three. Each chapter is devoted to a particular subject, but they are so cleverly arranged that they also deal chronologically with the three flowering epochs. Part I discusses the origin of the state, and the early development of the culture, that is: the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom. Part II, called 'The Provider State', describes the bureaucratic mind and the creation of model communities, mainly from Middle Kingdom evidence. In Part III, which bears the intriguing title 'Intimations of our Future' and is particularly based on New Kingdom material, Kemp studies the mature state, especially the relations between its spiritual and secular facets, the economic structure, and the city of el-Amarna as 'Egypt in Microcosm'.

My overwhelming impression after reading and re-reading this book is one of deep admiration. It is an extremely rich work, full of ideas, in many cases concisely formulated. A few may here be quoted: 'Inventing traditions was something that the Egyptians were good at' (p. 59); '...in organization the ancient Egyptians could be very effective, but we cannot say that they were at all efficient' (p. 291); 'We like to think that sources are inert, and ourselves objective observers. But the interplay is much more complex' (p. 101). In such pronouncements Kemp summarizes essential features of the Egyptian civilization as well as fundamental views on Egyptology.

Nobody would be convinced, I fear, if this review consisted merely of jubilation, although there is ample reason for that. Of course, one does not agree with every detail. It is precisely the value of

a study like this that it stimulates contradiction and raises questions. For instance, for what kind of readership is it intended? It seems to me rather difficult for the general reader, requiring too much basic knowledge to savour its value. The first pages of the introduction may especially deter those who leaf through the volume in a bookshop. I at least had to study these pages line by line before I was able to grasp the argument.

As regards the abundant illustrations, including plans, maps, and drawings after Egyptian reliefs, many are extremely informative, but some give me the impression of being intended for a secondary school book. Examples are: fig. 85, illustrating O. DeM. 73 vs., which records an exchange transaction; fig. 81, depicting Meketre's fleet; fig. 103, a representation of the sizes of various occupational groups possessing fields according to the Wilbour papyrus. I doubt whether these are really appreciated by the layman; for the scholar they are superfluous. Together with several others, they seem to be the result of uncertainty as to whether this study is aimed at the professional Egyptologist or at the general public.

A few points may be noted on which Kemp has failed to convince me. That the famous painting in tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis 'portrays a symbolic universe in which the central element is the line of boats: unassailable points of order and authority, which also conveyed the image of motion through time' (p. 47), sounds to me slightly over-profound an interpretation. I readily admit that Egyptian art is not as realistic as it seems to be and renders many a hidden meaning, but 'motion through time' in this context looks more like Western philosophy than a genuine Egyptian concept.

On p. 112 Kemp notes that landholdings during the Old Kingdom varied from 2 to 110 arouras, which he calculates to be 16.4 to 905 hectares. The modern measurements are clearly derived from Baer's article in *JNES* 15 (1956), where the Old Kingdom aroura is calculated to equal 8.205 hectares. However, this has been refuted by Karin Gödecken in her *Eine Betrachtung der Inschriften des Meten* (1976), 351 ff., evidently correctly. That the smallest fields would measure over 16 hectares flatly contradicts all we know about fields in the New Kingdom. There seems to be no reason to assume a special Old Kingdom aroura different from the later one.

In the chapter on the mature state Kemp sketches what he calls 'the shadowy outline of two opposed interest groups in the New Kingdom: army and civil scribes' (p. 229). Such an opposition was undeniably present, and it is clearly expressed in the educational textbooks of that period (the *Miscellanies*). Helck, and to a certain extent also Schulman, has attempted to interpret historical developments during the late Eighteenth Dynasty as a result of the clash between the (rising, hence 'progressive') army and the ('conservative') civil service. Kemp seems not quite to agree with this picture, for he thinks that it was only under Horemheb that the army seized power. Whether he sees the Amarna 'revolution' as a mainly religious movement, and as the product of the king's will alone, is not clear, nor whether he believes the events to have been due to social developments — as one would expect from a scholar who pays so much attention to the social aspects of history.

On the next page Kemp states that people complained about the faults of the government, 'but did not form political parties or revolutionary mobs' (p. 230). The former is obviously correct, at least if one takes the term 'party' in its modern sense; but what about the formation of interest groups among the civil servants and the courtiers? Such things are not recorded, but it seems unlikely that they did not happen. And was the mass of the populace indeed absolutely passive in political matters? Below we will see that Kemp rejects the idea of passivity in economic matters. Why then does he so easily accept it in matters politic?

The famous letters sent by 'The General' Piankh to various people with the order to kill two policemen (Pap. Berlin 10487-489 = Černý, *LRL*, nos 21, 34, and 35) seem to demonstrate that among the inhabitants of the Theban area there existed a strong opposition to the usurper, which had been publicly expressed by these two *m'dryw*. They had to be murdered — by night! — because 'they said these words', not because they had committed any crime. What else could it have been than preaching insurrection against 'The General'? The title of Erman's first publication of these texts, *Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz* (1913), reflects the innocence of the substantial citizen at the beginning of our century. Actually, it was political murder, and Piankh implicitly admits that in his words to Tjaroy-Dhutmose (Pap. Berlin 10487): 'As for Pharaoh, how shall he reach this land (i.e., Upper Egypt)? And of whom is Pharaoh still the boss?' That is the language of a dictator who does not recognize the legal head of the state anymore, and ruthlessly represses the first signs of

insurrection against his power. But it also demonstrates that popular feelings could sometimes be expressed in a way that struck fear into the hearts of the authorities.

One reason for this digression is that it shows how general phrases in our handbooks are based on scanty evidence, due to the lack of pertinent sources. With Kemp, I do not believe that the Egyptians were more peaceful than people in our age. That 'usurpers and founders of new lines were not summoned from a state of innocence by priests or by mysterious voices or supernatural signs' (pp. 228-9) seems to me evident. Unfortunately, we seldom have at our disposal the data which shows what really happened. Yet there are, even in well-known texts, indications which have been ignored. It is not the least of the merits of this book that it stimulates the search for such hints. So the reader is provoked on almost every page to reconsider his own options, whether in accordance with those of the author or in opposition to him. For this reviewer, the latter has been the case on two major points.

In a special section of chapter 1 (pp. 31-5), the author draws up a model for the formation of the state in Egypt. From the outset he refutes the application of the existing theories: 'Individual cases vary a great deal in their particular circumstances, and we should not look for a check-list of universally valid causes' (p. 31). This is a fine example of a historian's aversion to the models of the comparatists. Yet is it correct in this case? Admittedly, the origin of the state in Egypt was in some respects unparalleled, but, on the other hand, several traits can be noticed that occur in other early states. By rejecting in advance every theory, one deprives oneself of the means to discover those less obvious facets of the process which are more evident elsewhere. One can, I think, easily be too afraid of falling victim to a preconceived idea. Without being convinced beforehand of the correctness of any particular model, one should critically test several against the available data. They may all turn out to be insufficient and the instance under discussion indeed absolutely unique, but that has to be proved. That every case is to a certain extent unique is not unknown to comparatists!

It is a strange coincidence that, at the same time as Kemp's book appeared, the designer of one of the best known theories on state formation, Robert Carneiro, published an article on the rise of the state in Egypt, together with the prehistorian Kathryn Bard (*CRIPEL* 11 (1989), 15-23). In Carneiro's concept, called the 'circumscription theory' (see his study in *Science* 169 (1970), 733-8), population pressure is the prime mover of the evolution towards statehood, other factors being war and conquest. However, they produce a state only under specific conditions, either environmental or social circumscription. It is clear that the former could very well have played a major role in the relatively narrow Nile Valley. Whether it did, depends on the population density at the dawn of history.

In their article Bard and Carneiro proceed from the conviction that this density, in relation to the technological level, had reached a point where conquest became a necessity. The fact of the expansion of the early chiefdoms is of course undeniable, and is amply discussed by Kemp; but he does not accept any environmental circumscription (p. 31). On the contrary, he suggests that the population was still relatively small as compared with the abundant natural resources. It seems to me that we possess as yet insufficient evidence to decide this point. Our knowledge about the demography of the early periods — and the later ones — is still absolutely minimal.

Kemp does not explicitly refute Carneiro's ideas, for he never mentions him, nor any other comparatist. Evidently he believes that the facts themselves will lead to a model. That now seems to me to be a mistake. It is always better to compose a model from several cases than from a single one. And indeed, Kemp himself does not stick to his rejection of theory; he creates an *ad hoc* one: 'The dynamic for the growth of the state seems in many instances to lie inherent within the very fact of settled agriculture... The essential factor is psychological. Permanent occupation and working of the same tract of land give rise to a powerful sense of territorial rights...' (p. 32). On p. 35 this is repeated and enlarged to 'a powerful urge to dominate'. State formation as the result of a structure of mind of agriculturalists? I do not know of any comparatist who has ever proposed this concept. It sounds to me so nineteenth century, pre-Marxian an explanation, unacceptable for a social phenomenon. Is it actually much more than stating: the state in Egypt came into existence because the field-tilling inhabitants wanted it? Why did the development not begin millennia earlier? Agriculture was not an innovation of late prehistory!

This I consider a weak spot in Kemp's extremely fine study. The origin of the state in general is a difficult and complicated matter, and there are probably various paths by which states rose. Of

course, it happened many times in agrarian societies, although not always. An example of pastoral hegemony can be found in Ankole (see Steinhart, in *The Early State*, ed. Claessen and Skalník (The Hague, 1978), 131–50). In this collection of papers, in which a large number of scholars describe the formation of states in the most varied parts of the world, the editors in one of their summaries list the factors responsible for the phenomenon (p. 622–9). Perhaps more could be added, but that one of these could be the ‘natural’ outcome of early agriculture appears highly unlikely. It seems to me that the disregard of all theoretical studies on the subject and the creation of his own model on account of a single example, namely that of ancient Egypt, shows an unwarranted lack of respect for all the work of theorists and comparatists, studies which together fill a large bookcase!

It will be no surprise, however, that my most severe objections concern Kemp’s ideas about the ancient Egyptian economy (ch. 6). Here he refutes the views of Polanyi and his ‘school’, which constitute the basis of most of what recently has been written on the subject. In my opinion the author completely misunderstands his predecessors. In the context of this review there is not sufficient space to discuss the matter fully. Therefore, I will restrict my remarks to a few passages, hoping that I will not in my turn misinterpret Kemp.

On p. 239 he states that, according to Polanyi — and, I understand, his followers — ‘everyone [in ancient Egypt] is satisfied (or unable to articulate his dissatisfaction in economic terms)’; and, a few lines further on: ‘the ideal of consensus is an illusion... The politics of self-interest were well and truly alive’. That is, ancient Egypt was not an economic and social paradise, where everyone helped his neighbour, was happy, and fully content. This reminds me of the way in which an author recently summarized Brugsch’s ideas concerning the Egyptians: ‘von kindlicher Naivität, natürlicher Reinheit und sittlicher Grösse durchdrungen’ (Rühlmann, *ZAS* 115 (1988), 157). Who in our age has argued this? Conspicuously, in this section Kemp does not refer to any Egyptological study. Is it because nowhere such nonsense can be found? I hesitate to write down my reaction to this passage, for I know the author too well to surmise that this was his aim, but first to sketch a caricature of what one’s opponents argue and then triumphantly to remark that that is ridiculous is an old and poor rhetorical trick.

Kemp uses economic terminology in an inadmissible way. On p. 240, dealing with the Heqanakhte Papers, he writes: ‘These display a strong urge to maximize family income by means of shrewd deals with neighbours and others, with no reference at all to an outside system or authority’. The last words imply that nowhere in these texts do we find traces of the redistribution system. That one can readily admit, but it does not mean that this system was not dominant in the economy as a whole. Other patterns existed as well. In our modern world reciprocity plays such a minor role in the economy that it is not mentioned in the handbooks. Yet, it is an important aspect of daily life: giving presents, helping friends and relations, etc. (see *JEA* 68 (1982), 253 ff.). Moreover, this happens only partly out of ‘love’; in most instances it is a social obligation. It usually includes goods and services which in themselves function in the economy, but in this context they are generally thought to be social, and not economic. That is, reciprocity is indeed an essential part of our modern economy, although neglected by economists. In the same way, private economic activity occurred in ancient Egypt, but the dominating system was that of redistribution.

However, my main objection to the quoted sentence concerning Heqanakhte is to the use of the words ‘maximize’ and ‘shrewd’. Whether Heqanakhte’s behaviour can be described by the latter adjective we cannot know. All we are told is that he attempted to get a higher price for his products. Kemp calls that ‘calculated gain’, suggesting the techniques of the modern market economy. On p. 242 he refers to the Egyptian attitude as to make ‘the best of whatever chance for enrichment came their way’. That seems to me self-evident. Of course they tried, like almost every human being, to acquire riches wherever they could. But that is not the point. What Polanyi *cum suis* argued is that the economies of pre-modern societies are not *dominated* by the supply-demand price system, because the economic relations are embedded in the social context. Or, in the case of ancient Egypt, the purpose of barter-exchange transactions was not to make profit, but to acquire objects one needed and wanted. One did not buy goods in order to sell them for a higher price, that is, to make profit. That is why not a single Egyptian trader became rich enough to build himself a decorated tomb. Even stelae erected by merchants are rare, if indeed they exist.

In other words, no Egyptian despised ‘gain’, but they did not intend to make ‘profit’ in the technical economic sense. Kemp himself produces a striking example. On p. 243 he discusses the

Tomb Robberies, stating that the thieves kept most of what they stole as part of their household property. In this context he quotes the confession of the priest-gardener Ker: 'We brought away 5 *kite* of gold. We bought corn with it in Thebes and divided it up'. A modern economic report would continue: 'and sold it for 10 *kite*', etc. Exactly that is absent! The thieves wanted goods, but there is not the slightest trace of the profit motive.

The picture Kemp draws up of the Egyptian economy, by applying terms such as 'maximize' and 'profit', is in essence that of our modern society. On the other hand, he makes no attempt to explain what in this context would be anomalies. Why, for instance, was the value of a grain-basket (*kbs*), usually expressed in grain, equal to its contents? Why, when in the mid-Twentieth Dynasty the grain price surged to double its value and more, did the prices of other goods, even when expressed in grain, remain stable? It is to explain such phenomena that one needs other theories than those of the classical economic handbooks. Not everything in ancient Egypt differed from what we are used to, but it is the striking exceptions that require an explanation.

Many more remarks could be made on the chapter 'The Birth of Economic Man'. Even this title is typical: was man before the beginning of modern economic practices not 'economic'? In fact, the preceding lines represent the continuation of a debate that Kemp and I started many years ago, as a private letter from him dating back to 1972 proves. I regret that he has not been able to convince me on this subject, any more than I, evidently, have succeeded in convincing him. Other parts of the book seem to me far more satisfactory, and as stated above, I am mostly able to agree with him and, generally, to accept his views. Certainly, this is a fascinating study, which deserves the full attention of every Egyptologist. We should, and shall in future, be grateful for it to its author.

JAC J. JANSSEN

*The Medical Skills of Ancient Egypt*. By J. WORTH ESTES. 230 × 153 mm. Pp. xii + 196, figs. 20. Canton, Mass., USA, Science History Publications, 1989. ISBN 0 88135 093 1. \$16.95 (cloth); \$10.95 (paper).

Most books about ancient Egyptian medicine fall into one of two categories. Some are written by philologists with limited medical insight, while others are written by doctors with limited understanding of the Egyptian language. Each makes its own special contribution, but the reader must be aware of their respective limitations. Estes is Professor of Pharmacology at the Boston University School of Medicine and acknowledges that he is not an expert on Egyptology.

It is no surprise that the main strength of this book is the insight which a pharmacologist can bring to bear on the ancient Egyptian pharmacopoeia. The chapter entitled 'The *swnw*'s medicines' and the Glossary of Drug Substances (pp. 139-57) provide a useful review of some of the remedies available to the *swnw*. Only in a few instances does Estes venture into the minefield of relating Egyptian names to botanical species, and it is unfortunate that Lise Manniche's *Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (London, 1989) was not available when he prepared his manuscript. However, it would surely have been helpful to refer to the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen* by von Deines and Grapow (Berlin, 1959). Estes considers the possibility that mention of *špnn* or *ḏrt* in the Ebers papyrus may refer to opium. There is no evidence that *Papaver somniferum* was known in Egypt until the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the original of the papyrus is likely to have been earlier. The *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen* does not countenance any such interpretation of *špnn*, which largely rests upon the overimaginative translation of the Ebers papyrus by Ebbell (Copenhagen and London, 1937). Estes also considers the possibility of *ḏrt* being colocynth or carob. Von Deines and Grapow give some support to the former interpretation, while Manniche suggests it may mean the pod pulp of carob.

There is a most interesting comparison between pharaonic medicine and the practice of a present day village *feki*, as revealed in an interview conducted in 1987. The *feki* carried a leather satchel containing such remedies as the heart of a baby crocodile, the brain of a baby, a dead bat and a pomegranate, all typical of the vast range of drugs mentioned in the papyri.

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However, in spite of the difficulties arising from the use of an unreliable translation, this book makes a useful contribution on the ancient Egyptian pharmacopoeia, as seen through the eyes of a pharmacologist. It would perhaps have been more helpful if the book had carried a title more indicative of its pharmacological strength.

JOHN NUNN

*Decorated Pottery and the Art of Naqada III. A Documentary Essay.* By BRUCE WILLIAMS. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien Heft 45. 238 × 170 mm. Pp. 93, figs. 36. Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag München, 1988. ISBN 3 422 008403. Price DM 65.

This monograph endeavours to identify and interpret the decorative themes which the author believes can be ascribed to the Naqada III phase of the Predynastic Period. The study uses as its starting point a discussion of six painted pottery vessels excavated by the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, at the site of Qustul and here dated to Naqada IIIa.<sup>1</sup> Their decoration is dominated by two motifs identified by the author as a palm tree associated with the devouring vulture and other animals, and a palm tree with serpents. These are compared first with representations upon a selected number of other painted pottery vessels from Qustul and elsewhere, and then related to the themes occurring on decorated palettes, knife handles and maceheads of the Naqada IIIa and IIIb Periods and objects of the Archaic Period. They are interpreted as examples of an early stage in the development of pharaonic symbolism and iconography, depicting in abbreviated form the well-known files of animals, the themes of royal victory and a sacrificial procession, and the palm in certain instances being identified with the ruler. In an appendix the decoration on three Naqada I pottery vessels is discussed in the light of these conclusions, and it is suggested that they represent even earlier expressions of the same themes. From this summary it will be apparent that Williams' thesis is of major importance to all studies of the emergence of the pharaonic state and royal iconography and warrants serious consideration. However, there are several problems inherent in this work which qualify acceptance of its conclusions and which will be examined briefly here.

The significance of the Qustul vessels lies in the paucity of representational material which can be ascribed to Naqada IIIa (pp. 2–5), dated most recently by Kaiser to approximately 3200–3125 BC,<sup>2</sup> which otherwise includes only the Brooklyn knife handle and the Sayala mace handle, the latter

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unfortunately not illustrated in this study. It is therefore imperative that their dating should be established beyond doubt before they can be used to define the decorative themes of that period. However, the evidence presented in Section I (pp. 5–7) is inconclusive,<sup>3</sup> especially as no details are provided concerning the find context of each piece. Whilst these may be provided in the publication of the cemetery as a whole, the reviewer feels that they should have been reiterated as acceptance of the author's dating of these vessels is crucial to his general thesis. Of the six vessels dealt with, four originate in Cemetery L at Qustul and two in Cemetery W, which lay 'more than a kilometer to the north of Cemetery L' (p. 13). Williams' brief discussion relates only to Cemetery L, which is assigned in its entirety to Naqada IIIa on the basis of the following:

- The Nubian pottery includes a few ripple-burnished pieces of middle A-Group and a large quantity of painted vessels in late A-Group style. The latter Williams believes to have begun before Naqada IIIb with which it is generally correlated.
- Imported Egyptian pottery displays pre-Naqada IIIb features: the cylinder jars only occur with wavy thumb-impressed bands, 'Some storage jars with impressed bands of applied decoration belong at the head of a sequence of such jars that continues into the First Dynasty', and decoration comprising four painted wavy lines occurs.
- The occurrence of a series of Syro-Palestinian Early Bronze I type juglets.

Whilst some late A-Group style painted pottery may have been produced before Naqada IIIb, that does not necessarily apply to the majority. Cylinder jars with wavy thumb-impressed bands are stated to be associated 'closely with the Horizon A group of serekhs by Kaiser' (p. 6, n. 19), but this group is assigned in its entirety by Kaiser to Naqada IIIb.<sup>4</sup> That only one of these carried an open lattice pattern (p. 6) could be used to argue for a date late in their sequence of manufacture as well as early. The motif of four painted wavy lines is believed to be characteristic of SD 77 (p. 6, n. 21), but as the author notes (p. 3), some material of that date was included in Kaiser's Naqada IIIb. Whilst the author questions Petrie's dating of one vessel so painted, which he claims is the only example Petrie assigned to SD 78, he ignores two examples assigned to SD 80.<sup>5</sup> Finally, the Syro-Palestinian juglets are dated by comparison with an example found at Azor in coastal Palestine which occurred together with an Egyptian ripple-flaked blade. An example recently discovered in a tomb at Hieraconpolis and parallel to those from Azor occurred with pottery covering SD 74–81, i.e., Naqada IIIa–IIIc.<sup>6</sup> It is far from 'clear that Cemetery L dates to the Naqada IIIa' as Williams would have us believe! Even if some of the tombs may be dated to that period, it is unwise to assume that they are all contemporary.

Section II of the work contains a description of the decoration on the six vessels from Qustul (pp. 7–16), provides parallels to these pieces (pp. 16–22) and a summary of Naqada III painting (pp. 23–4). Three of the vessels from Cemetery L are linked by what Williams describes as 'The Tree and the Devouring Vulture' motif and preserve the most interesting decoration. The two most complex are large deep bowls; the third is a storage jar. On bowl L23–38 a central palm tree supports a bird identified as a guinea fowl (?), while a gazelle/ibex is represented below its branches on the left with a crocodile. To the left of this central composition are three vultures pecking at serpents and a single plover. To the right is a framework of poles, two of which support standards, associated with which is a male figure with arms outstretched, above whose head is a ring from which depend a series of undulating lines. The latter group is believed by Williams to represent a ring-standard with serpents; the other standards are identified as crocodiles, despite the two tall, curved projections from their backs (are these bees?). As the reader must rely upon

<sup>3</sup> This was also the conclusion reached by Grzymski in his review of *The A-Group Royal Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L*, in *JARCE* 27 (1990), 232.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. 289.

<sup>5</sup> Petrie, *Corpus of Proto-Dynastic Pottery* (London, 1953), pls. xxviii type 92g and xxix type 94h. It might be objected that type 94h has groups of three wavy lines; however, type 91D7, which is referred to by Williams as of SD 77, is decorated with groups of five wavy lines.

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Barbara Adams for drawing this vessel to my attention and for providing me with a copy of her paper, authored jointly with Renée Friedman, 'Imports and Influences in the Predynastic and Proto-dynastic Settlement and Funerary Assemblages at Hieraconpolis', presented at the conference *Egypt in Transition* held at The Netherlands Institute for Archaeology and Arabic Studies in Cairo in 1990.

line drawings to assess the accuracy of Williams' identifications, in the absence of photographs, it is disturbing to see major inconsistencies between the two representations which are provided of the central group of the palm tree and animals.

This carelessness is also evident in the depictions of the decoration on the second bowl, L19-21, in which the placement and details of the elements as given in the drawing of the decorative panel as a whole are quite different from those shown with the drawing of the bowl itself. In addition, in the description of the decoration several elements are not to be seen on the drawings. As with that on L23-38, the decoration is described as 'fugitive' and 'difficult to recover'; in the case of L19-21 only half of the scheme remains. The drawing shows two pairs of giraffes and the hindquarters of what is possibly one of a third pair. One of the pairs flanks a slightly curved, vertical, tapering thick line which has three short projections at its base. This is identified as a palm tree with splaying roots (p. 11). However, it should be observed that one of the basal projections could actually be the hoof of the right foreleg of the giraffe to the right. If this is not the case, then it is the only occasion where the hoof is not clearly represented.<sup>7</sup> This so-called palm lacks a crown and supports in its place a partially preserved composition identified as a vulture with its prey — here the lower half of a human figure, to whose right knee is attached an oval from which projects a plant believed to represent that of Upper Egypt. It is impossible to comment upon these identifications, given what the author himself states to be the 'fugitive' nature of the designs, and the inconsistencies within the drawings. The identification of a palm tree, vulture and victim between the second pair of giraffes on the basis of the traces indicated upon the drawing seems, at the best, wishful thinking!

The third vessel of this group is a jar carrying what is described as a 'label device' with 'an abbreviation of the tree, vulture and victim found upon L19-21' (p. 13). The drawing illustrates a bird with extended long neck, standing upon and pecking (?) at an oval containing two lines supported upon a vertical line. The oval with lines is identified as the sign for Nekhen. The association of a vulture with this sign is of great interest: need it be interpreted here as attacking the sign? Might it not symbolize Nekhbet? On the drawing of the jar the location of this label is not indicated; rather we see a standing male figure holding a crook. Surely this is worthy of comment, especially in light of the representation of a similar figure in a scene in the painting in tomb 100 at Hieraconpolis which Williams has elsewhere identified as depicting the *heb-sed* dance.<sup>8</sup>

The second motif group which contains the serpent and palm occurs on a bowl and a jar from Cemetery W and a bowl from Cemetery L. The jar, W6-5, has a band of cross-hatching upon its shoulder and a palm with v-shaped crown (?), around the trunk of which are intertwined two undulating lines. The latter are identified as serpents, mainly with reference to the association of serpents with 'palm-crown rosettes' on knife handles (p. 14). This does not, however, necessitate the identification on W6-5, nor confirm the depictions on the interiors of the two bowls — radiating curved or undulating lines — as serpents. Simply because serpents are represented as undulating, as on jar L23-38 and other objects, does not mean that all undulating lines depict serpents. The exteriors of the bowls are decorated with four v-shaped motifs on short stems (? palms), filled in the case of W6-8 with other v-shaped lines and of L17-30 with solid paint.

Williams believes that bowls W6-8 and L17-30 were local products decorated to resemble Egyptian prototypes (p. 14 and n. 56). In discussing the decoration on these pieces, he states 'The palm motif not only occurred on imported vessels which were probably painted locally...', implying that either jar W6-5 or all of the other pieces are Egyptian manufactures, and certainly their shapes indicate this. No evidence is offered to support the contention that the decoration was applied locally. Elsewhere Williams states in connection with bowls L23-38 and L19-21: 'Because the decoration was vulnerable to contact with water, I believe that it was applied locally in Nubia, since it would not have survived a river journey from Egypt intact.'<sup>9</sup> I do not find this argument convincing. The types of river vessel used by the Egyptians of the day would surely have been

<sup>7</sup> If the identification proposed here is accepted, then the projections cannot be identified as roots and the representation upon this vessel has no relevance for the dating of the Louvre Palette as suggested by Williams (p. 11).

<sup>8</sup> Williams and Logan, *op. cit.* 255.

<sup>9</sup> *JNES* 46, 19-20 n. 42.

watertight; we should also recall that the vessels in questions do not have their decoration intact. Definite Egyptian-made painted pottery vessels found in A-Group contexts are published by Nordström.<sup>10</sup>

This section is completed by a discussion of six vessels of Naqada III date, three from Egypt and three from Nubia, which contain similar decorative elements to those identified on the vessels from Qustul, but also others, including the boat. The author implies that others exist; it is to be regretted that he did not include 'a complete catalogue of possible examples', given the significance he assigns to the decoration.

In the penultimate section (pp. 24-40) the significance of the decorative themes found upon the Qustul vessels is explored by comparison with the much larger body of representational art upon the state palettes, carved ivories, sealings and other objects dating from Naqada III to the Archaic Period. The motifs upon these objects are represented in schematic summaries which are unfortunately difficult to follow in many cases. The conclusions may be summarized as follows. The motif of the vulture and serpent is related to the victorious litany represented on the Lion, Libyan Booty, Bull and Narmer Palettes (pp. 29-31). The palm motif is equated with the rosette, which is identified as an aerial view of a palm crown; both are seen as being closely associated with the ruler and may even stand as a substitute for his figure (pp. 31-4). The scene upon bowl L23-28 is identified as a 'ritual presentation at a shrine' and connected with 'sacrificial processions' which are thought to be attested by the Hieraconpolis Painted Tomb and the largest section of the Turin painted linen (pp. 38-9).<sup>11</sup> The meaning of all such decoration is discussed in Section IV (pp. 40-5) and seen as an affirmation of order and harmony. The painted pottery of the Naqada III Period is, it is proposed, official art containing themes which later emerge as associated with pharaonic power. All of this is extremely provocative and clearly demands assessment by individual researchers. As far as its exposition in this monograph is concerned, however, the reviewer is unconvinced by many of the arguments and feels that a much more detailed and comprehensive study is required. The identification of the rosette as a 'palm-crown rosette' is particularly doubtful, as this would contradict all known Egyptian artistic conventions.

Finally, in an appendix (pp. 46-51) the author attempts to identify the palm, victory and sacrifice motifs on three decorated Naqada I vessels. A bowl from Naqada tomb 1443 preserves a motif of five v-shaped elements, four of which are attached to vertical bars, recalling the decoration on the bowls W6-8 and L17-30. The decoration upon two beakers, one in Brussels and the other in the Petrie Museum, is identified as depicting the ritual sacrifice. The decoration on the famous Brussels vessel<sup>12</sup> is interpreted as showing two dominant (larger) male figures with upraised arms, hands bent inwards, and with branches or feathers upon their heads. To one of these, four smaller, armless (trussed), male figures are attached by ropes around their necks. The latter group is shown to the left of a palm tree, to the right of which are two other armless male figures. The decorative scheme upon the Petrie Museum vessel is believed to clarify the identification of that on the Brussels vessel and link both to pharaonic imagery. It is interpreted as depicting a structure of posts, mats and reeds — the palace façade or *serekh* — before which is a large male figure in similar posture to those on the Brussels vessel, and to whose body a smaller, armless figure is attached by a cord around its neck. The latter is believed to have liquid streaming from its face and represent a bleeding sacrifice.

Whilst Williams is undoubtedly correct in attempting to determine the significance of the scenes upon the two beakers, his identifications should be regarded as mere possibilities. The posture of the dominant figures clearly recalls that of females on Naqada II painted pottery and figurines, as noted by the author only in the final note (p. 51, n. 194). Upon that pottery human figures are frequently shown touching one another — could this also be represented on the two Naqada I beakers? The liquid streaming from the head of the figure upon the Petrie Museum vessel could, despite Williams' assertion to the contrary, also be hair, as is the case upon another vessel of Naqada I date from Matmar.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Neolithic and A-Group Sites* (Lund, 1972), pls. 46-7.

<sup>11</sup> This theme is dealt with at length in Williams and Logan, op. cit.

<sup>12</sup> Musées Royales d'Art et Histoire E3002.

<sup>13</sup> Ayrton and Loat, *Pre-Dynastic Cemetery at El Mahasna* (London, 1911), 35, pl. xxvii, 13.

The discussion in this appendix highlights two of the basic shortcomings in Williams' treatment of his subject throughout this monograph — a lack of essential caution in identifying with certainty what are often cursorily depicted or partially preserved motifs and not considering alternatives seriously, and selective citation of comparative material which confirms his identifications. This reduces the value of his achievement in what is clearly a most important avenue of research.

COLIN A. HOPE

*The Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis.* By BARBARA ADAMS with a contribution by MICHAEL A. HOFFMAN. 235 × 150 mm. Pp. xii + 258, pls. 26, 1 plan. London, Kegan Paul International, 1987. ISBN 0 7103 0275 4. Price £55.

The site of Hierakonpolis is remarkable not only for the important objects found at the town site of Nekhen but also for the extent of the predynastic remains, which stretch some two kilometres into the desert. Considering the long history of excavation at the site, and its extensive cemeteries, it is remarkable that until the current programme of research<sup>1</sup> only the 'Painted tomb' had been relatively well published.<sup>2</sup> Adams is to be commended for her efforts here and elsewhere<sup>3</sup> to improve this situation. In her present contribution she concentrates on the 1905 excavations of John Garstang within the mudbrick 'fort'<sup>4</sup> where Garstang uncovered 188 graves. The notes on 166 of them were deposited at the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies at Liverpool University and are published here by Adams. Of these 166, eleven are intrusive dynastic burials and thirteen are clusters of objects, not graves.

After a brief introduction, the data for each grave are presented in the form of grave record worksheets, which include a sketch of the grave and the grave goods from Garstang's original notebooks, as well as the museum location and registration numbers of the objects if known. Petrie's corpus types are assigned to the pottery where possible, on the basis of which the graves are dated using Sequence Dates and Kaiser's *Stufen* dates. While it is unfortunate that more detailed drawings of the located artifacts could not be included, the graphic display of the pottery, even in sketched form, provides an overall impression of the tomb lots that lists of Corpus numbers do not.

It is interesting to note the relatively limited number of shapes that apparently made up the necessary furnishings of a Late Predynastic/Protodynastic grave. In the Nagada II period the 'grave kit' comprised a pointed jar (R76), a large storage jar (R84), a small, often pointed jar (R66, R69, P93), ledge- or flaring-rimmed bowls (R24, R26), and small bowls that often functioned as lids (L12c, L16b). In the Nagada III period, the general range of vessel shape and presumable function was similar, although the Corpus types changed. Pointed jar L30p, storage jar L36a, and bowl R24m are constant inclusions in the graves of this period as are cylindrical wavy-handled jars (W51, 61-2). This information, gleaned from the records of the intact tombs, is not only of use from a chronological standpoint, but provides a point of comparison with the ceramics from the nearby settlements that are almost exclusively preserved as sherds.

The other categories on the grave record sheets are, in general, clear, although there is some potential for confusion surrounding the aging and sexing of the skeletons. This is particularly so when this information provided by Theya Molleson (of the British Museum of Natural History) on the basis of the excavation photographs, conflicts with the 'Special notes' copied from Garstang's notebooks (e.g. graves 16 and 27). There is also some confusion regarding the condition of the burials. It is unclear on what basis the graves were considered undisturbed. A remarkably large

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Hoffman, *et al.*, *The Predynastic of Hierakonpolis* (Cairo and Illinois, 1982).

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number (76%) of the graves appear, on the basis of the information here, to have been intact, yet for grave 81, listed as undisturbed, the special notes say that the bones were 'very displaced', all dishes were broken and nearby 'several dishes and broken palettes were found in redim'. The situation is also unclear for grave 148, among others, in which no bones were found in position, yet the grave is listed as undisturbed.

A chapter on analysis and observations follows the catalogue of graves. The raw data for this discussion are arranged in tabular form. These tables include number of occupants, shape, size, orientation, sex, age, objects and wealth. The analysis of the graves goods dates the range of the cemetery to Nagada II-Nagada III/Early Dynastic, with the majority of the tombs dating to Nagada IIIa-b. On a fold-out end piece tombs, shaded to reflect age, are plotted on a plan of the fort cemetery redrawn and revised from Kemp.<sup>5</sup> This plan illustrates a shift in burial location over time, from east to west. Analysis of other aspects shows that the majority of graves measured less than 1.50 m in length with no major increase in size or wealth in Nagada III. There were very few rich graves. That there is preferential interment of females and no wealth distinction between the sexes (pp. 181-2) must be considered tentative in view of the sexing method and the number for which no sex could be determined (63%).

Within the cemetery, one interesting observation pertains to graves 39 and 38. Garstang noted that a wall had been constructed between these two graves, as the building of 38 had accidentally exposed 39 and necessitated its reburial. This indicates that superstructure or other marking above the graves was lacking, and demonstrates continued care for the dead as well (also to be seen in the limited number of plundered graves). In contrast, observations by Lythgoe<sup>6</sup> at Naga ed Der suggest that plundering took place only a short time after interment and that whenever, by chance, an earlier tomb was encountered, the opportunity was taken to strip the burial of its possessions.

The analysis section dovetails well with the second part of the book, in which Hoffman, the late director of the present excavations at Hierakonpolis, discusses the cemeteries at Hierakonpolis in a regional context with specific focus on cemetery patterning and population size.

Recent surface survey suggests that the cemetery enclosed within the fort walls comprises only approximately 5% of the cemetery of locality HK-27, the largest cemetery in the Hierakonpolis region. Excavations to the east of the fort by Quibell, de Morgan and Lansing appear to have uncovered graves predominantly of the Nagada II period. The analysis of the graves by Adams makes clear that this is a cemetery of middle-class occupants. The elite were buried in separate cemeteries: the 'Painted tomb' cemetery at the edge of the cultivation (locality HK-33), and within the Great Wadi (locality HK-6), where a series of large Predynastic and Protodynastic tombs have been excavated.<sup>7</sup> The relationship of the other smaller contemporary cemeteries HK-30G and HK-43-44 is unclear. Unfortunately a map of the Hierakonpolis region, which would have elucidated the discussion of cemetery placement, is not provided. It is also unfortunate that the discussion does not attempt to link the cemeteries to the settlements they might have served.

Employing the data from all the cemeteries at Hierakonpolis, Hoffman arrives at a total number of graves of 1,804 to 8,047 for the entire predynastic period. His methods for arriving at this are described in the text and presented in tabular form. A population estimate for one point in the Early Predynastic, however, ranges from 2,544 to 10,922. Whether the discrepancy between the estimated grave and settlement population is due to differential preservation, as Hoffman argues, rather than preferential burial (p. 190) remains to be seen.

It is interesting to note, however, that the nucleation of settlement onto the alluvium in the Late Predynastic resulted in a desert occupation concentrated along a strip of land about 300 m wide running parallel to the present edge of the cultivation, thus about 36,432 m<sup>2</sup> in extent (including the cemetery areas).<sup>8</sup> Using Hoffman's occupational density figures gleaned from surface mapping

<sup>5</sup> B. J. Kemp, *JEA* 49 (1963), 24-8, pl. iv.

<sup>6</sup> A. M. Lythgoe and D. Dunham, *The Predynastic Cemetery N7000: Naga ed Der* (California, 1965), 67 and passim.

<sup>7</sup> Hoffman, *et al.*, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> J. F. Harlan, *Predynastic Settlement Patterns: A view from Hierakonpolis*. Ph.D. dissertation (Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1985), 227.



of foundations of rectilinear agglutinated houses at HK-49A (data on mid-Nagada II domestic architecture remains elusive at Hierakonpolis, although it is not for lack of trying), one can arrive at an estimate of 1,373 people for one point of time in the Late Predynastic, living on the desert edge. Using the total number of graves in the fort and dividing that number by the total area within the fort, a grave density of 19 m<sup>2</sup> per grave is attained. When applied to the entire surface of HK-27A, 3,602 graves result. If the fort cemetery and its associated environs served just these desert settlements, discrepancy between the two populations is not nearly so large. The cemetery that served the more highly populated town centre at Nekhen would then be assumed to lie within the present floodplain, as coring has suggested (p. 188).

At the end of the book a number of appendices are included pertaining to the Garstang archive and museum locations of the objects, as well as one (Appendix D) containing addenda and corrigenda to Adams' *Ancient Hierakonpolis* and *Supplement*, published in 1974.

Adams is the first to cite some of the shortcomings of her fine publication (p. 3). However, her dismay over being unable to emulate Dunham's publication of Lythgoe's excavations at Naga ed Der 7000 is misplaced. That tome's strengths are due, in large part, to the superior skill of Lythgoe and his staff. The 1965 publication<sup>9</sup> is a verbatim transcription of the original notebooks. No attempt was made to date the graves or provide corpus types for the grave goods, the vast majority of which are in the Hearst Museum of the University of California, and not scattered across the globe as is the case for Garstang's material. The difficulty of using the Naga ed Der volume in any meaningful way has been noted elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Dunham did not publish all the material available to him at Boston, including many tomb sketches and photographs, particularly of the potmarks which are not otherwise noted in the text.<sup>11</sup> The few line drawings, in fact, give a false impression of accuracy as they were drawn from the original photographs and not from the objects.

Adams is to be congratulated for her continued success in her particular type of archaeology, that of excavating museum archives and basements in order to uncover the lost data of older excavations. This volume is a fine contribution to the further understanding of the important site of Hierakonpolis and the Late Predynastic in general. She is to be thanked for making available the only large scale corpus of mortuary information against which to contrast the growing complement of data derived from settlement excavations at Hierakonpolis and elsewhere.

R. F. FRIEDMAN

*Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire: Le problème de la datation.* By NADINE CHERPION. 270 × 210 mm. Pp. 241, pls. 48. Brussels, Connaissance de l'Égypte ancienne, 1989. ISBN 2 87268 001 2. Price FB 2800.

Egyptian civilization was by no means static. The architecture of tombs, the repertoire of scenes, the details of each scene, the type and order of titles held by individuals, all developed, yet the development was so subtle that it is not always immediately apparent. The progress of change can only be understood if the tombs are placed in the correct chronological order, which in turn would help establish a clearer picture of the various aspects of Egyptian civilization.

Many scholars have attempted to place the Old Kingdom tombs in some chronological order, but it was K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), who first proposed a method of dating based on a systematic examination of the variable sequences of titles listed for individuals. Many studies have since appeared with long sections devoted to chronology, yet, as Cherpion points out, the dates are far from being agreed. As an example of this, she cites the tomb

<sup>9</sup> Lythgoe and Dunham, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> P. J. Ucko, *CdE* 42 (1967), 345-53.

<sup>11</sup> For a new analysis of the ceramic material see R. F. Friedman, *Spatial Distribution in a Predynastic Cemetery: Naga ed Der 7000*. M. A. thesis (University of California, Berkeley, 1981).

of foundations of rectilinear agglutinated houses at HK-49A (data on mid-Nagada II domestic architecture remains elusive at Hierakonpolis, although it is not for lack of trying), one can arrive at an estimate of 1,373 people for one point of time in the Late Predynastic, living on the desert edge. Using the total number of graves in the fort and dividing that number by the total area within the fort, a grave density of 19 m<sup>2</sup> per grave is attained. When applied to the entire surface of HK-27A, 3,602 graves result. If the fort cemetery and its associated environs served just these desert settlements, discrepancy between the two populations is not nearly so large. The cemetery that served the more highly populated town centre at Nekhen would then be assumed to lie within the present floodplain, as coring has suggested (p. 188).

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R. F. FRIEDMAN

*Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire: Le problème de la datation.* By NADINE CHERPION. 270 × 210 mm. Pp. 241, pls. 48. Brussels, Connaissance de l'Égypte ancienne, 1989. ISBN 2 87268 001 2. Price FB 2800.

Egyptian civilization was by no means static. The architecture of tombs, the repertoire of scenes, the details of each scene, the type and order of titles held by individuals, all developed, yet the development was so subtle that it is not always immediately apparent. The progress of change can only be understood if the tombs are placed in the correct chronological order, which in turn would help establish a clearer picture of the various aspects of Egyptian civilization.

Many scholars have attempted to place the Old Kingdom tombs in some chronological order, but it was K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), who first proposed a method of dating based on a systematic examination of the variable sequences of titles listed for individuals. Many studies have since appeared with long sections devoted to chronology, yet, as Cherpion points out, the dates are far from being agreed. As an example of this, she cites the tomb

<sup>9</sup> Lythgoe and Dunham, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> P. J. Ucko, *CdE* 42 (1967), 345-53.

<sup>11</sup> For a new analysis of the ceramic material see R. F. Friedman, *Spatial Distribution in a Predynastic Cemetery: Naga ed Der 7000*. M. A. thesis (University of California, Berkeley, 1981).

of Kaemheset at Saqqara, dated by some to the Sixth, by others to the Fifth, and by still others to the Fourth Dynasty. The reason for such disagreement, in her opinion, is due to a large extent to our own uncertainty as to the dating value of royal names inscribed in a tomb, in a biography or as part of an individual name, the name of a domain, a title, etc. Cherpion recognizes the fact that the presence of a cartouche on the walls of a tomb (she does not use moveable objects) does not signify *a priori* that the monument is contemporary with that king, but only that it could not be earlier than his reign. To Cherpion the only way of establishing a chronological order for the Old Kingdom private monuments is by strictly linking the dating criteria found in tombs to royal names inscribed in them. Accordingly, she has compiled data on 64 dating criteria which are presented in well-organized and very useful statistical tables (pp. 145–205). For each individual criterion, a table lists all the known examples, references and the name of the last king mentioned on each monument. She correctly assumes that if the cartouches of a number of kings exist in one tomb, this could not have been built before the reign of the last-mentioned king.

Chapter I (pp. 25–82) groups the 64 criteria into five classes: (A) the chair, with its various parts, such as the back, the cushion, the legs, etc.; (B) the offering table and its environment, including the shape of the table, bread and other items placed on the table or around it; (C) masculine and feminine clothing and accessories, such as different types of wigs, diadems, necklaces, bracelets, etc.; (D) a brief consideration of the variation in the design and decoration of the false door; (E) varia, which include the shapes of cartouches, scribal palettes, ships with a prow in the form of a hedgehog's head. Based on her statistical tables, Cherpion here sets out the earliest and the latest attested examples of each criterion. She concludes that two important 'moments' may be detected where most of the changes occurred: these are the reigns of Djedefre/Khafre and of Niuserre. Under Niuserre some features disappeared while others appeared; under Djedefre some features disappeared but were replaced by new ones only under his successor Khafre. She accordingly concludes that, contrary to what we would expect, it is Khafre and not Djedefre who was the innovator. Cherpion notices that the examined criteria show a distinction between some reigns, like those of Djedefre and Khafre, but not between other reigns, where it is necessary to use other categories of criteria for dating. She also notices that the same features existed in the capital and in the provinces, although surviving longer in the latter.

Chapter II (pp. 83–110) examines some of the so-called 'archaizing' monuments usually dated to the end of the Old Kingdom. Cherpion, using her established criteria, suggests that they are not archaizing but are really early. A group of mastabas at the extreme west of the Western Cemetery at Giza, some monuments at Dahshur and a relief of Hetepherenptah of unknown provenance are examined and dated by her to the Fourth Dynasty.

Chapter III (pp. 111–38) redates some other tombs whose previous dating has been controversial. In the conclusions (pp. 139–44) Cherpion states that, with negligible exceptions, tombs were constructed under the last king mentioned in the inscriptions. She also states that the names of sons are more useful for dating than the name of the tomb owner, which might reflect the reign under which he was born rather than that under which he constructed his tomb. She supports the view that the funerary priests of a certain king served during his reign, not only after the monarch's death. The book is excellently presented in a manner easy to follow. The text is accompanied by 72 figures clearly demonstrating the points of discussion and 48 well produced plates. A number of useful indices are also added.

Cherpion addresses a very important problem for, as she points out, an accurate dating of tombs can help in future studies of architecture, statuary and art in general. She believes that early Egyptologists who used the cartouches in dating were more accurate than more recent ones who denied the evidence and twisted it to suit their elaborate theories. Accordingly, her research focuses on the use of royal names as dating indicators. The problem with such an approach is that in order to set the earliest and latest examples of any one criterion, she naturally has to rely on evidence taken from tombs with a royal cartouche. Once the upper and lower limits are established, she uses these criteria in dating monuments. One has to admit that, considering the large number of criteria used, the likelihood of being too far from an approximate date is remote. But as Cherpion recognizes, out of some 600 mastabas and rock tombs that she examined, only 234 were inscribed with a royal name. It should therefore be kept in mind that the same features (criteria) may well have existed earlier or later in tombs which record no royal name. Furthermore, do we have to

assume that no official used in his name the cartouche of any previous king, that no priesthood of any king was held after his reign, and that no estate's name commemorates an earlier king? These questions have serious implications for the upper and lower dates for each criterion.

Cherpion's study has some other limitations. Most of the features she examines are not sufficient for precise dating since they remained unchanged for a considerable time. Thus, unless a cartouche is inscribed (and the value of that is frequently uncertain), a tomb can only be placed within a broad time limit when these features were in use. Also, certain reigns, for example that of Pepy II, are too long to be considered as one undivided time unit. Other methods of dating, although by no means always accurate, are useful tools in trying to reach a more precise dating for tombs and Cherpion has very much restricted the value of her research by not incorporating, whether accepting or rejecting, such previous studies.

As an example of tombs with disputed dating, we may return to the tomb of Kaemheset. Applying her own dating criteria, Cherpion places the tomb in the Fourth Dynasty (pp. 112-15). Not only is the presence of such a large Fourth Dynasty mastaba in this part of the Saqqara cemetery totally unexpected, but its date should certainly be considered in conjunction with its immediate neighbour, the mastaba of Kaemsenu (pp. 136-7). Constructed with exactly the same type of mud brick (personal examination), the architectural features of both tombs are those of the Fifth Dynasty (see Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pl. 1; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, II, pl. 51; Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, 30, 140-51). Kaemsenu held priest-hoods of Sahure, Neferirkare and Niuserre, and a mud sealing of Isesi was found in an undisturbed shaft in his tomb (Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, 36, 157-8, 169). In fact, none of the mastabas in this section of Saqqara — to the north of the pyramid of Userkaf and to the west of that of Teti — is earlier than the Fifth Dynasty. It represents an extension of a cemetery probably first used under Userkaf which grew northward until Teti built his pyramid to the west. The mastabas of Kaemheset and Kaemsenu are most probably contemporary, even if no cartouche survives in the former.

The problem of dating Old Kingdom tombs is an involved and complicated one. Advance is made constantly in that respect, but much more work is still needed. Nadine Cherpion's thesis will remain, with others, an important dating tool for years to come.

NAGUIB KANAWATI

*The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders.* By NIGEL STRUDWICK. Studies in Egyptology. 240 × 158 mm. Pp. xv + 366. London, Kegan Paul International, 1985. ISBN 0 7103 0107 3. Price £55.

The book under review was published in 1985 and is, accordingly, now familiar to scholars with a special interest in the Old Kingdom. It originated as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Liverpool with the purpose of studying a group of the highest civil administrative offices of the period from the standpoint of the central administration. The focus of the research is on the 'overseers of the great mansions' (*imy-r hwt-wrt* and *imy-r hwt-wrt 6*), the 'overseers of the scribes of the king's documents' (*imy-r zš' r nzw*), the 'overseers of works' (*imy-r kt nbt [nt] nzw*, *imy-r kt [nt] nzw*, *imy-r kt nbt* and *imy-r kt*), the 'overseers of the granaries' (*imy-r šnw* and *imy-r šnwty*), the 'overseers of the treasuries' (*imy-r pr-ḥd* and *imy-r prwy-ḥd*) and finally the 'viziers' (*tryty zib tity*). The analytical studies of these administrative areas are found in the second half of the book, Part III (pp. 171-335), which is followed by Conclusions (pp. 336-46).

A separate chapter devoted to each of these administrative areas is systematically presented: the most common forms of the title in question, a list of the holders arranged in chronological order, the titularies of these officials in table form, followed by a summary of their honorific, administrative and religious titles. These are again followed by a discussion of the organization and function of each of these departments. Each chapter ends with conclusions which provide useful insights into the administrative system of the Old Kingdom. For example, Strudwick concludes that from

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the middle of the Fifth Dynasty the overall charge of the legal system was in the hands of the vizier who held the title of *imy-r hwt-wrt 6*, while the individual courts were controlled by an *imy-r hwt-wrt*. The vizier was also one of the two holders in the Fifth Dynasty of the title *imy-r zš ʿ nzwot*. This office, held only by viziers from the late Fifth Dynasty onward, is the title most frequently cited with *tryty zšb tity* when viziers are addressed in royal letters and decrees. A two-tiered structure is observed, with the office of *imy-r kst nbt [nt] nzwot* being held by viziers and non-viziers for much of the Old Kingdom. The management of the state granaries, and that of the treasury, was placed in the hands of more than one official at a time. The highest responsibilities in these departments were frequently given to provincial officials or to the vizier. The last office, the senior administrative authority in the country, was shared by two individuals at Memphis, complemented by a third holder with special responsibility in Upper Egypt, particularly from the late Fifth Dynasty onwards.

The book traces the expansion of the administration early in the Fifth Dynasty, with the reigns of Neferirkare to Niuserre being the period in which the offices in question were organized on a systematic basis. A number of new offices was created, reducing the scope of those which had existed and making the duties of each more specific. Certainly this resulted in an increase in the number of officials and was apparently a conscious decision to open the highest state offices to men lacking affiliation with the royal family. Another change appears to have occurred late in the Fifth Dynasty, probably under Djedkare, which, according to Strudwick, is preferably to be regarded from a political, rather than simply economic or administrative, point of view. From that reign a growth in provincial administration is also seen. A further increase in the number of provincial officials is observed in the reign of Merenre, from whose reign onwards are found most provincial 'overseers of the two granaries' and 'overseers of the two treasuries'. A corresponding drop in the number of Memphite officials is also noticed at this time.

An interesting observation made by the author is that individuals holding the top position in one of these five departments do not usually hold other titles associated with that department. This apparently indicates that proven administrative ability was of much more relevance than a detailed knowledge of the tasks to be done. In addition, the favourable opinion of the ruler counted for a great deal in gaining the top positions. The chapter on the vizierate gives an insight into the system of promotions in the Old Kingdom and its relationship to royal favour. The study deals with many other interesting problems, for example, the timing and likelihood of an official's promotion to an office and the change of some individuals' fortunes with the change of kings. The author does not believe that there was a decline in the effectiveness of the administrative system throughout the Old Kingdom, nor that officials' power ever remotely rivalled that of the king. The balance of power was, therefore, not one of the reasons for the collapse of the Old Kingdom.

The first half of the book is divided into two parts. Part I (pp. 1–52) deals with chronology and dating criteria. Here Strudwick presents a useful summary of the various criteria which he used in dating the officials included in his study. Special attention is given to the false door and its parts (cornice, panel, jambs, lintel), but other criteria are also considered, such as types of offering lists and chapel design. Part II (pp. 53–170) lists all the relevant officials and their titles and discusses the reasons for assigning them to a certain date. For the published sources references are made to Porter and Moss (PM) whenever possible, but more recent references as well as some unpublished material are included. This prosopography allows the reader to check all the relevant information used in the main analytical studies which follow.

The work as a whole is sound and based on maximum evidence. Strudwick is certainly correct in emphasizing the importance of the dating of officials in a study of this sort, particularly to 'monitor changes over relatively short periods of time' (p. xiv). However, while in most cases his dating seems reasonable, in others it is less convincing. An example of that is the dating of the vizier *Ttw*, buried in the Teti Cemetery (p. 161). This vizier bears a priesthood in the pyramid of Pepy I, and a jar lid with the name of that king was found in his burial chamber. The small size of his tomb and the fact that it was built away from the pyramid of the reigning king are compatible with conditions under Pepy I. The location of *Ttw*'s tomb to the south rather than to the north of the main mastabas in the Teti Cemetery should not be used, as Strudwick does, as a criterion for a later date. From recent excavations of the reviewer (N. Kanawati *et al.*, *Excavations at Saqqara: North-west of Teti's Pyramid*, 2 vols., (Sydney 1984, 1988) and those adjacent of the Egyptian Anti-

quities Organization, there seems to be sufficient evidence to suggest that the northern cemetery was part of a unified plan, probably contemporary with the main mastabas which are dated to Teti-early Pepy I. *Ttw* probably belongs to the latter part of the reign of Pepy I, and in that respect he would be very close in time to the vizier *Rc-wr* (S. A. El Fikey, *The Tomb of the Vizier Re'-wer at Saqqara*, Warminster, 1980), when the northern cemetery was probably fully occupied.

Strudwick notices that *Ttw*'s extensive titulary is almost modelled on that of *Mrrw-kri* and includes certain titles not familiar later in the Sixth Dynasty. Yet he states 'such borrowing is arguably a sign of a period that is looking back to former greatness, more true of the First Intermediate Period than the reign of Pepy I'. Firstly, we have no evidence of such 'borrowing' of titles during the First Intermediate Period, and since these titles are characteristic of the period Teti-Pepy I, there seems to be little justification in placing *Ttw* much later and assuming that he was looking back to former greatness. Considering all the above, the late date given to *Ttw*, probably influenced by Baer (*Rank and Title*, 154 [576]), is hardly justified.

The danger in reaching a wrong date for an official like *Ttw* is that it has affected, to a certain extent, Strudwick's established criteria for dating and, in turn, his dating of other officials. For example, *Ttw*'s false door had a T-shaped panel which the author believes came into common use in the reign of Pepy II; yet, as he acknowledges (p. 18), the earliest example of such a panel is that of *Ppy-Ddi*, son of *Hnty-kri*, whom he correctly dates to the end of the reign of Pepy I. Many other T-shaped panels were found in the excavations to the north of *Mrrw-kri* and *Kri-gmni*, some of which were almost certainly from the reign of Pepy I (cf. Kanawati *et al.*, *op. cit.*). The T-shaped panel is therefore characteristic of the latter part of Pepy I and following, and should not be used only as evidence for a date of the late Old Kingdom-First Intermediate Period. A wrong dating can certainly affect the conclusions reached.

Many more studies are needed to refine the dating of Old Kingdom officials in order to obtain a better understanding of the chronological development of its administration, art and architecture. Certainly the present work has contributed a great deal towards this objective, as well as to the understanding of the administrative system of the Old Kingdom.

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*The South Cemeteries of Lisht, 1. The Pyramid of Senwosret I.* By DIETER ARNOLD with contributions by DOROTHEA ARNOLD and an appendix by PETER F. DORMAN. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition XXII. 360 × 260 mm. Pp. 156, pls. 105, plans I-V. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988. ISBN 0 97099 506 5. Price \$75.

The great historical value of antiquities, beauty of architectural monuments and exotic surroundings of archaeological localities broadly attract public attention to excavations in Egypt. The difficulties of 'digging' are, however, not apparent at first sight. Fieldwork in Egypt takes place in extreme natural conditions of either arid desert or the muddy Nile Valley and Delta and is restricted to the winter months only. Moreover, the fieldwork is technically and administratively very difficult, as well as very expensive and laborious. It is therefore not astonishing that excavations usually take a long time and are often left unfinished with the results left unpublished. The longer the time that elapses since their interruption, the more difficult is the revision of older field documents and the completion of the excavations. The Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was faced with such difficulties when a decision was taken to resume and complete its previous excavations in the pyramid complex of Senwosret I at Lisht and to publish the results of an expedition that worked at the site under the direction of Lythgoe, Lansing and Mace from 1906 to 1934. Except for regular overviews of seasons in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* from 1906 to 1934 (in total 14 archaeological seasons) and the monographs by Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1912), and by Hayes, *The Texts in the Mastabeh of Sen-wosret-ankh at Lisht* (New York, 1937), in which some outstanding discoveries were recorded, the major portion of finds remained unpublished until ten years ago, when Dieter

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Arnold, an experienced archaeologist with outstanding results in fieldwork in Egypt, was asked to resume and direct the excavations at Lisht.

The publication under review represents, therefore, a synthesis of both older and recent results of the American expedition at Lisht. Besides the Preface by Christine Lilyquist (then Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art), List of Abbreviations, Sources of Text Figures, Plates and Foldouts, General Index, Objects in the Museum Collections, and Plates, the publication includes twelve Chapters and three Appendices. The chapters are laid out in such a way that they track the original way through the pyramid complex, starting with a consideration of the yet undiscovered valley temple and continuing with an analysis and appraisal of the already excavated causeway, mortuary temple, etc. And let us immediately emphasize that, as a guide through the pyramid complex, the author is very well informed and experienced.

The efficiency of Arnold's approach, combining the methods of both archaeologist and architect, can be illustrated by a find of a house-like structure in the north-east corner of the causeway. In the notes and photograph captions of the earlier American expedition at Lisht, the structure was named Porter's Lodge. Arnold's careful examination, respecting even very minute details among the archaeological finds, excluded the function suggested by the above-mentioned name. Also, its use as an embalming workshop or a priest's house could have been safely excluded. The examination proved that the area was initially used as a sculptor's atelier in which limestone and diorite objects such as vessels, canopic chests or small statues were produced. Later a basin-like installation was built in the structure to produce gypsum, widely utilized in the building sites of pyramid complexes for finishing stone buildings, filling uneven surfaces, whitewashing, preparing paints, etc. Various workmen's activities in the structure eventually ended and a brick building was erected there. From the remains of a terracotta drain pipe and other finds, Arnold concluded that the building finally served as a bathroom for the purification of the personnel in charge of the cult service.

Arnold's many-sided approach to the excavation, to both the finds and their archaeological context, does not lack a critical re-appraisal of some widespread ideas and theories. He does not accept, for instance, a general opinion that the famous seated statues of Senwosret I, discovered in a shelter at Lisht by Gauthier's expedition in 1884, were originally placed in the pillared courtyard of the pyramid temple, from which they were hastily removed by priests in order to protect them from desecration by the Hyksos. Close examination of the statues has led Arnold to the conclusion that they were never set up in the temple, probably because of the additional change of construction plans and, consequently, of the sculptural program of the pyramid complex. Arnold suggests that they were originally intended to adorn the causeway and that in the second phase they were replaced by Osirid statues.

Profound knowledge of ancient Egyptian architecture allows Arnold to make structural analysis of the pyramid complex and its various portions. He pays special attention to the innovations and changes in the building program of the complex, e.g. to the introduction of storerooms in front of the temple and their transformation into the northern and southern wings with the crypt. The changes which were accomplished have no prototypes in the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes and reflect, according to Arnold, new evolution in the concept of the afterlife of the king and, consequently, in his mortuary cult. To this category also belongs the decoration of the inner enclosure wall, which is unique among pyramid complexes. The wall was decorated in regular intervals by high and narrow panels bearing in high relief the name of the king in a *serekh* surmounted by the falcon Horus. Under the *serekh* an approximately life-size fecundity deity carrying the offerings was depicted. From his analysis, Arnold further concludes that the builders of the pyramid complex of Senwosret I must have studied much older pyramid temples dating from the Old Kingdom; some of them might even have been still functioning and accessible in the early Twelfth Dynasty. In my opinion, this assumption is very plausible and is corroborated, for instance, by current excavations at Abusir. Besides older finds made at Abusir by Borchardt at the beginning of this century and pertaining to the survival, on a limited scale, of mortuary cults in the Fifth Dynasty pyramid temples of Neferirkare and Niuserre, our recent excavations have provided archaeological evidence for an early Twelfth Dynasty revitalization of the cult in the mortuary temple of Raneferef (Unfinished Pyramid) and in a small temple of an as yet unidentified queen to whom pyramid no. 24 of Lepsius belonged.

The last chapter was written by Dorothea Arnold, a renowned specialist in Egyptian pottery. Her examination of the pottery from the pyramid complex far surpasses the initial purposes of classification, analysis of material, methods of manufacture, and dating. Her very thorough work results in a deep insight into the development of the pottery of Lisht, the region of the early Middle Kingdom capital *'Itj-tawy*.

The high standards of the publication certainly are not lowered by minor errors occurring sporadically in the text. For instance:

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Regardless of the few minor errors mentioned above, this book represents, beyond any doubt, a very important contribution to the study of pyramid complexes and the development of royal tombs in ancient Egypt. The author's multidisciplinary approach and successful appraisal of both the half-century-old, and the new, excavation results, represents, in my opinion, a much needed initiative in contemporary field archaeology in Egypt. The book certainly joins the series of previous high-standard publications by Dieter Arnold which concluded in a successful way the author's very methodical fieldwork, which was respected by all who had the privilege to visit his excavations in Egypt. The same can be said about Dorothea Arnold's part of the book and her fieldwork as well.

MIROSLAV VERNER

*Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies, chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: a study and an anthology*. By MIRIAM LICHTHEIM. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 84. 235 × 160 mm. Pp. 171, pls. 10. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, and Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1988. ISBN 3 7278 0594 3 (Universitätsverlag), 3 525 53713 1 (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht). Price DM 80.

In this volume the author seeks to restore the ancient Egyptian autobiography to its place in the history of world literature, which she notes on p. 2 starts too often with the Confessions of Saint Augustine. Such corrections to Eurocentrism form the most important gift promised by the study of ancient civilizations, and ought to flow from the ethnographic kernel of such study. The author clarifies immediately in her introduction (pp. 1–3) one contrast with Greek experience, namely that ancient Egyptian autobiography did not grow out of biography, and argues that a genre of biography never developed in Egyptian literature. It might be worth noting here the intrusion into literary tales of autobiography, as in *Sinuhe*, *Wenamun* and the *Moscow Literary Letter*, and of biography, as in *pWestcar*, the *Capture of Joppa*, the ghost story of *Khonsmes* and the *Setne* cycle. The developments in Egyptian literature are important for historians of world literature precisely because, as the author stresses, ancient Egypt lies outside the area of Europe with which most literary critics are familiar.

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tion to material context. The context involves not only reference to known provenance, but also more specifically the place of the text in relation to other texts and to architectural elements in the programme of decoration of the particular monument, with a note of the dimensions of the item bearing the text. The observations on the immediate physical surroundings of each text allows both author and reader to keep in mind the wider archaeological and cultural contexts without which interpretation loses its material anchoring. The arrangement of chapters with introductory passages for each chapter and each source creates reduplication in some cases, where texts are described twice. However, the chapter introductions permit more general issues to be aired concerning prevailing trends in a period or a group of sources, and this spirit of synthesis is to be welcomed in Egyptology. Inevitably the general issues stimulate debate, and here I can only outline differences of approach or opinion across the wide territory covered by the texts studied.

One such general issue appears when on p. 5 Lichtheim justifies the exclusion of royal texts by claiming that they are not autobiographical. I would agree that the royal sphere stands apart from the human sphere, and that the king is presented in official texts as a different species of being, specifically as a god with the earthly lifespan of a human. Nevertheless the *Königsnovelle* affords at least an analogy with the human autobiography. In royal texts such as the Semna Stela, the Sphinx Stela of Amenophis II or the Kadash epic, the king of the text stresses the 'I' that meets the ideal of kingship and fulfils items in the repertoire of kingship, just as the human officials stress in their autobiographies the 'I' that meets the ideal of human behaviour in their society. Therefore I accept the exclusion of royal texts from this study not because they fall outside autobiography, but because the royal ideal differs from, and so forms a different subject-matter to, the ideal of officials.

Again, on Maat I hold a different opinion from that of Lichtheim, who sees in the Egyptian word the name of the cosmic order, rather than 'right' as opposed to wrong. In every society the concept of right is used by rulers to legitimate their rule. If a scholar wishes to research the specific notions of right as opposed to wrongdoing in ancient Egypt, then it might be necessary to retain the word Maat untranslated, but for general purposes I consider it more dangerous than productive to speak of Maat rather than of the Egyptian sense of the right. We do not fail to translate *droit* or *Gerechtigkeit* despite the cultural differences between English, French and German language and culture.

Chapter Two (pp. 21–38) selects texts of the First Intermediate Period, set apart from the preceding age by an array of innovatory phrases, as noted on p. 22. The historical preamble on p. 21 reduces the complex of change to linear cause and effect, in particular the notion that pyramid-building exhausted the economy. The land fell into disunity not in the Fourth Dynasty when pyramid-building reached its climax, but over a century later. The monuments of one age cannot be held to account for other ages until note has been taken of their significance for their own generation, the time they might be expected to express. One of the differences between early and late Old Kingdom lies in the geographical and social reach of literacy, and this factor for change should be added to the complex of development leading to the First Intermediate Period. On p. 34 the phrase 'honorary title' is used; I would prefer to avoid the terms 'honorary title' and *Rangtitel* because I believe that they do not correspond to Egyptian application and obscure the effect of strings of phrases which we call titularies. Such titularies with strings of phrases identified as titles and epithets act as stative versions of the narrative autobiography by presenting all the roles of a man during his life. The phrases may in some cases coincide with official designations of positions into which a man was invested, and may denote specific functions or activities or looser responsibilities at court or in relation to the king. Other phrases, the so-called epithets, delineate the life of a person, rather as such phrases in hymns delineate the being of a deity. I consider it improbable that men in ancient Egypt might, as in European history, receive officially a title to be held purely as a mark of honour without carrying out the attached duties.

Chapter Two ends with among the most sensible published comments on women in ancient Egypt, with particular reference to the Nag ed-Der stelae where the social standing of women appears briefly marginally improved. The example of ancient Egypt should act as a sober reminder that legal and economic equality do not convey automatic social equality.

Chapter Three (pp. 39–54) is devoted to the 'mature autobiography' in the Eleventh Dynasty, when the growth of the chapel fields at Abydos breaks the physical link between mortuary chapel and burial-place. Here Lichtheim underlines the importance of reconstructing links between stelae

and other chapel elements, as undertaken by W. K. Simpson in his fundamental *Terrace of the Great God of Abydos* (New Haven, 1974), to recall the original unity of architecture and text. The figures in relief and the chapel statues would have provided a concrete focus for the cult offerings, and should similarly be held in mind. On pp. 48–9 Lichtheim notes the disjuncture of ‘historical’ and ‘cultural’ periods. Periodization has not always obtained the attention it deserves, and this disjuncture ought to attract comment. In general, the periods of unity coincide with central control of resources and peaks of artistic production, but moments of cultural overhaul occur in the middle of periods of unity, notably under Sesostris III and Tuthmosis III. Periodization requires sensitivity to source types, and our present labels may eventually, when all source types are considered in their autonomous development, give way to a different set of periods, that is to say a different labelling sequence for cultural phases. A discussion of the Abydene formula follows (pp. 54–64), from which it emerges that the earlier instances form a ‘collection of utterances rather than a formula’.

Chapter Five covers the Abydene stelae of the Eleventh to Thirteenth Dynasties, divided into stelae of local residents (pp. 65–83), those of officials passing on commission (pp. 84–100), those of ‘pilgrims’ (pp. 100–128) and concluding remarks on the Abydene formula, the identity of the Terrace of the Great God at Abydos and the notion of personal piety (pp. 129–34). The presence of regnal year-dates on non-royal stelae has not been explained, but the attractive suggestion of Spiegel that they denote the year of the commission is dismissed on p. 74 n.1, though implicitly accepted on p. 93. The lexicographical discussions can only, if at all, be settled by full lists of attestations with note of context; for toponyms any information on the provenance of relevant inscriptions becomes critical. Without such data the discussions of the Abydene *wrwt*, *mḥt* and Terrace of the Great God remain inconclusive. On the question of pilgrimage I differ again; of the eight pilgrims here alleged, only one is an explicit pilgrim, that is a person who has travelled from his home to the religious site with the sole purpose of joining religious celebrations there, and even here there is no guarantee that this man did not live nearby. There is no evidence that any Egyptian went on a pilgrimage from his home to a distant religious site; in all cases the person seems to have been either a resident of the district or a passing official on commission. The number of Abydene stelae itself illustrates the mobility of Middle Kingdom government. The shift of comment on Abydene stelae from philological details to social issues is exemplified in the note (p. 134) on personal piety, which Lichtheim notes cannot, in the light of the Abydene stelae, be confined to the late New Kingdom. I would go further and challenge the idea of an impersonal relation between human being and universe; the ‘personal god’ and ‘personal piety’ are terms that may act as labels for particular strength of expression in certain sources at certain periods, but they are terms that imply supremacy over others. A claim of more intense piety at one age than at another is a claim for spiritual progress which, unlike technological progress, remains a dubious, if not dangerous, concept.

In Chapter Six (pp. 135–41) Lichtheim includes a final set of Middle Kingdom texts, this time not from Abydos but from the tomb-chapel of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan. A note on *inw* on p. 141 draws attention to the meaning ‘additions’ adduced by Spalinger from pBoulaq 18, and I prefer to take ‘additions’ or ‘supplements’ as the core of the word in economic texts; the differing translations arise not from different nuances in the Egyptian term but from the inability of any language adequately to render any word for all contexts in another language. The text of the book closes with remarks on style (pp. 142–6) as a summary of the development of text types in the selected texts of this volume. This allows Lichtheim to restate her distinction of oration and narration in Egyptian texts; although I prefer a broad approach to the strict metrics evolved by Fecht, perhaps reference to conflicting views might have been profitably incorporated into the remarks. The subject calls for comment by a contemporary researcher on metrics from outside Egyptology, if interdisciplinary work on this level can be achieved. The great value of the translations by Lichtheim, both here and in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, lies precisely in the access they provide for scholars in other disciplines to the rich, too closely guarded, sources from ancient Egypt.

*Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun.* By HORST BEINLICH and MOHAMED SALEH. 305 × 210 mm. Pp. xvi + 282. Oxford, Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1989; ISBN 0 900416 53 X. Price £45.

According to the statement of purpose in the foreword of this book (p. vii), it is intended to provide Egyptologists with an *Urkunden*-like compilation of provisional, working copies of the inscriptions borne by objects from KV 62, the tomb of Tutankhamun, until such time as the final publication of the tomb's inventory should render them obsolete.

In admirable fulfilment of the stated goal, the Corpus makes available many texts for the first time, among them, those on the inside of the king's innermost gold coffin, Obj. no. 255.<sup>1</sup> These comprise various spells from the Book of the Dead. In this connection, the useful indices which conclude 'Teil I' of the Corpus, pp. 229–34, deserve mention, since one of them is devoted to citations of funerary texts in the burial equipment. The others provide convenient access to personal names, divine names and types of objects represented in the 'treasure'.

Like the *Urkunden*, the Corpus renders the texts in horizontal lines, written from left to right (arrows indicate the direction of reading, not the orientation of the hieroglyphs). This method was chosen for reasons of economy, 'because the reproduction of a text in the original direction of writing would have required an inordinate amount of space' (Introduction, p. xi). However, the same consideration apparently did not influence the decision to reproduce duplicate texts, even when they occur in succession, instead of grouping them together or providing cross-references. Not only were some ushebtis made in series with duplicate texts (e.g., Obj. nos. 322d, e, g, and h; 326c, d, h, i, k, n, and o; etc.) but also other types of objects, such as the staffs Obj. nos. 468c, d, e, and j–n, have identical texts as do some amulets (e.g., Obj. nos. 620 [15], [18], [21] and [24]).

The procedure followed in the preparation of the copies is described in the Introduction (pp. ix, xi): first, hand copies were prepared on the basis of generally available, published photographs; these were then checked against the photographs, now in the Griffith Institute's Tutankhamun archive, that Harry Burton made in the course of the tomb's clearance. Finally, the corrected copies were collated against the originals in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, in the Luxor Museum, and, as far as the wall paintings and the sarcophagus were concerned, in the tomb itself. In a few cases, the original was not available for collation. The Corpus' copies of such texts are marked with an asterisk. The reviewer remains uncertain regarding the role played in the preparation of the Corpus by the hand copies of texts made in the course of the tomb's clearance and preserved in the Griffith Institute. (Only those made by Gardiner are specifically attributed in TutTS 1. Most of the remaining copies stem from Carter's pen, but Mace and Newberry also prepared others.) In the foreword, these 'Abschriften des Carter-Archives' are acknowledged, but the Introduction omits mention of them in the outline of the working procedure adopted. The usefulness of the Archive copies in the preparation of the Corpus is self-evident, especially in those cases where an item could not be checked personally by the authors. A case in point is Obj. no. 320d, the model coffin whose texts naming Queen Teye were already published by A. Rowe (*ASAE* 40 (1940), 625 f.). A comparison of the Corpus' copy with Carter's (and Rowe's as well) suggests the former is in need of correction. The Corpus neither indicates the existence of copies in the Archive (the user can, of course, consult TutTS 1 for this information) nor notes points of difference with them.

A few of the Corpus' copies — or elements thereof (see, e.g. Obj. no. 44b) — are designated facsimiles, presumably made by the Corpus' authors. They cannot, however, be responsible for the copies of the two hieratic inscriptions on the gold throne Obj. no. 91 (see p. 36), since these are described as no longer visible.

To reproduce their copies, the authors chose to use the computer programme developed by Norbert Stief of the Regional University Computer Centre in Bonn. The ragged outlines of the

<sup>1</sup> Here, as in the corpus, Carter's 'Object numbers' are employed to identify objects from the tomb. I am indebted to both the former and current archivists of the Griffith Institute, Helen Murray and Jaromir Malek respectively, for permission to consult and cite the Carter material under their supervision. The Corpus abbreviation TutTS is used below the the Griffith Institute's Tutankhamun's Tomb Series.

hieroglyphs and their marked density are not a function of the programme<sup>2</sup> but attributable instead to the comparatively low resolution of the scanner used to prepare the material for a laser printer.

Concordances of Carter's numbering system ('Object numbers') with those employed by the Egyptian Museum (*Journal d'Entrée*, Special Register, Temporary Register and Exhibition numbers) constitute the book's 'Teil II,' pp. 235-73; these are an especially welcome contribution to Tutankhamun studies. The difficulties presented by the preparation of the concordances, experienced firsthand by the reviewer, are duly noted in the introductory remarks, pp. 236-7. The concordances comprise three lists: the first, somewhat misleadingly headed 'Konkordanz nach JE-Nummern', lists the objects according to Special Register, JE and Temp. Reg. numbers; the second, by Carter's Obj. nos.; and the third, according to the Exh. nos. which are written in black ink on white cards placed in the cases with the objects in the Tutankhamun exhibition galleries of the museum.

The concordances' usefulness was immediately apparent to the reviewer who consulted them at once to check two texts cited by Redford in a circumspicuous attempt to date Akhenaten's introduction of cartouches into the writing of the Aten's didactic name.<sup>3</sup> In the Tutankhamun galleries of the Cairo Museum, Redford found an occurrence of the name without cartouches in association with the date 'Year 3' on a piece of linen with the Exh. no. 1229; in the same case, another piece of linen, Exh. no. 1230, also bears a dated inscription with the god's name but written in cartouches. Redford read the latter text 'Year 4, second month of [*šōmu*] (?) (or *proyet?*)', concluding that, if his reading, made under less than ideal circumstances, be confirmed, Akhenaten's decision to enclose his god's name within cartouches must have fallen in the interval.

Using the Corpus' third concordance, Exh. nos. 1229 and 1230 are shown to correspond to Obj. nos. 281a and 291a — or, more accurately, to the pieces of linen used to swathe those objects, the statuettes of Mamu and Ptah, within their respective shrines, Obj. nos. 281 and 291. The Corpus' copy of the second text renders the date 'Year 3, 2 *šmw*', thereby fixing the introduction of the cartouches for the god in Akhenaten's third regnal year.

On pp. 226-7 the Corpus illustrates Carter's drawings of the seal impressions from the tomb. It should be noted that the bottom of 'Q' is conjectural, since the impressions on which the drawing is based (two from the box Obj. no. 304 that held the uninscribed figures of Qebeh-seneuf and Duamutef)<sup>4</sup> were incomplete. R. Krauss (*MDOG* 118 (1986), 170-1) has argued that an interpretation of the design to name (King) Horemheb is implausible.

In any compendium of this scope, errors are bound to occur — are, indeed, inevitable. The following emendations and comments are made with reference to objects whose texts I have personally studied, because they have a bearing on my own research concerning Tutankhamun and his reign.

Of particular interest to me, over and above the thrones from the tomb (cf. *JEA* 75 (1989), 78-9), are objects made for Tutankhaten (some few of which were subsequently altered to name Tutankhamun) and objects appropriated for Tutankhamun's use. To the best of my knowledge, none of the latter ever bore the name Tutankhaten; i.e. appropriated objects were reinscribed only subsequent to the change in the nomen from Tutankhaten to Tutankhamun. I consider it likely that usurpations of objects with a specifically funerary reference were effected only after Tutankhamun's death, in connection with the preparations for his burial.

To the group of objects naming the king with the original nomen belongs a massive gold 'child's ring', Obj. no. 256 vv 8, not included in the Corpus. Its design, comprising a cartouche pair inscribed Neb-kheperu-Re Tutankhaten, is described by I. E. S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun's Jewelry* (New York, 1976), 36 with illustration 17 (fourth ring from top). In the rendering of the texts of the gold throne, the altered state of the two cartouches naming Tutankhamun and that which identifies

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the appearance of the hieroglyphs in E. Graefe, *Mittelägyptische Grammatik für Anfänger*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1989), produced using the same programme.

<sup>3</sup> *JARCE* 13 (1976), 55; cf. Perepelkin's dating of the phenomenon as reported by I. Munro in her review of *The Revolution of Amenhotep IV* (in Russian), *BtOr* 44 (1987), 139.

<sup>4</sup> In all likelihood, the two statuettes were not made for Tutankhamun, since they differ markedly from the other 'statuettes in shrines' in the tomb, all inscribed for the king; cf. my comments in *JARCE* 20 (1983), 130.

the queen's figure on the front of the backrest as Ankhesenamun go unremarked in the Corpus.<sup>5</sup> In these three instances, the cartouches are chased in gold foil with the new hieroglyphs all but completely obliterating any traces of the originals. But the altered areas themselves are visibly distinguished from the surrounding surface (see the detail colour photograph in I. E. S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun, his Tomb and its Treasures* (New York, 1976), 40-1), and, moreover, the singular orthography of both the king's and the queen's cartouches attest to the changes. In his cartouches, the distinctive feature is the anomalous placement of the *hq* scepter belonging to the epithet 'Ruler of Upper Egyptian Heliopolis' in the quadrate with *twt ḥ* (not, of course, perceptible in the Corpus' horizontally rendered copy since it does not reproduce the arrangement of the signs in the actual, vertically oriented cartouche). The order of the signs in the writing of the queen's altered name, with the *Jmn* element toward the bottom of the cartouche, is unique. *Jmn* occurs in the position customarily occupied by *p: Jtn* in writings of Ankheseopaten. The person who altered her cartouche did not redo all the signs, but simply replaced *p: Jtn* with *Jmn*. The cartouche reading Tutankhaten on the outside of the righthand armrest was left standing, as were both Tutankhaten and Ankheseopaten on the reverse of the backrest. The latter remained untouched, plausibly because they were not 'on view', in contrast to the texts on the front of the backrest. The technique used for the cartouches on the outside of the armrests provides a possible explanation to account for the presence of unaltered Tutankhaten on the righthand side. (The lefthand armrest has Neb-kheperu-Re in the analogous position.) The cartouche rings and hieroglyphs on the outside of the armrests were made of coloured glass and calcite inlaid in gold sheeting, in contrast to the chased technique of the cartouches on the inside, where the nomen was altered. To emend the Aten-nomen on the outside would have involved replacing the entire content of the cartouche with newly cut inlays. Apparently the craftsman charged with executing the changes in the nomen on the gold throne only carried out those which required minimal effort — viz. smoothing down and rechasing hieroglyphs in gold foil — but did not do the work required to alter the inlaid cartouches on the armrest.

Both forms of the nomen occur in the texts of the so-called ecclesiastical throne Obj. no. 351. But my work on this piece of furniture has convinced me that the two horizontal ebony strips on the front of the backrest, the only texts naming Tutankhamun, are secondary.

The Corpus states that all three occurrences of Amun replace original Aten in the texts on the shaft of the staff Obj. no. 204, implying that the royal cartouche once read 'Tutankhaten, Ruler of Upper Egyptian Heliopolis'. This would be a unique occurrence of the epithet with the earlier nomen. In the other documented instances of cartouches altered from Tutankhaten to Tutankhamun, the epithet cannot be shown ever to have accompanied the original nomen (cf. e.g., the Corpus' copies of the texts on another staff, Obj. no. 227b).

As far as objects usurped from others for Tutankhamun's use are concerned, the following comments are in order. The original cartouches on the bow Obj. no. 48h did not read Ankh-kheperu-Re mery Ankh-kheperu-Re but... mery Nefer-kheperu-Re (see TutTS 3, pl. xx).

The Corpus does not note that the inscriptions on the quartzite box of the sarcophagus Obj. no. 240 are secondary. Some traces of the original texts are discernible on Burton's photographs (e.g. of the box's head end, GI neg. no. C/B 14 646G), and many more on the box *in situ*. Alteration of the box's design involved the addition of wings to the figures of the four tutelary goddesses at the corners, necessitating the reorganization of the inscribed surface. In my study of the sarcophagus, in preparation, I suggest that Smenkhkare was the original owner of the box. The granite lid, however, was made for Tutankhamun; its texts naming the king are pristine.

Carter assigned the Obj. no. 256a to two objects, the gold mask from the mummy and the scarab that was attached to it by bands made up of random jewellery elements, some of them deriving, apparently, from the mummy trappings, Obj. no. 256b. When J. R. Harris lists Obj. no. 256a among the usurped objects from the tomb,<sup>6</sup> he must surely refer to the bands from the scarab, not to the mummy mask, since only the former preserve traces of Smenkhkare's praeno-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. my comments in *Form und Maß*, (Fs. G. Fecht) ed. J. Osing and G. Dreyer (Wiesbaden, 1987), 119-20.

<sup>6</sup> Cited by G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna*, I (London, 1974), I n. 1.



men. The inscriptions of the mask and the scarab with its bands are listed successively in the Corpus, both under Obj. no. 256a.

The beaded cap from the mummy, Obj. no. 256 tttt bears the name of the Aten in its earlier form. Up till now, references to the cap, including my own (*CdE* 56 (1981), 251), have erred in following Carter's original, incorrect description of it as bearing the god's name in its later form (cf. *Tut-ankh-Amen*, II, caption to pl. xxxii).

According to the object card in the Archive, there are minimal traces of Akhenaten's names under Tutankhamun's on the pectoral Obj. no. 261 p (1); some of them are visible on the published photograph of the piece cited in the Corpus (Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, no. 97), whose copy does not take note of them, however.

The Corpus provides the first copies of the traces of the original cartouches naming Ankhheperu-Re on the canopic coffinettes, Obj. no. 266g [1-4]. These are grouped together on pp. 116-17, following the copies of the texts on all four coffinettes. The record of the texts borne by these usurped items is incomplete, however, since the hieroglyphs visible on the soles of the feet remain unremarked.

In conclusion, it should be obvious from these comments that the Corpus provides a wealth of stimulating material for anyone interested in Tutankhamun. I share with the authors the hope that making these texts available in one handy volume will serve to arouse interest among our colleagues in the tomb and its treasures which have long been denied the scholarly attention they deserve.

M. EATON-KRAUSS

*The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun*, I. *The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*. By GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN. Fifty-fifth Excavation Memoir. 320 × 255 mm. Pp. xxvii + 183, pls. 175, figs. (in text) 38. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1989. ISBN 0 85698 088 9. Price £90.

The rediscovery of Horemheb's tomb at Saqqara in 1975 by a joint Anglo-Dutch team under the field directorship of Geoffrey T. Martin was certainly one of the major archaeological events of this century. This first of three volumes devoted to the publication of the tomb<sup>1</sup> includes Kenneth J. Frazer's account of the architecture and Martin's description of the relief decoration, accompanied by translations of and commentary on the associated inscriptions by Jacobus van Dijk, based on his and Maarten Raven's initial study of them. The photographs were taken by C. J. Eyre.

Following Martin's introduction, which includes a review of the history of the Saqqara necropolis during the New Kingdom,<sup>2</sup> the three building phases of Horemheb's tomb which predate his elevation to the kingship are described in detail. (During the Nineteenth Dynasty additional, if minor, modifications were effected in association with the cult of the deified Horemheb, pp. 72 f.). A mud-brick screen wall dividing the cult chapel 'D' into an eastern and western part emphasized the already obvious relationship of the superstructure's plan to that of a temple.<sup>3</sup> The tomb's substructure, discussed in the last section of the book, incorporated in its final version features of royal funerary architecture.

For his descriptions of the reliefs (found only in the superstructure), Martin has purposefully avoided extensive commentary which would have considerably increased the bulk of an already weighty publication. In the same spirit, this review does not include a synopsis of the book's

<sup>1</sup> Volume II, dealing with the objects found, and volume III, publishing the pottery, are in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> To which now add the comments of J. van Dijk, in *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire*, ed. A.-P. Zivie (Paris, 1988), 37-46.

<sup>3</sup> Taking this feature into consideration, C. C. van Siclen suggested a tentative reconstruction of the chapel's relief programme in a review article, *VA* 6 (1990), 197-203.

men. The inscriptions of the mask and the scarab with its bands are listed successively in the Corpus, both under Obj. no. 256a.

The beaded cap from the mummy, Obj. no. 256 tttt bears the name of the Aten in its earlier form. Up till now, references to the cap, including my own (*CdE* 56 (1981), 251), have erred in following Carter's original, incorrect description of it as bearing the god's name in its later form (cf. *Tut-ankh-Amen*, II, caption to pl. xxxii).

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contents but instead a few specific comments on particularly noteworthy features of the reliefs and statuary.

Three scenes — one on the south wall of the first courtyard and two in the second courtyard — depict Horemheb in the royal presence. Just possibly the tableau in the first courtyard, the last part of the tomb to be built and decorated, depicted Horemheb receiving recognition at the Window of Appearances from Ay, whereas the royal pair in the two scenes in the second courtyard are Tutankhamun and his queen. The majority of the well-known and frequently illustrated individual blocks from the tomb in museum collections derive from the two scenes in the second courtyard which incorporate the depiction of foreign captives and envoys. Martin argues for the historicity of the events.<sup>4</sup> Sadly, practically nothing survives of the weatherworn text that might have provided collaborative information, and the year date it once included is not preserved.

Fortunately an important religious text — an early hymn to Osiris that accompanied a depiction of Horemheb worshipping him to describe the god as a nocturnal manifestation of Re — is better preserved; about a third of the inscription was recovered. Intriguing problems are presented by the presence in intimate association with Horemheb of his 'private secretary' Sementawy (whose labels were subsequently altered to name a 'scribe of the army' Ramose)<sup>5</sup> and of a woman named Amenia (Horemheb's first wife?).

A most curious detail is included in the fragmentary representation of the woman (Amenia?) squatting on a mat at Horemheb's feet in the reliefs of the cult chapel 'D'. Martin describes the remains of her figure as a near foot with a thumb 'below' it. Alternatively the sculptor may have intended to show both feet, one overlapping the other, under the woman's buttocks, in a pose analogous to that of Sennefer's wife in a well-known scene on a pier in the substructure of TT 96.<sup>6</sup> Regardless, the depiction of the woman here with an accurately rendered near foot is noteworthy. The only other occurrence of the detail in Horemheb's tomb (aside from its expected use in depictions of the king and queen) is found on the unplaced fragment [110b] with the representation of a kneeling figure (presumably Horemheb). These are the first certain occurrences of this feature in representations of non-royal persons following the Amarna Period.<sup>7</sup>

The painstaking 'detective' work on which Martin is to be congratulated has allowed the secure attribution to the tomb of many isolated pieces in museums whose provenance has been doubted, sometimes, to be sure, on very dubious grounds. Of these, the lunette of a stela in the Hermitage, Leningrad 1061, can be singled out here for comment. A comparison of its style, iconography and composition with a complete stela in the British Museum (BM 551) from the tomb should have been adequate evidence that the Leningrad fragment derived from a lost pendant. Thankfully, for the benefit of the sceptics, Martin has been able to demonstrate archaeologically the complementary arrangement of the stelae against the west wall of the first courtyard, where they flanked the entrance to the statue room.

While these two stelae would seem to have been designed and executed by the same master, the wall reliefs document a variety of hands and a remarkable range of artistic competence. Figures by one sculptor but in different stages of completion are also in evidence — cf. depictions of Horemheb [58] and [59] that face each other across a doorway. It may be noted that a uraeus was secondarily added to the brow of only the 'finished' figure [58]. No pattern could be observed among the reliefs for the addition of a uraeus, which Martin is certainly correct in assuming occurred at the same time the cartouches in the inscriptions were altered from 'Tutankhamun' to name King Horemheb. I would not hesitate to date this action to Horemheb's own initiative, since

<sup>4</sup> Circumstantial detail is comparable to that documented in the reliefs of the 'Mansion of Nebkheperure at Thebes' — cf. the reviewer in *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 5–7.

<sup>5</sup> In a popular account of the work at Saqqara that appeared after the volume under review, Martin mentioned the possibility that Ramose might be Paramessu, the military officer who succeeded Horemheb to become Ramesses I, concluding, however, that 'the vital evidence is lacking' — see *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis* (London, 1991), 60 f.

<sup>6</sup> Illustrated in Lange and Hirmer, *Ägypten – Architektur, Plastik, Malerei in drei Jahrtausende*, 4th ed. (Munich, 1967), pl. xxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. E. R. Russmann, *BES* 2 (1980), 72.

evidence has been mounting in recent years not only for Horemheb's reuse of Tutankhamun's monuments, but also for his desecration of them.<sup>8</sup>

The excavations demonstrated that the tomb was well supplied with statuary. Two shrines in the first courtyard once sheltered statues, and a limestone statue base was found *in situ* on the south side of the courtyard. Small quartzite fragments recovered from the first courtyard may derive from a scribe statue, but whether the scribe statue of Horemheb in New York MMA 29.10.1 was set up here — or even derives from the tomb at all — remains moot, as Martin is quick to point out. From the debris of the statue room the torso and upper legs of a limestone striding statue of Horemheb were recovered, and Martin notes the possibility that a head found in Shaft IV, which opens from the second courtyard, could belong to it. Both niches in the statue room retain statue bases — in one case the sandalled feet of the striding figure are still preserved. The statues from the second courtyard include two dyads and the fragment of a third — all depicting Horemheb and a lady seated side by side — as well as a kneeling statue of Horemheb. Only the fragmentary dyad is finished and inscribed. An exceptional feature of the second dyad is the type of furniture depicted. Horemheb sits on a simple stool with diagonal struts while the woman has a lion-legged, high-backed chair. During the New Kingdom, both partners customarily use the same kind of *Sitzmöbel* in such statues,<sup>9</sup> but if different types are shown, it is the wife who sits on the more humble stool while the husband occupies the chair.<sup>10</sup>

This exemplary volume concludes with two appendices (the first summarizing the pre-royal career of Horemheb, with a comprehensive list of his titles and epithets documented in the tomb's inscriptions, and the second identifying three modern reliefs falsely associated with the tomb) and six exhaustive indices.

M. EATON-KRAUSS

*Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom.* By ASHRAF ISKANDER SADEK. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 27. 238 × 170 mm. Pp. xxx + 311, pls. 28. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag, 1987. ISBN 3 8067 8107 9. Price DM 59.

In the broad study of Egyptian religion, our knowledge of state or official religion stands like a giant when compared with the dwarf of popular religion, just as the huge temples of Karnak, Medinet Habu, and the Ramesseum soar over the tiny chapels and shrines of the people of Deir el-Medineh. Sadek's study, a dissertation presented at Liverpool University, goes a long way to correct that imbalance for New Kingdom Egypt. While considerable epigraphic material from Deir el-Medineh, such as ostraca, funerary stelae, and graffiti, provide the chief sources used in this study, it is not restricted to Western Thebes. Chapter III investigates the evidence from Pi-Ramesse, Memphis, the Sphinx cult at Giza, Abu Sir, and from Upper Egypt, Asyut, Hermopolis, Abydos, and the Armant region. The area of Thebes, less Deir el-Medineh, is covered in chapter IV, while chapter V concentrates on the temples and chapels of Deir el-Medineh.

Deir el-Medineh occupies the space it deserves in this monograph. Special treatment is given to the temples and shrines of the workmen's village in chapter V. While some of the ecclesiastical structures in this area were built by or for royal patrons, the evidence presented shows that they were used by the people of the village. The area in and around the precinct of Ramesses II's Hathor temple and the Ptolemaic temple contains a number of shrines or chapels which were clearly not funerary. In New Kingdom times it appears that there were a host of small shrines around the village, and even a 'wayside shrine' between the village and the Valley of the Kings. From the inscriptions found within these smaller structures, Sadek has been able to identify some of the deities associated with them. Within the village household shrines have been found, and a

<sup>8</sup> See my comments, *op. cit.* 5, 11.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., CG 622, MMA 07. 228.94 and Louvre N.863 (Hornemann, *Types* 1210, 1212 and 1214, respectively) — husband and wife both sit on stools, his like Horemheb's; MMA 15.2.1 (cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. cxliv.3 with Hayes, *Scepter*, II, fig. 220) and BM 565 (35) (cf. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, no. 172 and Vandier, *op. cit.*, pl. cxlvi.1), both seated on lion-legged chairs.

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number of divinities have been identified as being connected to them, including Meretseger, Renenet, Sobek, Amun of *thn-nfr*, Taweret, Hathor, Reshep and Ptah. While Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmes-Nefertari are dominant figures in the tombs and chapels surrounding Deir el-Medineh, they have not been found in association with the household niches. With the tombs of the residents located adjacent to the village, it is surprising to discover that in area of the North chapels a number of stelae and offering tables were uncovered that are dedicated to *sh iqr*, deceased family members.

Sadek catalogues the deities connected with popular religion from throughout Egypt in chapter VI, often including useful translations of prayers to the particular god, along with a careful documentation of the epithets of each divinity. For instance, over fifty titles are recorded for Amun. The major gods of Egypt are well represented (i.e. Re, Re-Harakhty, Ptah, Osiris, Thoth, Hathor, Soped, Taweret), and then there are lesser known or more Theban figures such as Nepri, Meretseger, Shed, and, of course, Amenhotep I. To the eight known feast days of the patron of Deir el-Medineh, Sadek furnishes evidence for a ninth which is concerned with mourning the dead king in month 3 of Peret, day 21. On this occasion the image of the king was carried to the Valley of Kings, and the pilgrims rewarded with some fat or cream (p. 137).

One important conclusion reached in this volume is that some of the so called 'lesser deities', such as Meretseger, Shed, and Taweret, in Sadek's words 'belonged mainly to the popular religion' (p. 294). The author further observes that there was no real rivalry between 'popular' and official or state religion since the 'major' and 'lesser' gods co-existed at Deir el-Medineh. As in the state religion, a deity may have a particular role in the popular religion in one community that may differ from another. Amenhotep I appears to be the 'sole giver of oracles' at Deir el-Medineh, but this is not found elsewhere.

'Theology: Relationship of People to the Gods' is the title of chapter VIII. Such subjects as offerings, intercession, pleas for help, and the 'do good' formula are treated here. Given the content of this chapter, it probably should not be called 'theology', but 'Praxis and Piety'. The discipline of theology, as it has been known in western academe since the Middle Ages, has to do with categorizing beliefs within a framework shaped by the world-view of a given community of faith. A theology of Egyptian state and popular religion still remains to be written.<sup>1</sup>

One important misconception about popular religion has been laid to rest by the present study, viz. that popular religion is 'restricted to the poor, or to the lowest classes' (p. 295). Certainly the people of Deir el-Medineh could not be so classified. Rather, they would be comparable to the 'tradesman' and blue collar worker of today. Sadek further points to high ranking officials such as the vizier Hori or chancellor Bay as having been associated with popular religion (p. 295).

As for the ecclesiastical operations of the popular shrines and chapels, there appear to have been religious fraternities, or what the author calls a simple form of a 'confrérie' of later times, which oversaw and maintained each chapel. At Deir el-Medineh the groups consistently were made up of 12 members (p. 81). This suggests that we have a type of a lay priesthood, as compared with the professional priestly phyles of state facilities. One wonders if the fact that there were 12 individuals associated with a worship centre may find a parallel in the ancient Mediterranean amphictyonies. The oracle of Delphi, the Etruscan league, the Israelites and Ishmaelites of the Bible all comprised twelve units or tribes. Each tribe apparently had monthly duties at the cult centre on a rotating basis. Could such a monthly rotation system been used at Deir el-Medineh among these groups of 12?

What Ashraf Sadek has achieved with his thorough investigation is to pull together a large corpus of material for the study of popular religion in the New Kingdom. While the volume is descriptive, it lacks an analytical base from which one might conclude what was normative about popular religion in the New Kingdom. However, the author has provided an excellent volume which might be used by an historian of religions to answer the phenomenological questions about popular religion, just as Siegfried Morenz has done for state religion in his masterful book, *Egyptian Religion*.

JAMES K. HOFFMEIER

<sup>1</sup> Siegfried Morenz, in chapter 7 of his *Egyptian Religion* (New York, 1973), has made a good start, using both theological categories and within the framework of the history of religions, an excellent combination!

*Passage to Eternity*. By RENÉ WULLEMAN, MARC KUNNEN and ARPAG MEKHITARIAN. 340 × 260 mm. Pp. 191 including 160 in colour. Knokke, Mappamundi, 1989. ISBN 90 6958 008 X. Price not stated.

During a visit to Luxor, René Wullerman and Marc Kunnen became captivated by the tombs of the kings, queens, and nobles. They took a number of photographs, and on returning to Belgium, began to put together a popular picture-book which would not just illustrate the tombs but also present something of the ancient Egyptian approaches to death. The present book is the result. The two originators of the project enlisted the talents of Arpag Mekhitarian, who is renowned for his knowledge of the tombs of Thebes and also for the best colour picture-book on Egyptian painting.

The book consists of an introductory essay and brief accounts of four of the principal attractions of Thebes: the Valley of the Kings, the private tombs of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, the Workmens' Village of Deir el-Medina, and the Valley of the Queens. The full colour illustrations which make up the majority of the book are grouped under these same headings. Since the primary purpose of the work is to present the collection of photographs to a wider public, I shall not concentrate on the text; it will suffice to say that it is generally reliable and a good general introduction to the photographs. The text has been translated from the French, and although mostly beyond reproach, does contain an occasional awkward sentence. At the end is a good bibliography which does not refrain from mixing specialist works with more popular ones; all the more surprising, then, is the omission, for example, of Spencer's *Death in Ancient Egypt* and Manniche's *City of the Dead, Thebes in Egypt*, as well as her *Lost Tombs*.

The major attraction of this book is the wide selection of colour photographs of the tombs in the four areas noted. Since preserved colour is such an outstanding feature in Theban tombs, I am extremely happy that such an excellent selection of pictures is now available. Comments on the photographs can be made under quality and selection of subject-matter.

Accurate reproduction of colour photographs is both a time-consuming and expensive business, and it must be said that in general this book has been very well done. Nevertheless, there are the occasional inconsistencies, in particular, the photographs of the tomb of Ramesses III (pp. 56-7) and the tomb of Userhat (pp. 78-9). There is a pronounced yellow cast to these illustrations, as if they were taken under the wrong lighting conditions; the generally excellent colour balance of the rest of the book makes these all the more obvious. There are other, less marked, degrees of variation in photographs from certain tombs, although this is not troubling to the eye. It has to be said that Mekhitarian's *Egyptian Painting* still remains the best publication of ancient Egyptian colour by means of photographs. There is only one other technical feature which I find a little disconcerting, and that is the somewhat careless choice of double-page spreads extending across the spine of the book. For example, the fold on pp. 68-9 passes straight through the face of Nut, somewhat destroying the beauty of the image (see also pp. 172-3).

The criteria used for selecting the photographs to be published is not given in the book, and sometimes give a very lop-sided impression of the tombs. This may simply reflect the personal preferences of the authors, but it is clear that the tombs photographed are basically those that were open to visitors in the 1980s, with the notable exception of that of Queen Nefertari. Some tombs receive very lavish treatment, while others appear only briefly; there is one photograph from the tomb of Seti I (pp. 44-5), four pages for the tomb of Nakht (pp. 84-7), and only two for that of Menna (pp. 88-9). This, however, may be attributable to practical difficulties of access at the time of the authors' visit.

The text stresses the damage being suffered by some of the tombs, for example, that of Seti I; the recent robbery in the tomb of Inherkhau emphasizes the importance of documentation. From that point of view, given the generally lamentable state of publication of the Theban necropolis, this publication has great value for scholars, in addition to its stated aim of being a book for the wider public. In particular it should find a ready market with visitors to Luxor, since its coverage of the major tombs makes it an ideal memento of these wonderful monuments. The authors must be congratulated on a delightful book; I only hope that the price (which I have been unable to ascertain) will not put it beyond the reach of many prospective purchasers.

*Excavations at El-Ashmunein, II. The Temple Area.* By A. J. SPENCER, with contributions by PATRICIA A. SPENCER, A. BURNETT, A. P. MIDDLETON and M. S. TITE. 362 × 278 mm. Pp. 90, pls. 112. London, British Museum Publications Ltd., 1989. ISBN 0 7141 0950 9. Price £65.

Im Gegensatz zu Vorderasien bilden Stadtgrabungen in Ägypten noch immer eine Ausnahme, wohl weil sie zumeist mit erheblichem Aufwand verbunden sind aber selten sogleich spektakuläre Ergebnisse oder herausragende Funde liefern. Unsere Kenntnisse von der Entwicklung und Struktur altägyptischer Städte, d.h. einer der wesentlichen Grundlagen der Hochkultur, sind daher noch sehr lückenhaft, ihre Erforschung aber zugleich auch wegen der zunehmenden Gefährdung durch Landwirtschaft und Bautätigkeit besonders dringlich. Um so mehr war das den 'trustees' vermutlich nicht ganz leicht abzurufende Vorhaben des British Museum zu begrüßen, die nicht eben einladenden Ruinen von Ashmunein anzugehen 'to contribute to the rescue of the endangered archaeological sites in the cultivated land of the Nile Valley'.

Von den insgesamt 10 seit 1980 jährlich durchgeführten Kampagnen galt die 1. einer Geländeaufnahme des nicht überbauten Stadtgebietes (etwa 800 × 1000 m von ca. 1000 × 1500 m Gesamtausdehnung), die im Maßstab 1:1000 mit ausführlicher topographischer Beschreibung als *El-Ashmunein* 1 erschienen ist. Während der 2.-6. Kampagne war die Grabungstätigkeit zunächst auf das Tempelareal konzentriert, das in dem hier vorliegenden 1. Band der abschließenden Publikation behandelt wird. Weitere Bände über die in der 6. Kampagne begonnenen Untersuchungen im Siedlungsgebiet sowie über öffentliche Bauten römischer Zeit (u.a. das Komasterion) und die Keramik sollen folgen.

Da die Struktur der Sakralbauten die der gesamten Stadt erheblich beeinflußt haben dürfte, lag es nahe, dort anzusetzen, zumal von der Hildesheimer Expedition der Jahre 1930-39 und späteren ägyptischen Unternehmungen wegen des damals noch vorhandenen Palmenbestandes größere Bereiche nicht geklärt worden waren. Bei der Größe des Gebietes — das Tempelareal der 30. Dyn. nimmt eine Fläche von ca. 600 × 615 m ein, das des Neuen Reiches immerhin schon etwa 200 × 200 m — konnte mit einer verhältnismäßig kleinen Mannschaft naturgemäß wieder nur an einigen Schwerpunkten gearbeitet werden, und zwar vor allem westlich des Amuntempels im Bereich des Thottempels der 18.-19. Dyn., der westl. Umfassungsmauer des Neuen Reiches sowie weiter nördlich am Pronaos des Thottempels der 30. Dyn. In allen Abschnitten waren jeweils nur Grundmauern bzw. Fundamentreste erhalten, deren Untersuchung wegen der vielen Störungen und des hohen Grundwasserspiegels sehr mühsam gewesen sein muß.

Die bereits in recht ausführlichen Vorberichten (BM Occasional Papers 37, 41, 46, 53, 61, 67) dargestellten Ergebnisse werden hier in 17 Kapiteln zusammengefaßt: 1-9 gelten den Grabungsbefunden, 10 den Funden einschließlich Keramik, 11 der Stele Osorkon III., 12-17 den Stufen der Tempelentwicklung einschließlich ihrer Zerstörungsgeschichte. Dazu kommen noch 2 Appendices mit Analysen von Proben aus einem Kalkbrennofen und dem Mörtelbett des hellenistischen Dromospflasters sowie einer Konkordanz der Fundnummern mit den Inventar-nummern der vom ägyptischen Antikendienst registrierten Objekte und den per Fundteilung in das BM gelangten Funde.

Die sehr detaillierte Darstellung und Auswertung der Grabungsbefunde ist — soweit es die Materie überhaupt zuläßt — erfreulich klar und übersichtlich angelegt. Kap. 1 enthält einen Überblick der Beschaffenheit des Geländes mit den sichtbaren Bauresten, die verschiedenen Grabungszonen und den Grabungsverlauf. Den Kapiteln 2-9 über die einzelnen Grabungsabschnitte ist jeweils eine Einführung vorangestellt, in der die erforderlichen Vorinformationen für die nachfolgende ausführliche Befundbeschreibung und Interpretation gegeben werden. Sehr nützlich sind auch die daran anschließenden Fundlisten mit Verweisen auf den Katalog. Von den Grabungsergebnissen können hier nur einige erwähnt werden:

Kap. 2-3) Für das Verständnis der Entwicklung des Tempelkomplexes im NR waren die Untersuchungen nördlich der Achse des Amuntempels (area A) besonders wichtig. Schon die Hildesheimer Expedition hatte dort Bauteile eines Pylons und Pflasterreste festgestellt, die aufgrund des Niveaus, das dem der Schwelle im Tor Amenemhet II. entsprach, in das MR datiert worden waren. Einige *in situ* aufgefundene Fundamentblöcke erlauben nun eine Lage und Größenbestimmung des Pylons, der unter Verwendung von Amarna-Spolien als Erweiterung des wahrscheinlich auf Hatschepsut zurückgehenden Thottempels von Haremhab errichtet worden ist.



Nördlich des Pylons wurde etwa in der Achse des Durchgangs noch ein Abschnitt eines gepflasterten Weges aufgedeckt, der vermutlich bis an den Tempel führte. Darüber waren noch zwei in das 5./6. bzw. 8. Jh. n. Chr. zu datierende Bauhorizonte festzustellen, letzterer mit einem wohl zu einer Kirche gehörenden Säulenfundament. Vom Tempel des NR selbst wurden in einem etwa im Zentrum abgetieften  $5 \times 5$  m Areal nur einige dekorierte Sandsteinfragmente gefunden.

Kap. 4-5) Aufschluß über die ramessidischen Erweiterungen des Thottempels um mehrere Höfe bzw. Hallen gaben die Grabungen vor dem Haremhab-Pylon (Schnitt G6S) und weiter südlich (area B) bis an den etwa 100 m davon entfernten Pylon Ramses II. Bei der SW-Ecke des Pylons der 18. Dyn. wurde ein Abschnitt der Westmauer eines gepflasterten Hofes mit Fundamentierung für eine Säulenreihe aufgedeckt, von der auch noch verstürzte Architravteile zeugen. Vermutlich gab es dort einen Durchgang in der Achse des Amuntempels.

Kap. 6) In area B konnten auch Abschnitte des 'Dromos des Hermes', der N-S Hauptstraße der griech.-röm. Stadt aufgedeckt werden. Entgegen der Annahme der Hildesheimer Expedition verlief er nicht entlang der Tempelachse sondern etwa über der östlichen Hofgrenze und führte nach Norden wahrscheinlich am spätzeitlichen Tempel vorbei.

Kap. 7) Die bislang unbekannte Ost-West Ausdehnung des NR Tempelgebietes ließ sich anhand der im östl. Bereich (area ES) noch festgestellten Reste der Umfassungsmauer mit ca. 200 m bestimmen.

Kap. 8) Am Amun-Tempel im Westen des Sakralbereiches ergaben Untersuchungen, daß die Fundamente des Pylons aus nur 5 Lagen von wiederverwendeten Kalk- und Sandsteinalatrat bestehen. Nördlich des Tempels konnten Magazine ähnlich denen des Ramesseums nachgewiesen werden, wie sie innerhalb der Tempelumfassung auch im Süden schon von der deutschen Expedition festgestellt worden waren. Darunter kamen Reste von anders orientierten, einfachen Wohnbauten zutage, die offenbar bei der Anlage des Tempels in der 19. Dynastie eingeebnet wurden. Keramikfunde lassen darauf schließen, daß die Siedlungstätigkeiten hier bis in das AR zurückreichen.

Kap. 9) Bei Sondagen (P 1 u. 2) im Zentrum des Thottempels der 30. Dyn. wurden keine Baureste mehr festgestellt. Vermutlich ist das Tempelhaus hinter dem Pronaos bereits in frühchristlicher Zeit bis in die Fundamente abgebaut worden. Von dem Tempel dürfte aber eine etwa 100 m nördlich des Pronaos aufgefundene Säulenbasis mit Inschrift Philipp III. stammen, deren Schaftansatz 48 Facetten mit 4 Paneelen aufweist. Zur Anlage eines Hofes vor dem Pronaos scheint es nicht gekommen zu sein; in 4 Horizonten wurden dort lediglich spärliche Bauspuren und starke Schuttablagerungen des 4.-8. Jh. festgestellt.

Kap. 10) Der Fundkatalog umfaßt alle 1981-85 im Tempelgebiet geborgenen Objekte und schließt auch Keramik mit ein soweit sie vom Antikendienst registriert worden ist. Die Hauptgruppe bilden Plastik (7), Stelen u.ä. (7) und Bauteile (95) vor allem des NR. Alle Stücke sind verständlich beschrieben und in Zeichnungen und/oder Fotos abgebildet. Von der Königsstatue Nr. 7 (wohl Nektanebos I.) wäre auch eine Seitenansicht wünschenswert gewesen und von der Basis, die schon Röder aufgefunden hatte, mehr als nur der Ausschnitt mit den Zapfenlöchern. Etwas unklar bleibt, ob die Teile unmittelbar anpaßten oder nicht, da ihre Zusammengehörigkeit vor allem mit den Zapfen begründet wird.

Bei den Bauteilen zeigt ein Vergleich mit den Fotos, daß die Zeichnungen zumeist nur die Konturen der erhaltenen Dekorfläche wiedergeben, in einigen Fällen (z.B. Nr. 92) aber den vollständigen Umriß des Steins, ohne daß dabei die Abbruchränder kenntlich sind. Das ist für Ergänzungs- und Zusammensetzungsversuche mißlich, wenn irgend möglich sollten sowohl die Gesamtgröße des Objektes wie die Begrenzung der intakten Oberfläche ersichtlich sein. Das gilt auch für die ansonsten vorzüglichen Zeichnungen des im Dromos verbaut aufgefundenen Altars Amenophis III. (pl. 40-43), der Säulenteile Echnatons (pl. 65) und Ramses II. (pl. 24), die allein schon mit Angabe der Originalkanten wesentlich informativer gewesen wären. Unter den Kleinfunden wird die Aufnahme auch solcher 2. und 3. Ordnung, z.B. einzelner Nägel oder Terrakottenfragmente, manchen Leser befremden. Sie ist wohl nicht in jedem Einzelfall zu rechtfertigen, grundsätzlich aber methodisch damit zu begründen, daß der Ausgräber alle von ihm gewonnen Informationen weitergeben sollte, um auch zunächst nicht relevant erscheinende Fragestellungen zu ermöglichen. Bei den Münzen (Nr. 139) ist in der Bestimmung, die schon in Kap. 6 eingefügt ist, wohl ein Versehen unterlaufen: die Rs. einer der Tetradrachmen (Hadrian Jahr 4?) zeigt nicht Dikaiosyne sondern eine Nilusbüste.

In Kap. 11 wird die Stele Osorkon III. (Kat. Nr. 13), von der hunderte kleine und kleinste Fragmente aufgefunden wurden, von P. Spencer mit ausführlicher Wertung der Fundumstände vorgestellt. Obwohl im wesentlichen nur Abschnitte des oberen Teiles und der rechten Seite der etwa 2,5 m hohen und 1,3 m breiten Stele erhalten sind und nur wenige joints festgestellt werden konnten, ist es ihr gelungen, die Darstellung des Bildfeldes mit einem Opfer der Königsfamilie (durch Beischrift gesichert ist die Königin Karotja) für die Osiristriade zu erschließen und einige Anhaltspunkte über den Text zu gewinnen, der die Errichtung eines Heiligtums (vermutlich für Osiris) und damit verbundene Stiftungen von Land und Opfergaben beinhaltet. Die minutiöse Dokumentation aller Fragmente in Umzeichnungen (1:2) wird sich im Falle der Auffindung weiterer Stücke und Rekonstruktionsversuchen sicherlich als sehr hilfreich erweisen.

Kap. 12-17 bieten eine zusammenfassende Darstellung der Geschichte des Tempelkomplexes, z.T. mit Erörterung der Ergebnisse der älteren Grabungen und Heranziehung sonstiger Quellen. Der Befundlage entsprechend wird die Entwicklung in der 18./19. und der 30. Dyn. am ausführlichsten behandelt. Für die Kultanlagen des AR, dessen Niveau heute ca. 1 m unter dem Grundwasserspiegel liegt, gibt es nach wie vor nur vage Anhaltspunkte. Sie befanden sich vermutlich im Bereich des noch anstehenden Kalksteintores Amenemhet II., das zu einem Ziegelpylon gehörte und bis in die frühe 18. Dyn. benutzt worden zu sein scheint. Ob das südlich davon gelegene kleine Sanktuar als Haupttempel des MR anzusehen ist, bleibt allerdings fraglich. Bemerkenswert ist, daß der Nachfolge-Tempel der frühen 18. Dyn. an einem anderen Standort weiter nördlich errichtet worden ist und zugleich der Zugang nicht mehr wie im MR nach Norden sondern Süden orientiert ist, was erhebliche Veränderungen der gesamten Siedlungsstruktur vermuten läßt. Das gilt auch für die auf Kosten des Siedlungsgebietes vorgenommenen Erweiterungen des NR und die weitausgreifenden Anlagen der 30. Dyn. In hellenistischer Zeit setzt dann eine Umkehrung dieses Prozesses ein, ein Großteil der Kultbauten muß profaner Nutzung weichen bis sie dann in der christlichen Epoche überhaupt aufgegeben, zunächst als Steinbruch und Abraumplätze dienten und schließlich ganz überbaut werden. Es bleibt abzuwarten, wie sich diese Veränderungen im Stadtbild niedergeschlagen haben.

Die Darstellung der Grabungsergebnisse und der Tempelgeschichte machen einen sehr fundierten Eindruck. Es wäre aber vielleicht günstiger gewesen, den Fundkatalog als gesonderten Teil hinten an zu stellen und dabei die Keramik überhaupt wegzulassen, da sie umfassend noch in einem weiteren Band behandelt werden soll. Etwas mühsam sind die an den Schluß gestellten Anmerkungen, zumal sie nicht durchgehend sondern nach Kapiteln numeriert sind. Das wäre durchaus vermeidbar gewesen, da sie sich außer bei Kap. 10 im ungenutzten Spaltenfreiraum viel bequemer hätten unterbringen lassen, womit auch noch Seiten eingespart worden wären. Auch bei Kap. 10 mit den zahlreichen Verweisen auf die Vorberichte hätte diese Möglichkeit eigentlich bestanden, da die meisten Fußnoten völlig überflüssig sind, in den angeführten Vorberichten steht nämlich wörtlich der gleiche Text, den man auch über die Inv. Nr. auffinden könnte.

Verglichen mit dem Textteil ist die Dokumentation mit den Plänen, Fotos und Objektzeichnungen auf den Tafeln sowie 2 besser dort und nicht vor den Appendices eingegliederten Abbildungsseiten weniger glücklich ausgefallen. Recht unübersichtlich ist zum einen schon die Vermengung von Plänen und Befundphotos mit Einschub der Funde, die mit den verstreuten Umzeichnungen von Inschriften besser insgesamt abgetrennt an den Schluß gestellt worden wären. Für ein leichteres Verständnis der Detailaufnahmen der Areale wären Übersichts-Massenpläne (ca. 1:200) sehr hilfreich gewesen. Zumeist hätte auch schon die Wahl anderer Abbildungsmaßstäbe (1:50 und 1:100 anstelle von 1:33,3 und 1:66,6) zusammenhängende Arealpläne ermöglicht, die wie z.B. pl. 13 als Verkleinerung von pl. 11+12 alle Einzelheiten deutlich genug und das Verhältnis der Baureste zueinander sogar besser erkennen lassen. Etwas mißlich ist das Fehlen von Legenden bei den Übersichtsplänen pl. 1 und besonders pl. 92, in pl. 24 wäre die Arealkennzeichnung, in pl. 19, 23 der Nordpfeil, bei fig. I, 3 und II a sowie den Inschriftumzeichnungen auf pl. 24, 51 eine Maßstabsangabe sinnvoll gewesen. Der grundsätzliche Wert der Dokumentation wird dadurch aber nicht geschmälert, sowohl die Zeichnungen wie die reichliche Fotoauswahl bieten alle erforderlichen Informationen. Es ist zu hoffen, daß die noch ausstehenden Bände bei etwas mehr 'Benutzerfreundlichkeit' den gleichen Standard haben werden.

*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, II, *Contracts*. By B. PORTEN and A. YARDENI. 337 × 242 mm. Pp. liv + 191, pl. 37. Hebrew University, 1989. ISBN 965 350 003 1. Price \$60.00.

For Semitists the Aramaic papyri from Egypt of the sixth to fifth centuries BC have a special fascination. They mark the confluence of three widely different cultures — Egyptian, Semitic (including Jewish), and Iranian — at a significant epoch in the history of Egypt. This volume, in both English and Hebrew, will be widely welcomed. Professor Porten has acquired unique expertise in these documents over many years; his mastery of the subject is shown in his *Archives from Elephantine* and in a long series of articles on various aspects of the papyri. His collaborator, Ada Yardeni, who is responsible for the hand copies of the papyri, given in a separate pack, has produced drawings of skill and sensitivity.

The present volume, the second of the corpus, has the overall title of *Contracts*. In addition to the Bauer-Meissner papyrus and the Mibtāḥiah and 'Anani archives, it comprises documents of 'obligation' (including loans), of conveyance, of 'wifehood', of judicial oaths and — somewhat loosely in this context — of court records. The principal sources are Cowley and Kraeling and the material published in Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqāra* (1983). Porten also includes important sections on topography and the problems of chronology, and helpful glossaries.

There is a proper emphasis here on drawings; in addition to the excellent pack of fold-outs, a facsimile appears alongside the discussion of each papyrus. Care has been taken to distinguish between probable and possible readings. Yet this, however careful, involves a considerable element of subjective interpretation. It may not be sufficient for the discerning reader; if he is to exercise his own independent judgement, he will require suitable plates. This is particularly desirable in the case of the material from Saqqara. Much of it is very fragmentary — though at three places (8.2; 8.4; and 8.10) Porten and Yardeni have joined fragments to form a larger unit. They were enabled to examine photographs enlarged from the negatives of the admirable plates taken by Mrs Hazel Smith (whose recent death has deeply saddened the many scholars who enjoyed the hospitality of the British 'home' at Saqqara).

Porten and Yardeni have incorporated references to the many reviews of Segal's 1983 edition of the Saqqara papyri. They propose a number of possible reconstructions, and some of these may be accepted. In particular, BGPN at 8.4:1 is certainly an Iranian proper name, and the reading of 'rmy at 8.6:8 is likely. At 8.4:6 *yṭb krm*' is rendered 'sitting (in) the vineyard', with a somewhat improbable omission of the preposition. *Yṭb* may have the meaning 'gave', as at Segal 21:2 and in Jewish Aramaic, but that scarcely fits the context here. Segal 28:6 reads *ktb krm*'. Variant readings are well set out in the critical apparatus. But an error has occurred at 8.7:8; Segal 4:8 has *ywmn*, not *ywmh*.

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The Egyptians were not renowned for prompt payment of their taxes: 'anyone of them would blush if he did not, in consequence of refusing tribute, show many stripes on his body' (Amm. Marc. XXII. 16.23, Loeb transl.). But what about the tax collectors who had to deal with such a degree of disobedience? Bernhard Palme has presented in his book an analysis of the development of the liturgic office of the ἀπαιτητής from the second to the seventh century AD. He bases his investigation mainly on ostraca and papyri, with some literary and legal sources. In the introduction, P. lays down the criteria for his study, and then gives a chronological survey of the office, in which he discusses the various responsibilities of the ἀπαιτητής. In a third, systematic part he describes other aspects of this liturgy, such as qualification, nomination, collegiality, area of

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responsibility and jurisdiction, liability, reappointment, and various social aspects. A large and extremely valuable section contains detailed tables, which give lists of testimonia, of *ἀπαιτηταί* of Thebes, names of all *ἀπαιτηταί* and specification of their titles.

It seems most plausible that this office was introduced under Trajan, since the first occurrence comes from O. Bodl. II 2214 and is dated less than eight months after the accession of Hadrian (28.4.118); if, with P., one takes into account the selection procedure for the offices, it must have been created at least two years before this date. For the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the sources are mainly receipts on ostraca from Thebes. The taxes that are normally collected are *μερισμοί*, i.e. taxes which were assessed *per capita*, or for a particular group of the population. The tax is always collected in money, which is paid into the account of the *δημοσία τράπεζα*.

For the period of 160–190, there are fewer documents, mainly from Syene, Heracleopolites, and Arsinoites. P. puts forward the hypothesis that from around AD 170 the *ἀπαιτηταί* began to collect taxes in kind. This change was probably based on alterations in the general system of taxation, for which, as he admits, the evidence is rather slight.

In the Severan period, the situation changes in several respects: surviving receipts are now on papyrus rather than on ostraca, and the majority of the documents come from Oxyrhynchus. Since receipts form a smaller part of the existing sources, there is less information about the types of tax that were collected. On the other hand, the other papyri, which include, for example, lists, payments made to the *ἀπαιτητής*, and an undertaking of an oath, throw some light on the activities and responsibilities of an *ἀπαιτητής*. Since the introduction of the *βουλή* into the *metropoleis* in AD 199/200 (Wilcken's old date of 202 was replaced by Bowmann, *Town Councils*, 18) the *ἀπαιτηταί* and other liturgists are appointed by and responsible to the council. More taxes in kind are collected, such as payments made *εἰς πρόσθεσιν*, which seem to have been paid, normally in wheat or barley, in addition to the normal grain tax, as an emergency measure. Whether the *annona militaris* was already collected by the *ἀπαιτηταί* as early as the second decade of the third century, as P. argues, should be considered with some caution. He says that the *ἀπαιτηταί* collected taxes in kind that belonged to the *annona*, which had been imposed on the population on a regular basis from AD 185. This early date is based on Wilcken's interpretation of WO II, 273, where only the year 25 of an unnamed emperor is given, which he, and later Wallace (*Taxation*, 23), took as belonging to the reign of Commodus. But as Wilcken himself (*Grundzüge*, 360) pointed out, year 25 could equally well refer to Caracalla. The latter fits better into the overall historical context. Although the problems connected with the *annona militaris* are far from being clearly understood, scholars tend to favour an introduction of this tax, as a formal tax as opposed to occasional payments for the army, under Septimius Severus (cf. D. Van Berchem, in *Armées et fiscalité*, 333–4, with further literature). In this light, the first papyri that actually mention both *ἀπαιτητής* and *annona* (PSI VII 795, AD 253; P. Princ. II 50, AD 255) should be given more weight than P. allows. They could be considered in a context of possible reforms under Philippus Arabs, as done by Parsons (*JRS* 57 (1967), 134–41) and Thomas (*ZPE* 19 (1975), 111–19).

The next change comes with the reforms of Diocletian. Sources for this period (up to 415) are good: besides literary sources (the earliest references come from the letters of Basil the Great and a speech of Gregory of Nyssa), there are several archives which contain receipts, appointments, complaints or orders for arrest, which give a much fuller picture than that of previous periods. Now the most important tax is the *annona*, but the *ἀπαιτηταί* also collect taxes in money, which covered the cost for the collection of taxes in kind, the *vestis militaris*, and various other taxes.

The constitution of AD 415 (*Cod. Theod.* XI. 24.6) changed the situation of large estates; the *γεούχοι* were now responsible for the taxes of their *coloni* and the liturgies imposed on their *οἰκοί*. However, this did not make the *ἀπαιτηταί* into employees of the *γεούχος*, although he was responsible for appointing liturgists. They were not only collecting the *annona*, as before, but also the regular tax (*δημόσιον, κανών*). Further interesting changes in this period are that the *ἀπαιτηταί* are often mentioned in close connection with the army (the *ἀπαιτητής* could be, for example, a soldier), and that they were keeping deposit accounts, which could be used in the same way as the former accounts with the *δημοσία τράπεζα* or the *δημόσιος λόγος*.

In the second part of the book, P. discusses various aspects of the office of the *ἀπαιτητής*, such as the qualifications, the nomination procedure, the area of jurisdiction, the term of office, remuneration, liability, and aspects of social status.

The nature of the sources, however, makes the investigation of some of these problems difficult, and the results, at least sometimes, speculative. Tax receipts, for example, which are the only available evidence until the end of the second century, give little information about most of these questions. The fact that the over 600 testimonia come from a period of over 500 years and various places in Egypt does not ease the task. Thus, P.'s work is a good example of the limitations of such a project. But it is an equally good example of the results that can be gained through a thorough and careful investigation of all available sources. One interesting result is that P., unlike Wilcken, thinks that in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the *ἀπαιτηταί* did not collect arrears in the strict sense of that term, but taxes based on a new assessment designed to produce the equivalent by redistributing the liability among those still financially capable. The term of office, given by Lewis as one year (*Compulsory Services of Roman Egypt*, 14) is three years for the second and third centuries, and is reduced to one year around AD 300. The *ἀπαιτηταί* belong to the group of the *exactores* (against Gelzer's *compulsores*), and the liturgy should be considered as a *munus mixtum* (against Oertel's *munus patrimonii*).

P.'s analysis of names shows that the *ἀπαιτηταί* are mainly of Greco-Egyptian origin and that they belong to the middle class. In Thebes, for example, four Latin names are set against one-hundred Greco-Egyptian ones; later, there are very few *Flavii*. In the second century the rank of the *ἀπαιτητής* was low, but examples from the third century indicate that office holders came from a slightly higher social class, among whom there are even some *βουλευται*. This seems to reflect the tendency to choose wealthier office holders to secure a reliable collection.

P. has given us a most impressive collection of the material relevant to the office of the *ἀπαιτητής*, which will be of great use to all papyrologists and ancient historians with an interest in Roman Egypt.

UTE WARTENBERG

*Attic Grave Reliefs that represent Women in the Dress of Isis.* BY ELIZABETH J. WALTERS. Hesperia Supplement 22. 280 × 212 mm. Pp. 135, pls. 52, figs. 2. Princeton, New Jersey, 1988. ISBN 0 87661 522 1. Price \$40.

This work is based on a doctoral dissertation which was accepted in the Department of Fine Arts at New York University in 1982. In a Preface the author thanks her mentors there and also a number of scholars who have been active in Greece, particularly in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The book bears every impress of the expert aid thus deployed, and the author's own assiduous application is also evident.

Evidence for the cult of Isis in Athens spans a period of about six centuries, up to and including the third century AD. Indications derived from inscriptions are not so numerous, and this gives special importance to the Attic grave reliefs here studied; they date from the end of the first century BC up to the opening of the fourth century AD, and they represent women in the dress of the goddess Isis. In all there are 106 known examples, some fragmentary, and in both number and quality they constitute an impressive corpus. Naturally these objects have not been entirely neglected by previous scholars: Graindor, Dunand, Conze, and Riemann are singled out for appreciation. But it is clear that Walters has tackled the task with a thoroughness and grasp that far surpass those of all previous treatments.

After a Bibliography and Introduction, the four main chapters are devoted to 'Iconography and Egyptian-Ptolemaic Sources', 'Archaeological Evidence and Interpretation', 'Production', and 'Style and Chronology'. Three Appendixes are headed 'Catalogue of "Isis" Reliefs found in the Athenian Agora'; 'Types of Dress for Isis on Representations in the Roman Period'; and 'Chronological List of Attic "Isis" Reliefs'. There follow four Indexes which include a valuable conspectus of the 'Attic Grave Reliefs Published by A. Conze'. Fifty-two superb plates complete the volume.

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The question of basic import concerns the form, origin, and significance of the dress. It is generally agreed that the two-garment form with tunic and mantle points to an Egyptian arrangement in which the outer garment was knotted at the chest. Examples from the New Kingdom are

not specifically connected with Isis, and this was ably brought out by Bianchi in his 'Not the Isis Knot' in *BES* 2 (1980), 9-31. W. duly mentions this study (p. 6 n. 7), adding, however, that Bianchi's 'explanation of the draping is not valid'. The reference is, it seems, to the mode of fitting and wearing the outer garment. Both writers provide illustrations of the process, but it is not easy for an arm-chair reviewer to decide between them. I hasten to add that W.'s rather brusque rebuttal here is by no means typical of her general method. She is usually keen to present her reasons in the Platonic style of *logon didonai*. She is able to show, by the way, that the Athenians made their own contribution to the elaboration of the Egyptian mode: 'the knotting of the two ends of a double-fringed Egyptian mantle seems to be exclusive to the Athenians and is best explained as the way in which the Egyptian dress was worn in Athens' (p. 7).

The important question, of course, if we look back further, is when and why the association with Isis arose. It seems likely, as is here properly suggested, that the concept of the queen in the role of Isis was a potent factor. Theologically it could be argued that Isis has early links with the queenship; but these do not find expression iconographically until the Ptolemaic era. In the words I quoted just now W. refers to modes of dress which became popular in Athens although they were of Egyptian origin. Clearly she is thinking in terms of sacral dress. Theoretically, a mode which became popular in sacral usage could influence sartorial customs in a wider sense, just as a certain style of Madonna accoutrement in art may well have sometimes affected secular modes. Such an approach must plainly be ruled out in the material here presented, since their funerary context demands a sacral interpretation. One of the Ptolemaic queens, perhaps Cleopatra III (p. 11), is likely to have provided the prototype of an Isis-Queen who established the image; the assimilation to Isis is attested, although an actual example of the iconography is lacking.

The head-dress is given detailed attention, and here complexity is increased through the early assumption of Hathor's attributes, in particular the crown of disk and horns with (later) the tall plumes. In view of the Hathoric influence, I would demur to the use of the phrase 'emblem of Isis' (p. 12) to refer to this type of head-dress; certainly, the traditional Isiac pharaonic emblem is the throne-sign carried on the head. The dictum (p. 12 n. 47) that 'a feather is the most whimsical Isiac emblem' is a little startling since the indulgence of whimsical fancies is not an expected feature of this religious art. A tall plume would not be surprising; an ostrich feather might point to Isis Maat or Isis Dikaiosune (cf. pl. 1, a, Athens N.M. 8426); however, the paintings or reliefs from the villa found below the Farnesina in Rome might well exemplify a jaunty detail and thus justify W.'s expression. While the Athenian reliefs do not appear to refer in any way to Isis Euploia, Pelagia, or Pharia, there is some discussion of these forms on p. 15 (cf. p. 129), but with no mention of possible Egyptian antecedents; for these, suggested by several scholars, see my Apuleius, *The Isis-Book* (1975), 31 ff. On the other hand, the Attic reliefs often show the *situla* and the *sistrum* being carried by the Isiac women, thus confirming their Isiacism; the admirable discussion of these objects (pp. 20-5) includes full consideration of the Egyptian origins.

The sacred cist or basket does not appear so frequently on these reliefs; when it does occur, it is usually shown in the middle of the pediment, and is sometimes grouped with a *sistrum*, as in pl. 14, d (where 'cist' should be added after '*situla*'). Its origin is more problematic and probably composite. A wicker basket is indicated by several of the representations (p. 29), and this recalls the description of the *inswty* in Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris*, 1 (1966), 121, 5 ff. (cf. his p. 65), of Ptolemaic date. W. shows little interest here in the theories of Egyptian origin, rejecting without discussion (p. 30 n. 179) the proposal of Heerma van Voss. It is odd, by the way, to find Plutarch and Clement of Alexandria classified (p. 29 n. 177) as 'Roman authors'. Matters relating to original location are investigated fully, and Eleusis, the Piraeus, the island of Salamis, and Laurion are among the find-places; but most of the reliefs have no known provenance. Reliefs of the Roman era are shown to have been often equipped with iron pins to hold garlands or wreaths in honour of the dead, whose names figure in the inscriptions and indicate for the most part 'members of the numerous, if little known, middle class in Athens who could afford and chose to have grave reliefs' (pp. 48-9). A painstaking analysis marks the discussion of 'Style and Chronology'; essentially, the chronology is based on stylistic criteria, and the conclusions, if sometimes tentative, are scrupulously argued.

Equally searching is the scrutiny of the significance of the reliefs (pp. 52-7; 59-64; 90). The cult of Isis in Athens seems to have grown in popularity by the middle to the first century BC, and the



abandonment of Delos may have played a part. The Isiac reliefs show an increase in number over a period of three centuries up to the latter part of the third century AD. A prosperous middle class is reflected in them, and the attraction of the dress and the attributes points to 'the pride of the initiates in their costly costume and their coveted position in the cult'. The exact sacral status of these women (four men also appear) is problematic. They cannot all have priestly status, for that would produce an excessive number of priestesses. Nor do the inscriptions supply priestly titles. It is unlikely, too, that the reliefs are intended to represent the goddess herself; in particular cases elsewhere, such an assimilation does indeed occur, as with Faustina the Younger in the role of Isis. Most of the Attic reliefs show women taking part in the cult, although the frequent use of the sistrum and situla is not easily related to a particular rite. Desirable as more differentiation would be, we must be content with the conclusion here presented: they are all accredited devotees of the goddess and took part in various rites of the cult, especially in the colourful public processions. This rich and careful study, it remains to add, merits the highest praise.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten. Konkordanz und Supplement zu Band I-VII.* Edited by W. CLARYSSE, R. W. DANIEL, F. A. J. HOOGENDIJK, P. VAN MINNEN. 280 × 205 mm. Pp. xii + 302. Louvain, Peeters, 1989. ISBN 90 6831 205 7. Price not stated.

Not for the first time the Papyrological Institute at Leiden, under the energetic leadership of P. W. Pestman, has put all users of documentary papyri greatly in its debt. As all such users well know, published texts of papyrus documents, especially the earlier editions, are constantly being revised, with new readings being suggested (not necessarily always improvements) and new datings. Hitherto anyone using a documentary papyrus has had to search through all seven volumes of the invaluable *Berichtigungsliste* (which meant in effect looking in *eight* places, since the *addenda* to *BL* 1, pp. 431–68, needed to be consulted separately); and in the end one frequently found that there was no entry in any of these volumes for the line(s) one was interested in, or even the document as a whole. Pestman decided that what was needed was a concordance which would make it possible to establish by a single check whether there was any reference in any of the volumes of *BL* to the relevant passage. The team of editors who carried out the task of producing such a concordance, which required meticulous attention to detail and which must have been at times tedious in the extreme, deserves our warmest thanks, especially for the thorough and reliable way in which the task has been accomplished.

Nor is this all. The title is misleading in one respect, since documents in Latin are frequently cited and there is occasional reference to inscriptions. Furthermore, the addition of the words *und Supplement* in the title is significant: since it was felt that a mechanically assembled concordance was not satisfactory, references have been added to new editions of texts and to published photographs, information which can only enhance the usefulness of this splendid research tool. The book is nicely produced and the instructions for using the data it provides are clearly set out on p. vii. Indeed, there can be only one cause for regret: the book did not appear until 1989 although the preface is dated January 1985; the reason, one may be sure, was, as usual with research in the humanities, lack of finance.

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*Les Débuts du codex*. Edited by ALAIN BLANCHARD. Bibliologia 9. 270 × 210 mm. Pp. 200, pls. 13. Brepols-Turnhout, 1989. ISBN 2 503 78009 1. Price not stated.

This volume contains the papers delivered at a 'journée d'étude' held in Paris in July 1985, largely due to the initiative of Alain Blanchard, on the subject of the early codex. The idea was to examine works written in the codex form during the classical period and late antiquity, whether the material used was wood, papyrus or parchment.

Of the four sections into which the work is divided, the second is devoted to tablets, both wax/stylus tablets and tablets in which the writing is in ink directly on the wood (it seems to me misleading to call the second sort 'tablettes de bois', since *both* sorts are (normally) made of wood; more accurate is Sirat's description of them (p. 37) as tablets 'de bois plein'). Patrice Cauderlier and Rosario Pintaudi report on tablets belonging to the Louvre and the Vatican respectively (the latter including three in Coptic), which have since been more fully edited in R. Pintaudi, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni* (Pap. Flor. XVIII; 1989).

The first section, 'Les origines du codex', contains an important article by Joseph van Haelst, which argues strongly for a pagan, Roman origin for the codex (pp. 12-35); to this Colette Sirat has added a brief appendix (pp. 37-40) in which she points out that tablets in a codex form are known from the eighth century BC. Van Haelst begins by examining wooden tablets and terminology, before proceeding to consider parchment notebooks, known from the late first century AD; he argues they were a Roman invention and were the immediate antecedent of the literary codex. He then discusses the parchment codices mentioned by Martial, and the evidence of P. Petaus 30 for *μεμβράναι* (= parchment codices), which he plausibly suggests belong in a Roman context, before listing second-century non-Christian and Christian codices. He follows this with a rejection of the hypotheses put forward by C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat on the origins of the codex (in *The Birth of the Codex*, 1983), before asserting his own view that 'le codex est une invention exclusivement païenne et romaine' (p. 35). Although he is very probably right in suggesting that the hypothesis of an Antioch-Mishnah origin for the codex rests on a misunderstanding of the Hebrew, I find some of his other arguments less convincing. There is no evidence for his assertion (p. 35) that the Gospels, etc. were ever written on rolls; and it is surely possible to accept a western origin for the codex in pagan circles, while continuing to believe that the Christians right from the start seized on this form as the one most appropriate for their writings. Van Haelst accepts the rapidity with which Christians used the codex, in contrast to its slow spread for pagan literature (esp. p. 34), and the arguments he uses to account for this could, I suggest, be equally well used to explain why Christians right from the start used the codex.

As part of his argument Van Haelst wishes to date early Christian codices later than was suggested by Roberts and Skeat (cf. Cavallo, pp. 171-2, who disputes their early dating for several literary codices). The problem here is that it is impossible to establish firm criteria for the dating of early codices; judgements based solely on palaeography are inevitably subjective. It is a relief to move from arguments necessarily built on shifting sand to the firm ground represented by Jean Gascou's contribution to the third section, the documentary codex (pp. 71-101). This includes a detailed list of all codices known in this category to the eighth century; he lists 83, no less than 61 of which are, at least partly, fiscal in content. All are on papyrus and none is earlier than the fourth century, which leads Gascou to connect their introduction into Egypt with Romanization under Diocletian. They could be made up by binding together single leaves, but were more usually in the form of a single-quire codex (in the Byzantine period) or one composed of two-sheet quires = *uniones* (in the Arab period), the material being cut from rolls. His discussion of the evidence for the format of fourth-century codices from Panopolis is particularly valuable. This is an impressive article which represents a substantial advance in our knowledge.

The fourth, and longest, section concerns the codex when used for literary works. Readers of this journal are most likely to be interested in the article by Colette Sirat on the Hebrew book (pp. 115-24). After stressing that for the Mishnah a 'livre' was always in the roll form, she discusses various Hebrew words for writing in a format not considered a 'livre': in particular *tomos*, used of individual sheets of papyrus attached to one another or rolled together; *pinkas*, used of tablets, often but not always stylus tablets, made of wood not papyrus; and *diftera*, used of parchment. Note especially her conclusion (p. 124), that the Jewish sources do not support the

hypothesis of a Jewish origin for the Christian codex but that 'l'hypothèse romaine est solide'. Louis Holtz contributes an article on the various words used to describe a book in the period of Augustine (*liber, uolumen, codex, quaternio*). Denis Muzerelle studies the layout on the page of the pre-Carolingian codex (fifth to eighth centuries AD). Michaela Zelzer and Guglielmo Cavallo treat the importance of the use of the codex for the textual criticism of, respectively, Latin and Greek literature; note in particular Cavallo's emphasis on the fact that the introduction of the codex for classical literature was gradual, 'una realtà libraria assai complessa e fluida' (p. 180). Finally, Blanchard writes on the extent to which the selection of classical literature (e.g. the plays of the tragedians) was influenced by the use of the codex, arguing that such selection goes back to an early date.

J. DAVID THOMAS

## Other books received

1. *Storia della Piramidi*. By FRANCO CIMMINO. 210 × 135 mm. Pp. 488, figs. 48, pls. 12. Milan, Rusconi, 1990. ISBN 88 18 88016 0. Price L42.000.
2. *Egypt's Making*. By MICHAEL RICE. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. xxii + 322, pls. iii, colour pls. 12, figs. 7. London and New York, Routledge, 1990. ISBN 0 415 05092 8. Price £25.
3. *The Cobra Goddess of Ancient Egypt*. By SALLY B. JOHNSON. 250 × 190 mm. Pp. xxv + 276. London and New York, Kegan Paul International, 1990. ISBN 0 7103 0212 6. Price £69.95.
4. *Pharaoh's Flowers*. By F. NIGEL HEPPER. 245 × 190 mm. Pp. xii + 80, colour plates 40, numerous black and white pls. and figs. London, HMSO, 1990. ISBN 0 11 250040 4. Price £9.95.
5. *Du Calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque*. By E. GRZYBEK. Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 20. 235 × 155 mm. Pp. 212, 1 fig. Basel, Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1990. ISBN 3 7245 0685 6. Price not stated
6. *An Index to English Periodical Literature on the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, vol. III. By WILLIAM G. HUPPER. ATLA Bibliography Series 21. 220 × 145 mm. Pp. xxxviii + 283. London, The Scarecrow Press Inc., 1990. ISBN 0 8108 2319 5. Price £59.65.
7. *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*. By DAVID O'CONNOR. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. viii + 40, 27 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 16 2. Price \$4.95.
8. *The Pyramids of Ancient Egypt*. By ZAHY A. HAWASS. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. iv + 52, 26 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 21 9. Price \$4.95.
9. *Textiles from Medieval Egypt, AD 300-1300*. By THELMA K. THOMAS. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. vi + 66. 44 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 20 0. Price \$5.95.
10. *The Pharaoh's Boat at The Carnegie*. By DIANA CRAIG PATCH and CHERYL WARD HALDANE. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. iv + 48, 24 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 22 7. Price \$4.95.
11. *Ancient Egyptian Society*. By DAVID O'CONNOR. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. vi + 40, 22 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 17 0. Price \$4.95.
12. *Language and Writing in Ancient Egypt*. By DAVID P. SILVERMAN. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. iv + 42, 23 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 18 9. Price \$4.95.
13. *Modern Egypt and its Heritage*. By CAROLYN FLUEHR-LOBBAN. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. vi + 42, 23 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 13 8. Price \$4.95.
14. *Daily Life of the Ancient Egyptians*. By JAMES F. ROMANO. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. iv + 52, 28 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 18 9. Price \$4.95.
15. *Death, Burial and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. By JAMES F. ROMANO. 230 × 140 mm. Pp. vi + 41, 24 illus. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 19 7. Price \$4.95.
16. *Reflections of Greatness. Ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History*. By DIANA CRAIG PATCH. 280 × 215 mm. Pp. x + 118, 105 illus., many in colour. Pittsburgh, The Carnegie Museum of Natural History, 1990. ISBN 0 911239 14 6. Price \$24.95.
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