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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

ALTHOUGH problems hindered fieldwork in Middle Egypt this year, the Society has had a busy season, with seven expeditions at work. Their preliminary results are announced in the new consolidated section of reports which opens this volume. At home, the major event of the year was the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, held in Britain for the first time: over 700 participants gathered in Cambridge from 3 to 6 September for an ample programme of lectures, papers, and receptions. The smooth running of this busy week—most days of which included five parallel sessions of papers—was ensured by the excellent work of the organising committee.

The wide range of subjects aired at the Congress showed the vitality and breadth of current Egyptology, and the multiplicity of approaches now brought to it. Among these, computing featured in both presentations and ‘user-friendly’ demonstrations throughout the week. Readers of the *Journal* who regularly encounter the words ‘Internet’ and ‘Information Superhighway’ in the media may like to know that Egyptology is registering its presence on this communications route. A number of publications, reference resources, and institutional facilities can now be consulted via the World Wide Web. For those with the appropriate equipment, Dr Nigel Strudwick has gathered together links to many of the important resources at the following address: <http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/>. Among individual sources that can be consulted, the home page of the Griffith Institute can be found on <http://www.ashmol.ox.ac.uk/Griffith.html>, and the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography* on <http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/aeb.html>.

While Egyptology thus keeps abreast of new ways of communicating, it is pleasing to note the existence of a new journal published in conventional form, and covering an area of the subject which is of ever-increasing interest: *Archéo-Nil*, edited by Béatrix Midant-Reynes of the Collège de France, has opened a forum specifically for the discussion of topics in Pre- and Protodynastic Egypt. Interest continues to grow at the other end of the Egyptian timescale, too. The British Museum’s annual Egyptian colloquium in July this year bridged the gap between Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman culture with *Portraits and Masks. Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, the prelude to a major exhibition which the Museum will mount in 1997.

Among the excellent contributions from both Romanists and Egyptologists at the colloquium, those of one participant in particular will stand out in the memory: as well as reading a paper, Professor Jan Quaegebeur, of the Catholic University of Leuven, delivered the opening Sackler Lecture with that fluency of communication and breadth of knowledge which have typified his outstanding work in our subject. A month later came the grievous news of his untimely death at the age of 51, on 10 August 1995. Dr Mark Smith writes:

In an age of increasing specialisation within the discipline of Egyptology, Jan Quaegebeur was a rarity—someone whose expertise covered all branches of the subject, whether history, language,

religion, culture, art, or archaeology. Originally trained as a classical philologist, he was intimately familiar with Greek sources bearing upon ancient Egypt as well. Combining their evidence with that of native Egyptian sources so as to illuminate problems from a broader perspective constituted a particularly fruitful area of his research.

Jan was a prolific author, whether writing alone or in collaboration with others. Of his numerous contributions to our subject, the work for which he will be best known is his magisterial *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, published in 1975. This well exemplifies his scholarly approach, being an exhaustive collection of all evidence pertaining to the god in question, scrupulously weighed and analysed, resulting in a wealth of important new insights which are set out in a clear and elegant fashion.

A gifted teacher, unselfish with his time and always ready to help others, Jan supervised the research of numerous doctoral students. He was an excellent lecturer, speaking with ease in a variety of languages, and much in demand for this purpose around the world. In addition to his own publications, he performed valuable service as an editor of work written by others, notably for the journal *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* and the monograph series *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. More recently, he had become actively involved in archaeological work in Egypt as well, directing excavations jointly sponsored by the universities of Leuven and Lille at the site of Shanhur.

The death of such a brilliant scholar at the peak of his career is a great loss to Egyptology. Friends and colleagues in many countries have mourned Jan's passing. Their sympathy is with his wife and children.

We note also the passing of a unique figure in British archaeology whose work had touched upon Egyptian matters not infrequently in his long career: Leslie Valentine Grinsell died on 28 February 1995, two weeks after his eighty-eighth birthday. Dr V. A. Donohue writes:

Leslie Grinsell was the most eminent British field-archaeologist of his generation, and it was in the application to pharaonic material of methods he had developed amongst the Neolithic and Bronze Age funerary monuments of southern England that his distinctive contribution to Egyptology lay. During his schooldays in the 1920s, his enthusiasm for archaeology was first aroused by accounts of discoveries in the Nile Valley, but not until he received a wartime commission in air-photographic intelligence, and a posting to Cairo, was he able to put this interest to practical effect. By then, whilst pursuing a career in banking, he had already published *The Ancient Burial Mounds of England* (1936), and completed a substantial part of a survey of barrows that at his death embraced fourteen counties. Against this background and fortified by H. W. Fairman's teaching in hieroglyphics, he devoted much of his five years in Egypt to an examination of its funerary architecture, approached from the viewpoint of spatial relationships. The principal results, illustrated with fine aerial photographs, were embodied in his *Egyptian Pyramids* (1947).

After his return to England in 1945, Grinsell played an increasing role in institutional archaeology, notably with the Prehistoric Society. He also taught classes in Egyptology at Goldsmiths' College and the City Literary Institute in Bloomsbury, organised residential courses in collaboration with Margaret Murray, and, at Lady Petrie's invitation, became Honorary Treasurer of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. An appointment to the staff of the Victoria County History of Wiltshire in 1949 was followed three years later by the curatorship in archaeology and ethnography at Bristol City Museum. At Bristol, where he was based for the rest of his life, his extramural teaching on ancient Egypt made full use of the collection in his care, which he enriched by some notable acquisitions and made generally accessible in his *Guide Catalogue* (1972).

In his formidable bibliography of over four hundred items, Egypt contributed material to several articles on comparative religion, and to *Barrow, Pyramid and Tomb* (1975). Egyptologists featured among the colleagues remembered in *An Archaeological Autobiography* (1989), and in his later years he endowed an annual lecture on Egyptology at the University of Bristol, named in memory of Amelia Edwards and inaugurated by Grinsell himself in 1993. His achievements were widely acknowledged, with dedicatory volumes by colleagues, an MA *honoris causa* conferred by Bristol University, and an OBE awarded in 1972.



Readers with an eye for typography will detect a change in the appearance of this year's *Journal*, brought about by our typesetters' installation of new technology. This is also the first volume in which all the hieroglyphs and Coptic have been set by Dr Nigel Strudwick, a task which he shared last year with our outgoing hierogrammate, Professor John Baines, whose sharp eye and expert assistance with this vital part of the *Journal's* production in recent years have been much appreciated; we thank them both.

## FIELDWORK, 1994–5

DESPITE security problems which enforced the cancellation of expeditions in Middle Egypt, including the projected spring programme of work at Amarna, the 1994–5 season was a busy one for the Society, with fieldwork at seven sites. In addition, a study season was conducted in the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqara, where the work of the EES-Leiden expedition included the recording of material from the tombs of Pay, Raia, and May, study of the pottery and skeletal remains from the latter, and the continuing restoration of the tomb of Pay. A brief account of this campaign has appeared in the Society's *Annual Report*, and a fuller one follows in *OMRO*.

As always, the Society's work has been fostered and forwarded by Professor Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din, Chairman of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), and his staff. Mrs Rosalind Phipps, in our Cairo office, has provided much-valued help and support to our fieldworkers.

### Memphis, 1994

WORK at Memphis took place from 25 August to 30 November 1994, the staff being Dr Kathryn Eriksson (archaeologist/ceramicist), Dr Barbara Ghaleb (zooarchaeologist), Dr Lisa Giddy and David Jeffreys (joint field directors), Jean-François Gout (photographer), Dr Jaromir Malek (epigraphic director), and Mary Anne Murray (archaeobotanist). The SCA was represented on site by Mr Farghaly Alam, and the Society acknowledges with gratitude the help and cooperation of the Council's Officers at Abbassiya, notably Dr Abd el-Salaam Hussein (Director of the Coptic Museum and then Secretary to the Permanent Committee) and Mme Samia, and locally Dr Zahi Hawass, Director of Antiquities for the Giza District, Mr Yehia Eid, Director of Antiquities for Saqqara, and Mr Rida Ali Mohammed, Chief Inspector of Mit Rahina. Financial support was again given by Wong and Mayes (Chartered Accountants), Sydney, and University College London Institute of Archaeology.

The 1994 season had three aims: to extend the drill core survey to the north of the ruin field, to investigate further the west gate of the Ptah temple enclosure on the east side of Mit Rahina, and to continue to record and analyse material from the 1984–90 excavations at Kom Rabi'a.

#### *Drill core survey* (David Jeffreys)

Nine more cores (109–117) were recorded in the triangle of the valley floor formed by the towns of Abusir, Aziziya and Hawamdiya (fig. 1). The purpose of this was to compare the archaeological potential of this area with that to the west explored by this method in 1991–2. Two cores (111, 112), although 3 km or more from the western escarpment, contained significant amounts of coarse aeolian sand at varying depths, suggesting that the (Old Kingdom?) dune encroachment may have reached much further east across the valley floor than previously supposed. Three cores (113, 115, 117) were taken along the

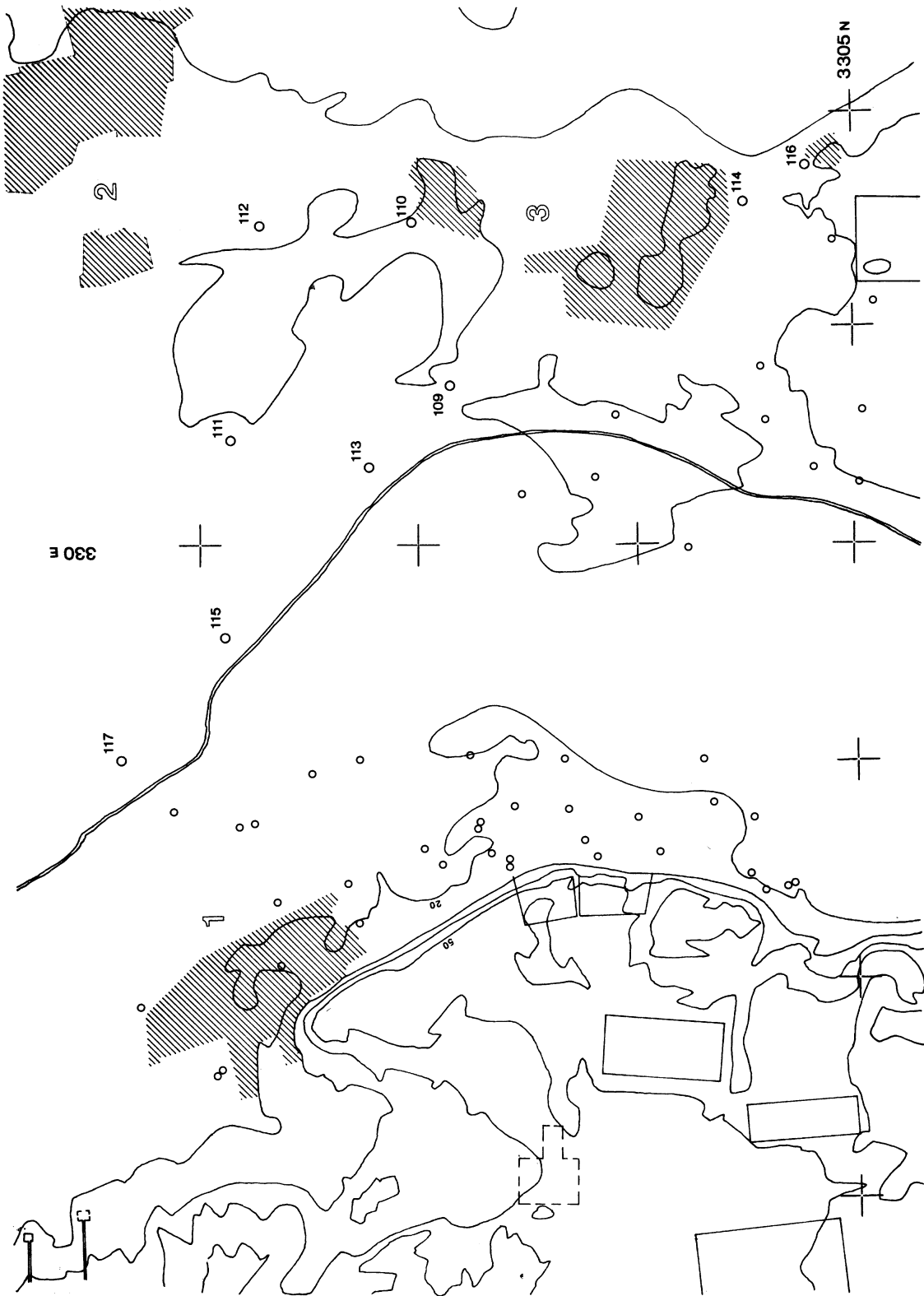


Fig. 1. Map of North Memphis area, showing previous drill core sites (open circles) and 1994 sites (numbered 109-117). Grid intersects at 1 km intervals; contours at 10 m vertical intervals. Hatching indicates modern built-up areas (including cemeteries): 1. Abusir; 2. Muna el-Amir and Hawamdiya; 3. Aziziya and Ezbet Nagati.

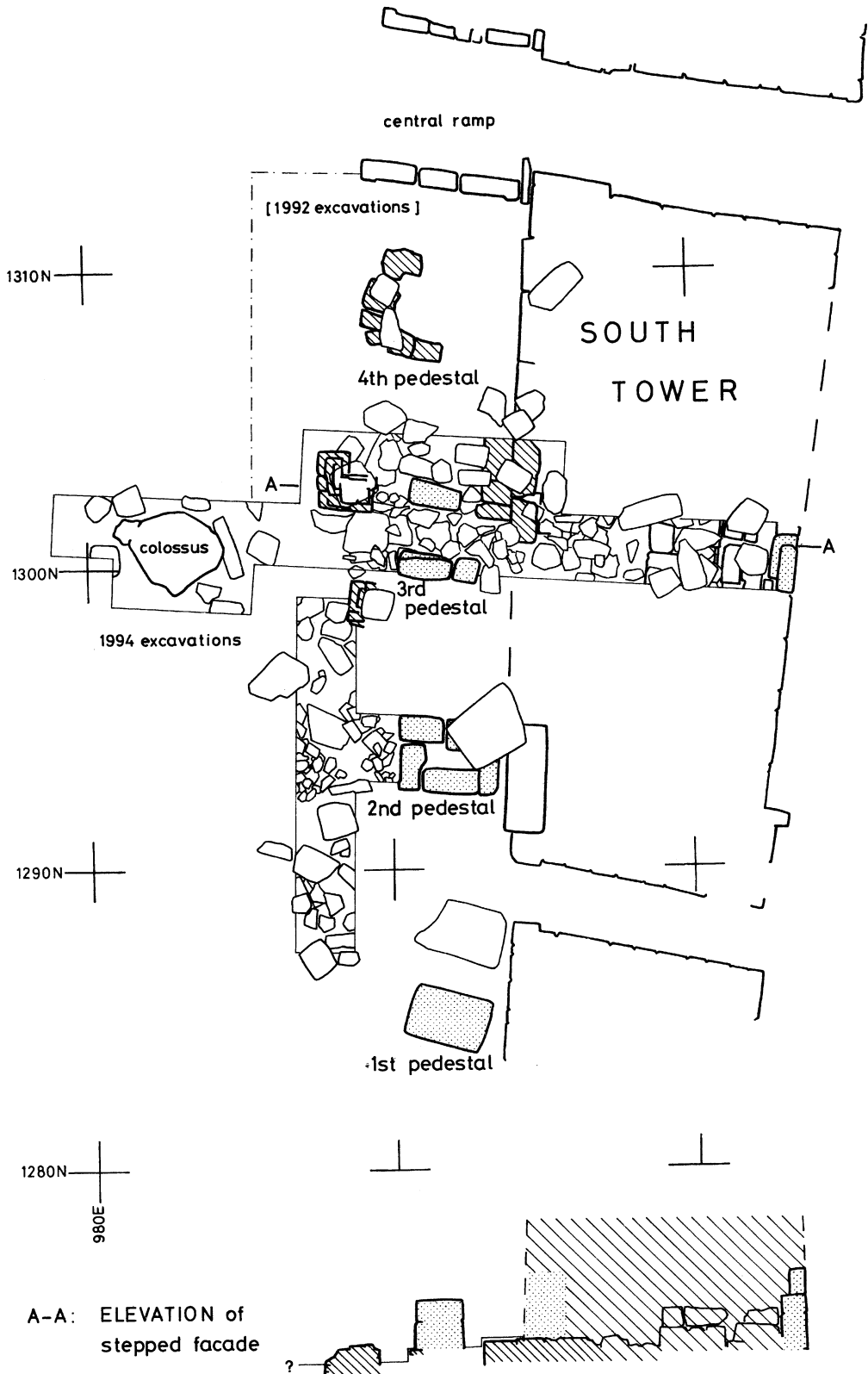


FIG. 2. Plan and elevation of Ptah temple West Gate, showing 1994 excavations.

east side of the Mariyutiya (Muhit) Canal, the central one (115, due east of Abusir) containing concentrations of pottery at 12 m above sea-level, while those to the north and south appeared archaeologically sterile. Two cores (114, 116) near Aziziya, at the extreme northern end of the ruin field, contained only late sherds in the upper levels, perhaps due to their proximity to the Hellenistic waterfront.

Overall the impression given by a comparison of sherd counts is that this central part of the floodplain contains occupation of a much lower density than that immediately adjoining the western desert edge. Following past practice, soil samples which appeared to be suitable for radiocarbon dating were double-bagged in case it becomes possible to export any of them in the near future.

#### *Ptah temple, west gate*

The aims of this part of the season were to investigate the surviving core of the pylon, in order to determine the nature of the blocks used, and particularly to find out if any of them had been reused from earlier monuments. It was hoped to discover the state of preservation of the central pedestal against the south tower of the pylon, and to explore the area directly west of the pylon, containing the large fragment of a calcite colossus (SCHISM 3702). At the same time, previously recorded blocks in the area were checked.

*Archaeological report* (Lisa Giddy, Kathryn Eriksson). An east–west trench  $2 \times 25$  m, with extensions to north and south, was excavated across the centre of the south tower, and a second north–south trench  $2 \times 25$  m was cut in front (west) of the three visible pedestals against the west face of the pylon (pl. I, 1; fig. 2). The first trench revealed three superimposed courses of large limestone core blocks, best preserved along the east side of the pylon against the granite casing. The two lower courses are well squared but roughly dressed, and the limestone is compact but not of prime quality: these blocks were certainly not intended to be visible and do not come from any earlier finished surfaces, although like other elements in the pylon they may well be recycled from an earlier monument, most probably an Old Kingdom pyramid. This trench included the central pedestal, noted in previous seasons, whose impressive width and proximity to the calcite colossus had led to the suggestion that it had once supported that statue. Excavation here showed that the south side of the pedestal was still *in situ*, but that the block forming the north side had been displaced and rested on the fill of a large pit, giving the illusion of an abnormally wide structure. Numerous fragments of a colossal granite statue were noted in the area, especially inside and west of the pedestal; they may come from the statue that stood here originally.

Extensive pitting had removed any stratigraphic relationship between the calcite statue and the pylon structure; however, the remaining architectural features exposed this season have clarified the appearance of the pylon. It is now clear that the ground sloped away from the pylon to the west: the limestone flags supporting its west face (pl. I, 2) showed the setting line for the first course of granite blocks, set back 1 m from the edge of the limestone blocks. To the west, the level drops 25 cm to the foundation level of the pedestal, and west of this again there is another 30 cm drop to the foundation level of a limestone structure 6.75 m out from the face of the pylon (pl. I, 1) and in line with the west end of the granite balustrade to the central entrance. This structure resembles

another pedestal, perhaps for another row of statues, or for a terrace or quay wall. Any trace of this has been removed further north, but a trench cut this season to the south revealed traces of similar limestone masonry. Whatever its function, this structure clearly indicates low ground to the west of the pylon, with a system of ramps and terraces rising to the level of the Ramesside thresholds.

In addition to the new inscribed fragments (see below) nine objects, all from disturbed contexts, were found this season, ranging in date from Old Kingdom (stone bowl fragment BAA 55) to Ptolemaic (coin BAA 42). This is reflected by the range of dated pottery (Old Kingdom to Islamic) and confirms the serious disturbance of contemporary New Kingdom deposits in the area.

*Epigraphic report* (Jaromir Malek). Forty-eight new items were added to the SCHISM corpus this season. For the first time since beginning work in the temple, we found a significant number of small limestone fragments of contemporary blocks decorated in sunk relief, which because of their size and find locations clearly come from blocks damaged during removal (pl. II, 1). The texts and scenes were relatively small, but one block (3911) is inscribed with very large hieroglyphs and probably comes from the façade of the pylon (pl. II, 3), confirming our interpretation of the anomaly in the ratio of building materials: the almost total absence of limestone facing blocks is consequently due to the thoroughness with which limestone has been removed, rather than to its limited use in the structure. The remarkably high proportion of reused material is also confirmed, and helps to explain the large number of buildings erected during a short period in the reign of Ramesses II. Two limestone fragments (3896, 3899) are probably reused from a late Eighteenth Dynasty structure, perhaps of the reign of Amenophis III (pl. II, 2). One small fragment (3900) comes from a reused Old Kingdom block.

We have identified new fragments of basalt blocks (3880, 3912, 3913) with parts of the inscription in large hieroglyphs which probably ran along the western façade of the pylon, or at least part of it. There were also two quartzite fragments (3893, 3908) whose original location is not yet known. Two more fragments of massive engaged columns of limestone (probably reused in the pylon core) were also found. Other new fragments have been identified as coming from colossal red granite statues along the pylon frontage; interestingly, no evidence has so far emerged to identify more than two such colossi although at least six (and probably eight) pedestals or their emplacements were located along the pylon. One fragment (3864A) probably belongs to a red granite dyad of the type found already. One calcite fragment (3702B) may belong to the colossal seated statue 3702 + 3703. While there are many small calcite chips in front of the three pedestals here, the absence of any larger calcite fragments which might belong to this statue is surprising. The colossus was cleared and studied, and there are indications that the inscription of Ramesses on the pectoral may have been recut over earlier decoration; the whole statue may originally have come from a different time and place.

The upper part of a large limestone statue of a bearded deity with two plumes and horns may be later than the Ramesside period (pl. II, 4), and need not have been associated with this temple. There was also an inscribed fragment (3884) from the lid of a small faience box, and part of a limestone stela (3894) dedicated to Ptah, both of the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty.

The absence of epigraphic evidence later than the Twentieth Dynasty (Ramesses III) in the western part of this precinct, surrounded as it was by a massive Hellenistic

enclosure wall, invites comparison with the later stages of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, and provides important clues in the search for the centre of Memphis in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods.

#### *Post-excavation work*

*New Kingdom contexts.* David Jeffreys compiled provisional matrices for the New Kingdom contexts at Kom Rabi'a (site RAT), checking queries on pottery content and deciding the sequence of phase plans for publication.

*New Kingdom objects.* Lisa Giddy and Jean-François Gout completed photography of registered objects, selected unregistered objects, and pottery from RAT for publication.

*Archaeobotany.* Mary Anne Murray continued her analysis of the Middle Kingdom samples from RAT, with sorting, compiling of species lists, and detailed comparison between samples.

*Zooarchaeology.* Conservation, data recording and photography of animal remains from RAT was carried out by Barbara Ghaleb, with the main aim of completing the New Kingdom collection, in addition to her detailed study of butchery practices.

DAVID JEFFREYS *ET AL.*

### **The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara**

THIS was the second season of a project which is intended to supplement and expand the work done by the Society at this site during the 1960s and early 1970s, and will assist towards its publication.<sup>1</sup> Work began on 5 December 1994 and ended on 2 January 1995, the team members being Susan Davies (research assistant), Daniel R. C. Fieller (draughtsperson), Dr Nicholas R. J. Fieller (archaeological statistics), Kenneth Frazer (architectural survey), Dr Barbara Ghaleb (animal bone analysis), Richard Hoath (animal bones), Dr Caroline M. Jackson (survey/ceramics), Dr Paul T. Nicholson (director/ceramics), Dr Derek Russell (animal bone analysis), Professor Harry S. Smith (architectural survey), and Dr Katharine M. Trott (draughtsperson).

We are grateful for the help and co-operation of the SCA; particular thanks are due to Dr Zahi Hawass, Chief Inspector for the Giza region, Mr Yehia Eid, Director of Saqqara, and the inspectors assigned to our project, Mr Essam Labib Awad, assisted by Mr Mohammed Yosef. Work on the bird remains benefited from the collaboration of our colleagues Dr Alain Zivie, Dr Roger Lichtenberg, and Dr Martine Lichtenberg, who kindly undertook the X-raying of a number of specimens for us, and to whom we are indebted. Thanks are also due to David Jeffreys and Dr Lisa Giddy, of the Memphis project, for their help with planning and co-ordination, as well as for making the facilities of the Memphis project available to us. Professor Geoffrey Martin kindly began his season a day later than originally planned to allow for the completion of our work. Mr Ian Mathieson generously made his tent available to the project. Safety equipment was once again supplied to us by Hitch and Hike of Bamford, Derbyshire, while the University of Sheffield Spelaeological Society kindly loaned us a caving ladder. Caving suits were supplied by Jay Jays and altered by Maxines, of Sheffield.

<sup>1</sup> For the first season's work, see *JEA* 80 (1994), 1–10.

Work this season concentrated in four main areas; the Falcon Catacomb, the North and South Ibis Catacombs and the Mothers of Apis Catacomb.

### *The Falcon Catacomb*

In 1992 metrical work in the Falcon (or Hawk) Catacomb by Dr Fieller suggested to us a hypothesis on the development of the galleries, and on the basis of this information it was possible to determine which galleries were to be sampled in the 1994 season. It became increasingly clear that a number of galleries, apparently restacked by Emery's team, had been only partially cleared before restacking. In these cases it was possible to take a sample of vessels *in situ*. Several galleries where vessels were found *in situ* were cleaned to reveal details of the stacking. Mr Frazer recalled that there were mud-plaster blockings within galleries, and not only at their ends, and this was borne out in our work. This might indicate particular phases in the filling of individual galleries within the catacombs.

Professor Smith, assisted by Mrs Davies and Mr Frazer, amended the plan of the catacomb made in the 1960s and drew a number of elevations, as well as recording the niches cut into the walls of the galleries. These niches seem to have contained special burials, often in limestone sarcophagi; most are located along the axial galleries of the catacomb. In one instance a stone sarcophagus was found to contain a well-preserved wooden coffin, clearly made to fit a particular mummy, the outline of which was drawn on the lid.

The bird remains were studied by Dr Ghaleb with the assistance of Dr Russell and Mr Hoath from the American University of Cairo. It seems that the designation 'hawk' or 'falcon' gallery may be too specific, since birds of prey of a number of species were identified and all may have been regarded as manifestations of Horus. Upon examination, the contents of one of the large vessels proved to be a vulture. The X-raying of specimens by the Drs Lichtenberg was a valuable aid to unwrapping mummies, and in the case of some of the finer specimens obviated the need for unwrapping. We are particularly grateful to our colleagues in the French mission, and to Dr Zahi Hawass and Mr Yehia Eid for facilitating the X-ray work, which we hope to continue next season.

A certain amount of shoring-up and masonry work was undertaken as part of the Society's commitment to conservation and preservation.

### *The North Ibis Catacomb*

This catacomb was discovered in the season of Professor Emery's death, and could only be hastily recorded by Mr Frazer at the time. Consequently, we hoped to be able to supplement his plan and to undertake metrical work on the vessels there. Before the new work could begin it was necessary to provide a numbering system for the galleries of the catacomb. This was done, as far as possible, numbering from the original entrance. It was realised that any new galleries discovered and added to the numeration would apparently occur out of sequence. However, this was felt to be a more satisfactory solution than giving temporary numbers and then renumbering at the end of the work, thereby necessitating much alteration of site records. A new plan of the catacomb is not given here as further galleries remain to be examined and added to it.

The original entrance to the catacomb is now buried beneath several metres of drift sand, but it was possible to gain entry through an Old Kingdom 'cave tomb' on the north



face of the escarpment. Professor Smith and Mrs Davies recorded a number of stelae here. The catacomb is, in places, heavily choked with debris comprising broken pottery and rubble, and the walls are often smoke-blackened, apparently from past conflagrations within the galleries (pl. III, 1). These may be related to visits to the catacombs by tourists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries AD. So intense were some of these fires that mud-bricks became fired *in situ*. Despite this, it was possible to find complete vessels *in situ*. Dr Fieller measured these and also cleaned a section across the axial aisle near the original entrance so that stacking details could be recorded. It is likely that other vessels remain *in situ*, buried beneath the debris which litters the passages of the catacomb.

Drs Jackson and Nicholson worked on the mapping of the catacomb. Despite the difficult conditions under which Mr Frazer's plan had been made, it proved remarkably accurate and formed the essential base map; his recollections of certain parts of the catacomb similarly proved very helpful. None the less a number of new galleries were discovered and explored, and it is certain that others remain to be examined next season, when it is hoped that the complete mapping of all those parts of the catacomb currently accessible will be possible.

As in the Hawk Catacomb, there are numerous niches, most of them along the axial aisle leading from the original entrance. However, there is no evidence for the limestone sarcophagi found in that catacomb; instead, the niches seem to have contained only pottery vessels, a phenomenon known also from the Hawk Catacomb. One particularly good example, lined with pink plaster, still preserves the impression of the vessel it once contained. At least some of the niches were sealed with dressed limestone slabs, and one such was located beside its, now empty, niche. At one point a mud-brick blocking was partly preserved with its coat of whitened plaster (pl. III, 2). Moulded into this was the remains of a horizontal bar which may have represented a door-bolt, or have been a surface intended for an inscription. The gallery which this blocking would once have sealed had been entered and the contents largely destroyed.

Nowhere in the catacomb was any evidence of inscriptions discovered. Any which existed may have been destroyed or obscured by the conflagrations to which the catacomb was subjected. It is, however, possible that inscriptions might be discovered protected by rubble in the less burnt part. The burnt condition of the galleries probably also accounts for the apparent lack of any graffiti relating to the visits of early tourists, such as are known in the South Ibis Catacomb.

The faunal team examined a small number of mummies from this catacomb, all of which proved to be ibis.

### *The South Ibis Catacomb*

Work here was limited to recording vessels from a number of galleries not sampled in 1992, and enlarging samples taken at that time. Greater familiarity with the stacking arrangements allowed us to locate several galleries with material remaining *in situ*. It was hoped that clearance of drift sand, which had entered through tomb shafts, would allow access to the whole catacomb. Unfortunately, so much sand had accumulated that full exploration and metrical study cannot be undertaken without greater resources than those at our disposal. It also seems likely that extensive shoring might be needed in places.

*The Mothers of Apis Catacomb*

Plans of this catacomb were revised and profiles of the niches which had contained the stelae of the masons drawn, and the extant descriptions checked. In the area of the North Ibis Catacomb, an Old Kingdom tomb, through which access was obtained to the galleries, was recorded. Some surface features were also re-examined.

PAUL T. NICHOLSON

**Amarna Expedition, 1994-5**

THE year's activities were considerably curtailed by fears for personal safety in Middle Egypt. A limited amount of fieldwork was, however, done during September. Dr Paul Nicholson, assisted by S. Cole, Dr S. Jackson, Dr K. Trott and Prof. M. Tite, continued the detailed examination, begun in the previous September, of the glass and glazing kilns a short distance to the south of the modern water tower, in the main city. The building has the designation O45.1. The fieldwork was supported by a grant from the G.A. Wainwright Fund of Oxford University.

The 1993 season had seen the discovery of three kilns, one believed to be for pottery and the other two probably for glass (pl. IV, 1). They must have been constructed early in the city's history, for subsequently they had been razed to the ground to make way for a brick building, the long walls of which had run across the kiln foundations. In the current season the glass kilns were fully excavated and examined. In kiln no. 3, at the eastern end of the excavated area, the plaster lining and the shelving had been extensively vitrified, probably from the high temperatures used in glass-making. A further kiln (no. 4) was discovered to the south of nos. 2 and 3. It had a more pronounced oval shape than previously discovered kilns. Its stoke hole lay at the southern end, in contrast to nos. 2 and 3, which were probably open on the northern side. This might suggest that, whereas the latter took advantage of the north wind to increase the draught in the kiln, the new kiln was for lower temperatures and was designed to avoid the breeze. It was probably for the making of pottery, and perhaps also faience. Tilted bricks on its eastern and western walls might be the remains of springers from which the floor extended. Towards the end of the season, a fifth kiln was unearthed to the north-east of nos. 2 and 3; it probably served the same purpose as no. 4. The eastern limit of the excavation also encroached upon the edge of one of the large well depressions which are prominent at Amarna. Sufficient was excavated to show that this, like the kilns, had been partly covered by the later building.

Finds made during the excavation help to confirm that, in its first period of use, this was an industrial quarter specialising in pottery- and glass-making. They included numerous unfired sherds of pottery, some from recognisable vessel forms, such as hearths and simple-rimmed bowls. Several moulds of fired clay had been used to shape the paste from which faience objects were made. One had been used to produce a cartouche bearing the early didactic name of the Aten (pl. IV, 2). Amongst the numerous small items of faience, such as beads and amulets, a large number were misshapen or misfired. In several cases beads had stuck together during manufacture, whilst others were found adhering to little buttons of clay on which they were apparently fired.

Evidence of glass-making consisted of pieces of frit, the first step in making glass,

whilst pieces of glass rod, some of them exceptionally thin, indicate glass-working. Glass was a precious commodity at this time, probably leading to recycling of material. However, one sherd of a broken glass vessel was found.

A second piece of work carried out during September was a photographic survey by B. Kemp of the Christian structures in front of the North Tombs, using the expedition's photographic tower. This is a contribution towards a broader regional survey of the distinctive pattern of settlement and landscape utilisation of these times (primarily the fifth and sixth centuries AD). As a guide to identification, a series of numbers was given to the various groups of buildings, which occupy three distinct zones along the desert escarpment. One group lies on the top of the plateau (not photographed at this time), another occupies the ledge and rock face in which the tombs of the Amarna Period are cut, whilst the third is scattered along the lower slopes and flat desert below.

A major spread of buildings at the southern end relates to the most important of the sites in the area, the church that was made in tomb no. 6. In front are the remains of a building of mud-brick (no. 230), and, not far to the north (site 240, around tombs 6A and 6B), a well-preserved complex of terraced stone buildings. On the slopes below are three locations (110, 120, 130) of similar construction. Each comprises a group of stone rooms built around a natural cave which was actually the space beneath a huge slab of fallen limestone. Finally, on the flat desert, and located where a path naturally connects with the modern village of el-Tell, is a group of enclosures and a partially circular revetment. Only these structures occupy the lowest ground, and were presumably intended to control access to the area above, which included the church.

Further groups of structures of the period lie to the north and are in a better state of preservation because the adjacent tombs are not visited by tourists. The most northerly group (330) had been built against the rock face in which boundary stela V had been originally cut. It faced on to a broad terrace of earth held up by a stone retaining wall. South from here, along the terrace in front of tombs 3A to 3G, extends a range of stone buildings (site 320).

It is highly likely that the whole spread of remains around the North Tombs derives from a community of monks, of the dispersed pattern often termed a *laura*, of which there are several other examples in this part of Middle Egypt. The face of the cliff where they chose to live is matched on the east by a deep valley, creating a long promontory which gave the area good protection, an advantage enhanced by stone buildings on the top of which could have been watch posts. The modern village of el-Tell marks the position of a settlement of the same age which perhaps provided the necessary supplies and communication with the river valley.

During March 1995, the field season having been cancelled, the director visited Amarna to check on the condition of the site and of the expedition house, and to liaise with the local antiquities inspectorate.

The expedition provides the focus for several research projects on ancient environment and technology. It is a pleasure to be able to report grant awards made during the 1994–5 period from the Leverhulme Foundation, for Dr Rosemary Luff ('Aquatic ecosystems and complex societies: the Nile and its floodplain'), and for Dr Paul Nicholson ('Ancient Egyptian glass: its origin, technology, and composition'). In the summer of 1994 Prof. Fatma Helmi of Cairo University, Faculty of Archaeology, was enabled, through a grant from SERC, to work in England on the analysis of resin samples from Amarna. This is part of a broader project on New Kingdom resins initiated by Margaret Serpico.

### **Qasr Ibrim, 1995**

A short season took place at Qasr Ibrim during January and February 1995, under the direction of Dr Mark Horton. Staff members were: F. Aldsworth, Steven Ashley, Professor Martin Biddle, Birthe Kølbye Biddle, Peter French, Dr Lisa Heidorn, Georgina Redfern, Dr Pamela Rose, Dr Peter Rowley-Conwy, Pamela Scott-Clarke, Shelly White and Michael Worthington. Grateful acknowledgement is made of the assistance provided by the representatives of the SCA, Mr Mohie el-Din, the Chief Inspector at Aswan, and Mr Usama, Inspector with the expedition.

The season had two main aims: the first was to study and as far as possible finish recording the backlog of material from the last three seasons of excavation at the site, including pottery, small finds, and archaeobotanical and osteological samples. The second aim was to complete work in the 'Church on the Point'. It also proved necessary, however, to devote a considerable amount of time to making good the damage that had occurred to the site in the interval between excavation seasons, probably as a result of increased activity on Lake Nasser following the introduction of tourist boats. This included the deliberate smashing of stonework in the Taharqo temple, and the lifting of several large limestone blocks incorporated in the foundations of the Meroitic temple. These blocks appear to belong to a monumental inscribed gateway of Taharqo, but the building from which they came has not yet been identified. One of the blocks has added another language to the extensive range already documented from Qasr Ibrim: a graffito carved into the inner face of the gateway is written in an as yet unidentified language, perhaps Sinaitic or Nabataean, from the early centuries AD.

The disturbance of the site did, however, have a beneficial effect in making possible the cleaning and recording of the pre-Meroitic mud-brick walls that became exposed in front of the Taharqo temple. These add to existing indications that the pre-Meroitic Napatan occupation was extensive and included substantial mud-brick buildings as well as one or more stone structures. It is clear that future seasons at Qasr Ibrim will always involve an element of making good of damage until such time as a guard is installed at the site.

Good progress was made in the study of material from earlier seasons. The botanical and osteological samples were completed, as was the bulk of the small finds. Study of the pottery included the recording and drawing of all the Roman and Napatan ceramics from excavations around part of the fortification walls in 1990 and 1992. Unfortunately, some of this pottery, as well as other unstudied ceramics buried on site, had also attracted attention between seasons, and much had been dug up and scattered. Although the sherds could be gathered up, most had lost their stratigraphic context in the process of scattering, and thus can now make little or no contribution to further understanding of the site.

Work on the 'Church on the Point', including detailed study of architectural features and an investigation of the earliest aspects of the structure, was completed by Professor and Mrs Biddle and Steven Ashley.

PAMELA ROSE

### The EES Mission to North Sinai

WITH the conclusion of its fourth season of fieldwork in July 1994, the Society completed its participation in the North Sinai Salvage Project's work in the environs of Pelusium which began in 1992.<sup>1</sup> In collaboration with the SCA, the EES Mission has worked with colleagues in the Qantara Inspectorate under the direction of Dr Mohammed Abd el-Maksoud, principally Chief Inspectors Mohammed Kamal and Ahmed el-Tabayi, Inspectors Rifat el-Ghindi, Osama Hamza, Mohammed el-Shishtawy, el-Araby Ibrahim Ahmed, and Ahmed Rashad Amer. Thanks are due to Prof. Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din, Prof. Fayza Heikal and Mr Kamal Fahmy, and a special debt of gratitude is owed to Prof. Dominique Valbelle for the kind loan of the University of Lille Excavation House at Balouza.

The Mission was directed by Dr Steven Snape, assisted by Dr Penny Wilson and Susie White; staff members were: Rob Bratby, Alessandra Caropresi, Ian Casey, Catherine Chesterman, Samantha Edwards, Ruth Ellis, Lisa Fearn, Daniel Hounsell, Mark Johnson, Anthony Kennaway, Alison Lewis, Clare Loveday, Cmdr. John Parry, Claire Robinson, Andrea Scott, Rachel Sholl, Victoria Simmonds, Susanna Thomas, Julie Whitby, Alan Whitney, Andrea Whitney, and Emma Woodland.

#### *The North Sinai Salvage Project*

The construction of a major freshwater canal running from the Suez Canal in the west to el-Arish in the east, together with its attendant subsidiary canalisation, has brought an immediate threat to archaeological sites in an area which has hitherto not been considered to be in any immediate danger (unlike, say, the adjacent Delta proper). The response to this crisis, the North Sinai Salvage Project, is an international collaborative venture, initiated, coordinated, and largely staffed by the SCA, with the participation of foreign missions. A number of sites along the direct route of the canal have been excavated and recorded immediately ahead of canal-digging,<sup>2</sup> but the largest concentration of work has been in the environs of Pelusium, the best known and, in the Graeco-Roman Period at least, by far the largest ancient settlement in the area, on the mouth of its eponymous Nile branch. Pelusium is principally represented by the substantial (two kilometres from east to west) mound of Tell Farama, the heart of the ancient city; visible or recently excavated public buildings of the Graeco-Roman Period here include a major Roman fortress which dominates the northern side of the tell.<sup>3</sup>

#### *The work of the EES Mission*

Our activities were concentrated on surface-survey and excavation in an area immediately threatened by the irrigation project, a portion of the flat salty plain to the south of Tell

<sup>1</sup>Brief reports by S. Snape on the individual seasons have appeared in *Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1993), 21–2, and 4 (1994), 17–18.

<sup>2</sup>E.g. Tell el-Fadda and Tell el-Louly, both to the west of Pelusium.

<sup>3</sup>M. Abd el-Maksoud et al., 'The Late Roman Army Castrum at Pelusium (Tell al-Farama)', *CRIPEL* 16 (1994), 95–103. For other recent work here and elsewhere in the environs of Pelusium, see: K. Grzymski et al., 'Canadian-Egyptian Excavations at Tell el-Farama (Pelusium) West: Spring 1993', *CRIPEL* 16 (1994), 109–22; M. Abd el-Samie, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell el-Makhzan (Pelusium)', *CRIPEL* 14 (1992), 91–5; H. Jaritz et al., 'Pelusium. Prospection archéologique et topographique de la région de Kana'is', *CRIPEL* 16 (1994), 123–66.

Farama, immediately to the south and, particularly, to the north of a stretch of canal which had been excavated before the arrival of the Mission in 1992. Threatened with imminent canalisation and flooding, this low-lying area was obviously a major priority for immediate salvage. At over one kilometre from east to west and 400 m from north to south, complete excavation of this area was obviously out of the question. Instead, the recording of structures already uncovered by our Egyptian colleagues, the extension of their sondages, and selective excavation formed the basis of our approach to the investigation of the area. Surface survey was made problematic by the thick salt crust which covers most of the area; only very dense concentrations of material, especially red bricks from once-substantial structures, could be seen by fieldwalking. The unhelpful nature of the terrain in indicating the nature of sub-surface archaeology was made plain during the excavation of part of the cemetery which occupies a substantial portion of our concession; the northern half of our selected area for excavation (in 1993) betrayed its presence by red bricks from the lining of the graves, while the southern half (excavated in 1994), which did not have any brick-lined graves, had an even denser concentration of simple graves which were invisible on the surface, yet easily seen in outline on the sand surface once the salt crust had been removed. Thirty of these graves were excavated and, apart from the presence or absence of red-brick lining, they were remarkably consistent in appearance; the graves were just large enough to accommodate a single body which lay on its back, with the head towards the west. The analysis of the palaeopathology of this skeletal material will form the most significant of the post-excavation tasks, but primary indications are that there is rough parity of male/female skeletons with an unsurprisingly low average age at death (only five of the bodies seem to have been over 30 at time of death). Infant burials contained the only examples of identifiable grave goods accompanying the bodies (typically small items of personal adornment: beads or amulets of ivory, glass and cheap metal, bangles of copper and glass), although obvious post-interment disturbance in several of the adult graves suggests grave-robbing. The dating of the cemetery is, until a detailed analysis of the grave contents has been carried out, based on the fill of several of the graves which contained amphora sherds dating to the fourth to sixth centuries AD. However, this is also the date range which is most likely for the other major type of structure excavated in this area, circular red-brick cisterns.

It seems possible that these cisterns, three of which were excavated internally and recorded in detail by the Mission, were used to store water for small-scale local irrigation (perhaps for olives or vines) after they had been filled by the inundation. This analysis is partly dependent on the view that the Pelusiac branch of the Nile (or at least one fork of it) passed to the south of Tell Farama and that a substantial red-brick dyke discovered by the Franco-Egyptian team, running from Tell Farama southwards across the plain, was used as an irrigation aid at the time of the inundation.<sup>4</sup> Cisterns excavated by the EES team have produced similar amphorae to those found in the grave fill of the nearby cemetery and, together with more sophisticated techniques for the removal of water from the cisterns such as fragments of a *saqqiya*-wheel in one of them, they strongly suggest that these cisterns were being used for the storage of fresh water at the time the cemetery was in use. The proximity of funerary and irrigation structures of seemingly similar date

<sup>4</sup>See M. Chartier-Raymond and C. Traunecker, 'Reconnaissance archéologique à la pointe orientale du Delta. Campagne 1992', *CRIPEL* 15 (1993), 45-71.

is one of the peculiarities of the use of the environs of Pelusium, not just at our southern site, but in other parts of the funerary and hydraulic catchment area of the region.<sup>5</sup>

STEVEN SNAPE

### **Wadi Abu Had—Wadi Dib, Eastern Desert**

A third season of fieldwork was conducted over a period of some four weeks from mid-October until mid-November 1994. The team included Ann Bomann (director), Dr Mohammed Abd el-Rahman (geologist from Cairo University), and Jakub Czastka (pre-historian from the Institute of Archaeology, London). Although some surveying was carried out in Wadi Dib, the main body of work was concentrated in Wadi Abu Had and Gebel Safr Abu Had this season. In accordance with permission from the SCA, limited clearance/excavation was begun at WAH 29 and detailed flint analysis was undertaken in the quarries and limestone ridges of GSAH, with survey work extending to the western plain of Wadi Abu Had leading into Wadi Dib.

Once again, our thanks and appreciation go to the SCA and the Egyptian Military Command for granting permission to continue work in the Eastern Desert. Special thanks are due to the Chairman of the SCA, Prof. M. A. Nur el-Din, Dr Mohammed el-Soghayer, Director General for Upper Egypt, Dr Abdel Salam Abu el-Liel, and Mme Samia. Locally, our thanks go to Hussein Afyouni, Director of the Department of Antiquities, Qena, and Yahia el-Alim Abdullah, SCA representative for the mission. The Gerald Averay Wainwright Near Eastern Archaeological Fund, Oxford, and the British Academy provided funds; Mr M. H. Miller and his associates of British Gas, Cairo, and the British Mission at Saqqara supplied surveying equipment, and Prof. D. P. S. Peacock of Southampton University lent camping equipment, for all of which the mission is grateful.

#### *WAH 29*

The site, WAH 29, discovered during the second season, lies in a depression between two terraces in the eastern plain of Wadi Abu Had about 3 km west of the pass through the basalt mountain range. It is distinguished by a series of stone walls consisting of a forecourt, outer enclosure, inner enclosure, and possibly three side enclosures or annexes. Its overall dimensions are approximately 18.60 m north to south and 12.40 m east to west. Three five-metre squares were opened which covered parts of the forecourt and outer enclosure. Square A1 was taken to first stage planning at about 15 cm below surface. Squares B1 and B2 reached second stage planning at about 40–50 cm.

Walls forming the enclosures were substantially constructed in stone; many of the pieces were selected for their flat surface and laid facing the interior, notably in the outer enclosure. Others were laid as headers, especially in the forecourt. The size of stones ranged from boulders averaging 30 × 53 × 10 cm to cobbles 19 × 23 × 9 cm. The walls uncovered so far average three to four courses high, and were once probably five courses high in the outer enclosure, especially in the east where the overall height would have been approximately one metre. This has been calculated from stone tumble around the walls. The greatest width of wall, the east wall of the outer enclosure, is 50–70 cm. Stones

<sup>5</sup> As also noted by Rodziewicz in Jaritz, *CRIPPEL* 16, 154.

used include basalt, sandstone, limestone, tufa, conglomerate, andesite, granite, flint, and clear quartz.

*The forecourt (B1).* In the forecourt was a hearth with remains of charcoal and some bone. Also found there were flint flakes and implements, together with a piece of tabular flint, derived from the nodular and tabular flint quarry located in Gebel Safr Abu Had. The implements included a double side and end scraper and two knives, one crudely retouched, the other a fine example, slightly curved and backed on one side, with a biface edge on the other side. A date in Dynasty 0—Early Dynastic is suggested for this knife; the flint of which it is made, unlike that found on the site, which ranges from grey to brown, is a reddish golden-brown. A Predynastic knife in the Cairo Museum (JE 45129) is of a similar colour but is biface on both edges, and was once hafted.

*The outer enclosure (B1/B2)* (pl. IV, 3). Another hearth, marked out with shield-like sandstone slabs, was located in the southern sector of the outer enclosure. In addition to the presence of ash, some flint flakes, desiccated malachite, and bone (including a cut specimen) lay nearby. Just east of the hearth and extending for about 2 m, north to south, lay a malachite and clear quartz industry. The malachite appears as thin veins within fragments of basalt. The rock had been broken up and often crushed into pieces ranging from 1 to 6 cm in size. In some cases, patches of powdered malachite lay on the working surface, the colour ranging from green (eau-de-Nil) to blue (azurite). Stone tools lay within this area: a basalt hammerstone and sandstone abraders. Along with the malachite appeared spreads of clear quartz flakes and a core; the main density of the quartz lay just north of the malachite deposits. Methods employed for flint knapping were used for the quartz, a material employed frequently during the Predynastic Period. Fragments of amethystine quartz were also present. In the deposit overlying this area was an animal horn, probably used for soft hammer or pressure flaking. A possible rough-out for an andesite disc-shaped mace-head lay near the stone tools.

The industrial area dwindles away in the northern sector of B2, save for a few isolated fragments. At present, this part, which extends into B3 (not yet excavated), seems to be devoted to domestic activities. Abutting the interior of the outer enclosure wall in the east is a platform composed of sandstone slabs and two basalt stones, encasing a compact earth fill  $81 \times 58$  cm across and 27 cm high. Resting on the surface of the structure was a granite grinder, and adjacent to its south side was a small stone quern. In the vicinity of the platform were three sandstone abraders and a long granite grinder; two large storage vessels lay nearby (pl. IV, 4).

The remains of a desiccated wooden 'post', 15 cm in diameter and one metre long, lay in a north-south direction just west of the platform. This may have been one of a pair supporting some form of shelter. West of the post, a small mound with a depression, formed of mud grey with ash, composed part of the working surface. In the sand deposit above the floor surface was a lump of brown mud, and west of the mound lay sherds from a charred vessel, one bored with a hole.

*Annexe (A1).* Only the surface deposit was removed in this square. Sherds, flint flakes, a cowrie shell, and a stone 'sharpener' were recovered.

*Pottery.* Nineteen different deposits yielded pottery. Bases are flat, and rims either



straight or folded over; the latter type are turned, and where part of the body is still present, this is handbuilt. Rims of small vessels are 5 mm thick, and large folded-over rims 1.2 cm. Some sherds have red-slipped surfaces with vertical polishing, others are smoothed with straw or grass; one was painted with a buff stripe, possibly part of a design. The fabrics are marl and alluvial silt with limestone and sometimes straw tempering. Both coarse and fine wares are present. Outside the forecourt was found a basin with notched rim. Tentative dating for the pottery is Dynasty 0 – early Old Kingdom; a detailed report on the ceramics will follow the fourth season.

So far, WAH 29 yields evidence of two industries: malachite, and clear quartz together with amethystine quartz. In the former case, no slag has yet appeared, and it is still too early to draw conclusions concerning specific uses of the mineral—one of which may be green eye-paint. The quartz appears to have served for tools, since it was knapped using the same methods employed for flint. The bulk is flakes, but the tools or better knock-outs were probably taken away. Although amethystine quartz appears sporadically, it may have been collected for jewellery. The lavender pieces were probably abstracted from the white quartz matrix and fashioned into beads elsewhere. Further research may confirm this hypothesis.

The site is situated in a strategic position on crossroads within Wadi Abu Had: east to the Red Sea; west to Wadi Qena; north to Gebel Darah, el-Urf, and Mongul; and south to Gebel Dokhan. One possibility is that it served as a collecting station, which, based on typological dating only (permission for radiocarbon dating is being sought), appears to cover the periods from Dynasty 0 to the early Old Kingdom.

#### *Preliminary Report on the Prehistoric Survey* (Jakub Czastka)

The aim of the survey was to locate and describe early prehistoric sites. Work was concentrated on the north-west portion of Gebel Safr Abu Had, partly due to the discovery of lithic sites there in 1992. The focus of the survey was to investigate the spurs of the limestone ridge and the immediate south-facing scree slopes and gravel outwash terraces.

Sites were found by walking the areas indicated, and were plotted using the Magellan GPS NAV 5000D. To minimise disturbance, artefact density and technology were assessed visually *in situ*. Based on the survey data, three localities were examined in detail. In part a reflection (and, therefore, a bias) of the areas chosen for investigation, the setting of sites can be broadly defined as two distinct geomorphological localities: the limestone ridges of Gebel Safr Abu Had, and the immediate south-facing scree and gravel outwash terraces.

*The limestone ridge.* Areas of artefact concentrations were found where two ‘geological’ factors combined to produce favourable conditions for the prehistoric knappers. The first was the presence of an adequate flint outcrop (either nodular or tabular blocks) which had not been markedly weathered and where raw material was still present in suitably large blocks. The second was the availability of a naturally flat ‘platform’ where work could be carried out. Thirteen sites were discovered.

*The gravel scree slopes and outwash terraces.* Located at the base of Gebel Safr Abu Had, these present a predominantly flint-covered surface, the flint being in various stages of weathering. Six sites were discovered.

*The artefacts.* Two distinct technologies can be distinguished. All the sites discovered on top of the limestone ridge, and three localities situated on scree slopes at the extreme eastern end of the limestone ridge, can be grouped into one industry reflecting a specific activity. The technology can be broadly summarised as follows:

- (i) The use of naturally fractured nodules and blocks of flint.
- (ii) A lack of platform preparation for flaking, the emphasis being placed on the natural flake scars provided.
- (iii) The use of predominantly single, and occasionally alternate, platform core reduction, with many cores abandoned after relatively few blank removals.
- (iv) The concentration in the production of a lamellar flake industry (the author is reluctant to classify the blanks as ‘blades’ despite the length to width ratio being 2:1) due to the absence of characteristic debitage products (i.e. crested blades) and preparatory techniques (i.e. platform faceting) used to identify ‘classic’ blade industries.

Three sites situated on the gravel outwash terraces can be grouped technologically into another distinct industry. The technology can be broadly summarised as:

- (i) As above.
- (ii) As above.
- (iii) The production of large, thick flakes, some of which were retouched to make tools.
- (iv) The use of predominantly multiple platform cores, many worked until useless, reflecting a more prudent and less wasteful use of raw material.
- (v) The presence of bifaces, predominantly crude cordiforms and ovates.

*Discussion.* For the sake of simplicity, ‘Industry A’ will be used to denote the lamellar flake industry, and ‘Industry B’ the flake and biface industry. The locality of Wadi Abu Had is unusual not only from the point of view of the archaeology. This season saw the discovery of extensive lake tufa deposits. Although, at present, no direct connection can be made between the lithic sites and the tufa deposits, the fact that so many sites were discovered in a relatively small area, adjacent to these lake deposits, probably indicates a relationship. The landscape is obviously being used quite extensively. Industry A reflects both quarrying and *in situ* preparatory flaking. The lack of formal tool types can be explained by the fact that after suitable blanks were made, they would have been taken away to be used as and when needed. This, of course, saves on having to carry large nodules of flint. Prehistoric hunter-gatherers, being highly mobile, would appreciate this fact. Industry B again reflects ‘quarrying’ activities, but also probably indicates processing of plant and animal resources, as indicated by the bifacial tool element.

The above report is both brief and tentative in the interpretations it offers. At this stage of the work, it would be rash to do otherwise without detailed consultation of relevant comparative data. This is now in progress. It is clear that the locality of Wadi Abu Had offers exciting, and in some respects revolutionary, insights into the early prehistoric occupation of the Eastern Desert region of Egypt. The work will expand in the fourth season, shedding more light on this hitherto unfamiliar area of the desert.

ANN BOMANN

### **The Imperial Porphyry Quarries Project**

WORK in the area of Mons Porphyrites took place from 4 March to 6 April 1995, under the direction of Valerie Maxfield and David Peacock. Staff for the season comprised Don Bailey (ceramics), Nick Bradford (survey), Rebecca Bridgman (survey), Seán Goddard (survey), Catherine Johns (ceramics and glass), Jenny Mincham (survey), Jill Phillips (survey), Wilfried Van Rengen (epigraphy), Roberta Tomber (ceramics) and Sue Wright

(nurse and survey). The SCA was represented by Inspectors Mr Rady and Mr Nasser, and we are most grateful to them and to Mr Hussein Afyouni, director of the Qena office, for their assistance.

The project is sponsored by the EES in collaboration with the Universities of Southampton and Exeter and the Vrije Universiteit van Brussel, and received financial support from the three universities involved, together with the British Academy, the British Museum, the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Support in kind was received from Karrimor International Ltd (camping equipment) and Excalibur Airways (increased baggage allowance). A special word of thanks goes to Mr Christophe Lambrecht and Mrs Cecile Lambrecht who offered the hospitality of the Three Corners Hotel in Hurghada, greatly facilitating the smooth running of the project.

### *Quarry survey*

Priority was given to producing maps of the quarry mountains showing the relationship of the quarry workings to slipways, paths, buildings and villages. Outline plans were produced at a scale of 1:5000 for all of the main quarry areas except Rammius.

One of the most spectacular quarry mountains is Lykabettos, whose distance from the fort at Mons Porphyrites, down in the Wadi Abu Ma'amel, made it expedient to house workers in a number of villages closer to the workings; two of these were found in the course of this year's survey. In addition to the main Lykabettos village situated to the north of the quarries and that which lies at the foot of the cairned slipway, another much ruined one was located in the wadi to the east and a fourth on the northernmost branch of the uncairned slipway which it partly blocks. A considerable number of new quarry marks were identified by Wilfried Van Rengen in the Lykabettos quarries. A quarry village here yielded a block inscribed with the name of a guard, while a drawing of a foot together with a series of names scratched on blocks in and around a hut half-way up the Lykabettos footpath indicate that the building is a small shrine and not (as previously thought) a hut for guards.

The Lepsius quarries comprise a cluster just below the brow of the hill and a number also occur at intermediate levels below. The most northerly quarry is for black porphyry. One of the quarries is unique in that it is on the eastern flank of the mountain. Curiously, it would have been much easier to transport blocks down this side of the mountain and into a wadi system which connects with the route to Badia, thus avoiding the journey via the wadis Abu Ma'amel and Umm Sidri. However, there is no evidence that this route was adopted and a possible explanation is that the high Lepsius quarries are of a late date, when exportation via Wadi Umm Sidri was well established.

The north-west quarries are the most difficult of access and also the most extensive and complex. Some of the highest quarries do not seem to have been visited since Roman times. Many of them seem to have been producing porphyry which can be distinguished by a slightly pinkish tinge to the feldspars, but the southernmost one was for black porphyry. This was newly discovered in the course of our survey, as was the small attendant village.

The Bradford quarry complex, discovered by Nick Bradford at the very end of the 1994 season, proved to consist of two very small and rather unimpressive quarries for black porphyry, comprising opportunist levering-off of blocks from a natural bluff, plus an

associated village of seven buildings. Each building seems to have its own suite of pottery. One structure proved to be a temple dedicated to Pan and Serapis in which was a Greek inscription set up by one Caius Cominius Leugas 'who discovered the quarries of the porphyry stone and the knekites and black porphyry and who found also many-coloured stones'. The stone is dated to 23 July, AD 18 and depicts the ithyphallic Pan-Min, god of the Eastern Desert.

### *Regional survey*

Time was spent checking and amplifying the regional map produced last year. Further detail was obtained of the road system between the access to the Mons Porphyrites complex via the Wadi Umm Sidri and the adjacent fort to the south at Badia. Traces of the route were located where it crossed a boulder field between the second and third pairs of cairns after the main loading ramp at the mouth of the Wadi Umm Sidri. Three more cairns (two comprising a pair) were found in this area, and on the northern edge of the boulder field cart-ruts could be seen. It was difficult to find a measurable pair, but they seemed to be in excess of 3 m apart. These are almost certainly the tracks observed by L. A. Tregenza 'near the loading ramp'.<sup>1</sup> Stretches of Roman cleared road were recognised and a fine example to the south of Badia was 21 m across.

### *Structural survey*

Three areas were chosen for detailed survey in anticipation of future excavation: the central complex in Wadi Abu Ma'amel, the complex at Badia and the north-west village.

At the Central Complex the area to the south of the fort, comprising a zig-zag access ramp to the fort, a bathhouse, Isis temple and workers' village and the end of the main slipway to the Lepsius quarries was plotted and a contour survey made of the *sebakh* adjacent to the fort access way which is being dug into by antiquities hunters. Attention was paid to the western defences of the fort, perched on the very edge of a bluff high above the wadi, which were partly undermined during the floods in November 1994 and are in danger of collapse.

A plan and contour survey were undertaken at the north-west village, which straddles a ravine leading up to the north-west quarries. The core of this extensive complex covers an area 90 m by 50 m, with a drop of 28 m between its top and bottom ends. The village comprises barrack-like worker-type housing, plus higher grade accommodation appropriate to officers and officials, and a water-storage cistern. The walls of some of the better-constructed units stand to the level of the door lintels, with window openings still intact. Work on contouring the site and producing a full photographic record will continue in 1996.

The complex at Badia lies towards the north-east end of the main road which links the Nile at Qena with the Red Sea at Abu Sha'ar and is the last fort on the road before the route to the quarries peels away from the Nile–Red Sea route. Badia is also linked to Mons Porphyrites by a direct path across the mountains, accessible only to foot traffic. Given its situation, Badia must have formed a part of the functional whole of the quarry complex. A surface survey of the site was largely completed. The fort walls stand almost full height around much of the circuit. External projecting towers butt up to the walls

<sup>1</sup> *The Red Sea Mountains of Egypt* (London, 1955), 106.

and were probably added to the circuit at a secondary stage, as also were the gate towers and an external clavicula which restricts access to the gate. The two most striking features in the fort interior were a central area of bricks and burning, possibly a bread oven, and a large broken millstone. This could have been an end-runner, but there was also evidence of wear on one face. It could have been used for several purposes, including crushing ore or grinding grain.

A set of animal lines lay to the south-east of the fort. Measuring some 60 m north-south by 40 m east-west, they covered an area considerably larger than that of the fort itself (0.14 ha). They consisted of an enclosure containing a series of low stone walls, six of which were ranged on either side of a central access way. Each of these walls (including those of the enclosure itself) supported a narrow channel of a type similar to those noted at the enclosure of Umm Sidri. Secondary (and possibly post-Roman) use of the site was attested by small, poorly-built structures built between the parallel wall lines and also outside the enclosure, to west and south.

Fifty metres to the west of the fort and animal lines a natural rock outcrop had been surrounded with a substantial stone wall, some 3.6 m wide and 2 to 2.5 m high, creating a polygonal enclosure, a maximum of 76 m long and 41 m wide, with an internal wall area of 0.23 ha. A wall walk, less than a metre wide, ran intermittently around the interior. There was a single entrance, about 3 m wide, through this wall to the south-east of the circuit with rounded bastions (now very badly tumbled) projecting in front of it. Within the circuit a few very rough stone enclosures had been built up against the rock outcrops. The only other sign of human activity within the enclosure was a quarried stone, bearing wedge marks, close by the entrance. The significance of this walled rock is unclear. It is not particularly defensive, being overtopped by the natural rock outcrops which lie to west and south.

Three discrete areas of rubbish disposal were contour plotted. The main dump lay to the south and south-east of the fort gate, butting up against the corner of the animal lines and extending within them. A second substantial dump abutted the outer face of the north wall of the lines and a third lay to the north of this. An inhumation cemetery lies to the south-west of the fortified rock. The individual grave sites have been so badly dug into and bones scattered about the site in such a way as to make it virtually impossible now to distinguish original graves from modern speculative diggings.

### *Surface sherding*

The programme of systematic surface sherding, begun in 1994, was continued. On the pottery, Roberta Tomber reports that although additional types were recovered, they did not alter the chronology established in the first season. The discovery of the black porphyry quarry and associated Bradford village did, however, provide a good sample of pottery types which, on the basis of the inscription, has a *terminus post quem* of AD 18. A minimum of 43 additional vessels (estimated on rims only) was systematically collected, although bases and body sherds may suggest that more vessels were present. Many of the pots were in good condition, with quarter and half vessels represented, as well as a complete cooking pot. Apart from a single base of a Tripolitanian I amphora (Peacock and Williams Class 36) dating from the first century onwards, all the pottery was Egyptian in origin. This comprised Nile silts and white-surfaced wares with a marl content, both produced in a large number of centres along the Nile, as well as the

distinctive pink wares from Aswan. A restricted range of forms was present. Although not a closed group, the repeated occurrence of types suggests they are contemporary. Similar types are known from the first–early second century deposits at Mons Claudianus, although the Porphyrites vessels display typological nuances absent at Claudianus. Most notable is the cooking pot with sharply everted rim which is common at Mons Claudianus, but here frequently has a carinated shoulder. While this feature may be indicative of source, it may also be a chronological marker, and its absence elsewhere at the Porphyrites complex supports a chronological argument. Equally, the spindle-shaped amphora with almond rim is abundant throughout the Claudianus sequence, but here the rim is frequently more flattened rather than rounded like those common at Claudianus. Vessels with a slightly flattened rim could also be identified at the south-west village, and the significance of this typological variation is unclear.

A total of fourteen lamps has now been recovered from surface contexts (ten in 1994, four in 1995). Don Bailey notes that all are of Egyptian manufacture, of types ranging in date from the middle of the first century AD to the fourth century. One fragment is a small part of a large and impressive lamp and its findspot, the temple of Serapis, is not surprising for such an object: the Serapis cult seems to have required spectacular lamps. There are six ‘neo-Hellenistic’ lamps, harking back to shapes produced during the Ptolemaic Period. Two of these lamps are of the same series, being products of moulds made from the same archetype, but one comes from a mould far more worn than the other. Both have the same palm-branch impressed within the base as was found on a third lamp from the site; all three share details of design which suggest that they are the products of the same workshop. The frog-type lamp, of which there are four examples, has a long history in Egypt, beginning at least as early as the beginning of the second century, as the excavations at Mons Claudianus have now definitively shown, and extending at least into the fifth century AD, although those in the typical marl clays may be no later than the fourth.

A small quantity of glass was recovered, all from the area of the fort. Catherine Johns reports that most of the material is from fine tableware, much in colourless glass of excellent quality. The forms include small cups, shallow dishes, toilet flasks (*unguentaria*) in dark colours and blown-glass vessels with indented sides in bubbly pale green glass. A facet-cut beaker or bowl, a cup with engraved inscription and a mould-blown vessel are of particular interest.

Among the other material retrieved from the *sebakh* around the fort was a handful of ostraca. Wilfried Van Rengen reports that these included two lists of names and two fragmentary letters (all in Greek) and a complete but extremely worn Latin document which seems to be a list of night guards belonging to different shifts.

A more detailed report on this work is available on application to either of the directors.

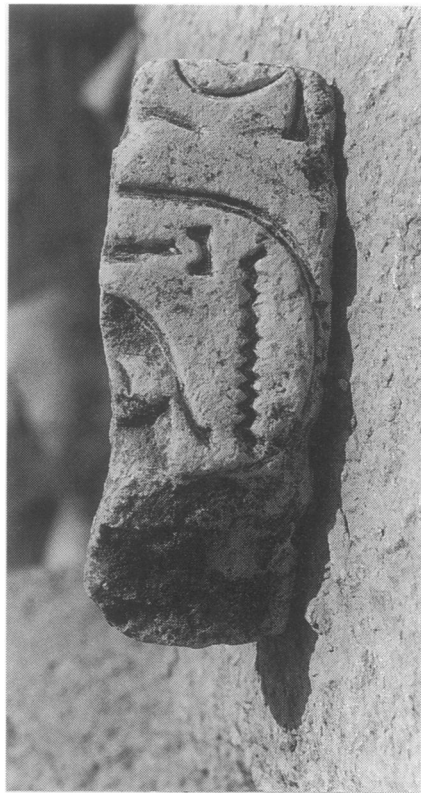


1. East-west trench across the pylon, with calcite colossus 3702 in the foreground, seen from the west. In the background, the limestone bedding blocks from the west face of the pylon's south tower, seen from the north



2. Limestone bedding blocks from the west face of the pylon's south tower, seen from the north

MEMPHIS, 1994 (pp. 1-6)



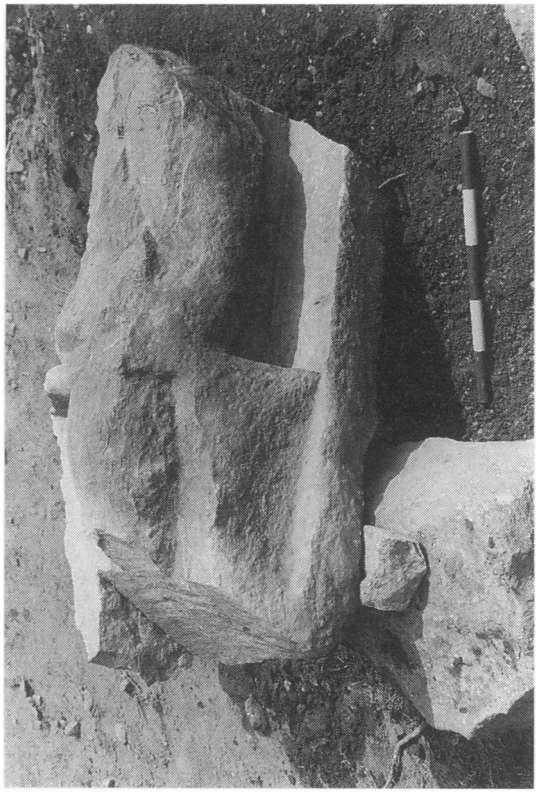
1. Limestone relief 3898 with the name of Ramesses II



2. Reused limestone relief 3896, decorated in raised relief, probably of the Eighteenth Dynasty



3. Limestone block 3911, from the façade of the pylon, and to its left, basalt block 3912



4. The upper part of the statue 3910, of a bearded deity wearing the white crown and plumes, probably later than the Ramesside period





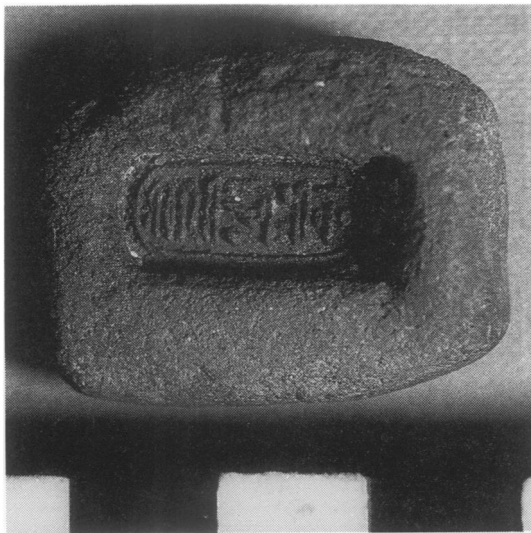
1. Gallery 49 of the North Ibis Catacomb. Dr Jackson stands beside the Old Kingdom sarcophagus (left), which is almost submerged by mummies, many of them burnt. To the right is the Old Kingdom shaft for the original burial. It is now crammed full of unwrapped mummies, and the lower part is loosely bricked up  
*(Photograph by P. T. Nicholson)*



2. Gallery 61 of the North Ibis Catacomb. Traces of the original blocking were found here, as in several other galleries. In this case, it had been moulded into a raised bar (indicated by Dr Jackson) which may originally have spanned the width of the blocking  
*(Photograph by P. T. Nicholson)*

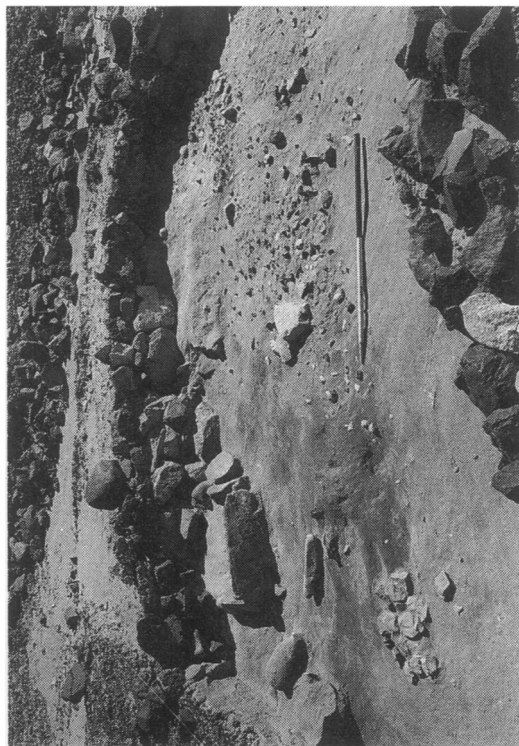


1. View of the kiln area in building O45.1, towards the east. On the left (north) are the glass/glazing kilns 2 (below) and 3 (above). The pottery kiln 4 is towards the bottom right  
(*Photograph by Caroline Jackson*)

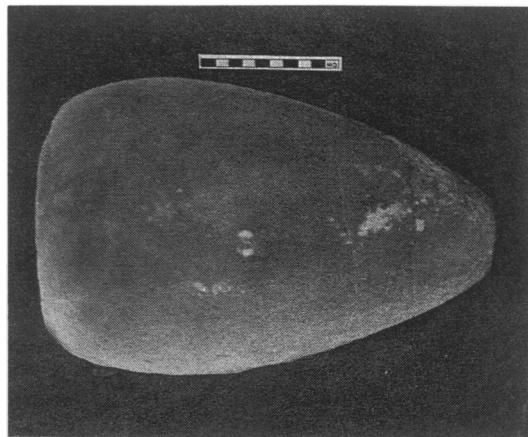


2. Fired clay mould for a glaze plaque bearing the early form of the didactic name of the Aten within a cartouche. Object no. 30547, from square M75 of the local grid, unit [8981]

AMARNA EXPEDITION, 1994-5 (pp. 9-10)



3. WAH 29, outer enclosure showing industrial and domestic area, looking east



4. Storage vessel from the outer enclosure (see 3, far left)

## A STELA OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD FROM SAQQARA

By IAN MATHIESON, ELIZABETH BETTLES, SUE DAVIES and H. S. SMITH\*

During test excavations on the north wall of the Gisir el-Mudir at Saqqara, the National Museums of Scotland expedition found an intact funerary stela with unusual scenes of exceptional interest to students of the Persian domination in Egypt. After a summary of the circumstances of its discovery, the stela is described, the inscriptions edited and translated, and its historical interest and date discussed.

### The archaeological context of the find

#### *The National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Project*

THE National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Project is engaged in producing an up-to-date archaeological and subsurface geophysical map of an interesting and relatively little-studied area of the necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara. The area concerned comprises the Gisir el-Mudir (the 'Great Enclosure') in the south, an area of Old Kingdom tombs around the mastaba of Ptahhotep, the area of the Serapeum and its dependencies, part of the archaic necropolis, and the Sacred Animal complex near to the village of Abusir in the north.<sup>1</sup> The National Museums of Scotland acknowledge with gratitude the help and co-operation of the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt in granting permission for the work at Saqqara, especially that of its Chairman, Prof. Dr Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din, its Secretary, Dr Abd el-Selim Bakr, and of Mme Samia. They are also grateful to Dr Zahi Hawass, Director of Antiquities for the Giza region, and to Dr Yehia Eid, Director for Saqqara, for their courteous assistance in organizing and facilitating the work, and to Mr Said Farag, the SCA representative, for daily collaboration on site. The work was made possible by grants from the British Academy, the National Museums of Scotland and the Trustees of the Gerald Averay Wainwright Fund, Oxford University; assistance in map reproduction has been contributed by Survey and Development Services, Bo'ness, West Lothian.

We have progressed by adapting and combining a series of well-known geophysical and survey techniques to special problems, where unexcavated and previously excavated monuments are buried under drift-sand and the dumps of former excavations. These

\*Ian Mathieson, the director of the National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Project, wrote the initial sections on the finding of the stela, and Elizabeth Bettles, the field recorder, has contributed the facsimile drawing. The description is the joint work of Sue Davies and H. S. Smith, the inscriptions are edited by Smith, while the historical commentary is by Davies. The Director of the Cairo Egyptian Museum, Dr Mohammed Saleh, and Miss May Trad, Curator, generously arranged at short notice for excellent working photographs of the stela, one of which is published here, to be made by Mr Mostafa Abdel Maksoud, the chief photographer of the Cairo Museum; to these officials we are sincerely grateful. The other published photograph is the work of Mrs Padi Mathieson. We owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr Amélie Kuhrt and Dr Lisa M. Leahy for reading and criticizing sections of the draft of this article; many of their amendments, comments, and bibliographical suggestions have been included in the text. We are also grateful to Prof. W. J. Tait for valuable comments upon the Demotic inscription. None of these scholars is, however, responsible for the opinions expressed. Other contributions are acknowledged in the text.

<sup>1</sup>See I. J. Mathieson and A. Tavares, *JEA* 79 (1993), 17–31, esp. fig. 1.

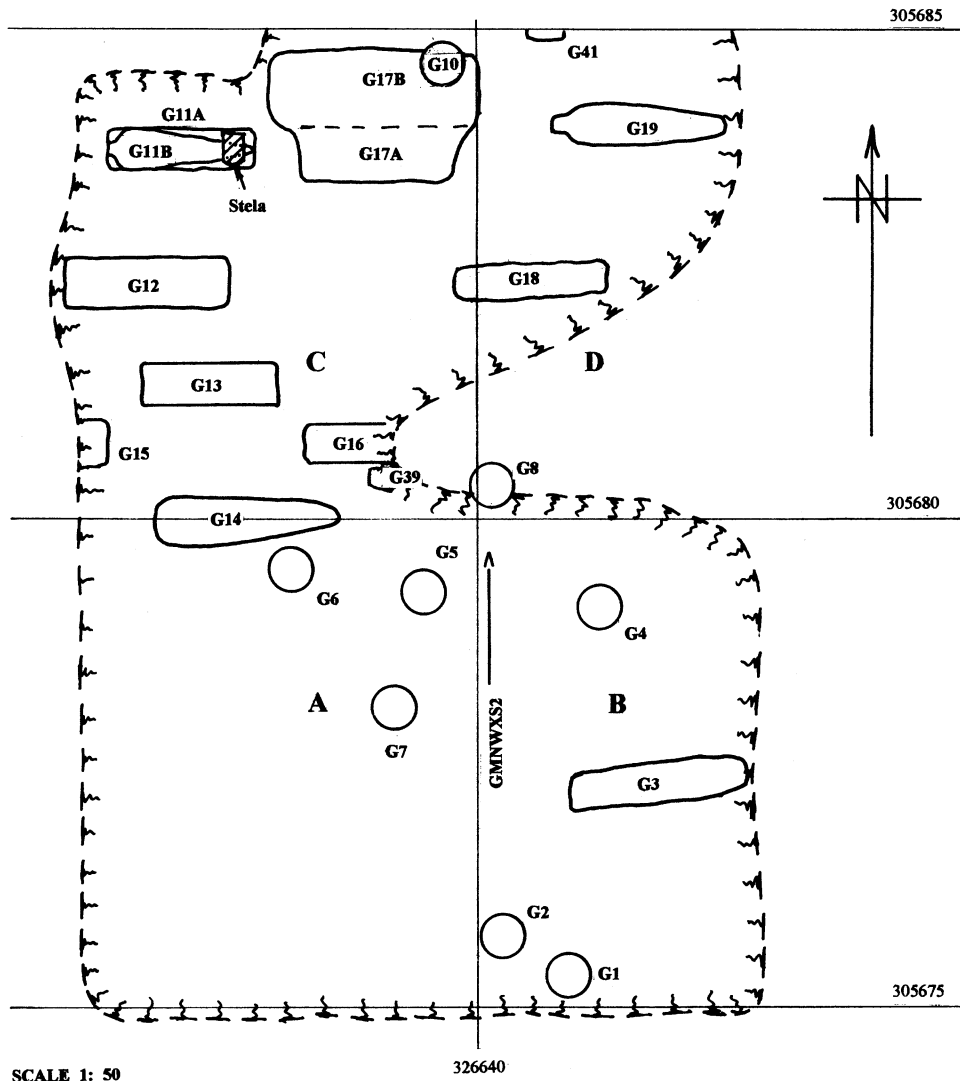


FIG. 1. Plan showing positions of near-surface and rock-cut burials in relation to resistivity profile GM.NW.XS2.

techniques are topographic EDM survey, resistivity and proton-magnetometer survey, sonic profiling, field inspection, archival research and test-excavation.

#### *The Gisa el-Mudir and the cemetery*

The Gisa el-Mudir is a rectangular enclosure lying west of the pyramid complex of Sekhemkhet. The enclosure was originally on a massive scale, and even now it is still an impressive structure in spite of thousands of years of use as a quarry. To put its size in context, the Gisa el-Mudir is approximately twice the area of the Djoser Step Pyramid complex and four times that of the Sekhemkhet enclosure. The purpose of the work in October-November 1994 was to confirm, by limited sondage, the existence of features predicted by anomalies in the plotted profiles of resistivity data, and to test whether

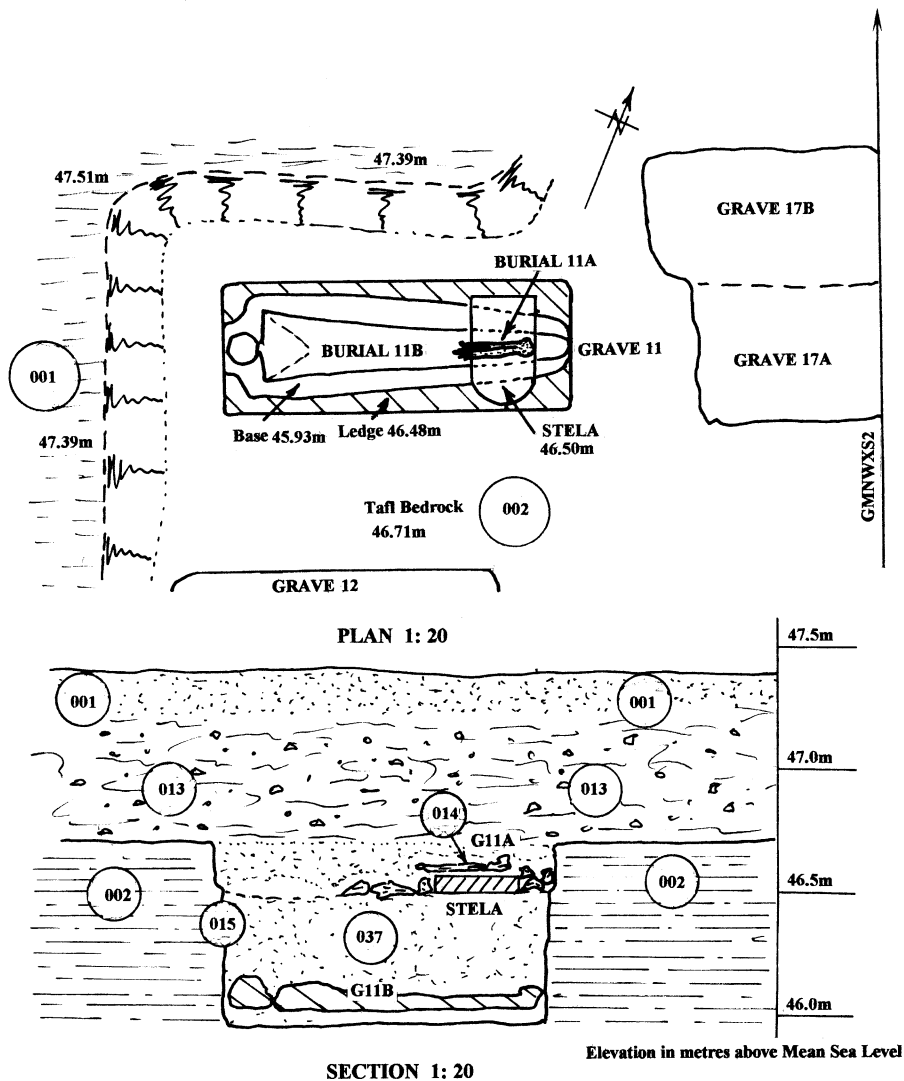


FIG. 2. Location of stela in grave 11.

inferences as to their physical character were justified. Several tests were made on the line GM.NW.XS2, which crosses the north wall on the approximate centre-line of the enclosure. In the 1993 survey report it was suggested that there might be a gate structure similar to those at the Abydos 'funerary palaces' of the Archaic Period.<sup>2</sup> We investigated an anomaly which was shown at this point in the plotted data from the resistivity readings on GM.NW.XS2.

On opening the sondage at the position of the anomaly, it became apparent that the high readings had been caused by an accumulation of fine sand used as back-fill on a cemetery of near-surface burials. These burials were either in very shallow sub-rectangular graves barely cut into the surface of the bedrock, or in rock-cut pits of anthropoid form 1–2 m deep (fig. 1). A total of 43 burials was recorded; of these 23 were found

<sup>2</sup>Mathieson and Tavares, *JEA* 79, 30, 31 n. 36.

within the first 20–75 cm of surface cover, and 20 in pits cut into the bedrock. Nearly all the surface burials were disturbed and consisted of a few small bones and carbonized remains of mummy-wrappings. The burials in the rock-cut graves were mostly complete and consisted of wrapped mummified bodies coated with a dark brown mud-plaster.

### *Grave 11 and the location of the stela*

Grave 11 appeared during the cleaning of the surface of the *tafl* bedrock (deposit no. 002), during which the fine yellow sand (deposit no. 037) of the infill was observed. On removing the infill, a burial (burial 11A) consisting of the bones of the lower limbs and some carbonized wrappings (deposit no. 014) was found at the eastern end of the grave, 140 mm below the level of the bedrock surface (elevation 46.7 m), lying in an east–west direction (fig. 2). After this burial had been recorded and removed, a limestone block was found lying 10–20 mm below the burial, covered with soft yellow sand and small fragments of limestone. The upper side of the block was rough, but on being turned over, the beautifully carved surface of the stela was seen. Continued excavation of grave 11 yielded a further discovery. Below burial 11A a pit of anthropoid form had been cut within the rectilinear outline of grave 11. In this lower anthropoid grave at a level 225 mm beneath the surface of the bedrock was the burial of a mummified adult (11B) with head to the west (fig. 2, section). The stela was found 30–40 mm below burial 11A, lying face down with its rounded top to the south, 150 mm below the surface of the bedrock and 899 mm below the ground surface (deposit no. 001); its north and south edges rested on the ledge formed by the cutting of the anthropoid grave for burial 11B (figs. 1, 2). It had clearly been reused simply as a convenient piece of stone, and was certainly not in its original context. There were no grave goods, decorated coffin fragments or pottery associated with either burial, so that grave 11 cannot be dated.

The precise location of the find of the stela (SCA object register no. 001, NMS no. GM.NW.XS2-C1-003) was Saqqara Necropolis, south of the north wall of the Gisir el-Mudir enclosure. The Universal Transverse Mercator Co-ordinates were 326638E, 305684N, Elevation 46.5 m (amsl).

### **Description of the stela** (pl. V; fig. 3)

The stela is made from Tura limestone and is of rectangular form with a rounded top of rather flat curve, meeting the sides at a sharp angle. The face of the stela is divided into a lunette and two registers exhibiting scenes in high relief, the background having been deeply cut away, leaving raised borders and horizontal dividers. In the scenes, a three-dimensional effect has been achieved by the use of subtle modelling and incised detail. A single vertical hieroglyphic inscription, boldly incised, begins on the right and continues on the left border; a lightly incised horizontal Demotic inscription occupies the dividing band between the upper and lower registers, the signs becoming smaller and more indistinct towards its left end.

The stela is complete and in fine condition. There is minor damage to the edges from chipping, and salts have exuded from the upper and left-hand borders, partially obscuring some hieroglyphs on the latter.

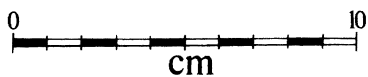


FIG. 3. Facsimile drawing of stela.

### *The lunette*

A winged sun-disk fills the lunette. The pendant wings follow its curve in the regular manner, the plumage being conventionally rendered by three rows of semicircular feathers above and two rows of pointed pinions below. However, it departs from normal Egyptian convention in showing a spread feathered tail and two oblique, curving elements ending in tight spirals beneath the disk instead of the usual pendent uraei. This is the form of representation thought by many to symbolise Ahuramazda in Achaemenid art on a number of reliefs at Persepolis.<sup>3</sup>

### *The upper register*

In the upper register is a funerary scene showing a mummiform male figure lying on a leonine bier, being offered a cup by Anubis and mourned by Isis and Nephthys. This type of scene is paralleled on other Egyptian funerary stelae of the Late Period.<sup>4</sup>

The deceased lies on his back with his head (to the right) slightly raised and eyes apparently open. He is shown with large curved nose, thick, protuberant lips and full cheeks, features which, although they give an un-Egyptian effect, appear on the famous Tjanofer lintel and other so-called 'neo-Memphite' reliefs.<sup>5</sup> The swathed body and lappeted wig follow normal Egyptian convention. The lion-bier is likewise of Egyptian type, but the modelling of the musculature of the foreleg is exceptionally stylized, in the same manner as certain Median and Persian representations of lions.<sup>6</sup> The position of the tail, which curls forward across the rear leg just above the knee and then bends back so that the tuft stands upright above the paw, seems unusual in Egyptian art.<sup>7</sup> The lion's face is carved with great subtlety of detail, as are the heads of the canopic jars, which are ranged in two rows facing right under the front of the bier: the baboon-headed Hapy

<sup>3</sup>E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis, I. Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1953), pls. 22, 105, without the figure of the god; pls. 75–9, 107, with the figure of the god emerging from the disk; pl. 160, with spirals emerging from the figure of the god above the disk, and with bird's legs and claws shown obliquely below the disk. There are divergent opinions about the identity of the figure in the winged disk: see A. Sh. Shahbazi, 'An Achaemenid Symbol: I. A Farewell to "Fravahr" and "Ahuramazda"', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, N.F.* 7 (1974), 135–44; id., 'An Achaemenid Symbol: II. Farnah "(God Given) Fortune" Symbolised', *AMI* 13 (1980), 119–47; P. Calmeyer, 'Fortuna-Tyche-Khvarnah', *JDAI* 94 (1979), 347–65. For a general discussion of this topic, see M. C. Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (Leiden, 1979), 169ff.

<sup>4</sup>G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra, 1964–1973* (London, 1979), pl. 45.163, pl. 48.179; P. Munro, *Die spät-ägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt, 1973), BM EA 8486, pl. 21. fig. 76 (without Anubis) and Cairo CG 22050, pl. 24. fig. 86. See also notes 7–9 below.

<sup>5</sup>W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, rev. by W. K. Simpson (Harmondsworth, 1981), 418–19 with fig. 411; E. Drioton, *Le Musée du Caire, Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* (Cairo, 1949), pls. 185–91; G. Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien: Recueil de monuments et de notices sur fouilles d'Égypte*, II (Cairo, 1907), 74–92, pls. xxxii–xlii; G. Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921–2), 1–28; Fr. W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur* (Munich, 1911–14), pls. 101–02 with text. The term 'neo-Memphite' has been used and abused to apply to both a specific and a general art style and a specific and wide range of dates. In much of the literature, the reliefs described under this term are ascribed to the fourth century BC, but many of them may in fact date to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (L. M. Leahy, personal communication).

<sup>6</sup>Root, *King and Kingship*, pl. 28b; W. Culican, *The Medes and Persians* (London, 1965), pl. 26; *CAH* IV, Plates (new edn., Cambridge, 1988), pl. 101; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 19–20, 61–2, 153A.

<sup>7</sup>Representations of the lion-bier on Late Period Egyptian stelae normally show the tail raised: see refs. in n. 8 below.



above right; the falcon-headed Qebhsenuf above left; the human-headed Imsety below right; the jackal-headed Duamutef below left.

Behind the bier a standing Anubis-figure with jackal-head and lappeted wig, wearing a knee-length divided skirt, advances to offer a high, flaring cup before the face of the deceased, while laying his right palm on the dead man's left shoulder. This type of representation of Anubis with cup appears in other Late Period funerary scenes.<sup>8</sup> Anubis' right ear slightly breaks through the upper border of the register. Isis stands at the head of the bier and Nephthys at its foot; the goddesses lean forward slightly, masking their faces with the palms of the hands which are nearer the viewer in the ritual gesture of mourning, while with the fingers of their far hands they touch the dead man's skull and toes respectively.<sup>9</sup> They wear their normal ankle-length dresses and lappeted wigs, surmounted by the horns and disk for Isis and the *nbt-hwt* monogram for Nephthys. These break the upper border of the register, like the ear of Anubis. This feature, unusual in earlier art, also occurs in the Egyptianizing scenes on Carian funerary stelae from Saqqara, which are likely to be approximately contemporary.<sup>10</sup> The faces of Isis and Nephthys show similar characteristics to that of the deceased, though the noses and lips are slightly less prominent. The modelling of the heavily-rounded stomachs and the sturdy thighs under their dresses is typical of the Late Period. A Late Period stylistic feature of the representation of all three deities is that, while the front foot in each case is shown in profile, the rear foot is shown with the toes individually carved.<sup>11</sup>

### *The lower register*

In the lower register is a presentation scene of a type foreign to Egyptian funerary stelae, in which two figures stand before offering-tables in front of a seated, bearded official whose throne and dress proclaim him as a Persian dignitary of very high rank.

The dignitary faces right, and in his right hand holds a shallow, plain bowl before his face.<sup>12</sup> In his left hand, which is clasped above the knees, he holds upright a stylized flower with five petals or buds emerging from a boss between a bifurcating calyx. A similar, but not identical, stylized flower appears in several of the Persepolis reliefs, where it is carried by the Persian King, the Crown Prince and some of the courtiers.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup>E.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, pl. 24, fig. 86; W. Spiegelberg, *CCG, Die demotischen Denkmäler*, I. *Die demotischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1904), pls. i. 31084, xi. 31120, xii. 31126, xiv. 31134, xv. 31138, xvi. 31143.

<sup>9</sup>In the stela scenes quoted in n. 8, Isis and Nephthys either kneel with one hand held up to their faces, or stand with one or both arms raised in the gesture of adoration.

<sup>10</sup>O. Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen* (London, 1978), pl. xxxiii. 4–5, pl. xxxiv. 5a–6.

<sup>11</sup>This curious feature is echoed in some of the Tjanofers reliefs (see n. 5 above). See further on the figures in the register below.

<sup>12</sup>This posture is not normal on Egyptian mortuary stelae, but can be paralleled from Assyrian reliefs and Babylonian seals: e.g. Assurnasirpal, from the North-west Palace, Nimrud, on BM WA 124569, see Root, *King and Kingship*, pl. 44b; Assurbanipal, from the palace at Nineveh, see Ann Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture* (Istanbul and Leiden, 1974), pl. xxxvii. fig. 68; for a Neo-Babylonian seal, see *CAH* IV, pl. 46b; for another example adapted into an Achaemenid context, see *ibid.* pl. 46a; other provincial examples, *ibid.* pls. 81–2.

<sup>13</sup>Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 51–2, 67A–B, 68A–B, 70, 71B, 72A–C, 74, 96–9, 121–3. This motif is also used as an architectural decoration, *ibid.* pls. 22, 47A, 48A, 50, 59, 61–3, 66, etc. It has been suggested by L. M. Leahy that this motif may be a misunderstanding or conflation of an Egyptian prototype, i.e. the small nosepeg not infrequently held by Late Period tomb owners when seated receiving offerings, see Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25, pl. v (Louvre E.11377), Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien: Recueil* II, pls. xxxii.b, xxxiv (Cairo JE 29211).

His hair is held close to his skull by a circlet round his forehead, but curls up naturalistically (i.e. without stylized curls) below it into a horizontal roll at the nape of the neck and round the sides. Achaemenid court art, which renders hair in a very stylized fashion, offers no exact parallels for this naturalistic treatment, but some examples from private and provincial art can be quoted.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, we know of no exact parallels in Achaemenid art for the circlet, the raised rings of which might represent rosettes on a small scale.<sup>15</sup> At the front of this circlet is a small projecting stylized flower, consisting either of three petals or buds, or of a single petal or bud within a bifurcating calyx.<sup>16</sup> The dignitary's beard is un-Egyptian in type and, like the hair, is rendered naturalistically. It is paralleled in Achaemenid art on the figure of a royal groom on a fragment which probably came originally from the North Stair of the Apadana at Persepolis.<sup>17</sup> Like the other figures on the stela, the dignitary has thick protuberant lips and rather bulbous cheeks, but the heavily lidded eye and the prominent, slightly hooked nose give to his features a Near Eastern cast. In the lobe of his ear he appears to wear an ear-ring, similar to the one worn by the Susa Guards.<sup>18</sup> There is no parallel for the figure's dress in Egyptian art; he wears a loose shawl-like garment with an edging, which falls loosely over his arm to the seat of the throne. His full-length skirt is gathered into diagonal pleats, and has a vertical pleated section falling to the ankles at the front. This type of dress, regularly referred to as a *kandys* or 'Persian robe', is ubiquitous in Achaemenid court art; the clearest parallel for it on a seated figure is the representation of Darius on the original central panel of the North Stair of the Apadana at Persepolis, where only the more elaborate pleats at the back of the sleeve differ.<sup>19</sup> The dignitary's feet rest on a plain rectangular low footstool, which is of simpler design than that shown with seated figures of the Great King at Persepolis.<sup>20</sup> The contrast between his feet, depicted in profile without toes, and those of the second offerer in this register and of the deities above, where the toes of the rear foot are shown, probably indicates that the dignitary's feet are shod. However, it is impossible to be certain whether he wears strapped boots, or the strapless variety reserved for royalty alone in Achaemenid iconography.<sup>21</sup>

The throne on which the dignitary is sitting is the element which shows most conclusively that he is a Persian of very high rank, for it is like the royal throne of the Great King himself as represented on Achaemenid monuments.<sup>22</sup> It has a high straight back and a rectangular box-seat with tasselled fringe below. The elaborate legs have vase-like finials at the top, with three turned relief rings below, surmounting leonine feet which rest on a further ring above an umbelliferous floral capital over a base knob; the cross-bar is ornamented with two groups of three turned rings. Over the back of the

<sup>14</sup> See *CAH* IV, pls. 56, 65, 89; the first two examples are alleged to come from Egypt.

<sup>15</sup> For partial parallels to the circlet, see the Susa Guards, e.g. P. Briant, *Darius: les Perses et l'Empire* (Paris, 1992), 35; see also the Oxus plaque illustrated in O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (London, 1964), pl. xiv. 49.

<sup>16</sup> A fillet with a lotus flower or bud projecting at the brow is quite a common head ornament for subsidiary figures of women on Late Period Egyptian monuments, (cf. refs. quoted in n. 13 above), from which this might conceivably be derived.

<sup>17</sup> BM WA 118839: see Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture*, pl. x. figs. 18–19.

<sup>18</sup> Briant, *Darius*, 35.

<sup>19</sup> Root, *King and Kingship*, pl. 17 = Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pl. 121.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 77, 78A, 98, 105, 121.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 121, 140–1.

<sup>22</sup> See n. 20 above for examples. See also fragments of thrones from Samaria (*CAH* IV, pl. 102) and Tell el-Fara (W. M. F. Petrie and O. Tufnell, *Beth-Pelet, I (Tell Fara)* (London, 1930), 90, pl. 46).

throne is a drape or mattress which extends across the seat, forming both back-rest and cushion; these two elements generally appear to be separated in the Persian royal examples.<sup>23</sup>

The offering-table in front of the dignitary is of Egyptian type and of simple wooden construction utilizing timbers apparently of square section; the legs are shown with a horizontal median strengthening bar between them, from the middle of which rise vertical and diagonal struts supporting a plain flat top. On this there appear two large rounded objects with concentric grooving, probably to be interpreted as loaves; between and in front of them is a round-topped object with tapering sides and a central vertical 'bud', which has upright triangular forms to either side of it.<sup>24</sup> Above these lies a trussed duck, its head to the right and its belly facing the viewer.

Facing the dignitary across this offering-table stands a figure wearing an ankle-length ensemble, which may comprise a tunic with elbow-length sleeves worn under a long wrap-around skirt with its side edge shown, rather than a single garment with a separate belt. The bottom element could either be a fringe or the pleated edge of a fine lower garment. Such multi-layered ensembles are worn by both men and women on Late Period monuments,<sup>25</sup> and the reliefs of the tribute processions on the North and East Stairways of the Apadana at Persepolis show the members of the Egyptian delegation wearing the same style of garment.<sup>26</sup> The hair or wig, short and rounded, revealing the ear and with a slight bulge at the back, is a predominantly female style in the Late Period, although it is occasionally shown on males.<sup>27</sup> The facial features of the offerer are represented in the same manner as those of the deceased in the upper register. Unfortunately, the offerer's left arm obscures the crucial chest area, so the sex of the figure must remain uncertain. The palm of the left hand rests on the edge of the offering-table, while the right arm is stretched across it, holding out towards the dignitary a large ring decorated with a stylized floral element comprising three petals or buds emerging from a bifurcating calyx. This could conceivably be a modification of a floral hair-fillet of the type frequently worn by Egyptian women, though we know of no other cases where such fillets are presented in offering scenes. Torques or rings do appear among the offerings being brought to the Great King in the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis,<sup>28</sup> but an exact parallel from Achaemenid art for such a ring with floral ornament is not known to us. Like the seated dignitary, the offerer is represented with both feet in profile, without the toes of the rear foot being shown, as they are in the figures of the deities in the upper register and of the second offerer in this register; whether this is intended to indicate that he is shod must remain uncertain.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 98–9, 105, 121–2.

<sup>24</sup> For offering-tables with similar groupings of objects see Munro, *Totenstelen*, pl. 30. fig. 109, pl. 31. fig. 114, pl. 32. figs. 116–17; the pointed forms may possibly represent either loaves or sealed jars.

<sup>25</sup> For male examples, see Munro, *Totenstelen*, pl. 34. fig. 124, pl. 35. fig. 130, pl. 37. fig. 137. A female example appears on the Alexandria Tjanofel lintel, for refs. see n. 5 above.

<sup>26</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pl. 36A–B. On the Naqsh i-Rustam and Persepolis tombs, Egyptians are shown wearing similar garments, but without the side edge or belt element; see M. Roaf, 'The Subject-Peoples on the Base of the Statue of Darius', *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 (1974), 138. Unfortunately, the Persepolis reliefs are too badly damaged to be sure whether this element is present or not.

<sup>27</sup> For female examples, see Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25, pls. iv–v (Louvre E.11377), Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien: Recueil* II, pls. xxxv.a, xxxvi (Cairo, JE 10978). For male and female examples, see *ibid.*, pls. xxxii.b, xxxiv (Cairo, JE 29211).

<sup>28</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 27B, 32A–B, 43A–B.

Behind the first offerer is a second offering-table, which is taller and of more elaborate construction than the first. The top comprises two horizontal elements separated by a groove; immediately beneath this is a moulded rectangular panel between the legs. This type does not seem to be Egyptian, nor does an exact parallel occur in Achaemenid court art, although an analogous type appears on a seal.<sup>29</sup> Three vessels stand on the top, from left to right: a bulbous vase with a long tapering neck and everted rim, a plain, high, flaring cup, and a broad low-shouldered bowl with cord decoration round the neck and everted roll-rim. Below the table are three sealed amphorae of varying shapes. They may rest on a separate stand, or, alternatively, on an open shelf forming part of the offering-table beneath which is a large basin or pan with everted rim.<sup>30</sup> We are most grateful to Mr P. G. French and Miss J. D. Bourriau, who have kindly provided the following expert comment on the vessels shown on the stela:

Sculptors often paid little heed to the forms and scale of vessels in relation to other elements in scenes, and any attempt to relate such representations to actual vessel types is a hazardous undertaking. It does, however, appear that useful parallels may be drawn in the present case.

The cup offered by Anubis and the central vessel on top of the table are similar, though the latter is a little slimmer. Pottery cups run through from the Third Intermediate Period to the Persian Period.<sup>31</sup> The pitfalls of attempting closer dating are illustrated by the fact that the slimmer version best fits the eighth–seventh centuries BC, while the one offered by Anubis somewhat resembles vessels of the late sixth–fifth/early fourth centuries BC, common at Saqqara<sup>32</sup> and elsewhere, though it is of more flaring form. The other two vessels on top of the table are probably of metal, so perhaps the cups are also.

The three vessels below seem to be shown at much less than their proper scale. The waisted form of the jar on the left appears in Egyptian jars in the sixth century BC and continues into the fifth–early fourth centuries,<sup>33</sup> but in combination with handles it would be unusual. Probably what is intended is a Palestinian transport amphora; the neck is longer and wider than usual, but the waisted form is authentic. Unfortunately, the date range is wide, and in the absence of reliable additional details can only be stated as late eighth–late fourth centuries BC.<sup>34</sup> The mouth appears to be stopped with a mud sealing, as the mouth of the central vessel almost certainly is, confirming their use as transport amphorae. The form of the central vessel itself is unfamiliar, but the vertical handles may betray another amphora of similar origin and date, albeit with an unusually wide mouth and narrow shoulder. Smaller vessels closer to the form do occur, usually with a single handle, in the sixth–fourth centuries BC,<sup>35</sup> but would not usually carry a mud sealing. The amphora on the right is the easiest to recognize, but it would be about three times as large as depicted; the high looped handles should be turned through 90 degrees, and are intended to receive a carrying-pole, borne on the shoulders of two men.<sup>36</sup> This is another non-Egyptian type, originating in Cyprus or the Levant,<sup>37</sup> though copies apparently made of Egyptian silt are known

<sup>29</sup> *CAH* IV, pl. 46A.

<sup>30</sup> Vessels of this shape made of bronze were discovered in the Falcon Catacomb, gallery 16, cache 9 at the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: C. Insley Green, *The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra, 1964–1976* (London, 1987), 60–1 nos. 143–6.

<sup>31</sup> R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (Philadelphia, 1965), pls. 62–4, *passim*; P. G. French, 'Late Dynastic Pottery from the Berlin/Hannover Excavations at Saqqâra, 1986', *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 83 no. 12.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, G. T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Racia at Saqqâra* (London, 1985), pl. 37 no. 122.

<sup>33</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis*, II (London, 1888), pl. xxxiv.24 (from Defenneh).

<sup>34</sup> A. G. Sagona, 'Levantine Storage Jars of the 13th to 4th century B.C.', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 14 (1982), 79–80 and fig. 1, especially nos. 6, 7 and 10. An amphora of this general type, probably of the later seventh century, is known from the DAI excavations at Buto in the Western Delta (P. G. French, forthcoming).

<sup>35</sup> E. D. Oren, 'Migdol: A New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta', *BASOR* 256 (1984), figs. 13 and 21, nos. 23–4.

<sup>36</sup> Petrie *Tanis*, II, pl. xxxiii. 6 (from Defenneh).

<sup>37</sup> Sagona, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 14, 88, 90 and fig. 4.

from the DAI excavations at Buto (see n. 34). The period of use is from about the seventh to the fourth centuries BC.

The scene thus probably depicts a row of metal vessels on a table, while below it is a row of foreign amphorae used for the transport of oil and perhaps other luxury commodities in the eighth–fourth centuries BC. None of the recognizable forms are known to continue into the Ptolemaic Period in Egypt.

The second offerer stands facing the dignitary across the taller offering-table and clasps the right wrist with the left hand before the waist, in such a manner that the right palm and the back of the left hand face the viewer. This is the so-called ‘Persian gesture’, which appears on some Egyptian monuments.<sup>38</sup> An analogous gesture occurs in Achaemenid art.<sup>39</sup> The hair or wig is of the same style as that of the first offerer, but protrudes less at the rear, perhaps because the back of this figure is carved directly against the raised border of the stela. The facial features are also very similar, as is the dress, except that it has no fringe or pleated element at the bottom, and the sleeve, somewhat fuller, reaches the wrist. The prominent breastbone suggests that in this instance a female may be represented,<sup>40</sup> but, as in the case of the first offerer, the sex of this figure must remain uncertain. The toes of the rear foot are shown, as in the upper register, indicating that the figure is unshod.

### The inscriptions

#### *The hieroglyphic inscription* (pl. V; fig. 3)

The single vertical hieroglyphic inscription begins on the right border and continues down the left, occupying in each case the entire space between the top of the upper register and the base of the stela. Above each column is an incised horizontal divider. The hieroglyphs are in general of reasonably correct Egyptian forms, but display some of the idiosyncracies of arrangement and execution not uncommon in Late Period inscriptions; in just a few cases the detail of a sign is unusually elaborate and the cutting abnormally deep. The formulae and names are well rendered by Late Period standards, with only a few solecisms and idiosyncracies. At the right-hand bottom corner, two signs have been partially lost and others slightly damaged through the chipping of the side of the stela. Exudation of salt has obscured one sign in the same area, together with one sign at the top and seven in the lower half of the left-hand column.

#### *Transliteration*



















- 1) *dd-mdw<sup>a</sup> Wsir<sup>b</sup> hnt-immntt<sup>c</sup> ntr r<sub>3</sub> nb štt<sup>d</sup> di = f prt-hr<sup>w</sup> t hnt<sup>t</sup> k<sub>3</sub>w 3pdw mnht šs<sup>e</sup> [.....]<sup>f</sup> ht nfr(t) wcb(t)<sup>g</sup>*
- 2) *b(w) [n]frw<sup>h</sup> cnh ntr<sup>j</sup> im n k<sub>3</sub> (n) Wsir Dd-hr-bs<sup>k</sup> s<sub>3</sub> 3r<sup>l</sup>tm<sup>l</sup> ms.n nb(t)-pr T<sub>3</sub>-nfr(t)-hr<sup>m</sup>*

<sup>38</sup> See A. Schulman, *BES* 3 (1981), 103–11; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), no. 276. For bibliography and comment on the gesture: Schulman, *ibid.*; V. Laurent, *RdE* 35 (1984), 140–2. B. Bothmer (*Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 BC–AD 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), 83–4) thought that this gesture appeared with the Twenty-seventh Dynasty and was diagnostic for that date, but it may well occur earlier and have Egyptian roots (L. M. Leahy, personal communication).

<sup>39</sup> See Root, *King and Kingship*, 272–6, ‘The Hand-Over-Wrist Gesture’; for examples, see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 25B–C, 51, 57–8, 72D, 87B–C, 121, 123.

<sup>40</sup> It may be noted in this connection that some male attendants in Achaemenid reliefs are shown with similar prominent breastbones, where they may represent eunuchs, e.g. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 140–1, 193–4.

## Notes

- a) An unusual feature is the reduction of the *mdw*-sign by omitting its upper portion, but the intended reading is not in doubt, as *dd-mdw* appears frequently at the beginning of the texts of Late Period funerary stelae (e.g. Theban examples in Munro, *Totenstelen*, pl. 1. fig. 3, pl. 2. fig. 5, pl. 4. figs. 13 and 16, pl. 5. figs. 17, 18, 20; Memphite examples appear to be rarer). In such cases, however, *dd-mdw* introduces speeches, whereas in our stela it takes the place of the classical *hṯp-di-nsu* formula.
- b) The writing of the name of Osiris with the sign  as determinative is a criterion for dating inscriptions to the Saite and post-Saite period, see Munro, *Totenstelen*, *passim*. Here it is placed before , which shows the back of the throne in a distinctive manner; cf. note j) below.
- c) The sign  used to write *hnt(y)* is carved with both horns bent forward, as also later in *krw*; the use of *imntt* instead of *imntyw* is common in Late Period stelae from Memphis (Munro, *Totenstelen*, pl. 58. fig. 200, pl. 59. fig. 197, pl. 61. fig. 207, pl. 63. fig. 216, etc.).
- d) The form of  with central  is a Saite 'archaism'. A form approximating to  is used for , as in a number of Saqqara Late Period stelae and statue inscriptions (Martin, *Tomb of Hetepka*, pl. 44. 158, pl. 51. 202). *nb št(y)t* is typically an epithet of Sokaris, but is also used of Osiris, see *Wb.* IV, 559.10; in the Demotic text, however, a different epithet is apparently used, see Commentary below.
- e) On Late Period stelae the order of the offerings is frequently muddled. The sign  appears out of traditional order after *mnht*, and may have been interpreted as its determinative rather than as *sš*, 'alabaster', see *Wb.* II, 87. 13–14.
- f) The sign obscured by salt (followed by the plural determinative) perhaps resembles a kneeling man facing left (contrary to the direction of the hieroglyphs) with outstretched arms presenting a cylinder vase or pot; if so, it may be intended to read *mrht*, 'ointment', or, more probably, *sntr*, 'incense'.
- g) Note the Saite/post-Saite form of  used in *wcb*; also the omission of *nb(t)* and the feminine endings of the adjectives.
- h) The central sign of the top group of the left column is badly obscured, but in view of the following alphabetic complements, the trace can only well be interpreted as  *nfr*; if so, the preceding  presumably forms a short writing of *b(w)*. The determinative is of rather unusual form; it seems to represent a floret of some sort, conceivably , rather than , the 'flesh' determinative.
- j) 'Honorific transposition' of *cnh* and *ntr* has been employed here where, according to earlier practice, it is inappropriate; cf. note b) above.
- k) Despite damage from the exudation of salts from the stone, the figure of the dwarf god *Bs* is quite clear on the original (see facsimile, fig. 3). For the writing of the Saite and post-Saite theophoric names beginning *Dd-hr* with the squatting baboon of Thoth, see Ranke *PN* I, 411.b; for the oracular connection of these names and for examples of *Dd-hr-bs*, see J. Quaegebeur, 'Considérations sur le nom propre égyptien Teëphthaphônuchos', *OLP* 4 (1973), 85–100.
- l) The name of the owner's father is partially obscured by the exudation of salt. For the form of the initial , compare that used in *T*- in the mother's name. The next sign can only be  or, less probably, . The loops of the tethering-rope  are clearly preserved, while the feet and the trace of the head of the bird which follows strongly favour . The reading *rtm* is amply confirmed by the Demotic inscription; on the Iranian character of this name, see p. 37 below. By the Late Period the sounds of *t* and *t̄* were no longer distinct; both represented *t*, and the sign transliterated *t* is used in the Demotic text. For this reason the name has been anglicized as Artam, not Artjam.
- m) For the name *T̄-nfr(t)-hr*, see Ranke, *PN* I, 361.a.3, 364.a; Munro, *Totenstelen*, 192 (Leiden

XIV, 13), 338 (BM EA 184). The female determinative has been placed out of position in front of *-hr*, probably owing to lack of space. On the Demotic version of this name see the Commentary below.

### Translation

Spell. Osiris, the foremost of the West, the great god, the lord of the sanctuary, (may) he give an invocation-offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, clothing, alabaster(?), incense(?), things perfect and pure, the luxuries upon which the god lives, to the *ka* of Djedherbes, son of Artam, born of the lady Tanofrether.


### The Demotic inscription (pl. VI; fig. 3)





The Demotic inscription has been cut by a mason with some familiarity with the forms of Demotic signs, but no great skill in their execution. He has not allowed sufficiently for the length of the inscription, and has been too generous with the spacing of signs in its first half. Some severe and unsolved difficulties of reading result from the smallness of the signs and the lightness of their incision towards the end of the inscription. The final three groups, which intrude on the hieroglyphic inscription on the left-hand border of the stela, are slightly more deeply cut. Although most of the Demotic groups are tolerably correct in form, some arouse the suspicion that they are erratic. Certain scratches on the stone, though clearly unconnected with the Demotic inscription, also complicate the reading at certain points.




### Transliteration


1) *dd-mdw Wsir hnt imnt Wn-nfr ntr ʿ nb* <sup>1</sup>.....<sup>1</sup> *hs (?) m = f Dd-hr-bs sꜣ ʿrꜣm ms Tꜣ-nfr(t)* <sup>1</sup>.....<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>.....<sup>1</sup> *dt*





### Commentary




The Demotic inscription begins with *dd-mdw* like the hieroglyphic text, but if parallelism between them was intended, it is only partial. *dd-mdw* is not a particularly common opening to Demotic inscriptions on funerary stelae, though it does occur, for instance, in Spiegelberg, *Dem. Inschr.* I, 25–6 no. 31095.2, 44 no. 31112.3, 48 no. 31123.1, 63 no. 31156.2, followed by a variety of funerary formulae. The reading of the divine name *Wsir hnt imnt Wn-nfr ntr ʿ* presents no problems, but the following epithet is difficult. If it was intended to follow the hieroglyphic text, then *nb šty.t* is to be expected, but the group following *nb* cannot be interpreted as *šty.t* (W. Erichsen, *Demotische Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954: hereafter *DG*), 527.5). Although at first sight *pnw* might seem a possible reading, no known epithet of Osiris resembles *nb pnw*, and the words listed in *DG* 131–2 are all palaeographically and semantically unsuitable. A frequent epithet of Osiris at Memphis is *nb Rꜣ-sꜣw*; on some Memphite stelae this is defectively written  (e.g. Munro, *Totenstelen*, pl. 58. fig. 199, pl. 59. fig. 202). Possibly the mason of the Demotic inscription has produced an inexact rendering of such a writing of this epithet. Note that the determinative of this word is the same as that employed in *imnt*, and is more suitable to *[Rꜣ]-sꜣw* than to *šty.t*.






The crucial groups    should convey the nature of the benefit done by Osiris for the deceased, whose name follows. Their reading is problematic. The second element seems most likely to represent *m = f*, an oblique scratch from above having merged with the upper stroke of the first sign. This suggests the presence of the formula *m = f mn r nhꜣ dt / šꜣꜣ dt*, 'may his name endure for ever' (e.g. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Inschr.* I, 23 no. 31092.10, 24 no. 31093.10, 41 no. 31110.14), but although the final word of the inscription is certainly *dt*, there is no group in the preceding text which can represent *mn*. The group  before *m = f*, while unusual in form,

bears some resemblance to an early writing of *hs*, 'praise': cf. DG 329.1 ; also to certain Roman writings, e.g. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Inschr.* I, 58–9 no. 31147, upper inscription, line 3  and lower inscription, line 2  (in both of which, *contra* Spiegelberg, *hs* should be read).

Writings with the initial consonant *h* written  do occur, but apparently only in the Roman Period (DG 329.1). The formula *iw = k hs m-b3h X r nhh dt / š3c dt*, 'you are praised before god X for ever', and its variants are fairly common in funerary stelae (e.g. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Inschr.* I, 36–8 no. 31103.6, 39 no. 31105.1, 41–2 no. 31110.8, 70–1 no. 23173.1), and frequent on Demotic Mother of Apis stelae, on which they occur from the time of Nakhtnebof to Cleopatra VII (unpublished; but see Smith, 'The Death and Life of the Mother of Apis', in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992), 201–25). This suggests that *hs m = f*, 'praises his name', may perhaps be read, the name of the deceased following in apposition. Alternatively the first sign may be read as *dit* or as the feminine or plural definite article *t3/n3*, but no suitable continuation is apparent.

The reading of the owner's name is certain, cf. the name *Dd-hr-bs* in P. Brooklyn 37.1781.2, 37.1839A.2, 37.1839B.2 of 201–181 BC (P. W. Pestman, *Receuil de textes démotiques et bilingues* (Leiden, 1977), I, 1–30; II, 1–35; III, pls. i–iii = N. J. Reich, *Mizraim* 1 (1933), 1–129; I am grateful to Miss C. A. R. Andrews for this reference). It is confirmed by the hieroglyphic text (see note k) above). The writing of the father's name *37m* is alphabetic and quite clear; note that *t* is used to transcribe the hieroglyphic *t* (see note l) above and Schmitt's interpretation of the name below). The signs  immediately following *ms*, though very small and cramped, clearly correspond with the first elements *T3-nfr(.t)* of the name *T3-nfr(t)-hr* which is given in the hieroglyphic inscription (cf. the writing of *nfr* in *Wn-nfr* above). The following group  is lightly scratched and perhaps affected by accidental surface pitting; it does not appear to correspond at all well with *hr*, especially compared with the clear writing in *Dd-hr-bs* above, yet ought to form part of the name on analogy, particularly if the group  is to be taken as the name determinative. It is, of course, possible that the mother's name was abbreviated in the Demotic text, where the mason was clearly short of space. If this is the case, the group  might be read *n p3*, though the preceding group would remain problematic.

Any reading of the following groups of crowded, lightly incised signs, must be highly speculative. The first group  may have been intended to be the same as that tentatively read *hs* above, despite slight differences in the shape of the signs. The following group  or 

certainly ends in a 'divine' determinative; the former might correspond quite well with early writings of *Hp*, 'Apis'. No satisfactory reading of the following cramped and faintly incised  groups presents itself, though they appear to end with , possibly representing the determinatives . As stated above, the end of the inscription is more deeply cut, and the final group  is certainly intended for *dt*, 'eternity' (DG 687–8). However, the final sign of the preceding group  is clearly the 'divine' determinative, which appears to rule out the common phrases *r nhh dt* or *š3c dt* as possibilities. If a divine name is present, *Rc* perhaps fits the group before this determinative best, allowing for possible ligaturing.

Given these uncertainties of reading, attempts to analyse the grammatical construction of the inscription are likely to be vain. In the first part of the text, if *hs* is read, it seems reasonable to take it as a First Present with *Wsir* as subject; or as an Imperative if *dd-mdw* is regarded as introducing a speech by the god rather than acting as a simple heading. After the matronym *T3-nfr(t)*-[...], if *hs* is read again, parallelism might suggest the same construction; but if a god's name (rather than a theophoric human name) follows, this would entail *Dd-hr-bs* praising a deity rather than being favoured by him, which is unusual though not unattested in such inscriptions. Perhaps, therefore, the tentative suggestion *n p3 hs Hp* (?), 'in the favour of Apis', might be



preferable. It is virtually certain, however, from the presence of *dt* at the end, that this final passage is part of the funerary formulae, and, even when deciphered, will not offer further information about *Dd-hr-bs* himself, his family, or his status and role in life.

With regard to the palaeography of the inscriptions, the tick on the first group of *mdw* appears in early writings (see *DG* 184.7), as does also the writing of *hnt* in *hnt imnt* (see *DG* 31.3). The writing of *hs* (if correctly read) is also early, the Roman examples quoted above presumably being archaic. The small group after *Wn-nfr* has been made with two vertical incisions placed very close together, but is not large or open enough for the definite article *p*.

### Translation

Spell: Osiris, foremost of the West, Wennofer, great god, lord of (Ro)staw(?), praises(?) his name, (that is) Djedherbes, son of Artam, born of Tanofret-[...]; [.....] for ever.

### The Iranian name

We are deeply grateful to Professor Rüdiger Schmitt of the Institut für Vergleichende Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft und Indoiranistik of the Universität des Saarlandes for kindly providing the following authoritative comment upon the name of the father of the owner of the stela:

*rtm* can be identified as an Iranian name without any difficulties. It is the same name as Old Iranian \**Rtama-* as we find it in Aramaic *rtm* (inscription from Dascylium;<sup>41</sup> perhaps also represented by an uncertain, partly restored form of Aramaic *rtm* from Persepolis),<sup>42</sup> and in Greek *Artámēs* (on a Tebtunis papyrus of the second century BC).<sup>43</sup> The form \**Rtama-* is a regularly-formed two-stem hypocoristic \**Rta-m-a-*.<sup>44</sup> The name *rtm* has nothing to do with Egyptian *rtms*,<sup>45</sup> nor with *ršm* (Greek *Arsámēs*; Old Persian *Ršāma-*).<sup>46</sup>

### Discussion and historical commentary

On his stela, Djedherbes names Artam as his father and Tanofrether as his mother. The former is a Persian name, the latter Egyptian. While personal names are not always reliable indicators of ethnic identity, in this case, the information can almost certainly be taken at face-value. Persian names and titles were rarely applied to non-Persians,<sup>47</sup> and

<sup>41</sup> R. Altheim-Stiehl and M. Cremer, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 6 (1985), 1–16.

<sup>42</sup> R. A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis* (Chicago, 1970), 193 s.v. *artm*, and 112 (43:3) with pl. 11. For another probable example see R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969), 97, PF59, quoted by M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (Vienna, 1973), 8.644.

<sup>43</sup> Ph. Huyse, *Iranische Namen in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens* (Vienna, 1990), 37 no. 34.

<sup>44</sup> For more details, see commentary by R. Schmitt, in Altheim-Stiehl, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 6, 10.

<sup>45</sup> G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (Cairo, 1936), 119 = G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris, 1957), 118–20 no. 109. For this name see E. Edel and M. Mayrhofer, *Orientalia* 40 (1971), 1–2.

<sup>46</sup> *ršm* is the Demotic form of Greek *Arsámēs*, the name of the famous satrap of Egypt under Artaxerxes I and Darius II: G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1954), 6–7, 44ff.

<sup>47</sup> The one known exception is the Babylonian Belšunu, Greek Belesys: see M. W. Stolper, 'Belšunu the satrap', in F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.), *Language, Literature and History. Philological and Historical Studies Presented to E. Reimer* (New Haven, 1987), 389–402; id., 'The Kasr Archive', in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds), *Achaemenid History, IV. Centre and Periphery* (Proceedings of the Achaemenid History Workshop; Leiden, 1990), 199ff.

whereas the practice of Persian officials taking Egyptian names is attested,<sup>48</sup> a Persian woman is very unlikely to have done so. The stela of Djedherbes can, therefore, be considered as constituting the first certain evidence of a union between a Persian and an Egyptian.<sup>49</sup> The child of such a union could have been in a somewhat anomalous position. As the son of an Egyptian woman, he may not have been eligible for full entry into the closed circle of the Persian aristocracy, and as the son of a Persian, he may have been excluded from certain Egyptian offices, especially priestly ones. This may help to explain the absence of titles in Djedherbes' inscriptions, which is extremely unusual on Egyptian funerary monuments of the Late Period.

Normally on Egyptian funerary stelae, label texts identify the figures, but this is not the case here. It is therefore not possible to state with certainty whom the figures in the lower register represent. The seated figure clearly depicts a Persian of high rank. This may even be a representation of the Persian monarch himself, although on balance this seems extremely unlikely. The Great King would surely be shown wearing a crown of some sort rather than a simple circlet. Furthermore, the holding up of a bowl before his face, as if about to drink, is a gesture not found in extant Achaemenid court iconography (see n. 12); it infuses an essence of informality into the scene, inconsistent with representations of the Great King. Other possibilities include a satrap of Egypt, or some other aristocratic, possibly royal, official, either of whom *may* be Artam, the father of Djedherbes, named in the inscriptions. Alternatively, the seated figure may depict Djedherbes as a Persian, although we think that this is unlikely. Such a representation would be inconsistent with the Egyptian character, not only of the inscriptions, but also of the funerary scene in the upper register, which contrasts with analogous scenes on a carved slab found at Memphis, showing the mortuary rites of a Persian,<sup>50</sup> and on the Carian stelae from North Saqqara.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, the seated dignitary depicted on Djedherbes' stela and the dead Persian depicted on the slab from Memphis are both shown with their natural beards, whereas the figure on the bier in the upper register of the Djedherbes stela, who must surely represent the owner, is clean-shaven.

As noted above, the sex of the two offerers remains uncertain. However, if we admit the intrinsic probability that one of the figures in the lower register depicts the owner of the stela, and if the arguments presented above against the seated dignitary being Djedherbes are accepted, then it follows that he should be one of the offerers. As the owner of the stela, he is unlikely to have been represented in a peripheral manner, and the first offerer is therefore the more probable option. Two details which may lend support to this suggestion are: i) the manner in which the feet of the two offerers are depicted (the first may be shod, whereas the second is definitely not); ii) the fact that the second offerer is not actually shown in the act of making a presentation, but stands with his hands clasped in the so-called 'Persian gesture'; the analogous gesture found in Achaemenid art (see n. 39) is one of respect. If the identification of the first offerer

<sup>48</sup> Ariyawrata had himself called Djeho; see Posener, *La première domination perse*, 178 and no. 33. One of the men sent by the satrap Aryandes against Cyrene was called Amasis, but this man must have been a Persian, for Herodotus (IV. 167; see also I. 125) says that he belonged to the Persian Maraphian tribe.

<sup>49</sup> The Persian aristocracy only acculturated selectively, and in general, it seems, did not marry foreign women. For an exception, see Herodotus VIII. 136, although this may be a special case.

<sup>50</sup> See *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Führer durch das Berliner Ägyptische Museum*, (Berlin, 1961), 78, pl. 56, (formerly East Berlin 23721). See also Culican, *The Medes and Persians*, 248 and pl. 52.

<sup>51</sup> Masson, *Carian Inscriptions*, pls. iv. 1, v. 1–2. See also P. Gallo and O. Masson, 'Une stèle "helléno-mémphite" de l'ex-collection Nahman', *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 265–76.

with Djedherbes is allowed, and if the Persian dignitary represents Artam, then a scene of the son presenting offerings to his father may be what is shown here.

The relief scenes on the stela display an overall unity of execution and technique which points to their being the work of a single craftsman, although the inscriptions may have been incised by others. The expressive carving and the subtlety of the modelling indicate that a competent sculptor was at work here, one who not only had a thorough, intimate knowledge of the Egyptian tradition, but who was familiar also with Persian court iconography. The stela was found at Saqqara, the necropolis of Memphis. The court of the satrap of Egypt was at Memphis and it is therefore probable that the principal state workshops, wherein the best craftsmen would have been employed, were centred there. These craftsmen, the masters of their professions, may well have been requisitioned for work abroad; the evidence of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets shows that during the Achaemenid period, the 'Pax Persiana' not only allowed, but actually demanded and facilitated the movement of conscripted workers, artisans and craftsmen around the Empire.<sup>52</sup> PF1547, 1557, 1806 and 1814 refer specifically to Egyptians, and they are mentioned too in PF1957. In Fort.1967,<sup>53</sup> 690 Egyptian 'stone removers' receive wine rations, and in Fort.1858,<sup>54</sup> monthly rations are issued to five Egyptian goldsmiths. Aramaic documents record the activity in Achaemenid Egypt of foreign artisans and craftsmen, including a sculptor,<sup>55</sup> and it has been argued that at least one of the Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat is the work of a Persian mason.<sup>56</sup> Although we lack the evidence, presumably both the satrapal court and the establishments of Persian grandees in Egypt were richly embellished with decorative elements in Achaemenid style. Expertise and a familiarity with foreign traditions would, therefore, have gone hand in hand. It is from such a cosmopolitan milieu that our sculptor should be thought of as coming.

The question of whether the sculptor of the scenes on the stela was an Egyptian or a foreigner is an intriguing one, which cannot ultimately be resolved. The way in which the headdresses of the deities break the top border of the upper register, a feature which finds a parallel on the Carian stelae from Saqqara (see n. 10), may perhaps point to foreign workmanship. Another such pointer is the representation of the offerings on the table in front of the dignitary, where, apart from the trussed duck, it might be argued that the artist did not have any clear idea of what he was showing. In spite of these details, however, the scenes exhibit such a close melding of styles and such an instinctive grasp of Egyptian conventions, so different from that found on the Carian stelae, that it may be suspected that they are the work of a native sculptor.

<sup>52</sup> Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets, passim*; see especially Categories L to R (PF847–1634), Category T (PF1788–1860) and Category V (PF1940–1960).

<sup>53</sup> Hallock, 'The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets', in W. B. Fisher et al. (eds), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, II (Cambridge, 1985), 607.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 602.

<sup>55</sup> Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, Letters VI, VII and IX.

<sup>56</sup> Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, 28, 118–20, no. 109, pl. xxxiv, quoted by P. Briant, 'Ethno-classe dominante et populations soumises dans l'Empire achéménide: le cas de l'Égypte', in Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds), *Achaemenid History*, III. *Method and Theory* (Leiden, 1988), 168. Goyon states: 'L'aspect général de l'écriture trahit la qualité étrangère de son auteur. La forme du cartouche qui entoure ordinairement le nom du roi, par exemple, n'a pas été comprise par le sculpteur, lequel devait ignorer qu'il s'agissait, à l'origine, d'une simple boucle de corde entourant le nom du roi. Tandis que le sculpteur perse traite le cartouche comme s'il s'agissait d'une stèle en pierre qui, pareille aux stèles de son pays, possède une forme circulaire à la partie supérieure et évasée à la base de manière à former une sorte d'assise.' This interpretation is by no means as certain as Goyon's statement suggests.

In some details, the rendering of the Persian dignitary on the stela departs from the strict canon of Achaemenid iconography as exhibited on the Persepolis reliefs. The naturalistic rendering of hair and beard contrasts with the very stylized treatment of these elements at Persepolis. The sleeve of the *kandys* lacks the formal, radiating, vertical pleats at the back and hugs the upper arm in a more tight-fitting manner, thus revealing a greater area of pleating around the back of the skirt than is usual.<sup>57</sup> It also has a border running right round the outside edge, whereas on the Persepolis reliefs, an analogous feature appears on the inside of the sleeves.<sup>58</sup> To what extent such minor discrepancies are due to lapses of memory on the part of the craftsman, or to the fact that Persian satrapal and private art did not have to comply with the canon of the royal court,<sup>59</sup> remains an open question at present.

As noted above, the presentation of the large ring with stylized floral ornament by the first offerer to the dignitary is a scene which has no exact parallel in Egyptian or Achaemenid art. The inspiration behind it may have been a distorted recollection of the scenes on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, showing tribute bearers presenting torques or rings to the king.<sup>60</sup> However, it may have deeper significance. In Achaemenid iconography, the ring was a symbol of power; Ahuramazda is frequently shown holding out a ring in the presence of the Great King.<sup>61</sup> Perhaps the sculptor or his patron subtly contrived to suggest this idea on the stela, cleverly combining elements from both the Achaemenid and the Egyptian symbolic spheres.

### The date and original provenance of the stela

There is no conclusive evidence for the absolute dating of the stela, such as would be provided by a regnal date formula or a prosopographical identification. Stylistic and historical factors must be considered.

Stylistic considerations can lead to no precise estimate of date, but there are features of the stela which argue for its being assigned to the sixth–fourth centuries BC. These are: the forms of the vessels depicted (pp. 32–3); the general style and iconography of the figures (n. 5); some details of the mourning scene in the upper register (nn. 8, 10, and 11); epigraphic idiosyncracies of the hieroglyphic inscription (nn. a)–k)), and perhaps certain palaeographical indications in the Demotic (see commentary, pp. 35–7).

Historically, it is unlikely that a Persian official of high rank would have been represented on an Egyptian funerary stela except during a period of Persian rule; native religious and political sentiment would surely have forbidden it. If this be accepted, the date-range for the manufacture and original erection of the stela is narrowed to the years 525–404 BC ('Twenty-seventh Dynasty') and 343–332 BC ('Thirty-first Dynasty'). As the

<sup>57</sup> Compare with Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 98, 105, 121, 123.

<sup>58</sup> See Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 121 and 140 for particularly clear examples.

<sup>59</sup> M. C. Root is at present studying seal-impressions on published Fortification Tablets from Persepolis, from which there is evidence to show that Persian officials had freedom to use non-Persian styles. See Root, 'Circles of Artistic Programming: Strategies for Studying Creative Process at Persepolis', in A. C. Gunter (ed.), *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East* (Washington, 1990), 115–39; id., 'From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt (eds), *Achaemenid History, VI. Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire* (Leiden, 1991), 1–29.

<sup>60</sup> Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 27B, 32A–B, 37A–B, 43A–B.

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, Schmidt, *Persepolis*, pls. 76A–B, 77, 78A–B, 79. For the ring as a symbol of power, see Root, *King and Kingship*, 173–4, 188–9, 212.

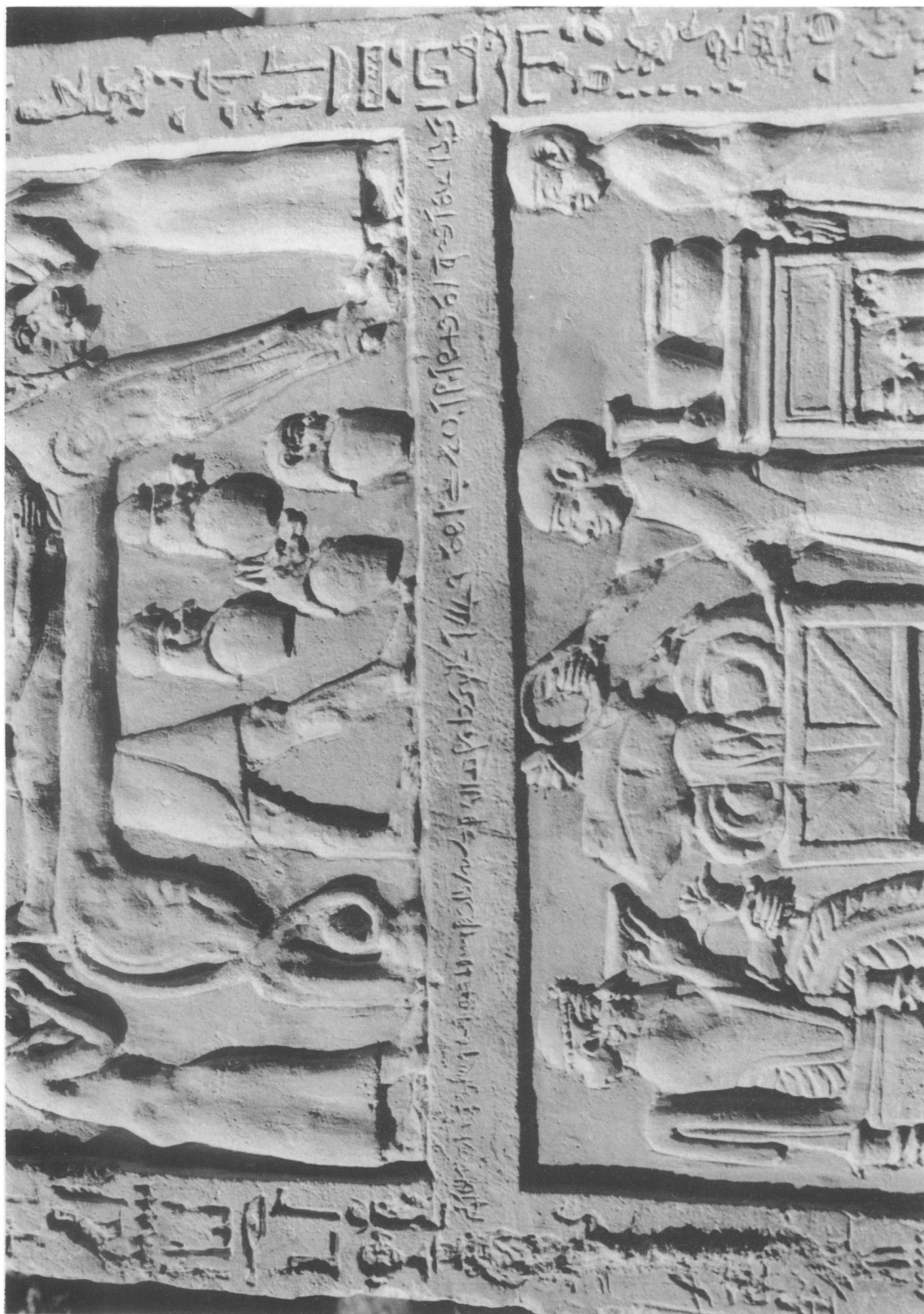
inscriptions indicate that the owner of the stela, Djedherbes, was the son of a Persian by an Egyptian woman, the Second Persian Domination (343–332 BC) becomes relatively unlikely, for its eleven-year duration does not allow for the child of such a union to have reached maturity.

One of the great shaft tombs in the Saqqara necropolis generally ascribed to the First Persian Domination may have been the original provenance of the stela. Certain of these in the vicinity of the Unas Pyramid complex are within a kilometre of its findspot at the Gisir el-Mudir. However, the recent discovery by the Czech Archaeological Expedition to Abusir, well over two kilometres to the north, of the tomb of the famous Egyptian official Udjahorresnet, who served Cambyses and Darius I,<sup>62</sup> shows that tombs of this type and date were not confined to a particular region of the necropolis. In none of these great shaft tombs, so far as we are aware, have reliefs or stelae showing Persian officials been found. The presentation scene in the lower register of our stela at present appears to be unique.

<sup>62</sup>We are indebted to Prof. Miroslav Verner, Director of the Czech Archaeological Expedition to Abusir, for this information.



A STELA OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD FROM SAQQARA (pp. 23-41)



Detail of Demotic inscription

A STELA OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD FROM SAQQARA (pp. 23-41)

## LA BASSE NUBIE A L'ANCIEN EMPIRE: EGYPTIENS ET AUTOCHTONES

Par BRIGITTE GRATIEN

Was Lower Nubia inhabited during the Old Kingdom? Since G. A. Reisner's hypothetical 'B Group' was discounted, the archaeological sources seem to have contradicted the Egyptian texts, which give the impression of an area which was populated, if not prosperous. Examination of recent finds, however, suggests the existence of a Nubian population between Aniba and the Second Cataract, and the greater part of the Nubian pottery discovered on the Old Kingdom site at Buhen may provide the most convincing evidence for this.

DEPUIS les travaux de George A. Reisner au début de ce siècle, la classification des cultures de Basse Nubie qu'il a établie est généralement adoptée pour les périodes les plus anciennes; c'est ainsi que l'on dénomme Groupe A les populations qui ont habité la Vallée du Nil jusqu'à la première dynastie à la fin de laquelle elles disparaissent; le Groupe C, qui appartient au même complexe culturel, apparaît à la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, ou au plus tôt à la fin de la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie; il réoccupe la plupart des sites anciens. Pendant environ cinq siècles, cette région deviendrait donc un désert humain. Que s'est-il passé pendant cette période?

Différentes hypothèses ont été avancées, qui proposent soit un peuplement très lâche par une population pauvre et qui a laissé peu de vestiges, soit un reflux des habitants vers le sud ou les déserts avoisinants sous la pression des Egyptiens, ou à cause de l'aggravation des conditions climatiques.<sup>1</sup> La première hypothèse, celle de G. A. Reisner qui crée un groupe humain intermédiaire, le Groupe B,<sup>2</sup> est actuellement abandonnée en faveur de la seconde, à la suite d'un examen critique des vestiges supposés du Groupe B par H. S. Smith.<sup>3</sup> Ce dernier a prouvé incontestablement que les sépultures et le mobilier attribués au Groupe B étaient soit des tombes pauvres ou vides, soit des fosses pillées, sans matériel clairement identifiable, soit des sépultures d'animaux. Comme le souligne l'auteur, seul Reisner a largement utilisé cette division que Firth puis Emery, tendent rapidement à abandonner.

<sup>1</sup> Sur cette dernière hypothèse, voir B. Bell, *Geographical Journal* 136 (1970), 569-73.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Reisner, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1907-1908* (Le Caire, 1910), 332 sq.

<sup>3</sup> H. S. Smith, *Kush* 14 (1966), 69-124: l'auteur suppose la disparition de la population à partir des campagnes de Aha et de Djer (p. 121, et H. S. Smith et L. L. Giddy, 'Nubia and Dakhla Oasis in the Late Third Millennium B.C.: The Present Balance of Textual and Archaeological Evidence', in F. Geus et F. Thill (eds), *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 318).

Pour d'autres, l'afflux des tribus d'éleveurs venant du sud à la fin du Groupe A, provoque les raids égyptiens jusqu'à l'arrivée du Groupe C (H. Å. Nordström, *Kush* 14 (1966), 68). A cela s'ajoute le déclin provoqué par la rupture de la chaîne commerciale au profit de l'Égypte (H. Å. Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group Sites* (Uppsala, 1972), 31-2) sinon l'ensemble de tous ces phénomènes (B. G. Trigger, *Nubia under the Pharaohs* (London, 1976), 44). K. Zibelius-Chen y adjoint l'éventualité d'une baisse de la population provoquée par la sédentarisation (*Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien. Eine Darlegung der Grundfaktoren*, (TAVO 78; Wiesbaden, 1988), 51-4) ou par le rattachement du premier nome à l'Égypte qui aurait provoqué la disparition du 'early Nubian II' de Trigger (p. 6); il est évident que la création du premier nome de Haute Égypte a dû avoir une influence néfaste sur les populations nubiennes.



Or, les sources égyptiennes sont en contradiction avec les sources archéologiques nubiennes puisque les textes donnent l'image d'un pays peuplé, sinon très peuplé et fournissent des témoignages indirects de l'existence d'une administration qui gère la contrée. Il est bien connu que les rares sources épigraphiques égyptiennes antérieures à la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie font mention de la présence de groupes humains en Basse Nubie.

Nous tenterons donc ici, à l'aide d'un nouvel examen des sources archéologiques et textuelles, de comprendre quels étaient la situation de la Basse Nubie pendant l'Ancien Empire égyptien, et les rapports de sa population avec l'Égypte.

### Les premières campagnes militaires égyptiennes

Des deux premières dynasties, nous ne possédons que très peu de références sur la pénétration égyptienne en Nubie. Les armées du Nord semblent être parvenues sur la deuxième cataracte dès le règne du Roi Scorpion: témoin, le graffito du Djebel Scheikh Souleiman, dont la date est parfois contestée,<sup>4</sup> mais tout à fait plausible puisqu'une tablette de l'Horus Aha, peu après, mentionne une campagne en Ta-Séti.<sup>5</sup> Une nouvelle expédition a lieu sous le règne du Roi Djer, dont le passage sur la deuxième cataracte a pour preuve un autre graffito du Djebel Scheikh Souleiman.<sup>6</sup>

Les incursions vers le sud se poursuivent: une stèle de Khasekhem à Hiérakonpolis célèbre une victoire sur la Basse Nubie.<sup>7</sup> Une gravure rupestre datée de la II<sup>e</sup> dynastie a été relevée par Z. Žába à l'est de Nagá Abou Shanak sur la rive orientale et figure un serekh surmonté du signe *ntr*.<sup>8</sup>

Les armées égyptiennes mènent donc dès le début de la période historique plusieurs campagnes militaires qui auront peut-être pour effet de stopper le développement des zones habitées par le Groupe A; elles en rapportent butin et prisonniers, mais l'exploitation du pays n'est pas ordonnée; les pharaons semblent avoir agi ponctuellement pour pacifier la région et garder quelque contrôle sur des centres d'échanges.

La politique des pharaons se modifie dès les tous débuts de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Le monument le plus célèbre est sans conteste la Pierre de Palerme qui mentionne en quelques mots une campagne militaire en Nubie sous le règne de Snéfrou 'raser le pays des Nubiens (*T*; *Nhs*(*yw*)). Amener prisonniers: 7000; bétail grand et petit: 200000'.<sup>9</sup> Ces nombres ont souvent été mis en doute; on a parfois insisté sur la possibilité d'un gonflement de ceux-ci, mais rien ne permet d'infirmer la valeur du témoignage de la Pierre de Palerme; quoi qu'il en soit, ce texte de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie indique en Nubie l'existence d'une forte population d'éleveurs prospères;<sup>10</sup> il est possible qu'une partie relève de groupes qui pratiquent le nomadisme ou le semi-nomadisme, mais, nous le

<sup>4</sup>W. Needler, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 87-91; I. Hofmann, *BiOr* 28 (1971), 308-9.

<sup>5</sup>W. M. F. Petrie, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, II (Londres, 1901), pl. 3.2.

<sup>6</sup>A. J. Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 28-30; A. H. Sayce, *PSBA* 32 (1910), 262, qui l'avait interprété comme une bataille de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie; également Needler et Hofmann (*supra*, n.4) et W. Helck, *MDAIK* 26 (1970), 85, pour qui une expédition au Djebel Scheikh Souleiman n'est pas prouvée.

<sup>7</sup>J. Quibell et F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II (Londres 1902), 47-8, pl. lviii.

<sup>8</sup>Z. Žába, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak Concession)* (Prague, 1974), 30, n° 2 et 3.

<sup>9</sup>*Urk.* I, 236.10; traduction A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1982), 39.

<sup>10</sup>D. O'Connor, récemment, suppose qu'à cette période la population de la Basse Nubie était de 46 000 h. ('Early States Along the Nubian Nile', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* (Londres, 1991), 147).

verrons ci-dessous, la présence des Egyptiens dans la Vallée du Nil à cette époque est attestée jusqu'à Bouhen et la deuxième cataracte.

Une autre campagne qui a dû se dérouler dans le pays de Ouauat à la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie, d'après les inscriptions 27 et 28 de Khor el-Aquiba, confirme le texte de Snéfrou: 'le gouverneur (?) du nome du chien Khabaouet, est venu avec une armée de 20000 hommes pour raser Ouauat' (n° 27) et 'le gouverneur du nome oriental septentrional Saouib. 17000 nubiens ont été faits prisonniers' (n° 28).<sup>11</sup> Si l'on accepte l'existence d'une Basse Nubie peuplée à l'Ancien Empire, une datation avancée est plausible.

D'autres campagnes ont dû avoir lieu au cours de la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie puisque, sur les monuments royaux, figurent des Nehesyou, mais on ne sait s'il s'agit des habitants de la Haute ou de la Basse Nubie.<sup>12</sup> Les Nubiens, serviteurs ou descendants de captifs, sont encore représentés sous Ouserkaf, Sahourê et Niouerrê, et dans la relation de la campagne de *K3-m-tnnt* sous Isési.<sup>13</sup> On connaît des Nehesyou pacifiés de Medja, Irtjet, Iam.<sup>14</sup> Un fragment du temple funéraire de Djedkarê Isési mentionne le 'pays de l'or' et d'autres toponymes africains (?) qui pourraient concerner la Nubie.<sup>15</sup>

Ces quelques textes témoignent donc un intérêt constant de l'Egypte pour la Basse Nubie dès les époques les plus anciennes et le besoin de maintenir la paix et le contrôle sur le pays. Après la disparition du Groupe A, et ayant sans doute contribué à celle-ci, les Egyptiens prennent le contrôle des sources de matières premières et des voies commerciales. Mais ceci ne signifie pas un vide humain total et les textes de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie en particulier sous-entendent une occupation dense des rives du fleuve par des populations dont l'une des principales activités demeure l'élevage.

### La création de villes-comptoirs

L'installation permanente des Egyptiens en Nubie semble avoir suivi les campagnes de Snéfrou. Les sites archéologiques, les inscriptions égyptiennes, ainsi que l'étude des titres confirment l'existence de 'comptoirs' installés le long des rives du Nil, et dans lesquels une population indigène, plus ou moins nombreuse, a pu servir. Ces vestiges mettent en évidence une activité égyptienne intense pendant les IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> dynasties.

<sup>11</sup>J. Lopez les date de la fin de la V<sup>e</sup> ou de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie selon l'ordre chronologique des gravures et parce qu'il croit en un vide humain et politique en Nubie avant la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie (*Las inscripciones rupestres faraónicas entre Korosko y Kasr Ibrim, orilla oriental del Nilo* (Comite Español de la UNESCO para Nubia, Mem. de la Misión Arq. 9; Madrid, 1966), 25-30); W. Helck remonte leur datation à la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie, d'après des arguments linguistiques, une étude des titres et l'identification des gouverneurs (*SAK* 1 (1974), 215); ceci est un nouvel argument en faveur d'une Basse Nubie peuplée et les objections de J. Lopez, pour qui le vide de la Nubie à la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie rendait une datation antérieure à la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie impossible, tombent d'elles-mêmes dans le cas d'une Basse Nubie peuplée.

<sup>12</sup>D. O'Connor, *JARCE* 23 (1986), 47, n. 108; R. Drenkhahn, *Darstellungen von Negeren in Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1967) 4-9.

<sup>13</sup>Caire CG 1371, 1476; *Urk.* I, 180-186; H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Egypte*, I (Le Caire, 1907), 197; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1960), n° 530.

<sup>14</sup>Tombe de *Nswt-nfr* à Giza G. 4970 (datée IV<sup>e</sup> ou V<sup>e</sup> dynastie) ou sont figurés quatre porteurs d'offrandes dont deux sont Nubiens *Nhsy* (PM III, 40 et III<sup>2</sup>, 1, 143; Baer, *Rank and Title*, n° 292).

<sup>15</sup>A. Grimm, *SAK* 12 (1985), 29-31; D. B. Redford, *JARCE* 23 (1986), 137-8; Grimm, *GM* 106 (1988), 26; on mentionne dans ce texte l'or *nbw* et l'or *dm* de *B3t*, *Snsb* et *hst* qui, selon Grimm, sont des toponymes africains (*GM* 106, 26); mais il n'est pas prouvé que l'Egypte exploite les gisements africains à l'Ancien Empire et ces trois pays pourraient effectivement être situés dans le nord.

Peu de traces architecturales subsistent car les sites élus sont ceux qui ont été choisis à nouveau à la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie pour ériger les grandes forteresses: les emplacements localisés aux débouchés des pistes qui conduisent aux sources de matières premières ou à proximité des grandes communautés indigènes des Groupes A et C, des relais commerciaux ou points-étapes.

A Toschka Ouest a été découverte *in situ* une stèle de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie mentionnant le pays Satjou;<sup>16</sup> on ne connaît pas exactement l'emplacement du débouché sur la vallée de la piste des carrières, probablement entre Toschka et Tomas, car il est vraisemblable qu'elle suivait à peu près le même itinéraire qu'au Moyen Empire où l'on a pu reconnaître la route sur plusieurs kilomètres, et l'on ignore si elle était fréquentée dès la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie. En revanche, les carrières, à 65 km à l'ouest d'Abou Simbel, ont été exploitées sous Chéops, Didoufri, Sahourê, Djedkarê Isési, puis au Moyen Empire.<sup>17</sup> Les lieux d'exploitation sont dispersés sur plusieurs kilomètres; les habitats sont comparables aux habitats miniers d'autres régions: des huttes, sans trace de mur fortifié, des lieux de culte avec tables d'offrandes; les éventuels puits n'ont pas été découverts et le ravitaillement en eau a toujours dû poser problème; Toschka n'était peut-être occupé que temporairement lors des expéditions pour la recherche des minéraux.

Les inscriptions de la V<sup>e</sup>, puis de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, relevées à Tomas sont certainement à mettre en rapport avec l'exploitation des carrières de Toschka: on y a lu les noms de Sahourê, Isési, Têti et Pépi et ceux de nombreux magistrats;<sup>18</sup> c'est principalement à la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie que les expéditions ont laissé trace de leur passage; la fréquence des inscriptions de l'Ancien Empire laisse supposer que Tomas servait de halte, mais aucun habitat contemporain n'y a été découvert.

Les documents inscrits retrouvés à Bouhen prouvent l'existence d'un service de courrier et d'une administration permanente en contact avec le pouvoir central, que ce soit par la route des oasis de Dakhleh/Khargeh ou Douch dont nous ne savons pas si elle fut empruntée aussi anciennement, par celle des oasis de Kourkour et de Dounkoul et la route de Toschka, ou plus vraisemblablement au début de l'Ancien Empire, par la voie fluviale, sous la direction des capitaines de bateaux, via Eléphantine, et peut-être Kouban, Tomas et d'autres relais inconnus aujourd'hui.

Le site de Kouban pouvait être en effet une étape sur la route de Bouhen; seul témoignage, les huit tessons de l'Ancien Empire du type Meidoum, mis au jour dans les couches inférieures du fort par W. B. Emery et L. P. Kirwan.<sup>19</sup> L'installation de Kouban

<sup>16</sup>W. K. Simpson, *Heka-nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1963), 49–50, pl. xxv.b, 40.

<sup>17</sup>PM VII, 274–5; R. Engelbach, *ASAE* 33 (1933), 65–74, et *ASAE* 38 (1938), 371; A. Rowe, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 393; E. Zippert, *AfO* 12 (1937), 187. La stèle de Chéops porte sous le cartouche du roi la mention *h:mt* (*smt Hwfw*) qui a été interprétée par Engelbach et Sève-Söderbergh comme le nom local; mais d'après le récit d'Ouni, le nom général devait être Ibhat; le premier pourrait être le nom local de l'établissement d'ouvriers dans le désert (à comparer avec le nom *hmwt s:mt* sous Mycérinus à Giza: R. Stadelmann, *RdE* 33 (1981), 67–8). La stèle de Sahourê donne peut-être dans sa partie inférieure le nom local du district *sdj(?) hmt* (Engelbach, *ASAE* 38, 389, pl. lv. 2).

<sup>18</sup>J. Leclant, 'Rapport préliminaire sur la mission de l'Université de Strasbourg à Tomàs (1961)', *Fouilles en Nubie (1959–1961)* (Le Caire, 1963), 21 (V<sup>e</sup> dynastie); *L'Égypte* VI, 629; A. E. P. Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia (the First Cataract to the Sudan Frontier) and their Condition in 1906–7* (Oxford, 1907), 5. Les premières inscriptions du Wadi Allaqi sont VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie (B. B. Piotrovsky, 'The early settlement of Khor-Daoud and Wadi-Allaki. The ancient route of the gold mines', *Fouilles en Nubie (1961–1963)*, (Le Caire, 1967), 134 sq.).

<sup>19</sup>Emery et Kirwan, *The Excavations and Survey Between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan, 1929–1931* (Le Caire, 1935), 26, 58.

est peut-être déjà liée à l'exploitation des mines de cuivre et aux pistes qui pénètrent le désert oriental.

Là, comme à Aniba, les fouilleurs avaient suggéré la construction d'un fort à l'Ancien Empire, escale vers ce que l'on considérait alors comme une 'factorerie' égyptienne à Kerma.<sup>20</sup> La même idée avait d'ailleurs été lancée pour la première forteresse d'Ikkour par C. M. Firth.<sup>21</sup> Mais ces hypothèses ont été rejetées par T. Säve-Söderbergh,<sup>22</sup> pour qui le type de fortifications correspond aux établissements de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie dans la deuxième cataracte. Nous n'avons pas de comparaison possible en Egypte même et les enceintes anciennes de Bouhen et d'Éléphantine sont d'un type différent. Les premiers établissements remontent toutefois pour le moins au début du Moyen Empire,<sup>23</sup> mais l'existence de structures antérieures ne peut être exclue définitivement; Kouban, Ikkour et Aniba furent occupés anciennement, étapes sur la route de Bouhen et de Kerma.

Bouhen devait être la colonie la plus importante de l'époque: W. B. Emery y découvrit en 1962 un habitat fortifié de l'Ancien Empire au nord de la forteresse,<sup>24</sup> daté notamment par la trouvaille d'empreintes de sceaux-cylindres des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> dynasties aux noms de Chéphren, Mycérinus, Sahourê, Neferirkarê, Niouerrê, appliquées sur papyrus, sacs de cuir et jarres et par un ostracon au nom de Kakai,<sup>25</sup> mais aucun des rois de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie n'y est cité; cet habitat pourrait avoir été lié au travail du cuivre dans la région.<sup>26</sup> Certains tessons appartiennent à des types déjà connus à la II<sup>e</sup> dynastie et l'éventualité d'un habitat plus ancien a été envisagée.<sup>27</sup> L'occupation a été longue et ininterrompue. L'établissement comporte plusieurs reconstructions; le niveau supérieur est entouré d'un mur d'enceinte sinueux de 2 m d'épaisseur et d'un fossé, côté sud, vers la rivière. Les limites nord et sud ne sont pas connues mais l'habitat est d'une taille considérable, conservé sur une épaisseur importante dont on n'a fouillé que 60 m<sup>2</sup> et une tranchée de 3 m de large. Les constructions présentent des alignements dans trois directions différentes, ce qui laisse supposer plusieurs niveaux d'occupation; pour le niveau principal, un plan orthogonal semble avoir été adopté, ce qui suppose une décision

<sup>20</sup> G. Steindorff, *Aniba* (Glückstadt et Hamburg, 1935-37), I, 22 et II, 3-6.

<sup>21</sup> C. M. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1908-1909* (Le Caire, 1912), 22; F. Ll. Griffith, *LAAA* 8 (1921), 65.

<sup>22</sup> *Ägypten und Nubien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik* (Lund, 1941), 30-6. D. O'Connor toutefois est en faveur d'une datation ancienne ('Nubia before the New Kingdom', S. Wenig et al., *Africa in Antiquity. The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*, I (The Brooklyn Museum, 1978), 55).

<sup>23</sup> B. Gratiën, *Les Égyptiens en Nubie. Politique et administration aux 3<sup>e</sup> et 2<sup>e</sup> millénaires avant J.-C.*, thèse de doctorat d'Etat (Paris Sorbonne-Paris IV, 1990), 405.

<sup>24</sup> Emery, *Kush* 11 (1963), 116-20; id., *Egypt in Nubia* (London, 1965), 111-14.

<sup>25</sup> L'un de ces cachets du règne de Niouerrê fournit peut-être le titre *jmy-rj smntyw* (Emery, *Kush* 11, 119, fig. 2, C-4-1), à mettre en rapport avec les inscriptions de Koulb ci-dessous.

<sup>26</sup> Toutefois, les fours relevés et interprétés par Emery comme fours de bronziers sont similaires à des fours de potier et le travail du cuivre à une date aussi ancienne ne peut être prouvé.

<sup>27</sup> La fondation de l'habitat dès la II<sup>e</sup> dynastie est douteuse; elle est fondée sur la présence d'un éventuel niveau ancien sous le fossé et dans lequel on a découvert des briques de grande taille comme celles utilisées alors, de la céramique et des sceaux de jarre comme ceux de la II<sup>e</sup> dynastie (H. S. Smith, *JEA* 58 (1972), 60). Le C 14 donne une date ancienne: sous le sol de l'Ancien Empire, deux dates calibrées 2960 +/- 60 av. J.-C. et 2830 +/- 50 av. J.-C.; mais cinq autres échantillons donnent une date plus ancienne pour le niveau supérieur! et l'on sait les problèmes que posent les variations des datations C 14 quand elles ne sont pas multipliées (Cf. B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 125 n. 1 and *Radiocarbon* 5 (1965), 21, 288-9; Emery, *Kush* 11, 117 et 119). Smith (Smith et Giddy, *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 320) ne croit pas en la possibilité d'une occupation à la II<sup>e</sup> dynastie, mais confirme qu'elle n'est pas postérieure à la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

administrative pour la fondation de l'établissement, à comparer avec celle, plus tardive, d'Ayn Asil. Des installations artisanales et vivrières (un jardin?) ont été installées à l'extérieur du rempart est. A l'intérieur des murs, on peut reconnaître dans le bloc I des magasins, et ailleurs des zones artisanales et des habitations, mais dans la partie fouillée, la zone occupée par magasins et entrepôts est prédominante; il se peut que les quartiers résidentiels soient situés ailleurs. L'architecture est égyptienne.

W. B. Emery insiste sur le fait que la ville est une pure colonie égyptienne comportant 95% de céramique égyptienne mais aussi 5% de céramique indigène dite 'Groupe B' pour la plupart, avec quelques tessons Groupe A, preuve indéniable de rapports suivis avec la population autochtone, que ces biens soient parvenus à Bouhen comme le fruit d'échanges avec la population nubienne ou que cette dernière ait vécu sur place.<sup>28</sup>

De la céramique de l'Ancien Empire a été signalée, ailleurs, dans la deuxième cataracte<sup>29</sup> et des inscriptions rupestres, parfois des stèles royales frustes, ont été découvertes aux alentours de Bouhen et à Abd el-Qader (huit graffiti sur le site 5-0-4,<sup>30</sup> quatre à Abousir, site 5-T-16),<sup>31</sup> vestiges qui ont pu être laissés par les habitants de Bouhen sur la colline B<sup>32</sup> et dans la deuxième cataracte, à Dakka/Koulb.<sup>33</sup> La région a pu être abandonnée à la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie car, à l'exception des graffiti aux noms de Pépi et Neferka, il n'y a aucun vestige connu de la fin de l'Ancien Empire ou de la Première Période Intermédiaire. Bouhen, où la superficie des entrepôts est remarquable, a pu jouer le rôle de centre de tri et de stockage qu'elle retrouvera au Moyen Empire et servir déjà de ville-comptoir, de lieu d'échange dès sa fondation; la localisation choisie peut s'expliquer par sa position géographique, point de rupture de charge obligé avant les grands rapides de la deuxième cataracte; cet intérêt stratégique est renforcé par sa situation au coeur d'une région minière; car il faut mettre l'habitat en relation avec les inscriptions de l'Ancien Empire retrouvées à Dakka et Koulb, qui nous donnent les noms de prospecteurs.<sup>34</sup> Rappelons que les carrières de Toschka sont en activité à la même époque que le site de Bouhen.

Les relations entre Egypte et Nubie à la IV<sup>e</sup> et à la V<sup>e</sup> dynasties sont corroborées par quelques titres administratifs, déjà signalés par H. G. Fischer<sup>35</sup> et étudiés récemment

<sup>28</sup> Nous lirons ci-dessous que la céramique de Bouhen conservée au Petrie Museum ne comprend quasiment aucun tesson provenant de jarres-greniers, mais essentiellement des pots de cuisson et des bols, donc des vases trouvés sur les habitats et pouvant être déplacés ou troqués facilement.

<sup>29</sup> A. J. Mills et H. Å. Nordström ont découvert dans la couche 1 du camp 11-L-14 de Saras Ouest un tesson de la IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> dynasties (*Kush* 14 (1966), 7).

<sup>30</sup> F. Hintze et W. Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien* (Publikation der Nubien-Expedition 1961-1963, 1; Berlin, 1989), n° 16 à 19, 24, 27-8, 43.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid n° 232, 234, 237, 290.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, *JEA* 58 (1972), 58, pl. xxvi.1; *Kush* 14 (1966), 334. Smith a d'ailleurs envisagé une date ancienne, au plus tard III<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Les titres ne renseignent guère sur la composition de la population de Bouhen.

<sup>33</sup> Site 21-X-1, Hintze, *Kush* 13 (1965), 13-14; Leclant, *Orientalia* 53/2 (1966), 160; Hintze et Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, 180.

<sup>34</sup> Site 21-X-1, trois inscriptions de l'Ancien Empire, n° 597-9, celles de deux directeurs (*jmy-rj smntyw fj-njr* et *Stw*) et d'un scribe des prospecteurs (*sš smntyw fj-kj-j*): Hintze et Reineke, *Felsinschriften*, 189, pl. 257-9; Hintze, *Kush* 13 (1965), 13-14; Leclant, *Orientalia* 35/2, 160; Wenig, *LÄ* IV, 529.

<sup>35</sup> *Kush* 11 (1961), 76 sq.

par K. Zibelius-Chen.<sup>36</sup> Des Nubiens vivent en Egypte<sup>37</sup> et d'autres sont figurés sur les parois des chapelles des mastabas de la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie à Giza.<sup>38</sup>

Le seul titre qui pourrait être directement en rapport avec l'administration et le commandement des sites de Nubie est celui que porte à la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie *Nswt-nfr* sur un mastaba de Giza: chef des gardes de la frontière méridionale (*jmy-rꜥ tnw*); il est également chef des fortins des déserts et des forteresses royales (*jmy-rꜥ rthw smywt mnnw nswt*), seuls exemples connus de ces titres; il porte encore ceux de chef du département des forteresses (*jmy-rꜥ wpt mnnw*), chef des forteresses des provinces de This, d'Aphroditopolis et de l'est d'Hékat.<sup>39</sup> Un autre personnage, *Sn-jwnw*, est chef des forteresses (*jmy-rꜥ mnnw*) selon une inscription de la IV<sup>e</sup> ou V<sup>e</sup> dynastie à Khor el-Aquiba.<sup>40</sup>

A cette époque, l'administration centrale, probablement à Memphis, est donc en contact étroit avec la ville de Bouhen, et, on peut le supposer, avec les autres sites habités par les Egyptiens; mais nous ne savons rien de l'organisation intérieure de ces derniers, de l'autorité dont ils dépendent et de la composition de leur population.

Ainsi, la présence en Nubie des Egyptiens est attestée à l'Ancien Empire, probablement sous la forme de comptoirs-relais le long du fleuve, utilisés à la fois comme bases de départ vers les sources de matières premières, sites d'une première transformation de celles-ci et de leur stockage, comme lieux d'échange et comme étapes et escales vers les établissements situés plus au sud. A la fin de la V<sup>e</sup> dynastie, ces habitats sont abandonnés, à l'exception de celui de Tomas, ceci vraisemblablement lié à l'augmentation de la population indigène, qui se traduit par l'installation du Groupe C le long des berges du Nil et plus au sud par l'apogée du Kerma ancien. Les textes et les titres de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie clament encore une suzeraineté de l'Egypte sur les pays nubiens mais l'occupation ne semble plus permanente et ce sont des expéditions militaires ou commerciales qui apportent les marchandises du pays de Iam; le bureau des affaires nubiennes est alors situé à Eléphantine.

### L'existence d'un groupe humain en Nubie à l'Ancien Empire

Il nous faut donc rechercher les vestiges d'une éventuelle population en Basse Nubie aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> dynasties. Le Groupe A de Basse Nubie est contemporain des sites pré-kerma et protohistoriques en amont de la deuxième cataracte.<sup>41</sup> Les vestiges les plus anciens des nécropoles du Kerma ancien le sont de l'Ancien Empire.<sup>42</sup> La Vallée du Nil Moyen est occupée continuellement dans le temps et l'espace. Les rapprochements entre Kerma ancien et 'early C-Group', Ia et Ib de Bietak, ont déjà été largement signalés. Très souvent en Basse Nubie le Groupe C a réoccupé les mêmes emplacements que le Groupe

<sup>36</sup> *Die ägyptische Expansion*, 136 sq.

<sup>37</sup> D. Valbelle, *Les neuf arcs* (Paris, 1990); plus tard, Ouni écrira (*Urk. I*, 102, 18): 'les directeurs des administrations étaient à la tête des troupes de Haute et de Basse Egypte, des demeures et des villes qu'ils gouvernaient, des Nubiens (nehesiou) de ces régions' (trad. Roccati, *La littérature historique*, 187).

<sup>38</sup> H. G. Fischer, *Kush* 11 (1961), 75.

<sup>39</sup> P. Chevereau, *RdE* 38 (1987), n° 185, 198; Mastaba de Giza G. 4970; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 143.

<sup>40</sup> J. Lopez, *RdE* 19 (1967), 52-3; Chevereau, *RdE* 38, n° 191.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. l'habitat pré-kerma de Kerma, la nécropole de Sedeinga, les nombreux sites de Kadruka, pour ne citer que les plus proches de la région qui nous concerne et que J. Reinold considère contemporains du Groupe A de Basse Nubie.

<sup>42</sup> Gratien, sur la datation des objets du Kerma ancien, dans *Saï, I. La nécropole Kerma* (Paris, 1986), 443.

A,<sup>43</sup> mais ceci peut être dû au fait que ce sont les emplacements les plus favorables géographiquement.

Incontestablement la population a diminué au cours de l'Ancien Empire. Toutefois, les campagnes militaires du début du Moyen Empire, certainement aussi violentes que celles de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie, n'ont pas entraîné la disparition du Groupe C.

Reisner et les premiers fouilleurs qui ont été en contact avec le matériel du Groupe B avait décelé une différence suffisante pour créer un nouveau groupe culturel. Nous savons qu'il est parfois extrêmement difficile de déterminer l'appartenance à un groupe humain d'objets sortis de leur contexte et sans les avoir vus, car une même sphère culturelle peut couvrir des milliers de kilomètres, des confins du désert libyque jusqu'aux collines de Kassala, et des centaines d'années, du néolithique, jusqu'au début de notre ère. Les marques de régionalisation peuvent être difficiles à cerner, même par l'étude de la céramique. Les céramiques rouges à bord noir sont très délicates à dater, de même que la céramique usuelle à décor géométrique imprimé ou incisé; la forme, la technique, le décor donnent cependant les lignes d'une évolution générale qui aide à la datation.

Habitats ou nécropoles ont tous disparu sous les eaux des lacs de retenue des différents barrages d'Assouan. Les premiers n'ont guère attiré l'attention en Basse Nubie; quant aux nécropoles, aucune tombe n'a été datée de l'Ancien Empire parce que l'on n'a pas retrouvé de matériel égyptien postérieur à la I<sup>ère</sup> dynastie dans les fosses; cependant, l'arrêt des dépôts ne signifie pas la disparition totale de la population mais plutôt la rupture de la chaîne d'approvisionnement et de l'accès aux biens importés; le même phénomène se reproduira, à une plus faible échelle, au Groupe C, dont les tombes sont pauvres en matériel égyptien lors des périodes de soumission. Les Égyptiens qui contrôlent les sources de matières premières ou le trafic n'ont plus besoin de fournir des produits en échange et les biens importés se raréfient donc dans les cimetières.

L'établissement de l'Ancien Empire à Bouhen n'est connu que par le rapport préliminaire d'Emery. Il nous apprend que la céramique nubienne compose 5% de l'ensemble (6% dans la publication finale de D. O'Connor), céramique qu'il classe dans le 'Groupe B' ('fragments of unmistakable Nubian B-Group'),<sup>44</sup> et plus loin Groupe B, ce dernier étant prédominant,<sup>45</sup> signe de la difficulté qu'il a eue à l'identifier. H. S. Smith affirme que cette poterie comporte quelques exemples de céramique 'line and dot', de tradition Groupe A et d'autres en pâte noire ou brune avec un décor incisé empli de blanc comme au Groupe C.<sup>46</sup> Aucun renseignement ne nous est fourni sur la stratigraphie. Les précisions données par le fouilleur et les quelques remarques que nous avons pu retirer d'un examen du matériel<sup>47</sup> montrent une grande diversité. La céramique de Bouhen

<sup>43</sup> Comme l'écrit Nordström, *Kush* 14 (1966), 63–8.

<sup>44</sup> *Kush* 11, 116.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 117.

<sup>46</sup> Smith et Giddy, *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 320.

<sup>47</sup> Nous avons pu à plusieurs reprises étudier directement la céramique nubienne de la ville de l'Ancien Empire de Bouhen, en dépôt au Petrie Museum. Nous remercions chaleureusement de l'aide qu'ils nous ont apportée et des autorisations données le comité de l'Egypt Exploration Society et le Petrie Museum de University College London, et plus particulièrement Mmes P. Spencer, B. Adams et J. Edwards, M. D. Jeffreys. Les dessins des céramiques de Bouhen sont publiées avec la courtoisie du Petrie Museum, University College London. Nos remerciements s'adressent également au Professeur David O'Connor dont nous avons appris, alors que cet article était sous presse, la publication prochaine du rapport final *The Old Kingdom Town at Buhen* et qui nous a généreusement fourni une copie du manuscrit, dont plusieurs conclusions corroborent les nôtres et auquel nous prions les lecteurs de se référer.

frappe par son apparente hétérogénéité.<sup>48</sup> On y trouve à la fois des formes fermées proches de celle du Groupe A et du Kerma ancien, d'autres plus ouvertes proches du Kerma moyen et du Groupe C classique; d'autres enfin portent un décor incisé Kerma ancien/Groupe C Ia/Ib. Ceci permet de supposer une occupation assez longue du site.

On peut y déterminer plusieurs groupes principaux (fig. 1):

- (a) les nombreux bols rouges à bord noir en poterie fine ou grossière, à panse carénée, ou évasés à l'ouverture resserrée présentent des différences morphologiques et certainement chronologiques. Certains sont très proches du Groupe A, avec une forme haute, un fond pointu, une ouverture refermée; quelques-uns sont polis et très soignés, d'autres, modelés grossièrement; certains possèdent un bord noir. Quelques exemplaires sont évasés et la tranche de leur lèvre est plate, comme parfois au Groupe A; d'autres présentent une carène près du bord et sont plus proches du Kerma ancien, notamment par la forme de la lèvre, renflée. Sur d'autres exemplaires, la tranche de la lèvre, plate ou oblique, a certainement été taillée au couteau comme encore une fois sur les très beaux vases du Kerma ancien. Rares sont les tessons *rippled* (quelques tessons montrent un léger brunissage *rippled* comme le n° 20206);
- (b) des vases de très belle qualité en poterie fine rouge à bord noir, imprimés à la roulette de bandes radiantées verticales, ou parallèles, horizontales ou ondulées; ces poteries sont le plus souvent polies après décoration, similaires aux catégories A VIII et A IX du Kerma ancien et Aa28 du Groupe A;<sup>49</sup> la forme est carénée comme au Kerma ancien (n° 20249). Un vase évasé, le n° 20264, comporte un décor complémentaire, incisé et hachuré à la molette sous la lèvre;
- (c) plusieurs exemplaires de vases de cuisson hémisphériques en pâte grossière, brune ou noire, lissés, ou plus rarement, polis portent un décor incisé de triangles hachurés ou quadrillés (n° 20281, 20290, 20286) similaires à la poterie utilitaire du Groupe C ou du Kerma moyen. La forme, hémisphérique, de ces derniers est plus tardive que les exemplaires précédents; notons toutefois que quelques exemplaires montrent une forme ancienne, avec fond pointu, panse évasée, lèvre à tranche plate qui pourraient, selon leurs caractères morphologiques, être contemporains de l'habitat Ancien Empire;
- (d) un type fréquent est représenté par des vases au fond pointu, soit à l'ouverture resserrée (se terminant parfois par une inflexion externe qui donne une lèvre verticale à tranche plate), soit à l'ouverture évasée et dont la tranche de la lèvre peut être hachurée, une forme connue anciennement; la panse entière est couverte d'un décor de chevrons imprimés à la molette lisse, avec parfois un décor secondaire incisé sur la tranche de la lèvre (n° 20350, 20342, 20368, 20331, 20324). Exceptionnellement, le décor peut être composé de triangles imbriqués. Il semble que le

<sup>48</sup> Si nous avons pu avoir accès à la céramique, nous n'avons pris connaissance d'aucune des données de fouilles. Dans la publication du rapport final, O'Connor précise que, si l'on connaît l'emplacement des trouvailles, on ne sait rien sur la stratigraphie ni la couche exacte dont provient chaque tesson, la plupart étant catalogué sous le terme générique de 'nubien'. Rares sont les tessons décrits et le pourcentage poterie égyptienne/poterie nubienne est constant sur le site. Il déduit donc de l'analyse des données archéologiques et de l'étude de la céramique plusieurs types dont certains sont identiques aux nôtres et contemporains de l'occupation égyptienne, mais d'autres dateraient du Groupe A classique (*The Old Kingdom Town at Buhen*; cf. également O'Connor, 'Nubia before the New Kingdom', dans Wenig et al., *Africa in Antiquity*, 51).

<sup>49</sup> Gratien, *Saï I*, 410; Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group Sites II*, pl. 36.



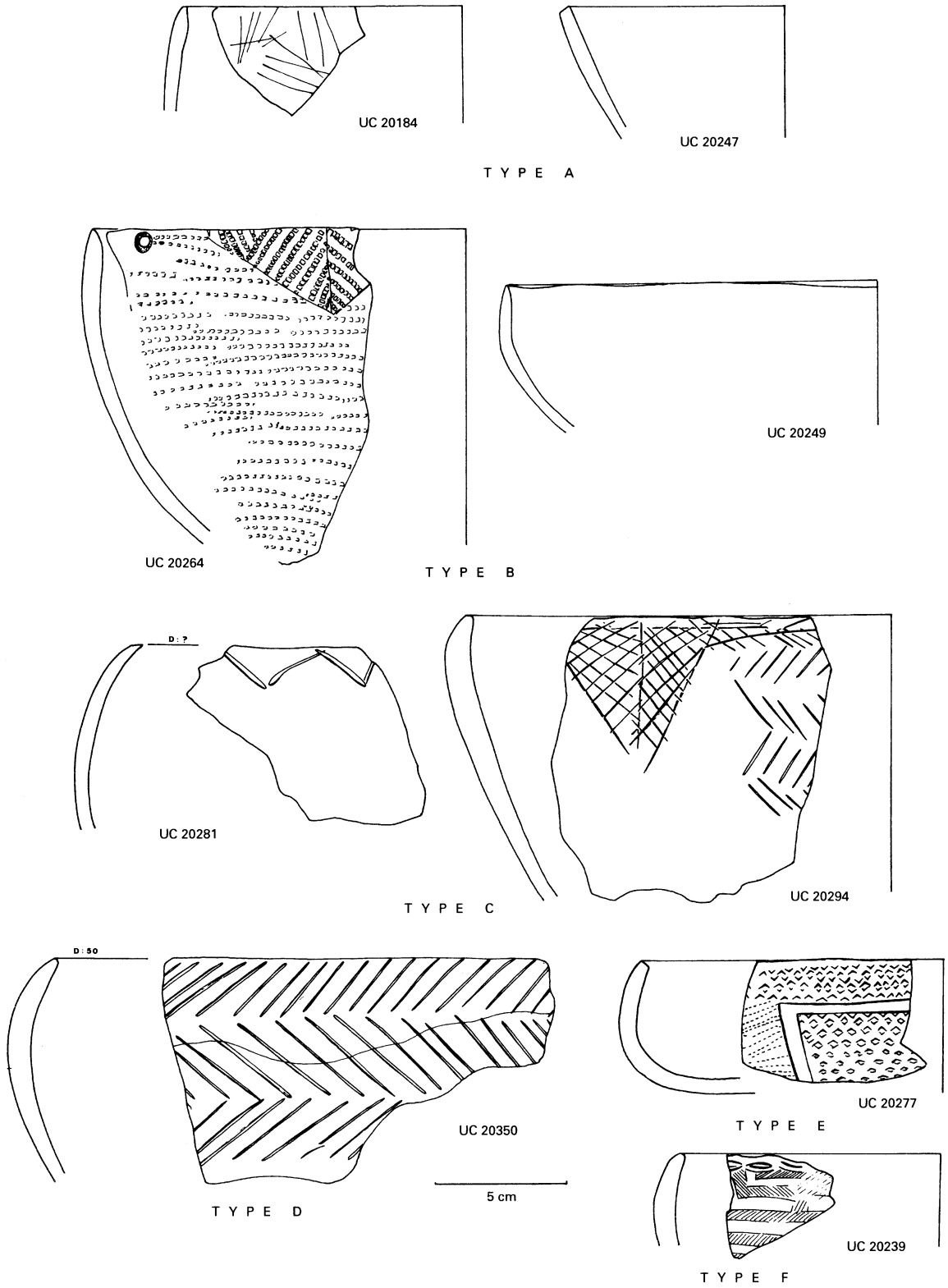


FIG. 1. Exemples de céramiques nubiennes, découvertes sur la ville de l'Ancien Empire à Bouhen (publiés avec l'aimable autorisation du Petrie Museum, University College London).

décor de chevrons ait été dessiné par bandes verticales qui se recouvrent sur le fond. Ils sont proches du type Groupe A1a7 de Nordström;<sup>50</sup>

- (e) quelques tessons rappellent des exemples anciens de Kerma ou du Groupe C avec un décor au poinçon,<sup>51</sup> et un lissage au peigne à l'intérieur;
- (f) quelques tessons comme le n° 20339: une forme arrondie à l'ouverture resserrée, couverte d'un décor géométrique incisé, d'un décor à l'ongle sous la lèvre, et lissée à la brosse à l'intérieur; le décor est très fin comme au Groupe C Ia ou au Kerma ancien. Une autre forme, certainement plus ancienne, car avec une carène très marquée, est couverte d'un décor incisé, imprimée à la molette dentelée et au poinçon sur la panse et de lignes horizontales au poinçon sous la lèvre (n° 20277);
- (g) quelques bols, non décorés et très évasés, sont couverts d'un engobe rouge épais sur les deux faces, comme on le rencontre parfois au Groupe A.

La datation de cet ensemble, qui apparaît très hétérogène, pose donc problème.<sup>52</sup> Si une part se rapproche de la belle céramique du Groupe A et montre des traits archaïques, telle la forme évasée avec lèvre dans le prolongement ou refermée du groupe (d), le reste est beaucoup moins bien connu et nous n'avons vu aucun tesson véritablement *rippled* ou coquille d'oeuf.<sup>53</sup> Il ne nous semble pas y reconnaître du matériel typiquement Groupe A classique ou terminal, ni de la culture contemporaine de Haute Nubie, le pré-Kerma.<sup>54</sup> Les vases de cuisson (type (c) ci-dessus), que l'on trouve généralement en grand nombre sur les habitats, mais exceptionnellement dans les cimetières, sont identiques à ceux rencontrés au Groupe C et au Kerma moyen<sup>55</sup> et pourraient être les vestiges d'une réoccupation tardive du lieu. Seuls quelques types pourraient être Kerma ancien d'après leur forme (panse carénée près de l'ouverture et décor imprimé), mais d'un modèle qui n'est guère répandu en Haute Nubie, ou Groupe C ancien (groupe (e) et (f) ci-dessus). Cette céramique ne correspond à aucun des ensembles que nous connaissons. Elle n'est pas Groupe A, mais présente des influences du Groupe A ainsi que des affinités avec le Groupe C Ia/b de Bietak et le Kerma ancien. Elle pourrait appartenir à une culture nubienne de Basse Nubie contemporaine de l'Ancien Empire, une 'réapparition' du Groupe B, comme Emery l'avait dénommé lui-même, contemporain mais différent de celui défini par Reisner aux environs de la première cataracte.<sup>56</sup> Et, si l'on ne connaît aucun ensemble comparable en Haute Nubie, en revanche, en

<sup>50</sup> *Neolithic and A-Group Sites* II, pl. 36.

<sup>51</sup> Groupe A XII, la de Sai (Gratien, *Sai* I, 412, fig. 308.h).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. O'Connor, forthcoming report.

<sup>53</sup> Déjà, Smith avertit qu'une partie de la céramique provient de la surface mais confirme une origine contemporaine de l'habitat égyptien; il envisage une possible datation Kerma ancien, mais comme nous l'avons écrit la céramique est différente (Smith et Giddy, *Mélanges Vercoutter*, 319-20).

<sup>54</sup> B. Privati, communication personnelle.

<sup>55</sup> Gratien, 'Le village fortifié du Groupe C à Ouadi es-Séboua Est, typologie de la céramique', *CRIPPEL* 7 (1985), fig. 13; *Sai* I, 420.

<sup>56</sup> Certains chercheurs ont déjà suggéré l'existence de groupes humains en Basse Nubie à l'Ancien Empire: Adams qui pense que Bouhen pourrait dater du Groupe A tardif (*JNES* 44 (1985), 189); Nordström qui croit en l'existence d'une population rare et pauvre (*Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, 32); Trigger explique la présence de la céramique nubienne à Bouhen comme une survivance limitée du Groupe A, ou par des Nubiens prisonniers ou des commerçants de Haute Nubie (*Nubia under the Pharaohs*, 44); Säve-Söderbergh envisage une certaine survivance du Groupe A en Basse Nubie qui pourrait s'expliquer par une pastoralisation de populations qui n'auraient pas laissé de traces (*Middle Nubian Sites* (The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, 4; Parettille, 1989), 2 et 7).

examinant avec soin les sites de la deuxième cataracte et ceux en aval, on observe des trouvailles sporadiques d'objets comparables dans les nécropoles nubiennes.

Une céramique d'un type particulier, non sans rapports avec celles du Groupe A, du Groupe C et du Kerma ancien, découverte sporadiquement et jusqu'à présent datée avec quelque imprécision, pourrait en être le reflet.

Dans le Batn el-Haggar, on rencontre une poterie imprimée et polie, rouge, qui semble intermédiaire entre le Groupe A et le Groupe C,<sup>57</sup> le groupe (b) défini ci-dessus. On la trouve dans les couches supérieures du campement et de l'habitat de Saras Ouest (11-M-7 et 11-L-14), avec les tessons de l'Ancien Empire signalés plus haut, et sur le cimetière du Groupe C 11-H-5: des vases polis rouges à bord noir, couverts sur la totalité ou en partie de bandes imprimées avec une molette aux dents carrées, horizontalement ou verticalement; les numéros 10 à 14 de AA-M-7 sont proches des exemplaires de Bouhen.<sup>58</sup>

Le type imprimé fait partie de la phase Ia dans la classification du Groupe C de Bietak,<sup>59</sup> et on le rencontre en Basse Nubie à Aniba,<sup>60</sup> à Qoustoul,<sup>61</sup> à Sayala, sur l'habitat Groupe C G/12,<sup>62</sup> à Faras,<sup>63</sup> et on le trouve au Kerma ancien sur les nécropoles en amont de la deuxième cataracte, à Akasha,<sup>64</sup> et jusqu'à Saï,<sup>65</sup> mais rarement au-delà de la troisième cataracte et à Kerma;<sup>66</sup> ainsi, à Aniba, A. M. Abou Bakr a découvert des vases très proches de ceux-ci au milieu d'une céramique très particulière et très ancienne.<sup>67</sup>

On a mis au jour sur d'autres sites des tessons similaires: à Qoustoul, le groupe VII, une céramique imprimée et incisée, dite de tradition soudanaise, rappelle celle de Bouhen.<sup>68</sup>

Nous tentons de démontrer ici qu'il existe bien une population en Basse Nubie, mais ni Groupe A ni Kerma ancien car leur céramique est différente, mais bien un groupe culturel indépendant qui, comme les autres, appartient au même ensemble culturel nubien.

<sup>57</sup> Il s'agit du type A IX de Saï au Kerma ancien et du type (b) de Bouhen, ci-dessus. Nordström qui l'a rencontré dans le survey de la deuxième cataracte considère que ce type est plus répandu au sud qu'au nord (*Kush* 14, 67).

<sup>58</sup> Mills et Nordström, *Kush* 14 (1966), 5-7; Nordström, *Kush* 14, 66, fig. 1.

<sup>59</sup> *Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Unternubiens zwischen 2200 und 1550 vor Chr.* (Wien, 1968), 95, pl. 2-12.

<sup>60</sup> Steindorff, *Aniba* I, pl. 59.8; Aniba, où dans le même cimetière, on rencontre des vases décorés de chevrons (pl. 58.9).

<sup>61</sup> B. B. Williams, *C-Group, Pan-Grave, and Kerma Remains at Adindan Cemeteries T, K, U, and J* (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, 5; Chicago, 1983), pl. 4. B, T277:2.

<sup>62</sup> Bietak, *Ausgrabungen in Sayala-Nubien 1961-1965. Denkmäler des C-Gruppe und der Pan-Gräber-Kultur* (Wien, 1966), pl. 16.16 et pl. 17.3 et C.

<sup>63</sup> Griffith, *LAAA* 8 (1921), 78 et pl. xii. 16.

<sup>64</sup> Ch. Maystre, *Akasha*, I (Genève, 1980), 222. 1-2 et 223.9.

<sup>65</sup> Bols A VIII et A IX, de Saï et tessons identiques ramassés sur un secteur ancien de la nécropole, où aucune structure autre n'a été repérée, peut-être un campement (Gratien, *Saï* I, 409-10). Récemment, quelques tessons de ce type ont été recueillis sur l'habitat de Gism el-Arba, au sud de Kerma (Gratien, à paraître).

<sup>66</sup> Kerma ancien, secteur le plus ancien: Privati, *Genava* 34 (1986), 26, fig. 2, 3 et 6 et communication personnelle.

<sup>67</sup> Grâce à la courtoisie du Professeur Sanadili, nous avons pu voir la céramique d'Aniba déposée dans les magasins de l'Organisation des Antiquités Égyptiennes à Giza. Quelques exemplaires sont montrés dans A. el M. Abou Bakr, 'Fouilles de l'université du Caire à 'Aniba', *Fouilles en Nubie (1959-1961)* (Le Caire, 1963), pl. xv B.

<sup>68</sup> Williams, *The A-Group Royal Cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L* (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition, 3; Chicago, 1986), 62-7, en particulier fig. 33, fig. 62a, pl. 14.

C'est ce type que Nordström considère présent sur les sites 'Ancien Empire' de la deuxième cataracte et les exemples que nous avons donné ci-dessus confirment cette hypothèse.<sup>69</sup>

Le type (d) de Bouhen est relativement fréquent en Basse Nubie et souvent classé Groupe A: à Abou Simbel, dans une tombe Groupe A du cimetière 215 était déposé un vase en pâte noire incisé de chevrons.<sup>70</sup> A Halfa Degheim, sur le site 277, des vases incisés de chevrons<sup>71</sup> et des vases imprimés à la roulette, mais non polis.<sup>72</sup> Plus tardifs sont les exemplaires provenant de l'abri de Korosko, du niveau A, daté du Groupe C, où l'on a découvert des tessons identiques à ceux de Bouhen.<sup>73</sup>

Ce type que l'on a parfois reconnu sur des sites Kerma est mal classé et appartient aux niveaux les plus anciens, tant à Saï qu'à Kerma même. Sur l'habitat et sur la nécropole, dans les secteurs les plus anciens et où les vestiges n'ont pas été fouillés, on remarque des tessons hachurés obliquement ou en dents de loup avec d'autres proches du type (b) ci-dessus.<sup>74</sup>

On est frappé par la similitude qui existe entre le matériel décrit ci-dessus et qui provient de la partie méridionale de la Basse Nubie et celui mis au jour sur le site de l'Ancien Empire de Bouhen et dans la deuxième cataracte. Avec toutes les réserves qu'il faut maintenir, consécutives à la fouille rapide et non exhaustive de la Basse Nubie, à l'exception de quelques sites prestigieux, et à la difficulté de la fouille des habitats de cette époque, souvent en matériaux légers où les trous de poteaux et les clayonnages sont difficiles à repérer, traces d'autant moins identifiables que les prospections se sont effectuées rapidement et sans sondages systématiques, il semble donc que l'on puisse distinguer en amont de la première cataracte une région pauvre et à la population rare qui n'a laissé que peu de traces tangibles, significatives ou identifiables. Au sud, plusieurs sites attestent d'une occupation continue entre Groupe A et Groupe C, apparentée au Kerma ancien et contemporaine de l'Ancien Empire égyptien; le territoire coïncide avec la production de la poterie dite 'coquille d'oeuf' pendant la phase qui précède, le Groupe A terminal.

L'influence de l'Égypte est certaine sur la Basse Nubie de l'Ancien Empire. Dans la partie nord, hormis les tombes signalées par Reisner, nous n'avons aucune preuve de l'existence d'un peuplement significatif. La création de comptoirs, le contrôle du commerce, la pénétration militaire, indiscutables au nord de la deuxième cataracte, se sont conjugués pour appauvrir une population qui devait être clairsemée, peut-être nomade ou semi-nomade, dont l'économie était basée sur l'élevage et qui n'a pas laissé de traces au sol. En revanche, vers le sud, dans une zone qui s'étend de la deuxième cataracte à Aniba, il subsiste des traces, bien modestes nous le reconnaissons, d'une communauté, dont le territoire correspond à celui où l'on rencontrait au Groupe A terminal la céramique coquille d'oeuf. Plus éloignée de l'Égypte et en contact avec les populations

<sup>69</sup>Nordström, *Kush* 14, 67 et suiv.

<sup>70</sup>Emery et Kirwan, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan*, 455, fig. 433-4, T. 12.

<sup>71</sup>Type connu au Groupe A classique et terminal (Nordström, *Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, site 227:1, p. 191, pl. 98.5 (poli) et site 277:11, p. 194, pl. 101, ou site 277:45, p. 206, pl. 113).

<sup>72</sup>Nordström, *ibid.*, type Ala 28 qui est dit intermédiaire (site 277:30, p. 200, pl. 36 et 107.3).

<sup>73</sup>Smith, *Preliminary Report of the Egypt Exploration Society's Nubian Survey* (Le Caire, 1962), 83, fig. 2.

<sup>74</sup>Gratien, type A 1, Saï I, 402-3 et fig. 301; F. Geus, *Rapport annuel d'activité, 1975-1976* (Khartoum, 1976), 10 et 36.

du Kerma ancien, elle a pu garder son originalité et ses membres être employés par les habitants égyptiens des comptoirs.

Les Egyptiens contrôlent les voies de communication et les sources des matières premières; ils installent et maintiennent cette politique par des campagnes militaires qui ruinent le pays à la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie. La perte de ces ressources contribue très certainement à la disparition du Groupe A et à la raréfaction des populations. Les groupes humains subsistants, en contact avec le sud et l'am, peuvent être employés comme manœuvres ou portefaix dans les carrières et les ports. On sait désormais que les Etats nubiens de la fin de l'Ancien Empire et du Moyen Empire étaient plus grands et plus puissants qu'on avait pu le croire et qu'ils ont offerts une forte résistance à la poussée égyptienne. Il semble qu'il ait existé en Basse Nubie, à l'époque du Groupe A, des chefferies, sinon des Etats, dont les cimetières de Sayala, de Qoustoul ... prouvent la complexité de l'organisation sociale; le même phénomène est bien connu pour les nécropoles du Kerma ancien et même au pré-Kerma.<sup>75</sup> Il est vraisemblable qu'il ait existé aux alentours et au nord de la deuxième cataracte une principauté similaire; incapable de résister à la pression, elle passera sous le contrôle de l'Egypte; seules quelques sépultures et un matériel isolé en conservent la trace.

Cette hypothèse demandera à être confirmée dès la publication du matériel de Bouhen. Quoiqu'il en soit, nous proposons de voir dans ce matériel dit d'un 'type intermédiaire', les vestiges d'un groupe culturel nubien, certes clairsemé, qui occupait la Vallée du Nil à l'Ancien Empire.

<sup>75</sup> Reinold, communication personnelle. Sur les questions principautés/Etat, voir la publication récente de D. O'Connor, *Ancient Nubia. Egypt's Rival in Africa* (Philadelphia, 1993).

# 'HOMOSEXUAL' DESIRE AND MIDDLE KINGDOM LITERATURE\*

By R. B. PARKINSON

Sexual activity is a constant feature of human society, but sexuality has to be studied as a distinct cultural construct. It is articulated in texts and other cultural artefacts. Extant references to sexual acts between men in Middle Kingdom texts are few. In religious and commemorative texts such acts were presented as aggressive, but literary works accommodated a recognition of 'homosexual' desire. Two conclusions are suggested from this: that sexual relationships between men were considered irregular by the literate elite, and that the decorum of official texts differed from that of literary (fictional) texts. Three works in particular are discussed: the *Teaching of Ptahhotep*, the *Tale of Horus and Seth*, and the *Tale of Neferkare and Sasenet*.

In thys place seemeth to be some savour of disorderly love, which the learned call paederastice: but it is gathered beside his meaning. E. Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender, Januarye* (1579); gloss to l. 55

## The cultural construction of sexuality

ALTHOUGH sexual activity may be a biological given, sexuality is, as Michel Foucault argued, a variable cultural artefact, a way of putting sex into discourse; as such, 'the history of sexuality ... must first be written from the viewpoint of a history of discourses'.<sup>1</sup> Between modern expressions of sexuality and those of ancient Egypt differences are immediately apparent.<sup>2</sup> For example, explicitly sexual motifs seem to have had a relatively limited role in art and literature: both text and representations offer a high proportion of coded images or metaphors,<sup>3</sup> and the higher levels of representational art are reticent about sexual activity,<sup>4</sup> although direct representations and references to sexual acts and potency occur in sacred contexts. Direct representations of sexual acts occur more frequently in the less exalted levels of art found on ostraca and, in one case, papyrus.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, love-magic is attested by only one extant example in the pharaonic textual record, although it is common in Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>M. Foucault, *A History of Sexuality, I: An Introduction* (trans. R. Hurley; Harmondsworth, 1981). Quotation from p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>L. Manniche offers a popular account in *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 1987); review by G. Robins, 'Ancient Egyptian Sexuality', *DE* 11 (1988), 61–72.

<sup>3</sup>L. Störk, 'Erotik', *LÄ* II, 4–11.

<sup>4</sup>For example, P. Derchain, 'Symbols and Metaphors in Literature and Representations of Private Life', *Royal Anthropological Institute News* 15 (1976), 7–10.

<sup>5</sup>J. A. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften* (Turin, 1968), with examples of other representations.

<sup>6</sup>P. Smither, 'A Ramesside Love Charm', *JEA* 27 (1941), 131–2. The similarity of Coffin Text Spell 576 (CT VI, 191a–p) to a love-spell (J. F. Borghouts, *An Introductory Guide to the Coffin Texts* (Amsterdam, 1973), 3), suggests that such spells existed in the Middle Kingdom. One Coptic love-charm from the sixth

Little explicit discourse about sexuality is preserved in the Egyptian record, and many scholars have argued that such discourse is almost exclusively a modern category.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, linguistic and artefactual sources can be examined to deduce attitudes to sexual acts and desires, but as the subject is surrounded by modern as well as ancient taboos, analysis has often proved problematic.<sup>8</sup> Rather than drawing on evidence relating to sexual acts in general, it is preferable to treat a limited sample, in order to exploit the methodological models offered by recent research. Same-gender sexual acts offer a suitable range of evidence for such an approach: they have been considered 'disorderly' and 'unspeakable' by many cultures, and their minority status can provide insights into the assumptions implicit in 'normal' sexuality. The methodological issues surrounding sexuality are clear in the formulation of this problematic type of sexual acts. The first phase of research into this minority tendency—especially in American and English-speaking scholarship—has been a process of historical reclamation, particularly of identifying periods of repression and of providing positive images, such as the work of Boswell on the medieval period.<sup>9</sup> Little such material can be recovered from pre-Classical cultures, and studies that include Egypt often do so as part of a prologue to later periods, particularly in order to provide a context for the influential Biblical examples;<sup>10</sup> an exception is the thorough sociological survey of Greenberg.<sup>11</sup> In more recent years historians such as Halperin have continued to concentrate on the well-known and extensive Classical evidence, but have increasingly discussed the subject in social terms, questioning the definition of historical 'homosexuality'.<sup>12</sup>

'Homosexuality' is a modern scientific construct, as is the division of sexuality into two (largely exclusive) categories of 'homosexuals' and 'heterosexuals',<sup>13</sup> although historical evidence is sufficient to show that people who have same-sex relationships are not restricted to the modern world. This dichotomy has led to the controversy between the 'essentialist' and the 'constructivist' approaches in which homosexuality is an 'essential' unvariable feature of human nature, or is a variable cultural construct; most studies adopt

century AD is between two men (Smither, 'A Coptic Love-Charms', *JEA* 25 (1939), 173–4), but the genders in this are probably due to the post-Hellenistic context, despite the spell's similarities with earlier pharaonic rites (R. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993), 178).

<sup>7</sup>See, for example, the 'Introduction' in D. M. Halperin et al. (eds), *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton, 1990), 3–20. A now classic treatment of the problems of discussing ancient sexuality is R. Padgug, 'Sexual Matters: Rethinking Sexuality in History' (1979), reprinted in M. B. Duberman et al. (eds), *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Lesbian and Gay Past* (London, 1989), 54–64.

<sup>8</sup>For scholarly reticence see, for example, J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago, 1980), 18–22; E. Richter-Ærøe, 'Sisenet und Phiops II.', *LÄ* V, 957; Smither, *JEA* 25, 173 n. 5 (an 'embarrassing' love charm between men).

<sup>9</sup>For a specific example see Boswell's defence of using the word 'gay' in a historical research (*Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 41–59).

<sup>10</sup>For example, P. Coleman, *Christian Attitudes to Homosexuality* (London, 1980), 54–5.

<sup>11</sup>D. F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago and London, 1988), 127–35.

<sup>12</sup>D. M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (London, 1990); other works cited below.

<sup>13</sup>For example, Halperin, *One Hundred Years*, in particular the title essay (15–40), and Chapter 2, "'Homosexuality": A Cultural Construct' (41–53). See also Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality, passim*.

in varying degrees a constructionist approach, in which sexuality is viewed as being culturally determined rather than a universal given.<sup>14</sup>

It is now widely accepted that sexuality as a dominant characterising force was not recognised in the ancient world: sexual preferences were acknowledged, but only as one would recognise someone's taste in food without characterising him or her on that basis as a member of a sub-species of mankind. In Europe and the Mediterranean, personal identity seems not to have been defined in terms of sexual preferences before at least the seventeenth century AD,<sup>15</sup> and 'homosexual' misdeeds were viewed as part of fleshly weakness to which all people were prone.<sup>16</sup>

Halperin has argued that the issue is not to analyse how an ancient society was able to articulate an experience that is now called 'homosexuality', but is 'to recover the terms in which the experiences of individuals belonging to past societies were actually constituted'. Thus the historian should not 'trace the history of "homosexuality" as if it were a *thing*', but instead 'analyze how the significance of same-sex sexual contacts has been variously constructed over time by members of human living-groups.'<sup>17</sup>

I do not offer here a discussion of sexuality and taxonomy but, as Foucault suggested, of discourses. The New Historicist critic Bruce Smith, who has analysed erotic themes in English Renaissance literature,<sup>18</sup> summarises his approach as follows:

To assume, as some modernist critics have done, that 'official' discourse—moral, legal, and medical—is always in control of poetic discourse is, surely, just as naive as to assume that poets are the unacknowledged legislators of mankind. Rather than dictating or being dictated to, poetic discourse often *mediates* between the ideal prescriptions of philosophy and the untidy facts of history. ... The function of ideology, Marx argues, is to conceal contradictions and to present a falsely coherent account of how things are. Poetic discourse, I believe, can—under certain conditions, at least—address those contradictions.<sup>19</sup>

In a balance between the extremes of the 'essentialist' and 'constructivist' approaches, I assume that same-gender sexual acts, such as sodomy, took place in ancient Egypt, although the interpretation of these acts was unique to the culture; that 'homosexual' desire existed as an experience; and that some individuals, then as now, may have had a greater tendency to this desire and/or these acts. The Egyptian evidence is limited to male acts by the restricted position of women in the presentation of high culture.<sup>20</sup>

I examine the way in which sexual acts were formulated in different types of discourse

<sup>14</sup> Conveniently juxtaposed discussions: Halperin, 'Sex before Sexuality: Pederasty, Politics, and Power in Classical Athens', in Duberman et al. (eds), *Hidden from History*, 37–53; Boswell, 'Revolutions, Universals, and Sexual Categories', *ibid.* 17–36; recent summary of the controversy: B. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England* (Chicago, 1991), 3–29; recent critique of Halperin's approach: John Thorp, 'The Social Construction of Homosexuality', *Phoenix* 46 (1992), 54–61.

<sup>15</sup> Padgug, 'Sexual Matters', 59. On the question of 'taste' see Halperin, *One Hundred Years*, 26–7. Compare Foucault, *History of Sexuality* I, 43: 'the sodomite had been [until 1870] a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species'.

<sup>16</sup> A. Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1988), 16–17; Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 24–9, 344.

<sup>17</sup> *One Hundred Years*, 28–9.

<sup>18</sup> *Homosexual Desire*, in particular 17–18.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

<sup>20</sup> G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993), 176–91 and *passim*.



in the Middle Kingdom, demonstrating the distinctive decorum of literary texts with respect to this subject matter. The restriction of literacy in ancient Egypt means that all written language is in some sense 'official' discourse. Within the body of Egyptian texts, the nature of literature has been much debated, but there has been a general movement towards recognising the distinctive character and function of specifically literary discourse.<sup>21</sup> Such studies suggest that Smith's remarks may be relevant to Egyptian texts: Loprieno has drawn a distinction between *topos*, articulated in commemorative and religious texts, and *mimesis*, which is a characteristic feature of 'literary' texts,<sup>22</sup> a distinction parallel with that Smith draws between 'official' and 'poetic' discourse. The Middle Kingdom institution of 'literature' was almost certainly a less distinct mode of discourse than in Elizabethan England, since writing as a whole was less diverse and less widespread. Literature was an elite product,<sup>23</sup> and therefore part of 'official discourse', but there is evidence to suggest that its decorum can be distinguished from that of other forms of discourse as represented by commemorative inscriptions, or religious and ritual texts. It seems that there existed, if not a defined literary canon or an institution with exact boundaries, a category of texts which were distinctive by virtue of, among other things, their recognised fictionality. Such fictionality allowed a looser decorum, as in the *Tale of Sinuhe*, where the literary autobiography includes a freer discussion of problematic events than is attested in non-fictional autobiographies.<sup>24</sup> Many less specific examples of this can be cited, from the pessimistic view of society in the 'laments', to the fallibility of the kings in the royal Teachings, and the slightly indecorous frivolity of King Sneferu in the *Tale of King Cheops' Court*.<sup>25</sup>

### Non-fictional evidence

The following review examines the evidence for sexual relationships between men provided by cultural artefacts other than narrowly literary (fictional) texts, drawing on evidence from other periods to supplement the limited Middle Kingdom sources.

The funerary record shows a lack of unmarried people. Whale's survey of 93 cases from the New Kingdom provides only three examples of men whose tombs contain no evidence for a wife.<sup>26</sup> This suggests that there was a general conformity to a social ideal of the family, and reunion with one's family—including one's wife—was part of the afterlife.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> E.g. J. Baines 'Interpreting Sinuhe', *JEA* 68 (1982), 31–44. See also A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (ÄA 48; Wiesbaden, 1988); idem, 'The Sign of Literature in the Shipwrecked Sailor', in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991* (Leuven, 1991), 209–18; idem, 'Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Literary Theory', in J. S. Cooper and G. Schwartz (eds), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the 21st Century* (Winona Lake, in press); R. B. Parkinson, 'Teachings, Discourses and Tales from the Middle Kingdom', in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 91–122.

<sup>22</sup> *Topos und Mimesis, passim*.

<sup>23</sup> For example, C. J. Eyre, 'The Semna Stelae: Quotation, Genre and Functions of Literature', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), I, 134–65.

<sup>24</sup> Baines, *JEA* 68, 33–4.

<sup>25</sup> Compare Parkinson, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 101, on the 'dark' tone of much literature.

<sup>26</sup> S. Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs* (Sydney, 1989), 244–5. As she notes, the lack of a wife in the tomb does not necessarily imply that the owner had remained unmarried throughout his life.

<sup>27</sup> In the Coffin Texts, there is a series of spells concerning the dead man's family: Spells 131, 134–6, 142–6.

Marriage is, of course, no evidence for a lack of 'homosexual' activities or inclinations,<sup>28</sup> but it is an indication of the prevailing social attitudes. Egyptian ideology gave prominence to the family (whether extended or not) and marriage. In a society where state concerns and values are formulated in terms of kinship, one can hypothesise that any sexual relationships which deviated from the family norm would provoke a hostile attitude.<sup>29</sup> The same is true of attitudes towards inherently infertile sexual acts in a society where, as Robins remarks, 'sex and fertility were inseparable',<sup>30</sup> and where begetting a son was of great importance.<sup>31</sup> Art and texts show clearly distinct gender roles; there is no tradition of any 'intermediate sex' as having an established role in human society; androgyny in representations is limited to divine or royal figures who are demiurges.<sup>32</sup> In mythology, there is an intimate union between Re and Osiris, but this is not articulated in explicitly sexual terms.<sup>33</sup> Social bonds and intimacy between men ('homosocialism') seem also to have been important to the state, but these are not expressed in sexual terms.<sup>34</sup>

It seems that Egyptian texts provide no terms for 'sexualities' (as indeed one would expect from the work of constructivist historians); most of the relevant extant vocabulary is derived from descriptions of penetrative sexual activity rather than expressions of desire. The *locus classicus* for Middle Egyptian vocabulary is the twenty-seventh declaration in the 'Negative Confession' of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 125; in this the deceased says, 'I did not *nk* a *nkk(w)*'.<sup>35</sup> The verb *nk*, 'to have penetrative sex (with)', has no particular overtones, positive or negative;<sup>36</sup> a *nkk(w)* is 'a man on whom a sexual act is performed', that is a passive partner in penetrative sex, someone who is sodomised

<sup>28</sup> For such acts in the context of marriage see, for example, Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*<sup>2</sup>, 67–70. In Classical Athens sexual relationships between men and marriage existed together as institutions, but there is no evidence to suggest anything similar in Egypt (see below).

<sup>29</sup> Boswell discusses the status of homosexuality in societies structured around extended family units, with reference to evidence from late antiquity (*Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, 31–4 and *passim*).

<sup>30</sup> *DE* 11, 66.

<sup>31</sup> For example, see the Late Period stela of Padiisobek, who laments his inability to have children: M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (Freiburg, 1992), 191–201.

<sup>32</sup> See Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster, 1985), 118 with references, in a discussion of apparently androgynous features in male fecundity figures. I know of no examples from representations of human society. Eunuchs seem to have existed, although they are rarely mentioned apart from in execration texts: G. Posener, *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement* (Cairo, 1987), 36–8; see also G. E. Kadish, in R. Anthes et al., *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), 55–62.

<sup>33</sup> See J. van Dijk, 'The Nocturnal Wanderings of King Neferkarec', in C. Berger et al. (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (Cairo, 1994), IV, 387–93, esp. 389–91.

<sup>34</sup> E. K. Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York, 1985), 1; compare Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 257–9 on relationships between men in medieval literature. Examples of homosocialism in Egypt include the loyalist eulogies of the 'lovableness' of the king: E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches I: Die Phraseologie* (ASAW 61/1; Berlin, 1970), 275–6 (G 1.32–5); many official titles are based on intimacy with the king (e.g. *rh-njswt*).

<sup>35</sup> E. Naville, *Tb*, II, 302. The phrase is parallel to the verb *nwh*, which H. Goedicke ('Unrecognized Sportings', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 101) proposes involves oral masturbation; however, the parallelism need not imply that the verb denotes a sexual act involving another man.

<sup>36</sup> J. J. Janssen, 'Two Egyptian Commandments', in J. H. Kamstra et al. (eds), *Funerary Symbols and Religion: Essays Dedicated to Professor M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss* (Kampen, 1988), 52–9, esp. 52–5. On translating *nk*, see Eyre, 'Crime and Adultery in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 70 (1984), 93 n. 12.

(as opposed to an active *nkw*, attested as a term of abuse from the Old Kingdom<sup>37</sup>). The words seem to distinguish ‘active’ and ‘passive’ roles, terms which I use here.<sup>38</sup> *nkkw* refers to an individual as the participant in an action: the prohibition is against an activity, sodomy/buggery, not a category of person, a ‘homosexual’ inherently characterised by an action. However, a perfective participle could denote a category: not just ‘he who has heard’ but a ‘hearer’.<sup>39</sup> It is uncertain why the deceased should not just deny having sex with a ‘male’. The same prohibition occurs in a much later local list,<sup>40</sup> and it may be significant that *nkkw* is only attested in these contexts.

The nature and range of the statements in these texts is unclear. It is evident that sexual activity was not of itself unseemly, and the prohibitions may relate to specific contexts as well as to specific objects. Elsewhere in the ‘Negative Confession’ the deceased denies *nking a hmt-tj*, ‘a married woman’;<sup>41</sup> this may suggest that sexual actions between men were regarded as the same sort of misdemeanour as adultery, and the same association occurs later (n. 40). This association is probably due to the sexual nature of both acts, and does not necessarily reflect any other comparison, such as their intrinsic ethical significance or degree of seriousness. The context of the word *nkkw*, however, shows that such sexual activity was an ethical concern, rather than a ‘subject for self-reflection’.<sup>42</sup> Despite the possible restricted relevance of the ‘Negative Confession’, and although it is not attested before the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is likely that the negative attitude that it embodies was the ‘official’ ideal throughout pharaonic history, and that such sexual activities were considered a deviation from Maat.<sup>43</sup>

This is necessarily an argument from silence. There is no certain evidence to suggest any different attitude. Three ‘positive images’ of such sexual actions have been proposed on the basis of representational art, but all are questionable:

- (1) The most striking is from the Old Kingdom: in the iconography of the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep the relationship between the two women replaces the usual relationship between the tomb-owner and his wife. This has been cited as showing a same-sex couple, although both men have wives;<sup>44</sup> however, the iconography is more plausibly explained as showing a pair of twins.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>37</sup>P. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l’ancien empire* (Strasbourg, 1925), 82; Janssen, in *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, 53.

<sup>38</sup>The distinction of roles is not invariably in these terms: see, for example, Boswell, in *Hidden from History*, 33.

<sup>39</sup>The role is defined in terms of a passive form, whereas in the Classical world grammatically active terms suggest that the act of receiving the seed, not just passivity, made it disgraceful: Boswell, in *Hidden from History*, 33.

<sup>40</sup>P. Montet, ‘Le fruit défendu’, *Kēmi* 11 (1950), 104–5, 112–13, 116.

<sup>41</sup>Naville, *Tb.* II, 298 (19). For *hmt-tj* as a type of woman, see Goedicke, *JARCE* 6, 98–9; H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 112 (1989), 24.

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Smith, *Homosexual Desire*, 10.

<sup>43</sup>See J. Assmann, *Maat: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1990), 136–49: Chapter 125 as ‘die Kodifizierung der Maat’; also Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies*, 103–44: the relationship between Chapter 125 and Middle Kingdom autobiographies.

<sup>44</sup>The initial report suggested several possible relationships including a ‘cordial friendship’ (Mounir Basta, *ASAE* 63 (1979), 47), and the tomb was included in W. Westendorf, ‘Homosexualität’, *LÄ* II, 1273; R. Schlichting, ‘Sexualethos (-ethik)’, *LÄ* V, 920; Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 130 (with additional references). Publication: A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), with discussion of the family pp. 25–44.

<sup>45</sup>Discussed by Baines, *Orientalia* 54 (1985), 461–82, esp. 463–70; this interpretation has been disputed: G. Reeder, *KMT* 4.3 (1993), 3–4.

- (2) The second example is from the Middle Kingdom, and is a faience funerary figurine which comes from a late Twelfth Dynasty tomb at Lisht.<sup>46</sup> The figurine is an apparently ithyphallic squatting male wearing an elaborately patterned kilt. This was interpreted by Riefstahl as representing a 'bedizened catamite', placed there for the (presumably male) tomb-owner as a male concubine figure, 'a forbidden pleasure which the Egyptian of Tomb 315 ... had enjoyed in this world or hoped to enjoy in a better world to come.'<sup>47</sup> Bourriau, however, has concluded that it is a conventional male figure holding an offering table; the supposed enormous phallus is the broken support of the table.<sup>48</sup>
- (3) The third example is another possible male-male couple sanctioned by Egyptian society, from the Eighteenth Dynasty: that of king Akhenaten and 'Smenkhkare'. This sexual relationship has been suggested on the basis of the two embracing royal figures on Berlin stela 17813, but their genders are debatable.<sup>49</sup> Even if one assumes that both of the figures are male, it is invalid to deduce from this that the male Smenkhkare's favour under Akhenaten was due to a 'homosexual' rather than a 'homosocial' relationship. Apart from the controversial nature of the scene, the period as a whole is too exceptional for it to be used as evidence of a norm.

It is difficult to ascertain what representations were intended to evoke sexual relationships. There are representations of physically intimate relationships between men, but only as there are between members of a family, such as the Eleventh Dynasty stela showing one Amenemhat and his father embracing;<sup>50</sup> as Baines remarks, such motifs 'do not have a sexual meaning, as opposed to displaying socially and emotionally linked roles'.<sup>51</sup> Such 'homosocialism' is not necessarily sexual, although it may appear so to scholars from cultures unaccustomed to asexual physical intimacy. Many social relationships can have an erotic aspect without being sexual, and the boundaries of such eroticism are difficult to define in any culture.<sup>52</sup> The existence of Egyptian prohibitions against sexual acts between men suggests that the approved 'homosocial' links between men were distinct from 'homosexual' relationships. Most works of art were commissioned by and for male officials. Representations of the male physique seem, nevertheless, to embody an erotic potential; one can, for example, compare the broad-shouldered ideal of the representational canon with the desire expressed by a woman in the *Tale of the Two Brothers* for a man with strong shoulders.<sup>53</sup> In the male world of art, however, the

<sup>46</sup>Tomb 315, North Pyramid Cemetery, east side (now in the Brooklyn Museum): see J. Bourriau, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 17.

<sup>47</sup>E. Riefstahl, 'An Enigmatic Faience Figure', *Miscellanea Wilbouriana*, I (1972), 137-43; quote from p. 143.

<sup>48</sup>In Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 17 n. 85. Another problematic statuette, apparently from a burial, was published by G. Daressy, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 234-5, pl. 2. It was excavated from a Late Period context at Sa el-Hagar (Sais) and it seems to show a reclining bearded Syrian holding a smaller reclining male(?) by the hand; Daressy considered that this represented 'une scène d'orgie entre Syriens'.

<sup>49</sup>J. R. Harris, *Acta Orientalia* 35 (1973), 5-13, argued against 'homosexual fantasies' (p. 9) of identifying both figures as male. See further S. Tawfik, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 159-61, who reaffirmed the possibility that both figures are male. A recent review of the Smenkhkare controversy in general is: J. P. Allen, 'Nefertiti and Smenkh-ka-re', *GM* 141 (1994), 7-17.

<sup>50</sup>Cairo JE 45626: M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), no. 79.

<sup>51</sup>*Orientalia* 54, 467.

<sup>52</sup>See Sedgwick, *Between Men*, 1-5. For Egyptian examples see n. 34.

<sup>53</sup>*LESt*, 12 (3.4-6).

portrayal of men as desirable and of gods as potent is not necessarily homoerotic. The lack of any male equivalent for specifically erotic female motifs such as the naked adolescent girl in the New Kingdom is significant in this context.<sup>54</sup> Representational art's coded references to sexual acts seem to concern pairings of men and women exclusively.

References to sexual activity between men in commemorative and religious texts from the Middle Kingdom are few. No direct description of such an act has been identified in commemorative inscriptions. A Heracleopolitan Period autobiography of one Khety from Abydos contains a phrase which Goedicke has interpreted as a denial of 'homosexuality':

*n-;b(=j)-mrt-nds* [...] (l. x + 8).  
I did not wish the love of a youth.<sup>55</sup>

Fischer-Elfert, however, proposes an alternative rendering which is more probable in the context of the surrounding verses:

Nicht habe ich mein Begehren auf eine verheiratete Frau gerichtet,  
Nicht habe ich die Geliebte eines Bürgers begehrt.<sup>56</sup>

In the Coffin Texts it is clear that sexual activity (*nk*) was one of the expected things in the afterlife,<sup>57</sup> but often no specific partner/object is mentioned, although Spell 619 refers to '*nking with (m) my wife*' (CT VI, 234*a*). Such activity was not just a source of pleasure and potency, but was also evoked as a source of rebirth;<sup>58</sup> in this context sexual activity was implicitly heterosexual. Spell 576, for example, gives a man the power to '*nk in this land day and night*' (CT VI, 191*l*), and the next clause takes it for granted that the implied object was a woman: '*and the desire of the woman beneath him will come each time he nks*' (CT VI, 191*m-n*). Same-gender sex is mentioned in the Coffin Texts, in Spell 635, where the deceased claims that:

Re has no power over N.  
[It is N] who takes away his breath.  
Atem has no power over N.  
N *nks* his backside (*rt*) (CT VI, 258*f-g*).<sup>59</sup>

The passage suggests that sodomy is a demonstration of power over someone, and is not a matter of desire. Despite the context of the deceased entering the afterlife, the act has nothing to do with initiation, as it has in many cultures where sexual contact between a mature man and a youth can mark the latter's transition from childhood to manhood.<sup>60</sup> There is another reference in Spell 700, but the context is obscure.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Robins, 'Some Images of Women in New Kingdom Art and Literature', in B. Lesko (ed.) *Women's Earliest Records: From Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Atlanta, 1989), 104–16 esp. 108–9; idem, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 180–6.

<sup>55</sup>*JARCE* 6, 102. Original publication: W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, III (London, 1904), pl. xxix.1.

<sup>56</sup>*GM* 112, 24.

<sup>57</sup>For the non-negative sense of *nk*, see Janssen, in Kamstra et al. (eds), *Funerary Symbols*, 52–5.

<sup>58</sup>On possible erotic aspects of funerary scenes, see Robins, 'Problems in Interpreting Egyptian Art', *DE* 17 (1990), 45–58.

<sup>59</sup>From two coffins from Saqqara (one belonging to a woman), dated by H. Willems to 'the time of Amenemhat II or later': *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (Leiden, 1988), 106.

<sup>60</sup>H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 21.

<sup>61</sup>In a passage talking of Geb honouring the dead man: CT VI, 333*h* 'his phallus is between the buttocks of his son and his heir'. I suggest that the son is Geb's, and the phallus belongs to the dead man, and that

For the implications of this act one must draw on evidence from other periods. Sodomy features in the Pyramid Texts, where it is an injury that Horus and Seth inflict on each other:

Horus has insinuated (*nr*) his semen into the backside (*cr̄t*) of Setekh;  
Setekh has insinuated his semen into the backside of Horus.<sup>62</sup>

A similar injury is described in detail in the Late Egyptian *Contendings of Horus and Seth*,<sup>63</sup> where Seth attempts to sodomise Horus after a peaceful banquet, and then claims to have done on him the 'work of a male' or 'warrior' (*kꜣt-ḥꜣwtj*: 12.3).<sup>64</sup> The gods, when they hear, 'cried aloud and spat out before Horus' (12.4). The description suggests that this act, although enforced during a 'holiday', concerns aggression and the infliction of ignominy. This ignominy is also in part to do with impregnating an opponent with semen as a poison,<sup>65</sup> and the subsequent manipulations with the ejaculate have to do with the theft of virility.<sup>66</sup> The youth of the victim, Horus, is mobilised as a sign of the victim's (physical) weakness ('paedophilia' does not seem to be relevant here). It has been suggested that a similar mythical incident may be attested in the Ramesside calendar preserved in P. Sallier IV and P. Cairo 86637 (second month of Akhet, day 5),<sup>67</sup> but this passage is to be interpreted otherwise.<sup>68</sup> In general, the sexual act between men is presented as aggression, and as baleful.

From the detailed account in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, it seems that the 'passive' role of receiving the seed was disgraceful, but no stigma seems to be attached to the active role, even though the declarations of the Book of the Dead imply that it was prohibited. Halperin has noted similar variations in non-violent sexual acts in Classical Athens, suggesting that such acts were 'non-relational' manifestations of social roles, informed by an 'ethos of phallic penetration as domination'.<sup>69</sup> The inclusion of sodomy

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the act has a similar function to that in Spell 635. (Other passages noted by Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 129 n. 21, are not relevant.)

<sup>62</sup>J. Leclant, 'Les textes de la pyramide de Pépi I<sup>er</sup> (Saqqara): reconstitution de la paroi est de l'antechambre', *CRAIBL* 1977, 277–9, col. 30. It is unlikely to have been an 'act of reconciliation' as Borghouts suggests ('Monthu and Matrimonial Squabbles', *RdE* 33 (1981), 20 n. 71); see also Baines, 'Egyptian Myth and Discourse: Myth, Gods, and the Early Written and Iconographic Record', *JNES* 50 (1991), 94–5; W. Barta, 'Zur Reziprozität der homosexuellen Beziehung zwischen Horus und Seth', *GM* 129 (1992), 33–4. Another proposed reference to such acts in the Pyramid Texts §§651a–652a has been dismissed by J. G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* (Liverpool, 1960), 41–2.

<sup>63</sup>The incident may also be alluded to in magical texts; W. Westendorf, 'Ein neuer Fall der "homosexuellen Episode" zwischen Horus und Seth? (pLeiden 348 Nr.4)', *GM* 97 (1987), 71–7; other allusions, Barta, *GM* 129, 37–8.

<sup>64</sup>*LESt*, 53. *ḥꜣwtj* is probably just 'male' (not 'warrior': a similar phrase occurs in the *Tale of the Two Brothers* in a context where warriorship is irrelevant (*rḥ n-ḥꜣwtj* (3.6): *LESt*, 12). From what follows the gods expect Seth's semen to 'come out' of Horus' body, showing that anal penetration is meant.

<sup>65</sup>Summary in Westendorf, *LÄ* II, 1272. This may be evoked in the Pyramid Text cited above, where sodomy is associated with a 'serpent': Leclant, *CRAIBL* 1977, 279.

<sup>66</sup>Note Isis' horror in *Horus and Seth* when she sees the semen on Horus' hand (11.6–7: *LESt*, 52). The homosexual episode in general is discussed by Griffiths, *Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 41–6; H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*<sup>2</sup> (Leiden, 1977), 37–41.

<sup>67</sup>Posener, *ZÄS* 96 (1969), 33 n. 26; E. Brunner-Traut, *Antaios* 12/4 (1970), 337–8. Read thus, however, the passage may concern adultery rather than sodomy: Borghouts, *RdE* 33, 19–21.

<sup>68</sup>See now C. Leitz, *Tagewählerei: Das Buch ḥꜣt nḥḥ ꜣꜣ.wy ꜥꜣt und verwandte Texte* (Wiesbaden 1994), 67–71.

<sup>69</sup>Halperin, *One Hundred Years*, 29–38 (quotation from p. 35); for examples from a range of cultures, see Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 149, 156–8, 176, 249.

in narratives about the gods is not a sign of approval of sexual relationships between men; denigration connected with sodomy can occur in ideologies that are generally intolerant of male–male sexual relationships.<sup>70</sup>

The episode in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth* is not naturalistic, but there is a possible reference to an actual instance of male–male rape in the Turin Indictment Papyrus. One entry in a list of misdeeds reads: ‘charge concerning the violation (*hr*) done by this sailor Panakhtta [... to(?) ...], a field-labourer of the estate of Khnum, lord of Elephantine’ (verso 3.4–5; *RAD* 81.16–82.1). Parallels in modern times also raise the possibility that such acts were carried out to inflict ignominy in real life. Griffiths refers to an incident at Sesebi in 1936–7; Hornblower cites a ceremonial parallel from 1895: ‘At the Mulid el Far, an annual festival in Cairo held on the birthday of the Sheikh of that name, round his mosque, a public representation was given on a cart of the act of pederasty.’<sup>71</sup> These suggest that such defilement attested in religious texts did take place in real life as acts of illegal aggression, and in some circumstances could be a publicly sanctioned practice.

Whatever the actuality of this practice, sexual denigration was part of official discourse in the Middle Kingdom. In the boundary stela text of Senwosret III attested at Semna and Uronarti, the word *hmjw* (*Wb.* III, 80.7) occurs. It is apparently derived from *hm*, ‘to retreat’ (*Wb.* III, 79.1–21), but the phallus determinative shows that the word had a sexual aspect,<sup>72</sup> and it is later synonymous with *nkk(w)* in taboos.<sup>73</sup> Presumably to ‘turn the back’ is tantamount to allowing oneself to be buggered. The term is used as if denoting a category of Egyptians characterised by their ‘cowardly’ temperament, similar to vile foreigners:

Aggression is bravery;  
retreat (*ht*) is vile.

He who is driven from this boundary is a true *hmjw*. (ll. 8–9)<sup>74</sup>

A later word with the same meaning and the same determinative is used as a derogatory term for enemies including Seth: *hmtj* (*Wb.* III, 80.8–11). The *t* is derived from the nominal ending, not from *hmt*, ‘woman’.<sup>75</sup> Some punning association between *hmjw* and *hmt* may, however, have been made during the Middle Kingdom: in the early Twelfth Dynasty *Teaching of King Amenemhat I*, the assassinated king says that if he had been able to take arms against his bodyguard when they attacked him:

I would have made the *hmjw* retreat (*ht*) with a charge. (ed. Helck, 7d).

<sup>70</sup>A modern example of this apparent ambivalent (i.e. self-contradictory) attitude towards sodomy is provided by J. Goldberg, *Sodomities: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, 1992), 1–5.

<sup>71</sup>Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 44 (compare A. H. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty ... The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I* (London, 1931), 22 n. 2). G. D. Hornblower, ‘Further Notes on Phallism in Ancient Egypt’, *Man* 27 (1927), 150–3 (quotation from p. 151). For anal rape as a punishment for offenders as well as enemies see Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 156–7, 181, 249.

<sup>72</sup>See Kadish in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, 59–60. In the stela text the two words *hmjw* and *hm*, ‘retreat’, occur in a related context (ll. 8, 10). Eyre gives an extreme translation of *hmjw* as ‘pansy’, in Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies Presented to Miriam Lichtheim I*, 135.

<sup>73</sup>Montet, *Kémi* 11, 104.

<sup>74</sup>A similar use and similar context occurs in the ‘Qadesh Poem’: *KRI* II, 70.1.

<sup>75</sup>For the ‘agentive -*tj*’ see, for example, J. B. Callender, *Middle Egyptian* (Malibu, 1975), 53 (§3.6.2.4). *hmtj* is related to the word for ‘woman’ by Kadish, in *Studies in Honor of J. A. Wilson*, 59.

Although there are no directly relevant sexual connotations, the raiser of the attack is alluded to as a 'woman' (*hmt*) two stanzas later (ed. Helck, 9a). The attackers may be *hmjw* because they were incited to rebel by a woman; such subordination to a woman might be enough to indicate that they were not true men.

As a term of abuse, *hmjw* was probably not restricted to a ritual or royal level. In Old Kingdom tomb scenes squabbling harvesters abusively refer to their companions or rivals as *hmjw*, in contrast to the word *tj*, 'male', 'lad'.<sup>76</sup> This is the earliest attestation of the word *hmjw*. As invective, *hmjw* characterises an individual as the type who might end up in a passive role, but not necessarily his conscious sexual orientation and desire. It belongs to a constellation of ideas linking weakness, defeat and sexual passivity.

Neither *nkkw* or *hmjw* denotes a type of person characterised by their sexuality, but by their role in a sexual act and by their 'back-turning' temperament. There is no evidence to suggest that Egyptian sexual typology differed from those of other cultures, which, according to Halperin, 'generally derived their criteria for categorizing people not from sex but from gender: they tended to construe sexual desire as normative or deviant according to whether it impelled social actors to conform or to violate their conventionally defined gender role.'<sup>77</sup> The only references to same gender sexual activities in the artefacts and non-literary texts of the Middle Kingdom present the act as one of denigrating the passive partner, and a sign of the mastery of the active partner, who does not step outside his gender role. In these terms, the passive role is irregular; in later times the term *hmtj* was used of the god Seth. The active role, however, is also associated (though not exclusively) with him in mythology, which suggests that it was also potentially disorderly; in later sources the god is associated with disruptive and anarchic (if potent) desire for various objects.<sup>78</sup>

The extant evidence does not hint at any general view of the perpetrator's sexual psychology. The association of the acts with Seth suggests that irregular sexual acts could be viewed as a symptom of a 'typhonian' temperament that was characterised by excessive and unregulated appetite.<sup>79</sup> A fragmentary passage in the New Kingdom 'Dream Book' describes the signs of people for whom the diagnosis is 'the god in him is Seth' (e.g. 11.3).<sup>80</sup> Symptoms include the fact that such a man 'is beloved of women through the greatness [...] {the greatness} of his loving (*mrw*) them' (11.7–8), aggression (11.11), and that 'he will not distinguish the married woman from [an unmarried one(?)]' (11.13). A broken line in the same passage includes a 'lone man, gre[at(?) ...]' (*wr ʿ* [...], 11.2), which Gardiner suggested referred to an 'unmarried' man.<sup>81</sup> It is, however, more likely to mean someone who is anti-social in general, rather than anything specifically sexual.<sup>82</sup> The predominance of married couples among tomb representations (p. 60 above)

<sup>76</sup> Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée*, 203–4. Another term of abuse with a sexual edge is *nk(w)*, 'you copulator' (ibid. 82).

<sup>77</sup> Halperin, *One Hundred Years*, 25.

<sup>78</sup> Te Velde, *Seth*, 55–6; see above.

<sup>79</sup> A supposed association between debauchery and sodomy is attested in other cultures: see, for example, Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*<sup>2</sup>, 16.

<sup>80</sup> Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri. Third Series* I, 20–1; II, pl. 8–8a. On the New Kingdom date of the composition, see S. Israelit-Groll, in id., *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1985), 71–118.

<sup>81</sup> *Hieratic Papyri: Third Series*, I, 20 n. 3, 21.

<sup>82</sup> As in, for example, the *Loyalist Teaching*, §10.4–9: G. Posener, *L'enseignement loyaliste: sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire* (Geneva, 1976), 38–41, 118–21.



suggests, nonetheless, that remaining unmarried would be viewed as a sign of such anti-social temperament.

While sexual activity between men is accommodated in official discourse, it is not articulated in erotic terms; it is presented in less erotic terms than non-sexual 'homo-social' relationships. 'Homosexual' *desire/love* is marginalised in official discourse, to the point that one might imagine its existence was never articulated.

### Literary evidence

Three passages in extant Middle Kingdom literary texts refer directly to sexual acts between men; one is part of a teaching, and the other two are from tales. There is a strikingly large number of attestations as only around forty literary texts are known from the period, and in Middle Kingdom literature, sexual acts of any sort play a rather minor part.

#### (1) The *Teaching of the Vizier Ptahhotep*

The date of this Teaching has been much discussed, and an attribution to the Twelfth Dynasty is not universally accepted.<sup>83</sup> Here it is sufficient to note that, even if it were composed earlier, it was certainly part of the Middle Kingdom literary canon. Teachings are by their nature the most idealising and 'topical' of literary genres (the closest to Smith's 'official' discourse: see n. 19), but they are placed in a fictional frame.<sup>84</sup> In any case, *Ptahhotep* displays an awareness of the imperfections of individual life, most obviously in the description of old age afflicting even a virtuous man.<sup>85</sup> Teachings do not embody the virtues of an ideal life as simply as 'official' autobiographies, and they dwell more extensively on possible dangers and failings.

The thirty-second maxim of *Ptahhotep* (vv. 457–62) in the version of P. Prisse reads:

*jm = K-NK-HMT-HRD rh.n = k-hsfwt*

*r-mw hr-h;tj = f*

*nn-qb n-ntt-m-ht = f*<sup>86</sup>

*jm = f-swhw r-jrt-hsfwt*

*qb = f m-ht-hd = f-jb = f*

May you not have sex with a woman-boy, for you know<sup>87</sup> that what is opposed will be water upon his breast.

There is no coolness (i.e. relief) for what is in his belly (i.e. his appetite).

Let him not spend the night doing what is opposed;

he shall be cool after destroying (i.e. renouncing) his desire.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> See, for example, Parkinson, in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 103, 106–7 (with bibliography).

<sup>84</sup> See Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 14–16.

<sup>85</sup> vv. 8–27. Compare the remarks of Loprieno on the 'mimetic' aspects of *Ptahhotep*, in *Topos und Mimesis*, 88 n. 18.

<sup>86</sup> Goedicke's interpretation (see n. 89 here) relies on reading *ntj* (101, n. 38); *ntt* is, if anything, more likely.

<sup>87</sup> An alternative rendering is: 'a woman-boy whom you know, /for what is opposed ...' This would produce a more regular division into verses, although the rubric ends after *hrd*, and 'know' is rarely used in this way in *Ptahhotep*. However, in v. 501 a fat woman is 'known to her town'.

<sup>88</sup> The text of L1 is fragmentary but substantially the same: the third verse of P. Prisse is omitted, but an apparently equivalent verse is inserted after the following one: *nn-gr = f hr- [...]*: 'He shall not be quiet because of [...]'; one can perhaps restore '[what is in his belly]'. In L1, the final verse reads *qbb = f m-ht-hd. [n = f (?)]-jb*: 'after he has destroyed his desire, he is cool'.

I disagree with the reading advanced by Goedicke, which suggests that the maxim condemns sodomy while condoning oral sex between men.<sup>89</sup> As I understand the passage, Ptahhotep argues that the nocturnal activities of the 'woman-boy' cannot bring the relief for his desire; the imagery of 'coolness' (*qb*) recalls the erotic relief (*qb*) found by Sneferu in watching fair maidens rowing in the *Tale of King Cheops' Court*.<sup>90</sup> 'Water upon his breast' seems to be a related image for the relief he desires.<sup>91</sup> For true relief, however, the boy must renounce his desire. There is a possible ambiguity in the final phrase, as *jb*, 'desire', can also be 'conscience': 'destroying the heart' is the opposite of 'following the heart', which is recommended in an earlier maxim.<sup>92</sup> Such ambiguity (if deliberate) may give a sense of the boy's moral confusion, but does not alter the general thrust of the maxim.

The maxim's implications can be teased out a little further. Sexual acts have a strong ethical aspect, although in *Ptahhotep* types of character are designated by speech and appetite, not by any sexual details. This maxim seems to belong with a group concerning antisocial desire or appetite, such as adultery. The person who is *nked* is clearly a young male,<sup>93</sup> but is referred to as having woman's characteristics, of adopting another gender role (i.e. 'effeminate').<sup>94</sup> His actual social role is uncertain. He is not an unwilling victim of pederasty, but youth may be relevant as making it easier for him to adopt the feminine role in the eyes of the active partner.<sup>95</sup> He may be implicitly a boy-prostitute; there are parallels for boys acting as outlets of ('heterosexual'/'normal') male desire which could otherwise disrupt marriage and family honour.<sup>96</sup>

The passive role is 'what is opposed' (in accordance with the attitudes exemplified by the mythical incidents cited above): *hsfwt* implies something perverse and punishable.<sup>97</sup> The maxim makes no reference at all to the active role. Although it is prohibited, it is as if the active partner is not demeaned; he is not departing from his appropriate role, and the imaginary audience/pupil is elsewhere assumed to be intending to marry (e.g. the twenty-first and thirty-seventh maxims, vv. 325–38, 499–506). The object on which the

<sup>89</sup> *JARCE* 6, 97–102. On his interpretation, the maxim is 'an admonition to abstain from making pederastic advances after meeting objections to the less serious homosexual sports' (p. 101). After Goedicke, the translation would be something like: 'You shall not *nk* a vulva-boy, after you have learnt of (his) objections concerning semen from the glans of his penis. There is no calming one who is in his bowels; let him (the boy) not (have to) spend the night making objections; he (the seducer) will be calm (only) after he has destroyed his wish.' This seems to me strained, and relies on idioms proposed without supporting parallels.

<sup>90</sup> P. Westcar 5.3–4: A. M. Blackman (ed. W. V. Davies), *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians: Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar, Berlin Papyrus 3033* (Reading, 1988), 5.

<sup>91</sup> Compare Z. Žába, *Les maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague, 1956), 156 (v. 458).

<sup>92</sup> In the 'Intef Harper's song' this is an undesirable action: Leiden K.6: *m-hd-jb = k*, 'Do not destroy your heart': M. V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison, 1985), 380 (= P. Harris 500 6.12).

<sup>93</sup> Goedicke *JARCE* 6, 100 on equivalence to 'Buhlknabe'. The use of *hrd* for mature males is discussed by D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983), 304–8; these are contextual metaphorical extensions of the usual sense of the term.

<sup>94</sup> The term is 'intermediate' enough to have led some critics (surveyed by Goedicke, *JARCE* 6, 97–8) to translate as a 'young girl', despite the masculine suffixes in following lines. Note the possible ambiguity with the term *hmt-tj*, 'married woman'.

<sup>95</sup> In many cultures, women and boys can often be interchangeable as objects of sexual activity: e.g. Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 143–5, 175.

<sup>96</sup> For example, Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*<sup>2</sup>, 78; Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 157 (quoting Plautus, *Cucurlio*, 35–8).

<sup>97</sup> Žába, *Les maximes de Ptahhotep*, 156 (v. 458). A similar phrase in the *Tale of Eloquent Peasant*, ed. R. B. Parkinson (Oxford, 1991) B1 178, B2 94, where *jr-hsf* means 'to deal punishment'.

pupil's virility is exercised seems irrelevant for his own morality (or sexuality), and the aim of the prohibition is to safeguard the morality of the passive partner. This contrasts with the eighteenth maxim, where the dangers of adultery are presented in terms of the active perpetrator (vv. 277–97), perhaps because adultery was more disruptive socially than an occasional act of sodomy. The boy is described as desiring sex by temperament, in contrast to other descriptions of the passive role, in which it is an unwanted result of weakness.

In terms of literary context, the act is clearly not an 'unspeakable vice', because it features in a stately teaching which is set in the Old Kingdom and is imagined as being recited at the king's command (vv. 36–41). Nevertheless, the concentration of the description on the passive role may embody a reticence about the active role.

## (2) *The Tale of Horus and Seth*

This tale is preserved on a late Twelfth Dynasty fragment from el-Lahun, and comprises a sexual incident similar to that attested in the Late Egyptian tale.<sup>98</sup> The status of this text as literature is problematic, and Assmann has suggested that it is not a mythical narrative—which would perhaps be literature—but possibly part of a magical text.<sup>99</sup> The style, however, is that of a literary narrative, and the relationship between magical/religious and literary texts can be very close.

The incident was originally part of a longer composition; the change from horizontal lines to vertical at the end of the preserved fragment suggests that it may have been towards the end of the copy.<sup>100</sup> The first page is destroyed apart from line ends, but enough survives to show that it contained dialogue. The preserved incident occupies ll. x + 1.8 onwards:

And then the Person of Seth said  
to the Person of Horus: 'How lovely is your backside!  
Broad (*wsh?*) are [your] thighs [.....]' (x + 1.8–x + 2.1)

Seth's overtures to the act suggest lust rather than a trick to enforce power, as in the Late Egyptian *Contendings of Horus and Seth*. Here the act seems to be desired by the active partner, and is inspired by physical attraction. The 'chat-up line' (*nfr.wj-phwj = kj*: x + 2.1) is apparently a parody of *nfr.wj-hr = k*, 'How fair is your face!', attested as a ritual greeting,<sup>101</sup> and this probably marks the overture as ridiculous and irregular by replacing 'face' with 'backside'.<sup>102</sup> The second verse of Seth's speech is of uncertain reading; it may

<sup>98</sup> P. Kahun VI.12: F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898) II, pl. 3.

<sup>99</sup> References in Parkinson, in Quirke (ed.) *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 119–20; on the question of 'myth' see Baines, *JNES* 50, 81–105, esp. 99. Other references to such an incident occur in magical and ritual texts: Griffiths, *Horus and Seth*, 44–5; Barta, *GM* 129, 37–8.

<sup>100</sup> Compare the arrangement of the *Eloquent Peasant* on P. Berlin 3023: Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991), xv–xvii.

<sup>101</sup> For example, Pyramid Text Spell 220, §195; the hymns of P. Chester Beatty IV, where *nfr.wj-* acts as a refrain (9.12–13; 10.1; 11.8, 10, 12, 13, 15; 12.4, 6). The phrase also occurs in a light-hearted context in *Fishing and Fowling* B 1.6 (R. A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), pl. 2).

<sup>102</sup> The 'backside' is praised in a love song of P. Chester Beatty I, where the beloved woman is 'loose of backside (*bdš-phṯ*)' (C. 1.5: Fox, *Song of Songs*, 56 n. f; 393 l. 13).

be a parody of the autobiographical epithet 'broad of strides' (*wshy-nmtwt*).<sup>103</sup> The language is noticeably less direct than in *Ptahhotep*.

Horus' response suggests that the act is a disreputable one that Seth would wish to keep secret:

And the Person of Horus said:

'Watch out; I shall tell [this]!' (x + 2.2)<sup>104</sup>

He describes the act to his mother Isis as:

['...] Seth [sought] to have carnal knowledge (*rḥ*) of me.'

And she said to him: 'Beware! Do not approach him about it!

When he mentions it to you another time, then you shall say to him:

"It is too painful (*qns*) for me entirely, as you are heavier (*dns*) than me.

My strength (*phṯj*) shall not match/support (*rmn*) your strength (*phṯj*)", so you shall say to him.' (x + 2.3–6)

*phṯj* is male sexual strength,<sup>105</sup> and seems to be seed or the virile member to judge from the following line. The final verse of the excuse is structured by word play between 'backside' (*phwṯj*) and 'potency', implying that 'my backside will not support your potency'. Horus is advised to use his youthful weakness as an excuse, and the excuse refers to the act as a contest in strength. This reverses the usual connotation of sodomy as a means of domination: if Seth were acting in a regular manner, the fact that the act will overpower Horus should be for him an argument for it rather than against it. After suggesting this excuse, Isis (presumably assuming that Seth will persist) advises Horus to pretend to submit but to avoid penetration. From their remarks, the sexual act is viewed by Horus and Isis as a humiliation of a weaker rival,<sup>106</sup> involving contamination by the semen (x + 2.9). From the final extant lines, it seems likely that Seth's ejaculate would have been taken and used by Isis against him (as in the Late Egyptian tale). The fragment ends as Seth summons Horus to him once again.

Seth will take enjoyment from sex with another male (it will be 'sweet to his heart', x + 2.6–8). His active desire is summoned by a physique that is markedly male (the pun links the 'backside' in question with the very male force of 'strength'—see n. 105). The context of the mythical events and Seth's character suggest that this is intended to be a negative portrayal of male (active) desire for another male. Any such desire is absent from allusions in official texts to very similar acts, where they are limited to unerotic denigration.

### (3) *The Tale of King Neferkare and the Military Commander Sasenet*

This tale is known from three fragmentary copies spanning the Nineteenth to Twenty-fifth Dynasties;<sup>107</sup> it was composed before the Nineteenth Dynasty, and linguistic

<sup>103</sup>J. M. A. Janssen *De traditioneele egyptische autobiografie voor het Nieuwe Rijk* (Leiden, 1946) II, 17–18 (T.3–5, 7).

<sup>104</sup>Compare the threat made by the maidservant in the *Tale of King Cheops' Court* to reveal the secret birth of the future kings: 'I will go and tell this!' (12.12: Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops*, 16).

<sup>105</sup>See the discussion of te Velde, *Seth*<sup>2</sup>, 38.

<sup>106</sup>It is perhaps significant that the literary passage which embodies the sexual act in a manner closest to 'official discourse' is the one whose status as literature is the most debatable.

<sup>107</sup>Posener, 'Le Conte de Néferkarè et du Général Siséné (Recherches littéraires iv)', *RdE* 11 (1957), 119–37.

features, prosopography and style led Posener to date it to the end of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>108</sup> Stylistically, it is closer to the *Tale of King Cheops' Court* than to the more elevated tales of the Middle Kingdom such as *Sinuhe* or the *Shipwrecked Sailor*. This may be explained as the result of a later date of composition, or of its belonging to a different level of the literary canon. Nevertheless, it will still have been an elite composition, and was clearly an established part of written culture, having a very long reading history.

Two writing tablets preserve the start of the tale with mention of a King Neferkare and his military commander Saset, suggesting that they were probably two central characters of the whole. The fragmentary passage contains the word 'desire' (*mrwt*: T OIC 13539 l. 3).<sup>109</sup> The remaining fragments are from P. Chassinat I, on three pages, the first of which is all but completely lost (and it is impossible to determine how far it is from the start of the text). The second and third episodes are on consecutive pages. The third page concerns the nocturnal encounters between the king and his military commander, in which the king is noticed:

going out at night

all alone, with nobody with him. (P. Chassinat I x + 3.x + 2–3)

He surreptitiously enters the house of the military commander and spends four hours there, and then:

after his Person had done what he desired with him (*jrj-mr(t) = f-hr = f*)

he returned to his place. (*x + 3.x + 9*)

This 'desire' is clearly sexual, and the king implicitly takes the active role; it is not an action 'against' (*r*) the military commander. The sexual act is alluded to decorously rather than being described as in other literary texts. The phrase 'doing what he desired' occurs in descriptions of the union of the god and queen accompanying the Eighteenth Dynasty representations of the 'Birth Cycle',<sup>110</sup> and the passage may possibly be a parodic allusion to earlier formulations of this context that have not survived, or to similarly decorous unions. Other elements of parody can be detected: the nighttime is divided into three sections each of four hours (*x + 3.x + 11–13*), and this division may be an allusion to the mythical union of Re and Osiris that occurred in this central portion of the night.<sup>111</sup> The choice by the author of a 'military commander' as the king's lover may also be relevant in this context; the rank may relate to the sanctioned context of such sexual acts as the denigration of enemies, and constitute another parodic allusion to the normal state of affairs.<sup>112</sup>

The liaison constitutes deeply scandalous behaviour,<sup>113</sup> as is seen from the facts that the king is obliged to act with great secrecy, and his nocturnal trips are already the object

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. 132–3.

<sup>109</sup> A speculative restoration is given in Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt* (London, 1991), 55: 'Now the Patrician and [Count]... [... knew of (?)] the love [of the king]/[for] General Saset'.

<sup>110</sup> Posener, *RdE* 11, 130–1 n. 9.

<sup>111</sup> Van Dijk, in Berger et al. (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 389–91. The union of the gods is never described in sexual terms, and so can be considered metasexual; the primordial and androgynous nature of the god also prevents any 'homosexual' aspect.

<sup>112</sup> Although differences in rank and military rank in general have been regarded as erotic stimuli later in homosexual history, these modern associations are presumably irrelevant here.

<sup>113</sup> This disagrees with Goedicke's suggestion that 'homosexual relations were not considered morally wrong as long as they were based on mutual consent' (*JARCE* 6, 102).

of rumour (x + 3.x + 4–5), and shocking enough to warrant a man's following the king 'without misgiving' (x + 3.x + 5–6). The king's visits are described as an established 'nightly' and presumably regular practice (P. Chassinat I, x + 3.x + 14).

The previous page of the tale preserves the immediately preceding incident, in which an individual called the 'petitioner of Memphis' attempts to speak before the court, but is drowned out by the noise of the court musicians (P. Chassinat I, x + 2.x + 7–14). The mention of the king and the military commander in this scene suggests that they were involved in frustrating his appeal.<sup>114</sup> One possibility is that the petitioner's speech may have involved a protest against the royal affair, and that he may have been the source of the rumour of the affair that is mentioned a page later. If so, his attitude will have offered a model for the audience's response, and have added a moralistic dimension to the treatment of the subject. Nevertheless, the episode will also probably have been a source of salacious enjoyment, similar to episodes of adultery and voyeurism in the *Tale of King Cheops' Court*.<sup>115</sup>

When the military commander is mentioned at the start of the tale, his name is followed by the phrase: *jw-nn-wn-st-hmt m* [...], 'there was no wife'<sup>116</sup> [...] (T OIC 13539 ll. 3–4), probably to be restored either *m* [-*r* = *f*], 'wi[th him],'<sup>117</sup> or *m*-[*pr* = *f*], 'in [his house]'. Thus, the first fact stated about Sasetet is that he is unmarried; this suggests that the lack of a wife may have been a symptom of his susceptibility to the king's overtures. It is significant that such a statement is made only about the passive partner (so far as can be told from the fragmentary text); in the absence of any statement otherwise, the audience would presumably assume that the king was married. The combination of rank and unmarried status suggest that Sasetet may have been portrayed as predominantly attracted to the same sex, although his not having a wife could be either a result of his inclinations, or a cause of them. It is generally admitted that sexual activity between men can be contextually inspired, by the lack of any female outlet for desire.<sup>118</sup> If such an analysis is implied by this passage, this view would be compatible with the passage in *Ptahhotep* where the description of the woman-boy's desire suggests that it was thought of as excessive. Although the ages of the two men are not specified, both are office-holders and so are presumably mature: the king is obviously sexually mature and Sasetet has his own house.

The liaison is expressed in 'normal' terms, such as can be used of family or social relationships. The word *mrj* (T OIC 13539 l. 3, P. Chassinat I x + 3.x + 9) expresses 'desire' for sexual gratification, although not necessarily erotic 'love'; *mrj* is not only erotic, but also hierarchical, and is frequent in the context of family relationships.<sup>119</sup> The normality of the vocabulary in the tale does not imply that the relationship is acceptable; rather, it might heighten the shock of the king's irregular behaviour, as does the description of him as 'this god' (P. Chassinat I, x + 3.x + 5). The liaison is a continuing relationship, and each man seems to be the sole object of desire for the other. This desire is expressed, but only to be then constrained by the narrative.

<sup>114</sup> So Posener, *RdE* 11, 128 n. 11.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. van Dijk, in Berger et al. (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 392. Unlike him, I doubt the audience would have been shocked by any elements of religious parody.

<sup>116</sup> For *st-hmt* as a Middle Kingdom term for 'wife', see Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 112, 24 (with refs.).

<sup>117</sup> Posener, *RdE* 11, 124 n. 7.

<sup>118</sup> E.g. Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 30–1, 283.

<sup>119</sup> Summary in E. Brunner-Traut, 'Liebe', *LÄ* III, 1034–48.

The fragmentary state of the tale deprives us of a full context for the incident. Neferkare's actions in general suggest that he is to be regarded as one of the bad kings of literature,<sup>120</sup> similar to Cheops in the *Tale of King Cheops' Court* and to Sasebek of the Late Period tale of P. Vandier.<sup>121</sup> It is possible that the enormity of King Neferkare may have resulted in disaster for him and his dynasty, perhaps as a result of the appeals of the petitioner of Memphis; one can compare the *Tale of King Cheops' Court* which relates how the family of the flawed King Cheops was later to be replaced by more observant, divinely-begotten kings.<sup>122</sup> Posener suggested that the tale might be 'une satire des mœurs qui montre le décomposition de l'Ancien Empire à la veille de sa chute', implying that sexual relations between men were considered—as they have often been—decadent.<sup>123</sup> There is, however, no trace of such sexual acts as a sign of social decadence in the pessimistic discourses that describe the land falling into chaos.<sup>124</sup> The tone of the tale is not as serious as these laments, but it does imply that a sexual relationship between men was scandalous, although it was not 'unspeakable', even when it concerned the very centre of society, the king.

### Conclusion

From this review, it seems that in official discourse of the Middle Kingdom sexual acts between men were expressed only insofar as they conformed to acceptable male gender roles and power-structures: that is, the defilement of enemies. The denial of an active role in the later Book of the Dead suggests that this sanctioned act was mentioned only in certain ideological contexts. In mythology, the active role is mostly associated with the ambivalent god Seth, suggesting that it had irregular overtones (especially, perhaps, if done for pleasure or if enforced). The passive role was despised as a sign of physical weakness (either due to immaturity or to general 'vileness') and of abandoning a man's proper gender role for a 'womanly' one. Cowards who occupied the defiled role were categorised with a term 'back-turner' (*hmjw*). The existence of this term suggests that some people might have been thought innately suited to such a role, but the sexual aspect is a symptom, rather than a cause or innate characteristic, of this temperament. Sexual acts between men seem to be predominantly expressions of power, and the relationships are uneroticised. 'Desire' (*mrj*) is never mentioned, in contrast to, say, the regular desire between spouses that is attested in funerary contexts.

While sexual desire between men was marginalised in other cultural artefacts, three passages suggest that it was accorded a significant role in literature. The vocabulary in these passages is compatible with that used in descriptions of erotic encounters between men and women: *nfr*, *mrj*, *jb*. *Ptahhotep* raises the possibility that men used other males

<sup>120</sup> Posener, *RdE* 11, 136.

<sup>121</sup> Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier* (Cairo, 1985), 15–16.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. also J. Johnson, 'The Demotic Chronicle as a Statement of a Theory of Kingship', *JSSSEA* 13 (1983), 61–72.

<sup>123</sup> *RdE* 11, 137. It is not absolutely certain which Neferkare is meant.

<sup>124</sup> Goedicke has detected a reference to pederasty in the *Dialogue of a Man and Soul*, ll. 99–101 (*JARCE* 6, 101; see also idem, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with his Ba* (Baltimore, 1970), 152–4). However, the only evidence for this interpretation is the parallelism with the preceding stanza, which relies on his interpretation of *st-hmt* as 'virgin', against which see Fischer-Elfert, *GM* 112, 24. I prefer the conventional interpretation as a reference to a child who is disowned by his father: e.g. Blackman, *JEA* 16 (1930), 71 (21).

for sexual satisfaction, without this being connected with desire or anything erotic that would alter their normal gender role. The passages also suggest that some people were considered to have by temperament a desire for 'what was opposed'; here desire for both active and passive roles seems to be acknowledged. In these descriptions, the individuals whose desire seems to be exclusively for their own sex (the 'woman-boy' and Sasetet) are significantly those who occupy the passive role. By the end of the Middle Kingdom, this repertoire included relationships between men of unequal age (which presumably plays with idea of defilement and exploitation of the weaker), and unequal rank. None is suggestive of initiatory pederasty, and there are no examples of heroic male (homo-social) friendships as a literary motif, such as that of Gilgamesh and Enkidu in Mesopotamia.<sup>125</sup> Relationships between two mature men were conceivable,<sup>126</sup> but they were disgraceful, subverting the usual male gender and social roles of husband and father. The parodic tone of two of the passages suggests that such relationships were objects of amusement as well as scandal.

The lack of any reference to 'homosexual' desire from extant official discourse is striking, when compared with the high proportion in the equally fragmentary poetic record. I suggest that this distribution can be explained by reference to two hypotheses: that such desire was considered irregular; and that the decorum of literary texts accommodated 'irregular' features of life that were excluded from formal official discourse. Sexual acts are a specific example of this latter phenomenon. The literary texts, as Smith remarks for those of a different culture (n. 19), seem to address the discrepancy between ideology and actuality directly. In particular, the *Tale of Neferkare and Sasetet* places the disorderly sexual act at the royal centre of society and ideology. This model illuminates another feature of the distribution of attestations. The motif is more common in Middle Kingdom literature than in that of the New Kingdom, when the major example (*Contentings of Horus and Seth*) is free from any mention of desire, in a manner that is compatible with the presentation of official discourse. This is particularly striking since *Neferkare and Sasetet* belongs to a style of narrative that dominates Late Egyptian literature. The apparent disappearance of the motif may be due to the accidents of preservation, but it may also reflect a change in literary decorum, as Middle Kingdom literature is arguably more preoccupied than New Kingdom literature with the less than ideal side of life.<sup>127</sup>

Men who participated in same-gender sexual acts have a limited position in literary decorum. Although they are not given any independent voice, their presence is felt and admitted, even if it is not approved. In this, they can be compared with other ideologically censured figures, such as men engaged in adultery. One can compare this distribution with episodes of adultery: in the official record there are, not surprisingly, few traces of adultery, but there is clear evidence of its occurrence from, for example, Deir el-Medina.<sup>128</sup> Literature occupies an intermediate position. In fiction such as the *Tale of King Cheops' Court*, its occurrence is admitted and described in detail; the tales affirm an ethical attitude, and the adulterous wife and her lover who feature in the tale told by

<sup>125</sup> See, for example, Greenberg, *Construction of Homosexuality*, 110–16; Halperin, *One Hundred Years*, 75–87.

<sup>126</sup> This age range is more suggestive of modern 'homosexual' experiences than of the paradigm of ancient Greece.

<sup>127</sup> See above, n. 25. From such a change, it is, of course, impossible to draw conclusions about any change in social attitudes towards sexuality between the two periods.

<sup>128</sup> Eyre, *JEA* 70, 92–105; Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 67–72.



Prince Chephren in *Cheops' Court* meet with a savage destruction. Literature might admit imperfections, but it still articulates the normative attitude, mediating between the ideal and the actual. Although the use of such sources to deduce the occurrences of such acts in life is problematic, nonetheless the occurrences of adultery in literary and documentary sources suggest that such comparisons may be fruitful. As Eyre concludes, 'the literary norm in Egypt was that adultery resulted in death',<sup>129</sup> but 'in practice adultery usually resulted in divorce or repudiation'. Daily life will have been still less schematic than literature, and will have presented a much larger number of what Smith terms 'untidy facts' (p. 59 above). As the literary texts admit the existence of antisocial sexual activity and desire between men, it is probable that these acts and desires occurred, despite the official ideology, and more frequently than the texts offer any means of assessing. Evidence for such sexual acts is lacking from Deir el-Medina, perhaps because they were inherently more irregular than adultery (which is attested), while being less disruptive to the instituted social fabric of family and property.

Textual evidence shows that Egypt did not witness any sense of categorisation by sexuality, but that sexual acts between men were acknowledged to occur. In official discourse, these were not normally formulated in terms of sexual relationships, but rather, as the denigration of a weaker male. Active participation did not compromise a man's proper gender role. Sexual desire between men, however, was also recognised, and the low-key presentation of the relationship in the *Tale of Neferkare and Sasenet* implies that there were liaisons between men in elite circles, despite public disapproval. Such desire was not articulated in official public discourse, and was presumably condemned; however, it was not suppressed from all forms of cultural discourse, and was articulated in what we would now term 'literature'.

<sup>129</sup> JEA 70, 97–8.

## WOODS USED IN EGYPTIAN BOWS AND ARROWS\*

By A. C. WESTERN and W. McLEOD

Presentation of the results of botanical analyses of wood from ancient Egyptian bows and arrows in the collections of four museums, together with comments on the possible sources of the timbers, their qualities and some of their other uses. Most of the pieces (including all the bow fragments) came from indigenous trees. Five arrows made from imported wood are dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, but three others, also imports, are assigned to the Protodynastic Period.

THE craftsmen of ancient Egypt fashioned their products out of many different kinds of wood, both domestic and foreign. From time to time modern students have tried to identify the particular timbers that were used for various objects. If an archaeologist has been working with certain antiquities and is familiar with the cognate material, he may be tempted to identify the type of wood by a personal examination with the naked eye, or with a hand lens.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, or perhaps from other shortcomings in comparing samples, mistakes have occasionally been made. Thus, the pole of an Eighteenth Dynasty chariot in Florence was originally said to be of oak (*Quercus* sp.); later this was corrected to elm (*Ulmus* sp.). But we now know that it is willow (*Salix* sp.).<sup>2</sup> Evidently greater precision is needed.

During the years 1969–80 some ancient Egyptian bows and a number of arrows, from the Ashmolean and Pitt Rivers Museums at Oxford, the Manchester Museum, and the Phoebe Hearst Museum (formerly the Lowie Museum) at Berkeley, California, were examined and sampled, with a view to identifying the wood species from which they were made. Although this work was completed some time ago, and was subject to limitations of method which are discussed below, we feel that it is important to present this material as a contribution to the growing body of wood studies.

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<sup>1</sup>For examples of such 'archaeologists' identifications', see W. McLeod, *Self Bows and Other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1982), 52.

<sup>2</sup>See C. Schuchhardt, *PZ* 4 (1912), 447; G. Botti, *Aegyptus* 31 (1951), 197 and fig. 2; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, revised by J. R. Harris (London, 1962; hereafter *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>), 436; for further bibliography, see M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1985), 92 n. 6.

'The only certain method of identifying wood is by an expert examination of its structure with a microscope'.<sup>3</sup> The usual procedure is to compare the features of the wood structure of the ancient object with the corresponding features of modern samples of wood that are securely identified. The main problem is that 'securely identified samples' are not readily available, except for well-known commercial timbers. The comparative specimens used here came from the large reference collection in the Forestry Department of the University of Oxford, from a collection supplied by the Forestry Department of the Government of Cyprus, and from a further collection of woods, with related herbarium material, made by one of the authors in Jordan, Syria, Israel, southern Turkey and southern Italy. The items in this last collection were identified by Dr B. T. Styles of the Forest Herbarium at Oxford.<sup>4</sup>

By their very nature arrow foreshafts are small, and are sometimes made of immature or twiggy wood. It is often impossible to make specific determinations, especially since for many taxa this cannot be done even with large solid samples that are correctly prepared. Furthermore, for the specimens under discussion, it was necessary to replace the samples in the objects, in such a way that the damage could be seen only by close examination. It was therefore impossible to prepare and section them with a microtome in the usual manner. For this reason, a procedure was used similar to one devised at about the same time for studying charcoal fragments from the excavations at Jericho, when there was no access to a scanning electron microscope. In those circumstances, there were considerable difficulties, both in lighting the specimens, and in overcoming problems associated with depth of focus. Samples were taken that were about 10 mm long, removing about half the thickness of each arrow's foreshaft. By splitting and paring these pieces with a razor, transverse, radial and tangential surfaces were then prepared that were as good as possible in the circumstances. These were studied at magnifications of about 50 and 100 diameters, and, for the smaller detail, at about 200 diameters, using a Beck metallurgical microscope with internal reflected light. The Forest Products Research Laboratory Key of features was used before detailed comparison with named specimens.

All the bows considered here were simple wooden staves. The lengths of the two best preserved ones (1.48 m, more than 1.59 m) are typical of ancient Egyptian self bows. All the arrows, with a single exception (26), consisted of a reed mainshaft, with a wooden foreshaft attached to the distal end. Where the dimensions of the arrows could be determined, they fell within the normal range that has been observed in other ancient Egyptian specimens. The total length was from 0.801 to 0.851 m. The reed shaft was between 0.512 and 0.621 m long, and the foreshaft projected in front of it anywhere from 0.180 to 0.293 m.<sup>5</sup> The arrowhead was either an organic extension of the foreshaft, or was attached to it. Usually the nock was cut into a node of the reed (15, 18, 19, 33, 35, 37–39), but sometimes there was a separate nock-piece at the proximal end, made of wood or some other hard material (12, 36, possibly 43, 44). In general, these are normal variations of the typical Egyptian arrow. Occasionally the whole shaft was of wood, although that is rare (26). Arrow no. 20 was clearly a piece of immature wood with probably only the

<sup>3</sup>*AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 429.

<sup>4</sup>At the time, it was not practicable to make use of the comparative collection in the Botanic Gardens at Kew.

<sup>5</sup>On the usual dimensions of bows, see McLeod, *Self Bows*, 51–2; of arrows, 55–8; of foreshafts, 54; on reeds, 55; on fletching, 59–60; on wooden arrows, 54.

bark shaved off and the distal end tapered, and arrow no. **25** was similar. All the others seemed to be relatively mature and did not include the centre of the heartwood. To provide stability in flight feathers or vanes were often mounted at the proximal end, usually three (**15, 18, 19, 33–35, 37–39**) or four (**40**, possibly **41**) in number; but arrows could also be made without feathers (**12, 26, 42**). The feathers for the most part were from 0.062 to 0.077 m long.

Only four types of arrowhead occur in the specimens analysed; in most of them the tip is not completely preserved, and therefore the specific type is not certain.<sup>6</sup>

Group 1: stone heads:

Type A: chisel-ended (**13, 17, 27**; probably **10, 11, 14, 15, 18–21, 29, 32, 33, 37–39**);

Type B: leaf-shaped (**16**);

Group 2: wooden heads:

Type C: pointed (**31, 41–44**; probably **36**);

Type D: blunt or flaring (**9, 30, 35**).

Because of the practical limitations necessarily imposed during the preparation of the specimens, and (particularly in the case of *Acacia*) because of the large number of possible species, several of which were not represented in the comparative collections, the identifications are given by genus only. In the case of a few arrows, the match with a reference specimen was so close as to suggest a specific determination.

In the register that follows the bows and bow fragments (**1–6**) precede the arrows and arrow fragments (**7–44**). The entries are arranged by museums (Ashmolean, Hearst, Manchester and Pitt Rivers), and within each museum the specimens are listed in the order of their inventory numbers. Each entry includes the museum number, a brief description with measurements (in metres), the provenance and date where known, the identification of the material, and references to published notices or pictures. With regard to the places of discovery, the term 'collected' is applied to those objects for which there is no excavation record. The following abbreviations are used: D. = diameter; est. = estimated; L. = length; pr. = preserved. After the catalogue we shall discuss the distribution and possible sources of the various types of wood.

### Bows

1. Self bow, virtually complete. Ashmolean Museum, 1885.375. Tips broken; section oval at grip, round near tips; L. pr., 1.59; maximum D. at grip, about 0.028. Thebes, unidentified tomb: collected. No date.<sup>7</sup> Probably *Acacia* sp.

McLeod, *Self Bows*, 52; R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), 404.

<sup>6</sup>J. D. Clark et al., 'Interpretations of Prehistoric Technology from Ancient Egyptian and Other Sources, Part I: Ancient Egyptian Bows and Arrows and their Relevance for African Prehistory', *Paléorient* 2/2 (1974), 323–88 (hereafter Clark, 'Interpretations'), at 362–3; McLeod, *Self Bows*, 58–9.

<sup>7</sup>Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 404, gives the date as 'New Kingdom'; he also reports an arrow in the Ashmolean Museum, with the same registration number, 'undated', identified by A. C. Western as '?acacia'. Whitehouse states, however, that the number 1885.375 applies only to the bow. Evidently the number for the arrow as reported by Meiggs has been corrupted; perhaps it should be amended to 1885.288 (11 here).

2. Self bow, all but one end. Ashmolean Museum, 1921.1301. Section oval; L. pr., 1.18; est. L. when complete, about 1.48; maximum D. at grip, about 0.026. Sidmant, grave 1611. Ninth or Tenth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

McLeod, *Self Bows*, 52; Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 404 (dated 'Middle Kingdom'). For the grave group, see W. M. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment*, I (London, 1924), pl. xxxviii (bow not included).

3. Bow fragment. Hearst Museum, 6-1588. Nock end of a self bow; section round; L. pr., 0.475; D. at mid-arm, 0.02. The limb carries traces of 'black adhesive substance and string wrapping' between 0.027 and 0.083 from the tip. Naga el-Deir, Cemetery 3500, tomb 208.<sup>8</sup> First Intermediate Period, or Sixth Dynasty, at the earliest. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 328, 347, 385 (erroneously given as '6-1585').

4. Bow fragment. Hearst Museum, 6-2757. Nock end of a self bow; section round; L. pr., 0.29. The limb is discoloured by traces of adhesive, from the tip to a distance of 0.073. Naga el-Deir, Cemetery 3500, no tomb noted (see 3).<sup>9</sup> First Intermediate Period. *Ziziphus* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 346, 347, 385.

5. Bow fragment. Hearst Museum, 6-2778. Nock end of a self bow; section round; L. pr., 0.30. There is some discolouration on the stave from adhesive. Naga el-Deir, Cemetery 3500, tomb 265 (see 3).<sup>10</sup> First Intermediate Period. *Tamarix* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 347, 385.

6. Bow fragment. Hearst Museum, 6-15346.<sup>11</sup> Nock end of a self bow; section round; L. pr., 0.855. Two deep knife cuts halfway through the thickness of the stave, as if it were being ritually 'killed' for burial. Naga el-Deir, no cemetery or tomb attributions (see 3). First Intermediate Period. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 325, 328, 385.

### Arrows

7. Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, E. 1370. Part of wood foreshaft, distal end missing. L. pr., 0.053; D., 0.0025 (distal)–0.004 (proximal); section oval. Proximal end transversely cut to form rebate. Abydos, B tombs.<sup>12</sup> Protodynastic. *Pinus* sp.

8. Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, E.1371. Part of wood foreshaft, broken at both ends. L. pr., 0.041; D., 0.003 (proximal)–0.005 (distal); section oval. At proximal end, rebate and part of tang for insertion into reed shaft; traces of mastic on tang for proximal 0.010. Abydos, B tombs (see 7). Protodynastic. Probably *Diospyros* sp.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Noting that some Museum records were lost in the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, Clark suggests on the basis of excavation field-notes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, that the specimen may actually come from tomb N-3765 (Clark, 'Interpretations', 326, 328, 347, 385). On Cemetery 3500, see G. A. Reisner, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Dêr*, I (Leipzig, 1908), 1; A. C. Mace, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naga-ed-Dêr*, II (Leipzig, 1909), 1–5, pl. 60.

<sup>9</sup>Clark ('Interpretations', 347, 385) says that it comes from tomb N-3915, the grave of the lady Merit: cf. n. 8, above.

<sup>10</sup>Clark says that it comes from tomb N-3765 ('Interpretations', 385).

<sup>11</sup>Clark says that it may come from tomb N-3765 ('Interpretations', 385).

<sup>12</sup>Petrie noted that ivory arrow points were very common in this cemetery, and he suggested that they 'were probably all inserted in reeds' (*The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, 1901, II (London, 1901), 34–5), but no evidence remained of reeds or wooden foreshafts, although many fragments of other wooden objects were found. On the B tombs at Abydos, see Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, 4–5, 7–8.

<sup>13</sup>See the discussion of ebony below, pp. 91–2.

9. Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, E.1372. Part of wood foreshaft, proximal end missing. L. pr., 0.034; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.005; section round. Distal end cut off square and left blunt; no trace of mastic to hold barbs or head (Group 2, Type D). Abydos, B tombs (see 7). Protodynastic. Probably *Diospyros* sp.

10. Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, E.1381. Part of wood foreshaft, broken off at proximal end and split, so that only about half of the original thickness remains for 0.078. L. pr., 0.090; D., 0.0045 (distal)–0.006; section round. Distal end cut off square, and slightly tapered from maximum thickness; thin smear of mastic on sides of tip, extending about 0.010. Squared tip itself has almost no trace of mastic, but has two faint grooves across it, not centrally placed; head missing (Group 1, probably Type A). Abydos, B tombs (see 7). Protodynastic. *Acacia* sp.

11. Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1885.288. Part of wood foreshaft, proximal end missing. L. pr., 0.125; D., 0.002 (distal)–0.003 (proximal); section oval. Distal end cut square; much black resin or mastic spread on opposite sides of foreshaft, broadening at tip to hold flint arrowhead, and at each side to hold two barbs, all missing (Group 1, probably Type A). Thebes: collected. No date. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 353, pl. 13.6, (incorrectly captioned as '1886:811b'); possibly noted by Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 404, under the number '1885-375'.

12. Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1885.289. Wooden nock-piece, possibly made over from an arrow foreshaft. L. pr., 0.126; D., 0.007; section round. Distal end marked by a transverse cut forming a rebate, for insertion into proximal end of a reed shaft. Nock cut into squared end, U-shaped, about 0.002 wide and 0.0015 deep; no trace of mastic or fletching. Nock-pieces are not usually found in Egyptian arrows, but they are known on some specimens from Tutankhamun's tomb, and on arrows with bronze heads. Thebes: collected. Possibly Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Buxus* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 349, 354, pl. 14.4; McLeod, *Self Bows*, 55 (both without museum number).

13. Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1886.811a. Wooden foreshaft, complete. L., 0.252; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.007 (proximal); section round. Distal end squared; much black mastic bedding on opposite sides for two barbs, and over the tip, where there is a distinct groove, probably for the insertion of a lunate flint tip (Group 1, Type A). Foreshaft tapered evenly to proximal end, where there is a shallow transverse rebate; then the tang is tapered, for a length of 0.024, to a rounded end for insertion in the reed shaft. Much mastic remains on the proximal end, but there is no trace of binding. Thebes: collected. Common type from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty onwards. *Tamarix* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 353, pl. 13.4, 359, pl. 15.4.

14. Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1886.811b. Part of wood foreshaft, proximal end broken off. L. pr., 0.245; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.007; section round. Finely tapered but slightly bent. Tip cut square and left blunt; remains of considerable mastic all around, and on opposing sides, forming the bedding for two barbs, one missing; but there is no socket or trace of bedding for a flint head (Group 1, probably Type A). Thebes: collected. Possibly Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 353, pl. 13.5 (incorrectly captioned as '1885').

15. Arrow, complete. Ashmolean Museum, 1887.3265b. L., 0.829; D., 0.0065–0.008. Wood foreshaft extends 0.278 beyond reed; section round, evenly tapering from 0.006 at proximal end to rounded tip. Some mastic at tip; incomplete chalcedony barbs, arrowhead missing (Group 1, probably Type A). Foreshaft inserted in reed, and then bound in with fibres and mastic, black in colour. Reed shaft, 0.556 long, of very uneven thickness, nodes well smoothed; distal end cut off unevenly and shaved. Nock cut into reed in V shape, 0.005 deep, 0.005 wide, square shouldered, and one side partly missing; nock node smoothed with oblique filing marks. Remains

of three evenly spaced vanes, 0.062 long, with traces of binding and mastic at both ends. Thebes, Qurna: collected. No date. Common type from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty onwards. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 353, pl. 13.1, 354, pl. 14.1, 359, pl. 15.1; McLeod, *Self Bows*, 55; Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 404.

**16.** Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1892.1464. Short wood foreshaft and arrowhead. L., 0.120; D., 0.0025-0.007 (distal); section round. Flint head, leaf-shaped with bifacial retouch on rounded distal end, hollow base; L., 0.034; W. at base, 0.013; joint now largely covered by black mastic (Group 1, Type B). At proximal end of foreshaft, small square-cut rebate, and then a tapered point for insertion into reed shaft: L. of tang, 0.032. Minute traces of mastic or resin—possibly poison<sup>14</sup>—remain on inserted parts, but no evidence of binding. Thebes, Qurna: collected. No date. This type of arrowhead is not known in Egypt later than the Predynastic Period, but continued in use further south, and may have been introduced from Nubia or Sudan about the time of the Seventeenth or Eighteenth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 342 (with no number), 360, pl. 16.2 (numbered '3' in the photographs), 361, 367, pl. 19; Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 404.

**17.** Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1892.1465. Part of wood foreshaft, proximal end broken off. L. pr., 0.117; D., 0.004 (distal)—0.006; section round. Tip probably squared, for reception of chalcedony lunate tip; considerable mastic down opposing sides to provide seating for two barbs, of which one, of chalcedony, remains (Group 1, Type A). Proximal end broken off, leaving no trace of fixing to reed shaft. Thebes, Qurna: collected. No date. Common type from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty onwards. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 352, pl. 12.2 ('no provenance'), 360, pl. 16.1 (numbered '4' in the photographs), 361.

**18.** Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1892.1466a. Most of arrow, including reed shaft and most of wooden foreshaft. L. pr., 0.815; D., 0.004 (distal)—0.008. Steadily tapering wood foreshaft, 0.196 long, section oval, damaged but probably cut square at distal end. Light brown mastic on opposite sides of tip to hold barbs (Group 1, probably Type A). Reed shaft, 0.620 long. Distal end irregularly cut and trimmed externally to receive binding, with mastic to hold inserted foreshaft. Shaft well smoothed, except at proximal end, where it is scraped down completely. Nock cut into the node of the reed; a squared U, 0.003 wide, 0.008 deep. Three very shallow grooves, evenly spaced around shaft, for insertion of vanes, 0.077 long; these are now entirely missing, though faint traces of white mastic remain. No trace of binding either above or below vanes. No provenance. No date. Standard Egyptian type from the Protodynastic Period onwards. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 353, pl. 13.2, 354, pl. 14.2, 359, pl. 15.2.

**19.** Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1892.1466b. Most of arrow, including foreshaft and much of reed mainshaft. L. pr., 0.825; D., 0.004 (distal)—0.008. Wood foreshaft, 0.204 long, irregular in thickness, oval in section, tapering towards fine squared distal end; light brown mastic on opposite sides for mounting barbs (Group 1, probably Type A). Reed shaft 0.621 long; irregular transverse cut at distal end, shaved off externally to take binding of mastic and probably fibre, black in colour and continuing over proximal end of foreshaft. Reed shaft fairly well smoothed, especially at proximal end, where it is scraped down completely, leaving traces of oblique file or scraper marks. Nock cut into reed, squared U, 0.006 deep; half of nock missing, the surviving half cut off square top and bottom. Three very shallow grooves, evenly spaced around shaft, for insertion of vanes, 0.070 long, which are now entirely missing, leaving faint traces of mastic. No provenance. No date. Standard Egyptian type from the Protodynastic Period onwards. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 353, pl. 13.3 (numbered '1892-1466'), 354, pl. 14.3, 359, pl. 15.3.

<sup>14</sup>Clark, 'Interpretations', 342.

**20.** Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1912.559. Most of wood foreshaft, proximal end missing. L. pr., 0.120; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.008; section round. Distal end bluntly squared off; trace of mastic (Group 1, probably Type A). Length of foreshaft evenly smoothed and tapered. Proximal end cut transversely for rebate, and then tapered to a tang for insertion; most of tang missing, leaving only 0.004; no trace of mastic or binding. Tarkhan, grave 1051. Protodynastic (Petrie Sequence Date 77). *Acacia* sp. (immature wood).

Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (London, 1913), 8 and pl. ix.15; Clark, 'Interpretations', 349, col. 2 (unlabelled).

**21.** Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1912.560. Most of wood foreshaft, proximal end missing. L. pr., 0.132; D., 0.0015 (distal)–0.005; section round. Tip squared off, with traces of white mastic spread down two opposite sides, presumably to hold barbs (Group 1, probably Type A). Foreshaft transversely rebated at proximal end; part of tang missing. A small piece of the reed shaft remains, with traces of adhesive and binding on foreshaft above rebate. Tarkhan. Protodynastic. *Acacia* sp.

Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, 8 and pl. ix.14; Clark, 'Interpretations', 349 col. 1 (incorrectly cited as from tomb 1051), 352, pl. 12.1 (provenance given as 'Tarkhan 1651 ... from an early 1st Dynasty grave at Tarkhan').

**22.** Arrow fragment. Ashmolean Museum, 1912.561. Part of wood foreshaft, distal end missing. L. pr., 0.174; D., 0.004–0.009; section round. Exposed part of foreshaft, 0.136 long, broadened out evenly to 0.009 at 0.036 from end of rebate, then tapered evenly to broken distal end. Proximal end cut with transverse rebate and then tapered for insertion; trace of resin on inserted part, but no trace of binding. Tarkhan, grave 1051. Protodynastic (Petrie Sequence Date 77). *Acacia* sp.

Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, 8, pls. ix.17, x.7; Clark, 'Interpretations', 349, col. 3 (wrongly labelled '1912.559').

**23.** Arrow fragment. Hearst Museum, 6-1711D. Sharply tapering wood foreshaft, broken at distal end. L. pr., 0.110; exposed L., 0.98; D., 0.0042 (distal)–0.0077; section round. Possible trace of white mastic at distal end (Group 1). At proximal end, tang was probably formed by a transverse cut (now frayed), and then tapered to fit into a reed shaft; tang broken off at 0.007; traces of binding of sinew or thread with some black mastic. Naga el-Deir, tomb N-3746 (see 3). Sixth to Twelfth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 377–8.

**24.** Arrow fragment. Hearst Museum, 6-2008I. Part of wood foreshaft, broken at both ends. L. pr., 0.122; D., 0.0047–0.0068 (proximal); section round. Evenly tapered throughout surviving length, from a maximum at the proximal end. No trace of mastic or binding at proximal end.<sup>15</sup> Naga el-Deir, tomb N-3944 (see 3). Sixth to Twelfth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

Clark, 'Interpretations', 380–2 (wrongly numbered 382, 380, 379).

**25.** Arrow fragment. Hearst Museum, 6-2333X. Fragment of wood foreshaft and reed shaft, broken at both ends. L. pr., 0.144; D., 0.0059–0.0073. Foreshaft round in section, slightly tapered; surviving part projects only 0.0027 beyond reed, and is too short to judge whether this tapering continued throughout the length. Foreshaft tang inserted into reed; junction hidden by binding of sinew or thread, thickly covered with black mastic. The surviving part of the reed shaft is 0.109 long; shallow transverse cut on reed, which is reduced in diameter to allow for binding. Naga el-Deir, tomb N-3737 (see 3). Sixth to Twelfth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp. (immature twig).

Clark, 'Interpretations', 328 (with no museum number), 380–2 (wrongly numbered 382, 380, 379).

<sup>15</sup> Clark, 'Interpretations', 379–80, describes the whole length of the foreshaft as 'inserted'.



**26.** Arrow fragment. Manchester University Museum, 62. Shaft of heavy reddish wood; not typical, because there was no reed. L. pr., 0.318; D., 0.007–0.008. Distal end broken. Nock complete, a shallow U-shaped cut, 0.001 deep, 0.002 wide. No signs of fletching. Kahun. Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>16</sup> *Acacia* sp.

A. S. Griffith, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties from Kahun, Illahun and Gurob* (Manchester, 1910), 14.

**27.** Arrow fragment. Manchester University Museum, 4223(a). Wood foreshaft, complete. L., 0.185; exposed L., 0.160; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.007; section oval. Foreshaft slightly tapered to distal squared end. One chalcedony barb remains, of which the visible portion has one straight edge, at right angles to foreshaft, and a convex leading edge with a flaked trim on one face, oblique to foreshaft; the barb is set in black adhesive, which also shows probable remains of seating of another side barb, and of a stone lunate blade at tip (Group 1, Type A). Tang smooth and bevelled abruptly at proximal end; no evidence of cut flange; traces of black adhesive. Rifa, Cemetery S.<sup>17</sup> Hyksos Period. *Acacia* sp.

**28.** Arrow fragment. Manchester University Museum, 4223(b). Wood foreshaft, almost complete. L. pr., 0.225; exposed L., 0.206; D., 0.005; section oval. Distal end missing. Foreshaft tapered at proximal end to blunt chisel-ended tang; no transverse cut, but end of flange marked by remains of black adhesive and possibly binding for a length of 0.020. Rifa, Cemetery S (see 27). Hyksos Period. *Acacia* sp.

**29.** Arrow fragment. Manchester University Museum, 4223(c). Wood foreshaft, complete. L., 0.196; exposed L., 0.168; D., 0.003–0.006; section round. Distal end cut off square; slight amount of dark adhesive at tip, with possible trace of back of barb (Group 1, probably Type A). No transverse cut at point of junction with reed; the tang is tapered towards an obliquely cut or bevelled proximal end; smear of greyish mastic for fixing into shaft and some traces of binding. Rifa, Cemetery S (see 27). Hyksos Period. *Acacia* sp.

**30.** Arrow fragment. Manchester University Museum, 4223(d). Wood foreshaft, complete. L., 0.204; exposed L., 0.183; D., 0.004–0.006; section round. Foreshaft tapered at mid-length to a long parallel-sided portion, which ends in a blunt squared tip at distal end; no remains of barbs or adhesive (Group 2, Type D). At proximal end, the tang, which is smooth, tapers slightly; there is no evidence of a flange at the end, but possible trace of discolouration from adhesive; no trace of binding. Rifa, Cemetery S (see 27). Hyksos Period. *Acacia* sp.

**31.** Arrow fragment. Manchester University Museum, 4223(e). Wood foreshaft, complete. L., 0.214; exposed L., 0.186; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.009; section oval. Foreshaft tapered evenly to a short and sharply bevelled tip (irregular point); no trace of barbs or adhesive (Group 2, Type C). Foreshaft worn very thin towards proximal end. Tang for insertion in reed is roughly bevelled to a chisel end; wood darkened, but no actual remains of mastic. Rifa, Cemetery S (see 27). Hyksos Period. *Acacia* sp.

**32.** Arrow fragment. Manchester University Museum, 4223(f). Wood foreshaft, complete. L., 0.292; exposed portion, 0.260; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.006; section round. Tapered at distal end to squared tip; trace of pale grey adhesive smeared over distal end on opposite sides, indicating probably two side barbs (Group 1, probably Type A). At proximal end, the pointed tang is slightly shaved from flange, for binding and insertion into shaft; no trace of adhesive. Rifa, Cemetery S (see 27). Hyksos Period. *Acacia* sp.

<sup>16</sup>The dating is given in the Museum register. Arrows from Kahun are noted by A. R. David, *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt: A Modern Investigation of Pharaoh's Workforce* (London, 1986), 144.

<sup>17</sup>On the South Cemetery, the findspot of 27–32, see Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), 20, and pl. x.f. Two foreshafts and two arrow butts from this South Cemetery are mentioned by Petrie, loc. cit.

**33.** Arrow, complete except for tip. Manchester University Museum, 6588(f). L. pr., 0.752. D., 0.004 (distal)–0.009. Exposed portion of wood foreshaft, L., 0.147; section round. Traces of white adhesive at blunt-ended tip, which is slightly tapered (Group 1, probably Type A). Junction of shaft and foreshaft covered with black adhesive. Reed shaft, L., 0.577, with well smoothed nodes; nock cut into reed, 0.009 deep, and square, but half missing. Three evenly spaced shallow grooves for vanes, 0.063 long; no trace of feathers or adhesive. Sidmant, grave 72. Ninth or Tenth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment I*, pl. xxxvi.

**34.** Arrow fragment. Manchester University Museum, 6588(h). Wood foreshaft and reed shaft, broken at both ends. L. pr., 0.668; D., 0.005–0.008. Wood foreshaft, section round, broken off at distal end about 0.090 from junction with reed shaft, which is sealed by black mastic; no evidence of binding. Reed shaft almost complete; L. pr., 0.577; proximal end missing. Traces of three feather vanes, 0.064 long. Sidmant, grave 72 (see **33**). Ninth or Tenth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

**35.** Arrow, complete. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-1-1. L., 0.831; D., 0.003 (distal)–0.0065. Wood foreshaft, section round, projecting 0.205 beyond reed. Tapering of foreshaft begins 0.040 from squared tip; no evidence of point or barbs or of adhesive (Group 2, Type D). Narrow reed shaft, 0.576 long, with well smoothed nodes. Distal end is shaved externally to take adhesive binding for fixing foreshaft; no trace of adhesive. Nock cut into reed, squared U, 0.005 deep, much of it missing. Traces of three feathers at equal intervals, L., 0.070. **35–8** were found together, with a self bow, in a tomb of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>18</sup> Thebes. Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

H. Balfour, *JRAI* 26 (1896/97), 211, 215–16; drawings of several: figs. 6, 7, 8, 9; another, Clark, 'Interpretations', 361, fig. 8.2.

**36.** Arrow, complete except for tip. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-1-2. L. pr., 0.798; D., 0.0055–0.007. Wood foreshaft, L. pr., 0.207, section round. Tip broken off, with long radial split in shaft, to leave an uneven wedge-shaped end (Group 2, probably Type C). Proximal end inserted, but not trimmed, though there are possible traces of binding on its surface for a length of 0.042. Narrow reed shaft, L., 0.589, with well smoothed nodes. Surface of reed shaft shaved back for 0.026 from distal end, to a neat transverse edge to hold binding and mastic, of which traces remain. Proximal end cut transversely, and small hardwood nock-piece inserted, L., 0.010, of which half is missing. Nock, squared U-shaped, 0.007 deep, 0.005 wide, with tapered shoulder, squared at top. Trace of one vane, L., 0.105. Thebes (see **35**). Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The foreshaft is made of *Buxus* sp.; a superficial examination of the nock-piece with a lens suggests that it also is of *Buxus*.

**37.** Arrow, complete. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-1-3. L., 0.802; D., 0.003 (distal)–0.0075. Wood foreshaft, slightly oval in section, projecting 0.199 beyond reed; tapers evenly throughout length, and squared at tip. Considerable pale brown mastic on one side of tip only, in form of two barbs, one containing flint fragment (Group 1, probably Type A). Reed shaft, L., 0.555; distal end cut transversely and shaft shaved externally to take adhesive binding, which is black, tarry, and almost complete. Nodes smoothed near nock; nock cut into reed, U-shaped; 0.010 deep, 0.004 wide; shoulders tapered with squared ends. Traces of three vanes, evenly spaced; L., 0.069–0.071. Thebes (see **35**). Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

**38.** Arrow, complete. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-1-4. L., 0.814; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.0075. Wood foreshaft, oval in section, projecting 0.180 beyond reed; tapers evenly throughout length to squared end, with small traces of greyish-white mastic all around tip (Group 1, probably Type A). Reed shaft, L., 0.558. Clear transverse cut at distal end; shaft trimmed externally to take adhesive binding, which is black, bituminous resin, and almost complete. Nodes of reed shaft

<sup>18</sup>The tomb was excavated 'under the direction ... of Mr. Butros, the Italian Consul', and reported by H. Balfour, *JRAI* 26 (1896/97), 211, 215–16.

fairly well smoothed especially near nock; nock cut into reed, U-shaped, 0.009 deep, 0.006 wide; shoulders tapered to a point. Traces of three vanes, symmetrically spaced, L., 0.073. Thebes (see 35). Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

**39.** Arrow, complete. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-2-1. L., 0.801; D., 0.0025 (distal)–0.0096. Wood foreshaft, section round, projecting 0.206 beyond reed; gradually tapers to distal end, which is squared, with a trace of mastic (Group 1, probably Type A). No transverse cut at the end of binding on foreshaft. Reed shaft, L., 0.605; slight transverse cut at distal end for adhesive binding, with slight trimming down of outer surface of reed. Nodes of reed shaft left rough except at proximal end; nock cut into reed, squared U in shape, 0.012 deep, 0.003 wide; nock shoulders trimmed to a rounded top. Traces of three vanes, evenly spaced around the shaft, 0.066 long. Thebes. **39–44** were found together, with a composite bow, ‘certainly of foreign make and very probably of Assyrian origin’, in a tomb of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This must be Balfour’s bow, ‘found at Thebes about 1877, by Arminius Butros, Italian consular agent, allegedly in a Twenty-sixth Dynasty Tomb’.<sup>19</sup> Actually there is no reason to say that the bow was not made in Egypt.<sup>20</sup> Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Acacia* sp.

Balfour, *JRAI* 26 (1896/97), 211, 216–17; several are illustrated: figs. 10, 11.

**40.** Arrow fragment. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-2-2. Reed mainshaft without foreshaft or nock. L. pr., 0.590; D., 0.007–0.009. Distal end cut off transversely; no evidence of thinning of inside of shaft to take foreshaft, nor of outside to take binding; remains of mastic and binding for 0.034 on outside, and glue on inside of distal end. Nodes very well smoothed. Transverse cut at proximal end, not near a node; the hollow is partly filled with a hard grey substance (cf. 42 and 44). Distinct cuts or scratches, sometimes transverse and sometimes spiral or criss-cross, with remains of mastic. Probably four feathers, of which traces of only three remain; L., 0.055. Thebes (see 39). Twenty-sixth Dynasty. No microscopic determination; reed only.

**41.** Arrow, complete except for nock. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-2-3. L. pr., 0.781; D., 0.004 (distal)–0.0075. Wood foreshaft, section round, projecting 0.268 beyond reed; tapered to a bluntly pointed tip, with no trace of mastic (Group 2, Type C). Foreshaft apparently tapered at proximal end to a tang for insertion into reed. Reed shaft, L. pr., 0.512, with nodes trimmed but not well smoothed. Distal end of reed shaved back for a length of 0.014 to a transverse cut, to provide room for the binding of thread or sinew sealed with mastic, which would hold the inserted wood foreshaft; traces of this binding and sealing remain on the reed shaft for a length of 0.014, but not on the foreshaft. Proximal end cut off square below a node, with no trace of a nock in the reed nor of an inserted nock-piece. Traces of adhesive, and possible part of central rib of a feather in two places opposite to each other, one extending 0.040 and the other 0.067 from the proximal end. Thebes (see 39). Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Buxus* sp.

**42.** Arrow, complete except for nock end. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-2-4. L. pr., 0.844. D., 0.006 (distal)–0.0089. Wood foreshaft, section round, projecting 0.288 beyond reed; thick and almost parallel-sided, abruptly pointed at tip, with no trace of mastic (Group 2, Type C). Thick reed shaft, L. pr., 0.556, with no evidence of shaving down or binding at distal end, but traces of adhesive in joint; nodes well smoothed, and proximal end cut off square, but now much damaged with marks of cuts. A block of some material fills about half of the cylindrical hollow of the reed; at first sight it has the fibrous appearance of horn, but at a magnification of  $\times 100$  it looks more like a filling of wax. No trace of fletching. Thebes (see 39). Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Tamarix* sp.

<sup>19</sup> See n. 18.

<sup>20</sup> McLeod, *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 1970), 30(H), 36–7; idem, ‘Were Egyptian Composite Bows made in Asia?’, *Journal of the Society of Archer-Antiquaries* 12 (1969), 19–23; abstract, *AJA* 73 (1969), 242. The provenance of this specimen is not beyond question; Balfour reports that a workman brought the bow and arrows to the excavator with the claim that they too came from the tomb.

43. Arrow, complete except for nock end. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-2-5. L. pr., 0.851; D., 0.0055 (distal)–0.008. Wood foreshaft, slightly oval in section, projecting 0.286 beyond reed; of equal thickness up to within 0.007 of tip, where it is sharpened steeply to a point, with no trace of mastic (Group 2, Type C). Thick reed shaft, L. pr., 0.565, nodes very well smoothed. Distal end of shaft cut off transversely; there is a little shaving back from the cut, with traces of adhesive and binding, clear on the reed for a length of 0.026, and faint on the foreshaft. Proximal end of reed is cut off square, with faint traces of mastic and binding, which may have served to fix an inserted nock-piece. Traces of at least one vane, L., 0.106. Thebes (see 39). Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Quercus* sp.

44. Arrow, complete except for nock end. Pitt Rivers Museum, 1896-2-2-6. L. pr., 0.840; D., 0.006–0.0075. Wood foreshaft, section round, projecting 0.293 beyond reed; straight-sided with steeply tapering point, and no trace of mastic (Group 2, Type C). Proximal end socketed into reed. L. pr. of reed, 0.547; nodes well smoothed. Distal end of reed cut off transversely, but there is no cutting back or shaving of the surface to take binding on either shaft or foreshaft; the junction bears traces of adhesive which are impressed clearly on the reed with thread or sinew binding, for a length of 0.031; the traces are only faint on the foreshaft. Proximal end of reed cut off square, 0.030 above a node; there are traces of a hard grey substance within the reed, and remains of binding and mastic outside, possibly intended to fix an inserted nock-piece. Evidence of one vane remains; L., 0.105. Thebes (see 39). Twenty-sixth Dynasty. *Fraxinus* sp.

### Sources of the timbers identified

Ancient written records provide some information about the use of timber in Egypt, and about the timber trade. In using these texts, however, there are problems of translation, and some of the Egyptian names for woods are still not completely understood.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, there are difficulties associated with the modern nomenclature. In general, the botanical names of species are based on floral or vegetative characters, and not on details of wood structure. Accordingly, in many genera the species cannot be distinguished by wood features alone. Moreover, there are often synonyms, and the same specific names have been assigned by various authorities to species or sub-species which differ only in floral parts. The work of classification continues, with taxa being re-ordered.<sup>22</sup> Here, each named specimen that was used for comparison carries the name that was current at the time, which is not necessarily the same as that in current use.

The study of modern vegetation can contribute to a discussion of the possible sources of the kinds of wood identified, provided that we bear in mind the fact that millennia of occupation and use have considerably reduced, and changed, the vegetative cover around the Mediterranean, including the Nile and other major river valleys.<sup>23</sup> There is also evidence from Sudan and neighbouring regions that there have been several climatic changes since the end of the Ice Ages.<sup>24</sup> In dry and warm areas, alterations in the rainfall

<sup>21</sup> *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 429; Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 24–6, 405–9. The references provided by Meiggs are largely classical, and mainly refer to coniferous woods, but they illustrate the urgent need for clear determinations of actual wood specimens to clarify the terminology.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, F. N. Hepper and I. Fris, *The Plants of Pehr Forskals Flora: Aegyptiaco-Arabia* (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and Botanical Museum, Copenhagen, 1994).

<sup>23</sup> M. B. Rowton, 'The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia', *JNES* 26 (1967), 261–77.

<sup>24</sup> G. E. Wickens, 'Palaeobotanical Speculations and Quaternary Environments in the Sudan', in M. A. J. Williams and D. A. Adamson (eds), *A Land between Two Niles: Quaternary Geology and Biology of the Central Sudan* (Rotterdam, 1982), 23–50; K. W. Butzer, 'Climatic Changes in the Arid Zones of Africa during Early to Mid-Holocene Times', *World Climate from 8000 to 0 B.C.* (Proceedings of the International Symposium on World Climate, Royal Meteorological Society; London, 1966), 72–83; J. D. Clark, 'A Re-Examination of the Evidence for Agricultural Origins in the Nile Valley', *PPS* 37/2 (December 1971), 34–79, at 71.

pattern affect the flora much more than similar changes in wetter regions. When the rainfall is adequate, the population tends to grow, and this puts great pressure on the trees and shrubs, because of increased demands for building and for fuel, and the progressive domestication of animals. With the advent of a drier cycle, the vegetation quickly becomes denuded; when conditions improve, recovery is much slower. Once plants are lost, the source of regeneration (seeds or roots) is missing, and the loss may be permanent. In mountainous country (such as Lebanon or Anatolia) deforestation, whether by drought, fire or clear-cutting, leads to erosion of the soil that is necessary for regeneration.

It might seem safe to assume that the endemic (non-introduced) species that now grow in these areas were present also in historic and late prehistoric times. It is also possible that non-indigenous plants were introduced in the same period,<sup>25</sup> or that species that were present in the past are no longer found. It follows that a study of present or recently recorded distribution patterns is not an infallible basis upon which to build a picture of the likely plant cover of the past. In some cases, a study of soils may be important in considering the vegetation at particular sites. This is less so in the circumstances of the present investigation, which deals with small movable human artefacts, especially since the taxa concerned occur so widely.

We now consider the various taxa that have been identified in the preceding pages, and offer a few comments on their other occurrences, and on their possible sources. We begin with those that are probably native, and then look briefly at those that seem to be imported.

Reed, *Phragmites* sp., was frequently used for the mainshafts of Egyptian arrows. (Herodotus reports that the Ethiopian contingent in the Persian army that invaded Greece in 480 BC used arrows made of reed.<sup>26</sup>) It is abundant in most of the habitable regions of Egypt, because it grows in fresh or slightly brackish water, along irrigation canals and drains, around lakes and pools, along parts of the Nile valley, the Delta, and in the oases of the western desert.<sup>27</sup> At least one arrow from Naga el-Deir has been identified as reed, as has another from the First Dynasty tomb of Hemaka at Saqqara, and two from the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>28</sup> The species current in Egypt today is *P. australis*, until recently classified as *P. communis*, but no specific determination can be given of the specimen cited here.

*Phragmites* sp.: Arrow, 40.

Acacia has many species, some of which are very much alike, if not indistinguishable, in wood structure. Authorities list more than a dozen that are found in Egypt,<sup>29</sup> with some variation of names. The most common, and the most widespread over the country as a whole, from the north southwards into Sudan, are *A. raddiana* and *A. tortilis*, and in the

<sup>25</sup> Amongst other plants some food grains must have been introduced, since their wild parents were not apparently native. Other seeds may have been brought in with them.

<sup>26</sup> Herodotus VII, 69.1; reed arrows are also reported for the Lycians (VII, 92) and the Indians (VII, 65)—though in the last instance the word is sometimes interpreted as meaning bamboo; see also R. Ascham, *Toxophilus, The Schole, or Partitions, of Shooting* (facsimile reprint, Wakefield, 1968), 161.

<sup>27</sup> M. A. Zahran and A. J. Willis, *The Vegetation of Egypt* (London, 1992), 105, 320, 330, 344–5.

<sup>28</sup> Clark, 'Interpretations', 329 with n. 33; E. A. M. Greiss, 'Anatomical Identification of Plant Material from Ancient Egypt', *BIE* 31 (1949), 270; *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 131; McLeod, *Self Bows*, 54.

<sup>29</sup> V. Täckholm, *Students' Flora of Egypt* (Cairo, 1956), 332–4; Zahran and Willis, *Vegetation of Egypt*, 395.

valley itself *A. nilotica*. *A. albida* occurs near Aswan. Two of the six bows and twelve of the thirty-eight arrows matched closely with comparative specimens of *A. nilotica* and *A. benthami*, a sub-species.<sup>30</sup> In view of the sampling difficulties that were outlined above, it seems best to take these determinations no further than the genus *Acacia*, which would have been easily available virtually everywhere. Apart from the advantage of easy availability, the wood can be of good quality, hard, durable, resistant to splitting, and takes a good smooth finish. Bows from Thebes, Beni Hasan, Asyut, Elephantine, and the tomb of Amenhotep II, as well as arrow footings from the tomb of Mahirper at Thebes (KV 36), have all been identified as *Acacia*.<sup>31</sup> It has also been found in axe-hafts, in coffin pegs, and in a dowel from a shrine in the tomb of Tutankhamun, as well as in agricultural implements, wheels, and boats.<sup>32</sup>

*Acacia* sp.: Bows, 1, 2, 3, 6. Arrows, 10, 11, 14–35, 37–39.

Two species of Sidder or *Ziziphus* grow in the eastern Mediterranean area. *Z. spina-christi*, an evergreen, is found in southern Palestine and extends down into Egypt and Sudan; *Z. lotus*, which is deciduous, occurs little further south than Gilead and Galilee.<sup>33</sup> The two species are virtually indistinguishable by wood structure.<sup>34</sup> Since *Z. spina-christi* was probably common in the oases of the western and eastern deserts, Helwan and Nubia, and along the banks of irrigation canals, it is most likely to be the species represented here.<sup>35</sup> Another species, *Z. mucronata*, found in Sudan and further south, also produces similar wood, but it would not have been worth importing if the local species was plentiful. *Z. spina-christi* wood is hard and durable, though not of large size, and would be suitable for such things as tongues or dowels to hold together the panels of shrines or coffins. It has been identified in a plywood coffin of the Third Dynasty from Saqqara, in a club or stick from the tomb of Tutankhamun, and in the hafts of three axes of the Middle Kingdom or the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>36</sup> The bow found with the Florence chariot was said to be *Ziziphus*, but some of the analyses carried out at the same time have been challenged.<sup>37</sup>

*Ziziphus* sp.: Bow, 4.

Tamarisk, *Tamarix*, is represented by several species in Egypt; *T. tetragyna* is at present found in the Delta, where it seems to withstand fairly (but not extremely) saline conditions. The most common and widespread species are *T. nilotica* and *T. aphylla*.<sup>38</sup> The former is found in the oases of the western desert and in the wadis of the eastern

<sup>30</sup> J. H. Ross, 'Conspectus of the African Acacia Species', *Memoirs of the Botanical Survey of South Africa*, 44 (1979), 108.

<sup>31</sup> McLeod, *Self Bows*, 52, 55.

<sup>32</sup> R. Gale, 'Wood Identification', in W. V. Davies, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, VII: *Tools and Weapons 1, Axes* (London, 1987), 128, Scientific Appendix iv; F. N. Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers: The Botanical Treasures of Tutankhamun* (London, 1990), 23, 43; *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 440, 442.

<sup>33</sup> M. Zohary, *Plant Life of Palestine* (Chronica Botanica 33; New York, 1962), 133.

<sup>34</sup> A. Fahn et al., *Wood Anatomy and Identification of Trees and Shrubs from Israel and Adjacent Regions* (Jerusalem, 1986), 145.

<sup>35</sup> Zahran and Willis, *Vegetation of Egypt*, 97, 209, 258, 363.

<sup>36</sup> L. Chalk, *Ninth Annual Report* (Imperial Forestry Institute, 1932–3) 12; Lucas, 'The Wood of the Third Dynasty Ply-wood Coffin from Saqqara', *ASAE* 36 (1936), 1–4; *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 440, 446; Gale, in Davies, *BM Cat. Tools and Weapons 1*, 128.

<sup>37</sup> *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 440; Botti, *Aegyptus* 31 (1951), 197; Clark, 'Interpretations', 349; McLeod, *Self Bows*, 52.

<sup>38</sup> Zahran and Willis, *Vegetation of Egypt*, 146, 167, 215, 224.

desert and Sinai, as well as (less commonly) along the canals of the Nile valley, where it usually produces a shrubby specimen. *T. aphylla* is more common in the eastern desert in wadis and runnels where there is adequate water for its deep rooting system, but it also occurs in the Nile valley. It produces a sizeable trunk which has been used for general construction and turnery.<sup>39</sup> The wood is light and easily worked, and this may account for its use for the hollowed out flanges to hold the axle for the chariot wheel from the tomb of Amenhotep III in the Valley of Kings (KV 22).<sup>40</sup> Wood from arrow shafts in Meroitic graves at Khartoum has been provisionally identified as *Tamarix*, as has the foot of a pall support from the tomb of Tutankhamun, parts of coffins, axe hafts, and a number of other small items.<sup>41</sup> There is evidence of considerable contact between the valley and the deserts from prehistoric times on,<sup>42</sup> and one may suppose that either species would have been widely available. The bow and two arrows in the present group were definitely not *T. aphylla*, so perhaps *T. nilotica* is most likely, but other species would be possible. With such portable objects the findspot is not necessarily the place of origin.

*Tamarix* sp.: Bow, 5. Arrows, 13, 42.

The remaining genera represented here are all foreign timbers. The only taxon represented in this group from a more tropical habitat is ebony. Pollen analyses from cores of the Pleistocene Period indicate that plants of a more temperate climate, such as *Quercus*, *Ulmus*, *Betula*, and *Pinus*, were then present in the Sahara region, but not more recently.<sup>43</sup> It follows that most of these specimens must have been brought in from more northerly regions. Evidently the Egyptians, having little wood of their own, imported quantities of the better timbers from areas which were then well-forested, and these imports came largely from Syria and Lebanon.<sup>44</sup> One might hesitate over the determination of foreign timber in use for such a minor artefact as an arrow foreshaft, but the woods represented here have all been found in use for other purposes. Since trade in timber is well authenticated, and the taxa are at present found in the areas from which such trade was carried on, we feel justified in presenting these identifications to a generic, but not a specific, level. It will be valuable to have more determinations of larger specimens to show the purposes for which such woods as ash and oak were imported, since it is unlikely that timber would be brought from a distance just for dowels and arrows.

Ash, *Fraxinus*, probably came from the lands of the north-east Mediterranean region, where three species have been recorded recently from the Amanus mountains, Syria and Lebanon: the Manna Ash, *F. ornus*, the European Ash, *F. excelsior*, and the Syrian Ash, *F. syriaca*. *F. ornus* also occurs now in the Taurus, along part of the southern coast of Anatolia, and in Palestine. Remnants of *F. syriaca* survive as far south as Beth Shan in

<sup>39</sup> Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers*, 49.

<sup>40</sup> A. C. Western, 'A Wheel Hub from the Tomb of Amenophis III', *JEA* 59 (1973), 91-4.

<sup>41</sup> Clark, 'Interpretations', 349 with n. 86; Chalk, *Ninth Annual Report*, 12; Lucas, 'Notes on some of the Objects from the Tomb of Tut-ankhamun', *ASAE* 41 (1942), 135-47, at 144; *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 440-1, 447-8; Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 404; Gale, in Davies, *BM Cat. Tools and Weapons* 1, 128.

<sup>42</sup> Zahran and Willis, *Vegetation of Egypt*, 54, 249.

<sup>43</sup> M. Zohary, *Geobotanical Foundations of the Middle East* (Stuttgart, 1973), I, 335.

<sup>44</sup> Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 63-9; P. H. Davis (ed.), *Flora of Turkey*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1965-1984), *passim*; M. Zohary and N. Feinbrun, *Flora Palaestina*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1966-1986), *passim*.

the Jordan valley.<sup>45</sup> (There is no modern evidence for the occurrence of *Fraxinus* in Cyprus.) It produces a tough and resilient timber with a straight grain. Since it is flexible and resistant to shock, it is particularly suitable for the handles of tools and weapons, and for the construction of such objects as wheels and carts. It was used for parts of the wheels and axle of the Eighteenth Dynasty chariot now in Florence. It has also been identified in composite bows of about the same date from the tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>46</sup>

*Fraxinus* sp.: Arrow, 44.

Box, *Buxus*, is reported to occur discontinuously in Anatolia and Amanus; this suggests that it may have been stripped in the past from some areas that were suitable habitats. At present it is not listed in Palestine or Cyprus.<sup>47</sup> Boxwood was imported into Egypt from the Amanus region and the coastal mountains of Syria, probably through Ras Shamra and Byblos.<sup>48</sup> On the basis of the present distribution, the species was likely to be *B. sempervirens*, which has been identified in furniture, inlay and mummy labels.<sup>49</sup> Box is a dense, close-grained wood which works to a smooth finish. It is pale in colour and is therefore useful for veneers and inlay in furniture, where it provides a contrast with dark wood such as ebony. It does not normally produce large billets, but would be a valuable timber for such uses because it does not warp easily.

*Buxus* sp.: Arrows, 12, 36, 41.

Ebony has been recorded for a number of objects, including boxes, chests, stools, statuettes, veneers, and the foreshafts of arrows from Abydos (Protodynastic), Thebes (Eleventh Dynasty), and el-Lisht (Middle Kingdom).<sup>50</sup> Lucas however reports no really reliable determinations of the wood, and some specimens may have been so described because the wood was very dark in colour. Egyptian sources and classical authors assert that ebony came to Egypt from Ethiopia, or neighbouring countries in the south. As Lucas remarks, there is no proof that this was the place of origin, for items of trade may travel a long way. This was certainly true of commodities of high value and low bulk such as spices, which in historic times were traded through Arabia and were thought to have originated there, when many of them must have been shipped along the coast from India. Most timber would hardly fit into this category, but ebony, with its special features of colour and smoothness, might sometimes have been worth carrying in the form of small billets.

It is important that we should have reliable microscopic determinations of any objects which appear to be of ebony, because true ebony, *Diospyrus* sp., is native to India, Sri Lanka and tropical west Africa, and even the so-called false ebony, *Dalbergia* sp., is found at nearest in southern Sudan, southern Ethiopia, and in east Africa; in either event its presence would have significant trade implications. Objects of ebony found in Egypt have

<sup>45</sup> G. E. Post, edited by J. E. Dinsmore, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*, II (Beirut, 1933), 184; Davis, *Flora of Turkey* VI, 148–51; Zohary, *Plant Life*, 167.

<sup>46</sup> Lucas, *ASAE* 41 (1942), 144; Botti, *Aegyptus* 31 (1951), 197; *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 429, 430 nn. 1–2, 431; Clark, 'Interpretations', 349; McLeod, *Composite Bows*, 31; Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers*, 43, 47.

<sup>47</sup> For instance, it is not recorded by Zohary, *Plant Life*, nor by J. Holmboe, 'Studies on the Vegetation of Cyprus', *Bergens Museum Skriften* 1/2 (1914); Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 281, records the presence of boxwood in Cyprus in biblical times.

<sup>48</sup> Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 73.

<sup>49</sup> *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 429, 431–2; Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 281.

<sup>50</sup> *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 434–6; McLeod, *Self Bows*, 55; Clark 'Interpretations', 349 and n. 84.



usually been thought to be *Dalbergia melanoxylon*, but none of the timber specimens available matched the two arrows here. The closest comparison was with a specimen of *Diospyrus mespiliformis* from Kenya, a species that is recorded from Sudan.<sup>51</sup> It has dark but not generally black wood, but is not as dense or smooth as true ebony.

Probably *Diospyrus* sp.: Arrows, 8, 9.

Oak, *Quercus*, grows in Anatolia, the Amanus mountains, and also further south in Syria, Lebanon and northern Palestine, and several species and sub-species are described.<sup>52</sup> Some evergreen oaks are found as far south as Edom, at altitudes up to about 1200 m; these are shrubby, and would hardly have produced timber worth trading. Perhaps some oak was exported with cedar, cypress and other timbers from Byblos or ports further north.<sup>53</sup> Although there are clear diagnostic features for the taxon, specific determinations are not easy in the present case owing to the limitation on sectioning the sample.<sup>54</sup> There is still little firm evidence for the use of oak in Egypt, but a dowel from one of the shrines in the tomb of Tutankhamun was identified at Kew as oak.<sup>55</sup> Since it is clear that no timber would be imported just for the purpose of making dowels and arrows, it must have been brought in for larger work, and the waste material from the workshops of carpenters and cabinet makers would be used for smaller items.

*Quercus* sp.: Arrow, 43.

A number of species of pine, *Pinus*, occur throughout the Amanus and Lebanon mountains, in Syria and northern Palestine, and in Cyprus. The most common are the Aleppo Pine, *P. halepensis*, the Calabrian Pine, *P. brutia*, the Black or Austrian Pine, *P. nigra*, and the Stone or Umbrella Pine, *P. pinea*. In earlier times these areas must have been well forested, and there is evidence of a timber trade to Egypt at least from the time of the Third Dynasty in the finding of a coffin plank of pine, probably *P. halepensis*, at Saqqara. Pine beams were used in the doorway of the burial chamber of Tutankhamun, and some pieces of similar wood for an unidentified purpose even from a predynastic context at el-Badari.<sup>56</sup> This wood, like so many others, doubtless came to Egypt through the port of Byblos.<sup>57</sup> There is also evidence for the trade in conifers, including *Pinus*, in the form of cones and resin, and other pieces of wood.<sup>58</sup>

*Pinus* sp.: Arrow, 7.

<sup>51</sup>F. W. Andrews, *Flowering Plants of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, II (Sudan Government, 1952), 367–8; G. E. Wickens, *The Flora of Jebel Marra (Sudan Republic) and its Geographical Affinities* (Kew Bulletin Additional Series 5; London, 1976), 126.

<sup>52</sup>Davis, *Flora of Turkey* VII, 659–83; Zohary and Feinbrun, *Flora Palaestina* I, 30–5; Post, *Flora of Syria* II, 519–24.

<sup>53</sup>Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 64–6.

<sup>54</sup>Fahn et al., *Wood Anatomy*, 106–9.

<sup>55</sup>*AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 430, 438; Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers*, 38.

<sup>56</sup>Chalk, *Ninth Annual Report*, 12; Lucas, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 1–4; Hepper, *Pharaoh's Flowers*, 26; G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation* (London, 1928), 62–3; *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 430, 438–9.

<sup>57</sup>Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 62–69.

<sup>58</sup>V. Täckholm and M. Drar, *Flora of Egypt*, I (Cairo, 1941), 46–50, 70–2. Perhaps we should add here that another specimen in the Ashmolean Museum (number 1927.3046, identified as spruce, *Picea* sp.), was formerly thought to be the foreshaft of an arrow (McLeod, *Self Bows*, 55), but has now been recognized as the handle of an engraving tool (Clark, 'Interpretations', 371; Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 404).

### Conclusions

The evidence presented here confirms that the most popular wood for both bows and arrows, at all times in ancient Egypt, was the local acacia, in its various species (four bows, twenty-seven arrows, in the present sample). Dated specimens range from the Protodynastic Period (10, 20–22) to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (35, 37–39). Of other types of wood that are attested in secure contexts, pine, apparently from abroad, is used for an arrow of the Protodynastic Period (7). Sidder and tamarisk are found in bows of the First Intermediate Period (4, 5). Arrows from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty include specimens of domestic tamarisk (42), and imported ash (44), boxwood (36, 41), and oak (43). These three imported timbers were all available in the Amanus mountains and in Lebanon, and it is known that the timber trade used the port of Byblos, and possibly other ports along the coast further north.

Many surviving functional artefacts indicate that ancient Egyptian craftsmen understood the properties of their material in withstanding stress of different kinds—as, for example, in bows and chariots.<sup>59</sup> The suitability of wood for a specific purpose can vary with species, and conditions of growth. An arrow foreshaft is small, and is designed for attachment to a reed culm. In the circumstances, it can hardly be expected to display any distinctive peculiarities. Quite a large number of arrows survive from various sites in ancient Egypt, but relatively few have been investigated for timber identification. Of these, it seems that at least half were made of some species of acacia—which was evidently satisfactory for this purpose. Other native woods (such as sidder, tamarisk and sycamore fig) were also used, but less frequently.<sup>60</sup> It is unlikely that one would have imported timber expressly for this purpose; where foreign woods were used, they were probably offcuts and spare pieces from carpenters' workshops. The Egyptian fletcher, it seems, could take a piece of wood the size of a pencil, or not much larger—almost any wood, home-grown or exotic—and convert it into the foreshaft of an arrow. A bowyer, on the other hand, would look for certain specific attributes in his wood, such as strength, flexibility, and resilience. A century ago a notable English archer expressed himself as follows: 'To make a really good bow it is essential that the wood should possess certain qualities: the grain should be close, straight, and even; the line dividing the sap and wood should be clear, even, and well defined, and it should be free from knots and pins.'<sup>61</sup> The nature of the timber would be more important for bows than for arrows, and the larger dimensions would preclude the use of odd scraps of wood. None of the bows considered in the present study was of imported material, though ash (*Fraxinus* sp.) has been found among Tutankhamun's composite bows.

In the sixteenth century AD Queen Elizabeth's tutor, embroidering an ancient tale, told us how the king of Egypt conquered much of the world, 'and that by archers', and how he set up portraits of himself, 'havinge in one hand a bowe, in the other a sharpe headed shafte: that men might knowe what weapon his hoast used, in conqueringe so manye people'.<sup>62</sup> After the analyses presented here, we can appreciate a few more details about the ancient Egyptian bow and arrow, and the materials from which they were made.

<sup>59</sup>D. Pye, as reported by Littauer and Crowel, *Chariots and Related Equipment*, 92 n. 7.

<sup>60</sup>Details of actual numbers would be meaningless as we can never know whether the surviving arrows are a representative sample.

<sup>61</sup>H. Walrond, in C. J. Longman and H. Walrond, *Archery* (London, 1894), 288.

<sup>62</sup>Ascham, *Toxophilus*, 79; Herodotus II, 106.3.

**Appendix***Concordance between museum numbers and catalogue numbers***ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD**

E.1370	7	1892.1464	16
E.1371	8	1892.1465	17
E.1372	9	1892.1466a	18
E.1381	10	1892.1466b	19
1885.288	11	1912.559	20
1885.289	12	1912.560	21
1885.375	1	1912.561	22
1886.811a	13	1921.1301	2
1886.811b	14	1927.3045	23
1887.3265b	15	1927.3046	24

**PHOEBE HEARST MUSEUM, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA**

6-1588	3	6-2757	4
6-1711D	23	6-2778	5
6-2008I	24	6-15346	6
6-2333X	25		

**UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, MANCHESTER**

62	26	4223(e)	31
4223(a)	27	4223(f)	32
4223(b)	28	6588(f)	33
4223(c)	29	6588(h)	34
4223(d)	30		

**PITT RIVERS MUSEUM, OXFORD**

1896-2-1-1	35	1896-2-2-2	40
1896-2-1-2	36	1896-2-2-3	41
1896-2-1-3	37	1896-2-2-4	42
1896-2-1-4	38	1896-2-2-5	43
1896-2-2-1	39	1896-2-2-6	44

## WALL-PAINTINGS FROM THE KING'S HOUSE AT AMARNA\*

By FRAN WEATHERHEAD

New information about the wall-paintings discovered by Petrie, and later by Pendlebury, in the King's House at Amarna has been obtained by the author from archival sources and from a visit to the site in 1993. This has led to a new interpretation of one of the rooms as a throne room.

THE King's House is part of a complex of ritual and administrative buildings located in the centre of the ancient city of Akhetaten. It lies to the north of the Small Aten Temple and close to the Great Palace, to which it is connected by the Bridge.

Petrie was the first to excavate the King's House, in 1891–2. In his brief investigation, apparently lasting little more than a week, Petrie found no objects, not even sherds,<sup>1</sup> but he was fortunate in discovering several areas of wall-painting still *in situ*. He considered that there had been many more paintings originally, but that these had disappeared due to the destruction of the walls by villagers removing the mud bricks for fertiliser.<sup>2</sup> The wall-paintings were probably all found in the north-eastern block, a complex of rooms which included a hypostyle hall, immediately to the south of the garden court (fig. 1). The building was re-excavated in 1931–2 by Pendlebury, who spent little more time at the site than Petrie. He had originally hoped to excavate part of the house not shown on Petrie's plan, but soon found that where Petrie had worked, the plan was unreliable and the area needed redigging, although not necessarily to floor level.<sup>3</sup> He also found painted plaster adhering to the walls in this part of the house, along with a large number of fallen fragments. The wall-paintings were important to Pendlebury's re-evaluation of the building, which Petrie had thought must have belonged to a high official.<sup>4</sup> He identified it as the King's residence not only because of its close connection with the Great Palace, but also because the paintings included scenes unlikely to be found in a commoner's house.<sup>5</sup> Later authors have suggested that it was an administrative palace.<sup>6</sup>

\*This article has benefited from discussion with Mr Barry Kemp and Mr Andy Boyce, whom I thank. It has been written as part of a project to study the wall and floor paintings at Amarna, funded by the Leverhulme Foundation, to which I express my gratitude. I am also grateful to Mr Boyce for providing the illustrations, and to Mr A. Baxendale and Mrs L. Shearman for their assistance on site. I wish to thank the following individuals and institutions for allowing me to study and publish material in their collections: Mrs B. Adams and Dr R. Janssen, Petrie Museum, University College London; Dr P. Bienkowski, Liverpool Museum; and the Committee of the EES.

<sup>1</sup>W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell El Amarna* (London, 1894), 23; Petrie's diary (in the Petrie Museum, University College London), 70–3.

<sup>2</sup>Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 15.

<sup>3</sup>J. D. S. Pendlebury, *JEA* 18 (1932), 147; Pendlebury's diary (in the EES archives), entries 21 December 1931 to 2 January 1932.

<sup>4</sup>Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 23.

<sup>5</sup>J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III (London, 1951), 86 (hereafter *COA* III).

<sup>6</sup>B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 1991), 287–8; D. O'Connor, 'City and Palace in New Kingdom Egypt', *CRIPÉL* 11 (1989), 85–6, fig. 2.

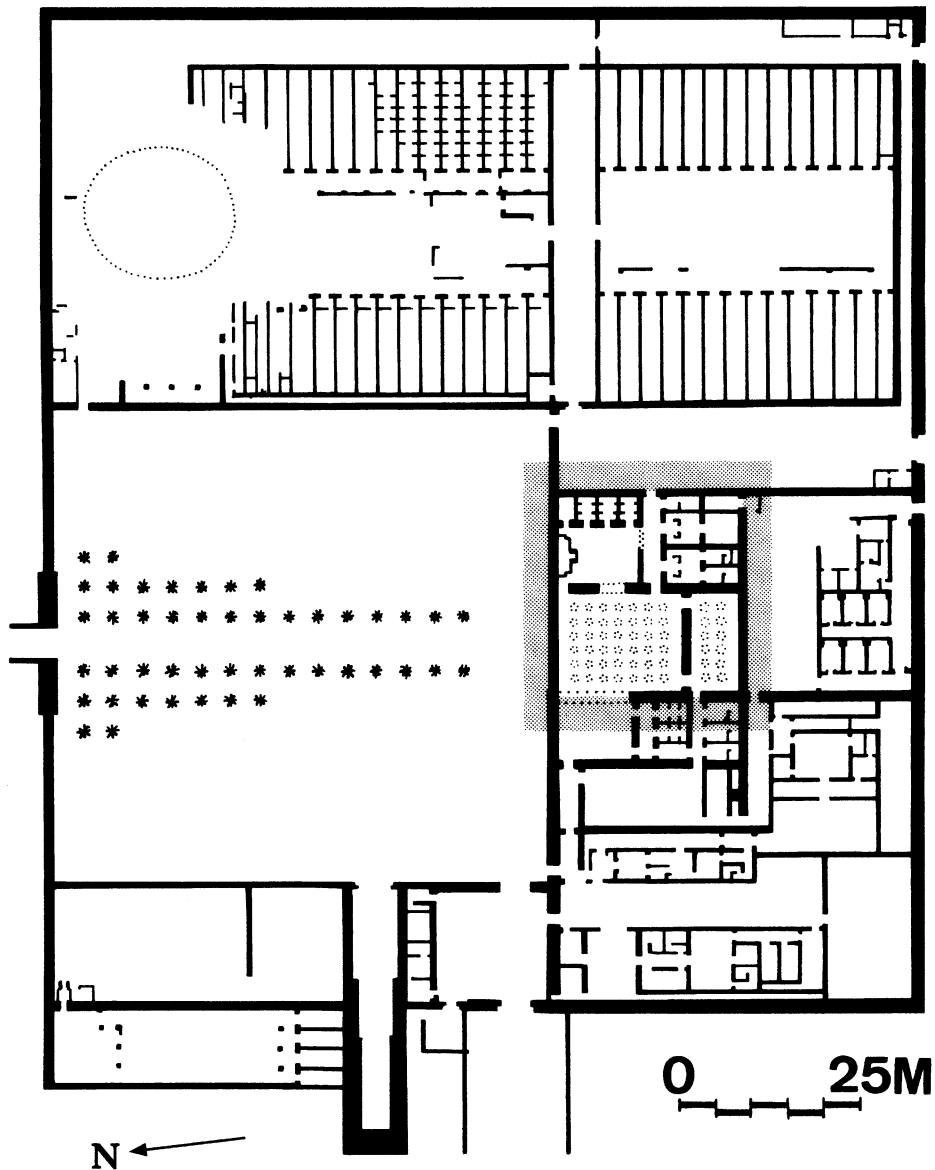


FIG. 1. Plan of the King's House showing the north-east quarter where paintings were found (after *COA* III, pl. xvi).

The descriptions of the wall-paintings in the published works of Petrie and Pendlebury are disappointingly brief and often imprecise. Following their accounts, in March 1993 the author decided to investigate the north-east section of the King's House. The aim was to ascertain whether any painted plaster still remained on the walls and to see if further information could be obtained about the designs. It was found, somewhat unexpectedly, that this was the case; providentially Pendlebury had protected several areas of painting by stacking rubble or bricks and fine sand in front of them. Small areas of these coverings were removed, sufficient to reveal the presence of the paintings and

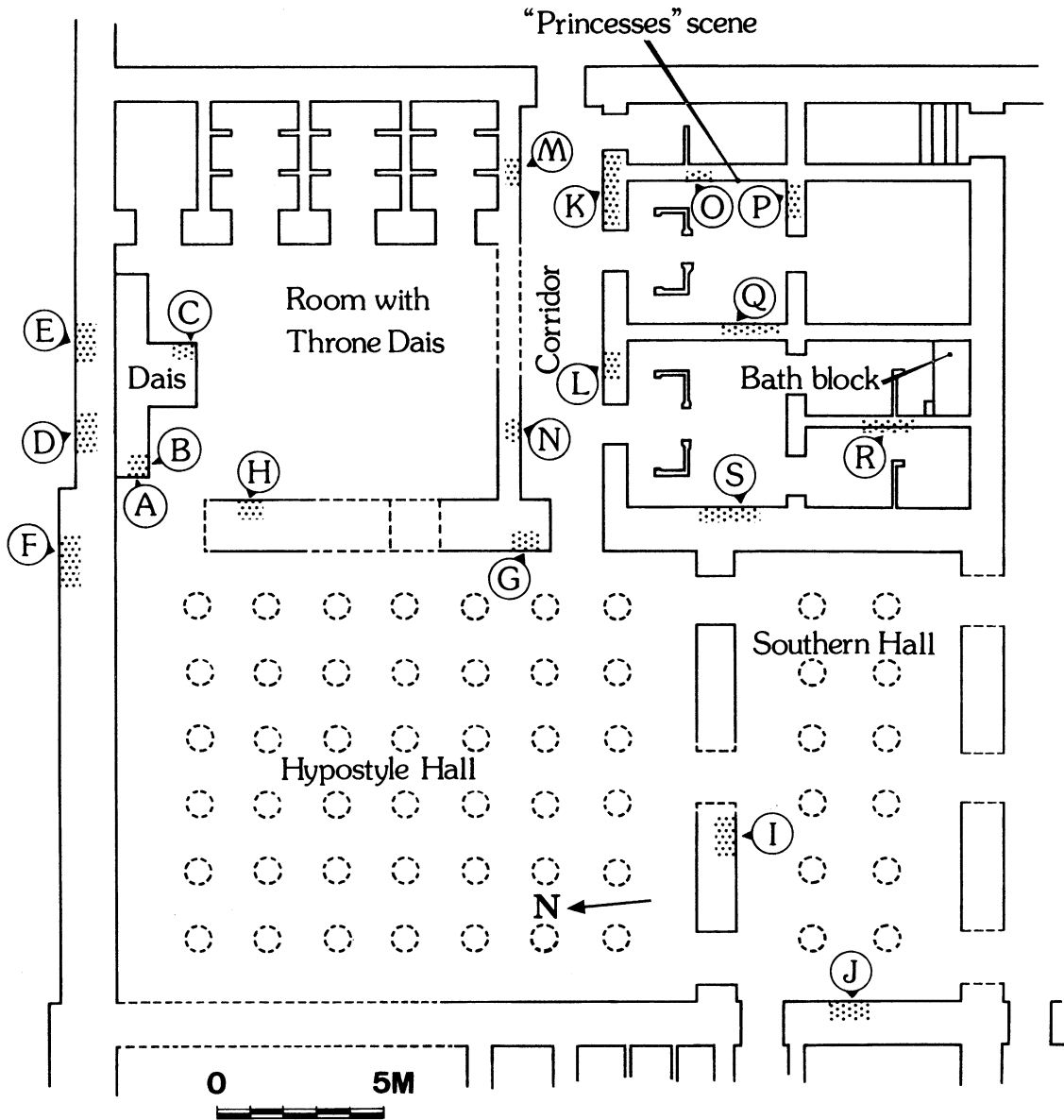


FIG. 2. North-east quarter, showing the main features. Letters in circles indicate areas where wall-paintings were found in 1993. This figure has slight modifications made to certain walls on the plan in *COA* III, pl. xvi, based on observations made at the site in 1993.

to give an indication of their designs. It is clear that there has been some erosion of the painted plaster since Pendlebury's time, and probably much more since Petrie's. In figure 2 each of the 'test' excavations of 1993 has been given a letter, A to S, which are also referred to in the text.

The most famous fragment of wall-painting found by Petrie is the 'Princesses panel', now in the Ashmolean Museum,<sup>7</sup> which appears to show a scene from the private life

<sup>7</sup>Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 15, 23, pl. i.12.

of the royal family. After describing this in the excavation report, Petrie lists other subjects he saw depicted on the walls of the King's House, but without giving precise locations. These were, '... the legs of two kneeling captives (Asiatic and Negro) with a bowl on a stand between them, and the legs of some figures and a flight of stairs.'<sup>8</sup> On the ground he noted fragments fallen from the walls which included depictions of ornamented coffers and groups of faces.<sup>9</sup> He collected some of these, and they are now in the Petrie Museum, University College London.<sup>10</sup> During Pendlebury's excavations, many more fragments of painted plaster were found in the room from which Petrie had removed the 'Princesses panel'.<sup>11</sup> Pendlebury's other discoveries included dado panel designs which had figures above them in at least one room<sup>12</sup> and possibly foreigners painted on an outer wall.<sup>13</sup>

The main designs found by the early excavators, then, are captives or subject foreigners and the dado panels. The descriptions of Petrie and Pendlebury will be enlarged upon below with reference to the recent discoveries, and some paintings will be more precisely provenanced.

### Subject foreigners

A previously unpublished site photograph from Pendlebury's excavation of the King's House, with no exact provenance noted, shows a section of wall with parts of two kneeling foreigners (see pl. VII, 1). The position of this fragment was identified in 1993, (fig. 2, A) on the west side of the platform, which Pendlebury called an altar, in the room east of the Hypostyle Hall. Some of the design shown on the photograph is now missing but a substantial part remains, due to the protective covering heaped against it. The painted surface is extremely delicate, but still intact (fig. 3a).

The foreigners are situated at a low level on the side of the platform. They are painted on a bright yellow ground, and placed on a black band above plain white skirting, 15 cm high. On the photograph there were originally two figures, but now the formerly less complete left-hand figure has eroded away completely. The photograph shows only his knees, covered by a white skirt. The better-preserved figure on the right can be studied *in situ*. Probably an Asiatic, he wears a white costume with a striped blue girdle, two tiers of red and blue fringes on the upper part of the skirt, and another fringe at the base. His foot is painted a light red-brown, slightly paler than the usual Egyptian male skin-colour. In front of the Asiatic is a white offering-stand supporting a dish with a cross-hatch design, perhaps imitating basketry. A trace of the green offerings remains. The photograph possibly shows traces of another offering-stand between the figures, but this is now totally lost. The extant width is 65 cm, and, by using this as a guide, the original width of the area containing both figures may be estimated to have been about 90 cm. The plaster bearing the paintwork is an unusual pinkish-buff colour. It is 0.3–0.7 cm thick, and coats a layer of the usual type of mud wall-plaster encountered elsewhere at the site.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>10</sup> These were later studied by N. de Garis Davies, *JEA* 7 (1921), 1–7, pls. i–iv.

<sup>11</sup> *COA* III, 88. The fragments associated with the 'Princesses panel' are the subject of another article.

<sup>12</sup> Pendlebury, *Tell El Amarna* (London, 1935), 90; *COA* III, 87, pl. xlvi.3.

<sup>13</sup> *COA* III, 38, 88.

An area of painting totally unrecorded by the early excavators was found in 1993: about 50 cm wide, it shows another foreigner (fig. 3b), and is on the south face of the platform only a few centimetres from the other figures (fig. 2, B). The painted front of the platform showing this area is just visible in the distance on plate xlv.4 in *COA* III. The skirt of the figure appears to be plain white, and no fringing can be seen. The foot is painted a paler skin colour than the figure on the other side of the block, implying that he could have been of a different race. No offering-stand is visible.

On Pendlebury's plan of the King's House, the 'altar' is shown with indented sides and a wide central stairway or ramp. Our investigation of the dais showed it to be a simple rectangle (see fig. 4). The inaccuracy on Pendlebury's plan is no doubt due to the ruinous state in which he found this structure,<sup>14</sup> which probably already had the sides partly robbed of bricks, as was found in 1993. From the recent more careful investigation, the platform was found to be 0.97 m wide, with a length of 5.37 m, and the central stairway, 1.9 m wide, extends 1.47 m into the room.

Pendlebury also found a portion of the eastern side of the central stairway or ramp leading to the platform. This preserved some moulding features and a white skirting.<sup>15</sup> It was located in 1993, the torus loose and barely existing but with a section of cavetto cornice still attached (fig. 2, C). This is striped in red, blue, and green, separated by white. There is a sketchy, unintelligible white design on a yellow ground between the torus and skirting. The surviving length is *c.* 20 cm, and the skirting is 8 cm high (fig. 3d). There is reason to assume that a torus and cavetto cornice continued from the ramp or stairway along the top of the platform (see below). By extending the angle of the torus moulding on the surviving length of stairway, and allowing for the height of a row of kneeling foreigners with a torus moulding and cavetto cornice on the sides of the dais, it can be estimated that the dais originally stood about 70 cm high.

More evidence of supplicating foreigners comes from Petrie's excavation report, where he mentions two kneeling captives, Asiatic and Negro, with an offering-stand between them, but does not specify where in the King's House the design was found or illustrate it.<sup>16</sup> A carefully painted drawing has recently been found in Petrie's portfolio of his work at Amarna, held at the Petrie Museum. The drawing (fig. 3c) shows the lower part of an Asiatic and a Negro, separated by an offering-stand; this is presumed to be the same as the design mentioned in the published volume. It is also very similar to the design of the kneeling figures on the platform described above. Although the paper on which the drawing was done is browned and fragile, and a little of the right-hand figure is lost at the bottom of the sheet, the drawing is very clear. Both foreigners wear long tunics with decorative girdles, the Negro's having additional ties in front. The tunic of the Asiatic is fringed, the colouring being the same as that on the figure recently rediscovered on the platform. The background has not been coloured in, but yellow shown between the struts of the offering-stand suggests this was the overall background colour. Colour is also not indicated on the tunics, but they would probably have been white. The offering-stand holds a cross-hatched dish, again similar to the one on the platform. Its contents are painted green, mottled slightly in black.

<sup>14</sup>*COA* III, pl. xvi. The shape of the dais on Petrie's plan (*Tell El Amarna*, pl. xl) is altogether unreliable.

<sup>15</sup>*COA* III, 87, pl. xlv.4. The description states that the fresco of kneeling figures is on the wall of the ramp or steps, but it is actually on the wall of the dais.

<sup>16</sup>Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 15.



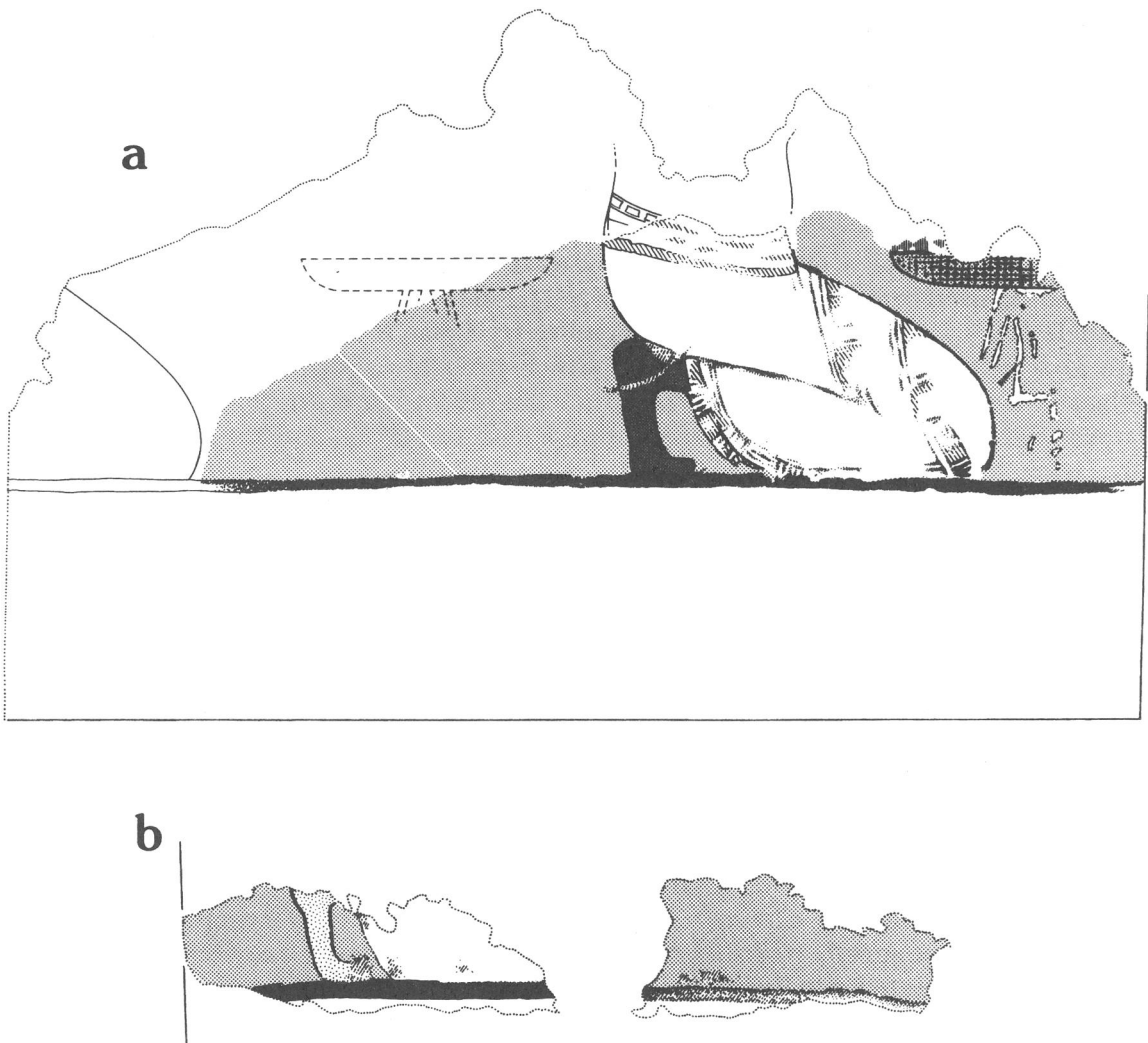
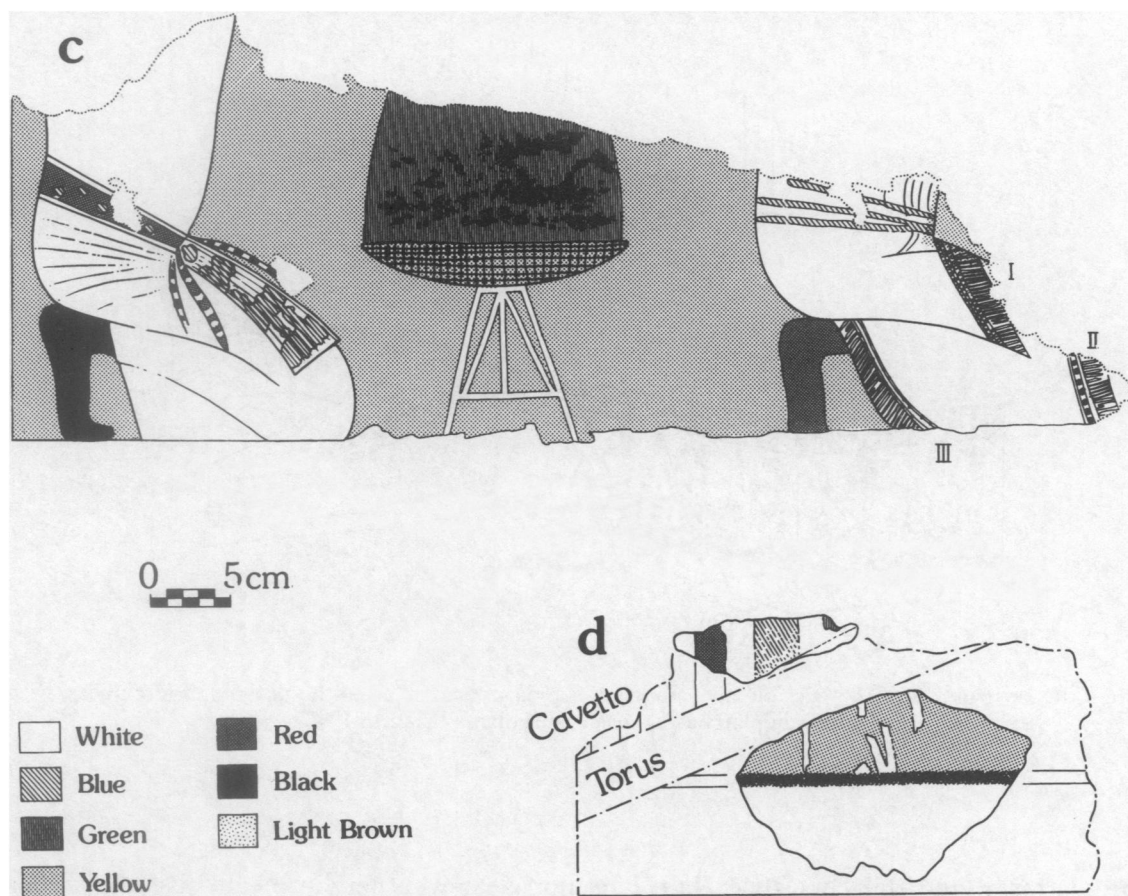


FIG. 3. Designs on the dais, including kneeling foreigners.

- (a) Painting on the west side of the dais, A. The shaded area shows the extent of the painting in 1993, which is within the outline of the paintwork found in 1931–2. Possible traces of an offering-stand exist between the figures. All the outlines are painted in red.  
 (b) Painting on the south face of the dais, B, as found in 1993.

*(Continued on facing page)*

An obvious place to position the figures drawn by Petrie is on the platform, as part of a continuous frieze of foreigners in obeisance. Not only are the designs similar, but so too are the widths of the figures (on the drawing 20 cm and 24 cm, on the platform 25 cm). The expanse drawn is 70 cm wide, which could fit, with room for one more figure, along the front of the platform, the figures facing towards the central stairway or ramp (fig. 4). Unfortunately, except for the corner area, the front of the platform, including any painted plaster, is now destroyed. However, Petrie removed more fragments from the walls than the well-known 'Princesses panel' (he admitted to half a dozen in



- (c) Copy of Petrie's facsimile believed to represent paintings on the south face of the dais (fig. 4). The Roman numerals around the right-hand figure relate to the fringes. i. Two rows of blue dots, separated by a row of red dots. To the right, groups of 5–6 blue stripes, alternating with groups of 5–6 red stripes. ii. A single row of red dots, with stripes at the right, as on (i). iii. Groups of blue and red stripes, similar to (i); the groups of blue stripes are wider than the red. To the right are two rows of small blue dots.
- (d) The east side of the ramp or stairway, C, showing an area of paintwork surviving at the base. The shaded area shows the extent of the painting in 1993; this is within the outline of the paintwork found in 1931–2 (*COA III*, pl. xlv.4).

his memoirs), using a technique which involved removing bricks from behind the painting.<sup>17</sup> Thus, where Petrie had decided to remove a painting, no trace would remain of either wall or painting. An interesting design, such as that shown on his drawing, might have been an obvious candidate for his attempts at recovery.

It is possible that processions of people, which may have included subject foreigners, were continued on the upper main walls at the King's House, but the evidence is far from clear. In Pendlebury's general account of Amarna, he specified processions of subject races—Negroes, Asiatics and Libyans—which occurred in the 'public rooms' of the King's House.<sup>18</sup> The 'public rooms' are taken to mean the Southern Hall, the room with

<sup>17</sup>Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (London, 1931), 138–9.

<sup>18</sup>Pendlebury, *Tell El Amarna*, 90.

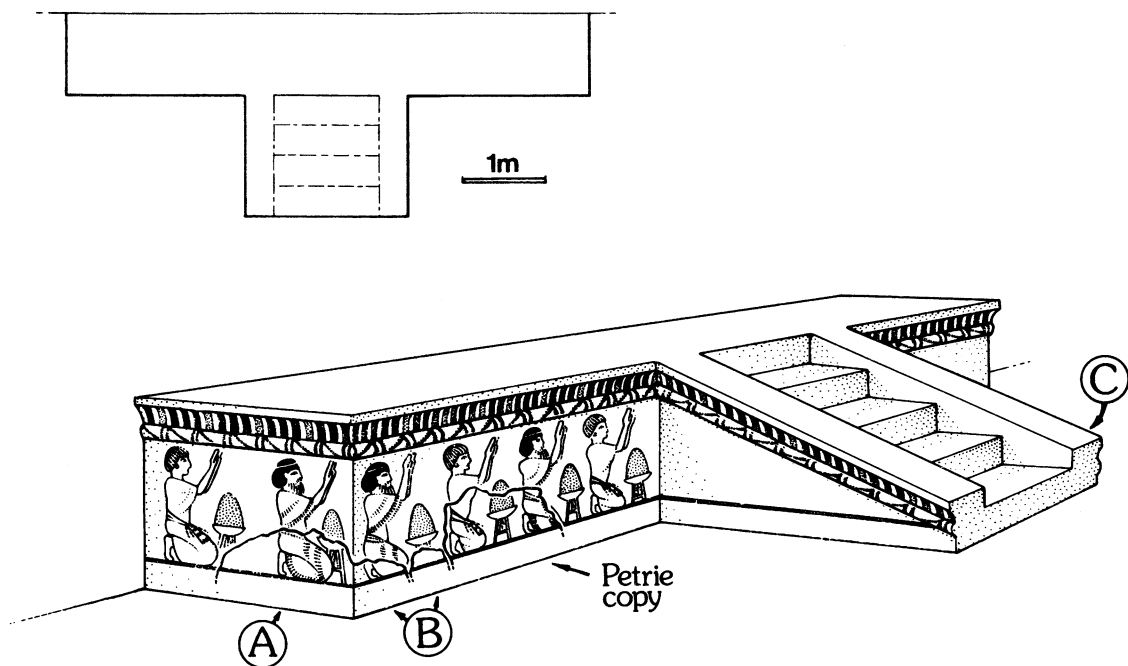


FIG. 4. Reconstruction of the possible appearance of the dais, incorporating the designs of foreigners, with a groundplan based on measurements taken in 1993.

the platform, and the Hypostyle Hall. It is not clear whether he meant just the upper walls, or whether he also included the foreigners on the platform, thereby reducing the evidence for this decoration on the upper walls. If they existed here, they were never clearly photographed. Only on plate xlvi.3 in *COA III* is the east wall of the Hypostyle Hall shown with a small area of paintwork above the dado, but, unfortunately, it is unintelligible. A trace of this upper wall still remains, but not the paintwork. Otherwise in all three rooms, the recent investigations have shown that where there is covered paintwork, it no longer reaches higher than dado level, so that Pendlebury's description cannot be checked. Elsewhere, in the main report, Pendlebury noted figures, without describing them, above a dado (probably the east wall again) in the Hypostyle Hall.<sup>19</sup> Petrie, too, vaguely noted 'legs of some figures' among the designs found at the King's House,<sup>20</sup> but we do not know where these were located, except that they were most likely in the north-east section.

The platform was interpreted as an altar by Pendlebury,<sup>21</sup> but with the painted decoration showing supplicating foreigners, it should be considered as a throne dais. Although fairly narrow, the dais would comfortably hold a chair or throne. Foreigners as decoration of the tops, steps and sides of daises (in faience, stone and plaster) are

<sup>19</sup> *COA III*, 87.

<sup>20</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 15.

<sup>21</sup> *COA III*, 87.

attested at other sites, such as Malkata, in Rooms F<sup>22</sup> and E,<sup>23</sup> in the Nineteenth Dynasty palace of Merneptah at Memphis,<sup>24</sup> and at Qantir.<sup>25</sup> At Qantir, Hayes had evidence that there had been a torus and cavetto cornice on the top of the platform and also along the sides of the stairway, similar to that at the King's House at Amarna.<sup>26</sup> The depictions of kneeling figures with offerings in front of them are also remarkably similar.

In the tomb of Mery-re II at Amarna a depiction of Akhenaten enthroned shows him with his daughters on a dais.<sup>27</sup> This has a baldachin, and the sides of the dais and the ramps or stairways appear to have cornice mouldings. In New Kingdom tombs at Thebes paintings of royal throne daises show these features, and frequently the decoration includes processions of subject races which can be compared with the platform in the King's House.<sup>28</sup>

Another problematic area is the decoration supposed by Pendlebury to be that on the outside wall of the King's House immediately behind the 'altar', which we have suggested is a throne dais.<sup>29</sup> The interest of this lies in the extreme rarity of finding painted plaster on the outside of a building. In *COA* III, Pendlebury did not himself describe the design in the relevant chapter, presumably because so little remained, but referred to the description in Petrie's report of the legs of Asiatic and Negro captives kneeling with a bowl on a stand between them,<sup>30</sup> and stated that this was probably what he had found. This identification is unlikely, however, as it has been shown above that this particular description matches Petrie's drawing, where there is a strong case for locating it on the front of the platform. Elsewhere in the volume Pendlebury was more helpful in stating that he saw the feet of human figures.<sup>31</sup>

An important aim of the investigations in 1993 was to see if these feet, or foreigners, were to be found on the outer wall of the King's House. Two or three courses of bricks are the visible remains of the north wall of the room with the dais. At the western end rubble had been heaped in front, a sign that something was worth preserving. However, the result from the removal of the heap was disappointing, revealing only a white-painted stretch of plaster nearly 2 m wide, and 30 cm high (fig. 2, D). The white paint was on a 0.3 cm thick layer of the same pinkish-buff plaster as on the dais, which was over a layer of the common type of mud plaster. Where the paint was abraded, it could be seen that the pinkish plaster was composed of about one-third chaff as a filler. A similar patch,

<sup>22</sup> G. Daressy, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 166 and accompanying plate; R. de P. Tytus, *A Preliminary Report on the Re-excavation of the Palace of Amenhetep III* (New York, 1903), 11, 17–18 (Tytus's room designations are used in this article).

<sup>23</sup> W. Stevenson Smith, rev. W. K. Simpson *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (Harmondsworth, 1981), 286, 459 n. 7.

<sup>24</sup> C. S. Fisher, *University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Journal* 8/4 (December 1917), 218, figs. 79, 82; D. G. Jeffreys et al., *JEA* 72 (1986), 10–13, fig. 6. The throne daises at Memphis and Malkata are more square than the one proposed in the King's House at Amarna.

<sup>25</sup> W. C. Hayes, *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses II at Kantir* (New York, 1937), 13, fig. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Hayes, *Glazed Tiles*, 16–18, fig. 1, pl. iv.

<sup>27</sup> N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, II (London, 1905), pl. xxxvii.

<sup>28</sup> Examples occur in the tomb of Ken-Amun (TT 93), on the dais of Amenophis II (N. de G. Davies, *Ken-Amun* (New York, 1930), I, 22–3, pls. xi, xii, and II, pl. 11a); and in the tombs of Anen (TT 120: C. K. Wilkinson, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* (New York, 1983), 26–7, 125) and Kheruef (TT 192: Oriental Institute of Chicago, The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef* (Chicago, 1980), pls. 1, 48–9), both showing daises of Amenophis III.

<sup>29</sup> *COA* III, 88.

<sup>30</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 15.

<sup>31</sup> *COA* III, 38.

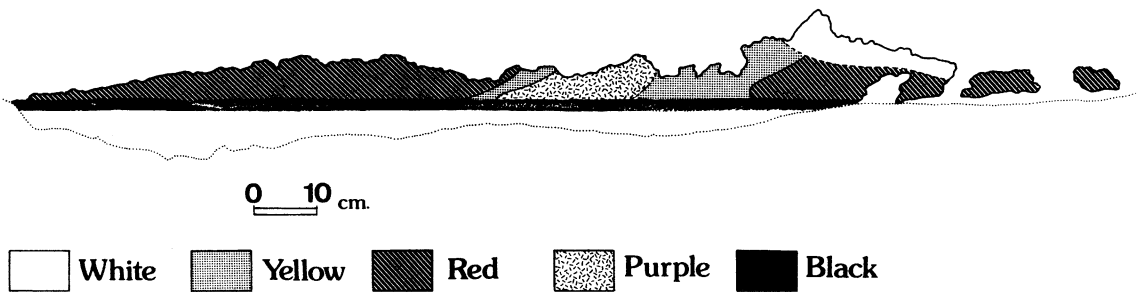


FIG. 5. Remains of painting on the outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall, F.

c.  $10 \times 15$  cm, was also found in the centre of the wall (fig. 2, E). No trace of any design occurs on either white area, but it is possible that designs had once been painted further up the wall, and that these have been lost. A row of feet could have disappeared completely only if they had been a few centimetres high,<sup>32</sup> as there is no evidence that a significant amount of plaster has been lost in recent years. A study of the small fragments of painted plaster found within the covering heap showed that this was almost exclusively spoil from a cleared room. Although there were a few unintelligible fragments on pinkish-buff plaster which could have fallen from the outer wall, in the main there were more pieces of ordinary mud plaster from internal walls and, somewhat surprisingly, other pieces from a painted pavement (see fig. 6). The finding of pavement plaster is discussed below.

The outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall is a more hopeful location for the feet or foreigners mentioned by Pendlebury, implying that a mistake was made in their location in COA III.<sup>33</sup> A heap of sand and rubble was removed from the outside of an easterly section of the surviving wall; the area to the west was not investigated in the time available, but it is thought that Pendlebury did not excavate here.<sup>34</sup> The fact that Petrie did not note a painted design on the outer wall can probably be explained by his practice of not clearing sand down to the original ground level, and of confining his activities mainly to the interior of buildings.<sup>35</sup> A piece of paintwork, almost 2 m wide and c. 19 cm high, was found (fig. 2, F), executed on the same type of buff plaster as outside the previous room. A white skirting is present, 8 cm or more high, then a black band 2 cm wide. Above this is a curious design in red, yellow, purple and white (fig. 5). The relatively large areas of colour suggest the remains of a large-scale design, not surprising, perhaps, for decoration on the outside of a building intended to be viewed from a distance. It is extremely difficult to interpret, but, if two enormous feet are excluded, it

<sup>32</sup>The efficacy of the heaps to protect the tops of walls can only be truly known where comparison can be made between what now survives and what is shown on the excavation photographs from 1931–2. This can be done at sites A, C, G and H, where the preservation of the walls is good, but the condition of the more vulnerable paintwork is variable, ranging from relatively little loss at A, C and G, to a loss of several centimetres at H. Elsewhere at Amarna it is common for one or two courses of bricks to be lost from the tops of unprotected walls over a similar period of time.

<sup>33</sup>I am reluctant to reject this statement, but the recent investigations cast doubt on what Pendlebury saw, and where he saw it. It is unclear why he did not mention painted plaster outside the Hypostyle Hall, if not because of a confusion in location between the two rooms.

<sup>34</sup>B. Kemp, personal communication.

<sup>35</sup>B. J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports*, III (London, 1986), 96.

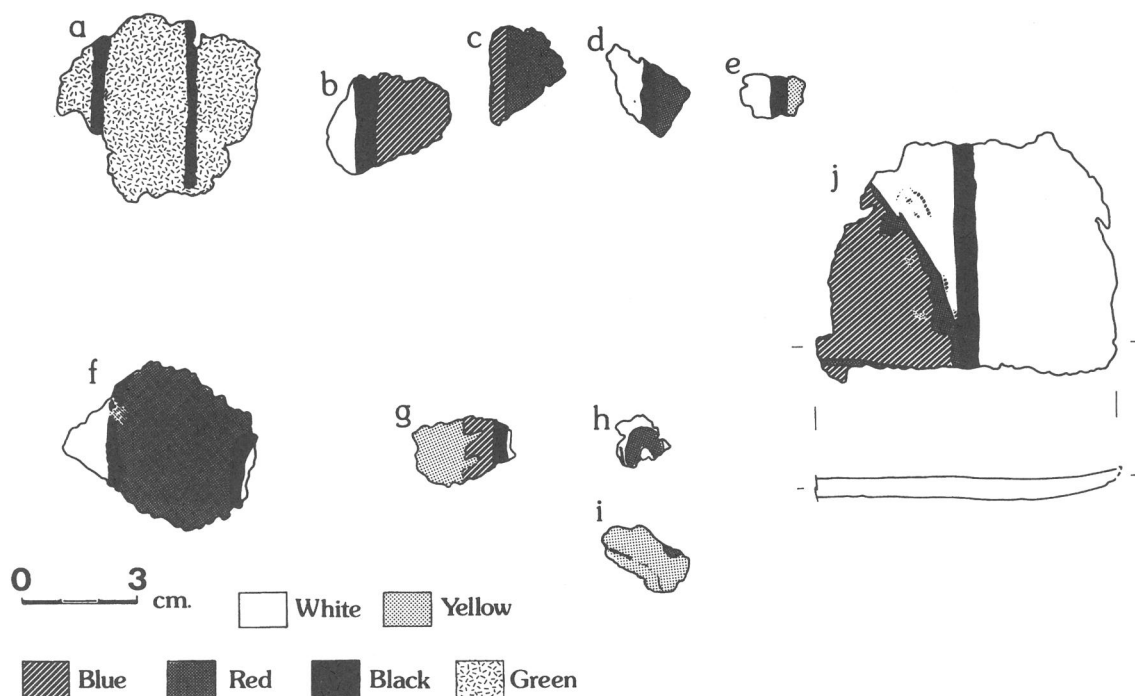


FIG. 6. Fragments from wall- and floor-paintings found in 1993. A number of small fragments which do not preserve any recognisable design have not been illustrated.

- (a)–(e) From the spoil outside the wall of the Hypostyle Hall. Fragment (a) is of pinkish-buff wall plaster, all others are of pavement plaster.
- (f)–(i) Found outside the room with dais (throne room). Fragment (f) is of pavement plaster, all others of pinkish-buff wall plaster.
- (j) Found within the remains of the dais. This fragment is of pavement plaster and preserves part of a pavement edge, shown in section.

could represent the lower parts of two kneeling figures with one leg extended, as in depictions of foreigners in the tomb of Nakht.<sup>36</sup> However, the red is too bright to be a skin colour, and the design does not entirely correspond. However, this could well be the design that Pendlebury identified as feet or foreigners. Therefore, the case for foreigners on either the Hypostyle Hall or the room with the dais is unresolved.

It is uncertain how much above the present plaster on the outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall has been lost since the excavations of 1931–2, but again, we may suspect that not much has gone. The covering also contains a variety of fragments apparently from spoil collected from a room (see fig. 6). The pavement fragments here, like those in the adjacent heap, strongly indicate that traces of a painted floor had been found by Pendlebury and ignored. This was probably in the Hypostyle Hall, Southern Hall or the room with the dais. In the halls, Pendlebury noted the remains of brick floors. While their presence does not necessarily imply pavements, Petrie noted that brickwork lay under the pavements in the Great Palace.<sup>37</sup> At the Great Palace and in the palace at Malkata, the

<sup>36</sup>A. P. Kozloff and B. M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep and his World* (Cleveland, 1992), 269, 297, pl. 28. A reconstruction of this design is shown in Wilkinson, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, 127, where the provenance is given as the tomb of Nakht (TT 161).

<sup>37</sup>Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 12; see also *COA* III, 87.

TABLE 1. *Dimensions for dados from the King's House*

Room and excavation letter	Plant/'false door' widths in cm
Hypostyle Hall G	11.0/12.0
Room with Dais H	lost
Southern Hall I	lost
Southern Hall J	13.6/?12.6
Corridor K	14.0–15.2/12.1–12.5
Corridor L	lost
Corridor M	lost/?13.5
Corridor N	lost
'Princesses panel' room O	17.0/lost
'Princesses panel' room P	15.8/13.2
'Princesses panel' room Q	18.3/12.8
Removed dado —	15.5–16.0/15.5–16.0

state apartments had painted pavements decorated with marsh scenes, crossed by pathways of bound captives to be trodden underfoot on the way to the throne.<sup>38</sup> Most of the pavement fragments are small and the designs difficult to identify, but one piece could be a foot from a captive (fig. 6f).

### Dados

Evidence for several dados in the King's House was found in 1993. The design consists primarily of striped 'false-door' panels<sup>39</sup> alternating with panels containing heraldic plants of the north and south. The plants are either blue lilies with a red central petal, or green papyrus plants detailed with red on the umbels and at the base of the stalks. They are painted on a yellow ground. The false-door panels are made up of stripes, alternatively blue and green, enclosing a red central stripe on three sides; these stripes are outlined in black, with white bands between. Where the panel is predominantly green, there is a small rectangular blue block on top of the enclosed red stripe; where the panel is predominantly blue, the block above the red stripe is green. There is some variation in panel widths, even within the same room (see Table 1). Below the dados are white skirtings. Horizontal bands of blue, then red (?then blue and green) separate the dado from the upper register, but these rarely survive.<sup>40</sup> Petrie recorded the dados he found only in his diary,<sup>41</sup> where he noted that the plant design occurred on all dados at the site, which probably means the north-east corner where he principally worked, and not the building as a whole, which he excavated summarily. Pendlebury rediscovered these dados, which had almost certainly been recovered with Petrie's spoil, although this is not recorded. He described the dado in the Hypostyle Hall and stated that similar dados occurred in all rooms of the north-east block.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup>F. Weatherhead, 'Painted Pavements in the Great Palace at Amarna', *JEA* 78 (1992), 179–94; Tytus, *Preliminary Report*, 17.

<sup>39</sup>Called 'panel pattern' by Petrie and Pendlebury in their publications.

<sup>40</sup>See *COA* III, pl. xlvi.3.

<sup>41</sup>Petrie's diary, 70; the plants are wrongly identified as lotus groups.

<sup>42</sup>Pendlebury, *JEA* 18, 147; *COA* III, 87, pl. xlvi.3.

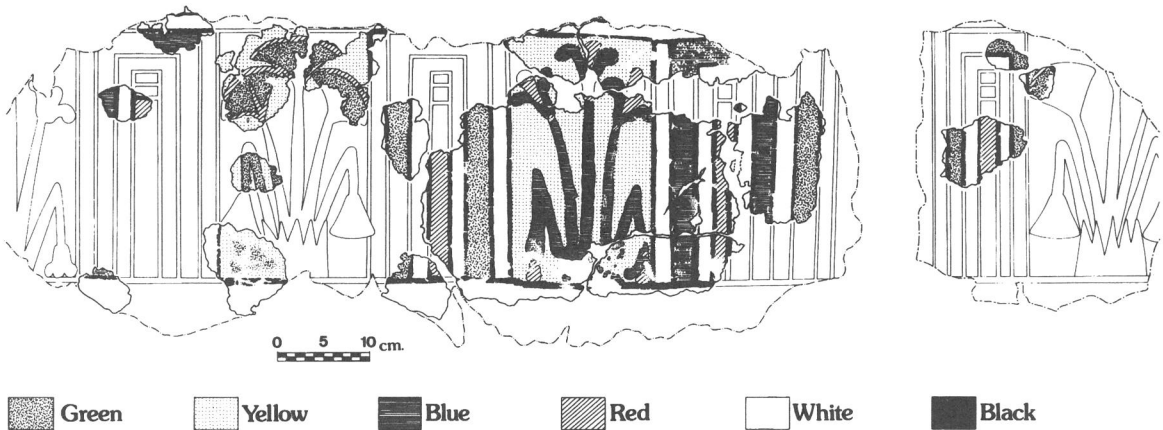


FIG. 7. Part of a dado design removed from the King's House, formerly in the Wellcome Collection. Fragments now preserved in Liverpool Museum are shaded; these are within the outline of the design displayed at the Wellcome Institute in 1932. A number of small fragments preserved in Liverpool have not been included in this design. For the dado when first removed from the wall, see pl. VII, 2.

### *Hypostyle Hall*

There is evidence of two areas of dado in this room. Pendlebury mentions that a large piece of dado was found *in situ* in the 'main room' or Hypostyle Hall.<sup>43</sup> This was removed by one of the team members, Miss Chubb, but accidentally broken in half by Pendlebury soon afterwards.<sup>44</sup> The excavation photograph (1931-2/A239) shows two parts of a dado meeting at a corner, altogether three plant panels and four striped panels (see pl. VII, 2). The dado was displayed, suitably repaired, in an exhibition held at the Wellcome Institute in 1932. An EES photograph (1931-2/A12a) shows it lying flat, encased in plaster of Paris which had supported it during its removal and transport. Large cracks can be seen on the surface.

This plaster has recently been located in Liverpool Museum, broken into several fragments, amongst unprovenanced material from the Wellcome Collection. The accession numbers are 1973.1.527A-B and 1973.1.512. Most of the design can be reconstructed with the help of the early photographs (see fig. 7). The plant panels and the striped panels are both 16 cm wide and 27 cm high. Two stripes, green and another colour, occur in what had been the corner between adjacent false-door panels. Most of the white skirting shown on the photographs has not survived, and nothing remains of the white band at the top. According to the catalogue of the exhibition, scenes on a strong yellow background were painted here, but this information might not refer to what was above this particular panel, since no upper part is shown on the early photographs.

Study of the plan of the Hypostyle Hall suggests that the most likely place from which the dado was removed is the south-east corner. The excavation photograph was labelled as taken in this room, but the proximity of the spoil heap shown behind the dado suggests

<sup>43</sup> Pendlebury, *JEA* 18, 147.

<sup>44</sup> In his site diary Pendlebury stated that there were other slabs worth removing, implying that he found others in a good state of preservation. However, the records reveal no other areas of plaster removed in the 1931-2 excavations; instead, the paintings were left *in situ*, duly protected (Pendlebury's diary, entry 27 December 1931).



the south-east corner of the Southern Hall, where a spoil heap still exists, as an alternative location.

*COA* III records that another dado of panel design was found in the Hypostyle Hall.<sup>45</sup> In 1993 it was still on the east wall (fig. 2, G). Cracks on the right-hand side of the dado shown in *COA* III on pl. xlvi.3 were seen on the excavated portion. As mentioned earlier, Pendlebury noted that figures had been painted above the dado in this room,<sup>46</sup> but our survey in 1993 showed that if there once was a design above the dado on the east wall, it has eroded away.

The excavated portion (fig. 2, G) showed the top of a section of dado. The width of the papyrus panel is 11 cm; the predominantly blue striped panel is on the right, the green one on the left, each 12 cm wide. At the top a width of about 7 cm was exposed showing blue, then red, stripes separated by white bands (fig. 8b). In the excavated area, the surface is slightly pitted and worn, toning down the colours a little from their original brightness. To judge by the length of wall left, some of the panels shown in the early photograph may now be lost. Further along the east wall there is another mound covering a smaller section of wall, implying that another portion of dado may be preserved. Something similar occurs on a longer stretch of wall on the south side.

The dado panels on the east wall of the Hypostyle Hall are slightly smaller than those on the dado now in Liverpool Museum. The proportions are also slightly different; the ratio of height to width of panels on the east wall averages 2:1, whereas on the Liverpool panels it is 1.7:1 (compare figs. 8a and b).

### *Room with dais*

A painted dado is shown in the background of *COA* III, pl. xlvi.4. By reference to the plan on pl. xvi (also figs. 1 and 2 here), this can be identified as the west wall. This bears the same design as that in the Hypostyle Hall, with four floral panels and five striped panels above a white skirting. In 1993 the wall survived to the height shown on the photograph, but the upper part of the dado was lost. The covering heap has either deteriorated, or, more likely, was inadequate in the first place. (It was also noticed that the doorway along this wall is wider than shown on the published plan.) A small area uncovered in 1993 from the bottom of the dado shows a papyrus umbel and the blue band of the beginning of the striped panel to its left (fig. 2, H); on the two dados previously discussed, the blue band is on the right. The presence of this painted dado suggests that it was not in an open court but a roofed room; however, no traces of column bases were found. The lower walls are reasonably well preserved in this room, especially the south wall, but no other remains of dados are apparent.

The presence of the kneeling foreigners decorating the platform has led to the suggestion that this room had a throne dais (see above). Given this potential significance, it is regrettable that there is no clear report by either Petrie or Pendlebury of designs above the dado.<sup>47</sup> A fragment of painted pavement was found close to the surface within

<sup>45</sup> *COA* III, 87, pl. xlvi.3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 87.

<sup>47</sup> At Malkata, in throne room F behind the dais, there was a scene of a hunt in the desert(?) which included a wild bull (Daressy, *ASAE* 4, 167; Tytus, *Preliminary Report*, 18); elsewhere in the room, there was a large female figure with an elaborate headdress above a panelled dado (Tytus, *Preliminary Report*, 18–19, fig. 10).

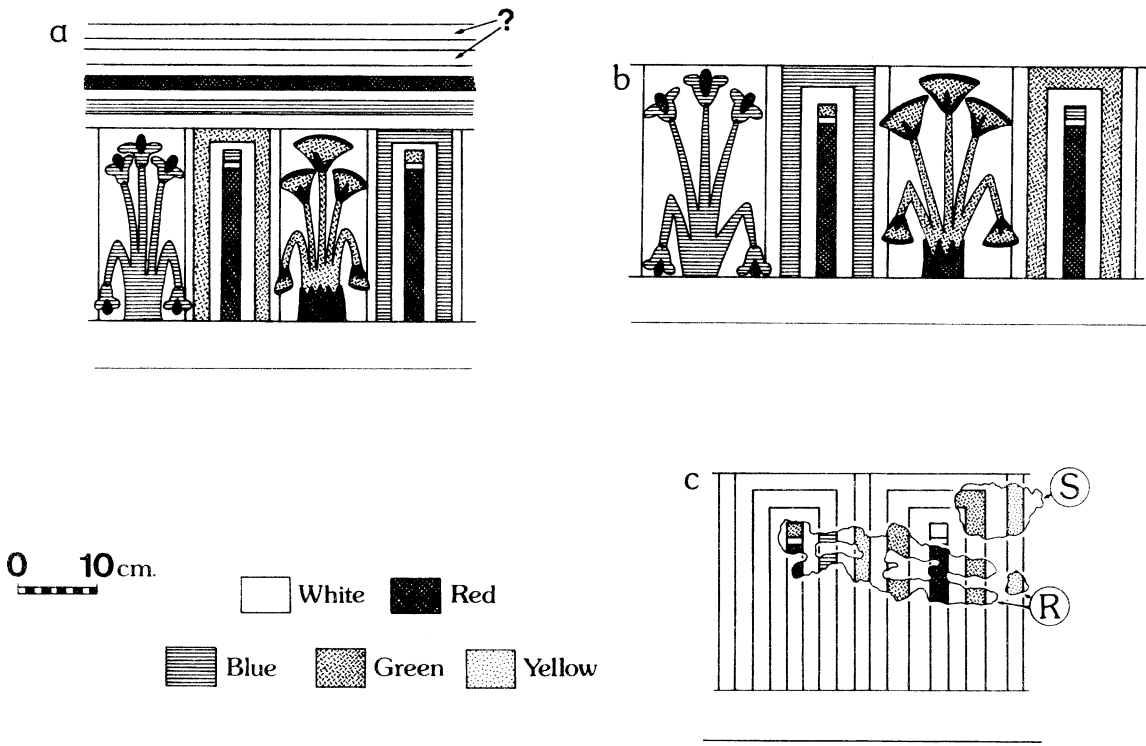


FIG. 8. The main patterns of dado design.

- (a) Dado from the east wall of the Hypostyle Hall, drawn from an excavation photograph (COA III, pl. xlvi.3) and information gathered in 1993. Below the dado is a white skirting; above are four coloured bands, separated by white. The colour of the top two bands is not known.
- (b) Dado removed from a wall, now in Liverpool Museum (see fig. 7). Although this is said to have been removed from the Hypostyle Hall, the proportions are very different from (a). The yellow background to the plant panels has been omitted on (a) and (b) for clarity.
- (c) Reconstruction of the dado design in the room to the west of the 'Princesses panel' room. This incorporates the areas of design found in 1993.

the remains of the dais (fig. 5j); a painted pavement in this room accords with what is known of the decoration of throne rooms in the late New Kingdom. The fragment shows a papyrus flower, probably from a formally-arranged clump in the usual type of marsh scene. On one side of the fragment, part of the edge of the pavement appears. A black line, which is probably part of a border, runs parallel to it.

### Southern Hall

The only painted plaster Pendlebury mentioned as having been found in the Southern Hall is ceiling plaster showing waterfowl on a yellow ground.<sup>48</sup> Presumably this was not kept; efforts to trace its present location have not been successful.

In 1993 the remains of panel decoration were found in two areas, other walls being missing or very denuded. On a preserved section of the north wall a stretch of skirting

<sup>48</sup>COA III, 87. A ceiling with a pigeon design was found in one of the 'harim' rooms at Malkata (Smith, *Art and Architecture*<sup>2</sup>, 289, pl. 285).

was exposed, *c.* 15 cm high from floor level, and *c.* 90 cm wide (fig. 2, I). Above it is a black line. Traces of red from the base of a plant and of coloured stripes provide evidence for plant panels alternating with false-door panels as in the previous two rooms. The plaster was too damaged for the widths of the panels to be measured. The same design was found in much better condition on the west wall. In the area uncovered, most of a papyrus plant is preserved in a panel 13.5 cm wide above a skirting (fig. 2, J). On either side the striped panels are badly damaged. The left panel has predominantly green stripes; only the outer stripe can be seen on the right-hand panel.

### *Corridor*

Investigations in 1993 showed that the set of small rooms, which included the 'Princesses panel' room and the corridor south of the room with dais, had been painted throughout with dado designs. This was not mentioned in *COA* III, in spite of the remarkable amount of painted plaster still *in situ*.

Pendlebury had carefully piled up bricks and sand against four areas of wall in the corridor.<sup>49</sup> In 1993 one area was completely uncovered, and others investigated quickly to check for consistency of design. The uncovered area (fig. 2, K) was on the south wall of the corridor, immediately outside the room which had contained the 'Princesses panel' and the room east of it. The highest part measures 30 cm. Four plant panels 14–15 cm wide and four striped panels 12–13 cm wide are represented, in an arrangement which runs: papyrus panel/green outer striped panel/lily panel/blue outer striped panel/papyrus panel, etc. The paintwork is very fragile, degraded by general abrasion and termite attack. In places the paint is a thin unsupported skin behind which termites have tunnelled away the plaster. As was noticed elsewhere, the yellow paintwork has survived better than the other colours. The bottom of the panels and the skirting are completely lost.

Further along the wall, outside the room with the 'Princesses panel' and the room west of it, a small strikingly well-preserved area was revealed (fig. 2, L), showing a lily plant on a yellow ground, and part of the horizontal border above the panel. Below the top of the remains of the wall are a black line, a white stripe, then a blue stripe. The dado design continues on the north wall of the corridor (fig. 2, M and N). The striped panels are particularly badly preserved here.

### *'Princesses panel' room*

Pendlebury interpreted the suite of rooms south of the room with the platform as being for the private use of the King. He believed that the 'Princesses panel' room served as a bedroom and the room west of it as a latrine and bathroom.<sup>50</sup>

In the 'Princesses panel' room, three walls were investigated in 1993 (fig. 2, O, P, and Q). The plant panels here are wider than elsewhere (see Table 1). Along the east wall, below where the 'Princesses panel' had been, bricks were neatly stacked against the dado. The wall now is only the height of the dado, for Petrie removed the bricks behind the upper section in order to extract the painting. He referred to the dado only in his site

<sup>49</sup>In this set of rooms, small brick walls occasionally afford protection to the paintings. It is assumed that, as elsewhere in the building, this is the later excavator's work, and not Petrie's.

<sup>50</sup>*COA* III, 88.

diary.<sup>51</sup> In the small area re-exposed the paintwork is very fragile, and the plant outlines on two panels are almost eroded away (fig. 2, O). The plant panel measured is 17 cm wide. The blue stripes of the exposed false-door panel, on the right of the papyrus panel, are almost non-existent.

On the east side of the doorway in the south wall of this room, more dado survives (fig. 2, P). Above a white skirting is the red base of a papyrus plant in a panel 15.8 cm wide. Parts of striped panels on either side were exposed; the green striped panel to the right measures 13.2 cm. On the west wall, near the partition leading to the back room, another section of dado was exposed (fig. 2, Q). This was well preserved and had the greatest amount surviving above dado level found in 1993—about 12 cm of horizontal stripes, red, then blue, separated by white bands. The sequence of panels exposed was lily/green outer stripe/papyrus/blue outer stripe. The walls of the back room lack protective heaps in front of them, so no painted plaster can be expected to survive here.

#### *Room to the west of the 'Princesses panel' room*

In this room are two areas where wall surfaces have been protected. Investigations showed a different dado design from that encountered so far in the north-east part of the King's House (fig. 2, R and S), consisting entirely of striped panels 14 cm wide.<sup>52</sup> In the back part of the room, on the east face of the central partition, two panels were exposed (fig. 2, R). These have blue stripes enclosing a central red stripe, next to green stripes enclosing a central red one; the panels are separated by a yellow stripe 1.7 cm wide (fig. 8c). The top of the dado is lost. On the west wall of the front portion of the room a smaller area of the same design was uncovered, showing that the yellow stripe also appeared to run horizontally at the top, but no paintwork survived above this (fig. 2, S). The fact that the whole room was decorated with a different type of dado from that found elsewhere may reflect its special function; the rear of the room originally contained a stone bath slab with a basin.<sup>53</sup>

Dados with false-door panels, both with and without alternating plant panels, have been found at other royal buildings at Amarna. Dados with plant panels occurred at the North Palace in the hypostyle hall leading into the throne room.<sup>54</sup> In the Great Palace, the type without plant panels was probably a frequent form of decoration. It was recorded by Pendlebury in the garden court of the 'North Harim'<sup>55</sup> and in the corridor immediately south of the Bridge.<sup>56</sup> The dado in the long cross hall E, noted by Petrie, had a different colour scheme from those in the King's House; the stripes were painted in red, blue, and white. In his description he indicated that this was a common design in the Great Palace, without specifying the location of examples.<sup>57</sup> Dados with plant panels were

<sup>51</sup> Petrie's diary, 70.

<sup>52</sup> In a general account Pendlebury wrongly stated that this simplified design was used throughout the private suite (*Tell El Amarna*, 90).

<sup>53</sup> COA III, 88.

<sup>54</sup> H. Frankfort, *The Mural Painting of El Amarnah* (London, 1929), pl. xii.A; F. G. Newton, *JEA* 10 (1924), 296.

<sup>55</sup> COA III, 39, fig. 8. In a sketch made at the site the false-door panels are shown in the same colours as at the King's House, but instead of white bands there are yellow ones (site notebook, Amarna Document 11.8; EES archives).

<sup>56</sup> COA III, 47, pl. xxxiv.5.

<sup>57</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, 14.

apparently not found at the Great Palace, but this might be an accident of preservation. The simpler design also occurred in the large ornate house R43.1 in the Central City, in a room with a dais.<sup>58</sup>

These two dado designs are also known at other royal sites. The first type (including plant panels) was found in the throne room of the palace of Merneptah at Memphis.<sup>59</sup> Daressy recorded this type at Malkata, but did not specify the room(s) in which it occurred. The colours of the plant panels (papyrus only is mentioned) and the false-door panels are the same as those in the King's House.<sup>60</sup> The second type was found at Malkata, in the antechamber D to the small throne room E,<sup>61</sup> the antechamber to room G<sup>62</sup> and rooms L5 and B5.<sup>63</sup> In the King's bedroom false-door panels alternate with panels of *ankh*- and *sa*-signs.<sup>64</sup> A false-door design also occurred in the large columned hall H.<sup>65</sup> In addition, a dado with red, blue, and white stripes, apparently similar to those in the Great Palace at Amarna, is said to have been found in throne room F.<sup>66</sup> From these examples no simple formula can be identified for the use of particular dado designs in throne rooms or other state apartments.

### Conclusion

The repeated presence of dados depicting false-doors and the emblems of the two lands over which the King ruled suggests that the area under discussion was a coherent unit. Based on the evidence of the design of supplicating foreigners around the platform in the north-eastern room, this structure has been reinterpreted as a throne dais. The surrounding area may therefore be a throne-room complex, where the rooms were interconnected by use, associated with rituals and administrative functions of the throne room. No additional conclusions can be drawn from the regular occurrence of dados with panels showing the plants of the north and south, which have also been found in throne room complexes at the North Palace and at Malkata. The components of the proposed throne-room complex at the King's House—external open court, long and square columned halls adjacent to a throne room, and a corridor leading to a suite of small rooms, one of which was used for ablutions—are found in different arrangements at other state apartments, at the North Palace and at the Great Palace (where the suite of small rooms was too denuded to show whether it contained a bathroom), and at Memphis.<sup>67</sup>

Kemp has suggested that the north wall at the back of the platform contained a Window of Appearance.<sup>68</sup> While the dais could have acted as a platform for a Window of

<sup>58</sup> COA III, 139–40, pl. xxii.

<sup>59</sup> Fisher, *Penn. Univ. Mus. J.* 8/4, 218.

<sup>60</sup> ASAE 4, 167. More recently, fragments of this design were found in room F (Waseda University, *Studies on the Palace of Malqata, 1985–1988* (Tokyo, 1993), pl. 6e).

<sup>61</sup> Tytus, *Preliminary Report*, 15.

<sup>62</sup> Waseda University, *Studies*, pl. 15f.

<sup>63</sup> Waseda University, *Studies*, pl. 15a, c, d.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, *Art and Architecture*<sup>2</sup>, 289, pls. 286–7; Waseda University, *Studies*, fig. 2-2-7.1, pls. 18–19.

<sup>65</sup> Tytus, *Preliminary Report*, 20.

<sup>66</sup> Smith, *Art and Architecture*<sup>2</sup>, 291.

<sup>67</sup> T. Whittemore, *JEA* 12 (1926), pl. ii; COA III, pl. xiiiA; Weatherhead, *JEA* 78, 192–3, fig. 6; Fisher, *Penn. Univ. Mus. J.* 8/4, 213–20, fig. 79. For a similar analysis see O'Connor, *CRIPPEL* 11, 76, figs. 1–2.

<sup>68</sup> B. J. Kemp, 'The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna, and the Basic Structure of this City', *JEA* 62 (1976), 81–99.

Appearance, iconographically it appears to be nothing other than a New Kingdom throne dais. Kemp has pointed out that, based on the evidence of mortuary temple palaces at Western Thebes, a window would be better placed in the Hypostyle Hall facing the avenue of trees in the garden.<sup>69</sup> Painted foreigners on the outer wall of the Hall would add weight to this, but evidence for such a design is uncertain on the outside of either the room with the dais or the Hypostyle Hall, although we have established that the outside wall of the latter was painted with coloured designs.

<sup>69</sup>Personal communication.



1. Remains of two kneeling foreigners on the west side of dais. Unpublished photograph from Pendlebury's excavations in 1931-2



2. Early stages in the removal of two faces of dado joined at a corner, undertaken during the excavations of 1931-2. From the Hypostyle Hall, or possibly the Southern Hall  
(*Courtesy of the EES*)

## AMENMESSE IN KENT, LIVERPOOL, AND THEBES\*

By AIDAN DODSON

Publication of a fragment of rock-stela at Chiddingstone Castle, Kent (Inv. 42), which bears the names of Sethos II, written over the erased cartouches of Amenmesse. It may have come from the 'Oratory of Ptah' in the Deir el-Medina/Biban el-Harim area, as may a fragment of another relief formerly in Liverpool Museum (M13827). Consideration is also given to a former Liverpool statue base (M13510) that bore the superimposed names of Amenmesse and another king.

THE collection of Egyptian antiquities today exhibited at Chiddingstone Castle, Kent, was assembled by Denys Eyre Bower (1905–1977), a former bank clerk who was able, in spite of strictly limited resources, to acquire not only an extremely choice group of Egyptian objects, but also artefacts from the Far East and material relating to Jacobite times. After Bower's death, the castle and its contents passed to the nation, and are now open to public view.<sup>1</sup> The collection seems to have been acquired entirely by purchase, and while certain items can be identified as coming from older collections on the basis of their display stands, labels, etc., it is at present impossible to document many of their earlier histories.<sup>2</sup> At the heart of the Egyptian section is a series of shabtis, whose quality or academic interest in some cases exceeds that of material in major collections.<sup>3</sup> A number of stelae, or fragments thereof, dating from the Middle and New Kingdoms are included, and it is one of these that forms the basis of this paper.<sup>4</sup>

As preserved today, the piece in question (inventory number 42), carved in a very fine-grained limestone, measures 33 cm high by 27.5 wide, with a maximum thickness of approximately 10 cm. It is but a fragment sawn away from a much larger object, pencil lines delineating the area to be removed being clearly visible adjacent to the modern saw-cuts. At least three distinct patinations are visible on the fragment. The principal one, covering the inscribed surface, is a golden-brown colour, familiar to all who know the

\* My thanks go to the two *JEA* referees for their most helpful comments on the original manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> See M. Eldridge, *Chiddingstone Castle* (1990), and J. Phillips and A. M. Dodson, 'Egyptian Antiquities of Chiddingstone Castle, Kent, England', *KMT* 6/1 (1995), 51–61.



<sup>2</sup> Information courtesy of Miss Ruth Eldridge, Managing Trustee of Chiddingstone Castle. Among items whose provenance can be established on internal evidence are a cartouche from the wall of the tomb of Sethos I (KV 17), two pieces of the sarcophagus of Menena (Sidmantomb 1955; cf. J. Bourriau (ed.), 'Museum Acquisitions, 1985: Egyptian Antiquities Acquired in 1985 by Museums in the United Kingdom', *JEA* 73 (1987), 193 no. 213), one of seventy faience cups from the burial of Nesikhonsu (TT 320; cf. PM I<sup>2</sup>, 665) and a royal funerary deity, labelled as coming from the tomb of Tuthmosis III (KV 34), but perhaps more likely from that of Horemheb (KV 57; cf. C. N. Reeves, 'Tutankhamun and his Papyri', *GM* 88 (1985), 43 n. 8, for other items said by dealers to have come from KV 34, but demonstrably stolen from the Theodore Davis clearance of KV 57). See Phillips and Dodson, *KMT* 6/1, 54–60.





<sup>3</sup> The late Eighteenth Dynasty shabti of Tamiyt is included in N. Reeves and J. H. Taylor, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), 16, and discussed and illustrated with three other significant pieces by P. J. Webb, 'The *Ushabti* Treasures of Chiddingstone Castle', *KMT* 6/1, 56–7.





<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to the Trustees of the Denys Eyre Bower Bequest for permission to publish this stela. I am also greatly indebted to Miss R. Eldridge, Miss Mary Eldridge, and Mr Peter Brabbs for their help in examining the piece in September 1993.





limestone cliffs of Western Thebes. The second is much greyer, and present on most of the roughly broken facets, particularly around the top. Finally, there is a rather lighter-coloured patina seen where a metal saw was used to separate the fragment from the rock. This, and most of the second, would appear to be the result of exposure to the polluted air of England, or wherever else the fragment first came to rest after removal. One would guess that this event occurred at some point in the early nineteenth century, since no copies can be traced amongst the records of early travellers; this matter is addressed further below.

The fragment (pl. VIII, 1; fig. 1) preserves part of the lunette, including the bottom right-hand portion of the sun-disk, together with a fairly large part of one of its wings, which shows signs of having been painted green or blue. These elements suggest that the whole stela was about 60–70 cm across. Below them, a sky-sign brackets at least four columns of text; all lack their lower portions, and what remains of the far left-hand column is very incomplete. The surviving columns all face towards the centre-line of the stela. The second from the left begins *ḏd-mdw in 'Imn-Rc n niwt...* The rest of the column is largely lost, but shoots visible on the lowest right-hand sign show it to have been .<sup>5</sup> Two vertical strokes to the left would suggest that the group should probably be restored <sup>6</sup>, thus allowing the translation: 'Speech by Amun-Re of the Southern City [...].'<sup>7</sup>

Of the signs in the far-left column, only the  is unequivocal. However, since the traces above it are wholly consistent with , those to its left with , and those below with , we would appear to have the common wish, [*d'i.n(i) n.k*] *rcḥ(w) n Rc rnpwt [n 'Imw]*: 'I have given to you the lifetime of Re and the years of Atum' (fig. 2).<sup>8</sup>

The two right-hand columns of text, as preserved, comprise respectively the prenomen and nomen of a king, preceded by the usual titles, *nb-tꜣwy* and *nb-ḥꜣw*. It is these cartouches that give the fragment its particular interest, since they have been hammered out and then overwritten in antiquity. As they stand, they read Userkheperure-meryamun Sethy-merenptah—i.e. Sethos II.<sup>9</sup> During the erasure of the original names, it appears that a chisel was wielded rather too enthusiastically, since much of the lower half of the nomen, together with stone to both sides, sheered off<sup>10</sup> and had to be repaired in plaster; the bottom right-hand part of the , the right extremity of the  and the whole of the  and  are carved in the overlay. The nomen has suffered mutilation where the Seth-animal has been gouged out, a fate suffered by many Sethos cartouches in the Late Period when Seth's diabolic status was paramount.<sup>11</sup> Although the removal of the

<sup>5</sup>Or the closely-related Gardiner M 26.

<sup>6</sup>Showing the not uncommon writing of  for the strictly-correct  (cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford, 1957), 482 (M 25), and various examples from New Kingdom temple contexts).

<sup>7</sup>A further epithet, given the likely length of the restored adjacent column (q.v.).

<sup>8</sup>See further below, p. 122. My thanks go to the *JEA* referees for their comments on the likely restoration of this column.

<sup>9</sup>For various orthographies of Sethos II's names, see *LR* III, 130–9 and J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Munich and Berlin, 1984), 91–2, 241, the latter omitting some rarer writings. The variant prenomen '-setpenre' also exists, but this variation in epithets appears to have no significance—in contrast to the situation seen later in the Ramesside Period and in the Third Intermediate Period (cf. K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (Warminster, 1986), 87).

<sup>10</sup>Possibly along one of the bedding planes of the stone, in so far as they can be traced on the saw-cut faces.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. H. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden, 1967), 138–51.

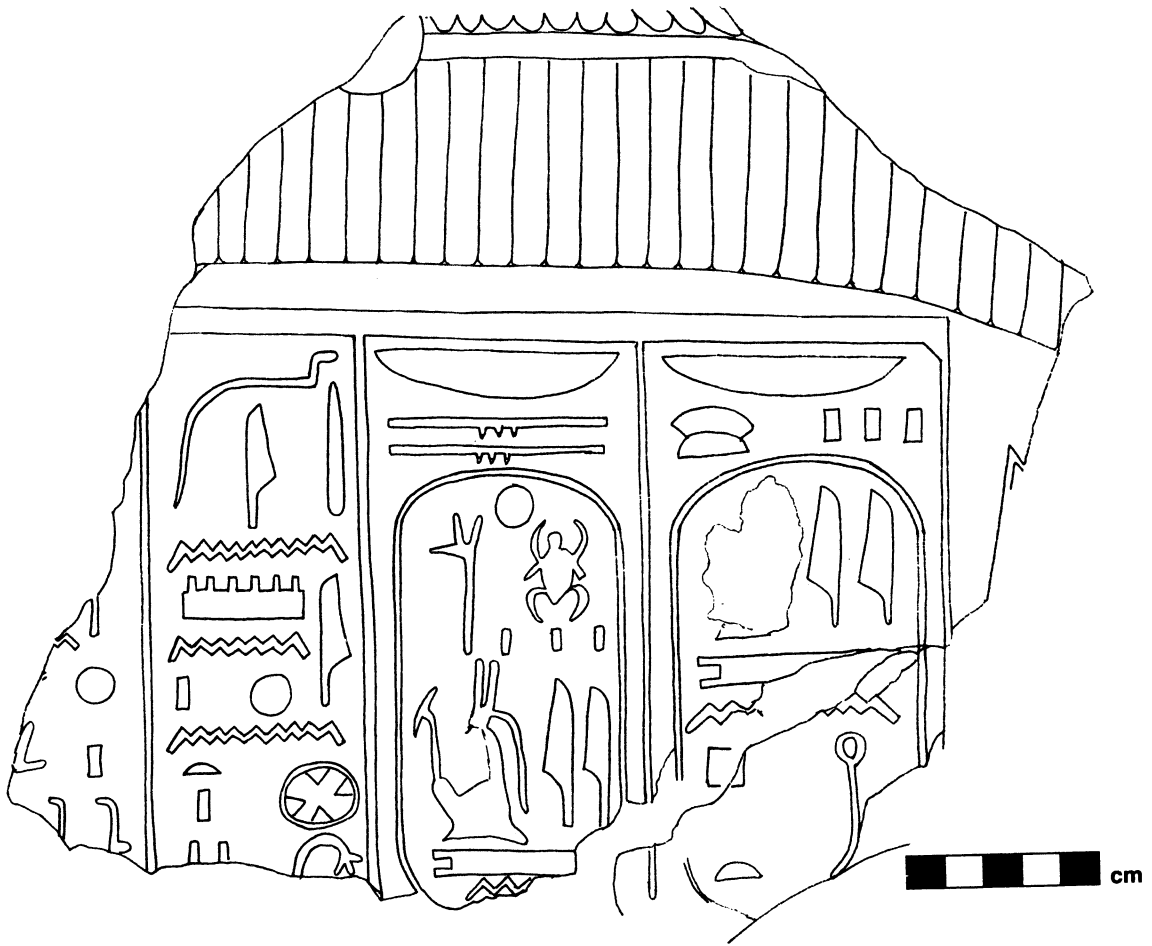


FIG. 1. Chiddingstone Inv. 42: facsimile.

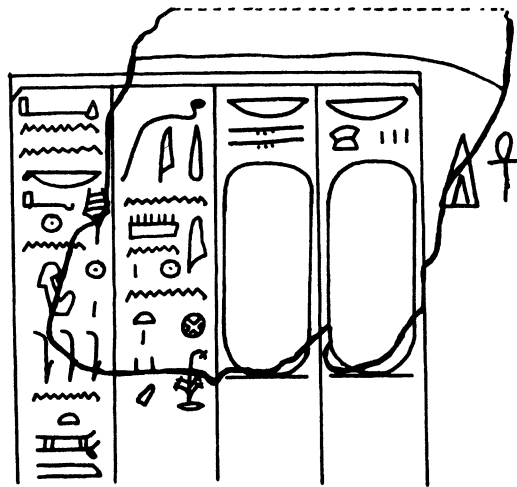




FIG. 2. Chiddingstone Inv. 42: partially-restored hand-copy of text.

underlying names was carried out roughly, it was nevertheless effective, and the only point at which one can trace a definite part of a name is at the bottom of the prenomen cartouche, where most of a  survives on a small portion of the original surface just under the . It is positioned right of centre, and is thus an important clue as to the arrangement of the palimpsest cartouche.

*A priori*, the overwritten cartouches are most likely to belong to Amenmesse, as a considerable number of examples exist of the erasure of that king's names and their replacement by those of Sethos II.<sup>12</sup> There are also, however, some particularly clear examples of the erasure of Siptah's cartouches in favour of Sethos II's, as seen in the tomb of Tawosret (KV 14).<sup>13</sup> The motives for these erasures were clearly dynastic, Amenmesse being regarded as having usurped a throne that legitimately belonged to Sethos II,<sup>14</sup> while Siptah was most probably Amenmesse's son,<sup>15</sup> leading to attempts under Tawosret and later to remove him retrospectively from the succession.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, such posthumous examples at the expense of Siptah are far less common than usurpations of monuments of Amenmesse during Sethos' lifetime, making it, therefore, less likely that Siptah's are the palimpsest cartouches on the present monument.

Other kings are known to have had works usurped by Sethos II, but the nature of the object under discussion would make a take-over from, say, Ramesses II or Merenptah rather unlikely.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the extremely rough excision of the earlier names seems to suggest something more sinister than simple appropriation of a monument. Accordingly, Amenmesse would seem to be the prime candidate for the ownership of the palimpsest cartouches. Comparing the vertical writing of that king's prenomen most




<sup>12</sup>Cf. *KRI IV*, 194. Excellent examples are provided by a series of quartzite statues from Karnak (F. J. Yurco, 'Amenmesse: Six Statues at Karnak', *MMJ* 14 (1979), 15–31). For a comprehensive listing of Amenmesse's monuments, with annotations as to usurpation, see R. Krauss, 'Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse (2. Teil)', *SAK* 5 (1977), 154–9.




<sup>13</sup>A. Gardiner, *JEA* 40 (1954), 41. Other examples include a block from Memphis (W. M. F. Petrie, in R. Engelbach et al., *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (London, 1915), 33, pl. 57.23); there are, of course, examples of the excision of Siptah's cartouches without replacement: *KRI IV*, 343, 344.5, 369.

<sup>14</sup>It remains uncertain whether Amenmesse had taken the throne of the whole country on Merenptah's death, or whether he held power as *Gegenkönig* in southern Egypt during Years 2–4 of Sethos II; cf. further below, pp. 125–8.

<sup>15</sup>A. M. Dodson, 'The Takhats and some other Royal Ladies of the Ramesside Period', *JEA* 73 (1987), 224–7, adding fresh documentation to an old view, resurrected by Cyril Aldred, 'The Parentage of King Siptah', *JEA* 49 (1963), 43–8; it goes back at least to E. De Rougé, *Étude sur une stèle égyptienne, appartenant à la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris, 1858), 185–8; cf. G. Maspero, in T. M. Davis et al., *The Tomb of Siptah, the Monkey Tomb and the Gold Tomb* (London, 1908), xiv–xx.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. his exclusion (along with Amenmesse and Tawosret) from the relief procession of royal statues at Medinet Habu (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 500: I, 5; cf. D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (Mississauga, 1986), 36–7). On the other hand, it is clear, given the considerable number of monuments that preserve the name of Siptah, that his treatment was less than half-hearted when compared with the attempted excision from history of Hatshepsut, Akhenaten and Amenmesse. The motivation is uncertain for Siptah's names replacing those of Amenmesse on stelae A and B on the portico of Sethos I's Qurna temple (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 409; for a full discussion, see R. Caminos, 'Two Stelae in the Kurnah Temple of Sethos I', in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* (Berlin, 1955), 17–28); this may, however, be a case of the names of the reigning king being placed within previously erased (and not over-written) cartouches.

<sup>17</sup>Merenptah would in any case be ruled out by the off-centre  at the bottom of the prenomen cartouche. This would also apply to Ramesses II, as would the fact that if his were the original names, the  and  in the upper part would surely have been left untouched as fully compatible with Sethos II's prenomen.

usually encountered hitherto, fig. 3a,<sup>18</sup> with the sign remaining in our corresponding cartouche, we find that the  is there centred, rather than offset to the right as seen on the Chiddingstone fragment. However, writings of Amenmesse's prenomen with the *stp-n-Rc* so offset *do* exist on some monuments, in particular on the walls of the *inner* part of the king's tomb, KV10.<sup>19</sup> The most significant feature of such cartouches is the writing of the  *without complement*, in front of most of the *stp-n-Rc* group.<sup>20</sup> Given the position of such forms within KV10, contrasting with the -form found on and immediately inside the doorway of the tomb,<sup>21</sup> they should perhaps be seen as characteristic of the latter part of the reign.<sup>22</sup>

While the lower part of the first cartouche may be thus restored with confidence, no definite traces of signs can be seen in the upper part. On the basis of extant examples,

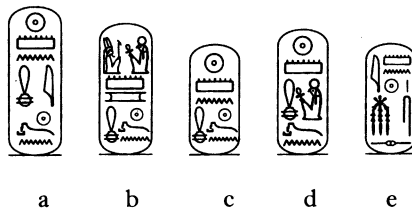





FIG. 3.

the options for reconstruction would seem to be either Fig. 3b or c. The former is perhaps the more likely, since if the second had formerly existed on our stela, one would expect the initial sun-disk to have been reused in Sethos II's prenomen cartouche, which it was not. Also in the first option's favour is the fact that the area under the 'nose' of the ultimate *wsr*-sign shows fairly deep erasure, perhaps consistent with the former presence of a seated god.

Of the earlier nomen cartouche, careful examination from various angles and in different lights has failed to identify any certain traces of the original signs. The eye of faith might detect a ghostly element of an  in the lower part of the area occupied by the superposed , but this could equally well be a mere chisel-mark from the fairly deep excision of the original cartouche.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *KRI* IV, 194–200.

<sup>19</sup> Only one such cartouche has hitherto been published from the tomb (E. Lefébure, *Les hypogées royales de Thèbes* (Paris, 1886–89), II, 83, bottom (a partial cartouche, with the *n* omitted by the copyist in error!)), but the current clearance of the tomb has revealed a large number of clear examples of such an arrangement. I am most grateful to Otto Schaden for enabling me to examine the walls of the tomb exposed during his clearance work in January 1994.

<sup>20</sup> Those in KV 10 additionally expand the epithets to give the full reading of ( *Mn-mi-Rc stp-n-Rc mry-Imm* ) (cf. O. J. Schaden, 'Amenmesse Project Report', *NARCE* 163 (1993), 3). In addition to basic examples ending in , some pieces with the single *mi* still show a centred *n* (e.g. Liverpool M13827—discussed further below); an odd orthography, found on the faience jar Petrie Museum UC 16064 is fig. 3d (Dodson, 'King Amenmesse at Riqqa', *GM* 117/118 (1990), 153–4).

<sup>21</sup> Cf., conveniently, Dodson, *Egyptian Rock-Cut Tombs* (Princes Risborough, 1991), fig. 48.

<sup>22</sup> Together with less usual nomen forms; see n. 23.

<sup>23</sup> If such a sign were once present there, one might attempt to restore a variant of the possible rare orthography fig. 3e. This is attested only on a stela from Kom es-Sultan at Abydos (Cairo JE 8774),

The sole definite remaining trace to be noted is to be found on the far right-hand side of our fragment and seems to be a remnant of the epithet  $\Delta[\text{Q}]$  applied to the king, whose figure would have been placed directly below. From the orientation of the surviving texts, one can be almost certain that the complete stela depicted the king (right) before Amun-Re (left).

From its textural content, the piece is clearly a Theban confection, my assessment of the material and patination pointing to its having come from a rock-cut monument on the West Bank. Now, a group of such royal stelae in this area are those associated with the chapels lying between Deir el-Medina and the Biban el-Harim (the 'Oratory of Ptah': pl. VIII, 2; fig. 4);<sup>24</sup> their fundamental subject matter, stone and patination are in keeping with what can be seen on the Chiddingstone fragment.<sup>25</sup>

In their present state, the royal names apparently to be seen on the stelae carved in these badly-damaged sanctuaries are those of Sethnakhte and his son, Ramesses III; however, at least two chapels were clearly constructed some years earlier. Chapel E,<sup>26</sup> lying at the very centre of the rock-bay (pl. IX, 1), presently comprises a rock-stela, now sadly denuded, but with a lunette containing a scene of a king, accompanied by Mut and Hathor, receiving the *hb-sd*-symbols, suspended from 'year' palm-branches, from Amun-Re and Ptah (pl. IX, 2).<sup>27</sup> That the cartouches have been interfered with is clearly apparent. The nomen cartouche now reads Sethy-merenptah, but this is definitely secondary, the hieroglyphs being very shallowly carved upon a sunken, uneven surface, the left-hand part of which has received somewhat deeper abrasion, particularly around the mid-point. The prenomen has also been lightly re-carved, albeit to a slightly lesser degree, upon a surface sunk below the surrounding stone.<sup>28</sup> Unexpectedly, here we read Userkhaure-meryamun-setpenre—the prenomen of Sethnakhte.<sup>29</sup> There can, I think, be

showing on its upper register priests carrying a divine barque, in front of which (*'Imn-Rc-mss*) *m wi* was inscribed (A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos, découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880), 417–18 no. 1127; id., *Abydos: description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville*, II (Paris, 1880), pl. 52, right). However, Amenmesse's cartouches usually wrote the god's name as  $\text{𓅓}$ , and it has been suggested the Abydos cartouche is actually a corrupt writing of that of Ramesses III (Krauss, *SAK* 5, 157(b)—a view apparently taken by Mariette himself), or Ramesses II (*KRI* II, 550: 212, n. 11). On the other hand, examination of the inner parts of the king's tomb show that 'Amenramesse' (albeit differently written) seems to have been the preferred full form of the king's birth name at the end of his reign. Accordingly, one should not exclude this stela as possible evidence for a posthumous cult of Amenmesse, which could only reasonably date to the reign of his putative son, Siptah, given his execration by Sethos II, and the suppression of all 'difficult' late Nineteenth Dynasty rulers by later Ramesside kings (cf. n. 16). For a probable statue of Amenmesse, made under and also depicting Siptah, see Munich Gl. 122 (von Beckerath, 'Queen Twosre as Guardian of Siptah', *JEA* 48 (1962), 70–4, with attribution amended by Aldred, *JEA* 49, 45–6).

<sup>24</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 706–8, to whose references add M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altri epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Turin, 1972), 29–30, and C. Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou: une necropole de Thebes-Ouest et son histoire* (Cairo, 1989), pls. xxxii.b, xxxiii.

<sup>25</sup> Based on the author's observations at the site in September 1988, January 1992 and January 1994.

<sup>26</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 708.

<sup>27</sup> In his publication of the chapels, B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh* (MIFAO 58; Cairo, 1930), reproduced a drawing from LD III, 204.d as the sole illustration of the lunette of this stela, restricting his own copy to the lower part (his pl. vi). Plate IX, 2 here, taken in 1988, is apparently the first published detail photograph of the monument.

<sup>28</sup> Personal examination of the cartouches in January 1994.

<sup>29</sup> LD III, 204.d.

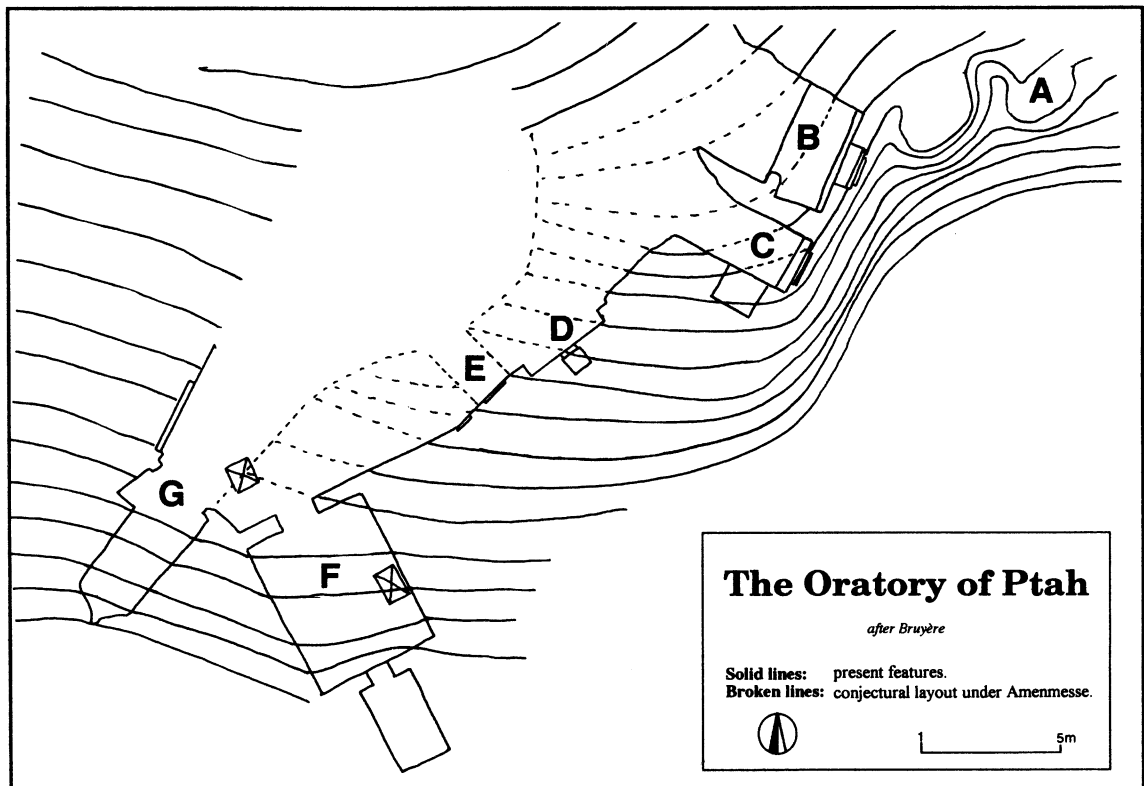


FIG. 4.

little question that this is a final usurpation of the stela by (or for)<sup>30</sup> Sethnakhte, when workmen carelessly failed to change the nomen as well.<sup>31</sup> However, the state of the nomen cartouche shows clearly that the usurped Sethos II<sup>32</sup> was not the original owner of the stela; that original owner is most likely to have been Amenmesse.<sup>33</sup>

The stela has suffered severely, with most of its lower part lost or illegible. Yet more grievous is the state of the chapel which once sheltered it. It appears that a cavetto cornice, carved from a separate piece of stone, fitted above it, while at least partly rock-cut side-walls are now represented by fairly substantial traces beyond the top right-hand corner of the stela, and less obvious ones to the left (pl. IX, 1). The forward extension of the chapel is unclear: no indications can be seen today, nor does the excavators'

<sup>30</sup> Chapel D having been cut by Ramesses III as a joint memorial to himself and his father.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Krauss, *SAK* 5, 172–4.

<sup>32</sup> Hardly Sethos I, given the style of the stela, which is wholly inconsistent with workmanship and style prevalent in the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. p. 118, above. An unequivocal example of a monument of Amenmesse usurped by Sethos II in the Deir el-Medina area is provided by Turin Supp. 6136 = N.50246 (Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 202–3; Krauss, *SAK* 5, 154:12; *KRI* IV, 198). Its precise provenance is uncertain, and Tosi and Roccati's publication only tentatively suggests 'cappella di Sethi?'. See further n. 52, below.

published plan indicate that they found any evidence.<sup>34</sup> Given the construction of chapels either side of it a few years later, it is likely that major changes occurred at that time. There is also the question of if or how the chapel was roofed, but the existence of side-walls certainly points to the probability that decoration in addition to the extant stela once adorned Chapel E.

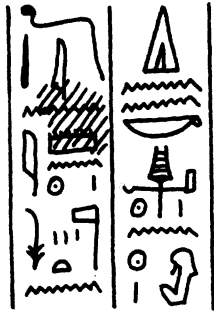


FIG. 5. Speech of Amun-Re from the Chapel E stela.

In this connection, Amun-Re's speech on the Chiddingstone fragment takes on potential significance: not only does Chapel E's *hb-sd*-presentation motif tie in with the sentiments expressed therein, but the accompanying caption states them in almost identical terms, differing essentially only in orthography (fig. 5). There would accordingly seem to be a fair case for regarding the Chiddingstone piece as having once formed part of Chapel E's decoration.

However, one should note that Chapel E was not the only monument attributable to Amenmesse in the 'Oratory'. At the latter's western extremity are a pair of chapels (F and G), so badly mutilated that at first sight they seem more like natural caves than artificial constructions. Chapel G preserves little of its original form, but on the right side of its fore-part is a smoothed area of rock, surrounded by later emplacements for votive stelae (pl. VIII, 2; cf. fig. 4). This bears a very badly damaged relief, showing on the left Amun, Ptah, Harsiese, Min-Kamutef, Isis (twice), and Osiris; they are offered to by a king, who is followed by the vizier and a chief workman from Deir el-Medina (fig. 6).<sup>35</sup> The king's cartouches have all been erased, leaving only the ☉ in one of the prenomina.<sup>36</sup> Following Kitchen,<sup>37</sup> there can be little doubt that the victim is once again Amenmesse. While the vizier's name is damaged, the restoration *I[mn-ms]*, after the offering table found in the pit in front of the chapel, seems most likely.<sup>38</sup> The identity of the chief workman is uncertain, depending on whether the man depicted is the office-bearer of the Left Side, or the Right. If the former, he can hardly be other than Hay iv, whose attestations run from Year 1 of Amenmesse down to the third decade of Ramesses III's reign.<sup>39</sup>

If, however, he is the chief workman of the Right Side, much depends on the view taken on Amenmesse's historical position.<sup>40</sup> If Amenmesse were the clear predecessor of Sethos II, the workman would be Neferhotpe ii, attested in office until Year 1 of the latter king.<sup>41</sup> If, however, Amenmesse were *Gegenkönig* through Sethos II's Years 2–4, the period would be that which contained the murder of Neferhotpe and his succession by

<sup>34</sup> Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, pl. ii. He comments: 'Des arasements de construction subsistent en avant de cette stèle qui peuvent avoir été des soubassements, car le sol de cette chapelle était plus élevé que celui des chapelles qui l'encadraient' (*Mert Seger*, 40). The reconstructed contours on our fig. 4 are for illustrative purposes only, showing how the place might have appeared before the works carried out under Ramesses III.

<sup>35</sup> Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 46–7, fig. 27, pl. vii; KRI IV, 198–9: B.

<sup>36</sup> While the loss of much of the pair of cartouches on the left may have been caused by the same agent that seems to have obliterated almost all faces between the hairline and the chin, the single cartouche to the right is above the level of destruction, yet is void of content.

<sup>37</sup> KRI IV, 198: B.

<sup>38</sup> KRI IV, 198; for Amunmose, see KRI IV, 204–6, and L. Habachi, 'King Amenmesse and Viziers Amenmose and Kharemtore', *MDAIK* 34 (1979), 57–67.

<sup>39</sup> M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300–664 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1975), 37.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. n. 14, above, and below, pp. 125–8.

<sup>41</sup> Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, 22.

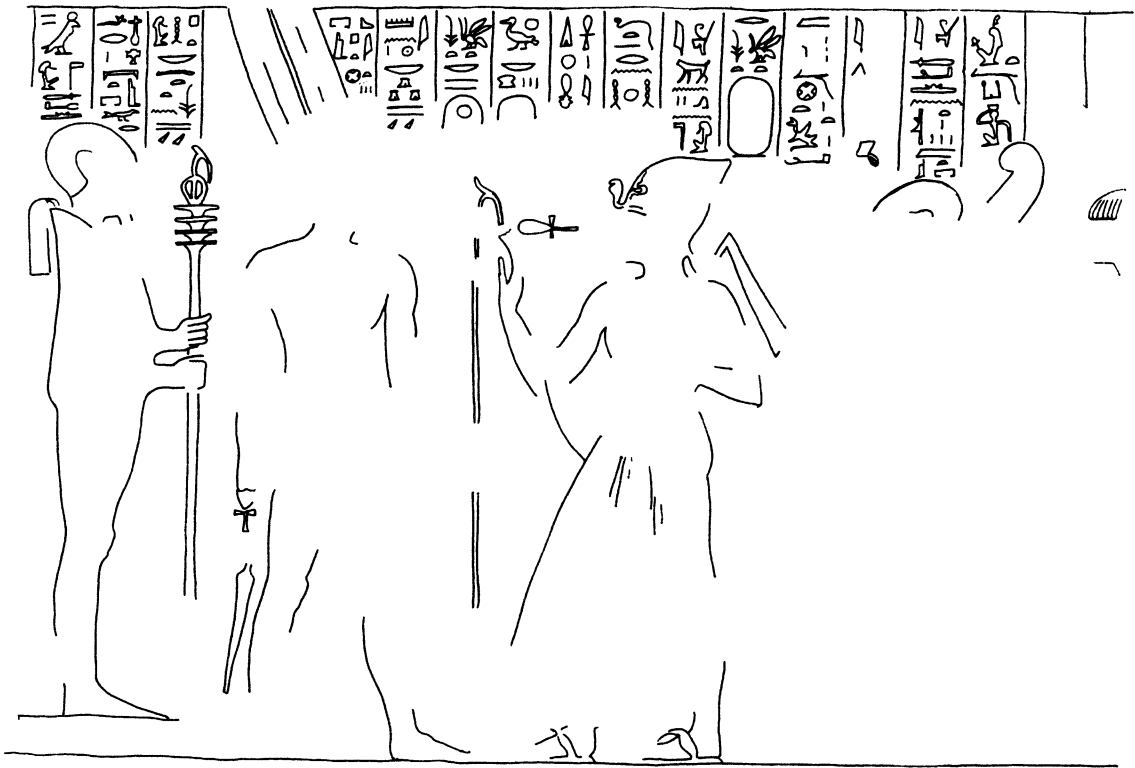


FIG. 6. Part of relief from Chapel G, showing Amenmesse, the Vizier Amunmose and a Chief Workman, either Hay iv or Neferhotpe ii, before Amun and Ptah (after Bruyère).

Paneb before Year 5 (P. Salt 124, recto 1.1–3).<sup>42</sup> Of course, this papyrus also mentions the vizier Amunmose, who is stated to have been removed from office by ‘Mose’—generally regarded as being a retrospective means of referring to the by-now-proscribed King Amenmesse<sup>43</sup>—on the instigation of Paneb, who had previously been punished by the same vizier at Neferhotpe’s behest (recto 2.17–18). Given the antipathies involved, one would prefer the relief to be restored as showing Neferhotpe, rather than Paneb, behind the vizier; it would then be the chief workman’s last known representation before his death at the hands of *p; hrwi*.<sup>44</sup>

Having now established the extent of Amenmesse’s surviving work at the ‘Oratory of Ptah’, it may be profitable to consider a further depiction of Amenmesse that parallels the principal motif in Chapel E. This is on the limestone relief fragment, Liverpool Museum M13827, already noted in the discussion of the form of prenomen originally on the Chiddingstone piece.<sup>45</sup> This piece depicted Amun presenting *hb-sd*-emblems, suspended from palm branches, to Amenmesse (whose hands alone survived); the scene

<sup>42</sup>J. Černý, ‘Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055)’, *JEA* 15 (1929), 244, 247; Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, 22–3.


<sup>43</sup>As first suggested by Černý, *JEA* 15, 255; cf., however, R. O. Faulkner’s doubts in ‘Egypt: From the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III’ *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, II, ch. xxiii, 22.

<sup>44</sup>P. Salt 124, recto, 1.2. Thus, on either view of Amenmesse’s historical position, Neferhotpe ii should probably be seen as being the far-right figure on the Chapel G relief.

<sup>45</sup>Above, n. 20.



thus paralleled that on the stela from Chapel E (pl. X).<sup>46</sup> It is impossible that M13827 could have been the missing scene from the Chiddingstone stela: the relative positioning of the god and king is reversed, while the Liverpool cartouches would not fit into the decorative scheme. The dimensions of the Liverpool fragment, 17.7 cm wide by 18.7 cm high, show that its complete scene would have been on a smaller scale than that of the Chiddingstone lunette. Additionally, the figures are carved in bas-relief, contrasting with the probability, based on the hieroglyphs, that the images of the Chiddingstone king and god would have been in sunk relief. This combination of bas-relief figures/simple sunk-relief texts is to be seen on another fragment that should be dated to the reign of Amenmesse, and, indeed, could represent another element of the same monument, Brooklyn L68.10.2.<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, there are similarities between the Chiddingstone and Liverpool pieces, in the 'long duration' subject-matter and the late-reign writing of the prenomen's  without its complement. Both are of limestone, and there is a possible indication that both were stolen by the same agent(s). As noted above, the Chiddingstone piece still bears thick pencil lines, marking out the saw-cuts which detached the piece from its matrix. On M13827, the robber has also marked out the cutting-lines, the (flat-cut) 'top and right side [being] bordered by a [thick] black line not made in antiquity'.<sup>48</sup> If this latter, admittedly tenuous, link has any substance, we might be able to date the Chiddingstone fragment's removal from Egypt to the same point in time as that of M13827, around the second quarter to middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> They must have been gone by the time of Lepsius' visit to the 'Oratory' in 1845, when he recorded the chapels in much the same state as today.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> It is regrettably necessary to refer to this object in the past tense, for like a number of other important pieces (including the enigmatic statue base M13510 discussed below, pp. 125–8), it was lost as a result of the bombing of the museum in 1941. Fortunately, museum records survive, including the hitherto-unpublished photograph here reproduced, made available to me by Piotr Bienkowski. I wish to thank him and the Trustees of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside for permission to publish it. I am also most grateful to K. A. Kitchen for originally supplying me with a photocopy of an old sketch of the piece. The fragment has received brief notice in C. T. Gatty, *Catalogue of the Mayer Collection*, I. *The Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian Antiquities*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1879), 52 no. 304; LR III, 129 n.1; Krauss, *SAK* 5, 155:21; and KRI IV, 203–4. The piece was discussed by W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, III (London, 1905), 126–7, who mistakenly assumed that it signified that Amenmesse actually celebrated a *sed*-festival (hence its being dubbed the 'Jubilee Relief').

<sup>47</sup> R. A. Fazzini, 'Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn', *Miscellanea Wilbouriana*, I (Brooklyn, 1972), 55–6; he suggests that the item came from Karnak, but the presence of the deified Amenophis I and Ahmose-Nefertiry makes a Deir el-Medina-area provenance far more likely. The cartouches on this fragment currently read 'Sethos II', but these have clearly been carved over the hacked-out remains of earlier names, without doubt Amenmesse. I owe this observation and the reference to the kindness of Rolf Krauss.

<sup>48</sup> Museum records.

<sup>49</sup> The Mayer Collection of Egyptian antiquities, of which M13827 formed part, was assembled between c. 1840 and 1857, from various sources. Joseph Mayer's Egyptian Museum opened in May 1852, but M13827 does not seem to have featured in the contemporary catalogue. It may therefore have been acquired in the following five years. Mayer's museum contained material from various earlier collections, and thus the object could easily have been removed from Egypt earlier; the Valentia collection, for example, incorporated in 1852, had been largely assembled in 1817–20. For Mayer and his antiquities, see W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1968), 199; S. Nicholson and M. Warhurst, *Joseph Mayer 1803–1886* (Liverpool, 1984); A. F. Shore, 'The Egyptian Collection', in M. Gibson and S. M. Wright (eds), *Joseph Mayer of Liverpool 1803–1886* (London, 1988), 45–70; Gibson, *ibid.* 8–10; Dodson, 'Hatshepsut and "her father" Mentuhotpe II', *JEA* 75 (1989), 225–6.

<sup>50</sup> *LDT* III, 224–5.

On the basis of the foregoing, one might suggest that both the Chiddingstone and Liverpool pieces could derive from two separate stelae from the now-destroyed outer part of Chapel E at the 'Oratory of Ptah'—or just possibly the equally wrecked Chapel G. The fact that one object is in sunk relief and the other in bas-relief might give us pause, but there are many examples of switches in technique on a single monument.<sup>51</sup> Whether they were still standing when found is a moot point. It is possible that their parent blocks may have been detached during cutting back of the side-walls during the construction of the adjacent shrines under Ramesses III. The fact that Amenmesse's names had been erased from one, but not the other, might argue against the reliefs having come from the same source, but there are numerous instances of adjacent texts being overlooked in erasure exercises. The difference in scale between the two original stelae may have contributed to the smaller piece's escape.<sup>52</sup>

Neither piece sheds any further light on Amenmesse's precise position in the events surrounding the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. As noted above, opinion is divided between whether Amenmesse seized the throne on Merenptah's death, setting aside the rights of the well-attested Crown Prince Sethy,<sup>53</sup> who only came to power as Sethos II four years later (the majority view), or whether Amenmesse held power as *Gegenkönig* in the south under Sethos II, who had previously succeeded directly on Merenptah's death.<sup>54</sup> A key piece of evidence is the other Liverpool Amenmesse object lost as a result of bombing in 1941, the statue base M13510, alleged to have borne Amenmesse's names overlying those of Sethos II.<sup>55</sup> This would have strongly tilted matters in favour of the *Gegenkönig* theory.

M13510 was a limestone block measuring 103 × 66 × 20 cm, with a depression in the top to receive what was most probably a standing statue of the king. Around the four sides of the block ran a symmetrical horizontal text, twice giving Amenmesse's names and titles, the signs filled with blue pigment. A further set of titles and cartouches were carved into the top surface of the object, in front of the statue-depression (fig. 7). The object was apparently found in Luxor Temple,<sup>56</sup> passing initially into the collection of

<sup>51</sup> For example, the change from bas-relief to sunk between the first and second scenes on the left-hand side of the first corridor of the tomb of Sethos II (KV 15: see, conveniently, J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (London, 1981), 259).

<sup>52</sup> Turin Supp. 6136 (above, n. 33) may also be attributable to this grouping of material, given that it came from Ernesto Schiaparelli's 1905 work around Deir el-Medina, a certain amount of which was conducted in the 'Oratory' area (cf. Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 29–30). It comprises the lower part of a wall, 1.09 m long—admirably fitted to lining the side wall of a chapel—with only a quarter of its height preserved. A man kneels at the right-hand end, with eleven surviving columns of text in front of him. The usurpation of Amenmesse's cartouches by Sethos II looks, as far as one can judge from the published photograph, superficially similar to that seen on the Chiddingstone fragment; one definite parallel is the writing of the *Pth*-element with  $\text{𓂏}$ , without the lower two twists.

<sup>53</sup> On whom see M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Seti-Merenptah als Kronprinz Merenptahs', *GM* 50 (1981), 15–21.

<sup>54</sup> Fundamental are the two papers of Krauss, 'Untersuchungen... (1. Teil)', *SAK* 4 (1976), 161–99 and *SAK* 5, 131–74. A bibliography of previous discussions of the subject is given in id., *SAK* 4, 162, n. 9. Subsequent contributions include J. Osing, 'Zur Geschichte der späten 19. Dynastie', *SAK* 7 (1979), 252–71; Dodson, 'The Tomb of King Amenmesse: Some Observations', *DE* 2 (1985), 8–9; id., *JEA* 73, 224–7; id., *GM* 117/118, 153–4; and Kitchen, 'Amenmesses in Northern Egypt', *GM* 99 (1987), 23–5.

<sup>55</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 337, where the object number is misquoted as M136/10; a reference omitted here is W. B. Emery, 'The order of succession at the close of the nineteenth dynasty', *Mélanges Maspero*, I (MIFAO 66; Cairo, 1935–8), 353–6. Subsequent references are given by Krauss, *SAK* 5, 154:6, to which should be added *KRI* VII, 235. I am grateful to Dr Bienkowski for a photocopy of the museum record card; he confirms that no photographs survive in the museum archives.

<sup>56</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 337, quoting J. Burton, British Library Add. MS 25632, 49–50.

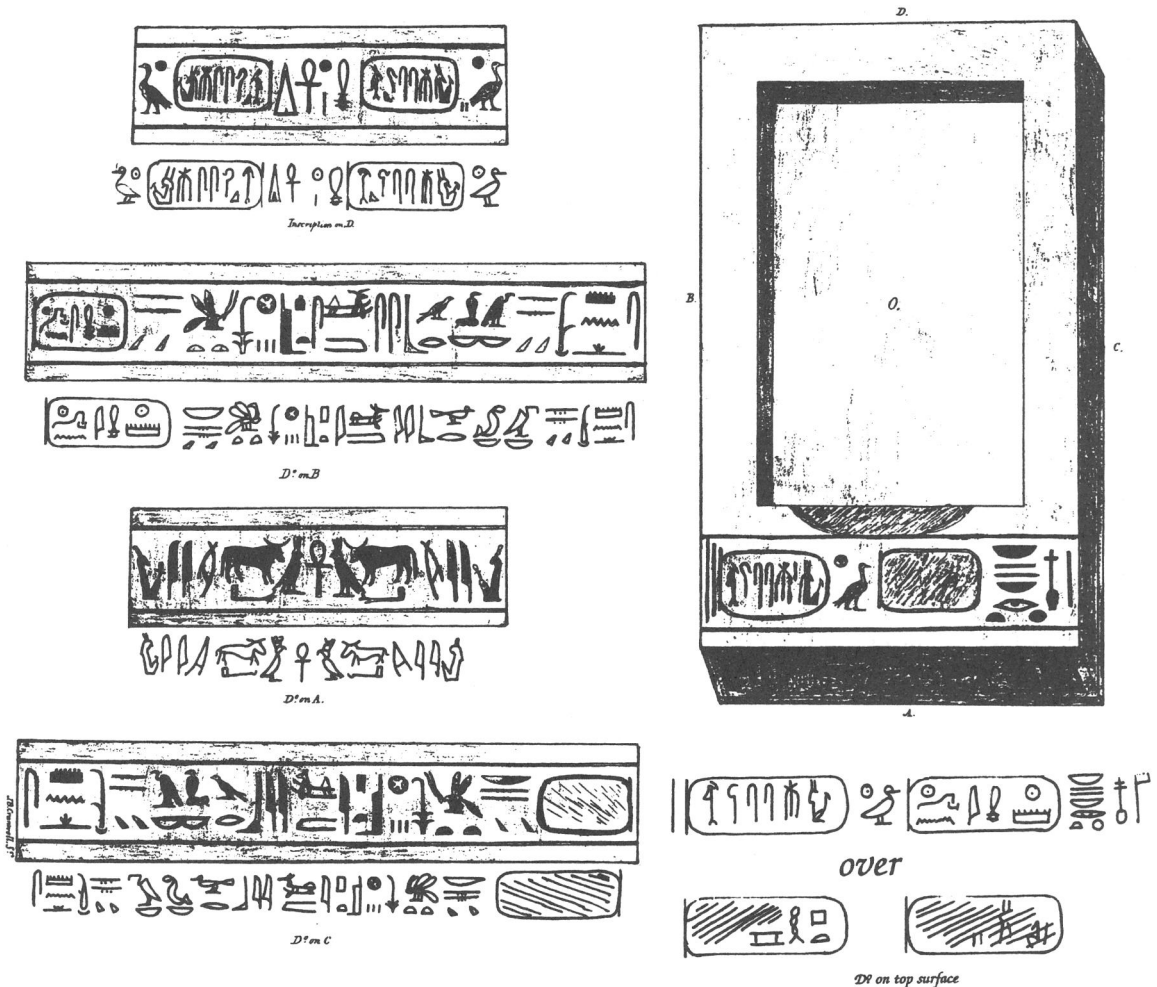


FIG. 7. Liverpool M13510: Sams' 1839 sketch. The texts are given in Sams' own copies and emended hand-copy, after Kitchen (side texts), and fascimile of the hand-copy from the Liverpool Museum record-card (text on top surface).


Joseph Sams (1784–1860), of Darlington, Co. Durham.<sup>57</sup> He published the only depiction of the piece in 1839;<sup>58</sup> although the text-copies are crude and contain a number of obvious errors, they are readable. His drawings<sup>59</sup> show the prenomen cartouche on the right side as erased, as is that on the top surface; from the differential hatching of the cartouches, it appears that the latter cartouche is shown as more deeply cut, with some lines that might represent something of the palimpsest below. All other cartouches are shown as intact, although the drawing has a fugitive vertical line behind Amun's head in the top-text nomen.

<sup>57</sup> See Dawson and Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*<sup>2</sup>, 259, and Dodson, *JEA* 75, 225.

<sup>58</sup> J. Sams, *Ancient Egypt: Objects of Antiquity Forming Part of the Extensive and Rich Collections from Ancient Egypt, Brought to England by, and now in the Possession of J. Sams* (London, 1839), ninth unnumbered plate, reproduced as part of fig. 6 here.

<sup>59</sup> Apparently executed by one J. B. Cranwell.

The base was later sold to Joseph Mayer, to form part of what was to be the kernel of the Liverpool Egyptian collection.<sup>60</sup> In Liverpool, it was described by August Eisenlohr,<sup>61</sup> who noted the two prenomen erasures, but made no other comment, apparently believing both to have originally held the name of Amenmesse.<sup>62</sup> However, in 1905, Petrie noted that the piece 'was originally inscribed for Sety II across the front',<sup>63</sup> a verdict shared by W. B. Emery.<sup>64</sup> Neither published a copy of the palimpsest cartouches, but one exists on the museum's record card, drawn by Percy Newberry and Eric Peet; a facsimile is given here, fig. 7.<sup>65</sup> The Amenmesse cartouches are clearly shown as the final ones.<sup>66</sup>

While Petrie and Emery had no doubts that the underlying names were those of Sethos II, the late Ricardo Caminos questioned whether the Newberry-Peet copies really showed Sethos' as the lower name, although he was unable to suggest a reading for the overwritten traces.<sup>67</sup> Given the importance of the matter, it is desirable to consider them yet again.<sup>68</sup> The nomen cartouche is the lesser problem. Beginning with , according to Newberry and Peet,<sup>69</sup> it without doubt contained the element 'Merenptah'.<sup>70</sup> The full writing of Ptah's name is common in the nomina of both kings Sethos, although less usual at the beginning of the cartouche.<sup>71</sup> It does not, however, seem to occur in any carved hieroglyphic writing of the nomen of Merenptah himself, although it irregularly does so in that of Siptah, the only other king who might conceivably be involved, if one rejects the Newberry-Peet opinion of the priority of names.<sup>72</sup> Assuming that these scholars were correct, we are left with '[Sethy]-mer[en]ptah' as seemingly the only possible reading.

<sup>60</sup> See above, n. 49. It is included in Gatty, *Catalogue*, 52 no. 303; regarding the texts, Gatty remarked that they 'are cut round the sides of the pedestal, and one of the cartouches has apparently been erased'.

<sup>61</sup> 'On the Political Condition of Egypt before the Reign of Ramses III', *TSBA* 1 (1872), 376.

<sup>62</sup> '[I]n... Liverpool... is [M13510] with the names and titles of Amonmeses; his other name, Ra men ma sotep en ra..., is twice erased'. My thanks go to Penelope Wilson for checking this reference for me.

<sup>63</sup> *History* III, 127.

<sup>64</sup> *Mélanges Maspero* I, 355, which contains the most extensive description of the piece published while it still existed. Referring to the top text, he noted: 'The plinth was originally inscribed to Seti II, but little remains of this original inscription beyond one or two faint traces on the cartouches. These are the only clue to the identity of the original owner, but if we compare them with the cartouches of Seti II we cannot doubt that they belong to the king. All the signs have been painted in with blue pigment, with the exception of the titles on the top front, which are probably the only untouched remains of the front inscription.' He apparently based his account on personal examination, rather than using the museum records, since he gave slightly different dimensions from those inscribed on the record card.

<sup>65</sup> Also in Caminos, *Äg. Stud.*, 28–9.

<sup>66</sup> Attempts have been made to cite Eisenlohr's opinion in favour of reversing the order of priority. However, it is clear from his actual words that he viewed the situation as a set of simple erasures, with no inkling that a second name was involved: see n. 62, above.

<sup>67</sup> *Äg. Stud.*, 29. PM II<sup>2</sup>, 337, appears to attribute to Caminos the opinion that the palimpsest cartouches were those of 'Merneptah-Siptah'; I fail to find this expressed in Caminos' paper.


<sup>68</sup> One could invoke the monument's disappearance as a reason for laying it aside in any discussion of the period (as Caminos effectively did), but the existence of copies by such careful scholars as Newberry and Peet, who were certainly aware of the significance of the text, makes such an approach unscientific.

<sup>69</sup> A reading possibly verified by the likelihood that the back-stroke of the □ was the origin of the vertical stroke noted in Sams' copy of the cartouche.

<sup>70</sup> The position of the *mr*-sign seems slightly odd, but this can hardly affect the reading.


<sup>71</sup> Cf. the examples in J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch*, 236 (Sethos I) and 241 (Sethos II).

<sup>72</sup> Siptah's names replaced those of his putative father on Stelae A and B in the Qurna temple of Sethos I: see, however, n. 16, above.



As Caminos realised, the difficulty lies with the prenomen. While one might query the details of the signs as perceived by the copyists,<sup>73</sup> the first two signs certainly seem to have been visible as a pair of figures, seated facing one another. Neither of the kings Sethos (nor Siptah, for that matter) had a prenomen of this form.<sup>74</sup> The king who did, however, on the vast majority of his monuments, was that monarch seemingly ruled out from owning the nomen: Merenptah!<sup>75</sup> We are accordingly left in a difficult position, frustrated by our inability to check the original. Given the distinctiveness of the prenomen arrangement, there is a temptation to declare the nomen that of Merenptah, and regard it as a unique orthography, \* . <sup>76</sup> However, one is loath to do so unless absolutely necessary. A possible option, put forward tentatively, given the loss of the original, is to suggest a *double* palimpsest: Merenptah, overwritten by Sethos II, in turn usurped by Amenmesse.

The possibility that a further usurpation was contemplated is suggested by the erasure of two of the prenomina, that on the top, and one from the side-texts; no indications of the latter's having belonged to any king other than Amenmesse have been reported.<sup>77</sup> In that case, or the alternative one of simple *damnatio memoriae*, it seems odd that the top nomen was left intact, unless the workman began on the side first, moved on to the nearest top cartouche, and was then distracted before completing his task.

The 'double-palimpsest' solution has the neatness of reconciling an otherwise highly problematic pair of cartouches. In addition, it allows us to continue to use the statue-base as evidence for Amenmesse as *Gegenkönig*, but further discussion of this point is beyond the scope of this paper. In any case, a generally-accepted solution to the problem of Amenmesse's tenure of the throne is likely to be possible only through the acquisition of new 'hard' evidence. It is to be hoped that such may soon be forthcoming through the clearance of his tomb in the Biban el-Moluk (KV 10), which has already confirmed the secondary nature of the 'queenly' decoration of two of its rooms,<sup>78</sup> as well as providing additional information on the orthographies of Amenmesse's names.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>73</sup>In particular, a beard apparently seen on the foremost hieroglyph; since the other seated god seems to be shown with twin plumes, the first god would be expected to be , given usual prenomen content.

<sup>74</sup>The only place where one finds such an association is in the cartouches on the stela from Chapel E, which, as noted above, are merely a fortuitous association of the nomen of Sethos II with the prenomen of Sethnakhte.

<sup>75</sup>KRI IV, 203, and VII, 236, restores  or .

<sup>76</sup>As apparently did Newberry (see Caminos, *Ag. Stud.*, 28), and more recently Kitchen (RI IV, 203: 11<sup>a</sup>, 11<sup>b</sup>; VII, 236). The inversion of the *mr-n* group is also applicable to reading 'Sethy-merenptah', as well as 'Merenptah-hetepharmaet'.

<sup>77</sup>It is possible, however, that these texts were carved on a new surface, produced by cutting back each side by a centimetre or so. A possible indication of this is seen in the very cramped ends of the top text, as shown on Sams' drawing—the *ntr*-sign is without its 'flag', while the *ms-c-hrw*-group is reduced to a pair of vertical lines. That this is not just a deficiency of the drawing is suggested by the fact that the museum hand-copy gives only a single vertical line at the end of the text.

<sup>78</sup>For a preliminary account, see E. L. Ertman, 'A First Report on the Preliminary Survey of Unexcavated KV10 (the Tomb of King Amenmesse)', *KMT* 4/2 (1993), 38–46. This observation makes it unlikely that these particular ladies, Takhat and Baketwernel, were respectively mother and wife of Amenmesse: see already E. Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 111; Krauss, *SAK* 5, 168–9; Dodson, *JEA* 73, 225.

<sup>79</sup>See above, nn. 19, 23.



1. Chiddingstone Inv. 42



2. Oratory of Ptah, showing the positions of Chapel E, and Amenmesse relief in Chapel G



1. The surviving rear wall of Chapel E, with the attenuated stumps of its former side-walls



2. Lunette of the stela from Chapel E, showing its condition in 1988



Liverpool Museum M13827  
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside)

AMENMESSE IN KENT, LIVERPOOL, AND THEBES (pp. 115–28)



# HISTORISCHE PROBLEME DER 3. ZWISCHENZEIT<sup>1</sup>

Von KARL JANSEN-WINKELN

Republication of a statue of Bes in the Oriental Museum, Durham, showing that interpretations based on earlier copies are untenable. The statue was dedicated by a High Priest Shoshenq, but his son Harsiese was only an ordinary prophet of Amun. Starting from the chronology of Aston, *JEA* 75, the author distinguishes the king, Harsiese A, from a High Priest, Harsiese B, who held office under Osorkon II. The slightly earlier High Priest Takeloth F is identified with the later king Takeloth II. It is further suggested that the 'Theban Twenty-third Dynasty' consists of two rival lines, each with its own High Priest: 1) Takeloth II and Iuput I, with High Priest Osorkon B (perhaps resident at Herakleopolis), and 2) Pedubast I and Shoshenq IV, with High Priests Harsiese B followed by Takeloth E (perhaps resident at Hermopolis). Since Pedubast is also attested in Lower Egypt, he probably had allies there. Finally, the High Priest Shoshenq of the Bes statue is identified with the king Shoshenq who renewed the statue Cairo CG 42192 for Psusennes II.

## Harsiese A

ÜBER den König Harsiese A, der im 9. Jahrhundert in Theben herrschte und dort auch begraben ist, scheint zur Zeit folgendes sicher bekannt zu sein:<sup>2</sup>

–Er amtierte während der Regierungszeit Osorkons II.,<sup>3</sup>

–er war an sich Hoherpriester des Amun, der sich dann den Königstitel anmaßte, wie das ja in dieser Zeit (und v.a. in der 21. Dynastie) auch sonst vorkommt;<sup>4</sup>

–er war der Sohn des Hohenpriesters Schoschenk (II.), des Sohnes Osorkons I., und diese Abstammung ist zugleich als ein Grund dafür angesehen worden, warum sich Harsiese die Königstitulatur zulegte: Schon sein Vater umgibt gelegentlich seinen Namen mit der Kartusche, und er ist nach verbreiteter Ansicht auch mit dem in Tanis bestatteten König *Hqꜣ-hꜣpr-Rꜥ* identisch.<sup>5</sup>

Für diese genealogische Verbindung, die in der gesamten Literatur unumstritten ist,<sup>6</sup> beruft man sich auf eine Statue des Gottes Bes im Oriental Museum der University of Durham (ehemals Sammlung Alnwick Castle), die der Hohepriester Schoschenk zusammen mit seinem Sohn Harsiese gestiftet hat. Die Inschriften darauf sind von S. Birch

<sup>1</sup>Die zur Unterscheidung der Personen verwendeten Kennziffern und -buchstaben richten sich nach K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (Warminster 1986; im folgenden *TIP*<sup>2</sup>) und M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster 1975). Soweit nicht anders erwähnt, Abkürzungen nach *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, VII, xiv–xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup>Vgl. zusammenfassend *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 272–5.

<sup>3</sup>Auf der Statue Kairo CG 42208 ist die ausführliche Titulatur Osorkons II. auf dem Pantherfell der dargestellten Person zu lesen; als 'Stifter' der Statue (in der *dj-m-hꜣwt*-Formel) erscheint aber Harsiese A, s. meine *Ägyptischen Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* (ÄUAT 8, Wiesbaden 1985; im folgenden *Äg. Biogr.*), 453. Auf der Statue Kairo CG 42225 ist der 'Stiftungsvermerk' eines Hohenpriesters Harsiese auf der Schulter neben der Kartusche Osorkons II. angebracht, s. *ibid.*, 494.

<sup>4</sup>S. *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 274.

<sup>5</sup>Vgl. *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 93–4; 269; 452.

<sup>6</sup>Z. B. *LR* III, 331, E (mit n. 2); 348, I (mit n. 2); E. Meyer, *Gottesstaat, Militärrherrschaft und Ständewesen in Ägypten* (SPAW, Berlin 1928), 514; H. Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit* (Leiden 1964), 92–3; 109; W. Helck, 'Harsiese', *LÄ* II, 1020; *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 265; 272, n. 395; J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 20, München u. Berlin 1984), 104, n. 10 u.a.m.

im *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* (London 1880), 33–4 ziemlich fehlerhaft publiziert worden. Sie werden aber fast nie nach dieser Publikation zitiert, sondern nach einer Auflistung der Namen und Titel darin durch G. Legrain in *RecTrav* 30 (1908), 160. Da die Angaben Legrains stark von denen bei Birch abweichen, hat man sich offenbar darauf verlassen, daß er den Text kollationiert hatte, obwohl er nichts dergleichen sagt. Tatsächlich sind aber gerade die Aufstellungen Legrains vollkommen irreführend: In seinem ‘tableau généalogique’ hat er die Angaben *verschiedener* Texte (der Besstatue, der Nilstatue London BM 8, der Papyri Denon B und C, s.u.) kombiniert, bringt sie aber unter der Überschrift ‘Statue de Bès de Alnwick Castle’. Der Sohn des Hohenpriesters Schoschenk namens Osorkon und seine Mutter *Ns-t3-wd3t-3ht* sind zusammen nur auf dem pDenon C bezeugt, und die besondere Titulatur Schoschens (einschließlich Kartuschennamen), die Legrain anführt, stammt von der Nilstatue, *nicht* von der Besstatue!

Die Verwirrung ist komplett geworden, als Gauthier die Angaben Legrains ungeprüft übernommen hat und in seinem *Livre des rois*<sup>7</sup> jetzt für die Besstatue den Text gibt, der in Wirklichkeit von der Nilstatue BM 8 stammt. Von Legrain und Gauthier aus ist dann dieser Irrtum in die gesamte übrige Literatur eingegangen. Auch ich selbst bin ihm zum Opfer gefallen, s. *GM* 99 (1987), 19, wo der Beleg Nr. 8 zu streichen ist (= Nr. 7).<sup>8</sup> Tatsächlich kommen auf der Besstatue nur der Hohepriester Schoschenk, seine Frau *Ns-nb(t)-3šrw* und deren gemeinsamer Sohn Harsiese vor, und der ist zudem kein Hoherpriester, sondern einfacher Amunprophet.<sup>9</sup>

Die folgende Neuveröffentlichung der Inschriften der Besstatue aus Durham (s. Pl. XI–XII) basiert auf Fotos, die mir John Ruffle vom Oriental Museum Durham freundlicherweise zur Verfügung stellte, der auch meine nach den Fotos angefertigte Zeichnung noch einmal kollationiert hat, wofür ich ihm herzlich danke.

### 1. Inschrift auf der Oberseite des Sockels (Fig. 1)

Gemacht vom Ersten Propheten des Amonrasonther Schoschenk, gerechtfertigt,<sup>a</sup> dem Sohn des Königs, des Herrn der Beiden Länder *Mrjj-3mn* Osorkon, und seinem Sohn {Sohn},<sup>b</sup> dem Propheten des Amonrasonther *Hrw-z3-3st*, gerechtfertigt; seine Mutter ist die Sängerin vom Inneren der Obersten der Beiden Länder<sup>c</sup> *Ns-nb(t)-3šrw*, gerechtfertigt, für seine<sup>d</sup> Herrin Isis zu Gast in Behbeit, die Leben, Heil und Gesundheit gibt unaufhörlich[?].<sup>e</sup>

### 2. Inschrift um den Sockel (Fig. 2)

[Gemacht von] dem Ersten Propheten des Amonrasonther, dem Generalissimus und Befehlshaber Schoschenk, gerechtfertigt, dem Sohn des Königs, des Herrn der Beiden Länder *Mrjj-3mn* Osorkon, und seinem Sohn, dem Propheten des Amonrasonther *Hrw-z3-3st*, gerechtfertigt; seine Mutter ist die Sängerin vom Inneren der Obersten der Beiden

<sup>7</sup>LR III, 331, E (mit n. 2).

<sup>8</sup>Die scheinbaren Lesungsunterschiede ergeben sich daraus, daß ich die Nilstatue nach J. Leibovitch, ‘Gods of Agriculture and Welfare in Ancient Egypt’, *JNES* 12 (1953), 80 zitiert hatte, während Legrain denselben Text nach Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Taf. xv wiedergibt.

<sup>9</sup>Übrigens hatte schon G. Daressy in ‘Notes sur les XXII<sup>e</sup>, XXIII<sup>e</sup> et XXIV<sup>e</sup> dynasties’, *RecTrav* 35 (1913), 143 n. 2 auf den Irrtum Legrains hingewiesen (obgleich seine Feststellungen ihrerseits nicht völlig korrekt sind), aber das scheint nirgends beachtet worden zu sein.

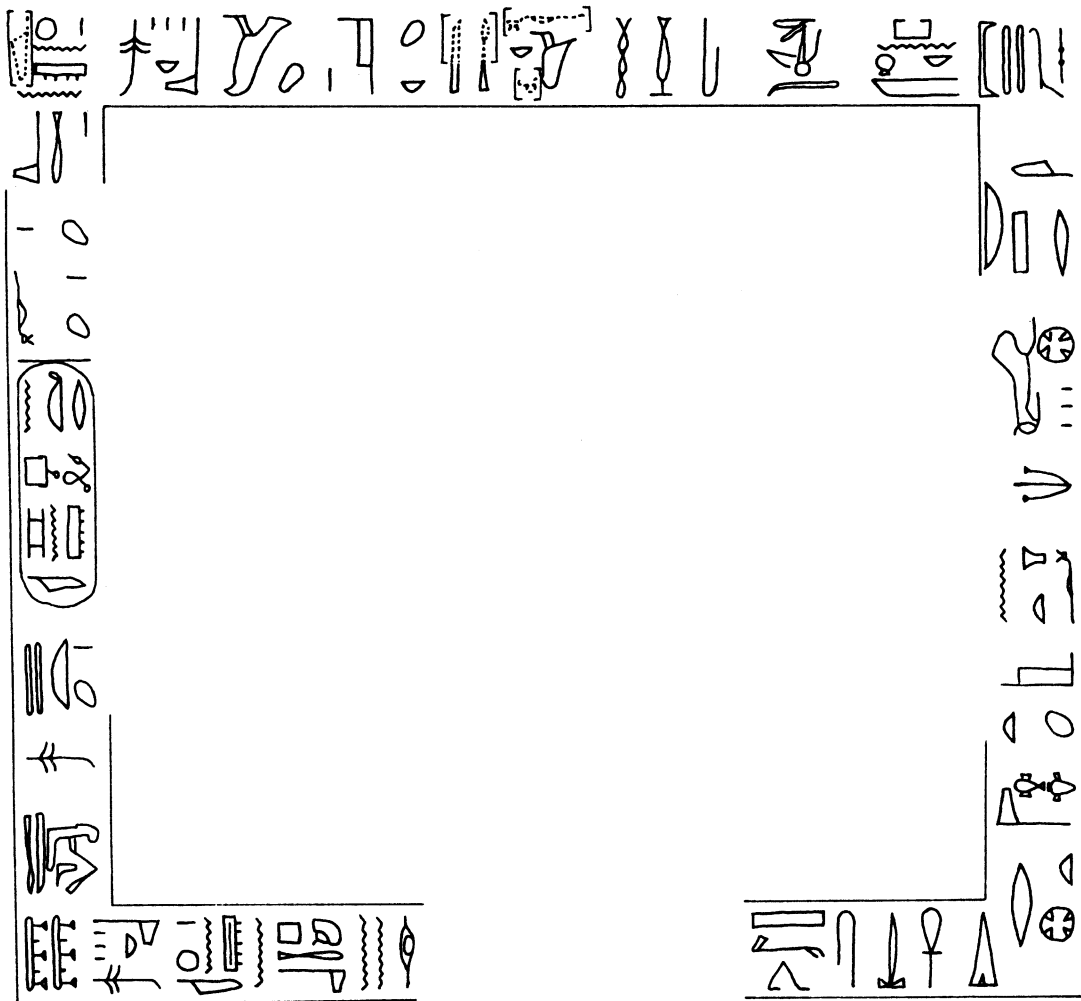


Fig. 1. Besstatue Durham: Inschrift auf der Oberseite des Sockels.

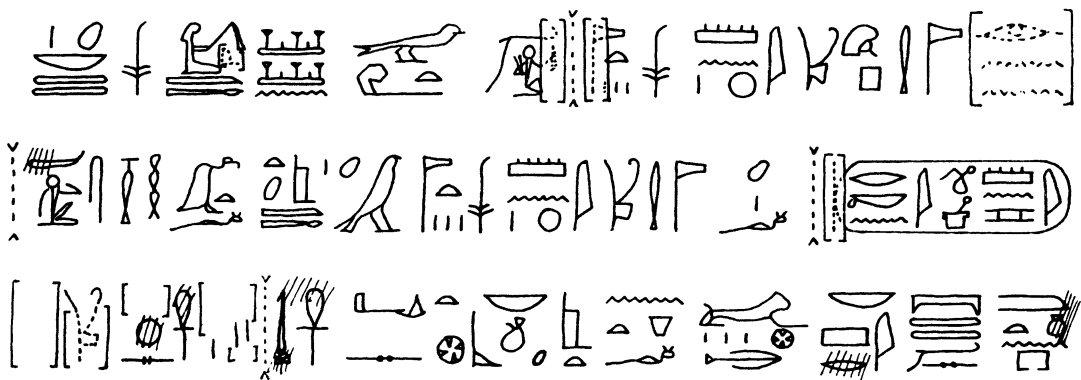


Fig. 2. Besstatue Durham: Inschrift um den Sockel.

Länder *Ns-nb(t)-ššrw*, gerechtfertigt, für seine(d) Herrin Isis, die Herrin von Koptos, damit sie gebe Leben, Heil(?) [...].<sup>f</sup>

### Anmerkungen

<sup>a</sup>Die Zusätze *mš r-hrw*, die in den beiden Inschriften der Statue auf alle Personennamen folgen, sind wohl rein mechanisch gesetzt und bedeuten sicher nicht, daß die gestiftete Statue postum beschriftet worden ist. Zu einem vergleichbaren Fall aus dieser Zeit s. *Äg. Biogr.*, 55 (45).

<sup>b</sup>Das  $\text{𓂏}$  nach  $\text{𓂏}^1$  ist natürlich überflüssig, wie ein Vergleich mit der zweiten Inschrift zeigt.

<sup>c</sup>Die Lesung *hsjj(t) m hnw hrj tswj* ist sicher,<sup>10</sup> und zwischen *mwt.f* und dem Namen kann nur ein Titel stehen. Dieser Titel ist aber m.W. ganz einmalig; sonst ist nur *hst n hnw (n) Jmn* (u.ä.) bekannt, ein Amt, das nur zum Zölibat verpflichtete Frauen ausüben sollen, vgl. dazu J. Yoyotte, 'Les vierges consacrées d'Amon thébain', *CRAIBL* 1961 (1961–62), 43–52; E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun* (ÄA 37, Wiesbaden 1981), II, 47ff.; S.A. Naguib, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon thébain à la 21<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (OLA 38, Leuven 1990), 206–7. Da es sich hier aber um eine verheiratete Frau handelt, könnte mit *hrj(t) tswj* vielleicht eine Göttin gemeint sein, in deren Dienst man ja keine zölibatären Priesterinnen erwarten sollte, z.B. die Isis von Koptos, der die Statue gewidmet ist. Immerhin sind ähnliche Beiworte (*hnwt tswj*, *nbt tswj*) für die Isis (von Koptos) nicht selten, vgl. z.B. M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis* (MÄS 11, Berlin u. München 1968), 172; 204.

<sup>d</sup>Obwohl zwei Stifter genannt sind, ist offenbar der Vater und Hohepriester Schoschenk als die Hauptperson angesehen worden; auf ihn muß sich das *f* beziehen.

<sup>e</sup>Die Gruppe  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  ist rätselhaft.  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  könnte z.B. *rwj*, *rmj* oder *grh* zu lesen sein; dann bliebe  $\text{𓂏}$ . Ob es sich um eine Schreibung von *šwj* 'frei sein' handelt, also *šwj (m) grh* im Sinne von 'unaufhörlich'? Ein solcher Zusatz wäre m.W. sonst nicht belegt, aber ich weiß keine bessere Lösung.

<sup>f</sup>Die restlichen Zeichen auf der Vorderseite sind größtenteils unsicher oder zerstört.

Aus den Inschriften dieser Statue geht also die Vater-Sohn-Beziehung zwischen dem Hohenpriester Schoschenk (II) und einem Hohenpriester Harsiese nicht hervor, der Harsiese der Besstatue ist nur einfacher Amunprophet. Dennoch ist es natürlich nicht auszuschließen, daß es sich um den späteren König Harsiese A handelt: Entsprechend der Widmung an Isis von Koptos und Behbeit durch einen Hohenpriester des Amun, also den Machthaber Oberägyptens, dürfte die Statue aus Koptos stammen, und Harsiese A ist (mit seinem Sohn) ja auch in Koptos bezeugt.<sup>11</sup> Die bisher angenommene Genealogie muß also nicht notwendig falsch sein, sie wird aber durch die Besstatue nicht erwiesen. Vorläufig muß die Abstammung des Harsiese A offenbleiben. Des weiteren entfällt das Argument, die Besstatue sei erst nach dem Tod des Hohenpriesters Schoschenk gestiftet worden (da ja sein Sohn schon Hoherpriester sei), und deshalb könne dieser Schoschenk nicht König geworden sein.<sup>12</sup>

Harsiese A wird—wie oben gesagt—in der Literatur durchgehend als Hoherpriester angesprochen, der sich dann auch noch—mit mehr oder weniger Recht—die Königstitulatur zulegte. Betrachtet man einmal alles, was über ihn bekannt ist, so wird auch diese Annahme sehr zweifelhaft. Folgende Belege sind für den König Harsiese

<sup>10</sup>Zu einer Schreibung von *m-hnw* mit  $\text{𓂏}$  aus dieser Zeit vgl. *CdE* 67 (1992), 250, Z.5.

<sup>11</sup>Auf dem Becken Kairo JE 37516, s. G. Legrain, 'Note sur deux monuments provenant de Kouft', *ASAE* 6 (1905), 123–4, und J. Yoyotte, 'La cuve osirienne de Coptos', *EPHE* 86 (1977/78), 163–9; 88 (1979/80), 194–7; 90 (1981/82), 189–92.

<sup>12</sup>So H. Jacquet-Gordon, *BiOr* 32 (1975), 359; vgl. auch I. E. S. Edwards, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, III/1 (1982), 551.

vorhanden:<sup>13</sup>

**A. Becken aus Koptos<sup>14</sup>**

König Harsiese offernd vor Osiris; Beischrift:

*Hrw*: *K3-nḥt Ḥcj-m-W3st* [im Serech]

*njswt-bjt*: *Hd-ḥpr-Rc Stp.n-Ḥmn* [in Kartusche]

*z3 Rc*: *Mrjj-Ḥmn Ḥrw-z3-3st* [in Kartusche]

Auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite räuchernd und libierend sein Sohn (*z3 njswt nb t3wj Mrjj-Ḥmn Ḥrw-z3-3st* [in Kartusche]), ein (Hoher?)Priester des Amun, dessen Namen zum großen Teil zerstört ist.<sup>15</sup>

**B. Sarkophag Kairo JE 59896 aus seinem Grab in Medinet Habu<sup>16</sup>**

Auf dem Deckel die Titulatur:

*Hrw*: *K3-nḥt Ḥcj-m-W3st* [im Serech]

*njswt-bjt*: *Hd-ḥpr-Rc Stp.n-Ḥmn* [in Kartusche]

*z3 Rc*: *Mrjj-Ḥmn Ḥrw-z3-3st* [in Kartusche]

(+ *mrjj 3stjrt ḥntj jmntj ntr c3 nb 3bdw*)

**C. 4 Kanopen Kairo JE 59900a–d aus demselben Grab<sup>17</sup>**

Je zweimal *njswt-bjt*: *Hd-ḥpr-Rc Stp.n-Ḥmn* [in Kartusche]

und *z3-Rc*: *Mrjj-Ḥmn Ḥrw-z3-3st* [in Kartusche]

**D. Stele Berlin 14995<sup>18</sup>**

König Harsiese offernd vor Amon-Re-Kamutef, hinter ihm die Gottesgemahlin *Mrjj-Mwt* 'Karomama'; Beischrift:

*nb t3wj*: *Mrjj-Ḥmn Ḥrw-z3-3st* [in Kartusche]

**E. 'Les restes d'une petite porte en grès' am rechten Flügel des IV. Pylons in Karnak<sup>19</sup>**

König Harsiese mit oberägyptischer Krone; Beischrift:

*njswt-bjt*: *Hd-ḥpr-Rc Stp.n-Ḥmn* [in Kartusche]

*z3 Rc*: *Mrjj-Ḥmn Ḥrw-z3-3st* [in Kartusche]

**F. Oberhalb der Säulen 18 und 19 im Vorhof des Chonstempels von Karnak<sup>20</sup>**

'Cartouches of Harsiesi' [wohl wie in E]

**G. Stelophor Kairo CG 42208<sup>21</sup>**

Auf dem oberen Rand der Stele Stiftungsformel *dj(w) m ḥzwt nt ḥr njswt nb t3wj*: *Mrjj-*

<sup>13</sup> Der König *Hrw-z3-3st* [in Kartusche], Sohn des Osiris *Dd-Hrw* [in Kartusche] auf der Statue Brüssel E. 7654 (s. M.-A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (BdE 98, Kairo 1987), 195 n. 3) gehört sicher nicht hierher.

<sup>14</sup> S.o., Anm. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Zu dieser Person, s.u., p. 000.

<sup>16</sup> S. U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, V. Post-Ramessid Remains* (Chicago 1954), 10; pl. 8 B; 10 D.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 10; pl. 10 C.

<sup>18</sup> *Berl. Inschr.*, II, 210.

<sup>19</sup> P. Bargeat, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (Kairo 1962), 92; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 78.

<sup>20</sup> Unpubliziert, vgl. PM II<sup>2</sup>, 232.

<sup>21</sup> *Äg. Biogr.*, 453, b, 1–2.

*Jmn Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>-st* [in Kartusche] *dj c<sub>n</sub>h mj R<sub>c</sub> dt*. Auf dem Pantherfell des Knienden (Text a) die ausführliche Titulatur Osorkons II.

**H.** Würfelhocker Kairo CG 42254 = JE 37374<sup>22</sup>  
Auf den Schultern (Fig. 3):

rechts: *H<sub>d</sub>-h<sub>p</sub>r-R<sub>c</sub> St<sub>p</sub>.n-R<sub>c</sub>* (sic) [in Kartusche]  
links: *Mrjj-Jmn Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>-st* [in Kartusche]

**I.** Würfelhocker Kairo CG 42210<sup>23</sup>  
Auf den Schultern: In der Stiftungsformel wird die Mutter des Stifters (und Frau des Dargestellten) *st<sub>w</sub>rt* bezeichnet als

*st<sub>w</sub>rt n<sub>j</sub>swt nb t<sub>3</sub>wj Mrjj-Jmn Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>-st* [in Kartusche]

**J.** Würfelhocker Kairo CG 42211<sup>24</sup>  
Auf der Rückseite dieselbe *st<sub>w</sub>rt*, die Mutter des Statuenbesitzers, als

*st<sub>w</sub>rt n<sub>j</sub>swt nb t<sub>3</sub>wj Mrjj-Jmn Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>-st* [in Kartusche] [...]

**K.** Nr. 23 der 'Priesterannalen' aus Karnak<sup>25</sup>  
Offenbar dieselbe *st<sub>w</sub>rt* ist

*st<sub>w</sub>rt n<sub>j</sub>swt nb t<sub>3</sub>wj Mrjj-Jmn [Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>]-st* [in Kartusche] *c<sub>n</sub>h dt*

**L.** Auf den Kartonagen ihrer Töchter *T<sub>3</sub>-hnmt* und *D<sub>d</sub>-Mwt-jw.s-c<sub>n</sub>h*<sup>26</sup> ist *st<sub>w</sub>rt*  
*st<sub>w</sub>rt n<sub>j</sub>swt nb t<sub>3</sub>wj Mrjj-Jmn Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>-st* [in Kartusche] *dj c<sub>n</sub>h (mj R<sub>c</sub> [...])*

**M.** Sarg(?)fragment Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University Museum E. 16186 aus Abydos<sup>27</sup>  
Eine [*T<sub>3</sub>-dj-t*]-*nb(t)-hn m<sub>3</sub>c-h<sub>r</sub>w* ist

*st<sub>w</sub>rt n<sub>j</sub>swt nb t<sub>3</sub>wj Mrjj-Jmn Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>-st* [in Kartusche]

**N.** Statuette Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E. 11.1937 aus der 25.–26. Dynastie<sup>28</sup>  
Der Besitzer *Wn-nfr* ist

*w<sub>3</sub>h-mw n<sub>j</sub>swt-bjt Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>-st* [in Kartusche]

**O.** Schreiberstatue Kairo JE 37398 aus dem Beginn der 26. Dynastie<sup>29</sup>  
Der Besitzer *P<sub>3</sub>-dj-Jmn-nb-nswt-t<sub>3</sub>wj* ist u.a.

*hm-ntr n t<sub>3</sub> h<sub>w</sub>t n n<sub>j</sub>swt Hr<sub>w</sub>-z<sub>3</sub>-st* [in Kartusche] *m<sub>3</sub>c-h<sub>r</sub>w*.

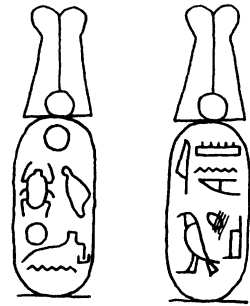


Fig. 3. Kairo CG 42254, Oberseite.

<sup>22</sup> Unpubliziert, nach eigener Abschrift, s. Fig. 3. Vgl. *ibid.*, 263.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 462.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 475, k, 8.

<sup>25</sup> Legrain, 'Notes prises à Karnak', *RecTrav* 22 (1900), 59; J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak* (OLA 32, Löwen 1989), 115, pl. 18.

<sup>26</sup> J. E. Quibell u. W. Spiegelberg, *The Ramesseum* (London 1898), pl. xxiv, 4 bzw. xxv, 3.

<sup>27</sup> J. Taylor, 'A Daughter of King Harsiese', *JEA* 74 (1988), 230–1.

<sup>28</sup> Ch. Insley, 'A Bronze Statue of Unnufer, Choachyte of King Harsiese, in the Fitzwilliam Museum', *JEA* 65 (1979), 167–9; pl. xxx–xxxii.

<sup>29</sup> G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien, 3, Wien 1978), 72–4, Taf. 1/2.

Der *König* Harsiese ist also 15x belegt:<sup>30</sup>

—Als ‘Besitzer’ (o.ä.) in den Belegen **A** (3, 4, 5); **B** (3, 4, 5); **C** (2x 4; 2x 5); **D** (5);

—als ‘Bauherr/Restaurator’ (o.ä.) in **E** (4, 5) und **F** (4, 5 [?]);


—als ‘Stifter’ (o.ä., von Privatstatuen) in **G** (5) und **H** (4, 5);

—in der Genealogie seiner Töchter *stwt* in **I–L** (jeweils 5) bzw. [*T*; *dj-t*];-*nb(t)-hn* in **M** (5);

—im späteren Kult in **N** (5) und **O** (5).

Der Beleg **A** ist aus Koptos, **M** aus Abydos,<sup>31</sup> alle anderen sind aus Theben.

### Harsiese B

Dem *Hohenpriester* Harsiese (A) wurden bislang zwei Belege zugeordnet: die Besstatue von Durham sowie Kairo CG 42225. Da, wie gesehen, auf der Besstatue gar kein Hoherpriester Harsiese erwähnt wird, bleibt nur noch ein einziger Fall übrig: Auf dem Würfelhocker Kairo CG 42225<sup>32</sup> stehen auf den Schultern die Kartuschen Osorkons II. sowie, auf der rechten Schulter, neben dem Eigennamen Osorkons, ein zusätzlicher Vermerk *hm-ntr tpj n fmn Hr-w-zj-st* (mit Determinativ , ohne Kartusche).

Allein die Tatsache, daß einem einzigen Beleg für den Hohenpriester Harsiese relativ zahlreiche für den König gegenüberstehen, wäre auffällig. Dazu kommt noch Folgendes: Die Statue, um die es geht, gehört Nebneteru III. und ist nach seinem Tod von seinem Enkel Hor IX aufgestellt worden.<sup>33</sup> Dieser Enkel war seinerseits mit einer Enkelin Osorkons II. verheiratet und ein Zeitgenosse der Könige Petubastis und Schoschenk III.<sup>34</sup> Das spricht doch sehr dafür, daß die Statue Kairo CG 42225 ganz ans Ende der Regierungszeit Osorkons II. gehört.<sup>35</sup> Harsiese A sollte dagegen eher zu Beginn der langen Regierungszeit Osorkons II. amtiert haben: Auf einer Statue, die die Kartuschen Osorkons II. trägt, steht eine Fürbitte für einen Urenkel des Nachtefmot A.<sup>36</sup> Dieser Nachtefmot A gehört zur selben Generation wie Harsiese A (sein Sohn ist mit einer Tochter des Harsiese verheiratet), und seine eigene Statue (Kairo CG 42208, s.o., **G**) hat schon einen Vermerk des *Königs* Harsiese. Es wäre schon mehr als merkwürdig, wenn nun Harsiese A am Ende der Amtszeit Osorkons II. als Hoherpriester auftauchte, nachdem er lange vorher schon als König bezeugt war.

<sup>30</sup> Die Ziffern hinter den Belegen geben die jeweils verwendeten Titel wieder: 3 = Horusname im Serech; 4 = *njswt-bjt*-Name in Kartusche; 5 = *zj-Rc*-Name in Kartusche.

<sup>31</sup> Es ist natürlich nicht gesagt, daß der Sarg der Tochter des Harsiese selbst gehört und diese Tochter mithin in Abydos belegt wäre. Im erhaltenen Fragment könnte sie auch nur innerhalb einer Filiation erwähnt sein.

<sup>32</sup> *Äg. Biogr.*, 494, a.

<sup>33</sup> Kitchen (*TIP*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 178–9) hatte zunächst einen Sohn ‘Hor VIII’ als Stifter der Statue angesetzt, aber Bierbrier (*Late New Kingdom*, 76–8) hat gezeigt, daß es sich höchstwahrscheinlich doch um den Enkel Hor IX handelt. In der zweiten Auflage seines Buches (*TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 476) hat sich Kitchen dem angeschlossen. Vgl. auch D. B. Redford, ‘New Light on Temple J at Karnak’, *Or* 55 (1986), 7, n. 48.

<sup>34</sup> Oder sogar von Schoschenk ‘IV.’, vgl. D. Aston, ‘Takeloth II—a King of the ‘Theban Twenty-Third Dynasty’?’, *JEA* 75 (1989), 151–2.

<sup>35</sup> Obwohl eine frühere Aufstellung nicht definitiv ausgeschlossen werden kann (s. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, 76), ist sie doch extrem unwahrscheinlich.

<sup>36</sup> Zur Statue s. meinen Artikel ‘Drei Gebete aus der 22. Dynastie’ in *Form und Mass, Festschrift für G. Fecht*, hrsg. J. Osing u. G. Dreyer (ÄUAT 12, Wiesbaden 1987), 238–53; zur Datierung vgl. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, 82 (auch nach Astons Chronologie [s.u.] kann die Statue kaum der Zeit Osorkons III. zugewiesen werden) und zur Familie den Stammbaumausschnitt bei Aston, *JEA* 75, 145.

Zudem dient der Titel des Hohenpriesters auf der Statue Kairo CG 42225 als (zusätzlicher) 'Genehmigungsvermerk' (o.ä.), was sonst nahezu ausschließlich Königen vorbehalten ist und bei Harsiese A als König ja auch tatsächlich vorkommt (s.o., Belege **G** und **H**). Die einzige Ausnahme findet man auf der Statue Kairo CG 42232.<sup>37</sup> Dort erscheinen Titel und Namen des Hohenpriesters Harsiese B neben den Kartuschen Schoschenks III.

Dieser Harsiese B ist zuerst im Jahr 6 Schoschenks III. sicher bezeugt,<sup>38</sup> danach im Jahr 5 Petubastis' I. (= Jahr 12 Schoschenks III.),<sup>39</sup> in seinem Jahr 8,<sup>40</sup> [18] und 19.<sup>41</sup> Nach der bis vor kurzem weitestgehend akzeptierten Chronologie der 22./23. Dynastie nach Kitchen könnte der Hohepriester von Kairo CG 42225 kaum Harsiese B sein: Er ist zuletzt im Jahr 19 des Petubastis (entsprechend Jahr 26 Schoschenks III.) belegt. Wenn zwischen Osorkon II. und Schoschenk III. noch Takeloth II. mit etwa 25 Regierungsjahren läge, wäre er (mit Unterbrechungen) über einen Zeitraum von mehr als 50 Jahren Hoherpriester gewesen. Neuerdings hat aber D. Aston völlig überzeugend nachgewiesen, daß Takeloth II. ein König der 'thebanischen 23. Dynastie' war und nicht zur tanitischen Linie der 22. Dynastie gehört.<sup>42</sup> Er ist also nicht Nachfolger Osorkons II. und Vorgänger Schoschenks III., sondern diese beiden folgen unmittelbar aufeinander. Takeloth II. gehört zu einer parallelen 'thebanischen' Dynastie und beginnt seine Regierungszeit gegen Ende der Herrschaft Osorkons II., so daß sie weitestgehend der von Schoschenk III. parallel verläuft (Takeloths Jahr 4 entspricht Jahr 1 Schoschenks III.). Das heißt aber, wenn Harsiese B im Jahr 6 Schoschenks III. zuerst belegt ist, wäre es leicht möglich, daß er sein Amt auch schon einige Jahre vorher antrat, am Ende der Regierungszeit Osorkons II. Bei dem Hohenpriester Harsiese von Kairo CG 42225 dürfte es sich also eher um Harsiese B handeln. Mit anderen Worten, Harsiese A ist ausschließlich als *König* belegt! Natürlich muß das nicht notwendig bedeuten, daß er nicht (vorher) auch Hoherpriester war; das wäre in der Tat gar nicht so unwahrscheinlich, betrachtet man etwa die 'Karrieren' von Osorkon III. und Takeloth III., ist aber bis auf weiteres nicht zu belegen.

### Die thebanischen Hohenpriester unter Osorkon II.

Wenn aber Harsiese B schon in der Zeit Osorkon II. Hoherpriester war, muß man sich fragen, ob und wie er in dessen Regierungszeit unterzubringen ist. Im Gegensatz zu dem, was Kitchen<sup>43</sup> und Aston<sup>44</sup> angenommen haben, besteht in der Zeit Osorkons II. durchaus nicht etwa ein 'Überangebot' an Hohenpriestern des Amun, im Gegenteil, die

<sup>37</sup> *Äg. Biogr.*, 556, c.

<sup>38</sup> Nilstandsmarke Nr. 23, s. J. von Beckerath, 'The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII and XXIII)', *JARCE* 5 (1966), 51.

<sup>39</sup> Nilstandsmarke Nr. 24, *ibid.*, 51.

<sup>40</sup> 'Priesterannalen', Nr. 2, s. *Äg. Biogr.*, 567.

<sup>41</sup> Nilstandsmarken Nr. 27 [und 28], s. von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 52.

<sup>42</sup> *JEA* 75, 139–53. Die Einwände von Beckeraths (*BiOr* 49 (1992), 704, n. 4) halte ich nicht für stichhaltig: Das 'unglaubliche Nebeneinander' mehrerer Könige ist für die spätere 3. Zwischenzeit in unanfechtbarer Weise bezeugt. Und wenn der Hohepriester Osorkon B nach Schoschenk III. datiert, muß das nichts damit zu tun haben, daß sein Vater zu dessen Linie gehört habe, wie unten gezeigt wird. S. jetzt auch von Beckerath selbst, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Libyerzeit', *GM* 144 (1995), 8.

<sup>43</sup> *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 157; 456.

<sup>44</sup> *JEA* 75, 147.



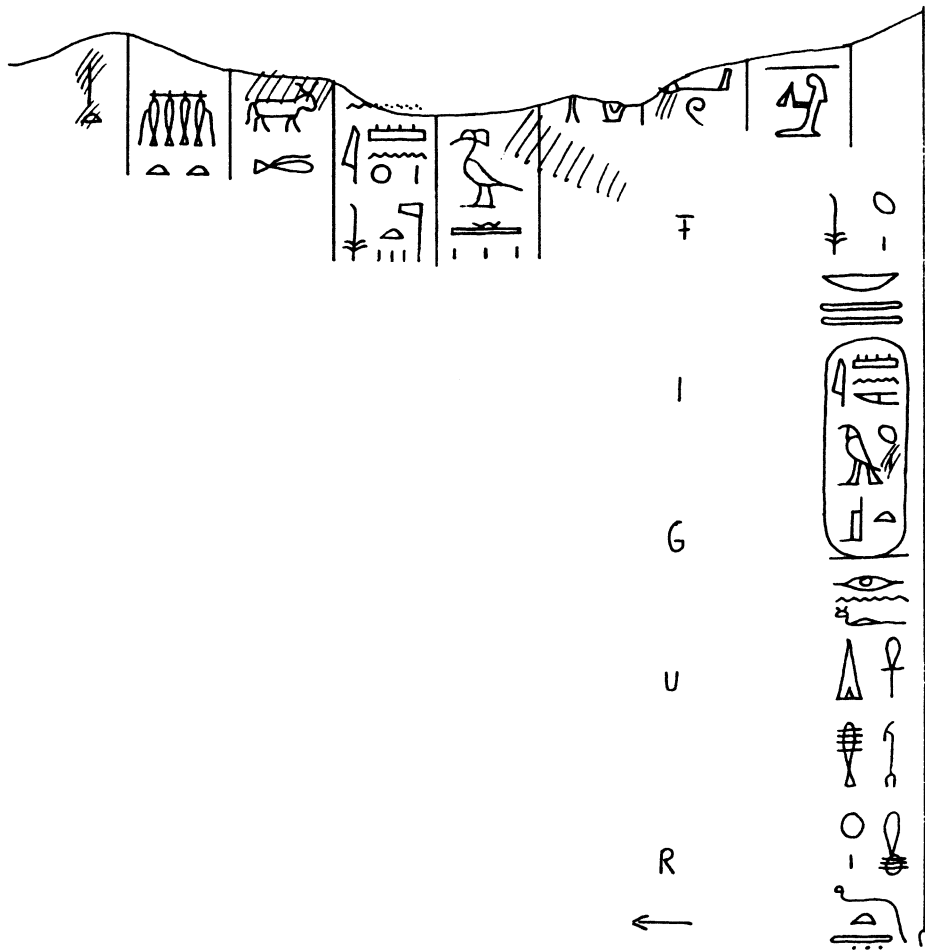


Fig. 4. Kairo JE 37516.

Belege sind eigentlich erstaunlich spärlich: Wie gesehen, entfällt Harsiese A jetzt, zumindest ist er nicht nachweisbar, und den kleinen Hornacht aus Tanis, den Aston mit aufführt, sollte man besser ganz aus dem Spiel lassen.

Ein Sohn des Harsiese A, dessen Namen nicht vollständig erhalten ist (s.o., Beleg A), war Legrain zufolge *Hoherpriester* des Amun.<sup>45</sup> Yoyotte spricht dagegen bei demselben Beleg nur von 'un prêtre d'Amonrasonther, fils du roi Harsiésis'.<sup>46</sup> Tatsächlich ist von seinem Titel nur noch [...] *n fmn-Rc njswt ntrw* erhalten, wie eine Kollation<sup>47</sup> ergeben hat (vgl. Fig. 4 und Pl. XIII, 1), und eine Ergänzung des Namens<sup>48</sup> ist nicht möglich, da die Begrenzung der Kolumnen nach oben unklar ist. Natürlich wäre es denkbar, daß der Abbruch über *n fmn-Rc* rezent ist und Legrain (und Daressy) noch mehr gesehen hatten, aber das scheint recht unwahrscheinlich: Der Stein ist überall sehr massiv und ohne Sprünge, und die Beschreibung der Stelle durch Daressy entspricht ansonsten

<sup>45</sup> *ASAE* 6, 124; ebenso Daressy, *RecTrav* 35, 143.

<sup>46</sup> *EPHE* 86, 163.

<sup>47</sup> Heutiger Standort im Museum Kairo: R 49 centre N.

<sup>48</sup> Zu Ergänzungsvorschlägen s. Daressy, *RecTrav* 35, 143; von Beckerath, *Handbuch*, 104, n. 11; *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 157, 6.

genau dem jetzigen Zustand. Es dürfte sich auch hier wohl nur um einen einfachen Amunpropheten gehandelt haben. Es bleiben dann:

(a) Nimlot C, der als *Hoherpriester* nur in den Filiationen seiner Töchter *Šb-n-Spdt* (A)<sup>49</sup> und *Krmm*<sup>50</sup> sowie seines Sohnes Takeloth F (s.u.) belegt ist. Im einzigen datierten Zeugnis für ihn, der Schenkungsstele Kairo JE 45327<sup>51</sup> aus dem Jahr 16 Osorkons II., ist er Hoherpriester des Harsaphes, *wr c; n (Pr-)Šm-hpr(-Rc)* und *mr mšc h;wtj*, und man nimmt generell an, daß er erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt Hoherpriester in Theben wurde. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß es kein einziges eigenes Denkmal des Nimlot als Hoherpriester gibt.<sup>52</sup> Auch seine ständige Titelkombination—Hoherpriestertitel + *mr mšc (n) Nn-njswt*—ist recht ungewöhnlich.

(b) Nimlots Sohn Takeloth F sollte als Hoherpriester ebenfalls noch unter Osorkons II. amtiert haben, wie aus der Dekoration der Kapelle 'J' in Karnak-Ost hervorgeht.<sup>53</sup>

(c) Sehr unsicher ist der zeitliche Ansatz der Hohenpriester Iuwelot und Smendes C (beides Söhne Osorkons I.): Sie werden in den Nilstandsmarken 16–21<sup>54</sup> den Jahren 5 bzw. 8 und 14 (Rest zerstört) zugeordnet, ohne Angabe eines Königs. Kitchen<sup>55</sup> hat diese Jahre der Regierung Takeloths I. zugewiesen, aber das ist unsicher. Sie könnten sich ebensogut auf Osorkon II. beziehen, sofern es überhaupt Daten einer *königlichen* Regierung sind.<sup>56</sup>

Wie dem auch sei, der zeitlich späteste der bislang sicher bezeugten Hohenpriester dieser Zeit ist in jedem Fall Takeloth F. Wie Redford<sup>57</sup> gezeigt hat, gehört er ziemlich ans Ende der Epoche Osorkons II. Wenn also Harsiese B ebenfalls schon unter Osorkon II. belegt ist und auch einige Jahre später noch (im Jahr 6) unter Schoschenk III. erscheint, so müßte er der Nachfolger Takeloths sein. Das wäre insofern erstaunlich, als Takeloth F ja als Enkel Osorkons II. noch relativ jung gewesen sein sollte; er gehört zur selben Generation wie Takeloth II., der mit einer Enkelin Osorkons II. verheiratet war. Man kann sich deshalb fragen, ob dieser Takeloth F nicht überhaupt identisch mit dem (späteren) König Takeloth II. ist! Nach Astons Chronologie besteigt Takeloth II. 3 Jahre vor dem Tod Osorkons II. den Thron (in Oberägypten; sein Jahr 4 entspricht dem Jahr 1 Schoschens III.). Wäre er identisch mit Takeloth F, würde das die Tatsache erklären, daß dieser—obgleich noch nicht alt—nur einmal belegt ist und dann spurlos verschwindet. Ferner ist Takeloth II. nach Aston ein thebanischer (oberägyptischer) König, und von daher wäre es gar nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß er vorher Hoherpriester war, wie das ja zumindest für Osorkon III.<sup>58</sup> und Takeloth III. gesichert ist.

<sup>49</sup> Kairo CG 42228, f; g; m; n, s. *Äg. Biogr.*, 520; 521; 524; Kairo CG 42229, d, s. *ibid.*, 552; Kairo CG 18496, s. Quibell und Spiegelberg, *Ramesseum*, pl. xxvii.

<sup>50</sup> Oriental Institute of Chicago, *The Epigraphic Survey, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, III. *The Bubastite Portal* (Chicago 1954), pl. 17.

<sup>51</sup> E. Iversen, *Two Inscriptions Concerning Private Donations to Temples* (Kopenhagen 1941), 1 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Und auf der Pasenhorstele (Z. 8) wird er nur als <z> *njswt mj nn* bezeichnet.

<sup>53</sup> Kees, *Hohenpriester*, 113; Redford, *Or* 55, 14.

<sup>54</sup> Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 50–1.

<sup>55</sup> *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 96; 157.

<sup>56</sup> Es wäre m.E. grundsätzlich keineswegs ausgeschlossen, daß es sich um Regierungsjahre dieser Hohenpriester selbst handelte: Das ist bei unvoreingenommener Betrachtung der Texte sogar die naheliegendste Lösung, wenn es auch dafür in der 22. Dynastie offenbar keine Parallele gibt.

<sup>57</sup> *Or* 55, 14.

<sup>58</sup> S. The Paleological Association of Japan, *Preliminary Report. Second Season of the Excavations at the Site of Akoris, Egypt 1982* (Kyoto 1983), 13–14 pl. 11. Darüber hinaus dürfte Osorkon III. ohne jeden Zweifel mit dem vormaligen Hohenpriester Osorkon B identisch sein, s. Aston, *JEA* 75, 150.

Das einzige Problem bei dieser Lösung bestünde darin, daß er dann mit seiner Schwester (oder Halbschwester) Karomama (einer Tochter von Nimlot C) verheiratet gewesen sein müßte, aber das ist kein unüberwindliches Hindernis: Zum einen sind Geschwisterehen in Königsfamilien ohnehin nichts Besonderes; für die 21. Dynastie wird dasselbe z.B. im Fall Psusennes I./Mutnedjemet angenommen.<sup>59</sup> Und zudem sind gerade aus dieser Zeit, unter den libyschen Magnaten, auch Fälle außerhalb der engeren Königsfamilie bekannt: Ein Hoherpriester von Memphis und Urenkel Osorkons II. ist mit seiner Schwester (oder Halbschwester) verheiratet,<sup>60</sup> und auch zwei Kinder eines Wezirs *ꜥnh-Wsrkn* (ein Enkel Osorkons III.) heiraten einander.<sup>61</sup>

Wenn Takeloth F also wenige Jahr vor dem Tod Osorkons II. selbst König wurde, ist der Platz frei für Harsiese B: Er dürfte in den letzten 3 Jahren Osorkons II. in der Nachfolge von Takeloth F als Hoherpriester amtiert haben, und die Statue Kairo CG 42225 wird aus eben dieser Zeit stammen.<sup>62</sup>

### Die Anfänge der 'thebanischen' 23. Dynastie

Es stellt sich nun die Frage, ob und wie diese Vorschläge in das Gesamtbild der thebanischen 23. Dynastie einzupassen sind, aufbauend auf der von Aston<sup>63</sup> dargelegten Chronologie: Schoschenk III. folgt (in Tanis) unmittelbar auf Osorkon II.; sein Jahr 1 entspricht dem Jahr 4 Takeloths II. (in Theben), und sein Jahr 8 ist das Jahr 1 Petubastis' I. und das Jahr 11 Takeloths II. Da in diesem letzteren Jahr eine Rebellion in Theben losbricht, ist es naheliegend, diese (mit Aston) mit der Thronbesteigung des Petubastis zu verbinden. Es gibt also offenbar in Oberägypten zwei rivalisierende Königshäuser, in dieser Zeit durch Takeloth II. und Petubastis vertreten. Beide Häuser stellen offenbar nicht nur je einen König, sondern dazu auch noch einen Hohenpriester: Die Zuordnung von Osorkon B zu Takeloth II. ergibt sich aus den 'Osorkonannalen', ist aber ohnehin klar, da es sich um seinen ältesten Sohn handelt. Dagegen datiert der Hohepriester Harsiese B nach dem Regierungsantritt des Petubastis immer nach diesem; er wird also dessen 'Fraktion' zugehören. Der Nachfolger in dieser Funktion ist offenbar Takeloth E:<sup>64</sup> Er schließt einerseits chronologisch direkt an Harsiese B an,<sup>65</sup> während andererseits Osorkon B noch im Jahr 39 Schoschenks III. gleichfalls als Hoherpriester bezeugt ist; also kann Takeloth E nicht zu dieser Partei gehört haben.

Wie Aston<sup>66</sup> zuletzt noch einmal deutlich gemacht hat, dürfte es doch einen Scho-

<sup>59</sup>Vgl. *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 40.

<sup>60</sup>S. J. Černý, 'Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt', *JEA* 40 (1954), 23; *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 155 n. 23.

<sup>61</sup>Vgl. M. L. Bierbrier, 'Two Confusing Coffins', *JEA* 70 (1984), 84 (Hinweis eines Referee des *JEA*).

<sup>62</sup>Nach Einreichen des Manuskripts dieses Aufsatzes hat N. Dautzenberg, 'Bemerkungen zu Schoschenk II., Takeloth II. und Petubastis II.', *GM* 144 (1995), 24–6, gleichfalls vorgeschlagen, Takeloth II. mit dem Hohenpriester Takeloth F gleichzusetzen. Daraus ergibt sich auch für ihn, daß der Amtsantritt von Harsiese B vor dem von Osorkon B liegen muß.

<sup>63</sup>*JEA* 75, 148–9. Die Verschiebung um ein Jahr (Jahr 1 Schoschenks III. = Jahr 5 Takeloths II.), die J. von Beckerath neuerdings vorgeschlagen hat (*GM* 144, 9–11), überzeugt nicht. Sie basiert wohl auch nur auf dem angeblichen, aber ganz unwahrscheinlichen Jahr 26. Takeloths II. (s.u., n. 72).

<sup>64</sup>Von Kees (*Hohenpriester*, 138–40) und Kitchen (*TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 163) zu Unrecht mit Takeloth F identifiziert, vgl. Redford, *Or* 55, 14 n. 89, und Aston, *JEA* 75, 147.

<sup>65</sup>Letztes Datum für Harsiese B: Jahr 19 Petubastis' I., erstes für Takeloth E: Jahr 23 derselben Regierung.

<sup>66</sup>*JEA* 75, 151–2.

schenk IV. gegeben haben,<sup>67</sup> und da Takeloth E nach diesem Schoschenk datiert, dürfte es sich um den Nachfolger des Petubastis handeln. Es bleibt dann noch der König Iuput einzuordnen, dessen Jahr 2 in der Nilstandsmarke Nr. 26<sup>68</sup> dem Jahr 16 Petubastis' I. gleichgesetzt wird. Aufgrund dieser Gleichsetzung wird er meist als Koregent des Petubastis eingestuft, bei Kitchen zunächst noch mit einer eigenen 10jährigen Regierungszeit,<sup>69</sup> in der 2. Auflage dann<sup>70</sup> nur noch als kurzfristiger Mitherrscher ohne eigene Jahre. A. Leahy<sup>71</sup> und D. B. Redford<sup>72</sup> haben aber zurecht betont, daß die chronologische Gleichsetzung keineswegs bedeuten muß, Iuput sei Koregent des Petubastis gewesen. Die verfügbaren Daten suggerieren vielmehr eine andere Lösung: Wenn Iuputs Jahr 2 dem Jahr 16 des Petubastis entspricht, fällt sein 1. ins 25. Jahr Takeloths II. und ins 22. Jahr Schoschenks III. (nach Astons Chronologie). Nun ist Jahr 25 das letzte für Takeloth II. bezeugte,<sup>73</sup> und es muß zugleich sein Todesjahr sein, da in den 'Osorkonannalen' unmittelbar an das Jahr 24 Takeloths II. das Jahr 22 Schoschenks III. schließt.<sup>74</sup> Es liegt also nichts näher, als daß Iuput tatsächlich der Nachfolger *Takeloths II.* war und kein Koregent des Petubastis. Dafür spricht noch etwas anderes: Nach der früher akzeptierten Chronologie folgte Schoschenk III. mit einer langen Regierungszeit auf Takeloth II., und deshalb war es klar, wieso der Hohepriester Osorkon B trotz seiner Ansprüche als Kronprinz nicht seinem Vater auf den Thron folgen konnte, sondern Hoherpriester blieb.<sup>75</sup> Nach Astons Chronologie entfällt diese Annahme, und man fragt sich, wieso Osorkon B nun nicht Nachfolger wurde, denn kurz vor dem Tod seines Vaters ist er (im Jahr 24) nach fast 10jährigem 'Exil' ja wieder in Theben. Diese Anwesenheit geht, wie seinem eigenen Bericht zu entnehmen ist,<sup>76</sup> auf eine gütliche Einigung der Parteien zurück.<sup>77</sup> Bei dieser Lage der Dinge bietet sich folgendes Szenario von selbst an: Die gütliche Einigung bestand eben darin, daß Osorkon B (vorläufig zumindest) auf den Thron verzichtete, den ein offenbar akzeptablerer Kandidat, eben Iuput I., bekam, wofür aber wiederum Osorkon B in Theben als Hoherpriester akzeptiert wurde.

Die Einigung muß einige Zeit *vor* dem Tod Takeloths II. erzielt worden sein, denn, wie gesagt, Osorkon ist schon in dessen vorletztem Jahr (24) wieder in Theben mit Stiftungen belegt. Grund für den Kompromiß dürfte also der absehbare Tod des Takeloth gewesen sein, und dies läßt sich tatsächlich *expressis verbis* der 'Osorkonchronik' entnehmen: In B, Z.8 sagt Osorkon zu seinen Gefolgsleuten: *n chꜣ.tn hr mnj.f pw*. Caminos<sup>78</sup> übersetzt 'You shall not fight, because (your fighting) would be the death of him' und sieht darin eine metaphorische Ausdrucksweise. Wörtlich heißt es aber eigentlich 'ihr sollt nicht kämpfen, denn es ist so (*pw*), daß er stirbt', und das muß keine

<sup>67</sup> So auch TIP<sup>2</sup>, § 68 und Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, 124–8; von Leahy ('Abydos in the Libyan Period', *Libya and Egypt, c1300–750 BC*, hrsg. Leahy (London 1990), 183) und mir selbst (*BiOr* 47 (1990), 87) wohl zu Unrecht bestritten. Vgl. auch von Beckerath, *BiOr* 49, 704.

<sup>68</sup> Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 52.

<sup>69</sup> TIP<sup>2</sup>, § 302; p. 467.

<sup>70</sup> TIP<sup>2</sup>, § 448; p. 588.

<sup>71</sup> *Libya and Egypt*, 183.

<sup>72</sup> *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (Mississauga 1986), 316 n. 125.

<sup>73</sup> Das Jahr 26, das ihm Kitchen (TIP<sup>2</sup>, § 294) zuweisen möchte, wird zu Schoschenk III. gehören.

<sup>74</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs III*, pl. 22, Z.7–12.

<sup>75</sup> Vgl. etwa TIP<sup>2</sup>, § 294, II. Nach Einreichen des Manuskripts dieses Aufsatzes hat sich auch J. von Beckerath (GM 144, 10–11) dafür ausgesprochen, daß Iuput I. der Nachfolger Takeloths II. ist.

<sup>76</sup> Osorkonchronik (s.u.), B, Z. 7ff.

<sup>77</sup> Im Text als durch göttliche Intervention ermöglicht dargestellt.

<sup>78</sup> R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (AnOr 37, Rom 1958) (im folgenden CPO), § 136.

Metapher sein. Wie dem auch sei, auf jeden Fall ist es nicht überraschend, daß Osorkon in seinem Bericht in der Folgezeit nur nach Schoschenk III. datiert,<sup>79</sup> denn man wird ja davon ausgehen können, daß er sich selbst weiterhin als den legitimen Erben ansah.

### Die Osorkonchronik

Dieses Verständnis der Dinge hat den Vorzug, daß auf diese Weise sich die erhaltenen Daten zu einem sinnvollen Bild zusammenfügen, daß sie sich gegenseitig stützen und bestätigen und daß vor allen Dingen eine fast perfekte Übereinstimmung mit den in der 'Osorkonchronik' berichteten oder angedeuteten Geschehnissen erreicht wird (vgl. zum Folgenden Übersicht und Belegstellen in Tab. 1, p. 149). Dieser Text beginnt im Jahr 11 Takeloths II. (= Jahr 8 Schoschens III.), und zu Beginn ist Osorkon B offenbar noch *nicht* Hoherpriester, wie Kees sehr richtig gegen Caminos betont hat:<sup>80</sup> Die in A, 25–6 geschilderten Riten gehören ganz offensichtlich zur Amtseinführung Osorkons,<sup>81</sup> die dann durch ein Orakel des Amun sanktioniert wird.

Bei der Schilderung der Ausgangslage (A, 19–22) wird gesagt, daß Osorkon mit dem Stand der Dinge unzufrieden ist, wenn auch nicht aus unbefriedigtem Ehrgeiz (*n dd.f 'r, j jm* 'er sagte nicht "ich möchte dadurch bedeutend werden"'), und daß er Amun seit jeher sehr ergeben war. Das kann in dieser Kombination nur bedeuten, daß er unzufrieden damit ist, nicht Hoherpriester zu sein. Danach, als eine thebanische 'Rebellion' ausbricht, zweifellos eine Umschreibung für die Thronbesteigung des Petubastis,<sup>82</sup> greift Osorkon auf Wunsch des Harsaphes ein, das wird wohl heißen, nachdem er sich dessen Einverständnis durch ein Orakel versichert hat.<sup>83</sup> Dann wird kurz von Unterdrückung von Feinden sowie von Baumaßnahmen in Hermopolis (! s.u.) berichtet, bevor Osorkon nach Theben fährt, sich dort als Hoherpriester etabliert, die Rebellen bestraft und verschiedene Dekrete erläßt.

Im Jahr 12 (B,1) ist Osorkon offenbar unangefochten, im Jahr 15 aber bricht eine Rebellion aus, gefolgt von einem jahrelangen Bürgerkrieg (B, 7). Diese Rebellion muß der Rückkehr des Harsiese B zusammenhängen, der in diesem Jahr und einigen folgenden wieder in Theben belegt ist. Bedeutend später, wohl im 24. Jahr Takeloths II. (s.o.) kommt es zu der geschilderten gütlichen Einigung (und kurz darauf zur Thronbesteigung Iuputs I.). Wie lange Iuput amtiert hat, ist völlig ungewiß. Auf jeden Fall hat die Einigung in Theben nicht lange Bestand gehabt, denn zwischen den Jahren 25 und 28 Schoschens III. klafft in den Stiftungsaufzeichnungen der Osorkonchronik eine Lücke, und zugleich ist Harsiese B in den Jahren 18 und 19 des Petubastis (= 25/26 Schoschens III.) wieder als Hoherpriester in Theben belegt. Also hat er im Verlauf des Jahres 25 Schoschens III. Osorkon erneut verdrängt, und dieser Vorgang dürfte der zweiten Revolte in der Osorkonchronik entsprechen.<sup>84</sup> Nach nicht allzulanger Zeit kann aber Osorkon sein Amt wieder in Theben ausüben. Obwohl der entsprechende Abschnitt der Osorkonchronik (C, Z.2ff.) lückenhaft ist, läßt sich ihm entnehmen, daß auch

<sup>79</sup>Während zur gleichen Zeit (im Jahr 23 Schoschens III.) der Nilstand (Inschrift Nr. 26) nach Iuput und Petubastis markiert wird, sicher eben als Folge des Kompromisses.

<sup>80</sup>*Hohenpriester*, 117–18.

<sup>81</sup>Vgl. dazu auch J. Leclant, 'La Chronique du Prince Osorkon', *Or* 30 (1961), 409–10, und M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches* (ÄUAT 21, Wiesbaden 1994), 484.

<sup>82</sup>S. Aston, *JEA* 75, 148–9.

<sup>83</sup>Von Caminos (*CPO*, § 41 f) nicht als Orakel, sondern als Traumoffenbarung gedeutet.

<sup>84</sup>The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs* III, pl. 22, Z. 1–2; *CPO*, § 172. Man beachte, daß in Herakleopolis, dem

diesmal die Einigung friedlich war, und desgleichen war angeblich wieder göttliche Intervention im Spiel. Auf jeden Fall ist die gute Nachricht, die aus Theben kommt ('be happy, you have no enemies') unschwer zu erraten: Es kann sich nur um den Tod des Harsiese handeln, der danach nicht mehr in den Quellen erscheint.

Im Jahr 28 und 29 ist dann allein Osorkon in Theben belegt (und die Osorkonchronik endet hier, Jahr 29 ist nur noch als Nachtrag verzeichnet), aber im Jahr 23 des Petubastis (= Jahr 30 Schoschenks III.) erscheint ein Hoherpriester Takeloth, der offenbar den Kurs des Harsiese fortsetzt (sein Sohn?). Dieser Takeloth ist dann auch noch unter Schoschenk IV., dem Nachfolger des Petubastis, belegt, und zwar im Jahr 6 (das ins Jahr 35–39 Schoschenks III. fallen muß), während Osorkon erst im 39. Jahr Schoschenks III. wieder auf der Bühne erscheint, zusammen mit seinem Bruder, dem General Bakenptah, nachdem sie 'alle, die gegen sie kämpften, niedergeworfen hatten'. In diesem Jahr oder kurz danach dürfte der Hohepriester Osorkon B dann als Osorkon III. selbst den Thron bestiegen haben.

Es ist übrigens bemerkenswert, daß es trotz allem Hin und Her und aller Kämpfe (die ja bei jedweder Interpretation unzweifelhaft sind) offenbar keinerlei *damnatio memoriae* gegeben hat. Soweit sich das beurteilen läßt, ist kein einziger Name der rivalisierenden Parteien entfernt oder bewußt beschädigt worden. Das dürfte dafür sprechen, daß alle Seiten diesen Streit als etwas vielleicht zeitweise Unangenehmes ansahen, aber letztlich doch als verständlichen und legitimen Wettstreit innerhalb der Fürstenfamilien, also ganz im feudalen libyschen Verständnis, und nicht in ägyptischer Tradition als Kampf zwischen Ordnung und Chaos.

### Petubastis I.

Bei all diesen Ereignissen spielt der König Petubastis eine wichtige Rolle. Als Osorkon B im Jahr 11 seines Vaters die erste thebanische 'Rebellion' niederwirft, bei der es sich eben um die Thronbesteigung dieses Petubastis handeln wird, ist folgendes überraschend: In seiner Schilderung der Ereignisse ist die Fahrt nach Theben ganz friedlich (A, Z.24–5), die gewaltsamen Ereignissen haben sich offenbar weiter nördlich in oder bei Hermopolis abgespielt. Natürlich wäre es möglich, daß dort (mehr oder weniger zufällig) die Entscheidungsschlacht stattfand, wie Caminos angenommen hat.<sup>85</sup> Aber auch eine andere Lösung wäre denkbar: Gegen Ende der 3. Zwischenzeit sind auch Könige von Hermopolis bekannt: einmal Thotemhab,<sup>86</sup> v.a. aber Nimlot D, der als Verbündeter des Tefnacht und Gegner des Pianchi in der Pianchistele eine prominente Rolle hat. Es wäre nicht ausgeschlossen, daß eben diese Königslinie schon auf Petubastis zurückgeht und daß die thebanische Sezession darin bestand, einen in Hermopolis regierenden König anzuerkennen.

Wie Leahy,<sup>87</sup> gefolgt von Aston<sup>88</sup> festgestellt hat, ist Petubastis I. ein 'thebanischer'

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militärischen Schwerpunkt von Osorkon B, weiter nach Schoschenk III. datiert wird: Auf einer Schenkungsstele der Sammlung Michailides aus Herakleopolis ist das Jahr 26 (entsprechend dem Jahr 19 Petubastis' I.) belegt, s. D. Meeks in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, hrsg. E. Lipiński, II (OLA 6, Löwen 1979), 669 [22.8.26].

<sup>85</sup> CPO, § 284.

<sup>86</sup> Vgl. TIP<sup>2</sup>, § 331; P. A. Spencer und A. J. Spencer, 'Notes on Late Libyan Egypt', JEA 72 (1986), 198–9; H. Wild, 'Une statue de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie utilisée par le roi Hermopolitain Thot-em-hat de la XXIII<sup>e</sup>', RdE 24 (1972), 209–15.

<sup>87</sup> *Libya and Egypt*, 182–3.

<sup>88</sup> JEA 75, 149.

König.<sup>89</sup> Dennoch bleiben bei Petubastis (anders als etwa bei Takeloth II.) einige Belege aus Unterägypten übrig, die nicht so einfach wegzudiskutieren sind.<sup>90</sup> V.a. aus einigen Schenkungsstelen muß man schließen, daß in Unterägypten zumindest nach Petubastis datiert werden konnte.

Zudem können auch die Königsnamen des Petubastis eine typische 'unterägyptische' Form zeigen: In der 3. Zwischenzeit führen viele Könige ein Beiwort  $\mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} B_3stt$  oder  $\mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z}st$  (z.T. +  $ntr hq \mathfrak{z} W_3st$ ) in ihren Kartuschennamen.<sup>91</sup> Bei Schoschenk I. schienen bislang beide Varianten sicher bezeugt,<sup>92</sup> aber später haben fast alle Könige (wenn überhaupt) nur eines von beiden, so daß man z.B. Osorkon II. und III. an diesen Beiworten sicher unterscheiden kann.<sup>93</sup> Wie zuletzt Yoyotte gezeigt hat,<sup>94</sup> kommt das Beiwort  $\mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z}st$  v.a. oberägyptischen Königen zu, nämlich Takeloth II., Osorkon III. Takeloth III. und  $\mathfrak{J}ny$ , während  $\mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} B_3stt$  v.a. bei unterägyptischen belegt ist: Osorkon II., Schoschenk III., Pami, Schoschenk V. und Iuput II. Auch bei Schoschenk I. fände man  $\mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z}st$  bei einem oberägyptischen,  $\mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} B_3stt$  bei einem unterägyptischen Beleg. Bei Petubastis I. trifft man nun auffälligerweise *beide* Beiworte.<sup>95</sup> Man könnte versucht sein, die Belege auf zwei Könige zu verteilen:<sup>96</sup> Petubastis  $Stp.n-\mathfrak{J}mn \mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z}st$  in Oberägypten und Petubastis  $Stp.n-\mathfrak{J}mn \mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} B_3stt$  in Unterägypten, aber dafür gibt es keinerlei seriöse Anhaltspunkte. Es dürfte nur einen Petubastis  $Stp.n-\mathfrak{J}mn$  geben, der sich in Unterägypten  $\mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} B_3stt$  und in Oberägypten  $\mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z} \mathfrak{z}st$  nannte. Das wird sicher nicht bedeuten, daß Petubastis ein in Unterägypten herrschender König war (das hätte das Haus Takeloths II. wohl wenig gestört), aber man sollte daraus doch schließen, daß er dort einige Unterstützung genoß.

Darauf deutet auch eine Bauinschrift eines Sohnes Schoschens III.,  $P_3-\mathfrak{S}dj-B_3stt$ , am 10. Pylon in Karnak hin,<sup>97</sup> die nach Petubastis I. datiert ist. Und noch etwas ist für diese Frage von Bedeutung: Auf seiner Statue Kairo CG 42226<sup>98</sup> spricht der bekannte königliche Sekretär Hor IX von seinen Tätigkeiten für den König, und er geriert sich dabei wie dessen *spiritus rector*,<sup>99</sup> ja sein Ton hat geradezu etwas Herablassendes.<sup>100</sup> Da die Statue die Kartuschen des Petubastis trägt, liegt es nahe, diese Sätze auch auf Petubastis zu beziehen, zu dessen 'Partei' Hor IX deshalb gehört haben sollte.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Man sollte vielleicht besser — auch ungeachtet der obigen Ausführungen — in diesen Fällen generell von 'oberägyptischen' Königen sprechen, denn es ist ja auch keineswegs sicher, wo Takeloth II. und später Osorkon III. und Takeloth III. ihre Residenz (und ihren Begräbnisplatz!) hatten.

<sup>90</sup> S. Leahy, *Libya and Egypt*, 182–3.

<sup>91</sup> Vgl. Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, 268–71.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 105–6. Vgl. jetzt aber A. Dodson, 'A New King Shoshenq Confirmed', *GM* 137 (1993), 53–8, bes. 55–6.

<sup>93</sup> *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 70–3.

<sup>94</sup> 'Pharaon  $\mathfrak{J}ny$ , un roi mystérieux du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.', *CRIPÉL* 11 (1989), 123–5.

<sup>95</sup> S. Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, 207–8.

<sup>96</sup> Wie es A. Schulman, 'A Problem of Pedubasts', *JARCE* 5 (1966), 37–8 getan hat, ebenso neuerdings J. von Beckerath, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Libyzeit', *GM* 147 (1995), 9–13.

<sup>97</sup> Legrain, 'Au pylône d'Harmhabi à Karnak (X<sup>e</sup> pylône)', *ASAE* 14 (1914), 14; 39; vgl. *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 299.

<sup>98</sup> *Äg. Biogr.*, 506, c; 510, h.

<sup>99</sup> Vgl. auch Redford, *Or* 55, 8–9.

<sup>100</sup> Vgl. *Äg. Biogr.*, 138; 506: 'Daß ich Oberhaupt im Palast war, ein Führer der Untertanen, Myrrhe war es für das Herz meines Herrn. Wenn er meine Zunge hörte, lebte er. Ich leitete den König zum Wohl der Beiden Ufer, ich fuhr auf dem Wasser des Gottes. Entsprechend meinen Vorstellungen brachte er die Beiden Länder in Ordnung.'

<sup>101</sup> Vgl. auch Aston, *JEA* 75, 149. Auch die Herkunft dieses Ratgebers spricht natürlich dafür, daß Petubastis grundsätzlich ein oberägyptischer König war.





Takeloth II. und Osorkon B gebildet hatte. Das ist um so wahrscheinlicher, als von den drei Schenkungsstelen aus der Zeit des Petubastis, die in Unterägypten gefunden wurden, die zwei Exemplare aus Memphis ausgerechnet von Würdenträgern aus Herakleopolis bzw. *Pr-Sḫm-ḥpr-Rc* aufgestellt worden sind,<sup>111</sup> also von Leuten, die zum eigentlichen Machtzentrum Osorkons gehörten und sich möglicherweise seinen Gegnern in Unterägypten angeschlossen hatten. Dies würde auch die für Osorkon offenbar so überraschende und katastrophale Wendung im Jahr 15 Takeloths II. erklären, die ja schwer zu verstehen wäre, wenn es sich nur um eine Erhebung innerhalb seines eigenen Machtbereichs gehandelt hätte.

Es ist interessant, daß auch etwas später, in den auf der Pianchistele geschilderten Vorgängen, eine ganz ähnliche Konstellation erscheint: Dort wird Herakleopolis, das alte militärische Machtzentrum der (22. oder) 23. Dynastie, von Tefnachte aus dem Norden und von Nimlot D, dem Herrscher von Hermopolis, aus dem Süden bedroht und angegriffen. Wenn Petubastis wirklich König von Hermopolis war, wie oben vermutet, hätte sich schon rund 100 Jahr früher etwas ganz Ähnliches ereignet.

Übrigens wäre es nicht ausgeschlossen—zugegeben ein sehr spekulativer Gedanke—daß auch Osorkon B, wie später Peftjauawybast, schon Unterstützung aus Nubien bekam. Nach zwei letztlich gescheiterten friedlichen Einigungen (s.o.) verschwindet er nach dem Jahr 29 Schoschenks III., um dann 10 Jahre später als endgültiger Sieger wieder aufzutauchen und schließlich König zu werden. Wenn dieser Sieg schon durch napatansische Unterstützung möglich wurde, wäre dies eine zwanglose Erklärung dafür, daß Oberägypten allmählich unter den Einfluß Nubiens geriet.

### Schoschenk II.

Wie dem auch sei, auf jeden Fall kann Osorkon III. die 'thebanische 23. Dynastie' zunächst stabilisieren, bevor sie von den nubischen Eroberern verdrängt bzw. ersetzt wird. Ob schon Harsiese A zu dieser Dynastie gehört hat oder vielleicht zum rivalisierenden Haus des Petubastis, ist leider gänzlich unklar. Seine bisher angenommene genealogische Verknüpfung beruhte, wie oben gezeigt, jedenfalls auf einem Irrtum. Durch diesen selben Irrtum war auch die Ansicht bedingt, der Hohepriester Schoschenk schreibe seinen Namen auch auf der Besstatue in einer Kartusche.<sup>112</sup> Tatsächlich tut er dies nur ein einziges Mal, auf der Nilstatue BM EA 8.<sup>113</sup>

Von Schoschenk sind folgende Belege bekannt:

- a) Stehfigur des S. Kairo CG 42193;<sup>114</sup>
- b) Stehfigur des S. Kairo CG 42194;<sup>115</sup>
- c) Unterteil einer Stehfigur des S. aus dem Luxortempel;<sup>116</sup>
- d) von S. gestiftete Nilstatue London BM EA 8;<sup>117</sup>

<sup>111</sup> S. TIP<sup>2</sup>, § 300; für die Behauptung Redfords (*King-Lists*, 313, n. 113), die beiden Stelen seien erst nachträglich nach Memphis geschafft worden, gibt es keinerlei Anhaltspunkte.

<sup>112</sup> LR III, 331.

<sup>113</sup> S.u., Beleg (d).

<sup>114</sup> G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, III (Kairo 1914), 3; pl. ii.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 3–4; pl. iii–iv.

<sup>116</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 337; L. Habachi, 'Clearance of the Area to the East of Luxor Temple and Discovery of Some Objects', *ASAE* 51 (1951), 455–6, pl. iii.

<sup>117</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 289; bester Text bei Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. xv, a–h.

- e) von S. gestiftete Besstatue Durham (s.o.);
- f) Inschrift hinter der westlichen Kolossalstatue am Ausgang des Hofes Ramses' II. im Luxortempel (heute zerstört);<sup>118</sup>
- g) Ostraka aus Abydos.<sup>119</sup>

In der Filiation seines Sohnes, des Amunpropheten Osorkon:

- h) Papyrus Denon ('B') in St. Petersburg;<sup>120</sup>
- i) Papyrus Denon ('C') in St. Petersburg;<sup>121</sup>
- j) Sargdeckel Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet NME 838.<sup>122</sup>

Diese Belege enthalten folgende Titel des Schoschenk:

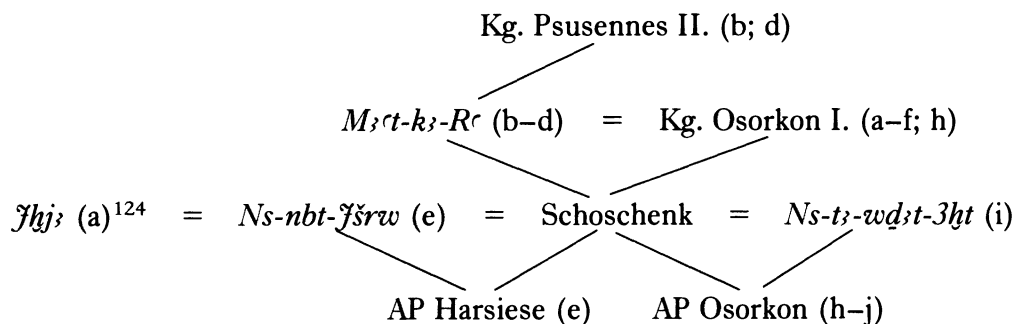
*hm-ntr tpj n fmn-Rc njswt ntrw*: a; b; d-h;

*hm-ntr tpj n fmn*: i; j;

*mr mšc wr hwtj*: a; b; e;

*nb n Šmꜣw Mḥw Mrjj-fmn Ššnq* [in Kartusche] *ntj (r-)hst n; mšꜣw ꜣꜣw n Kmt r drw*: d.

Daraus ergibt sich also folgender Stammbaum:<sup>123</sup>



Sollte es sich bei dem im Vorraum des Grabes Psusennes I. in Tanis bestatteten König *Hqꜣ-hpr-Rꜣ* Schoschenk um den früheren Hohenpriester Schoschenk handeln, wie oft angenommen wird,<sup>125</sup> wäre er später König (zumindest als Koregent) in Unterägypten geworden. Sein Name erscheint auf seinem Silbersarg,<sup>126</sup> der Kartonage,<sup>127</sup> vier Einge-

<sup>118</sup> Daressy, *RecTrav* 35, 133; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 313 (71).


<sup>119</sup> PM V, 80.

<sup>120</sup> V. Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte* (Paris 1802), pl. 137; J. Lieblein, *Die ägyptischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala und Copenhagen* (Christiania 1873), 58; A. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri* (OBO 86, Göttingen 1989), 318–19 ('Leningrad 5').

<sup>121</sup> Denon, *Voyage*, pl. 138; Lieblein, *Denkmäler*, 56–7; Niwiński, *Studies*, 318 ('Leningrad 4').

<sup>122</sup> B. Peterson, 'Ausgewählte ägyptische Personennamen nebst prosopographischen Notizen aus Stockholmer Sammlungen', *OrSu* 19/20 (1970/71), 17–18.

<sup>123</sup> In Klammer jeweils die Belege; AP = (einfacher) Amunprophet.

<sup>124</sup> Der merkwürdige Name  dürfte eine Kurzform von *st-m-ḥbjt* sein, vgl. M. Perez-Die und P. Vernus, *Excavaciones en Ehnasya el Medina* (Madrid 1992), 57 (c).

<sup>125</sup> TIP<sup>2</sup>, §§ 93–4; 452.

<sup>126</sup> P. Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis, II. Les constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès* (Paris 1951), 37–8 u. pl. xvii–xx; *Kēmi* 9 (1942), 61 u. fig. 44.

<sup>127</sup> Montet, *Tanis* II, 38–40; *Kēmi* 9, 62–4; fig. 46–7; pl. xiii; vgl. auch H. Stierlin und Ch. Ziegler, *Tanis* (Fribourg und Paris 1987), 168 (93).

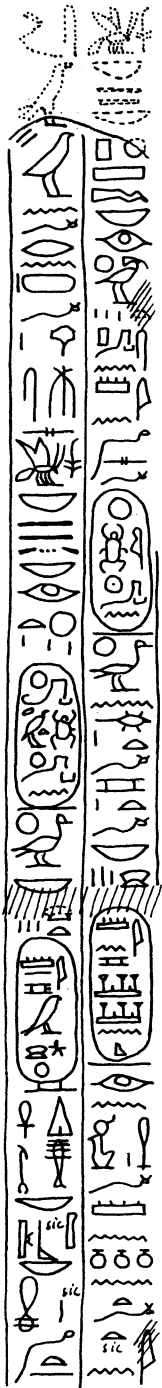


Fig. 5. Kairo CG 42192, Inschrift auf Rückenpfeiler.

weidesärgen,<sup>128</sup> einem Gürtel,<sup>129</sup> einem Pektoral<sup>130</sup> und einer Kopfstütze,<sup>131</sup> und zwar 5x als Kartuschenpaar  $Hq_3-hpr-Rc$   $Stp.n-Rc$ , 16x nur als Eigenname  $Mrjj-fmn$   $\check{S}šnq$  (z.T. mit einleitendem  $\textcircled{3}stjrt$  [ $njswt/nb Hcrw$ ]) und 2x nur als Thronname  $Hq_3-hpr-Rc$   $Stp.n-Rc$  (mit einleitendem  $\textcircled{3}stjrt$  [ $njswt$  [ $nb t\check{w}j$ ]]). Gegen eine Identifizierung dieses Schoschenk  $Hq_3-hpr-Rc$  in Tanis mit Schoschenk I., wie sie H. Jaquet-Gordon vorgeschlagen hatte,<sup>132</sup> hat Kitchen<sup>133</sup> überzeugende Argumente vorgebracht. Es handelt sich also entweder um den Hohenpriester Schoschenk oder um einen sonst unbekanntem König.

Damit verknüpft ist der gleichfalls problematische Fall der Statue Kairo CG 42192.<sup>134</sup> Nach allgemeiner Ansicht<sup>135</sup> handelt es sich bei dem König Schoschenk, der diese Statue 'erneuert' hat, trotz des divergierenden Thronnamens  $\textcircled{3}stjrt$  um Schoschenk I., der so seine Verbundenheit mit seinem unmittelbaren Vorgänger aus der 21. Dynastie demonstrierte. In diesem Fall wäre also die Maat-Feder in die 'weiße Krone' zu emendieren. Demgegenüber haben M. Römer<sup>136</sup> und ich selbst<sup>137</sup> die Meinung vertreten, daß es sich um Schoschenk II., d.h. den Hohenpriester und Enkel des Psusennes handele. Um diese Ansicht zu untermauern, soll hier einmal die Rückeninschrift von Kairo CG 42192 im Zusammenhang besprochen werden<sup>138</sup> (s. dazu Fig. 5 und pl. 000):

Z. 1 '(Werk des)<sup>a</sup> [Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten, des Herrn der Beiden Länder, Herrn] der Kraft, Herrn des Vollbringens von Wohltaten,<sup>b</sup> den Amun selbst ausgewählt hat,  $M_3c-hpr-Rc$   $Stp.n-Rc$ , des leiblichen Sohnes des Re, seines geliebten, des Herrn der Kronen  $Mrjj-fmn$   $\check{S}šnq$ , das seine Majestät gemacht hat (als) Denkmal für seinen Vater Amun,<sup>c</sup>

Z. 2 nachdem er erneuert hat<sup>d</sup> seinen [des Denkmals] Namen auf den, der ihn erzeugte, den König von Ober- und Unterägypten, den Herrn der Beiden Länder, den Herrn des Rituals  $Tjt-hprw-Rc$   $Stp.n-Rc$ , den Sohn des Re, den Herrn der Kronen  $Mrjj-fmn$   $Hrww-P_3-sb_3-h_3j(-m)-nwt$ , dem alles Leben, Dauer und Herrschaft gegeben ist und alle Gesundheit(?) ewig wie (Re).'

<sup>128</sup>Montet, *Tanis* II, 56–7 u. pl. xxxv; *Kêmi* 9, 86–91; pl. xxix–xxx.

<sup>129</sup>Montet, *Tanis* II, 41–2 u. pl. xxxii; *Kêmi* 9, 73–4; pl. xxii.

<sup>130</sup>Montet, *Tanis* II, 42–3 u. pl. xxvi–xxvii; *Kêmi* 9, 66–8; pl. xx.

<sup>131</sup>Montet, *Tanis* II, 50 u. pl. xxxiii.

<sup>132</sup>*BiOr* 32, 359; vgl. auch Edwards, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, III/1, 549.

<sup>133</sup>*TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 452.

<sup>134</sup>Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* III, 1–2 u. pl. i.

<sup>135</sup>Z. B. *LR*, III, 316, XLVI; *TIP*<sup>2</sup>, § 245; Bonhême, *Noms royaux*, 103; J. Yoyotte, 'A propos de Psusennes II', *Bulletin de la Société Française des Fouilles de Tanis*, 1 (1988), 41.

<sup>136</sup>'Varia zu Psusennes "II" und zur 21. Dynastie', *GM* 114 (1990), 96.

<sup>137</sup>*BiOr* 47, 86.

<sup>138</sup>Zu Lesungsverbesserungen gegenüber Legrain s. schon die Kollation von E. Hornung und E. Stachelin bei R. Giveon in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Fs. Otto), hrsg. J. Assmann et al. (Wiesbaden 1977), 174–5, n. 4.

### Anmerkungen

<sup>a</sup> Zum Verständnis dieser Art von 'Vermerk' s. meinen Aufsatz in *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 146ff.

<sup>b</sup> Vgl. N.-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne* (Paris 1986), 523 n. 381 und 513 n. 346. Die Ergänzung [t] bei *ḥw(t)* ist fraglich.

<sup>c</sup>  $\overset{\circ}{\underset{\circ}{\text{Q}}}$  kann wohl nur ein Fehler für *ḥmn* sein. Man beachte, daß die Inschrift auch sonst nicht fehlerfrei ist: Vor allem das Ende von Z. 2 ist sehr eigenartig, ebenso die Schreibung von *tjt-ḥprw* im Thronnamen des Psusennes.

<sup>d</sup> Möglich und phraseologisch sogar naheliegender wäre der Infinitiv: '(nämlich) das Erneuern für ihn [Amun]...' Er ist allerdings deshalb weniger wahrscheinlich, weil man dann in einer Phrase gleich drei maskuline Pronomina mit unterschiedlichem Bezug hätte (.f = Amun; .f = Denkmal; *szw* = Schoschenk).

Die Statue ist also einerseits von einem König Schoschenk dem Amun als Denkmal (neu) geweiht worden, zum anderen ist sie auf den Namen des Psusennes 'erneuert' worden, und dieser Psusennes wird unmißverständlich als Erzeuger, d.h. als Vater oder doch Vorfater dieses Schoschenk bezeichnet. Demzufolge kann es sich—nach derzeitiger Kenntnis—nur um den Hohenpriester Schoschenk handeln, den Enkel des Psusennes, auf keinen Fall aber um Schoschenk I., dessen Vorfahren sich (auf der Paserhorstele) über viele Generationen zurückverfolgen lassen. Es bleiben also nur folgende Möglichkeiten:

1. Es handelt sich um den Hohenpriester Schoschenk, der hier die volle Königstitulatur angenommen hat, aber nicht um den in Tanis bestatteten Schoschenk *Hqꜣ-ḥpr-Rꜥ*. Dann lautet der Thronname dieses 'neuen' thebanischen Pharaos *Mꜣꜥ-ḥpr-Rꜥ*, und der in Tanis bestattete Schoschenk müßte ein aus anderen Quellen völlig unbekannter König sein, ob er nun eine eigene Regierungszeit hatte oder nur Koregent war. Immerhin ist ein thebanischer Hoherpriester, der später König in Tanis wurde, in der 22. Dynastie sonst nicht bezeugt, und auch in der 21. käme nur der sehr dunkle und umstrittene Fall Psusennes II./III. in Frage.

2. Es handelt sich um den Hohenpriester Schoschenk und um denselben König, der in Tanis als *Hqꜣ-ḥpr-Rꜥ* begraben ist. Dann hätte man entweder *Mꜣꜥ-ḥpr-Rꜥ* in *Hqꜣ-ḥpr-Rꜥ* zu verbessern (auf jeden Fall eine geringfügigere Emendation als *mꜣꜥ* zu *ḥd* !) oder aber einen zweiten Thronnamen für Schoschenk II. anzusetzen—aber das wäre in dieser Zeit (zumindest für den ersten Bestandteil) ohne Parallele.

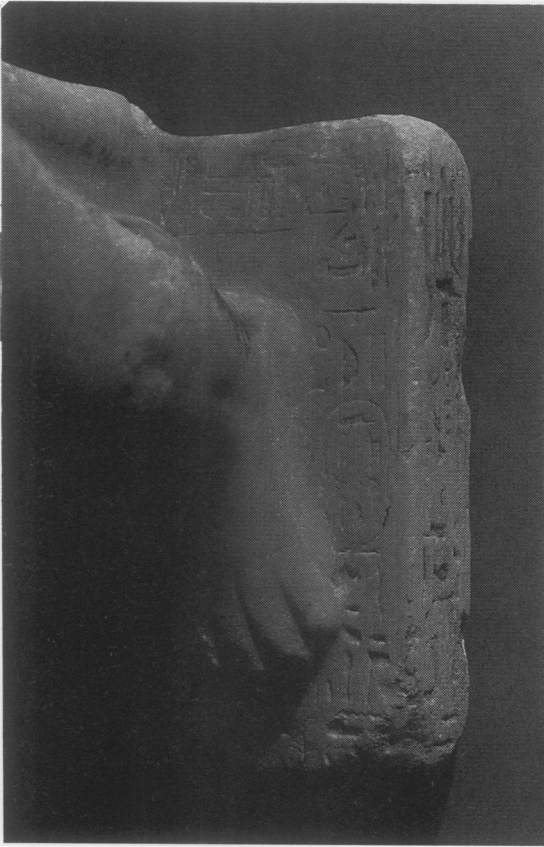
Irritierend an beiden Möglichkeiten ist die Tatsache, daß der Hohepriester Schoschenk auf zeitgenössischen Denkmälern nur ein einziges Mal den Königstitel führt (und da auch nur den Eigennamen in Kartusche) und sogar in den Filiationsangaben seines Sohnes Osorkon immer nur Hoherpriester ist. Aber es ist natürlich ohne weiteres möglich, daß diese Denkmäler alle entstanden sind, bevor Schoschenk König wurde.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Nach Einreichen des Manuskripts dieses Aufsatzes ist die Inschrift CG 42192 auch von J. von Beckerath neu veröffentlicht worden ('Zur Rückeninschrift der Statuette Kairo CG 42192', *Or* 63 (1994), 84–7). Auch er ist jetzt der Meinung, daß der Hohepriester Schoschenk II. ihr Stifter ist (ebenso N. Dautzenberg, *GM* 144, 21). In einem Nachtrag (*Or* 63, 87) schlägt er vor, daß Schoschenk, *Hqꜣ-ḥpr-Rꜥ* aus Tanis eine von dem Hohenpriester Schoschenk (*Mꜣꜥ-ḥpr-Rꜥ*) verschiedene Person sei, vermutlich ein Sohn Takeloths I. und ephemerer Vorgänger Osorkons II. (ebenso in *GM* 144, 8–9). Auch hier ist Dautzenberg unabhängig davon zur selben Ansicht gelangt (*GM* 144, 21–4).

TAB. 1. Kondordanz und Belegstellen zur 'oberägyptischen 23. Dynastie'

D.22	D.23 (A)	D.23 (B)	D.23 (A)	D.23 (B)	Belege:
Osorkon II.					
.					
.					
.					
	Takeloth II.				Harsiese B (CG 42225, a = <i>Äg. Biogr.</i> , 494)
Schoschenk III.					
(1)	(4)				
6	(9)			x	NLR Nr. 23
		Petubastis I.	Osorkon B		
(8)	11	(1)	x		OC, A, 18–53: 1. Rebellion
(9)	12	(2)	x		OC, B, 1–6
12	15	5	x	x	NLR, Nr. 24 (J. 12/5); OC, B, 7 (J. 15): 2. Rebellion
(14)	(17)	7			PA, Nr. 1, Z. 1
(15)	(18)	8		x	PA, Nr. 1, Z. 2; Nr. 2, Z. 1/3
(21)	24	(14)	x		OC, C, 7 (vgl. B, 7-C, 1)
22	25	(15)	x		OC, C, 12 (J. 22); <i>ASAE</i> 4, 183 (J. 25)
	Iuput I.				
22	(1)	(15)			
23	2	16	x		NLR, Nr. 26 (J. 2/16); OC, C, 12 (J. 23)
24	(3)	(17)	x		OC, C, 13–16
25	(4)	[18]	x	x	NLR, Nr. 28; OC, C, 17 (vgl. C, 1–2): 3. Rebellion
26	(5)	19		x	NLR, Nr. 27; Schenkungsstele 22.8.26 (s. Anm. 78)
28	(7)	(21)	x		OC, C, 12; 17
29	(8)	(22)	x		OC, C, 22 [Ende der OC]
				Takeloth E	
(30)	(9)	23		x	NLR, Nr. 29
		Schoschenk IV.			
		6		x	NLR, Nr. 25
39			x		NLR, Nr. 27; PA, Nr. 7, Z.1–3
	Osorkon III.		←		
	.				
	.				
	.				

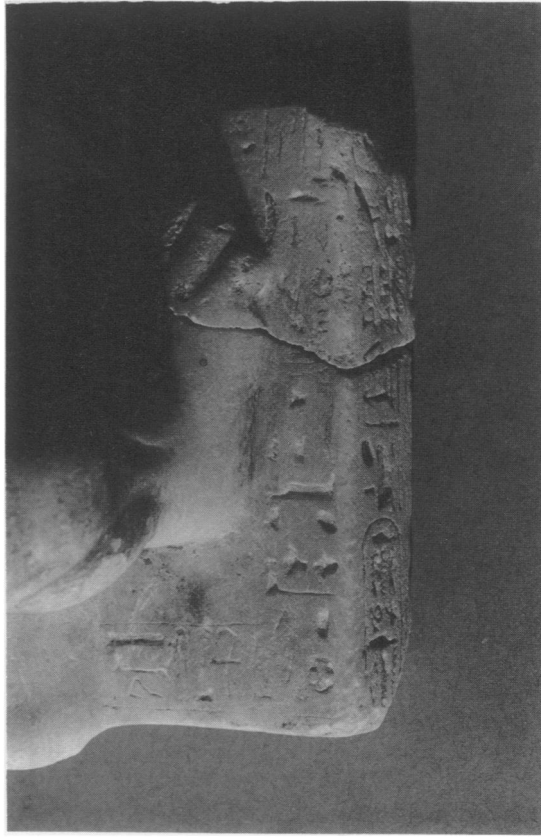
NLR = Nile Level Records, s. von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 43–55; PA = Priesterannalen, s. Legrain, *RecTrav* 22, 51–63; Daressy, *RecTrav* 35, 131–2; Kruchten, *Les annales* (s.o., n. 254); OC = Osorkonchronik (die Bezeichnung der verschiedenen Teile der Inschrift durch A, B und C nach CPO: A = The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs* III, pl. 16–19; B = *ibid.*, pl. 21; C = *ibid.*, pl. 22).



1. Oberseite Sockel, links



2. Oberseite Sockel, vorn



3. Oberseite Sockel, rechts



4. Oberseite Sockel, hinten

Besstatue Durham

HISTORISCHE PROBLEME DER 3. ZWISCHENZEIT (pp. 129–49)



2. Rechte Seite Sockel



4. Linke Seite Sockel

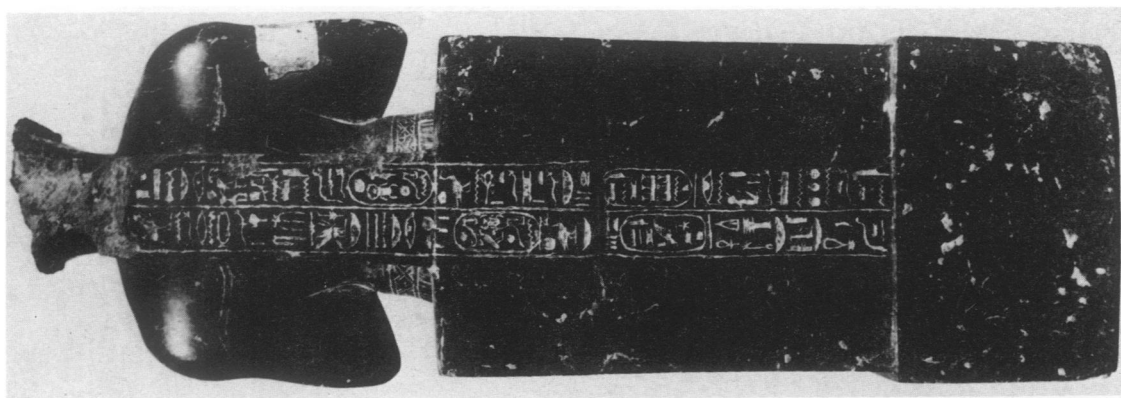


1. Vorderseite Sockel



3. Rückseite Sockel

Besstatue Durham



1. Kairo JE 37516

2. Kairo CG 42192, Rückseite

HISTORISCHE PROBLEME DER 3. ZWISCHENZEIT (pp. 129-49)



## REGNAL YEARS AND CIVIL CALENDAR IN ACHAEMENID EGYPT

By LEO DEPUYDT

This paper describes ancient Egyptian regnal and calendar dating in the Twenty-seventh Dynasty or First Persian Period, reviewing the evidence from Aramaic, cuneiform, Demotic Egyptian, Greek, and hieroglyphic Egyptian sources. A table listing the Egyptian regnal years of Persian kings is appended.

ALAN H. Gardiner's classic account of regnal dating in ancient Egypt, which appeared under the title 'Regnal Years and Civil Calendar in Pharaonic Egypt' half a century ago in this journal,<sup>1</sup> ceased abruptly with the end of the Saite Period in 527/5 BC.<sup>2</sup> He rightly noted that the later Ptolemaic and Roman Periods posed problems of their own and therefore fell outside the scope of his study, which was Pharaonic Egypt. In the meantime, Ptolemaic and Roman-Egyptian chronology have received expert attention in four monographs.<sup>3</sup>

The Twenty-seventh to Thirty-first Manethonian Dynasties (527/5–332 BC) were passed over in silence in Gardiner's treatise.<sup>4</sup> It would serve little purpose to argue for a specific year as the end of the 'Pharaonic' Period. The term 'Pharaonic' is flexible, just as the transition between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages cannot be dated precisely.

<sup>1</sup>*JEA* 31 (1945), 11–28. Abbreviations of frequently cited works are as follows: *AP* = A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923); *BabChr* = R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 75* (Providence, 1956); P. Kraeling = E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953); *TAD* II = B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, 2. Contracts* (Jerusalem, 1989); *TAD* III = Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, 3. Literature, Accounts, Lists* (Jerusalem, 1993).

<sup>2</sup>The traditional date for Cambyses' conquest is spring of 525, but this date is now no longer certain because the Demotic evidence on which it is based has recently been reinterpreted by P. W. Pestman, 'The Diospolis Parva Documents: Chronological Problems concerning Psammetichus III and IV', in H.-J. Thissen and K.-Th. Zauzich (eds), *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens* (Würzburg, 1984), 145–55 (cf. S. P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (Pap. Hou): A Dossier Relating to Various Agricultural Affairs from Provincial Egypt of the Early Fifth Century B.C.* (Studia Demotica 3; Leuven, 1991), 3–4). See my 'Regnal Dating under Cambyses and the Date of the Persian Conquest' (forthcoming in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*), complementing the present paper.

<sup>3</sup>A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (MBP 43; Munich, 1962); Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C.–453 ap. J.-C.)* (P. Lugd.-Bat. 15; Leiden, 1967); T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*<sup>2</sup> (MBP 39; Munich, 1969); E. Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque: problèmes de chronologie hellénistique* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 20; Basle, 1990). See also H. Hauben, 'La chronologie macédonienne et ptolémaïque mise à l'épreuve: à propos d'un livre d'Erhard Grzybek', *CdE* 67 (1967), 143–71 (with additional bibliography).

<sup>4</sup>As in B. Schmitz, 'Jahreszählung', *LA* III, 238–40, which is based on Gardiner's study. The beginning of the period has been discussed recently by W. Barta, 'Zur Datierungspraxis in Ägypten unter Kambyses und Dareios I.', *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 82–90, which came to my attention only after I had completed the present paper. Because Barta's contribution only covers the evidence for the first two kings, his line of argument differs considerably from mine. Moreover, Ptolemy's Royal Canon is not mentioned and for Cambyses' reign, Pestman's paper in *Grammata Demotika* (see n.2) is not taken into account; on Cambyses, see my forthcoming paper cited in n. 2.

A number of events, including foreign domination and the rise of Christianity, very gradually and over a period spanning many centuries, brought an end to what is regarded as typically Pharaonic. This process extends from the Libyan Period in the early first millennium BC to the closure of the temple of Philae in Justinian's reign in the sixth century AD. That the period lasting from the Persian conquest in 527/5 BC to Alexander's conquest late in 332 BC was not included in Gardiner's study is, therefore, not the result of any particular view about the term 'Pharaonic', but rather of the fact that the chronology of this period poses special problems.

The aim of the present paper is to supplement Gardiner's survey and extend it to include the Twenty-seventh Dynasty (527/5-c. 405 BC), also known as the First Persian Period, in contrast with the brief period of Achaemenid rule in the years before Alexander's conquest called the Second Persian Period. For the chronology of the Twenty-eighth to Thirtieth Dynasties (c. 405–343 BC), which is mainly Manethonian, one still needs to rely on Kienitz's account.<sup>5</sup> For the Thirty-first Dynasty or Second Persian Period, there is not enough evidence to allow any definite conclusions.

After briefly surveying the basic facts on the Egyptian and Babylonian dating systems in section I, I will summarize in Section II how, to the best of my knowledge, the Egyptians went about dating the years of their Persian overlords. For clarity's sake, the evidence drawn from the Aramaic, cuneiform, Demotic Egyptian, Greek, and hieroglyphic Egyptian sources of this period supporting this scenario is presented separately in section III. A description and discussion of Ptolemy's Canon follows in section IV. Since one finds a certain degree of inconsistency in publications throughout this century with regard to the dating of documents from the Twenty-seventh Dynasty,<sup>6</sup> and also in order to make this presentation self-sufficient, a table including all the regnal years of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, based on the views presented in this paper, is provided in an appendix, with examples illustrating how to convert an Egyptian year, month, and day date to the Julian day by using the table. The present description of Achaemenid regnal dating in Egypt, like any other more recent statements on this topic, is based on the pioneering work of Eduard Meyer<sup>7</sup> and Richard A. Parker.<sup>8</sup>

### I. Regnal dating and calendar dating in Egypt and Babylonia

When Cambyses conquered Egypt, he found a well-organized and time-honoured calendar firmly in place in the Nile valley, and this calendar was definitely not abolished. However, like his father Cyrus, Cambyses had adopted the Babylonian regnal dating

<sup>5</sup>F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953), 166–80.

<sup>6</sup>Two exceptions are Barta, *ZÄS* 119, 82–90, and Pestman, in Thissen and Zauzich (eds), *Grammata Demotika*, 145–55.

<sup>7</sup>*Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte*, II. *Zur Geschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Halle a. d. Saale, 1899), especially chapter VI, 'Chronologische Untersuchungen: Die Regierungszeiten der persischen und der spartanischen Könige', 437–511 (pp. 502–11 deal with Sparta). So many sources have come to light since 1899 that this publication is outdated, but it remains worth reading, and indeed, has never been surpassed in scope of erudition on the topic.

<sup>8</sup>'Persian and Egyptian Chronology', *AJS* 58 (1941), 285–301, which presents the first systematic theory on regnal dating in Achaemenid Egypt and its relation to earlier dating practices; id., 'Some Considerations on the Nature of the Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine', *JNES* 14 (1955), 271–4; and 'The Length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty', *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 208–12. The theory proposed here departs in some respects from Parker's views.

system.<sup>9</sup> A correct understanding of regnal dating practices in Achaemenid Egypt therefore requires acquaintance with the principles of both these systems, while within each system, it is necessary to make a distinction between calendar dating and regnal dating. Calendar dating accounts for how days and months add up to years, regnal dating for how successive years are counted in sequence.

### 1. *The Egyptian Calendar*

The Egyptian calendar is the simplest ever invented. Each year is exactly 365 days long and consists of twelve months of 30 days plus five added days. But because this year is about a quarter of a day shorter than the seasons, it wanders in relation to the natural seasons. Any given day of the calendar moves backward in relation to the seasons by about one day in four years and returns to the same point after very nearly 1460 solar years. For the sake of comparison with other dating systems, Egyptian dates are converted into an artificial, retrocalculated Julian calendar, that is, our modern calendar with the intercalated twenty-ninth day in February every fourth year, but without the removal of certain leap years instituted in the Gregorian reform of 1582.

At the beginning of the Achaemenid period, in 527/5 BC, the Egyptian new year, *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ* 1, 1 Thoth, or Month 1 Day 1, coincided with Julian 2 January, but by 405 BC it had wandered backward to 2 December, as can be seen in the table in the appendix. The Julian date of the Egyptian new year drops one digit after each Julian leap year. Leap years are those that can be divided by four after subtracting one. For example, 525 is a leap year because 524 (525–1) can be divided by four. Because Julian 525 had 29 February as its 366th day, the Egyptian new year fell one day earlier by the beginning of 524 BC.<sup>10</sup>

Three remarks are in order about the relationship between the Julian and Egyptian calendars in the Achaemenid Period. First, the two overlapped to a considerable degree throughout the Twenty-seventh Dynasty. Second, the Julian year 'overtook' the Egyptian year in the early Achaemenid Period. The Egyptian Years 6 and 7 of Cambyses and the wandering year that begins with Year 8 of Cambyses, who died in 522, overlap completely with a Julian year. Moreover, the Egyptian Year 1 of Darius I, that is, the wandering year 1 Jan 521–30 Dec 521, is encompassed by the 366-day leap year 521. This means that Darius' Egyptian Year 1 began on 1 January 521 and his Year 2 on 31 December 521 or 365 days later within the same Julian year. Two Egyptian years thus began in the same Julian year. Third, most Egyptian years in the Achaemenid Period begin at the end of one Julian year, but overlap for most of their course with the next. For example, the 365 day year 25 Dec 494–23 Dec 493 begins in 494 but coincides mostly with 493.

### 2. *Egyptian regnal dating ('predating')*

In the Saite Period (664–527/5 BC) and apparently also in the late Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom,<sup>11</sup> regnal years were counted from one new year to the next. The first year began on the day of accession and lasted until the first new year. It was therefore almost always shorter than 365 days, unless the king came to the throne at new year. The

<sup>9</sup>For the possibility that another regnal dating system competed with the dominant Babylonian system, see my 'Evidence for Accession Dating under the Achaemenids', *JAOs* (forthcoming).

<sup>10</sup>Astronomers refer to 525 BC as –524, introducing a year 0 (zero). The Julian reckoning jumps from 1 BC to AD 1; that is, the day after 31 December 1 BC is 1 January AD 1.

<sup>11</sup>See Gardiner, *JEA* 31, 11–12, 21–3.

rest of the year was the previous king's last; thus, a single 365-day year encompassed two regnal years of two different kings. This method is called 'predating' (or 'antedating'). The term is not proper in every sense, although its counterpart, 'postdating', always is.

(1) In relation to the day on which the king begins his Year 1: the term 'predating' is not proper because a king can hardly begin his Year 1 *before* his day of accession, unless one artificially counts back to the new year before the accession, which happens in Ptolemy's Canon (see (2) below). On the other hand, in 'postdating', the king does begin his Year 1 on the first new year *after* the day of accession.

(2) In relation to the day on which the king begins his Year 1 in Ptolemy's Canon (see further **IV** below): 'predating' is fitting for Ptolemaic and Roman rulers; the Canon follows a different system for the Babylonian and Persian rulers listed in it, which will be called 'predating of postdating' (**II.4**). Since the Canon is calculated with full Egyptian wandering years, it was preferable to assign the 365-day year encompassing the last year of one king and the first of another entirely to the latter, allotting the last months of the deceased king to the new one and artificially beginning Year 1 of the new king with the new year *before* his accession. The alternative would have been to begin the reigns of all the kings with their Year 2.

(3) In relation to the anniversaries of accession: this is perhaps the meaning in which the terms 'predating' and 'postdating' are used most appropriately as a pair. Indeed, in (1), 'predating' is not entirely proper, and in (2), it is in part artificial. In '*predating*', as understood in this third meaning, Year 1 ends before the first anniversary of the day of accession, the second before the second anniversary, and so on. In '*postdating*', the end of the first regnal year follows the first anniversary, and so on.

In the New Kingdom, a different regnal dating method was used.<sup>12</sup> Years of reign were counted from one anniversary of the accession to the next, with the first year beginning on the day of accession itself. This may be called 'accession dating'. It is not certain when the Egyptian Pharaohs reverted to 'predating'.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Gardiner, *JEA* 31, 23–8, with references to contributions by J. Černý, G. Daressy, T. E. Peet, and K. Sethe.

<sup>13</sup>D. Redford has plausibly suggested the transition from the Libyan to the Kushite Period in the late seventh century BC ('Sais and the Kushite Invasions of the Eighth Century B.C.', *JARCE* 22 (1985), 5–6), although it is possible to challenge his three main arguments. First, the dating to Year 1 Month 9 (ⲓ [šmw]) Day 7 (read 9) of royal gifts in Osorkon I's donation list from Bubastis (E. Naville, *Bubastis* (London, 1891), 62 and pl. 51, G1–2, line 3) is thought to make sense only 'if the date from which the time-span was reckoned was the accession of the king, since the purport of the inscription is to list all the benefactions the king has granted in his reign up until the time of writing.' But even if Year 1 is counted from the day of accession, it does not follow that the following years were counted from the *anniversaries* of that day; after all, if Osorkon I became king on Month 9 Day 9, he could hardly have granted royal gifts before that day. The year number in the period of 3 years, 3 months, and 16 days mentioned in the text, separating (Year 1) Month 9 Day 9 from Year 4 Month 12 Day 25, is not decisive because Month 12 Day 25 falls between Month 9 Day 9, the assumed day of accession, and Month 1 Day 1, when the year numbers of 'accession dating' and 'predating' would be the same. Between Month 1 Day 1 and Month 9 Day 9, the year number of 'predating' would be one higher than that of 'accession dating'. Redford's second argument concerns a report that Osorkon II's *sd*-festival fell in Month 4. There is some evidence that this festival coincided with the anniversary of accession during the New Kingdom (C. C. Van Siclen III, 'The Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee', *JNES* 32 (1973), 290–300), when regnal years were certainly counted from anniversaries of accession. But that the *sd*-festival was celebrated at the anniversary of accession does not mean that 'accession dating' was used. It would also have to be shown that the *sd*-festival was celebrated on ⲓ *h*t 1 when 'predating' was used. The few dates associated with the *sd*-festival in the late Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom (see E. Hornung et al., *Studien zum Sedfest* (Aegyptiaca

### 3. *The Babylonian calendar*

The Babylonian calendar is lunisolar. The year consists of lunar months of 29 or 30 days each. Lunar months are just over 29.5 days long. A new month begins on the evening of first crescent visibility. The year is lunisolar because it is kept roughly but continuously on track with the solar year by means of intercalary thirteenth months. Thus, the year consists of twelve or thirteen months of 29 or 30 days each. It always begins around the spring equinox in late March or in April.

### 4. *Babylon regnal dating ('postdating')*

Regnal years were counted in Persian Babylon, as in Egypt, from one new year to the next, but Year 1 began on the first Babylonian new year after the accession. The time from accession to the first new year was an accession year.<sup>14</sup> This method is quite appropriately called 'postdating'.

## II. Regnal dating in Achaemenid Egypt

### 1. *Four rules*

The available pieces of evidence, although scarce, are best reconciled by assuming the following four rules.<sup>15</sup> The number of the rules and their specific formulation are determined by the nature of the problem and of the evidence.

- (a) First rule: full regnal years were counted from one Egyptian new year to the next.<sup>16</sup>
- (b) Second rule: the Egyptian Year 2 began on the first Egyptian new year after the first Babylonian new year. It can be inferred that Year 1 had begun at the latest by the first Babylonian new year.
- (c) Third rule: the Egyptian Year 1 began on the first Babylonian new year, when Year 1 began almost everywhere else in the empire.
- (d) Fourth rule: Egyptian regnal dating in Cambyses' reign follows the same system as that of other Persian kings, even though Cambyses' reign had already begun when he conquered Egypt.

### 2. *Relation of Achaemenid Egyptian regnal dating to 'predating'*

For kings coming to the throne after the Egyptian and before the Babylonian new year, the regnal year date will be *one lower* than it would have been if the same kings' years

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Helvetica 1; Basel and Geneva, 1974), 16–42; K. Martin, 'Sedfest', *LÄ* V, 782–90; J. von Beckerath, 'Gedanken zu den Daten der Sed-Feste', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 29–33), when 'predating' seems to have been in use, are IV *šmw* 5, III *šmw* 27, and II *šht* 3 (from the reigns of Pepi I and Montuhotep III; see Hornung et al., *Studien*, 57); it is assumed here that the proximity of date and festival in the text dates the festival, which is not certain. In Redford's third argument, a statement on a stela for the Apis of Year 2 of Pemu, '[The calf] was among its herd', is thought to imply that the Apis had been born several months earlier. But could a calf not join the herd just a few days or weeks after its birth, or even be part of it from birth?

<sup>14</sup>The Babylonian term is *šanat reš šarrūti*, 'year of the beginning of the reign'. See, for example, F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II.ii.2 (Münster, 1924), 125–6 (325–6), 185 (385).

<sup>15</sup>The first two rules differ in formulation, but not in practical consequences, from Parker's theory in *AJS* 58, 298–301. Nor do they differ from the rules implied in Ptolemy's Canon (see IV below). The third and fourth rules differ from what has been said in previous contributions to the subject.

<sup>16</sup>As in the Middle Kingdom (c. 2000–1600 BC), the Saite Period (664–527/5), and the Ptolemaic Period (332–30), but not as in the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1070).

were numbered according to 'predating'. For kings coming to the throne after the Babylonian and before the Egyptian new year, the regnal year date will be *the same* as it would have been in 'predating'.

### 3. *The four components of the reign*

According to the rules stated above, the reigns of Persian kings consisted of four parts:

- (a) the period from accession to the first Babylonian new year;
- (b) Year 1, shorter than 365 days, lasting from the first Babylonian new year to the first Egyptian new year;
- (c) a number of full 365-day regnal years lasting from one Egyptian new year to the next;
- (d) the last regnal year—shorter than 365 days unless the king died on the last day of the wandering year—lasting from the last new year until the king's death.

### 4. *Classification of Achaemenid Egyptian regnal dating as 'predating of postdating'*

The posterior feature in Babylonian 'postdating' is ultimately a result of the fact that Year 1 does not begin with the day of accession but later, at the first Babylonian new year. The anterior feature in Egyptian 'predating' is a result of the fact that Year 2 already begins at the first new year. In 'predating', the beginnings of Egyptian regnal years *precede* the beginnings of real regnal years of the same number; in 'postdating', they *follow*. 'Real regnal years' are those counted from the day of accession and its anniversaries.

The system in use in Achaemenid Egypt is best conceptualized by the name '*predating of postdating*', whereby the first Babylonian new year is the beginning of Year 1, as in Babylonian 'postdating'. The first Egyptian new year after the beginning of Year 1 is the beginning of Year 2, as in Egyptian 'predating'. As a result, in '*predating of postdating*', the beginnings of Egyptian regnal years either *precede* or *follow* the beginnings of real regnal years of the same number. The variable is the beginning of real years, that is, the day of accession and its anniversaries. It is not known whether the anniversaries of accession were observed, but they can be used as an absolute point of reference for defining 'predating', 'postdating', and 'predating of postdating'.<sup>17</sup>

If the king came to the throne between the Egyptian new year and the Babylonian, less time is 'postdated' forward to the Babylonian new year than 'predated' backward from the Babylonian new year to the Egyptian; thus, the Egyptian Year 1 ends before the first anniversary of accession. The only certain example of this among the six kings of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty is Darius II (the dating of the accession of these kings is discussed below). But if the king came to the throne between the Babylonian new year and the Egyptian, more time is 'postdated' forward to the Babylonian new year than 'predated' backward to the Egyptian new year, and the Egyptian Year 1 will end *after* the first anniversary of accession. Unequivocal examples are Xerxes I and Darius I. Cambyses also falls into this category, and Artaxerxes I almost certainly does, because he most probably came to the throne before the Egyptian new year of 17 December 465. The only problematic king is Artaxerxes II.

<sup>17</sup>'Predating of postdating' presupposes a hierarchy: 'postdating' is first, 'predating' is second. 'Postdating of predating' would be a term without a historical phenomenon.

### III. The evidence

The sources for regnal dating in Achaemenid Egypt are not numerous and many fewer are the pieces that can be singled out as unambiguous evidence. Such is the predicament of the historian of the Ancient Near East. But the rules stated above do take into account all the evidence, even if proof is not as ample as could be desired.

The evidence pertains to certain regnal years of particular kings. It is necessary to extrapolate from these for all the regnal years of all the kings in the Achaemenid Period, the basic assumption being that the regnal dating system was the same throughout the Twenty-seventh Dynasty. It should also be noted that, because of the reliability of the Babylonian evidence,<sup>18</sup> all Egyptian regnal dates may be considered as certain within one year. The evidence discussed below is meant to establish the exact year, making it possible to determine for any month and day date in the Twenty-seventh Dynasty precisely how many times the earth has revolved around its axis since that date.

#### 1. *The first rule*

The only viable alternatives to this rule are to count from one Babylonian new year to the next, or from one anniversary of accession to the next. These alternatives seem inherently unlikely, and one piece of evidence may be adduced to show that neither was used. The Aramaic Customs Account<sup>19</sup> contains a list of Egyptian dates falling in Year 11 of Xerxes I. The dates span the period 6 March–19 December 475,<sup>20</sup> which begins before the Babylonian new year in the spring<sup>21</sup> and ends after the anniversary of accession of Xerxes,<sup>22</sup> without a change in year date.

#### 2. *The second rule*

This rule can be derived simply from Ptolemy's Canon, a fact I have not found explicitly noted anywhere. The reason for this reticence may be that, in spite of its great value as a chronological tool, the Canon dates to Ptolemaic and Roman times and is therefore not contemporary evidence. On the other hand, the Canon has never been contradicted by the cuneiform evidence as it has emerged since last century. Since the Canon uses wandering years and applies 'predating of postdating' to the reigns of the Persian rulers of Egypt, the intriguing possibility arises that the conversion of Babylonian into Egyptian years may not be an artefact of Alexandrian astronomers, but may reflect a historical Egyptian regnal dating method of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty (see further below in IV).

<sup>18</sup> See *BabChr*.

<sup>19</sup> For a description, see *TAD* III, xx–xxi. The text is also edited in this volume (C3.7).

<sup>20</sup> The Julian dates would be the same in 476 if one assumed, for the sake of the argument, that 'predating' was used.

<sup>21</sup> The Babylonian new year always fell in late March or April.

<sup>22</sup> The earliest known date for Xerxes I is 1 December 486 (Month 6 Day 22 of the accession year); see *BabChr*, 17. The latest for Darius I is 24 November 486 (Month 8 Day 15 of Year 36); see M. W. Stolper, *JNES* 51 (1992), 61–2. Xerxes' day of accession and its anniversaries therefore fell shortly before Month 8 Day 22, which is never later than 8 December in his reign. Note that, in Sippar, Xerxes' accession was only recognized as late as after 18 + x and before 21 December (S. Zawadzki, *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles* 2 (June 1992), 39 no. 49; I owe this reference to Matthew Stolper, and Paul-Alain Beaulieu kindly sent me a copy of the article).

It is necessary, however, to prove the second rule from contemporary sources. One way is through comparison with 'predating'. It should be the case that the regnal years of kings coming to the throne between the Egyptian and the Babylonian new year are the same as they would be according to 'predating', whereas those of kings coming to the throne between the Babylonian and the Egyptian new year are one lower than they would have been (cf. II.2). By the same token, the regnal years of a Persian king are the same whether he came to the throne before or after the Egyptian new year in a given Babylonian year. In Egyptian 'predating', this would make a difference of a year. The decisive factor, therefore, in Egyptian 'predating of postdating' is the relation of the day of accession to the *Babylonian new year*; its relation to the Egyptian new year is irrelevant. But to prove that the Egyptian new year does not matter, it is still necessary to know which kings came to the throne between the Egyptian and the Babylonian new year, and which between the Babylonian and the Egyptian.

The above also implies that it cannot be positively shown whether, for kings coming to the throne between the Egyptian and Babylonian new years, 'predating' or 'predating of postdating' was used, for the two dating methods would effectively coincide for those kings. According to the third rule, the brief period between the day of accession and the first Babylonian new year would be a kind of accession period preceding Year 1, but there is no evidence from such a period. For these kings, one must make the assumption that there was only one system of regnal dating in the Persian Period; only with this premise can an argument be constructed in favour of 'predating of postdating'.

The six Persian kings of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty that must be considered are, in chronological order, Cambyses, Darius I, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes I, Darius II, and Artaxerxes II. The reign of the first only partly overlaps with the First Persian Period, as Cambyses conquered Egypt only a few years into his reign. Artaxerxes II lost Egypt at the very beginning of his long reign, but is included here because dates of his Year 4 are known from Aramaic documents. The cuneiform record allows the following statements about the dating ranges within which the days of accession of these six kings fall:<sup>23</sup>

Cambyses	August 530 <sup>24</sup>
Darius I	29 September–22 December 522 <sup>25</sup>
Xerxes I	November 586 <sup>26</sup>
Artaxerxes I	5 August 465–2 January 464 <sup>27</sup>
Darius II	25 December–13 February 423 <sup>28</sup>
Artaxerxes II	18 September 405–9 April 404 <sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup>I have not been able to check systematically (nor would I be capable of the task) the numerous editions of cuneiform texts that have appeared since *BabChr* in order to establish whether the statements on the deaths and accessions of the Persian kings in this work can be refined. Nonetheless, with the help of others, refinement has been possible in several cases (see below). More evidence for Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes II would be welcome, but any possible refinements would not essentially change the thrust of the argument presented here.

<sup>24</sup>*BabChr*, 14. This is based on the latest date for Cyrus and the earliest date for Cambyses in Babylonian tablets.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.* 15. The first date is that of the defeat of Bardiya as preserved in the Behistun inscription, which probably resulted in recognition of Darius in Persia. The second date is that of the earliest Babylonian tablet, evidencing recognition in Babylon. What matters for the argument in the present paper is that Darius I certainly came to the throne between the Babylonian new year (27 March 522) and the Egyptian (1 January 521).

<sup>26</sup>See n. 22.



Three kings, Cambyses, Darius I, and Xerxes I, came to the throne between the Babylonian and Egyptian new years, and a fourth, Artaxerxes I, almost certainly did.<sup>30</sup> One king, Darius II, almost certainly<sup>31</sup> came to the throne between the Egyptian and Babylonian new years. The matter remains undecided for Artaxerxes II; Cambyses' case is considered separately in the discussion of the fourth rule.

(a) Kings coming to the throne between the Babylonian and the Egyptian new year (Darius I, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes I)

*Direct evidence (only for Xerxes I)*

The Aramaic documents from Achaemenid Egypt contain numerous double dates,<sup>32</sup> but

<sup>27</sup>The first date is the first day after the earliest possible date for the murder of Xerxes (*BabChr*, 17). It might be assumed that Artaxerxes I came to the throne in the days or weeks after that, but this is not absolutely certain, as there may have been an interregnum.

The second date, 2 January 464, is the earliest known date for Artaxerxes I. It is found, not in a cuneiform text, but in an Aramaic document (*AP* 6), and will be further discussed below. The Egyptian new year fell sixteen days earlier on 17 December 465. If the news of Artaxerxes' accession had reached Elephantine at the southern border of Egypt from Babylon or from another capital of the empire by 2 January 465, then surely the accession must have occurred before the Egyptian new year of 17 December 465.

On the end of the Xerxes I's reign, see Stolper, 'Some Ghost Facts from Achaemenid Babylonian Texts', *JHS* 108 (1988), 196–8, at 196–7.

<sup>28</sup>The first date is the day following the last regular date of Artaxerxes I, 24 December 424, found in a tablet from Nippur (*BabChr*, 18). 25 December is therefore Darius II's earliest possible day of accession. He could, of course, have been on the throne slightly earlier if the news of his accession arrived later in Nippur, but for him to have come to the throne before the Egyptian new year of 7 December 424, the accession would have had to become known nearly three weeks later in Nippur.

There is some additional evidence to support the statement that Darius II came to the throne after 7 December 424. There exists a date later than 24 December 424 mentioned above for Artaxerxes I's reign, namely Month 11 Day 17 of his Year 41 (26 February 423), in a tablet from Ḥašbâ (*BabChr*, 18; G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murâšû: une famille d'hommes d'affaires babyloniens à l'époque Perse (455–403 av. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1951), 173). The village is situated near Nippur (R. Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts* (Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 8; Wiesbaden, 1985), 156). The date may be called irregular because it is two days later than the earliest date for Darius II from Nippur, 24 February 423 (*BabChr*, 18), and thirteen days later than the Darius date from Babylon, 13 February 423. On the other hand, it allows the hypothesis that, if the news of the accession of Darius II had not arrived at Ḥašbâ by 26 February, the accession cannot have occurred much earlier than 13 February.

Although tablets are dated until the end of Year 41 of Artaxerxes I, he probably died at the end of his Year 40. On the much debated question of the end of his reign and the transition to that of Darius II, see my 'The Date of Death of Artaxerxes I', *Die Welt des Orients* (forthcoming).

<sup>29</sup>The first date is the day after the latest date for Darius II, namely Month 6 Day 2 Year 19 (17 September 405). It is found in tablet Louvre AO 17603 (J.-M. Durand, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente* (Paris, 1981), pl. 36 and F. Joannès, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente* (Paris, 1982), 103 no. 34); I owe the reference to this tablet to Matthew Stolper. But again, if Darius II's day of accession was slightly earlier than his latest date in the tablets, then the accession of Artaxerxes II could also have been slightly earlier than 18 September 405. It can be inferred from Ptolemy's Canon that Artaxerxes II's first Babylonian year began on 10 April 404.

<sup>30</sup>See n. 27.

<sup>31</sup>See n. 28.

<sup>32</sup>For a bibliography of the study of Aramaic double dates, see *TAD* II, xi. S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, 'The Fifth-century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine', *JNES* 13 (1954), 1–20, is essential reading, as is Porten's 'The Calendar of Aramaic Texts from Achaemenid and Ptolemaic Egypt', in A. Netzer and S. Shaked (eds), *Irano-Judaica II: Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture Throughout the Ages* (Jerusalem, 1990), 13–32. See also *TAD* II, 184–7 and III, 292–3; all the relevant texts are now conveniently gathered in *TAD* II and III. I have used the Julian dates given in these two works. They were calculated with the help of computer-generated lists prepared by P. J. Huber.

only one document provides direct and unambiguous evidence, namely the Memphis Shipyard Journal.<sup>33</sup> This journal, found in a papyrus from Saqqara, preserves, wholly or in part, thirteen double dates assigned to Xerxes' Years 13, 14, and 15.<sup>34</sup> It is one of the few papyri containing not only double month and day dates, but also double year dates, the first Babylonian, the second Egyptian; only two other cases (discussed below) are known. There is therefore no doubt which year date is Babylonian and which is Egyptian. From matching the Babylonian and Egyptian month and day dates in the Journal,<sup>35</sup> it appears that Xerxes' Egyptian Year 15 coincides with the 365-day Egyptian wandering year lasting from 19 December 472 to 18 December 471. It follows that his Year 1 lasted from 23 December 486 to 21 December 485. The cuneiform evidence shows that Xerxes I was in power already by 1 December 486.<sup>36</sup> It may be concluded, then, that Year 1 did not begin with the accession day.

Why do no other double dates from the reigns of these kings serve as direct proof? To answer this question, the double dates may be divided in two groups:

- (1) Double dates containing a single regnal year with month and day dates falling between the Babylonian new year and the Egyptian new year: it is not absolutely certain that the year dates are Egyptian or common Egyptian-Babylonian.<sup>37</sup> They could be purely Babylonian.
- (2) Two double dates that contain only a single regnal year with dates falling between the Egyptian new year and the Babylonian new year: the texts are *AP* 6 and 10. *AP* 10 is problematic because the dates do not match as the text stands. In *AP* 6, considered by itself, the year date could be Babylonian. Both documents are discussed in more detail below.

#### *Inferred evidence from P. Kraeling 10 and other double dates*

In this section it is argued that, because the single year date of P. Kraeling 10 is Egyptian, single year dates are Egyptian or common Egyptian-Babylonian. Thus, information derived from P. Kraeling 10 can serve as a premise to turn other double dates into proof for the second rule.

The double date in this papyrus is 20 Adar = 8 Khoiak, Year 3 of Artaxerxes II (9 March 402). Since Artaxerxes' first Babylonian year began on 10 April 404 and his third on 18 April 402, he could not yet have been in his Babylonian Year 3 on 9 March 402, the date of P. Kraeling 10.<sup>38</sup> Year 3 can only be his regnal year according to the Egyptian dating system.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See Parker, *AJSL* 58, 300–1. Why all the other double dates do not qualify as direct evidence is discussed below.

<sup>34</sup> For a list, based on a new edition of the text, see now *TAD* III, 293. For the text, see C3.8 in this volume

<sup>35</sup> See Parker, *AJSL* 58, 295–8; *TAD* III, 293.

<sup>36</sup> See n. 22.

<sup>37</sup> Common Egyptian–Babylonian year dates do occur, as appears from the list of dates in the Shipyard Journal. In month and day dates between the Egyptian and Babylonian new year, there are two different year dates, one Babylonian, the other Egyptian. In month and day dates between the Babylonian and Egyptian new year, there is only a single year date; the year date must therefore be common. See Parker, *AJSL* 58, 271.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Porten, *Irano-Judaica* II, 25.

<sup>39</sup> See also Parker, *AJSL* 58, 274 n. 7, discarding an earlier opinion that the year date is the common Egyptian–Babylonian year, possibly carried on erroneously beyond new year.

The following consideration illustrates the nature of both the evidence for regnal dating in Achaemenid Egypt and its interpretation. If new cuneiform evidence were to show that Artaxerxes came to the throne before 2 December 405, then Year 3 in P. Kraeling 10 would become evidence that 'predating' was *not* used, because Artaxerxes II would have been in his Egyptian Year 4 by 9 March 402 in the 'predating' system. P. Kraeling 10 would then also support the second rule. But if it were to be shown that he came to the throne after 1 December 405, P. Kraeling 10 would be evidence neither for 'predating' nor for 'predating of postdating', because the Egyptian year date is the same in both systems for kings who came to the throne between the Egyptian and the Babylonian new year. In this case, P. Kraeling 10 would confirm the second rule only by not contradicting it.

The knowledge that the year date in P. Kraeling 10 is Egyptian may now be applied to other double dates. The largest group of these consists of those that contain only a single regnal year and whose dates fall after the Babylonian new year but before the Egyptian. As mentioned above, the Babylonian and Egyptian year numbers coincide in this period in the 'predating of postdating' system.

First, the evidence from P. Kraeling 10 suggests that the year is Egyptian, or at least common Egyptian-Babylonian, when there is only one year number. Second, the sequence of double dates is almost always: Babylonian month and day—Egyptian month and day—year.<sup>40</sup> This order, too, suggests that the year is Egyptian; the sequence Babylonian month and day—Egyptian month and day—Babylonian year seems unlikely. Third, in the three cases in which it is certain that a Babylonian year is given, the Memphis Shipyard Journal, *AP* 25, and *AP* 28,<sup>41</sup> the Babylonian year immediately follows the Babylonian month and day: Babylonian month and day—Babylonian year—Egyptian month and day—Egyptian year. Fourth, purely Egyptian single dates are quite numerous in Aramaic documents, where the year dates are definitely Egyptian.

If the year is taken to be Egyptian, or Egyptian-Babylonian, in all single year dates, other double dates can be adduced as evidence for the second rule. For example, because the date in *AP* 5, 28 Pahons = 18 Elul, Year 15, corresponds to 12 September of 471, the year number ought to have been Year 16 if 'predating' had been used. Now, two other double dates, in *AP* 6 and *AP* 10, have been thought to contain a Babylonian year date. But in *AP* 10, the dates do not match, and the three solutions that have been offered to correct what must be a scribal error all assume that the year is either Egyptian or both Egyptian and Babylonian. The date is as follows: 7 Kislev (14 December 456?) = 4 Thoth (18 December 456?), (Babylonian?) Year 9 of Artaxerxes. The proposed corrections to obtain a match are: 7 Kislev = 4 epagomenal, (Egyptian and Babylonian, or just Egyptian) Year 9 of Artaxerxes;<sup>42</sup> 7 Kislev = 4 Thoth, (Egyptian) Year[2]9 of Artaxerxes;<sup>43</sup> 7 Kislev = 4 Thoth, (Egyptian) Year 4 of Artaxerxes.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, the unique date formula of *AP* 6 is as follows: 18 Kislev = [13 + ] 4 Thoth, Year 21 (of Xerxes), 'the beginning of the reign (*r's mlkwt*)' when King Artaxerxes sat on his

<sup>40</sup>The Egyptian date comes first in P. Kraeling 1 and P. Kraeling 6. On the much-discussed date in P. Kraeling 6, see my 'Evidence for Accession Dating under the Achaemenids', Excursus 1, *JAOs* (forthcoming).

<sup>41</sup>A discussion of *AP* 25 and 28 follows below.

<sup>42</sup>Porten, *Irano-Judaica* II, 25.

<sup>43</sup>Porten, *Irano-Judaica* II, 25; Horn and Wood, *JNES* 13, 12–13.

<sup>44</sup>Horn and Wood, *JNES* 13, 12–13.

throne' (2 January 464). It has been considered 'one of the two exceptional cases' in which only the Persian or Babylonian year is used.<sup>45</sup> So far, we have seen that no single year dates are unambiguously Babylonian but that some are unambiguously Egyptian, and that taking all the single year dates to be Egyptian is not contradicted by any of the evidence. For this reason, it is more probable that the year date in *AP* 6 is Egyptian, following the Egyptian month and day date. If so, it appears from the date in *AP* 6 that the Egyptian Year 1 had not yet begun; this means that the 'predating' system was not used, since, according to this, Year 1 begins with the day of accession.

The term *r's mlkw't*, 'beginning of the reign', reminds one of the name for the Babylonian accession year, *šanat reš šarrūti*.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, it has become clear that in the Achaemenid Egyptian system, too, there were periods in which a king had begun his reign, but not yet his Year 1. There is no Egyptian evidence as to how this period was named, but *AP* 6 seems to provide evidence for how this period in the Egyptian calendar was referred to in Aramaic. The date is discussed further below.

#### *An item of circumstantial evidence*

Herodotus reports that Egypt revolted when Darius I died, in November 486,<sup>47</sup> and that Xerxes crushed the revolt 'in the second year' after his death (VII, 7). An inscription by the Persian governor of Coptos found in the Wadi Hammamat<sup>48</sup> is dated to Month 1 Day 19 of Year 2 of Xerxes. In 'predating', this would be 9 January 485, or only about two months after Darius' death,<sup>49</sup> but the date according to Achaemenid-Egyptian regnal dating, 9 January 484, agrees better with Herodotus' report that Egypt was in rebellion in the first year after Darius' death.<sup>50</sup>

(b) Kings coming to the throne between the Egyptian and the Babylonian new year (only Darius II)

There are only two double dates with two regnal years other than those already discussed from the Memphis Shipyard Journal. They are:<sup>51</sup>

3 Kislev, Year 8 = 12 Thoth, Year 9 of Darius II (*AP* 25)  
 16 December 416 (night)  
 24 Shebat, Year 13 = 9 Athyr, Year 14 of Darius II (*AP* 28)  
 10 February 410 (night)

<sup>45</sup> Horn and Wood, *JNES* 13, 8. The other date, found in P. Kraeling 6, is even adduced to postulate an autumn-to-autumn calendar, on the assumption that the year date is Babylonian. But for P. Kraeling 6, see my 'Evidence for Accession Dating under the Achaemenids', Excursus 1, *JAOs* (forthcoming).

<sup>46</sup> See n. 14.

<sup>47</sup> *BabChr*, 16–17.

<sup>48</sup> G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte: Recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* (BdE 11; Cairo, 1936), 120.

<sup>49</sup> On this assumption, Kienitz conjectured that Upper Egypt was not involved in the rebellion (*Politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 67–8).

<sup>50</sup> For the dating of this rebellion and the reign of Psammetichus IV, who may have led the rebellion, see now Pestman, in Thissen and Zauzich (eds), *Grammata Demotika*, 145–55. The existence of Pharaoh Psammetichus IV was first postulated by E. Cruz-Uribe, 'On the Existence of Psammetichus IV', *Serapis* 5/2 (1980), 35–9.

<sup>51</sup> Horn and Wood, *JNES* 13, 17; Parker, *JNES* 14, 272. See now *TAD* II, 44–51.

It is practically certain that Darius II came to the throne after the Egyptian new year of 7 December 424, and there is no doubt, on the basis of the cuneiform evidence and Ptolemy's Canon, that he was in power by the Babylonian new year of 11 April 423.<sup>52</sup> Because this is so, the above dates could be interpreted both as 'predating' and as 'predating of postdating'.<sup>53</sup> But if we assume a single regnal dating system for the entire Persian Period, then the dates above evidence 'predating of postdating'.

### 3. *The third rule*

#### (a) The Babylonian new year as beginning of Year 1

For this there is only one piece of evidence, and then only for kings coming to the throne between the Babylonian and the Egyptian new years, but there is also an argument of consistency that can be adduced. Whereas the second rule allows one to convert the dates falling in most of the period covered by the Twenty-seventh Dynasty into their Julian equivalents, the third rule only applies to the very beginnings of reigns and its applicability is therefore limited. On the other hand, its theoretical significance is greater, because discussing the beginnings of reigns requires one to reflect on the rationale of 'predating of postdating'; the way in which subsequent years are dated is determined by how regnal dating was started at the beginning of the reign.

The preceding rules show that Persian kings coming to the throne between the Babylonian and Egyptian new years did not begin their Year 1 on the day of accession. The question may be asked: what did Egyptian scribes take as the beginning of Year 1? The three possible days for the beginning of the reign are (1) the first Egyptian new year, (2) the first Babylonian new year, and (3) the day of accession itself.

For kings who came to the throne between the Babylonian and the Egyptian new years (Darius I, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes I), there are two possibilities: (1) the Egyptian new year and (2) the Babylonian new year;<sup>54</sup> the second rule implies that the accession day is not a possibility. Since these kings began their second year only on the second Egyptian new year after the accession, they must have been in their first at the latest by the first Egyptian new year. It may be added that, for kings who came to the throne between the Egyptian and the Babylonian new year (Darius II), there are two possibilities for the beginning of Year 1: (1) the accession day itself or (2) the Babylonian new year. The first Egyptian new year is not a possibility because it is certain that Year 2 began then. The only way of achieving a consistent solution for all the Persian kings is to postulate that Year 1 began on the Babylonian new year, the only common possibility for the two groups of kings. Even if it cannot be excluded that, as Parker thought, habits differed for either group, this argument of consistency deserves consideration.<sup>55</sup>

To find out when Year 1 began, it is necessary to study dates that fell either in the interval between the first Egyptian and the first Babylonian new year for kings coming to the throne between the Babylonian and the Egyptian new year, or in the interval between the day of accession and the first Babylonian new year for kings coming to the throne between the Egyptian and Babylonian new years. If the Egyptian year date in that

<sup>52</sup> *BabChr*, 18.

<sup>53</sup> But only as 'predating of postdating' if he had come to the throne before new year of 7 December 424.

<sup>54</sup> The Egyptian new year preceded the Babylonian by about three to five months throughout the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.

<sup>55</sup> This argument is also invoked by Barta, *ZÄS* 119, 86.

interval is Year 1, then Year 1 must have begun on the first Egyptian new year or the day of accession.<sup>56</sup> If it is not, then the scribes were waiting for the Babylonian new year and the beginning of the Babylonian Year 1 a few months later to begin Year 1 in the Egyptian reckoning as well.

The only piece of evidence is the date in *AP* 6, already quoted above, and it only applies to kings coming to the throne between the Egyptian and Babylonian new years. The date is: 18 Kislev = [13 + ] 4 Thoth, Year 21 (of Xerxes), 'the beginning of the reign when King Artaxerxes sat on his throne' (2 January 464 BC). If the year date is Egyptian, as suggested above, and the first regnal year began at the Egyptian new year, then one might have expected to find 'Year 1' as a regnal date, for the Egyptian new year had occurred a couple of days before.<sup>57</sup> Since 'Year 1' is not how the date is formulated, it may be assumed that it had not yet begun. The next significant point in the calendar at which Year 1 might begin was the Babylonian new year.<sup>58</sup>

The component 'Year 21 (of Xerxes)' is puzzling. It is certainly a chronological fiction, since the reference to Artaxerxes shows that the scribe knew that Xerxes had died.<sup>59</sup> The name of Xerxes is not even mentioned in the date. Perhaps the scribe wished to avoid stating 'beginning of the reign when King Artaxerxes sat on his throne', without any sequential year number; 'Year 21', without a royal name, may have been added as a point of reference to mark which wandering year was meant. 'Year 21, beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes' would then mean 'the nameless period at the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes following Xerxes' Year 21', as distinct from 'Year 21 of Xerxes', referring to the previous wandering year.

Shortly after the Babylonian new year, the important yearly New Year's Festival or Akītu Festival took place in Babylon. In earlier scholarship, the main purpose of the feast was thought to be the assigning of the earthly kingship to Babylonian rulers.<sup>60</sup> This could be one more reason why the Egyptians waited with the Babylonians for the beginning of the Babylonian Year 1 to begin the Egyptian reckoning. Throughout Egyptian history, Year 1 had *always* begun on the day of accession, a random day in the year. To begin with, the Babylonian new year, also a random day in the Egyptian calendar, would therefore not be a departure from previous practice. But the significance of this feast as a confirmation of the royal dignity of the king seems to have been exaggerated.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, the role of the king was central to the whole event, as the installation was

<sup>56</sup> Barta prefers this option (*ZÄS* 119, 85–6).

<sup>57</sup> According to Parker (*JNES* 14, 274), the date can be explained by assuming that the common Babylonian–Egyptian Year 21 was carried on beyond new year, just as, in modern times, one may erroneously date letters written in the month of January to the previous year, and the correct equivalent would be 'Kislev 18, Year 21 (of Xerxes) = Thoth [17], Year 22, the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes I'. Parker's equivalent assumes that the Egyptian year changed at new year, but it leaves the chronological fiction of dating according to Xerxes' reign after his death unexplained. Might one not have expected, according to Parker's theory, as a completely regular double date with two year-dates, something like 'Kislev 18, beginning of the reign [that is, Babylonian accession year] = Thoth [17], Year 1'?

<sup>58</sup> Awareness of the Babylonian new year in the Egyptian calendar is illustrated by *AP* 72, where in a sequence of purely Egyptian dates, it is noted that 25 Khoiak corresponds to 1 Nisan or the Babylonian new year. See Porten, *Irano-Judaica* II, 31.

<sup>59</sup> For what is probably a similar case, see n. 28 end.

<sup>60</sup> Following H. Winckler, 'Studien und Beiträge zur babylonisch-assyrischen Geschichte', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 2 (1887), 299–315, at 302–4. This was called a 'splendid discovery' by Meyer, *Forschungen* II, 449.

<sup>61</sup> See S. A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akītu Festival* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 12/1; Copenhagen, 1926), 174–83; A. K. Grayson, 'Chronicles and the Akītu

in a sense ‘recapitulated’.<sup>62</sup> The king’s presence was perhaps required for the festival to take place.<sup>63</sup>

(b) Either the day of accession or the first New Year’s Day as beginning of Year 1  
Parker was the first to observe, in connection with his work on the Memphis Shipyard Journal, that the Persian kings could not always have ‘predated’ their regnal years.<sup>64</sup> Previously it had not been necessary to understand this point in order to determine dates from the Persian Period absolutely, because the wandering years in Ptolemy’s Canon correspond to historical reality. In fact, Parker rightly criticized Horn and Wood for stating that ‘the Egyptians called the interval between the king’s accession and the next Egyptian New Year’s Day “year 1”’.<sup>65</sup> This is not true for the Persian Period. Nevertheless, their study of the double dates was in no way hindered because they used the wandering years of Ptolemy’s Canon.<sup>66</sup> In a sense, Parker was the first to show, without explicitly stating it that way, that the Achaemenid Egyptian regnal dating in Ptolemy’s Canon is in agreement with historical fact, except for the fact that only full wandering years are used. The significance of this agreement is discussed in section IV. When it came to explaining how this dating system came about, Parker assumed different systems for kings coming to the throne between the Babylonian and Egyptian new years and those coming to the throne between the Egyptian and Babylonian new years: ‘the Egyptians in part accommodated their dating to that of their Persian overlords as follows: (1) they kept Thoth 1 as their date for beginning regnal years, but (2) they adopted the principle of the *accession year* whenever the new king came to the throne after Nisanu 1 and before Thoth 1.’<sup>67</sup> Accordingly, for kings coming to the throne between 1 Nisan and 1 Thoth, Year 1 begins on the first new year day, for kings coming to the throne between 1 Thoth and 1 Nisan, on the day of accession.<sup>68</sup>

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Festival’, *Actes de la XXVII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Brussels, 1970), 160–70, at 164–70. On this festival, see also J. A. Black, ‘The New Year Ceremonies in Ancient Babylon: “Taking Bel by the Hand” and a Cultic Picnic’, *Religion* 11 (1981), 39–59.

<sup>62</sup> See K. van der Toorn, ‘Het Babylonisch Nieuwjaarsfeest’, *Phoenix ExOrLux* 36/1 (1990), 10–29, at 21, who also describes how, on 5 Nisan, the king travels to Babylon and ‘asks to be admitted to Marduk. Before he is received in the cella, the *šešgallu* divests him of his regalia (among others, the scepter and the crown) and hits him on the cheek. ... The king enters the chapel of Marduk and is forced to the knees by the priest, who pulls him by the ears. In this less than flattering position, the king makes a confession of innocence ... As answer he receives an oracle of salvation. The *šešgallu* assures him that Marduk will elevate his kingship and fell his enemies. As a sign of divine approbation, the king is handed anew the insignia of his office’ (p. 12). I thank Paul-Alain Beaulieu for drawing my attention to this article.

<sup>63</sup> See, for example, P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus King of Babylon 556–529 B.C.* (Yale Near Eastern Researches 10; New Haven, 1989), 187 top.

<sup>64</sup> *AJSL* 58, 285–301.

<sup>65</sup> Horn and Wood, *JNES* 13, 4; Parker, *JNES* 14, 271.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Ptolemy’s Canon allows us to establish the Julian date of Thoth 1 for any year from 747 B.C. onward’ (Horn and Wood, *JNES* 13, 4).

<sup>67</sup> *AJSL* 58, 298–9.

<sup>68</sup> Egyptian year numbers are therefore one higher than Babylonian year numbers between 1 Thoth and 1 Nisan. But of the five dates falling in that period in documents other than the Memphis Shipyard Journal, only two, those in *AP* 25 and 28, have two different year numbers. Among the others, *AP* 6 and 10 have dates just after the Egyptian new year. Parker (*JNES* 14, 271–4) therefore suggested that the common Babylonian–Egyptian year was carried on erroneously beyond new year. In P. Kraeling 10, however, the date is too far beyond new year to assume such an error, and as mentioned above, it seems to be Egyptian, as acknowledged by Parker as an afterthought in *JNES* 14, 274 n. 7. If the year date is not carried over in P. Kraeling 10, then neither would it have to be in *AP* 6 and 10, whose single year numbers would be simply Egyptian, or, in *AP* 6, at least common Egyptian–Babylonian.

It is true that, as Parker notes, the Egyptian and Babylonian years would never coincide for kings who came to the throne between 1 Nisan and 1 Thoth if 'predating' were used, and that between 1 Thoth and 1 Nisan, the year date numbers would even differ by two! He conjectured that it was precisely because the Egyptians achieved this abstraction that they adjusted their dating in the case of kings coming to the throne between the Babylonian and the Egyptian new year, while this was not necessary for other kings, of which the only certain case is Darius II. It is equally possible, though, in a less abstract version of the same theory, that it was realized at the beginning of the reigns of, say, Darius I and Xerxes I, the first two kings who began their reign as rulers of Egypt, and came to the throne shortly before the Egyptian new year, that they would already be in their Year 2 in just a matter of weeks (according to 'predating'), while their Babylonian Year 1 would not yet have begun. This practical consideration might have prompted Egyptian priests and scribes to postpone the beginning of Year 1 by just a few weeks to the first Egyptian New Year's Day, so that Year 2 began a whole year later on the second New Year's Day of the reign. The alternative suggested here is that there is only one system, namely that Year 1 always begins on the first Babylonian new year, so that the Egyptian and Babylonian counting might begin at the same time, the beginning of the Babylonian Year 1 being viewed in a way as the beginning of the reign. Importantly, this theory does not make it necessary to assume an error or a purely Babylonian regnal year in the unusual date in *AP* 6.

#### 4. *The fourth rule: 'predating of postdating' under Cambyses*

Since Cambyses conquered Egypt well into his reign, the Egyptians could hardly have followed the second rule proposed above by beginning Year 1 on the same date in the Egyptian and the Babylonian calendars. The question arises as to whether Cambyses' regnal years in the Egyptian calendar need to be counted according to 'predating', or, like the reigns of the later Persian kings, according to 'predating of postdating'. It appears that all the dates known from Cambyses' reign can be interpreted without difficulty in terms of 'predating of postdating', even if the evidence is scarce and no absolute proof exists.<sup>69</sup>

### IV. Ptolemy's Royal Canon: 'postdating' predated

Ptolemy's Canon has already been mentioned above and it is worthwhile to give a brief description of it. The Canon is a list of kings compiled by Claudius Ptolemaeus (second century AD) as part of his *Handy Tables* and carried on after him. All extant manuscripts continue the list of kings well into the Byzantine period.<sup>70</sup> The Canon has three columns. The first contains the names of kings in chronological order, beginning in 747 BC, which is also the beginning of the Era of Nabonassar. First are Babylonian kings, from

<sup>69</sup> See my 'Egyptian Regnal Dating under Cambyses ...' (cf. n. 2). See further my paper "'More Valuable than All Gold': Ptolemy's Royal Canon and Babylonian Chronology', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (forthcoming); on Theon and the *Handy Tables*, see 2. d.

<sup>70</sup> In *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, II (Berlin, etc., 1975), O. Neugebauer rebuts two common assertions entrenched in modern descriptions of the Canon. First, the Canon is often said to belong to Ptolemy's famous *Almagest* (see, for example, Horn and Wood, *JNES* 13, 4 n. 16), whereas it actually belongs to Ptolemy's later *Handy Tables* (Neugebauer, *History* II, 1025–6). Second, it used to be generally accepted that the version of the *Handy Tables* we have represents a revision by Theon (fourth century AD), but a preliminary survey of the Greek manuscript tradition does not support this (ibid. 968).



Nabonassar to Nabonidus; then come Persian kings from Cyrus to Alexander the Macedonian, who conquered the Persian empire; next are Macedonian kings, from Philip to Cleopatra, including the entire Ptolemaic Dynasty; Roman emperors, from Augustus to Antoninus, complete the original version of the list, which was later extended to include later Roman and Byzantine emperors, down to the time of the conquest of Constantinople. In the second column, next to each king's name is the number of years in his reign. In the third column, the numbers of the reigns are added up, starting in 747 BC, but the addition begins again with Philip, the successor of Alexander the Great.

Although Babylonian and Persian kings begin the Canon, all the years used in it are 365-day Egyptian wandering years. This must have required converting Babylonian regnal years into the Egyptian calendar. The circumstances in which this was done are not known. It is possible that Hipparchus (second century BC), the father of trigonometry, played a role. A modernized version of the portion containing the Persian kings who ruled Egypt is as follows:<sup>71</sup>

	Number of regnal years	Total of years added up (since 747 BC)
Cambyses	8	226
Darius I	36	262
Xerxes I	21	283
Artaxerxes I	41	324
Darius II	19	343
Artaxerxes II	46	389

It has long been recognized that the Canon 'predates'. In historical reality, pure 'predating', as opposed to 'predating of postdating' (see below), means that the beginnings of regnal years *precede* the beginnings of real regnal years (counted from the day of accession and the anniversaries of accession) of the same number. In addition, the Canon also artificially 'predates' the first regnal year by letting it begin on the Egyptian new year before the accession. For each purely 'predated' reign, days are added at the beginning when the king was not yet in power, and taken away at the end and assigned to the next king. It was Kugler who stated clearly for the first time that the Canon, in predating the regnal years of Babylonian and Persian kings, does so *from the beginning of Year 1, that is, from the first Babylonian New Year's Day (1 Nisan)*, and not from the day of accession.<sup>72</sup>

It has been suggested above that this method of dating regnal years in the earlier part of the Canon is best conceptualized by the expression 'predating of postdating'.<sup>73</sup> Like the Canon's pure 'predating', its 'predating of postdating' is to a certain extent artificial

<sup>71</sup> For such versions, with brief discussions and references to editions, see, for example, F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1906), 138–43; G. J. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest* (New York and London, 1984), 9–12.

<sup>72</sup> 'Beachtenswert ist der Umstand, daß der Kanon des Ptolemäus die Regierungsjahre, nicht wie dies in Babylonien geschah, vom 1. Nisan (März–April) an zählte, sondern vom 1. Thoth des ägyptischen Wanderjahres an, der dem 1. Nisan des ersten vollen Regierungsjahres vorausgeht. Um dieses handelt es sich hier, nicht um den Regierungsantritt, der früher—bei Nebukadnezar über acht, bei Nabonid über neun Monate früher—stattfand' (*Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* II.ii.2, 190–1 = 390–1).

<sup>73</sup> Meyer's statement that 'the older kings are postdated and the Ptolemies and Roman emperors antedated' (*Forschungen* II, 449) can now be expanded to read that 'the older kings' postdating is antedated.'

at the beginnings and ends of reigns, but the effect differs in the case of kings who came to the throne between the Babylonian and Egyptian new years from those coming to the throne between the Egyptian and Babylonian new years (see II.4). This means, for example, that Darius II's reign begins earlier whereas that of Xerxes I begins later in the Canon as compared to historical fact.

As cuneiform evidence emerged in this century and the last, it became clear that the Canon was trustworthy. Now it appears that, except for the artificial features at the beginnings and ends of reigns, it coincides with historical Egyptian regnal dating of Persian kings. Does this mean that the Canon is historical evidence for 'predating of postdating'?

It should be noted first that 'predating of postdating' also applies to the Canon's Babylonian kings, who certainly did not rule Egypt. In this case, 'predating of postdating' is definitely not historical. It is, therefore, not certain whether the fact that it uses 'predating of postdating' for the Persian kings is just a coincidence. The Canon was, after all, not so much a historical account as a scientific tool used by mathematicians and astronomers. But at the very least, as an Egyptian product, it preserves a record of how Egyptians would be inclined to convert 'postdating' to accord with their own 'predating' calendar.

### **Appendix 1: Table of the regnal years of Persian kings as counted according to the Egyptian calendar**

- Each regnal year is precisely 365 days long, except for:
  - (1) the 'beginning (of the reign)', a period so named for lack of knowledge as to what the Egyptians called it, lasting from the day of accession to the first Babylonian new year;
  - (2) the first regnal year, lasting from the first Babylonian new year to the first Egyptian new year after that—that is, the first or second Egyptian new year of the reign, depending on when the king came to the throne;
  - (3) the last regnal year, lasting from the last Egyptian new year of the reign to the death of the king.
- This list assumes that Year 1 begins on the first Babylonian new year of the reign, about seven to nine months before the first Egyptian new year following the first Babylonian new year, which is the beginning of Year 2. Even if this hypothesis is incorrect, hardly any of the dates is affected.
 

There seems to be no doubt that Year 1 had begun at the very latest by the first Babylonian new year. The only alternative involves assuming that the regnal dating system differed for kings coming to the throne between the Babylonian and Egyptian new years and for those coming to the throne between the Egyptian and Babylonian new years. For the former, Year 1 would have begun earlier on the first Egyptian new year, although this seems contradicted by *AP* 6. For the latter, Year 1 would have begun earlier on the accession day, as in Saite 'predating'.
- Wandering years marked in italics, complete or incomplete, include a Julian 29 February. Julian leap years BC are those divisible by four after subtracting one: 529, 525, 521, and so on.
- The reign lengths of the Persian rulers of Egypt are best referred to as follows, according to what is known about the deaths and days of accession of the successive kings:

Cambyses	530–522
Darius I	522–486
Xerxes I	486–465
Artaxerxes I	465–424/23
Darius II	423–405/4
Artaxerxes II	405/4–359/58

Cambyses ruled Egypt from 526/25 onward and the end of his reign and the beginning of that of Darius I are separated several months in 522 by ephemeral rulers. There probably was an interregnum between Artaxerxes I and Darius II (see n. 28). Artaxerxes II ruled Egypt only in the very beginning of his reign, if at all.

- The reign of Cambyses is discussed in detail in the paper cited in n. 2.
- All dates are BC.

<b>Reign of Cambyses</b>		<i>(Darius I, cont.)</i>	
<i>Julian dates</i>	<i>Regnal year</i>		
	<i>beginning</i> <sup>c</sup>	26 Dec 498–24 Dec 497	25
[ <i>Accession</i> <sup>a</sup> –3 Apr 529 <sup>b</sup>		25 Dec 497–24 Dec 496	26
[4 Apr 529 <sup>d</sup> –1 Jan 528	1] <sup>c</sup>	25 Dec 496–24 Dec 495	27
[2 Jan 528–1 Jan 527	2] <sup>c</sup>	25 Dec 495–24 Dec 494	28
[2 Jan 527–1 Jan 526	3] <sup>e</sup>	25 Dec 494–23 Dec 493	29
[2 Jan 526–1 Jan 525	4] <sup>e</sup>	24 Dec 493–23 Dec 492	30
2 Jan 525–1 Jan 524	5] <sup>f</sup>	24 Dec 492–23 Dec 491	31
1 Jan 524–31 Dec 524	6	24 Dec 491–23 Dec 490	32
1 Jan 523–31 Dec 523	7	24 Dec 490–22 Dec 489	33
1 Jan 522–death <sup>g</sup>	8	23 Dec 489–22 Dec 488	34
		23 Dec 488–22 Dec 487	35
		23 Dec 487–death <sup>i</sup>	36

<b>Reign of Darius I</b>	
<i>Julian dates</i>	<i>Regnal year</i>
<i>Accession</i> <sup>h</sup> –13 Apr 521 <sup>b</sup>	<i>beginning</i>
14 Apr 521 <sup>d</sup> –30 Dec 521	1
31 Dec 521–30 Dec 520	2
31 Dec 520–30 Dec 519	3
31 Dec 519–30 Dec 518	4
31 Dec 518–29 Dec 517	5
30 Dec 517–29 Dec 516	6
30 Dec 516–29 Dec 515	7
30 Dec 515–29 Dec 514	8
30 Dec 514–28 Dec 513	9
29 Dec 513–28 Dec 512	10
29 Dec 512–28 Dec 511	11
29 Dec 511–28 Dec 510	12
29 Dec 510–27 Dec 509	13
28 Dec 509–27 Dec 508	14
28 Dec 508–27 Dec 507	15
28 Dec 507–27 Dec 506	16
28 Dec 506–26 Dec 505	17
27 Dec 505–26 Dec 504	18
27 Dec 504–26 Dec 503	19
27 Dec 503–26 Dec 502	20
27 Dec 502–25 Dec 501	21
26 Dec 501–25 Dec 500	22
26 Dec 500–25 Dec 499	23
26 Dec 499–25 Dec 498	24

<b>Reign of Xerxes I</b>	
<i>Julian dates</i>	<i>Regnal year</i>
<i>Accession</i> <sup>i</sup> –5 Apr 485 <sup>b</sup>	<i>beginning</i>
6 Apr 485 <sup>d</sup> –21 Dec 485	1
22 Dec 485–21 Dec 484	2
22 Dec 484–21 Dec 483	3
22 Dec 483–21 Dec 482	4
22 Dec 482–20 Dec 481	5
21 Dec 481–20 Dec 480	6
21 Dec 480–20 Dec 479	7
21 Dec 479–20 Dec 478	8
21 Dec 478–19 Dec 477	9
20 Dec 477–19 Dec 476	10
20 Dec 476–19 Dec 475	11
20 Dec 475–19 Dec 474	12
20 Dec 474–18 Dec 473	13
19 Dec 473–18 Dec 472	14
19 Dec 472–18 Dec 471	15
19 Dec 471–18 Dec 470	16
19 Dec 470–17 Dec 469	17
18 Dec 469–17 Dec 468	18
18 Dec 468–17 Dec 467	19
18 Dec 467–17 Dec 466	20
18 Dec 466–death <sup>j</sup>	21

<b>Reign of Artaxerxes I</b>		<i>(Artaxerxes I, cont.)</i>	
<i>Julian dates</i>	<i>Regnal year</i>		
Accession <sup>k</sup> –12 Apr 464 <sup>b</sup>	beginning	8 Dec 428–7 Dec 427	38
13 Apr 464 <sup>d</sup> –16 Dec 464	1	8 Dec 427–7 Dec 426	39
17 Dec 464–16 Dec 463	2	8 Dec 426–6 Dec 425	40
17 Dec 463–16 Dec 462	3	7 Dec 425–6 Dec 424	41
17 Dec 462–15 Dec 461	4	7 Dec 424–end <sup>l</sup>	42
16 Dec 461–15 Dec 460	5		
16 Dec 460–15 Dec 459	6	<b>Reign of Darius II</b>	
16 Dec 459–15 Dec 458	7	<i>Julian dates</i>	<i>Regnal year</i>
16 Dec 458–14 Dec 457	8	Accession <sup>m</sup> –10 Apr 423 <sup>b</sup>	beginning
15 Dec 457–14 Dec 456	9	11 Apr 423 <sup>d</sup> –6 Dec 423	1
15 Dec 456–14 Dec 455	10	7 Dec 423–6 Dec 422	2
15 Dec 455–14 Dec 454	11	7 Dec 422–5 Dec 421	3
15 Dec 454–13 Dec 453	12	6 Dec 421–5 Dec 420	4
14 Dec 453–13 Dec 452	13	6 Dec 420–5 Dec 419	5
14 Dec 452–13 Dec 451	14	6 Dec 419–5 Dec 418	6
14 Dec 451–13 Dec 450	15	6 Dec 418–4 Dec 417	7
14 Dec 450–12 Dec 449	16	5 Dec 417–4 Dec 416	8
13 Dec 449–12 Dec 448	17	5 Dec 416–4 Dec 415	9
13 Dec 448–12 Dec 447	18	5 Dec 415–4 Dec 414	10
13 Dec 447–12 Dec 446	19	5 Dec 414–3 Dec 413	11
13 Dec 446–11 Dec 445	20	4 Dec 413–3 Dec 412	12
12 Dec 445–11 Dec 444	21	4 Dec 412–3 Dec 411	13
12 Dec 444–11 Dec 443	22	4 Dec 411–3 Dec 410	14
12 Dec 443–11 Dec 442	23	4 Dec 410–2 Dec 409	15
12 Dec 442–10 Dec 441	24	3 Dec 409–2 Dec 408	16
11 Dec 441–10 Dec 440	25	3 Dec 408–2 Dec 407	17
11 Dec 440–10 Dec 439	26	3 Dec 407–2 Dec 406	18
11 Dec 439–10 Dec 438	27	3 Dec 406–1 Dec 405	19
11 Dec 438–9 Dec 437	28	?2 Dec 405–death <sup>n</sup>	20
10 Dec 437–9 Dec 436	29		
10 Dec 436–9 Dec 435	30	<b>Reign of Artaxerxes II<sup>o</sup></b>	
10 Dec 435–9 Dec 434	31	<i>Julian dates</i>	<i>Regnal year</i>
10 Dec 434–8 Dec 433	32	Accession <sup>p</sup> –9 Apr 404 <sup>b</sup>	beginning
9 Dec 433–8 Dec 432	33	10 Apr 404 <sup>d</sup> –1 Dec 404	1
9 Dec 432–8 Dec 431	34	2 Dec 404–1 Dec 403	2
9 Dec 431–8 Dec 430	35	2 Dec 403–1 Dec 402	3
9 Dec 430–7 Dec 429	36	2 Dec 402–31 Nov 401	4
8 Dec 429–7 Dec 428	37	[1 Dec 401–31 Nov 400	5]

*Notes*

<sup>a</sup> Cambyses' day of accession occurred in August 530. For a discussion of the approximate dates for the days of accession of Persian kings who ruled Egypt, see III.2.

<sup>b</sup> This is the day before the Babylonian new year (1 Nisan).

<sup>c</sup> Dates containing this regnal year can only be retroactive, since Cambyses' conquest took place in the period from mid to late 527 at the earliest to mid 525 at the latest (see paper cited in n. 2).

<sup>d</sup> This is 1 Nisan or the Babylonian new year. The dates of new year are taken from the tables in *Bab Chr*, 30–4; for the degree of accuracy of these dates, see *ibid.* 25.

<sup>e</sup> Dates containing this regnal year could probably occur only in documents where retroactive dating was used. But since Cambyses' conquest began in mid to late 527 at the earliest and ended in early June 525 at the latest, the probability of encountering real dates increases as this period progresses. See the paper cited in n. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Dates in the earlier part of this year could be retroactive if mentioned in documents of later date, for the *terminus ante quem* for Cambyses' conquest is June 525. See the paper cited in n. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Cambyses was still recognized according to the Babylonian records in April 522. The Behistun inscription indicates that he did not die till after 1 July 522. See *Bab Chr*, 14.

<sup>h</sup>The accession of Darius I occurred in the period from 29 September–22 December 522 (see III.2). Darius did not immediately succeed Cambyses. For the complex problems involving the beginning of Darius' reign, see *Bab Chr*, 14–16.

<sup>i</sup>The death of Darius I and the accession of Xerxes I occurred in November 486 (see III.2).

<sup>j</sup>The death of Xerxes I occurred in 4–8 August 565. See *Bab Chr*, 17.

<sup>k</sup>The accession of Artaxerxes I occurred in the period from 5 August 465–2 January 464 (see III.2).

<sup>l</sup>This refers to the end of the period in which Babylonian records were dated according to Artaxerxes I. The two latest dates are 24 December 424 and 26 February 423. The latter is irregular because it falls after the earliest date of Darius II (see III.2). The choice of 'end' over 'death' reflects the fact that there is some dispute as to when Artaxerxes I died. It used to be thought that he died early in 424, even before the beginning of what would have been his Babylonian Year 41 (22 April 424), and that Year 41 was a chronological fiction used in the period when ephemeral kings ruled Persia before the accession of Darius II. There are even references anticipating Year 42. But more recently, all the evidence has been reinterpreted to support the claim that the cuneiform texts dated to Year 41 indicate that Artaxerxes I was alive, or at least that the scribes who wrote the dates believed that he was. For a discussion of all the evidence, see my forthcoming paper (above, end of n. 28).

<sup>m</sup>The accession occurred in the period from 25 December (possibly a little earlier)–13 February 423 (see III.2).

<sup>n</sup>The death of Darius II occurred in the period from 18 September 405–8 April 404 (see III.2). If he had died before the Egyptian new year of 1 December 404, he would not have had an Egyptian Year 20. An Egyptian Year 19 is attested at Edfu (see Kienitz, *Politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 178 with n. 4). This explains the question mark before the wandering year beginning on 2 December 405. It is certain that Darius II did not have a Babylonian Year 20 because the Babylonian year beginning on 21 April 405 is his Year 19, while that beginning on 10 April 404 is Artaxerxes II's Year 1.

<sup>o</sup>Very little is known about Egyptian history at the end of the fifth century BC and even less that would allow a precise chronology. For the end of the First Persian Period, see Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (corrected repr., Oxford, 1966), 371–2, 452; Kienitz, *Politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 178–80. Artaxerxes II's Year 4 is attested in Aramaic documents from Egypt, but it is uncertain whether this indicates that he still held real power. A document dated to Year 5 of the native Egyptian king Amyrtaios is also preserved. It is not certain in which year Amyrtaios' reign began, or was considered to begin, and whether it was dated according to 'predating' or according to 'predating of postdating'.

<sup>p</sup>The accession of Artaxerxes II took place in the period from 18 September 405 (possibly a little earlier) to 9 April 404 (see III.2).

## Appendix 2: Two examples of conversion into Julian dates

### Names of the months

Greek name	Egyptian name
1. Thoth	I <i>šht</i> 1
2. Phaophi	II <i>šht</i> 1
3. Athyr	III <i>šht</i> 1
4. Khoiak	IV <i>šht</i> 1
5. Tybi	I <i>prt</i> 1
6. Mekheir	II <i>prt</i> 1
7. Phamenoth	III <i>prt</i> 1
8. Pharmouthi	IV <i>prt</i> 1
9. Pakhon	I <i>šmw</i> 1
10. Payni	II <i>šmw</i> 1
11. Epeiph	III <i>šmw</i> 1
12. Mesore	IV <i>šmw</i> 1
5 epagomenal days	5 <i>hryw mpt</i>

In the calculations below, one progresses by adding the same number of days to the Julian calendar in the left-hand column as to the Egyptian calendar in the right-hand column and vice versa.<sup>a</sup> The following calculations would not be necessary if one had as instruments four long sheets containing (1) a column with the 365 days of the wandering year, (2) and (3) two copies of a column with the 365 days of the Julian ordinary year, and (4) a column with the 366 days of the Julian leap year. By placing (1) next to the appropriate combination of two sheets from (2), (3) or (4), with the Egyptian new year on the same level as the Julian day with which it happens to coincide in a given year, one could read off to which Julian day a given day of the Egyptian wandering year corresponds.<sup>b</sup>

*Example 1:* Month 9 Day 11 (i šmw 11) Year 28 of Darius I<sup>c</sup>

+ 6	25 Dec	495 <sup>d</sup>	= Month	1 Day	1	
+ 1	31 Dec	495	= Month	1 Day	7	
	1 Jan	494	= Month	1 Day	8	+ 22
	23 Jan	494	= Month	1 Day	30	+ 1
+ 7	24 Jan	494	= Month	2 Day	1	
+ 1	31 Jan	494	= Month	2 Day	8	
	1 Feb	494	= Month	2 Day	9	+ 21
	22 Feb	494	= Month	2 Day	30	+ 1
+ 5	23 Feb	494	= Month	3 Day	1	
+ 1	28 Feb	494 <sup>e</sup>	= Month	3 Day	6	
	1 Mar	494	= Month	3 Day	7	+ 23
	24 Mar	494	= Month	3 Day	30	+ 1
+ 6	25 Mar	494	= Month	4 Day	1	
+ 1	31 Mar	494	= Month	4 Day	7	
	1 Apr	494	= Month	4 Day	8	+ 22
	23 Apr	494	= Month	4 Day	30	+ 1
+ 6	24 Apr	494	= Month	5 Day	1	
+ 1	30 Apr	494	= Month	5 Day	7	
	1 May	494	= Month	5 Day	8	+ 22
	23 May	494	= Month	5 Day	30	+ 1
+ 7	24 May	494	= Month	6 Day	1	
+ 1	31 May	494	= Month	6 Day	8	
	1 Jun	494	= Month	6 Day	9	+ 21
	22 Jun	494	= Month	6 Day	30	+ 1
+ 7	23 Jun	494	= Month	7 Day	1	
+ 1	30 Jun	494	= Month	7 Day	8	
	1 Jul	494	= Month	7 Day	9	+ 21
	22 Jul	494	= Month	7 Day	30	+ 1
+ 8	23 Jul	494	= Month	8 Day	1	
+ 1	31 Jul	494	= Month	8 Day	9	
	1 Aug	494	= Month	8 Day	10	+ 20
	21 Aug	494	= Month	8 Day	30	+ 1
+ 9	22 Aug	494	= Month	9 Day	1	
+ 1	31 Aug	494	= Month	9 Day	10	
	<b>1 Sep</b>	<b>494</b>	<b>= Month</b>	<b>9 Day</b>	<b>11</b>	+ 19
	20 Sep	494	= Month	9 Day	30	+ 1
+ 9	21 Sep	494	= Month	10 Day	1	
+ 1	30 Sep	494	= Month	10 Day	10	
	1 Oct	494	= Month	10 Day	11	+ 19
	20 Oct	494	= Month	10 Day	30	+ 1
+ 10	21 Oct	494	= Month	11 Day	1	
+ 1	31 Oct	494	= Month	11 Day	11	
	1 Nov	494	= Month	11 Day	12	+ 18
	19 Nov	494	= Month	11 Day	30	+ 1
+ 10	20 Nov	494	= Month	12 Day	1	
+ 1	30 Nov	494	= Month	12 Day	11	
	1 Dec	494	= Month	12 Day	12	+ 18
	19 Dec	494	= Month	12 Day	30	+ 1
	20 Dec	494	= 1st epagomenal			+ 4
	24 Dec	494	= 5th epagomenal			+ 1
	25 Dec	494	= Month	1 Day	1	

*Example 2: Month 5 Day 29 of Year 5 of Cambyses<sup>f</sup>*

	2 Jan	525	= Month	1 Day	1	
	31 Jan	525	= Month	1 Day	30	+ 29
	1 Feb	525	= Month	2 Day	1	+ 1
+ 28	29 Feb	525 <sup>g</sup>	= Month	2 Day	29	
+ 1	1 Mar	525	= Month	2 Day	30	
	2 Mar	525	= Month	3 Day	1	+ 1
	31 Mar	525	= Month	3 Day	30	+ 29
+ 1	1 Apr	525	= Month	4 Day	1	
+ 29	30 Apr	525	= Month	4 Day	30	
	1 May	525	= Month	5 Day	1	+ 1
	<b>29 May</b>	<b>525</b>	= <b>Month</b>	<b>5 Day</b>	<b>29</b>	+ 28

*Notes*

<sup>a</sup>All the Egyptian months are 30 days long. January, March, May, July, August, October, and December are 31 days long; February is 28 or 29 days long; April, June, September, and November are 30 days long.

<sup>b</sup>E. Mahler, *Chronologische Vergleichungstabellen* (Vienna, 1988) also conveniently lists the months from 747 BC to AD 451.

<sup>c</sup>Found in a Wadi Hammamat rock inscription edited by Posener, *La première domination*, 111–13.

<sup>d</sup>Look in the table for the Julian equivalent of the first day or New Year's Day of the wandering year that is Darius I's Year 28.

<sup>e</sup>Julian 494 (–493) is not a leap year.

<sup>f</sup>Day of birth of Apis XLIV according to Louvre IM.4187, edited by Posener, *La première domination*, 36–41.

<sup>g</sup>Julian 525 (–524) is a leap year.

## THE ASTRONOMICAL CEILING OF DEIR EL-HAGGAR IN THE DAKHLEH OASIS\*

By OLAF E. KAPER

Publication of the astronomical ceiling from the temple of Deir el-Haggar, and an interpretation of its contents. New parts of this ceiling were rediscovered in 1992-3 and a complete reconstruction is presented. On the basis of parallels, the ceiling's decoration can be dated to the second century AD. Notable aspects are the importance of the opposition of sun and moon, and the occurrence of a local version of the twelve gods of the lunar months.

IN 1992 the Dakhleh Oasis Project together with the Egyptian Antiquities Organization embarked upon a joint programme of clearance and restoration of the temple of Deir el-Haggar. This temple is located at the western end of the Dakhleh Oasis and it was one of the last in Egypt to remain largely buried under its own debris. Previous clearance works inside the temple had been restricted to the sanctuary area, which was cleared in 1874 by the expedition of G. Rohlfs. In the 1960s, Ahmed Fakhry undertook some small-scale excavations mainly in front of the building, and the Dakhleh Oasis Project surveyed the entire area surrounding the Deir el-Haggar temple in 1978.<sup>1</sup> During the recent operations inside the temple, large sections of previously unknown temple reliefs and objects have appeared, notably in the pronaos. These provide many new details about religion and artistic developments in Dakhleh in the first centuries AD. A full publication of the temple reliefs is in preparation by the author. The present article is devoted solely to the astronomical ceiling from the sanctuary which, although it has been known since 1874, has never been studied as a whole.

The drawing in fig. 1 presents the relief as reassembled and copied at the time of excavation in 1992 and 1993. The drawing was prepared on site. Five photographs of fragments of the ceiling taken in 1908 are shown here in pls. XIV–XV, kindly provided by the Egyptian Art Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Those sections of the relief which are now lost entirely from the original have been added to the drawing in a thin line on the basis of these photographs.

For the purpose of reference in this article, the four registers within the relief have been numbered one to four from the top (north side) to the bottom (south side).

### Physical description

The room which functioned as the temple's sanctuary is situated at the rear end of the building (fig. 2). Its ceiling measured 3.25 × 2.42 m, comprising five slabs of sandstone, each approximately 0.54 m in thickness. Only one smaller section now remains in place

\*I am grateful to Drs Colin Hope and Harco Willems for reading a draft of this article and commenting upon various aspects. Much valued help was also received from Professor L. Kákósy.

<sup>1</sup>The finds made by Fakhry at Deir el-Haggar are now displayed in the New Valley Museum, Kharga. A preliminary description of site 33/390-F9-1, which includes both the temple and the settlement area around it, was given by A. J. Mills, *JSSSEA* 9 (1979), 178.



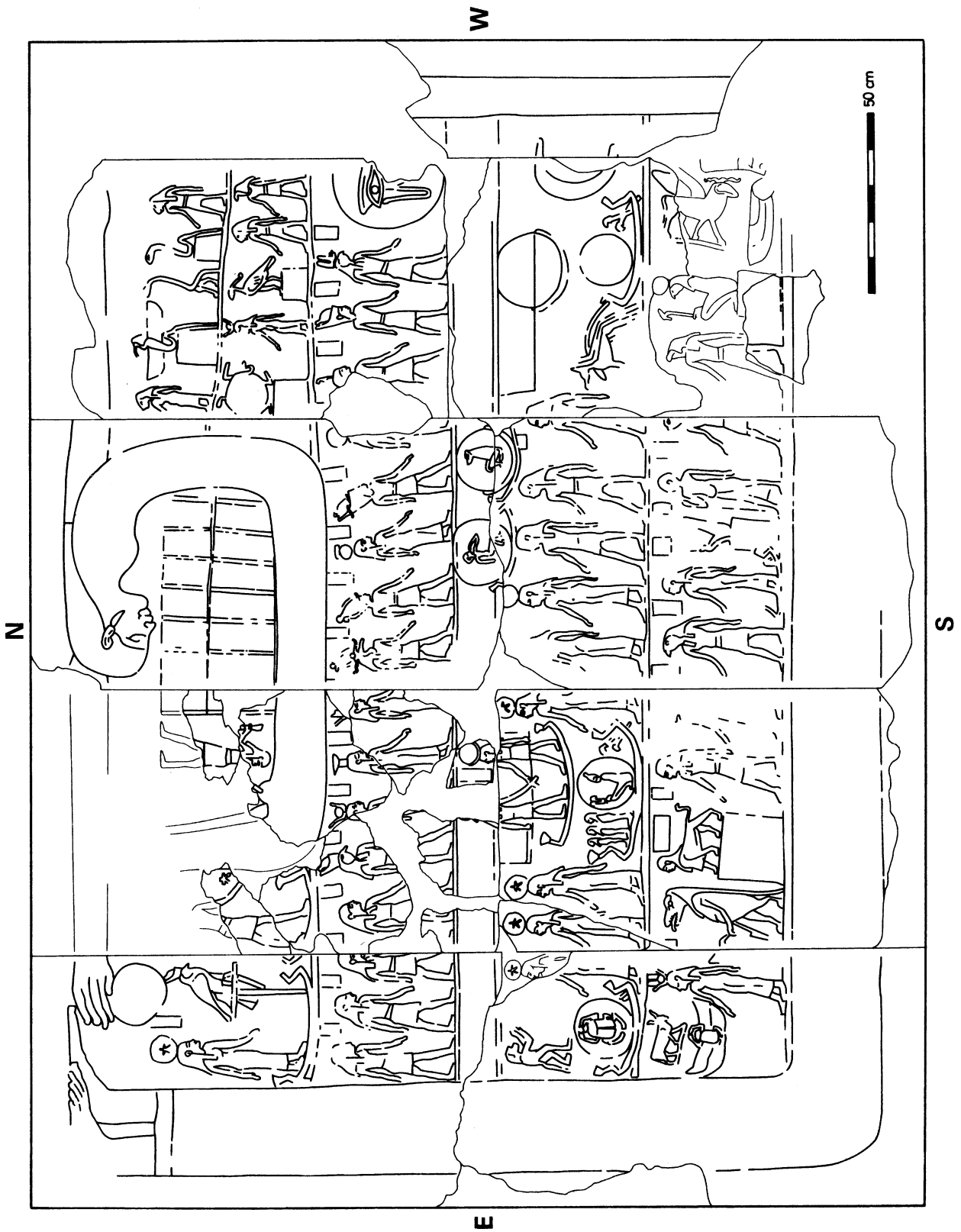


FIG. 1. The fragments of the Deir el-Haggar sanctuary ceiling reconstructed. Sections drawn in a thin line indicate portions of the relief now lost.

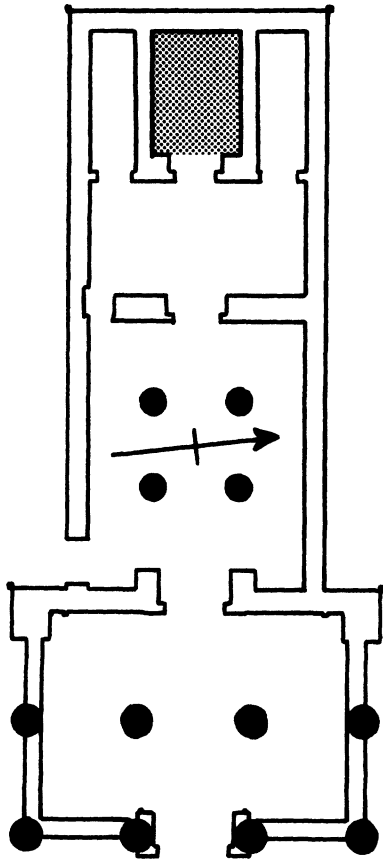


FIG. 2. Schematic plan of the nuclear stone temple building at Deir el-Haggar with the location of the sanctuary.

at the western end of the room. The other slabs, each of which measured more than 2.50 m in length, have been shattered into fragments of varying sizes. The original approximate width of these slabs was, from east to west: 71.0 cm, 73.0 cm, 74.5 cm and 72.1 cm. The smaller slab still remaining in position measures 39.0 cm.

The carving of the ceiling has been executed in a shallow raised relief. Its design was drawn without the use of a grid and, apparently, not even a layout sketch had been prepared before the figures were drawn onto the ceiling. This becomes clear especially in the third register of the relief, where the individual elements of the design are drawn more sparsely on the right than on the left, suggesting that the sculptor worked from the rear of the room forward. This practice stands in contrast to the reliefs on the walls of the sanctuary, where the sculptor adhered to a conventional strict layout of the scenes.

The ceiling had originally been plastered and painted. Traces of the following colours remain:

COLOUR	LOCATION WITHIN THE CEILING
Light blue	the background colour, preserved in various locations
Red	the skin colour of the god Geb in the second register and of the left deity of the antithetical couple in the boat the dresses of the second goddess from the left in the third register and of the two anthropomorphic goddesses in the fourth register the disks which contain the left <i>wedjat</i> -eye and the child with the hand to his mouth the Red Crown worn by the falcon-headed Horus in the second register
Yellow	the skin colour of the right deity of the antithetical couple in the boat
White	the White Crown worn by the falcon-headed Horus in the second register

It is to be noted that, in general, this colour scheme differs from that of the walls of the sanctuary, where the skin of all divinities had been painted yellow, gods and goddesses alike, and where the background colour was white.



FIG. 3. Redrawn copy of J. G. Wilkinson's sketch showing a portion of the sanctuary ceiling seen by him *in situ* in 1825.

### History of the ceiling's discovery

The first visit to Deir el-Hagggar by Europeans in modern times was made in 1819, by an expedition led by A. Edmonstone, accompanied by Messrs Hoghton and Master. The rear part of the temple, with the sanctuary, appears from their description still to have been in good condition: 'The roof still continues entire over these three chambers, which are lower than the rest of the building'.<sup>2</sup> However, the roof must have been vandalized not long after their visit, because in 1825 J. G. Wilkinson arrived at the site and found the ceiling of the sanctuary, the adytum as he calls it, to be ruined: 'The adytum and side adyta were lower than the other rooms; the roof of the north one alone remains. The middle one is much ruined ...' As may further be deduced from his terse description, one section of the original ceiling was still in place: 'in the adytum in north of ceiling ... with part of an

astronomical subject'.<sup>3</sup> Wilkinson made a sketch of this remaining section in his notebook, which is redrawn here for fig. 3. The traces of the ceiling which remain *in situ* even today, appearing on the right in fig. 1, were not remarked by Wilkinson. Apparently, the damaged state of this section of the ceiling, which has prevented its identification until only recently, was brought about at the same time as the destruction of the other slabs.

G. Rohlfs was the leader of a geographical expedition which came to Dakhleh in 1874. In his publication of the expedition's experiences,<sup>4</sup> he describes an excavation he had undertaken in the temple of Deir el-Hagggar which aimed to uncover the decoration on the sanctuary walls. This work was supervised by the expedition's photographer, P. Remelé. The large ceiling slabs of the astronomical ceiling were found lying face down in the debris. Rohlfs describes how they were carefully dragged out of the sanctuary, but no mention is made of any part of the ceiling still remaining *in situ*. The fragment drawn by Wilkinson had apparently been removed before their arrival.<sup>5</sup>

Photographs were taken of all the decorated stones found in the temple. These were subsequently shown to some of the leading Egyptologists of the day, namely, Lepsius, Brugsch, Dümichen, Ebers, and Mariette, who identified the names in the cartouches.<sup>6</sup> Only Brugsch published a description of the fragments of the astronomical ceiling. However, owing to the missing Wilkinson fragment and the unrecognized fragment still

<sup>2</sup>A. Edmonstone, *A Journey to Two of the Oases of Upper Egypt* (London, 1822), 50–1.

<sup>3</sup>As recorded in his notes on the temple, which were recently published by M. P. Cesaretti, 'Sir John Gardner Wilkinson a Deir el-Hagar', *DE* 14 (1989), 17–29. In his *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, II (London, 1843), 363, Wilkinson summarizes: 'on the ceiling of the adytum is part of an astronomical subject'.

<sup>4</sup>G. Rohlfs, *Drei Monate in der Libyschen Wüste* (Kassel, 1875).

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.* 125. Rohlfs does not provide any description of the astronomical ceiling whatsoever; he simply dismisses it as being a standard feature in Egyptian temples.

<sup>6</sup>H. Brugsch-Bey, *Reise nach der grossen Oase el-Khargeh ...* (Leipzig, 1878), 70–1, and K. R. Lepsius, 'Hieroglyphische Inschriften in den Oasen von Xärigeh und Däxileh', *ZAS* 12 (1874), 79–80.

*in situ* at the western end of the sanctuary, he did not succeed in reconstructing the original layout of the ceiling.<sup>7</sup> Ebers commented on the artistic quality of the sculpture in the temple in general. He found the temple reliefs to be of two distinct levels of quality and he concluded 'dass die feineren Bildhauerarbeiten von Künstlern aus den Nilthale herkommen, während die gröberen von eingeborenen Oasenbewohnern gefertigt seien'.<sup>8</sup> The most notable difference in the quality of execution amongst the different temple reliefs is that between the ceiling and the walls of the sanctuary, and it is undoubtedly this to which Ebers refers in his comment.

In 1908, H. E. Winlock and A. M. Jones were the next scholarly visitors to the temple to leave a detailed description. In Winlock's monograph, not published until 1936,<sup>9</sup> he describes having made hand copies of the inscriptions at Deir el-Haggar. Both he and Jones also took photographs of the ceiling blocks, which are reproduced here in pls. XIV–XV. For the publication, the artist L. F. Hall prepared a drawing of part of the astronomical ceiling which appeared as plate 23A. This drawing was based solely on these photographs of five large fragments which were found exposed in 1908. A large part of the ceiling could therefore not be included. For the section of the ceiling which had been recorded by Wilkinson in 1825, Hall's drawing was based on Wilkinson's sketch (fig. 3).

On the history of the ceiling slabs after Winlock's visit not much is certain. A number of tourists' graffiti are incised into the same blocks that Winlock saw, attesting their subsequent exposure. These graffiti, all in Arabic, contain the following dates: 1915; 4 October 1919; 1920 (?); 17 August 1921; 1921. After the latest date, a further three blocks disappeared beneath the sand accumulating inside the offering hall. In 1978, at the start of the survey carried out by the Dakhleh Oasis Project, only the two largest slabs remained visible, leaning against the wall where they had been placed by Remelé in 1874.

During the clearance work carried out in the rear part of the temple in 1992 and 1993, the individual fragments of the ceiling were all retrieved from the sand in the offering hall. The block which Wilkinson had drawn in 1825 was found shattered into small fragments inside the room to the south of the sanctuary. It is unclear why the fragments had been moved there, some time within the period between the visits of Wilkinson in 1825 and Rohlfs in 1874.

### Iconographical description and commentary

As with most astronomical ceilings, the scene is surrounded by a bending figure of Nut. The goddess's feet were originally in the north-eastern corner of the sanctuary and her hands in the north-western corner. On Winlock's photograph in pl. XV, 2, the face of Nut is still partly visible, together with a small disk with one wing attached to it, which conventionally indicates the setting sun disappearing into the goddess's mouth in the evening. The north side of the relief is dominated by a large figure, which I believe depicts Geb, symbolizing the earth. Parallels for this acrobatic posture of Geb are to be

<sup>7</sup>Brugsch, loc. cit., identifies various elements depicted in the ceiling: the goddess Nut, the decans, the stars and the lunar Ennead. The latter he assumes to have been depicted *on either side* of the disk containing the left *wedjat*-eye, which shows that he did not succeed in reconstructing the original layout.

<sup>8</sup>As cited in Rohlfs, *Drei Monate*, 129.

<sup>9</sup>H. E. Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis: Journal of a Camel Trip Made in 1908* (New York, 1936).

found first in a mythological papyrus from the Twenty-first Dynasty,<sup>10</sup> and subsequently in the temples of Philae (hypostyle hall),<sup>11</sup> Dendara (western Osiris chapel, outer room),<sup>12</sup> and in the tomb of Psenosiris at Athribis (outer room).<sup>13</sup>

The first known representation of the curled-up god, in the Twenty-first Dynasty papyrus, illustrates the earth's fertility by showing the god engaged in oral self-impregnation. His curled-up position may have provided the artist's inspiration for this unique iconography.<sup>14</sup> The papyrus explicitly identifies the god as 'Geb, the father of the gods, the great god who made the earth and all that the sun encircles'. None of the four later parallels corroborates the god's name. A feature characteristic of the Graeco-Roman representations is the androgynous nature of the figure, which has replaced the sexual act depicted in the mythological papyrus as an indication of the god's fertility.<sup>15</sup> At Deir el-Haggar the figure displays female hairstyle and breast, but the sexual organ is male (cf. fig. 3). Both the Philae and Dendara reliefs represent the figure with a female breast but without other distinctive female traits. As for male traits, the Dendara figure wears a beard, but no sexual organ is indicated. The Athribis tomb is too much damaged for its figure to be compared to the others.

A text at Kom Ombo which describes the ascension of a number of gods into heaven, contains a unique epithet for Geb: *Gb m šnt*, perhaps meaning 'Geb as the circumference', or the like.<sup>16</sup> It is tempting to consider this as a reference to the posture of Geb under discussion. The only iconographical parallel for a god in a circular posture is the figure of Osiris as depicted in the closing vignette of the *Book of Gates*.<sup>17</sup> In the legend with this figure, the god is said to 'enclose the netherworld', just as Geb is shown surrounding the earth. The term employed in the *Book of Gates* to describe Osiris' action is the verb *šnj*, which is most commonly found referring to the sun's orbit, as in the

<sup>10</sup>Pap. BM 10018, shown entirely in line drawing in R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, I (Turin, 1881), pl. 159. A photograph of the Geb figure may be found in A. Piankoff, *Egyptian Religion 3* (1935), 155 fig. 2, and J. A. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften* (Turin, 1973), pl. 28b; a drawing of the same in A. Nawiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries BC* (Göttingen, 1989), 200 fig. 74, cf. also p. 330.

<sup>11</sup>Commission des monuments d'Égypte, *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1809–28), *Atlas Antiquités* I, pl. 10.1; Lanzone, *Dizionario* I, 402–4, pl. 155; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae* (Paris, 1893), pl. 1; PM VI, 237.

<sup>12</sup>A. Mariette, *Dendérah, description générale du Grand Temple de cette ville*, IV (Paris, 1880), no. 76; Lanzone, *Dizionario* I, 410–11 pl. 160; PM VI, 96 ('a twisting figure of Nut'); identified as Geb by F. Daumas, 'Sur trois représentations de Nout à Dendara', *ASAE* 51 (1951), 373 (1).

<sup>13</sup>This ceiling is referred to as 'Nag Hammadi A' in O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* (hereafter, *EAT*) (3 vols.; Providence and London, 1960–1969), III, no. 56, pl. 38A. On this tomb, see now R. el-Farag et al., 'Recent Archaeological Explorations at Athribis (*Hwt Rppj.t*)', *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 1–8.

<sup>14</sup>On this action of Geb: H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 203; H. Te Velde, *LÄ* II, 429, s.v. 'Geb'; L. Manniche, *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1987), 31 fig. 18; D. Meeks and C. Favard Meeks, *La vie quotidienne des dieux égyptiens* (Paris, 1993), 103. Even more remarkable in this vignette, however, is the personification of the sky over Geb as a male god also. Possibly this was done because the goddess Nut is already present in the adjacent vignette on the same papyrus and repetition was not deemed desirable.

<sup>15</sup>The distinction is to be made between androgynous figures and purely male figures shown with pendulous breasts, as was noted by J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster and Chicago, 1985), 118–21. The breasts on the curled-up god are female.

<sup>16</sup>A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* (Cairo, 1973), 387, translates 'Geb de l'orbe de la terre'.

<sup>17</sup>E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches* (Basel and Geneva, 1979–80), I, 410 and II, 290–1. In a different context, Osiris' body may assume a less pronounced

mythological papyrus mentioned in the previous paragraph,<sup>18</sup> but the term is also used to describe the circumference of the earth (*šnt n tꜣ*).<sup>19</sup>

Geb's extraordinary posture may have its origin in Theban representations of the Mound of Djeme (*jꜣt dꜣ-mt*) which show a pair of outstretched arms to indicate the earth below the mound. The arms were ascribed to Horus (Twenty-second Dynasty) or to Geb (Twenty-fifth Dynasty).<sup>20</sup> The development of this pair of arms into a complete figure of the earth god adopted the circular posture in order to depict the god surrounding the earth he personifies. In the traditional Egyptian world view, the earth's surface could be conceived of as a circular plane.<sup>21</sup> The solar disk upon one of the arms of the Deir el-Hagggar figure, as in several of the parallels, shows that the body of the god was thought to extend to the world's horizon where the earth is in direct contact with the sun. Similarly, in descriptions of the sun's course, a pair of arms belonging to an unnamed cosmic deity play an active role.<sup>22</sup>

There remain a few counter-arguments which could be brought against the proposed identification of the curling figure as Geb. In the first place, the androgynous body is not otherwise known in the iconography of Geb, although the god has inherent aspects of fertility. Furthermore, the Deir el-Hagggar figure has what seems to be a lion's whisker added to his face. This may reflect the well-known leonine aspect of the god Shu, but it is not a known aspect of Geb.<sup>23</sup> However, the same element may be found on the face of several other deities, who are not necessarily leonine in character, such as Min and Osiris.<sup>24</sup> It is possible that the origin of this iconographical feature actually lies in the strap attached to the beard of the gods. The significance of these elements remains to be established, but their occurrence does not necessarily exclude the identification of this figure as Geb.

In my opinion, there remains only one case to argue before accepting fully the identification of the figure as Geb. My interpretation supposes that it is the earth itself

curve, as in the fourth section of the *Book of Caverns* (Piankoff, *Le Livre des Quererts* (Cairo, 1946), pl. 38; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zurich and Munich, 1984), 361) and in Section D of the *Book of the Earth* (Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953), pl. D; Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, 468). This seems, to my mind, a play on Osiris' lunar aspects, identifying him visually with the crescent moon.

<sup>18</sup>Geb may be described as ruler over the entire earth as enclosed by the sun's orbit, as in a hymn to the god at Koptos: (< *sšm* > = *f wꜣš m šnt n jtn ꜣꜣwt 9 m jꜣw n hr* = *f*) 'His image which radiates within the orbit of the sun, the Nine Bows acclaim his face' (C. Traunecker, *Coptos: Hommes et dieux sur le parvis de Geb* (Leuven, 1992), 222 (text 42.9), 228).

<sup>19</sup>W. Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques* (Cairo, 1927), 173.24–4 and 199.21 (Twenty-first Dynasty).

<sup>20</sup>In the chapel of Osiris *hqꜣ-dt* in Karnak the right arm preserves the legend *rmn Hr*: R. A. Parker, J. Leclant and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence and London, 1979), pl. 23 (21). The same scene recurs in the Edifice of Taharqa (ibid. pl. 22), with the legend *rmn Gb* preserved only for the left arm. Goyon, ibid. 53 n. 77, thinks that the two arms belong separately to Horus and Geb. However, in view of the lack of parallels for such a composite pair of arms, I assume that the earlier version ascribed both arms to Horus, and the later version both to Geb. It is possible that the Djeme iconography is derived from the pair of arms found in the last hour of the *Book of Amduat*, which indicate the division between the netherworld and the earth above. However, these arms are ascribed to Shu and they will develop independently into another type of full figure: Hornung, 'Zu den Schlusszenen der Unterweltsbücher', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 217–26.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. the expression *šnt n tꜣ*, referred to in n. 19.

<sup>22</sup>J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin, 1969) 61 n. 97.

<sup>23</sup>On the leonine aspects of Shu: Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 687–8.

<sup>24</sup>C. M. Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, III (Cairo, 1986), 95 no. 127 (Osiris); S. Sauneron, *Le temple d'Esna* (hereafter, *Esna*) (7 vols.; Cairo, 1959–1982), VI, 37 no. 485 (Min); ibid. 51 no. 490 (Tutu).

which the god 'encloses' (*šny*). In contrast to the parallel figures elsewhere, at Deir el-Haggar the space enclosed within the curved body of Geb has been filled with a representation of the star sign Orion, as recorded by Wilkinson's sketch (fig. 3).<sup>25</sup> Next to Orion there was originally a set of fourteen text panels, but nothing of the former painted inscriptions has survived. To the left of the Geb figure there is yet another image of Orion, which is clearly of astral significance in view of several parallels to this scene (see below). Therefore, I propose to identify the figure within the body of Geb as Osiris, with whom Orion was frequently identified.<sup>26</sup> The figure would thus represent Osiris in his astral manifestation, which is in accordance with the celestial surroundings of the scene. This type of adaptation to the astronomical context similarly applies to the iconography of the goddess Opet in the fourth register, described below. Accepting the explanation of this Orion figure as Osiris, we might postulate that the fourteen panels next to the god contained the names of the fourteen members of the body of Osiris, which together constituted the god's entire body according to contemporaneous tradition. The reconstituted body of Osiris was a current metaphor for the country of Egypt, including the Dakhleh Oasis.<sup>27</sup> Thus, through the use of the metaphor of Osiris' body, the Deir el-Haggar ceiling depicts the earth surrounded by Geb. This possible explanation of the scene also accounts for the different orientation of this part of the ceiling from the rest. The earth is depicted as the opposite of the firmament in order to distinguish clearly their respective domains.

As noted previously, a figure of Orion occurs a second time in the ceiling to the left of the curled-up Geb. This figure is represented standing in a boat and, according to Wilkinson, wearing the White Crown and raising his left arm. He is followed by a second boat which supports a falcon on a standard and a goddess, who is doubtless to be identified as Sothis. The identity of this group is established by two close parallels at Dendara, where the figure of Sothis is depicted as a cow.<sup>28</sup> On the right, but belonging to the same register, are representations of seven of the decans. To accommodate these figures, the register has been divided into two sub-registers, of which the upper contains five gods and the lower contains two, shown on the right. There are no traces of additional figures preserved between these and the arm of Nut which would have extended behind them.

The decision to represent only seven of the thirty-six decans is hard to explain. It is clear that they represent but a small and random selection of the astronomical reality. Perhaps the number seven has been chosen in analogy with the group of seven demons

<sup>25</sup>The disk which is carried in the left hand of the figure would originally have contained a star; his right hand conventionally holds a staff.

<sup>26</sup>Bonnet, *RARG*, 566–7; H. Behlmer, *LÄ* IV, 609–11, s.v. 'Orion'.

<sup>27</sup>H. Beinlich, *Die Osirisreliquien* (Wiesbaden, 1984), 306–10. The number fourteen expresses the total of members of Osiris' body, which could be mirrored in a (fictitious) corresponding number of Egyptian nomes as a symbol for the cohesion of the country: *ibid.* 67–8; L. Pantalacci, *CdE* 62 (1987), 123. The number fourteen is not exclusive — sixteen is more commonly found, obtained by the addition of two Atef crowns to the god's members. On the theme of Osiris' dismemberment in the inscriptions at Deir el-Haggar, cf. O. E. Kaper, *JSSSEA* 17 (1987), 154; *id.*, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 127. The latter texts show that the geographical symbolism attached to Osiris' body could refer to a wider area than just the Nile Valley, as was already apparent from the Osiris chapel at Hibis (Kharga).

<sup>28</sup>*EAT* III, no. 60 pl. 42 and no. 54 pl. 35; similarly also on the pronaos ceiling at Kom Ombo, *ibid.* no. 51 pl. 32. The iconography of the Deir el-Haggar Sothis is confirmed by the reliefs inside the pronaos and upon the temenos gateway of the same temple, where the goddess wears the disk with a star upon her head.

which are under the command of Sekhmet, or one of the fearsome goddesses related to her, with whom the decans share a similar role. Both these seven demons and the decans may cause death and misfortune upon earth, and both groups are found represented upon astronomical ceilings.<sup>29</sup>

The remaining three figures in the lower sub-register include: a tortoise on a pedestal, a goddess, and a heron on a pedestal. The tortoise is a well-known element of astronomical ceilings, usually appearing as a pair of tortoises under the name *štwy*.<sup>30</sup> It forms part of the decans, but, in the present case, its iconography is different from that of the other decans, who are of the 'Osorkon-type' in Kákosy's terminology.<sup>31</sup> The tortoise represents a constellation which was, in fact, specifically associated with the Nile flood. Its rising coincided with the heliacal rising of Sirius which marked the coming of the inundation.<sup>32</sup> It is likely that this symbolism applied also here. Reference to the flood waters of the Nile may seem surprising in the temple inscriptions of an oasis, but the theme seems to be relevant for the fertility of the region, as it is not uncommon in the Dakhleh temples.<sup>33</sup> The triple theme of the first register, combining Sothis on the left, the fertile earth god in the centre, and the inundation of the Nile on the right, has recently been discussed by Desroches-Noblecourt, who relates the theme to the liminal period of the epagomenal days and the renewal of the year.<sup>34</sup>

The nature of the goddess facing the tortoise remains obscure, but the heron may be identified as the planet Venus. It is the only planet represented in the ceiling. The selection here of only one of the five planets known to the ancient Egyptians may have resulted from insufficient space on the ceiling, but a different explanation for the presence of Venus is put forward in the discussion of the fourth register, below.

The second main register of the ceiling is filled with a defile of sixteen gods facing a disk containing the left *wedjat*-eye. This is a well-known representation symbolizing the phases of the waxing moon. One by one, these gods are to unite with the moon until it is full.<sup>35</sup> The deities in the group may be identified as part of the Theban Ennead,

<sup>29</sup>The seven demons occur upon the ceiling at Esna, section E, together with the decans (*Esna* IV. 1, nos. 443, 445), and also in the destroyed north temple of Esna (*EAT* III, no. 47 pl. 29). For these demons, see V. Rondot, 'Une monographie Bubastite', *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 264–7 and id., 'Le naos de Domitien, Toutou et les Sept Flèches', *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 315–31 with references. The Egyptian perception of various astral influences on earth has been described by L. Kákosy, 'Decans in Late-Egyptian Religion', *Oikumene* 3 (1982), 187–91. S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (Cairo 1991), 181, reaches a similar conclusion in interpreting the random selection of decans represented in the treasury at Dendara.

<sup>30</sup>*EAT* III, 165 no. 84. The only other instance in which a single tortoise has been represented is found at Dendara, in the western Osiris chapel (PM VI, 100), reproduced in P. Derchain, *RdE* 15 (1963), 24.

<sup>31</sup>This type is characterized by their predominantly leonine and serpentine iconography: Kákosy, *Oikumene* 3, 187–91.

<sup>32</sup>A. Gutbub, 'La tortue animal cosmique bénéfique à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine', *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, I (Cairo 1979), 391–435; Pantalacci, *Wnm-hwꜣst: genèse et carrière d'un génie funéraire*, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 308; M. Malaise, *BSFE* 122 (1991), 20–1.

<sup>33</sup>In Shrine I at Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab), the god Hapi is represented among a series of gods who apparently represent gods of the oasis (scene as yet unpublished, on this temple cf. n. 60). At the two major stone temples of Dakhleh, Ein Birbiyeh and Deir el-Hagggar, the common rows of fecundity figures include Hapi, as is the case in the Kharga temples.

<sup>34</sup>Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, 'Le zodiaque de pharaon', *Archéologia* 292 (1993), 39–42. She recognized the survival of this theme in the decoration of the Romanesque cathedral of Vézelay.

<sup>35</sup>Derchain, *La lune: mythes et rites* (Paris, 1962), 25–6; F.-R. Herbin, 'Un hymne à la lune croissante', *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 262–3 (8). The following Theban versions of this scene are to be added to the latter's examples: Oriental Institute of Chicago, The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II (Chicago, 1981), pl. 190A (Ptolemy IX Soter II); the doorway into the offering hall of the Khonsu temple: PM II, 239 (74),



because they are headed by the god Mont, identified by his feather crown with a double uraeus. The Ennead thus contains: Mont, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Thoth (taking the place of Seth in the original Ennead of Heliopolis),<sup>36</sup> Isis, Nephthys, Hathor, Horus, and four additional male divinities. The latter are almost certainly to be identified as the four sons of Horus, who are found in this context at Edfu.<sup>37</sup> Even though the significance of this register is clear enough, the number of gods represented poses a problem. This number is elsewhere in the present context never higher than fifteen, because the gods correspond with the individual days of the first half of the month.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps we ought to assume a mistake here in the design on the part of the Deir el-Haggag *hierogrammateis*, but it may, in fact, be a case of our misunderstanding the symbolism involved.<sup>39</sup> I will propose an explanation below, as suggested by the interpretation of the ceiling as a whole.

The central band dividing the ceiling into a northern and a southern part derives from the Ramesside *Book of the Night*, where the band contains a row of stars.<sup>40</sup> At Deir el-Haggag, a number of deities intrude upon the band. Two groups are depicted, both of which show the sun and the moon united and in opposition. On the left, two figures stand in a boat holding hands. The left figure, whose head is lost, carried a sun disk with an uraeus on his head, traces of which remain. The right figure has a human face and a moon disk on his head. A close parallel for this group may be found in the tomb of Psenosiris at Athribis,<sup>41</sup> where the head of the left figure is that of a falcon. The appearance of the two gods holding hands brings to mind a late spelling of the verb *snsn*, 'to unite'. To the right of this group is a scene which is similar in concept, showing two boats carrying a sun disk with a child (left) and a moon disk with a baboon (right) facing each other. The baboon refers to the moon god Thoth<sup>42</sup> and the child to the rejuvenated sun.<sup>43</sup>

The third register of the Deir el-Haggag ceiling is paralleled exactly by a scene in the pronaos at Esna, which was decorated in the late second century AD.<sup>44</sup> The scene has been redrawn in reversed direction for fig. 4, to facilitate comparison. The space available at Deir el-Haggag was much more restricted than in the case of Esna where the scene spans the entire width of the pronaos, which is approximately 20 m in length. Therefore, the differences between the two versions mainly concern the numbers of deities repre-

and R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz et al., *Les temples de Karnak* (Paris, 1982), II, pl. 260; within the Opet temple: *ibid.* pl. 283, and C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak* (Brussels, 1958), 92–3. Aufrère thinks that the same group of deities is sometimes associated with the 'filling' of the solar eye (*L'univers minéral*, 296).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Bonnet, *RARG*, 523; H. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*<sup>2</sup> (Leiden, 1977), 67. A similar combination of gods occurs in the Theban lunar scenes mentioned in the previous note and in P. Clère, *La porte d'Evergète à Karnak* (Cairo, 1961), pls. 17–18.

<sup>37</sup> E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou* (hereafter, *Edfou*) (15 vols.; Cairo, 1897–1934, 1985, and revised editions of vols. I–II, Cairo, 1984–90), III, 225, and IX, pl. 74.

<sup>38</sup> Aufrère, *L'univers minéral*, 199–202.

<sup>39</sup> The number sixteen may contain a link with the lunar aspects of Osiris, whose body may be said to consist of sixteen parts: Beinlich, *Die Osirisreliquien*, 68. However, elsewhere on the Deir el-Haggag ceiling, there seems to be another reference to a number of fourteen members of Osiris (see above).

<sup>40</sup> Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, 490–1.

<sup>41</sup> The ceiling 'Nag Hammadi B' in: *EAT* III, no. 57 pl. 39 (south end).

<sup>42</sup> Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *RdE* 7 (1950), 9–13; H. de Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 73–4.

<sup>43</sup> E. Feucht, *SAK* 11 (1984), 401–17.

<sup>44</sup> *Esna* IV.1, no. 418. The adjacent inscription, no. 417, dates to the reign of Commodus.



FIG. 4. Schematic rendering of a part of section C of the pronaos ceiling at Esna. The drawing shows the scene reversed, in the same orientation as the Deir el-Haggar ceiling.

sented. The goddesses have been reduced from twelve at Esna to six at Deir el-Haggar and the number of worshipping baboons from four to one.

The scene depicts the nightly course of the sun from the west to the east, divided into three stages corresponding with three different manifestations of the sun god. The only significant difference between the Esna rendering of the scene and the one at Deir el-Haggar is the inversion of the first and second boats in the latter. In the order of the boats at Esna (fig. 4), the first boat on the right carries the god Atum, belonging to the evening, the second boat carries the ram-headed nightly form of the sun god and the third boat contains the scarab transformation of the sun god belonging to the early morning. Each phase of the sun's course has been divided from the next by a series of six goddesses, which together represent the total number of the hours of the night. These goddesses, who accompany the sun's nightly course, may be traced back directly to the New Kingdom *Book of Gates* and ultimately to the *Book of Amduat*.<sup>45</sup> These goddesses are followed at Esna by three male deities whose role is uncertain. At Deir el-Haggar the goddesses remain in place, albeit reduced in number, and the three gods are also present. Strangely, the Atum figure has been drawn in the central position in the register, which renders the meaning of the scene much less evident than the Esna version. At Deir el-Haggar, the identity of the god is indicated by the hieroglyph of his name upon his knees.<sup>46</sup> The three figures in the bow of Atum's boat, whose identity I do not know, were moved, together with the god, into the second boat. The boat on the right, which is pulled by three jackals, carries an empty disk.

The lunar crescent at the right end of the register is also present at Esna and this seems to symbolize the moon taking the sun's place in the evening sky. An additional moon disk over the bark on the right is not contained in the Esna version. This disk seems to be yet another depiction of the same topic, referring to the rise of the full moon at the moment of sunset. However, as Winlock's photograph of the scene (pl. XV, 2) shows, the disk was deliberately obscured by a coating of plaster and replaced by a large text panel. The significance of this change in design is unclear. The plaster has now vanished entirely and both the original and later designs are visible simultaneously.

The fourth register depicts again a row of divinities. At either end we find depictions of two of the winds. Figures of the four winds are often present in astronomical scenes, but their iconography varies considerably.<sup>47</sup> Only two of the winds are present at Deir el-Haggar and, according to the closest parallels, these may be identified as the east wind

<sup>45</sup>In the eleventh hour of the *Book of Gates* and the seventh hour of the *Amduat*: Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, 291 and 138 respectively. The scene from the *Book of Gates* is published in Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten*, I, 369–71; II, 261–2. A group of six hour goddesses pulling the solar bark is also found in one of the tombs from the second century at Muzzawaka, near to Deir el-Haggar: J. Osing et al., *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla: Aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* (Mainz, 1982), pl. 26a.

<sup>46</sup>For this hieroglyph, cf. K. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, II (Hildesheim, 1979), 54.

<sup>47</sup>Examples collected in Gutbub, 'Die vier Winde im Tempel von Kom Ombo', in O. Keel (ed.), *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst* (Stuttgart, 1977), 328–53.

(the winged scarab) and the north wind (the winged ram, as is visible on pl. XV, 2) in accordance with the depictions in the temples of Deir el-Medina, and of Opet in Karnak.<sup>48</sup> Alternatively, according to parallels in the Esna temple, they may be the north wind (the winged scarab, as in *Esna* II, text 128) and the south wind (the ram, as in *Esna* II, text 105). The significance of the winds in the context of the ceiling poses a problem. At Armant and Dendara, the four winds indicate the cardinal points. That only two winds are depicted at Deir el-Haggar is perhaps because of lack of space, but a different interpretation is possible if we assume the choice to have been deliberate. Each of the four winds is known to have played a specific role in Egyptian beliefs,<sup>49</sup> and they could be interpreted by the priests in predicting the future, as is attested by the inscriptions of a court astronomer from the early Ptolemaic Period.<sup>50</sup> The same text, moreover, mentions the planet Venus in combination with certain decans. The evidence for this type of divination is meagre, but the possibility arises that this practice might have influenced the composition of the ceiling. The otherwise unexplained presence of the planet Venus with the decans and the selection of only two of the four winds could find their explanation here. The specific virtues which were ascribed to these elements are unfortunately unknown.

A temple inscription from the oasis dating to the reign of Augustus records a remarkable tradition which may be relevant for Deir el-Haggar as well. This text speaks of 'the four winds which come out of the body of Nut', indicating an otherwise unattested relationship with this goddess.<sup>51</sup> The location of the two winds at Deir el-Haggar corresponds with two corners of the relief and thus with two of the cardinal points. In view of this local tradition, however, it is equally possible that the winds were thought to be connected to the mouth and vulva of the sky goddess.

Above the winged scarab, a bull is shown facing right. In the ceiling of the demolished mammisi at Armant, a bull occurred in the same position with a pendant figure of a scorpion in the ceiling's opposite corner.<sup>52</sup> The combination with the scorpion shows that the bull represents the zodiacal sign Taurus, whose celestial opposite Scorpio has been omitted at Deir el-Haggar. For the presence of this element I am unable to put forward any explanation.<sup>53</sup>

The identity of the remaining figures between the two winds is somewhat problematic because there are no parallels for this group. The number of gods, twelve, suggests within the present context a possible relation with the hours of the day or night, or with the months of the year. In fact, the group shares similarities with the latter, as shown on the astronomical ceiling in the Ramesseum and the astronomical frieze in the temple

<sup>48</sup> C. de Wit, 'Les génies des quatre vents au temple d'Opet', *CdE* 32 (1957), 25–9.

<sup>49</sup> D. Kurth, *LÄ* VI, 1267, s.v. 'Wind'.

<sup>50</sup> The statue of Harkhebis from Buto, cf. Derchain, 'Harkhébis, le Psylle-Astrologue', *CdE* 64 (1989), 74–89; H. Brunner, 'Zeichendeutung aus Sternen und Winden in Ägypten', *Wort und Geschichte, Festschrift K. Elliger* (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973), 25–30, reprinted in W. Röllig (ed.), *Das hörende Herz* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1988), 224–9.

<sup>51</sup> As found upon the gateway of the Ein Birbiyeh temple, excavated by the Dakhleh Oasis Project. It reads *tꜣw 4 pr m ht nt Nwt*, in which the name of Nut is spelled with the figure of the bending sky goddess. The passage is unpublished.

<sup>52</sup> *EAT* III, 70–1 fig. 17, no. 52.

<sup>53</sup> The presence of Taurus may indicate a specific time reference, but it is unclear to which event. The main celestial phenomenon is the heliacal rising of Sirius, which normally takes place in the period of Leo.

of Edfu.<sup>54</sup> The first, ninth, tenth, and twelfth gods of the group coincide with the gods of the lunar calendar, a group of gods which after the New Kingdom has only been preserved within the temples and on water clocks.<sup>55</sup> The months are associated with the god whose festival is held within it. Thus, the first month is represented by the goddess Hathor because the 'festival of drunkenness', which was celebrated in her honour, was held on the 20th of the first month. The first month of the lunar calendar was, moreover, named after this festival (*thy*).<sup>56</sup> The last god in the row is Re-Harakhty, after whom the last month was named as Mesore, a name adopted also in the civil calendar which still survives in its Coptic version today. As for the remaining gods in the group of twelve, it seems that only the ninth and tenth deities correspond to the ancient lunar calendar months, because the figures resemble Khonsu and Khenty-Khety respectively.<sup>57</sup>

A lack of parallels for the remaining gods leads me to attempt to apply a similar reasoning to account for their occurrence. These eight remaining gods may reflect a different, perhaps a specifically local, tradition of representing the lunar months.

The second figure of the group of twelve represents the goddess Opet, whose presence may be explained by the name of the second month of the civil calendar, Phaophi, which was named after the Theban Opet festival. Theban influence in the temple decoration at Deir el-Hagggar is common, as is explained below, and the adoption of this goddess from the second month of the civil calendar suggests that the civil and the ancient lunar calendars were no longer differentiated around this time.<sup>58</sup> The goddess appears in the guise of the star sign which is depicted as a hippopotamus with the back and tail of a crocodile, standing upon lion's paws and leaning on a mooring post. She holds a bull's leg in her hand, which depicts the constellation of the Great Bear. This astral version of the goddess Opet has doubtless been chosen rather than her regular appearance because of the common presence of this star sign in astronomical representations.<sup>59</sup> Behind Opet stands the god Tutu upon a pedestal. This god is not exceptional in astronomical scenes either; he occurs in the zodiac tomb at Athribis and at Esna on the

<sup>54</sup>The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, VI (Chicago, 1963), pl. 478, and *EAT* III, no. 8 pl. 5 (Ramesseum); Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1950), 43–5 (227), pl. v (Edfu).

<sup>55</sup>Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 470, and esp. Parker, *Calendars*, 42–6 on the 'ancient lunar calendar', the nature of which is now again disputed by C. Leitz, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 54–6.

<sup>56</sup>C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leiden, 1973), 91; a Theban celebration of this festival is attested by Clère, *Porte d'Evergète*, pl. 68 (titulary of Hathor).

<sup>57</sup>The same iconography for the god Khonsu, as Khonsu-the-child, is found in the sanctuary and the pronaos of the temple at Deir el-Hagggar. On the falcon head of the god Khenty-Khety, who does not recur elsewhere at Deir el-Hagggar, see O. Koefoed-Petersen, *RdE* 27 (1975), 132 and U. Rössler-Köhler, *LÄ* III, 27–33, s.v. 'Horus-Chentechtai'.

<sup>58</sup>Censorinus records that the heliacal rising of Sirius occurred again on the first day of the civil year in AD 139; cf. R. Krauss, *Sothis und Monddaten: Studien zur astronomischen und technischen Chronologie Altägyptens* (Hildesheim, 1985), 56 n. 1. This date roughly corresponds to the date of the Deir el-Hagggar astronomical ceiling, see below. However, it would stretch the evidence too much to suggest that the ceiling reflects exactly this coincidence of the two calendars. It is more likely that the ancient lunar calendar, which was preserved only within the temples and which was recorded in the Ptolemaic Period only at Edfu, had lost its significance at this time.

<sup>59</sup>On the astral role of Opet-Nut, see E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari*, III. *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* (Warsaw, 1984), 82–8; Kákósy, *Oikumene* 3, 184–7.

pronaos ceiling, in both cases in the company of the 'pseudo decans'.<sup>60</sup> However, the present context is different, and I suggest that the god is placed here in third position in the row of month gods because one of Tutu's festivals was celebrated in the third month of Athyr, as is attested by the calendar in the temple of Esna.<sup>61</sup>

The remaining deities in the row are unfortunately not clearly identifiable. We can merely suggest the possibility that the fourth god might depict Osiris and the month of Khoiak, and the sixth god, who is falcon-headed, might represent Horus, whose festival of victory was celebrated on the 21st of the sixth month Mechir.

The presence of Tutu among the gods has already shown that the selection of deities in the row has been influenced by regional cults. Tutu was one of the local deities of Dakhleh Oasis, venerated in his own temple at Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab) and represented several times in the tombs at Muzzawaka near Deir el-Haggar.<sup>62</sup> We may therefore expect other local divinities to appear as well, such as Seth, the Lord of the Oasis, who had a festival in Dakhleh on the 25th of the eighth month Pharmuthi.<sup>63</sup> Also, it is possible that one of the falcon-headed gods represents the god Amun-nakht of Dakhleh, none of whose festivals is yet known.<sup>64</sup>

Within the Dakhleh temples, the emphasis upon the local deities of the oasis appears to be a dominating feature of the decoration.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, we can point to the extreme conservatism displayed by the Dakhleh dating systems employed in the Greek papyri found at Kellis. The oasis is exceptional in its use of the ancient year of 365 days even as late as the fourth century AD.<sup>66</sup> The present interpretation of the twelve gods in the fourth register as a local version of an antiquated type of calendar does not, therefore, stand isolated.

The presence of the twelve months of the year fits the context of the ceiling well. It is instructive, in this respect, to compare the Deir el-Haggar ceiling with the frieze on the north wall of the pronaos at Edfu.<sup>67</sup> Here the following groups of deities, most of which are paralleled at Deir el-Haggar, are depicted in a long row:

<sup>60</sup>At Esna, Tutu occurs in section E of the ceiling (*Esna* IV.1, no. 445, 42; for the iconography cf. *ibid.* no. 118). The zodiac tomb at Athribis has the sphinx of Tutu amongst the same deities, *EAT* III, no. 72 pl. 51; W. M. F. Petrie, *Athribis* (London, 1908), pls. 36 and 38. On the 'pseudo decans', which are associated with the decans, see Kákosy, 'The Astral Snakes of the Nile', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 255–60. At Kom Ombo, Tutu is called the head of the *hꜣw* decans and associated with the specific decan *jpds*: KO 415, Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 243. In the newly excavated temple of Tutu at Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab) in the Dakhleh Oasis, the god is once simply called 'star' (*sbꜣ*), in a hymn to Tutu in Shrine I, as yet unpublished; cf. C. A. Hope et al., *JSSSEA* 19 (1989), 7–9, 15–16.

<sup>61</sup>*Esna* II, no. 55. 1,4: 'Festival of Neith with her son Tutu'; *ibid.* V, 14. On the origin of this entry (as several others) in the Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky Days, see A. Spalinger, *RdE* 42 (1991), 221.

<sup>62</sup>For the newly excavated temple at Kellis, cf. n. 60. The decorated tombs at Muzzawaka are published in Osing et al., *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*.

<sup>63</sup>As is attested by the Twenty-second Dynasty stela from Dakhleh (line 8): A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 22, pl. vi. On Seth in Dakhleh: Osing, *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 229–33; H. Jacquet-Gordon, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 173–8.

<sup>64</sup>On this god, see the initial remarks in Kaper, *JSSSEA* 17, 151–6.

<sup>65</sup>This characteristic of the Dakhleh temples will be outlined in my contribution to S. Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt* (London), forthcoming.

<sup>66</sup>D. Hagedorn and K. A. Worp, 'Das Wandeljahr im römischen Ägypten', *ZPE* 104 (1994), 243–55.

<sup>67</sup>*EAT* III, 67 and the reference in n. 54, above. This frieze was added to the temple's decoration in the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes: Cauville and D. Devauchelle, *RdE* 35 (1984), 40.

THE EDFU FRIEZE	LOCATION OF CORRESPONDING ELEMENTS AT DEIR EL-HAGGAR
The decans, Orion and Sothis	first register
Constellations of the northern sky	the iconography of Opet in the fourth register
Four planets	Venus in the first register
The sun	third register
The moon with the lunar ennead	second register
The days of the lunar month	not present
The months of the lunar year	fourth register
The supports of heaven	not present

As can be seen from the above, almost every element of the Edfu frieze is represented at Deir el-Haggar. Nevertheless, the composition of the gods within the group of twelve months varies considerably between Edfu and Deir el-Haggar. It seems that, at the most, four deities correspond. The assumption made here, that the Deir el-Haggar ceiling contains a local variant of the gods of the months, based upon local gods and their temple festivals, suffers from a lack of parallels. It is, therefore, presented with much hesitation. The ancient lunar calendar is not attested in any other temple of the Graeco-Roman Period, which clearly shows that this tradition had become virtually obsolete. In my view, the Deir el-Haggar *hierogrammateis* attempted to infuse the tradition with a new life and relevance by replacing some of the gods with appropriate contemporary characters.

The space enclosed by the body of Nut has been divided into a southern and a northern half. Yet the distribution of the figures over the ceiling does not correspond to this bipartite arrangement. Sirius and Orion belong to the southern group of stars, but they appear here in the northern half of the ceiling. The same applies to the star signs of the hippopotamus and the Great Bear, which correctly belong in the northern sky, but are shown in the southern half of the ceiling incorporated into the depiction of Opet. Apparently, the distinction between east and west was more important for these stars, because they are all located at the eastern end of the sky at the moment of the heliacal rising of Sirius, when it is in conjunction with Orion at the beginning of the new year. The importance of this moment in the astronomical ceilings is evident, as it regulates the changing of the year and the coming of the inundation.

The closest iconographical parallels for the ceiling as a whole are from the two Roman tombs at Athribis, as well as the exact parallel provided by one of the sections of the pronaos ceiling at Esna. These parallels can each be dated to the second century AD and I think, therefore, that it is justifiable to propose a second century date for the Deir el-Haggar ceiling also. This means that the ceiling was a later addition to the temple's decoration, which had been largely finished during the first century. The differences between the ceiling and the walls of the sanctuary in style and colouring, which were noted above, would corroborate a later date for the ceiling's execution. The style of the ceiling extends to a scene on top of the eastern wall of the sanctuary, which was, therefore, probably added at the same time. This scene shows the ithyphallic Amon-Re within a sun disk, being adored by the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, in the role of the god Amon of Hibis. It is possible that the scene was considered as an extension of the astronomical ceiling, as it depicts the sunrise in its correct geographic location.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> A reliable drawing of this relief may be found in Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis*, pl. 22. The heads of the male members of the Ogdoad are exceptionally rendered as rams' heads. Winlock already noted the resemblance in style between this section and the astronomical ceiling (ibid. 30). A comparable addition of a scene of sun worship to a depiction of the *Book of the Night* is found in the royal tomb KV 6 of Ramesses IX; cf. F. Abitz, *SAK* 17 (1990), 30 fig. 9.

### The role of the astronomical ceiling in the temple decoration at Deir el-Haggar

First of all, it seems important to point out that the location of the astronomical ceiling at Deir el-Haggar is exceptional. As was recently summarized by Cauville,<sup>69</sup> astronomical ceilings in temples are commonly located in rooms with natural light (the pronaos and *wabet*) or in rooms with a mortuary significance such as the Osiris chapels at Dendara and inside the temple of Medinet Habu. The latter are related to the astronomical ceilings in royal and private tombs and those found upon the lids of sarcophagi, as well as to those in the subterranean chapels in the ibis galleries at Tuna el-Gebel.<sup>70</sup> The Deir el-Haggar ceiling is one of only two situated in the sanctuary of a temple, without mortuary associations. The other instance is the demolished mammisi of Armant, which dates to the joint reigns of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy Caesar.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, despite this exceptional location, it appears that the iconography of the Deir el-Haggar ceiling is not at all unusual, nor was that of Armant. Nearly every element of its composition can be found elsewhere in other astronomical ceilings in tombs as well as temples. It has been suggested by Goyon that the location of the ceiling inside the temple buildings could be related to an actual astronomical observation point upon the roof,<sup>72</sup> but this does not explain the situation at Deir el-Haggar, where a high wall prevented the observation of the horizon from the roof of the sanctuary.

An important theme developed in this ceiling is the division of time. The first register is connected to the changing of the years marked by the rising of Sirius and the advent of the inundation. The second register relates to the days of the month, corresponding to the lunar phases, and the third to the hours of the night with the hour goddesses and the nightly course of the sun. Finally, the fourth register seems to reflect the months of the lunar calendar. Thus the four major divisions of time, as distinguished by the Egyptians, are distributed over the four registers of the ceiling, just as in the Edfu frieze referred to above.

In the third register the number of gods had to be reduced as a consequence of the limited space available for the scene. Similarly, it seems that a number of other celestial events have been omitted which are known from the larger astronomical ceilings of the period. The moon's phases have only been represented by the first half of the month, the second half being omitted. Likewise, the sun's nightly course depicted in the third register is not complemented by a depiction of the daily course. Not wishing to condemn these choices as arbitrary, I will try to look for a reason which could have motivated the selection of exactly this combination of scenes in the Deir el-Haggar ceiling.

The ceiling is notable for the central position it accords to the union of sun and moon. The close association of the two heavenly bodies is known also from other astronomical

<sup>69</sup> Cauville, *Le temple de Dendera: Guide archéologique* (Cairo, 1990), 36.

<sup>70</sup> Nearly all examples have been published in *EAT* I–III. Not included there, apart from the present example, is the astronomical ceiling in the destroyed temple at Akhmim, which seems to have included more than just the block *EAT* III no. 65 (K. P. Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim* (Mainz, 1983), 37–8). At Aswan, a loose block depicting some of the 'pseudo decans' in the manner of the astronomical ceilings was found within the temple of Isis (E. Bresciani and S. Pernigotti, *Assuan* (Pisa, 1978), 278–9 no. 53). Some of these loose blocks may originate in Elephantine (W. Kaiser et al., *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 162 n. 96). In addition, Egyptian astronomy was adopted in Napata and Meroe (J. W. Yellin, *Meroitica* 7 (1984), 577–82).

<sup>71</sup> For this ceiling, which shows only the bent body of Nut, Orion and the four winds, cf. *EAT* III, 70–1 fig. 17, no. 52.

<sup>72</sup> G. Goyon, *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 295, referring specifically to the circular zodiac at Dendara.

ceilings, such as that at Dendara, but these usually show the moon following the sun,<sup>73</sup> while at Deir el-Haggar the sun and moon are shown in opposition to each other. There are only a few parallels for this theme, found exclusively upon the astronomical ceilings in the private tomb chapels at Athribis. A relief in the tomb of Psenosiris at Athribis depicts the sun and moon gods holding hands in the attitude of *snsn*,<sup>74</sup> and within the same register the opposition of the disks themselves is shown, with both placed upon the sign for 'horizon'. The zodiac tomb at Athribis has the two disks within boats facing each other. The solar boat is adored by the *bꜣw jmntt* and the lunar boat by one baboon, representing the *bꜣw jꜣbtt*, in a situation which recalls the moment when the full moon rises in the east (*jꜣbtt*) while the sun sets in the opposite horizon (*jmntt*).

This moment of the opposition of sun and moon is referred to in Egyptian texts as *snsn-kꜣwy*, 'the uniting of the two bulls'.<sup>75</sup> The term employs the metaphor of the bull for both the sun and the moon, designating them as equals.<sup>76</sup> The theological and liturgical significance of the moment of opposition has been demonstrated for the temple of Edfu by Cauville.<sup>77</sup> Here the rejuvenation of the lunar and solar cycles is represented in a series of scenes in and around the central sanctuary, which is considered to be the starting point of their cycle at the moment of opposition.<sup>78</sup> The Theban texts, however, contain a slightly different interpretation of the opposition in the context of the local theology. This interpretation is relevant to the Deir el-Haggar reliefs, because the temple's gods and local theology were largely adopted from Thebes. Amon-Re of Deir el-Haggar is explicitly and repeatedly referred to as the god of Karnak (*hry-jb ꜣpt-swt*).<sup>79</sup>

The Theban interpretation of the opposition of sun and moon is most clearly expressed in a text upon the gate of Ptolemy III Euergetes in front of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak; 'the left eye unites with the right eye; Khonsu unites with Amon'.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>73</sup> In the Dendara pronaos, the moon is depicted as following the boat of the sun (*EAT* III, no. 59), as also in the eastern Osiris chapel on the roof of the temple, in the inner room (*EAT* III, no. 55, pl. 37). The tomb of Psenosiris at Athribis contains the same theme (*EAT* III, no. 56, pl. 38A).

<sup>74</sup> *EAT* III, no. 57, pl. 39. I would amend the drawing of the disk upon the right figure in the *snsn* group to a moon disk.

<sup>75</sup> Herbin, *BIFAO* 82, 280 (3) gives a list of occurrences in the texts, to which the following may be added: *Edfou* I, 255.6; *Edfou* III, 208.1; Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu* II, pl. 115.9; Clère, *Porte d'Evergète*, pls. 5, 12, 60. The term *kꜣwy* is in half of the cases written as a dual and in half as a plural. Regularly it has the *hb* (feast) determinative, as have the names for most celestial events.

<sup>76</sup> On the designation 'bull' for the sun and moon, see Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 732 and 471 respectively.

<sup>77</sup> Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou*, I (Cairo 1987), 8–12 § 8. See also C. Husson, *L'offrande du miroir dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque gréco-romaine* (Lyon, 1977), 82 (2).

<sup>78</sup> On the union of the two eyes, cf. Herbin, *BIFAO* 82, 269–70. The significance of the moment of opposition was recognized already in the New Kingdom, as is evident from the description of the phenomenon in the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos: H. Frankfort et al., *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* (London, 1933), I, 85–6; II, pl. 85.32–3. The two statues of a scarab and a baboon inside the solar chapel at Abu Simbel were associated with the opposition of sun and moon by C. Ziegler, in Desroches-Noblecourt, *Ramsès le Grand* (exhibition catalogue, Grand Palais, Paris, 1976), 159. The conjunctions of sun and moon formed part of priestly knowledge. In the Twenty-sixth Dynasty an astronomer claimed to 'know the movements of the two disks' (*rꜥ nmtt n jtnwy*): L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 11. One of the books of the temple library in Edfu carried the title 'knowing the movements of the two lights' (*Edfou* III, 351.9: *rꜥ nmtt n ꜥꜣꜣꜣ*), and this book is still mentioned as one of the four 'astrological books of Hermes' by Clement of Alexandria: Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1988), 159.

<sup>79</sup> Herodotus, IV, 181, records a previous 'borrowing' of the Theban cults by a temple in the oases, probably referring to the temple at Hibis or that in Siwa; cf. Leclant, *BIFAO* 49 (1950), 240; K. P. Kuhlmann, *Das Ammonion* (Mainz, 1988), 50f.

<sup>80</sup> Clère, *Porte d'Evergète*, pl. 27, *Randzeile* with Khonsu-Thoth. At Edfu this moment is expressed in similar terms, but without identifying the sun and moon with Amon and Khonsu; e.g. *Edfou* I (revised edition, 1984) 84.



The exact moment of opposition and union is explained further elsewhere on the same gate: '(Khonsu-Horus) beautiful image of the left eye who unites with the right eye in the horizon, when he appears in the east in opposition (*snsn-k;wy*), while the "maker of millions" (the sun god as creator) is in the west; who takes his (the sun's) place, when he (the sun) enters into his mother (Nut)'.<sup>81</sup> Elsewhere inside the Khonsu temple, Khonsu is described as he 'who unites with his father at the opposition'.<sup>82</sup> This is not the place to enter into the many details and complex ramifications of this theme in the Theban mythology and in the local temple rituals, but the point I wish to make here is that in Thebes, as in other places under Theban influence, the sun and moon are said to act out the divine succession. The sun god Amon leaves his position to his son the moon, identified with Khonsu. The moment of opposition signifies the moment when the son assumes the role of his father in a divine succession. The Theban explanation of the opposition relates the cosmic succession of the sun by the moon to the continuation of divine rule over creation.<sup>83</sup>

I think that this mythology is also relevant for Deir el-Haggar. The personified representations of the sun and the moon, which occur twice within the central band of the ceiling, have been purposely kept out of the discussion of the ceiling thus far. One of these groups suggests the word *snsn*, and their different skin colour may suggest a difference in generation between the two.<sup>84</sup> The second group, on the right, also shows the two disks facing each other with the sun god depicted in his rejuvenated state as a child.

The theme of opposition has, in addition, influenced the composition of the two central registers. The extended ennead of gods in the second register ensures the monthly waxing of the moon, culminating in the appearance of the full moon in opposition to the sun around the fifteenth day. This is an important theme also in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, where it is always depicted together with the gods of the second half of the month (see n. 35). As was remarked above, the missing second half of the month at Deir el-Haggar could have resulted from the small space available within the register. In the light of the theme of opposition, however, it is possible to suggest an explanation for the reduction of the month to the surprising number of sixteen gods. The full moon occurs every 29.53 days, when the sun and moon are on opposite sides of the earth. However, the important moment for the temple was the joint presence of both the sun and the moon above the horizon, which can only occur *after* the moon has become full. There is some seasonal variation in the exact moment when this takes place, but generally, the phenomenon will be observed on the sixteenth day. Therefore, I think that the lunar

<sup>81</sup> Clère, *Porte d'Evergète*, pl. 5, *Randzeile* with Khonsu-Horus. On the title *nbj-ḥh* for the sun god, cf. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 439–41 (d).

<sup>82</sup> *snsn jt = f m snsn-k;wy*: Epigraphic Survey, *Temple of Khonsu II*, pl. 115.9.

<sup>83</sup> This theme was already briefly outlined by D. Meeks, in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* (Budapest, 1992), 425. C. Traunecker, *Cahiers de Karnak*, VI (Cairo, 1980), 192–3, and J.-C. Goyon, *JSSSEA* 13 (1983), 2–9, discussed specifically the combination of the royal succession and the lunar cult at Karnak. The clepsydra of Necho from Tanis (*EAT III*, no. 34, fig. 9, pl. 22b) carries a vignette of Amon-Re and Necho holding hands in the *snsn* attitude. Within the astronomical context of the clepsydra, and knowing the Theban character of the Tanite theology, it is possible to interpret this scene as the passing on of the divine rule from god to pharaoh.

<sup>84</sup> As is suggested for the Old Kingdom by H. G. Fischer, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 20–1. This reference was kindly brought to my attention by Harco Willems. The validity of the same colour code in Roman Dakhleh appears from Shrine I at Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab), where it has been employed to distinguish Khonsu and Harsiese from their respective mothers Mut and Isis (scenes as yet unpublished).

enned at Deir el-Haggar depicts specifically the first half of the month leading up to the moment of opposition on the (theoretical) sixteenth day.

The third register of the ceiling features the setting sun. The deliberate arrangement of the four registers results in the juxtaposition at one end of the sanctuary of the full moon in the second register with the setting sun in the third register. Incorporated into their respective contexts, this yields yet another representation of the moment of opposition in the relief.

The emphasis placed on the opposition of the sun and moon at Deir el-Haggar seems, therefore, clear, but can this feature be explained? From a study of the reliefs upon the walls of the temple, especially those in the recently uncovered pronaos, which was decorated in the name of Titus, it has appeared that the gods Amon-Re and Khonsu are accorded almost equal status at Deir el-Haggar. Moreover, the moon god Thoth was also an important member of the local pantheon, as is shown by his occasional position of prominence in the temple decoration. This may be explained by the existence of a cult of Thoth centred upon a nearby temple.<sup>85</sup> The divine spouses of Amon and Thoth, Mut and Nehmet-awai, appear consistently in secondary positions within the temple.

With these three main gods in mind, I venture the suggestion that the triple representation of the opposition of sun and moon on the astronomical ceiling of Deir el-Haggar depicts three different aspects of the cosmic union. From right to left (west to east) these are: the sun and moon uniting first in their cosmic manifestations as disks; their union then as the sun god Amon-Re (the child, symbol of rejuvenation) and Thoth (the baboon);<sup>86</sup> and finally as the gods Amon and Khonsu in their personified appearance. The result of the union is the continuation of divine rule, in accordance with the ideas developed for the Theban theology.

### Conclusion

In order to clarify the significance of the astronomical ceiling within temple decoration in general, I would like to finish by citing one of the most instructive of several ancient inscriptions pertinent to this matter. It is a text from the temple of Kom Ombo, but it summarizes the important elements of all astronomical ceilings and their immediate relevance for the temples and their gods:

As long as the sky will rest upon its four supports, as long as the earth will remain stable upon its foundations, as long as Re will shine during the day and the moon will shine at night, as long as Orion will be the Ba of Osiris and Sothis will be the ruler of the stars, as long as the inundation will come on time and the cultivable land will produce its plants, as long as the north wind will come out on time and as long as the flame (the south wind?) will devour what exists, as long as the decans will provide their

<sup>85</sup> Amon and Thoth are depicted upon the *soubassement* of the pronaos in parallel positions, each receiving gifts brought by the pharaoh and the fecundity figures. The important position of Thoth appears also from the votive stela to Thoth which was found at Deir el-Haggar: G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 28 (1928), 29–34. On the neighbouring temple dedicated to Thoth, cf. Kaper, *BIFAO* 92, 128–30. The same gods were venerated at Bahriya Oasis: A. Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis* (2 vols.; Cairo, 1942–1950), I, 154, 158, and II, 3, 25–39; G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 26.

<sup>86</sup> That Thoth could also partake in the divine succession at the opposition of sun and moon is suggested by the title *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*, which the god bears exclusively in the context of the full moon: Herbin, *BIFAO* 82, 274 (43); Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara*, III (Cairo, 1950), 19–20; and a Theban example, Clère, *Porte d'Evergète*, pl. 29 (divine *Randzeile*).

services and the stars remain in their places, the temple of Haroeris ... (and the other gods of Kom Ombo) shall last, stable as the sky, established as the Castle of the Lion (a toponym), strong as Thebes, whole as Heliopolis, stable as Memphis, without end like Re for ever. (after Gutbub)<sup>87</sup>

This text shows the reverse side of the holistic world view held by the ancient Egyptians. In the perspective most commonly expressed in the ancient texts, the aim of the Egyptian temple cult was to help maintain the order of the universe. The universe was seen as a multitude of actions controlled by the gods, in which mankind could exert a limited influence.<sup>88</sup> The temple cult is based upon a world view from the human, earthly perspective and it is this view which is stressed by the decoration on the walls of the temples, which show the human element characteristically in an active pose.<sup>89</sup> Conversely, the astronomical ceilings depict the world's cosmic processes on an exclusively divine level, in which human action plays no part, and where the gods are shown regulating the continuous process which is the universe. A beneficial influence over this process is exercised by the stars, the inundation, and every other element of the universe which could be linked to the gods, and it is directed to the temples on earth, as is indicated in the Kom Ombo text.<sup>90</sup>

The eternal cycles of the stars, which determine time, ensure the cyclical renewal of the world. I think that it is this belief which underlies the main purpose of the astronomical scenes in the temples, but in no lesser degree also those in mortuary contexts.<sup>91</sup> From such depictions of the cosmic renewal, the deceased in their tombs or the gods in their temples would benefit.<sup>92</sup> The Deir el-Haggar ceiling thus shows the march of time with the recurring years, months, days and hours of the cycle in which the gods of the temple participate. Depicting these events would make them magically effective and eternally present.<sup>93</sup> In addition to time's rhythmic renewal, the ceiling carries figures of the two most favourable winds (?) and the beneficial conjunction of Venus with some of the decans. The latter may represent knowledge derived from popular divination practices, which may also account for the inclusion of the zodiacal sign

<sup>87</sup>KO 423, dating to the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, translated in Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 32–3. A similar version is also found in *Esna II*, no. 147, dating to Domitian.

<sup>88</sup>J. Assmann, *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart, 1984), chapter 3; id., *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1991), 285–7.

<sup>89</sup>As is summarized by Hornung, *Geist der Pharaonenzeit* (Zurich and Munich, 1989), 124.

<sup>90</sup>Assmann regards the representations of time in temple decoration in tandem with the concept of the creation. The mythology of the creation supplies the 'historical' background for the current situation as depicted by the astronomical reliefs. The world was 'set in motion' at the beginning, after which history has continually repeated and maintained the same action: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1992), 183–5.

<sup>91</sup>Kákósy signals 'a kind of renaissance' of astral mortuary beliefs in Roman Egypt: 'Probleme der ägyptischen Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit', *Studia Aegyptiaca* 7 (1981), 197–202.

<sup>92</sup>Derchain, in Y. Bonnefoy (ed.), *Dictionnaire des mythologies et des religions des sociétés traditionnelles et du monde antique*, II (Paris 1981), 126: 'le mort ... est intégré à un mouvement perpétuel, ce qui est la négation même de son état figé dans la tombe et par conséquent exprime son salut'.

<sup>93</sup>Kurth, 'Eine Welt aus Stein, Bild und Wort: Gedanken zur spätägyptischen Tempeldekoration', in Assmann and G. Burkard (eds), *5000 Jahre Ägypten: Genese und Permanenz pharaonischer Kunst* (Heidelberg, 1983), 89–101, esp. 99. Kurth's study, moreover, contains a clear presentation of the various cosmic themes in temple decoration in general.

Taurus. However, the most notable extra theme incorporated into this ceiling is the opposition of the sun and moon, which depicts the main gods of the temple, Amon, Khonsu and Thoth, engaged in their individual cycles of rejuvenation.<sup>94</sup> The latter aspect, especially, had been 'custom-made' to suit the three beneficiaries in their shrines over which the ceiling extended.

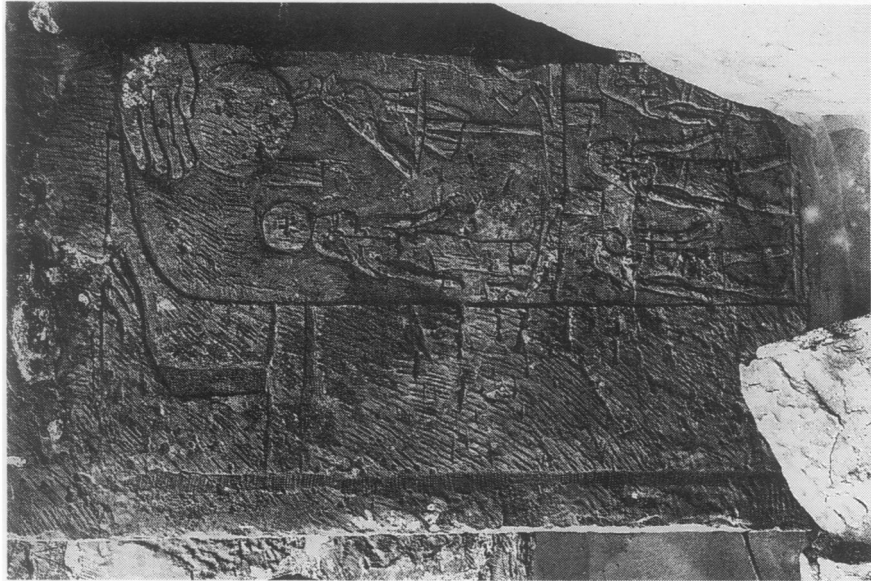
<sup>94</sup> Kákosy, *Oikumene* 3, 182, signals a similar direct relation expressed in the decoration of the tomb of Ramesses VI, where the king is depicted personally among the stars. The private 'zodiac tombs' of Roman date at Athribis and Muzzawaka also add figures of the deceased amongst the constellations: *EAT* III, pls. 1–7, and Osing et al., *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, pls. 37–41.



1.



2.



3.

H. E. Winlock's photographs of fragments from the sanctuary ceiling, taken in 1908  
(*Photography by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*)

THE ASTRONOMICAL CEILING OF DEIR EL-HAGGAR (pp. 175-95)



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THE ASTRONOMICAL CEILING OF DEIR EL-HAGGAR (pp. 175-95)

## A. F. (PETER) SHORE

*By C. J. EYRE*

PETER Shore was a natural scholar, to whom the acquisition of knowledge was an end in itself. His range of scholarly interests was wide, and always characterised by an eye for detail and a passion for accuracy. Scholarship to him was a pleasure, but also the mark of a civilised society, that could not be judged meaningfully by the values of an industrial production line. While he appreciated the worth of wider generalisations and the energy involved in large-scale work, his personal love was for problems of detail: the application of a philological training and a philological cast of mind to objects or works of art as well as to the reading of texts. His concern was always understanding, not productivity. Publication of his work always had to wait for that understanding, and its presentation in a style that was a model of concision, combined with an accuracy and clarity of expression leavened with a dry wit. He could never be rushed—sometimes to the despair of editors. The result was a string of mostly short publications that are each a highly polished nugget, without an excess word or loose thought.

Born at Aldbury, Hertfordshire, on 14 November 1924, and educated at the Cardinal Vaughan Memorial School, London, he went up to King's College, Cambridge as an exhibitioner in January 1943. His undergraduate career was interrupted by undistinguished military service in the ranks of the Royal Corps of Signals from 1944 to 1947: service, however, that took him to India and gave him his first experience of the Orient. Returning to Cambridge he graduated with First Class Honours in Classics in 1949. Encouraged by Stephen Glanville, who was then both Herbert Thompson Professor of Egyptology in Cambridge and a Fellow of King's College, he transferred to Egyptology, and graduated First Class in Oriental Studies in 1952. Following graduation he married Patricia Tillet. An award under the Earl of Scarbrough's scheme enabled him to continue in postgraduate study; in the different climate of the cuts of the 1980s, he enjoyed the irony that it was only a government scheme to promote Oriental Studies for their wider value to the national economy that had enabled him to become an Egyptologist.

Never physically robust, he took a certain self-deprecating amusement in claiming that his greatest athletic achievement was graduation through the Army's remedial physical training centre. More serious was a year largely lost to tuberculosis, with months spent in sanatoria, that left him with only one lung fully effective. His first visit to Egypt in 1954, a thorough tour with his student colleague Harry Smith, took him to all the accessible ancient sites and several local hospitals for his regular treatment, an experience that left him with a great appreciation of the hospitality and friendship extended to him at all levels in Egypt.

Election to a Fellowship at King's College, Cambridge in 1955 gave him further time and security to develop his expertise in Demotic and Coptic texts. The congenial life at Cambridge was interrupted in 1956 by appointment to a temporary lecturing post at



A. F. SHORE (1924–1994)



Liverpool, and then a permanent appointment in 1957 as an Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at British Museum.

Originally a philologist, at the Museum he became also the acknowledged expert in the art and material remains of post-pharaonic and Christian Egypt. For twenty years he was the archetypal museum man. He saw it as his prime duty to know the collection in his care, and to put that detailed knowledge to the service of the stream of scholars who passed through and worked on the collection. His 1962 monograph *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt* remains the standard introduction to the subject for students or lay readers. His major contributions to the 1964 *Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, and a string of short articles in the *British Museum Quarterly* were concerned to bring the collections to the attention of scholars or the educated public. He had a particular talent for recognising the interest in an unusual or neglected object, and bringing this into focus. At the same time, his contributions on Christian Egypt in the revised *Legacy of Egypt* (1971), and on Demotic in the French Institute's survey *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique*, I (1972) reflect his international reputation in these fields, based in publication terms on his edition of the Sahidic Coptic text for *Joshua I–VI and Other Passages in Coptic* (1963), and editions of a number of Demotic texts on papyrus and other materials. Later articles reflect the diversity of his Egyptological interests: papers on cartography, the schedule of mummification, and the assembly of the Mayer collection in Liverpool, as well as publications of Coptic and Demotic texts. Long in preparation, his manuscript of the *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, III. *Documents from Pathyris and Crocodilopolis* is now being revised and edited for the press. Much more, however, his reputation was based on the personal assistance he provided to scholars visiting and working on the Museum collections.

His time at the British Museum was busy. In an understaffed department at the time of the Nubian rescue campaigns at Abu Simbel and Philae, a period which culminated in the public excitement of the Tutankhamun exhibition, he was for long the junior member of the curatorial staff, taking on a heavy share of the regular and less visible work. He attributed his informal education to the colonnade of the British Museum, where as the smoker in the department he would escort distinguished visitors. For this he thanked the doctors who had not advised him, after his tuberculosis, that he should not smoke. Visitors to the Museum remember his genuine interest in their work, and his unstinting efforts to promote their research. Throughout his career, colleagues found it easy to impose on Peter for help and advice, which was given in a way that made us feel we were doing him a favour by drawing something interesting to his attention. As a curator he typified the ethos of service to scholarship, facilitating the publications of others at the cost of his own; he was indefatigable in providing the clearest answer possible to whatever query, and as unwilling to cut corners on work for the publications of others as he was on his own.

In 1974 he left the Museum, to take the Brunner Chair of Egyptology at Liverpool, which he occupied until his retirement in 1991 as comfortably as if he had known no other working habitat than the University. At Liverpool he threw himself completely into teaching, with a very heavy load of lectures and supervisions, and oversaw a significant expansion of student numbers with the creation of a new degree structure for archaeology in the late 1970s. He was not a good lecturer to a large audience; his delivery was too quiet and his wit too dry for rhetorical performance. His *métier* was the small class or the individual tutorial, where the student was drawn, unaware, into mobilising his

knowledge and discovering, apparently for himself, where his curiosity might take him. He had no taste for university politics, and held no administrative office outside his department. Typically, however, he accepted appointment initially as a University representative on the Board of Governors of Prescott School, staying as co-opted and much valued Deputy Chairman until his death. He took pleasure in the fact that his last formal teaching activity had been as an emergency replacement to see a student through GCSE Latin. He had never lost his early interest in classical studies, and in particular an interest in the linguistic and literary relationship between the Egyptian and the Hellenistic world. Papyrology was, for him, as much a part of Egyptology as other branches of the subject.

Limited early in his career by health problems, and then by museum duties, his only personal experience of fieldwork came during the Nubian rescue campaign. In response to an appeal for expert help, he was 'lent' by the British Museum to the Polish expedition working on the remote site of Faras, with its magnificent early Christian frescos. He was, however, a regular visitor to Egypt, and his knowledge of the sites and monuments was extensive. At the end of his career he was persuaded to take on the office of Chairman of the Egypt Exploration Society, although he insisted that it should be a short interim appointment. It proved to be a peculiarly happy period for the Society. His style of Chairmanship was unobtrusive and seemed deceptively to be indecisive, but was actually remarkably effective in carrying initiatives forward. He did not so much direct as facilitate the business and work of the Society, with a growth in membership, development of the excavation programme, establishment of a Cairo office, expansion of the London premises, and the launching of a popular bulletin, *Egyptian Archaeology*, to present the subject to the lay membership and the public in general.

A survey of posts and publications gives no real impression of Peter Shore's influence on British Egyptology, which was the greater for being unobtrusive. From his original appointment to the British Museum, he served extensively as an external examiner in many universities; few active British Egyptologists have not been examined by him at some stage of their career and benefited from his suggestions and advice. His presence and obvious love of all aspects of his subject created an atmosphere that facilitated research. It was impossible to lose one's temper in his presence. The enduring memory of colleagues is of his personal modesty leavened by his gentle dry wit: self-deprecating and utterly without malice of any kind. He had no explanation for being called Peter; it had always been so. Christened Arthur Frank, he always published as A. F. Shore. Those who called him Arthur were never corrected—although this form of address from a new vice-chancellor caused some quiet amusement to the rest of his department. Indeed he never obviously corrected either students or colleagues. Subjects were talked about and round, at length, until they were better understood. Colleagues could not often pin down advice he had given them, because it came more intangibly as a better understanding of the problem.

A practising and devout Catholic, his faith was unostentatious but deep, and his attitude to life and its troubles was coloured by his understanding of its transience. He did not complain about things, even during his last painful and debilitating illness. Himself a stranger to vice, he never condemned the behaviour of others, nor criticised. Rather he enjoyed life, and the human frailties that make it up, as something to be savoured. Smoking he did not consider a vice. It was typical that, when he simply ceased smoking overnight, relatively late in life, he continued to sit in the ever diminishing 'Smokers' section at Faculty meetings, as a gesture of solidarity against the evangelical

certainty and intolerance of the average convert. His family life provided a source of great stability, which was separate from his academic career but overlapped seamlessly in the generous hospitality he provided for both students and visiting colleagues. The birth of his tenth grandchild a few days before his death gave him especial pleasure.

Peter Shore's particular expertise in the antiquities of Christian Egypt, and his breadth of vision across the difficult and neglected field of late antiquity will not be easily replaced. The greater loss is his unobtrusive encouragement, and the self-confidence that he engendered in others about the value and interest of their work. The preparation of a volume of studies in his honour, *The Unbroken Reed* (1994)—intended to mark his seventieth birthday—came as a complete surprise to him. Copies of the proofs, passed to him during the confinement of his final illness, were the first knowledge he had of the project, and his pleasure in the individual contributions was heightened by his genuine surprise that colleagues should go to such effort to express their appreciation of him. His greatest pleasure was always to talk about his subject, and that enthusiasm and curiosity survived to the end of his final illness.

## MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1993

### EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACCESSIONED IN 1993 BY MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

*Edited by* ELENI VASSILIKA

#### **Predynastic Period**

1. Flint tanged knife, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery 1993A184. From Abydos.

#### **Middle Kingdom**

2. White steatite circular bead with hieroglyphic text, 'Nebkaure [Amenemhat II] beloved of Sobek lord of Sumenu', British Museum EA 74184.
3. White steatite drop bead with hieroglyphic text, 'Smenkhkare [Imyermesha] beloved of Sobek, lord of Shedyt', British Museum EA 74185.

#### **New Kingdom**

4. Wooden shabti with recessed eyes and brows for inlay, now lost. Traces of gold inlay in the right eye. The shabti, whose name does not survive, wears a finely detailed layered and plaited wig. Liverpool Museum 1993.149. Eighteenth Dynasty.
5. Painted linen shroud fragments with Book of the Dead texts and vignettes for the lady of the house, Resti, British Museum EA 73807.
6. Painted linen shroud fragments with Book of the Dead texts and vignettes (name space left blank), British Museum EA 73808.
7. Papyrus roll, one edge only, with hieratic Book of the Dead texts; deceased's name not extant, British Museum EA 74125.
8. Part of a papyrus roll with retrograde cursive hieroglyphic texts from the Book of the Dead for a man Nebtawy (spelled Nebettawy) and a woman Nuby, British Museum EA 74126. A related fragment in the British Museum is said to come from Abydos.
9. Fragments of papyrus with cursive hieroglyphic Book of the Dead texts, British Museum EA 74131.
10. Fragments of a papyrus roll with retrograde cursive hieroglyphic texts from the Book of the Dead for a man, Nebdjefau, British Museum EA 74134.
11. Foot and upper leg fragments of serpentine shabtis of Amenhotep III with hieroglyphic texts, British Museum EA 74171-3.
12. Faience frog amulet, green body with red eyes; ostrich plume hieroglyph incised on base, British Museum EA 74179. Bequeathed by Anne Todd.
13. Faience beads, cornelian rings, glass drops and pomegranate pendants, British Museum EA 74181. Given by John Carter.

14. Steatite kohl-pot base with rosette motif and traces of hieroglyphic text, British Museum EA 74183.

15. Quartzite head and shoulders of a shabti of Akhenaten, with names and royal beard, British Museum EA 74186. Ex Schlogl Collection.

16. Limestone torso of a shabti of Akhenaten, with arms crossed holding sceptre and flail, and a remnant of a royal beard, British Museum EA 74187. Ex Schlogl Collection.

17. Blue glass figure of squatting divine child, British Museum EA 74188.

18. Faience shallow vessel in cartouche form, with a blank cartouche in relief on the base, British Museum EA 74192.

19. Brown steatite frog amulet with traces of green glaze, British Museum EA 74193.

20. Wooden furniture leg in the form of a lion's paw, the tenon partially preserved, British Museum EA 74199.

21. Ivory *Schilbe*-fish, from miniature emblem or figure of Hatmehyt, British Museum EA 74197. Date uncertain.

22. Pink granite bun-shaped weight with irregular upper surface and smooth base, Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1993. Date uncertain. Given by H. Green in memory of his father F. W. Green (sometime Honorary Keeper, Department of Antiquities, Fitzwilliam Museum).

### Third Intermediate Period

23. Copper alloy figure of a smith (headless) squatting on the ground (pl. XVI, 1). He wears a kilt and holds a hammer in his raised right hand and in his lowered left hand tongs with a metal sheet resting on an anvil. The figure is solid cast with a tanged base. The alloy is a leaded tin bronze which suggests a post-New Kingdom date and the shape of the hammer is not attested after the first half of the first millennium BC. Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1993. Ex Pagnan Collection. Purchased through the Greg Fund.

24. Fragments of papyrus with hieratic funerary texts, British Museum EA 74130.

25. Papyrus rolls, lacking opening vignettes, with hieratic Book of the Dead texts for Djedkhonsiufankh and Dimutiudu; cf. coffins of a couple with the same names: Berlin 58 and 1075. British Museum EA 74135–6. Ex Belmore Collection, 1843. From Thebes.

26. Eight shabtis (seven faience, one terracotta) including examples inscribed for: Ankesastet; Nestanebisheru; Amenhatpamesh; Nesmut; and three overseer figures, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery 1993A159–63, 180–2.

### Late Period

27. Thirteen faience shabtis including examples for: Ankhwennefer (born of Iretrew); Hor (born of Iretrew); Wahibremahet (born of Bastetirdis); Yemhetep (born of Asetwer); Padineith (born of Tadibastet); Yemhetep (born of Bastetirdies), Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery 1993A164–73, 177–9.

28. Fragmentary papyrus roll with hieratic Book of the Dead texts and red and black vignettes for Padiamennebnestutaway, son of Tasheretenmin, British Museum EA 74127. Thought to come from Thebes.

29. Fragmentary papyrus roll with hieratic Book of the Dead texts and black vignettes for Ankhpakhered, British Museum EA 74128. Thought to come from Thebes.

30. Fragmentary papyrus roll with hieratic Book of the Dead texts for a woman, Semset, British Museum EA 74129.

31. Papyrus fragments with hieroglyphic Book of the Dead texts and coloured vignettes for a man, Sheshonq, British Museum EA 74132.

32. Papyrus fragments with hieratic Book of the Dead texts for a woman, Tasheret-min, British Museum EA 74133.

33. Lapis lazuli falcon-headed crocodile amulet, British Museum EA 74189.

34. Glazed steatite fragment of a seated goddess with hieroglyphic inscription giving titles, including 'overseer of nurses of (?) Horus', name lost, British Museum EA 74191.

35. Blue faience miniature throne with white decoration and holes for attaching the base and figure (?), British Museum EA 74196.

### **Ptolemaic Period**

36. Bronze figure of a dwarf holding two serpents, with scarab on head (Pataikos); loop at the back for suspension, British Museum EA 74182.

37. Bronze figure of pantheistic deity, jackal head facing front, ram head facing reverse, falcon, wings from hip, snakes on base and around arms, British Museum EA 74190.

38. Terracotta group of Eros riding a cockerel and playing a kithara, British Museum GR 1993.12–11.3. Second or first century bc. Ex Mustaki Collection. (pl. XVI, 2).

39. Green faience figure of a harpist, British Museum EA 74194.

### **Roman Period**

40. Terracotta tapered stand decorated in raised relief with a young satyr's head at the top, a vine, and a mature satyr at the base, British Museum GR 1993.6–8.1 First or second century AD.

### **Coptic Period**

41. Limestone stela in the form of a palm-branch column with papyrus capital supporting a rectangular pediment with Greek inscription naming the deceased Menas, British Museum EA 74198.

42. Copper alloy incense shovel, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery 1993A1. Presented on behalf of the Southall family.

### **Christian Period (Sudan)**

43. Pottery sherds, British Museum EA 74078–81, 74140–53; beads, EA 74082, 74091; clay cross, EA 74083; iron arrowhead, EA 74084; metal nails, EA 74085–6; ostrich shell beads and fragments, EA 74087, 74089; cowries, EA 74088; bone fragment, EA 74090; glass beads and vessel fragments, EA 74137–8; four stone archer's looses, partly perforated, EA 74139. From Soba, division of finds, given by the British Institute in East Africa.

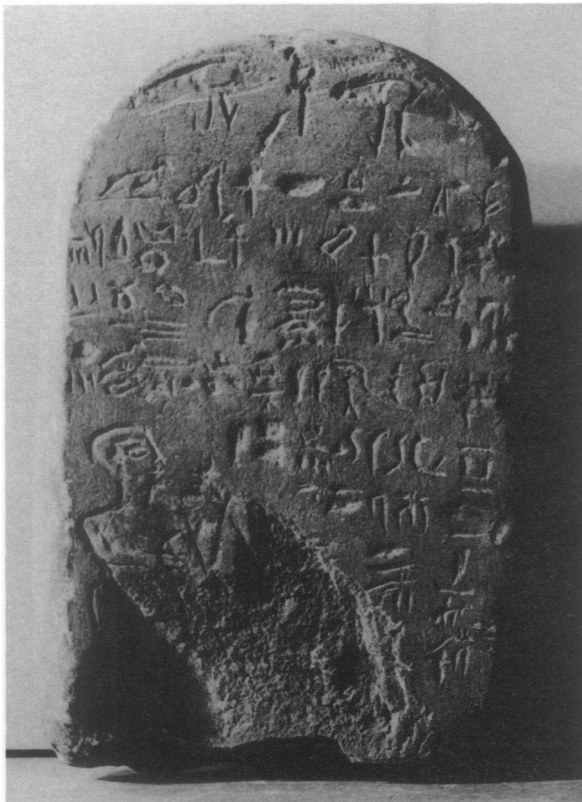


1. Copper alloy figure of a smith, Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1993, ht. 4.5 cm (p. 202, no. 23)

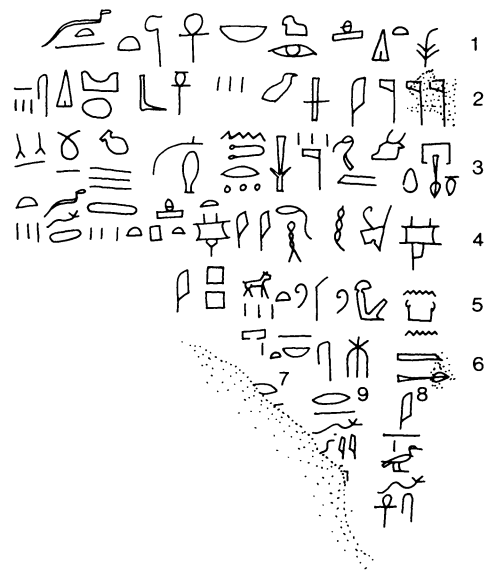


2. Terracotta figure of Eros riding a cockerel, British Museum GR 1993.12-11.3 (p. 203, no. 38)

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3. Liverpool stela E. 73



4. Transcription

*(Courtesy of the School of Archaeology, Classics, and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool)*

THE STELA OF THE HERDSMAN PEPI (pp. 210–12)

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### A new king in the Western Desert

One of the early royal names documented by Winkler in the Western Desert has, until now, escaped the attention of Egyptologists. Taking into account current knowledge of early royal epigraphy and of late Predynastic political developments, a date is suggested for the new name. The significance of the inscriptions for early Egyptian activity in the peripheral regions is discussed, together with the difficulties inherent in reading the name.

THE cliffs on the southern edge of the limestone plateau behind Armant bear numerous rock-cut drawings and inscriptions from various periods of Egyptian history. They were studied and documented by Winkler, together with those from the Eastern Desert along the route to the Red Sea between Qift and Quseir.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the animal figures and later Dynastic inscriptions, the rock-drawings of southern Upper Egypt include a handful of early royal names. Thus, the *serekh* of Narmer, accompanied by a second, tantalisingly empty *serekh*, was found incised on a rock in the Wadi el-Qash, a tributary of the Wadi Hammamat,<sup>2</sup> and the Horus name of the early Second Dynasty king Raneb (or Nebra) was discovered upon the escarpment of the high desert west of Armant.<sup>3</sup> Both these inscriptions are relatively well-known to Egyptology. They have been illustrated and mentioned in a number of works on the Early Dynastic Period.<sup>4</sup> However, until now, Egyptologists have apparently ignored the third early royal name found by Winkler's expedition.<sup>5</sup> It occurs not once but twice (fig. 1a, b) on the edge of the limestone plateau behind Armant, at a locality designated Site 34, only 12 km from the site of the Raneb inscription.<sup>6</sup>

The epigraphy of the two inscriptions at Site 34 leaves little doubt that they date to the late Predynastic Period, more precisely, to the cultural phase known as Naqada IIIb.<sup>7</sup> The fact that both *serekhs* contain the name of the king possibly indicates that the inscriptions date to the latter part of this phase (contemporary with the other named late Predynastic kings).<sup>8</sup> An early date is supported by the archaic form of the Horus-falcon (showing the bird at rest), which was supplanted from the reign of Djer onwards by the 'classic form' (showing the bird poised for flight). In both inscriptions, the falcon has been reduced to a series of strokes, a rudimentary rendering characteristic of early royal names incised on pottery vessels from the Predynastic-Early

<sup>1</sup>H. A. Winkler, *Rock-drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, I–II (London, 1938–9).

<sup>2</sup>Winkler, *Rock-drawings* I, 10, 25, pl. xi.1.

<sup>3</sup>Winkler, *Rock-drawings* I, 10, pl. xi.4.

<sup>4</sup>Most notably: W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1961), 47 fig. 6 (inscription of Narmer), 93 fig. 56 (inscription of Raneb).

<sup>5</sup>It is mentioned obliquely in the reference to Site 34 in PM VII, 275: 'Three graffiti with names of Narmer [sic], Nebrēr, and another king'. However, the most comprehensive discussion of early royal inscriptions, the survey of W. Kaiser and G. Dreyer of names and *serekhs* incised on pottery vessels, makes no reference to the name discussed here ('Umm el-Qaab. Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 2. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 211–69, esp. 260–9).

<sup>6</sup>See the map in Winkler, *Rock-drawings* I, endpiece.

<sup>7</sup>I.e. the period immediately preceding the beginning of the First Dynasty, sometimes termed 'Dynasty 0'.

<sup>8</sup>The named kings from the end of the Predynastic Period (Scorpion and Ka) seem to belong at the very end of the sequence, later than the anonymous *serekhs* from el-Beda and Gebel Sheikh Suleiman. The German excavations at Abydos Cemetery U have recently brought to light further empty *serekhs*, painted in ink on the sides of pottery cylinder jars (from grave U-s). The associated pottery would date these inscriptions to early Naqada III (*Stufe* IIIa2 in Kaiser's system): Dreyer, 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 3./4. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 46 (1990), 59 fig. 3a–b, 62.



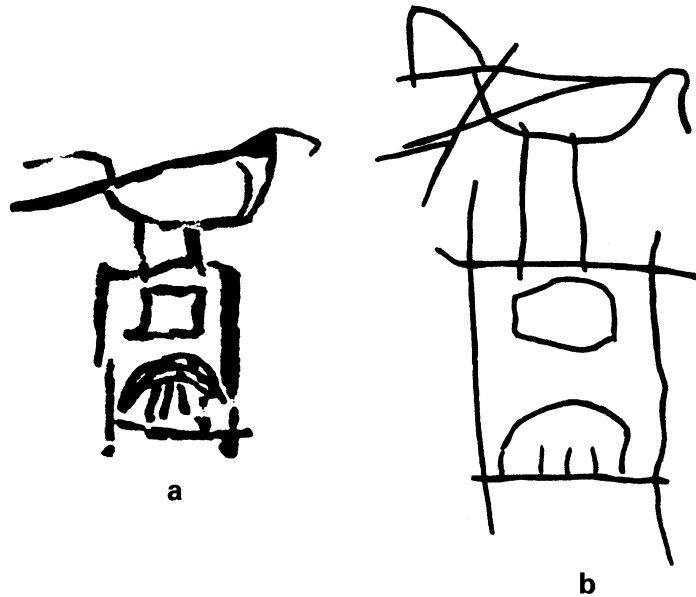


FIG. 1. Rock-cut inscriptions from Site 34 in the Western Desert: (a) 34. M 407a; (b) 34. M 423 (after Winkler, *Rock-drawings* I, pl. xi.2,3).

Dynastic transition.<sup>9</sup> The *serekh* itself is shown without any panelling, unusual, though not unique, amongst early royal names.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Early royal names*

A number of royal names are known from the late Predynastic Period immediately preceding the foundation of the First Dynasty. Numerous problems surround their reading and interpretation,<sup>11</sup> but it is reasonably clear that at several sites in Egypt, particularly in Upper Egypt, local rulers had begun to use elements of the emergent royal iconography, including the *serekh*. Representing a section of the niched façade of the royal palace, the *serekh* device was adopted in the late Predynastic Period as the pre-eminent symbol of royal power. In the rather fluid application of royal iconography which characterises the period of state formation, the *serekh* could be used with or without additional signs (composing the name itself), alone or surmounted by one or two falcons, representing Horus, the god most intimately associated with divine kingship.<sup>12</sup> Several empty, anonymous *serekhs* are known from the late Predynastic Period, suggesting that the device itself, even without the name of the king written inside, was a potent symbol of royal power and

<sup>9</sup> Kaiser and Dreyer, *MDAIK* 38, fig. 14.

<sup>10</sup> The closest parallel is the *serekh* of Narmer incised on a large pottery vessel from Minshat Abu Omar: Kaiser and Dreyer, *MDAIK* 38, fig. 14.38. The horizontal stroke in the upper part of the *serekh* is likely to be a very crude rendering of the catfish, rather than an indication of panelling. Such an interpretation is supported by the fact that no other example of Narmer's *serekh* is known with panelling in the upper part of the frame. Furthermore, the use of the chisel alone to stand for the king's name would be highly unusual. Note that the straight top to the *serekhs* from Site 34 does not seem to have any particular chronological significance, since examples of *serekhs* with both straight and curved tops are attested throughout the late Predynastic–Early Dynastic sequence of royal inscriptions (cf. Kaiser and Dreyer, *MDAIK* 38, fig. 14).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. T. A. H. Wilkinson, 'The identification of tomb B1 at Abydos: refuting the existence of a king \*Ro/\*Iry-Hor', *JEA* 79 (1993), 241–3.

<sup>12</sup> Examples of *serekhs* surmounted by two falcons are known from el-Beda, the Sinai and Tura: Kaiser and Dreyer, *MDAIK* 38, fig. 14.1–5.

could be used on its own to designate royal ownership of commodities or to commemorate important events.<sup>13</sup>

*Political developments in the late Predynastic Period*

That an entirely new royal name from the beginning of Egyptian history should have escaped the attention of scholars for so long is surprising, the more so considering the recent intense interest in the political chronology of the late Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods, and the question of state formation in Egypt.

The very end of the Predynastic Period (culturally Naqada IIIb) seems to have been characterised by the coalescence of the three major territories in Upper Egypt (centred on This, Naqada and Hierakonpolis), leading to the creation of a single Upper Egyptian polity which eventually gained control over the whole of the Nile valley by the beginning of the First Dynasty (i.e. the reign of Narmer, c. 3050 BC). This process of political centralisation is known as 'the Unification'. The existence of early royal courts at This, Naqada, and Hierakonpolis is attested by élite cemeteries: Cemetery U at Abydos, Cemetery T at Naqada, the 'Painted Tomb cemetery' and the late Predynastic burials at Locality 6 at Hierakonpolis.<sup>14</sup> The eventual dominance of This and Hierakonpolis is inferred from the continuation of élite burials in both cemeteries right up to the beginning of the First Dynasty. The tomb of Neith-hotep at Naqada suggests that this site, too, may have remained an important political centre until the very end of the Predynastic Period. The interment of the First Dynasty kings at Abydos (on the Umm el-Qaab and thus adjacent to Cemetery U), coupled with the Manethonian tradition that they were of Thinite origin, probably indicates that the royal house of This ultimately triumphed in the contest for the throne of a united Egypt. Indeed, Thinite hegemony may already have been established some 100 years before the beginning of the First Dynasty. The recently-discovered tomb U-j at Abydos,<sup>15</sup> undoubtedly the burial of a late Predynastic ruler of This, has been dated to c. 3150 BC (i.e. approximately 100 years before Narmer's accession),<sup>16</sup> and is notable not only for its remarkable contents, but also for being the largest tomb of its date anywhere in Egypt.<sup>17</sup> It may thus reflect the dominance of the royal house of This during the final stages of state formation. This, rather than Hierakonpolis, may therefore have been the most important centre behind the achievement of political unification.<sup>18</sup>

The exact sequence of political development during the period of state formation remains far from clear. Even if the ruler of This had achieved some sort of hegemony over most of Upper (and Lower?) Egypt prior to the First Dynasty, it is still possible that several rulers, each with his own regional power-base, continued to coexist. Since early Predynastic times, Upper Egyptian rulers had actively acquired prestige commodities, both through foreign trade with Egypt's neighbours to the north-east and south, and through the exploitation of the resources of the

<sup>13</sup>E.g. the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument, apparently recording a military raid into Lower Nubia by a late Predynastic Egyptian ruler: W. J. Murnane, 'The Gebel Sheikh Suleiman monument: epigraphic remarks' (Appendix C to B. Williams and T. J. Logan, 'The Metropolitan Museum knife handle and aspects of pharaonic imagery before Narmer'), *JNES* 46 (1987), 282–5.

<sup>14</sup>Abydos Cemetery U: Dreyer, *MDAIK* 46, 53–90; idem, 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 5./6. Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 23–62. Naqada Cemetery T: E. J. Baumgartel, *Petrie's Naqada Excavations. A Supplement* (London, 1970); B. J. Kemp, 'Photographs of the Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis', *JEA* 59 (1973), 36–43. Hierakonpolis Locality 6: M. A. Hoffman et al., *The Predynastic of Hierakonpolis: An Interim Report* (Egyptian Studies Association Publication 1; Giza and Macomb, Illinois, 1982), 43–5. For a general discussion of these élite cemeteries, see B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 34 fig. 8, 35–43.

<sup>15</sup>Dreyer, *MDAIK* 49, 34–5.

<sup>16</sup>R. M. Boehmer et al., 'Einige frühzeitlichen <sup>14</sup>C-Datierungen aus Abydos und Uruk', *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 63–8.

<sup>17</sup>The tomb measures 9.9 m by 7.25 m (max.), giving it a total area of some 64 m<sup>2</sup>, compared with under 23 m<sup>2</sup> for Tomb 1 at Hierakonpolis Locality 6, and under 15 m<sup>2</sup> for the largest burial in Naqada Cemetery T (Tomb T15).

<sup>18</sup>It has been generally accepted that Hierakonpolis played the leading role in the final stage of state formation, e.g. Hoffman et al., *The Predynastic of Hierakonpolis*, 59.

Eastern and Western Deserts.<sup>19</sup> Whether the king attested by inscription at Site 34 ruled the whole of Upper Egypt or a smaller territory, whether he was a member of the Thinite royal family or came from elsewhere, cannot be ascertained. What the presence of his name does indicate is the degree of royal activity on Egypt's frontiers during the period of state formation.

*Early Egyptian activity in the Western and Eastern Deserts*

The presence of a late Predynastic royal name in the Western Desert has important implications for the extent of Egyptian interest in the peripheral areas prior to the First Dynasty. A number of sites from the northern Sinai and southern Palestine attest to a high level of Egyptian interest in the region during the period of state formation.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the evidence of the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman rock-cut inscription suggests Egyptian activity in Lower Nubia before the beginning of the First Dynasty.<sup>21</sup> Egypt's desert margins also seem to have been a focus of early royal activity outside the Nile valley proper. The Western Desert bordering Egypt, in contrast to the Eastern Desert, seems to have had few, if any, resources deemed worthy of exploitation by the ancient Egyptians. However, its strategic importance lay in the oases. These fertile pockets of land, which had been settled from Palaeolithic times<sup>22</sup> and which were very much part of the Egyptian realm despite their isolation from the Nile valley, guarded Egypt's frontier with the Libyan peoples to the west.<sup>23</sup> References to the *Thnw* from the Early Dynastic period,<sup>24</sup> together with the evidence of the so-called 'Libyan Palette',<sup>25</sup> imply hostile relations between Egypt and her western neighbour throughout the late Predynastic-Early Dynastic transition. In such a climate, the maintenance of Egyptian control in the oases of the Western Desert would clearly have been of the utmost strategic importance. Access to the oases was by caravan, leaving the Nile valley at an appropriate point on the west bank. In the New Kingdom, and probably from earlier times too, the most important route through the Western Desert to the Kharga and Dakhla Oases left the Nile Valley at Armant.<sup>26</sup> It may be supposed, therefore, that the early rulers who left their names on the limestone escarpment behind Armant mounted expeditions of one sort or another to the western oases.

The Wadi Hammamat system of the Eastern Desert was important for two reasons. Firstly, the desert contained a number of valuable mineral resources. The Wadi Hammamat itself was, throughout most of Egyptian history, the main source of greywacke or siltstone ('slate').<sup>27</sup> This was the stone used for cosmetic palettes in the Predynastic Period, including the great commemorative palettes created for the late Predynastic rulers in celebration of their kingship. Small-scale expeditions to procure supplies of the stone must have been mounted from Upper Egypt as early as the Badarian Period.<sup>28</sup> As economic and political power became increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few lineages towards the end of the Predynastic Period, these missions to the Wadi

<sup>19</sup> Early indications of long-distance trade include lapis lazuli (from Afghanistan) and silver (possibly from Anatolia) in Egyptian graves from Naqada I onwards. See also below, n. 31.

<sup>20</sup> For the so-called Egyptian 'colony sites' in southern Palestine, see: R. Gophna, 'The contacts between 'En Besor Oasis, southern Canaan, and Egypt during the late Predynastic and the threshold of the First Dynasty; a further assessment', in E.C.M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th.-3rd. Millennium B.C.* (Tel Aviv, 1992), 385-94; N. Porat, 'An Egyptian colony in southern Palestine during the late Predynastic-Early Dynastic period', *ibid.*, 433-40; B. Brandl, 'Evidence for Egyptian colonization in the southern coastal plain and lowlands of Canaan during the EB I Period', *ibid.*, 441-77.

<sup>21</sup> See above, n. 13.

<sup>22</sup> J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1980), 187; M. A. Hoffman, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs: The Prehistoric Foundations of Egyptian Civilization* (London, 1980), Chapter 5.

<sup>23</sup> Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 19.

<sup>24</sup> W. Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter* (Glückstadt, 1955), 12-13.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*; M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Official Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), 42-3 no. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, map on p. 43 (c.f. the map on p. 31).

<sup>27</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, revised by J. R. Harris (London, 1962), 419-20.

<sup>28</sup> Slate palettes are a characteristic component of the Badarian funerary repertoire: A. J. Spencer, *Early Egypt: The Rise of Civilisation in the Nile Valley* (London, 1993), 25. For examples of Badarian slate palettes, see G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization* (London, 1928), pl. xxi.

Hammamat probably came under closer royal control, eventually becoming state-sponsored expeditions in the Early Dynastic Period. The occurrence of early royal names in the Wadi Hammamat and its branches thus testifies to the close interest of early Egyptian rulers in the mineral resources of the Eastern Desert.

Secondly, the Wadi Hammamat was important as the most direct route between the Nile valley and the Red Sea. From late Predynastic times, this route ran from Qift or Qus to Quseir.<sup>29</sup> There is still some argument about the likelihood of maritime contacts via the Red Sea between Egypt and other cultures (particularly the early Mesopotamians of Sumer and Susa).<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, the Red Sea coast itself was a valuable source of prestige objects for the developing élites of Predynastic Upper Egypt. In particular, Red Sea shells seem to have been imbued with a special symbolic or religious importance, as well as being a valued trade commodity.<sup>31</sup> Thus, representations of the *Pteroceras* shell were carved on the sides of the Coptos colossi, the gigantic sculptures of the god Min which are probably late Predynastic in date.<sup>32</sup> Red Sea shells, probably exported from Egypt, have been found in élite contexts elsewhere in the Near East.<sup>33</sup> With the dual attraction of mineral resources and access to the Red Sea, it is not surprising that Egypt's early kings took a keen interest in the Wadi Hammamat, and the royal names carved on rocks are direct evidence for this.

### *The reading of the name*

The inscriptions from Site 34 are particularly significant for the late Predynastic Period in that they record the name of the king. The most problematic aspect of the new royal name is its reading. Both *serekhs* from Site 34 in the Western Desert show a combination of two signs. The upper sign in inscription 34. M 407a seems closest to a *p* (Gardiner sign-list Q3). However, the form of the first sign in inscription 34. M 423 is rather more rounded than usual, resembling a corn-measure (Gardiner sign-list U9, used as a determinative and therefore with no known phonetic value of its own). However, the latter reading may perhaps be excluded since the corn-measure-sign is not attested at such an early period. The *p*-sign, by contrast, occurs in some of the earliest inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> The lower of the two signs of which the name is composed is more difficult to read. In both inscriptions from Site 34 it appears in the same form: a curved, crescent-moon-shaped upper part with vertical lines (four in inscription 34. M 407a and five in 34. M 423) depending from it. To the author's knowledge, no similar sign occurs in any published late Predynastic or Early Dynastic inscription. The closest parallel from Kaplony's corpus of early inscriptions<sup>35</sup> would seem to be the *hnt*-sign (Gardiner sign-list W17/W18) as depicted in two seal impressions from the reign of Den (*IÄF* Abb. 218, 227) and one from the reign of Semerkhet

<sup>29</sup> Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 111. The map in Winkler, *Rock-drawings* I, confirms the area of modern-day Qift or Qus as the starting point for the Red Sea route. Note, however, that in older literature, the route is usually referred to as running from *Qena* to Quseir (e.g. Lucas and Harris, *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 420).

<sup>30</sup> For a recent exposition of the arguments in favour of such contacts, see M. Rice, *Egypt's Making* (London, 1990).

<sup>31</sup> Red Sea shells were found in Badarian contexts: Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*, 41. See also below, n. 33.

<sup>32</sup> J. C. Payne, *Catalogue of the Predynastic Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1993), 13, pl. iv; B. B. Williams, 'Narmer and the Coptos Colossi', *JARCE* 25 (1988), 35–59.

<sup>33</sup> Bracelets made from Red Sea shells have been found in Palestine in contexts perhaps as early as PPNB. An Egyptian provenance for these shells is made more likely by their association with Nile valley bivalve shells (Roger Moorey, personal communication). Note also the presence of Red Sea shells (*Tridacna*) in the Predynastic settlement at Maadi, a site which apparently maintained close trading relations with Palestine: J. Boessneck et al., 'Die Tierreste von Maadi und Wadi Digla', in I. Rizkana and J. Seeher, *Maadi*, III. *The Non-Lithic Small Finds and the Structural Remains of the Predynastic Settlement* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), 87–128, esp. 117, 125.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. the ink inscriptions of the late Predynastic king Ka from Abydos: W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, I (London, 1902), pls. i, ii. Note, however, that these, and other, early examples of the *p*-sign show cross lines (representing the individual matting fibres), which is not the case in the signs from Site 34.

<sup>35</sup> P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, III (Wiesbaden, 1963). Hereafter abbreviated to *IÄF*.

(*JÄF* Abb. 243). In the Den sealings, the sign shows a markedly curved horizontal stroke, but the vertical lines protrude above this stroke, which is not the case in the Site 34 inscriptions. The protrusion is less, and the curve of the horizontal stroke even more pronounced, in the case of the Semerkhet sealing. Nonetheless, the similarity with the Site 34 sign is unconvincing. In particular, the crescent in the Site 34 inscriptions differs from the horizontal stroke in the *hnt*-sign, which is always straight in the middle, even in the crudest renderings. On balance, therefore, the reading of the sign in the new royal name as *hnt* seems most unlikely, despite the attractions of such a reading for an interpretation of the name as a whole.<sup>36</sup> Having discounted *hnt* as a possible reading, the closest parallel from Gardiner's sign-list is the *spt*-sign (D24, representing an upper lip with teeth). The crescent-shaped upper part is very close to the Site 34 sign, although the vertical lines (the divisions between individual teeth) are much shorter in the example given by Gardiner. Moreover, the meaning of *spt*, 'border', seems difficult to fit into an overall reading of the new royal name, especially if preceded by a *p*.<sup>37</sup>

In short, the reading of the individual signs, and the interpretation of the name as a whole, is as difficult for the new name from Site 34 as it is for other late Predynastic (and Early Dynastic) royal names.<sup>38</sup> The earliest stage of the Egyptian language has been rather neglected by philologists, largely due to the scarcity and brevity of the available inscriptions. It is very much to be hoped that this area of the subject will receive greater attention in future years, to match the interest of archaeologists and historians in the formation of the Egyptian state.

TOBY A. H. WILKINSON

### The stela of the herdsman Pepi

Publication of a small, late Middle Kingdom stela at Liverpool, whose owner apparently bears the modest title of 'goatherd' or similar.

THIS humble-looking stela (pl. XVI, 3–4) forms part of the collection of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies in the University of Liverpool, where it bears the catalogue number E.73.<sup>1</sup> It probably came, via the Garstang Collections, from Upper Egypt. It is roughly carved from limestone, and is 23 cm high, 15 cm wide, and 0.8 cm thick. On the curved top of the stela, two *wedjat*-eyes flank an *ankh*-sign. Below these are incised six horizontal lines and three vertical columns of very crude hieroglyphs, with the upper half of a seated man at the left; he holds a lotus-flower in his left hand and smells it, while extending his right hand. He may be

<sup>36</sup>John Ray (personal communication) has suggested *hnti-P*, 'Foremost of Pe (Buto)', as a possible reading of the name. Such a reading (which would require an honorific transposition of the two elements) would emphasise the early importance of Buto as a site associated with kingship. However, the apparent restriction of the name to the deserts of southern Upper Egypt would, on the face of it, make a connection with Buto unlikely.

<sup>37</sup>If the second sign were to be read as *spt*, the first sign could not be a phonetic complement, and the use of *p* as the definite article is not attested until a much later period.

<sup>38</sup>See above, n. 11. Even the name of Narmer has its problems: the *nrr*-sign often appears on its own, which could perhaps be interpreted as an abbreviation for Narmer. However, it may well be that the king's name should be read simply as 'Mer', and that the catfish held this phonetic value (rather than the later *nrr*) in the early stage of the Egyptian script (Stephen Quirke, personal communication).

<sup>1</sup>My thanks go to the late Professor A. F. Shore and to Professor K. A. Kitchen, for permission to publish this piece, to Miss Pat Winker for facilitating the use of the photograph included here. The award of a Gardiner Travel Scholarship enabled me to do this and other work in the UK. I am grateful to the *JEA*'s referees for improving the interpretation of this stela—their suggestions have been gratefully adopted in this revised paper.

holding something in the right hand, but the traces are unclear. He does not wear a wig, but appears with his real hair, cut short. The bottom part of the stela is broken away.

### Translation

(1) A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of life, ruler of eternity, (2) and the gods who are in Abydos; may they give (3) invocation-offerings (consisting of) bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, libation, alabaster, clothing, (4) the sweet breath of the North Wind, offerings and provisions (5) for the *ka* of the herdsman of goats, Pepi (6) the justified, born of the lady of the house, (7) R[.....]. (8) It is his son who makes (9) his name to live, Y[.....].

### Commentary

Most of the signs in this short text can be read with assurance until we reach Pepi's titles. Before that point, there are anomalies—the signs *ntrw*, *ntr*, *k3w*, and *3pdw* (lines 2–3) all face the wrong way, as does the crown *n* in line 4. It can be argued that such a reversal was intended to make the 'god' signs face towards the deceased. Perhaps the bull and the bird heads could be understood in this way, too, but the reversed *n* crown and *t* in *sntr*, and *mh* in *mhyt* surely cannot be explained in this way, and are simply errors by a very poor craftsman. The mixture of hieratic and indifferent hieroglyphic forms, and the badly-drawn *wedjat*-eyes also illustrate the poor quality of the work.

The owner bears a very common name, Pepi.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the names of his mother and son are now lost. His title is written almost entirely in hieratic, and is not easy to interpret: it can be read as *mnw rw*, 'herdsman of goats/small quadrupeds', or just 'goatherd'.<sup>3</sup>

This title is of such humble status that it only rarely occurs on monuments (least of all, as that of owners). One nameless goatherd appears in the bottom register of the big scene (North wall, main hall) in the tomb of Khnumhotep, no. 3 at Beni Hasan, under Sesostri II.<sup>4</sup> Amusingly, another 'herdsman' called Pepi occurs in the same scene and register (further right), but he is much too early in date to be the owner of the Liverpool stela. A larger stela owned by a goatherd, Mentuhotep's son Intefoqer, is British Museum EA 1628.<sup>5</sup>

The date of this stela is broadly Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period, but one can perhaps be more precise. 'Mutilated' forms of signs such as the legless quail-chick here begin in the later Twelfth Dynasty (Amenemhat III) and continue to the late Second Intermediate Period. The use of the twin titles for Osiris, 'lord of life, ruler of eternity', is attested no earlier than the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Later still is the design of an *ankh*-sign between two *wedjat*-eyes at the top of the stela, a motif of the middle to late Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>7</sup> The spelling of the *hpt di nsw* formula is, again, attested from the later Thirteenth Dynasty onwards.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the use of 'It is his son who makes his name to live...' is also a feature that appears from the late Thirteenth Dynasty onwards, until the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>2</sup>See H. Ranke, *Die ägyptische Personennamen* (Glückstadt 1935), I, 131:12, where this name is noted as common in the Middle Kingdom as well as in the Old Kingdom.

<sup>3</sup>The reading *iry-wist* ('keeper of *wiat*-birds') was also considered. For the first two signs, compare G. Möller's *Hieratische Paläographie* I (Leipzig, 1909), nos. 47/48, for *mnw* rather than *iry* (especially followed by *w*). Then, his signs nos. 454 (Gardiner's sign-list S 39), plus *w* plus determinative for 'quadruped' (Möller, I, nos. 138/139) give us *rw*.

<sup>4</sup>P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I (London, 1893), pl. xxx, bottom centre; cited by W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), 23 no. 794.

<sup>5</sup>*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, V (London, 1914), pl. 1 (main text, lines 6–7); cited also in *Wb.* II, 75:5, as 'var. 182'. Also cited there is the much later goatherd Mesmen, a witness for the famous Mose under Ramesses II (G. A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb Chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977), 23, pl. 61, N.20).

<sup>6</sup>J. Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos* (Wiesbaden, 1973) 174, with other cases.

<sup>7</sup>R. Hölzl, *Die Giebfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reichs* (Vienna, 1990), 17, 37.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. P. Vernus, in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 143–52, esp. 148.



1. Copper alloy figure of a smith, Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1993, ht. 4.5 cm (p. 202, no. 23)

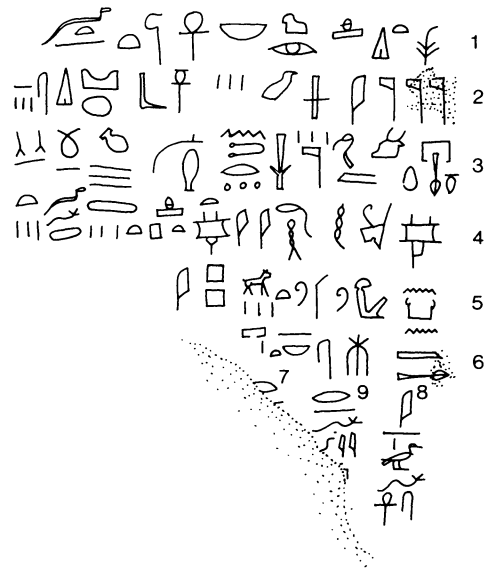


2. Terracotta figure of Eros riding a cockerel, British Museum GR 1993.12-11.3 (p. 203, no. 38)

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1993



3. Liverpool stela E. 73



4. Transcription

*(Courtesy of the School of Archaeology, Classics, and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool)*

So, from this evidence it seems likely that the goatherd Pepi had his stela made during the Second Intermediate Period, at any time from the later Thirteenth into the Seventeenth Dynasty.

AMIN A. M. A. AMER

### A problematic wooden statue in the Ashmolean Museum\*

Publication of a problematic wooden statue in the Ashmolean Museum, with the unusual feature of a head apparently made as a piece separate from the body. Does it belong? The implications of this are discussed, and stylistic parallels adduced for an early Twelfth Dynasty date for the statue.

THE wooden statue which is the subject of this paper, Ashmolean Museum 1955.461 (pls. XVII, XVIII), was purchased with the aid of the George Flood France Fund from the collection of Paul Adamidi Frasher Bey of Geneva in 1955.<sup>1</sup> It had previously been exhibited in Basle in 1953.<sup>2</sup> There was no indication of provenance and, when the statue was acquired, suggested dates were the Sixth Dynasty, late First Intermediate Period or early Middle Kingdom, or Late Period with archaizing features.<sup>3</sup>

The statue stands on a modern base, and is 54 cm high (excluding the base). The head measured from the shoulder is 10 cm high, and the upper torso, measured from waist to shoulder, 10 cm; the width of the face is 4 cm. The hard, dark wood from which the statue is carved has not been identified. Several pieces were used for its manufacture: the head (see below), arms (now missing), left leg (only partly preserved), front of the right foot, and the central tab of the kilt (now missing) were all made separately. The head, particularly the right side, is severely damaged (pl. XVIII, 1). There are deep splits down the body. When the statue was bought, most of the left leg was missing; this has now been partially restored (pl. XVII). The damaged right foot shows evidence of plaster around the heel which is probably modern, and the upper surface of the separate front part of this foot is not on the same level as the turn of the ankle, which could indicate that it is not the original foot (pl. XVII). A number of small holes in the figure are due to faults in the wood; some still retain inserted wooden pegs. Traces of plaster ground remain on the kilt. A sheen on parts of the body, particularly the kilt, may be due to modern polishing or perhaps frequent handling. No easily detectable traces of colour remain.

The figure stands in the traditional pose with left leg forward. Both arms are missing. The pleated kilt was originally of the *šndjt*-type, which, unusually, folds over from right to left. The central tab is now missing, revealing a drilled socket for the dowel which would have held the tab in place. The waistline dips in front, exposing the navel. The head juts forward unnaturally. The short echelon-curl wig has small triangular curls radiating vertically from the crown. It is very full above the temples and notably rounded in front of the ears, leaving the elongated ears exposed. The eyes are inlaid with metal rims, probably copper rather than bronze. The matt surface of the eyeballs gives the appearance of plaster, but examination under a microscope has revealed that they are of alabaster. A clear stone, probably rock-crystal, is set into the alabaster and forms the cornea. There is no coloured iris. The pupils, which have a metallic glint, are formed by tapering holes drilled from the back of the cornea, but there is no obvious evidence of any dark substance of the kind which usually filled this space.<sup>4</sup> On close examination, the eyes

\*My thanks are due to Helen Whitehouse for consultations and kindly giving so much of her time, to Mark Norman for taking the X-ray photographs and for discussions, to Mohammed Saleh who gave me permission to publish the photograph of the Cairo statue, to May Trad who gave so much assistance, and to Jaromir Malek for reading the text.

<sup>1</sup> Ashmolean Museum, *Report of the Visitors, 1955* (Oxford, 1955), 26.

<sup>2</sup> Kunsthalle, Basel, *Schätze altägyptischen Kunst* (1955), cat. no. 58a.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmolean Museum, *Report*, and private communications to the Ashmolean.

<sup>4</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, revised and enlarged by J. R. Harris (London, 1962), 100.



differ somewhat. The cornea of the right eye is clear and convex while that of the left is opaque, with a yellowish tinge, and has a flat surface. The white of this left eye protrudes slightly (pl. XVIII, 1). The appearance of the left eye may be due to an ancient re-insertion. A trace of resinous matter between the edge of the eyeball and lower lid is possibly the original adhesive now revealed by the protruding eyeball, itself perhaps dislodged by corrosion underneath. The yellowish tinge of the cornea suggests resetting with an adhesive, now yellowed. The upper part of the metal rim bordering the right eye stands up and away from the eye. Although there is no serration, this may have been a representation of eyelashes.<sup>5</sup> The rim of the left eye is corroded, and this detail is not evident. An abrasion on the right eyebrow gives an asymmetrical appearance. The straight nose has slightly flaring nostrils but is damaged at the tip. The philtrum is indicated but not pronounced. The lips, particularly the lower, are full and are squared off rather than tapering at the corners. The face is oval, with slightly fleshy cheeks and a square, determined chin. Some expertise is evident in the carving of the torso. The collar-bone is well-defined and represented as a half-circle winging out towards the shoulders. The rib-cage is indicated by a slight swelling of the chest with an indentation below, and a depression which runs down to a large navel exposed by the drop of the belted kilt. The nipples are inserted wooden pegs. The torso graduates into the waist and gently flares out at hip level. The legs are carefully carved to show musculature, the calves being particularly pronounced.

The damage suffered by this statue over the millennia is regrettable, but it reveals some interesting details of the methods of manufacture. A piece is missing on the right side of the head, revealing a central knot of wood (pl. XVII, right). The rear view shows a jagged edge across the shoulders at the base of the neck with some plaster infill. From the front, it is clear that the neck was built up with plaster; some remains on the left side, but it has disappeared from the right, leaving a gap. X-ray photographs (pl. XVIII, 3–4) reveal a socket with a squared-off base, roughly in alignment with the lower edge of the sockets which once contained the arms. An inserted core with a bulbous end is visible in the socket. The bulbous end shows up as a darker patch on the X-ray and is probably plaster which has run down into the space. Extensive plaster fill shows up as a dark ring above the socket. Further plaster infill is evident in the deep split on the right side of the face (pl. XVIII, 1, 3). Whether this was originally a separate piece of wood is debatable; it may have been split during manufacture and repaired at the time. The X-ray photographs show an iron pin which bridges the split and is proof of some modern repair. Whether the plaster, both here and in the socket, is ancient is uncertain. The angle of the head to the body can be explained by the fact of its being joined as a separate piece. The splits in the wood on the head and body are not aligned, which would suggest that they were never carved as one piece.

The problem to be considered is whether this is the original head of the statue. Evidence of modern repair, which may include the plaster, would not necessarily preclude the head's having originally belonged to the body. The socket for the head is on a level with the left arm socket, though both are slightly higher than the right arm socket, and this might argue for their having been carved at the same time. Egyptian wooden statues are usually made with separate pieces of wood, especially for projecting parts. As such, the head may seem an obvious candidate for separate manufacture, but I have not found such a feature described in publications. A possible example is a Sixth Dynasty statue, the head of which juts forward unnaturally. This is the statue of a scribe, and the posture could be due to the type of statue, but a jagged edge round the base of the neck may suggest an inserted head.<sup>6</sup> However, an awkward angle of the head may occur even when it is carved as one with the body.<sup>7</sup>

The short echelon-curl wig, common in Egyptian statuary, in this example assumes a specific form, with a marked fullness above the temples and a very rounded contour down from the temples, which leaves the ears exposed. As noted above, opinions about the date varied when the statue was acquired. Although the Old Kingdom was suggested and statues with this form of wig

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 108. Eyelashes are apparently quite rarely represented, but here it seems that the rim represents more than just the edge of the eyelid.

<sup>6</sup> Good illustrations in E. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture, Cairo and Luxor* (Austin, 1989), 44–5 with figs. (Cairo JE 93166).

<sup>7</sup> J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (Cambridge, 1988), 35–6 no. 26.

have been roughly dated to the Sixth Dynasty (see notes 15, 19 below), securely dated parallels are lacking. Echelon-curl wigs in the Old Kingdom are, to my knowledge, all close-fitting. Examples from the First Intermediate Period are more problematic, as there are no private statues securely dated to this period. This form of wig is known from the Late Period, but at that time seems to have been confined to statues of women.<sup>8</sup> In addition, wooden statuary is rare in the Late Period.<sup>9</sup>

However, the wigs of a number of statues of the Middle Kingdom provide comparisons with the Ashmolean statue. It is preferable to compare like materials, but wooden parallels seem to be rare and most of the examples I have collected are of stone. This may reflect the paucity of publications of wooden statues rather than the rarity of wigs of this form on wooden statues. To take first the stone examples: two were specified by Bothmer as male forerunners of the female wig seen in later periods.<sup>10</sup> One of these, from the Karnak cachette, is a statue of Sahure dedicated by Senwosret I (pl. XVII, 2).<sup>11</sup> With the rounding of the closely curled wig from the temple and the exposed elongated ears, it provides a close parallel to the Ashmolean statue. The other is an unprovenanced head of a royal statue<sup>12</sup> which has been dated to the Middle Kingdom. A statue of General Nesumontu, who lived during the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I, is unprovenanced but may have come from the Theban area.<sup>13</sup> The wig takes the same form with exposed ears but lacks the detail of curls. Three statues, and the upper part of another, not only wear the type of wig in question, but are remarkably similar as a group. The fragment is unprovenanced,<sup>14</sup> the complete statues are from Elephantine,<sup>15</sup> Deir Rifa,<sup>16</sup> and Lisht.<sup>17</sup> All the wigs exhibit the same contour as that of the Ashmolean statue. The unprovenanced fragment has been dated 'about Sixth Dynasty', the Elephantine statue to the Middle Kingdom, and the others to the Twelfth Dynasty. Two unprovenanced heads may be added to the list, one dated to the Sixth Dynasty or later,<sup>18</sup> the other to the late Eleventh–early Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>19</sup> Although the Sixth Dynasty has been mentioned in the dating of two of these, their likeness to examples of clearly Middle Kingdom date (e.g. that from Lisht) would, I think, preclude an Old Kingdom date.

Some standing wooden statues of the Middle Kingdom have wigs with the same contour as the Ashmolean statue, but examples with the ear fully exposed seem to be rare. The only one I can cite is from Asyut and has been dated to the early Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>20</sup> Others have only the lower part of the lobe exposed,<sup>21</sup> one dated to the early Twelfth Dynasty, the other to the early Middle Kingdom.

<sup>8</sup>B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (The Brooklyn Museum, 1960), 113–14 no. 90.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. 12–13 no. 4.

<sup>10</sup>See n. 8 above.

<sup>11</sup>G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I (Cairo, 1906), 3–4, pl. ii (Cairo CG 42004).

<sup>12</sup>R. Krauspe, *Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1976), 34 [49/15], pl. xi (Leipzig 2906).

<sup>13</sup>D. Wildung, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 503–7, pls. 83–6. His list of statues similar to that of General Nesumontu (p. 504) includes some (BM EA 37895–6 and MMA 26.7.1393) not included by me, as the wigs are not like that of the Ashmolean statue.

<sup>14</sup>G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 22 no. 25, pl. iii (WAG 22.377).

<sup>15</sup>L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, II (Berlin, 1925), 55, pl. 77 (Cairo CG 464).

<sup>16</sup>W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), pl. x (New York MMA 07.231.8).

<sup>17</sup>A. Mace, 'The Egyptian Expedition 1920–1921', *BMMA* Part ii, November 1921, 14 fig. 15 (MMA 22.1.200).

<sup>18</sup>Steindorff, *Cat. Walters Art Gallery*, 22 no. 27, pl. iv (WAG 22.147).

<sup>19</sup>Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), 35 no. 305 with fig. (Berlin 254).

<sup>20</sup>Steindorff, *Cat. Walters Art Gallery*, 33 no. 69, pl. xiii (WAG 22.13).

<sup>21</sup>For example Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.219.1932: Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 35–6 no. 26; Louvre E.20179: E. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1987), 186 with figs.

The number of Middle Kingdom statues cited above with a wig like that of the Ashmolean statue is few, but male wigs of this form in other periods are not attested, and I would argue that the head of the statue is certainly of Middle Kingdom date. The manufacture of the eyes strengthens the case. Apart from the possible detail of eyelashes, they are closer to Lucas's Class I than his Class II. The existence of a cornea is not usually represented in Class II, and the drilled hole for the pupils is not attested in Class II.<sup>22</sup> Class I is a type of eye which was not made later than the Thirteenth Dynasty,<sup>23</sup> but for private statues inlaid eyes are extremely rare after the mid Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>24</sup>

While the head of the Ashmolean statue has features which are datable, there is no specific element of the body which can be pinpointed. In the Old Kingdom the *šndjt*-kilt was the prerogative of the king, whereas it is exhibited on private statues of the Middle Kingdom, and the vigorous carving and pronounced treatment of bone, particularly the collar-bone, and muscular outlines, can be compared with other statues of the earlier Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>25</sup> The body has all the attributes of a Middle Kingdom example, and I can find no evidence to show that it could not have been contemporary with the head.

An aspect of the statue to be noted is the folding of the kilt from right to left. This type of kilt is traditionally shown with a fold from left to right. Exceptions are rare, one notable example being on a statue of Amenhotep II.<sup>26</sup> In this case, it may have been one of a pair and the abnormal fold of the kilt deliberately used for symmetry, as on statues on either side of a doorway, for instance, but this is unlikely to be the case with private statuary. The phenomenon seems to occur most frequently in bronzes of the Late Period, both royal,<sup>27</sup> and private,<sup>28</sup> where an explanation may be found in the casting methods. Statues which have a kilt with the fold meeting in the centre tend to be crude examples of the work of sculptors who were probably inexperienced.<sup>29</sup> But two examples exist on well-carved private statues, one of the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty and one of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>30</sup> The widely different date of these statues emphasises the rarity of the occurrence. Unfortunately, I can find no satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon, but as far as the Ashmolean statue is concerned, the fold in the kilt is no criterion for dating the body.

Looking at the statue as a whole, it cannot be shown with certainty that the head and body were originally part of the same figure, but I think that they are contemporary and may well originally have belonged together. Although there seems to be no evidence for heads on wooden statues being made as separate parts, we should not underestimate the ingenuity of the ancient sculptor when faced with unsatisfactory material. The unaligned right foot might suggest that the statue consists of ancient parts assembled more recently. Although there is evidence of modern repair around the heel, a thick layer of plaster applied by the ancient sculptor may originally have disguised the unaligned foot and given a neat finished affect.

I have not been able to find a wooden statue which combines both this specific type of wig and a *šndjt*-kilt, but most of the stone statues cited above have this type of kilt and are evidence that these features are contemporary. Some of these are dated or datable, one to the reign of Senwosret I, another to the reigns of Amenemhat I/Senwosret I. Three come from the Theban area, but other provenanced examples come from geographically widely distributed areas: Lisht, Deir Rifa, and Elephantine. Despite the differing provenances, similarities in all respects, not only the type

<sup>22</sup> Lucas, *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 108.

<sup>23</sup> Lucas, *AEMI*<sup>4</sup>, 99.

<sup>24</sup> W. Needler in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981), 134.

<sup>25</sup> E. Chassinat and C. Palanque, *Une campagne de fouilles dans le nécropole d'Assiout* (Cairo, 1911), pls. v, xii, xxxiv, xxxvi; Delange, *Catalogue des statues*, 186; Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 35–6 no. 26.

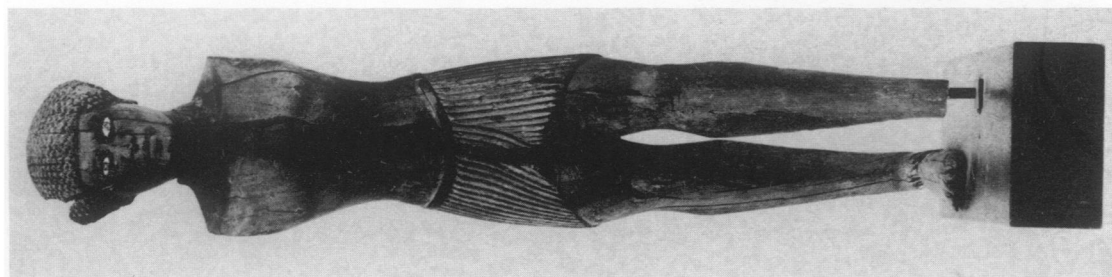
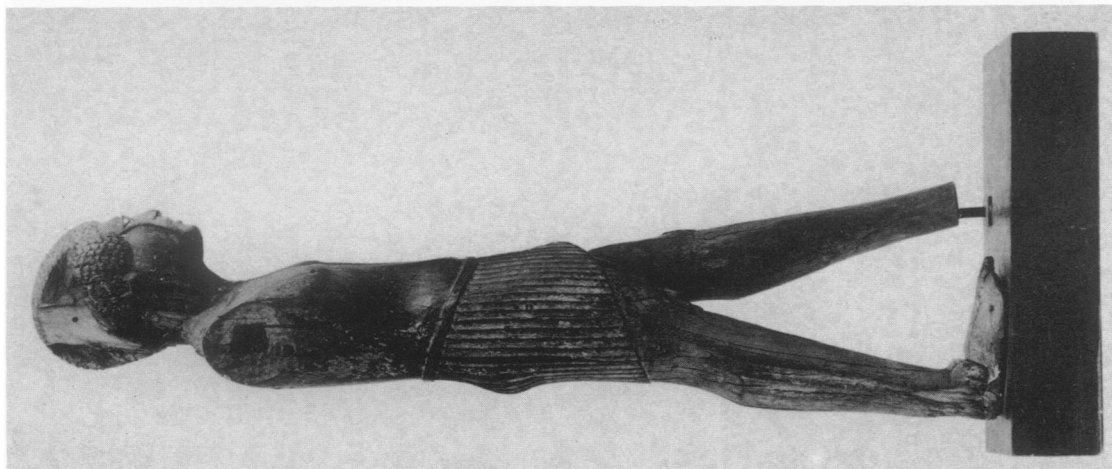
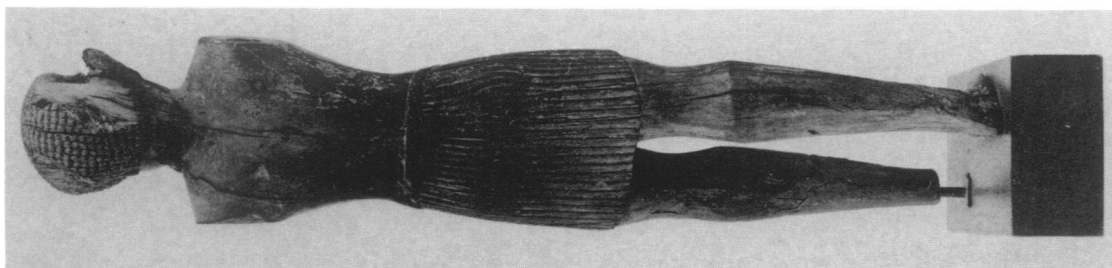
<sup>26</sup> Cairo CG 42077; Legrain, *Statues et statuette* I, pl. xlvii.

<sup>27</sup> Bothmer, *ESLP*, pl. 40 no. 95.

<sup>28</sup> G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités* (Cairo, 1905), pls. iii, vi, xxxv; S. Wenig et al., *Africa in Antiquity*, II (The Brooklyn Museum, 1978), 217 no. 138; B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, I (Munksgaard, 1951), 251.

<sup>29</sup> Delange, *Catalogue des statues*, 126; Steindorff, *Cat. Walters Art Gallery*, pl. viii no. 38.

<sup>30</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* (Berlin, 1911) I, pl. 10; P. Vernus, *Athribis*, (BdE 74; Cairo, 1978), pl. viii.



Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1955.461  
(*Courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum*)  
A PROBLEMATIC WOODEN STATUE IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM (pp. 212–16)

of wig, among the examples from Lisht, Deir Rifa, Elephantine, and the statue of Sahure in Cairo, are striking. Here I should also mention the wooden example from Asyut cited above, with a wig very similar to these stone ones, and to that of the Ashmolean statue. That these statues come from different areas indicates that they originated in a period when regional traditions were no longer distinct, now recognised as a phenomenon which occurred during the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>31</sup> The number of examples I have collected is few, and I do not claim that it is complete, but when compared with the overall corpus of Middle Kingdom statuary, it does suggest that examples are broadly contemporary and that this particular style never became part of the repertoire known from the later Twelfth Dynasty. It may well be that the style developed in the Theban area and was taken to Lisht after the removal of the capital, after which it remained for only a short period in the output of a workshop which was influential in imposing styles country-wide. General standardisation in the manufacture and decoration of objects is already recognised in the field of coffin decoration, where it seems to have taken place at the end of the reign of Senwosret I or during the reign of Amenemhat II.<sup>32</sup>

In conclusion, I would date the head of the Ashmolean statue to the early Twelfth Dynasty and would argue that the body is contemporary with the head, and that they were probably originally part of the same statue. This is a problematic and interesting piece of sculpture.

DIANA MAGEE

### Two unpublished stelae from Beni Hasan<sup>1</sup>

Publication of two stelae from the lower necropolis at Beni Hasan, known only from photographs among John Garstang's field notes, with a discussion of their inscriptions and Twelfth Dynasty date.

JOHN Garstang's excavations at Beni Hasan were published in *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt as Illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 1907). He excavated some 900 tombs at the site, among which he found nine inscribed stelae or fragments thereof. The number was lower than Garstang expected and he commented that it was 'disproportionate to ordinary experience on a XIIth Dynasty site'.<sup>2</sup> Of the nine, he published photographs and discussions of only five, and mentioned two others.<sup>3</sup> These two stelae are shown in photographs now in the collection of the School of Archaeology, Classics, and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool (pl. XIX), but their present whereabouts are unknown. One came from tomb 16 and was dedicated to a man named *Hnm-htp*, while the other, from tomb 283, belonged to *Wsr-nht* and *Mrs.*

<sup>31</sup>J. Bourriau in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 9.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.* 9.

<sup>1</sup>I would like to acknowledge the assistance of the late Prof. A. F. Shore of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool during 1989–90, when I worked on the Garstang collections there. My thanks are due also to Miss Pat Winker and Dr Angela Tooley for their help. Dr N. B. Millet, Royal Ontario Museum, Dr R. J. Leprohon, University of Toronto, and Dr D. B. Spindel, The Brooklyn Museum, were also generous with their time and advice, as were the *JEA*'s reviewers. The final form of this paper is my own responsibility, including any inaccuracies.

<sup>2</sup>Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 184–5.

<sup>3</sup>Aside from these seven, the others are described in his final report as simply 'fragments of inscribed stone...probably portions of stelae, but no names were preserved upon them' and they were apparently not photographed or otherwise recorded; see Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 185–8, and figs. 191–5.

*The stela from tomb 16* (pl. XIX, 1)

School of Archaeology, Classics, and Oriental Studies, Neg. B142; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 188.

Rectangular stela with a cavetto cornice and torus moulding set against a slightly broader slab. It was plastered and the palm fronds on the cornice, the inscription, and the figure scene were painted. The plaster had worn away on the lower part of the stela and been lost together with the paint on the inscription, but the inscription can be reconstructed in part from the outline of the cavities where the plaster had fallen away. The right side of the upper line and most of the lower line had deteriorated badly.



Within the frame of the stela, the decoration consists of two registers of inscription running from right to left. A decorative border of three lines, made up of a darker line (perhaps green/blue) flanked by two lighter (probably white) lines, appears above the upper register of inscription, between the two registers, and below the lower. Below the figure scene the stela had decayed to such a degree that nothing can be recognized on the photograph.

The inscription reads:




Honoured<sup>a</sup> by Osiris,<sup>b</sup> lord of Busiris.<sup>c</sup> May [he] give [...]<sup>d</sup>  
[...] the honoured (?) *Hnm-htp*.<sup>e</sup>

*Notes*

<sup>a</sup>*im;h.y*, written . The prothetic reed-leaf is found in combination with  on Twelfth Dynasty coffins from the site; earlier writings include the sickle. The double reed-leaf ending is common at the site in the Twelfth Dynasty but cannot alone be used to argue for a Twelfth Dynasty date.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>b</sup>The writing of Osiris without the divine determinative is standard at Beni Hasan in the Twelfth Dynasty. This sign is also absent on the stela of *Hnm-htp* and *Htf* from tomb 85<sup>5</sup> and that of *Ntr-nht* from tomb 320.<sup>6</sup> Although this feature is common at Saqqara during the Heracleopolitan Period, it is known at Thebes only from the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>c</sup>The writing of *Ddw* without the *d* is quite rare among the upper rank of tombs; it is found in tomb 33 () , dating from the Heracleopolitan Period.<sup>8</sup> The writing of the town-sign with a stroke determinative is more prevalent in the later tombs at Beni Hasan.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>d</sup>The use of 'May he give ...' indicates a date at the earliest during the early Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup>It is known from as early as the late Old Kingdom; see W. Schenkel, in M. Gorg and E. Pusch (eds), *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), 386–7 n. 39, where he rejects his earlier argument that the double reed-leaf ending was only a later development and thus dated tombs 15 and 17 in the upper rank at Beni Hasan to the Twelfth Dynasty. For the earlier argument, see Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptischen Studien* (Bonn, 1962), 81. For the writing of *im;h.y* at Beni Hasan in the upper-rank tombs, see D. B. Spänel, *Beni Hasan in the Heracleopolitan Period* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984), 83–5.

<sup>5</sup>Now British Museum EA 625.

<sup>6</sup>Current location unknown; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 186–7, fig. 94.

<sup>7</sup>Spänel, *Beni Hasan*, 127 n. 27.

<sup>8</sup>The inscription is shown in P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II (London, 1893), pl. xxxvi; for the date, see Spänel, *Beni Hasan*, 154.

<sup>9</sup>For upper-rank tombs 2 and 3, see Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I (London, 1893), pls. xv, xx, and xxiv.

<sup>10</sup>See Spänel, *Beni Hasan*, 105 n. 7.

<sup>c</sup>Garstang wrote that the stela was inscribed for 'the warrior BAKT's son KHNEM-HETEP'.<sup>11</sup> The name *Hnm-htp* is recognizable on the photograph, but it is likely that the father's name was taken from a coffin found in the tomb. On Garstang's plate of names and titles, four names are given as coming from inscriptions in tomb 16.<sup>12</sup> These include *Hnm-htp*,<sup>13</sup> the son of *Bwqt*; the latter name is not found in Ranke, *PN*, but the quail chick was probably a modern copyist's mistake for the Egyptian vulture, and the name should be *Bwqt*, a common one at Beni Hasan.<sup>14</sup> The plate gives his occupation as 'warrior' (*rhꜣw.ty*).<sup>15</sup> No photographs of coffins from this tomb are preserved in the archives at Liverpool, so the information in Garstang's plate cannot be checked.

The stela lacks the usual *htp di nsw* found on most of the offering stelae from Beni Hasan. It is possible that some form of the phrase had existed at the top and was lost, but this seems unlikely. The figure panel is badly decayed, but one can see traces of a seated figure on the left with a flowerpot-type container under the chair. On the right is a pile of offerings including a cow's head, a duck (the curving neck is visible) and probably some vegetables, perhaps onions. Not enough of the scene is preserved to indicate whether there was a table on which these offerings were piled.

*Date:* The inscription would indicate a date in the Twelfth Dynasty. The writing of *Ddw* is closest to that in upper-rank tombs 2 and 3, thus the earlier half of the Twelfth Dynasty. The use of *dif* ('May he give ...') confirms a date in the Twelfth Dynasty. The stela thus probably dates to the early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty, from the reign of Amenemhat II or Senwosret II, but probably not much later, as it lacks the later form of *Ddw*, written with a second *dd*-pillar.<sup>16</sup>

*The stela from tomb 283 (pl. XIX, 2)*

School of Archaeology, Classics, and Oriental Studies, Neg. B152; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 188.

Stela with a cavetto cornice (largely broken off) and torus moulding around the figure scene; minus the cornice, the stela is roughly square.<sup>17</sup> Across the top of the area within the moulding is a horizontal band of inscription, framed above and below by a single line. The inscription is incised and the quality of its carving seems poor, resembling rough chiselling. The figure scene is in sunk relief, but here the workmanship is slightly more careful, with a minimal amount of modelling in the faces of both individuals.

The inscription reads:



The warrior<sup>a</sup> *Hmny*'s<sup>b</sup> son *Wsr-nht*.<sup>c</sup> His wife, Mrs.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 188.

<sup>12</sup> Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. vii.

<sup>13</sup> H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935–77), I, 276, 6.

<sup>14</sup> Ranke, *PN* I, 90, 9 (there given with a tree-determinative absent on Garstang's pl. vii).

<sup>15</sup> W. A. Ward, *Index of Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), 618.

<sup>16</sup> Found in tomb 13, one of the latest of the upper-rank tombs; see Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. xli.

<sup>17</sup> The width of the stela (including the matrix) is slightly greater than its height to the top edge of the raised frame. If the width between the outside edges of the raised frame and the height from the ground line of the figure scene to the top edge of the frame are compared, the two measurements match almost exactly. Although the missing cavetto cornice would have added height to the stela, altering its proportions into a vertical rectangle, the shape would still have been stockily solid. This square format is unusual; examples, all dated to the earlier part of the Twelfth Dynasty, include Louvre C34 (ANOC 29.2; W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974), pl. 43) and Cairo CG 20561 (ANOC 4.4; Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. 11), both from the reign of Senwosret I; and Berlin 1190, from the reign of Amenemhat II. These are discussed by R. Freed; *Representation and Style of Dated Private Stelae of Dynasty XII* (M.A. thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1976).

## Notes

<sup>a</sup>The first few signs of the inscription are obscured by the shadow in the photograph. It is likely that these were the title *ḥꜣw.ty*<sup>18</sup> written, as Garstang reports, with the phonetic complements ( ), although of these, only the *t* is clearly visible.

<sup>b</sup>Not listed in Ranke, *PN*. For theophorous names with the god *Hmn*, see Ranke, *PN* I, 240, 24–6, and 241, 1.

<sup>c</sup>*wsr* as an element in male names is quite frequently attested in the lower necropolis at Beni Hasan, where it occurs in *Wsr-nht* (this example only), *Wsr-ht* (five examples), and *Wsr-ti* (one example). None of these names is included in Ranke, *PN*.

<sup>d</sup>Although not in Ranke, *PN*, this name is known from Beni Hasan, as the name of one of the daughters of the nomarch Khnum-hotep (II) by his first wife Khety.<sup>19</sup>

The figure panel shows two standing individuals facing each other. On the left is a striding man with a short beard, dressed in medium-length bag wig and a short, flaring kilt. He faces right, with his right arm hanging straight behind him, the hand holding a folded bolt of cloth; the left nipple is sharply delineated. His left arm is bent and extended to touch the shoulder of a woman, presumably his wife *Mrs*. She wears a long tripartite wig and a sheath dress. She faces the man and her right hand is folded over her breast while her left hangs behind her. Although the quality of carving here is better than that of the inscription, it is cruder than that on other stelae from the site.<sup>20</sup> The angles are sharper, the lines rough and uneven, and the proportions not very well judged.<sup>21</sup>

*Date:* The lack of an offering formula makes this stela more difficult to date than others from the lower necropolis, although it is likely that it is neither the earliest nor the latest of the group. In addition to the undistinguished inscription, the figure scene, although not particularly common in composition, shows two figures in costumes with details which occur throughout the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>22</sup> It is possible that the woman is the daughter *Mrs* of the nomarch Khnum-hotep (II) who was buried in upper-rank tomb 3 and who recorded his appointment as nomarch in Year 19 of Amenemhat II; some title for the woman, even that of *nb.t pr*, might, however, have been recorded if she were indeed of high birth.<sup>23</sup>

The seven stelae from Beni Hasan vary greatly in style and quality of execution, and only two are similar in composition.<sup>24</sup> Among the seven, the carving of the figure scene, for example, ranges

<sup>18</sup>Ward, *Index*, no. 618.

<sup>19</sup>Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 44. The owner of another stela from Beni Hasan, *Nhry* (tomb 360) was a son of Khnum-hotep (III), whose upper-rank rock-cut tomb was Newberry's tomb 3 (*Beni Hasan* I, pl. xxxv); for the identification of *Nhry*, see W. A. Ward, 'The Case of Mrs. Tchat and Her Sons at Beni Hasan', *GM* 71 (1984), 51–9. The name *Mrs* alone is not enough to identify the woman in this stela with the daughter of Khnum-hotep (II) and Khety.

<sup>20</sup>Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 185–7, figs. 191–5.

<sup>21</sup>Particularly jarring is the inequality in the length of arms.

<sup>22</sup>Dated occurrences from Abydos (ANOC groups) of the details of the man's costume include the following: from Year 10 of Senwosret I, the short beard and kilt (ANOC 30.1: Cairo CG 20515; Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. 46); from the reign of Amenemhat II, the short beard on a fragment of relief of *Hpr-kꜣ-rr* (ANOC 23.3; Musée Guimet 11324), while the same individual wears a bag wig on ANOC 23.1 (Cairo CG 20531) (both illustrated in Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. 35). Later in the Twelfth Dynasty representations of the short beard and bag wig are found on the monuments of *Sn-wsrt-snbw* from Abydos (ANOC 26; Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. 39); these include ANOC 26.1 (BM EA 557), dated to Amenemhat III, Year 25 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* II, pl. 3), 26.2 (BM EA 247; *HT* III, pl. 25), and 26.3 (Cairo CG 20558). The heavy tripartite wig and long sheath dress of the woman are common throughout the Twelfth Dynasty.

<sup>23</sup>Although *Nhry*, son of this same Khnum-hotep, lacks a title on his stela from Tomb 360. See above, n. 19.

<sup>24</sup>Those from tombs 85 (BM EA 625) and 163; see Garstang, *Burial Customs*, figs. 191, 192. BM EA 625 shows strong similarity to a false door in the upper-rank tomb 2 of Amenemhat (temp. Senwosret I), published in Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. xii. The similarity between the stela and the false door may indicate that they were carved by the same workshop.





1. Stela of *Hnm-htp* from tomb 16

(Courtesy of the School of Archaeology, Classics, and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool)



2. Stela of *Wsr-nht* and *Mrs* from tomb 283

TWO UNPUBLISHED STELAE FROM BENI HASAN (pp. 216–20)

from sunk relief with minimal modelling of the facial features and sharp edges (stela from tomb 283, see above), to shallow incised relief (the stelae from tombs 85, 163, and 211),<sup>25</sup> to shallow raised relief in which the figure scene looks almost as though it was cut out with a pastry-cutter (stela from tomb 360),<sup>26</sup> to a very well carved example in low raised relief, with well-modelled facial features and such careful observation of detail that the outlines of the legs can be seen through the long skirt.<sup>27</sup> In addition to this great variation in style, the timespan covered by the stelae is something over a century from the late Eleventh Dynasty<sup>28</sup> to the middle of the Twelfth, with the latest stela from late in the reign of Senwosret II or early in that of Senwosret III.<sup>29</sup>

The primary production of the local stone-carving industry was undoubtedly the decoration of the upper rank of tombs at Beni Hasan, and the small number of extant stelae produced for the lower necropolis most likely indicates that this was a much lower priority for local workshops. The variation in style among them also argues for a rather irregular production of such monuments, with no workshop dedicated to stelae alone. The one stela whose owner can be identified with certainty as a member of a nomarchal family is that of *Nhry*, which was discussed by Ward; the association of *Mrs*, the stela-owner from tomb 283, with the daughter of Khnum-hotep III is tentative at best.<sup>30</sup> The apparently restricted ownership of stelae among occupants of the lower necropolis at Beni Hasan and the identification of one owner as a minor member of the ruling family may indicate that social status was an element in the possession of stelae; the fact that in several cases not all the owners' known titles are given, where these are job-specific ones such as *ch;w.ty* and *nb.t. pr*, suggests that achieved status was not a determining factor in the provision of stelae.

SARA E. OREL

### An incised hieratic ostrakon (Ashmolean HO 655)<sup>1</sup>

Hieratic Ostrakon 655 in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, bears an unusual legal text in which a dispute about a hut is apparently settled by arbitration. The method of writing is unique for this period; the hieratic text is deeply incised and filled with blue frit. It is suggested that the ostrakon was erected as a stela in the hut by its new owner, as evidence of his rights. The unusual format may have been intended to give the appearance of an archival document on an ostrakon or papyrus.

HIERATIC Ostrakon 655, now in the Ashmolean Museum, was originally purchased in Luxor in 1932 or 1933 by Norman de Garis Davies.<sup>2</sup> The limestone flake measures 15.5 cm high and

<sup>25</sup> Now in the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside (Liverpool Museum), accession number 55.82.22; photograph in Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 193.

<sup>26</sup> Now in the Ashmolean Museum, accession number E.3978; photograph in Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 195. See also Ward, *GM* 71, 51–9.

<sup>27</sup> This stela, present location unknown, was found in tomb 320; see Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 194. The figure is, atypically for Beni Hasan, placed off-centre, a factor which might indicate that the stela was one of a pair. If it had a mate, however, it is now missing.

<sup>28</sup> That of *Hr-h(w)-[rhyt-htp].i* from tomb 211, now in the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside (Liverpool Museum), accession number 55.82.22; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 193. Other discussions of this stela include Christine Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom* (*MÄS* 27; Munich, 1979), 36 n. 409 and figs. 147–8; and Spänel, *Beni Hasan*, 140–1, n. 57, 96.

<sup>29</sup> That of *Nhry* from tomb 360; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, 187–8, fig. 195, and Ward, *GM* 71, 51–9.

<sup>30</sup> See p. 219 and n. 19 above.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Helen Whitehouse for allowing me to study HO 655 and for providing photographs and other forms of assistance, and to the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum for granting permission to publish the piece. Rob Demarée kindly read this article in manuscript and made some very helpful suggestions. I would also like to thank Betsy Bryan, Catherine Keller, Jaromir Malek, Richard Parkinson, Catherine Roehrig, William Kelly Simpson, and Deborah Sweeney for their help.

<sup>2</sup> Catalogue to the Černý manuscripts in the Griffith Institute; I am grateful to Jaromir Malek for this information.

14.3 cm wide. Ten lines are preserved; they are exceptionally clear and in general easy to read, but a substantial amount is lost at the right edge of the ostrakon (the beginning of each line), and a piece is missing from the lower left-hand corner (pl. XX). The foreman Khonsu, named in line 3, dates the text securely to the second half of the reign of Ramesses III.<sup>3</sup> With my suggested restorations, the text reads as follows:

1. [Reporting by<sup>4</sup>] the workman Wennofer (and) the work-
2. [man ... saying: Let(?)] there be given to me the hut (of) my father<sup>5</sup>
3. [ ... ] before the foreman Khonsu, the deputy
4. [ ... ] And they said to me: Give him grain
5. [ ... for the construction<sup>6</sup>] which he made in it. List of the silver
6. [which was given to him: ... ] box, 2 *deben*, 3 *oipe* of it belonging to me;<sup>7</sup>
7. [ ... from his(?)] wood. And I made for him a staff
8. [ ... from (?)] his wood;<sup>8</sup> and I made for him a [ ... ]
9. [ ... from (?)] his wood; and [ ... ]
10. [ ... ] *hn*-box,<sup>9</sup> X *deben* [ ... ]

It appears that the workman Wennofer—the 'I' of the text—claimed a right to his father's hut, which was, however, occupied by another workman. The two claimants submitted their dispute to local dignitaries, including the foreman Khonsu and a deputy. Although a crucial part of their verdict is lost, they seem to have decided that Wennofer should have the hut, but that he should pay the other workman for the improvements he had made during his occupancy. A list of the items given in payment follows. Those which are preserved are of trivial value— $\frac{3}{8}$  of a box, a staff not including the wood from which it was made, and some other minor articles. In economic terms, this was a minor transaction.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the substantial lacunae and our ignorance of the background to the case, two striking details present themselves. First, it is possible that the officials arranged a sort of compromise between the two parties. Both Wennofer and the other workmen seem to have had a claim to the hut—the other party because he had done some building work and was perhaps living there—yet neither came away with the whole property: Wennofer got the hut, but he had to compensate his opposite. This would be one of the very few examples of arbitration known from the workmen's village; the nearest parallels are cases in which two individuals ask the oracle or an official to set a price for them.<sup>11</sup> The judgement of two parties so that they both went away satisfied was an Egyptian ideal, frequently mentioned in the autobiographies of officials of the Old and Middle

<sup>3</sup>J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (BdE 50; Cairo, 1973), 306.

<sup>4</sup>Restoring *smi ir.n* (cf. O. Berlin P 10655 ll. 7–8, and see A. G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medīna* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 5; Leiden, 1990), 14).

<sup>5</sup>There is a problem here because 'the hut of my father' would ordinarily be constructed with an indirect genitive. I can only suggest that the *n* has been omitted inadvertently. The first signs of line 3 could be part of the personal name Amenemope, or of a place name.

<sup>6</sup>The combination of a wall and a book-roll determinative for the lost word is puzzling; I suggest either a form of *qd*, 'to build', or a word for 'wall', such as *inb*.

<sup>7</sup>I take it this means Wennofer was giving his share in a jointly owned *fdt*-box. In the reign of Ramesses III, 1 *khar* of emmer was worth 1 *deben*, so that 3 *ipt* would be worth  $\frac{3}{4}$  *deben*—less than half the value of the box (J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 113).

<sup>8</sup>It was not uncommon for the purchaser to supply the wood from which an object was made (cf. for example, J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford, 1957; hereafter, *HO*) 22. 2, 59. 4, 65. 4; O. Gard 171: *KRI* VII, 332–3), although I know of no parallels for an expression such as 'made from his wood', as we appear to have here.

<sup>9</sup>On this item see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 193 n. 52.

<sup>10</sup>For two other prices for building, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 394–6: the construction of a room (and ?) a wall cost  $\frac{1}{2}$  *khar*.

<sup>11</sup>The oracle sets prices in *HO* 22, 2 and O. Cairo 25242 (Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 179–80); see McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, 133. In *HO* 72, 3, two individuals submit a disagreement over the price of a donkey rental to the scribe Hori; it is not clear whether this was arbitration or an effort to coerce the renter to pay his debt; see McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, 147.

Kingdoms,<sup>12</sup> and it is curious that we have so few illustrations of the practice. This discrepancy may have arisen because the autobiographies concern disagreements about the tomb-owner's estate among his own subordinates, whereas our main source of actual legal cases is Deir el-Medina, whose inhabitants were not dependent upon a single official in the same way. The workmen preferred to take their disputes to the local *qnbt*-court, which is never seen to be engaged in reconciliation or arbitration of this kind.<sup>13</sup>

The Wennofer of our text cannot be identified for certain since at least two workmen of this name were active in the mid-Twentieth Dynasty: Wennofer son of Pen-Amun and Wennofer son of Amonnakht.<sup>14</sup> The former is known from P. Berlin 10496 vs., a legal hearing of Year 24 of Ramesses III before various officials including the foreman Khonsu (as in our text). Here Wennofer son of Pen-Amun is accused of removing a body from the family tomb of a certain Amenemope.<sup>15</sup> Now the name Amenemope may also occur in line 3 of the Ashmolean ostrakon, but in such a broken context that his relation to Wennofer is entirely unclear. It is not impossible, however, that our case represents another example of friction between the two men.

The second striking feature of the case under consideration is that it seems to have been heard by the officials alone; they did not consult the oracle, and do not even appear to have formed a *qnbt*-court. The other material from Deir el-Medina suggests that property disputes were taken particularly seriously, and were decided by the oracle or the representatives of the vizier and not by the local *qnbt*, let alone by individual officials.<sup>16</sup> It is not absolutely certain that this case is an exception—a substantial amount of the text is missing—but it does look as though here the villagers were acting on their own authority. It may be that the two exceptional features of the dispute are related; since a compromise was reached between the two parties, a legal ruling was avoided and it was not necessary to call in the higher authorities.

The physical features of this ostrakon are as unusual as the details of the dispute which it records. The hieratic text was deeply incised and filled with blue frit, now going blackish in the lower half of the text.<sup>17</sup> This unconventional method of inscription raises two questions: first, why should a relatively minor and businesslike text receive such elaborate treatment; and second, why did the artist, having chosen to go to some extra effort, carve the text in hieratic rather than the usual hieroglyphs? It is easier to speculate about the first question than the second.

One possibility is that the craftsman was simply having a bit of fun or practising. It seems unlikely, however, that a craftsman would choose a legal text for such a project; something more monumental, such as a religious inscription, would be a more obvious choice.

The alternative is that our document, unimpressive though it appears, was indeed intended to be displayed. The circumstances of the case bring to mind O. Petrie 21, discussed by Demarée.<sup>18</sup> This text opens with an appeal to the oracle of Amenophis I to resolve a dispute about a hut between two workmen:

Year 27, 1 šmw 19. This day, reporting by the workman Khaemwaset to King Amenophis, l.p.h., s[aying: Come] to me, my lord! Judge between me and the workman Neferhotep. Shall one take the hut of Baki, my (grand)father which is in the Great Field on account of the portion of Sekhmet-noferet, Oh, my great Shu?

<sup>12</sup>Jozef Janssen, *De Traditioneele egyptische autobiographie*, I (Leiden, 1946), 53–6.

<sup>13</sup>McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, 170–7.

<sup>14</sup>Wennofer son of Amonnakhte in O. DeM 634; Wennofer son of Pen-Amun in P. Berlin 10496 vs. and O. Cairo J. 72466 (see M. Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation. Teil 1, Die 20. Dynastie*, (HÄB 19; Hildesheim, 1983), II, 437.

<sup>15</sup>Rob Demarée kindly reminded me of this parallel.

<sup>16</sup>McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, 114–27.

<sup>17</sup>For a colour illustration, see *Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1995), 32. Analysis of the frit by X-ray fluorescence shows it to be copper-based with no cobalt present. Testing was carried out by the conservators of the Ashmolean Museum at the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art in Oxford; their results are in the archives of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>18</sup>R. J. Demarée, “Remove Your Stela” (O. Petrie 21 = *Hier. Ostr.* 16, 4), in R. J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen, *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 1; Leiden, 1982), 101–8.

The god agrees that the hut should belong to the grandson of the former owner. The text goes on to read:

He (the god) [said to I]netef: Do not enter the hut!

Calling upon Amenophis, l.p.h: Oh, my [great] Shu! [ ... ] Hori a stela. He erected it in the hut upon [ ... ] exactly. And the god said to him: Do not enter [...] remove your stela [from there].

This final portion of the text introduces two new individuals, Inetef and Hori, whose relationship to what came before is not clear. Inetef is ordered to stay out of the hut, and someone, probably Hori, is told to remove his stela. Whether or not this is still part of the same case—and Demarée feels that it is—the presence of the stela evidently symbolized ownership of the hut. The stela is said to have been ‘erected’ in the hut, and Demarée points out that the word used—*dg*—really means ‘put in’, as in ‘to put stones in a wall’, or ‘to put trees in the ground’, ‘to plant’.<sup>19</sup> He suggests that the stela may have been inserted in the wall of the hut, perhaps like the small votive stelae placed in niches in the front rooms of the Deir el-Medina houses.

There is no reason to believe that the stela in O. Petrie 21 was of any particular kind; a family stela or a votive stela may have been enough to assert a moral claim to a dwelling. It seems unlikely that it recorded a legal judgment establishing Neferhotep’s or Hori’s claim to the building; the oracle at Deir el-Medina would hardly have ordered the stela to be removed if this in effect overturned an earlier ruling.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, I venture to suggest that our legal ostrakon, HO 655, might have been inserted in the wall of Wennofer’s hut as a stela, explicitly asserting the owner’s claim to the building. A parallel to the publication of legal records in this way might be found in the Inscription of Mes in his tomb, which records the battle by which he won control over the family property,<sup>21</sup> or in the Great Dakhleh Oasis Stela of the Twenty-second Dynasty (also in hieratic), recounting the proceedings before the oracle by which a certain Nesubast was given the right to a well.<sup>22</sup> Such a usage would explain the almost monumental treatment of our little document. Finely executed ostraca were not infrequently used as votive stelae by the workmen, and would serve as a parallel.<sup>23</sup>

Monuments of the New Kingdom, however, are usually inscribed in hieroglyphs; carved hieratic is very rare before the Third Intermediate Period. Why did the craftsman choose this extraordinary technique in this case? A brief survey of the use of carved hieratic will put the Ashmolean ostrakon in context. Intrusions of individual hieratic signs within hieroglyphic inscriptions occur as early as the Old Kingdom, but the first inscriptions almost entirely in incised hieratic appear to date to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.<sup>24</sup> The monuments on which they occur are generally of very low quality, and the inscriptions are rough and clumsy, with many hieroglyphs interspersed among the hieratic signs.<sup>25</sup> It is difficult to imagine that the stonecutter ‘slipped’ into carved hieratic, since hieratic is no easier to carve than hieroglyphs; it may be that he was unable to transcribe his hieratic original into hieroglyphs, as Iversen suggested for some Late Period examples (see below). In any case, there does not seem to be a deliberate choice of hieratic for these monuments.

From the New Kingdom I can cite only two instances of incised hieratic besides the present example. The first is an unpublished ostrakon from Abydos, which was brought to my attention

<sup>19</sup>Demarée, *Gleanings*, 103 n. q.

<sup>20</sup>McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, 186.

<sup>21</sup>Published by Alan H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes* (Leipzig, 1905); G. A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977).

<sup>22</sup>Published by Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 19–30 and pls. v–vii.

<sup>23</sup>Cathleen Keller, in Jaromir Malek (ed.), *Egypt: Ancient Culture, Modern Land* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1993), 113; see the examples in G. Daressy, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Ostraca, nos. 25001–25385* (Cairo, 1901), pls. 1–32. Cf. D. Berg, ‘Another Look at Ostrakon MFA Boston 11.1498’, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 58.

<sup>24</sup>Henry Fischer, in R. Caminos and H. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), 43–4. There are also (painted) cursive hieroglyphs in Middle Kingdom tombs, but these are a separate issue.

<sup>25</sup>See the examples cited by Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy*, 43 n. 57.

by William Kelly Simpson; I know it from his facsimile and transcription alone.<sup>26</sup> The text is an administrative record of building work done on a particular day; it reports work in a certain location, numbers of bricks made, and the dragging of stone blocks. The writing is evidently not so fine as that of the Ashmolean ostrakon, but Simpson reports that it is carefully incised and not merely scratched. It is difficult to say whether this has any relevance to our piece or not. The similarities are striking—both are non-literary ostraca drawn up by workmen of a royal construction project; but the differences are equally striking—one is a private legal document from Thebes, the other an official administrative record from Abydos. The comparison does not seem to bring us any closer to an understanding of the Ashmolean piece.

The second example of incised hieratic is from tomb 23 at Qurna, belonging to a royal scribe Tjay who lived under Merneptah.<sup>27</sup> Again, the text is unpublished.<sup>28</sup> It occurs on a wall of the portico before the tomb above scenes of preparation of mummies and offerings to the deceased, which are accompanied by normal hieroglyphic legends. At the top of the middle portion of the wall is the passage in question, a long hieratic text of self-praise, beautifully carved in carefully defined horizontal registers. Again, it is difficult to compare this to the Ashmolean ostrakon. It is closely related to our text in time and place, but it is a literary piece from a funerary context. There does not seem to be a common reason for the choice of hieratic in these three examples from the New Kingdom; each appears to be unique.

It is in the Third Intermediate and Saite Periods that incised hieratic comes into common use. Most instances are on donation stelae recording relatively small gifts of land to local temples in return for funerary services on behalf of the donor;<sup>29</sup> hieratic was used at least as commonly as hieroglyphs on such stelae. The cursive script occurs on other types of monuments as well; for instance, the Great Dakhleh Stela mentioned above is in hieratic, as is a small monument left by a visitor to the Serapeum in the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>30</sup>

In many ways the closest parallel to the Ashmolean ostrakon is the earliest of these hieratic stelae, namely that recording the decree on behalf of the cult of Amenophis son of Hapu (British Museum, EA 138).<sup>31</sup> The inscription has been assigned to the Twenty-first Dynasty on palaeographical and linguistic grounds, but the text itself bears a date of Year 31 of Amenhotep III; it purports to be an Eighteenth Dynasty record of a royal decree protecting the people and property associated with the funerary foundation of the commoner Amenhotep. It has been suggested that the text was composed early in the Twenty-first Dynasty on the basis of earlier documents.<sup>32</sup> It therefore pretends to be what our ostrakon in fact is: a transcript of the legal event establishing the status of Amenhotep's estate. Interestingly, the hieratic signs are filled with a colour which is now blue-green to black; probably it was originally blue, as on our ostrakon.

Oddly enough, despite the extensive scholarship on this stela and on the others mentioned above, there has been very little speculation about the striking choice of script. Iversen was one of the few to comment on the use of hieratic on donation stelae, pointing out that the Late Period donation stelae are often very low grade monuments, roughly shaped and crudely decorated. Of the inscriptions he notes, 'the hieroglyphs are badly cut and often very cursive in their form; pure

<sup>26</sup> The ostrakon bears the expedition number 67.530 and is included with other finds from Abydos under Cairo JE 91283. I am very grateful to Prof. Simpson for sending me the details of this piece.

<sup>27</sup> PM I, 1<sup>2</sup>, 39 (14).

<sup>28</sup> I am grateful to Catherine Roehrig of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for supplying me with reproductions of the photographs in that museum's collection (T. 1911–12).

<sup>29</sup> For a list of donation stelae from this period, see D. Meeks, 'Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du I<sup>er</sup> millénaire avant J.-C.', in E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (OLA 6; Louvain, 1979), II, 605–87, with additions by A. Leahy, *JEA* 74 (1988), 186 n. 3.

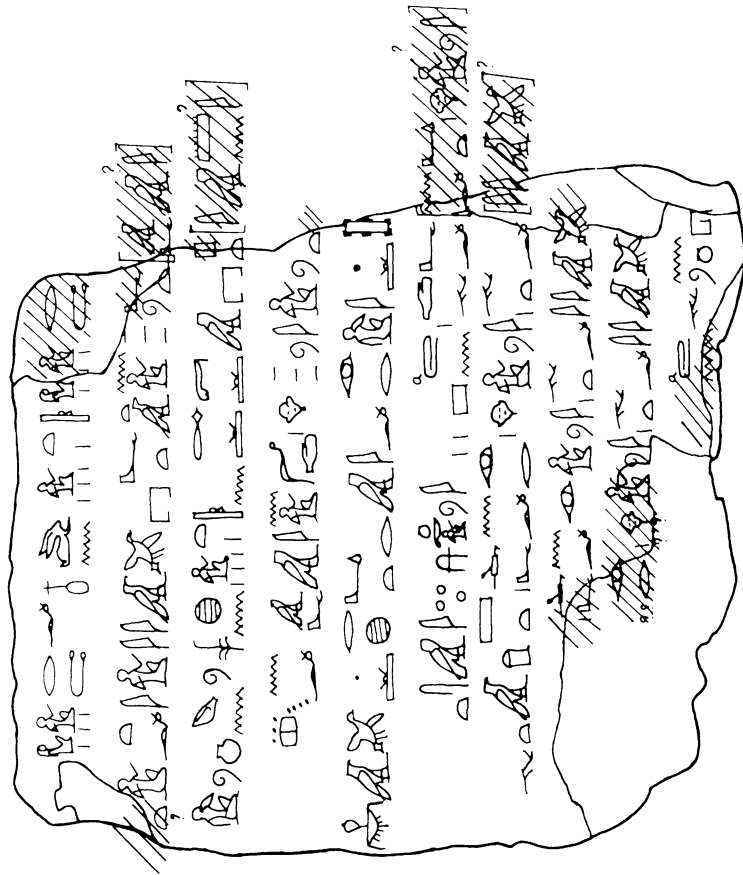
<sup>30</sup> Mentioned by G. Möller, 'Das Dekret des Amenophis, des Sohnes des Hapu', *Sitzungsberichte des Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 47 (1910), 939 no. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Widely published; see for example A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (BdE 44; Cairo, 1944), 67–85, with earlier bibliography. This was the only hieratic inscription of the Twenty-first Dynasty known to Möller (op. cit. 939), and there are no further examples among the stelae collected by Meeks and Leahy. The stela of Amenophis was first brought to my attention by Catherine Keller; Betsy Bryan very kindly supplied me with colour photographs.

<sup>32</sup> Varille, *Amenhotep*, 82–5.



1. Ashmolean HO 655  
 (Courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum)



a or am?

2. Transcription

AN INSCRIBED HIERATIC OSTRACON (pp. 220-5)

hieratic inscriptions, which were evidently cut by village craftsmen, who were not able to transcribe the hieratic draft into hieroglyphs are not uncommon.<sup>33</sup> This seems a plausible explanation in many cases, but some donation stelae are quite beautifully carved, and include hieroglyphic legends in the vignette; the craftsmen who made them were not incompetent. Certainly the Amenhotep son of Hapu stela is an important document of high quality, prepared in Thebes where there were proficient craftsmen to be found. I suggest that this text, which evidently claims to be a record from the archives, was perhaps intended to resemble a papyrus. The same proposal might fit the donation stelae. The use of colour in the signs fits this theory, although blue is so commonly used for monumental inscriptions that it requires no explanation.

This brings us back to the Ashmolean ostrakon. If it was inserted in a wall as a small stela, might it also have been intended to resemble a document on papyrus or an ostrakon? If so, this workman's innovation would furnish the first example, by at least a hundred years, of a practice which eventually became very widespread.

ANDREA G. McDOWELL

### Some remarks on Helck's 'Anmerkungen zum Turiner Königspapyrus'

Comments on Helck's arrangement of the Turin Royal Canon, with suggestions concerning columns I, II, IV, V, IXb, and XI.

THE late Wolfgang Helck left us in his 'Anmerkungen zum Turiner Königspapyrus'<sup>1</sup> the only critical treatment of this precious document which has appeared since the publications by Giulio Farina<sup>2</sup> and Sir Alan Gardiner.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the Royal Canon (on the verso of the papyrus) he dealt with the hitherto almost unnoticed text of the recto, a tax-list from the reign of Ramesses II. His arrangement is based on the positions of the patches which repaired the serious damage suffered by the papyrus-roll some time before the verso was written. The main result is a new distribution of the last fragments of the king-list into five instead of three columns (cols. IX, IXa, IXb, X, XI). While wholeheartedly accepting the ingenious reconstruction, I would like, nevertheless, to publish a few notes on special points.

#### Column I

Fragment 7 is placed too low. It should be fixed one line higher, as on Gardiner's pl. i, since its last line (with the figure '736') continues into col. II (see next note) and therefore does not belong to the god Osiris but to Geb.

#### Column II

Line 14 of Gardiner should not be counted. It is obviously the end of the long line 14 of col. I, which is marked off by a curved stroke from col. II, in the same manner as in col. IV l. 16, col. VI l. 3, and col. VII l. 3 (fig. 1).

#### Column IV

Fragment 43 is clearly out of place in Helck's figures (pp. 168–9 and 212–13). It was fixed wrongly by Farina to ll. 10–13 and moved to ll. 8–11 by Gardiner. I have suggested elsewhere<sup>4</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Erik Iversen, 'Two Inscriptions Concerning Private Donations to Temples', *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historiskfilologiske Meddelelser* 27/5 (Copenhagen, 1941), 12.

<sup>1</sup>SAK 19 (1992), 151–215.

<sup>2</sup>*Il papiro dei re restaurato* (Rome, 1938).

<sup>3</sup>*The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959).

<sup>4</sup>'The Date of the End of the Old Kingdom', *JNES* 21 (1962), 142.



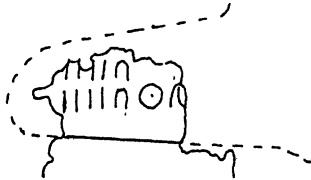


FIG. 1. The long line 14 of column I, fragment 20.

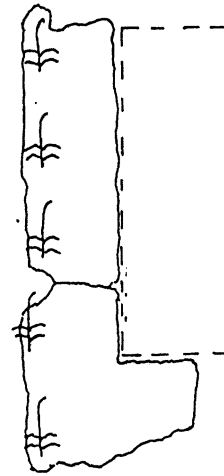


FIG. 2. Fragment 133 + 135 and the supposed patch.

that it should be placed still one line higher, in ll. 7–10; this would, in agreement with Manetho, make Queen Nitocris the immediate successor of Menthesuphis, whose reign is certainly quoted in l. 6. Helck placed the fragment a line higher in order to provide space for fragment 133 + 135, which was assigned by Gardiner to the ‘unplaced fragments’. However, the position proposed by Helck seems impossible since Nitocris would then come in the same line as Menthesuphis. Furthermore, l. 14 (with the summary) has to begin with the sign for the total (the papyrus-roll, *dmḏ*) and not with the *swt*-plant (*ny-swṯ*). Fragment 133 + 135 is therefore out of place here. There may be, however, another possibility for positioning this fragment in col. IV where it should belong, to judge by the recto. If we move the supposed patch between cols. III and IV a few millimetres to the right, it may fit exactly at the right edge of fragment 133 + 135 forming a right angle (fig. 2). The position of this fragment would then be in ll. 2–6.

#### Column V

The reading of the trace of the royal name in p. 12 cannot be *wsh*, as suggested by Gardiner; likewise Helck’s reading *mn* (from the name ‘Menthuhotpe’) does not fit the traces. The best proposal for the reading seems to be the goose *sz* (*sz*-[*Rc Mntw-htp*]).<sup>5</sup>

From the space between cols. V and VI it can be seen that the scribe omitted (as elsewhere) the numbers of months and days throughout col. V.

In reconstructing the Twelfth Dynasty Helck made the interesting suggestion<sup>6</sup> that the Canon may have displaced the reign of Ammenemes II to a position after Sesostriis II and III. We would then have:

- v l. 22 [*ny-swṯ-bit Ḥr-ḥpr-Rr*] 10 + x years
- l. 23 [*ny-swṯ-bit Ḥr-kꜣw-Rr*] 19 years
- l. 24 [*ny-swṯ-bit Nbw-kꜣw-Rr*] 30 + x years.

<sup>5</sup> As suggested by W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines ägyptischen Künstlers* (MÄS 22; Munich, 1970), 30.

<sup>6</sup> Made already by R. Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten* (HÄB 10; Hildesheim, 1985), 194–5, and by D. Franke, ‘Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches (12.–18. Dynastie), Teil I: Die 12. Dynastie’, *Or* 57 (1988), 122, 126. The shortening of the reign of Sesostriis III to nineteen years, first suggested by W. K. Simpson, ‘A Tomb Chapel Relief of the Reign of Amunemhat III and Some Observations on the Length of the Reign of Sesostriis III’, *CdE* 47 (1972), 50–4, has been corroborated by U. Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung des ägyptischen Mittleren Reiches nach dem Tempelarchiv von Illahun* (ÖAW Sitzber. 598; Vienna, 1992). The control mark of a Year 30 in the king’s pyramid published by F. Arnold, ‘New Evidence for the Length of the Reign of Senwosret III?’, *GM* 129 (1992), 27–31, should be explained otherwise, as he himself admits.

Against my earlier view<sup>7</sup> I now admit that the Royal Canon records the full reigns of rulers without considering coregencies. I do not agree with Helck, however, in his refutation of the coregency of Ammenemes I with Sesostris I, which would lengthen the dynasty by ten years.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Column lxb*

The three unnumbered fragments containing traces of the Hyksos dynasty seem to be placed much too high in Helck's figure on pp. 206–7. There should be at least six lines before the summary of the Fifteenth Dynasty since the preceding column (according to his reconstruction) ends with another summary. I doubt the arrangement suggested by Helck for the small fragment with the numbers of 3 and 8 years. On the original in Turin I saw distinct traces of the number 8 after the figure 100 at the end of the line with the summary,<sup>9</sup> while on the smaller fragment the number 8 seems to be complete. Furthermore, the new proposal of Helck is contradicted by his own very convincing assignation of Year 11 from the docket of the Mathematical Papyrus Rhind to Chamudi.<sup>10</sup> I would prefer to maintain the position given to this fragment by Farina and Gardiner.

#### *Column xi*

Like most scholars, Helck attributed the royal names in ll. 1–14 to the rulers of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty. In l. 15 ('sum: 5 kings') he assigned the summary to only the last five kings of the dynasty, whose names are lost in ll. 10–14. It is, however, most unlikely that the scribe would have summarized only the last five kings of the Theban group of rulers, leaving their predecessors without a summary. Furthermore, there is no *ir.n.f.*-formula in the first line of the column, which means that this does not mark the beginning of a dynasty. For these reasons I prefer to maintain my earlier suggestion<sup>11</sup> that we have to add a further line at the top of this dynasty (i.e. the last line of col. x) and to correct the sum in l. 15 to '15 kings'. The fragments 122 and 123 which were placed by Helck at the end of col. x should perhaps be moved one or two lines higher; they are blank on the recto.

J. VON BECKERATH

### **Kushite headdresses and 'Kushite' style\***

A review of three reliefs recently proposed as examples of Twenty-fifth Dynasty kings wearing the blue crown shows that none can be accepted as evidence that the Kushites wore this headdress. The most important example proves to be a Twenty-sixth Dynasty recarving of a blue crown over an original Kushite headdress, which leads to remarks on royal headdresses, and on the dynamics of style and iconography in this period.

IN a recent article on the representation of blue and cap crowns during the Kushite and Saite Periods, A. Leahy warned against ascribing to these elements of royal iconography a sociopolitical

<sup>7</sup> 'Die Chronologie der XII. Dynastie und das Problem der Behandlung gleichzeitiger Regierungen in der ägyptischen Überlieferung', *SAK* 4 (1976), 45–57.

<sup>8</sup> The view of Helck, 'Schwachstellen der Chronologie-Diskussion', *GM* 67 (1983), 43–6, and others (most recently C. Obsomer, 'La date de Nésou-Montou (Louvre C1)', *RdE* 44 (1993), 103–40), has been refuted—in my opinion convincingly—by E. Blumenthal, 'Die erste Koregenz der 12. Dynastie', *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 104–21, and by K. Jansen-Winkel, 'Das Attentat auf Amenemhet I. und die erste ägyptische Koregentschaft', *SAK* 18 (1991), 241–64.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Royal Canon*, 17 (note on X 21).

<sup>10</sup> 'Zum Datum der Eroberung von Auaris', *GM* 19 (1976), 33–4.

<sup>11</sup> *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (ÄF 23; Glückstadt, 1964), 195.

\* This article is based in part on observations and reflections prompted by a season of work on Late Period reliefs at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu, with the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. I am grateful to the Director of the Survey, P. F. Dorman, for his support and encouragement.

significance not supported by thorough examination of all the available evidence.<sup>1</sup> His salutary caution and meticulous deployment of a very rich documentation give this article an importance greater than the scope of its immediate subject. However, one group of Leahy's documents fails to support his argument, and actually undermines his conclusions about the nature of these royal headdresses during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, and the dynastic patterns of their use.

Over the past four decades, students of royal iconography of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty have almost unanimously maintained that these kings were never depicted wearing the blue crown.<sup>2</sup> Leahy expresses scepticism about a Kushite aversion to this crown, and offers three examples of reliefs which, he suggests, show Kushite kings with blue crowns. As he himself remarks, three representations provide only 'modest indications of continued use',<sup>3</sup> but even one verifiable example of a Kushite blue crown would be sufficient to justify his reservations. However, two of his examples are extremely problematic and the most important of them is not what it initially seems.

Leahy's first and most important example is a large sunk relief figure of Taharqa, from a series of representations of this king with various gods which lined the north façade of the structure he built by the sacred lake at Karnak (pl. XXI, 1).<sup>4</sup> There can be little doubt that the figure was carved as a representation of Taharqa,<sup>5</sup> or that the headdress, which is now preserved only to a level slightly above the forehead band, is a blue crown.<sup>6</sup> But it is not the crown originally worn by this figure. Close examination of the back of the head and neck in pl. XXI, 1 reveals that the continuous curved line of the present contour is secondary; to the left the original line of a much thicker, straighter neck can clearly be seen. This first version of the neck still retains its hairline at the nape, enabling us to recognize the base of a skull that diverges only gradually from the vertical and meets the oblique line of the present back of the head at an angle. The original version of this figure, therefore, had a very round head set on a thick, columnar neck. This conformation is typical of Kushite figures, including every other figure on this wall, royal or divine, on which these features can still be seen (pl. XXI, 2).<sup>7</sup>

In its original form, this royal figure wore a headdress characteristic of Kushite kings, consisting of a broad diadem which supported a pair of streamers, and a double uraeus with coiled bodies and long tails that extended over the top and down the back of the king's close-cropped hair.<sup>8</sup> Its identity is confirmed by the shape of the head, the absence of the archaic type of lower ear tab that was applied, in these reliefs, to all the tall crowns,<sup>9</sup> and the position of the streamers. These hang from the back of the head, that is, from the now-erased diadem. They bear no relation

<sup>1</sup>A. Leahy, 'Royal Iconography and Dynastic Change, 750–515 BC: The Blue and Cap Crowns', *JEA* 78 (1992), 223–40, pls. xxvi–xxvii.

<sup>2</sup>For the history of this view, see Leahy, *JEA* 78, 223–4, with nn. 2–6.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* 228.

<sup>4</sup>A differently lit view is given by Leahy, *JEA* 78, pl. xxvi.2, who lists other published illustrations on p. 228, n. 28.

<sup>5</sup>The building appears to have replaced an earlier Twenty-fifth Dynasty structure on this site: J. Leclant, in R. A. Parker et al., *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence, 1979), 5–6. Traces of Taharqa's names can be seen in erased or usurped cartouches on blocks of an inscription frieze assigned to the tops of the exterior walls (*ibid.* 21–2, figs. 10–11). The decorative programme of this wall is summarized by J.-C. Goyon, *ibid.*, 11–12; its cohesive design agrees with the stylistic uniformity of the reliefs.

<sup>6</sup>So Leahy, *JEA* 78, 228, and Goyon, in Parker et al., *Edifice*, 16.

<sup>7</sup>Pl. XXI, 2 shows the head of Amun in the same scene as pl. XXI, 1; for the entire scene, see Parker et al., *Edifice*, pl. 9B; examples on figures elsewhere on this wall: *ibid.*, pls. 7A, 10B.

<sup>8</sup>For fully preserved examples of this headdress in relief, see Leahy, *JEA* 78, pl. xxvii.4; K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz, 1988), pls. xxx.b and e, xxxii, xxxiv, xlv.a–b and d. On its interpretation as a diadem over uncovered hair, see Russmann, 'Some Reflections on the Regalia of the Kushite Kings of Egypt', *Meroitica* 5 (1979), 49–51, and below, p. 231. The view that it is an Egyptian cap crown is defended by Leahy, *JEA* 78, 232–3, 237.

<sup>9</sup>Leahy, *JEA* 78, 228 with n. 29; cf. Parker et al., *Edifice*, pl. 5 (a red crown).

to the superimposed blue crown,<sup>10</sup> a fact that may explain why they have been attacked with a chisel. Along the outer edge of the streamers, at the point where they are cut off by the back of the present crown, the ends of the hanging tails of the original double uraeus can clearly be seen. If one follows the outlines of these tails up onto the surface of the blue crown, it is possible to see traces of the original back contour of the head and the outer line of the tails passing over it.<sup>11</sup>

The alteration of a Kushite headdress to a blue crown entailed changes in the facial area. Rather confusing traces of two eartabs show that this feature was repositioned. A forehead band was added, and there was some recarving of the features, although the precise extent is unclear.<sup>12</sup> It certainly involved the upper region of the eye, where the plastic eyebrow and cosmetic line have been altered from the long, squared-off forms found on all the other faces preserved on this wall (pl. XXI, 2), to much shorter, pointed shapes.<sup>13</sup> There is no reason to think that this restyling of the eye had any symbolic or iconographic significance. Like the reshaping of the neck, it seems to reflect the insensitivity (or disdain) ordinarily manifested by ancient Egyptian restorers toward earlier styles.<sup>14</sup>

Along with the rest of Taharqa's lake building, this wall was usurped by Psammetichus II.<sup>15</sup> Here, as elsewhere in the structure, the Twenty-sixth Dynasty sculptors changed the characteristic Kushite double uraeus to a single cobra.<sup>16</sup> In at least one case,<sup>17</sup> they also replaced the Kushite headdress—with a blue crown.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>10</sup>*Contra* Leahy and Goyon (see n. 6). In the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, the streamers on blue crowns hang from the band at the nape of the neck; for examples, see the plaque cited in n. 26 and Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. xii.b, xiii.b, lxix.a, lxxii.a–b, lxxviii.a–b and d, lxxxvii.a–b, xc. This is also the attachment point for streamers on cap crowns of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (ibid., pls. liii–lv) and later (ibid., pl. lxxxvi.a–c), as well as for tall crowns.

<sup>11</sup>Though visible in pl. XXI, 1, these traces are even clearer in the more raking light of the photographs provided by Leahy, *JEA* 78, pl. xxvi.2, and Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. xl.b.

<sup>12</sup>I suspect, for example, that the ear may have been recut, but have not been able to confirm this from observations at the site or study of the photographs available to me. When photographed in raking light (see n. 11), some of the damage behind the ear suggests the shape of a ram's horn, but this appears to be fortuitous. I observed no signs of recarving elsewhere on the figure, except for a line just under, and parallel to, the near upper arm (visible in pl. XXI, 1), which is apparently a correction made during the original carving.

<sup>13</sup>Myśliwiec noted these details as anomalous but, not realizing that the head had been altered, he treated them as mere variations (*Royal Portraiture*, 41). It is true, as he says, that both squared and pointed forms of the eyebrow and cosmetic line can be found in Twenty-fifth Dynasty relief (in the Twenty-sixth, the pointed versions prevail). On this wall, however, the original carving of the reliefs is extremely uniform in style and shows every sign of careful attention. Under these circumstances, an idiosyncratic deviation in the features of a single face (or even two or three faces) would be surprising. The fact of recutting also vitiates Myśliwiec's less than persuasive attempt to distinguish three different ages in the features of this head and two others on the wall.

<sup>14</sup>The repairs of Amarna damage during the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties and the restorations carried out in the Ptolemaic Period provide numerous examples, almost all of which display the style of their day.

<sup>15</sup>For obviously altered cartouches that now read *Nfr-ib-Rc*, see Parker et al., *Edifice*, pl. 7B.

<sup>16</sup>Uraei are partially preserved at the foreheads of three royal heads on this wall. All show traces of the erasure of the second cobra: see pl. XXI, 1 and Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. xl.a,c. The last example, unclear on this and other published photographs (such as Parker et al., *Edifice*, pl. 10A), has been confirmed by personal observation. Better-preserved examples of the erasure of the second uraeus can be found in other parts of the building: ibid., pls. 5, 6B.

<sup>17</sup>There was at least one other representation of a Kushite headdress on this wall. It, too, appears to have been altered, but the nature of the change is unclear to me. The remains of this head are exceedingly fragmentary, but one can still see the characteristic shape of the back of the neck and skull, and the placement of the streamers (Parker et al., *Edifice*, pl. 11A; although it is not visible in this photograph, the tip of one of the uraeus tails is also preserved, along the top left edge of the streamers). To this original headdress has been added a vertical line that starts at the bottom of the ear and runs the length of the neck. In form and placement, this corresponds to the front edge of a *nemes* lappet (cf. ibid., pl. 10A). I have found no other unambiguous indications of alteration.

<sup>18</sup>E. R. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Brussels and Brooklyn, 1974), 33 n. 1, should be corrected accordingly, as also Leahy, *JEA* 78, 238, n. 99.

Leahy's other two examples are bronze inlay plaques, showing kings wearing blue crowns with single uraei, which he suggests are 'probably Kushite in origin'.<sup>19</sup> Both come from a hoard of bronze objects, apparently of Theban manufacture, that was found at Memphis. Though often cited in the literature,<sup>20</sup> these objects are still known almost entirely from Daressy's cursory initial report,<sup>21</sup> so conclusions drawn from them must be considered provisional. Nonetheless, it seems doubtful that either of Leahy's examples was made for a Kushite king.

The first, one of the finest pieces in this group, was cast in openwork with much use of plastic and incised detail. It has a cartouche with an erased name that Daressy described as ending in an *ankh*-sign.<sup>22</sup> Certain facial features of the figure, such as the formation of the eye and the rendering of the nostril, are compatible with a date in the late eighth or the seventh century BC.<sup>23</sup> However, there is a notable absence of the anatomical details most typical of Kushite relief figures: the blunt, rounded tip of the nose and the prognathous prominence of the lower profile; the muscularity emphasized in the contours of the neck, shoulders, and biceps, and in the modelling of the lower legs.<sup>24</sup> Pending an explanation, or a different reading, of the traces in the cartouche,<sup>25</sup> this figure is best explained as a non-Kushite king contemporary with, or possibly slightly later than, the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

The second plaque has an incised design, which includes two cartouches above the king's offering tray. Both have clearly been reworked and now bear the names of Psammetichus II.<sup>26</sup> The figure, however, appears not to have been altered. It was engraved with considerable attention to details of the royal costume; the two straps of the corselet, for example, not only display the usual knots near the shoulders,<sup>27</sup> but are also decorated with rows of short parallel lines.<sup>28</sup> In all this detail, there is nothing specifically Kushite. Leahy's suggestion of a Kushite origin is based on the shape of the king's head and neck.<sup>29</sup> In my view, this stylistic judgement does not sufficiently take into account the workmanship of the plaque. Although the engraving is compe-

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 228.

<sup>20</sup> See especially J. Yoyotte, 'Pharaon Iny: Un roi mystérieux du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.', *CRIPÉL* 11 (1989), 113–14.

<sup>21</sup> G. Daressy, 'Une trouvaille de bronzes à Mit Rahineh', *ASAE* 3 (1902), 139–50, pls. i–iii.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 139, no. 1, pl. i.1.

<sup>23</sup> A useful comparison may be made with the faience relief representing Iuput II (Brooklyn 59.17: Leahy, *JEA* 78, pl. xxvii.2, references p. 232, n. 55). Cf. Yoyotte, *CRIPÉL* 11, 116.

<sup>24</sup> Leahy (*JEA* 78, 233–4, 238) has correctly emphasized that, as stylistic elements, such features should not be considered generically 'Kushite'. Non-Kushite examples of these details include the plaque cited in n. 23 and (possibly) a bronze inlay figure found at Saqqara, which has a 'Kushite headdress' but no uraeus or other defining regalia: C. Insley Green, *The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra, 1964–1976* (London, 1987), 22–3 no. 41, fig. 32, where 'early Saite' is suggested as an alternative to a Kushite date, an opinion accepted by Leahy without comment (*JEA* 78, 229, n. 34). There is no reason to date it so late; in fact, the comparison with Brooklyn 59.17 supports a date contemporary with the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. In any case, such non-Kushite examples are few, whereas prognathism and muscularity characterize the majority of relief representations of both kings and gods during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and are frequently emphasized; for a representative selection of examples, see the plates in J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite éthiopienne* (BdE 36; Cairo, 1965).

<sup>25</sup> Daressy's rejection of the reading of Piye's name is not necessarily invalidated by the awkward fact that 'there is no known alternative': Leahy, *JEA* 78, 228, n. 30, who also cites Yoyotte's suggestion of another possibility.

<sup>26</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 3, 141, no. 8, pl. i.3; Leahy, *JEA* 78, 228, n. 30.

<sup>27</sup> According to C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Arts Asiatiques* 1 (1954), 51, the corselet with two knotted straps (rather than one) was first represented on kings during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. It is also attested in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. lix.c, and more frequently thereafter: *ibid.*, pls. lxxiii–lxxix; C. Traunecker et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak*, II (Paris, 1981), pls. i, iv, vi, x, xii.

<sup>28</sup> The only other examples known to me of patterning on the knotted double straps of Late Period royal corselets occur in the Twenty-ninth Dynasty: Traunecker et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris* II, pls. i, x. Such designs may, of course, have elsewhere been applied in paint, which has disappeared.

<sup>29</sup> I assume that he refers to the 'Kushite' conformation described above as the original form of pl. XXI, 1; this seems to contradict his argument that such features, being Egyptian in style, do not have specifically Kushite reference (cf. above, n. 24).

tent, the draftsmanship is stiff and awkward, especially for a product of patronage at or near the royal level. This clumsiness in the drawing has produced several infelicities of rendering not only the head and neck, but other parts of the body as well.<sup>30</sup> The awkwardness of the figure may instructively be compared with the uniformly clumsy figure style of Saite reliefs at Karnak.<sup>31</sup> In a broad stylistic context, especially if it was made at Thebes, a Twenty-sixth Dynasty date, presumably in the reign of Necho II, therefore seems likely for this piece.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, we still have no creditable evidence that any king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty was represented wearing a blue crown, but we do have an unambiguous instance of the substitution of a blue crown for a Kushite headdress, in a usurpation by Psammetichus II. An implication of contrast, if not actual opposition, between the two royal headdresses seems undeniable. One must also ask why the Kushite headdress should be suppressed if, as argued by Leahy and others, it was an orthodox Egyptian cap crown—especially since Psammetichus II and his Saite forebears were depicted wearing the cap even more frequently than the blue crown.<sup>33</sup> One logical answer is that the Kushite version was *not* a cap, but a diadem worn over the king's hair (see n. 8). An uncovered head had been part of Egyptian royal iconography in the Old Kingdom,<sup>34</sup> and possibly later,<sup>35</sup> but it had long since disappeared from the canon.<sup>36</sup> By the Late Period, a king whose head was covered only with a diadem would have looked obviously, perhaps offensively, un-Egyptian.

The reader might well object that, if the Kushite headdress offended Egyptian sensibilities, there should be more than one (or possibly two) cases of its suppression (see n. 17). But we cannot be sure that other examples do not exist, because nobody has looked for them.<sup>37</sup> Since Yoyotte showed that usurpations and erasures on Twenty-fifth Dynasty monuments are attributable to Psammetichus II,<sup>38</sup> this phenomenon has been so taken for granted that even clearly anomalous examples have received relatively little attention.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>30</sup> For example, the thin, shapeless upper near arm and the angle of the far knee; these features are not 'Kushite'.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. lx, lxx.

<sup>32</sup> For a naos usurped by Psammetichus II from Necho II, see A. Leahy, 'Saite Royal Sculpture: A Review', *GM* 80 (1984), 60.

<sup>33</sup> Leahy, *JEA* 78, 228–31.

<sup>34</sup> A close-fitting headdress is occasionally shown on kings throughout the Old Kingdom: Russmann, *Representation*, 29–30. The possibility that it represented the king's own hair, rather than some form of head covering, was resisted by many Egyptologists; see, for example, Russmann, *Representation*, 29, with n. 10; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III. *Les grandes époques: la statuaire* (Paris, 1958), 29. However, a fragmentary seated statue of the Fifth Dynasty king Neferefre, found in his pyramid complex by M. Verner, leaves no doubt that what is represented is indeed close-cropped hair: Cairo JE 98171, M. Saleh and H. Sourouzzian, *Official Catalogue: The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Munich and Mainz, 1987), no. 38 (illustrated).

<sup>35</sup> An apparent gap in our evidence between the bareheaded Old Kingdom examples (see n. 34) and the first known cap crowns in the Thirteenth Dynasty may actually be due to a problem of interpretation. Sesostri I is shown wearing a 'perruque ronde' that follows the contour of the head and leaves the ears exposed (P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak*, text and pls. (Cairo, 1956 and 1969), 58, pls. 13, 15, 21–24, 29, 32, 34–36, 38–39. This could represent either real hair or a cap crown. The same ambiguity attends a very fragmentary Thirteenth Dynasty example described as a cap by W. V. Davies, 'The Origin of the Blue Crown', *JEA* 68 (1982), 71, fig. 1, 73 (called a wig by Russmann, *Representation*, 30). Such examples suggest that the cap crown may have originated as a substitute for uncovered hair, especially since one of the earliest unquestionable representations of the cap seems to have a stylized hair pattern (Davies, *JEA* 68, 71, fig. 3).

<sup>36</sup> An apparently exceptional case in the New Kingdom is a fragmentary statue of Akhenaten, which shows him as a juvenile with a shaven skull, sidelock, and uraeus: M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Eine rundplastische Darstellung Achenatens als Kind', *ZÄS* 110 (1983), 127–32, pls. ii–iii.

<sup>37</sup> It is certainly significant that none of the scholars who collaborated on publishing Taharqa's lake building (see n. 5) commented on the alterations discussed above and shown in pl. XXI, 1, nor were they recognized by Myśliwiec, in his discussion of style (see n. 13).

<sup>38</sup> 'Le martelage des noms royaux éthiopiens par Psammétique II', *RdE* 8 (1951), 215–39.

<sup>39</sup> The main exceptions are to be found in Yoyotte's later work; see especially *CRIPPEL* 11, 113–31.



1. Representation of Taharqa with superimposed blue crown; Karnak, north façade of building by the sacred lake (*author's photograph*)



2. Representation of Amun in the same scene, opposite Taharqa; Karnak, north façade of building by the sacred lake (*author's photograph*)

Leahy has correctly pointed out that the term 'Kushite art' is a misleading designation for Egyptian art of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.<sup>40</sup> His research and that of others has made it increasingly clear that the style of this dynasty was continuous with that of its immediate past. Throughout the period, however, there was also change. The course of this development is still obscure, but the eventual result was a 'new' style, which is often called 'Saite'. Leahy does not deny stylistic change, but in his discussion of style tends to regard it as a phenomenon separate from, and independent of, other aspects of culture and society.<sup>41</sup> It is, of course, a truism that any form of art is a complex expression of its culture, but it is often not recognized that this was particularly true in ancient Egypt. The very conservatism of this society, in which strongly internalized controls were reinforced by systems of overt hierarchical supervision, produced draftsmen and sculptors who were, of necessity, highly responsive to any kind of change in their cultural environment.

To say that during the Late Period the pre-eminent centres for sculpture and relief were the temple workshops,<sup>42</sup> is only to indicate which hierarchy had primary control over the production of art, from concept to completion. Further to deny royal participation in this process during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty ignores the evidence of the kings' images themselves. Apart from the Kushite headdress, such iconographic innovations as the double uraeus and the ram's-head necklace can only reflect royal wishes, whether directly or indirectly communicated.<sup>43</sup> These changes were deliberate, and thus purposeful. So, to some extent, were the retention and revival of older artistic traditions, a fact unmistakably demonstrated by Taharqa's elaborate re-creation of Old Kingdom reliefs in his Kushite homeland.<sup>44</sup> The questions of meaning and motive in Twenty-fifth Dynasty royal representations—and in the representations of gods and private people during this time—must be approached, as Leahy says, with the greatest caution and with strict fidelity to the evidence; and, one might add, with the knowledge that our answers can never be complete or even wholly satisfactory. But the effort is essential to any understanding of Egypt in the Late Period.

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### Amunhotep son of Hapu at Medinet Habu

Publication of a fragmentary gilded limestone statue of a seated figure holding an unrolled papyrus. The statue, Chicago OIM 14321, excavated at Medinet Habu, is identified as Amunhotep son of Hapu. The inscriptions on the back pillar and the papyrus suggest that the figure was an intercessory through which petitions could be relayed to the god Amun. Demotic texts, graffiti, and small finds, provide evidence that a cult of Amunhotep son of Hapu flourished at Medinet Habu in the Ptolemaic Period.

ON 2 February 1931, the Architectural Survey of the Oriental Institute excavated a fragmentary white limestone statue from the rubbish of a house to the west of the back wall of the Great

<sup>40</sup>JEA 78, 240. It will, as he notes, persist as a matter of convenience, along with 'Saite style' and the particularly egregious 'Ptolemaic art'.

<sup>41</sup>See especially JEA 78, 231, 240, where phrases such as 'a fashionable revival' and 'the "natural" progression of archaizing' have the disadvantage of introducing the modern, and not directly relevant, concepts of fashion and progression.

<sup>42</sup>Leahy, JEA 78, 240. While this is an entirely plausible view, it lacks the support of even such evidence as we have for the comparable situation under the Ptolemies.

<sup>43</sup>The same can be said of the alterations of Kushite royal iconography carried out under Psammetichus II.

<sup>44</sup>For his dispatch of workmen from Memphis to Kawa, see M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I (London, 1949), 21, n. 51; II (1955), pl. ix, shows his reliefs copied from Old Kingdom royal monuments. Traditional aspects of these have recently been discussed by A. R. Schulman, 'Narmer and the Unification: A Revisionist View', *BES* 11 (1991/92), 81.



Temple at Medinet Habu. The statue, now registered as 14321 in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, portrays a figure seated on an unadorned high-backed seat (pl. XXII, 1–2).<sup>1</sup> The feet, with heavy ankles and splayed toes, rest on the rectangular base. The figure, which measures 25 cm in height to the break at the base of the neck, wears an ankle-length kilt which is wrapped just at the breastline. A ‘sash’ or undergarment<sup>2</sup> emerges from the top of the apron and crosses the chest to the left shoulder. Jewellery consists of a broad collar, anklets, armlets and bracelets. The flesh and clothing of the statue were originally covered with gold leaf, only portions of which are still preserved. The statue’s hands hold the two ends of a partially unrolled papyrus on the figure’s lap. The papyrus and the back pillar are incised with texts.

The papyrus bears two horizontal lines of hieroglyphs (pl. XXII, 3):

*hsb hh hfnw n*

*nsw ntrw ntr ʕ[ʕ]htp r ntrw nb(w)*

‘The one who reckons millions and hundreds of thousands<sup>3</sup> on behalf of the King of the Gods, the Great God, [great]<sup>4</sup> of offerings more than all the gods.’

The back pillar bears a single column of text (pl. XXII, 2):

*/// wr swnw nfr n imyw T3-mri ir-mhrty hr nb s3 w3s swd3 ʕst-T3-mwt r nb*

‘[...] the chief physician who is good for the people of Egypt, who acts for everyone [with] protection, dominion and rejuvenation at Djeme every day.’

The field records and photographs indicate that the excavators believed that the body was to be joined with a gilded limestone head which was found three seasons earlier in tomb 27, in the bark chapel of Khonsu to the north of the Amun sanctuary (room 33) of the Great Temple.<sup>5</sup> That head with a double crown with uraeus was gilded and painted. The eyes and eyebrows were inlaid, although the inlay was already lost at the time of discovery. Excavation records indicate that the match of the head from tomb 27 with the body from outside the temple was made on the basis of the shared gilding,<sup>6</sup> and photographs were taken of the reconstructed statue, which was then listed in the field register as a statue of a seated goddess.<sup>7</sup> The incongruity of the double crown with uraeus on a seated figure holding a papyrus raises questions about the proposed reconstruction. Although the head is badly decayed due to the action of salts on the fine-grained limestone, conservators at the Oriental Institute have now demonstrated that the head is too large to be attached to the neck of the body. It may more likely belong to the body of a standing woman with which it was discovered, which was given the field number MH 26.7b.

The type of figure seated in a chair holding a papyrus on the lap has been classified as a form of scribe statue.<sup>8</sup> It originated in the Old Kingdom and was revived in the Late Period, during which time the type was most often used for the many bronze votive statues of Imhotep.<sup>9</sup> This style of statue in stone is quite rare.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I thank William M. Sumner, Director of the Oriental Institute, and Karen L. Wilson, Curator of the Oriental Institute Museum, for their permission to publish the statue here. I also thank the late Professor Jan Quaegebeur and Professor Edward F. Wente for their suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> This may be the ‘kind of singlet supported by a halter over one shoulder’ discussed by Bernard V. Bothmer in *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 BC to AD 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), 109–10, No. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Rather than *mpwt hh hfnw* on the basis of the presumed Ptolemaic date for the sculpture: *Wb.* II, 153.1.

<sup>4</sup> The presence of the bread-loaf-determinative under the *htp* necessitates taking *htp* as a substantive, hence the reading on the basis of haplography, *ntr ʕ [ʕ] htp* to retain the usual divine epithet *ntr ʕ*.

<sup>5</sup> Field number MH 26.7, which was given the same registration number (OIM 14321) as the body. The head was found with fragments of a statue of a standing goddess, the flesh of which was painted blue.

<sup>6</sup> Handwritten note of R. Anthes in Fundliste 30.145 (unpublished manuscript in the Oriental Institute, Chicago).

<sup>7</sup> In the typescript catalogue of the small finds from Medinet Habu (c. 1940, unpublished), Anthes suggested the identification as Mut.

<sup>8</sup> G. Scott, *The History and Development of the Ancient Egyptian Scribe Statue* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1989), iii.

<sup>9</sup> Scott, *Scribe Statue*, 406. For general comments about such statues, see D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (MÄS 36; Munich and Berlin, 1977), 47.

<sup>10</sup> Brooklyn Museum 37.1356E (limestone), in Wildung, *Imhotep*, 86, pl. xvii; Louvre 4541 (schist): *ibid.*, pl. iii; Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 7876 (granite): *ibid.* 195–6, pls. xlvii–viii.

The identification of the person portrayed poses some difficulty. The representation of a figure in the guise of a scribe, as well as the lack of feminine endings in the inscription, indicates that the individual is male. The image of a scribe seated on a chair holding a papyrus is limited to a few subjects.<sup>11</sup> The combination of figure as a scribe, the reference to *swmw*, 'physician', on the back pillar, and the presence of gilding, indicating deification, suggests that the figure was intended to represent one of the two deified scribe-architects who were later regarded as healers, Imhotep, the architect of king Djoser, or Amunhotep son of Hapu, the architect of Amunhotep III.

Certainly these two men had much in common in addition to their deification on the basis of their accomplishments. Both had cults at Thebes in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.<sup>12</sup> The cult of Imhotep was more widespread, with centres in Memphis, Saqqara, Armant, Dendera, and Aswan.<sup>13</sup> In addition to his cult in Thebes, evidence for the veneration of Amunhotep can also be cited from nearby Tod.<sup>14</sup> The similar expertise of the two men may explain their close association at Thebes. The near assimilation of the two is demonstrated by the fact that except for representations of Amunhotep in his own mortuary establishment, all representations at Thebes show him in conjunction with Imhotep.<sup>15</sup> The association between the two gods is most clearly indicated by reliefs and texts in the Ptah temple at Karnak. On the Fourth Gate built by Tiberius, the two deified mortals are honoured in a hymn that refers to their association: 'The sages praise god for you [Imhotep], and the first among them is your brother, your beloved, Amunhotep-the Great-son of Hapu. He is with you, and he is not far from you, so that your bodies are completely united ...'<sup>16</sup>

This close association of the two deified mortals suggests that a statue of a scribe, gilded to indicate divinity, could portray either Imhotep or Amunhotep. The epithet, *wr swmw*, 'chief physician', which, although it was applied to many doctors,<sup>17</sup> is associated with Imhotep rather than Amunhotep, might initially suggest that the statue is to be identified as Imhotep. However, the type of dress worn by the statue, and the phraseology of the text on the papyrus indicate that the statue portrays Amunhotep. In representations on Theban monuments, Imhotep wears a knee- or mid-calf-length, low-slung kilt which normally exposes his navel area.<sup>18</sup> In contrast, all the representations of Amunhotep in Theban temples, as well as at Tod, show him in more elaborate and concealing clothing with an apron that extends from slightly above the breast to the ankle. Amunhotep assumed this dress during his lifetime, as indicated by the statue of him

<sup>11</sup>For scribes seated on the ground from the Late Period, see *ESLP*, pls. 19–20; Scott, *Scribe Statue*, 391–414.

<sup>12</sup>Summarized in D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York, 1977), 56–64, 87, 90ff.

<sup>13</sup>Wildung, *Saints*, 38, 39, 43, 52, 54, 64–7; id., *Imhotep*, 48–87, 194–5, 266; id., 'Imhotep', *LÄ* III, 145–7.

<sup>14</sup>Wildung, *Saints*, 103, 104 fig. 61, and *Imhotep*, 241–4, 266, pl. lxii.

<sup>15</sup>Sanctuary of the temple of Amun, just inside the girdle wall: PM II, 104 (312–13); Wildung, *Saints*, 59–61, fig. 39; id., *Imhotep*, 211–14, pls. liv–v. Ptah temple at Karnak: PM II, 201 (35); Wildung, *Saints*, 59, fig. 38; id., *Imhotep*, 201–6, pls. xlix–lii; Deir el-Bahari: PM II, 368 (147), 402 (9); E. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Deir el-Bahari III: Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari* (Warsaw, 1984) pls. 30–1, 39–40; Wildung, *Saints*, 63–6, 97–8; id., *Imhotep*, 222–5, pls. lx–xi. Thoth temple at Kasr el-Aguz: PM II, 528 (2); Wildung, *Saints*, 102, fig. 60; id., *Imhotep*, 235–9. Stelae: Wildung, *Saints*, 105, 106 fig. 62; id., *Imhotep*, 215–16, 245–7, pls. lvi, lxiii. Tod: PM II, 197 (4); Wildung, *Saints*, 104, fig. 61; id., *Imhotep*, 241–4, pl. lxii.

<sup>16</sup>PM II, 197 (4); Wildung, *Saints*, 59.

<sup>17</sup>P. Ghalioungui, *The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt* (Cairo and Mainz, 1983), 39–42. For other examples of *wr swmw*, see Wildung, *Imhotep*, 225 (Deir el Bahari) and Laskowska, *Deir el-Bahari* III, 51, no. 63.

<sup>18</sup>Note that several bronze figures of Imhotep show him with the breast-high apron which is more characteristic of Amenhotep at Thebes: cf. Wildung, *Saints*, 42, fig. 29 (*sic*) and another figure in the collection of the Musée des beaux-arts, Budapest, in V. Wessetzky, 'Statuette d'Imhotep en bronze avec inscription', *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des beaux-arts* 72 (1990), 9. Another example of this garment appears on the Amsterdam statue (Wildung, *Imhotep*, pls. xlvii–viii). However, compare these two statues to the many in G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren* (Berlin, 1956), 12–14, where all the examples of Imhotep statues wear the low-slung kilt.

as an aged scribe.<sup>19</sup> In the Ptolemaic reliefs of Amunhotep, a 'sash' that crosses from the middle of the chest up over his left shoulder is added to the wrapped apron.<sup>20</sup> This combination of long apron and oblique 'sash', which is also portrayed on the Medinet Habu statue, was to remain a characteristic element of the iconography of Amunhotep son of Hapu through the Ptolemaic Period. As indicated by Theban scenes where both sages appear together,<sup>21</sup> it was employed to distinguish one sage from the other.

This identification as Amunhotep is bolstered by the text on the papyrus which the figure holds in his hands, which states that the figure 'reckons' for the god Amun. The same phrase is employed several times in the biographical text which appears on a block statue of Amunhotep son of Hapu from Thebes:<sup>22</sup> *hsb cr.i tṃw ḥḥ*, 'my papyrus roll reckons the millions [of offerings]',<sup>23</sup> ... *sš iqr n wn mꜣrt tp-ḥsb n ḥt nbt dd n ḥḥw ḥsb n ḥꜣw*, 'Excellent scribe, in truth, who reckons everything, who gives to the millions, who reckons the thousands.'<sup>24</sup> In contrast, the text which appears on the papyrus in the lap of Imhotep statues normally consists of the name and filiation of Imhotep, although two figures bear more elaborate texts which invoke offerings for Imhotep.<sup>25</sup>

The style of dress and the form and vocabulary of the text on the papyrus indicate that the Chicago statue represents Amunhotep. The presence of an elaborate statue of Amunhotep at Medinet Habu is not unexpected, for not only is the temple near his own mortuary complex,<sup>26</sup> but there is considerable evidence for a cult of Amunhotep at Medinet Habu proper. Demotic texts refer to the *šrš* (place of veneration) of Amunhotep at Djeme,<sup>27</sup> to a *ml*-sanctuary,<sup>28</sup> and to priests of Amunhotep at Djeme.<sup>29</sup> A fragment of a statue, now in St. Petersburg, refers to the *ka* of Amunhotep receiving funerary offerings at Djeme.<sup>30</sup> Hölscher excavated funerary cones stamped with the name and titles of Amunhotep at Medinet Habu.<sup>31</sup> This combination of textual

<sup>19</sup>CG 42127: G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I (Cairo, 1906), pl. lxxv; statues of him as a youthful scribe portray him with a kilt that reaches only to his waist. For the possibility of this later statue being a reworked Middle Kingdom representation, see Scott, *Scribe Statue*, 295.

<sup>20</sup>See further n. 2 above. The examples on the stele in Munich and from the Tod temple may have had the 'sash' indicated in paint. The dress and 'sash' combination also appears on a stelophoros statue in the British Museum, EA 65443 (S. Quirke and J. Spencer, *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1992), 57 fig. 38), and the statue in Amsterdam (Wildung, *Imhotep*, 195–6, pls. xlvii–viii). The London statue, which portrays the priest Nefersematawi, seems to have no association with either Imhotep or Amunhotep. A section of the genealogy of Imhotep appears on the back pillar of the Amsterdam statue, confirming that under some circumstances, Imhotep could wear the gown which is so distinctive of Amunhotep at Thebes. Note also the text on the gate of Tiberius at the Ptah temple (n. 15 above) for the conception that Imhotep and Amunhotep were combined into one deity.

<sup>21</sup>See n. 15.

<sup>22</sup>Cairo CG 583: L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, II (Berlin, 1925), pls. 100–4; A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (BdÉ 44; Cairo, 1968), pls. v–viii.

<sup>23</sup>Cairo CG 583: *Urk.* IV, 1821.1.

<sup>24</sup>*Urk.* IV, 1815.18–1816.1.

<sup>25</sup>Wildung, *Imhotep*, 47f; see Wessetzky, *BMusHongr* 72, 12, and examples in Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, 12–16. For examples of more extensive texts, see Roeder, *Bronzefiguren*, 14, fig. 15; Louvre 4541 in Wildung, *Imhotep*, 37, pl. iii; and Brooklyn 37.1356, *ibid.* 86–7, pl. xvii.

<sup>26</sup>PM II, 455–6; C. Robichon and A. Varille, *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (FIFAO 11; Cairo, 1936).

<sup>27</sup>P. dem. Brit. Museum 10240, cited by Wildung, *Imhotep*, 266–7. I thank R. Ritner for bringing this to my attention.

<sup>28</sup>P. W. Pestman, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, II (Leiden, 1977), 76–80.

<sup>29</sup>Wildung, *Imhotep*, 270–2 §174.1–5; Pestman, *Recueil*, 76–80. Another unpublished demotic ostrakon, reportedly from Medinet Habu, also refers to Amunhotep: Detroit Institute of Art 1979.133, from the collection of R. A. Parker. I thank W. H. Peck for bringing this document to my attention.

<sup>30</sup>St. Petersburg, Hermitage, 18054, cited by Wildung, *Imhotep*, 264–5.

<sup>31</sup>Oriental Institute Museum 16702, 16704, 16711, 16999. See also D. Bidoli, 'Zur Lage des Grabes des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu', *MDAIK* 26 (1970), 11.

and artefactual evidence suggests strongly that there was a cult of Amunhotep son of Hapu at Medinet Habu in the Ptolemaic Period, and that the Chicago statue is related to that cult.

On the basis of the clothing style, the Chicago statue can be assigned to the mid- to late Ptolemaic Period, for the characteristic clothing appears in reliefs of that era.<sup>32</sup> The statue was excavated in square R9, to the west of the back wall of the Great Temple in the ruins of a house. Hölscher commented that other than the Small Temple, the site of Medinet Habu had very few remains from the Ptolemaic Period. He concluded that the rest of the site was uninhabited and abandoned during the interval from the time of Nectanebo to the Roman Period.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, he assigned the house from which the statue was recovered to the Roman Period. Therefore, one might consider the statue to be an heirloom of Ptolemaic date which was moved from the Small Temple into the Roman houses to the south-west some centuries after its manufacture.

As indicated by the inscription on the base of the Cairo statue of Amunhotep, as well as by later documents, Amunhotep was regarded as an intermediary of Amun.<sup>34</sup> The text on the British Museum statue of Amunhotep relates:

O people of Upper and Lower Egypt ... who come upstream or downstream to Thebes to pray to the lord of the gods, come to me and I shall relay your words to Amun of Karnak. And make an offering formula and a libation to me with what you have, for I am the spokesman appointed by the king to hear your words of supplication ...<sup>35</sup>

This role as intermediary for Amun is reflected in the titles of priests of Amunhotep at Djeme who held 'joint appointments' to Amun.<sup>36</sup>

The text on the papyrus of the Medinet Habu statue (pl. XXII, 3) refers to Amunhotep, 'who reckons the millions and hundreds on behalf of the King of the Gods, the great God, [great] of offerings more than all the gods.' The orientation of the text on the papyrus allowed Amunhotep to 'recite' his abilities to petitioners who might approach the statue. The text on the back pillar (pl. XXII, 2) which must have begun with the name Amunhotep son of Hapu, reprised his ability to act as intercessor for the god Amun at Medinet Habu. The gilding of the figure served to emphasize the divinity of Amunhotep through his association with Amun.

EMILY TEETER

<sup>32</sup>The simple wrapped cloak appears in Egyptian statuary of private individuals and scribes from the Middle Kingdom and continues into the Roman Period: see Scott, *Scribe Statue*, 186, 189–90.

<sup>33</sup>'... the additional fact that we found almost no specimens of such common objects as pottery belonging to this [Ptolemaic] time may be proof that Medinet Habu was then uninhabited': U. Hölscher, *Excavations at Ancient Thebes 1930/31* (OIC 15; Chicago, 1932), 40.

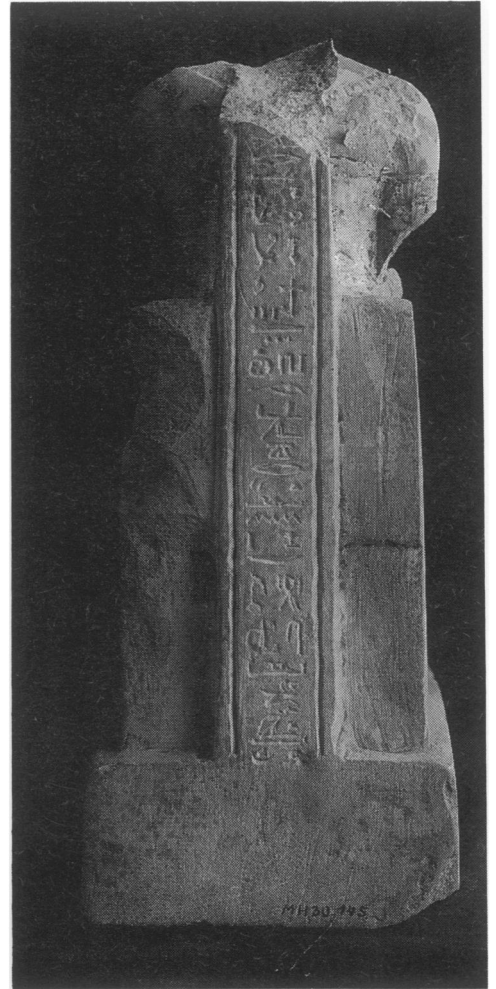
<sup>34</sup>The ability of Amunhotep to act directly for the petitioner is echoed in a demotic ostrakon from Thebes where a petitioner calls upon Amunhotep to cure a fever (Wildung, *Imhotep*, 264 §169); and a demotic inscription on an offering slab in Thebes which avows 'May Amunhotep Son of Hapu give life to ...' (Wildung, *Imhotep*, 265, §171). See also A. A. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Ancient Egypt during the New Kingdom* (HÄB 27; Hildesheim, 1988), 279–80.

<sup>35</sup>BM 103: S. R. K. Glanville, 'Some Notes on Material from the Reign of Amenophis III,' *JEA* 15 (1929), 3–4; translation from B. Bryan and A. Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun, Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland, 1992), 251. See also Wildung, *Imhotep*, 301–2 for Amunhotep as a 'Nothelfer', and 263–5 for his association with oracles.

<sup>36</sup>Wildung, *Imhotep*, 270–1, §174.2–5.



1. General view



2. Back pillar



3. The inscription on the papyrus

Oriental Institute, Chicago 14321  
(Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)

AMUNHOTEP SON OF HAPU AT MEDINET HABU (pp. 232-6)

### The so-called Denon Papyri<sup>1</sup>

A short outline of the history of the so-called Denon papyri and the circumstances leading to their presence in the Meermannno-Westreenianum Museum in The Hague and in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (the former Imperial/State Public Library).

THE recent re-editions of his *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte pendant les campagnes du Général Bonaparte* (Paris, 1802)<sup>2</sup> have rekindled interest in Dominique Vivant Denon (1747–1825).<sup>3</sup> In the preface (p. xii) and the travelogue (pp. 207–9), Denon makes mention of a papyrus he found on 27 July 1799 in Medinet Habu in the hand of a mummy. All commentators on this passage have looked for this papyrus among the illustrations in the second volume of Denon's *Voyage*, and it has been variously identified with the papyri depicted in pls. 136, 137 and 138. On these plates, three different funerary papyri are represented. That on pl. 136 contains a copy of the *Book of Breathings Made by Isis*, which now forms part of the small Egyptian collection of the Meermannno-Westreenianum Museum in The Hague.<sup>4</sup> This papyrus was written for a certain Nespautitawi (Spotous), an important Theban dignitary in the time of Cleopatra VII (51–30 BC).<sup>5</sup> On pls. 137 and 138 we find the two funerary papyri of a certain Osorkon, who was the grandson of King Osorkon I (Twenty-second Dynasty). These papyri, an *Amduat*-papyrus (pl. 137) and a copy of the *Book of the Dead* (pl. 138), are now kept in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.<sup>6</sup> The *Amduat*-papyrus (pl. 137) contains extracts of the third, tenth, eleventh and twelfth hours of the *Book of Amduat* and also a scene taken from the *Book of the Earth*.<sup>7</sup> The texts in this papyrus are not those belonging to the *Book of Amduat*, but contain appeals to several deities for them to secure offerings for the deceased.<sup>8</sup> The *Book of the Dead* of Osorkon (pl. 138)

<sup>1</sup>I wish to thank A. Niwiński and S. Quirke, who helped me obtain a copy of the Russian article of Evgenova (n. 6), and Profs H. De Meulenaere and E. Waegemans, who provided valuable references for this article. I am also grateful to the late Prof. J. Quaegebeur, Dr M. Dewachter and O. Kaper for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Any remaining errors are my responsibility.

<sup>2</sup>J.-C. Vatin (ed.), *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte pendant les campagnes du Général Bonaparte* (Cairo, 1989) and R. Brunon (ed.), *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte pendant les campagnes du Général Bonaparte* (Paris, 1990). References to the *Voyage* refer here to the 1989 re-edition by Vatin: see the review in *BiOr* 50 (1993), 400–1.

<sup>3</sup>P. Lelièvre, *Vivant Denon. Homme des Lumières. "Ministre des Arts" de Napoléon* (Paris, 1993), and the chapter 'Denon et la découverte de l'Égypte', in *Egyptomania: L'Égypte dans l'art occidental 1730–1930* (exhibition catalogue, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1994), 200–49.

<sup>4</sup>F. J. E. Boddens Hosang, *De Egyptische verzameling van Baron van Westreenen/The Egyptian Collection of Baron van Westreenen* (The Hague, 1989), 68–70, inventory no. 42/88. For all the so-called Denon papyri, see also the references given in M. Coenen and J. Quaegebeur, *De papyrus Denon of het Boek van het Ademen van Isis* (Leuven, 1995). *Book of Breathings Made by Isis* replaces the erroneous designation *First Book of Breathings*: see M. Coenen, 'Books of Breathings. More than a Terminological Question?', *OLP* 26 (1995), in press.

<sup>5</sup>This dating is based on the demotic graffito Medinet Habu no. 51 in H.-J. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu* (Sommerhausen, 1989), 54–5, and the review by H. De Meulenaere in *BiOr* 48 (1991), 467; see J. Quaegebeur, 'Le papyrus Denon à la Haye et une famille de prophètes de Min-Amon', in M. Minas and J. Zeidler (eds), *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift E. Winter* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994), 213–15. A. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), 237 no. 30, dates this papyrus erroneously to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. S. Quirke proposed in his review of the same, also wrongly, to date it to the Twenty-second or Twenty-fifth Dynasty: *JEA* 79 (1993), 311.

<sup>6</sup>V. I. Evgenova, 'O drevneegipetskikh papirusakh sobraniya Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi Biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina', in *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi Biblioteki im. Saltykova-Shchedrina*, 2 (v) 1957, 5–16. I follow the numbering of Evgenova: SPL 1 for the *Book of Dead* and SPL 2 for the *Amduat*-papyrus. Both the Denon papyri are included in Niwiński, *Theban Funerary Papyri*, 318, as P. Leningrad 4 and 5.

<sup>7</sup>See E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zurich and Munich, 1972), 448–9, and compare with Niwiński, *Theban Funerary Papyri*, figs. 79–81.

<sup>8</sup>The text of the second register of P. Cairo 4891, an *Amduat*-papyrus published in A. F. Sadek, *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amdouat. Les variantes tardives du Livre de l'Amdouat dans les papyrus du*

contains successively the chapters 30A, 29 and 180. It is these three papyri from the second volume of Denon's *Voyage* that are usually indicated in the literature under the designation 'Denon papyri'.<sup>9</sup>

Scholars have consistently attempted to equate one of the three 'Denon papyri' with the papyrus found by Denon himself during the Napoleonic expedition. Evgenova claimed that the latter is one of the Denon papyri kept in Russia.<sup>10</sup> In 1989, De Meulenaere called attention to the memoirs of Antoine-Marie Romain Hamelin published in 1926.<sup>11</sup> From these memoirs it appears that the three so-called Denon papyri were actually found in Thebes by the merchant Hamelin. It was only in the first few years of the nineteenth century that Denon acquired them, partly by the agency of Napoleon Bonaparte, after which he published them in facsimile in 1802 in his *Voyage*. As Denon had no part in the discovery of the three so-called Denon papyri, it is not possible to identify one of the papyri on his pls. 136–8 with the papyrus found by him in Medinet Habu. Nevertheless, this idea has persisted until recently. De Meulenaere suggested that the Denon papyrus kept in The Hague (pl. 136) was to be thus identified,<sup>12</sup> and in a recent review article, Quirke claims the same for the *Amduat*-papyrus of Osorkon (pl. 137).<sup>13</sup> According to Quirke, the papyrus found by Denon matches catalogue no. 228 of the auction catalogue of the sale of the Denon collection. In this catalogue, no. 228 is described as follows: 'Ce manuscrit ... est le premier objet de ce genre découvert pendant l'expédition de l'armée française en Egypte: il fut trouvé roulé dans la main d'une momie ...'<sup>14</sup>

Quirke's proposal to match the *Amduat*-papyrus (pl. 137) with catalogue no. 228 can now be refuted by referring to an article by M. Dewachter,<sup>15</sup> in which he proves that none of the three Denon papyri found in the plates of the *Voyage* is to be equated with the papyrus discovered by Denon, but that this papyrus is to be found illustrated in the *Description de l'Égypte*.<sup>16</sup> Dewachter points out that the measurements and the description of lot no. 228 in the auction catalogue match the papyrus contributed by Denon to the *Description de l'Égypte*. This papyrus contains a Ptolemaic Book of the Dead, which, for the sake of convenience, I will henceforth call the fourth Denon papyrus.

In this context, it can be mentioned that the fourth Denon papyrus was represented and described by Denon himself. It has never been recognised that on pl. 100.4 of the *Voyage*, the fourth Denon papyrus is indeed represented, albeit in its rolled-up state.<sup>17</sup> This engraving and

*Musée du Caire* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985), 173–5 no. C 22 and pl. 33, forms a parallel to this Denon papyrus. As in both texts the same orthographic peculiarities occur and the style of the representations is identical, I conclude that they were written by the same scribe. As a consequence P. Cairo 4891 can now be dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty. See Niwiński, *Theban Funerary Papyri*, 255 Cairo 6.

<sup>9</sup>The designation 'Denon papyrus' does not apply to the funerary papyrus depicted on pl. 141 of the *Voyage*. For this papyrus, now P. Bibliothèque Nationale 112–17, see M. Dewachter, 'The Egyptian Collections formed during the Expédition de l'Égypte', in C. C. Gillispie and M. Dewachter (eds), *Monuments of Egypt. The Napoleonic Edition* (Princeton, 1987), 34.

<sup>10</sup>See Evgenova, *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi Biblioteki*, 7.

<sup>11</sup>H. De Meulenaere, 'Notes de prosopographie thébaine: 22. "Papyrus Denon" ou "Papyrus Hamelin"?', *CdE* 64 (1989), 58–62. See also P. De Meulenaere, *Bibliographie raisonnée des témoignages oculaires imprimés de l'Expédition d'Égypte (1798–1801)* (Paris, 1993), 108. For the pursuits of Hamelin in Egypt, see J. J. Brégeon, *L'Égypte française au jour le jour 1798–1801* (Paris, 1991), 175–83.

<sup>12</sup>De Meulenaere, *CdE* 64, 59 no. 3.

<sup>13</sup>*JEA* 79, 310.

<sup>14</sup>L. J. J. Dubois, *Description des objets d'arts qui composaient l'une des parties du cabinet de feu M. le baron V. Denon*, *Monuments antiques, historiques, modernes; ouvrages orientaux, etc.* (Paris, 1826), 28–9 no. 228. I wish to point out that there exists another version of this auction catalogue, entitled *Description des objets d'arts qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le baron V. Denon* (Paris, 1826). The wording of these two versions differs on some points.

<sup>15</sup>'Le papyrus funéraire de Téos, Champollion, et deux lettres de Vivant Denon', in L. Limme and J. Strybol (eds), *Aegyptus museis rediviva. Misc. H. De Meulenaere* (Brussels, 1993), 77–89.

<sup>16</sup>E. Jomard (ed.), *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, *Antiquités, Planches, V* (Paris, 1822), pl. 44.1.

<sup>17</sup>Against Dewachter in *Aegyptus museis rediviva*, 81: 'Bien entendu ce journal contenait parfois aussi des informations sur des monuments qui ne furent pas gravés pour les planches du *Voyage*: à commencer par le papyrus acquis à Médinet-Habou...'

its legend have until now been overlooked by everyone working on the Denon papyri. The engraving shows a damaged papyrus scroll. The comment made by Denon is worth citing:

Le portrait fidele d'un rouleau manuscrit, que j'ai trouvé dans la main d'une momie (...); développé, il s'est trouvé avoir 2 pieds 9 pouces de longueur; sa largeur et sa grosseur avant d'être déroulé sont celles de la figure de l'estampe. J'ai préféré de faire graver les manuscrits trouvés depuis, parcequ'ils sont plus conservés, n'ayant pas été comprimés comme celui-ci par la main de la momie, dont la liqueur embaumante avoit imbibé et oxygéné des parties. La vignette que j'ai trouvée à celui-ci représente une momie sur un lit de repos, qui a la forme et le corps d'un lion; au-dessus un vautour, les ailes déployées, ... et au-devant un homme invoquant une divinité qui tient un fléau et un crochet; entre les deux figures est un autel, sur lequel sont des vases et des fleurs du lotus.<sup>18</sup>

With this information provided by Denon himself, the speculation concerning the identity of the papyrus found at Medinet Habu comes to an end. The description of the vignette confirms Dewachter's proposed identification. It is unfortunate that Denon remains vague about the origin of the papyri in his pls. 136–8.

In the above-mentioned review article, Quirke also makes a proposal concerning the Book of the Dead of Osorkon in Denon's pl. 138, which he matches with no. 229 of the auction catalogue of the Denon collection.<sup>19</sup> However, a comparison of this description on the one hand with pl. 138 on the other shows that this identification is untenable. Let us begin by quoting the description of no. 229 in the auction catalogue, composed by Dubois:<sup>20</sup>

229. Manuscrit funéraire portant un texte hiératique, et dont les figures sont dessinées au trait.

Côté droit.—Phré, assis sur un trône, reçoit les hommages d'un homme placé debout et en adoration devant lui; près du dieu est une table chargée d'offrandes, et à laquelle est suspendu un petit vase; le haut du champ est couvert de sept colonnes d'hiéroglyphes.—Texte composé de onze lignes.

Ce manuscrit est d'une bonne conservation, et les figures en sont dessinées avec fermeté: son text est moins bien écrit que celui du précédent.

H. 10 pouces.—Largeur, 20 pouces 9 lignes.

The differences between this description and the papyrus depicted on pl. 138 of Denon's *Voyage* are numerous. In the first place, it is to be noted that the vignette in pl. 138 is coloured. So the figures can hardly be described as 'dessinées au trait'. Secondly, the hieroglyphic legend at the top of the vignette is spread over six columns instead of seven. In the third place, the text of the papyrus in pl. 138 consists of 28 lines, written in hieratic and divided over three columns. Moreover, the given measurements do not match with those of the papyrus now in St. Petersburg, which carries the number SPL 1. Converted into centimetres, the papyrus described by Dubois measures approximately 56 × 27 cm, and the papyrus SPL 1 measures 79 × 23.5 cm.<sup>21</sup> So Quirke's identification cannot be maintained.

We here have to ask the question whether any of the remaining papyri mentioned in the auction catalogue of the Denon collection matches the papyri of pls. 137 and 138 of Denon's *Voyage*. In fact, none of the eight numbers in the catalogue which correspond with papyri<sup>22</sup> fits the description of either of the funerary papyri of Osorkon.<sup>23</sup> No. 232 is an *Amduat*-papyrus which

<sup>18</sup> Denon, *Voyage* II, pl. 100.4.

<sup>19</sup> Dubois, *Description des objets d'arts*, 29 no. 229.

<sup>20</sup> W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1972), 91.

<sup>21</sup> Evgenova, *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi Biblioteki*, 9.

<sup>22</sup> Dubois, *Description des objets d'arts*, Manuscrits sur papyrus, 28–31, numbers 228–35. No. 234 forms a pair with the demotic P. Louvre N 2412: see Dewachter, in *Aegyptus museis rediviva*, 85 no. 44. The fragments of papyrus given in figs. 2–6 in Vol. V, pl. 44 of the *Description de l'Égypte* may have constituted lot no. 233 in the Denon sale: see the note to this plate in Gillispie and Dewachter (eds), *Monuments of Egypt*.

<sup>23</sup> Against Quirke, *JEA* 79, 310: 'The 1826 catalogue of the Denon collection mentions five funerary papyri, one set of six fragments and two demotic contracts; of these, three funerary papyri came from Hamelin'.



is said by Dubois to consist of only two registers.<sup>24</sup> Since the *Amduat*-papyrus of Osorkon in pl. 137 has three registers, the two papyri cannot be identical. It appears that, of the papyri depicted in pls. 136–38, only the *Book of Breathings Made by Isis* was offered for sale at the auction of the Denon collection on 18 January 1827, because this manuscript corresponds without doubt to the description of no. 230 in the catalogue.<sup>25</sup> As both funerary papyri of Osorkon are absent from the auction catalogue of the Denon collection, one may conclude that these were no longer in Denon's possession at the moment of his death. This is corroborated by the memoirs of Hamelin:

Je perdis mon papyrus (sc. le papyrus Denon de La Haye), sans obtenir même un mot obligeant. Et, ce qu'il y a de pis, M. Denon, l'ayant vu à l'Institut, le demanda pour le faire graver, et il l'a gardé, si bien qu'il est encore dans le cabinet d'antiquités qu'il a laissé à son neveu, frère du général Brunet. Si l'on veut juger de sa valeur, j'ajouterai qu'ayant fait encadrer et mis sous glace les deux autres (sc. les deux papyrus funéraires d'Osorkon), ils ont été vendus 12.000 francs à M. Divow, qui achetait des curiosités pour l'empereur de Russie; vendus sans mon consentement, et sans qu'il me soit revenu un sou des 12.000 francs. Bien certainement, le grand papyrus valait plus du double.<sup>26</sup>

This indicates clearly that the funerary papyri of Osorkon were not included in the legacy to Brunet, who, together with his brother, the general Brunet-Denon, had inherited the entire Denon collection.<sup>27</sup> According to Hamelin the funerary papyri of Osorkon were sold to a certain Divow, who was collector for the Russian emperor. The 'Divow' mentioned in the memoirs of Hamelin is probably Andrian Ivanovich Divov (1747–1814).<sup>28</sup> He was a chamberlain who is especially known for a mission with which Catherine II the Great charged him in 1792. He was sent in the name of the Russian empress to Stockholm to congratulate Gustav IV, the king of Sweden, on the occasion of his accession to the throne.<sup>29</sup> From the memoirs of Mrs Divov we know that she and her husband stayed from 18 January 1802 until 25 April 1804 in Paris,<sup>30</sup> which was not long after the papyri belonging to Hamelin had been unrolled at the end of 1801. The list with the 'Noms des souscripteurs pour l'édition in-folio' given in Denon's *Voyage* shows that during her stay in Paris Mrs Divov, mentioned on p. 320 as 'Diwoff, née comtesse Boutourlin',<sup>31</sup> had subscribed to Denon's travelogue. It is not apparent from Mrs Divov's memoirs in what capacity her husband stayed in Paris, but it is clear that the Divovs belonged to the small group of Russians with whom the First Consul Bonaparte was on friendly terms. On the basis of Hamelin's memoirs, we may assume that Divov bought both funerary papyri of Osorkon during this stay. Although we know less about their son Piotr Divov,<sup>32</sup> it is not to be ruled out that Hamelin is referring to him. Piotr Divov worked for the Russian embassy in Paris up to 1803 and again in 1809. Because the funerary papyri of Osorkon were presumably already in the possession of Divov in the first few years of the nineteenth century, it is understandable that they did not feature in the 1826 auction catalogue of the Denon collection.

As regards the two funerary papyri of Osorkon, we may presume that from 1827 onwards they formed part of the collection of the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg. According to

<sup>24</sup> Dubois, *Description des objets d'arts*, 30–1 no. 232.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid 29 no. 230. The description provided by Dubois is included in the recent publication of the Denon papyrus in The Hague, cf. above, n. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Hamelin, 'Douze ans de ma vie 1796–1808', in *La Revue de Paris* 34 (1927), I, 50.

<sup>27</sup> 'Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. le Baron Vivant Denon', in Amaury Duval, *Monuments des arts du dessin chez les peuples tant anciens que modernes, recueillis par le Baron Vivant Denon...*, I (Paris, 1829), 13 and Lelièvre, *Vivant Denon*, 237. For Vivant-Jean Brunet-Denon, see E. Franceschini, 'Brunet-Denon', in M. Prevost and R. D'Amat (eds), *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1956), VII, 548.

<sup>28</sup> *Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar'*, VI (St. Petersburg, 1905), 376. I owe this reference to Prof. E. Waegemans.

<sup>29</sup> L. Santifaller (ed.), *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648)*, III (Cologne, 1965), 365.

<sup>30</sup> S. Kaznakoff (ed.), *Journal et souvenirs de Madame Divoff* (Paris, 1929), 35, 132. Reference kindly provided by Prof. H. De Meulenaere.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 7, 13.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 139–41, 153–4 no. 91.

the published catalogue, Drovetti donated both papyri to this library in 1827.<sup>33</sup> As this information cannot be sustained by other evidence, I suspect it is based on a mistake.

I conclude that of the three so-called Denon papyri, only the copy of the *Book of Breathings Made by Isis* on Denon's pl. 136 was in the Denon collection on a permanent basis. The two funerary papyri of Osorkon (pls. 137–8) were presumably only in his possession for a short period in order for them to be included in the *Voyage*. Their designation as Denon papyri is based exclusively on their inclusion in the *Voyage*. Between 1802 and 1809, both papyri were bought by Divov father or son in Paris and turned up in 1827 in St. Petersburg in the collection of the National Library of Russia. At the auction of Denon's antiquities in 1827, the *Book of Breathings Made by Isis* was bought by Baron van Westreenen, the founder of the present Meermannno-Westreenianum Museum in The Hague. The fourth Denon papyrus, the Ptolemaic Book of the Dead described above, was sold at the same auction, but its present location is unknown.

MARC COENEN\*

### Tanning tests for two documents written on animal skin

Description of testing two animal skin manuscripts (BM EA 10122, 10281/2) for vegetable tannins to determine the method of skin preparation.

EVIDENCE for the production of leather and parchment in ancient Egypt comes from the examination of the surviving material, or from representations on tomb walls. From the archaeological evidence it appears that craft practices were well established in Egypt by the New Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> As far as ancient Mesopotamia is concerned, cuneiform tablets survive, dated 1600–1000 BC, with recipes and methods used in skin preparation.<sup>2</sup> Some references from classical times are reported,<sup>3</sup> and, from around the seventh century AD onwards, the Arabs were responsible for disseminating much information about the craft practices of the Middle East. There is, however, very little certain evidence for methods of skin preparation in ancient Egypt, and only a limited amount of information can be deduced by examining skins with the naked eye. This paper concerns an investigation, drawing on two particular examples, into one aspect of skin preparation in Egypt, namely when the material was to be used for writing. In particular, were the skins prepared as a parchment, or tanned as in leather production?

There are many differences between the manufacturing processes of leather and parchment, but one essential difference is that parchment is dried under tension, thereby restructuring the dermal network of the skin and stretching the fibres, setting them permanently in this position when dry. Another difference is that leather is tanned; this process of treating skins with various vegetable products causes an irreversible chemical change in the dermal network, changing the skin into leather. However, in antiquity the differences were not necessarily so clearly defined, and it seems that skins could be prepared as a parchment and then some sort of tannage applied afterwards.<sup>4</sup> Whether this would have been the case in the preparation of writing materials is uncertain. Sometimes visual means alone are enough to distinguish between parchment and

<sup>33</sup> *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Pétersbourg* (St. Petersburg, 1852 = Leipzig, 1978), x. This version is also given in Evgenova, *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi Publchnoi Biblioteki*, 7–8, and in Niwiński, *Theban Funerary Papyri*, 47–8. I thank Prof. E. Waegemans for translating the relevant passage from the article of Evgenova.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, revised by J. R. Harris (London, 1989), 33–7; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*<sup>2</sup>, V (Leiden, 1966), 22–34.

<sup>2</sup> R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London, 1972), 87–9.

<sup>3</sup> Forbes, *Studies*, 48–57.

<sup>4</sup> Reed, *Ancient Skins*, 122–3.

leather, but an additional difficulty with ancient material is that it can have deteriorated badly or have had repairs or dressings applied to it in recent times. If this is the case, chemical tests for the presence of tannins can be used to some effect, and these are described here. The presence of tannin alone cannot lead to a conclusion that the material is a leather, but it can give an indication of the more likely identification. Likewise, the absence of tannins can only point to the possibility that the skin was prepared as parchment, but this cannot be stated definitely.

The collections in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum contain several leather and parchment manuscripts. They include an illustrated New Kingdom Book of the Dead (EA 10473), a hieratic Book of the Dead (EA 10281), a mathematical text (EA 10250), a literary text (the *Teaching of a Man for his Son*, EA 10258), and four Coptic magical scrolls (EA 10122, 10376, 10391, 10414). These manuscripts are very fragile, and by their nature do not always lie flat as is the case with papyri; consequently, they can be difficult to mount and store safely. Two of them were recently sent to the Department of Conservation for treatment, namely EA 10122 and EA 10281/2.

EA 10122 is one of four Coptic magical scrolls in the collection coming from the same ancient archive, dated tentatively to the sixth or seventh century AD.<sup>5</sup> It has all the appearance of a strip of brown leather. There are some small missing areas, and parts are very brittle; it is also stained and fractured. The hair and the flesh sides have been written on in black ink, and it measures approximately 35 cm in length, and 8 cm at its widest part.

EA 10281 is a hieratic Book of the Dead, and comprises a series of fragments which are mounted in thirteen glass frames. They represent a master copy of a Book of the Dead, which apparently had, in antiquity, been adapted for private use by one Nebimes; it can be dated by the hieratic hand to the early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> All the frames contain one or more fragments. The second frame contains three, the smallest being 2.8 × 4 cm and the largest 12.5 × 4.4 cm. Both the larger fragments have, at some time in the more recent past, been very heavily 'varnished', giving them an almost black lacquer-like sheen on the surface. This had totally obscured the black ink, and only the red ink was visible. Infra-red photography has, however, enabled the text to be read. The fragments had been laid down onto card and are now very brittle, with many hairline cracks. The smallest fragment of EA 10281/2, however, had escaped the 'varnishing' and is still a creamy brown colour.

Once the mounts were opened it was possible to carry out tests on the skins before conservation work started. Attempts to identify the animal type by comparing grain patterns under the microscope were unsuccessful, as the skins in both manuscripts were too degraded. The test for tannins that was used is very simple.<sup>7</sup> Tannins give strong colours when treated with certain iron salts; indeed this is the way iron-gall ink is produced.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, if an iron salt is reacted with a few fibres of a vegetable tanned leather, it will darken the fibres to an intense black which may have a blue, grey, or greenish tint. The change is very marked and can be seen clearly either by the naked eye, or under the microscope when single fibres can be tested. When the leather sample is already a very dark brown, almost black, colour, the colour change can be difficult to see. This is somewhat eased by studying single fibres, as they appear less coloured than the bulk material.

The iron salt used in this case was ferrous sulphate (2% FeSO<sub>4</sub> w/v in distilled water).<sup>9</sup> Small samples were taken from both documents under the microscope. From the Coptic manuscript fibres were teased away with tweezers from the inner layer of the material, thereby avoiding the surface layers which may have received later tannin coatings or dressings, and also avoiding the

<sup>5</sup> W. E. Crum, 'Magical Texts in Coptic', *JEA* 20 (1934), 51–3, 195–200, pls. ix.2, xxv.

<sup>6</sup> A. W. Shorter, 'A Leather Manuscript of the Book of the Dead in the British Museum', *JEA* 20 (1934), 33–40, pls. iv–vii; S. Quirke, *Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum* (British Museum Occasional Paper 92; London, 1993), 16–17, 46 no. 123.

<sup>7</sup> Although simple by scientific standards, this test should of course be carried out only in a laboratory by personnel trained to handle archaeological material and familiar with scientific testing methods.

<sup>8</sup> J. Watrous, *The Craft of Old Master Drawings* (Madison, 1957), 69–72.

<sup>9</sup> R. Larson, 'Micro-chemical Determination of Vegetable Tannin', *Leather Conservation News* 7 (1990), no. 1 (pages unnumbered); Reed, *Ancient Skins*, 273–9; V. Daniels, *Evaluation of a Test for Tannin in Leather* (British Museum Conservation Research Report No. CA 1993/1; London, February 1993).

inked areas. With the hieratic document, it was the small unvarnished area which was sampled, since here the ink was visible, and could therefore be avoided. In this case, a few fibres were scraped away with a scalpel, as the material was very brittle. Each sample was then placed on a glass slide and divided into two small bunches. One of the bunches on each slide served as a control, and the other had a drop of the ferrous sulphate solution pipetted onto it. Both sets of fibres were then examined under the microscope. Colour change can take up to several hours to develop but usually occurs after about fifteen minutes. The Coptic manuscript showed a very definite darkening of fibres, but the hieratic fragment did not react. This indicated that the Coptic document (EA 10122) was written on a vegetable tanned material and is therefore possibly a leather, and the hieratic fragments (EA 10281) a non-tanned material, most likely a parchment or vellum.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, pH measurements gave the following results:-

Coptic manuscript                      pH 4

Book of the Dead fragments      pH 5-6

The more acidic nature of the Coptic scroll is consistent with a vegetable tanned leather which contains acidic residues from the tanning process.

BRIDGET LEACH

<sup>10</sup>The terms parchment and vellum have become almost interchangeable. Vellum used to mean parchment made from calf skin, which produces a particularly thin and strong material. Today, the word vellum does not necessarily mean a skin prepared from calf skin, but can mean any fine and strong parchment regardless of the animal species used (Reed, *Ancient Skins*, 126).

## REVIEWS

*Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis.* By CHARLES MAYSTRE. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 113. 235 × 172 mm. Pp. xiv + 465, pls. 2. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992. ISBN 3 7278 0794 6 (Freiburg), and 3 525 53747 6 (Göttingen). Price not stated.

This substantial book must surely hold the all-time record for delayed publication of a doctoral thesis. Charles Maystre successfully presented its contents as two complementary theses at the Sorbonne back in 1948—but almost half a century has elapsed before it has become available to a wider readership. In some cases, so long a time-lapse would have proved fatal to the success of such a delayed publication. However, thanks to the nature of the work and its quality, it remains useful and relevant today; the more so, as Maystre took care to up-date the references in his documentation, and to include an addendum.

The subject of the work is the high priests of the god Ptah in his home city of Memphis. Part I deals with the titles of the high priests and their functions, documenting the duality of the office in the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties (a reflex of administration), and its unitary history thereafter. For the principal title of these priests, *wr hꜣp ḥmwꜣwt*, Maystre decisively undermines Junker's wayward theory, and himself offers the translation 'Great (one) of chiefs of artisans' (p. 13). This reviewer would venture to prefer to translate 'Great one who directs the (corps of) artisans', taking *hꜣp* as an active participle. Then the abbreviated Demotic form (*wr ḥmwꜣwt*) would be simply 'Great one of the (corps of) artisans', and the Ptolemaic variant *wr ḥmwꜣwt hꜣp* would be 'Great one of the (corps of) artisans, director'.

In Part II, Maystre surveys the history and prosopography of the Memphite high priests of Ptah right through, from the Old Kingdom beginnings to early Roman times. Before doing so, he evaluates the famous 'Berlin genealogy' edited by Borchardt, deciding that it can only be drawn upon when supported by external sources; then, a related Louvre genealogy of the late Twenty-second Dynasty, then a Ptolemaic genealogy. For the first two, compare Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1973), 187–92, for their later parts not cited by Maystre. Thereafter, Maystre examines each known high priest in terms of dating, family background, known monuments, etc. With this may be compared Wildung's summary in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II, 1256–63. Part III complements the preceding survey, presenting all the principal sources, each by definition, bibliography, hieroglyphic text or transcript, and French translation, making the data easily accessible. In many cases, Maystre himself collated the texts. The work ends with a brief summary of results ('Conclusion'), and two plates illustrating the regalia of the high priests from reliefs and statuary. Despite its history, this book will remain a useful work of resort and reference.

K. A. KITCHEN

*Building in Egypt. Pharaonic Stone Masonry.* By DIETER ARNOLD. 225 × 285 mm. Pp. ix + 316, figs in text. New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991. ISBN 0 19 506350 3. Price not stated.

Si les études sur l'architecture égyptienne sont assez nombreuses, elles sont le plus souvent dispersées au gré de la publication des sites ou des monuments dans des ouvrages dédiés à ceux-

ci: monographies, rapports de fouilles ou dans des périodiques non spécialisés. Encore n'y fait-on pas toujours la distinction entre les problèmes purement architecturaux et les problèmes de construction. Les premiers ont trait à la distribution des espaces dans un bâtiment à usage déterminé, à l'harmonie des formes et des proportions données à ces espaces, à l'ornementation. Les seconds traitent de l'aspect technique de l'architecture, les moyens mis en œuvre pour satisfaire au programme architectural.

Les hellénistes disposent dans le domaine de la construction d'un instrument de travail remarquable: il s'agit du *Manuel d'architecture grecque* de Roland Martin dont le premier volume traite des matériaux et des techniques. Cet ouvrage a bénéficié de recherches beaucoup plus poussées que pour l'architecture égyptienne, d'où une documentation beaucoup plus abondante aidée par une terminologie pratiquement complète. Ce n'est pas encore le cas en Egypte.

Toutefois paraissait en 1930 un ouvrage dû à deux archéologues, Somers Clarke, architecte et Reginald Engelbach, ingénieur: *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, somme des connaissances de l'époque sur ce sujet. Le livre connaissait dès sa parution un succès mérité et resta pendant 60 ans l'outil de référence des architectes et des archéologues de terrain.

Mais les choses ont évolué et depuis cette époque la documentation s'est grandement enrichie grâce à la diffusion des travaux des Borchardt, Reisner, Jéquier, Ricke ou Lauer pour ne citer que les plus célèbres. Il était donc temps de reprendre le problème et nous suggérons il y a quelques années devant une réunion de spécialistes de rééditer en le complétant l'ouvrage de Clarke et Engelbach. J'entrevois alors la tâche sous la forme d'un travail d'équipe qui n'eut pas de suite. C'est alors que Dieter Arnold, riche d'une abondante documentation personnelle ou livresque se mit à la tâche pour nous donner son *Building in Egypt* qui va remplacer avantageusement tout ce qui l'a précédé.

D'emblée l'auteur annonce les limites de son travail que résume bien le sous-titre de son oeuvre: *Pharaonic Stone Masonry*. Il ne couvre que la période qui va de l'Ancien Empire au 5<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. et ne traite que de la construction en pierre. Ainsi ne sera-t-il pas question de la construction ptolémaïque ou gréco-romaine qui représente en effet un monde à part marqué par l'influence méditerranéenne.

L'introduction passe brièvement sur la construction en brique crue, en pisé ou en bois pour en arriver vers 2700 av. J.-C. à la construction en pierre, à ses débuts fortement influencée par les matériaux précédents.

Le chapitre 1 concerne les préparatifs précédant la construction: les plans qui nous sont parvenus ne sont pas à proprement parler des plans d'exécution mais des schémas explicatifs destinés aux intéressés ou aux non-initiés. Il en est de même des quelques maquettes que nous connaissons, tel ce remarquable modèle de tombe royale découvert à Dahchour par l'auteur. Les égyptiens firent grand usage du quadrillage proportionnel que l'on retrouve sur les papyrus et les monuments décorés, destiné à reproduire à une échelle donnée et à mettre en place scènes et textes d'après un modèle. Quinze pages sont consacrées aux problèmes des mesures, somme des connaissances en la matière. La mesure des distances et l'art du nivellement ont atteint dès l'Ancien Empire une précision que ne surpasseront pas les architectes grecs, et ceci avec un matériel extrêmement simple. Pour s'en convaincre, Arnold s'est livré à des expériences pratiques concluantes.

Les chapitres 2 et 3 ont trait à l'extraction de la pierre et à son transport. L'extraction de la pierre en carrière a recours à des techniques différentes selon qu'on a affaire à des pierres tendres (calcaire, grès) ou dures (granit, basalte etc.). Les marques laissées par les outils dans les carrières peuvent dans une certaine mesure aider à dater les périodes d'extraction.

Une école voudrait qu'après les travaux de J. Röder<sup>1</sup> on doive abandonner l'idée que le granit ait pu être extrait des carrières à l'aide d'entailles discontinues et de coins en bois mouillés. Selon cet auteur, ces entailles ne seraient pas antérieures au 5<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., date de l'expansion de l'usage d'outils en fer. Cette théorie sera mise en doute trois ans plus tard par Carl Nylander.<sup>2</sup> Le problème reste donc entier.

Si l'extraction en carrière était une question de temps, le transport des blocs relevait de la technique. L'auteur y consacre 50 pages où il passe en revue les moyens dont disposaient les

<sup>1</sup> 'Zur Steinbruchgeschichte des Rosengranits von Assuan', *AA* 1965 (1965/66), 467-551.

<sup>2</sup> 'Bemerkungen zur Steinbruchgeschichte von Assuan', *AA* 1968 (1968/69), 6-10.

Egyptiens: la navigation sur le Nil et les canaux, les rampes de terre et les traîneaux, une abondante main d'œuvre à disposition. Remarquons à ce sujet que si les Egyptiens connurent assez tôt la poulie (l'auteur en montre plusieurs exemplaires), ils semblent avoir totalement ignoré son développement naturel, le palan démultiplicateur utilisant plusieurs poulies, en usage chez les Grecs. Nous n'en voyons aucune représentation ni dans les scènes de construction ni dans celles de navigation. Eussent-ils connu ce perfectionnement, tous leurs problèmes de levage auraient été résolus à moindres frais; nous faisons allusion ici à la manœuvre des herses, des sarcophages ou des blocs de fermeture dans les étroits passages des hypogées.

L'Égypte n'a pas connu les routes telles que les ont conçues les romains. La plus grande partie des transports se faisait par eau. Toutefois, lorsqu'il s'est agi d'approvisionner en matériaux les grandes nécropoles qui se trouvaient dans le désert, il a bien fallu faire preuve d'invention et la construction des rampes restait le souci majeur des responsables de la logistique. On a tendance à croire que les rampes n'étaient qu'un amas de terre, or il n'en était rien. Selon la pente à franchir et le terrain qu'elles traversaient: sable, terrain compact ou alluvions, elles étaient flanquées de murs de soutènement en pierres liées au mortier; elles pouvaient être faites de caissons de briques crues remplis de terre ou de débris de pierre et comportaient des traverses en bois à leur surface. Nous connaissons mieux les rampes d'accès aux chantiers que les rampes de construction, ces dernières fatalement détruites au cours des travaux. Les traces qu'elles ont laissées, sur les pyramides par exemple, ont donné lieu à des interprétations diverses. L'auteur signale la présence de môles circulaires en brique (p. 90) de part et d'autre d'une rampe d'accès au chantier de la pyramide de Sesostris I<sup>er</sup> à Licht. Ils font sans doute partie d'un système de montée des blocs le long de la rampe. On peut signaler des môles comparables en pierre le long d'une voie de descente dans les carrières de granit romaines de Mons Claudianus. Là-bas toutefois l'utilité de ce dispositif est contestée par certains et la question reste ouverte.

Le chapitre 4 traite de la construction proprement-dite, à commencer par les fondations dont les blocs, parfois sur plusieurs assises, reposent sur du sable fin. Ce sable, répandu sur une couche plus ou moins épaisse, joue d'après l'auteur deux rôles: un rôle technique, l'égalité répartition des charges du monument, mais aussi religieux, purificateur, le souci d'établir le monument sur un sol pur rappelant la 'colline primordiale'. Nous ajouterons qu'en terrain humide, le sable qui supporte et entoure les fondations semble jouer, d'après nos propres observations, un rôle de protection contre les remontées de sel dans la pierre.<sup>3</sup>

Les fondations peuvent prendre plusieurs formes: puits sous les piliers ou les colonnes, tranchées sous les murs, fosse lorsqu'il s'agit d'un petit bâtiment au Nouvel Empire ou même immense fosses aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine. La maçonnerie qu'on y a entassé consiste souvent en blocs de remploi, parfois même celle de monuments entiers.

La pose des blocs, leur montée, leur alignement sont décrits dans le détail. Le mortier liquide jouait le rôle de lubrifiant au moment de la pose des pierres mais aussi de liant de la maçonnerie. L'auteur nous montre des faces d'attente de blocs de granit du Moyen Empire pourvues de rainures qui selon lui devaient contenir des pièces de bois destinées à tenir les blocs écartés lorsqu'on coulait l'enduit. Cette interprétation me semble contraire à la tradition égyptienne qui voulait précisément que les blocs soient le plus rapprochés possible. Nous préférons l'interprétation de Jéquier qui y voit simplement des canaux pour le mortier et qui donne d'ailleurs une photo venant confirmer son hypothèse.<sup>4</sup>

Le poids des blocs ne semble pas avoir été un obstacle majeur pour les constructeurs des pyramides lorsqu'ils avaient la place suffisante pour manœuvrer. Arnold, citant Ludwig Borchardt, mentionne des blocs de couverture de 90 tonnes posés au cours de la construction de la pyramide de Niuserre. Le problème se compliquait lorsqu'il fallait travailler à de grandes profondeurs ou en souterrain.

Il est souvent question en Égypte du format des blocs de construction. En fait, ce format suit des tendances variables au cours de l'histoire. L'auteur voit dans les premières constructions en pierre de la troisième dynastie l'influence de l'architecture en brique qui l'a précédé. Dès la quatrième dynastie, ce format augmente considérablement et l'on peut dire qu'il se stabilise au

<sup>3</sup> J. Jacquet, *Le Trésor de Thoutmosis Ier*, I (Le Caire, 1983), 5.3.2.5.

<sup>4</sup> G. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III (Le Caire, 1940), fig. 7.

Nouvel Empire. Une exception notable cependant, les monuments d'Amenophis IV construits en *talatat*, blocs uniformes de petit appareil de  $1 \times 1/2 \times 1/2$  coudée pouvant être transportés par un seul homme. Cette méthode ne durera qu'un temps.

La question de la grandeur de l'appareil n'a jamais vraiment été débattue, à notre connaissance du moins. De nombreux facteurs ont pu jouer un rôle que nous ne pouvons que deviner: impression de pérennité, croyances religieuses, sécurité des tombes entre autres. Nous croyons y voir aussi un facteur purement économique, à savoir la quantité de travail nécessaire pour débiter la pierre comparée aux moyens mis en œuvre pour son transport. Il est clair que pour extraire de la carrière  $4 \text{ m}^3$  de granit, le temps passé au débitage sera beaucoup plus long pour 4 blocs de  $1 \text{ m}^3$  que pour en seul bloc de même volume, par contre plus difficile à transporter. Il faudra de même tenir compte de l'usure des outils, donc de l'approvisionnement en métaux, plus ou moins rares selon les époques. Il y avait par conséquent un équilibre à trouver entre ces facteurs, équilibre qui a sans doute évolué au cours des siècles en suivant les progrès techniques.

L'auteur en vient ensuite (p. 120) à la forme des joints, souvent obliques pour des raisons d'économie de matériaux et cite les différents moyens de les réaliser. L'obsession du constructeur égyptien était la perfection dans la finesse des joints. Très tôt il inventa ce que les grecs appelèrent plus tard l'anathyrose, qui consiste à tailler les pierres de façon à ce que seules les faces visibles entrent en contact parfait, les faces d'attente des blocs étant grossièrement taillées ou prenant une forme concave, ménageant un vide dans lequel sera coulé un mortier liquide.

La liaison entre les blocs était assurée le plus souvent par des queues d'arondes: entailles trapézoïdales pratiquées sur deux blocs voisins, face à face, destinées à recevoir un crampon de même forme qui pouvait être en bronze mais qui était le plus souvent en bois, travaillant à la traction. L'auteur nous en montre de nombreux exemples et nous sommes d'accord avec lui que bien souvent ces queues d'arondes étaient inutiles. Il aurait pu insister sur ce fait. En effet, nous connaissons de très nombreux cas où les entailles ont été faites et n'ont jamais reçu leur tenon ou si elles l'ont reçu, c'était à titre temporaire, au cours de la construction. Le monument n'en a pas moins résisté pendant des siècles. Nous constatons de même que certains monuments présentent des queues d'arondes par centaines alors que d'autres, contemporains et tout aussi importants, construits de la même façon en sont totalement dépourvus. Le problème n'est donc pas entièrement résolu.

Parmi les nombreux exemples de maçonnerie, l'ouvrage nous présente un détail de construction (fig. 4.85) inspiré d'un dessin de Chevrier.<sup>5</sup> L'on peut y voir des logements de queues d'arondes en forme de U et non pas trapézoïdales comme elles devraient l'être pour avoir toute leur efficacité. Après vérification sur place, il s'avère que le dessin de Chevrier ne correspond pas à la réalité, bien que son prédécesseur à Karnak en ait donné une description exacte.<sup>6</sup> L'ouvrage d'Arnold faisant désormais autorité en matière de construction, il est à craindre que la chose une fois écrite, l'erreur se renouvelle dans l'avenir.

La richesse des moyens d'assemblage révèle chez les Egyptiens une connaissance approfondie de la stéréotomie que nous présente l'auteur (p. 124). Cette technique rappelle plus souvent celle du menuisier que celle du tailleur de pierre. Parmi les matériaux employés pour leurs tenons, les constructeurs ont fait parfois usage de pierre et on peut s'étonner qu'un matériau manquant totalement de souplesse ait pu résister aux déformations du monument.

La maçonnerie d'angle, spécialement dans les pyramides, était particulièrement soignée (p. 128). L'auteur nous en montre plusieurs exemples illustrés par une documentation judicieuse. Les bossages (p. 132) conservés sur les blocs jusqu'au ravalement final nous éclairent sur les procédés de construction. Des protubérances étaient temporairement réservées sur les blocs pour en faciliter la manœuvre.

Les sols (p. 141) pouvaient être faits de différents matériaux, allant de la terre battue à la dalle de granit dans les monuments archaïques. A partir de la troisième dynastie, on trouve de nombreux exemples de dallages en calcaire, granit, basalte, albâtre, quartzite et plus tard en grès. Dans les fondations en pierre, leur assise supérieure et le sol se confondent. Lorsqu'un dallage

<sup>5</sup> P. Lacau et H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatchepsout à Karnak* (Le Caire, 1956), 257 fig. 21.

<sup>6</sup> M. Pillett, *ASAE* 23 (1923), 120 n.1.



est superposé à ces fondations, il est alors d'un appareil volontairement irrégulier, en contraste avec les blocs sous-jacents. L'auteur constate que le plus souvent les sols sont faits du même matériau que les murs et que les constructeurs cherchaient à donner un aspect le plus uni possible à ces surfaces. Signalons pour notre part un cas où le sol en grès fut badigeonné en blanc à plusieurs reprises pour s'assortir aux murs de calcaire.<sup>7</sup>

Sous le titre de 'Masonry Classification' (p. 148), l'auteur se propose de diviser la constructions en catégories, d'une part selon l'aspect de l'intérieur des murs (pierre brute ou assemblages travaillés), d'autre part selon l'aspect de leur surface. Il admet lui-même que la méthode a ses limites car dans un même bâtiment plusieurs types peuvent être reconnus et la distinction entre les types reste floue. Les schémas qu'il présente illustrent mieux que toute description la façon de classer la construction. Les pyramides présentent toujours un problème un peu particulier et là aussi la représentation graphique (fig. 4.88) des différentes techniques mises en œuvre éclaire le lecteur immédiatement et sans équivoque.

La construction égyptienne se caractérise par la perfection de ses parements comparée à l'indigence de ses infrastructures. C'est évidemment dans les constructions les plus massives que l'on peut faire les observations les plus intéressantes. L'auteur s'étend donc longuement sur les pyramides, son sujet de prédilection, et passe un peu brièvement sur les pylônes du Nouvel Empire.

Le problème des plafonds a été résolu de différentes façons selon qu'il s'agissait de supporter leur propre poids ou les charges énormes des pyramides. On passera du toit plat dans les premières constructions en pierre au plafond en encorbellement, au toit à faitage et progressivement à la voûte à clavaux en pierre à la vingt-cinquième dynastie après avoir appliqué des solutions mixtes, alors que la voûte en brique crue était connue plus de deux mille ans auparavant.

Sous le titre 'Other Building Activities', l'auteur nous entretient du creusement des puits et des galeries, des dispositifs de sécurité des tombes, des échafaudages, des réparations. Un dernier chapitre très fourni traite des outils et de leurs applications et une annexe mentionne très brièvement les mortiers et les enduits.

*Building in Egypt* représente une documentation énorme recueillie au cours des années. Un texte d'une clarté remarquable est appuyé par plus de 800 notes (que l'on aurait aimé voir en bas de page plutôt qu'à la fin de chaque chapitre) qui représentent autant de références aux ouvrages les plus inattendus. 136 photographies, environ 220 dessins provenant des travaux personnels de Dieter Arnold ou choisis dans les publications viennent illustrer le texte. Dans ce dernier cas, les documents dans leur grande majorité ont été redessinés par l'auteur, au besoin mis en perspective pour en faciliter la lecture au profane. Un glossaire, une bibliographie et un index complètent le volume et en simplifient la consultation.

Une part prépondérante de l'ouvrage est réservée aux problèmes de l'Ancien et du Moyen Empires, un peu au détriment du Nouvel Empire. Nous savons que les préférences de l'auteur vont aux hautes époques. Nous admettons de même que ces époques ont été les plus riches en innovations techniques. Nous aurions cependant aimé être éclairés sur la construction des portes et des fenêtres au Nouvel Empire, sur l'édification d'un pylône et l'érection de ses mâts par exemple, l'incorporation d'éléments en pierre dans des bâtiments en brique crue ou sur l'organisation du chantier de la construction d'un temple à cette époque.

Ceci est bien peu de chose en regard de la richesse de l'ouvrage auquel nous souhaitons une destinée aussi longue que celui de ses prédécesseurs.<sup>8</sup>

JEAN JACQUET

<sup>7</sup> Jacquet, *Le Trésor de Thoutmosis Ier* I, par. 3.2.10.5.

<sup>8</sup> Deux errata ont été relevés en passant: p.16, n.55, lire *JARCE* 28 (1991); p.116, par.4, lire figs. 4.10-4.11.

*Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus.* By REGINE SCHULZ. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 33-34. 210 × 230 mm. Pp. xi + 815, pls. 147, figs. 111. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag, 1992. ISBN 3 8067 8125 7, 3 8067 8126 5. Price not stated.

A recent and most gratifying trend in Egyptian art history is the investigation of specific types of statuary (e.g. C. Chadeffaud's *Les statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte ancienne (1580-1085 avant J.C.)* (Paris, 1982), and G. D. Scott's 'The History and Development of the Ancient Egyptian Scribe Statue' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University 1989; University Microfilms International, no. 9011923)). The latest contribution to this genre, Regine Schulz's extensive examination of the block statue, successfully combines painstaking documentation and insightful analysis to clarify this familiar but imperfectly understood sculptural form. The two-volume study reflects Schulz's updating of her Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich in 1985.

Schulz seeks to: 1) provide a corpus of dated and datable examples; 2) demonstrate significant developmental patterns in the iconography of block statues, their provenance, the social position of their owners, the nature and content of their inscriptions, etc.; 3) place those trends within the context of changes in the social, political, and religious realms; and 4) explain the origin of the sculptural type and define its underlying meaning. She restricts her inquiry to block statues dating from their initial appearance, in the Twelfth Dynasty, to the end of the Twentieth, when the earlier efflorescence of new types and iconography had subsided into rote. Schulz rejects prescriptive terminology such as *Würfelhocker*, *statue-cube*, or block statue, in favor of *kuboid*.

After preliminary remarks on her goals and methodology, Schulz explains the terms she employs to classify elements of style and iconography (pp. 18-48). She includes line drawings to help her reader understand the specific names applied to types of hairstyle, costume, back pillar, etc., and assigns a numerical reference to each variation; for example, she designates a back pillar with a rounded top as 2.1.2. Schulz's catalogue (pp. 50-544) contains 336 entries. Twenty-one are published for the first time (nos. 46, 66, 73, 75, 160, 165, 172, 181, 187, 212, 214, 236, 255, 268, 271, 278, 288, 293, 308-9, and 336). Of these, three are dated by inscription to specific reigns: 46 (Thutmose IV), 73 (Thutmose III), and 160 (Merenptah); one is a Thutmoside piece found at el-Amarna (172). Each entry provides standard documentation, viz., current location and accession number, name(s) of the person(s) represented, material, provenance, height, date, and bibliography. Other categories of information are included, e.g. the statue's basic form, arm position, type of garment, hairstyle, jewellery, etc. For each inscribed sculpture she provides a classification of the texts (offering formula, prayer, etc.), the owner's titles, and the names of any kings, private individuals, gods, or locales mentioned in the inscription. The sculptures are arranged in alphabetical order by repository or find spot. Schulz publishes photographs and/or line drawings for 271 pieces. Her renderings accompany the individual catalogue entries; the photographs have been placed at the end of Volume 2, enabling the reader to move from text to image with a minimum of inconvenience.

Schulz dates the statues in her catalogue by inscription, archaeological context, and style. When she challenges earlier stylistic attributions (for 5, 78-9, 96, 147, 195, 197, 205, 225, 227, 233, 250-1, 274-5, 286, 292, 305, 312, 318, and 322), her arguments are, with few exceptions, convincing. The following are specific comments about individual catalogue entries:

25 (Boston MFA 88.748). For other attestations of this man, see now H. Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 50.

31 (Brooklyn 16.206). See B. M. Bryan, *CdE* 61 (1986), 5-29.

32 (Brooklyn 36.617). This piece was purchased in Alexandria. The dealer's claim that it came from Asyut is unsubstantiated.

35 (Brooklyn 39.602). Dewachter argues persuasively that Napoleon probably did not bring this sculpture back from Egypt: C. C. Gillispie and M. Dewachter (eds), *Monuments of Egypt. The Napoleonic Edition. The Complete Archaeological Plates from La Description de l'Égypte* (Princeton, 1987), 33. To Schulz's bibliography, add N. Reeves and J. H. Taylor, *Howard Carter Before Tutankhamun* (London, 1992), 18-19 (illus.).

37 (Brooklyn 66.174.1). For the suggestion that this statue was made under Tutankhamun, see E. F. Wente, *BES* 10 (1989/90), 171 n.6.

**48** (Chicago OIM 8636). B. M. Bryan places this man's career solely in the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II: *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, 1991), 267.

**69** (Florence 1790). See now the entry in A. P. Kozloff et al., *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland, 1992) 241–2 no. 37, and W. J. Murnane's comments in D. P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (SAOC 55; Chicago, 1994), 192–3.

**90** (Cairo CG 582). For this man, see B. G. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El Mashayikh*, I (Sydney, 1988), 10–19; for this statue, see nn. 33 and 36.

**125** (Cairo CG 1136). *Ibid.*, nn. 39 and 40.

**186** (Cairo, private collection). Add to the bibliography, Christie's, London, *Fine Antiquities*, (2 July 1982), lot 177.

**202** (Leiden L.X.3 (D 59)). Schulz criticizes W. Seipel for attributing this sculpture to Amenhotep IV in *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber, und die Kunst, 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube*, I (Linz, 1989), 289 no. 463. In fact, he assigned it to Amenhotep III. Nevertheless, Schulz's dating to Thutmose III–Amenhotep II is sound.

**244** (Manchester 5757/8). For the figure formerly in the Schimmel Collection, cited in her note 1, see now Sotheby's, New York, *Sale Catalogue* (16 December 1992), lot 82.

**250** (Moscow 5123). Schulz controverts Bothmer's designation of this piece as a forgery, in *BMA* 2–3 (1960–62), 27, opting to place it within the Middle Kingdom. Certainly the single published photograph does little to resolve the issue, since it greatly misrepresents both the wig's shape and the placement of the head. Photographs taken by Bothmer in 1960 show the figure wearing a smooth, round, shoulder-length wig unparalleled on any block statue, Middle Kingdom or otherwise. The shoulders are missing but enough of the back is preserved to indicate, based on the evidence of Bothmer's photographs, that the head's rear profile is not contiguous with the back of the body; rather, the head sits roughly in the centre of the 'block'. It appears to be '*nicht alt*'.

**255** (Newark 29.1806). Schulz postulates that the column lines on the front of this Middle Kingdom piece are contemporaneous with the statue's date of manufacture and that the present inscription was recarved over an original, expunged text. According to Dr Susan Auth of the Newark Museum, no trace of any alterations can be detected. The surviving text *and* columns would seem to date to the time of the statue's usurpation.

**262** (Parke-Bernet, New York, 28–29 January 1959, lot 123). Add Parke-Bernet, New York, *Sale Catalogue* (10 January 1953), lot 50.

**266** (Sotheby's, New York, 23 June 1989, lot 40). See now Sotheby's, New York, *Sale Catalogue* (25 June 1992), lot 27.

**270** (Paris, Louvre E 11275). The 'hieroglyphic' treatment of the eyes precludes a post-Amarna date; the sculpture most probably dates to the reign of Amenhotep III.

**295** (Pittsburgh, Carnegie Museum of Natural History 2940–2a). Schulz misunderstood the PM reference. The head found with this limestone block statue is CMNH 2940–3, a large granite piece of late Thutmoside date which, incidentally, did not belong to a block statue (*contra* Schulz, 251 n. 2).

Several other examples can be added to Schulz's corpus. Most were either published after her book appeared or belong to little-known American collections:

- (1) Granite statuette, late Twelfth Dynasty, h. 15 cm; Christie's, New York, *Sale Catalogue* (15 December 1993), lot 44.
- (2) Diorite statuette of Irewet, Thutmoside, h. 27.3 cm; Christie's, London, *Sale Catalogue* (6 July 1994), lot 105.
- (3) Ex Michaelides Collection (Cairo): limestone statuette of Meryre, late Eighteenth Dynasty, measurements not known; E. F. Wente, *BES* 10 (1989/90), 169–76.
- (4) Houston, Menil Collection 65–46DJ: granite statue of nobleman with small standing image of Ptah, in extremely bold relief, between the man's legs, Nineteenth Dynasty, h. 53.3 cm, w. 24.1 cm, d. 33.8 cm; *A Young Teaching Collection* (exhibition cat., University of St. Thomas, Houston, 7 November 1968–12 January 1969), 17 no. 5. This piece previously belonged to Moïse Levy de Benzon and was illustrated in the sale catalogue of his collection, *Grande vente aux enchères publiques* (Zamalek, 20 March 1947), 41 no. 28.

- (5) Ex Toledo Museum of Art: limestone statue of Pentewere, Twentieth Dynasty, h. 59.7 cm; Sotheby's, New York, *Sale Catalogue* (25 June 1992), lot 30.
- (6) Upper part of a red granite naophorous statue, Ramesside, h. 28 cm; Paris, Hôtel Drouot, *Catalogue de vente* (14 October 1971), lot 98.

Three other examples, known only from photographs, must be mentioned for the sake of completeness:

- (1) Black granite bust of a man, early Ramesside(?), h. 18.5 cm; from the single published photograph, it would appear that this head once belonged to a block statue; Paris, Alder Picard Tajan, *Catalogue de vente* (15 December 1986), lot 22 (illustrated on cover).
- (2) Complete statue of a man with a figure of Ptah between his legs, h. 35 cm. This piece had been published in three Christie's sale catalogues: London (23 March 1971), lot 151; Laren (18–22 October 1976), lot 317; and London (12 July 1977), lot 48. The earliest publication identifies it as made of sandstone and assigns it to the Late Period; the other two list its material as limestone and its date as late New Kingdom. The face resembles somewhat that of Paris, Louvre N 519 (Schulz's 292: 'NR, 20. Dyn.'), but the awkward treatment of the god's figure (visible in the 1971 catalogue) prevents any definite statement about the object's date. In 1979, this statue belonged to a Los Angeles art dealer; its present location is not known.
- (3) Upper part of a sandstone figure of a *sš-nsu*, h. 20.3 cm, date uncertain; J. M. Eisenberg, *Art of the Ancient World: A Guide for the Collector and Investor* (New York and Beverly Hills, 1985), 137 no. 411.

The second part of Schulz's book (pp. 547–683) contains her statistical analysis of 27 categories of information traced from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Dynasty. She presents ten chronological divisions and indicates the number of block statues in each: general Twelfth Dynasty (13 examples), early Twelfth Dynasty (19), mid-Twelfth Dynasty (5), late Twelfth Dynasty (19), Thutmose (through the reign of Thutmose IV, 85), late Eighteenth Dynasty (23), Nineteenth Dynasty (128), Twentieth Dynasty (24), general New Kingdom (19), and modern (1, her 30). Despite the obvious need to list the examples by their chronological groups, Schulz chose not to do so (see p. 547 n.1). To verify her statistical findings, the reader must compose an index, initially sorting by the dates Schulz gives for her catalogue entries. This process sometimes results in different numbers than Schulz assigns to individual categories. Thus, she counts 23 late Eighteenth Dynasty block statues to my 25, 128 examples from the Nineteenth Dynasty against 121, and 24 pieces of Twentieth Dynasty date, while I found only fourteen. To deal with these inconsistencies, the reader is obliged to read her statistical essay, noting those objects she dates to specific periods in her text that are only given general dates in the catalogue. For example, in her catalogue Schulz gives 250 a broad Twelfth Dynasty date (p. 422) but assigns it to the early Twelfth Dynasty in her essay (p. 617). By checking in this manner, the reader can occasionally add a few examples.

Yet this two-step procedure has its own difficulties. For example, nowhere does Schulz define early, mid-, and late Twelfth Dynasty. By cross-referencing dates provided in her essay, I have concluded that the three terms refer to the periods encompassing the reigns of Amenemhat I–Sesostris I, Amenemhat II–Sesostris II, and Sesostris III–Amenemhat III, respectively. I found that her first and third divisions contain nineteen examples, the number Schulz claims for each. Identification of her mid-Twelfth Dynasty group is more elusive. Schulz's catalogue and essay reveal seven, rather than five, examples from the time of Amenemhat II and Sesostris II (catalogue: 11, 12, 52, 68, 178, 215; essay: 78, dated on p. 570). By grouping, splitting, or discarding differently, other readers will certainly devise slightly larger or smaller tallies for each chronological division; how does one classify, for example, 39 (Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III)? The problem is not, of course, how this reviewer or any other reader treated Schulz's data; it is that the process had to be undertaken at all. Schulz would spare her readers much unnecessary labour and confusion while giving her arguments added authority by publishing a concordance arranged by date; she is strongly encouraged to do so.

Problems can also be detected in Schulz's application of her data. In her discussion of stones used for early Twelfth Dynasty block statues (p. 548), for example, Schulz observes that 42.9% of her pieces are of limestone, 28.7% of granodiorite, and 7.1% each of red granite, gneiss, basalt, and serpentinite. We must assume that 7.1% of Schulz's total of nineteen early Middle Kingdom

block statues represents one statue. However, 1/19 does *not* equal 7.1%; 1/14 does. Clearly then, either Schulz used all nineteen examples from the period and muddled her computations, or she reduced her sample by five. If she adopted the latter course, the reader must wonder what objects she eliminated and why. By calculating on the basis of the nineteen block statues Schulz calls 'frühe 12.Dyn.' or assigns to the period of Amenemhat I/Sesostris I (dated in the catalogue: **45, 51, 53, 77, 164, 173-4, 244, 251-2, 256, 299-301, 303, 305-6**; dated in the text: **250**, p. 617, and **302**, p. 659), I arrived at far different percentages: limestone (13 pieces = 68.4%), granodiorite (3 = 15.8%), gneiss (2 = 10.5%), and feldspar (1 = 5.3%). This inconsistency is hardly unique; others appear throughout this section of the book. Since my findings often differ so significantly from Schulz's, we are obviously basing our percentages on different samples. By not relating what objects she used to establish her statistics, Schulz asks her readers to accept too much on faith.

Such difficulties derogate but do not invalidate Schulz's discussions of general tendencies in block statue development. Even if one remains wary of her percentages, there is no gainsaying Schulz's definition of several significant trends. We learn, for example, that after the Middle Kingdom, block statues were made, almost exclusively, for placement in temples rather than tombs. Schulz cites only three Thutmocide examples undoubtedly from tombs and recognizes none of Ramesside date. Scott has observed a parallel, though earlier, shift in the location of scribe statues, which are known primarily from tomb contexts in the Old Kingdom and from temple precincts thereafter. Schulz also demonstrates that in the earlier Middle Kingdom, sculptors showed their subject either naked or covered by a garment giving a clear indication of the body's contours. By the late Twelfth Dynasty, artisans moved away from such older models in favour of a more purely cubic form. When Thutmocide craftsmen began fashioning block statues, they resurrected this late Middle Kingdom variety. Thus Schulz documents another example of Thutmocide archaism harking back to late Twelfth-early Thirteenth Dynasty paradigms.

In her final section (pp. 685-785) Schulz presents her interpretation of the origin and meaning of the block statue. She begins with a most useful discussion of previous research. Early work, by scholars such as Kees and Schäfer, stressed what Schulz calls the *formal-strukturelle Interpretation* which viewed the block statue as either a depiction of reality or an artistic abstraction expressing an underlying view of the universe. More recent studies, including those of H. W. Müller and Altenmüller, adopt a *religiös-funktionale* approach. This orientation attempts to link the block statue form to the object's role in Egyptian religion. Although Schulz differs with the specifics of much earlier *religiös-funktionale* analysis, she sees this approach as the key to understanding the block statue.

Toward this end, Schulz investigates the Egyptians' words for statuary. By relating these terms to their functions, Schulz concludes that the Egyptians identified statues by their roles rather than their appearance. Statuary had three basic purposes: 1) as cult images that served as the focal point of worship; 2) as statues that played an active role in the cult; and 3) as sculptures that derived benefit from cultic activities through the intercession of a royal/divine presence. The block statue type belongs to this third group.

Block statues have two signal features, the squatting attitude with the legs drawn toward the chest and the gesture of crossing the arms. Schulz would interpret both in terms of a cult-related function. In Old Kingdom statuary the squatting attitude is frequently associated with servant figures, implying that the posture conveys a sense of subservience. Similarly, when Old Kingdom reliefs depict men crossing their arms over their chests, the subjects are individuals of humble scale and office shown in relation to a large, powerful lord. Thus the block statue's two salient characteristics communicate deference. Within the context of cultic practice, the statue serves as a *passive* participant in rites and practices, receiving divine and royal blessings in this life and the hereafter.

Other elements of block statue design can also be explained by the *religiös-funktionale* approach. The heavy cloak or robe covering the body of most block statues, for example, relates to two associated elements of Middle Kingdom religion: the belief that for the spirit to survive throughout eternity, the body must be tightly wrapped, and the iconography of Osiris as expressed in the pose of Osiride statues. Cloaking represents the subject's implicit wish to experience rebirth, like Osiris, after death and to partake in the eternal cultic ceremonies performed in the

presence of the statue. Schulz also associates many of the objects held by block statues, such as the *ꜣḥ*, *ḏd*, *ttt*, lotus flower, and lettuce, with the hope for spiritual and physical rebirth.

Schulz attempts to explain many of the changes in block statue design in relation to shifts in the socio-religious realm. Middle Kingdom block statues were usually small works made for low-level priests. Although artisans of the Thutmoside Period perpetuated the general appearance of Middle Kingdom forms, they executed block statues on a grander scale. A large number were made for middle- and high-level officials and featured detailed biographical texts, suggesting that Thutmoside block statues served as 'status symbols' for the administrative élite. She recognizes a diffuse social disquietude in the late Eighteenth Dynasty that resulted in the introduction of iconographic elements, such as sistra and leopard skins, intended to proclaim explicitly the subject's office. Early Ramesside block statues display a much greater use of divine emblems and images than had been seen before. Schulz suggests that this development may be a reaction to the deliberate separation of the realism of god and humanity that characterized the Amarna Period. During the early Nineteenth Dynasty, block statues were produced for all levels of the Egyptian administration. In the Twentieth Dynasty, however, the situation changed dramatically. For the first time more block statues were made for high ranking priests than for officials. This reviewer wonders whether the new association with the priesthood may explain the general conservatism of later Ramesside block statues which was reflected, for example, in the reduction of arm positions and the almost total absence of jewellery.

Fundamental to her analysis is the assumption that events in the socio-religious realm exercised pervasive influence over artistic expression. One can certainly see how this process might have worked. The popularity of the block statue type among high ranking nobles of the Thutmoside Period, for example, may have resulted from Senenmut's penchant for the form—at least eight were made for him. Once he adopted it as part of his personal 'iconography', the block statue would have gained currency among the upper strata of Egyptian society. Yet this explanation may be more apparent than real. Our knowledge of patronage in Egyptian art is far too rudimentary to permit unqualified acceptance of Schulz's assumption without far more documentation and analysis than she could undertake in this book. Such investigation would have to test her assumption by examining the dynamics of change in iconography and patronage in other sculptural forms such as the scribe statue.

For a book of this size, there is a surprisingly small number of typographical and production errors. Of those that appear, some are benign (Bernhard for Bernard on p. viii, missing captions on p. 43; Spaneel for Spanel on p. 97), and some are moderately annoying (Kurz (1) for Kurz (2) on p. 154; listing Pittsburgh before Philadelphia in the catalogue on pp. 491–2). The majority of errors are associated with numerical references (thus: 'Kennziffern 254' on p. 570 must be **244**; 'Kennziffern 205' on p. 610 is incorrect (**205** is temp. Hatshepsut, not Ramesside); on p. 613, read 3.7% for 3.2%; the reference to 'Kennziffern 005' (p. 623) cannot be correct; the statue of *Tty* mentioned on p. 686 is **218**, not **212**; the caption for the Marseilles statue on pl. 105 should be **245**, not **243**; and for plate 146c–d on p. 780, read 147c–d). Schulz's photographs are, with the rarest of exceptions (viz., pls. 43b, 52c, 59c, and 136), of the highest quality.

The book suffers from two major omissions. Schulz's failure to provide a chronological concordance has already been noted. Equally frustrating is the lack of an adequate index of objects arranged by repository. The listing on pp. 793–6 gives the objects' catalogue numbers and selected references within the text, but it falls far short of what is required to trace her discussion of an individual statue across 785 pages of text.

Nevertheless, Schulz's catalogue is an invaluable reference source for historians of ancient Egyptian art, and her analysis of the origin and meaning of block statues will undoubtedly stimulate continued discussion of the inexorable link between Egyptian art and religion. The size and content of this book testify to the assiduousness of Schulz's research and her encyclopaedic command of the subject. It is, on balance, a most praiseworthy accomplishment.

*Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*. By ROLAND KOCH. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca XVII. 280 × 223 mm. Pp. 168. Brussels, Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1990. Price not stated.

Since the edition of the *Tale of Sinuhe* in Blackman's unfinished *Middle Egyptian Stories*, some fifteen new manuscripts have been published, including the very substantial copy on the Ashmolean Ostrakon. This new synoptic edition will be welcome to everyone, especially those who have had to battle with the unwieldy plates of Barns' *Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* in class.

The text is prefaced by a useful list of known manuscripts, although without any comments on date, provenance or present location. The list itself indicates that the edition is not complete, as it lacks a papyrus in Turin, with parallel to B 138–61 (CGT 54015). It is to be hoped that the Turin Museum will publish this as soon as possible—to withhold it from this excellent edition is a decision which every reader will regret. It is inevitable that other copies will be identified.<sup>1</sup>

In the text, Koch scrupulously notes errors in previous publications (it is particularly useful to comment on this when Blackman's work is such a standard edition). All but six of the texts have been checked in the hieratic, although it is not stated whether the collation was with publications or with the original manuscripts.

The hieroglyphic hand is regular, small, and neat. It is much easier on the eye than a computer-generated text such as that of Van der Plas' edition of the *Inundation Hymn*.<sup>2</sup> The line numbers are a little on the small side, but the result is very legible. Koch's lines are laid out in separate phrases, following attested verse points wherever possible.<sup>3</sup>

The textual notes are rather spartan.<sup>4</sup> There are no facsimiles where the transcription is disputable, and this is perhaps regrettable; they would have been useful, for example, in 20a.8a, 10a and 53a.13a. In the latter case (B 147) it is difficult to judge from the published photographs between reading *hr-jrt-ntr* or *hr-jr.n-ntr*, and a facsimile collated with the original would have been very welcome here. Similarly, no mention is made of clear but illegible traces: a facsimile of the broken passage of R 190–93 (p. 56), for which there is no parallel text, would have helped an attempt at a reconstruction. The photographs show, for example, clear traces after *sh* in R 190, and after [*tn(?)*] in R 191.

Some of the notes (although useful) might perhaps have sat better in a commentary,<sup>5</sup> and some of the emendations are too uncertain to be included in an edition without qualification. For example, W. V. Davies's suggestion that *wj* in B 2 should be read as 'conspiracy' (11a.11a) is very doubtful: one can argue that there is no reason to detect any mention of a conspiracy in this passage. I. Shirun-Grumach has proposed that it is no conspirator who sends to the royal children in this passage, but the new king himself (the 'one' of Aq 81).<sup>6</sup> On this reading, the message is presumably simply to inform them of their father's death, which was previously kept secret (R 22).<sup>7</sup>

These reservations are all minor. Koch has produced an excellent synoptic edition, and has done so within the limitations of a *Magisterarbeit* (*Vorwort*). The importance of convenient synoptic editions should not be undervalued: the aim of all textual studies is, after all, to make the text easier to read. Modern readers of *Sinuhe* are greatly indebted to Roland Koch, as is its ancient anonymous author.

R. B. PARKINSON

<sup>1</sup> One copy which can be added is Ostrakon BM 5632 (= B 77–87), to be published by R. Demarée.

<sup>2</sup> *L'hymne à la crue du Nil* (2 vols., Leiden, 1986).

<sup>3</sup> However, the division between ll. 14–15 on p. 79 seems unlikely to me. In the difficult description of the duel between Sinuhe and the hero of Retenu, Koch provides a useful note (51a.3a) justifying the division of clauses, on the basis of AOS 52's verse points.

<sup>4</sup> Two errors should be noted: hieroglyphic signs are missing in 18a.7a and 76a.6a.

<sup>5</sup> For example, 31a.1a, which emends B and R's *Shmt rmt-jdw* to *Shmt < m > rmt-jdw* (after AOS); I doubt whether that emendation is necessary—the phrase could be adverbial, as Gardiner assumed in 1916 (*Notes*, 32). Other examples are 35a.1b on reading *ybt* as 'Familie, Sippe'; 46a.10a on the meaning of *hwtf*; 50a.13a on the construction *hr* + 'ausgelassener Infinitiv'; 78a.1a on *cb*, 'Speer'.

<sup>6</sup> Davies, 'Readings in the Story of Sinuhe and Other Egyptian Texts', *JEA* 61 (1975), 45–53; Shirun-Grumach, 'Sinuhe R 24—Wer Rief?', in F. Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf* (Göttingen, 1984), 621–9.

<sup>7</sup> Another possibly unnecessary emendation is that of 58a.4a.

*The South Cemeteries of Lisht. II. The Control Notes and Team Marks.* By FELIX ARNOLD in collaboration with DIETER ARNOLD, I. E. S. EDWARDS and JURGEN OSING, using notes by WILLIAM C. HAYES. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition vol. XXIII. Pp. 188, pls. 14. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990. ISBN 0 87099 551 0. Price \$75)

The Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, collected and recorded a great number of ancient builders' notes on building stones during excavations at various archaeological sites in Egypt. About two hundred notes were recorded at the pyramids of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I at Lisht, from 1906 to 1934, and at the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahari, from 1920 to 1931. During excavations at the temple of Mentuhotep from 1966 to 1971, on behalf of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, and, between 1984 and 1988, at the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht, on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, about two hundred additional inscriptions were recorded. A number of similar notes from sites other than Lisht and Deir el-Bahari have been included, even though they were published earlier by other scholars. These include the marks and inscriptions discovered by Jacques de Morgan at the pyramids of Amenemhat II and Amenemhat III at Dahshur, by Guy Brunton at the pyramid of Senwosret II at Illahun, by Dieter Arnold at the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur, by W. M. Flinders Petrie inside the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara, and by Gustav Jéquier at the pyramid of Khendjer and at the unidentified pyramid nearby at South Saqqara.

Besides the introductory matter, and 14 plates, the book under review comprises two principal sections. Part I, 'Interpretation', includes six chapters dealing with 'The Control System', 'The Workmen', 'The Dates', 'The Control Notes from the Temple of King Mentuhotep II', 'The Setting Marks from Lisht' and 'Palaeography'. Part II, 'Documentation', comprises the catalogue of builders' marks and inscriptions from the archaeological monuments already mentioned. It is surprising that the catalogue of builders' marks and inscriptions follows the conclusions drawn from these very specific documents. One would have expected rather the two essential parts of the publication to have been presented in reverse order.

Each entry in the catalogue (Part II) includes, besides basic data about the source, provenance and stone, the facsimile and the translation of the relevant builders' mark or inscription. A very limited number of photos accompanying the catalogue are easy to understand. The situations in which the builders' marks and inscriptions mostly occur in the extant monuments often make it impossible to obtain a photograph of the quality needed, or, indeed, any photograph at all. Though the quality of the facsimiles is excellent, some superimpositions of marks or inscriptions are not quite clear, leaving their chronological relationship uncertain (e.g. N 80.2-N 80.3, C 11.1-C 11.2, etc.). There are some small formal discrepancies between the facsimiles and their interpretations. For instance, wide vertical or horizontal lines are sometimes published and sometimes only mentioned in the text. Their position on the face of the block, and their relationship to other builders' notes thus remain unclear. Among the minor discrepancies there are also some omissions, e.g. NW 31d, 'Team mark, P1 + Aa 20 in red' is absent from the relevant facsimile.

As already mentioned above, Part I contains conclusions drawn from the builders' marks and inscriptions, with special attention paid to the control system, the workmen and the dates.



The author shows that most control notes were written in the standard format: date of transportation; workmen in charge of the block; stage reached in transportation. He further assumes that the notes were recorded by scribes for the purposes of account keeping. The analysis of the control notes enables him to establish five principal stages in the route of the stone from the quarry to the building site: quarrying; removal; shipping; landing and unloading; storage. The operation most frequently recorded represented the removal of the stones from the quarry. Notes about the shipping, however, are very rare.

In chapter 2, dealing with the workmen, the author propounds a theory suggested earlier by W. C. Hayes, that the workers mentioned in the control notes did not belong to a temple or private landowner, but instead worked under a contract. As shown by the control notes, the Old Kingdom system of organizing the workmen had changed by the Middle Kingdom. Phyles and their



subdivisions as well as *gs*-gangs were replaced by *tst*-teams composed of ten men. The teams were identified by special marks, written sometimes by means of hieroglyphic signs, sometimes by means of geometric symbols. According to F. Arnold, the team-marks were possibly written on the stones by the illiterate workmen of the *tst*-teams, in contrast to the control notes made during the transportation by the scribes. The workmen were most commonly identified by names of the localities from which they had been recruited. Fig. 1 on p. 24 shows that the workmen for the building project at Lisht were recruited not only from the neighbourhood of the building site, but also from more distant nomes of both Lower and Upper Egypt.

The analysis of the dates recorded in the builders' notes of the Middle Kingdom (Part I, chapter 3) shows that the work was done throughout the year and that there was a peak of building activity in summer (corresponding, taking into account the shift of the ancient Egyptian calendar, to the actual season of inundation).

The conclusions described in chapters 1–3 of Part I are very interesting and important, and certainly shed new light on various technical, economic and social aspects of the realization of large Middle Kingdom building projects. On the other hand, the author has left some problems and questions, raised by the Middle Kingdom builders' marks and inscriptions, unresolved and unanswered. For instance, the obvious imbalance in the frequency of control notes pertaining to the five principal stages of the blocks' route from the quarry to the building site would be worthy of more detailed comment. Why are the control notes on the removal more common than those about the shipping or even the storage of the blocks? The numerous and varied team-marks also deserve a deeper analysis. Was there a difference in meaning between painted and chiselled marks? A geometric symbol  can serve as an example. In all cases quoted by the author, the symbol was chiselled, not painted (see Z. c. on p. 29). This symbol occurs also on Abusir monuments dating from the Old Kingdom, sometimes even chiselled over Fifth Dynasty reliefs; e.g. L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'aḥu-Res* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 18. It often occurs on pillars still in position in the courtyard of the mastaba of Ptahshepses. The archaeological context seems to indicate that in both the mastaba and the other places at Abusir, the symbol  pertained to the destruction rather than the construction of the monuments.

Part I, chapter 6 includes a palaeography of the control notes and painted team-marks from the reign of Senwosret I. The palaeographic plates have been carefully put together and offer an invaluable corpus of comparative material for the study of the cursive writing used by early Middle Kingdom scribes on stones during the completion of large building projects. Some minor errors of a formal or technical character occur in the plates. For instance, the sign *šps* (from the inscription E 4) was placed by mistake in the category of ligatures and interpreted as *hst*. However, in some places in the palaeographic plates, questions arise which deserve a longer discussion. For example, the plates include, in my opinion by mistake, some signs which are not hieroglyphs but geometric symbols, or drawings, and which should not be included under palaeography. The combination of a triangle and a rectangle (according to the author, probably a stylized representation of a pyramid with its mortuary temple; cf. O 24 + O 6 on p. 28), has been added to the hieroglyphic sign of a pyramid (O 24 in Gardiner's Sign-list).

The minor errors mentioned above certainly do not decrease the value of the work done by F. Arnold and his collaborators. Builders' marks and inscriptions represent a great challenge for an Egyptologist, in view of the usually complicated circumstances of their occurrence and the difficulties connected with their copying and photographing. This publication presents a carefully arranged collection of historically unique, yet apparently modest documents. Generally, the facsimiles of the marks and inscriptions are excellent, as are the translations and interpretations. This publication by a young and talented Egyptologist of Middle Kingdom builders' notes deserves our respect and congratulations.

MIROSLAV VERNER

*Middle Kingdom Studies*. Edited by STEPHEN QUIRKE. 215 × 150 mm. Pp. 152, figs. 8, pls. 2 (distributed with individual papers). New Malden, SIA Publishing, 1991. ISBN 1 872561 02 0. Price not stated.

This book is presented as a tribute to Janine Bourriau who organised a colloquium on Middle Kingdom studies, 'The Residence and the Regions in the Middle Kingdom', at Cambridge in April 1988, in conjunction with an exhibition, 'Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom', held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, from 19 April to 26 June 1988. These events were something of a milestone in Middle Kingdom studies in this country, and this book is rightly presented as a tribute to the organiser. Of the eight papers published here, five were given at the colloquium, two of the additional three concern language and literature, subjects not included in the colloquium, and the third is a contribution by Janine Bourriau herself, based on a lecture given at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, in October 1990.

Excavations and research in recent years have caused a change in ideas about Middle Kingdom society and have instigated a chronological revision regarding certain problems. These are taken into account by Janine Bourriau in her paper, 'Patterns of change in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom'. As recent research has concentrated on the Memphis/Fayum region and Middle Egypt from the beginning of the Twelfth to the early Thirteenth Dynasty, the author has confined her discussion to these areas and this period. The interpretation and dating of material remains are vital to the understanding of a society, and incorrect assessments can produce misleading conclusions. In particular, the author cites the Coffin Texts which, in earlier literature, were considered to be a phenomenon of the First Intermediate Period and a usurpation of the king's privileges. A redating to the Middle Kingdom is accepted by the author, together with the concept that their occurrence merely showed a desire for identity with Osiris. Willems, *Chests of Life* (Leiden, 1988) is cited for the redating, but some caution should be exercised as he shows (pp. 245–7) that while the majority of coffins on which these texts occur are of Middle Kingdom date, there are instances which predate the Middle Kingdom, and the concept therefore originated in the earlier period.

The material culture of the Middle Kingdom is now seen regionally in terms of the Delta, Memphis/Fayum area, Middle Egypt, Upper Egypt, and Aswan, and it is recognised that in the early Middle Kingdom regional differences were pronounced. Evidence for this is most clearly demonstrated by the study of coffins. The evidence provided by pottery is more complex, in that containers were transported over a wide area, and local traditions are less easy to detect. Once the city of *ḫt-tꜣwꜣ* was founded, the concentration of burials of officials created the impetus for changes in funerary material and styles, such as designs on coffins and specific types of pottery which can be identified as originating at the capital. With a general increase in wealth, resources shifted towards the Residence. (Unfortunate wording by the author on p. 8 suggests that certain provincial centres 'ceased to exist' by the reign of Amenemhet III, presumably meaning that large rock-cut tombs and individual local styles had died out. None of these sites ceased to exist.) At the same time, regional differences in artefacts became less pronounced, and there was a movement of people away from the old cemeteries. But the pattern was not evenly dispersed; some regions retained their individuality for longer than others. The cultural homogeneity of the late Middle Kingdom contrasts with regional differences in the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom, the result of gradual changes from the end of the reign of Senwosret I through to the abandonment of the Residence in the Thirteenth Dynasty. Local styles in coffins gradually died out while the newer designs were not confined to one locality, and there were new pottery styles, perhaps not initially as widespread as those of coffins. Funerary equipment changed; tomb models were phased out and replaced by ritual objects. A new type of statuary developed into shabti figurines, the earliest attested at Lisht. Ritual objects such as wands and rods appear when there is a decline of interior decoration on coffins, indicating a change in private funerary ritual. The change in the social pattern is most clearly reflected at Abydos where, throughout the Twelfth Dynasty, it had become increasingly important to erect a monument. The earlier autobiographical texts were replaced by funerary ones, and there was also a change in the personnel commemorated; minor officials had acquired the means to erect stelae. With the removal of the Residence to Thebes, there is no material evidence to show further cultural

change. The paper ends with a list of selected tombs and their contents, dated by recent work on pottery. This overall perspective provides an excellent background for the following papers.

James Hoffmeier's paper, 'The Coffins of the Middle Kingdom: The Residence and the Regions', starts with a summary of the development of coffins and their decoration. The author places the initial occurrence of Pyramid and Coffin Texts in the First Intermediate Period, and here differs from Janine Bourriau as far as Coffin Texts are concerned. Willems (op. cit. pp. 247–9) differentiates between the occurrence of Pyramid and Coffin Texts on coffins. The earliest known evidence for Coffin Texts occurs in the south, but there seems to be no evidence for the combined occurrence of both Coffin Texts and Pyramid Texts on coffins until after reunification. This is a thorny problem, considering the mass of available material and the dearth of positively dated coffins. But Willems' comments on the differentiation of Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts are noteworthy.

The main theme of the paper is taken from Mace and Winlock's publication of the coffins of Senebtisi in *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916), where they define regional types as Heracleopolitan and Upper Egyptian, and the Residence type as the Court style. The coffins of Senebtisi with their plain decoration and arched lids were considered as typical of the Court style. The author recognises that the so-called Heracleopolitan coffins with their palace façade decoration are mainly of the Twelfth Dynasty. The dating of the Court style has undergone some revision since the original publication. These revisions are discussed, from the original dating by Mace and Winlock to the early Twelfth Dynasty to a dating in the Thirteenth by Bruce Williams (*Serapis* 3 (1975–1976), 41–55), and the most recent revision based on work by Dorothea Arnold and Janine Bourriau, as yet unpublished, to the Twelfth Dynasty. The development of arched lids from the Archaic Period through the Old Kingdom is traced. There is no direct evidence from the Heracleopolitan/First Intermediate Period, but Twelfth Dynasty examples exist, and the author suggests that there may have been a gap in their use but that the Twelfth Dynasty, as opposed to Williams' argument for the Thirteenth, saw their reintroduction. The idea that this may have occurred after the removal of the capital to *Ht-t:wwj* is suggested. The religious significance of coffin lids and their connection with Nut is examined.

The paper concludes with a series of questions. One concerns the Court style of the Twelfth Dynasty. It seems to the reviewer that the continued use of Mace and Winlock's terminology is misleading. The coffins of Senebtisi may date to the Twelfth Dynasty, and the arched lids are no criterion against that date, but there is no evidence to show that they were typical of Twelfth Dynasty Residence cemeteries. The point made in Janine Bourriau's paper, that regional differences no longer existed in the latter half of the Twelfth Dynasty, is not approached here. The author considers the use of the terms 'coffin' and 'sarcophagus', usually understood respectively in terms of the material, wood and stone. He suggests the term 'outer coffin' for wooden ones should be replaced by 'sarcophagus'. The reviewer would argue against this. Often there are two coffins, sometimes three. If these are together in one collection, relative size alone would establish inner/outer or inner/middle/outer. But too often they are distributed in different collections, where relative size cannot be determined. Therefore, I would argue for the present terminology to be maintained. This paper is accompanied by line-drawings and plates. The captions with the plates give School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, Liverpool, and a number, but this is misleading. The reader has to turn to the textual notes to understand that the numbers are photograph, not museum, numbers.

The above papers are concerned mainly with material culture, while the following two, Detlef Franke's 'The Career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the So-called Decline of the Nomarchs', and Stephen Quirke's 'Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty' have a political emphasis. Franke's paper is in two sections. In the first he discusses the decline of the Nomarchs (*hrj-tp* Ⓝ). A gradual change in the administrative system is most clearly seen in Middle Egypt, where powerful nomarchs held sway. Under the first two kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, members of important families were appointed in specific localities as *h3tj-c*, *jmj-r hmw-ntr*, and *hrj-tp* Ⓝ of the nome. By this means, these families remained in office but the appointments ensured that they were gradually assimilated into the new regime. There is no evidence of the title *hrj-tp* Ⓝ of the nome after the reign of Senwosret III, while large rock-cut tombs were not built after the reign of Amenemhet III. Although the author suggests there is a distinction between the

disappearance of the title of nomarch and the ability to carve great rock-tombs as differences between changes in government and access to wealth, the reviewer here would argue that in the period under consideration, that of a strong central government, the two are definitely related. Not only titles, but personal wealth and access to the skills required to excavate and decorate a large rock-cut tomb were dependent on the king. Integration of powerful families within the administrative system is discussed in the second section, which concerns the case of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan. The author has identified the owner of a mastaba at Dahshur with the son of Khnumhotep II of Beni Hasan. He was educated at the king's court and, as a member of a powerful family from an important centre, was incorporated into the national administrative system. Although no other direct evidence can be cited, this particular case was probably one instance of a general pattern which ensured that powerful families became part of, rather than opposed to, the Twelfth Dynasty administrative system. The author cites the above as a 'risky hypothesis', but this reviewer thinks that the case is strong and the most probable answer to the apparent 'decline of the nomarchs'. The end result of this system was the concentration of power and wealth in the Memphite area and religious centres. This picture is in accordance with evidence from the provinces, where there was a decline in the quantity of monuments. This paper is accompanied by line-drawings.

Stephen Quirke's paper discusses the problems of the Thirteenth Dynasty. While the material culture and system of administration of the late Twelfth Dynasty and early Thirteenth show few differences, the pattern of succession, demonstrated by long reigns for the former and many rulers with short reigns for the latter, shows a clear difference between the dynasties. The author sets out to test Hayes' theory that the viziers of the Thirteenth Dynasty who held office for lengthy periods inherited that office and were kingmakers. There follows a discussion of the definition of power and what constitutes history. The author's view is that topography and chronology rather than politics are the backbone of history. The Egyptian sources are considered at length with the conclusion that there was an unbroken line of kings through the Twelfth, Thirteenth (*Ḫt-t:wy*), Seventeenth (Thebes), and Eighteenth Dynasties. There was a reduced area of power from the latter part of the Thirteenth Dynasty to the Seventeenth, when the Delta was under the control of the kinglets (Fourteenth Dynasty) and the Hyksos (Fifteenth-Sixteenth Dynasties). The move from *Ḫt-t:wy* to Thebes may have been instigated by a military threat; the author points to evidence from funerary literature which shows a contraction in the number of spells used compared with an earlier period in the Middle Kingdom, and relates this to a hurried move in which the archives were not moved complete. Recent archaeological work at Avaris, where the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian settlement is followed by a mixed settlement and then a purely Semitic one before the abandonment at early Eighteenth Dynasty levels, and also at Memphis, where the Middle Kingdom settlement is followed by that of the Eighteenth Dynasty, corroborates the above interpretation of events.

The problem of succession in the Thirteenth Dynasty is discussed. Unlike the family-oriented Twelfth Dynasty, during the Thirteenth father-son succession is attested only once, while kings whose fathers were commoners occur with the brother kings Neferhotep, Sihathor, and Sebekhotep. The question of dominance by the military and the viziers is examined. The author concludes that there is no real evidence for either, but that the countrywide power of the king had declined. While administrative and juridical documents continue to use regnal years for dating, from the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, non-royal monuments seldom refer to the king or residence, and there is no evidence from mining and quarrying sites. The rise of the kinglets of the Eastern Delta (Fourteenth Dynasty) attests to this loss of power. The author concludes that there was no concept of royal blood in ancient Egypt. The theory of divine birth, and the accoutrements of office legitimised the ruler. The family connections of the Twelfth Dynasty are perhaps the exception, while the succession during the Thirteenth is the more normal. The emphasis on the office rather than the person of the king ensured the continuation of the kingship. This system worked, but in the face of threat, only a strong central figure had the authority to avert disaster. The reviewer would add that this fact is evident throughout Egyptian history. The advent of a strong ruler followed by a period of family-oriented rule ensured stability and high points in that history. The author has put forward a convincing argument that continuation was ensured during the intermediate periods by the system of kingship.

The remaining papers deal with more specialised aspects of Middle Kingdom culture. Pascal Vernus' 'Sur les graphies de la formule "l'offrande que donne le roi" au Moyen Empire et à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire' discusses the change in the writing of the *hṯp dj nṯswt* formula from  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$  (Type I) to  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$  (Type II) in horizontal inscriptions. Initial work on this problem was done by Smither (*JEA* 25 (1939), 34–7) who recognised it as a dating criterion, but Pascal Vernus has taken the problem further and assessed the implications. He sees the two different methods of writing as representing two different levels of culture. Type I is that written on official monuments in the Middle Kingdom, while Type II is the more elementary writing which does occur in Twelfth Dynasty graffiti but only replaces Type I on official monuments when royal centres with workshops were under the control of the Hyksos. Type I is the most usual writing on private monuments during the reign of Sebekhotep IV and Neferhotep I, but occurs only sporadically on monuments which post-date these reigns. The earliest datable example of Type II occurs on a stela which may have been erected during the reign of Merneferre Iy or Sebekhotep VI. The period of transition to Type II can be assessed as generally at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The author concludes that the substitution of Type II for Type I is evidence for the deterioration of relations with traditional cultural centres, and occurs perhaps a generation after the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sebekhotep IV, probably during the reigns of Dedumes or Sebekhotep VI. In chronological terms, the occurrence of Type II on monuments distinguishes the Middle Kingdom from the Second Intermediate Period. But the term 'Second Intermediate Period' does not conform with dynastic divisions and the occurrence of Type II on monuments prior to the Seventeenth Dynasty leaves open the question of what we term the Second Intermediate Period. This is a challenging interpretation of the evidence, and one that will provoke a fresh look into the period.

The Middle Kingdom stelae in the collection of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro are the subject of Kenneth Kitchen's paper, 'Non-Egyptians on Middle Kingdom Stelae in Rio de Janeiro', where the occurrence of Asiatic names shows the continuation of movement between Egypt and countries to the north. Of some interest is the occurrence of *Twtj*, an Egyptianised form of David. Importation of skills from Asia, which were then developed in Egypt, is shown by the title *ḥrj jr w ḥrr*... 'Chief maker of corded bedspreads'. The word for cord, *ḥrr*, is derived from the Semitic, as known from evidence in the Mari archives. This paper is accompanied by line-drawings.

In Richard Parkinson's paper, 'Teachings, Discourses, and Tales from the Middle Kingdom', the author presents a revised version of the Middle Kingdom sections of Posener's catalogue in 'Les richesses inconnues de la littérature égyptienne': *RdE* 6 (1951), 27–48; *RdE* (1952), 117–20. The importance of Posener's work is emphasised by the author, but in the forty or so years since its publication, ideas of what constitutes literature have undergone some changes, and Posener's catalogue excluded works which may now be considered as literary. The new catalogue is preceded by preliminary remarks on selection and dating. Wisdom texts and tales constitute the two groups in Posener's catalogue. The genres are defined, the tales being non-commemorative narratives while the wisdom texts incorporate various genres. Aspects of Egyptian literary tradition are discussed: a personal mode of address, the variety of materials used for transmission, the occurrence of colophons and titles. The corpus shares these traditions with types of texts not included, but its coherence as a corpus may be due to the fictional settings. Wisdom texts and tales are differentiated in terms of an apparent authorial identity for the former, but that identity is probably fictional. As regards dating, the author suggests that the setting is in the past or timeless, and is critical of a literal interpretation. The paucity of reliably dated texts makes stylistic comparisons difficult, but the approach by Fecht, with his research into metre, is producing results which are generally accepted. The paper concludes with a catalogue by the author arranged under the following headings: teachings, discourses, words, dialogues, tales, ordered by genre rather than chronologically. Posener's numbers are given in parentheses. The following works not included by Posener are: (i) the Oxford wisdom text; (ii) the tale of P. Lythgoe; (iii) the Account of the Sporting King; (iv) the mythological narrative; (v) the Hymn to Hapy; (vi) the stela of Mentuhotep son of Hapy. This reappraisal of Posener's work will do much to forward our understanding of Egyptian literature.

Mark Collier's paper, 'Circumstantially Adverbial? The Circumstantial *sdm.f/sdm.n.f* reconsidered', is for the specialist in language. The author presents a case for understanding these forms as unconverted verbal forms, as opposed to Polotsky's work, where they are analysed as adverbial forms of the verb. He argues that the verbal analysis takes account of the syntactic distribution in seven environments in which these forms have been identified. The sentence with adverbial predicate best illustrates the author's claim that the bare circumstantial *sdm.f/sdm.n.f* is an unconverted form. The clause forms of this pattern are classified. Adverbiality is not treated as a super-category including non-nominal verbal expressions, but as a sub-category shared by unconverted verbs and prepositions, so that these verbal expressions need not be converted or transposed into adverbial forms. Patterns with initial particles, auxiliaries, and converters are discussed, and the author concludes that although the circumstantial *sdm.f/sdm.n.f* can function subordinately, as unconverted verb forms they are not specialised to exhibit subordinate behaviour. An examination of each of the seven environments in which the circumstantial *sdm.f/sdm.n.f* has been identified follows: after initial particles; after converters; 'virtual' relative clauses; after auxiliaries; adjunct/focus position; co-ordination; control. It was the last of these, sentences incorporating the verbs *gmj* and *mꜣꜣ*, which Polotsky used to identify the circumstantial *sdm.f/sdm.n.f*. While in this particular environment, these forms occur in direct substitutional relationship with prepositional phrases and pseudo-verbal predicates, sentences controlled by *gmj* and *mꜣꜣ* are restricted in their range and should not be used as a base from which to illustrate an adverbial analysis of the circumstantial *sdm.f/sdm.n.f*. The author has presented a case for a particular understanding of the syntactic distribution of the circumstantial *sdm.f/sdm.n.f* which will provide grammarians with a forum for discussion.

The value of a collection of papers devoted to one particular aspect of Egyptology is that differing opinions are collected together in one volume. This book has brought together papers, some very challenging, on different aspects of material culture and society, which are of some significance towards our understanding of the Middle Kingdom. Changes in that period were profound, and the later Middle Kingdom shows a society very different from the earlier. Most evidence presented in this book is concentrated on the latter half of the Middle Kingdom, a reflection of contemporary research. For future reference, there are many problems to be solved regarding the early Middle Kingdom.

Finally, a few words about the production of the book as a whole. The exorbitant costs of publishing today have encouraged the use of less expensive methods such as camera-ready typescripts, but without due care typing errors are reproduced in the published volume. There are a number of such errors in this book. I shall only comment on one instance where a word/phrase/sentence is missing at the top of p. 73: '... vaulted sarcophagi date back to the Williams argues...'. There are only two plates in the book, but these are of very poor quality and hardly illustrate the points made by the author.

However, regarding content, I would recommend this book as essential reading for all who are interested in the Middle Kingdom.

DIANA MAGEE

*Das Grab des Ineni. Theben Nr. 81.* By EBERHARD DZIOBEK. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 68. 355 × 255 mm. Pp. 149 including figs. 53, pls. 71. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1992. ISBN 3 8053 0975 9. Price DM 280.

The tomb of Ineni is probably most famous for the so-called biography of Ineni that was inscribed on a stela on the south wall of the transverse hall. The events described in the long text, beginning in the reign of Amenhotep I and ending in that of Thutmose III, include the well-known and important accounts of Ineni's role in the construction of Thutmose I's tomb, and the accession of Thutmose III with Hatshepsut ruling on his behalf. Already badly damaged at the time of its discovery (pl. 34.c), this text is now almost totally destroyed, and the author of the

present publication has to rely on the version published by Sethe in *Urkunden IV*; this was based on a copy made by Bouriant when he visited the tomb in 1892 not long after it had been uncovered by Boussac. By 1905, much more of the stela had disappeared, and the sorry state of the text today can be seen in pl. 42.

The present volume is divided into three major parts: the history of the tomb up to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, its history since the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the significance of the tomb and its owner. The first part covers the construction, decoration and use of the tomb. The author argues that there were two construction phases, and that Ineni took an unfinished Eleventh Dynasty tomb and adapted it for his own use. The major part of this section, however, is devoted to the decoration of the tomb chapel. The wall decoration is divided into twenty-two scenes. Each scene is described, and the relevant hieroglyphic texts transcribed, transliterated, and translated. The decoration and texts of the ceilings are similarly treated. Frequent ground plans of the tomb marking the positions of the scenes on the walls help keep the reader oriented. Schematic plans of each wall and ceiling (pls. 48–59) allow the reader to see at a glance the layout and subject matter of the decoration. Each scene is illustrated in a colour photograph, and scenes 1, 4, 5, 6, 13, 18, and 21 are also reproduced in line drawings. However, these drawings fail to include the traces of the squared grids that are a feature of a number of the scenes.

These grids are discussed briefly in a separate section on pp. 24–6, but the discussion and the accompanying figure 8 are hard to follow. Part of the problem is that nowhere are the grids clearly illustrated so that readers can see them for themselves; the lines do not stand out clearly on the colour photographs, and many of the surviving traces fail to appear on the plates. Because surviving grids are so important for helping us understand how ancient Egyptian artists worked, it is to be regretted that drawings showing all the grid traces visible today were not produced. It is plain that the square sizes of the grids vary according to the scale of the different figures drawn on them. Nevertheless, one cannot help wondering whether some of the figures that are said to comprise an unusual number of squares, for example twenty-six and twenty-one (p. 25), may in fact have been drawn freehand on grids appropriate to smaller scale figures that comprised the usual number of squares. There is, however, no way of decisively checking this hypothesis.

Part II of the book gives a brief account of the modern exploration of the tomb from Champollion's visit around 1827 to the work of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in the winter of 1981–2. This is followed by an account of the various types of destruction suffered by the tomb at the hands of nature and man—earthquakes, water, tomb robbers, nineteenth-century European visitors, and over 50 graffiti, many modern. The section ends with a description of the clearance of the inner rooms and the forecourt of the tomb, and the pottery and small finds that were recovered.

Most of Part III is devoted to listing and discussing the titles, offices and duties of Ineni, and looking at other officials in the Eighteenth Dynasty who held similar titles. The section ends with a list of the members of Ineni's family. Sadly, despite the number of relations included in the decoration of the tomb chapel, there are no children, suggesting that Ineni and his wife were childless.

In conclusion, apart from the disappointing treatment of the artists' grids, this publication provides an impressive and welcome account of an important Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tomb and its owner.

GAY ROBINS

*Das Grab des Sobekhotep. Theben Nr. 63.* By EBERHARD DZIOBEK and MAHMUD ABDEL RAZIQ. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 71. 255 × 355 mm. Pp. 93, colour pls. 18, black and white pls. 32. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1990. ISBN 3 8053 0974 0. Price not stated.

Theban tombs have over the years been subject to perhaps more illegal removal of sections of their wall decoration than any other group of Egyptian monuments. As the ground is mainly of

plaster on an often unstable base of rock or mud, the removal of sections creates most unsightly gaps in the walls, and also causes serious damage to those scenes which are not the target of the robber. The tomb of Sebekhotep at the north end of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna has suffered more than most. Many readers of this journal will have seen fragments of this tomb in the British Museum showing Nubians and Syrians bringing tribute (pl. 3). However, there have been more recent violations, since the tomb contained more decoration when photographed by Burton for the Metropolitan Museum in the 1930s. I cannot forget finding Dziobek in something of a state of shock in Chicago House after discovering these photographs. It also appears that TT63 was one of a few tombs which suffered some damage between 1978 and 1985 (p. 74), graphically illustrated by the robbers' ladder and knife visible in pl. 30d.

Sebekhotep was the overseer of seal-bearers in the reign of Thutmose IV, and thus one of the most important group of Theban officials of this short reign. It is, however, clear that before obtaining that post, he had been mayor of the Fayum; when he achieved his most important office he was following in the footsteps of his father Min, who had held that position in the time of Thutmose III. This information is culled from a fascinating prosopographical excursus on the tomb owner by Betsy Bryan (pp. 81–8).

This book consists of sections on the technical aspects of the tomb, the decoration, and the later history of the monument. There are two excursuses; the second deals with visitors' graffiti, primarily two of the time of Amenhotep III/IV (Günter Burkard).

TT63, when complete, must have been a remarkably beautiful tomb with delightful scenes, which doubtless also caught the eye of the robbers. The present very damaged state of the monument has one small recompense, in that the varying stages of the preparation of the wall surface for decoration are clearly visible, as are a number of architectural marks. Both these subjects are studied, and with his *Wandpläne*, Dziobek has pioneered a new method of illustrating this aspect of a tomb. In essence these are akin to drawings of archaeological strata, but applied to an essentially epigraphic study for the first time.

The architectural marks fall into several groups, and may relate in some cases to progressive raisings of the ceilings or the enlargement of a room; others may have been guides for the masons. I would have found it helpful in the discussions if direct references had been made to plates which illustrate the marks, and perhaps to a photograph of a mark; instead I had to discover the scene equating to a particular wall, and thence find the plate. The tomb was cut into a very variable and often poor stratum of rock, and the builders thus had to use a variety of methods of surface construction prior to painting. Doubtless these difficulties contributed to the disappearance of some decoration before robbery occurred.

The decoration surviving in the tomb in 1985 is illustrated in colour photographs taken by Dieter Johannes; the British Museum fragments also appear in colour. Johannes' photos are not just technically excellent but are superbly reproduced, so that there seem to be none of the unsightly colour casts sometimes found in other volumes of the *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen*. The Burton photographs of damaged areas are also reproduced—it has to be said again what a superb photographer he was. The walls are divided into a number of scenes, each of which is described in the usual manner with translations of texts. The wall plans are complemented by reconstructions of the walls, which help enormously in appreciating the original nature of the decoration. While photographs form the basis of the documentation, the texts and some details appear in line drawings; I find the convention of allocating set line thicknesses for certain elements of the 1:1 drawings excessively rigid, since the essence of painting can only be brought out by representing the flexibility and variability of the original line.

Even a rapid glance at the photographs reveals that the painters were masters of their craft. I have referred to the famous paintings of foreigners; other interesting scenes are the inspection of the granaries, the depiction of craftsmen, and the couple drinking from their pool. All scenes are executed with a fine degree of skill matched by few tombs. The colours are also remarkably well preserved—a chance to study the colour conventions in more detail has perhaps been missed.

The only area of the tomb of which more detail could be given is the underground apartments. It would appear that the tomb was cleared by Newberry early this century; relatively little detail of the chambers is given (p. 19), and the only excavations mentioned (briefly) are those in the



courtyard (p. 75). No doubt the history of the tomb is similar to that of many other Theban tombs, but more comparative material would have been useful. My only other criticism of the volume is that it is not always the easiest to navigate through. I have mentioned above that it took some time to find a particular illustration; on the same tack, there are no indexes to facilitate access to details.

This is an excellently-produced volume, providing documentation of a spectacular monument in the Theban necropolis. In particular, the colour reproductions set a standard by which others should be judged. The authors are to be congratulated on their work, and the German Archaeological Institute deserves our thanks for continuing to provide the means to publish these tombs.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

*Egypt's Dazzling Sun, Amenhotep III and His World.* By ARIELLE P. KOZLOFF and BETSY M. BRYAN with LAWRENCE M. BERMAN and an essay by ELISABETH DELANGE. 225 × 285 mm. Pp. xxiv + 476, pls. 68, figs. in text. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992. ISBN 0 940717 17 4. Price not stated.

*Egypt's Dazzling Sun* ist ein gewichtiges, reich illustriertes Werk von rund 500 Seiten, das sich zum Ziel gesetzt hat, den so gut wie vollständigen künstlerischen Nachlass Amenophis' III. und seiner Zeit ganz neu aufzuarbeiten. Ausstellung und Katalog wurden von langer Hand vorbereitet, insbesondere durch ein Symposium zum gleichen Thema, das 1987 in Cleveland stattfand. So sind in die vorliegende Publikation, nebst den Forschungen der beiden Autorinnen selbst, zahlreiche Hypothesen und Resultate vorwiegend amerikanischer Ägyptologinnen der letzten rund zehn Jahre eingeflossen. In dreizehn Kapiteln werden ebenso viele Gruppen von Denkmälern der bildenden und der angewandten Kunst einschliesslich der Architektur und ihrer Dekoration vorgestellt. Besonders spannend, da dicht gespickt mit Ideen, sind die Darlegungen über Tempeldekoration, Königs- und Götterplastik, Privatplastik, private Grabdekoration und Kultgeräte.

Das Kapitel über Tempel und Tempeldekoration bietet knappe Analysen der wichtigsten Bauten Amenophis' III. in Elkab, Theben, Athribis, Soleb und Sedeinga. Illustriert wird die These, dass die Anlagen, die Reliefdekorationen und die Statuen der Tempel die Rollen des Königs in der Kosmogonie definieren. Dies gibt Gelegenheit, eine Fülle von Deutungen ganzer Tempelkomplexe, einzelner Räume, der zugehörigen Rituale und der damit verbundenen Funktionen des Königs auszubreiten. Die grundlegenden Begriffe sind hier, (und auch in manchen der folgenden Kapitel), Sedfest, Solarisation, Fruchtbarkeit. Das zweite wichtige Anliegen des Kapitels ist die Datierung der verschiedenen Tempel und ihrer Teile innerhalb der langen Regierungszeit Amenophis' III. Sie beruht z.T. auf archäologischen Indizien, z.T. auf der Beobachtung ikonographischer Details (Trachtelemente etc.). Besonders hervorzuheben ist aber ein neues Mittel, das für Reliefs und auch für die Rundplastik auf breiter Basis angewandt wurde, nämlich die Bestimmung der Proportionen der menschlichen Figur mittels einer Anzahl von Messungen. Dabei haben sich interessante Konstanten herausgestellt, sowohl was die Regierungszeit im ganzen, als auch was bestimmte Tempel oder deren Teile angeht.

In den Kapiteln über die Königs- und Götterstatuen werden zunächst Deutungen der Haupttypen (Standbild, Sitzbild etc.) angeboten. Aufschlussreich ist sodann die Beschreibung der unterschiedlichen Arten der Oberflächenbehandlung ('Finish'). Die Darlegungen gipfeln in der These, dass die Statuen in den Steinbrüchen weitgehend vollendet wurden und daher jeder Gesteinsart ihre besonderen Gesichtsproportionen, Oberflächenbehandlung und Stil(e) zugeordnet werden können. Für die Datierungen der Statuen innerhalb der Regierungszeit spielen Masse und ikonographische Details die gleiche Rolle wie oben bei den Tempeldekorationen. Auch hier findet man eine fast überreiche Fülle an Interpretationen der religiösen Gehalte der katalogisierten Bildwerke.

Was die Privatplastik angeht, so wird vorwiegend diskutiert, wie die mannigfachen Abhängigkeiten der höchsten Beamten vom König, und ihrer Statuen von der königlichen Porträtkunst,

zum Ausdruck gebracht wurden, und zwar hinsichtlich Material und Inschriften, Gesichtstyp, Proportionen, Stil und Aufstellungsort der Statuen. Entsprechend geht es bei den Holzstatuetten von Damen des Hofes um die Beziehungen zur Darstellung der Königin.

Das Kapitel über die private Grabdekoration setzt sich das hohe Ziel, die wichtigsten Gräber innerhalb der Regierungszeit zu datieren und eine Anzahl davon bestimmten Künstlern zuzuweisen. Ferner wird die innovatorische oder konservative stilistische Haltung der Künstler beurteilt. Bei den thebanischen Gräbern unterscheidet Arielle Kozloff drei Gruppen: die erste, nur aus gemalten Gräbern bestehende, die stilistisch und ikonographisch der Zeit Thutmosis' IV. noch nahe stehen, gehört in die frühe Regierungszeit. Die zweite—es handelt sich um lauter gemalte Gräber aus der früheren und mittleren Regierungszeit—umfasst die grossen Meisterwerke der Epoche, die alle auf den gleichen Künstler, dem auch das Königsgrab zu verdanken ist, zurückgehen. Die dritte, späte Gruppe besteht vorwiegend aus den meist inschriftlich datierten, reichen Relieffräbern, die von der Autorin als sehr konservativ eingeschätzt werden.

Von den Abschnitten über die angewandte Kunst sei derjenige über die Salblöffel und Verwandtes hervorgehoben. Arielle Kozloff erkennt in den sogenannten Salblöffeln Ritualobjekte, die rebusartig verschlüsselte religiöse Botschaften enthalten. Die einzelnen Bildelemente der Objekte können—ähnlich wie bei den Statuen—gelesen und gedeutet werden, wenn man sie als Hieroglyphen und Symbole auffasst. Der Symbolismus kreist in vielfältigen Anspielungen um die Göttinnen Nut und Hathor, um Sonnenlauf und Gestirnskonstellationen, und dadurch letztlich um das Leben im Jenseits.

Schliesslich ist zu erwähnen, dass die Datierung der Glasgefässe auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt wurde. Auf breiter Materialbasis wurden aufgrund technologischer und stilistischer Beobachtungen Kriterien erarbeitet zur Zuweisung bestimmter Stücke an die Zeit kurz vor und nach Amarna.

Die beiden Autorinnen haben eine sehr grosse und sehr ambitionöse Aufgabe bewältigt. Das Mindeste, was man sagen kann, ist, dass es sich dank dem ausgebreiteten Ideenreichtum um ein ungewöhnlich anregendes Buch handelt. Das Thema des Katalogs ist aber viel zu umfangreich, als dass es in einem einzigen Band hinreichend abgehandelt werden könnte; wenigstens die wichtigeren Teilbereiche könnten jeder ein eigenes Buch füllen. Beim Lesen vermisst man denn auch oft die Argumentation, die Herleitung von Hypothesen und Resultaten, und das ist schade, denn so ist es oft nicht möglich, die Stichhaltigkeit der Datierungen und der zahlreich angebotenen religiösen Interpretationen zu beurteilen. Mit dem Platzmangel hängt es auch zusammen, dass die Anmerkungen oft lakonisch sind; als Beispiel sei nur erwähnt, dass die Idee der Bildhauerateliers bei den Steinbrüchen bzw. des Zusammenhangs zwischen Stil und Material der Statuen auf Petrie zurückgeht (*Les arts et métiers de l'ancienne Egypte*, 1915, 31–37), der aber nicht zitiert wird.

Zuweilen drängt sich der Eindruck auf, dass die Autorinnen im Überschwang der Entdeckerfreude die Objekte mit Bedeutungen überfrachtet haben, besonders was die Königsplastik angeht, wo Aspekte wie die Verjüngung im Sedfest, der Sonnenlauf, die Gleichsetzung mit dem Sonnengott, mit Neferhotep, mit einem Fruchtbarkeitsgott, mit Osiris etc. möglichst alle zugleich an ein- und demselben Stück aufgefunden werden. Schliesslich ist anzumerken, dass die Stilanalyse relativ wenig und wenn, dann nicht sehr überzeugend eingesetzt wird, letzteres nach Meinung der Rezensentin besonders dort, wo es um die behauptete Wechselbeziehung zwischen Material und Stil von Statuen geht.

MAYA MÜLLER

*Akhenaten's Sed-festival at Karnak.* By JOCELYN GOHARY. Studies in Egyptology. 250 × 190 mm. Pp. x + 238, pls. 110. London and New York, Kegan Paul International, 1992. ISBN 0 7103 0380 7. Price not stated.

L'auteur a participé aux travaux de l'Akhenaten Temple Project de 1968 à 1973. Dans le cadre de ce projet, elle a été chargée d'étudier les nombreuses talatates qui pouvaient figurer le thème

de la fête-sed; ce travail est devenu une thèse de doctorat (Ph.D.) présentée à l'université de Liverpool en 1977; elle aurait dû être publiée dans un volume de l'*Akhenaten Temple Project*, mais pour des raisons que l'auteur ne détaille pas, la série commencée n'a jamais continué. Avec beaucoup de franchise, de clarté et de modestie, Mme Gohary explique dans sa préface que la multiplicité des découvertes et des études postérieures à sa thèse rendait très difficile la mise à jour de son travail. Elle a donc décidé de faire paraître tel quel le texte achevé en 1977 et elle a eu parfaitement raison, car ce qui a été bien fait en 1977 reste une base utile même dix-huit ans après.

Mme Gohary commence son livre par une synthèse générale sur la fête-sed (pp. 1–25), que suit un exposé de ses recherches sur les talatates illustrant la fête-sed sous Amenhotep IV et les résultats auxquels elle est parvenue (pp. 26–39). Elle publie ensuite tous les blocs qu'elle a retenus, soit sous forme d'assemblages, dont l'un regroupe 92 blocs, d'autres se limitant au minimum de deux blocs, soit isolément quand ils n'ont pu être intégrés à aucun assemblage, offrant ainsi une très précieuse documentation photographique. Cette documentation est accompagnée d'un inventaire précis de tous ces blocs, au nombre d'un peu plus de 1600, et d'un commentaire sur chaque regroupement mais aussi sur chacun des blocs pour lesquels il n'existe encore aucun raccord (p. 40–204).

On sait la difficulté d'assembler des blocs dont les bords sont quasi toujours ébréchés; en outre le caractère extrêmement répétitif des scènes multiplie les blocs présentant de grandes analogies entre eux, au point que parfois plusieurs peuvent paraître convenir pour un même raccord. Ce ne sont parfois que des différences de proportions qui peuvent révéler des erreurs d'assemblage (cf. par exemple pl. xx, l'assemblage n° 44, blocs 6, 14 et 15 notamment). Néanmoins on ne saurait assez souligner l'intérêt du travail de pionnier qu'a mené l'auteur. Dans les recherches sur les fêtes-sed autant que dans les descriptions, il faut noter la qualité scientifique de Mme Gohary, unissant à un esprit très lucide, servi par un style très clair, une grande prudence et une grande honnêteté. Malgré ses dix-huit ans de 'retard', ce livre est bon; il contribue utilement à la si lente et si chaotique révélation des talatates.

CLAUDE VANDERSLEYEN

*Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII.* By ERIK HORNUNG, with contributions by SUSANNE BICKEL, ELISABETH STAEHELIN, and DAVID WARBURTON. Theben, Band 11. 245 × 345 mm. Pp. vi + 139, pls. 132. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1990. ISBN 3 8053 1067 6. Price not stated.

Erik Hornung is without a doubt the foremost authority on the religious significance of the tombs of the Valley of the Kings. His *Tal der Könige* is absolutely invaluable to those of us who have long been mystified by exactly what is being shown in the different underworld books which make up the typical New Kingdom royal tomb. A number of years ago he published the tomb of Horemheb, and since then he has produced valuable editions of the principal underworld books. In the present volume, Hornung returns to the tombs of Ramesses IV and VII to publish them.

The tomb of Ramesses IV (KV 2) was first given serious scholarly attention in E. Lefébure's *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes*, III: *Tombeau de Ramsès IV* (Paris, 1889); that of Ramesses VII (KV 1) has not even received such treatment. The book is divided into several sections, beginning with a very valuable survey of the historical background to the reigns of both kings. This is followed by a chapter on the work on the tombs. One of the many merits of this book is that it does not treat the two tombs in isolation, but covers relevant matters from the intervening period of the reigns of Ramesses V and VI, in particular the tomb started by one and then usurped by the other (KV 9). In the second of these chapters, Hornung gathers together the available documentation which attests the dates of selection of the site, the work itself, and the burial of the kings. There is more material available for Ramesses IV than Ramesses VII.

An excursus to Chapter III deals with the plans and sizes of the tombs. In the case of Ramesses IV we are fortunate to have the famous Turin tomb-plan; Hornung adds to the comments of

Carter and Gardiner and to his own in the Edwards *Festschrift*.<sup>1</sup> The plans of the tombs used in this book are those of the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project, and it is a pity that only the preliminary plans appear to have been used, mindful of the spectacular quality of the finished material.

The next seven chapters (IV–X) deal with the description of the tombs; Chapter IV begins with a very useful account of the development of the royal tomb since the reign of Horemheb. The tomb of Ramesses IV is extremely important in this sequence, since there is a major break here with the preceding traditions. In architecture, this manifests itself in the reduction in the number of corridors and pillared halls in the tomb, while in the decorative programme it resulted in the virtual removal of scenes of divinities and the Opening of the Mouth ritual, as well as a reduction in the number of scenes from the underworld books. Hornung makes the point in Chapter II that, in addition to any conceptual changes in tomb design, Ramesses IV was not in his youth when he came to the throne, and may also have modified the design somewhat to improve the chances of the monument being finished at his death. He certainly succeeded in this, as KV 2 is one of the few tombs to be almost completed (only the rear room had to be finished in paint).

The description of the tombs is organised into a chapter with a room by room description of the monuments (IV) in which the scenes and texts not treated in subsequent chapters are presented, followed by chapters considering the scenes of deities and the Book of the Dead (V), the underworld books (VI), and the heavenly books (VII). Chapter VIII is a discussion by Elisabeth Staehelin of the colours of the hieroglyphs in the tombs, IX deals with the sarcophagi and objects found, and X (including contributions by David Warburton and Susanne Bickel) the graffiti.

The method used by Hornung for dealing with the various religious texts in Chapters V–VII is not to translate and discuss each one in detail, but rather to refer the reader to editions of those texts, quite frequently by the author himself. This is an eminently sensible approach, since, although one might be momentarily disappointed not to find translations in this publication, the variant texts of these books make more sense when studied together. Hornung confines himself to summarising the elements of the books which appear, and notes trends in the use of these texts, including their appearance in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI. The main text to receive a fuller treatment is the Book of Nut in the burial chamber of Ramesses IV, which is otherwise only known from the entrance corridor to the Osireion at Abydos (time of Merenptah). Staehelin's treatment of the hieroglyphs is comprehensive; the only improvement might have been to add a list in Gardiner sign-list order to simplify the finding of a particular hieroglyph. The study of the colours could also have been extended to the rest of the decoration, particularly in view of the cleaning of the tomb by the EAO prior to its public opening in the early 1980s.

It is difficult to fault the scholarly treatment of the content of the tombs. Since the primary purpose of Hornung's book is to publish the tombs, I now turn to a consideration of the documentary aspect of the publication. I took the opportunity to take the publication to the tomb of Ramesses IV during a visit to Luxor in 1993. The form of documentation is photographic, with most of the non-continuous texts also shown as hand-copies in the description. The majority of the photographs are black and white, with a selection in colour. It must be said that the colour reproductions are variable, and that the black and white plates do not match the standard of other works in the *Theben* series. The photographs of the walls are presented sectionally, normally four to a page; slight differences of alignment and scale between adjacent photographs does not make following a line of text very easy. In addition, there is no scale for the reader to judge easily the size of the original. Checking of these sections with the original showed that the vast majority of the decoration is covered; some columns of text have occasionally been clipped, losing parts of the signs.

One or two errors were noticed in the hand copies of the texts in the tomb of Ramesses VII. On p. 75, bottom left, the top of column 4 is given as 'Ma[at darbringen]', whereas it is quite clear from pl. 127 that it is *ḏd mdw in*, 'words spoken by'. That on pl. 126 (p. 75, top left) was probably also the same. The orientation of the hand copies also bears little relation to the original.

<sup>1</sup>Respectively, 'The tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin plan of a royal tomb', *JEA* 4 (1917), 130–58; 'Zum Turiner Grabplan', in J. Baines et al. (eds), *Pyramid Studies and other Essays presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 138–42.

It seems to me that the publication is implicitly, for the tomb of Ramesses IV, expecting the reader to refer to the drawings in Lefèbure for better indications of the layout of some walls and the shorter texts, and it would have been useful to incorporate some of these in the book; there are far more hand copies of the texts in the tomb of Ramesses VII, for which there is no such prior publication. Referring back to older publications, except for areas now lost, is to some extent self-defeating. The documentation on the sarcophagus also relies fairly heavily on Lefèbure, and does not seem to include measurements of the object as now reassembled. There is also no documentation on the inside of the sarcophagus.

The Greek and Latin graffiti in the tomb were mostly covered by J. Baillet in *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes* (MIFAO 42; Cairo, 1926). There are also numerous Coptic graffiti, the major ones of which are published here, but others are omitted.

My major complaint about the book is the lack of help offered to the reader to navigate around the material. I cannot recall reading a book before which has *not one* reference to the plates in the text; there are also no location diagrams which might help the reader to find quickly the plates which illustrate a certain section of the tomb. There is also no index.

Hornung has produced a fascinating publication, useful not just to the student of royal tombs but to all those interested in the mid-Twentieth Dynasty. He is to be congratulated on the valiant efforts he is making to deal with the unpublished tombs in the Valley of the Kings: his volume on the tomb of Sety I has appeared since the present work was published, and his further major contributions to our knowledge of the Valley are eagerly awaited.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

*Excavations at El-Ashmunein, III. The Town.* By A. J. SPENCER. 362 × 278 mm. Pp. 77, pls. 112. London, British Museum Publications, 1993. ISBN 0 7141 0960 6. Price £65.

After the final publication of the temple area, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein, II*, A. J. Spencer turns his attention to the town area in which he worked for five seasons, between 1985 and 1989. Work was concentrated in two areas, site W in the north-west sector of the town mound, excavated between 1985 and 1987, and site C, in the central part of the mound, excavated in later seasons. As a result this book is conveniently divided into two parts, the first half dealing with site W, and the second half, site C. Thus, after an introductory chapter, Chapters 2–5 deal with site W, and 6–9 with site C; Chapters 2 and 6 are devoted to the respective excavations, Chapters 3 and 7 the respective catalogues of finds, Chapters 4 and 8 the respective pottery and Chapters 5 and 9 concluding remarks. The volume is rounded off with three appendices, the first referring to two trial trenches dug in the west part of the town, the second to a description of profiles, and the third to a concordance of excavation numbers with EAO numbers of registered objects.

The excavation in site W was a very selective one, comprising a small sample of six contiguous 10 × 10 metre squares in two rows of three. Overall, three distinct building phases were uncovered, all dating to the second half of the Third Intermediate Period, and, based largely on the evidence provided by the pottery and the objects, Spencer was able to attribute a date of *c.* 950–850 BC for level 3, *c.* 850–750 for level 2, and *c.* 750–650 for level 1. At first, it is a little disconcerting to find that the excavation chapter is not only not arranged stratigraphically by levels, but also that there is not a single plan which covers all six squares. In the text, levels 1, 2 and 3 are discussed for squares j10 and k10, followed by levels 1, 2 and 3 for squares j11 and k11, and then levels 1, 2 and 3 for squares j12 and k12. Squares j10 and k10 are always shown on the same plans, and squares j11, k11, j12, k12 on others. Nevertheless by careful reading and examination of plates 7, 10, 18 and 20, the reader is able to follow the results, although, on plate 20, it is a pity that the number of the wall [1059] which runs from square j11 into j10, thus linking the plan on pl. 20 with that on pl. 10, has been omitted. This is the more unfortunate since North on plates 18 and 20 (squares j11, k11, j12 and k12) is in a different direction to that on plates 7 and 10 (squares j10 and k10). It would seem that Dreyer's plea for the remaining Ashmunein volumes to be 'etwas mehr "Benutzerfreundlich"' (*JEA* 78 (1992), 343) has fallen on stony ground.

This is as true of the chapters on the objects and pottery which are arranged solely in typological terms. It may, perhaps, have been more useful to have arranged these finds primarily by stratigraphy, and thence by typology. In this way the reader would have a comprehensive overview of the material culture of each level at a glance—surely one of the major contributions to science of a controlled stratigraphic excavation. Nevertheless, since the location of each object or potsherd is given in the text, the reader can easily photocopy the plates and rearrange them at will. There would appear to be a slight misconception over ceramic fabrics given in the introduction to the pottery chapter, since French's Marl ware 1a is independent of, whilst my use of the term Marl A4 is linked to, the 'Vienna System'. The silt fabrics are not described, but almost all of the silt pottery is clearly made out of, to quote the 'Vienna System', Nile B2 or Nile C. Two forms, C1.10 and D1.2, are new to the Third Intermediate Period corpus known hitherto, whilst type C1.17 is a rare example of a form usually known only from rim sherds. Since this pottery comes from well stratified levels, Spencer was able to suggest some modifications to the provisional dating of certain forms given in my *Pottery of the Twelfth to Seventh Centuries BC* (SAGA 13, 1995). This reviewer is pleased to see that the pottery is clearly drawn, at an adequate and usable scale (in contrast to many other publications), but one does wonder why descriptions of whole pots, being found in the chapter devoted to the objects, are divorced from sherd material found in the pottery chapter (a situation which is paralleled in the description of site C). It should be noted, however, that Spencer's type O4 is surely an antique, probably part of a 'fish plate' of Second Intermediate Period date, and I am somewhat suspicious of type E1.125, which was found high up in level 1, and is perhaps somewhat later than the remainder.

After the excavation of the six squares in site W, attention was turned to site C where, it was thought, more settlement remains would be found. Instead, a walled cemetery of First Intermediate Period date was discovered. This cemetery is clearly described and only a few points need be commented on. Even allowing for the fact that the skeletal material was evidently poorly preserved, the lack of an on-site physical anthropologist is clearly felt since none of the skeletons that were found were either sexed (apart from references to 'probably male', etc.) or aged, and no pathologies, if any, were noted. In the objects section, it is perhaps somewhat churlish to point out that nos. 374 and 375 on pl. 95 have been transposed, whilst for the pottery, the 'silt platter' type 8.1.5, found in a later pit, and left undated, is clearly Ramesside.

Overall, in spite of this reviewer's comments on the 'Benutzerfreundlichkeit' of the volume, its content and archaeological proficiency are of a high standard, and Spencer is to be congratulated, not least for the speed at which the final publication has been made available. This modern trend of selective excavation, undoubtedly caused by economic and political constraint, is, however, a little worrying, for apart from the fact that we now know that site W dates to the Third Intermediate Period, we have learnt very little of the architecture, urban planning or town development of Ashmunein at this period. Indeed, in view of the poor state of our knowledge of any normal town at any time, let alone the Third Intermediate Period, the abandonment of site W after an excavation of only 600 square metres is indeed a lost opportunity.

D. A. ASTON

*The Dithyrambs of Pindar. Introduction, Text and Commentary.* By M. J. H. VAN DER WEIDEN. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. iv + 247. Amsterdam, J. C. Gieben, 1991. ISBN 90 5063 067 7. Price not stated.

M. J. H. van der Weiden's book is the first full-scale commentary on Pindar's *Dithyrambs* published in modern times. In the introduction the author provides a brief general discussion of the dithyramb as a literary genre and its performance, dealing more particularly with Pindar's dithyrambs in Part 2. I have noted a few inaccuracies: αὔλος is not exactly a 'flute' and ἡ τῶν αὐλῶν πολυφωνία in Ps. Plutarch *de mus.* 29, 1141c is not 'the polyphony of flutes' (p. 7): the term indicates the variety of sounds which could be produced by the aulos and has nothing to

do with modern 'polyphony'. The lengthy discussion of 'austere style' (as applied to dithyramb by Dionysios *de comp. verb.* 22) on pp. 21–5 is at times rather confusing since v.d.W. fails to make clear that Dionysios' κῶλα are not 'periods' in a metrical sense. It is wrong therefore to speak of 'hiatus between the lines' (p. 23) as opposed to hiatus within the periods (the latter being allowed in the 'austere' style). In the places where, according to Dionysios, there are encounters between vowels, editors have to assume end of period, elision, or *correptio epica*: hiatus as such is exceedingly rare in lyric poetry (both 'austere' and 'smooth'). A brief description of the papyri closes the section. The text, that preserves as far as possible Snell-Maehler's numeration (apart from the insertion of fr. 346 after fr. 81), is based on a new inspection of the Oxford and Berlin papyri and offers some interesting new readings. Sometimes a fuller description of what is actually to be seen in the papyrus would have helped the reader in better assessing the case where v.d.W.'s readings substantially differ from previous ones (cf. e.g. scholia ad fr. 70a 1.10). The commentary is up-to-date and rich in new suggestions. It is not possible here to give an account of all the points worthy of discussion, a few of which, dealing with difficult and rather neglected texts, are bound to be more or less controversial. The following observations point to some of them.

**Fr. 70a.** The sequence at the beginning of str./ant. 16/30 (in v.d.W.'s reconstruction - -]- - - - -) should not be interpreted as *da ia* (p. 39) but as *cr<sup>~</sup> cr*. The gap to the left is however likely to be wider than v.d.W. would allow. Her reconstruction of the column's width (according to which she rules out a few previous integrations as *longiora spatia*) is more than 'very rough', and, in my opinion, far too narrow. Her assumption of a gap of only two or three letters at the left of l.10 implies an uneasy (and unnecessary) number of lines four syllables or less in length (10, 12, 18; 9 would be just five; cf. *infra* on ll.8–10). 4: it is extremely unlikely that λειβόμενον could describe Proitos who 'inserted... his seed into Danae': Pindar is not Dioscorides (p. 42; Zeus' golden rain has perhaps a better chance). 5: v.d.W. prefers her own πατέρα γοργόν to some form of the name Γοργόν[. Γοργός. 'Grim', usually describing somebody's look, is unsuitable as a generic descriptive epithet of either Akrisios or Proitos, while the Gorgon is very apposite. V.d.W. is hard-pressed to find a plausible context accounting for both the Cyclopes and the Gorgon(s). It is perhaps provided by Pherekydes 3 F 12 *FGHist*: after the Seriphos episode (i.e. after having killed the Gorgon, and having her head with him), Perseus moved to Argos bringing with him Danae, Andromeda, and the Cyclopes. This suggests that ll. 1ff. do not deal with Akrisios and Proitos, as v.d.W. and other editors assume, but with Perseus himself. Therefore the city built by the Cyclopes will be Mykenai rather than Tiryns. 8–10: the marginal scholion suggests that a past event is described, which must have been somehow connected with the Cyclopes, and, possibly, with Dionysos. In order to get everything in the text we must assume a considerably wider column than v.d.W. does. The event is likely to be the mythic antecedent of the actual Dionysiac feast. In 11–12 we miss therefore something like τῶς καὶ νυν or κάμῃ τοίνυν. In 11 read ἐν] δαιμόνων βρομιάδι θοίνοι (F. Ferrari, *SIFC*, s. III, 84 (1991), 3, cf. E. Ba. 383, in a Dionysiac context). 14: for ἔτι in a prayer cf. *Ol.* II 14. 15: γὰρ εὐχομαι: cfr. *pae.* XVI 3. For the resumption of the myth with λέγοντι after a break cf. *Ol.* IX 49. The following part might be a flashback on Perseus' exploits. We need however a link with the Dionysiac feast, and it should at least be mentioned that one of the hero's most ominous adventures was his fierce struggle with Dionysos (his half-brother on his father's side: σύγγονον πατέρων 17?; cf. fr.70, 11 for the plural), the outcome of which ranges in the tradition from Perseus' exile, to the god's death, or to the brothers' reconciliation, and the institution of a Dionysiac cult (Paus. II 23,7 (n.b.: the god's temple in Argos is close to Danae's prison); Nonn. *Dion.* XLVII 730 τελεταί: cf. here τελεταίς in l.33). (Cf. in general K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums* (Bonn, 1960), 93–103, adding Euphorion *SH* 418, 40 ff.). The general sense might have been: 'the story goes that, after having escaped the sea dangers and Phorkos' daughters, Perseus fought against his half-brother Dionysos. After a struggle (cf. sch. ad 23: ἐπιμαχόν) they were eventually reconciled and Dionysos was welcomed in Argos (31 ἀσπ]ασίως Grenfell-Hunt), where he was celebrated with τελεταίς (33)' (Lobel seems to have hinted at the possibility that the subject of φυγόντα at 15 was Dionysos attacking Argos from the sea (Paus. II 22,1), and the similarity between v.15 and fr.70, 11 led Grenfell and Hunt to think of Dionysos, though not to his kinship with Perseus; cf. Grenfell-Hunt, in *P. Oxy.* XIII p. 39 f. The suggestion has not been further elaborated).

**Fr. 70b.** The apparatus ad v. 26 (p. 55) misleadingly suggests that Snell altered the dative βρισσαρμάτοισι into the accusative βρισσαρμάτους. For a new reading of the title and an attempt to deal with vv. 4–5, cf. now Ferrari, *SIFC*, s. III 84 (1991), 3 f. (on the latter point Ferrari and v.d.W. overlap to a certain extent: the excellent supplement [ἰδέαν in v. 5 has been independently made by both v.d.W. and M. C. Martinelli *apud* Ferrari, who aptly quotes Ar. *Ran.* 384). 1: σχοινοτένεια is interpreted as ‘monotonous’, without further speculation on the word’s meaning in this context. The criticism might involve Pindar’s rejection of the chronologically linear style typical of epics and of earlier, and contemporary, lyric narrative (including Bacchylides’ fascinating ‘dithyrambs’). 10: in spite of the redundancy with δάϊς I think that ξανθαὶ πεύκαι are better interpreted as burning torches rather than as pines: a) πεύκαι is frequent in this sense in descriptions of Dionysos (cf. Bond ad Eur. *Hyps.*, fr. 752,2 N<sup>2</sup>); b) ξανθαί can refer to the colour of fire, but it is rather improbable (also because of the double meaning of the word) as a description of pines ‘glowing in the light of the torch’ (v.d.W. after Kirkwood); c) the setting of the revelry is in Zeus’ μέγαρα, by the god’s throne (vv.7 f.). However unrealistic the presence of torches and wild beasts indoors might seem to us (v.d.W. p. 67, but torches were used indoors *inter alia* in some mystic rites), the scene was clearly not supposed to be set within a pine-wood. For ὑπό cf. LSJ s.v. B II 4 (in my opinion still the best explanation for Bacchylides III 17). 14: v.d.W. changes σύν into the Attic form ξύν (never used by itself elsewhere in Pindar) in order to avoid the ‘more serious’ problem of the shortest metric period in Pindar (- - -) lending an unwarranted emphasis to the context. Cf. however *Ol.* VII str. 3 (- - -), *Nem.* VI str. 7 (- - -), and *Pyth.* VII str.5,6, where the emphasis does not seem to be much stronger than here. The period’s end in Pindar does not need to convey particular emphasis: it can even follow prepositives (cf. M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982), 61). In this case moreover the frenzied rhythm of Dionysiac music might have been reflected in the performance. 15: ἐν δ’ ὁ παγκρα[τῆ]ς (πύρ): Sophocles might have had this sentence in the back of his mind when he wrote *Aj.* 675 ἐν δ’ ὁ παγκρατῆς Ὑπνος, 22–23: while sharing v.d.W.’s uneasiness about Housman’s supplement, I think that it is not fair to say that ‘καί has no function here’. It may be emphatic, stressing the following noun (Slater s.v. C 3). 31: disyllabic ἐν- must be followed by two consonants.

**Fr. 81.** 1: παρά μιν αἰνέω: even in *Pyth.* III 81 παρά conveys the idea of a comparison. I find it difficult to believe that these words might mean ‘I praise you as well as him’. 2–3: for the fear-motif in *Abbruchformeln* cf. also *pae.* VIIb 45 (43 ff.).

**Fr. 346b.** 1: κρέσσονα κτεάν[ων: tov.d.W.’s and Lloyd-Jones’s parallels (*Maia* 19 (1967), 210 n.1) add Call. fr. 384, 56 Pf. (ᾧτινι μὴ κρε[ί]σσων ἦ νόος εὐτυχίης). 4: in the fragmentary context it is safer to assume that Ἐλευσινόθε has its normal meaning of ‘from Eleusis’. 5: τελετών would provide a smoother sequence but τέλος is not ruled out by metre (e - e ~ - [-]).

**Fr. 70c.** 9: φιλέων (Ferrari, *SIFC*, s. III 84, 6). 12: v.d.W. wrongly assumes that in ἀκναμπτεῖ -τ- ‘belongs to the stem’ (in any case, even if it does not, she is right in assuming that there is no need to correct into -τί).

**Fr. 70d.** 4: ‘what he or she said’ (p. 155): πιφάσκων makes quite clear that the subject is masculine. For a different interpretation of 17–19 see now Ferrari, *SIFC*, s. III 84, 6 ff. (who also argues that μ]έμηλεν is the correct reading in v.35). 40: ὄμμα]τ’ also L. Battezzato, *Studi classici e orientali* 40 (1990), 439.

**Fr. 70d (g).** scholia ad 6: I cannot understand the unaugmented form πο[ί]ησεν.

**Fr. 70d (c).** 9: for the comparison with Babylon cf. *pae.* IV 15. The reading Βαβυ[ (rather than βαθυ[), however, looks quite uncertain.

**Fr. 70d (f).** 7: there is no need to introduce Chios in a puzzling connection with the Calydonian boar reading ]. Χίον. The sign interpreted by v.d.W. as an ἄνω σιγμή might be an interlinear dot (as Lobel had thought) or the right one of two trema dots on a hypsilon (cf. Snell’s apparatus), as in fr.70d (c) 3 ὕακινθ[. The traces seem compatible with ( )ν]ύχιον, (-)βρ]-, ἦσ]-.

**Fr. 70d (h).** 7: on γανάεντα cf. also scholia ad *pae.* III v.95 (and *RFIC* 119 (1991), 104).

**Fr. 75.** 11–12: If, as I believe, ἔμολον is to be preserved a possible solution would be μελπόμεν<ος> ... ἔμολον (cf. *ibid.* 105).

**Fr. 78.** 3: in Plu. *reg. et imp. apophth.* 192c and *Gnomol. Vat.* 280 Epameinondas is reported to have said that death in battle is ἱερόθυτος (an adjective more frequent in prose than in poetry, and apparently a technical term: cf. LSJ s.v.). This definition is never attributed to Pindar.



Plutarch *de glor. Ath.* 7, 349c quotes Pind. fr. 78 up to the words ἧ θύεται ἄνδρες and immediately adds: τὸν ἱερόθυτον θάνατον ὡς ὁ Θηβαῖος Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἶπεν κτλ. (an association more than natural since Pindar uses exactly the same image). L. Sternbach (*Commentationes philologiae quibus O. Ribbeckio ... congratulantur discipuli Lipsienses* (Leipzig, 1888), 358 f.) was in my opinion clearly right in assuming that the last words belong to the Theban general, not the poet. v.d.W., without mentioning Sternbach's solution, assumes, in my view rather implausibly, that in Plutarch's citation Epameinondas is supposed to have delivered the whole Pindaric fragment (which, in her view, included those last words).

\*Fr. 86a: apparatus: Phld. *de mus.* 4 p. 89 Kemke (which should have been quoted as 12, p. 66 Neubecker) and Diog. Bab. fr.86 are in fact one and the same passage (quoted by v.d.W. with two different supplements!). Although Pindar is fond of this kind of metaphor, the wording in our sources (which moreover waver between paean and dithyramb) suggests that this may be an apophtegma rather than a textual quotation (for a further imitation cf. Hld. III 18 where Charicles in Delphi ὕμνον ἀποθύει τῷ θεῷ). A fragmentum dubium should be added to the collection: fr. 342 (on which see *RFIC* 119 (1991), 117), quoted as ἐν διθυράμβοις.

I have noted only a few, not very important, misprints or slips (but cf. p. 39 where Achilles is 'protected' instead of being killed by Apollo). On the whole, both text and apparatus sensibly improve the excellent Teubner edition (but almost all of the twenty or so readings attributed to Maehler (or Maehler 1989) in v.d.W.'s apparatus should in fact be attributed to Snell, since they were already present in Snell's editions). Although I have here pointed out a few possibly controversial points, it must be said that in many more cases v.d.W. provides a more than satisfactory fresh discussion of some old problems, without fear of raising new ones. She is usually very cautious in exploring all the alternative available solutions and her conclusions are almost always convincing. Her work is an important contribution to the study of Pindar's fragments, and is likely to remain the standard edition and commentary on his *Dithyrambs* for many years to come.

G. B. D'ALESSIO

*Inventaire bibliographique des Isiaca (IBIS), R-Z.* By J. LECLANT and G. CLERC. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, tome 18. 245 × 160 mm. Pp. viii + 374. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1991. ISBN 90 04 09247 1. Price, Gld. 176.

Egyptology is currently being well served for bibliography, thanks mainly to our assiduous colleagues in Leiden. The *IBIS* bibliography falls of course into a special category. It deals with publications which appeared between 1940 and 1969 and concerned the diffusion of Egyptian cults and related material, the term *Isiaca* in the title being much transcended. The present volume is the fourth and last of the series, which began in 1972. Various difficulties have interfered with the time-scale of publication, but the authors have maintained the high standard and thorough methods of the earlier volumes.

It will not be amiss to call attention to the sterling strengths of the whole work. First is the importance of the quality of its analytical abstracts. Far from being a mere list of books, articles, and notes, it provides in each case an accurate summary of the content. The space given to the individual items points to the norms of critical assessment; not their size and detail only, but their scholarly import is seen to count. Beyond this type of assessment, we find in cases of prominent contributors a readiness to append a critique of certain details, either by the compilers themselves or by other scholars. Thus, in the present volume Vandebek's book, *De Interpretatio Graeca van de Isisfiguur* (Louvain, 1946), after being given an objective summary on pp. 182-3, is exposed to the comments of Claire Préaux, who pointed to the fact that the Hellenized Isis had yet subsumed many Egyptian attributes.

The final, and not the least important, of the strengths of *IBIS*, and particularly of this concluding volume, is the magnificent elaboration of its index. I recall that the late Herbert Fairman was fond of emphasizing the value of indexes; many good books, he would say, tend to be neglected for lack of a good index. Obviously the principle needs modification with the type

of book in question. A book which publishes a new text needs above all a word-index to the text. In a bibliography such as *IBIS* provides, a thorough thematic index is a *sine qua non*. No pains have been spared to equip *IBIS* IV superlatively with this vital aid.

To the fore in this volume are the works of Jeanne and Louis Robert, E. Scamuzzi, K. Schefold, J. Schwartz, B. H. Stricker, R. Turcan, J. Vercoutter, M. J. Vermaseren, L. Vidman, V. Vikentiev, O. Weinreich, R. E. Witt, and Jan Zandee; also of the Hungarian scholars T. Szentléleky, J. Szilágyi, Edit B. Thomas, and V. Wessetzky. Several of the latter group have been active in the excavation and publication of Egyptian finds in Hungary. L. Kákósy figures, of course, in a previous volume.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*Introductory Coptic Reader: Selections from the Gospel of Thomas, with Full Grammatical Explanations.* By LANCE ECCLES. 157 × 235 mm. Pp. v + 80, pls. 1. Kensington, MD, Dunwoody Press, 1991. ISBN 0 931 745 82 9. Price not stated.

This volume contains 40 logia (out of a total of 114) from the Nag Hammadi Codex II text of the Gospel of Thomas. The logia are self-contained and relatively short units, which may be less daunting to a beginner than a long text. The dialect of the text probably represents an attempt to write Sahidic by someone who was a speaker of one of the 'Lyco-Diospolitan' dialects (formerly referred to as A<sub>2</sub>): the user is referred in the bibliography to introductory Sahidic grammars, but 'non-Sahidic' forms are explained in the notes.

Each text is examined, quite literally, word by word (or linguistic unit by linguistic unit): the first time it occurs, each word is translated and explained, and thereafter merely translated with reference to the original explanation. The advantage of this method is that it provides the constant repetition that is so necessary in language learning. The grammatical notes are easy enough to follow, but the claim that the 'passages have been chosen and ordered in such a way as to present grammatical points gradually' is not realistic. Reference to appropriate sections in a Coptic grammar for more detailed explanation might have been useful, but I suppose that the user is meant to find his/her way there alone. The use of artificial punctuation is a good idea, but it might perhaps have been helpful to the reader to explain why it does not correspond to the apostrophes employed in the manuscript, which are clearly visible even on the reduced photograph displayed on p. vi. Appendices A and B illustrate the verbal paradigms and pronouns that follow verbs and prepositions. I am not too keen on the term 'pronoun affix', since 'affix' can mean either 'prefix' or 'suffix'; I also wish that the various forms of the infinitive had been described as 'absolute', 'nominal' and 'pronominal': the terms used here combine those employed by the grammars cited in the Preface.

The following is a list of comments on various details of the book, arranged by selection and note; some provide information which the author probably considered inappropriate in a book of this sort:

- (I 2) **ⲓϥ**: it might perhaps have been indicated that this is a *nomen sacrum* abbreviation;
- (I 3) **ⲭϥ**: the omission of this conjunction is a regular feature of this text. According to Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 355, this usually happens when the governing verb is inserted within the direct speech or placed immediately after it, but this is not the case here; the inclusion/omission of the conjunction does not seem to be related in any way to the extant Greek version;
- (III 7) **ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ**: omission of the masc. and fem. def. art. before nouns beginning with **ⲡ/ⲧ** respectively is not uncommon in the dialects of the NH corpus;
- (III 10) **ⲧϥ/ⲡϥ**: I understand the copula in both cases as referring back to **ϥⲁⲣⲉ** and **ⲡⲛϥⲩⲙⲁ**, neither of which can be described as the predicate;
- (III 29) **ⲙⲛ̅ⲧ**: abstract noun prefixes always fem.;
- (IV 3) **ⲙⲛ̅**: usually followed by subject without article, as also **ⲙⲁⲣϥ** (10);
- (V 5) **ϥϥ̅ⲛ**: after the defined noun **ⲡⲙⲁ** and before **ⲟϥ̅ⲛ** one would normally expect the rel. particle **ϥⲧϥ-**;

(VI 6) **εφψινε** : circumstantial.

(VII 10): I do not find this note particularly helpful;

(VII 13) **μεν** : the usual way of understanding this word is 'on the one hand';

(VII 16) **τεζηη**: one might add 'and so it is clear that here the **ι** is treated as a consonant';

(X 5) **τοντων** : misprint for **τοντην** ;

(X 9) **νηταζνουχε** : the invariable form of the perf. rel. that occurs in the 'Lyco-Diospolitan' dialects;

(X 37) **ζιζε** : noun 'difficulty';

(XII 17) **σοβκ** : should probably be emended <C>**σοβκ** ;

(XIII 41): i.e. independent pronouns (sing. and pl.) are treated as masc. sing.;

(XVI 13): i.e. the conjunctive is used here after the imperative;

(XVI 15) **πετμημαγ** : usually translated as 'that one';

(XVII 26) **νε** : here the copula identifies 'sons of men';

(XIX 10) **εψ τε θε** : one might expect this construction to be followed by the relative particle **ετ-**, and some comment to this effect would have been appropriate;

(XIX 27) **σεβολπ** : qualitative:

(XX 87) **αζζ** : 'standard' Sahidic for 'sickle' is **οζζ** ;

(XX 88): 'standard' Sahidic of the circumstantial prefix before a noun in an adverbial sentence is **ερε-** ;

(XXV 30) **πε** : should probably be emended to **νητωνη <νιμ> πε** ;

(XXIX 11) **νημεστε** : the conjunctive can continue a relative in a sequence of the 'he who eats, drinks and sleeps' variety, but that is hardly the case here; it is interesting to compare the grammatical structure of the similarly phrased logion 101: **πεταμεστε πεφειωτ... λγω πεταμπε πεφειωτ** ...

(XXXII 26) **ζομτ** : the usual meaning is 'copper, money', and the whole phrase means 'they owe me money';

(XXXIII 12) **πωωνε νκωζ** : surely this means simply 'the stone of corner' (CD 132a)?

(XXXIX 25) **†ογωψκ**: perhaps a note about the object after the bipartite and tripartite conjugation and the status of **ογωψ** might have been appropriate.

ANTHONY ALCOCK

*Arabic Papyri: Selected Material from the Khalili Collection.* Studies in the Khalili Collection, Volume I. By GEOFFREY KHAN. 215 × 300 mm. Pp. 264. Oxford, The Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992. ISBN 0 19 727500 1. Price £35.00.

While the whole of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic art is currently being catalogued (in some 26 volumes), parts of the collection are to be treated in monograph form. The volume under review inaugurates this new series, ironically treating a medium which Khalili himself disparaged for its lack of 'aesthetic merit'—Arabic papyri. Fortunately, he entrusted the cataloguing of these rare and exceedingly important documents to more appreciative hands. After spending five years studying the 400-odd papyri in Khalili's collection, Geoffrey Khan selected 36 exemplars for publication and analysis. The results are a welcome contribution to the study of early Arabic palaeography as well as fascinating windows into the society and economy of pre-Fatimid Egypt.

The papyri in the Khalili Collection were previously owned by H. P. Kraus and were mostly acquired in Cairo in the early 1900s. The author surmises that most of the documents originated from Fustat, and indeed all but one in the present corpus are demonstrably from Egypt—the one exception being more likely of Mesopotamian origin. In order to create a coherent corpus Dr Khan followed certain guidelines. First, the corpus consists entirely of *documents*, to the exclusion of literary texts. The documents have been grouped in three general types: accounts

or economic texts, legal documents, and letters. Next, the corpus was restricted to the pre-Fatimid period by including only documents written on papyrus (again with one exception on parchment), for, as the author notes, 'by the Fāṭimid period paper had largely replaced papyrus as a writing material'. Only those papyri in most complete form and those fragments of particular interest were selected for publication. The resulting corpus thus provides a group of papyri from the first through third centuries of the *Hijra*.

The business of dating the documents is of course closely linked to the style of the script. As only seven of the documents give any mention of dates at all, the author has in most instances had to rely on palaeographic evidence to periodize the rest. Two arguments are at work here. On the one hand, Khan divides the documents into early and later scripts, arguing that a more cursive hand later emerged from the earlier angular script. On the other, he draws on Chomsky's distinction between an ideal 'competence' and an actual 'performance' to account for typological variants and cursive tendencies. Four tendencies are singled out: the transformation of angles into curves; the transformation of curves into straight strokes; the scribe's reluctance to remove the pen from the surface of the paper; and the reduction of the distance covered by the pen.

The palaeographic analysis is thus divided between angular and cursive scripts. For the earlier, angular scripts, photo reproductions of dated examples outside the corpus give analogous letter types of 'alifs, dāls, ṣāḍs, 'ayns, qāfs, kāfs and yā's from the second century *Hijrī* which support a dating of documents in the corpus to the same period. Given the wider range of discrepancies in the cursive scripts the author has restricted himself to a written analysis of those documents, attributing variations in the hands in the corpus to the four tendencies mentioned above. It is a particularly useful apparatus for discussing letter types, both for the key it provides to deciphering what are often very condensed words in a text and for providing insights into the logic of the writer or scribe.

While implicit in the presentation is the argument that a later cursive hand displaced the earlier angular hand, the author is careful to distance 'cursive tendencies' from 'the historical development of the script', arguing that the 'degree of cursiveness' is as likely to be a function of speed and type of composition as of date.

As for the texts, more deserves to be said here than space allows. The reproduction of the papyri is remarkably clear, many of the plates being apparently photo-enhanced. For each document the author provides a material description, a script analysis, a transcription of the text, textual notes, translation, and commentary. The first eight documents are economic texts which treat issues of land (taxes and *zakāt*, cultivation and rents) and commerce (a ship's bill of lading and a merchant's ledger). Five of the documents are of a legal nature, including quittances, a receipt, a testimony, and the lease for a shop. The remainder are of an epistolary nature. The letters are at once the most challenging and interesting of all the documents—challenging because they provide fewer formularies to aid in their decipherment, interesting for the examples of first-person literature they provide. Here we have writing from men and women of ninth- and tenth-century Egypt in their own style, or in the style of their time, an obscure and convoluted expression to us today. Not a history so much as small windows into a history, such documents are of great value to early Islamic studies and are a welcome contribution to the published primary sources from the period predating the hoard of Geniza documents.

EUGENE L. ROGAN

### Other books received

1. *For His Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*. Edited by DAVID P. SILVERMAN. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 55. 227 × 297 mm. Pp. 332. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994. ISBN 0 918986 93 1. Price not stated.
2. *La Palestine à l'époque perse*. Edited by ERNEST-MARIE LAPERROUSAZ and ANDRÉ LEMAIRE. 135 × 185 mm. Pp. 329. Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994. ISBN 2 204 04987 5. Price FF 198.
3. *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodorides*. Edited by CHRISTIAN CANNUYER and JEAN-MARIE KRUCHTEN. 155 × 240 mm. Pp. xxii + 268. Ath-Bruelles-Mons, Editions et Imprimerie Illustrata, 1993. ISBN 74532/038685. Price not stated.
4. *Version 2 (History and Archaeology) of Essentials of Statistical Methods*. By T. P. HUTCHINSON. 145 × 207 mm. Pp. xii + 152. Adelaide, Rumsby Scientific Publishing, 1993. ISBN 0 646 15653 5. Price not stated.
5. *Eine ikonographische Datierungsmethode für thebanische Wandmalereien der 18. Dynastie*. By EBERHARD DZIOBEK, THOMAS SCHNEYER and NORBERT SEMMELBAUER, with a study by FRIEDERIKE KAMPP. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, Band 3. 210 × 296 mm. Pp. ix + 85, pls. 8. Heidelberg, Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1992. ISBN 3 927552 05 4. Price not stated.
6. *Les tablettes à écrire de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne*. Edited by ÉLISABETH LALOU. Bibliologia 12. 210 × 270 mm. Pp. 356. Turnhout, Brepols, 1992. Price not stated.
7. *Tabona. Revista de prehistoria y de arqueología* 8, parts 1 and 2 (1992–93). 185 × 245 mm. Pp. 617. Universidad de La Laguna. ISSN 0213 2818. Price Pts. 2 × 6,000.
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