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## CONTENTS

EDITORIAL FOREWORD . . . . .	vii
FIELDWORK, 2001–02: SAIS, DELTA SURVEY, MEMPHIS, TELL EL-AMARNA . . . . .	Penelope Wilson, Jeffrey Spencer, David Jeffreys <i>et al.</i> and Barry Kemp <i>et al.</i> . . . . . 1
OLD KINGDOM BASALT QUARRYING ACTIVITIES AT WIDAN EL-FARAS, NORTHERN FAIYUM DESERTS . . . . .	Elizabeth Bloxam and Per Storemyr . . . . . 23
THE EXPLORATION OF TELL BELIM, 1999–2002 . . . . .	Jeffrey Spencer . . . . . 37
DIE SCHRIFTZEUGNISSE DES PRÄDYNASTISCHEN KÖNIGSGRABES U-j IN UMM EL-QAAB: VERSUCH EINER NEUINTERPRETATION . . . . .	Francis Amadeus Karl Breyer . . . . . 53
THE GEOGRAPHICAL, SPATIAL, AND TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF PREDYNASTIC AND FIRST DYNASTY BASALT VESSELS . . . . .	Leanne M. Mallory-Greenough . . . . . 67
THE BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF PTAHSHEPSES FROM SAQQARA: A NEWLY IDENTIFIED FRAGMENT . . . . .	Peter F. Dorman . . . . . 95
NEW LIGHT ON THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH: EVIDENCE FROM A SURVEY AT HAWARA . . . . .	Inge Uytterhoeven and Ingrid Blom-Böer . . . . . 111
MAGICAL BRICKS AND THE BRICKS OF BIRTH . . . . .	Ann Macy Roth and Catharine H. Roehrig . . . . . 121
GENDER AND CONVERSATIONAL TACTICS IN <i>THE CONTENDINGS OF HORUS AND SETH</i> . . . . .	Deborah Sweeney . . . . . 141
THE NILE LEVEL RECORDS OF THE TWENTY- SECOND AND TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTIES IN KARNAK: A RECONSIDERATION OF THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER . . . . .	Gerard P. F. Broekman . . . . . 163
THE PROBLEM OF AMENIRDIS II AND THE HEIRS TO THE OFFICE OF GOD’S WIFE OF AMUN DURING THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY . . . . .	Aidan Dodson . . . . . 179

FIVE ENIGMATIC LATE ROMAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EASTERN DESERT . . . . .	Steven E. Sidebotham, Hans Barnard and Gillian Pyke . . . . .	187
JOHN MARTIN PLUMLEY . . . . .	H. S. Smith . . . . .	227
A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MARTIN PLUMLEY	Christopher H. Naunton . . . . .	233
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS		
AN EARLY DYNASTIC DISH FROM THOMAS SHAW'S TRAVELS . . . . .	Helen Whitehouse . . . . .	237
A BRONZE SEAL FROM MEROE IN THE PETRIE MUSEUM, LONDON . . . . .	Frances Welsh . . . . .	243
MISCELLANEA MAGICA . . . . .	Tonio Sebastian Richter . . . . .	247
REVIEWS		
J. L. FOSTER, <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature. An Anthology</i> . . . . .	Reviewed by Roland Enmarch . . . . .	253
KARLA KROEPER AND DIETRICH WILDUNG, <i>Minshat Abu Omar I. Ein vor- und frühgeschicht- licher Friedhof im Nildelta: Gräber 1–114</i> <i>Minshat Abu Omar II. Ein vor- und frühgeschicht- licher Friedhof im Nildelta: Gräber 115–204.</i>	Willem M. van Haarlem . . . . .	254
GUNTER DREYER, <i>Umm el-Qaab I. Das Königs- grab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse</i> . . . . .	Willem M. van Haarlem . . . . .	255
ULRICH HARTUNG, <i>Umm el-Qaab II. Importkeramik aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab) und die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr.</i> . . . . .	Toby Wilkinson . . . . .	256
HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER, <i>Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara</i> . . . . .	Nigel Strudwick . . . . .	259
HANS VANDEKERCKHOVE (†) AND RENATE MÜLLER- WOLLERMANN, <i>Die Felsinschriften des Wadi Hilâl</i>	Detlef Franke . . . . .	261

LYNN MESKELL, <i>Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt</i> . . . . .	Ellen Morris . . . . .	264
LYNN MESKELL, <i>Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt</i>	Ellen Morris . . . . .	265
VINCENT RONDOT, <i>La Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak: Les Architraves</i> . . . . .	Peter J. Brand . . . . .	267
GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN ET AL., <i>The Tomb of Tia and Tia: a Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis</i>	Aidan Dodson . . . . .	270
MANFRED GUTGESELL, <i>Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el Medineh. Teil II: Die Ostraka der 19. Dynastie</i> . . . . .	M. L. Bierbrier . . . . .	271
LÁSZLÓ TÖRÖK, <i>The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art. The Construction of the Kushite Mind (800 BC –300 AD)</i> . . . . .	Inge Hofmann . . . . .	273
C. E. PITCHFORK, <i>The Jon Hosking Collection of Ptolemaic Coins</i> . . . . .	Andrew Meadows . . . . .	275
EVA ROGGE, <i>Statuen der 30. Dynastie und der ptolemäisch-römischen Epoche</i> . . . . .	Sally-Ann Ashton . . . . .	276

## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE year 2002 was a relatively quiet one for the Society, although certainly not unproductive. Active fieldwork was undertaken in the Delta, with the mission to Sais and the Delta Survey, and at Memphis and Tell el-Amarna, accounts of which are included in the Fieldwork section following. Qasr Ibrim had a study season.

The Society continued to fulfil its aims of wider dissemination of information through publication. The unusually high output of books in 2001 was followed in 2002 by Patricia Spencer's *Amara West, II. The Cemeteries and the Pottery Corpus*.

At the Society's London Office work continued on the reorganisation and computerisation of the Library holdings, and Library income was boosted by sales of second-hand books at open days held at Doughty Mews. A new venture for the Society on Saturday 19 October 2002 was a successful study day, at which all of the EES Field Directors described their current work. Further study days are being planned for 2003.

Following a period of extensive building works at The British Museum, the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan now occupies new offices and storage spaces. Among these is a new Study Room which will allow improved access for visitors working on the study collection and the departmental archives. An interim display on understanding ancient Egyptian culture has been installed in the upper Egyptian galleries since March 2002; this will remain while new permanent galleries about social and religious practices in ancient Egypt are being prepared. The themes include: hieroglyphs and the role of the written record; the various types of evidence that can illuminate life in ancient Egypt; and new research, fieldwork and recent acquisitions for the Museum's collection (information from Richard Parkinson).

Of the annual Egyptological gathering held in The British Museum, Marcel Marée writes:

The Raymond and Beverly Sackler Foundation Distinguished Lecture in Egyptology was delivered on 10 July by Professor Alan Zivie, entitled 'The Tomb of a Family of Painters at Saqqara: New Kingdom Artists at Memphis and Thebes'. The following International Egyptological Colloquium on 11–12 July—'Reconstructing Egyptian Life: New Knowledge from Ancient Sources'—focused on the realities of daily existence in ancient Egypt. This was a prelude to new permanent galleries on religious and social practices, planned for 2005, and it brought together a range of speakers who discussed new approaches and excavations that have added much to our understanding of official, artistic and domestic life.

Sadly, 2002 was the year in which British Egyptology lost three of its striking and dedicated members, all women. In April Julia Samson died. As the longest ever member of the EES, she will be remembered and missed by many current readers. Of her Professor Harry Smith writes:

Julia Samson was an Egyptologist of Australian birth, probably one of the earliest from that country, although she spent most of her life in England. Her speciality was the Amarna Period, for which she developed a passionate enthusiasm early. She joined the EES at the age of 15 after reading Australian press reports of the finding of the tomb of Tutankhamun, and at her death on 6 April 2002 had been a member for over 77 years, a record period.

Julia was born on 7 June 1909 in Perth to Emanuel Lazarus, a member of a well-known Jewish

family, and his second wife, Esther Hallé, whose American parents were related to Sir Charles Hallé, the founder of the famous Hallé orchestra in Manchester. As contemporary newspapers testify, Julia was a vivacious and popular member of the Perth community, although it is evident that from her youth intellectual and cultural interests predominated with her. Her early interest in Egyptology was confirmed when, during a trip with her parents to England, they stopped to see Cairo and the pyramids. In 1933, after her family had moved permanently to London, she entered for the Academic Diploma in Archaeology at University College London under Professor Stephen Glanville, with whom she struck up an immediate intellectual rapport. It was he who interested her in Akhenaten, Nefertiti and the Amarna revolution, and set her to work cataloguing the material from Petrie's excavations at Amarna in the Petrie collection. In 1936 she paid an extended visit to John Pendlebury's excavations at Amarna and, as a result, in 1937 she contributed a chapter on the Petrie objects to Pendlebury's excavation report (*City of Akhenaten III* (EES, 1951)).

The war interrupted Julia's Egyptological work at UCL. During it she led a distinguished career as a press officer in the Ministries of Food and Health, later becoming a permanent civil servant. In her late fifties she retired, and in 1967 returned to the Petrie Museum as a part-time Honorary Research Assistant. She did sterling service to the Museum by completing her pre-war cataloguing of the Amarna material, the most significant of which she published in *Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Key Pieces from the Petrie Collection* (1972). Though the work in general follows the conventions of art-historical description, Julia's fine observation, her artist's eye for telling detail and her flowing yet classical English prose give the book a readability and attraction not always present in museum catalogues. After it had appeared, she became fascinated with the related problems of Nefertiti's sole rule and the identity of Akhenaten's successor, on which Professor John Harris was at that time writing a series of ground-breaking studies. She published her own observations of details in Amarna cartouches (including unexpected appearances of feminine endings) and of iconographical features of statues and reliefs in a series of articles written during the period 1973–83. This evidence convinced Julia that Harris was correct in claiming that the royal names Neferneferuaten Nefertiti, Ankhkheperure Neferneferuaten and Ankhkheperure Smenkhkare were borne in succession by Nefertiti as queen consort, queen co-regent and sole ruler respectively, and that Smenkhkare as a young male successor to Akhenaten was a figment of modern scholarship. In a second edition of her book with the new sub-title *Nefertiti as Pharaoh*, she presented her arguments lucidly, forcibly and acutely, and, although this daring hypothesis has not been accepted by many in subsequent studies, and Julia herself was the first to admit that further clear evidence was required for certainty, there is still a strong case to answer.

During the 1980s Julia continued to work on Amarna, and in 1985 she published a book for the general reader entitled *Nefertiti and Cleopatra: Queen Monarchs of Egypt*. She was confessedly not a Hellenistic historian, but her account of Cleopatra VII, though derivative, is a well-balanced, sensible, unromanticised and readable presentation of the known aspects of the history, personality and aims of this famous queen. The section on Nefertiti, while giving Julia's own views, ranges much wider and vividly describes the various aspects of religion, statecraft, artistic change and daily life at Amarna in a clear, lively and attractive style. Notably, it crystallises her passionate belief that the Amarna 'revolution' was one of the earliest major attested intellectual breakthroughs in human history.

Julia's belief that the human intellect and imagination were the most creative forces in the world and central to all cultural progress was the core of her life and work, and of her extraordinarily wide range of interests in the natural sciences and the arts. Her forceful yet humane character, her magnetic personality, her highly individual conversational powers, her radiant smile and warm capacity for human friendship were an inspiration to all who knew her.

Barbara Adams, the distinguished curator of the Egyptian collection in the Petrie Museum, London, died in June. Her friend and colleague Professor Harry Smith writes:

Barbara Adams was a curator at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London for 36 years, and became a prolific and distinguished scholar in the fields of Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt. She was an acknowledged international expert on the famous site of Hierakonpolis, the royal city of the Protodynastic Upper Egyptian kingdom, upon which she worked throughout her professional career. She died of cancer on 26 June 2002 at the early age of 57.

She was born Barbara Georgina Bishop on 19 February 1945, and passed her youth in Hammer-smith, London, leaving school at the age of fifteen to help the family finances. Typically, however, she continued to study at night school, gaining O-levels and A-levels in natural sciences and arts subjects. In 1962 she was appointed as a Scientific Assistant at the British Museum (Natural History) in South Kensington, where she gained glowing eulogies for her work in the department of entomology on sawflies and in the palaeontology department on palaeolithic skeletal material. At the age of twenty she was appointed as Museum Assistant in the Petrie Museum, and two years later passed the London Extramural Diploma in Archaeology with distinction. In the year in which she took up her appointment she married Rob Adams, a civil servant, who loyally and selflessly supported her throughout her subsequent career.

Barbara immediately proved herself an ideal curatorial assistant for the Petrie Museum. In 1965 this was a departmental teaching and research collection, still recovering from its many wartime and post-war vicissitudes. Despite the excellent work of Dr Anthony Arkell and the conservator Martin Burgess over the period 1950–63, many of the 78,000 objects, dating from the palaeolithic to the Arab Period, were still unsorted, unidentified, uncatalogued and in urgent need of conservation, while the premises were environmentally unsuitable and subject to frequent severe roof-leaks. Barbara, bubbling over with enthusiasm at the wonderful material, threw herself heart and soul into solving the many problems of conservation, storage, documentation and display with tireless energy, determination and skill. She personally completed the detailed re-identification, cataloguing and exhibition of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic collections, as well as working on the documentation and exhibition of a range of cemetery and settlement sites illustrating dynastic cultural developments. By 1975, when she was appointed Assistant Curator, this long-term reorganisation was well in hand, and she began in addition to write guides and descriptive material, to improve radically security and public access, and to provide better enquiry and photographic services for researchers. When any short-term hope of obtaining new premises faded, she started campaigning both within University College and through outside museum bodies for the upgrading of existing premises, which was finally achieved in 1986–7, after her promotion to Curator in 1984. These improvements allowed the fulfilment of a long-standing wish of hers; the Friends of the Petrie Museum were inaugurated in 1988, and have since been primarily responsible for raising funds for the restoration of mummy portraits, decorated coffins and cartonnage and other material, as well as providing a popular and active forum for Egyptological enthusiasts. In subsequent years, Barbara worked overtime to develop the Museum's constitution, policies, and educational and public services. Her efforts were crowned with success when the Petrie Museum was designated as a museum of national importance eligible for public funding in 1998. Though others contributed, it was principally Barbara's vision, determination and unremitting endeavour which achieved this remarkable transformation.

Barbara was from the outset fascinated by the wonderful objects from Hierakonpolis in the Petrie Museum, including the ivories, which were so caked with mud and paraffin-wax that the delicate carved reliefs were obscured. After taking advice from The British Museum conservation laboratory, Barbara cleaned these herself by hand under a binocular microscope, a process which took her seven years. In 1974 she published the whole material in *Ancient Hierakonpolis*, reproducing F. W. Green's unpublished excavation records, which she rediscovered in Cambridge, in a supplement. This book, illustrated with drawings by Barbara herself and economically produced, contained the first detailed plan of Hierakonpolis marking the findspots of objects and provided a new impetus to studies of the city. Her next book, *Egyptian Objects in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (1977), likewise typifies her

research initiative. She noticed that an important group of New Kingdom sculptural fragments from Petrie's excavations in the Theban necropolis were not recorded in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, and traced them from Petrie's distribution lists to the Victoria and Albert Museum's sculpture department. She then found that many additional ancient Egyptian objects were languishing in the stores of other departments there, so published them all. Another major discovery arose from a visit by officials of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, who called her attention to some fragments of stone sculpture from Egypt in the Wellcome store at Dartford, which she identified as the pair of Early Dynastic stone lions found by Petrie under the Ptolemaic temple at Koptos. These were finely reconstructed by her friend the restorer Richard Jaeschke, and published by them jointly in *The Koptos Lions* (1984); they now guard the entrance to the Provost's office at University College. This interest in Koptos also led her to study and reconstruct, with Jaeschke's collaboration, a group of unique and bizarre sculptured pottery from Koptos, which she published in 1986.

In 1980 Michael Hoffman, the American prehistorian, invited Barbara to join the Hierakonpolis field project led by Walter Fairservis and himself, as finds recorder. It had always been Barbara's dream to excavate in Egypt, and she had trained herself by working in vacations on British sites. To work at Hierakonpolis was the perfect fulfilment of this dream. From 1980–9 she worked mainly under Hoffman on the elite cemetery (Locality 6). Hoffman's early death in 1990 was a trauma for Barbara, to which she reacted in characteristically positive fashion by editing, with her American colleague and friend Renée Friedman, a fine volume of studies of the prehistory of the Nile valley and North-east Africa entitled *The Followers of Horus* (1992) in his memory. In 1994, these two together courageously resuscitated Hoffman's languishing project by undertaking the publication of his results and by resuming fieldwork at Hierakonpolis. Barbara directed excavations in the elite cemetery from 1996–2000 and made unique and exciting discoveries there. These included the skeleton of an immature elephant, probably the earliest found in North Africa, some fragments from Egypt's earliest lifesize stone statue, and a series of unparalleled Predynastic pottery funerary masks. For Barbara the thrill of leading her own expedition and receiving recognition as a leading archaeologist from the German Archaeological Institute was a great personal fulfilment, but in her modest way she obtained equal pleasure from the friendly respect of her loyal Egyptian workmen.

These new activities did not, however, divert her either from her museum work or from her plan, encouraged by Hoffman, to publish all the unpublished material from British excavations at Hierakonpolis. Over a number of years, while on holiday with Rob at their cottage near St. Asaph, she paid regular visits to Liverpool to study the records and finds from Garstang's Hierakonpolis excavations at the Department of Archaeology and Oriental Studies of Liverpool University and at the Merseyside Museum. This research resulted in two books. *The Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis* (1987) is a rewriting in standard format of Garstang's excavation record, with datings, object identifications and succinct analysis by Barbara. In *Ancient Nekhen: Garstang in the City of Hierakonpolis* (1995) she not only collated and published all the identifiable material from Garstang's fieldwork in the temple and town sites, but also gave a complete history of excavation and research at Hierakonpolis, followed by a pioneering analysis, entitled 'The Rise of the City', of its topography, environment, stratigraphy, chronology, history and cultural development. This lucid, constructive and authoritative essay showed that Barbara was not just a cataloguer and compiler, but was an original scholar in her own right. Her later articles in learned journals and contributory publications on Predynastic and Protodynastic topics demonstrate that, although her approach to evidence was always cautious and factual, in accordance with her early training in the natural sciences, she thought deeply about its interpretation in terms of social and cultural development.

Barbara had always been sympathetic with extramural students and enthusiasts for Egyptology, and when time allowed gave evening classes and seminars. Her perception of the needs of such students led her to inaugurate with her friend Ashley Giles, the antiquarian bookseller, a series of succinct but scholarly edited manuals by various scholars entitled *Shire Egyptology*, which she edited herself. She

wrote the first volume on *Egyptian Mummies* (1984), a subject in which she had been interested since childhood visits to The British Museum. Later, she somehow found time to write two further volumes on *Predynastic Egypt* (1988) and *Protodynastic Egypt* (1997, with her friend Krzysztof Cialowicz). These lucid, factual and up-to-date accounts, written in an easy and attractive style and sold at low prices, were a real boon not only to students but to the wider public interested in Egypt.

In 1997 Barbara was appointed Research Curator, and thenceforth had her office in the Institute of Archaeology. Although this move separated her from her beloved objects, it allowed her more time to concentrate on her fieldwork and publication commitments. In 2000 *Excavations in the Locality 6 Cemetery at Hierakonpolis 1979–85* appeared; this was her most substantial book, in which she published all Hoffman's work in the elite cemetery with her usual meticulous attention to detail, and included succinct analyses of the topography, development and dating of the cemetery. Thereafter she was able to concentrate upon the publication of her own fieldwork and various other projects close to her heart. From early in her career she had been working intermittently on sorting and joining the large number of fantastically-shaped decorated fragments of Early Dynastic greywacke vases which Petrie had found at Umm el-Qaab at Abydos. Eventually she co-opted her friend Will Schenk to make reconstruction drawings of these vessels, and, upon herself rediscovering a mass of similar material in a store at the Musée du Cinquanteenaire in Brussels, she formed a collaboration with Dr Stan Hendrickx, who intends to see their joint publication through the press. Another problem which had preoccupied her from early days had been the state of the Petrie Museum's collection of Graeco-Roman mummy portraits from the Fayyum, mainly damaged examples which had suffered from environmentally unsuitable conditions. Eventually she found the ideal restorers in Richard and Helena Jaeshke, and, with the aid of the Friends of the Petrie Museum, one of the largest collections of these fascinating portraits has now been restored. They are to be published by the Friends in a contributory volume as a memorial to Barbara. Her final project, in collaboration with her friend Professor Peter Ucko, Director of the Institute of Archaeology at UCL, was a successful search to track down unpublished Predynastic Egyptian figurines and record, analyse and publish them, which has led to many new discoveries.

This dry account of Barbara's manifold scholarly achievements, which were acknowledged by the award of an Honorary Fellowship of University College in January 2002, would probably have accorded with how she herself wished to be remembered. But it gives little impression of her sterling character, her vibrant personality, her wonderful zest for life, her courage in the face of adversity and pain, her consideration for and help to others, her joyous laughter or her roguish smile. She was unique and inimitable, and her life was and will continue to be an inspiration to those who knew her.

October 2002 saw the death of Joan Crowfoot Payne, well known for her contributions to the study of prehistoric Egypt. Dr Helen Whitehouse, her former associate at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, writes:

Joan Crowfoot Payne was born at Giza on 16 January 1912—an apposite place, indeed, for one who was to study the artifacts produced by the most ancient cultures of Egypt and the Near East. It also reflected a family connection over several generations: while working with the Ministry of Education in Cairo and then Sudan, her father John Crowfoot excavated, and her mother Grace Crowfoot began her pioneering work on ancient textiles, continued in the work of Joan's youngest sister, Elisabeth. Their maternal grandfather was the collector William Frankland Hood, who had travelled in Egypt in the 1880s.

Joan's original choice of career was medicine. When an eye complaint forced her to suspend her studies after taking the Second MB, she turned to archaeology, following the Diploma Course at Cambridge before working on excavations in Palestine directed by her father and others through the early 1930s. Her particular field was lithics, and she established herself as an authority on these even at this early stage, which came to an end with her marriage in 1937.



For two decades, family life claimed her attention, until in 1957—still with five children to bring up—she joined the staff of the Ashmolean Museum, with the title of ‘Cataloguer’. And catalogue she did: Joan systematically sorted, identified, and recorded the museum’s Egyptian and Nubian collections. By the early 1970s, her rigorous and focused way of working had achieved a detailed card-index covering 26,000 items, arranged by provenance and object type, a unique facility which has served researchers well ever since. During this time she continued to work over the whole field of lithics: notable amongst her publications is ‘The Flint Industries of Jericho’ in *Excavations at Jericho 5* (1983). She also published some short but seminal papers on early Egypt, and contributed to the organization of the displays in the Ashmolean’s new suite of Egyptian galleries built in the late 1950s. Museum contacts brought about a particularly fruitful collaboration with Elise Baumgartel, whose work on the great Predynastic cemetery at Naqada was continued by Joan. Her service to the museum and her distinction in the world of archaeology were recognized with the award of an honorary MA by Oxford University in 1980.

During her last years at the museum, Joan had laid the foundations for her magisterial *Catalogue of the Predynastic Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (1993), to which she was able to devote her time after her retirement in 1979. The younger generation of archaeologists working in her field continued to beat a path to her door, and she was always pleased to hear the news of fresh discoveries and discuss their interpretation. Her open-minded and generous enthusiasm never diminished, and in a way it seemed as though her intense enjoyment of her family—and especially the growing tribe of grand- and great-grandchildren—extended to this ‘archaeological family’ too; differences in age never seemed to matter. It is especially poignant that her death followed by three months the tragically early passing of Barbara Adams, perhaps Joan’s closest colleague amongst the younger generation, who shared with her the achievement of becoming an international authority on early Egypt without possessing the formal academic qualifications now deemed necessary for such status.

When increasing frailty compelled her to move from her home in Cumnor in the summer of 2001, Joan asked that such parts of her library that would be of use to them should go to the Ashmolean Museum and the Sackler Library, and that the Naqada site index and her files on Predynastic Egypt should be lodged in the archives of the Griffith Institute. She died on 4 October 2002.

The Society also suffered the loss on 15 November 2002 of Mrs Diana James, wife of Mr T. G. H. James, a Vice President and former Chairman of the Society. Mrs James was herself an Associate Member and for many years organised the Society’s parties and other social functions in London.

Outside Britain the international Egyptological community has lost other members who made wide-ranging contributions to the field. In December 2001 came the death of Geoffrey Freeman, who did so much to organise and to promote the archaeological and educational activities and publications of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities in Canada.

In 2002 Egyptian language studies suffered several losses. The Israeli scholar Mordechai Gilula died in August. Professor John Baines writes:

Mordechai Gilula, who died on 10 August 2002, was a prominent scholar of the Egyptian language. His doctoral thesis on enclitic particles in Middle Egyptian made an important contribution to the understanding of main and subordinate clauses (in Hebrew, Hebrew University Jerusalem, 1968; summary in *GM* 2 (1972), 53–9). This was followed by numerous articles on aspects of Middle Egyptian and on philological interpretation of literary and religious texts. Dr Gilula was on the staff of the archaeology department in the University of Tel Aviv for many years; from the later 1980s onward he suffered increasingly from ill health.

On 4 September 2002 the Coptologist Hans-Martin Schenke died in Berlin.

Bringing out a volume of *JEA* is not a simple process but it is eased by the assistance and co-operation of a variety of people, and it is one of the pleasures of being Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal* to thank them. Foremost are the anonymous referees who freely give of their time and expertise to improve the work of others. Professor Harry Smith also deserves special thanks for undertaking the sad task of writing a number of obituaries of former colleagues and friends for this volume. Those involved in the physical production process should not be overlooked, and gratitude is due to Dr Patricia Spencer, assisted for this issue by Cornelia Kleinitz, for their hours of typesetting. Christopher Naunton has also offered valuable and much appreciated assistance with the reviews. The stalwart Daniel Lines once again deserves recognition for undertaking the proofreading. Colour Commercial Press also merits thanks. Finally, it is with gratitude not unmixed with sadness that I offer plaudits to Dr Margaret Serpico, who after three years is leaving the *JEA* editorial board due to other work commitments. She has expertly dealt with some of the more challenging contributions during her stint, and her sardonic sense of humour will be much missed. Dr Neal Spencer of The British Museum and Dr Katja Goebis of Oxford University will be joining the editorial board in her place.

Dr Lisa Montagno Leahy (Editor-in-Chief)  
Dr Margaret Serpico  
Dr Patricia Spencer  
Professor John Tait  
Dr John Taylor [assisted by Mr Christopher Naunton]

## FIELDWORK, 2001–02

DURING 2001-02 the Society was engaged in a variety of excavation and study activities at the main sites and geographical areas of its recent research. A small team at Sais continued drill core work and sampling, and engaged in limited excavation at Kom Rebwa aimed at gaining a better understanding of the complex stratigraphy; analysis of pottery from the 2000 survey was also completed. The Delta Survey undertaken by Patricia and Jeffrey Spencer embraced four lesser known sites in Sharqiya Governorate: Tell Sanhur and Tell Dibgu, both large mounds with extensive Graeco-Roman remains visible; Tell Ginn, subject to modern encroachment, which has produced first millennium and New Kingdom material; and Tell Soweida, also damaged by recent agricultural development, whose surface appearance resembles a *gezira* cemetery mound. At Memphis work in the Kom Helul furnace area included a productive geophysical survey, followed by carefully selected excavation, as part of the Memphis Faience Project. A short season focusing on the escarpment survey also took place. A large field team at Tell el-Amarna continued with the survey in the desert hinterland and ongoing work in the North Palace and the Small Aten Temple, as well as with a wide-ranging variety of field station studies. Re-investigation of the house of Ranefer, first excavated by the EES in 1921, has yielded significant new information. Further accounts of all these projects can be found in the following pages. An in-depth account of Tell Belim, initially explored in 2000 as part of the Delta Survey and more recently excavated by The British Museum, is found on pp. 37–51.

Unfortunately, new military security restrictions affected the Society's intended work at Qasr Ibrim, and a further study season of finds from the site, mainly those excavated in 2000, based in the SCA magazines at Shellal took place between 19 January and 20 March 2002. Hussein Mahsoub represented the SCA and Ossama Abdel Meguid of the Nubian Museum in Aswan offered further assistance. Circumstances did not allow the planned removal and conservation of a Twenty-fifth Dynasty wall-painting threatened by rising lake levels. However, Pamela Rose (director) and Gillian Pyke made progress towards establishing a corpus of fabrics and forms of late Meroitic pottery, while Peter French and Adrian England recorded most of the previously uncatalogued finds. Alan Clapham's investigation of archaeobotanical remains from Napatan levels at Qasr Ibrim revealed a closer affinity with the Mediterranean range of crop types grown in Egypt than with crops with an African distribution. André Veldmeijer and Erno Endenburg began a study of the cordage found. [based on information provided by Pamela Rose for the EES Annual Report]

In the interests of promoting fieldwork by young scholars, Society Centenary Fund awards were made to Ashley Cooke for survey work at Saqqara near the Unas causeway, to Serena Love for drill-core work at Dahshur, and to Nadine Moeller for continued surveying at Edfu. Valuable contributions have been made by past recipients of such awards, as the reports on Samanud in *JEA* 85 and 87 by Neal Spencer and the account of the Widan el-Faras quarry by Elizabeth Bloxam and Per Storemyr published in this volume (pp. 23–36) show.

None of the EES projects in Egypt would be possible without the co-operation and assistance of the officials of the Supreme Council for Antiquities, and the Society would like to express its deepest appreciation of the support received, particularly from the Secretary General, Gaballa A. Gaballa, and his successor in office, Zahi Hawass, and their staff.

Gratitude is also to be expressed to the former Secretary of the Higher Committee, Magdi Abu el-Aala, and to the Director General of Foreign and Egyptian Missions' Affairs, Magdi el-Ghandour, the staff of the security office in Abbasiya and all the members of local Inspectorates who have provided such essential assistance. As usual, Rawya Ismail in the Cairo office of the EES deserves thanks for her multifaceted and able support to so many EES field workers and to other British missions working in Egypt.

### **Sais (Sa el-Hagar), 2001–02\***

THE team was in the field from 15 August to 22 September 2001 and consisted of Penelope Wilson (field director), Gregory Gilbert and Nicola Midgley (archaeologists), Daniel Lines (drill core supervisor), Amélie Roland-Gosselin (illustrator), Sylvie Marchand and Catherine Defernez (ceramicists) and Fatma Rageb Kamel (SCA representative). From 16 March to 16 April 2002 the team was again in the field and was joined by Jacqueline Cotton (environmental scientist) who carried out environmental sample analysis. The Chief Inspectors in Tanta, Abdel Fattah Eid Ali and Said Zaki el-Ghrainy, again expedited all our work and arrangements.

In these two seasons the projects begun in 2000 were continued, with particular concentration on the analysis of the material from the trial excavations.

#### *Drill Cores*

The drill core work continued unabated and a total of 111 cores have now been completed, giving a series of transects across the site in all directions. It was possible to make two drill cores through the village of Sa el-Hagar itself and they suggested that this is the site of a settlement continuously occupied for a long time, with prehistoric pottery at the bottom of the drill cores just above river and swamp levels. In the Northern Enclosure the drill cores showed that here too was an area with a complex occupation/settlement history and possibly several sequences of intensive settlement. This suggests that Sais has considerable archaeological strata in many portions of the 3 km by 2 km area, and while all of them may not be easy to recover, the longevity of the site has been proven. The refinement of the results and study of the material from the drill cores should lead to a detailed archaeological map of the whole area. This will in turn give information about the nature of delta settlement and the effect of the river-flood system on economic and political life at Sais in particular.

#### *Excavation 3*

Intensive excavation work was carried out in a 5 m by 5 m square trench on the western side of the 'Great Pit' (Excavation 3). The area was next to the test trench dug in 2000 in order to find Predynastic material. The surface contexts yielded Twenty-sixth Dynasty and Ptolemaic material in a pit probably dug at the time of the destruction of Sais. They formed a thin, upper, disturbed level at the top of the trench. At about one metre below this level

\* Thanks are due to the French Institute and its current Director, Bernard Mathieu, for allowing Drs Marchand and Defernez to work with the mission, to Gregory Gilbert for his continued support of the work and to Ashraf and Senne el-Bishe for running our household.

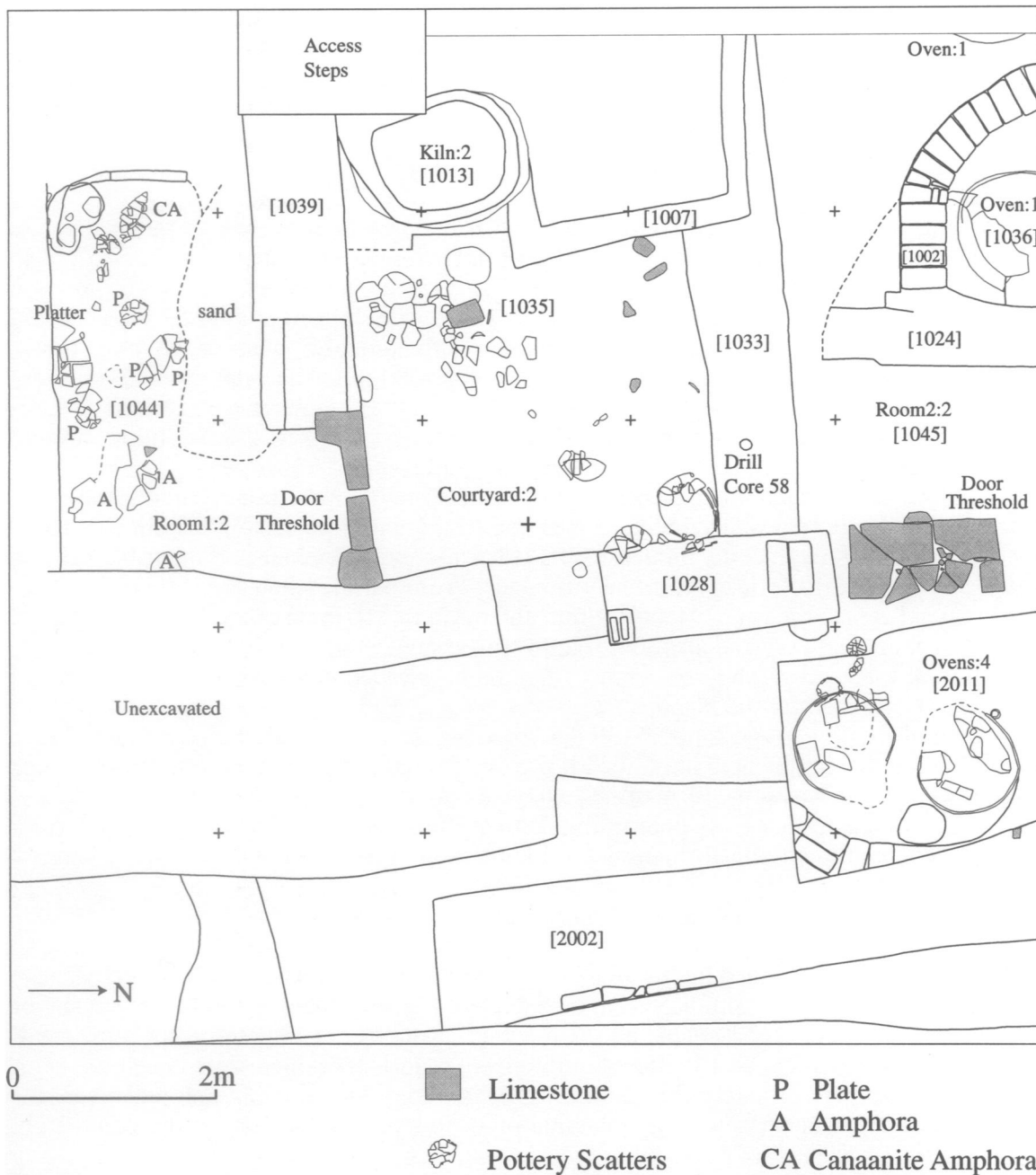


FIG. 1. Sais 2001-02: Kom Rebwa East (plan from originals by Penelope Wilson and Nicola Midgley).

was a sloping sand hill which contained predynastic pottery and the subsequent strata continued downward for about 3 m until the water levels made it impossible to dig further. A possible settlement level was found lying underneath this sand hill and it contained animal bones, charcoal and pottery. The context deposits, however, show little pattern and though one clear post hole was found, a number of others could not be substantiated, nor was it clear whether there were any hearths. It is also possible that at least one context was washed down the sand slope, forming a band around part of the hill. In this case there is the possibility that some of these layers are actually redeposited and not *in situ* settlement material. The contexts are, therefore, somewhat complicated and so far open to varying interpretations.

The analysis of the data and stratigraphy confirmed that there were two main, separate contexts, interleaved with each other and with intermittent sand episodes, possibly also affected by flood or river channel degradation. This may suggest either seasonal occupation or unstable natural environmental conditions. The lower stratum contained polished red and grey sherds from pots, one untempered sherd with an incised plant or fish bone motif, some quartzite pounders and quantities of pig bones. Among the organic material were grains of emmer wheat, barley, grasses, weed seeds and also tamarix wood fragments, almost certainly used for charcoal. It has been tentatively dated to the Neolithic, around 4,800 BC, mainly by comparison with material from the site of Merimde.

The upper stratum contained proportionally more straw-tempered sherds and some decorated with a V-pattern produced with a roller and 'fingernail' impressions. There was also a single example of a terracotta, miniature bull's horn, some fine blade and microblade lithic tools and some early 'bricks' from hearth edges. From parallel material it seems that the upper layer dates to the Buto–Maadi culture and the later Merimde phase, around 3,500 BC. Here, too, there were pig and also some cattle bones, suggesting a shift towards more intensive animal husbandry. The environmental material also contained a single flax seed in addition to evidence for the plants already noted.

Though the dating range is not at present very satisfactory, it might be possible in future work to refine it with the help of radiocarbon dates from the organic samples. The evidence suggests that there was some form of settlement at Sais in the earliest periods and that it was culturally similar to that elsewhere in the delta at the same time. This suggestion derives from a meagre amount of information, but indicates the potential for further work here.

#### *Excavation 1: Kom Rebwa East (fig. 1 and pl. 1, 1)*

Excavations were continued in this area but the work here has not been completed because it turned out to be more complicated than expected. It seems that the top layers consist of very disturbed layers of *redeem* of varying thickness, which contain pottery and some small finds associated with the destruction of buildings of mud-brick which were once built here. These top layers are probably the result of *sebakhin* digging and mean that whatever was built here in the later phases of the inhabitation of this part of the site is now completely gone.

The two periods of excavation in 2001 and 2002 have reached a floor level with several associated walls and other features. There are several phases of building later than this floor level and also several earlier phases which have been cut into by the *sebakhin* pits. This part of Kom Rebwa has effectively provided a slice or section through the area, and with the dates of the pottery ranging back from the Third Intermediate Period to some Eighteenth

Dynasty material and also some later Old Kingdom sherds, suggesting that phasing is well spread over time.

The level 2 area (2 on the plan) consists of a possible small central square ‘courtyard’ with a large mud-brick oven or kiln at the east end [1013] (pl. II, 1). This feature is almost completely preserved. It has a diameter of about 1.8 m at its widest point and stands over 1 m high so far. It is full of pottery, including many small bowls or lids, large bread trays, pot stands and plates (pl. II, 2). Most of the vessels are smashed into pieces, but they are being reconstructed as far as possible to enable drawings to be made. Analysis of the organic material from this oven suggests it was for bread making and food processing as a large number of charred emmer wheat grains came from here, along with fish bones and some small mammal bones. The ‘courtyard’ has a number of large, globular amphorae and other vessels apparently shattered against a stone in its south-eastern corner and a pot emplacement in its north-west corner from which the debris is scattered over the wall [1028]. This suggests that it is an earlier feature which had fallen out of use.

To the south is the entrance to Room 1, which has a limestone threshold, with half of the west doorjamb *in situ* and the complete east doorjamb wholly preserved but fallen over (pl. I, 2). Neither jamb was inscribed but they stood to a height of 1.94 m either side of an entrance 1.02 m wide and so it must have been a relatively imposing entrance. The nature of the room beyond is not, however, clear. To date it has been excavated to the floor level where there are the remains of several smashed amphorae, a large platter just over a metre in diameter and a Canaanite amphora. It may have been a storeroom or magazine connected with the processing of food within this larger complex. The ‘courtyard’, kiln and Room 1 form a suite of rooms, but the extent of Room 1 is still unknown. It was filled with collapsed mud-brick roofing.

In the northern half of Excavation 1 are a series of ovens, apparently at different levels. One oven is in the eastern section of the trench and thus continues into the unexcavated area. The next structure to the west has a mud-brick surround (brick 42 × 21 cm) and consists of a bee-hive shaped oven, whose outside is fired orange-red [1036]. The northern side of the oven is in the northern section, so the entrance to it must be in the unexcavated area. This seems to have been built on top of what may be part of another room, Room 2. The room was filled with fallen brickwork, some possibly from vaulting. At the eastern end of this room is a threshold made up of broken limestone flags, with a pivot hole in the southernmost stone. It is not clear on which side of the doorway is the room to which it gives entrance, but the context [1045] may well be the room floor. The problem with this interpretation is that this area seems to have an oven or kiln in it below floor level which has not yet been excavated.

The area already excavated in 2000 along the eastern side contains flattened-off walls of buildings which may predate the sequence just described. These buildings in turn seem to have been erected on top of an area which was partly prepared by clearance and then filled with sand. Below one filled-in area of sand ([2011]) is another set of two ovens within a mud-brick enclosure. These ovens have literally been sliced off and then were buried under the building sand.

Little survives of any of the main walls, which seem to have been dug away and to have collapsed, but there is enough to give an idea about the basic plans of these features. The ceramic team has begun to work on the typology of the pottery for this site and this will constitute the main dating tool at present. The small finds from the site have mostly been in the fill, though one fragment of an inscribed statue has been found along with faience

beads, a fragment of powder-blue glazed faience, a stone gaming piece, a fragment of a basalt offering table, some more terracotta cobra fragments, numerous pottery disks, pieces of pumice, a scarab, a degraded piece of glass, a bronze kohl stick and a bronze tang from a statuette. As the fill is cleared away some *in situ* finds may help us further to understand the nature of these areas.

PENELOPE WILSON

### The Delta Survey, 2001

THE gathering of information on the more remote sites of the Delta continued in November 2001, with visits by Patricia and Jeffrey Spencer to four mounds in Sharqiya Governorate: *tells* Ginn, Sanhur, Dibgu and Soweida.

*Tell Ginn* (Lat. 30° 55' 10"N, Long. 32° 03' 00"E)

Of the four sites inspected, this was the only one to show evidence of pharaonic occupation. A dirt track for vehicles leads to the north side of the mound, accessed from the asphalt road which runs from Husseinia to Qantara via Minshet Abu Omar. It is a very sandy mound, over 350 metres across, with two deep holes cut into its centre and another in the south-eastern corner. The latter goes down to water; the other two nearly so, and all three are filled by a growth of vegetation. The north-east edge of the mound is only one metre above cultivation level and has been cut by new fields, but the highest parts of the site rise an additional eight metres. The *tell* has elevated ridges along the north and south, with a lower area in the centre (see pl. III, 1). At the south-west it drops to a flat area at the same level as the surrounding cultivation. The surface of the mound is used by traffic and has become contaminated with modern debris. A few houses lie on the east edge. On the summit lie two eroded red granite columns of Romano-Coptic age and five circular granite millstones. Few sherds were visible owing to the dusty nature of the surface; those noted included a coarse rim of the fifth–fourth century BC, a slipped rim of the Third Intermediate Period and a New Kingdom bowl rim. There were also fragments of fired brick scattered about.

*Tell Sanhur* (Lat. 30° 57' 50"N, Long. 32° 00' 50"E)

This large and high mound lies not far north of Tell Ginn and can be reached by a pitted mud track which extends for some six kilometres from the asphalt road which connects Husseinia to Qantara. The track passes through an area of land reclamation where large fish-farms are being established, but the area immediately around the *tell* is devoted to regular forms of agriculture. The high core of the mound is surrounded by broad low areas, which are being cut away for agriculture, especially at the north. The surface is covered by a thick layer of loose dust, littered with fired bricks, ceramic slag and glass fragments of Roman age. No traces of any wall lines or similar buried features were visible. On the highest point is a steel survey-point, bedded in concrete, which there had been recent attempts to extract. Apart from a few limestone flakes and a large fragment of eroded red granite on the top, there was little stone visible on the site. There was no evidence of any



part which might correspond to an Egyptian temple area, an absence which, taken with the late age of the surface material, suggests that the site is entirely late Hellenistic and Roman. The diameter of the mound is some 500 metres with a maximum height of 18 metres above the fields.

*Tell Dibgu* (Lat. 31° 00' 33"N, Long. 31° 58' 45"E)

Another large dusty mound of similar character to Sanhur, with a high core some 400 metres in diameter and a height of 16 metres, surrounded by lower areas which extend the overall size to 1000 × 550 metres. It is located about three kilometres east of Tanis, close to the road which runs along the north side of the Ramses Drain. This road can be accessed from the San el-Hagar end or from its junction with the road beside the El-Salam canal (from the latter direction the first part of the road is not surfaced). The asphalt of the road is in poor condition, making travel somewhat slow. The mound is clearly visible from the road and one dirt track connects to it through the fields (pl. III, 2). The low parts of the mound at the north and south-west have been cut for fish-farms; at the south and south-east are fields with crops. The mound has a high central part surrounded by extensive low and sandy areas, which are particularly wide at the west and north-west (pl. III, 3). The surface is covered with fired bricks, ceramic slag and fragments of glass. There are a few pieces of limestone and quartzite. Very few traces of building lines are visible; only a few rectangular shapes on the low ground at the north were noted. Nothing earlier than the Graeco-Roman Period was seen, and the site resembles some of the large Roman mounds of Kafr es-Sheikh. The quantity of visible surface sherds was limited owing to the deep and soft dust.

*Tell Soweida* (Lat. 30° 56' 38"N, 32° 05' 55"E)

This site lies by the side of the road between Tell Ginn and Tell Belim, some seven kilometres from Tell Belim. The Survey of Egypt 1:100,000 map of 1916 shows a mound in this location bearing the name of Tell Amd, almost certainly the same site. No archaeological site is marked on the Egyptian Survey Authority 1:50,000 map of 1996, but the rising contours of the mound are shown. From their disposition, it is evident that about half the mound on the east side has been levelled to agriculture recently. The surface of the mound is dark brown and powdery, an appearance not uncommon on cemetery mounds of early date founded on *geziras*. The mound is some 400 metres across with gradually sloping sides, rising to a height of about 8 metres above the cultivation. A steel survey marker is set into the highest point. The highest part of the mound is surrounded by a wide area at a low level, bordered by fields on the north and west, and by a road on the south. The field boundaries are straight and appear to have encroached on the site. No signs of any built features were visible, but a couple of robbers' pits in the high areas had thrown up a quantity of fired bricks. Fragments of similar bricks, and ceramic slag, litter the surface. Some sherds noted were of Late Roman date, but few were visible in the powdery surface. Very little stone was present; only a decayed block of limestone at the south and a piece of red granite on the slope of the high central area.

JEFFREY SPENCER

### Memphis, 2001

THE Memphis 2001 season from 5 August to 27 September 2001 had two main objectives: the Kom Helul Kilns project, which ran from August to September; and a short season on the Escarpment Survey during September. Team members were David Jeffreys and Paul Nicholson (Field Directors), Janine Bourriau and Peter French (ceramics specialists), Angus Graham (surveyor), Jennifer Harden (finds assistant), Rowena Hart (geophysics surveyor and archaeologist), Joanne Hodges (draftsperson), Hendrikje Nouwens (registrar), Katinka Stentoft (archaeologist), and Leslie Weber (conservator). As always, we are indebted for the success of the mission to the Officers of the SCA for their help and cooperation: G. A. Gaballa and Zahi Hawass; Adel Hussein, Director of Antiquities at Saqqara, and the Inspectors attached to this year's mission, Salih Muhammad Suleiman Atiya at Saqqara and Zaki Awad at Mit Rahina.

#### *The Memphis Faience Project at Kom Helul* (Paul T. Nicholson)

The Memphis Faience Project worked for a total of six weeks during August and September 2001. The field team comprised Janine Bourriau and Peter French (domestic pottery), Jennifer Harden (site assistant), Rowena Hart (geophysical survey/site supervisor), Joanne Hodges (illustrator), Paul Nicholson (director/industrial ceramics), Hendrikje Nouwens (registrar), Katinka Stentoft (site supervisor) and Leslie Weber (conservator). We are indebted also to our SCA inspector Zaky Awad.<sup>1</sup>

The 2000 season of work at Kom Helul<sup>2</sup> raised more questions than it answered. A platform of burned bricks at site HAD1 provided the best evidence for a furnace structure, although it produced very few finds. To the north, in the HAC areas of the site, a large quantity of 'industrial ceramics', including saggar vessels and three-pointed stands, was unearthed, which offered clues to the way in which faience vessels might have been produced at the site. However, at no stage was any evidence found of the furnaces located by Petrie in the early 1900s and which were, at the time, so well preserved.

In order either to locate the exact sites of Petrie's furnaces or to find new examples, the 2001 season began with a detailed geophysical survey using a proton magnetometer. This occupied the first two weeks and took in the whole of the presently accessible area of Kom Helul, as bounded by the cultivated land and modern village. The results were impressive. The large 'furnace platform' discovered in 2001 turned out to be a *very* large platform indeed—approximately 20 × 20 m in size. Whilst the scale of the platform was unexpected, it tended to confirm the view, formed between seasons, that it may have nothing to do with furnaces or industrial activity. The excavation of this area was continued in order to test this hypothesis. Very few finds were unearthed, and it has been suggested by David Jeffreys that this might be the base of a peripteral temple which was burned at some time in the past. It seems that the brickwork was not originally fired, since the central area of the platform is constructed of unfired mudbrick, and the burned areas also have fired mortar.

<sup>1</sup> The receipt of the British Academy Grant SG-31928, the support of the Wainwright Fund for Near Eastern Archaeology and a donation from the Thames Valley Ancient Egypt Society are all gratefully acknowledged. Some of the post-excavation work is being funded by a generous grant No.F/00/407/M from the Leverhulme Trust, to whom we are indebted.

<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 87 (2001), 12–13.

The results from the study of the industrial area were more positive. The survey clearly showed several high readings consistent with furnaces. Preliminary examination of the results suggested that there were at least four of these, one of them well preserved. This did not accord with Petrie's account of 6 (or 7) furnaces all within an area of 60 or 70 feet, and we therefore assumed that his excavations must now lie beneath the settlement or cultivation. Subsequent work on the geophysical results suggests, however, that there may be still more furnaces, some of them perhaps those known to Petrie.

One of the sites (HAC3) identified by the magnetometer survey as a possible furnace was selected for excavation. Excavation immediately suggested that the site was industrial. It is located on the northern face of one of the large mounds, which are a prominent feature of Kom Helul. Within centimetres of the surface, a patch of burned brick and debris was evident and was removed to reveal a squarish structure of approximately  $1.40 \times 1.60$  m (external dimensions). Removal of a little fill from inside the structure showed it to be heavily burned with the characteristic vitrified lining which is usually, if erroneously, referred to as 'slag'.

Outside the furnace, in the north-west corner, were the remains of steps or revetting in unfired mudbrick. This would not only have helped to stabilise the slope of the mound but would also have formed an access to the top of the structure. Despite the vitrified lining, the furnace might be fragile, and to give maximum protection during excavation the inside was dug first, the aim being to reveal the position of the stoke hole and any vents, and to allow us to assess their condition before removing the deposits outside.

A well constructed, arched stokehole was located on the east side of the furnace, and two smaller vents on the west. The uppermost vent had been blocked at some time during the working life of the furnace and had been plastered on the inside. The lowermost had had a brick inserted to make a temporary blocking. This practice is commonly employed by potters at the end of a firing in order to let the kiln cool more slowly, and it is very likely that the same purpose was being served here. Because the western edge of the furnace was quite close to the edge of the excavation trench, it was not possible to excavate the area west of the vents to see whether they led into some kind of chimney or whether they were simply vented into an open trench. We hope to examine this area in 2002.

The furnace itself was found to be so well preserved that it was not possible to reach the bottom during the excavation. Some two metres of deposit (representing over 2 tonnes of material) were removed from its interior. This might, at first, seem exceptional, but the deepest of the furnaces discovered by Petrie was 4.75 m. There may thus be a considerable amount more to be removed in 2002. This depth necessitated shoring, but as suitable material was not available locally, the timber used hindered the work, and with only a few days of the season remaining, it was decided that the last phase of the excavation for this season would concentrate on the region outside the furnace, on the stoke hole area on the east side. Elevations were drawn of each side of the furnace which will be completed next season, and it was backfilled at the close of the work in order to protect it until next year.

The stoke hole proved to have had its lip protected by the remains of a large saggar vessel. Such protection or repair to stoke holes is common and is attested ethnographically. Outside the stoke hole were more remains of large saggar vessels, whilst the hole itself was protected by two flanking walls. The saggar vessels found in and around the furnace are believed to be contemporary with it, particularly since one of them was used to protect the stoke hole. They are not of the same type as those found in 2000, but are much larger—

most in excess of 40 cm in diameter—nor do they have coloured glaze. Rather, they have a rough, white interior, tend to contain the remains of lime in the bottom and show signs of a thin, whitish glaze only toward the rim.

This clearly begs the question as to whether this furnace really was for faience production. On present evidence we are reasonably certain that it was. However, whether it was involved in the whole process or only in some specific stage, perhaps calcining lime for use in glazing, is not yet clear. Its location in an area known to have been producing faience, as well as finds of saggars-joiners (used to attach saggars together) and of pieces of faience, tend to support the view. These finds are not in their primary context, as the furnace appears to have been backfilled sometime during or after the second century AD. However, it is unlikely that the fill was brought in from any great distance. The furnace was probably filled with debris from immediately around it, and since the debris is consistent with faience production, it is likely that this was its purpose.

Post excavation activities also continued during the season. The finds were recorded in a format suitable for transfer to an electronic database, to be done during the 2002 season. As usual, a conservator was present during the excavation and was able to advise about the conservation of the furnace structure as well as undertaking the restoration of some of the large saggars. The saggars themselves, along with the other industrial pottery, were also studied. Several new types were identified from amongst the material excavated in both 2000 and 2001. It was also found that of all the fragments of three-pointed stands so far unearthed, only one showed any trace of glaze. Whilst this certainly links the stands to the faience production process, it does not support the view that such stands were commonly used inside the saggars. They may instead have served to separate parts of the saggarr stack so that hot gases could more easily circulate amongst them. It is hoped that further study in 2002 will further elucidate this question.

As in 2000, fragments of misfired faience were discovered and will be studied next season. The detailed study of the domestic pottery from the site was also begun. Although firm conclusions cannot yet be drawn, there is little evidence for Ptolemaic working at the site, with most of the faience belonging to the early centuries AD. One of the areas excavated in 2000 may well be somewhat earlier, but this material was in dump context and requires further study before any firm conclusions are drawn.

Overall, it would seem that faience/industrial activity is confined to the area north of the modern irrigation canal designated as HAC. That to the south, in so far as it has been investigated, appears to be religious. In the light of detailed examination of the geophysical survey results, it seems there may be many more furnaces than were known to Petrie and that we are dealing with a large industrial complex. It is not yet clear how many of the furnaces are contemporary with one another and how many belong to earlier or later phases. This question will be addressed in subsequent seasons. It is hoped that the 2002 season will see the completion of the excavation of the furnace in trench HAC3 and its surrounding area.

### *Escarpment survey*

The plateau survey continued with a short season of work using the GPS data collected and processed in 2000/2001 by Ian Mathieson of the National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Project. In 2001 survey points were set up at the corners of one-kilometre and some half-kilometre squares conforming to the global UTM (Universal Transverse Mercator)

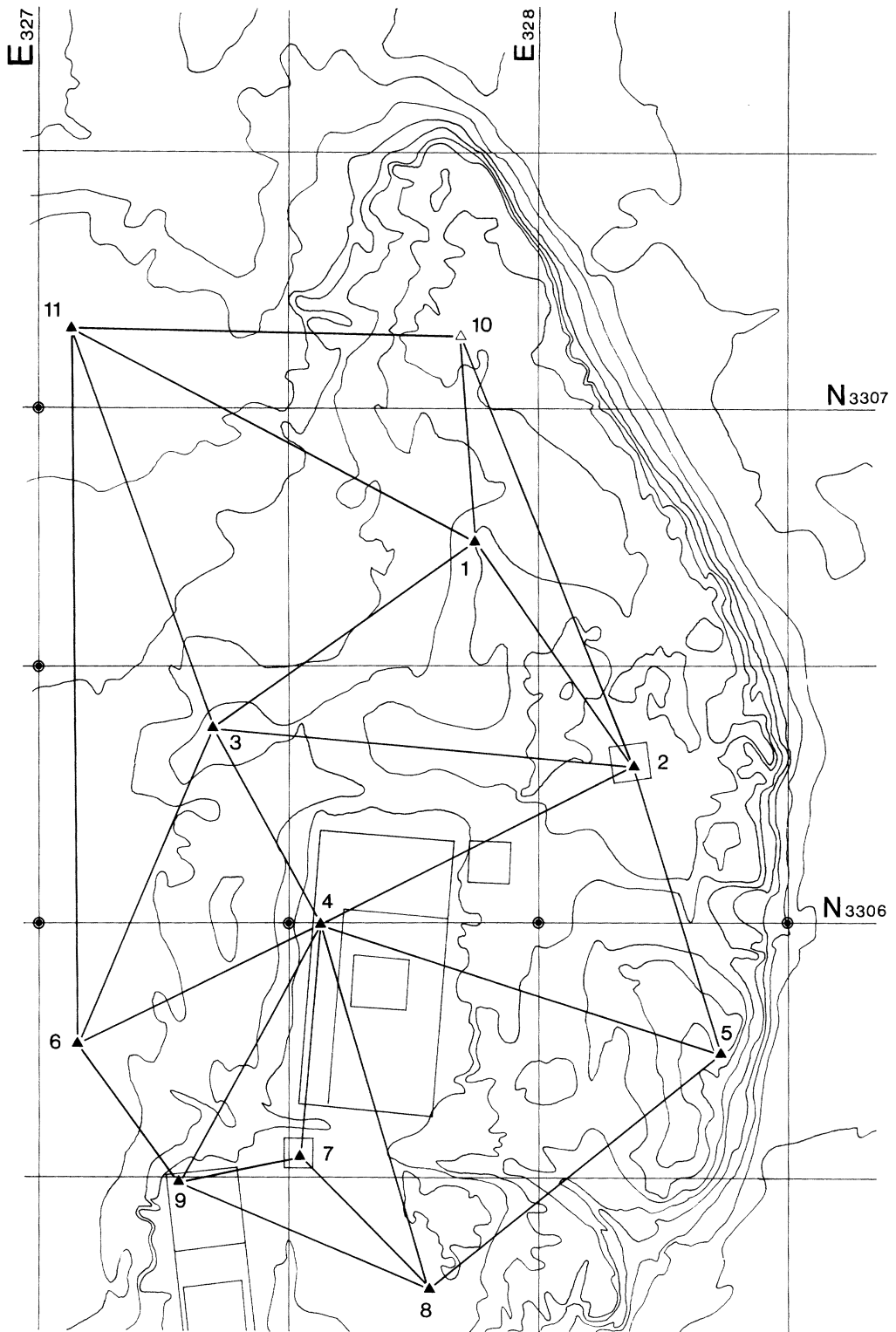


FIG. 1. Map of the Saqqara plateau and escarpment survey area, 2001. Circled points indicate ground markers surveyed in from GPS readings. Triangles are Cairo University T points (1988).

coordinates appearing on the 1978 Ministry of Housing maps, which are currently used by most fieldworkers at Saqqara and other nearby archaeological areas.

Using a Leica TCR307 total station, a baseline was first established on 327 km East, running the length of the 'Abusir Valley' between the Gisir el-Mudir and the Step Pyramid enclosures, across the Serapeum temple enclosure, and slightly to the west of the tomb of Kaaper (fig. 1). Offsets east and west were then measured and checked against all the visible Cairo University points which had been fixed by GPS survey in 2000. Survey markers in the form of steel rods set in concrete were inserted in the ground along these lines at 1 kilometre, and where feasible at 500 metre, distances. Measurements were also taken to several key points to provide coordinates for corners of permanent architectural features such as pyramids.

Since there was insufficient time to establish markers for all such coordinate intervals, priority was given to areas currently under investigation, such as the French (Louvre) excavation on the north side of the Unas pyramid causeway, the Netherlands (Leiden) excavation around the tomb of Horemheb, the Polish (PAM) excavation west of the Step Pyramid, the French (MAFS) excavation along the cliff line west of the tomb of Aperia, and the Japanese (Waseda) excavation of a building (pyramid?) of Khaemwese to the west of Kaaper. Remaining lines—for example, across the Early Dynastic necropolis and extensions down the escarpment and out into the floodplain—will be established in the next few seasons, along with more accurate heights above sea level and positions for further architectural features. Work will also continue on reconciling to this UTM reference system the various other local grids and coordinate systems used in the past and present.

A framework now exists for coordinated mapping on the Saqqara/Abusir plateau and escarpment. Basic data has been sent to the SCA and to all colleagues engaged in fieldwork there. One team, the IFAO mission at Saqqara South, has extended the GPS survey to its concession boundary with Dahshur, and it is still hoped eventually to have an integrated grid that will cover the whole of the Memphite necropolis.

DAVID JEFFREYS *and* PAUL NICHOLSON

### **Tell el-Amarna, 2001–02**

THE season ran between 25 February and 4 April 2002. The staff comprised B. J. Kemp (field director), Paul Buckland, Sarah and James Clackson, Alan Clapham, Ann Cornwell, Surésh Dhargalkar, Amanda Dunsmore, Helen Fenwick, Rainer Gerisch, Daniel Lines, Colin Merrony, Gwilym Owen, Eva Panagiotakopulu, Gillian Pyke, Pamela Rose, Corinna Rossi, Christopher Stevens and Kristin Thompson. The SCA Inspector of Antiquities was Helmi Hussein. It is again a pleasure to report generous additional funding from the Amarna Research Foundation, who also donated a replacement fabric envelope for the helium photographic balloon. Grateful acknowledgement is due to the McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research for continuing research facilities, and to the Faculty of Oriental Studies (both of the University of Cambridge) for the purchase of substantial computing equipment and GIS software.

### *Desert survey*

Helen Fenwick, assisted by Corinna Rossi, continued the GPS survey of the desert hinterland of Amarna (fig. 1). The main sector covered was the low central plateau on the slopes of which are situated the Workmen's Village and Stone Village. In addition to contouring the surface and linking it with the area covered last year, special attention was paid to identifying and mapping the network of ancient roads which form a particularly dense network here and are clearly contemporary with the two villages. Several new stretches were identified. The GPS survey equipment marks both their courses and their widths. Rossi observed that their even widths and tendency to be laid out as a sequence of straight sections points to cords having been used. The care taken to develop the system, which probably saw local changes to the layout over time, suggests that it was an important element in the design and administration of Akhetaten. Colin Merrony conducted a magnetometer survey of the two cemeteries discovered and mapped last year, and of the Stone Village. Aerial photographs from the helium balloon were also taken of the two villages, under the supervision of Gwil Owen, .

### *House of Ranefer*

The house of Ranefer (N49.18) was excavated in the Society's first season at Amarna, under the direction of T. E. Peet, and published in *City of Akhenaten I*, in more detail than was often the case with individual houses. It was decided to reclear Ranefer's house in 2002 to increase the range of samples of ancient plant and insect remains. The Workmen's Village had produced deposits rich in such remains,<sup>1</sup> and so had the Late Antique levels at Kom el-Nana.<sup>2</sup> By contrast, little has so far been recovered from the main city, creating a significant gap in the basis for comparisons. Samples from the excavations across grid no. 10 (the area beside and to the south of the Smenkhkara Hall) had produced little material of value in these categories, the shallow stratigraphy leaving little that was securely stratified.

What was attractive about Ranefer's house was the demonstration by Peet (and his assistant Hayter) that the floors of two of the rooms covered a depth of at least a metre of earlier floors and rubble layers, which were only examined by means of pits dug through them. Potentially therefore, much of the debris beneath Ranefer's house floor remained securely sealed. Peet's own interest was in the possibility that the earlier floors might belong to a phase prior to the Amarna Period. After having examined sherds from all of the levels, he regarded nothing as inconsistent with an Amarna Period date for the whole sequence. A further reason for taking a renewed interest in Ranefer's house was that here was one of the few cases where a well had been cleared out to a considerable depth. Peet had been unable to reach the bottom of the well, which presumably had lain beneath the water-table when originally dug. If the base of the well had remained beneath the water-table thereafter, it is

<sup>1</sup> See E. Panagiotakopulu, 'An Examination of Biological Materials from Coprolites from XVIII Dynasty Amarna, Egypt', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26 (1999), 547–51; E. Panagiotakopulu, 'New Records for Ancient Pests: Archaeoentomology in Egypt', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 28 (2001), 1235–46.

<sup>2</sup> M. Harlow and W. Smith, 'Between Fasting and Feasting: the Literary and Archaeo-botanical Evidence for Monastic Diet in Late Antique Egypt', *Antiquity* 75 (2001), 758–68; K. W. M. Smith, *The Agricultural Economy and Practice of an Egyptian Late Antique Monastery: an Archaeobotanical Case Study* (in press).

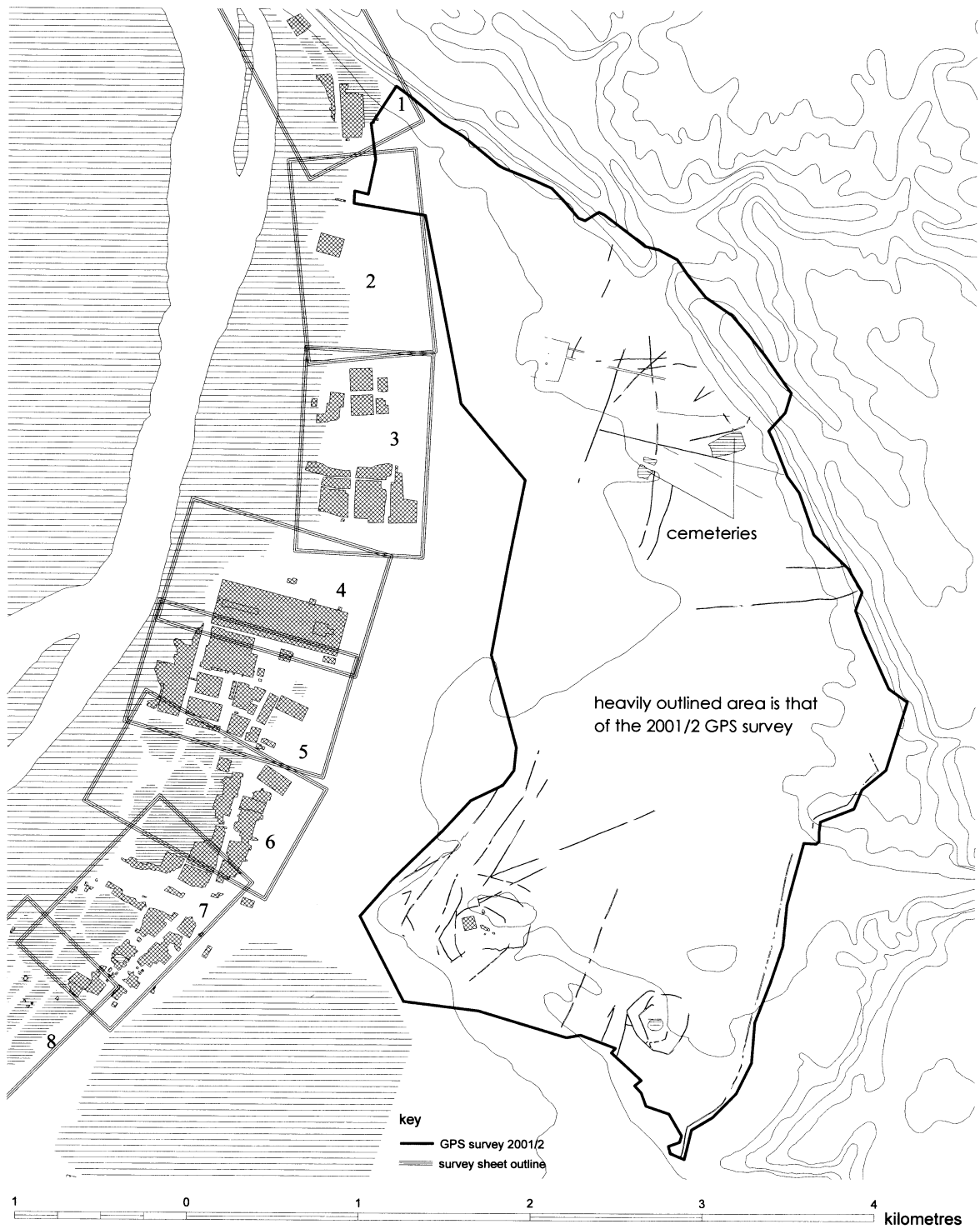


FIG. 1. Map of the Amarna plain showing the area newly surveyed in 2001 and 2002, and how it relates to the sheets of the already published survey of the city. The straight lines within the newly surveyed area are the ancient roads. Original surveying by Helen Fenwick.



possible that environmental remains have been preserved there too, and might be reachable with the aid of coring equipment.

The house of Ranefer lies some 300 m north of the Society's field station. It once stood on the corner of two streets and was one of the more substantially built houses in the area; it is still a prominent ruin, despite the effects of weathering and local collapse of some of the walls. In 1996 the 'West Loggia' was re-cleared as part of the researches on the ancient textile industry at Amarna, on account of the possibility that a loom had been set up there.<sup>3</sup> This exercise revealed that much of the brick floor had been dug over in the decades since 1921. In contemplating more extensive re-examination, one could therefore not know beforehand whether any of Peet's lower levels had survived or whether they had been entirely turned over in searches for buried treasure.

Two groups of men, to a total of ten, began the re-clearance at the beginning of March 2002 under the direction of Buckland and Panagiotakopulu (pl. IV, 1). It was quickly established that, although there had been disturbance to the brick floors of the final phase and all column bases and thresholds had been dug up, Peet's exploratory pits and the buried under-floor debris were largely intact. The modern removal of the limestone threshold leading into Ranefer's central hall had one benefit: in underlying rubble was discovered a pebble bearing two lines of hieratic text (see the Appendix). On the site of the well, the upper edge had weathered and collapsed, taking one side of the flight of steps with it, and the water-table had also risen. Nonetheless, the lower part of the staircase and the brick revetment to the well basin have survived to a substantial extent. In the two weeks allotted most of the rooms of Ranefer's actual house were cleared of the loose debris that had accumulated since 1921, and in doing this, the deeper excavations of Peet's season were also cleaned. In the grounds of the house, little was done beyond cleaning the upper part of the well. Work ceased for the season on 14 March. The buried strata, sealed by Ranefer's floors, do indeed contain plant and insect remains, and this and the evidence for a change in the utilization of space justify continuing the project into future seasons, especially by exploring the lateral extent of the lower levels outside the fairly restricted limits of the 1921 season.

It is clear that the stratigraphic record made by Peet and Hayter is substantially correct. Where it can be improved is in a better understanding of how the various strata came to be laid down and hence how the site changed its character over the years that Amarna was occupied. The provisional picture, which remains to be modified and amplified as the investigation is pursued in future seasons, is as follows. Initially a broad pit was dug into the desert subsoil, which is here an orange-brown gravel. There is no indication why this was done. Since the site lies beside one of the main north–south thoroughfares, which might mark the edge of a stage in the lateral growth of the city, it is possible that gravel was dug to make bricks for new houses as they were laid out to the east. The pit then filled up, mainly with layers of mud-brick and rubble and other debris, but it also developed several hard-packed irregular trampled surfaces. Peet's two exposures, in the central room and the transverse hall of what became Ranefer's house, represent respectively a northern and a southern cut into the pit fills. For the most part, the southern cut exposed walls and floors from earlier rooms built to smaller dimensions, evidently belonging to a smaller house. More of this building must lie hidden beneath the later floors or within the dust and rubble, which is all that remains in some rooms. A small area of additional walls has already appeared lower down in the fill of the 'West Loggia', and we have established that a number

<sup>3</sup> B. Kemp and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry of Amarna* (EES Excavation Memoir 68; London, 2001), 455–60.

of small features recorded on the 1921 plan of a room which leads off eastwards from the central hall do, in fact, belong to the earlier phase. In some places it can be seen that the floor of the rebuilt house also lies on a layer of rubble which includes pieces of white plaster spread over straw-rich mud plaster, either from the walls or ceiling (or both) of the earlier building, which must have been demolished.

In moving from Peet's southern to northern pit one evidently moves from inside the earlier house into an open space that lay beside it. Thus the northern wall of the earlier building must be still concealed beneath the brick paving of Ranefer's transverse hall. The adjacent open space must have been a yard, initially with a slightly concave surface. Several irregular mud 'floors' built up until the level of the yard was roughly equivalent to that of the adjacent building. Within Peet's original cut there are traces of an ancient circular cut filled with mud and sherds. One possibility is that these are the remains of a tree pit. Over the final mud surface there then developed a midden, now a rich dark earth containing charred and uncharred plant material and insect remains. Perhaps this was contemporary with the earlier building. When this was demolished, some of the rubble, still with flakes of whitewashed plaster, spilled over it. Ranefer's builder dealt with the midden by spreading a layer of clean desert sand and gravel over it, then covering this with more rubble, and finally laying the floor of the new transverse hall over the top. Where the columns were to go, however, he guarded against subsidence by digging foundation pits and inserting square brick supports.

So far the evidence points to Ranefer's house having been built to a separate plan over the demolished remains of an earlier building, probably a smaller house. The north wall of the later house does not, however, fit this scheme. In the southern part of the house the later walls have been built in foundation trenches, which cut into everything that lies beneath. Much of the stratigraphic sequence of the northern cut, including the midden and covering of orange gravel, lies against the northern wall, which descends much deeper and was built into a trench cut only into one of the lowest mud 'floors'. Moreover, the surface of the wall, even where the midden lay against it, was mud-plastered. At present the evidence points to this wall having originally served a different purpose, perhaps as the outer wall of a building which lay to the north, of which only this wall was retained for re-use in Ranefer's new house. The depth of deposits at this point takes one well below the level of the ground of Ranefer's compound on the north. Presumably the deep stratigraphy, which fills the old pit, continues on the far side and remains to be investigated. It is to be hoped that this will shed further light on the history of the building.

Peet's examination of Ranefer's compound, where the granaries lie, also revealed two phases of use, but whether they correspond to the two phases of the house itself cannot as yet be discerned. No certain trace of the earlier phase (or phases) has been identified to the east, where the compound met the house, and it is clear that the pit, which lies beneath the house, did not extend this far in this direction. The first phase to the east of the house saw the digging of the well which Peet cleared of debris, and the construction of two circular grain silos to the north. For the second phase the well was completely filled and a columned room built over the top. The silos were also cut down to ground level and some storerooms built over the foundations, whilst the silos themselves were replaced by a larger number (four instead of two), close to the site of the original well. Ranefer's compound possessed a second well, in the north-east corner, but little is known of it since it seems never to have been examined in detail.

A dossier on Ranefer's house, including reproductions of the original reports, is to be found on the web site: <http://www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk/projects/amarna>

*The environmental evidence* (E. Panagiotakopulu and P. Buckland)

The sections exposed in Peet's cut through the floor of the transverse hall had weathered considerably since his excavations, and there had been further disturbance by treasure hunters and feral dogs. Cleaning back of the sections, however, revealed substantial *in situ* deposits with much evident macroplant and animal debris, including large amounts of cereal chaff and numerous insect fragments. Preliminary disaggregation of samples over a 300 µm sieve, and careful examination of the exposed face yielded large numbers of the puparia of the common housefly, *Musca domestica* L. This now cosmopolitan, strongly synanthropic pest breeds in accumulations of rotting plant and animal debris, including excrement, and it is frequent in Egypt at the present day. Skidmore,<sup>4</sup> in his monograph on the dipterous family Muscidae, has argued that *M. domestica* has its origins in the warmer parts of the Palaearctic temperate zone, and the species is probably native to Egypt, whence it has travelled with people to the rest of the world. Housefly puparia appear in the samples from the Workmen's Village at Amarna,<sup>5</sup> and were also recorded during the Manchester Mummy Project,<sup>6</sup> but their abundance in the midden beneath Ranefer's house imply an ideal pabulum, and it may be significant that Skidmore notes that fresh horse dung seems to be the preferred habitat. This may correlate with the chaff remains, which could derive from cereal waste fed to horses. The one beetle recovered from the preliminary evaluation, the large tenebrionid *Trachyderma* (?) *hispidata* (Forsk.) is recorded as a scavenger in mills, granaries and open *shounas*,<sup>7</sup> although it is not infrequent in other synanthropic situations, including around the expedition house at the present day. Swarms of houseflies pose a significant health risk, spreading, amongst many other diseases, typhoid, dysentery, diarrhoea and the blinding eye disease *Trachoma*. In the late nineteenth century Amelia Edwards<sup>8</sup> commented on the high frequency of blindness in Minya, and treatments for eye infections figure prominently in medical papyri from the pharaonic to Roman periods.<sup>9</sup>

Panagiotakopulu has previously recorded fragments of Orthoptera in samples from the Roman quarry site at Mons Claudianus in the Eastern Desert,<sup>10</sup> and large numbers of fragments from the Byzantine monastic site at Kom el-Nana must reflect their consumption by either man or other entomophage, but the largely complete example (pl. IV, 2) from the midden beneath Ranefer's house allows identification to the species level using the keys by Bei-Bienko.<sup>11</sup> The specimen belongs to the solitary phase of the desert locust, *Schistocerca gregaria* L. Locusts are, of course, one of the Biblical plagues of Egypt, and high density, depletion of food resources and suitable weather conditions may lead to the mass emergence of the gregarious form,<sup>12</sup> leading to the widespread destruction of both crops and natural vegetation across a broad band of Africa, occasionally extending across the Medi-

<sup>4</sup> P. Skidmore, *The Biology of the Muscidae of the World* (Dordrecht, 1985).

<sup>5</sup> Skidmore, in Panagiotakopulu, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26, 547–51.

<sup>6</sup> A. Curry, 'The Insects Associated with the Manchester Mummies', in A. R. David (ed.), *Manchester Museum Mummy Project* (Manchester, 1979), 113–17.

<sup>7</sup> R. Attia and A. H. Kamel, 'The Fauna of Stored Products in U.A.R.', *Bulletin Société Entomologique d'Égypte* 49 (1965), 221–32.

<sup>8</sup> A. B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (London, 1888, reprint 1993), 86.

<sup>9</sup> See G. C. Boon, 'Potters, Oculists and Eye Troubles', *Britannia* 14 (1983), 1–12.

<sup>10</sup> E. Panagiotakopulu and M. van der Veen, 'Synanthropic Insect Faunas from *Mons Claudianus*, a Roman Quarry Site in the Eastern Desert, Egypt', in A. C. Ashworth, P. C. Buckland and J. P. Sadler (eds), *Studies in Quaternary Entomology — An Inordinate Fondness for Insects. Quaternary Proceedings* 5 (1997), 199–206.

<sup>11</sup> M. Bei-Bienko, *Locusts and Grass-hoppers of the USSR and Adjacent Countries*, I (Jerusalem, 1963).

<sup>12</sup> B. Uvarov, *Grasshoppers and Locusts* (London, 1966).

terranean into Europe. Whilst the finding of a single individual may represent its accidental incorporation into the deposits, Greek sources refer to the insects being used as food.<sup>13</sup> Largely consumed by the poor or by soldiers on campaign, they were also fed to caged birds. Around the Mediterranean, locusts were a well known food. In Cyrene, they were a popular dish, and Pliny (*HN VII*, 104) reports that an African tribe literally followed locust swarms. Herodotus (*IV*, 172) names a Libyan tribe, the Nassamones, who put sun-dried and ground locusts into their milk, and Pliny (*HN VI*, 195) also refers to an Ethiopian tribe known as Akridophagoi because their diet consisted largely of *akrides* (= locusts, grasshoppers).

Fragments of other insects were evident in the cleaned sections of Peet's pit beneath the transverse hall of Ranefer's house, and further work will concentrate on the dry sieving and sorting of these closely stratified deposits. They promise to yield a detailed picture of living conditions and levels of hygiene in New Kingdom Amarna.

### *South House dump*

It has been known for some time that the area beside the north-east corner of the expedition house had been used by the EES expeditions of the early 1920s as a place for sorting carved stones obtained from Maru-Aten and also for burying surplus antiquities. One such cache was recovered in 1992. This year a more methodical clearance of the area was begun. Many more pieces of carved stone came to light, together with a few small finds. From the few that bear excavators' marks it can be deduced that it is a mixture of material from Borchardt's and early EES excavations. The latest pieces derive from the 1924 season, when the southern house was abandoned in favour of the newly built house in the North City. The stonework probably comes mainly from Maru-Aten but the few 1924 pieces come from the house of Panehsy, excavated by Griffith. Many of the small fragments of Ranefer's smashed door-jambs were also present.<sup>14</sup> In a separate area a significant portion of the type collection of pottery assembled in these early EES seasons was also uncovered and rescued.<sup>15</sup> These are the vessels on which the drawn corpus published in *City of Akhenaten I* is based. Many bear clearly legible ink and pencil numbers. This is a most timely discovery for it will help to fill a large gap in the new pottery corpus being prepared by Pamela Rose. As part of a separate project Amanda Dunsmore continued her work on the pottery from the areas outside the tombs in the royal wadi network, a project done in collaboration with Marc Gabolde of the University of Montpellier III.

### *Repairs to ancient buildings*

At the Small Aten Temple, the repair programme continued, under the supervision of Surésh Dhargalkar, with emphasis upon the side gates and adjacent lengths of wall along the line of the second pylon. This has embraced part of the enclosure wall on the north and a buttress. The front plinthing of the first pylon was also finished. The next major step in clarifying

<sup>13</sup> See I. C. Beavis, *Insects and other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* (Exeter, 1988), and E. Panagiotakopulu, *Archaeology and Entomology in the Eastern Mediterranean. Research into the History of Insect Synanthropy in Greece and Egypt* (BAR International Series 836; Oxford, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> COA I, 8, fig. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Pamela Rose, 'Re-excavating the Excavators at Amarna', *Egyptian Archaeology* 21 (Autumn, 2002), 18–20.

and defining the building's overall structure is to re-floor the various gateways with a new stone layer. To this end a large load of new blocks cut to the appropriate size was purchased.

The aim of the repair programme at the North Palace was to complete the redefinition of the next section of the rear portion of the palace to the south of the garden court. The lines of lost walls were replaced with new low walls of new bricks, the lower parts of eroded walls were refaced, new square brick piers replaced the near-invisible original ones, and a major length of the outside of the rear enclosure wall was refaced. Apart from replacing a number of missing column bases in a corridor, which must await next year, the repairs in this part are now finished.

The opportunity was taken to use the EES coring equipment in the large central depression, the upper parts of which have been investigated in recent years by trenching. Starting from a point almost 5 m below the palace floor level, Alan Clapham was able to take the drill down to a further depth of 3.2 m until the inrush of water made further work impossible with the existing equipment. The soil at this point was still sand, almost certainly blown by the wind into an even deeper hole.

#### *Work at the field station*

Kristin Thompson continued the cataloguing of the fragments of hard stone statues of the Amarna Period, mostly obtained from material discarded by earlier expeditions and since recovered. The richest source has proved to be an area behind Pendlebury's north expedition house where several hundred pieces were left behind. They are likely to be mainly from colossal statues erected in the Great Palace, the majority of them in red granite. Over the years (beginning in 1981) this material has been gathered in, and a final collection was made during this season. The first 216 pieces collected in 1981 were sent to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in the following year. It is a pleasure to report that the SCA, including the director of the museum, Mamdouh el-Damati, agreed to a request that these pieces be returned to the Amarna magazines so that they could be studied further in conjunction with the rest of the collection. The return of the fragments took place on 30 March 2002, under the supervision of Helmi Hussein.

The plan by Pamela Rose to produce a major corpus of pottery from Amarna has advanced an important step further through the discovery of a large part of the original reference collection of pottery collected by the Society between 1921 and 1924, buried in the ground beside the expedition house. Many of the vessels still bear the original excavation and corpus numbers. The vessels are broken and require restoration, and will then be drawn to become additions to the new corpus.

The season saw the completion, by Gillian Pyke, of the tray-by-tray analysis of the wall plaster from the fifth–sixth century church at the monastic site of Kom el-Nana, excavated in 2000.<sup>16</sup> The groups of joined plaster created during this process were recorded. Further joins were made across the artificial contexts, giving large areas of joined fragments. The subject of the decoration is probably a line of male figures, perhaps saints, apostles and/or patriarchs. They wear gold, pale red and green cloaks and one perhaps holds a key, while several others hold scrolls. Pieces of a figure wearing a white cloak were also found, perhaps that of Christ in a chariot, a motif known to have occurred at the church in Bawit. All new groups and additions to existing plaster groups were photographed.

<sup>16</sup> Gillian Pyke, 'Church Wall Paintings from Kom el-Nana', *Egyptian Archaeology* 22 (Spring, 2003), 16–17.

The plaster and pigments were examined under a microscope. It was found that two different yellow pigments were used, one probably yellow ochre, the other a paler yellow colour with a crystalline structure (orpiment or jarosite?). The first of these is by far the commoner, having been used for the gold cloaks; the other seems to be much less common, being found on only a single area. The pale red colour used for cloaks and between figures was discovered to be a single colour (madder?) rather than a mix of red and white. The red pigment appears not to be red ochre, as was used in pharaonic times, but is perhaps vermilion or realgar. Both the plaster and the pigments were photographed.

A visit was made to tomb 6 (Panehsy), to examine the alterations made to the tomb when it was converted into a Coptic church. The plaster and painting techniques as well as the motifs were compared to those of the church at Kom el-Nana. Although the motifs are generally quite different, they are stylistically similar. The plaster and painting techniques are also comparable.

The various studies on plant and insect remains from the Amarna Period deposits were continued: the charcoal to determine tree and bush species (Rainer Gerisch), sieved soil samples from the Workmen's Village to determine plant remains (Christopher Stevens), and small soil samples from the Ranefer sequence to determine their plant and insect potential (Eva Panagiotakopulu and Paul Buckland).

Ann Cornwell brought the packing and shelving of the small finds from the last two seasons up to date and made the preliminary listing of the pieces recovered from the 1920s excavations. During a short visit Sarah Clackson collated the Coptic and Greek ostraca from Kom el-Nana and examined the graffiti and remains of painted text on the wall plaster from the Kom el-Nana church.
















#### *Appendix: stone with hieratic inscription (D. Lines)*




This object (no. 33328) was discovered during the re-excavation of the house of Ranefer, N49.18. It was excavated in a construction trench (unit number [10061]) associated with the building of Ranefer's house, but complications arise from the fact that this house was built on the levelled remains of the buildings previously occupying the plot. The opinion of the excavator (Buckland) is that it is likely to be a primary deposit of Ranefer's house, but that it is impossible to exclude the possibility of it having been disturbed in antiquity from the debris of the underlying structure. If the stone was deliberately placed into the construction trench of Ranefer's house, then it may represent some kind of domestic 'foundation deposit'. If, on the other hand, it is associated with the earlier structure, it is possible that it was deliberately placed at or near to the place where it was found, and it would then reveal something about that house's occupant.

The object is a roughly spherical piece of hard limestone of approximately 13 cm in diameter (pl. IV, 3). The inscription is on a roughly flat surface, which was apparently prepared for this purpose. The inscription appears to be complete, since there is uninscribed stone surrounding it. The ink is dark and the signs clear, except for the slight distortion of some signs due to the uneven and unyielding writing surface. Despite the apparent integrity and clarity of the inscription, producing a translation is not entirely without difficulties.<sup>17</sup>

The first problem is posed by the very first sign, which looks similar to a number of 'seated figure' signs without being positively identifiable as any one of them. If the inscrip-

<sup>17</sup> I am grateful to M. A. Leahy for discussing the inscription with me, and in particular, for the reading of the name in the second line.

tion as a whole is complete, then this sign must make sense in the light of the one following, which is clearly . In this context, perhaps the best reading of the first sign is , giving the title *sꜣw*, ‘guardian’.<sup>18</sup> This title is attested at Amarna, although it is not common,<sup>19</sup> and nowhere else am I aware of quite such an abbreviated spelling. Below the determinative is a horizontal line, read here as an *n*, and the next group is clearly  , *pꜣ*. Another horizontal stroke, again to be read as a (genitival?) *n*, ends the first line but the signs between this and *pꜣ* are the most problematic. This group begins with a flat sign above what is apparently another *aleph*, being very similar to the preceding sign. The flat sign is not sufficiently closed for it to be definitely identified as , so  must also be considered, amongst other options. Following these there is an upright sign, for which  might be favoured on the strength of a spot of ink before the vertical stroke. The next group of signs suggests  (sic), although again the reading is uncertain, and is based mainly on the form of the two lower signs, the upper one being rather too long and compressed to suit  closely. All attempts to achieve a secure reading here which fits both the signs and the context have been frustrated. The word *dmi*, ‘town, quarter, abode’,<sup>20</sup> was considered, but either of the possible spellings   or, more likely,   would require the sign that looks nearly identical to the preceding *aleph* not to be an *aleph* itself. Furthermore the shape of the sign in question does not suggest either  or .

The second line of the inscription contains only a single personal name:   , *Knr*. This name is well known from the New Kingdom,<sup>21</sup> and there is one example from the Amarna Period listed by Hari, from the Theban tomb of the high official Amenhotep-Huy (TT 40) where the name belongs to a female relative.<sup>22</sup>

As the inscription appears to be complete and concludes with a personal name, it is logical to suggest that the top line contains titles, with the object recording (commemorating?) a single individual by title and name. However, the apparent genitival *n* at the end of the first line alters the meaning of the translation significantly, yielding:

- (1) *sꜣ(w) (?) n pꜣ dmi (?) n* (2) *Knr*  
 (1) Guardian (?) of the abode (?) of (2) Kener

It is frustrating that such a short inscription should have proven so obstinate in resisting a definitive reading. Nevertheless, it does attest a hitherto unknown official Kener at Amarna, even if his relationship to Ranefer remains unclear.

BARRY KEMP

<sup>18</sup> For the form of the sign, see G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* (Leipzig, 1902), no. 47. The normal shape does not share the horizontal stroke through the top of the vertical line found in the Amarna inscription.

<sup>19</sup> See R. Hari, *Répertoire onomastique amarnien* (AH 4; Basel, 1976), nos. 185 and 234. Both of the people known to have held this title also held titles related to the production of wine, and are known from the occurrence of their names on wine-jar labels from the site.

<sup>20</sup> For the meaning ‘abode’, see R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991), B1, 27.

<sup>21</sup> See Ranke, *PNI*, 346, 11.

<sup>22</sup> Hari, *Répertoire*, no. 294. See N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tut'ankhamun (No. 40)*, (Theban Tomb Series 4; London, 1926), pl. ii.



1. View south of Kom Rebwa East excavation.



2. Reconstructed doorway for Room 1.



PLATE II



1. Oven [1013], top excavated.



2. Reconstructed pot stand,  
SAIS (pp. 1–5)

1. View of Tell Ginn showing the ridge along the north edge and a granite millstone in the foreground.

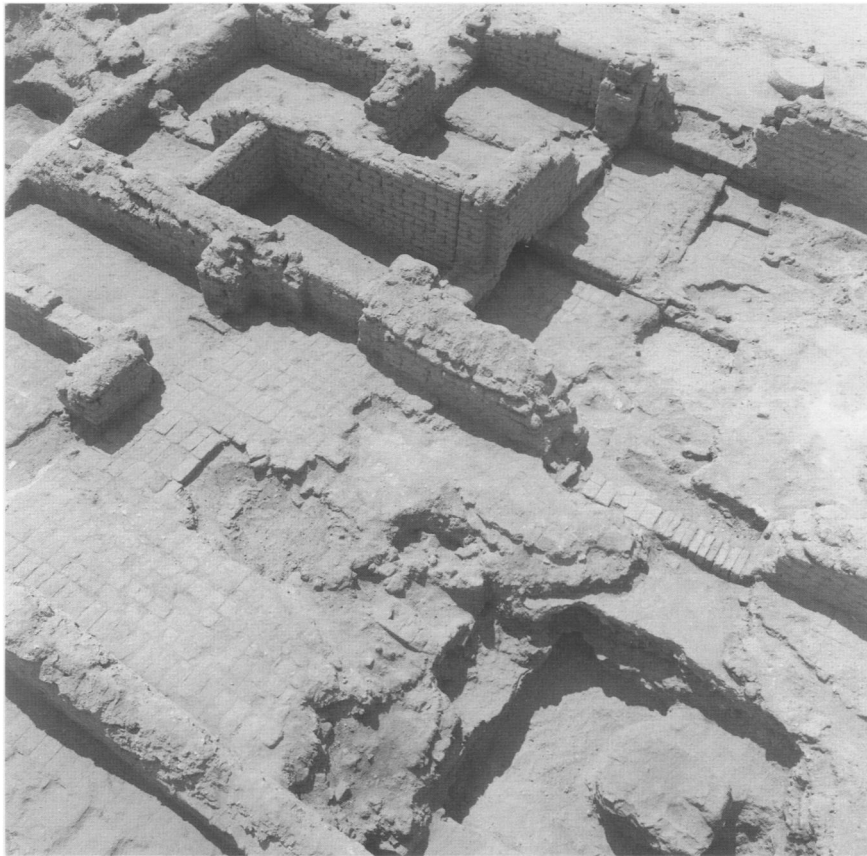


2. The approach to Tell Dibgu from the south.

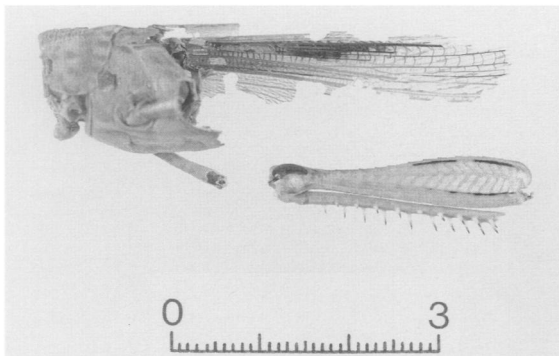
3. View to the north-west from the summit of Tell Dibgu, showing the extensive flat area of the site.



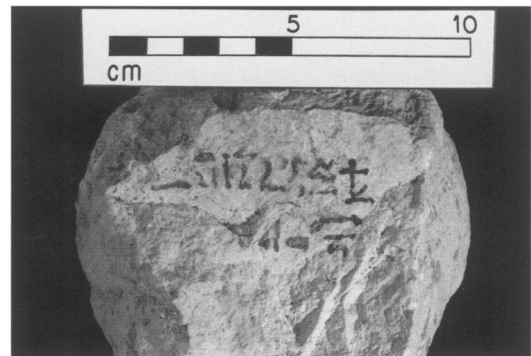
PLATE IV



1. The house of Ranefer cleaned of sand. In the foreground the large hole is one of two stratigraphic pits dug by Peet in 1921. The insect remains were extracted from the sides. South is towards the top.



2. Eighteenth Dynasty locust recovered from the side of the stratigraphic pit in Ranefer's house.



3. Limestone pebble (object no. 33328) bearing two lines of hieratic text, from beneath Ranefer's house.

# OLD KINGDOM BASALT QUARRYING ACTIVITIES AT WIDAN EL-FARAS, NORTHERN FAIYUM DESERT\*

By ELIZABETH BLOXAM *and* PER STOREMYR

The quarry of Widan el-Faras in the Northern Faiyum Desert was the source of basalt used mainly for paving mortuary temples floors in some of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty pyramid complexes. An examination of the layout of the quarry and the attached infrastructure, as well as the extracted volumes and the use of the basalt, indicates a campaign-like, seasonal exploitation of the stone linked to the high level of Lake Moeris during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. These conditions enabled medium-sized basalt blocks to be transported largely via water to the pyramid construction sites, thus avoiding lengthy and difficult carriage overland.

THE Widan el-Faras Project carried out in May 2001 was an archaeological survey of the basalt quarries sponsored by the EES as part of their Centenary Award 2000.<sup>1</sup> The survey concession area included the quarries, settlements, an ancient paved road and its terminus at Qasr el-Sagha. The Widan el-Faras quarry is the most likely source of basalt used in Old Kingdom pyramid complexes, most conspicuously during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, for paving mortuary temple floors. The 300 m high twin sandstone peaks capped in basalt called Widan el-Faras, literally translated to ‘horses’ ears’,<sup>2</sup> are the distinctive landmarks which demarcate the entrance to the site (pl. V, 1). The presence of ancient basalt quarries in the vicinity of Widan el-Faras has long been known,<sup>3</sup> and research in the environs of the Qasr el-Sagha temple, in particular into the fluctuating levels of Lake Moeris, has been well documented.<sup>4</sup> James Harrell and Tom Bown were the first to make a differentiation be-

\* We would like to thank the Egypt Exploration Society for funding this project as part of their Centenary Award Competition 2000. Thanks go to Anthony Leahy, Patricia Spencer and staff of the London office of the EES for their administrative assistance with this project and to Rawya Ismail (EES Cairo) for organisational and logistical support. The authors wish to thank the Institute of Archaeology, University College London (Bloxam), which also provided additional funding, and the Expert-Center für Denkmalpflege, Zurich (Storemyr) for their co-operation. Further funding from the UCL Graduate School is also gratefully acknowledged. We are indebted to Richard Lee for participation in the project, particularly in the field, to Ashraf el-Senussi for his important contribution to the analysis of the pottery and to our SCA Inspector, Nahla Mohamad Ahmad, for her co-operation throughout this project, as well as to Gaballa A. Gaballa and the Permanent Committee of the SCA for allowing the survey to take place and to Ali el-Bazidy, SCA Director in the Faiyum. We are also extremely grateful to J. A. Harrell and Tom Heldal for their support and advice in providing additional information for this paper and to Angus Graham and Andy Bevan for other information. Finally, thanks to Colin Rogers, Director of El Alsson School Cairo, for lending and storing essential equipment for the project.

<sup>1</sup> The 2001 investigations were supplemented by a few observations made in June 2002: L. Giddy, ‘Digging Diary’ *Egyptian Archaeology* 21 (Autumn, 2002), 32.

<sup>2</sup> Rawya Ismail, personal communication May 2001.

<sup>3</sup> G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum*, I (London, 1934), 132–8.

<sup>4</sup> J. Ball, *Contributions to the Geography of Egypt* (Cairo, 1939), 204, 225, 228; O. H. Little, ‘Recent Geological Work in the Faiyum and in the Adjoining Portion of the Nile Valley’, *BIE* 18 (1936), 201–40; A. Shafei, ‘Lake Moeris and Lahûn Mi-Wer and Ro-Hûn: The Great Nile Control Project Executed by the Ancient Egyptians’, *BSGE* 33 (1960), 187–217; F. Wendorf and R. Schild (eds), *Prehistory of the Nile Valley* (New York, 1976), 155–226; D. Arnold and Do. Arnold,

tween the east and west quarry areas and to assess the archaeological features at Widan el-Faras, and their work on interpreting how stone was transported from the quarry to the pyramid fields has provided the foundation for our current investigations.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the objectives of the 2001 survey were to supplement Harrell and Bown's work by a closer examination of the east and west quarries and by surveying the archaeological features of the site, in order to enhance our understanding of the logistical apparatus applied in the extraction and transportation of stone from remote sources during the Old Kingdom.

### The basalt quarries

The Widan el-Faras basalt consists of several individual lava flows of early Oligocene age, capping extensive deposits of sandstone, mudstone and some limestone that form the Gebel Qatrani Formation. The highly fractured nature of the basalt has given rise to extensive, dark scree slopes (up to 40–50 m high) along the basalt escarpment and is certainly why the Gebel Qatrani escarpment literally translates as 'tar hills'. The combined thickness of the basalt flows that have been worked at Widan el-Faras is up to 12–15 m, but is usually not more than about 5–8 m.<sup>6</sup>

The basalt extraction sites, located between 0.7 and 1.6 km north-west of the Widan el-Faras peaks (fig. 1), are contained in two areas of workings along the rim of the escarpment, called the east and west quarries. Harrell and Bown describe the extraction sites as '...a series of shallow swales (depressions) and benches cut into the upper part of the basalt layer' and estimate that the east and west quarries extend for about 800 and 60 m along the rim respectively.<sup>7</sup> The 2001 investigations indicate that it is possible to distinguish four individual quarries in the east quarry and one in the west quarry, labelled 1–5 on figure 1, each typically containing 4–8 individual extraction sites, distinguishable as swales/depressions and/or benches. The layout and dimensions of each extraction site are variable and very difficult to measure due to loose blocks and the weathered state of the basalt.

The middle part of quarry 1 is quite different from the rest (pl. V, 2). It has very distinguishable remains of benches created from the quarrying, as well as waste dumps left within the quarry. This is also the only quarry in which tool marks were found, in the form of two or three weathered wedge-like holes and the marks of a blunt tool on fragments in the waste dumps. These have split the basalt and created plumose marks radiating from the point where the rupture was initiated. Apart from these observations, and although diorite mauls have been found in several parts of the quarry,<sup>8</sup> there are few tool marks from which to

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*Der Temple Qasr el-Sagha* (AV 27; Mainz, 1979); F. A. Hassan, 'Holocene Lakes and Prehistoric Settlements of the Western Faiyum, Egypt', *JAS* 13 (1986), 483–501; J. K. Kozłowski and B. Ginter, 'Holocene Changes in the Fayum: Lake Moeris and the Evolution of Climate in Northeastern Africa', in L. Krzyżaniak, M. Kobusiewicz and J. Alexander (eds), *Environmental Change and Human Culture in the Nile Basin and Northern Africa Until the Second Millennium BC* (Poznań, 1993), 327–36.

<sup>5</sup> 'An Old Kingdom Basalt Quarry at Widan el-Faras and the Quarry Road to Lake Moeris in the Faiyum', *JARCE* 32 (1995), 71–91.

<sup>6</sup> For a geological description of the Widan el-Faras basalt, see Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 74–7; M. A. Heikal, M. A. Hassan and Y. el-Sheshtawi, 'The Cenozoic Basalt of Gebel Qatrani, Western Desert, Egypt - as an Example of Continental Tholeiitic Basalt', *Annals of the Geological Survey of Egypt* 13 (1983), 193–209; T. M. Bown, T. M. Kraus and M. J. Kraus, 'Geology and Paleoenvironment of the Oligocene Jebel Qatrani Formation and Adjacent Rocks, Fayum Depression, Egypt', *U.S.G.S. Professional Paper* 1452 (Washington DC, 1988), 1–59; R. Klemm and D. Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche im alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1993), 413–20.

<sup>7</sup> Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 74–5.

<sup>8</sup> Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 75.

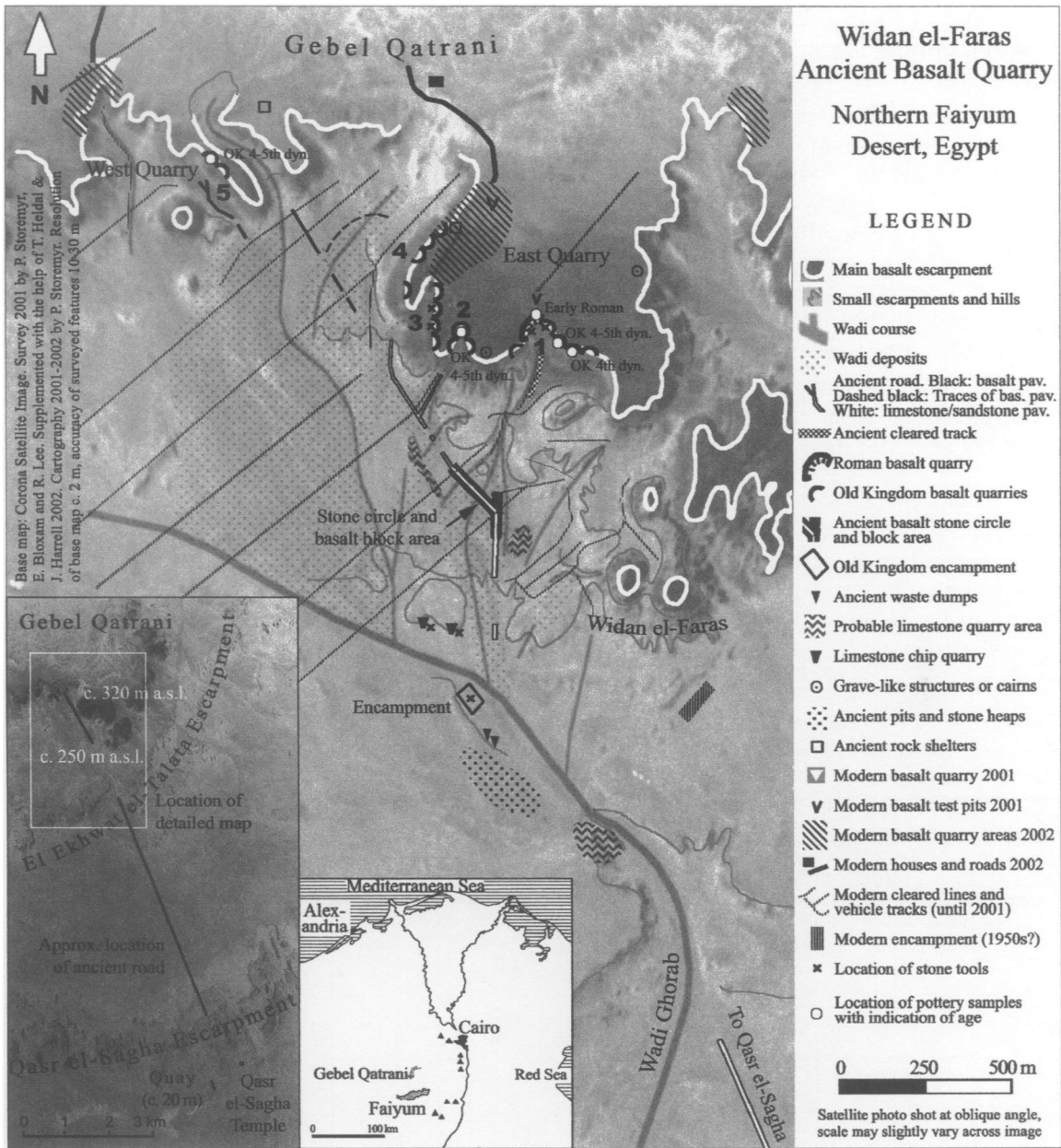


FIG. 1. Map of the Widan el-Faras ancient basalt quarry, Northern Faiyum Desert, Egypt.

interpret how the extraction generally was carried out. However, it seems reasonable to assume that the quarrymen took advantage of the fractures and simply wedged the blocks out with levers and tumbled them down the scree slopes to await transport.<sup>9</sup>

The fractured nature of the basalt made it easy to wedge out blocks, but it also meant that blocks measuring up to and more than 1 m<sup>3</sup> were difficult to obtain. The normal block size

<sup>9</sup> As suggested in Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 74-5.

may have been in the order of 0.2–0.4 m<sup>3</sup> or less, as evidenced by observations of the pyramid temple floors. In the vicinity of the ancient extraction sites, especially a few hundred metres to the west of the west quarry where a modern basalt quarry has recently been opened, there are thicker basalt layers from which larger blocks could have been obtained. However, there is no evidence that these layers were worked in ancient times. Thus, we must conclude that the ancient quarrymen were looking primarily for medium-sized blocks at Widan el-Faras, perhaps to ease the difficult transport from the site.

Pottery sherds in small surface scatters lie in and around the extraction sites in both the east and west quarries. These all date to the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, except for those in the middle part of quarry 1, where there is also Early Roman Period pottery.<sup>10</sup> Taken together with the wedge holes found here, as well as the distinctive quarry layout, it is reasonable to suggest that the Old Kingdom quarrying at this site has been obscured by later Roman extraction of basalt. This evidence of an Early Roman Period presence is a recurrent problem in interpreting the archaeological features at Widan el-Faras and is puzzling because the Roman use of basalt in Egypt was limited to small statuettes.<sup>11</sup>

### The use of basalt

Widan el-Faras is an extensive archaeological *site*, but a small basalt *quarry*. This statement is based on the fact that there are only five small quarries throughout an area covering almost 1 km<sup>2</sup>. A very rough and preliminary estimate of the amount of stone obtained from all extraction sites is given in Table 1. Assuming 50–70% waste, the calculations show a basalt volume between 1,600–3,000 m<sup>3</sup>. Given that blocks were also extracted at places not

TABLE 1. *Rough Estimate of Volume Extracted from the Five Quarries in the Old Kingdom*

Quarry no.	Quarry area	Individual extraction Sites				Total Volume** (m <sup>3</sup> )	Volume 50% waste (m <sup>3</sup> )	Volume 60% waste (m <sup>3</sup> )	Volume 70% waste (m <sup>3</sup> )
		No.	(m) Depth	(m) Height	Length (m)				
1	East	8	10	5	2	480	240	192	144
	Middle*	8	10	8	2	768	384	307	230
	South	4	10	8	3	576	288	230	173
2		7	10	10	2	840	420	336	252
3		6	10	8	3	864	432	346	259
4	South	2	12	6	5	432	216	173	130
	North	4	12	6	5	864	432	346	259
5		6	10	5	3	540	270	216	162
Total	-	-	-	-	-	5364	2682	2146	1609

\* Site obscured by more recent, possibly Roman, quarrying. Dimension estimates are based on comparison with the other Old Kingdom extraction sites.

\*\* 'Total Volume' refers to the total volume removed, supposing a quite uniform downward slope from the top-back of the quarry bench to the front edge. A triangular shape is thus obtained, but the actual removed rock is estimated to a bit more than a triangular shape would imply (60% instead of 50% of the length × width × height - volume).

<sup>10</sup> Examination and dating of the pottery was made by Asraf el-Senussi during the survey in 2001.

<sup>11</sup> Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 73.



TABLE 2. Estimated Use of Basalt in Old Kingdom Royal Pyramid Complexes (Fourth–Fifth Dynasties)

Dynasty	Structure	Length (m)	Width (m)	Height (m)	Volume (m <sup>3</sup> )	Comment	Reference
Fourth	Khufu Mortuary Temple Floor	50	42	0.4	840	possible small addition of arnis line blocks on Queen's pyramid	JARCE 30, 118
Fourth	Khufu Valley Temple Floor				100	size of valley temple floor is an estimate - only part remains	JARCE 32, 71; Lehner, <i>Pyramids</i> , 109
Fourth	Khufu Harbour Wall				100	estimate: wall not complete, found 500m east of the Valley Temple	Lehner, <i>Pyramids</i> , 109
Fifth	Userkaf Mortuary Temple Floor	35	21	0.4	294	dedo in mortuary temple of basalt and possible the sarcophagus was basalt	JARCE 30, 118; Vermer, <i>Pyramids</i> , 276-7
Fifth	Userkaf Sanctuaries (2) and Chapel Floors	10	5	0.4	60	volume total for three floors	JARCE 30, 118
Fifth	Userkaf Causeway Floor				100	estimate: causeway never found, however, basalt blocks making up the top end of the causeway were observed in 2002 by the authors	JARCE 30, 118
Fifth	Sahura Mortuary Temple Floor (inclu. side rooms)	15	25	0.4	150	total volume for floor was calculated (Heldal pers. comm. 2002) at 140 m <sup>3</sup> . The higher figure of 150 m <sup>3</sup> remains as this includes the side rooms	JARCE 30, 119
Fifth	Sahura Valley Temple Floor	20	10	0.4	80		Borchardt, <i>Sahure</i> , (1910), 32, pl. 2
Fifth	Sahura Causeway Walls	235	1.5	0.4	282	volume total is for two walls, unclear if floor was also basalt	Borchardt, <i>Sahure</i> , (1910), 32, pl. 2
Fifth	Nyusera Mortuary Temple Floor	15	25	0.4	150		Borchardt, <i>Ne-User-re</i> , (1907), 56
Fifth	Nyusera Valley Temple Floor	18	10	0.4	72		Borchardt, <i>Ne-User-re</i> , (1907), 56
Fifth	Nyusera Walls of Mortuary Temple	80	0.4	1	128	approximate volume for four walls	Borchardt, <i>Ne-User-re</i> , (1907), 56
Fifth	Nyusera Causeway Walls	400	0.4	1.5	480	volume total is for both walls although they now cannot be observed, unclear if floor was also basalt	Borchardt, <i>Ne-User-re</i> , (1907), 13

Total (estimated) volume of basalt used **with** Sahura and Nyusera causeway walls:2836 m<sup>3</sup>Total (estimated) volume of basalt used **without** Sahura and Nyusera causeway walls:2074 m<sup>3</sup>



yet discovered, the usable amount could range between 2,000 and 4,000 m<sup>3</sup>. More accurate analyses of extracted basalt volume are pending.

The Fourth and Fifth Dynasties clearly represent a period in pharaonic history in which the use of basalt for monumental construction purposes was not equalled. The most famous and largest remaining example of this is the mortuary temple floor of Khufu at Giza. In order to establish some parity between the volumes of basalt used in the pyramid complexes *vis-à-vis* the volumes extracted from Widan el-Faras, we undertook our own investigations of the pyramid fields at Saqqara, Giza and Abusir. Combining these observations with relevant published sources, it has been established that basalt was used in just four royal pyramid complexes—those of Khufu, Userkaf, Sahure and Nyusera, as shown in Table 2. Due to generally poor preservation and re-use of stone from these pyramid complexes, the estimates of the quantity of basalt used can only be very approximate. Considering 10% waste during trimming of blocks etc. and smaller basalt structures not yet discovered, the basalt used could range between 2,000 and 4,000 m<sup>3</sup>.

Basalt was certainly employed for small stone vessels from the Predynastic Period, but the volume would have been very limited, and it is impossible to know if the source was Widan el-Faras.<sup>12</sup> Other uses of basalt in the Old Kingdom were restricted mainly to sarcophagi and it is here that problems have arisen with misclassification. Black granodiorite from Aswan and siltstone or greywacke from Wadi Hammamat have often been wrongly classified as basalt and the late Fifth Dynasty and Sixth Dynasty sarcophagi of Unas, Teti, Pepi I and Merenra are in fact made from greywacke and not basalt.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, it remains uncertain if the material of the sarcophagi of Userkaf and Sahura, both referred to as ‘basalt’, is correctly identified because only fragments of these were found.<sup>14</sup> However, in general terms there appears to be some parity between basalt quarried from Widan el-Faras and basalt used for monumental structures in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. Due to the fractured nature of the basalt, it is hard to imagine that very large blocks, such as one 5 m<sup>3</sup> block at the Nyusera temple complex, could have been extracted at Widan el-Faras. It may be that the source of such blocks must be sought elsewhere, for instance, at Abu Roash.<sup>15</sup>

The use of basalt in comparison with other hard stones, such as Aswan granite, was fairly short lived and after the Old Kingdom it is rarely seen in monumental construction and is used mostly for statuettes, of which there are several Middle Kingdom examples in the Cairo Museum. Its use was then completely phased out until the Late Period. During the Graeco-Roman Period it was used mainly for statuary, examples of which are in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. Many are likely to be made from Widan el-Faras basalt.

### Size of the quarry labour force

The small size of the five quarries at Widan el-Faras, combined with the fact that the main use of the basalt must have taken place over a 150–170 year period, suggests that the quar-

<sup>12</sup> A. Lucas, ‘Egyptian Predynastic Stone Vessels’, *JEA* 16 (1930), 205; B. G. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms* (SAGA 5; Heidelberg, 1994), 20; A. H. Bevan, *Value Regimes in the Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age: a Study through Stone Vessels*, (unpublished PhD thesis, University College London, IOA (2001), 126–8.

<sup>13</sup> B. Aston, J. A. Harrell and I. M. E. Shaw, ‘Stone’, in P. T. Nicholson and I. M. E. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 24.

<sup>14</sup> M. Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* (London, 1997), 142; M. Verner, *The Pyramids* (London, 2002), 276.

<sup>15</sup> Harrell and Bown *JARCE* 32, 76; Klemm and Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche*, 415; see also S. Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Construction and Architecture* (London, 1930), 23. If other sources were indeed used on a larger scale, it will, of course, have implications for the overall interpretation of the Widan el-Faras site.

rying operations were undertaken as campaigns when stone was needed for a specific project. The campaign-like nature of the quarrying can be elucidated by using 4,000 m<sup>3</sup> (maximum estimated extracted volume) as a total amount of stone quarried from Widan el-Faras to work out how long it would take to extract this volume. Assuming that one team of ten people are able to extract 1–2 m<sup>3</sup> basalt and transport this to the nearest quarry road branch in one week, and that five teams could work simultaneously in one of the quarries (1–5), it would have taken ten to twelve years to extract 4,000 m<sup>3</sup>. Although highly speculative, our calculations show that even if only 0.5 m<sup>3</sup> was quarried per team per week, it would have taken 5 teams no more than 30 years to obtain the same amount. Thus, we believe that a range is established: it did not take hundreds of people and several decades to quarry all the basalt obtained at Widan el-Faras; it could have been done with a limited number of people over less than a ten to fifteen year period. It could even have been possible to obtain enough basalt for a small project (e.g. a small temple floor) during a season's work. However, the above estimates do not include transportation time along the quarry road to ancient Lake Moeris (see below).

### **The ancient paved quarry road**

The 11 km long paved road that connects Widan el-Faras with Qasr el-Sagha represents the oldest and most pristine example of a purpose-built quarry road in the world and has been described in detail by Harrell and Bown.<sup>16</sup> The objective of the 2001 survey was to supplement some of Harrell and Bown's findings, concentrating mainly on the road segments within the quarry area and including a short investigation of the road's terminus at Qasr el-Sagha. Harrell and Bown mapped seven road branches leading into the east and west quarries. Our investigations generally concurred with these observations, although there appear to be only five branches terminating beneath the escarpment directly below worked basalt quarries. Moreover, the cleared track below quarry 1 might be connected with the possible Roman quarrying here. The most visible remaining branch leads towards quarry 2, the rest being fragmentary, due in part to recent disturbance of the site from vehicles and natural disturbance from occasional flash-floods.

The road conforms in its entirety to a width of 2.10 m, which is equal to the ancient Egyptian measurement of 4 cubits and is constructed from sandstone, limestone, basalt and silicified wood. Their intermittent use for certain sections is clearly related to the proximity of these raw materials (pl. VI, 1). Limestone and basalt fragments are used predominantly for the road's surface within the Widan el-Faras area; the main sources of limestone are indicated on the site map (fig. 1). The limestone deposits occur as thin, flat outcrops, partly with polygonal crack patterns, which would have made it very easy to lever out the stone, appropriate for producing a flat surface requiring little working beyond basic trimming. Possible limestone chip quarries close to the Wadi Ghorab could suggest that activities here were necessary for maintenance of the road in the wadi. Although Harrell and Bown dismissed the idea of the road having any foundation or being mortared,<sup>17</sup> our investigations of some sections of the road, particularly within the quarry area, found relatively thick layers (1 cm) of gypsum (calcium sulphate) below a number of road slabs.<sup>18</sup> However, it is

<sup>16</sup> *JARCE* 32, 78–83.

<sup>17</sup> *JARCE* 32, 78–9.

<sup>18</sup> Gypsum has been used as a stabilising substance on ancient road surfaces, an example being the Twelfth Dynasty haulage track found at the Lisht pyramid field; see Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 203.

difficult to ascertain whether the gypsum found underneath the road slabs at Widan el-Faras is man-made, since the surface at the site contains much natural sulphate and calcium. This requires further investigation.

The 17 km road leading from the Hatnub travertine quarries is the closest comparable example of a purpose-built road associated with an Old Kingdom quarry.<sup>19</sup> In similar fashion to the Widan el-Faras road, it provided a solid base across the sand. However, at Hatnub steep gradients, such as a deep wadi, on its descent to the Nile, were bridged by piling up rocks and boulders to create a causeway. From the two parallel track-ways observed on the Hatnub road, it has been suggested that sledges were drawn along it.<sup>20</sup> There are no signs of similar wear on the Widan el-Faras road; in fact, the surface is so pristine that if it were not for the branches leading directly into the quarries, it could be speculated that it was constructed for a non-utilitarian purpose.<sup>21</sup> Harrell and Bown explained the absence of wear marks on the quarry road by suggesting that flat wooden beams might have been laid, unfixed, across the road surface in advance of the sledge.<sup>22</sup> However, the use of unfixed rollers or crossbeams with sledges to move heavy weights over large distances has been proven impractical.<sup>23</sup> This method of conveyance only seems possible if the beams are part of a fixed track, like those at Lisht and Mirgissa, where the beams are embedded into a prepared surface.<sup>24</sup>

The problem with the Widan el-Faras road is not only its unworn surface, but its narrowness, at only 2.10 m. The Middle Kingdom Dahshur sledge in the Cairo Museum (CG 4928)<sup>25</sup> is 4.21 m in length and 80 cm wide and would fit on the road, but it cannot be firmly established that a sledge of such dimensions could accommodate the size and weight of a 1 m<sup>3</sup> block of stone. Furthermore, the Twelfth Dynasty sledges found at Lisht and Dahshur did not show any signs of wear on their runners.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, further consideration needs to be given to the type of vehicle used in any future research on the ancient desert road.

The environs surrounding the terminus of the Widan el-Faras road are situated within a natural inlet 1 km south-west of the Qasr el-Sagha temple, which was clearly utilised as a harbour when the levels of Lake Moeris were at 22–23 m above sea level.<sup>27</sup> The features that make up the harbour consist of four natural promontories at an elevation of 22 m, which have been artificially reinforced with limestone and sandstone slabs. Behind these is another natural promontory at the same elevation, 311 m long by 19 m wide, which is strewn with basalt blocks. This feature has previously been interpreted as a quay, which in turn acts as the terminus of the quarry road.<sup>28</sup> The weathered basalt blocks strewn along the top of the quay sometimes form circular constructions around shallow depressions in the

<sup>19</sup> I. M. E. Shaw, 'Survey at Hatnub', in B. J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports*, III (EES Occasional Publication 4; London, 1986), 189–212, and *Amarna Reports*, IV (EES Occasional Publication 10; London, 1987), 160–7.

<sup>20</sup> Shaw, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* IV, 160.

<sup>21</sup> An Argentinian team of road engineers and archaeologists led by G. Cornero surveyed and excavated sections of the road in the 1990s and made the same observations, even doubting it could support heavy weights and postulating it was perhaps for ceremonial use.

<sup>22</sup> *JARCE* 32, 82–3.

<sup>23</sup> See in B. Cotterell and J. Kammaing, *Mechanics of Pre-industrial Technology* (Cambridge, 1990), 220.

<sup>24</sup> Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, 203; J. Vercoutter, *Mirgissa*, I (Paris, 1970), 204–14.

<sup>25</sup> D. Arnold, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (Oxford, 1991), 276.

<sup>26</sup> Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, 277.

<sup>27</sup> Wendorf and Schild (eds), *Prehistory of the Nile Valley*, 220.

<sup>28</sup> Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 86; Wendorf and Schild (eds), *Prehistory of the Nile Valley*, 220; Arnold and Arnold, *Qasr el-Sagha*, 25.

sand. Small heaps of basalt chips and stone tools suggest that some trimming of stone took place here, but determining the precise date of this secondary production is problematic as pottery found here dates to both the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

### Stone circles and basalt blocks: the ‘quarrymen’s camp’

The so-called ‘quarrymen’s camp’ is exposed as single level stone circles surrounding depressions in the sand and covering an area 275 m long by 11 m wide on an east–west axis (pl. VI, 2). The circles range in diameter from 2 m to 7 m and are clustered on each side of the ancient road (fig. 2). Calculating the number of stone circles is problematic due to the weathered nature of the basalt blocks that make up each circle. The majority of once large blocks are now represented by piles of small pebbles due to weathering and, therefore, the walls of each circle have tended to collapse into each other, making it difficult clearly to distinguish one circle from another. At places it is even hard to determine if there were originally circles at all. Due to this natural weathering phenomenon combined with flash-floods and some man-made disturbance, there is some discrepancy between our survey calculations of 24 circles and those made previously. Past surveys of the ‘camp’ have estimated the number of stone circles to range from a maximum of 160 observed by Bown in 1993<sup>29</sup> to 47 calculated by Cornero in 1999.<sup>30</sup> It is unclear what survey methods were used

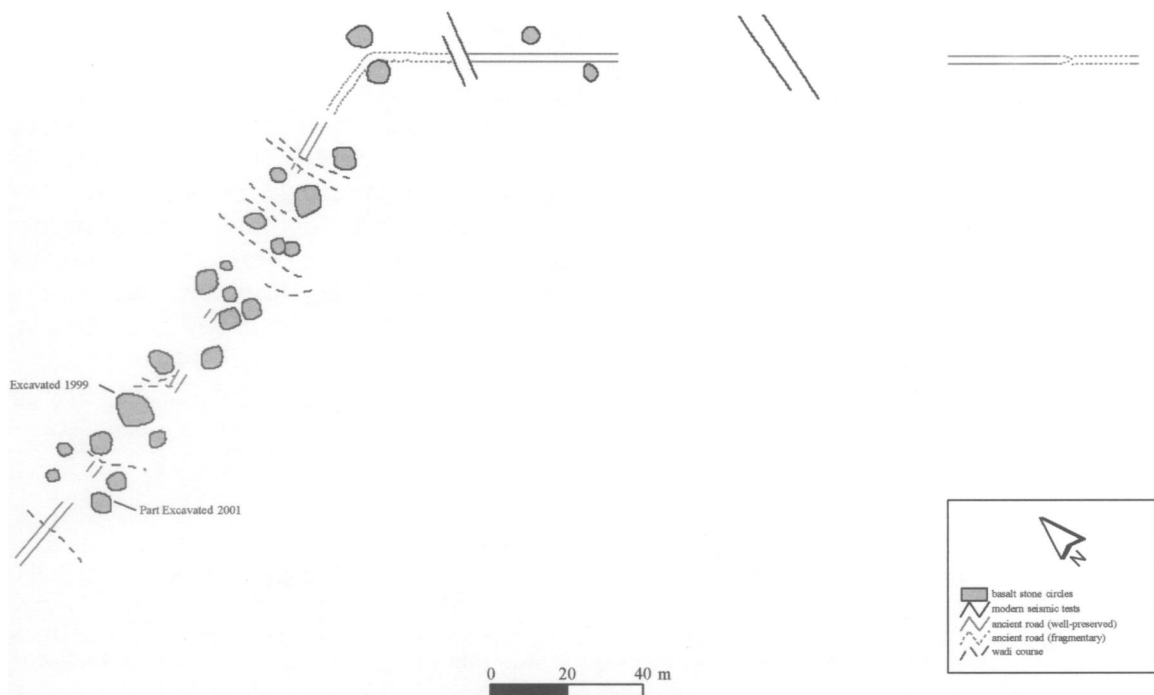


FIG. 2. Preliminary plan of the large area of stone circles and ancient road at Widan el-Faras.

<sup>29</sup> Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 77–8; and Harrell, personal communication October 2001.

<sup>30</sup> See n. 21.

to produce these figures, but given the nature of the ‘camp’ as described above, assessing what constitutes a ‘circle’ in these conditions has to be quite subjective.

Our observations at the ‘quarrymen’s camp’ call into question whether this site was indeed a place of habitation. Firstly, it is positioned across a wadi, which probably already crossed the area in the Old Kingdom. Secondly, there were no visible signs of entrances into the structures and no post-holes to support roofing; the camp would have been extremely exposed to the prevailing northerly wind. Thirdly, the now weathered blocks, as explained above, would originally have been much larger than what is visible today, seemingly too large for tent footings.<sup>31</sup> Artefactual evidence of habitation was minimal, with no hearths and limited amounts of pottery in small surface scatters, dating to the Fourth Dynasty and to the Early Roman Period.<sup>32</sup> Because of the wadi’s discharge into the ‘quarrymen’s camp’, it is possible that these sherds were washed down from quarry 1 directly above, where Old Kingdom and Early Roman sherds were located. Equally, pottery could have been washed out of the ‘camp’, but no traces were found along the wadi’s path, and excavation of a stone circle revealed no ‘living floor’, charcoal or artefacts. In fact, the site was clean of any material relating to a permanent or even semi-permanent presence here.<sup>33</sup>

The lack of evidence for a discernible settlement at Widan el-Faras might be explained from observations made by Caton-Thompson and Gardner during their excavations at Qasr el-Sagha, which suggested an Old Kingdom presence here associated with a gypsum vase-making industry.<sup>34</sup> With a high lake level providing abundant subsistence such as fish and birds, a seasonal/permanent settlement here in the Old Kingdom is quite probable. Subsequently, it could be expected that the quarrymen would also reside here, close to these resources at the terminus of the quarry road, rather than at Widan el-Faras.

An alternative explanation of what these stone circles could represent is a temporary storage yard for quarried blocks, a suggestion also put forward by Harrell and Bown.<sup>35</sup> Our calculations of the number of blocks making up the circles ( $430 \pm 30$  blocks, considering that each block often consists of weathered fragments) would, in fact, be enough for one temple floor, if the 160 blocks found on the quay were added. This idea is based on the proximity of the basalt concentrations to the road as representing a central collection area for transportation, given its positioning in the central part of the site. However, storage areas of blocks observed at Chephren’s Quarry in Nubia<sup>36</sup> tend to be in rows, so that the

<sup>31</sup> These structures differ significantly from the Old Kingdom huts found at Hatnub; see Shaw, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* III, 198, where multi-level dry-stone walls of limestone boulders are built up from ground level to a height of at least 1 m and have defined entrances.

<sup>32</sup> See n. 10.

<sup>33</sup> This observation is consistent with Harrell, Brown and Masoud’s geological survey of the Early Dynastic green tuff and tuffaceous limestone quarry at Gebel Manzal el-Seyl in the Eastern Desert (J. A. Harrell, V. M. Brown and M. S. Masoud, ‘An Early Dynastic Quarry for Stone Vessels at Gebel Manzal El-Seyl, Eastern Desert’, *JEA* 86 (2000), 41). There were no signs of habitation in permanent or temporary structures and no pottery at Gebel Manzal el-Seyl, which is puzzling given that the outcrop was intensively exploited. A similar situation is also seen at the nearby Umm es-Sawan gypsum quarry, where 250 stone circles are found encircling 75 cm deep depressions. The huts are tightly packed together and Caton-Thompson and Gardner’s excavations found them to have no clearly discernible ‘living floors’ or entrances. They further commented that the pottery was very little indeed for a habitation site (*The Desert Fayum* I, 120, 122).

<sup>34</sup> Although there are no workable gypsum deposits in the immediate surroundings, the artefact assemblage located here closely resembles that found at the main gypsum quarry of Umm es-Sawan, 30 km to the north-east (*The Desert Fayum* I, 134).

<sup>35</sup> *JARCE* 32, 78.

<sup>36</sup> Observations from surveys made at Chisel Quarry at Chephren’s Quarry in Lower Nubia, see forthcoming P. Storemyr,

predominantly circular arrangement of the stones at Widan el-Faras suggests that the blocks could have been re-arranged into circles at a later date, perhaps for storage of food and water supplies, as fragments of a large storage vessel were found in the area.<sup>37</sup> Some of the stone circles might even represent the superstructures of a system of wells, either tapping an artesian system or reaching ground water discharged down the wadi over which the circles are situated.<sup>38</sup> The feasibility of this option would require more geophysical analysis and greater study of the local geology.

### The encampment

The encampment is situated at the entrance to Widan el-Faras, approximately 500 m southwest of the 'quarrymen's camp' and 30 m from the south bank of the Wadi Ghorab. The encampment comprises a cluster of single-level circular and oval structures of small basalt blocks across an area 60 m long by 36 m wide. Although the basalt has been subject to weathering, the larger spaces between the features meant that the limits of each circle were easier to define and thus six circles were surveyed with diameters ranging from 3 m to 8 m (fig. 3). As opposed to the 'quarrymen's camp', the encampment shows minimal distur-

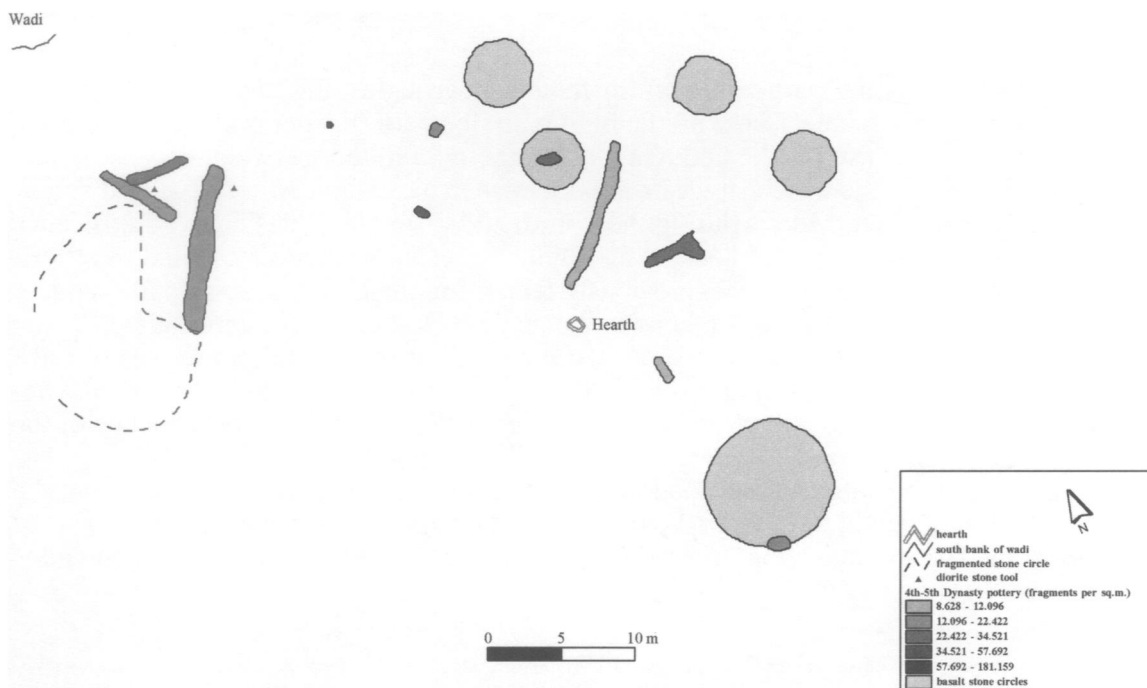


FIG. 3. Preliminary plan of the encampment at Widan el-Faras.

E. Bloxam, T. Heldal and A. Salem, 'Survey at Chephren's Quarry, Gebel el-Asr, Lower Nubia: 2002', *Sudan & Nubia Bulletin* 6 (2002), 25-9.

<sup>37</sup> Harrell, personal communication October 2001.

<sup>38</sup> Tapping an artesian system is an ancient art and in Iran the surface evidence of such a system is represented by a linear arrangement of circular mounds which demarcate shafts that connect beneath the ground to a horizontal tunnel system; see B. J. Skinner and S. C. Porter, *Physical Geology*, (Chichester, 1987), 252. The surface patterning of such a system closely resembles the linear arrangement of circles at Widan el-Faras.

bance and is situated in a more sheltered part of the site, and is not crossed by wadis. Small but dense scatters of pottery sherds are to be found across the site, dating from the Fourth to Fifth Dynasty and comprising only two categories: storage vessels and cooking bowls.<sup>39</sup> Other items found, such as two dioritic pounders made from non-local stone, a hearth and plentiful amounts of charcoal in one of the circles excavated, are all suggestive of this being a small area of temporary habitation. Its location places it strategically at the entrance to Widan el-Faras, with vantage points north into the quarry and south, where the road heads towards Qasr el-Sagha.<sup>40</sup>

The distance of the encampment from the basalt quarry (at least 500 m), and its proximity to a nearby limestone deposit and rows of spoil heaps, possibly from limestone working, as well as limestone chip quarries with numerous stone pounders and mauls, suggest that it could have been associated with the road construction side of the operation. The encampment, similar to the 'quarrymen's camp', requires more investigation by excavation to determine more clearly its function. However, it can be concluded that this site does represent at least a temporary Old Kingdom presence at Widan el-Faras.

## Discussion

### *Logistics*

The movement of stone, particularly from remote quarries during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, suggests a connection with the high Nile floods of this period.<sup>41</sup> The volume of Widan el-Faras basalt used in the Old Kingdom, although limited, outweighs its use at any other period in antiquity, which suggests a link between these high Nile floods and subsequent high level of Lake Moeris during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.<sup>42</sup> The significance of the harbour features at Qasr el-Sagha and the connection between these and the transportation of Widan el-Faras basalt has previously been mentioned.<sup>43</sup> Our investigations concur with the theory that the basalt was taken via the quay at Qasr el-Sagha, across the lake and through the Hawara Channel which connected the Bahr Yusef channel of the Nile to Lake Moeris. The decline of Nile flood levels by the late Fifth Dynasty<sup>44</sup> might explain the absence of basalt in pyramid complexes after the reign of Nyusera, as a consequence of the severing of the connection between Lake Moeris and the Bahr Yusef.

As the discussion of the ancient road implies, the overland transport of basalt from the quarry to the quay would have been the most time consuming and labour intensive part of the operation. The minimisation of overland transport would be the prime concern and if

<sup>39</sup> See n.10.

<sup>40</sup> Caton-Thompson and Gardner (*The Desert Fayum* I, 137) also found an Old Kingdom encampment with a similar artefact assemblage on the south edge of the middle plateau that would mark a midway point between Qasr el-Sagha and Widan el-Faras.

<sup>41</sup> B. Bell, 'The Dark Ages in Ancient History, I. The First Dark Age in Egypt', *AJA* 75 (1971), 1–26; F. A. Hassan, 'Historical Nile Floods and their Implications for Climatic Change', *Science* 212 (1981), 1142–5; F. A. Hassan, 'Nile Floods and Political Disorder in Early Egypt', in H. Nuzhet Dalfes, G. Kukla and H. Weiss (eds), *Third Millennium BC Climate Change and Old World Collapse* (Berlin, 1997), 1–23.

<sup>42</sup> Hassan, in Nuzhet Dalfes et al. (eds), *Climate Change*, 1–23; R. Said, *The River Nile: Geology, Hydrology and Utilization* (Oxford, 1993), 134.

<sup>43</sup> See in Shafei, *BSGE* 33, 192–3; Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 83; Arnold and Arnold, *Qasr el-Sagha*, 25.

<sup>44</sup> See n. 42.

barges laden with basalt from Widan el-Faras were to reach the pyramid fields of Giza, Saqqara and Abusir, the stone would need to be transported directly to harbours located close to the valley temples. Recent resistivity work at Saqqara, east of the Fifth Dynasty valley temple of Unas, indicated that a harbour was probably located here.<sup>45</sup> At Abusir, the occurrence of two entrances south and east into Sahure's valley temple might imply that the southern entrance was connected to a canal linking it with the marginal lakes of Abusir and Middle Saqqara for delivery of raw materials.<sup>46</sup> A topographical study of the Giza plateau also suggests that the valley temple of Khufu was part of a large harbour area, extending as far as Khafre's pyramid complex.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the discovery of basalt fragments 160 m south of Khufu's valley temple suggests they could have fallen from the barges as they were being unloaded.<sup>48</sup>

### *Organisation*

The campaign-type nature of basalt quarrying at Widan el-Faras, perhaps seasonal and linked to the Nile flood and involving small numbers of people, is a probable organisational framework for discussion. Clear evidence of a permanent or semi-permanent settlement cannot be firmly attested at Widan el-Faras and the archaeological record does not support 'hundreds' of workmen being employed here, as has been previously suggested.<sup>49</sup> The small size of the quarries tends to imply that only limited numbers of people were involved, perhaps in highly organised groups working one quarry at a time. Each extraction site cannot practically accommodate more than ten people at a time, which is an interesting observation as groups of ten people is not an uncommon unit to find with work at lower skill levels in ancient Egypt.<sup>50</sup>

The actual quarrying process would not be too difficult because the basalt was easy to extract along its natural fractures. It was simply levered out of place and slid down the escarpment. The short overland transport process would certainly be more labour intensive, but with the use of dray animals, perhaps a labour force of about 50+ is a reasonable estimate. Each campaign could have been linked to a specific royal project ordained by the king, such as paving a temple floor. Stone procurement for specific funerary objects is also implied from the Sixth Dynasty autobiography of Weni, as he gives an account of being sent to both the Hatnub and Aswan quarries on the orders of King Merenra.<sup>51</sup> Only Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom texts give an idea of the numbers of people involved in these expeditions, and in relation to the Twelfth Dynasty exploitation of Chephren's Quarry in

<sup>45</sup> I. Mathieson et al., 'The National Museums of Scotland Saqqara Survey Project, Earth Sciences 1990–1998', *JEA* 85 (1999), 35.

<sup>46</sup> Verner, *The Pyramids*, 290, 319.

<sup>47</sup> M. Lehner, 'The Development of the Giza Necropolis: The Khufu Project', *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 122–3.

<sup>48</sup> Lehner (*MDAIK* 41, 137–9) has suggested that the transfer of Tura limestone to the Giza plateau could only have been achieved via a large transverse canal. The advantages of a canal connecting the Bahr Yusef and running parallel to the Western Desert for servicing the pyramid complexes from Hawara to Abu Roash has also been pointed out in G. Goyon, 'Les portes des pyramides et le grande canal de Memphis', *RdE* 23 (1971), 137–53.

<sup>49</sup> Harrell and Bown, *JARCE* 32, 78–9.

<sup>50</sup> C. J. Eyre, 'Work and the Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom', in M. A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, 1987), 12.

<sup>51</sup> Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Construction*, 21; N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 83–5.



Lower Nubia, these numbered well over a thousand.<sup>52</sup> However, the archaeological record at Chephren's Quarry does not substantiate such a large presence.<sup>53</sup>

*Research potential vs destruction of the site*

The colossal movement of stone in the Old Kingdom was never equalled in ancient Egyptian history and if we are to understand why this is the case, then quarry sites such as Widan el-Faras are of enormous historical importance. The poor state of preservation witnessed at Widan el-Faras from modern exploration and haulage traffic is thus a cause of great concern. Moreover, the impact of modern quarrying in the area observed in 2002 has already destroyed parts of Old Kingdom quarries 3 and 4.<sup>54</sup> There is clearly great potential for future research at Widan el-Faras, not only to understand more about the pivotal part water transport played, but also for a greater insight into the social organisation of these operations, especially set against the backdrop of Old Kingdom state monopolies over remote sources of raw materials. Therefore, the urgency in protecting this fragile quarry site should be stressed.

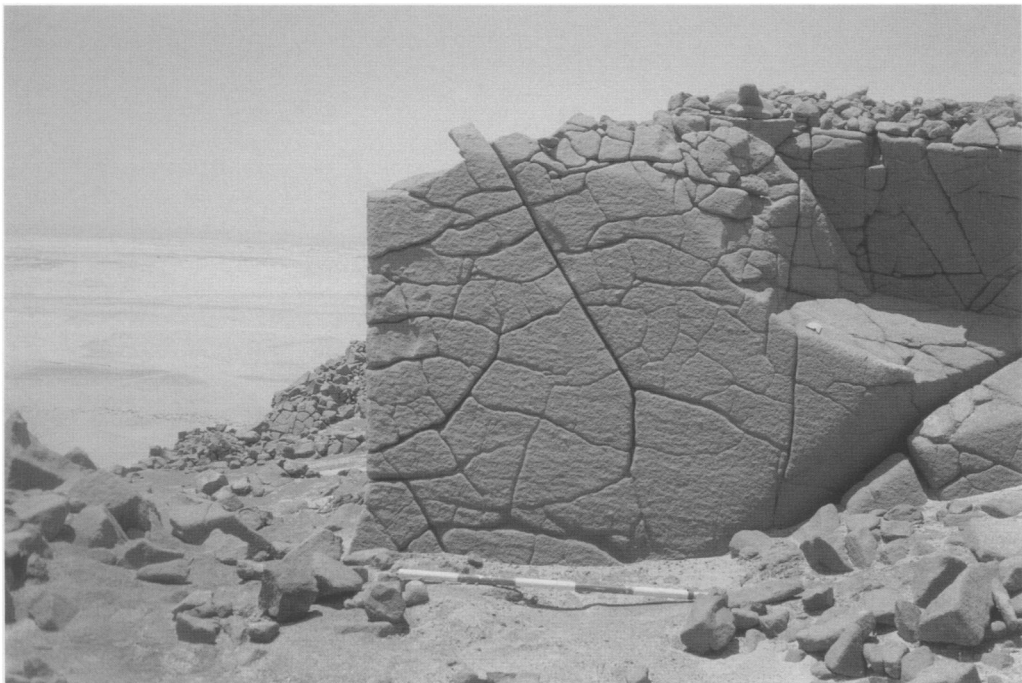
<sup>52</sup> A Middle Kingdom inscription relating to exploitation of Chephren's Quarry in Lower Nubia during the reign of Amenemhet II implies that the total number of people involved was approximately 1,300. See in W. K. Simpson, 'Nubia: 1962 Excavations at Toshka and Arminna', *Expedition* 4/4 (1962), 36–46. New Kingdom texts relating to quarrying expeditions in the Wadi Hammamat suggest very large numbers being involved (over 8,000); see Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Construction*, 33.

<sup>53</sup> The archaeological record at Chephren's Quarry does not support numbers over a thousand being present here due to minimal settlement and artefactual evidence, such as pottery, which would be expected from such a large presence. These observations are from recent archaeological survey and excavation (1997, 1999, 2000) at Chephren's Quarry in Lower Nubia. See I. M. E. Shaw and E. G. Bloxam, 'Survey and Excavation at the Ancient Pharaonic Gneiss Quarrying Site of Gebel el-Asr, Lower Nubia', *Sudan & Nubia Bulletin* 3 (1999), 13–20.

<sup>54</sup> See details in 'News and Notes', *EA* 21 (Autumn, 2002), 11.



1. The twin peaks of Widan el-Faras with the encampment in the foreground (view to the north-east).



2. The middle part of quarry 1 (view to the west).

**OLD KINGDOM BASALT QUARRYING ACTIVITIES AT WIDAN EL-FARAS,  
NORTHERN FAIYUM DESERT (pp. 23–36)**

**PLATE VI**



**1. Ancient road segment paved with silicified wood (view to the south-east).**



**2. Basalt stone circle in the large area of stone circles at Widan el-Faras (view to the south-east).**

**OLD KINGDOM BASALT QUARRYING ACTIVITIES AT WIDAN EL-FARAS,  
NORTHERN FAIYUM DESERT (pp. 23–36)**

# THE EXPLORATION OF TELL BELIM, 1999–2002

By JEFFREY SPENCER

The site of Tell Belim in the northern part of Sharqiya Governorate was one of the less familiar Lower Egyptian sites to have been subject to investigation by the Society's Delta Survey. This article describes the EES survey of the site, carried out in September 2000, and the subsequent excavation of the temple area by The British Museum in the spring of 2002. Although almost completely destroyed, a temple of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty has been identified, within an enclosure of mud-brick.

RECENT investigation of the town site at Tell Belim<sup>1</sup> in Sharqiya Governorate has been an example of prompt response to an urgent case of rescue archaeology. This has been achieved through the combined efforts of the Egypt Exploration Society's Delta Survey and the ongoing field excavations in Lower Egypt of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, The British Museum. The site, remote and little-known in a region of former marshland on the southern fringes of Lake Menzala, was visited by Patricia and Jeffrey Spencer in December 1999 as part of the Society's programme of site inspections for the Delta Survey.<sup>2</sup> It was found to lie in the middle of a zone of modern land reclamation, where the marshland over a vast area was being converted into lagoons intended to serve as fish-farms. The edges of the ancient site have been cut by earth-moving machinery during these operations, a practice which had only recently been stopped by the Supreme Council for Antiquities. The danger to the site was clear, as was the fact that the most low-lying area at greatest risk seemed to contain a pharaonic temple site at the western side of the mound. An additional visit in April 2000 confirmed the identification of the temple area and in September of the same year, the Society sent an expedition to map the site as part of the Delta Survey (see fig. 1). This project, described briefly in a previous issue of the *Journal*,<sup>3</sup> was directed by Penelope Wilson, assisted by the writer and Inspector Ismail Abdel Raziq. The information gained through this work was then used as a basis for excavations in the temple area, carried out by the writer and Patricia Spencer in the spring of 2002 under the auspices of The British Museum. For assistance in carrying out this excavation thanks are due to Gaballa Ali Gaballa, former Secretary-General of the SCA, Mohammed Abdel Maksud, Director of the Delta, Ibrahim Soliman, Director of Sharqiya and Ahmed el-Said, Inspector with the excavation.

<sup>1</sup> For previous literature on the site, see G. Daressy, 'Les branches du Nil sous la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie', *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte* 16 (1929), 293–329; F. Gomaà, 'Herakleopolis Parva', *L'Ä II*, 1127–8; A. L. Fontaine, 'La localisation d'Heracleopolis Parva et les canaux péluviaques de nord de l'isthme de Suez', *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Historiques et Géographiques de l'Isthme de Suez* 2 (1948), 55–79; S. Timm, *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Das christlicher-koptischer Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, Teil 6 (Wiesbaden, 1992), 2980–5.

<sup>2</sup> [A.] J. and P. Spencer, 'The EES Delta Survey', *EA* 16 (Spring, 2000), 25–7.

<sup>3</sup> [A.] J. Spencer, *JEA* 87 (2001), 9–11. The map and some colour photographs of the work at Tell Belim will be published in due course on the Internet through the websites of the Society and The British Museum.

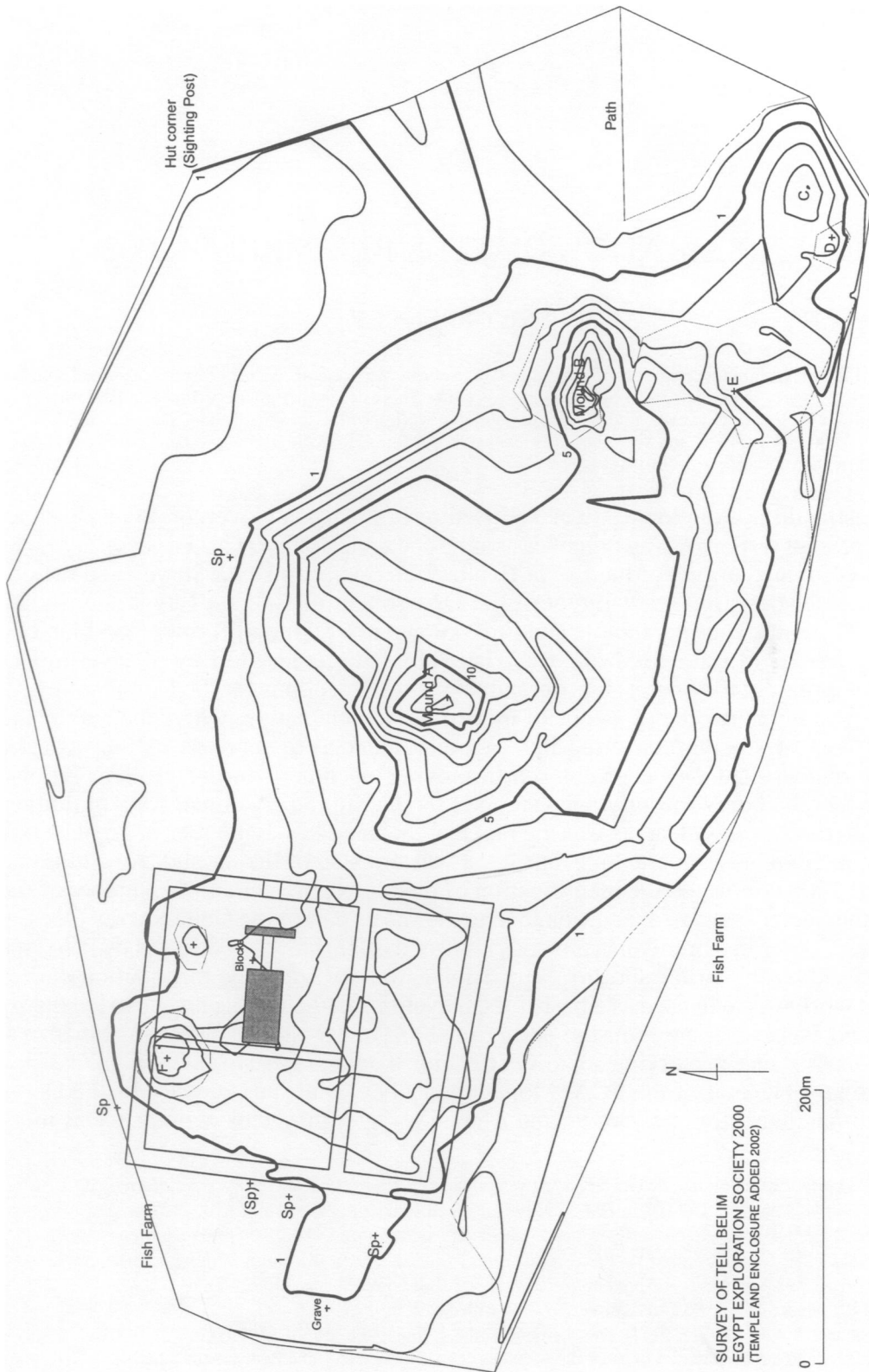


FIG. 1. Map of Tell Belim showing the position of the temple enclosure.

I would also like to thank the Director of the SCA Centre at Qantara East, Said es-Sawi, and the Chief Inspector for North Sinai, Mohammed Kamal, for permitting the storage of expedition equipment at the Centre.

### The site

Details of the location of the site and its probable identification with the ancient Herakleopolis Parva have been given in the brief report cited above (see n. 3), together with a description of some of the main features of the mound and the work achieved by the survey of September 2000. The production of the first surveyed map of Tell Belim has been possible thanks to the skill of Penelope Wilson in the use of Electronic Distance Measurement and computer mapping software. The present overall size of the mound has been confirmed by the survey to be 1000 m from east to west and 569 m from north to south, but it was certainly once larger. The main areas of attrition seem to have been at the west and north-west, where low-lying parts have been taken under cultivation. This has resulted in the loss of the north-west corner of the temple enclosure, which is shown reconstructed on figures 1 and 3. The profile of the mound is generally long and low with gradual slopes, but there are two main high areas (Mounds A and B on the map) which rise to heights above sea level of 12 m and 9.3 m respectively. All heights are relative to a datum point at the west corner of a modern hut on the track which leads to the eastern edge of the site. This point approximates closely to 1 m ASL. The points marked 'Sp' on the map in figure 1 denote lengths of lightweight angle-iron driven into the ground on the instruction of the SCA, in an attempt to define a perimeter against incursion from agriculture. Between the completion of the survey in September 2000 and the excavations of March 2002, one of these markers had been moved from its original position as the northernmost of a cluster of three by the western side of the enclosure and replaced at the north edge of the mound. The former location of this spike is marked '(Sp)'.

The basic division of the site into Roman settlement mounds at the east and a lower-lying dynastic area at the west, noted previously, was reconfirmed on subsequent inspection. The ceramic slag, observed on the surface of the Late Roman town in 2000, is probably the result of pottery manufacture or brick-firing. Earlier remains begin to be encountered on the western slope of Mound A, where there are extensive deposits of refuse, which was thrown down from above. The pottery in this material dates from the Ptolemaic to Roman Periods, but is not so late as the ceramics noted further east. From the top of Mound A, surface traces of a range of mud-brick buildings can be seen along the exterior of the east side of the temple enclosure. These have not been investigated, but are probably dynastic. The entire region around the temple enclosure itself exhibits surface deposits dating from the Third Intermediate Period to Late Period, with isolated higher mounds of Ptolemaic and Roman material, created during the quarrying of the temple. One of the more substantial of these mounds is the one at the north-west of the temple site, marked 'F' on the map in figure 1. It is from the slopes of this mound that some of the Ptolemaic pottery shown in figure 2 was derived. The Ptolemaic stratum, however, seems to be limited to the higher part of this mound, since one of the cross-walls of the temple enclosure (Cross-Wall B), with its associated dynastic deposits, is preserved within the mound at a high level. Eighty metres to the east of Mound F is a lower mound with a surface cover of Roman fired brick and slag, on the west slope of which are several large blocks of basalt. When these were first seen during the visit of spring 2000, one example was observed to bear remains of a hieroglyphic in-

scription consisting of the title *nsw-bitī* followed by the beginning of a cartouche, the first sign in which was *R*<sup>c</sup> and the second almost certainly *wsr*. The range of possible rulers is very extensive. By March 2002 this block had been moved by persons unknown more than 200 metres to the east and left lying on the low ground at the north edge of the site, with the inscribed surface against the ground.

### *Ceramics from the south slope of Mound F near the temple*

Rim and upper body from a coarse siltware cooking vessel. From traces on the exterior it seems that this vessel originally had been equipped with double-bow handles, but insufficient was preserved of these to add them to the drawing (fig. 2, no. 1).

Shallow casserole in a hard red fabric. This is a form very characteristic of the Ptolemaic Period<sup>4</sup> (fig. 2, no. 2).

Red siltware plate with a ring-base and grooved rim (fig. 2, no. 3). Numerous Ptolemaic examples of similar plates have been found at Tell el-Balamun.<sup>5</sup>

Sherds from the sides of two incurved red-slipped bowls. These are very common Ptolemaic products.<sup>6</sup>

The neck from a green glass bottle, 4 cm diameter at the top, with an applied strip of glass around the neck.

### *Ceramics from the west slope of Mound A*

Fine red-ware bowl with carinated sides and a ring-base (fig. 2, no. 4). Again, this is a common Ptolemaic form in both red and black fabrics.<sup>7</sup>

Upper part of a shouldered jar of coarse red siltware (fig. 2, no. 5).

Fragment of a plain rim from a green glass dish with a diameter of about 5.5 cm.

### *Ceramics from the southern slope of the site between Mounds A and B*

African Red Slip Ware plate with a thin external ledge-rim<sup>8</sup> (fig. 2, no. 6).

## **The western end of the site and the Roman cemetery**

The whole of the western part of the site is littered with fragments of hard stones, especially quartzite, which must have been quarried from the temple. Most pieces were reworked into saddle querns during the post-pharaonic period. A few examples of Ptolemaic so-called 'Theban mills' were also seen, consisting of dark grey tufa and probably imported from Thera.<sup>9</sup> The cemetery at the extreme western edge of the site, mentioned in the earlier *JEA* report (n. 3), proved to be of Roman date, with burials in pottery coffins or jars, which have been cut into the pharaonic levels. Many of these graves have been exposed through ero-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. J. Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1991–1994* (London, 1996), pl. 54, no. 1; P. Brissaud, 'Repertoire preliminaire de la poterie trouvée à San el-Hagar (1er. partie)', *CCE* 1 (1990), pl. viii, 78–9.

<sup>5</sup> Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1991–1994*, pl. 51, no. 1; pl. 53, nos. 4–6; Brissaud, *CCE* 1 (1990), pl. vi, 23.

<sup>6</sup> Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1991–1994*, pls. 45, nos. 2–8; 51, nos. 27–30; 53, nos. 7–9; 59, no. 4; Brissaud, *CCE* 1 (1990), pl. ix, 115–17; V. Seton-Williams, 'The Tell el-Farain Expedition, 1967', *JEA* 53 (1967), 153, fig. 2, no. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1991–1994*, pl. 51, nos. 7, 20–3, with additional references on p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> J. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London, 1972), 96–100, Form 59 B.

<sup>9</sup> See the references on this kind of mill in A. J. Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1995–1998* (London, 1999), 75–6.

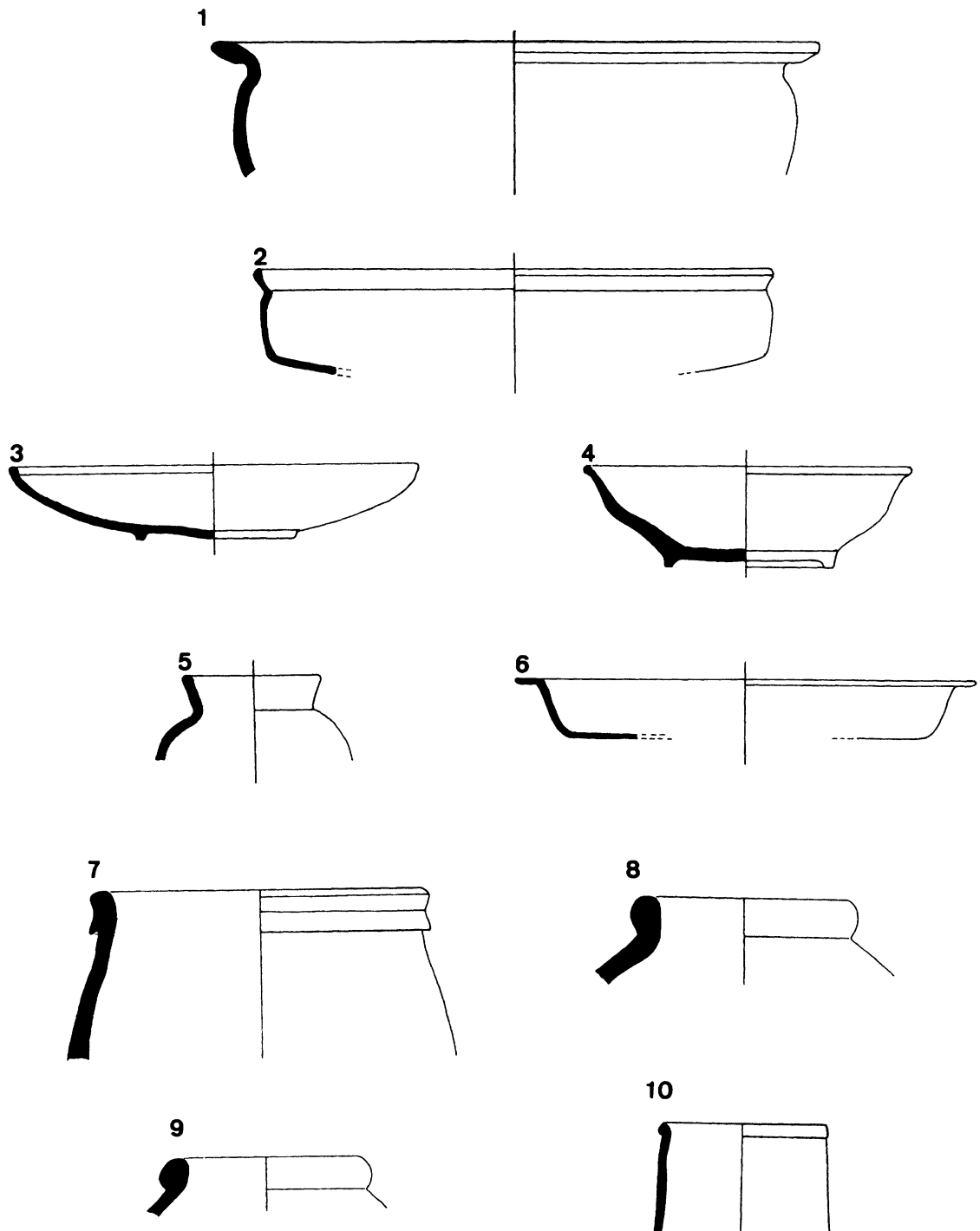


FIG. 2. Pottery from the surface of the mound and from the original ground beside the Roman grave (1–3 from hill F; 4–5 from west slope of hill A; 6 from south slope of mound between hills A and B; 7–10 from intact ground into which the Roman graves are cut).



sion and, once visible on the surface, have been vandalised. Confirmation of the dating was obtained during the excavations of 2002, through the investigation of a sample grave and of the surrounding ground. The selected grave is shown in plate VII, 1. It consisted of two large pottery jars placed with their mouths together, within a pit whose limits could be seen clearly in the ground. Although the jars in this grave were of a rounded shape, others in the cemetery were observed to be straight-sided, bucket-shaped vessels more typical of Roman burials.<sup>10</sup> The upper parts of the jars had already been destroyed by their having been exposed above the surface. Each jar had convex sides and narrowed to a small flat base. The combined length of the two jars was 1.89 m, with a maximum width of 0.8 m. The grave was oriented east–west, in common with the majority of burials in the cemetery. Within the jars only a few scattered fragments of bone remained, but more valuable dating evidence was gathered from an investigation of the ground into which the grave-pit had been cut. Although the highly saline nature of the ground had destroyed much of the pottery, sufficient sherds were found to date the surface level to between the seventh and fifth centuries BC, showing that the burial had to be of later date. This pottery, illustrated on figure 2, nos. 7–10, corresponds to Types C.4.20, C.6.32, C.6.48 and D.3.5 from Tell el-Balamun.<sup>11</sup> There were also a few fragments which their fabrics show came from Levantine jars, but none of these included the rims, shoulders or other useful diagnostic features. Further examination of the region revealed evidence of fragments of Roman glass scattered about the graves and the presence of fired-brick structures further west, almost in the water of the adjacent fish-farm, so a Roman date for the burials seems most likely. Their orientation might even indicate that they are Christian, this area on the fringe of the older pharaonic temple area perhaps having been adopted as the cemetery of the Late Romano-Coptic town on the eastern part of the mound. Certainly the possibility that the burials might date from the late Ramesside Period and belong to a style of late New Kingdom interments known at Tanis and Tell el-Yahudiya has been eliminated.<sup>12</sup> The pottery fragments of Ramesside date mentioned in the report in *JEA* 87 as having been seen in the area of the cemetery during the survey work actually came from a deeper level in the ground, exposed around the western fringe of the site by the mechanised levelling of the area as part of the preparation of the adjacent fish-farm. The presence of these sherds would seem to indicate that a New Kingdom level is present below the Late Period stratum through which the graves have been sunk. The bulk of any New Kingdom remains, however, are almost certainly below the present water-table.

### The temple enclosure

The enclosure walls of the pharaonic temple were traced in the spring of 2002. This work proceeded rapidly as much of the enclosure was visible as surface traces and only modest cleaning was required to plan the whole complex (pl. VII, 2). Small inspection cuts were made at intervals along the lengths of the walls, and particularly at corners and intersections, to determine the exact lengths and thicknesses of the different walls. The plan of the enclosure so acquired is shown in figure 3, and its position on the site is indicated on

<sup>10</sup> C. Harlant, 'Une nécropole populaire sur le Tell San el-Hagar–Tanis', *CCE* 6 (2000), 149–70.

<sup>11</sup> Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1991–1994*, pls. 65, 66, 69.

<sup>12</sup> P. Brissaud and C. Zivie-Coche, *Tanis: Travaux récents sur le Tell San el-Hagar, MMAF 1987–1997* (Paris, 1998), 304–15; F. L. Griffith, 'The Antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh', in E. Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* (MEEF 7; London, 1890), 42–9 and pl. xiii.

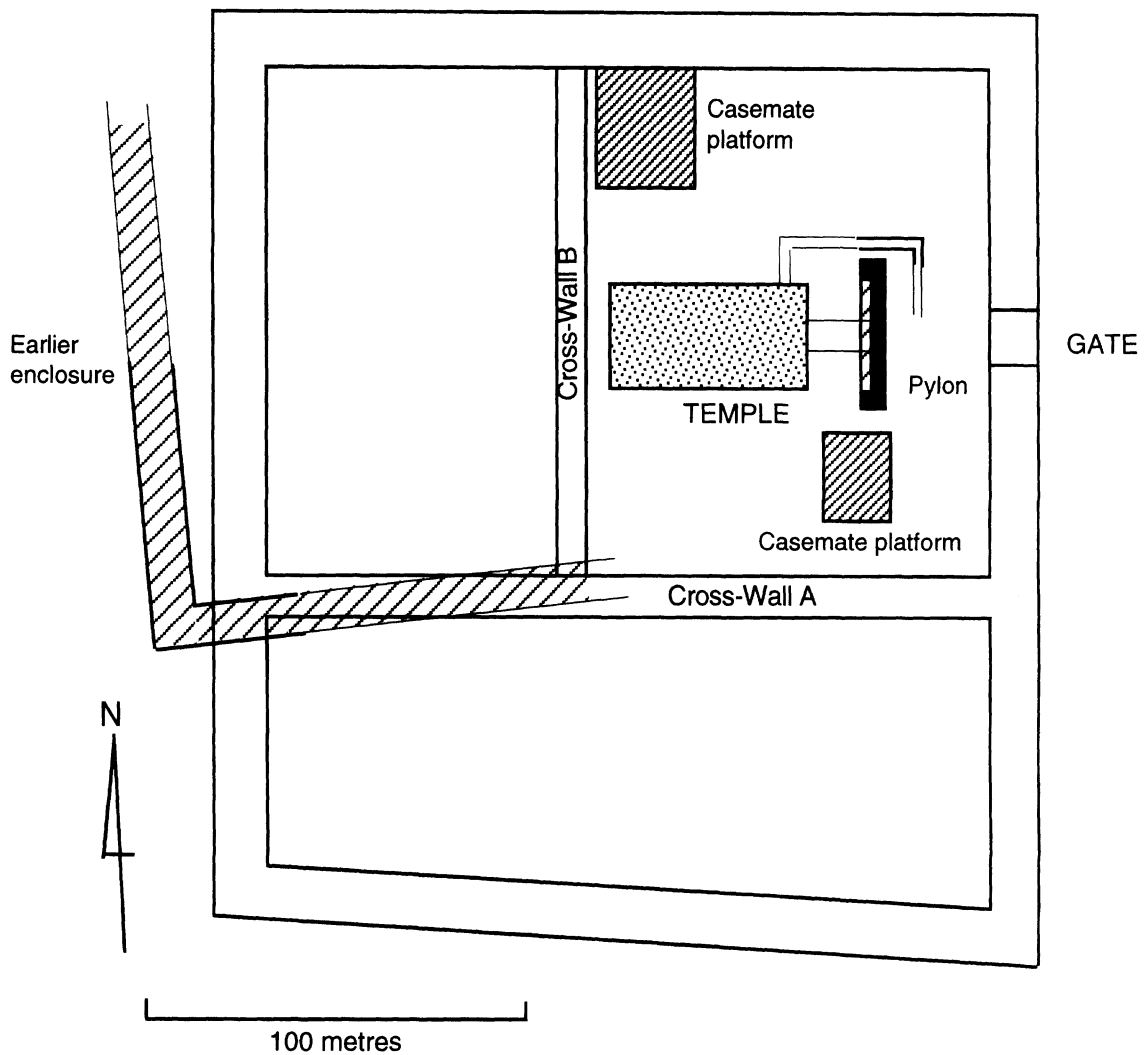


FIG. 3. Plan of the temple enclosure.

Penelope Wilson's contour map (fig. 1). As these illustrations show, the enclosure consists of a basic quadrilateral with two interior cross-walls. An aerial photograph of the site taken in 1936, on which most of the walls can be seen clearly (pl. VII, 3) was of great assistance in the plotting of the enclosure.<sup>13</sup> The most frequently encountered bricks in all parts of the enclosure are  $38 \times 18 \times 12$  cm in size, although the general range of variation in length extends from 36 to 40 cm, with a few very large examples in the east wall, up to 52 cm long. Both mud-bricks and yellow sandy bricks were used, mixed randomly in the construction. The enclosure was configured to suit the position of the temple, which, from stratigraphic considerations, can be dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (see below). Nothing was found in the excavations around the wall to suggest that the same date should not apply to the enclosure itself.

<sup>13</sup> I am grateful to Alison Gascoigne for pointing out to me the existence of this photograph.

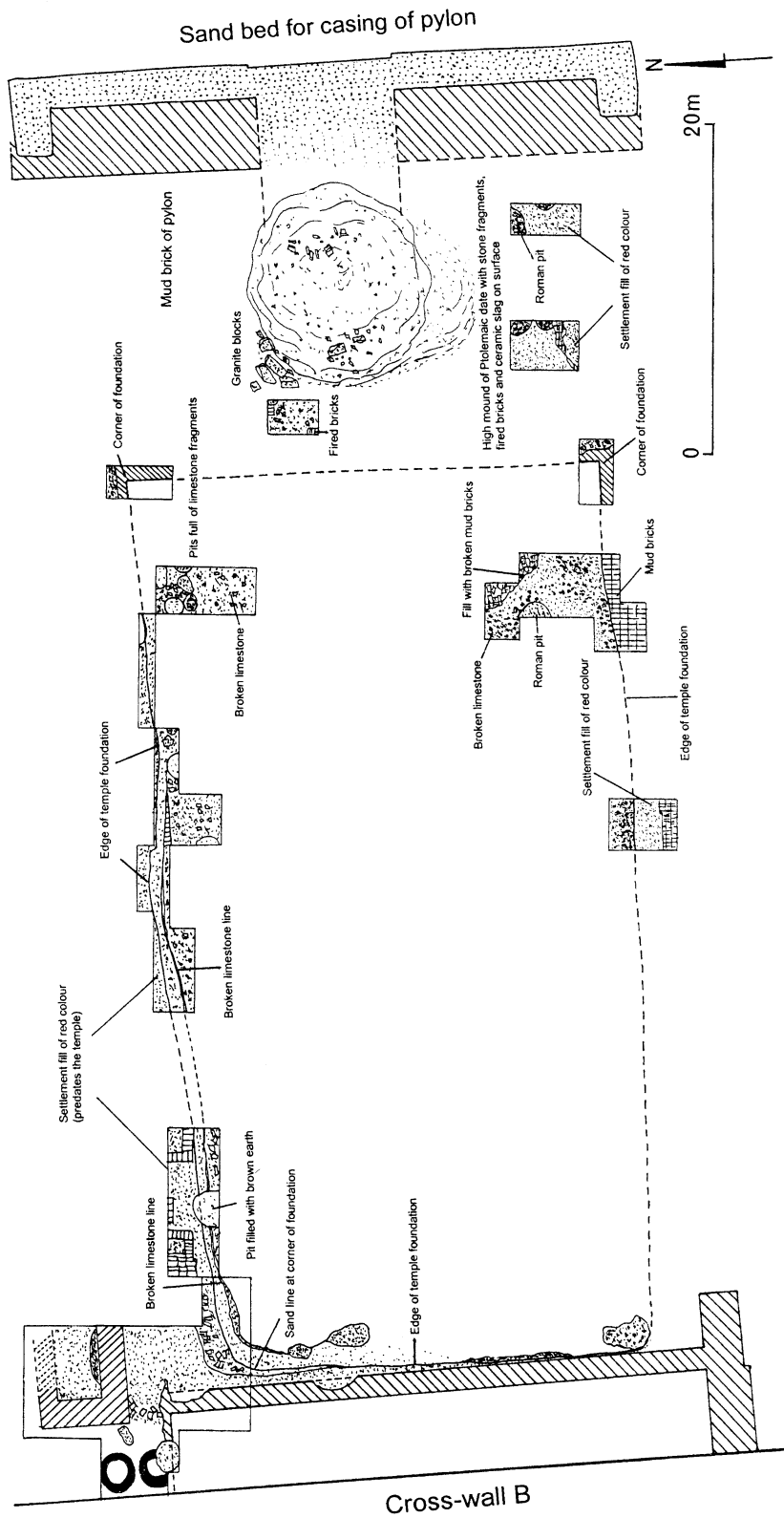


FIG. 4. Plan of the actual remains of the temple foundation.

The exterior lengths of the outer walls of the enclosure measure 216 m (north), 242 m (east), 231 m (west) and 217 m (south). Cross-Wall A is 192 m long and is parallel to the north wall. The south wall of the enclosure, however, runs at a slight angle as shown in figure 3, because the interior space between the south wall and Cross-Wall A is irregular, being 62.3 m wide at the west end but 10 m wider at the east. The entrance to the enclosure lay in the east wall in the axis of the temple. The gate is 12.9 m wide and situated 21 m east of the front of the temple pylon. The site of the gate was buried in a dump of redeposited fill, containing a considerable quantity of sand and broken limestone from the destruction of the temple, but there was no remaining evidence for there ever having been a stone gateway in the enclosure wall. The broken limestone found above it had been brought from elsewhere, probably from the temple pylon, since there were layers of mud between it and the brick jambs of the gate (pl. VIII, 1).

The thicknesses of the walls exhibit some differences: the north and west walls are 13 m thick, the east 12 m and the south 13.5 m. Of the two interior cross-walls, that running east–west (Cross-Wall A) is 9.6 m thick, and the lesser cross-wall (B) is 7 m thick. Where they pass through some of the higher mounds on the site the walls have been protected from erosion and are preserved to some considerable height, but parts of the west and north walls, in areas of low ground, have been eroded away completely. The subsidiary cross-wall (B), which extends from the main cross-wall (A) to the north wall of the enclosure and delimits an area at the back of the temple, is linked to the rear of the temple itself by thinner brick walls which surrounded the back of the temple foundation (see fig. 4). The north end of Cross-Wall B, where it connects to the outer north wall of the enclosure, is embedded within the high mound (F) which stands at the north edge of the site. In the angle at the junction of the walls, on the east side of the subsidiary wall, lies a casemate foundation platform (see fig. 3) which was investigated briefly by clearing the external corners. The building measures  $32.1 \times 27$  m, but the final 3.9 m of the latter dimension is composed of a kind of buttress on the west side of the structure. Between this buttress and Cross-Wall B is a gap of 1.8 m, filled with collapsed brickwork. Visible surface traces show that the interior of the platform contains numerous compartments, but these, which would all have been in the substructure of the building, were not investigated further. The distance between this casemate platform and the temple is around 24 m.

During work on the western wall of the enclosure, portions of the brickwork close to the exterior face were found to have been eroded away completely. The slope of the ground from east to west means that much of the latter side has been reduced to the final layer of bricks, which erosion is still removing so that the original ground below the wall foundation is exposed. Under the wall was a thin stratum of occupation fill of reddish colour, below which was more brickwork. This lower brick construction proved to be much more substantial than anticipated. Instead of lightweight domestic brick walls of a settlement area, we found part of the corner of an earlier temple enclosure, comprising elements of its western and southern walls (pl. VIII, 2). The southern wall passed beneath the later enclosure wall, projecting beyond it towards the west before turning to the north as shown on figure 3. The older wall was constructed of large bricks measuring  $52 \times 26 \times 13$  cm (one cubit  $\times$  half a cubit). The thickness of the wall was 12.8 m at the south and 12.65 m at the west. The west side of this early enclosure was traced for a distance of over forty metres towards the north, before it disappeared into the agricultural land at the edge of the site. Pottery found in fill which had accumulated against the ruins of this wall dated from the seventh century BC and included the following:

Red siltware carinated jar-neck (fig. 5, no. 8).

Rims from two red siltware jars (fig. 5, no. 9).

Siltware jar neck with external rim (fig. 5, no. 10).

Siltware jar neck with an external pink-red slip (fig. 5, no. 11). Probably from a Levantine jar.

Fragment of a bowl with an internal rim.<sup>14</sup>

Shoulder from a Levantine jar of hard pale buff fabric. The angle of the shoulder would suggest a date around 600 BC.<sup>15</sup>

Part of the side from a coarse siltware bread platter.<sup>16</sup>

Fragment of a red siltware vessel with a restricted mouth, same form as Type C.5.56 from Tell el-Balamun.<sup>17</sup>

The date of this older temple enclosure is uncertain, but it must pre-date the Saite Period when the later enclosure was constructed above it. The fill containing the pottery (noted above) was continuous with the stratum sandwiched between the foundation of the later enclosure and the top of the older one, showing that the older wall was in ruins by the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, or was deliberately levelled. As the base of the older wall lies deep in the subsoil water, it was not possible to search for dating evidence below it. The only possible dates are New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period, of which the latter seems the more likely.

### The temple

The position of the temple was identified during the survey of September 2000 from surface indications. The objective of the excavation was to reveal the limits of the foundation pit of the temple as a means of determining the plan of the building. Given that all the masonry above floor level had been removed in antiquity, this was the only option to recover details of the extent and design of the monument. It is a technique which has been employed over many years, with considerable success, in The British Museum's excavations at Tell el-Balamun. Excavation at Tell Belim began at the north side of the temple area, where the edge of the foundation of the building was soon identified, lined with a few courses of mud-bricks. Tracing the edge of the foundation from this point necessitated the excavation of numerous trenches around the sides of the temple. Figure 4 shows the positions of these and the features revealed within them at a depth of between 25 and 40 cm, that is, just below the loose surface dust. This depth was sufficient to expose the discontinuity in the ground which marked the cut of the temple foundation into the older deposits. All the trenches around the foundation perimeter exhibited similar remains on either side of the discontinuity: pre-temple occupation fill on the exterior of the line and redeposited fill inside. In places, the pre-temple fill contained mud-brick features, hearths and pits from the earlier occupation of the site. Gradually, the limit of the building was followed to the north-west back corner of the temple and then right across the back of the building to the south-west corner. Both of the corners were excavated to greater depth to search for any remaining sand filling or foundation deposits, but the interior of the foundation was found to contain redeposited material, introduced after the destruction of the monument (pl. VIII, 3). This

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1995–1998*, pls. 71, no. 1; 72, nos. 8–10.

<sup>15</sup> P. Paice, 'A Preliminary Analysis of some Elements of the Saite and Persian Period Pottery at Tell el-Maskhuta', *BES* 8 (1986–7), 98, 104 and fig. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1991–1994*, pl. 61, Type A.1.32.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 66.

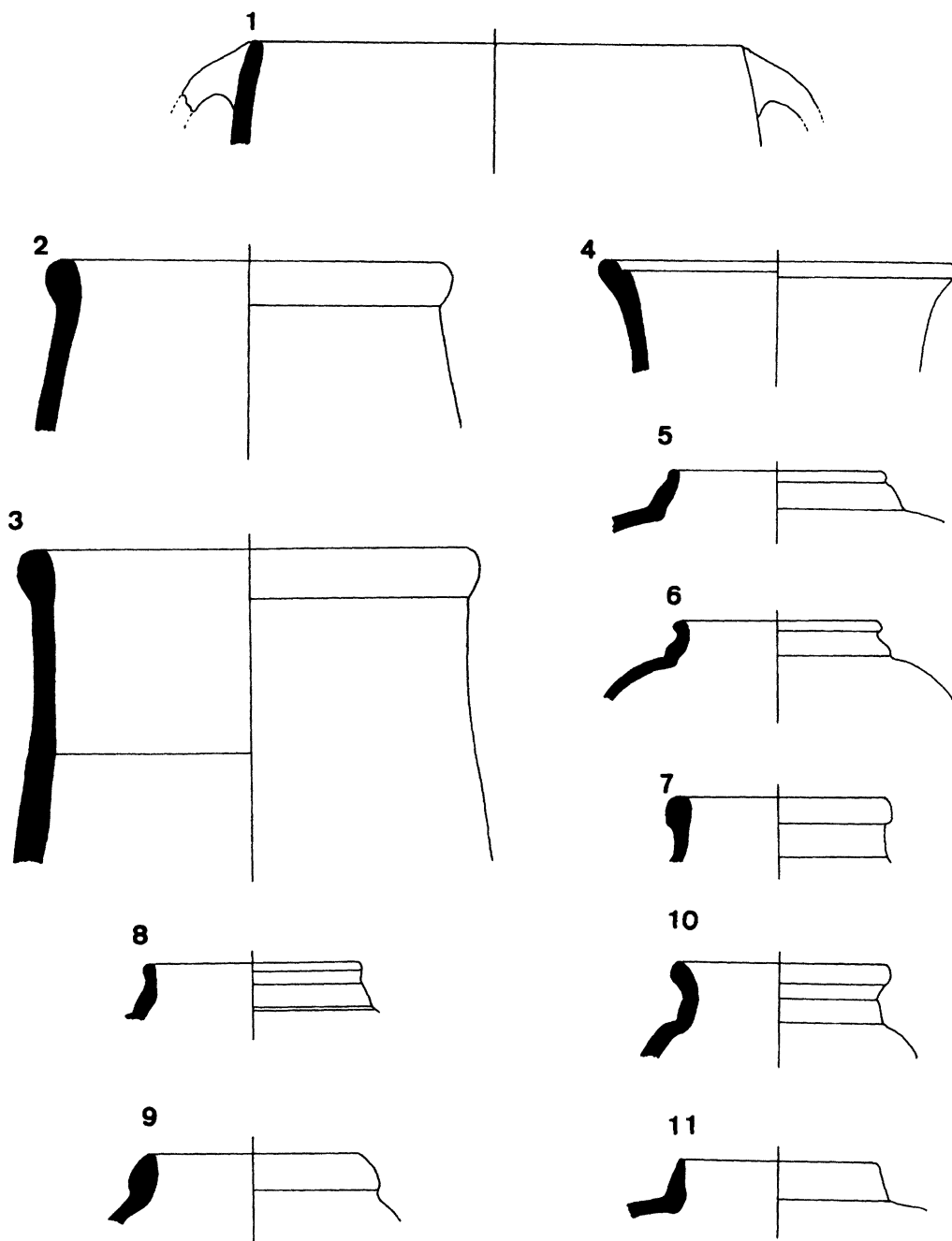


FIG. 5. Pottery from the pre-temple ground around the temple foundation (1–7 from pre-temple fill north of the pylon; 8–11 from angle of the pre-Saite enclosure).

filling consisted of a mixture of dumps of fill and rubble, moved around during the exploitation of the temple as a quarry, together with deposits of dust and mud brought in by wind and rain. This is the classic content of a destroyed temple foundation of the Nile Delta. The

original sand filling was probably quarried out for use in pottery manufacture and other industrial processes. The side of the north-west corner of the foundation pit retained a thin coating of yellow sand all down the cut surface of the earth, evidence that the foundation had been constructed in the traditional manner of the Late Period, as a large rectangular pit in the ground originally filled with clean sand as a base for the stone platform of the temple. In the work around the north-west corner it was noted that the original edge of the foundation was marked by the sand line, a short distance within which was a line of broken limestone. These two roughly parallel discontinuities extended from the corner along much of the north side of the temple, as indicated on figure 4 and plate IX, 1. There is no doubt that it is the outer line which marks the true limit of the foundation, the inner one having been created during the quarrying of the sand during the late Roman Period. After the edge of the foundation pit had been identified on the north, west and south, the front corners at the eastern end were discovered, lined with mud-brick at the top (pl. IX, 2–3). The north-east corner still retained a small patch of yellow sand in the angle as evidence of its purpose. In the deeper levels of this corner the brick lining disappeared and the sides of the pit consisted simply of pre-temple ground containing occupation debris. The other front corner of the foundation, at the south-east, possessed a slightly deeper brick lining and had become filled with collapsed brickwork after the destruction of the temple.

The discovery of the front corners showed that the foundation pit was of roughly rectangular shape and measured  $53 \times 26$  m ( $100 \times 50$  cubits). The relatively small size of this foundation was explained when it became apparent that it had served only for the inner part of the temple, from the pronaos or hypostyle hall as far as the rear of the building, but excluding the front pylon and first court, which were found to have separate foundations. The foundations of Late Period temples in the Delta are never very regular, and this one was no exception. Its depth varied from 0.8 m at the front to 1.3 m at the back. Neither of these measurements is particularly great so it seems that the usual rule of preparing a sand-bed foundation down to the subsoil water-level was not followed at Belim. The original thickness of the sand-bed would have been greater before surface erosion reduced the height of the ground over the whole of the temple site. The present day surface of the area is relatively flat, rising only towards the south in the direction of Cross-Wall A of the enclosure. This rise shows between the rear corners of the temple as an increase in elevation of only 0.44 m at the south. The south end of Cross-Wall B then rises an additional 0.42 m. At the front of the temple, the additional height of the south end of the pylon over the northern edge is 0.5 m.

Across the back of the temple was a wall of black bricks, 1.4 m thick but with only two surviving courses of depth, which marked the limit of the building. The brick size was  $36 \times 18 \times 10$  cm. In the middle of the temple the outer edge of the foundation pit lay right next to this brick wall, but, owing to the irregularity of the rear corners of the foundation, the space between the pit and the wall increased at the ends. This suggests that the bricks might have been laid against the stone masonry of the temple platform, which would have been set in a straight line, ignoring the irregular nature of the substructure. This brick wall was connected to a larger one at the south side, which in turn connected with Cross-Wall B of the temple enclosure, running behind the temple at a distance of some 5 m from it (fig. 4). A check was made at the north end for a similar arrangement, but the traces here were found to have been seriously eroded. A small patch of black brick showing turns to both west and east might indicate that the layout matched that at the south. Any connection to Cross-Wall

B has been destroyed by pitting associated with the construction of two pottery kilns in the area. The lower parts of these kilns stood close to the inner face of Cross-Wall B. They had diameters of 2.4 m and 1.9 m and the sides of each consisted of three rings of mud-bricks, burnt red on the interior. The rectangular structure of mud-brick just to the east of these kilns was a pre-temple building, probably domestic, embedded in reddish-coloured occupation fill of the same character as that which surrounds the temple foundation. Its position was merely defined for insertion on the plan, but it was not otherwise investigated.

Work was later moved to the front of the temple, at the east end. The sand foundation bed for the stone casing of the north wing of the entrance pylon was found to be well preserved (pl. X, 1–2). On the south side, although the edge of the foundation of the pylon could be traced, the sand had all been replaced by redeposited fill containing fragments of Ptolemaic and Roman pottery. This pylon at the entrance of the monument had a total width of 36.8 m, placing 18.4 m on either side of the axis. The configuration of the sand-bed showed that it had extended all along the façade of the pylon and around either end. Across the front it was only 2.25 m wide but where it turned around the ends of the pylon the width expanded to 2.7 m. The stone masonry which had once stood on this sand would have concealed the mud-brick core of the pylon. The thickness of the pylon including the brick part was 6.2 m. Surprisingly, the depth of the sand in the foundation was only about 30 cm, below which lay the original pre-temple ground, although it is not clear just how much height has been lost to surface erosion. The temple foundation in many areas had been cut through settlements of the Third Intermediate Period, dated by the pottery, which shows that the temple must have been built at a later date. The most likely date for construction is the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, especially as there is no indication of any Thirtieth Dynasty work on the temple complex. Behind the pylon there seems to have been a narrow corridor approach into the temple, leading to the main part of the building about 25 m further west. The dimensions of the different parts of the temple fit well into ancient cubit measurements: a total length of 78 m (150 cubits), width of 26 m (50 cubits) and 53 m for the length of the rear part of the building (100 cubits).

Close to the south side of the pylon is a brick casemate foundation platform measuring  $23 \times 18.3$  m, which probably formed the elevated foundation of a subsidiary building at the side of the main temple (fig. 3). The presence of this structure was visible on the ground surface, but small areas were cleaned to allow a plan to be made. The substructure contained eight internal compartments which would have been filled up with earth to create a platform for the building above. This would probably have been a peripteral chapel or 'pure storehouse' and have been approached by a stairway or ramp, as noted in other examples at Tanis, Elkab and Diospolis Parva.<sup>18</sup>

On the north side of the temple in the area next to the pylon, part of a mud-brick wall 4.5 m thick was traced over a length of just over 14 m. It was found to run parallel with the temple axis and extend forward of the pylon by 7.25 m, where it met a foundation trench running at right angles (pl. X, 3). The most probable interpretation of this is that there was a porch in front of the pylon, the front wall of which consisted of stone masonry, built on the foundation trench, linked to the temple by the mud-brick wall at the side. It was not possible to determine where the wall connected with the temple building owing to the

<sup>18</sup> J. L. Fougerousse, in P. Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis* (Paris, 1933), 76–88, pls. 25–6; J. Capart, *Fouilles de El-Kab: Documents* (Brussels, 1940–54), 35, pl. 37; W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva* (MEEF 20; London, 1901), 55–6, pl. xxiv.



brickwork having been cut away by deep pits of Ptolemaic date, but it might have connected to the side of the pronaos (fig. 3). The construction of the wall was unusual in that not only had the bricks been mortared with mud containing a high proportion of crushed siltware pottery, but more of the same temper was included in the bricks themselves, giving the whole area a reddish colour.<sup>19</sup> The bricks were of a mixture of sizes, including small examples measuring 34 × 17 × 10 cm and larger ones in the range 38–40 × 19–20 × 12 cm. In the space between the wall and the north edge of the pylon foundation was a strip of untouched pre-temple ground about 2.8 m wide, from which some ceramics of the Third Intermediate Period were recovered (nos. 1–7 on fig. 5). A search on the southern side of the pylon failed to reveal a counterpart to the wall at the north, owing to the area having been considerably disturbed by pitting in the Ptolemaic Period.

#### *Pottery from the pre-temple fill north of the pylon*

- Wide-mouthed siltware jar with two handles (fig. 5, no. 1).
- Several examples of wide-mouthed jars in red siltware (fig. 5, no. 2).
- Wide-mouthed jar rim in red siltware (fig. 5, no. 3).
- Upper part of an open vessel with flared sides (fig. 5, no. 4).
- Red siltware shouldered jar with a carinated rim (fig. 5, no. 5).
- Red siltware shouldered jar with an external, carinated rim (fig. 5, no. 6).
- Red siltware jar neck with a rounded external rim (fig. 5, no. 7).
- Neck from a siltware jar with an external rim.<sup>20</sup>

### Conclusions

That the Twenty-sixth Dynasty temple at Tell Belim was a monument of modest proportions, constructed economically, is clear from the details of its construction which have been recovered. Among these are the shallowness and limited extent of the foundation and the use of a mud-brick entrance pylon, cased with stone only on the more visible surfaces at the front and sides. One reason for the absence of a more substantial temple might have been the remote location of the town, far from quarry sites and close to the north-eastern frontier of Egypt proper. It is curious, however, that there is such a great quantity of hard stone lying around on the site, since this suggests lavish temple building at some period. Whether this material was used in the Saite temple, possibly to compensate for its modest dimensions, or whether it came from an earlier monument is unclear. The presence of basalt blocks on the site recalls the use of this material at Tell el-Balamun, where it was employed originally in the Ramesside temple, then re-used in later phases of reconstruction. It is interesting that the temple at Tell Belim should have been redeveloped in the Saite Period in view of the proximity of the site to Tell Defenna, situated 10 km to the south, where a major building programme was initiated by Psamtik I.

The discovery of part of a temple enclosure older than that of the Saite Period at Tell Belim is evidence for a temple having existed there before the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Pottery from the site shows that the area around the temple was once occupied by substantial

<sup>19</sup> This use of red ceramic temper in brickwork was noted in Saite structures at Tell el-Balamun, probably dating from the reign of Psamtik I. See Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1991–1994*, 30, 60–1.

<sup>20</sup> Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1995–1998*, pl. 55 (b), no. 3.

settlements which extended back from the Late Period to Ramesside times. These remains of a dynastic history for the town strengthen the suggestion that it is to be identified with Herakleopolis Parva, in preference to Tell Ayid, a smaller mound formerly situated some 4 km east of Belim but now totally destroyed.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See the references in n.1 above.

1. Grave in the Roman cemetery.

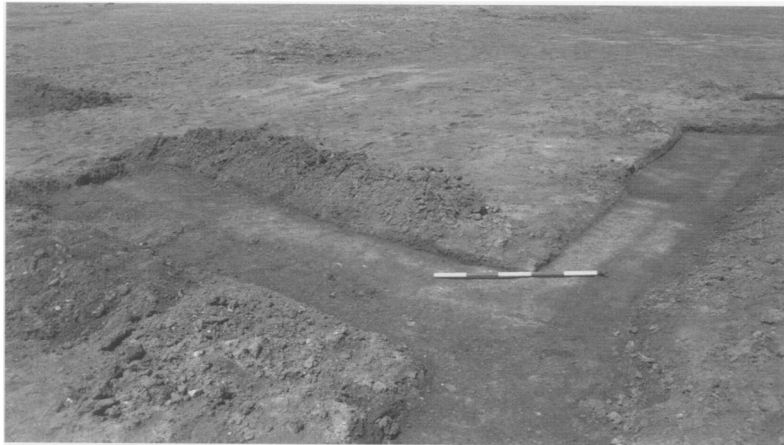


2. Surface trace of the south wall of the temple enclosure.



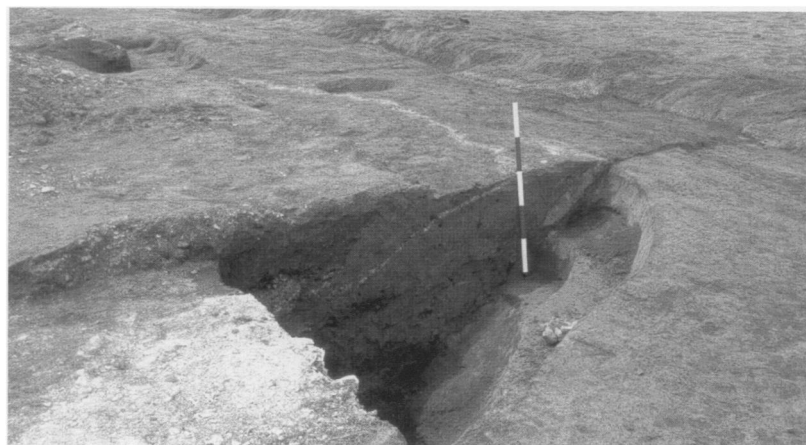
3. Air-view of Tell Belim from the north-west, with the temple enclosure in the foreground (Crown copyright, 1936/MOD).

**PLATE VIII**



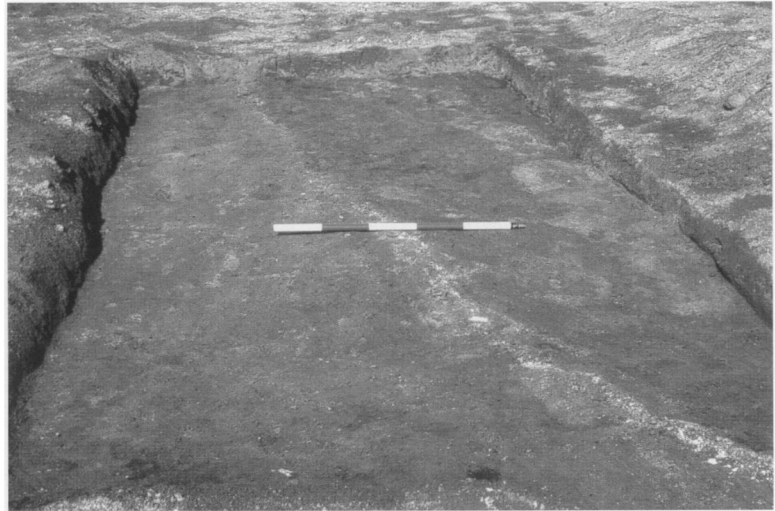
**1. North jamb of the gate in the east wall of the temple enclosure.**

**2. Interior south-west corner of the pre-Saite enclosure.**



**3. North-west corner of the temple foundation. Note the sand line (right) and the broken stone line (left).**

1. Discontinuities marking the edge of the temple foundation, north side.



2. Front north-east angle of the temple foundation, with a trace of sand in the corner.

3. Front south-east angle of the temple foundation.

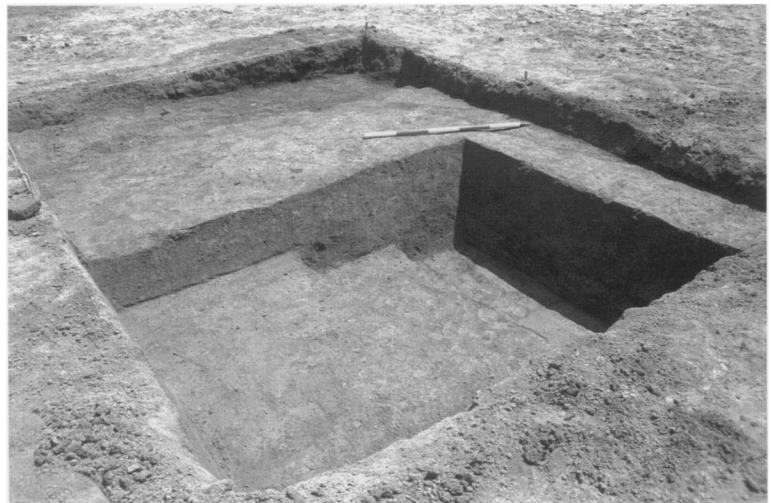
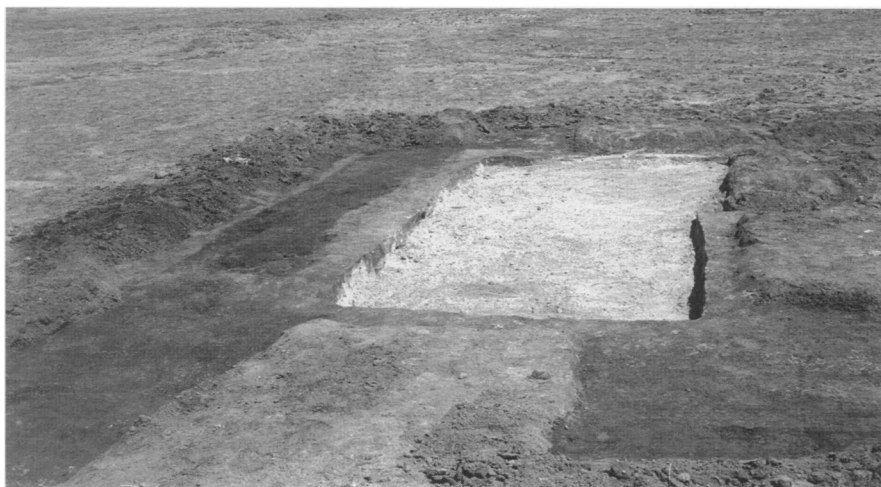
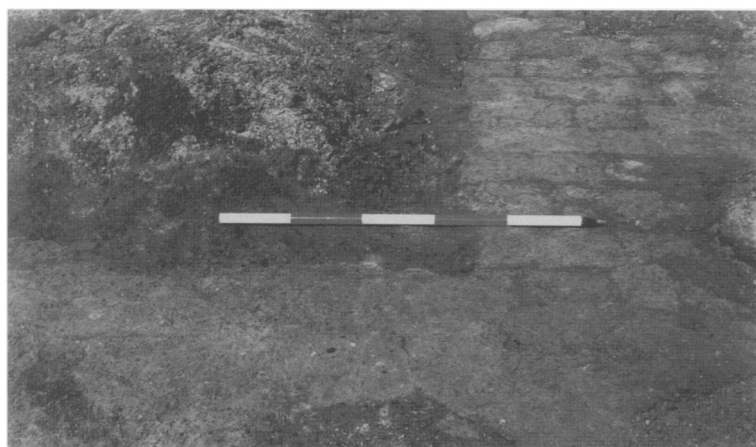


PLATE X



1. Sand-bed of the north end of the pylon casing, from the west.

2. View along the pylon foundation from the north.



3. Angle of the brick wall and foundation trench in front of the north side of the pylon.

# DIE SCHRIFTZEUGNISSE DES PRÄDYNASTISCHEN KÖNIGSGRABES U-j IN UMM EL-QAAB: VERSUCH EINER NEUINTERPRETATION

Von FRANCIS AMADEUS KARL BREYER

In the first volume of the Umm el-Qaab series, G. Dreyer has published the earliest known examples of writing in Egypt, found in the tomb U-j in Umm el-Qaab, supposed to be that of an obscure king 'Scorpion'. Although the new material has been excellently presented, many interpretations will not bear closer scrutiny, particularly the reconstructed scheme of several predynastic kings. Being of the greatest importance for our understanding not only of Egyptian culture but also of the development of writing *per se*, one should refrain from too far-fetched conclusions. Thus, less far-reaching solutions are proposed.

Mit der Publikation<sup>1</sup> kurzer Vermerke auf Gefäßen und Anhängertäfelchen, die aus dem Naqada IIIa2-zeitlichen<sup>2</sup> Grab U-j in Abydos Umm el-Qaab stammen, wurden von Günter Dreyer für das Verständnis ägyptischer Schriftentwicklung außerordentlich wichtige Zeugnisse zugänglich gemacht und bearbeitet. Auf 95 vollständigen oder zu großem Teil wiederherstellbaren Wellenhenkelgefäßen konnten mit schwarzer Tinte ausgeführte Zeichen festgestellt werden, auf weiteren etwa 80 Fragmenten Teile solcher Aufschriften.<sup>3</sup> Offensichtlich richtet sich das Vorkommen einer Beschriftung teilweise nach dem Gefäßtyp bzw. dessen Größe. Die vorkommenden Zeichen beschränken sich auf eine überschaubare Anzahl und werden in offensichtlich signifikanter Art und Weise miteinander kombiniert: so unterscheidet Dreyer einerseits zwischen Hauptzeichen und Nebenzeichen andererseits, die nur in Kombination mit Hauptzeichen auftreten. Bei den Hauptzeichen handelt<sup>4</sup> es sich mit der Ausnahme der Schiffe in allen Fällen um Tier- und Pflanzendarstellungen: 60 (+ 4) × Skorpion (allein, kombiniert mit Baum, 'Wedel',<sup>5</sup> Rechteck, Strich<sup>6</sup> und Bogen), 20 × die Fingerschnecke (allein und kombiniert mit dem Baum), 9 (+ 3) × den Fisch (allein und kombiniert mit dem Baum) 15 × die Rinderkopfstandarte (allein und kombiniert mit dem 'Wedel');<sup>7</sup> die unbestimmbaren Tiere (3 ×), der Falke (auch 3 ×) und das Schiff (7 + 1 ×)

<sup>1</sup> G. Dreyer et al., *Umm el-Qaab I, Das prädynastischen Königsgrabes U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse* (AV 86, Mainz 1998) (fortan *Umm el-Qaab I*).

<sup>2</sup> *Umm el-Qaab I*, 17 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Umm el-Qaab I*, 47 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Die Angaben folgen v.a. der Tabelle in: *Umm el-Qaab I*, 84.

<sup>5</sup> Der Wedel scheint mir eher ein Schilfblatt zu sein. Vgl. auch ähnliche Wedel (?) in den Schiffszeichnungen auf Negade II-Keramik.

<sup>6</sup> Dreyer hält den Strich für eine abgekürzte Schreibung für das Rechteck, was ich für eher unwahrscheinlich halte.

<sup>7</sup> Auch hier erscheint mir eine andere Deutung sehr viel wahrscheinlicher zu sein: bei genauerer Betrachtung wird klar, daß es sich bei der Rinderkopfstandarte nicht um das Zeichen handelt, das mit dem Skorpion kombiniert ist, schon, da es immer in die entgegengesetzte Richtung weist.

treten jeweils nur allein auf. Die Angaben zur Häufigkeit des Vorkommens der jeweiligen Zeichen werden hier referiert, weil Dreyer aus ihnen sehr weitreichende Schlüsse zieht, die im folgenden kritisch beleuchtet werden sollen.

Nach Überlegungen allgemeiner Art über die Funktion und Interpretationsmöglichkeiten der Gefäßaufschriften und Abwägung der speziellen Indizien kann es sich eigentlich nur um sogenannte Herkunfts-Kontrollvermerke<sup>8</sup> handeln. Die Interpretation der Zeichen als Inhaltsangaben wird nach Untersuchungen zum Gefäßinhalt ausgeschlossen, da sie offenbar alle die gleiche Substanz enthielten,<sup>9</sup> allerdings scheint mir auch bei dieser Angabe Zurückhaltung geboten, da nach Auskunft der Inhaltsanalyse<sup>10</sup> keine definitiven Angaben zum Inhalt zu machen sind, aus Anmerkung 55<sup>11</sup> geht sogar hervor, daß nur eine einzelne Probe untersucht worden ist, so daß die Differenzierung einer ähnlich gearteten Substanz anhand der Aufschriften nicht einmal mit Sicherheit völlig auszuschließen wäre. Trotzdem kann man dies eher verwerfen, da die Natur der (Tier-)Zeichen allein schon gegen eine solche Interpretation spricht, man somit weiterhin besser von einer dubiosen 'vegetabilischen Fettmasse' ausgehen sollte. Die weitere Möglichkeit, in den Aufschriften Bestimmungangaben, d.h. Adressat oder Eigentümer zu sehen, wird mit Hinweis auf die Keramikformen, die nur aus einer kurzen Zeitspanne stammten und dem Auftreten einer viel zu großen Anzahl von Herrschern, die dieser Zeitspanne zugeordnet werden müßten, ausgeschlossen.<sup>12</sup>

Nachdem nun die Funktion auf die Markierung der Herkunft eingeschränkt wurde, gilt die Untersuchung vor allem den Nebenzeichen BAUM, 'WEDEL' und RECHTECK (fig. 1). Durch den Vergleich mit späteren Siegelabrollungen und Ritzmarken<sup>13</sup> erscheint die Lesung der Kombination BAUM + TIERZEICHEN als 'Plantage/Gut/Domäne des NN' sehr plausibel, ebenso die Lesung für RECHTECK + TIERZEICHEN als *š des NN*.<sup>14</sup> Zu letzterem paßt besonders die Abgrenzung gegenüber BAUM = 'Domäne', also eher einer landwirtschaftlichen Einrichtung, die in der Lesung *š* steckt, da es sich hierbei nicht, wie Dreyer meint, um ein Landgut, sondern eher um eine Art Werkplatz, eine Arbeitsfläche handelt.<sup>15</sup> Zu vergleichen ist diese Bedeutung von *š* mit der häufigeren, 'See', bei dem es, der eben auch nur eine Fläche, nämlich die Wasseroberfläche, ist. Nach meiner Ansicht liegt bei den Täfelchen nicht etwa die Residenz vor— *š* heißt an sich nicht 'Residenz'— sondern um eine andere Institution, die ihrer Lage nach in komplementärer Beziehung zu den korrespondierenden Ortsbezeichnungen mit dem BAUM stehen, eine nicht-landwirtschaftliche Produktionsstätte. Stadelmann<sup>16</sup> bestimmt *š* als 'Stiftung, Bezirk', in einigen Fällen sogar mit der Nuance 'Baustelle'. Zu beachten ist, wie *š* sonst näher spezifiziert wird, wenn betont werden soll, daß ein naher Bezug zur Residenz besteht, denn dann ist von einem *š n(.i) pr(.w)-š* die Rede. Ferner sollte die Lesung *šp<sup>3</sup>.t*, welche durch die charakteristische Innenzeichnung mit einer zusätzlichen horizontalen Linie motiviert ist, nicht ganz aus dem Blickfeld geraten.

<sup>8</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 85.

<sup>9</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, mit Anm. 110 und Anm. 55.

<sup>10</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 28 besonders Anm. 55.

<sup>11</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 28.

<sup>12</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 85.

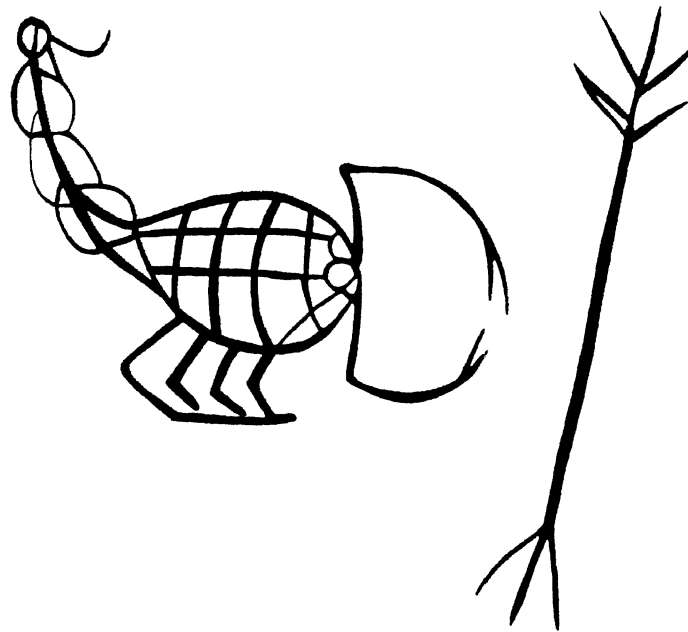
<sup>13</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 85 Abb. 56.

<sup>14</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 85, besonders Anm. 114.

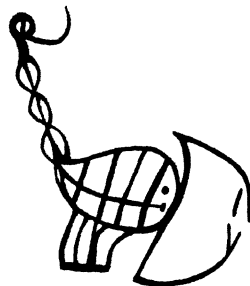
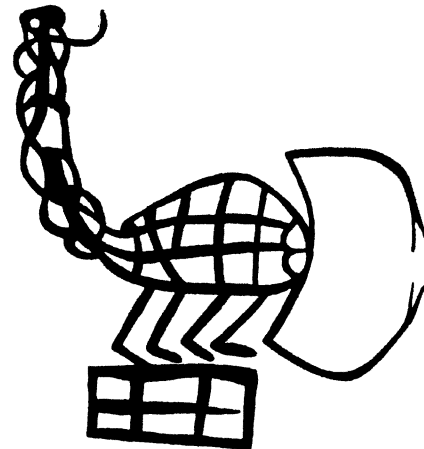
<sup>15</sup> *Wb.* IV, 398, 5–8.

<sup>16</sup> R. Stadelmann, 'Die *hntjw-š*, der Königsbezirk *š n pr-š* und die Namen der Grabanlagen der Frühzeit', *BIFAO* 81, Suppl. (1981), 153–64, besonders 158–9.





a) Skorpion + Baum (j2/13 ergänzt)

b) Skorpion + Wedel  
(j2/14)

c) Skorpion + Rechteck (j5/9 ergänzt)

FIG.1. SKORPION mit den Zeichen BAUM, 'WEDEL' und RECHTECK, nach *Umm el-Qaab I*, 47, Abb. 33a–c.

Ausgangspunkt folgender Überlegungen sind gewisse Zweifel an der Richtigkeit von Dreyers Interpretation der Tierzeichen als Königsnamen. Eine Betrachtung der Anhängertäfelchen soll diese Zweifel untermauern. Bei den vor allem aus Kammer II stammenden Täfelchen, die, wie wiederverwendete Stücke belegen,<sup>17</sup> auch in allgemeinem d.h. nicht allein funerärem Gebrauch gewesen sein dürften, handelt es sich um einfache

<sup>17</sup> *Umm el-Qaab I*, 138.

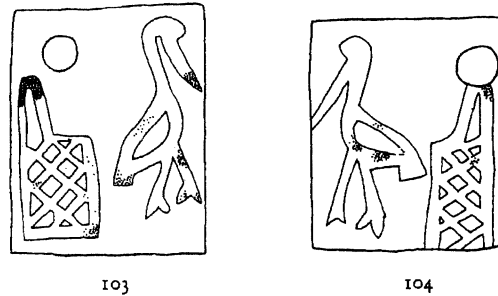


FIG. 2. Schreibung für 'Basta' (STORCH + FASSADE), nach *Umm el-Qaab* I, 125, Abb. 78, Täfelchen 103 und 104.

Etiketten. Auch hier werden aufgrund der Art der Zeichen Qualitätsangaben und Objektsbezeichnungen ausgeschlossen, wodurch sie mit den Gefäßaufschriften vergleichbar werden. Daß es sich hier nicht nur um Symbole handelt, sondern um Beischriften, die nach den Prinzipien der Hieroglyphenschrift normal gelesen werden können, zeigen phonetische Schreibungen, wie die der Ortsnamen 'Basta' als STORCH + SITZ =  $b^{\text{z}}\text{-}\dot{s}.t^{18}$  (fig. 2) und 'Buto' als REIHER + FASSADE =  $db^{\text{c}}.wt$  (fig. 3), letzteres ebenso auch auf der Städtepalette und der Narmerkeule belegt.<sup>19</sup> Auch das Ringerpaar kommt schon als Städtebezeichnung auf der Städtepalette vor.<sup>20</sup> Sollte es sich bei dem Bogen<sup>21</sup> um eine Schreibung für die Zahl 10 handeln, läge auch hier eine auf dem Rebusprinzip basierende Graphie vor.<sup>22</sup> Eventuell ist mit dem Zeichen, das einen Rinderkopf (?) darstellt auch eine der Schreibung für  $\dot{S}d.t$

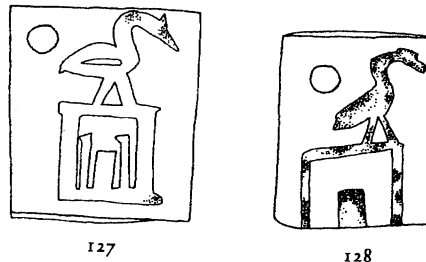


FIG. 3. Schreibung für 'Buto' (REIHER + FASSADE), nach *Umm el-Qaab* I, 130, Abb. 80, Täfelchen 127 und 128.

ähnliche Standarte gemeint, wenn nicht sogar eben dieser Ortsname. Die vorgeschlagene Lesung ELEFANT + BERG (fig. 4) als  $\dot{s}b\text{-}dw$  'Abydos'<sup>23</sup> und insbesondere das ganze darauf ruhende Gedankengebäude erscheint mir dann doch als etwas zu weit hergeholt. Sicherlich wäre diese Lesung in spielerischer Schreibung sehr gut möglich, doch kann ich mir schwer vorstellen, warum die Ägypter sich eine solche Schreibung in späterer Zeit hätten entgehen lassen und von dieser bedeutungstragenden zu der später üblichen

<sup>18</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 139, auch hier ist eine gewisse Vorsicht geboten, unterscheiden sich die Zeichen, die Dreyer als  $\dot{s}.t$  liest und die Tasche (?) von Täfelchen 157 nur minimal voneinander.

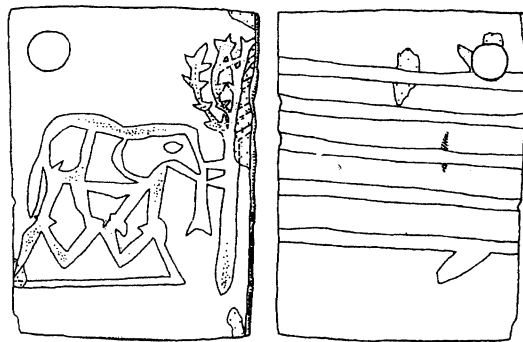
<sup>19</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 139 und 142.

<sup>20</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 140, Taf. 43a. Eventuell ist mit dem Zeichen, das einen Gazellenkopf (?) darstellt auch eine der Schreibung für  $\dot{S}d.t$  ähnliche Standarte gemeint, wenn nicht sogar eben dieser Ortsname.

<sup>21</sup> Auf Gefäß j5/6, im Index der Schriftzeichen in: *Umm el-Qaab* I, 86, dazu Kommentar auf S. 86.

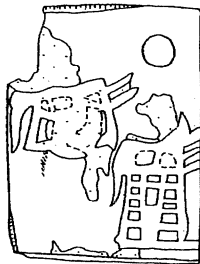
<sup>22</sup> Die Hieroglyphe stellt eine Fußfessel für Vieh dar, die  $md.t$  heißt (*Wb.* II, 184, 15), die Kardinalzahl 10 lautet  $md.w$  (masc.) und  $md.t$  (fem.), vgl. A. Loprieno, s.v. 'Zahlwort', *LÄ* VI, 1309.

<sup>23</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 140.



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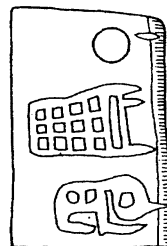
FIG. 4. Schreibung für 'Elephantine' (ELEFANT + BERG), nach *Umm el-Qaab I*, 119. Abb. 76, Täfelchen 59.



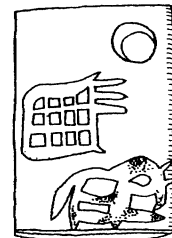
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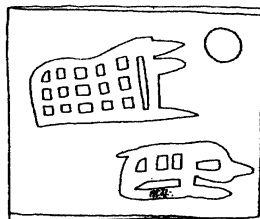
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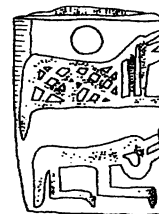
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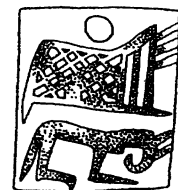
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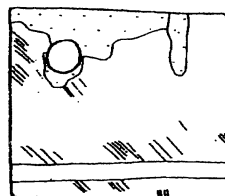
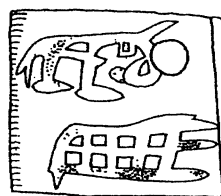
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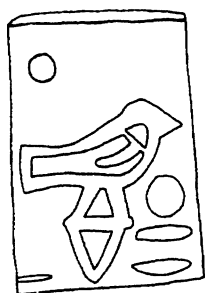
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FIG. 5. ELEFANT + HEILIGTUM, nach *Umm el-Qaab I*, 122, Abb. 77, Täfelchen 61-9.

nichtssagenderen Zeichenfolge gewechselt hätten, schon gar nicht bei einem Ort wie Abydos. Außerdem—warum einen König Elefant aus dem Hut zaubern, wenn sich eine andere, völlig gängige Lesung förmlich aufdrängt? Liest man den BERG als Determinativ und den ELEFANTEN als Logogramm in späterer Manier, ist die Lesung ohne zusätzliche Kniffe *ʒbw*, d.h. ‘Elephantine’ und nicht ‘Abydos’. Bei dieser Lesung erklärt sich auch das Fehlen des Berges unter dem Elefanten in den Täfelchen 61–9 (fig. 5), die nun als ‘Heiligtum von Elephantine’<sup>24</sup> gelesen werden könnten, nicht etwa ‘Heiligtum des Königs Elefant’ o.ä., was sehr gewagt erscheint.<sup>25</sup> Noch gewagter ist die Deutung des DREIECKS unter den ‘FALKEN’ (fig. 6). Dieses bezeichnet Dreyer<sup>26</sup> als Vulva, d.h. als Symbol für Weiblichkeit,



114

FIG. 6. FALKE + STANDARDE, nach *Umm el-Qaab* I, 127, Abb. 79, Täfelchen 114.

den Harem des Königs, eine Deutung, die vor allem auf den Vergleich mit dem entsprechenden sumerischen Logogramm MUNUS (nicht GÉME!) fußt (fig. 7), mir jedoch damit auf sehr wackligen Beinen zu stehen scheint, insbesondere, da der sehr charakteristische

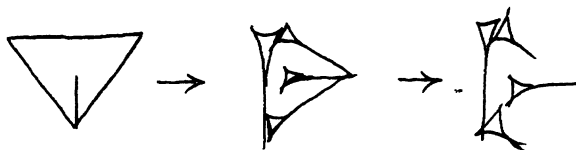


FIG. 7. Das sumerische Logogramm MUNUS = ‘Frau’.

Mittelstrich immer fehlt. Vielmehr könnte hier eine Standarte gezeichnet sein (fig. 8). Dreyer nimmt diese Schreibung für ‘Harem’ sogar als Kriterium für die chronologische Einordnung eines eben durch sie postulierten Königs ‘Falke’, der nach König Skorpion, dem mutmaßlichen Grabinhaber von U-j, regiert haben soll, da er der einzige ist, dessen ‘Harem’ und Palast zu den Grabbeigaben beisteuern.<sup>27</sup> Hier kommt die bereits erwähnte Anzahl der Gefäßaufschriften wieder ins Spiel, da anhand der Häufigkeit des Skorpionzeichens, 60 (+ 4) von etwa 125, das Grab U-j einem Herrscher namens Skorpion zugeordnet wird. Gleichzeitig wird aber auf eine ursprüngliche Gesamtmenge von schätzungsweise 800 Gefäßen hingewiesen, die zum größten Teil beschriftet gewesen sein dürften.<sup>28</sup> Angesichts

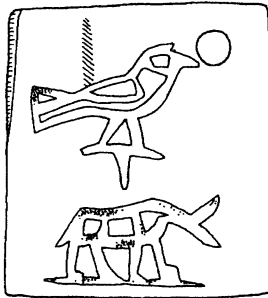
<sup>24</sup> Ähnlich wie in Abb. 105 mit der Lesung der elefantenförmigen Hütte als ‘Tempel’.

<sup>25</sup> Dreyer schlägt diese Lesung nicht explizit vor, doch zielt die Interpretation des Elefantenzeichens, siehe: *Umm el-Qaab* I, 140 in diese Richtung.

<sup>26</sup> Nach *Umm el-Qaab* I, 142.

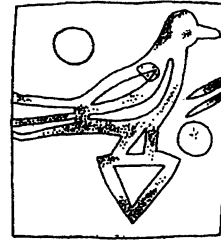
<sup>27</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 173.

<sup>28</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 84.



78

FIG. 8. FALKE (?), der eindeutig auf einer Standarde sitzt, nach *Umm el-Qaab I*, 122, Abb. 77, Täfelchen 78.



115

FIG. 9. Vogel auf einem DREIECK, nach *Umm el-Qaab I*, 127, Abb. 79, Täfelchen 115.

dieser Information kann diese Verteilung rein zufällig sein, ja es ist anzunehmen, daß die Grabräuber sicherlich zuerst die wertvolleren Beigaben mitgenommen haben, die am ehesten mit dem Grabinhaber in Verbindung zu bringen gewesen sein dürften. Mit anderen Worten: die Zuordnung des Grabes kann so nicht wirklich getroffen werden. Was den 'Nachfolger', König 'Falke' betrifft, so ist selbst die Lesung dieses Zeichens nicht über jeden Zweifel erhaben, besonders im Vergleich zu den Gefäßaufschriften und auch zu der sehr einheitlichen Art, in welcher der Falke später auf den Serechs gezeichnet wird, sieht der Vogel oft eher nicht wie ein Falke aus,<sup>29</sup> sondern kommt der *wr*-Schwalbe ziemlich nahe (fig. 9).

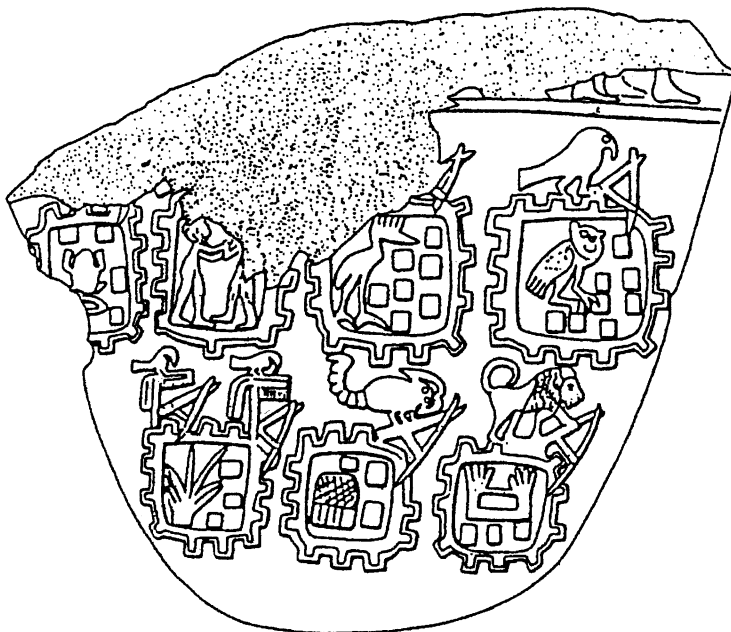


FIG. 10. Die Städtepalette, nach B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London 1989), 50, fig. 16.

<sup>29</sup> Selbst ein kauernder Falke (*šnbtī*), im Gegensatz zu einem aufgerichteten Falken (*bik*), scheint mir nicht vorzuliegen.

Hauptansatzpunkt für Dreyers Rekonstruktion der Herrscher und ihrer Folge aufeinander ist die Städtepalette (fig. 10) und die drei von Petrie 1894 in Koptos gefundenen Min-Statuen (fig. 11). Bei der Städtepalette gibt es in der Forschung zwei Tendenzen. Sethe und Helck<sup>30</sup> sprechen sich für die Deutung der Tierzeichen mit den Hacken zur Zerstörung der darunterliegenden Städte aus, wohingegen Wildung hierin die Gründung ebenderselben sieht. Dreyer schließt sich der Meinung Sethes und Helcks an, da zumindest Buto und die Ringerstadt früh schon auf Täfelchen aus Grab U-j belegt sind, die er früher ansetzt, als die Städtepalette, die nicht mit Bestimmtheit zu datieren ist,<sup>31</sup> stilistisch jedoch der Narmerpalette schon recht nahe steht. Auch wenn dies zutrifft, so kann doch immerhin noch ein Neubefestigen gemeint sein, auf jeden Fall sollte man die Lesung 'Gründung' nicht allzu wörtlich nehmen.<sup>32</sup> Problematischer noch ist die Zuordnung an den König Skorpion,<sup>33</sup> an der Dreyer festhält, wenn auch aus anderen Gründen als Sethe und Helck.<sup>34</sup> Daß die Nennung des Palettenstifters zu erwarten ist, ist selbstverständlich, auch daß dies an prominenter Stelle geschieht. Doch warum für diese prominente Stelle 'nur der Mittelplatz in der unteren Reihe in Frage kommt' ist völlig unverständlich. Die prominenteste Stelle ist doch sicherlich der Anfang der Inschrift<sup>35</sup> oder allenfalls der Schluß. Außerdem sollte man bei Überlegungen solcher Art nicht aus den Augen verlieren, daß schließlich nur der unterste Teil der Palette auf uns gekommen ist, in welcher der Stifter zufälligerweise gerade nicht genannt sein könnte. Im Gegenteil: ein Blick auf die Narmerpalette führt uns vor Augen, vor welchen Problemen der Datierung wir ohne den obersten Teil der Palette stünden, da doch gerade hier der Namenszug dieses Königs an *wirklich* prominenter Stelle zu finden ist. Die früheren Schwächen der Interpretation, die in der Willkür, die Tierzeichen einmal allgemeinen Königsmächten und einmal spezifischen Namen eines Königs zuzuordnen, bestehen, will Dreyer durch eine einheitliche Deutung der Palette als historisches Dokument mit einer Aufzählung der Siege *verschiedener* Könige beheben. Dies wäre schon ein singulärer Fall, beziehen sich Königsmonumente doch in der Regel auf *einen* König. Er geht sogar noch weiter und nimmt die Reihenfolge dann auch als chronologisches Indiz. Auch für die Narmerpalette und andere Monumente dieser Art, wie die Löwen(Schlachtfeld)- und die Stierpalette nimmt er die Deutung als Siegesdenkmal bestimmter Könige in Anspruch,<sup>36</sup> bei denen die personifizierten Namenshieroglyphen der Könige handeln. An sich eine durchaus plausible Möglichkeit, wenn nicht die Tiere, wie auf der Narmerpalette, auf Monumenten fremder Könige auftreten würden. Gerade dies erscheint mir in besonderem Maße unwahrscheinlich zu sein. Wie gerade die Narmerpalette mit den aus historischer Zeit so vertrauten Motiven verdeutlicht, kann man durchaus das reich dokumentierte Selbstverständnis ägyptischer Könige in diese frühe Zeit transponieren, und dieses Selbstverständnis verbietet es geradezu, die Vorgänger besonders herauszustellen, es sei denn, um die eigenen, glorreicheren Taten besser zur Geltung kommen zu lassen. Eine Lösung,

<sup>30</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 174, Anm. 256.

<sup>31</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 174.

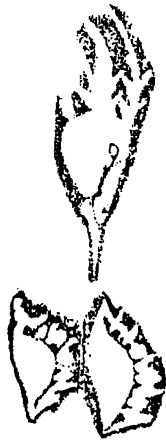
<sup>32</sup> Zum Vergleich sei hier verwiesen auf die Neu- und Altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften, aus denen besonders schön deutlich wird, daß es sich bei den meisten Bauvorhaben nicht um Neugründungen handelt, sondern um Restaurierungsarbeiten und Erweiterungen handeln muß, vgl. H. Steible, *Die Altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, Teil 1 und 2 (FAOS 5, Wiesbaden 1982) und F. Steible, *Die Neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* (FAOS 9, Stuttgart 1991).

<sup>33</sup> Auch dies schon durch Sethe und Helck, siehe *Umm el-Qaab* I, Anm. 260 und 261.

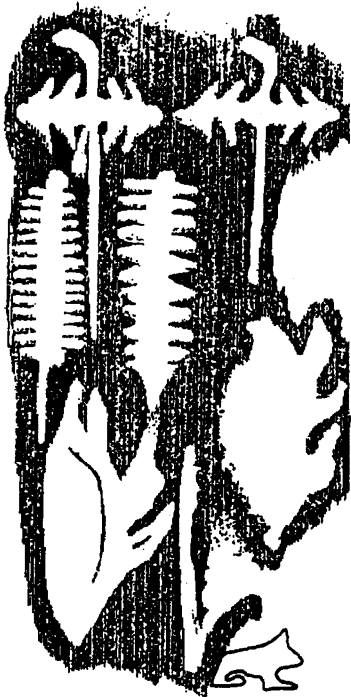
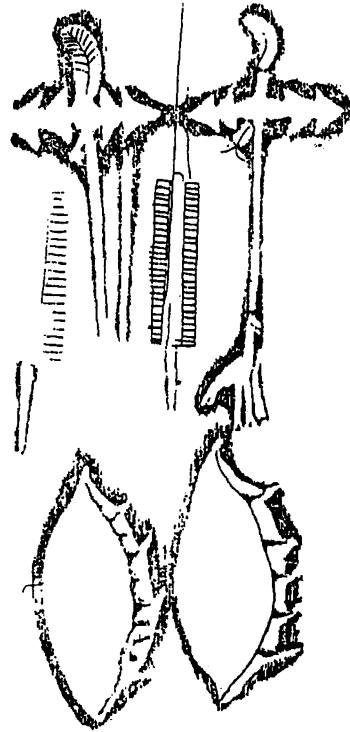
<sup>34</sup> Den Hinweis auf die Keramikformen ist nicht allzu überzeugend.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. spätere Königsinschriften. Bei ihnen geht die Tendenz zur größeren Häufigkeit der Stifter am Anfang.

<sup>36</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 179.



Oxford I (Ashm. 1894. 105d)



Oxford II (Ashm. 1894. 105e)



Kairo (JE 30770)

FIG. 11. Die Inschriften auf den Min-Statuen, nach *Umm el-Qaab* I, 177, Abb. 104.

bei der ein ägyptischer König die Erfolge der Vorgänger auf seinen Denkmälern besonders herausstreicht, wird sicherlich die am wenigsten wahrscheinliche sein!

Als Parallelen zu den Lesungen auf der Städtepalette werden Reliefs von den Min-Statuen aus Koptos herangezogen. Auch hier tauchen Fragen auf. Warum werden bestimmte Zeichen, wie die Min-Standarten und die Fingerschnecken doppelt geschrieben, andere jedoch nicht, wie die Gazellen-Standarte? Warum werden nur manche Zeichen überschrieben, andere nicht? Nach der Meinung Dreyers wurden anlässlich der Aktivitäten besonderer Herrscher an den Statuen Nachtragungen vorgenommen,<sup>37</sup> was jedoch die Unregelmäßigkeiten bei der Überschreibung nicht erklärt. Besonders problematisch ist die Doppelschreibung, zu deren Erklärung keine Anstalten gemacht werden und die mit den Königsnamen keinen richtigen Sinn ergibt. Gerade deswegen ist nicht recht einsichtig, weswegen ein Grund bestehen sollte, auch die unteren Hieroglyphen auf der kairener Statue für ursprüngliche, später überarbeitete Doppelschreibungen zu erklären. Die Überlegung, daß Narmer aufgrund seiner zeitlichen Stellung erst nachträglich eingefügt worden sein muß, setzt die Lesung der Zeichen als Königsnamen voraus. Zumindest nach der Photographie auf Tafel 44c ist bei den Narmer-Zeichen keine Spur von einem darunterliegenden, überschriebenen ELEFANTEN auf einem BERG<sup>38</sup> zu erkennen. Bei der Kombination ELEFANT + BERG liegt eine der Hauptprobleme bei der vorgeschlagenen Lesung als Königsname, da nicht nur die (hier sogar in Frage gestellte) Doppelschreibung erklärungsbedürftig bleibt, sondern besonders, weil im Vergleich zu den Täfelchen konsequenterweise auch Abydos (oder vielleicht noch besser Elefantine) gelesen werden müßte, um das Bergzeichen nicht völlig außer Acht zu lassen. Gleiches gilt selbstverständlich auch für die darunterliegenden Zeichen, Stier und Löwe (?), jeweils auf einem Bergzeichen. Bei letzterem wird, aufgrund der angeblich deutlich tieferen Umrißlinien, ebenfalls eine Umarbeitung vom Stier zum Löwen postuliert,<sup>39</sup> um dem Prinzip Dopplung gerecht zu werden. Nach Tafel 44d erscheinen diese Unterschiede marginal und im Handwerklichen begründet, wie auch die Unterscheidung dieser unteren Gruppe im Gegensatz zum Elefanten, der *wesentlich* gröber schraffiert sein soll und doch nur im Rahmen zu erwartender Schwankungen liegt, sind doch alle Bergzeichen in sich und im Vergleich zueinander nicht exakt regelmäßig gearbeitet. Auch wenn man in den sauren Apfel beißen muß und damit nicht so glatte und eindeutige Ergebnisse erzielen kann, wie eine Königsliste, wäre es wohl vorsichtiger, ein nicht allzu großes Gedankengebäude über den vorliegenden Hieroglyphen zu errichten.

Ausgangspunkt bleiben die beiden Fingerschnecken, die auf allen drei Statuen erscheinen, zweimal unter Min-Standarten und sicher dazugehörenden Pflanzenteilen (?),<sup>40</sup> einmal unter einer Gazellen-Standarte. Was liegt näher, als in Koptos auf Statuen, die im Min-Tempel gefunden wurden in zwei Zeichen, die Min-Standarten darstellen auch einen Bezug zu diesem Gott, konkreter noch zu seinem Namen herzustellen? Offen wird bleiben, welchen Sinn die Doppelsetzung der Zeichen hat, ob es ein Zufall ist, daß sie (als Dualschreibung?) auf zwei der Statuen in Abgrenzung zu der einzelnen Gazellen-Standarte auf der Statue Oxford I zu finden ist.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 176 unten.

<sup>38</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 176 unter d).

<sup>39</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 176 unter e).

<sup>40</sup> Die Zeichnung auf der Statue Oxford II (Ashmolean 1894. 105e) erinnert etwas an einen *dd*-Pfeiler, auf der Statue aus Kairo (JE 30770) sieht es wie die im Alten Reich gebräuchliche Form des Segelzeichens aus.

<sup>41</sup> Ist der Standartenrest auf der kairener Statue eventuell nur ein korrigiertes Versehen des Bildhauers?



Immerhin könnte es sich als wichtig erweisen, daß der Tempel von Koptos ähnlich dem von Kom Ombo mit parallel zueinander geführten Zugängen ein Doppeltempel gewesen zu sein scheint.<sup>42</sup> Dies könnte als Hinweis auf eine zweite Gottheit gewertet werden, die im selben Tempel verehrt wurde und die man sich, mit aller Vorsicht, als mit einer Gazellen-Standarder geschrieben denken kann, gerade bei Koptos, das durch seine Lage an der Route zum Roten Meer über das Wadi Hammamat einen Bezug zur Ostwüste hatte, nicht undenkbar. Bisher wurde immer angenommen, daß es sich bei der zweiten Gottheit, die in dem Tempel von Koptos verehrt wurde, um Isis handelt, die als zweitwichtigste Gottheit des Ortes gelten kann. Sethe schließt aus dem Gauzeichen des Gaues von Achmim, dem Min-Symbol, daß Min ursprünglich dort beheimatet gewesen und nach Koptos übertragen worden sei.<sup>43</sup> Er versucht die Identität des ursprünglich in Koptos heimischen Gottes, der durch Min verdrängt wurde, mit Iahes zu beweisen. Wie Kees<sup>44</sup> und Altenmüller<sup>45</sup> gezeigt haben, ist diese Gleichsetzung nicht mehr haltbar, was jedoch nicht in gleichem Maße für die Existenz des älteren Gottes von Koptos gelten muß. Es ist anzunehmen, daß dieser Gott von seinen Attributen her Min recht ähnlich war und so umso leichter in ihm aufging, so finden sich genügend Verbindungen zwischen Min und der Gazelle, die in dessen Kult als Opfertier eine große Rolle spielt.<sup>46</sup> Ein weiterer Hinweis auf die Verbindung der Gazelle mit Koptos ist das 'Gazellenwunder' in der Regierungszeit Mentuhoteps IV., bei dem Min, vor dem Mentuhotep auf dem zum Text gehörigen Relief Wein opfert, einen Sarkophagstein auswählt, indem eine Gazelle darauf ein Junges gebiert.<sup>47</sup> Zuguterletzt wird in römischer Zeit die Gazelle gerade in Koptos als heiliges Tier der Isis betrachtet,<sup>48</sup> es wurde sogar eine weibliche Gazelle auf lokalen Münzen der Römerzeit geprägt.<sup>49</sup> Nun ist Isis in Koptos definitiv als sekundär zu betrachten,<sup>50</sup> die Einführung ihres Kultes wird über die Betonung des Königsgott-Aspektes in Koptos in Form des Horus-Min theologisch begründet und so Isis zur Mutter des Min gemacht.<sup>51</sup> In diesem Sinne ist es durchaus denkbar, daß zusätzlich dazu Aspekte einer besonders alten Gottheit auf sie übertragen wurden, um sie umso fester in Koptos zu etablieren. Die Schreibung des Gaunamens von Koptos mit einer Doppelfalkenstandarte hat Sethe mit Seth von Ombos und Haroeris von Qus in Verbindung gebracht, beides Zentren, die ihre Bedeutung als Hauptorte des Gaues an Koptos abgegeben haben. Wenn die zweite Gottheit in Koptos als eine Gazellengottheit ist, so stellt sich natürlich die Frage, ob mit den *bꜣ.wi* bzw. *nṯr.wi* der Doppelfalkenstandarte<sup>52</sup> nicht auch diese und Min gemeint sein könnten, dazu noch, ob diese beiden offenbar ähnlichen Götter nicht auch ähnlich dargestellt wurden, d.h. die Statuen aus Kairo und Oxford II Min darstellen, Oxford I, auf der sich die Gazellen-Standarder findet, ebendiesen Gazellen-Gott.

<sup>42</sup> Mit dem Aussehen des frühen Tempels von Koptos hat sich besonders Bruce Williams, 'Narmer and the Coptos Colossi', *JARCE* 25 (1988), 35 ff. beschäftigt.

<sup>43</sup> K. Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter* (AKM 17/4, Leipzig, 1930), § 47–8.

<sup>44</sup> H. Kees, 'Kulttopographische und mythologische Beiträge', *ZÄS* 77 (1941), 24 ff.

<sup>45</sup> H. Altenmüller, 'Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches', *ÄA* 24 (1972), 219, Anm. 105.

<sup>46</sup> H. Kees, 'Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer', *NAWG* (1942), 78, 83–5.

<sup>47</sup> *BAR* I § 436.

<sup>48</sup> Aelian, *De Nat.* X 23.

<sup>49</sup> H. Kees, 'Koptos', *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* XI (Stuttgart, 1922), 1369.

<sup>50</sup> M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (MÄS 11, München 1968), Anm. 1414.

<sup>51</sup> W. Helck, s.v. 'Militärkolonie', *LÄ* IV, 134 und H. G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI–XI* (*AnOr* 40, Rom 1964), 38.

<sup>52</sup> W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue* (TAVO Reihe B, Beih. 5, Wiesbaden 1974), 83 ff.

Bei den Fingerschnecken ist die Sache besonders schwierig, da sie als Zeichen in der späteren Zeit nicht mehr verwendet werden. Das einzige gebräuchliche Muschelzeichen, L 6 in der Gardinerliste, wird nur als Phonogramm  $h_3$  in Schreibungen für  $h_3wt$  'Opfertisch' oder 'Altarraum' verwendet, was allerdings semantisch auch in den vorliegenden Kontext passen könnte. Dieser zugegebenermaßen äußerst wage Strang ließe sich spekulativ in einer Maximallesung ausziehen zu einer Dualschreibung der Muscheln, die für eine Nisba zu  $*h_3$  'Opfer' (zu dem  $h_3wt$  'Opfertisch' eine Erweiterung und beides wiederum in Zusammenhang zu bringen wäre mit  $h_3w$  'Napf, Schale') stünden, etwa im Sinne von 'Das, zu dem das Opfer gehört' = die Kultstatue. Damit wäre eine Lesung der Beischrift etwas im Sinne von '(Das sind) die beiden Kultbilder des Min'<sup>53</sup> und '(Das ist das) Kultbild der Gazellen-Gottheit' möglich. Auf diese Bezeichnung folgt bei einer Statue<sup>54</sup> der Name des Königs Narmer und drei Tierzeichen, die jeweils auf einem Bergzeichen stehen.

An dieser Stelle will ich wieder auf meine Zurückhaltung bezüglich der Lesung dieser Tierzeichen als Königsnamen zurückkommen. Bei der Interpretation der Städtepalette hat Dreyer ganz auf die Lesung als spezifische Königsnamen gesetzt, um einem Wechsel der Lesung innerhalb der Palette aus dem Wege zu gehen. Mein Vorschlag ist nun, die andere Leseart—die der Tierzeichen als Repräsentationen von Königsmächten— auf alle Instanzen zu übertragen, war doch der Dreyersche Ansatz nur durch die Identifizierung der mittleren Gruppe in der unteren Reihen als Name des, vom Keulenkopf aus Hierakonpolis bekannten Herrschers Skorpion motiviert. Der Zusammenhang zwischen beiden bleibt durchaus bestehen, weil der Herrscher sich mit einer bestimmten Macht identifiziert, die in diesem Fall durch einen Skorpion repräsentiert wird.<sup>55</sup> Bei dem sehr vage zu fassenden 'Gegenkönig der Dynastie 0', Horus 'Krokodil'? könnte im Vergleich mit der Siegelabrollung von Tarchan, auf der Krokodile dargestellt werden, sogar ein direkter Hinweis auf eine solche Lokalkönigsmacht im Fayum gegeben sein.<sup>56</sup> Die Abstraktheit der Königsmächte kommt in der Doppelfalkenstandarte zum Vorschein. Von diesen Mächten bürgert sich später der Falke ein und wird zum Titel. In dieser Leseart hätte man am ehesten eine Litanei vor sich, in der die verschiedenen Mächte angerufen und gleichzeitig mit den Stadtringen verortet werden, im Sinne von 'O/für Numen x, den Gründer von Stadt y'.<sup>57</sup> Die gleichen Königsmächte handeln auch auf den anderen Denkmälern, wie der Narmer-, der Löwen(Schlachtfeld)- und der Stierpalette, ohne daß ein gänzlich unägyptisches Verzeichnis der Siege anderer Herrscher angenommen werden muß. Auch der Sinn der Täfelchen und Gefäßaufschriften ist nun ein anderer: es handelt sich um Produkte von verschiedenen Orten des Herrschaftsbereiches, die, nach Ausweis der Städtepalette und späteren Gauzeichen,<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Ein Problem bieten dabei allerdings immer noch die kleinen Tierzeichen Storch und Löwe; daß einmal eine Statue des Min und einmal die seines Bas vorliegt heiße wohl den Bogen zu überspannen.

<sup>54</sup> Warum die drei Statuen in der Beziehung nicht einheitlich sind ist unklar.

<sup>55</sup> Er wird zu einem 'zur Skorpionmacht Gehörendem'.

<sup>56</sup> Beides bei G. Dreyer, 'Horus Krokodil, ein Gegenkönig der Dynastie 0' in: R. Friedman und B. Adams (Hrsg.), *The Followers of Horus. Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman* (Exeter, 1992), 259 ff. Auch hier wird aus einer völlig unklaren Aufschrift ein sehr weitreichender Schluß gezogen. Bei der Siegelabrollung aus Tarchan sind die Krokodile, die um die Darstellung des Tempels von Krokodilopolis gruppiert sind, sehr plausibel ohne Königsname zu erklären und die Zeichen im Serech sind, auch auf den Infrarotaufnahmen, nicht sicher als Krokodil zu bestimmen.

<sup>57</sup> Bei dem letzten Ortsnamen in der oberen Reihe sieht das Zeichen für mich eher wie ein Käfer ( $hpr$ ) aus, denn ein Frosch, was sich auch mit dem Komplement  $r$  gut verträgt; das Pflanzenzeichen im letzten Städtering als Hinweis auf seine Lage im Delta zu werten (*Umm el-Qaab* I, 174) ist fast so assoziativ, wie die noch weiter hergeholt Deutung bestimmter Ritzungen auf Scherben (*Umm el-Qaab* I, Abb. 106 und S. 181–2) als protoelamisch!

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. E. Brunner-Traut, s.v. 'Gauzeichen', *LÄ* II, 422–6 Krokodil im 6. o.äg. Gau, Schlange im 9. o.äg. Gau, Häs in im 15. o.äg. Gau oder Hündin im 17. o.äg. Gau.

jeweils mit einer anderen Tiermacht identifiziert werden. Das stärkste Argument hierbei ist der Ortsname Elefantine, in dem ich den letzten schriftlich fixierten Rest dieser Verortung sehen möchte, der sich bis in die historische Zeit erhalten hat. Die Interpretation der Nebenzeichen bleibt, mit Ausnahme des Dreiecks, das einfach nur eine Standardde ist, gleich. Sie bezeichnen Lieferungen aus dem Gut (BAUM) oder š des jeweiligen Ortes, der mit der an ihm verorteten Königsmacht geschrieben wird. Zur Unterstützung dieser These sei wieder auf die Min-Statue verwiesen, die sich heute in Kairo befindet, bei der die Königsmächte auf Bergzeichen, d.h. auf Landdeterminativen stehen und deswegen mit Sicherheit als Toponyme zu begreifen sind.

Am Schluß dieser Betrachtungen soll betont werden, daß sie in keinsten Weise die Arbeit Dreyers schmälern sollen, im Gegenteil. Durch sie wird ein fundamental wichtiger Einblick in eine formative Phase der ägyptischen Schriftentwicklung erst greifbar. Wie schwierig das Material zu fassen ist, zeigt sich gerade, wenn nur kleinste Aspekte leicht anders gesehen werden und sich von diesen leicht verschobenen Ansätzen die Deutungen in eine vollkommen andere Richtung hin entwickeln können. Natürlich lassen sich einzelne Kleinigkeiten leicht kritisieren, wenn der mühevollste Teil der Arbeit, das Vorlegen und Sortieren des Materials und eine erste Deutung bereits gemacht sind, doch sollte man vorsichtig sein mit solch weitreichenden Schlüssen, wie den der Annahme des Horusnamens in Anlehnung an die herausragende Stellung eines postulierten Königs 'Falke I', der 'die Eroberung des Deltas einleitete, oder dabei zumindest eine herausragende Rolle spielte'.<sup>59</sup> Wie problematisch Aussagen dieser Art sind, zeigt ein paralleler Fall, der die Gemüter der Hethitologen immer noch erregt. Durch das Beispiel 'Caesar', das auch bei 'Falke I' Pate gestanden haben dürfte, angeregt, war man lange versucht, in dem hethitischen Titel *labarna* den Namen des ersten Großkönigs zu sehen,<sup>60</sup> was jedoch durch eine einfache luwisch-hethitische Etymologie 'Herrscher < der mit Tüchtigkeit versehene' widerlegt werden kann.<sup>61</sup> Im Unterschied zum vorliegenden Fall steht jedoch die Existenz des Titels *labarna* außer Frage, was von König 'Falke' nicht behauptet werden kann.

<sup>59</sup> *Umm el-Qaab* I, 180.

<sup>60</sup> In den Anfangszeilen des Telipinuerlasses wurde eine Bestätigung verstanden, zur Diskussion: J. Tischler, 'Labarna\*' in: E. Neu und C. Rüster (Hrsg.), *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae—Zweite Festschrift Heinrich Otten* (Wiesbaden 1988), 347 ff. und F. Starke in: D. O. Edzard (Hrsg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* VI (Berlin, 1980–3), 404–8, s.v. *labarna*.

<sup>61</sup> Auch, wenn es immer noch Forscher gibt, die den anderen Erklärungsversuchen nachhängen, wie der Erklärung aus dem Hattischen.

# THE GEOGRAPHICAL, SPATIAL, AND TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF PREDYNASTIC AND FIRST DYNASTY BASALT VESSELS

By LEANNE M. MALLORY-GREENOUGH

A change in the basalt vessel assemblage suggests that a dramatic shift in social and political organization occurred at the end of the Predynastic Period. The movement of southern populations into the area of the north, where the basalt vessels were manufactured, is one possible explanation. This hypothesis is supported by the change in geographical distribution patterns for basalt vessels from widely dispersed during the Predynastic Period to concentrated in the tombs of the ruling class centred in Naqada, Abydos, and Saqqara. During the Predynastic Period, the distribution of basalt vessels forms a distinct cluster around Maadi, implying an origin near, if not at, the site. By the beginning of the First Dynasty, Maadi has lost its prominence in terms of basalt vessels, and fewer sites are represented by greater numbers of these artefacts. A comparison of the basalt vessel forms to the Buto–Maadi pottery assemblage also supports a northern origin. A survey of Predynastic graves yields no firm conclusions on whose burials were supplied with these artefacts.

THE degree of influence exerted by the north over southern Egypt and vice versa during the Predynastic Period has been the subject of much debate. Unfortunately, there are no written records to give a definitive answer, and sites in the Delta are rarely excavated to Predynastic levels due to the level of the water-table. Various attempts to answer the question of who influenced whom have been made, with the appearance of artefacts from one culture in an area controlled by the other taken to suggest trade and social interactions. The limited data available from this method suggests the population of southern Egypt expanded into the north either peacefully or as a result of warfare. There is no evidence, however, for large-scale migrations, and the process of cultural integration was probably more multi-faceted, complicated, and perhaps subtle than has been previously thought.<sup>1</sup> It is unlikely that a particular mechanism can ever be singled out as the one that eventually led to unification.

Basalt vessels are an almost ubiquitous item in high status burials of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods in Upper Egypt. Although less common in Lower Egypt, they occur at sites in the Delta and around modern Cairo. These artefacts are manufactured from one of the few rocks with limited regional distribution along the Nile Valley. Basalt flows occur in the Bahariya Oasis, along the Cairo–Suez Road, to the north and west of Cairo (Haddadin flow), to the northwest and northeast of Minya (Minya and Zarrouk flows), west of Samalut,

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Köhler, 'The State of Research on Late Predynastic Egypt: New Evidence for the Development of the Pharaonic State?', *GM* 147 (1995), 79–92; T. A. H. Wilkinson, *State Formation in Egypt: Chronology and Society* (BAR International Series 651; Oxford, 1996), 5–8; T. A. H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London, 1999), 45–7.

in the Wadi Natash, and in the south-western desert near Lake Nasser.<sup>2</sup> More important than a limited distribution is the fact that the chemical composition of each basaltic lava flow is unique. The Haddadin flow, the source for the basalt used to manufacture the vessels, runs from north of Cairo at Abu Zabaal through to the Fayum and outcrops at Abu Roash, Tell el Haddadin, Sixth of October City, and Gebel Qatrani. Three outcrops (Gebel Ahmar, Gebel el Saliman, and Gebel el Urfa) are in a present-day military area about 10 km from Maadi, and one of these is presumably the source outcrop for the vessels.<sup>3</sup> Basalt vessels enable an examination of cultural and trade interactions at a critical time in Egyptian history. It has been suggested that the basalt vessel forms are closer to pottery forms of Lower rather than Upper Egypt. To examine this hypothesis, a database of basalt vessels and a typology to categorize them was created.

Vessels made from basalt are rare compared to those from limestone or alabaster. They are also more time consuming and difficult to produce. Of the 'common' rock types, only granite is more problematic to work with. The ancient Egyptians probably regarded the value of a vessel as being related to the time needed to manufacture it, so that basalt vessels tend only to occur in the burials of the elite because they were the only members of society who could afford them. This rarity, coupled with the fact that the rock originates from one basalt flow, allows for a data set of a manageable size and suitable for distribution analysis.

### Basalt vessel typology

There are several classification schemes for Egyptian stone vessels in general, but none specifically designed for basalt vessels. Petrie developed the first of these typologies.<sup>4</sup> Based mostly on his work at Abydos,<sup>5</sup> it incorporated artefacts from other Predynastic sites as well.<sup>6</sup> Other early typologies were proposed by Emery<sup>7</sup> and Reisner,<sup>8</sup> but these are not widely used. Although el-Khouli<sup>9</sup> catalogued 5,600 stone vessels to develop his classification method, basalt vessels (approximately 200) are not well represented in his collection. His typology makes very fine distinctions (e.g. depth of drilling) between categories, to the

<sup>2</sup> L. M. Mallory-Greenough, J. D. Greenough, and J. V. Owen, 'The Stone Source of Predynastic Basalt Vessels: Mineralogical Evidence for Quarries in Northern Egypt', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26 (1999), 1261-72; L. M. Mallory-Greenough, M. P. Gorton, and J. D. Greenough, 'The Source of Basalt Vessels in Ancient Egyptian Archaeological Sites: a Mineralogical Approach', *Canadian Mineralogist*, 40 (2002), 1025-46.

<sup>3</sup> It is not technically possible to determine the exact source with whole rock or mineral based analytical techniques as the Haddadin flow is chemically homogeneous along its entire length: L. M. Mallory, *Predynastic and First Dynasty Egyptian Basalt Vessels* (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 121, 129-30, 153.

<sup>4</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* (BSAE 23; London, 1920), 34-6, pls. xxxiv-xlii; W. M. F. Petrie, *Stone and Metal Vases* (BSAE 43; London, 1937), 3-10, pls. i-x, xiii-xx, xxv.

<sup>5</sup> Abydos material: W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, II (MEEF 21; London, 1901), 43, pl. I, and *Extra Plates*, pl. xlvi.a-b; W. M. F. Petrie and A. E. Weigall, *Abydos*, I (MEEF 22; London, 1902), 18-19, pls. xxvii, xlili, xliv.

<sup>6</sup> Additional Predynastic material was incorporated from sites such as Abadiyeh, Tarkhan, Naqada, and Ballas. See W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva: The Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hu* (MEEF 20; London, 1901), 18-19, pls. iii, vii, ix; W. M. F. Petrie et al., *Gizeh and Rifeh* (BSAE 13; London, 1907), 5, pl. v.a-b; W. M. F. Petrie, G. A. Wainwright, and A. H. Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (BSAE 19; London, 1913), pls. xxxiv, xli; W. M. F. Petrie and J. E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas* (BSAE 1; London, 1896), 10-11, pls. x, xii.

<sup>7</sup> W. B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, I (Cairo, 1949), 130-47; W. B. Emery, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938: Hor-Aha* (Cairo, 1939), 34-42.

<sup>8</sup> G. A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge MA, 1931), 130-53.

<sup>9</sup> A. el-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels: Predynastic Period to Dynasty III* (Mainz, 1978), I, xx-lxxix.

TABLE 1. *Basalt Vessel Types*

<i>Class</i>	<i>Subclass</i>
1. Cylinder jars	a. Undecorated b. Rope decoration c. Serpentine decoration
2. Jars with lug handles	a. Tall, 'bag' style b. Medium height, straight or tapered sides, flat base c. Ovoid types d. Footed styles
3. Jars with tubular handles	a. Flat bottom b. Rounded bottom c. With base d. With base and rim
4. Wavy-handled jars	
5. Jars without handles	
6. Beakers	a. Flared type, no rim b. Flared type, wide rim c. Straight or outwardly curving sides d. Inwardly curved sides e. Footed types
7. Cups	a. No rims b. With rims c. With base or foot
8. Bowls	a. Rounded base b. Flat base, flat c. Flat base, shallow d. Flat base, medium e. Flat base, deep f. Flat base, concave/convex sides g. Flat base, decorative rims and bands
9. Ornamented, spouted, double-vessels, and unusual forms	
10. Vessel fragments	a. Jars with lug handles (rims) b. Footed vessels (bases) c. Jars without handles (rims) d. Concave beakers (bases) e. Rounded based vessels (bases) f. Flat based vessels (bases) g. Bowls (rims) h. Miscellaneous fragments (body pieces)
11. Complete vessels, no illustration or detailed description available	

extent that variation may be due more to differences between individual artisans than actual form changes.

The most recent attempt to divide stone vessels by form is that of Aston.<sup>10</sup> Although the categories are much more general than those of el-Khouli, her catalogue does not identify the materials used to manufacture the vessels or their current locations. Bielen<sup>11</sup> classified tuff, mudstone, basalt, and greywacke vessels from Petrie's Abydos excavations at the royal tombs by form, but did not include many examples from the Predynastic Period or from other Early Dynastic sites. Only the typologies of Reisner and Aston combine types with dating criteria. Integrating form and dating data may yield information on when, and perhaps where and why, changes occurred in the basalt vessel assemblage.

The typology given here (see Table 1) is designed to augment previous work and is based on 598 basalt vessels found in published excavation reports and museum catalogues or stored in museums visited by the author.<sup>12</sup> The first criterion used to divide the basalt vessels into major types was their overall form. Thus, all jars with vertical sides and a height greater than the diameter were placed into class **1**, the cylinder jars. The typology of handles distinguishes types **2** (lug), **3** (tubular), and **4** (wavy) from one another. Jars without handles (type **5**) and beakers (type **6**) were separated based on how their walls curved (concave or convex) and ratio of height to width. The degree of wall curvature or the lack of it, and height to width ratios distinguish cups (straight or slightly concave walls, and the height greater than the width; type **7**) from bowls (strongly convex walls, and the width greater than the height; type **8**). For examples of each type, see figures 1–3. Fancy vessels<sup>13</sup> (for example, double, compound, or spouted jars, which do not fit into any of the other categories) were grouped together in type **9**, as there are not enough examples of each kind to form separate types. Rim, base, and body pieces that could not be placed into a specific group are in type **10**, which is subdivided by fragment and general vessel type, where it can be determined.<sup>14</sup> Inscribed vessels are placed in their form categories and not in a separate class. Fifteen artefacts listed as basaltic in catalogues or excavation reports, but without detailed descriptions or illustrations, are assigned to type **11**.

Subcategories within major types are based on decoration type (e.g. none, rope, or serpentine), presence or absence and type of rims, bases, or feet, curvature of walls (concave or convex), and ratio of height to width (e.g. bowl depths). For a list of subclass criteria, see Table 2, and for examples, see figures 1–3. In many instances, the subcategories are correlated with specific time periods. For example, cylinder jars with rope decoration (type **1b**) are, with one exception, all First Dynasty, and all lug-handled jars with feet (type **2d**) date to Naqada I or II. This apparent link between form and date may be an effect of seriation dating.

<sup>10</sup> B. G. Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms* (SAGA 5; Heidelberg, 1994), 91–166.

<sup>11</sup> S. Bielen, *Het Stenen Vaatwerk in Tuff, Mudstone, Basalt en Grauwacke uit de Graven van de Koningen van de Nulde Eerste en Tweede Dynastie te Abydos/Oemm el-Qaab* (MA thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1997).

<sup>12</sup> These constitute the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in London, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Brooklyn Museum, the Boston Museum of Fine Art, the Museums of Art and History in Brussels, and the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. All the vessels are described and listed by their class or subclass in the vessel catalogue (ch. 3) of Mallory, *Predynastic and First Dynasty Egyptian Basalt Vessels*, 22–87.

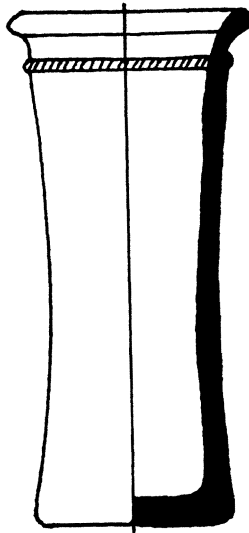
<sup>13</sup> Mallory, *Predynastic and First Dynasty Egyptian Basalt Vessels*, pl. 40.

<sup>14</sup> Mallory, *Predynastic and First Dynasty Egyptian Basalt Vessels*, pls. 40–3.

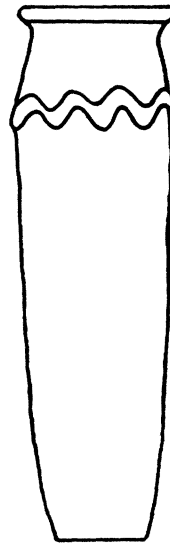
Type 1. Cylinder jars.



Type 1a  
(Cat. no. 6)

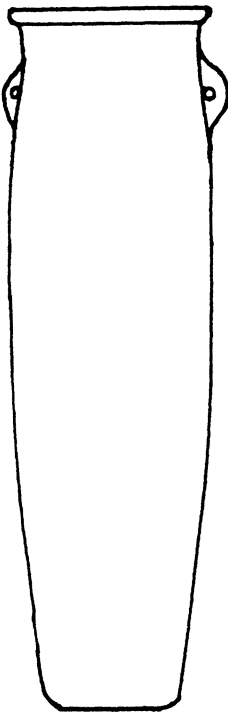


Type 1b  
(Cat. no. 20)

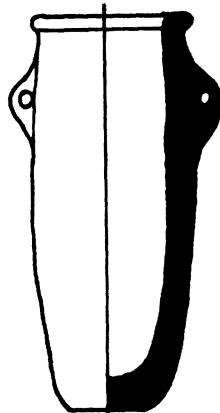


Type 1c  
(Cat. no. 39)

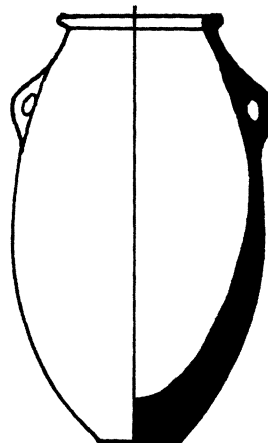
Type 2. Jars with lug-handles.



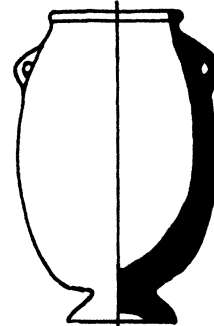
Type 2a  
(Cat. no. 42)



Type 2b  
(Cat. no. 49)



Type 2c  
(Cat. no. 74)



Type 2d  
(Cat. no. 101)

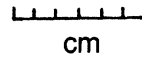
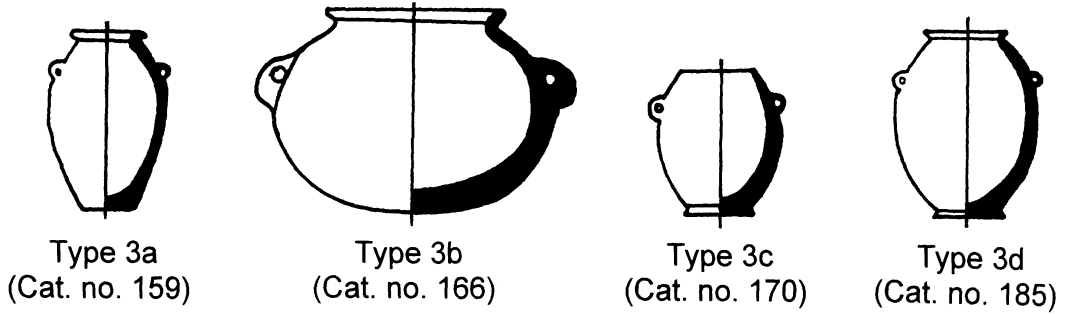


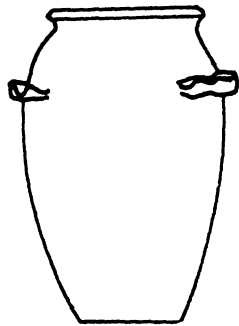
FIG. 1. Vessel types (1-2).



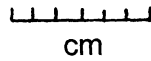
## Type 3. Jars with tubular handles.



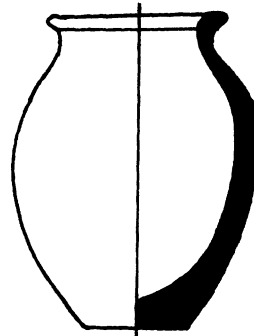
## Type 4. Jars with wavy-handles.



Type 4  
(Cat. no. 211)



## Type 5. Jars without handles.



Type 5  
(Cat. no. 218)

## Type 6. Beakers.

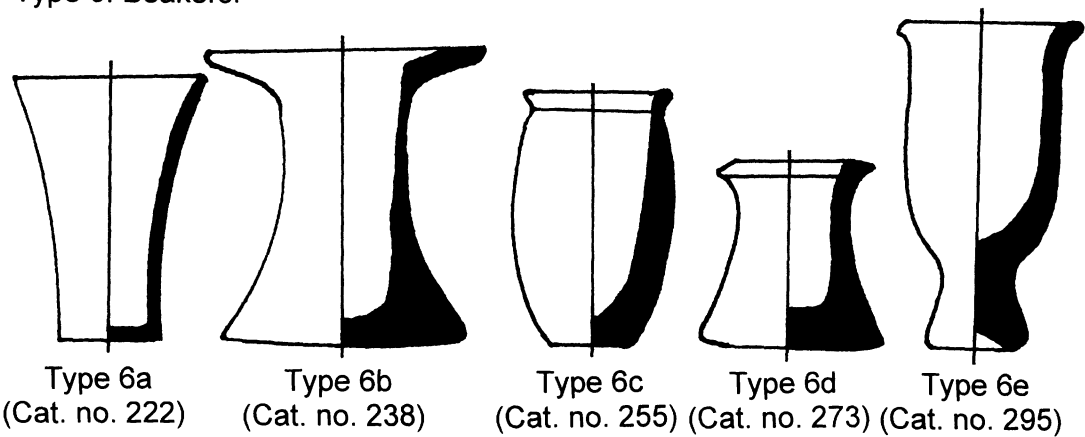


FIG. 2. Vessel types (3–6).

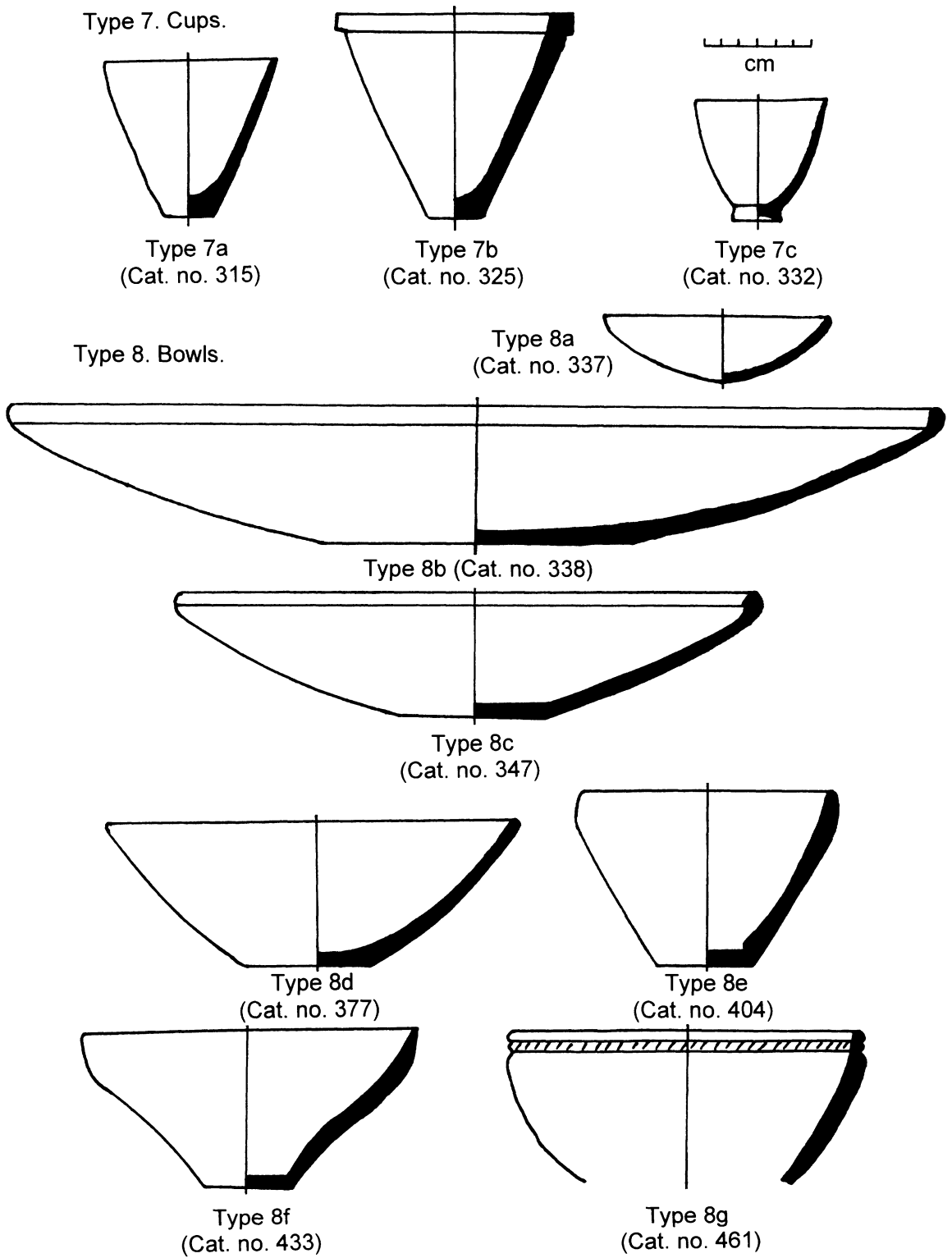


FIG. 3. Vessel Types (7-8).

TABLE 2. *Criteria for Division by Class and Subclass*

<i>Class</i>	<i>Walls*</i>	<i>Height (H) to Width (W) ratio</i>	<i>Handles</i>	<i>Rim</i>	<i>Base/Foot</i>	<i>Decoration</i>
<b>1</b>	Approaching vertical	$H \geq 1.5W$	None	Rounded	Flat	May be present
<b>1a</b>	Approaching vertical	$H \geq 1.5W$	None	Rounded	Flat	None
<b>1b</b>	Approaching vertical	$H \geq 1.5W$	None	Rounded	Flat	Rope below rim. 1 inscribed example
<b>1c</b>	Approaching vertical	$H \geq 2W$	None	Rounded	Flat	Serpentine, just below rim
<b>2</b>	Convex	$H \geq 1.5W$	Lug	Rounded or sharp	Flat or footed	May be present
<b>2a</b>	Approaching vertical	$H > 2W$	Lug	Rounded	Flat	None
<b>2b</b>	Approaching vertical	$H \equiv 2W$	Lug	Rounded	Flat	None
<b>2c</b>	Convex, ovoid	$H \equiv 2W$	Lug	Rounded or sharp	Flat	None
<b>2d</b>	Convex or approaching vertical	$H \geq 2W$	Lug	Rounded or sharp	Footed	1 with drill holes around vessel, near rim: 2 with simple inscriptions
<b>3</b>	Convex	$H < W$ or $H > W$	Tubular	Rounded or sharp	Flat or rounded	None
<b>3a</b>	Convex	$H \geq W$	Tubular	Rounded or sharp	Flat	None
<b>3b</b>	Convex	$H < W$	Tubular	Sharp	Rounded	None
<b>3c</b>	Convex	$H > W$	Tubular	None	Small, flat	None
<b>3d</b>	Convex	$H \geq W$ or $H < W$	Tubular	Sharp	Small, flat	None
<b>4</b>	Convex	$H > W$	Wavy	Rounded	Flat	None
<b>5</b>	Convex, shouldered	$H > W$	None	Rounded or sharp	Flat or rounded	None
<b>6</b>	Concave or convex	$H > W$ or $H < W$	None	Rounded, sharp, or square	Flat or footed	None
<b>6a</b>	Concave	$H > W$ or $H < W$	None	None	Flat	None
<b>6b</b>	Concave	$H > W$ or $H < W$	None	Wide	Flat	None
<b>6c</b>	Convex	$H > W$	None	Rounded or sharp	Flat	None
<b>6d</b>	Concave	$H > W$	None	Rounded, sharp, or square	Flat	None
<b>6e</b>	Convex	$H > W$	None	Rounded or sharp	Footed	None
<b>7</b>	Straight, sloping	$H \geq W$	None	Rounded or square	Flat or footed	None
<b>7a</b>	Straight, sloping	$H \geq W$	None	None	Flat	None
<b>7b</b>	Straight, sloping	$H \geq W$	None	Rounded or square	Flat	None
<b>7c</b>	Straight, sloping	$H \geq W$	None	None	Small, flat	None
<b>8</b>	Curved, outward sloping	$H < W$	None	Rounded or curved inward	Flat or rounded	Rope below rim, some inscribed
<b>8a</b>	Curved, outward sloping	$H < W$	None	None	Rounded	None
<b>8b</b>	Curved, outward sloping	$W > 6H$	None	None or curved inward	Flat	None
<b>8c</b>	Curved, outward sloping	$W > 3H$	None	None or curved inward	Flat	None
<b>8d</b>	Curved, outward sloping	$W > H$	None	None or curved inward	Flat	One inscribed example
<b>8e</b>	Curved, outward sloping	$H \geq W$	None	None or curved inward	Flat	One inscribed example
<b>8f</b>	Concave / convex	$W \geq H$	None	None	Flat	One inscribed example
<b>8g</b>	Curved, outward sloping	$W > H$	None	Rounded	Flat	Rope just below rim
<b>9</b>	Varies	Varies	None	Varies	Flat or footed	Fluting, zigzags, cross-hatches, spirals, etc.

TABLE 2 (cont.). *Criteria for Division by Class and Subclass*

Class	Walls*	Height (H) to width (W) ratio	Handles	Rim	Base/Foot	Decoration	Possible Class
<b>10</b>	Varies, see below						
<b>10a</b>	Convex	H > W	Lug	Rounded	None	None	2a, 2b, 2c, 2d
<b>10b</b>	Convex	H > W	None	None	Footed	One with drill holes	2d, 6e
<b>10c</b>	Convex	H > W	None	Rounded or sharp	None	None	5, 6c
<b>10d</b>	Concave	?	None	None	Flat	None	6a, 6b
<b>10e</b>	Convex	H > W	None	None	Rounded	None	2c, 3b, 4, 5
<b>10f</b>	Concave or convex	?	None	None	Flat	None	1a, 1b, 1c, 2a, 2b, 3a, 5, 6b, 6c, 6d
<b>10g</b>	Curved, outward sloping	W > H	None	Rounded, square or curved inward	None	None	8a, 8c, 8d, 8e, 8f
<b>10i</b>	Outward sloping	?	None	None	None	None	6a, 7a

\* Convex = walls curved outwards, vessel is ( ) shaped; concave = walls curved inwards vessel is ( ) shaped.

### Temporal distribution of forms

Determining the distribution of types through time can yield information on how long- or short-lived different vessel styles were. Petrie<sup>15</sup> dated artefacts based on changes in the style of pottery, stone vessels, palettes, and mace heads found in Predynastic cemeteries. This technique is still used to give relative (seriation) dates for artefacts, but has drawbacks when applied to basalt vessels because unprovenanced examples in a class or subclass may outnumber those with a good provenance and reliable date (see Table 3). If only one or two provenanced artefacts are used to date an entire class of vessels, the result may be that the true temporal distribution of the form is incorrect. With unprovenanced material, sequence dating by vessel form is the only way to give an approximate date, and for that reason it is used here. However, unprovenanced vessels were not used in determining correlations between form, time period, and site location.

Three factors contribute to the difficulty of dating basalt vessels: heirlooms/collecting, robbing/recycling of artefacts, and vessel durability. The collection of heirlooms may explain why basalt vessels have been found in much later contexts, such as Menkaure's funerary temple at Giza<sup>16</sup> and the temple of Karnak.<sup>17</sup> Alternatively, tomb robbing is an ancient profession. Objects made from gold, ivory, and other precious materials were stolen and recycled back into the economy. If the basalt vessels were highly valued, they may also have been reused long after their first interment. Basalt is a very hard and durable material, and basalt artefacts may survive handling much better than those made from limestone.<sup>18</sup> As a result, it may be possible to determine the first appearance of a form in the archaeological record, but much more difficult to establish the last.

Basalt vessels can be grouped by type and age (Table 3). Unprovenanced vessels are

<sup>15</sup> *Diospolis Parva*, 4–12, pls. ii–iv, and *Stone and Metal Vases*, pl. xiii.

<sup>16</sup> Provenance given in Boston MFA card catalogue acc. no. 11.1163.

<sup>17</sup> Provenance given in American Research Center in Egypt, *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art Catalogue* (Mainz, 1979), 8.

<sup>18</sup> I. Rizkana and J. Seeher, *Maadi, II. The Lithic Industries of the Predynastic Settlement* (AV 65; Mainz, 1988), 61.

TABLE 3. *Distribution of Vessels Forms through Time*

Numbers of unprovenanced vessels appear in brackets. Vessel fragments (type 10) are not included.

Period	Form																																
	1a	1b	1c	2a	2b	2c	2d	3a	3b	3c	3d	4	5	6a	6b	6c	6d	6e	7a	7b	7c	8a	8b	8c	8d	8e	8f	8g					
Naqada I						12(5)	1								1(1)	1(2)	2(1)	2(3)															
Naqada II	1	(1)	1(1)	9(1)		14(3)	4(2)	2	2	4(3)	2(1)	2(1)	2		7	2	1	2										1					
Naqada I-II	4		1(3)	2	6	13(11)		(1)	(1)	(1)	3	8(4)			10	8(3)	1	8(4)			(1)							1					
Naqada III	1			2			3			2	(1)					1																	
Naqada II-III				1(8)	1(3)		1			1	2																						
Naqada I-III	2(1)						8(6)	1(2)	(5)	12(13)					3(3)	2(2)								(2)				(3)					
Dynasty 0							1																										
Dynasty 1																																	
Iri-Hor - Djer	1																																
Aha	3						1			1				1					2	1						1	8	2					
Aha - Den	1													2					2							1	1						
Djer	5																		6					1	3	10	11	4					
Djer - Qa'a	1																									2	4						
Djet	2																									7	11	7	1				
Meryet-neith	3		1											1					3	1						1	5						
Den	2									1				2					1	1						2	4						
Aneodjib																										1							
Semerkhet																																	
Qa'a	2																		2							1	2	2	1				
Dynasty 1	2	7(3)					1	1	1	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	1	6(3)	1(1)	1(1)				1(1)	6(4)	3(3)	1(4)	1(1)					
(reign unknown)																																	
<b>Totals (Provenanced only)</b>																																	
Pre-dynastic	7	1	2	14	7	39	17	3	19	2	5	18	14	7	12											1	1						
Dynasty 0							1								1																		
Dynasty 1	2	27	1	1			2	1	4	4	10	10	1	1	4	4	4	4	20	6	6	4	4	12	26	41	21	5					

indicated, but not weighted heavily, in the conclusions reached here. Dates are those given in excavation reports and/or museum catalogues. Although narrower date ranges are possible for some forms, the differences between vessels are subtle enough to be the result of variations between craftsmen rather than true form changes. Given the time required to manufacture one basalt vessel,<sup>19</sup> a craftsman may have made only a few of them during his lifetime. As discussed below, patterns in the dates assigned to each form are apparent.

Variations in assemblages may indicate the migration of new groups, the rise and fall of ruling elites, the movement of new ideas, or a shift in market demands. The change in vessel forms between the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods is not gradual, nor is there significant overlap in the forms. For example, cylinder jars with rope decorations (type **1b**) are almost exclusively First Dynasty, while lug-handled jars (type **2**) are Predynastic (Table 3 and fig. 4). If market forces or the introduction of new ideas were present, one would expect the assemblage gradually to move from one set of forms to another. This is not apparent in the data, perhaps due to the difficulty in defining smaller units of time (for

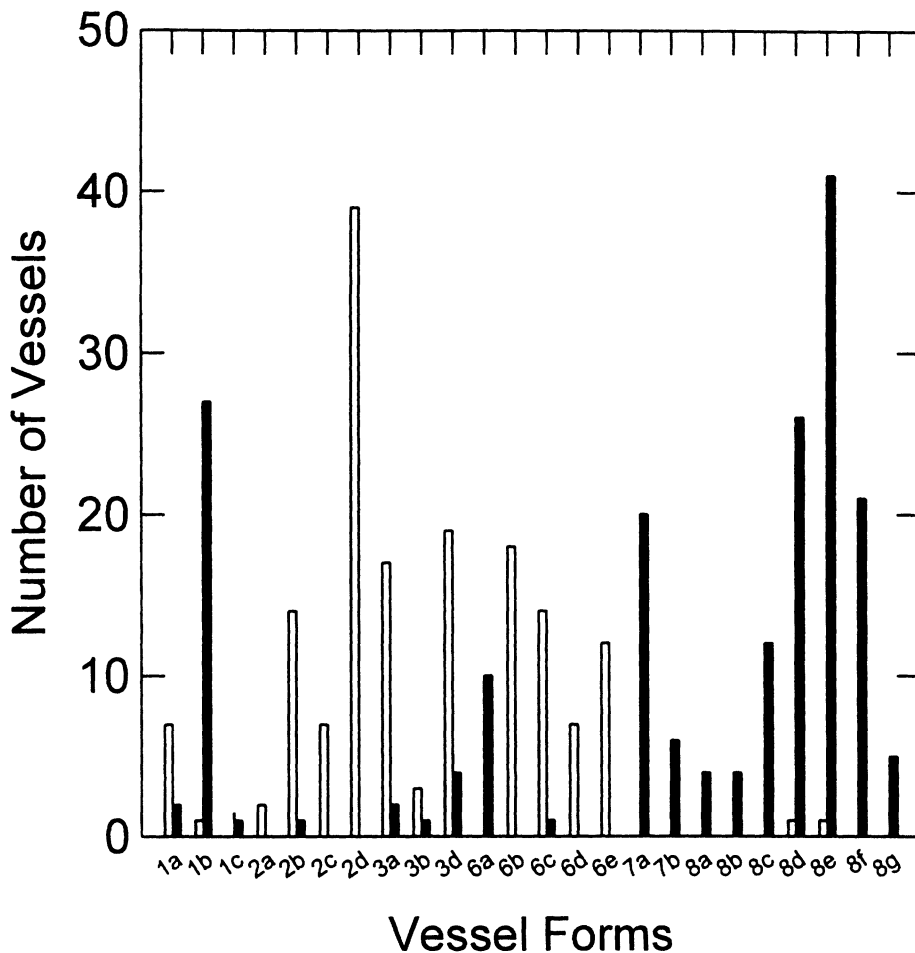


FIG. 4. Temporal distribution of basalt vessel types. Note the sharp division between Predynastic and First Dynasty forms. The number of Predynastic Period vessels is shown with open bars, and the number of First Dynasty by solid. Totals are from Table 3 and do not include unprovenanced vessels.

<sup>19</sup> L. M. Mallory, 'Ancient Egyptian Basalt and Granite Vessel Manufacturing Techniques', *JSSEA* (in press).

TABLE 4. *Geographic Distribution of Basalt Vessels*

Distribution of basalt vessels by vessel type, site (arranged north to south), and time period (based on Table 4).

Time Period	Number of Vessels													Naqada II-III			Naqada III
	Naqada I-II													3b	3d	4	1a
Form Class	2a	2b	2c	2d	5	6b	6e	10a	10b	10c	10d	10e	10f				
Marsa Matruh					1	1											
Buto				1	1	9			2	3	1	3	3				
Tell el-Ginn																1	
Beni Amir																	1
Tell Basta																	1
Heliopolis				1													
Abu Roash		1														1	
Kafr Ghattati																	
Giza				1			1										
Maadi	1	2	6	7	2	7	3	5	9	3	10	4	5				
Wadi Digla						1											
Zawiyet el Aryan																	2
Saqqara																	
Tarkhan																	
Gerzeh															1	1	1
Abusir el Meleq															1	1	
Harageh															1		
Mostagedda				1							1						
Badari				2								1	1				
Ahaiwah																	
Mesae'ed				4	1											2	
Naga ed-Dér								1									1
Mahasna				1													
Abydos				1												2	
Abydos?		1		1			1										
Amrah		3		3											1	2	3
Gebel el Tarif		1		2												2	
Abadiyeh		2		2			1										1
Harun																	
Qena? <sup>3</sup>		2		2		1	1										
Naga el Hai																	
Ballas				1												4	
Naqada			1	8			4									6	1
Karnak		1															
Adaima	1	2															
Hierakonpolis							1							1		1	
Upper Egypt																	
Qustul																	
<b>Totals<sup>2</sup></b>																	
Provenanced	2	15	7	38	5	19	11	6	11	9	12	8	10	4	23	2	9
Unprovenanced <sup>4</sup>		9	3	20	1	1	7							3	17	1	1

Notes: 1. Site Totals are for each site, PD = Predynastic, Dyn. 1 = First Dynasty.

2. Totals are for each vessel category.

3. Provenance is tentative.

TABLE 4 (cont.). *Geographic Distribution of Basalt Vessels*

Distribution of basalt vessels by vessel type, site (arranged north to south), and time period (based on Table 4).

<u>Predynastic</u>			<u>First Dynasty</u>										<u>Site Totals<sup>1</sup></u>			
3a	6c	6d	1b	6a	7a	7b	8a	8b	8c	8d	8e	8f	8g	10g	PD	Dyn. 1
															2	
				1					1	2				4	23	8
															1	
1															2	
															1	
					1	1	1				2	3			2	8
													1			1
			1												2	3
	8	1								1					73	1
															1	
	1		2		4					1	6	1		6	3	20
1			10	4	7	2	2	4	9	14	22	11	2		1	87
			1			2				1		1				5
1															4	
1										1					3	1
															1	
1															3	
	1														5	
1														1	1	1
1															8	
	1		1			1									3	2
					1										1	1
1	1	1	10	3	4		2		2	5	6	7	3	9	9	51
															3	
															12	
1															6	
	1														7	
1															1	
	1	2		1	1										9	2
1		1													2	
		1													6	
3	1		3		2						2				24	7
															1	
2		1									1				6	1
3															6	
1															1	
														1		1
20	15	7	26	10	20	6	4	4	12	27	42	21	5	21		
8	8	3	3		3	1			1	6	3	7	1			

Notes: 1. Site Totals are for each site, PD = Predynastic, Dyn. 1 = First Dynasty.  
 2. Totals are for each vessel category.  
 3. Provenance is tentative.



example, 50 year intervals) during the Predynastic Period for this class of artefacts. If the change occurred suddenly, a migration or new ruling group may be indicated. Although there have been suggestions that a new group of people moved into Egypt during the Predynastic Period,<sup>20</sup> there is no evidence in the archaeological record to support this contention.<sup>21</sup> Textual and archaeological evidence does exist, however, for an alteration in social structure and governmental control towards the end of the Predynastic Period.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the most probable reason that the basalt vessel assemblage appears to change so abruptly is the takeover, probably by a combination of trade, warfare, and peaceful population movement, of the north by the south. Further excavation in the Delta should shed light on what happened and when and how it was accomplished.<sup>23</sup> These new rulers could have had different tastes and requirements and this may have driven the change in basalt vessel forms.

### Geographical distribution of forms

The distribution of forms through space can show preferences among regions and sites, indicate the point of origin, and suggest trading patterns. Changes in distribution patterns may indicate when and where a new form was introduced, when different centres become dominant, or mirror social changes. That something occurred to affect basalt vessel distribution in the late Predynastic Period or Dynasty 0 is apparent (compare figs. 5 and 6). A bull's eye pattern (with greater number of artefacts at their source) is best seen in the Predynastic Period, and it indicates that Maadi was the source of the artefacts (Table 4 and fig. 7). This is supported by the observation that Maadi is the single Predynastic settlement site in all of Egypt closest to an outcrop of the basalt (Haddadin lava flow near Cairo) used to manufacture the vessels.<sup>24</sup> This suggests that the vessels may have originated at Maadi or a settlement or workshop(s) nearby. For some forms (e.g. type 2d), the trend is more pronounced than for others (see Table 4).

The large number of basalt vessels found at Buto suggests that this was a major trading centre and important settlement during the Predynastic Period. The popularity of basalt vessels at other Delta sites cannot be determined as very few of them have been excavated to Predynastic levels. The vessels from the eastern Delta (fig. 5) are single samples from burials. Although Minshat Abu Omar has produced large numbers of stone vessels, none of them have so far been basaltic.<sup>25</sup> The earliest basalt vessel found in Egypt is a crudely fashioned Neolithic bowl from Merimde.<sup>26</sup> Slightly later, pre-Naqada I in date, is an artefact excavated at El Omari. It has three feet and resembles contemporary Palestinian stone ves-

<sup>20</sup> Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, 8; W. M. F. Petrie, *The Making of Egypt* (London, 1939), 77–8; W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1961), 30.

<sup>21</sup> E. Massoulard, *Préhistoire et protohistoire d'Égypte* (Paris, 1949), 333; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 14–15.

<sup>22</sup> Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 47–59.

<sup>23</sup> Access to and control over resources were probably the driving motivations to draw the Delta into the south's sphere of influence and ultimately control. Exactly how this was accomplished will never be a question with a straightforward or simple answer.

<sup>24</sup> Mallory-Greenough, Greenough, and Owen, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26, 1261–72; Mallory-Greenough, Gorton, and Greenough, *Canadian Mineralogist* 40 (2002), 1025–46.

<sup>25</sup> K. Kroeper and D. Wildung, *Minshat Abu Omar, I. Ein vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Friedhof im Nildelta* (Mainz, 1994).

<sup>26</sup> R. Engelbach, *Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology with Special Reference to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Cairo, 1961), 298; J. Eiwanger, *Merimde-Bensalame, III. Die Funde der jüngeren Merimdekultur* (AV 59; Mainz, 1992), 65.

sels.<sup>27</sup> Other Delta sites may produce a wealth of Neolithic and Predynastic basalt vessels if the technical difficulties associated with excavating below the water-table can be overcome.

The absence of basalt vessels at sites in Middle Egypt between Harageh and Matmar (see fig. 5) may be due more to a lack of excavated Predynastic sites in this region than an absence of people. Alternatively, the culture of this area may not have valued these artefacts. The widespread distribution of basalt vessels in northern and southern Egypt (Table 4 and figs. 5 and 7) suggests that control of the access to these objects was in the hands of traders rather than a centralized elite. As expected, the important Predynastic regional centres at Naqada and Hierakonpolis are represented by more basalt vessels than are their neighbours. Perhaps northern traders stopped at every settlement on their journey, and were more successful where there was a greater concentration of wealth.

The lone example of a basalt vessel found far to the south, at Qustul, was excavated in the Naqada IIIA cemetery L. How Qustul fits into the chronology and politics of the Late Predynastic is the subject of great debate.<sup>28</sup> There are no sites where large numbers of Predynastic Egyptian artefacts or any basalt vessels have been found between Qustul and Hierakonpolis, which appears to be the last stop on the basalt vessel trade route from the north. This suggests that the artefact in question may not have been obtained through trade and that this may be a local elite which was connected to the Upper Egyptian rulers, perhaps politically or through marriage, and which received Egyptian style grave goods by these ties. Such rulers may have controlled the area surrounding Qustul, but they do not seem to have had access to the same spectrum of trade items as their more northerly neighbours. It would also have been advantageous to the Upper Egyptian kings to keep relations with the elites to the south cordial, and the cemetery L grave goods may represent gifts or bribes that were sent with this goal in mind. Alternatively, if Qustul was actively attempting to imitate the culture of Upper Egypt, its elite may have made a point of obtaining high status items from the north for local burials. Therefore, Qustul is an anomaly in the distribution pattern of basalt vessels during the Predynastic Period.

The two basalt vessels found at Marsa Matruh cannot easily be explained. There are no excavated sites as yet along the Mediterranean coast between Marsa Matruh and Buto that have produced significant numbers of Predynastic stone vessels. The two basalt vessels belong to types **5** and **6b**, which are almost exclusively found in the north. This suggests that they may have made their way west to Marsa Matruh via trade routes following the coast from the Delta to Libya.

Examining the Predynastic Period north–south distribution of vessel forms yields distinct patterns. As the rock used to manufacture the basalt vessels is from the Haddadin lava flow, and based on geographic distribution, the site of Maadi seems to be the site of manufacture, Maadi can be considered as the point of origin for forms distribution. With Maadi as the centre, the forms fall into three geographic categories: those from Maadi and sites to the north (types **5** and **6b**), those from Maadi and points south (**2b**, **3a**, **6c**, **6d**, **6e**), and those evenly distributed north and south (**2d**). Were Predynastic artisans manufacturing specific

<sup>27</sup> F. Debono, 'El-Omari (près d'Héloun). Exposé sommaire sur les campagnes de fouilles 1943–1944 et 1948', *ASAE* 48 (1948), 566; F. Debono and B. Mortensen, *El Omari: A Neolithic Settlement and Other Sites in the Vicinity of Wadi Hof, Helwan* (AV 82; Mainz, 1990), 58.

<sup>28</sup> W. Y. Adams, 'Doubts about the "Lost Pharaohs"', *JNES* 44 (1985), 185–92; B. B. Williams, 'The Lost Pharaohs of Nubia', *Archaeology* 33/5 (1980), 14–21; B. B. Williams, 'Forebears of Menes in Nubia: Myth or Reality?', *JNES* 46 (1987), 15–26.

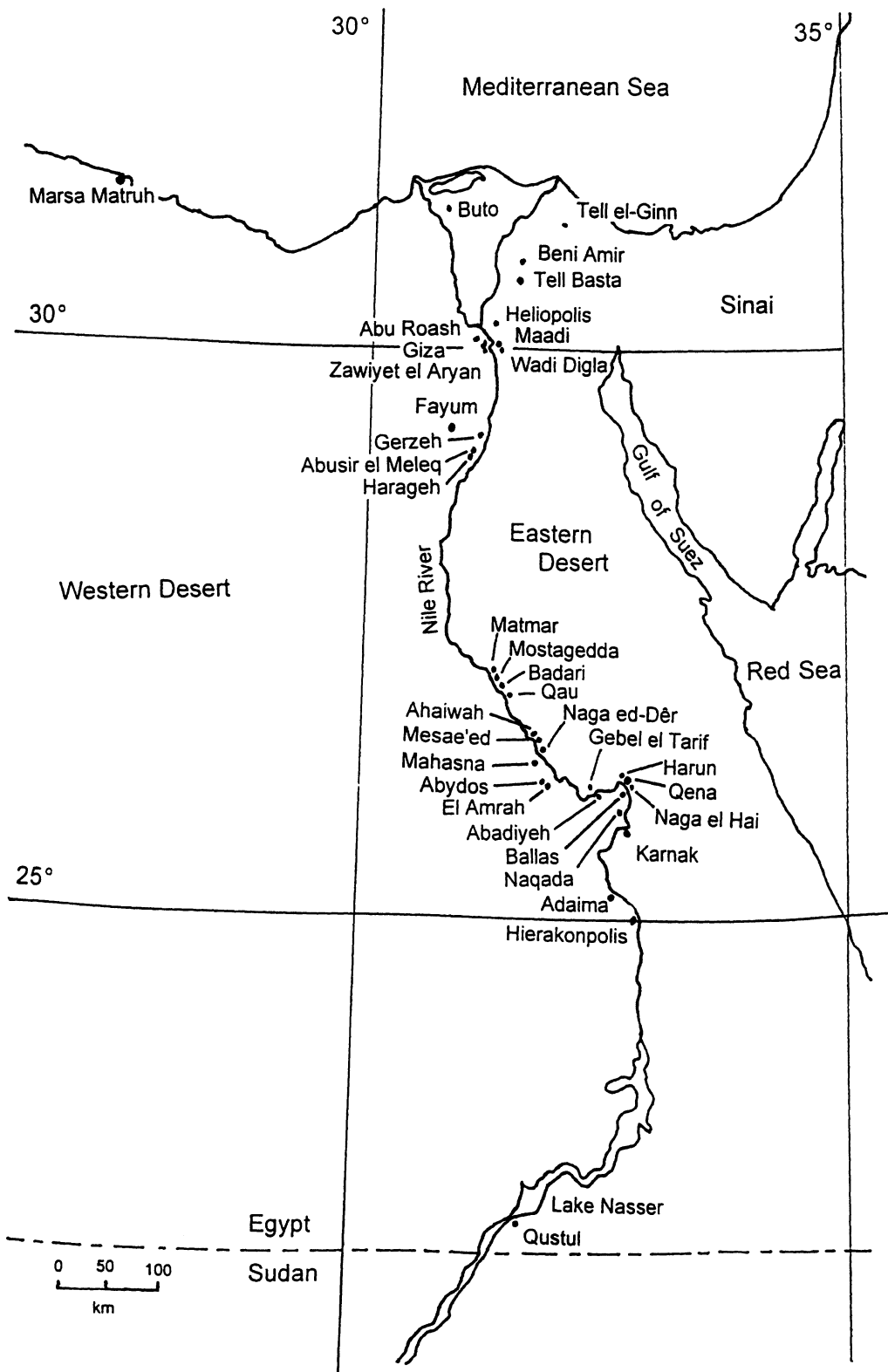


FIG. 5. Map showing Predynastic sites where basalt vessels have been found.

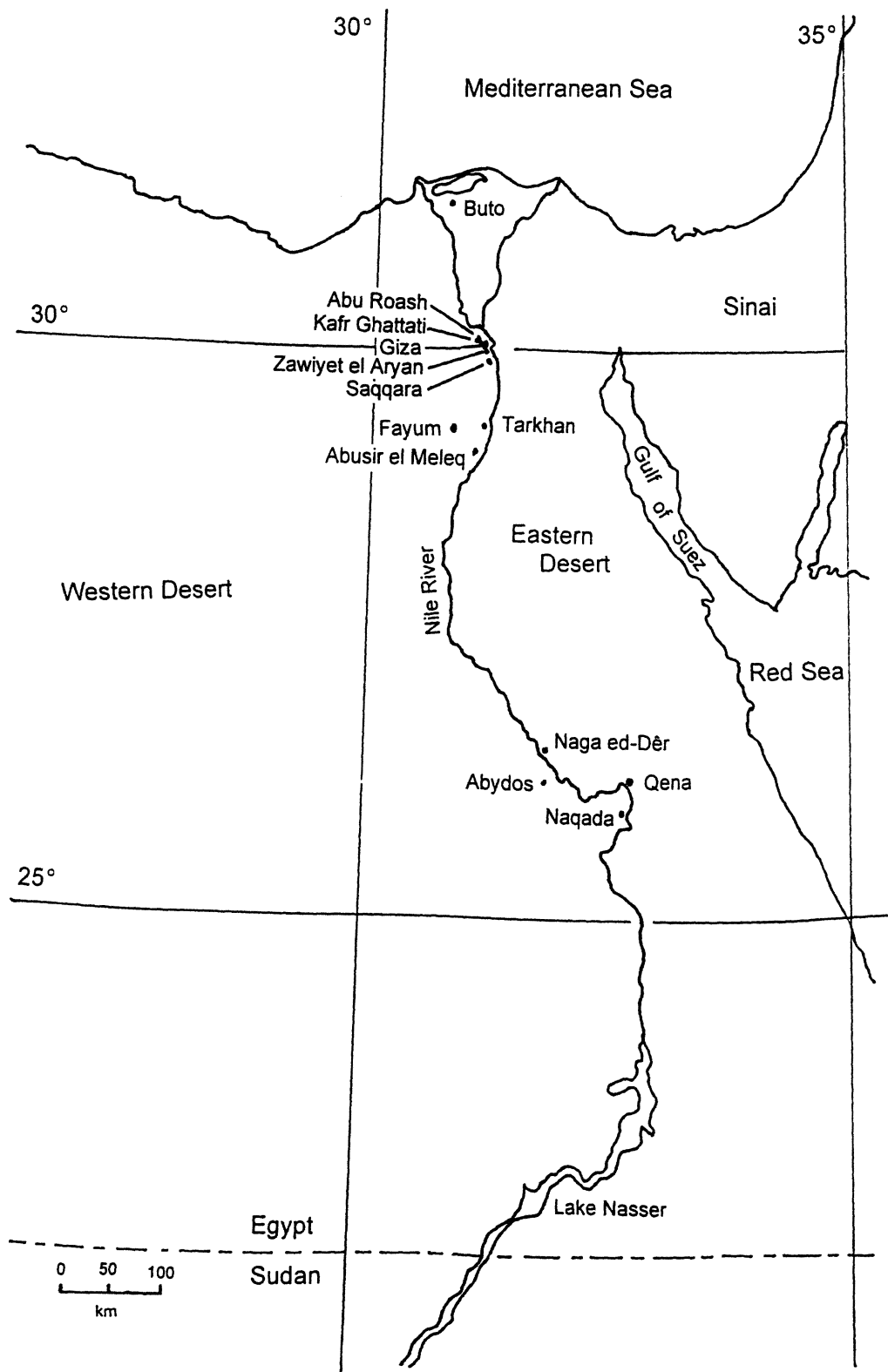


FIG. 6. Map showing First Dynasty sites where basalt vessels have been found.

shapes for two different markets? It is impossible to settle this question without further excavation in the Delta, but, based on current data, it does appear that different forms were produced for trade with Upper and Lower Egypt. The distribution of basalt vessel forms in the First Dynasty does not show the north–south patterns observed in the Predynastic Period, and no forms are exclusive to northern or southern Egypt (Table 4).

When the geographical distribution is tied to the temporal distribution, the break between the Predynastic Period and First Dynasty is even more pronounced (Table 4 and fig. 7). In the First Dynasty, basalt vessels occur only at a few sites (Abydos, Saqqara, and Naqada being the most important) compared with during the Predynastic Period (figs. 5–7), and most of these sites (for example, Zawiyet el Aryan) have no earlier burials associated with them. Abydos and Naqada are important exceptions that may be the ancestral homes of the ruling elite. Apparently access to the vessels was no longer controlled by those who manufactured them or the traders who distributed them. A ruling elite probably determined who received these artefacts, and may have collected and selected stone vessels for their imperishable qualities.<sup>29</sup>

The shift in the vessel assemblage is probably tied to the change in social structure. Southern elites may have preferred basalt vessels in the same shapes as southern pottery or stone vessels rather than in the northern pottery forms that were copied in basalt during Predynastic times. With territorial expansion into the north, the source of the basalt and the workshops that produced the vessels would have fallen under the control of the southern rulers who could then have their personal preferences met. Other explanations for the change in the assemblage are that the craftsmen were replaced by southern workers, that the raw materials were now sent south, or that the northern craftsmen were moved south. An Early Dynastic workshop was excavated at Hierakonpolis, but the excavators do not specify the types of rock from which the ‘numerous fragments of hard stone vases and bowls’ were made.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that the basalt vessel fragments from Hierakonpolis in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology labelled as ‘Pre-town site’ may have been excavated from this workshop.<sup>31</sup>

Thus far, no workshops have been found at Maadi, but the large number of broken and repaired stone vessels found in the settlement suggests that they were manufactured nearby. No other site contains such an abundance of ‘factory seconds’, and considering the time needed to create one basalt vessel,<sup>32</sup> it is not surprising that damaged goods were put to use locally. Maadi was abandoned towards the end of Naqada II, and while this has been tied to changes in the control of access to Palestinian trade goods, trade with southern Egypt must have played an important role as well. If the basalt vessel trade was one of the important sources of income for the community, its loss may have contributed to the migration away from the town as it would no longer be advantageous to be near to the source of the basalt when other locations were much better situated. Maadi’s demise is within two hundred years of the date currently assigned to the beginning of Dynasty 0, and if, as some believe, military expansion into the Delta by Upper Egyptian rulers occurred at this time,<sup>33</sup> Maadi

<sup>29</sup> M. A. Hoffman, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs* (New York, 1990), 303.

<sup>30</sup> J. E. Quibell and F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II (BSAE 5; London, 1902), 17.

<sup>31</sup> Accession numbers UC 26537, UC 27545–8. See also B. Adams, *Ancient Hierakonpolis: Supplement* (Warminster, 1974), 80.

<sup>32</sup> Mallory, *JSSEA* (in press); see n. 19.

<sup>33</sup> J. Baines, ‘Origins of Egyptian Kingship’, in D. O’Connor and D. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), 102; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 50–1.

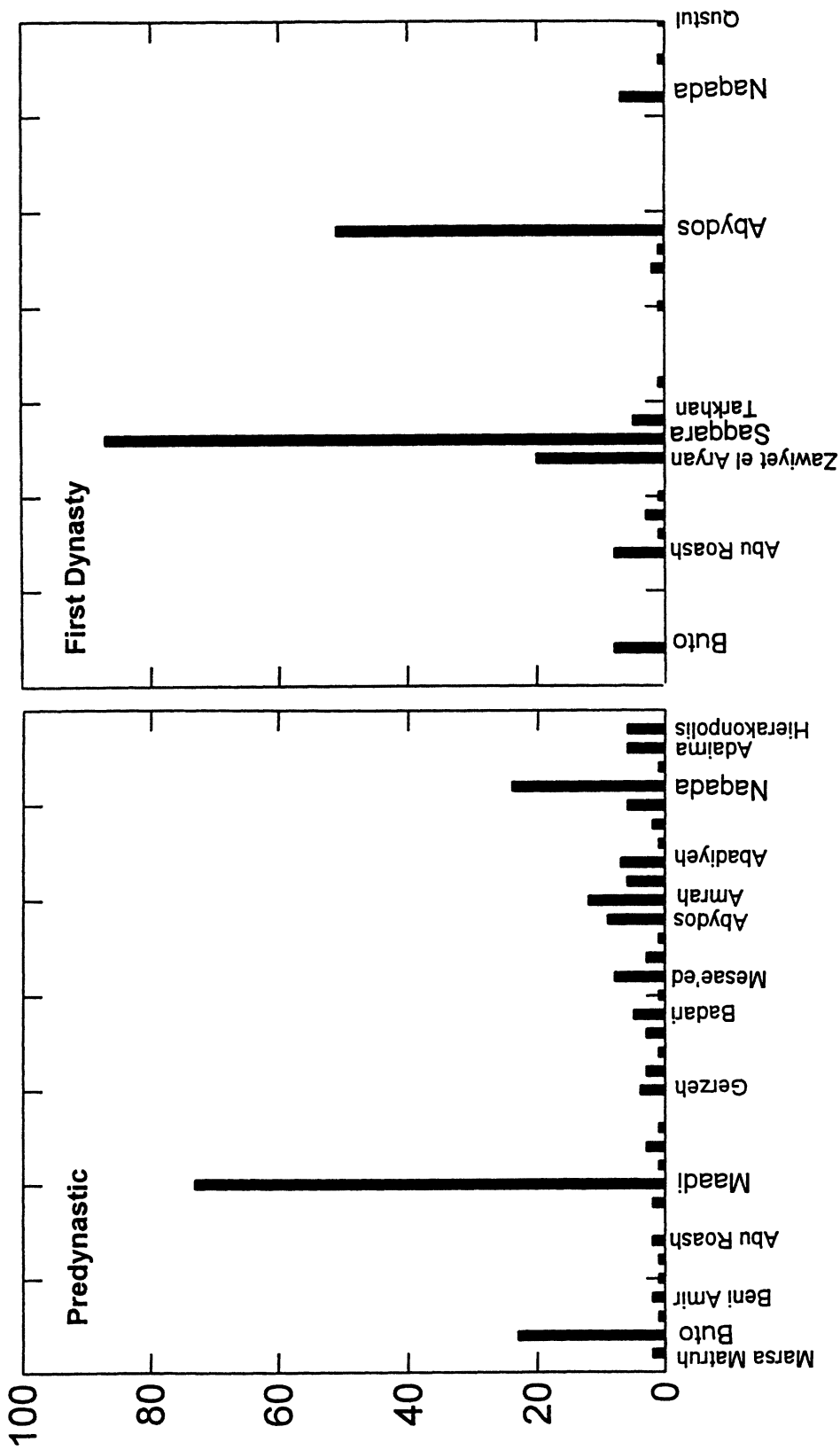


FIG. 7. Geographical distribution of vessels based on time period. Note the relatively even north-south predynastic division with peaks at Buto, Maadi, and Naqada, and the few sites represented in the First Dynasty. Total numbers of basalt vessels and the order of sites, from north to south, are from Table 4.

may have been a victim of one of these early forays. A more peaceful explanation is that natural shifts in the climate and position of the Nile prompted a move to the west.<sup>34</sup>

### Spatial distribution within a site/cemetery

Patterns of basalt vessel ‘ownership’ may exist within Predynastic (Naqada I and II) cemeteries, but most early excavators did not publish in sufficient detail to allow any firm conclusions to be drawn. Of 77 Predynastic graves with basalt vessels found in them, only 27 have been reported with an age and/or sex given for the occupant(s), and in 6 other cases, a body count is given, but no additional details (Table 5). Early excavation reports may not be accurate in assigning sex to skeletons<sup>35</sup> and the apparent tendency for basalt vessels to be found in female burials may therefore be slightly exaggerated. In general, basalt vessels occur with other grave goods and in adult burials. Basalt vessels are found in various places within the grave, and are usually near the head in intact burials. On examination, they do not seem to contain any residues, but there are two examples where something was deliberately placed inside—black organic matter (Mesae’ed grave 20),<sup>36</sup> and pieces of galena (Naga ed-Deir grave 7271).<sup>37</sup> Organic materials such as oil and perfume leave few traces behind, and they may not have been noticed or looked for in the past. As the data on Predynastic graves with basalt vessels is limited, these conclusions should be seen as tentative.

Early Dynastic burials at Abydos, Naqada, and Saqqara containing basalt vessels tend to be those of the rulers, their immediate families, and the upper nobility. These graves tend to be, but are not exclusively, of adult males, and once contained large numbers of stone vessels and other artefacts based on the few complete items and innumerable fragments that have been recovered. In general, these Early Dynastic burials have been thoroughly ransacked and no specific information on the original occupant(s) and the number of basalt vessels buried with them was recovered. In some cases, the owner of a tomb can be identified based on textual evidence. It is therefore impossible to determine any clear correlations between the age and sex of the occupant, and numbers and type of basalt vessels interred with them for First Dynasty graves found at these three sites.

First Dynasty burials that contain basalt vessels from outside the elite cemeteries at Abydos, Naqada, and Saqqara are similar to their Predynastic predecessors. A brief survey of more recent excavations reveals that the occupants tend to be adult females, with the basalt vessels found near the head (Table 6). Numerous other grave goods are present in intact tombs. In addition, burials with more than one basalt vessel are more common during the First Dynasty than in the Predynastic Period, perhaps reflecting an increasingly affluent population or greater polarization of economic resources.

### Pottery and basalt vessel forms

Where did the Predynastic basalt vessel forms originate? One would expect them to be copies of local pottery forms with which the craftsmen would be most familiar. During

<sup>34</sup> Köhler, *GM* 147, 86.

<sup>35</sup> G. E. Mann, ‘On the Accuracy of Sexing Skeletons in Archaeological Reports’, *JEA* 75 (1989), 246–9.

<sup>36</sup> Reisner, *Mycerinus*, 372; G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge MA, 1936), 372.

<sup>37</sup> A. M. Lythgoe, *Naga-ed-Dêr*, IV. *The Predynastic Cemetery N7000* (Berkeley, 1965), 35.

TABLE 5. *Predynastic Graves Containing Basalt Vessels*

Sites are given in bold. Where no data is given, none was mentioned in the references.

<b>Site</b> <i>Tomb</i>	<i>Age/Sex</i>	<i>Vessel</i> <i>Type(s)</i> <i>(placement)</i>	<i>Additional Grave Goods</i>	<i>Reference(s)</i>
<b>Abadiyeh</b>				
B56	2 bodies	<b>2d, 2d</b>	Pottery, clay balls, palette, flint tools.	Petrie, 32
U134		<b>6e</b>		
U135		<b>2b, 2b</b>		
U290		<b>1a</b>		Reisner, 131
U384		<b>6c</b>		Reisner, 131, 135
<b>Abydos</b>				
E272		<b>3d</b>	6 flint flakes, pottery jar, breccia vase, 6 amethysts, galena.	Peet, 16 Reisner, 134
U1	adult male	<b>2d</b>	2 pottery jars, stone macehead.	Peet, 15
U132	one body, not preserved	<b>10h</b>	6 pottery vessels, 2 stone vessel fragments, malachite.	Abydos 1996, 15
U287a		<b>6c</b>		Abydos 1998, 91
U547		<b>11</b>	18 pottery vessels.	Abydos 1996, 21
<b>Adaima</b>				
1		<b>3a</b> (near head)	Pebble necklace, 3 black-topped pots, near head painted pot, 4 large coarse red pots.	Needler, 51
<b>Ahaiwah</b>				
213		<b>3a</b>		Reisner, 134
<b>Amrah</b>				
a33	2 bodies	<b>2d</b>	7 pottery vessels.	<i>Amrah</i> , 17
a95		<b>1a, 1a,</b> <b>1a, 2b</b>		Reisner, 131
b46	adult male	<b>3d</b>	Palette, flint flakes, 11 pottery vessels.	<i>Amrah</i> , 22
b87	adult female	<b>2b, 2b</b>	Gold beads, animal skull, palette, 11 pots.	<i>Amrah</i> , 21
b144	adult male	<b>2d</b>	Clay model macehead, basket with hematite in it, 3 pottery vessels.	<i>Amrah</i> , 17
b151	adult female, child ?	<b>3b</b>	Palette, bead necklace, 6 pottery vessels.	<i>Amrah</i> , 20
b220	adult female, infant ?	<b>2d</b>	Ivory earring and tag, 3 pottery vessels.	<i>Amrah</i> , 18
b225	adult female	<b>3d</b>	6 pottery vessels, one with a boat design.	<i>Amrah</i> , 23
<b>Badari</b>				
3823	adult	<b>2d</b>	13 pottery vessels, palette, breccia vase, amulets.	<i>Badarian Civ.</i> , 51
3832		<b>2d</b>	1 pottery vessel.	<i>Badarian Civ.</i> , pl. 23
<b>Ballas</b>				
91		<b>3d</b>		Reisner, 134
121		<b>3d</b>		Reisner, 134
185		<b>3d, 3d</b>		Reisner, 134
309		<b>2d</b>		Reisner, 133
812		<b>6d</b>		<i>Naqada</i> , 36



TABLE 5 (cont). *Predynastic Graves Containing Basalt Vessels*

Sites are given in bold. Where no data is given, none was mentioned in the references.

<b>Site</b> <i>Tomb</i>	<i>Age/Sex</i>	<i>Vessel</i> <i>Type(s)</i> <i>(placement)</i>	<i>Additional Grave Goods</i>	<i>Reference(s)</i>
<b>Gerzeh</b>				
25	one body	<b>4</b>	Pot with meat in it.	<i>Gerzeh</i> , 7
75		<b>3a</b>	Beads, ivory spoon, one pottery vessel.	<i>Gerzeh</i> , 21–2, pl. 8
142	adult ?	<b>3b</b> <b>3d</b>	4 stone vessels, many pottery vessels, beads.	<i>Gerzeh</i> , 21–2, pls. 1, 5
<b>Harageh</b>				
470	adult female	<b>3b</b> (before face)	Shell beads, amulet, wooden cover to basalt jar.	Engelbach, pl. 1, 6
<b>Heliopolis</b>				
10	child ?	<b>2d</b> (before face)	None.	<i>Omari</i> , 12
<b>Hierakonpolis</b>				
32	? female	<b>3d</b>	7 pottery vessels, flints, fish palette.	Adams, 33
100		<b>3a</b>		<i>Hierakon.</i> , 20–2, 54
<b>Mahasna</b>				
H30	2 bodies	<b>2d</b> (near pelvis)	4 pottery vessels, flint flake.	<i>Mahasna</i> , 12
<b>Marsa Matruh</b>				
A1	adult ?	<b>5</b> (between chain and throat) <b>6b</b>	2 shells, potsherds, small pottery jar.	Bates, 137–9
<b>Mesae'ed</b>				
20		<b>2d</b>		Reisner, 133
29		<b>2d, 2d</b> (near feet)	Oval pottery bowl, limestone vessel.	Reisner, 134, 372
47		<b>3d, 3d</b>		Reisner, 134
49		<b>5</b>		Reisner, 135
107		<b>3a</b>		Reisner, 135
744		<b>2d</b>		Reisner, 133
<b>Matmar</b>				
3088		<b>10h</b>		<i>Matmar</i> , 19
<b>Mostagedda</b>				
1611		<b>3a</b>		<i>Most.</i> , 69, 86, pl. 42
2004	adult male?	<b>10d</b>	Necklace of leather rings.	<i>Most.</i> , 39, 52, pls. 9, 59
11729		<b>2d</b>		<i>Most.</i> , 74, 86, pl. 52
<b>Naga el Hai</b>				
615		<b>3a</b>		Reisner, 134
2131		<b>6d</b>		Reisner, 132

TABLE 5 (cont). *Predynastic Graves Containing Basalt Vessels*

Sites are given in bold. Where no data is given, none was mentioned in the references.

<b>Site</b> <i>Tomb</i>	<i>Age/Sex</i>	<i>Vessel</i> <i>Type(s)</i> <i>(placement)</i>	<i>Additional Grave Goods</i>	<i>Reference(s)</i>
<b>Naga ed-Dêr</b>				
7060	adult female, adult male, child female	<b>11</b>	Malachite pieces.	Lythgoe, 35
7271	2 bodies	<b>11</b>	Many pottery vessels, malachite.	Lythgoe, 156
7296	2 adult ?	<b>11</b> (beside arm)	1 pottery dish.	Lythgoe, 172
7303	adult ?	<b>10a</b>	Many pottery vessels.	Lythgoe, 178
7394	3 adult females, adult ?, 2 child ?	<b>1a</b> (near feet)	5 pottery vessels, comb.	Lythgoe, 236
7590	adult female	<b>9</b> (in hand, near face)	Slate palette, pottery bowl.	Lythgoe, 389
<b>Naqada</b>				
100		<b>3d</b>	15 pottery vessels, flint knife, game (9 cones)	Baumgartel, 183
113		<b>3d</b>	16 pottery vessels, palette, beads.	Baumgartel, pl. 5
231		<b>2d</b>	Ivory vase and armet, 4 stone and 2 pots.	Baumgartel, pl.10
259		<b>2d</b>	Alabaster vase, 10 pots, ivory combs and hairpin, hematite pieces.	Baumgartel, pl.11
414		<b>11</b>	3 pottery vessels, flint lancehead.	Baumgartel, pl. 17
471		<b>11</b>	2 pottery vessels, flint knife scraper and borer, bead grinder.	Baumgartel, pl. 19
1162		<b>3d</b>	None recorded.	Baumgartel, pl. 33
1207		<b>3a, 3a</b>	None recorded.	Baumgartel, pl. 34
1257		<b>3d</b>	Many pottery vessels, decorated pot, slate palette, stone vases.	Baumgartel, pl. 36
1282		<b>11</b>	None recorded.	Baumgartel, pl. 37
1401	adult female 6 children ?	<b>1b</b>	3 stone maceheads, flint knife, pottery bowl, hematite, malachite.	Baumgartel, pl. 41 <i>Naqada</i> , 28
1417	adult female	<b>6e</b>	Palette, 2 ivory combs, flint knife, 4 black-topped pots, stone macehead.	Baumgartel, pl. 42 <i>Naqada</i> , 28
1487	adult female	<b>6e</b>	Incised black pottery bowl, pottery jar.	Baumgartel, pl. 45 <i>Naqada</i> , 28
1503		<b>2d</b>	3 pottery vessels, beads, ivory hairpins, combs and bracelets.	Baumgartel, pl.47 <i>Naqada</i> , 28
1504	adult female	<b>6e</b>	Ivory hairpin and comb.	Baumgartel, pl. 47
1568		<b>11</b>	None recorded.	Baumgartel, pl. 49
1661		<b>11</b>	4 pottery vessels, fish-tail knife, 3 alabaster vessels, 2 palettes, 2 combs.	Baumgartel, pl. 53
1676	adult male	<b>2d</b>	3 pottery vessels, flint dagger and blade, 2 fishtail knives.	Baumgartel, pl. 53
1689		<b>2d</b>	One pottery vessel.	Baumgartel, pl. 54
1782	adult female, adult male	<b>2d</b>	None recorded.	Baumgartel, pl. 57
T5	adult male 4 adult females	<b>3a</b>	22 pottery vessels, 4 stone vessels, 2 palettes, flint blade, ivory combs.	Baumgartel, pl. 67
T16	adult ?	<b>3d</b>	3 stone vessels, beads, 7 pottery vessels, shell pendant.	Baumgartel, pl. 68

TABLE 5 (cont). *Predynastic Graves Containing Basalt Vessels*

Sites are given in bold. Where no data is given, none was mentioned in the references.

<b>Site</b>	<i>Vessel</i>	<i>Additional Grave Goods</i>	<i>Reference(s)</i>
<i>Tomb</i>	<i>Age/Sex</i> <i>Type(s)</i> <i>(placement)</i>		
<b>Wadi Digla</b>			
100	<b>6b</b> (near face)	None.	Maadi IV, 39

Reference abbreviations: Petrie = Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*; Reisner = Reisner, *Mycerinus*; Peet = T. E. Peet, *Abydos II* (London, 1914); Abydos 1996 = G. Dreyer et al., 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachtuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 7/8 Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 11–81; Abydos 1998 = G. Dreyer et al., 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachtuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 9/10 Vorbericht', *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 77–167; Needler = Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum*; Amrah = D. Randall-MacIver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899–1901* (London, 1902); *Badarian Civ.* = Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization*; *Gerzeh* = Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*; Engelbach = Engelbach, *Harageh*; *Omari* = Debono and Mortensen, *El Omari*; Adams = B. Adams, *The Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis* (London, 1987); *Hierakon.* = Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis II*; *Mahasna* = Ayrton and Loat, *Pre-dynastic Cemetery at El-Mahasna*; Bates = O. Bates, *Harvard African Studies. Varia Africana IV* (1927), 123–98; *Matmar* = Brunton, *Matmar*; *Most.* = Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture*; Lythgoe = Lythgoe, *Naga ed-Dêr IV*; Baumgartel = E. J. Baumgartel, *Petrie's Naqada Excavation: A Supplement* (London, 1970); *Naqada* = Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*; *Maadi IV* = I. Rizkana and J. Seeher, *Maadi, IV* (Mainz, 1990).

the Predynastic Period, most of the basalt vessels resemble Buto–Maadi culture pottery forms,<sup>38</sup> but with heavier rims added to help prevent breakage.<sup>39</sup> Pottery with a raised base and lug handles is present in Lower, but not Upper, Egypt.<sup>40</sup> No Upper Egyptian (Naqadan) shapes<sup>41</sup> are evident in the Predynastic basalt vessel assemblage. This is consistent with an origin in the north for the basalt vessels and control over the workshops being in the hands of local, northern artisans.

Vessel types **6b** and **6e** are found almost exclusively in basalt.<sup>42</sup> While type **6e** may be based on jar stands, the flared, very wide rimmed **6b** has no obvious pottery or stone counterpart in Egypt or Palestine. Although Petrie suggested a Libyan origin based on a vessel

<sup>38</sup> For Buto–Maadi culture pottery, see T. von der Way, *Tell el-Fara'in–Buto*, I (AV 83; Mainz, 1997); Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi II*, 68, fig. 16; I. Rizkana and J. Seeher, *Maadi, I. The Pottery of the Predynastic Settlement* (AV 64; Mainz, 1987); E. C. M. van der Brink, 'A Transitional Late Predynastic–Early Dynastic Settlement Site in the Northeastern Nile Delta, Egypt', *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 55–108; J. Wunderlich, T. von der Way, and K. Schmidt, 'Neue Fundstellen der Buto–Maadi-Kultur bei Ezbet el-Qerdahi', *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 309–18; W. Kaiser and A. Zaugg, 'Zum Fundplatz der Maadikultur, bei Tura', *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 121–4; Debono and Mortensen, *El Omari*; F. Debono and B. Mortensen, *The Predynastic Cemetery at Heliopolis* (AV 63; Mainz, 1988).

<sup>39</sup> Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi II*, 67.

<sup>40</sup> Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi II*, 67.

<sup>41</sup> For Naqada pottery, see W. M. F. Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes* (BSAE 23; London, 1921); Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*; W. M. F. Petrie, G. A. Wainwright and G. A. Mackay, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh* (BSAE 18; London, 1912); R. Engelbach, *Harageh* (BSAE 20; London, 1923); G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization and Predynastic Remains near Badari* (BSAE 30; London, 1928); E. R. Ayrton and W. L. S. Loat, *Pre-dynastic Cemetery at El-Mahasna* (MEEF 31; London, 1911); G. Brunton, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture* (London, 1937); R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant, I* (MEES 42; London, 1937).

<sup>42</sup> El-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels I*, 246–7; II, 718.

TABLE 6. *Brief Survey of First Dynasty Graves Containing Basalt Vessels*

Sites are given in bold. Where no data is given, none was mentioned in the references.

<b>Site</b> <i>Tomb</i>	<i>Age/Sex</i>	<i>Vessel</i> <i>Type(s)</i>	<i>Vessel</i> <i>Location</i>	<i>Additional Grave Goods</i>	<i>Reference(s)</i>
<b>Abu Roash</b>					
A	adult female	<b>2b</b> <b>3d</b> <b>6a</b>	beside right leg under jaw beside head	11 pottery and 5 alabaster vessels, beads, 3 palettes, ivory and copper bracelets, 2 flints.	Abu Roash, 230–43
<b>Abydos</b>					
S606		<b>10h</b>		Alabaster jar, pottery jar.	Peet, 34
S609		<b>1b</b>		Copper wire, carnelian and pottery beads.	Peet, 34
<b>Kafr Ghattati</b>					
KG2	adult female	<b>8f</b>	near pelvis	Limestone pot, slate palette, ivory hairpins, 10 pottery vessels, alabaster vase, carnelian and faience beads.	Engles, 77–80
<b>Tarkhan</b>					
80	adult female	<b>7b</b>	near pelvis	6 stone and 4 pottery vessels, beads.	<i>Tarkhan</i> I, 11, pl. 64
122	adult male	<b>1b</b>		Copper axe, adze, chisel, 1 pottery jar.	<i>Tarkhan</i> I, 11, 56
1739	adult male	<b>8d</b>		4 pottery vessels, ivory pin, galena.	<i>Tarkhan</i> II, 36
<b>Zawiyet el Aryan</b>					
Z90	adult?	<b>7a</b>	by knees	Pottery bowl, alabaster cup, stone mace head.	<i>Zawiyet</i> , 6
Z103	adult female	<b>7a</b>	near chest	20 pottery and 2 alabaster vessels, copper dish (?).	<i>Zawiyet</i> , 10
Z113	adult?	<b>7a</b> <b>8e</b>	behind shoulder behind head	Alabaster jar, 7 pottery vessels, beads, piece of copper, leopard-head amulet.	<i>Develop.</i> , 379 <i>Zawiyet</i> , 13
Z116	adult female, infant	<b>1b</b>	near chest	11 pottery vessels, alabaster jar, 1 slate and 4 ivory bracelets, 3 ivory pins.	<i>Develop.</i> , 379–80 <i>Zawiyet</i> , 14
Z117	adult female	<b>9</b>	before face	Pottery jar, ivory bracelet and pin.	<i>Zawiyet</i> , 15
Z124	adult?	<b>1a</b> <b>1a</b> <b>1b</b> <b>8d</b>	behind back below knees above head above head	12 pottery vessels, 2 alabaster saucers, ivory fragment.	<i>Develop.</i> , 381 <i>Zawiyet</i> , 18–19
Z132	adult male	<b>8e</b> <b>8e</b> <b>8e</b>	near feet near feet near feet	1 alabaster and 7 pottery jars, flint flake, 2 limestone bowls, copper spearhead.	<i>Develop.</i> , 48 <i>Zawiyet</i> , 21
Z144	adult?	<b>8e</b>	behind skull	14 pottery vessels, alabaster cup and jar, pebble, slate palette, beads.	<i>Develop.</i> , 382 <i>Zawiyet</i> , 23

Reference abbreviations: Abu Roash = Z. Hawass, 'Archaic Graves Recently Found at North Abu Roash', *MDAIK* 36 (1980), 229–44; Peet = Peet, *Abydos* II; Engles = D. R. Engles, 'An Early Dynastic Cemetery at Kafr Ghattati', *JARCE* 27 (1990), 71–87; *Tarkhan* I = Petrie, Wainwright and Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*; *Tarkhan* II = W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan II* (London, 1914); *Develop.* = Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops*; *Zawiyet* = D. Dunham, *Zawiyet el-Aryan* (Boston, 1978).

found at Marsa Matruh,<sup>43</sup> there is a Badarian Period ivory vessel from Adaima which may represent the predecessor of type **6b**.<sup>44</sup> Both types **6b** and **6e** are relatively rare, and may represent an innovative design by one craftsman and/or his descendants and colleagues.

The difference between southern pottery and stone vessel forms and the more unfamiliar or 'exotic' northern styles may have added to their value or appeal to the Upper Egyptians. Predynastic, black, burnished, tubular-handled pottery jars manufactured and used in Upper Egypt were probably an attempt to imitate the stone vessels and to provide substitutes for those who could not afford the real thing.<sup>45</sup> Plain black pottery is otherwise unknown in Upper Egypt.<sup>46</sup>

By Dynasty 0, Buto–Maadi culture artefacts disappeared from the Delta. Local assemblages began to change during Naqada IIc, when locally manufactured southern pottery styles became abundant.<sup>47</sup> This is the point in time at or just before the change in the basalt vessel assemblage and the apparent abandonment of Maadi. The Predynastic northern shapes are no longer manufactured, and bowls, beakers, cups, and cylinder jars are dominant. Other than the cylinder jars, these forms are present in Buto–Maadi culture pottery, but were not copied in basalt.<sup>48</sup> Proto-dynastic and First Dynasty pottery is a continuation of the earlier Naqada forms.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the Predynastic northern basalt forms were seen as old fashioned and they were replaced by more 'modern' ones.

### Conclusions

The origin of most Predynastic basalt vessel forms can be found in the Buto–Maadi pottery assemblage, while others have no apparent ancestors. The vessel assemblage which first appears in Naqada I remains unchanged until the end of the Predynastic Period when it changes from northern Buto–Maadi style vessels to more southern, Naqada types. This can be connected with the expansion of the Upper Egyptian 'proto-kingdom' into the Delta, and corresponds with other cultural changes that occurred at the same time such as the appearance of pottery types in the Naqada tradition in the north. An important caveat to this interpretation is the use of seriation dating which can give incorrect date ranges for some Predynastic forms. There are antecedents to First Dynasty forms in the late Predynastic Period (e.g. undecorated cylinder jars precede those with rope decoration), however, significant overlap between Predynastic and First Dynasty types does not occur. During the Predynastic, there appears to be a difference between forms traded with Upper and Lower Egypt, but by the First Dynasty there does not seem to be a strong preference for particular forms in the north or south as all vessel types are found in both regions.

<sup>43</sup> O. Bates, 'Archaic Burials at Marsa Matruh', *Ancient Egypt* (BSAE; London, 1915), 158–65 (reference supplied by A. J. Spencer); B. Midant-Reynes, *The Prehistory of Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 179.

<sup>44</sup> W. Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1984), no. 116; Midant-Reynes, *The Prehistory of Egypt*, 213.

<sup>45</sup> Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*, 81–2, pl. xix; Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and Mazghuneh*, 20, pl. x; G. Brunton, *Matmar* (London, 1948), 18, pl. xii; Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. xxvi.

<sup>46</sup> Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi II*, 68.

<sup>47</sup> C. Köhler, 'Problems and Priorities in the Study of Pre- and Early Dynastic Pottery', *CCE* 3 (1992), 14.

<sup>48</sup> See Rizkana and Seeher, *Maadi I*, 33, fig. 33.

<sup>49</sup> For Dynasty 0 and First Dynasty pottery forms, see W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, I (MEEF 18; London, 1900), and II (MEEF 21; London, 1901); Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*; Petrie et al., *Tarkhan I*; W. M. F. Petrie, *Corpus of Proto-dynastic Pottery* (BSAE 66; London, 1953), Z. Y. Saad, *Royal Excavations at Helwan (1945–1947)* (Supplement ASAE 14; Cairo, 1951); Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty I–III*.

Analysis of distribution patterns suggests that during the Predynastic Period the local elites, 'chiefs', and economically privileged members of society traded for basalt vessels as they tend to occur in wealthy burials. Control over the exchange of these artefacts was probably in the hands of the craftsmen who manufactured the vessels or their trader representatives. Another possibility is long-distance exchange through the hands of many people, but given the relative ease of Nile travel, this is less likely. It is impossible to discern what the mode of exchange was or what the goods traded for the basalt vessels were. The concentration of objects, especially 'factory seconds', at Maadi suggests that the source of the basalt and the craftsmen's workshops were probably nearby. The quarry site and workshop areas have not yet been identified. Near the end of the Predynastic, Maadi was abandoned, and no vessels dating to the First Dynasty were found there. The workshops and craftsmen of the First Dynasty were located elsewhere.

In the First Dynasty, the spatial distribution is centered around and dominated by three sites—Abydos, Naqada, and Saqqara—the elite burials of the ruling family who now apparently controlled access to the basalt vessels. This change in distribution pattern corresponds to the shift in the basalt vessel forms, and probably reflects southern preferences. Alternatively, the craftsmen now producing these objects may have been more familiar with the new shapes.

# THE BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF PTAHSHEPSES FROM SAQQARA: A NEWLY IDENTIFIED FRAGMENT\*

*By* PETER F. DORMAN

A limestone block in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum (OIM 11048), can now be identified as belonging to the niched chapel wall of Ptahshepses in The British Museum (BM EA 682), known for its biographical text recounting the life of this priestly official under successive reigns during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. The OIM block supplies the names of two additional kings, Userkaf and Sahure, to the Ptahshepses inscription, the former of whom is the ruler who gave his daughter, Khamaat, to Ptahshepses in marriage. A grammatical and structural analysis of the inscribed façade sets the text within the context of other early biographies, and suggests that its overtly poetic structure was intended as a performative signal to invite the active participation of visitors through recitation. Finally, the value of the Ptahshepses façade as a contemporary chronological record is briefly reassessed in relation to the Ramesside king lists and the Manethonic tradition.

THE rejoining of elements from a single monument that have long been separated or dispersed is always a satisfying task in itself, but not infrequently the result can yield an unexpected insight into the history or art of ancient Egypt. The present article offers a small addition to the niched chapel wall of Ptahshepses in The British Museum (EA 682) and a modest rethinking of that official's well known account of his life under the kings of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

## **A fragment of the Ptahshepses mastaba: placement and architecture**

One of the objects in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago is a limestone block that was purchased in Cairo in January or February 1920 from the dealer André Bercher, and which now bears the number OIM 11048 (fig. 1 and pl. XI, 1). Perhaps its most distinctive feature is the fortuitous presence of the cartouches of two early Fifth Dynasty kings, Userkaf and Sahure, that are deeply inscribed in successive columns of vertical text, both facing toward the right. Equally striking are the deeply carved vertical niches, which alternate with the columns of text, and the stems of papyrus plants, bound in pairs, that are visible along the top of the block. The papyrus shafts are carefully carved so as to render accurately the triangular cross-section of the stem. The stems rest on a short lintel, below which are three niched elements and a rolled cylinder. The block clearly derives from a wall adorned with a niched palace-façade motif, but the appearance of inscriptions on the protruding antae of such niching is a feature uncommon to Old Kingdom tomb

\* I am most grateful to Karen Wilson, Director of the Oriental Institute Museum, for permission to publish the piece, and to Emily Teeter, Curator of Egyptian and Nubian Art, and Raymond Tindel, Senior Curator and Registrar, for their assistance in making the block accessible to examination. I also thank J. Brett McClain for his excellent drawing of the block reproduced in figure 1.

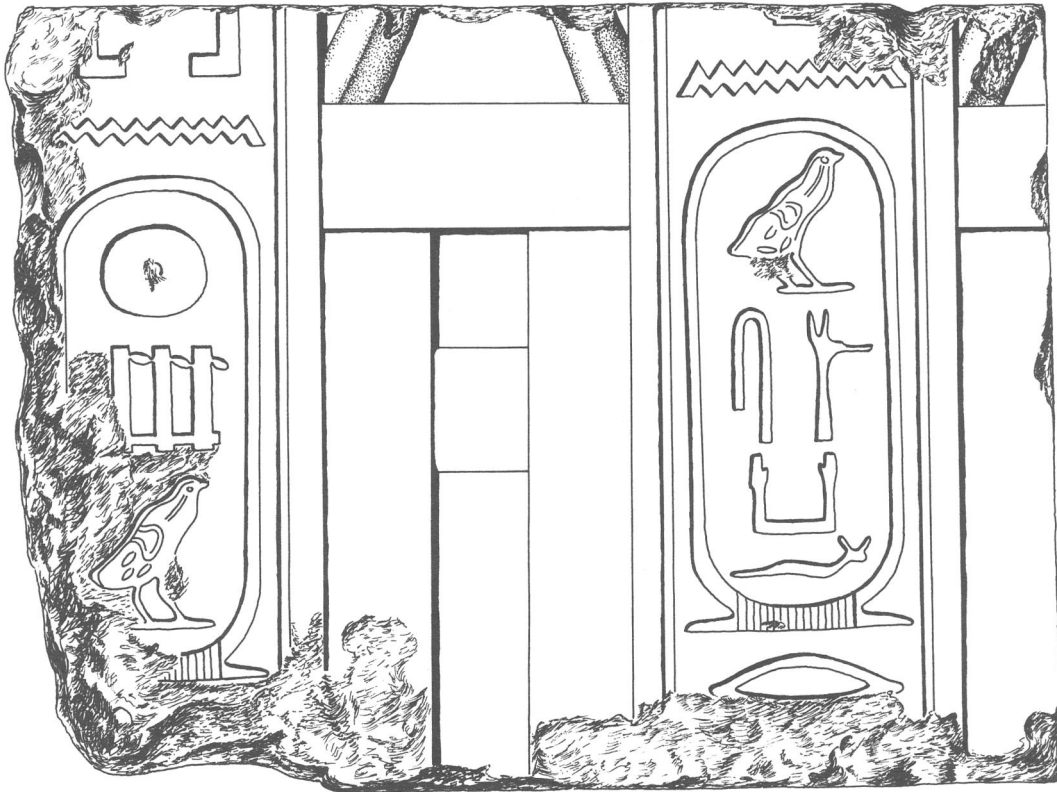


FIG. 1. Chicago Oriental Institute Museum 11048. Drawing by J. Brett McClain.

decoration. There is no precise findspot for the piece; in the acquisition records of the Oriental Institute Museum the provenance of the object is noted only as 'Abusir (?)'.<sup>1</sup> The block has been in storage for several decades, and there is no record of it ever having been exhibited. The surface of the stone bears traces of light red pigment overall, but there are no definite indications of colour in the hieroglyphs themselves. There are irregular grooves visible on some of the surfaces (as at the far right in pl. XI, 1), apparently caused by an attempt to clean some of the dirt from the relief by brute force. The top, bottom, and right sides of the block are dressed surfaces. Only the left side has been broken off, although it appears from other evidence that very little is missing aside from the border line. The finished height of the block is 37 cm and its present width is 49 cm. The back has been sawn off, so the original thickness cannot be determined; the block presently measures 5 cm thick. As for the surface decoration, the width of the inscribed antae is 15 cm, although there appears to be some variation along the height of these features, and the width of the intervening niching is roughly 14.8 cm. The thickness of the horizontal lintel below the papyrus stems is 5.3 cm.

The niching of the block and the depth of carving are remarkably similar to those of another monument of the Fifth Dynasty, exhibited in the main sculpture galleries of The

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the Abusir provenance in the accession records may have been inferred, for lack of other evidence, on the basis of the cartouches alone: that is, the owner of the piece doubtless lived into the time of Sahure, whose pyramid is at Abusir.



British Museum: the niched chapel wall of Ptahshepses, BM EA 682 (pl. XI, 2).<sup>2</sup> Of this monument much more is known. The mastaba of Ptahshepses stands north of the Step Pyramid and north of the avenue leading to the Serapeum at Saqqara, where it was discovered by Auguste Mariette.<sup>3</sup> The mastaba itself, constructed with a rubble core, was sheathed in limestone blocks and was adorned on its eastern exterior wall with two false-door stelae set in separate niches. To the south of these stelae, an entrance opened into a short corridor leading to a rectangular offering chapel. The corridor entrance was surmounted by a lintel incised with offering formulae and lists of festivals (see pl. XI, 2), which is presently exhibited above the niched wall in The British Museum galleries. Most of the rear (western) wall of the offering chapel was decorated with a niched palace-façade motif bearing a text with biographical details of the tomb owner, the preserved portion measuring roughly 3 m wide and 2.8 m high. The palace-façade wall was the only part of the inner chamber that had been finished. The copy of the inscriptions provided by Mariette, as well as later copies published de Rougé,<sup>4</sup> is more complete than what is preserved at present, several blocks from the lower right section of the panelling having been lost and others partially damaged before the niched wall was acquired by The British Museum in 1897.<sup>5</sup>

That the OIM block belongs to the chapel wall of Ptahshepses is initially indicated by several features, in particular the dimensions of the niching of these two monuments, which agree within very close limits.<sup>6</sup> BM EA 682 still bears much of the overall coat of reddish paint noted by Mariette, and the individual signs exhibit the green pigment that is lacking on the OIM block.<sup>7</sup> Although there is a paucity of text on the latter, the physical characteristics of certain hieroglyphs are identical to those of BM EA 682. For example, the quail-chick signs are outlined with a lightly carved line, the wing is indicated in a double incised outline, between the eye and wing are two curving strokes, the back of the bird has a noticeable hump above the wing, and three feathers are shown on the body of the chick, although arranged in somewhat different patterns from bird to bird. Each of these details appears on the quail chicks of BM EA 682. Other features are shared in common as well, although

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to W. Vivian Davies, Keeper, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan at The British Museum, for permission to publish photographs and drawings of the Ptahshepses façade, and also to Jeffrey Spencer, who kindly provided me with information from the accession records and with specific details on the dimensions of the façade.

<sup>3</sup> A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 110–14, Mastaba C1. For the mastaba itself, see PM III<sup>2</sup>, 464, no. 48.

<sup>4</sup> É. de Rougé, *Recherches des monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon* (Paris, 1867), 66–73; and idem, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte* (Paris, 1877), pls. lxxix–lxxx.

<sup>5</sup> For the circumstances of its acquisition by the British Museum, together with other objects from the Memphite necropolis, see E. A. W. Budge, *By Nile and Tigris* (London, 1920), II, 336–8. The panelled wall and its text are published in British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, Etc.*, I<sup>2</sup> (London, 1961), 17, pl. xvii (subsequently, British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts*). For recent discussions, see A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (LAP0 11; Paris, 1982), 105–7; M. Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (BdE 126; Cairo, 1999), 452–4; and N. Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung* (SAK Beiheft 8; Hamburg, 2002), 15–16, 243–4, 258–60, 284.

<sup>6</sup> Jeffrey Spencer has kindly verified the dimensions of the British Museum mastaba as follows: the antae are 15 cm wide, and the three niched elements between the three antae on the left side of the central doorway are 14.8, 15, and 14.8 cm in width, respectively. He has also remarked that, on the larger mastaba façade, there is a noticeable variation in width from top to bottom, roughly 0.2 cm.

<sup>7</sup> Mariette (*Mastabas*, 114) describes the original colouring as 'rouge sombre (pour imiter le granit). Les hiéroglyphes, en creux assez profond, contre les habitudes de l'époque, sont rehaussées uniformément de vert'. The pigmentation is clear in the colour illustration published by T. G. H. James and W. V. Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture* (London, 1983), 22, fig. 19, where the image has inadvertently been printed backwards.

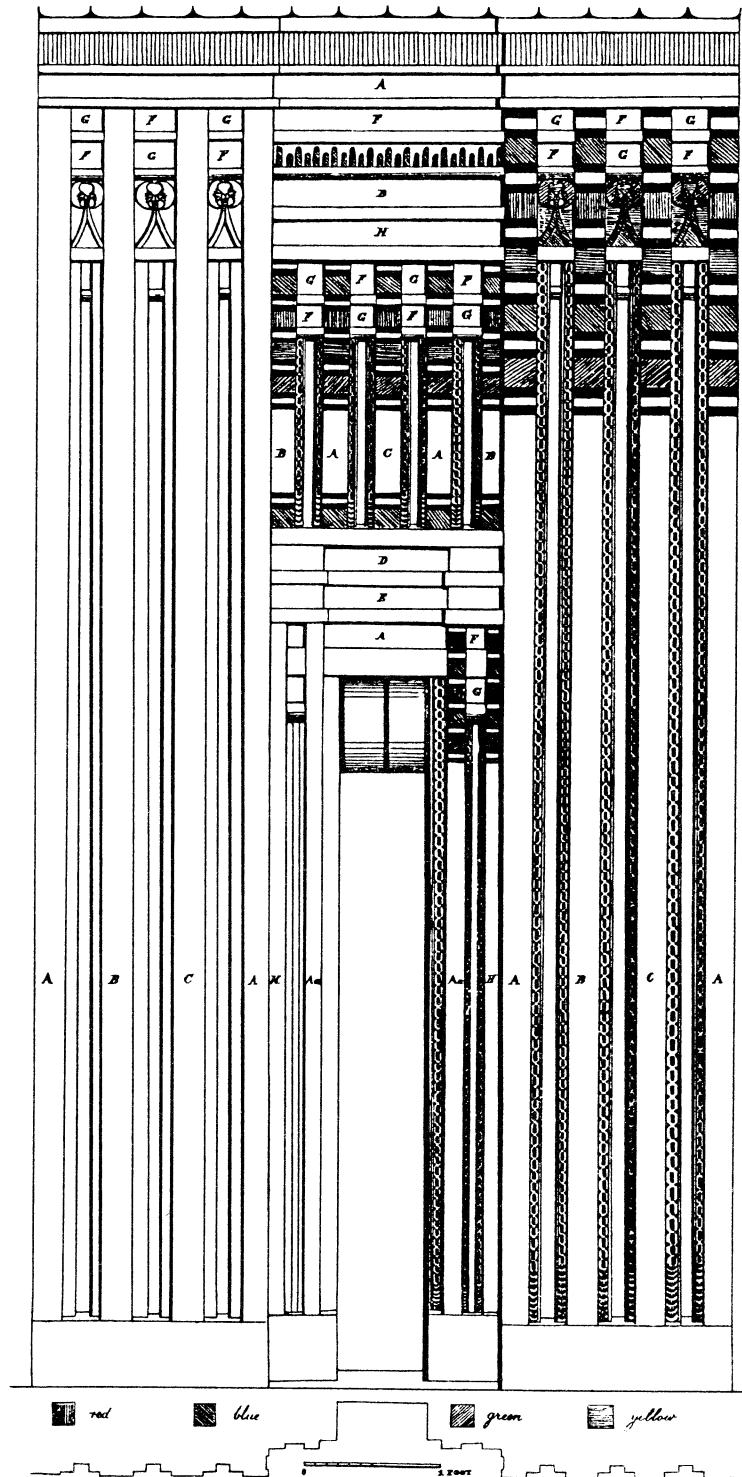


FIG. 2. Niched palace façade of Ptahhotep. From Norman de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqarah, Part I* (ASE 8; London, 1900), pl. xix.

these are less diagnostic: the sun disks have a raised centre (mostly broken away on the OIM block) and the number of points on the *n*-sign varies from eight to nine, with the tip ends hardly dropping below the ripple itself.

It seems necessary to emphasize that the monument as a whole is not a false door, as it has been occasionally described in the literature,<sup>8</sup> but bears the motif of a niched palace façade.<sup>9</sup> Palace façades of this sort, consisting of a false door set into the centre of a wall decorated with a series of narrow niches, each of which is adorned by two papyrus plants lashed back-to-back, are not routine to the decoration of Old Kingdom mastabas, but neither are they especially rare.<sup>10</sup> The antae of niched façades are usually left uninscribed,<sup>11</sup> although the central false door and its drum can bear the name and titles of the tomb owner; instead, the various elements are occasionally incised or painted in imitation of elaborate matted decoration, as in the mastaba of Ptahhotep (fig. 2). Set within a deeper recess, the central doorway is not paired with a slab stela, such as is found over the drum of a false-door stela, but rather, the rectangular section directly above is decorated with a repetition of the niching found on either side of the doorway, often executed at a smaller scale, and usually topped with its own cornice within the recess. Although all the blocks from BM EA 682 have been lost above the central false door, one must presume a similar decorative treatment here as well.

The correct placement of the Oriental Institute block is suggested by a number of features. The traces of a second bundled pair of papyrus plants just to the right of the Userkaf cartouche (fig. 1, pl. XI, 1) indicate continuing niching in that direction, so that the columns containing the names of Userkaf and Sahure can only be situated over lines 3 and 4 of the façade, or much further to the left, over lines 6 through 8. Since Userkaf and Sahure are the next two proximate kings after Shepsekaf, OIM 11048 is more logically to be placed at the top of columns 3 and 4, rather than any of the columns on the far left of the façade (fig. 3).<sup>12</sup> In this location the block supplies an initial *r* to the morphology of the *sdm=f* of *rdi* in line 3;<sup>13</sup> more importantly, below the cartouche of Sahure and just above the block join may be seen the traces of the head of a *špss*-sign, the lower portion of which is preserved in line 4 of the Ptahshepses façade, confirming its position.<sup>14</sup>

The architectural context of the niched wall allows other general conclusions to be drawn. The masonry of BM EA 682 as preserved today consists of six courses of stone, each of

<sup>8</sup> Most recently, for example, M. Baud, *Famille royale*, 452: 'le text figure sur les montants de la fausse-porte'.

<sup>9</sup> Also referred to by the German term 'Prunkscheintür'. For a direct comparison of the false-door stela and palace-façade motifs as found in mastabas at Giza, see S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, V (Cairo, 1944), 76–83. On the palace-façade motif, see also S. Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür* (HÄS 1; Hamburg, 1981), 45–51; W. Kaiser, 'Palastfassade', *LÄ* IV, 646–7; and G. Haeny, 'Scheintür', *LÄ* V, 567–70.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, M. Murray, *Saqqarah Mastabas*, I (ERA 10; London, 1905), pl. xxxiii (mastaba of Kaemheset); L. Borchartd, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* (CG; Berlin, 1937), CG 1377–80, 35–41, pls. 8–9; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV (Cairo, 1943), 19 and 129; idem, *Excavations at Giza* V, 79–80, where Hassan notes fourteen examples of palace façades; A. M. Roth, *Giza Mastabas*, VI. *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants* (Boston, 1995), pls. 53C and 90. The palace-façade motif appears rendered faithfully on smaller scale stelae as well, for which see British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* I, BM EA 157A and 157B, BM EA 1223, and BM EA 1266, pls. vi–viii and xii.

<sup>11</sup> Exceptions include CG 1377, 1378, and 1381–3, for which see Borchartd, *Denkmäler*, 35–6 and 41–2, with pl. 8.

<sup>12</sup> In any case, the presence of a curved papyrus stem to the right of the Userkaf cartouche makes placement over lines 5 and 6 impossible.

<sup>13</sup> Already proposed by Sethe in *Urk.* I, 52.2; for the text, see further below.

<sup>14</sup> In this location, the left side of OIM 11048 would have abutted the deeply inset central niche leading to the false door in the centre of the palace façade. The left thickness of the block would therefore have been a finished surface, and the only loss to the preserved decoration would be the border line of the left anta.

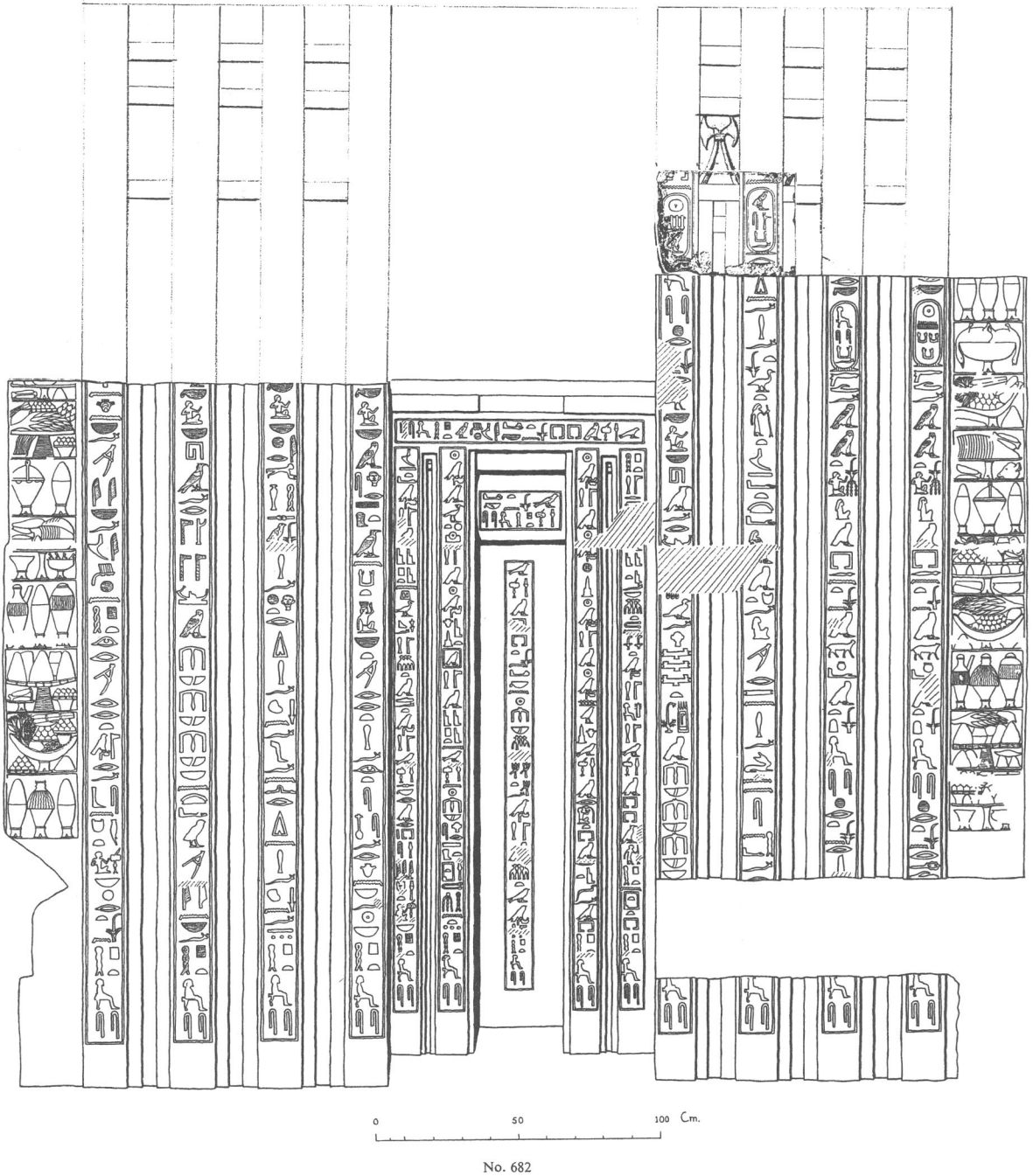


FIG. 3. OIM 11048 joined to BM EA 682, with a suggested restoration of the height of the façade.

which is a different height, and which altogether stand 284.5 cm at the highest elevation.<sup>15</sup> OIM 11048, with its preserved papyrus elements carved above horizontal lintels, appears to be the only extant block from course 7, and its additional height of 37 cm provides an overall preserved height of 321.5 cm for the wall. As already noted, the bound papyrus motif is located above the miniature drums and lintels of the narrow vertical niches, and routinely on such palace façades two rectangular recesses are added above the papyrus plants, each separated from its neighbour by additional small horizontal lintels. Each of these recesses may be of similar height to the compartment bearing the papyrus plants, or they may be proportionally smaller in size, such as in the mastaba of Ptahhotep (fig. 2). In any case, the minimum height of the inscribed antae of Ptahshepses, incorporating the decorative recesses above the papyrus plants, is probably no less than 3.75 m. Since in most niched façades the entire wall, at least in the more finely finished versions, is usually crowned by some sort of decorative motif extending across the whole, these rough estimates would permit a cornice to occupy the uppermost 15 or 20 cm of space (fig. 3). The proportions of other examples of palace façades also generally confirm this estimated height. The drum of the central doorway in such façades usually appears approximately halfway up the total height of the decorated wall, unlike the drum on a false door, which is set relatively much closer to the top.<sup>16</sup> Since the drum of BM EA 682 is located approximately 200 cm above ground level, the ceiling of the chamber of the Ptahshepses chapel may well have been close to 4 m high. If such rough estimates are valid, it is not too much to suggest that above the seventh course of stone in the Ptahshepses façade (that is, above OIM 11048) there could have been two additional courses measuring 70 to 80 cm.

### The text of Ptahshepses and the biographical genre

Even with the addition of the OIM block, the Ptahshepses façade is still lacking its upper portions, so that the beginning of each line remains uncertain. Nonetheless, a translation of the monument provides a few more insights into this official's life and into the grammatical structure of the text.

#### *Translation:*

<sup>1</sup>[A child who was born . . . during the t]ime of Menkaure, who was educated among the royal children in the palace of the king and in the privacy of the royal harem, one more esteemed than any other child (*h[r]d*), Ptahshepses.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>2</sup>[A youth who tied on the girdle . . . during] the time of Shepseskaf, who was educated among the royal children in the palace of the king and in the privacy of the royal harem, one more esteemed than any other youth (*idw*), Ptahshepses.

<sup>3</sup>[ . . . ] of Userkaf.<sup>b</sup> His majesty gave to him the eldest royal daughter, Khamaat, as his

<sup>15</sup> The courses of BM EA 682 measure, from bottom to top, as follows: course 1 is 38 cm; 2 is 34 cm; 3 is 33.5 cm; 4 is 48 cm; 5 is 35 cm; 6 is 56 cm; and 7 is 40 cm. Each course is of uniform height, having been carefully levelled from one side to the other.

<sup>16</sup> See the examples listed in n. 10, above. The estimate of the amount of space lost at the beginning of the columns of Ptahshepses, as indicated both by Sethe in *Urk. I* and by J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I (Chicago, 1906), 118, is clearly too conservative. Breasted's notion that there was 'not enough room' for a royal cartouche in column 3 (*ibid.* 116) may have been guided by his apprehension that the monument was rather a false door, wherein the drum is indeed proportionally much closer to the top of the façade.

wife, since his majesty desired that she be with him more than any other man, Ptahshepses.

<sup>4</sup>[ . . . greatest of the master craftsmen of the two do]mains<sup>c</sup> of Sahure, one more esteemed before the king than any other servant, who embarked in every barge of the palace and who entered upon the ways of the southern temple in all the festivals of appearance,<sup>d</sup> Ptahshepses.

<sup>5</sup>[ . . . one more esteemed before the king than] any other [ser]vant, as the master of secrets of any project that his majesty would desire to accomplish, who gladdened the heart of his majesty every day, Ptahshepses.

<sup>6</sup>[ . . . one more esteemed before the king than] any other [ser]vant. When(ever) his majesty praised him on account of a thing, his majesty had him kiss his foot, his majesty not allowing him to kiss the ground, Ptahshepses.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>7</sup>[ . . . one more esteemed before the king than] any other [ser]vant, who embarked on the barge (named) ‘Supporter of the Gods’ in all the festivals of appearance, beloved of his lord, Ptahshepses.

<sup>8</sup>[ . . . who is] in<sup>f</sup> the heart of his lord, beloved of his lord, a venerated one of Ptah, one who accomplishes what his god desires and who gladdens every craftsman before the king, Ptahshepses.

#### *Notes to the translation:*

(a) The translation given here closely follows Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (Geneva, 1986), 98, ex. 170. The consistent use of the third person suffix throughout the Ptahshepses inscription, in particular in certain narrative constructions in the later columns (for which see below), makes it unlikely that columns 1 and 2 began with the first-person introduction *ink idw tz mdh*, ‘I was a youth who tied on the fillet. . .’ more common to later biographies; see *ibid.* 15, n. 33. This translation assumes that each column began with an indefinite noun, to which a circumstantial form was appended as a virtual relative clause, here the *sdm(w)=f* passive of the verb *šd*. Alternatively, the form *šd=f* could as easily be taken as a narrative indicative form, ‘He was educated . . .’, unrelated to the preceding text, as rendered by J. Assmann, ‘Schrift, Tod, und Identität. Das Grab als Vorschule der Literatur im alten Ägypten’, in A. Assmann, J. Assmann, and C. Hardmeier (eds), *Schrift und Gedächtnis* (Munich, 1983), 72. Contextually or morphologically, neither option can be ruled out, since other columns contain clearly narrative constructions, a feature that rules out a slavish use of relative clauses (virtual or otherwise) in which to couch the highlights of the life of Ptahshepses; see below.

(b) The sign fragment preserved at the upper break is perhaps the foot of a bird such as the quail chick, but certainly not a bird with a tail that touches the ground line.

(c) The restoration of this title at the head of column 4 is suggested not only by the vertical arrangement of the signs of *wr hrp hmw.t* on the jamb of the central door of BM EA 682, but on the virtually identical phrasing of this passage in the nearby mastaba of Sabu (*Urk.* I, 81.5–10 and 83.7–12), in which the same title is associated with festivals of royal accession. Sabu’s mastaba is close to that of Ptahshepses and is of later date (early Sixth Dynasty). It is likely that Sabu was inspired by the inscription of his earlier and similarly titled neighbour; see further below. For a discussion of the early use of the title *wr hrp hmw.t* and its variants (followed by *m pr.wy* or *n hrw hb*), see D. Wildung, ‘Hoherpriester von Memphis’, *LÄ* II, 1256–8.

(d) The identical phrase appears on the false door of Sabu (*Urk.* I, 81.6–9 and 83.8–11).

(e) For similar examples, see Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 24, exs. 1–3, where it is noted that the indicative *sdm=f* may appear ‘after an extraposed circumstantial clause introduced by *jhr*’. The sentence from Ptahshepses seems to deviate from Doret’s observation that ‘this construction (*jhr sdm=f*) does not work as an aorist’ (*ibid.* 22, n. 76). Note that *nn* (for *n*) *sdm.n=f* is written here for the more usual Old Egyptian negation *n(jj) sdm.n=f*, for which see *ibid.* 92; and E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, I, (AO 34; Rome, 1955), §§ 542–6.

(f) As Baud notes (*Famille royale*, 453, n. 57), Sethe’s restoration at the beginning of line 8 is incorrect, since the remains of an upright sign is preserved at the block line. For the restoration of the phrase *imy-n ib n nb=f*, ‘who is in the heart of his lord’, as well as the similar phrasing of what follows, see, once again, the inscription of Sabu (*Urk.* I, 82.17–83.3).

Taking into account the suggested reconstructed height of the façade, it is clear that the textual restorations suggested by Sethe in *Urkunden* I are inadequate for the projected height of the antae; unfortunately, the resulting lacunae are simply too large to improve convincingly on his readings. Sethe's proposed restorations were based on the close textual parallel found in the tomb of Sabu, noted above, and following that example, he employed the title  $n(y) Wsr-k3=f$  or  $n(y) S3hw-R^c$ , 'the attendant of Userkaf (or Sahure)' as an opening phrase for several of the columns.<sup>17</sup> The OIM block shows instead that the cartouches seem to have been preceded by specific titles occupying more vertical space, and in column 4 by a title ending with a house determinative. In any case, there is more room in each column than can be accounted for by simply 'the attendant ( $ny$ ) of King N'. The titles were doubtless more complex, perhaps reflecting particular functions bestowed on Ptahshepses by different rulers, and these would have varied from reign to reign.

Grammatically, the 'biography' of Ptahshepses consists of an amalgam of nominal forms in apposition (participles, relative clauses), adverbials, and independent narrative passages. Although evidently couched in the third person, it cannot be characterized as consistently narrative, but is rather a series of epithets or titles into which narrative asides have been inserted. Other internal features speak to the artificial structure of the inscription. The reiterated phrase in the first two columns, 'more esteemed than any other child/youth', recurs in slightly altered form in the remaining ones, where it usually appears as 'more than any other servant'. In this case, the deliberate recurrence of the adjective  $šps$ , preserved in each column except for column 3, is an obvious play on the name of the tomb owner. It was long ago acknowledged that the overtly contrived phrasing of the inscription signified that each column was devoted to an event (or two) from the reign of a single king, beginning in Ptahshepses's youth and continuing into his old age,<sup>18</sup> a type of compartmentalized record of events, or summary of regnal periods, that characterizes the annalistic mindset of the Old Kingdom.<sup>19</sup>

As an exemplar of the biographical genre of the Old Kingdom, the inscription of Ptahshepses has been addressed in various ways. Breasted treated it as a relatively straightforward text in which the tomb owner is simply 'narrating his life by reigns',<sup>20</sup> an assessment taken at face value for decades thereafter, until interest in the origins of the biographical genre itself became more acute. More recently, Ptahshepses has been placed within the context of the gradual development of the tomb biography, a process whose origin has been traced to the early Old Kingdom, but which does not become fully fledged until the Sixth Dynasty, well after the lifetime of Ptahshepses. Erika Schott, in her analysis of biographical texts in the Old Kingdom, held that three types of tomb inscriptions gave rise to the biographical genre in ancient Egypt: names and title strings of the deceased, which appear in the Early Dynastic Period; dedication inscriptions, often left by the son or heir, of which the earliest examples date to the early Fourth Dynasty; and phrases that refer to the moral qualities of the deceased, which also may be found as early as the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>21</sup> Her

<sup>17</sup> See *Urk.* I, 52.4.11.16, 53.4; for Sabu, compare *ibid.* 81.5.

<sup>18</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records* I, 116.

<sup>19</sup> Or, indeed, an onomastic mindset toward the production of literary works; on this, see J. Baines, 'An Abydos List of Gods and an Old Kingdom Use of Texts', in J. Baines et al. (eds), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (EES Occasional Publications 7; London, 1988), 124–33.

<sup>20</sup> *Ancient Records* I, 116.

<sup>21</sup> 'Die Biographie des Ka-em-tenenet', in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer (eds), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 454.

assessment of the Ptahshepses inscription is succinct and accurate: ‘in der Mitte der 5. Dynastie baut der Hohepriester von Memphis, Ptah-schepses aus Königsnamen und Titelreihen ein biographisches Gedicht mit dem Refrain “angesehener beim König als jeder andere Diener (var. Knabe, Jüngling) Ptah-schepses.” Auch hier sind kurze Sätze eingebaut, die Biographisches mitteilen . . .’<sup>22</sup> Pascal Vernus also noted the essentially non-narrative nature of the text: ‘(l’)autobiographie) de *Pth-šps* (*Urk.* I, 51) est moins une autobiographie présentée en tant que telle, qu’une suite de qualificatifs et d’épithètes, élargie par des circonstancielles utilisant un mode fini’.<sup>23</sup> Thus, while the inscription of Ptahshepses is usually characterized as a biography, in certain respects this is a misnomer. Expanding on Schott’s views, Assmann has further characterized the Ptahshepses inscription as representative of Old Kingdom tomb texts that are essentially intended to describe the tomb owner as a recipient of direct royal patronage as reflected by successive promotions, rather than to illustrate the ethical rectitude of the individual.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, there is little in the text to illuminate the individual character or accomplishments of Ptahshepses, either in an ideal vein or otherwise. The single truly personal detail is his marriage to Khamaat, who certainly merits special mention, but apparently only insofar as the union tends to illuminate the approbation of the king, who, in Assmann’s words, ‘personifiziert die Kategorie der sozialen Anerkennung, die einen zur Person, und damit zum “Grabherrn,” und damit “unsterblich” macht’.<sup>25</sup> Nicole Kloth places the Ptahshepses inscription at a turning point of the biographical genre, as a text that provides the details of a long lifetime, embedded in title strings, yet still phrased in the ‘archaic’ voice of the third person.<sup>26</sup>

John Baines has also explored the origins of the biographical genre in Egypt, noting that while the purpose of the mortuary monument, the presentation of self to posterity, gradually developed during the course of the Old Kingdom into more elaborate uses of writing and representation within an architectural setting, tomb inscriptions that provide any sort of biographical detail are in fact relatively rare.<sup>27</sup> There is considerable experimentation in the phrasing of the earliest texts as well: Washptah’s mastaba is inscribed with a posthumous narration describing the circumstances of his death in the third person; Debehni relates, in the first person, a favour granted by Menkaure in narrative form; and Niankhsekhmet provides a variety of texts, including ‘speeches of the protagonist and the king, generalizing description, and a eulogy of the king, concluding with an assertion by Niankhsekhmet of his own worth’.<sup>28</sup> Such variety bespeaks a willingness to experiment with the phrasing and voicing of memorial inscriptions, as well as a lack of convention governing texts that could be considered, even as early as the Fifth Dynasty, less formulaic in the context of a tomb chapel than simple strings of titles or offering prayers.

Baines has also pointed out that biographies ‘are unlikely to have been completely con-

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 455.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Littérature et autobiographie: les inscriptions de *S3-mwt* surnommé *Kyky*’, *RdE* 30 (1978), 117, n. 7.

<sup>24</sup> In Assmann et al., *Schrift und Gedächtnis*, 72–4. See also the similar, if briefer, remarks by D. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals, and Day-Books* (Mississauga, Ontario, 1986), 59.

<sup>25</sup> In Assmann et al. (eds), *Schrift und Gedächtnis*, 73.

<sup>26</sup> *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 243–4, 284.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Forerunners of Narrative Biographies’, in A. Leahy and J. Tait (eds), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith* (EES Occasional Publications 13; London, 1999), 23–41; idem, ‘Prehistories of Literature: Performance, Fiction, Myth’, in G. Moers (ed.), *Definitely: Egyptian Literature* (Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 2; Göttingen, 1999), 17–41.

<sup>28</sup> Baines, in Leahy and Tait (eds), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 34.



strained by written and pictorial conventions and hierarchies. They were probably expressed in oral forms and conventions that might focus around crucial transitions, such as death'.<sup>29</sup> Using the royal panegyric in the tomb of Niankhsekhmet as an example, Baines suggests that the purpose for the inclusion of such a composition is a posthumous 'participatory activity that should involve everyone—or all who read the false door's texts, should they be read'.<sup>30</sup> One might take these astute remarks one step further by noting that the phrasing of the Ptahshepes inscription is necessarily governed by a restrictive architectural framework—eight separate columns of identical length—that does not obtain quite as severely in other contemporary biographies. The text does indeed contain information about the life of Ptahshepes at various stages, with events transpiring in the reigns of successive kings, in much the same way as the more expansive biographies of Weni and Harkhuf do,<sup>31</sup> but unlike those texts, it is not a continuous narration of events, nor composed as such. The series of eight separate statements are relegated to columns that are deliberately constructed so as to terminate with the name of the deceased, which appears as a recurring visual motif at the bottom of the niched wall. That is, the intent is patently decorative as well as informative, and in this case the grammatical features exhibited in the inscription are to a large degree constrained by its 'poetic' structure and its limited physical context. At the same time, lest undue weight be given to the decorative or more formal aspects of the chapel wall, it should be noted that the text of all eight columns is not oriented symmetrically toward the central false door, but that the hieroglyphs uniformly face toward the right, an indication to passers-by that it should be read from beginning to end, as a single text across the rear wall of the chapel. The strings of titles contained on the false door itself, in the center of the façade, likewise face toward the right, confirming the right-facing orientation of the wall as a whole. Contemporaries might further recognize the chronological sequence of the royal names on the inscribed antae.

Under these limitations, it is difficult to see how the text of Ptahshepes could have constituted a longer and more coherent composition intended for oral performance, which was then tersely rephrased for presentation in his chapel, as Baines has suggested for the eulogy of Niankhsekhmet.<sup>32</sup> For if the intent was to present the details of his life, or even provide fulsome praise of the kings whom he served, it is curious that so much of the restricted space of the antae has been given over to the same repetitious phrase that Schott identified as 'poetic', to the detriment of factitious or laudatory content. One might conclude that this is precisely the point: together with the consistent orientation of the inscription, the thematic assertion, 'more honoured by the king than any other servant', may be seen as a rhetorical refrain, an invitation to posterity not only to read the text as a whole but to chant it aloud; that is, the purpose for the rather contrived textual phrasing and its selective content may well have been performative. The literate visitor, co-opted by the architectural and compositional scheme with its resounding poetic reprise, would have found as much satisfaction in reciting the life of Ptahshepes out loud, in successive declamations, as his audience would in hearing it.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 36.

<sup>30</sup> In Moers (ed.), *Definitely: Egyptian Literature*, 22.

<sup>31</sup> *Urk.* I, 98–110, and 120–31.

<sup>32</sup> In Moers (ed.), *Definitely: Egyptian Literature*, 22.

<sup>33</sup> Eliciting the participation of posterity was surely one of the purposes of all mortuary inscriptions, in particular the offering formula, which was eventually to be accompanied by both promises for passers-by who recited the funerary prayer on behalf of the deceased, and curses against those who did not. Baines (in Leahy and Tait (eds), *Studies on Ancient*

The tomb inscriptions of Ptahshepses and Sabu have more in common than similar phraseology. Hermann Kees noted that six of their priestly titles comprise a group that is not only unique to these two individuals but additionally refer to deities who are named toward the beginning of a list of gods inscribed by Sety I in his cenotaph at Abydos some eleven centuries later.<sup>34</sup> The gods in question appear to be related to the area of Memphis or are manifestations of Ptah himself: *hnty tnn.t*, 'Foremost of the *tnn.t*', *dd šps*, 'the noble *dd*-pillar', *imy-hnt wr*, 'the Great Precursor', *hry b3k=f*, 'He who is under his moringa tree', *imy-hnt dfn*, 'Foremost of the *dfn*', and *hnty i3.wt=f*, 'Pre-eminent of his standards'.<sup>35</sup> As Kees noted, 'daraus ist erhellt ohne weiteres, dass die an Anfang unsere Liste gestellten Götternamen Lokalgötter bezeichnen, die schon in der V. Dynastie so eng mit Ptah verbunden sind, dass dessen Hohenpriester ihr Priestertum im Nebenamt miturwaltet'.<sup>36</sup> John Baines has further observed that Ptahshepses and Sabu may have both drawn upon onomastic sources, already archaic in date and similar to those used for the Abydos list, in claiming religious offices that, if they did not exercise them directly, would have logically fallen under the purview of the High Priests of Memphis. If these offices no longer secured financial benefits from specific endowments, the purpose of Ptahshepses and Sabu in including them was rather to 'display recondite information to which they had access'.<sup>37</sup> He also notes that the six divine names of the Abydos list appear on the two private mastabas 'in three unevenly distributed pairs, of which two are in the same order as the corresponding names in the list'.<sup>38</sup>

The appearance of these titles in pairs is significant contextually in comparing the memorial inscriptions of these two priests, for the three pairs of titles are grouped in roughly similar disposition upon the false door elements of each official. That is, the title pair 'priest of *hnty tnn.t*, priest of *dd šps*' is carved on the right jamb of the false door in the center of the façade of Ptahshepses, as well as on the right jamb of the false door stela of Sabu; the pair 'priest of *hry b3k=f*, priest of *imy-hnt dfn*' appears on the left jamb of both false doors; and the pair 'priest of *hnty i3.wt=f*, priest of *imy-hnt wr*' is carved in the central panel of the false door of Ptahshepses, but on the left jamb of Sabu. The texts bearing the biographical content appear on the outer elements: on the antae of the façade in the case of Ptahshepses, and on the broad outermost jambs of the false-door of Sabu.<sup>39</sup> Such compatibility in text disposition, added to the striking use of identical phrases in the biographical sections and a set of obscure priestly titles, suggests that Sabu's monument was designed not just with the benefit of accessibility to esoteric lists of a religious nature, but that Sabu used the earlier façade of his precursor in office, Ptahshepses, as a model for his own false-door stela, for both content and context.

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*Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 24) has noted that 'much of this discussion of origins of biographies and written literature is inevitably coloured teleologically by later forms'. That Ptahshepses chose, for his mortuary chapel, a rhetorical path seldom frequented in later periods, and not precisely imitated even by his contemporaries, is evidence of the formative stage of these early times.

<sup>34</sup> 'Eine Liste memphitischer Götter im Tempel von Abydos', *RT* 37 (1915), 58.

<sup>35</sup> For discussion of these terms and their associations with Ptah and with the districts of Memphis, see *ibid.* 58–62.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 60.

<sup>37</sup> Baines, in Baines et al. (eds), *Pyramid Studies*, 129; see also Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 258.

<sup>38</sup> In Baines et al. (eds), *Pyramid Studies*, 128.

<sup>39</sup> The careful disposition of the religious titles, arrayed quite separately from the biographical texts of Ptahshepses and Sabu on each of their monuments, does not support Kloth's suggestion (*Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften*, 260) that both kinds of text must have had their origin in a temple library.

### History and chronology

Because of the names of the kings and royal monuments that occur in this inscription, the biography of Ptahshepses was recognized very early as one of the contemporary underpinnings of Old Kingdom chronology, serving as an important bridge between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.<sup>40</sup> The earliest cartouche (in column 1 on BM EA 682) is that of Menkaure, and since Ptahshepses held the title of priest in the solar temple of Niuserre,<sup>41</sup> he survived at least until that institution was founded, even if the building was still under construction. Breasted noted that the range of names from this monument demonstrates that ‘the period from the last years of Menkure to the first of Nuserre was not longer than a man’s lifetime’.<sup>42</sup>

The identity of the princess’s father in column 3 has been a matter of some conjecture until now. De Rougé was the first to suggest that columns 2 and 3 referred to events in the reign of the same king—that is, Shepseskaf—and that Khamaat was therefore a princess of the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>43</sup> Sethe (*Urk.* I, 51–3), perhaps guided by the lack of the key word *špss* [*hr nsw.t r bꜣk nb*] in column 3, followed de Rougé in his suggestion that the reign of Shepseskaf covered two consecutive columns. He proposed a textual restoration for column 3 that is strictly narrative in character: [*ihr hs sw hm=f r*] *dī n=f hm=f sꜣ.t-nsw.t smsw.t*, ‘[Then his majesty praised him] and his majesty [g]ave to him his eldest royal daughter. . .’ However, the comparative phrase introduced by the preposition *r*, the one notable feature of the inscription as a whole, does indeed exist in column 3, even though the word *špss* does not: ‘since his majesty desired that she be with him more than any other man’. Breasted believed there was simply no room for the cartouche of another king in column 3.<sup>44</sup> There is, in fact, no reason on grammatical or stylistic grounds to single out this line of text as different in character or content from the others. Nonetheless, the filiation of Khamaat as the daughter of Shepseskaf has been rather consistently followed since the time of de Rougé.<sup>45</sup> The placement of OIM block 11048 suggested here, however, confirms Khamaat as the daughter of Userkaf, first king of the Fifth Dynasty.<sup>46</sup> This alliance by marriage may also explain the presence of the mastaba of Ptahshepses at Saqqara, near the pyramid of his father-in-law, rather than at Abusir, where the kings whom he served in later life built their pyramids.<sup>47</sup> In the four columns of text that remain on the left side of the niched façade, one

<sup>40</sup> Noted by de Rougé, *Recherches*, 66.

<sup>41</sup> The name of the temple (*S.t-ib-R*) is preserved, but not the cartouche of the king himself.

<sup>42</sup> *Ancient Records* I, 116.

<sup>43</sup> *Recherches*, 67.

<sup>44</sup> *Ancient Records* I, 116.

<sup>45</sup> See, *inter alia*, *ibid.* 118; W. S. Smith, ‘The Old Kingdom in Egypt and the Beginning of the First Intermediate Period’, *The Cambridge Ancient History* 1<sup>3</sup>, part 2 (Cambridge, 1971), 184; Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1257; J. von Beckerath, ‘Schepseskaf’, *LÄ* V, 584; L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Boreas 14; Uppsala, 1986), 154, #4.20; and J. Vercoutter, *L’Égypte et la vallée du Nil*, I (Paris, 1992), 295. N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1992), 75, suggests that the alliance of Khamaat with a high priest of Memphis was a deliberate choice on the part of Shepseskare, reflecting a deliberate movement away from Heliopolitan influences; but see Baud, *Famille royale*, 453, n. 60.

<sup>46</sup> This filiation has been suggested before: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 464, notes that Khamaat is ‘probably’ the daughter of Userkaf; see also the geneological tree in Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London and New York, 1987), 245, citing PM. Baud, *Famille royale*, 453 n. 57, also opts to view Khamaat as the daughter of Userkaf, as does Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 16.

<sup>47</sup> The private cemetery at Abusir, however, is not large in any case and tends to cluster around the pyramids of Niuserre and Userkaf; see A. Roth, ‘The Origin of Royal Cemeteries at Saqqara’, *JARCE* 25 (1988), 207–8. The presence

can reasonably assign a royal name to each, filling out the remaining sequence of kings under whom Ptahshepses lived: Neferirkare, Shepseskare, Neferefre, and Niuserre.<sup>48</sup> The allocation of kings in this manner reveals that it was Shepseskare, rather than Neferirkare, who granted Ptahshepses the boon of allowing him to kiss the royal foot instead of the ground.

The kings' names as now restored on the Ptahshepses façade offer an opportunity to revisit the question of royal succession and the transition from the Fourth Dynasty to the Fifth. The fragmentary verso of the Old Kingdom annals is of little help in resolving this issue by itself,<sup>49</sup> the later king lists do not agree with each other, and the Manethonic tradition introduces its own complications. The three Ramesside lists display the following differences:

<i>Abydos (Sety I)</i> (8 kings)	<i>Saqqara (Ramesses II)</i> (10 kings)	<i>Turin Papyrus (Nineteenth Dynasty)</i> <sup>50</sup> (10 kings)	Reign length
Menkaure	Menkaure	[Menkaure]	28/18 ?
Shepseskaf	Shepseskaf	[Shepseskaf]	4
	[. . .]	[. . .]	2
	[. . .]		
Userkaf	Userkaf	[User]ka[re] <sup>sic</sup>	7
Sahure	Sahure	[Sahure]	12
Neferirkare	Neferirkare	[Neferirkare]	. . .
	Shepseskare	[Shepseskare]	7
Neferefre	Neferefre	[Neferefre]	[1]1 ?
Niuserre		[Niuserre]	30(20 ?) + 1(5 ?)
Menkauhor	Menkauhor	Menkauhor	8

The Abydos king list, like the newly augmented Ptahshepses text, gives a direct succession from Shepseskaf to Userkaf at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, while the reconstructed scheme of the Saqqara list leaves space for two intervening kings, whose names are lost.

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of the Ptahshepses mastaba at Saqqara is thus not remarkable. Another possible association of Ptahshepses with a king of the Fifth Dynasty has been suggested in PM III<sup>2</sup>, 327, where an official named Ptahshepses appears in the Abusir reliefs of Sahure (L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Š'aḥu-Re*, II: *Die Wandbilder* (WVDOG 26; Leipzig, 1913, pl. 17). Unfortunately, the official portrayed at Abusir bears only the title *smr w'ty*, which, however prosaic, is one title that does not appear in the texts from the Ptahshepses mastaba at Saqqara. The vizier Ptahshepses, who married princess Khamerernebt and who was buried near Niuserre's pyramid at Abusir (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 340–4), is, of course, another personage altogether.

<sup>48</sup> Previous reconstructions of the kings in the Ptahshepses inscription, which identify Khamaat as the daughter of Shepseskaf, routinely omit Shepseskare from the series, beginning as early as Breasted's scheme in *Ancient Records* I, 117. More recently, Baud (*Famille royale*, 453, n. 57), in accepting Userkaf as Khamaat's father, also asserts that 'une colonne serait alors en trop, c'est à dire que deux d'entre elles devaient être occupées par un seul règne', assigning both columns 7 and 8 to Niuserre; he is followed in this by Kloth, *Die (auto-)biographischen Inschriften*, 16. The king targeted for deletion in such schemes is Shepseskare, the one royal name in this group with the fewest contemporary attestations, but there is no *prima facie* case for doing so.

<sup>49</sup> See, conveniently, J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten* (MÄS 46; Mainz, 1997), 205.

<sup>50</sup> For the Turin Papyrus, the royal names within brackets are those that are generally accepted as providing the best match with the preserved sequence of regnal dates, based on contemporary evidence and on the lengths of reigns mentioned by Manetho; for a recent thorough evaluation, see *ibid.* 153–9.

The Turin Papyrus allows for only a single king after Shepseskaf in this position, who is assigned a reign of two years.<sup>51</sup> The Turin Papyrus provides sufficient lines for the first six kings of the Fifth Dynasty, although their names are not preserved, while the Abydos list omits Shepseskare and the Saqqara list leaves out Niuserre.<sup>52</sup> The historical existence of Shepseskare and Niuserre can scarcely be in doubt, but it is noteworthy that the biographical account of Ptahshepses makes no mention of any ephemeral rulers toward the end of the Fourth Dynasty, several of whom do appear in the later Manethonic tradition. Manetho names Ratoises and Bicheris as the direct successors of Menkaure, but Redford has plausibly argued that these two names are those of two sons of Khufu, Hordjedef and Baefre, who were associated with their father in popular legend, and as early as the Twelfth Dynasty erroneously acquired canonicity as kings of the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>53</sup> Manetho further mentions Thamphthis as the successor to Shepseskaf and last king of the Fourth Dynasty, but no contemporary attestation of this personage is known.<sup>54</sup> The succession from Menkaure to Shepseskaf and then directly to Userkaf is therefore of particular interest in a contemporary inscription that is clearly composed as a record of the primary life events of an official under each of the kings whom he served. In order to bring the list of Ptahshepses into conformity with the much later king list traditions, one may, of course, postulate that he deliberately avoided mentioning certain royal names as a result of discord between competing dynastic factions,<sup>55</sup> but the information provided by Ptahshepses regarding the royal succession is worth considering at face value. As it happens, the identical succession for the end of the Fourth Dynasty, in which Shepseskaf is followed immediately by Userkaf, is noted in two other private monuments of the Fifth Dynasty: the mastabas of Sekhemkare<sup>56</sup> and Netjerypunisut,<sup>57</sup> each of whom provides a simple listing of cartouches naming the rulers under whom they lived—Khufu through Sahure, and Djedefra through Sahure, respectively. As a group, these three monuments, especially that of Ptahshepses, with its more explicit biographical detail, now lend greater significance to the probability that Shepseskaf was succeeded immediately by the kings of the Fifth Dynasty.

Keeping in mind Breasted's observation that the reigns of these eight kings could have been encompassed by the lifetime of one individual, one might reconstruct the life of Ptahshepses approximately as follows.<sup>58</sup> Had he been born five years prior to the death of Menkaure, he would have reached age sixteen toward the end of the reign of Userkaf, whose daughter he married. He would have been 18 at Sahure's accession, 31 at Neferirkare's, 51 at Shepseskare's, 58 at Neferefre's, and 69 at Niuserre's.

<sup>51</sup> For convenience, see *ibid.* 208 and 215–16. One of these anonymous slots is regularly ascribed to the king whose name survives only in Manetho as Thamphthis, to whom von Beckerath accords a reign of two years.

<sup>52</sup> For the view that the Abydos and Saqqara lists were not necessarily compiled as historically complete records of kings' names, but were drawn up in redacted form for ritual purposes pertaining to royal cults within a geographic region, see Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 18–20 and 21–4.

<sup>53</sup> *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 237.

<sup>54</sup> Nor is Thamphthis named in any list of the pharaonic era. On the possible derivation of the Greek Thamphthis from the Egyptian theophoric construction Djedefptah, see conveniently W. Helck, 'Ptah-djedef', *LÄ* IV, 1180.

<sup>55</sup> For one recent example, see Grimal, *History*, 74–5.

<sup>56</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza* IV, 119.

<sup>57</sup> H. Gauthier, 'Le Roi Djedefra, successeur immédiat de Khoufou-Khéops', *ASAE* 25 (1925), 180.

<sup>58</sup> The chronological scheme set forth here is provided by von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 155 and 159, omitting the reign of Thamphthis. Other variants may be tried as well with roughly similar results. In this table, royal names in square brackets are those that have been lost on the Ptahshepses façade. Niuserre is placed in parentheses, since his cartouche is not extant, but the name of his solar temple is mentioned, implying his presence in this scheme.

<i>Column in BM EA 682</i>	<i>King (years on throne)</i>	<i>Age of Ptahshepses</i>
1	Menkaure (28)	1–5
2	Shepseskaf (5) <sup>59</sup>	5–10
3	Userkaf (8)	10–18
4	Sahure (13)	18–31
5	[Neferirkare (20)]	31–51
6	[Shepseskare (7)]	51–58
7	[Neferefre (11)]	58–69
8	(Niuserre) (31)	69–

It is tempting to suggest that Ptahshepses added the biographical text to his chapel wall as an afterthought. One could imagine that this long-lived official had prudently taken steps to provide himself with an impressive tomb long before the reign of Niuserre, including a fine niched palace façade in his chapel—and that it was only very late in life that the fortuitous pattern of ‘eight columns, eight kings’ occurred to him as a creative way to set forth his lifetime promotions. On the basis of the partially achieved decoration in the chapel, however, such does not seem to be the case. Mariette noted that the corridor leading into the chapel was never finished, but only drafted in paint, with a scene representing the statue of the deceased being transported, and that ‘la chambre est également restée à l’état d’ébauche’.<sup>60</sup> only the niched wall was completed. Whether or not Ptahshepses simply did not have the means to construct his tomb until the very end of a long life of royal service, the niched wall that contains his biographical text seems to have been carved and then inscribed promptly thereafter, and it remains the only finished interior ornament and chief jewel of his funeral chapel.

<sup>59</sup> Von Beckerath’s reconstruction of the verso of the Palermo Stone fragment (*Chronologie*, 205) provides an extra box for the brief reign of Manetho’s Thamphthis. To maintain the reconstructed regnal years for Shepseskaf as well as Userkaf on the verso, this box might be ascribed to the former, with Thamphthis deleted altogether, raising the regnal years of Shepseskaf to 6 (or 7).

<sup>60</sup> *Mastabas*, 114.



1. Oriental Institute Museum 11048 (courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).



2. Chapel wall and architrave of Ptahshepses, British Museum EA 682 (courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum).

**THE BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF PTAHSHEPSES FROM SAQQARA:  
A NEWLY IDENTIFIED FRAGMENT (pp. 95–110)**

# NEW LIGHT ON THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH: EVIDENCE FROM A SURVEY AT HAWARA\*

By INGE UYTTERHOEVEN *and* INGRID BLOM-BÖER

Hawara in the Fayum is known to be the site of the Egyptian Labyrinth. Only scanty remains are left of this temple which was part of the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III. Despite drastic interventions such as the construction of a canal and numerous scientific as well as illicit excavations, new evidence on the Labyrinth was found during a survey by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium) in March 2000. Two Middle Kingdom sculptures that probably can be identified as statues mentioned by Lepsius in 1843 have been located in the western sector of the Labyrinth. A group statue possibly representing Amenemhat III both as a Fayum god and as a king, and a mummiform statue of the deified pharaoh fit within the sculptural programme of the temple of Amenemhat.

## Exploration and excavation at Hawara

HAWARA near the entrance to the Fayum is well known as the burial place of the Twelfth Dynasty pharaoh Amenemhat III (1842–1797 BC). The eroded mudbrick core of his pyramid and the scanty remains of his mortuary temple south of this building form the only traces of a complex famed in the Graeco-Roman Period as one of the greatest human achievements in architecture, surpassing even the Great Pyramid at Giza. Several Greek and Latin authors<sup>1</sup> described the Egyptian ‘Labyrinth’,<sup>2</sup> as Herodotos (*Historiae* II, 148) first called Amenemhat’s temple. The king was worshipped soon after his death because of his projects for land reclamation in the Fayum and he was undoubtedly involved in establishing cults there.<sup>3</sup> The tomb of the deified Amenemhat III, known in Graeco-Roman times as Premarres (‘Pharaoh Maat-Ra’),<sup>4</sup> became the centre of a vast necropolis that reached its greatest extension in the Roman Imperial period. Although at least part of the Labyrinth was already

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<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus I, 61; 66, 3–6; Strabo XVII, 1, 37; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI, 84–9; Pomponius Mela I, 9, 56; Manetho, *Epitome of the Aegyptiaca* by Africanus (II, frag. 34) and Eusebius (II, frags. 35 and 36—Armenian version); Aelius Aristides XXXVI, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The most important contributions to the study of this Egyptian Labyrinth are: K. Michalowski, ‘The Labyrinth Enigma: Archaeological Suggestions’, *JEA* 54 (1968), 219–22; A. B. Lloyd, ‘The Egyptian Labyrinth’, *JEA* 56 (1970), 81–100; D. Arnold, ‘Das Labyrinth und seine Vorbilder’, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 1–9; L. Fóti, ‘Zur Frage des ägyptischen Labyrinths’, *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis. Sectio Historica* 15 (1974), 3–15; C. Obsomer, ‘Hérodote, Strabon et le mystère du labyrinthe d’Égypte’, in C. Obsomer and A.-L. Oosthoek (eds), *Amosiadès: Mélanges offerts au Professeur Claude Vandersleyen par ses anciens étudiants* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), 221–324; E. P. Uphill, *Pharaoh’s Gateway to Eternity. The Hawara Labyrinth of King Amenemhat III* (London and New York, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. Goedicke, ‘Vergöttlichung’, *LÄ* VI, 989–92, esp. 990; R. Gundlach, ‘Verehrung früherer Könige’, *LÄ* VI, 969–73, esp. 971, II.2.c).

<sup>4</sup> For the cult of Amenemhat III, cf. E. Bresciani, ‘Iconografia e culto di Premarres nel Fayum’, *EVO* 9 (1986), 49–58; S. Lupo de Ferriol, ‘Amenemhat III en el Fayum: algunos aspectos de su deificación’, *Revista de Estudios de Egiptología* 5 (1994), 71–86; H. M. Jackson, ‘A New Proposal for the Origin of the Hermetic God Poimandres’, *ZPE* 128 (1999), 99–106.



destroyed in Graeco-Roman times,<sup>5</sup> it became a famous tourist attraction. It was, for instance, on the programme of visits for the Roman senator Lucius Memmius, who visited the Fayum in 112 BC (P. Tebt. 1, 33), and was visited three centuries later by the emperor Septimius Severus (*Historia Augusta, Septimius Severus* 17, 4).

The exact location of the Egyptian Labyrinth was forgotten after the collapse of Roman rule, but its ancient fame stimulated the first European travellers and excavators in Egypt to attempt to retrace it. Although various places in the Fayum Lake area were initially hypothetically identified as the site of the Labyrinth, the identification with Hawara has been generally accepted since Sicard made this proposal at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup>

From the late eighteenth century onwards excavators tried their luck on the Labyrinth site at Hawara. In 1799–1800 Jomard and Caristie of the French expedition wrongly identified the mudbrick walls north and west of the pyramid as the Labyrinth;<sup>7</sup> they attributed the imposing architectural remains south of the pyramid to a peristyle temple.<sup>8</sup> The successive excavations of Lepsius (1843),<sup>9</sup> Vassalli (1862)<sup>10</sup> and Petrie (1888 and 1910–11),<sup>11</sup> however, proved that the large structure in the area south of the pyramid was the Egyptian Labyrinth. More recently the Inspectorate of Fayum Antiquities carried out excavations in the Labyrinth area in 1995<sup>12</sup> and 2000.<sup>13</sup>

These archaeological investigations have contributed each in their own way to our picture of the ancient Labyrinth. On the other hand, they were responsible for drastic interventions on the site, as could be noticed during an archaeological survey carried out at

<sup>5</sup> A clear indication for this (partial) destruction is provided by the mudbrick structures built on top of the limestone chips of the Labyrinth, cf. *infra*. Cf. also the references in the papyri to houses of embalmers in the Labyrinth: P. Hawara Chic. 7 (21 July 245 BC): house in the Labyrinth (οἰκία ἡ ἐν τῷ λαβυρινθῷ); SB 18, 13314 (27 (?) December 235 BC): house in stone in the Labyrinth (λιθεὰ οἰκία ἐν τῷ λαβυρινθῷ).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. S. Sauneron and M. Martin, *Claude Sicard. Oeuvres*, III. *Parallèle géographique de l'ancienne Égypte et de l'Égypte moderne* (BdE 85; Cairo, 1982), 161.

<sup>7</sup> The area northwest of the pyramid was identified by Petrie in 1888–9 as a 'Roman village' related to a small basilica, which was partly excavated and is nowadays still recognizable. Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (London, 1891), 21, pl. vi. For this church, cf. also P. Großmann, 'Neue frühchristliche Funde aus Ägypten', in *Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne. Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21–28 septembre 1986)*, II (Studi di Antichità Cristiana 41; Rome, 1989), 1863; idem, 'Hawwarah', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, IV (New York, Toronto and Oxford, 1991), 1210.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. E. Jomard and (A. N.) Caristie, 'Description des ruines situées près de la pyramide d'Hauouârah, considérées comme les restes du labyrinthe, en comparaison de ces ruines avec les récits des anciens', in C. L. F. Panckoucke, *Description de l'Égypte. Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française. Dediée au Roi*, IV. *Antiquités—Descriptions* (Paris, 1822), 479–81, 483–4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Text*, II (Geneva, 1975, reprint of Leipzig, 1904), 11–24; idem, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Erste Abteilung. Vol. I und II (pl. i–cxlv)* (Geneva, 1975, reprint of Leipzig, 1904), pls. 46–9; idem, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Zweite Abteilung. Vol. III und IV (pl. i–cliii)* (Geneva, 1973, reprint of Leipzig, 1904), pl. 140. Cf. also C. R. Lepsius and K. R. H. Mackenzie, *Discoveries in Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai, in the Years 1842–1845, during the Mission Sent out by His Majesty Frederick William IV. of Prussia* (London, 1853), viii–ix, 67–77 (Letter X), 78–84 (Letter XI), 85–90 (Letter XII) (letters written at the Labyrinth).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. L. Vassalli, *I monumenti istorici egizi il museo e gli scavi d'antichità eseguiti per ordine di S.A. il Vicerè Ismail Pascia notizia sommaria* (Milan, 1867), 64–8; idem, 'Rapport sur les fouilles du Fayoum adressé à M. Auguste Mariette, directeur des monuments historiques de l'Égypte', *RecTrav* 6 (1885), 37–41; cf. also G. Schweinfurth, 'Zur Topographie der Ruinenstätte des alten Schet (Krokodilopolis - Arsinoë)', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Allgemeine Erdkunde* 22 (1887), 69.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), 3–8; W. M. F. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* (BSAE 21; London, 1912), 28–35, pl. xxxii (site of the Labyrinth).

<sup>12</sup> During this campaign the pyramid entrance was cleared; cf. personal correspondence with Paola Davoli.

<sup>13</sup> Information provided by our Egyptian colleague Ashraf Sobhy Rezkalla.

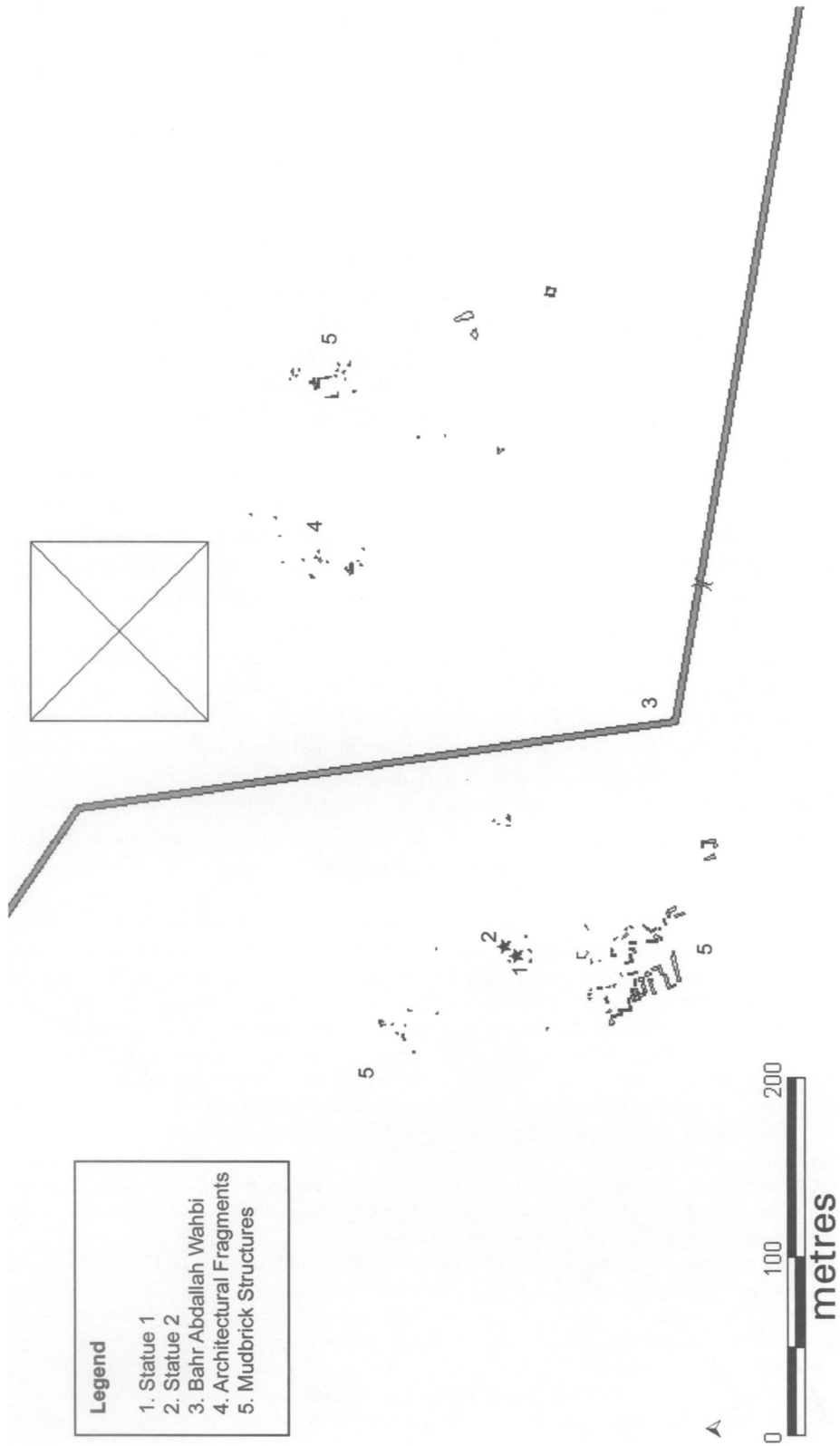


FIG. 1: Map of the Hawara Labyrinth and pyramid made during the K. U. Leuven survey in March 2000.

Hawara by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from 5–30 March 2000.<sup>14</sup> In contrast with earlier research, mainly concerned with mummy portrait extraction as well as with the pharaonic occupation of Hawara, this survey focused on the Graeco-Roman history of the entire site.<sup>15</sup> The Middle Kingdom Labyrinth, however, which continued to play a role into the Roman period, could not be neglected. During this investigation, which covered the entire site, the architectural surface remains south of the pyramid, both those *in situ* and those isolated from their context, were recorded and mapped with a theodolite (fig. 1).<sup>16</sup> A study of the surface pottery has provided a specific chronological frame for the architectural–topographical units.

As a result of the earlier work at the site, the once famous Egyptian Labyrinth now looks like a vast lunar landscape. Moreover, the Bahr Abdallah Wahbi canal, constructed in the fourteenth century AD and bisecting the original Labyrinth into two irregular parts, forms a psychological barrier to seeing the area as a single complex. This canal is bordered on both embankments by sand mounds resulting from its construction. Traces of the Labyrinth are still visible in the canal profile.<sup>17</sup>

A square central area immediately south of the pyramid continues on the western embankment of the canal. It is located on a lower level than the heaps of excavated materials that enclose it. The entire area forms a continuation of sand heaps covered with limestone chips alternating with flat sandy areas without much surface material. Only a few pottery sherds have been found here. Several stone hammers were found in between the heaps. Besides the few architectural elements *in situ*, fragments of the pyramid coating and monumental building blocks, principally columns and architrave fragments, of the Labyrinth in white limestone, red granite and brown sandstone lie on the surface, particularly in the central northern part of the area (i.e. on the eastern embankment). Smaller blocks of the same materials are scattered over the total area. In the central southern portion of the eastern embankment there is a depression with a fill of fine sand, now covered with dense vegetation. Architectural fragments (building blocks, column parts, a doorjamb) in various kinds of stone were transported by Petrie in 1910–11 to the eastern embankment and placed against the mound of the material excavated from the canal.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> This survey was part of the project ‘Historical Topography of the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period’ (Section: Ancient History—Belgium), supported by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven Research Council, and was undertaken with the financial assistance of ‘Vlaamse Leergangen’. The survey was under the general direction of Willy Clarysse; Inge Uytterhoeven was field director. Permission for the survey was given by Gaballa Ali Gaballa, General Director of the SCA. This undertaking was made possible thanks to the collaboration of Ali Mohammad Al-Bazidy, General Director of Fayum Antiquities, Semia Aid Chalil, General Director of the Southern Fayum Antiquities, Ayman Mohammed Sedik el-Hakim, Inspector, and Ashraf Sobhy Rezkalla, Inspector. The team consisted of Annie Cottry (photographer), Katrien Cousserier (archaeologist), Bart Demarsin (archaeologist), Lieven Loots (archaeologist), Sylvie Marchand (ceramicist), Veerle Muyldermans (archaeologist), Ilona Regulski (Egyptologist) and Katrien Slechten (archaeologist). The survey will possibly be continued in 2003 or 2004.

<sup>15</sup> The Katholieke Universiteit Leuven project ‘Historical Topography of the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period’ aims to produce an on-line gazetteer for the Fayum villages in Graeco-Roman times, on the basis of the papyrological, archaeological, epigraphical and literary sources. Cf. <http://fayum.arts.kuleuven.ac.be>

<sup>16</sup> A list of the architectural remains will appear in the PhD thesis of Inge Uytterhoeven at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven concerning Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period (in progress). A preliminary map of the site without the remains south of the pyramid was published in I. Uytterhoeven, ‘Hawara (Fayum): Tombs and Houses on the Surface. A Preliminary Report of the K. U. Leuven Site Survey’, *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* 3 (2001), 45–83.

<sup>17</sup> As was already noticed by Petrie, (*Hawara*, 5).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 29, concerning a large sandstone doorjamb, found in the central-south part of the Labyrinth: ‘This jamb now lies exposed on the side of the canal which has been cut through the site.’; 32: ‘On the canal

Red-coloured heaps of pottery sherds and limestone chips border the central Labyrinth zone on its eastern, southern and western sides. The ceramics of the eastern portion were investigated and could be mainly dated to the Middle Kingdom (in particular, the Thirteenth Dynasty), the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period (Twenty-first Dynasty). In addition, Ptolemaic ceramics (third century AD) and pottery from the transition period between the Late Ptolemaic Period and the Early Roman Period (Cleopatra VII–first century AD) were found here. The Late Period (Twenty-seventh–Thirtieth Dynasty) was only represented by some rare ceramics. In between the heaps of sherds and chips the concentrations of ceramics are less dense. Hammers in a variety of stones have also been found here, especially in the southwest (i.e. on the western embankment).

Southeast of the pyramid, in the area of the rubbish material, some fragmentary mudbrick walls oriented northwest–southeast line the eastern border of the central area. Across the canal the heavily eroded mudbrick constructions in the northwest as well as those further southwards show a regular layout. These buildings constitute the only remains of the mudbrick structures which in the nineteenth century still covered the entire western half of the Labyrinth.<sup>19</sup> This zone is extensively covered with pottery and stone fragments, mainly white limestone chips. In the northern portion the greater amount of the ceramics collected belongs to the Ptolemaic Period (third and second centuries BC). Further eastwards the prevailing period is also the Ptolemaic Period (fourth and third centuries BC). In spite of the different states of preservation of the walls in the Labyrinth area, it is clear that they all, both on the eastern and western embankments of the canal, originally formed a single quarter. They were constructed on top of the limestone chips and therefore after the (partial) destruction of the Labyrinth at the end of the pharaonic period or in the beginning of Ptolemaic times. Moreover, this mudbrick quarter is likely to have extended even further towards the cultivated areas in western, southern and eastern directions. The straight profile of about 2.5 m high cut between the archaeological area and the cultivated zone in the southwest on the western embankment illustrates how the agricultural area is still encroaching upon the archaeological site.

Apart from the actual Labyrinth area, several building blocks from the temple have also been recorded northwest of the pyramid. In particular, in the quarter of mudbrick buildings where Petrie excavated a small church in 1889,<sup>20</sup> stone material such as column and architrave fragments similar to those in the Labyrinth area have been found. A large architrave block in Aswan granite bearing an inscription with the name Cleopatra could be identified.<sup>21</sup> This inscription gives the year 193/194 BC, when Ptolemy V married Cleopatra I, as *terminus post quem* for Ptolemaic building activities at Hawara. The architrave possibly refers to a reconstruction or repair phase of the Labyrinth,<sup>22</sup> though it may also have been integrated in a new monumental construction of Ptolemaic date north of the pyramid, which is not preserved. The present position of these blocks near the Byzantine church may be an indication that they were re-used in that building.

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bank lies a great gate jamb of yellow quartzite sandstone, evidently from an axial gate at the entrance to the Labyrinth'.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler. Vol. I und II*, Abth. I Bl. 46. Cf. also A. Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (London, 1891), xvi, pl. 95.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 7.

<sup>21</sup> (I. Fayum 1, 33). The granite block was already seen by Petrie (*The Labyrinth*, 30 and pl. xxxviii, 2) and before him by L'Hôte, who thought it was an altar: cf. (A.-J.) Letronne, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte étudiées dans leur rapport avec l'histoire politique, l'administration intérieure, les institutions civiles et religieuses de ce pays depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à celle des Arabes* (Paris, 1842), 381.

<sup>22</sup> As proposed by Petrie, *The Labyrinth*, 30.

### Statues (re)discovered at Hawara

The earlier excavation results and the current state of preservation of the Labyrinth make it clear that an unambiguous reconstruction of its ground plan and a full understanding of its functions are quite difficult. Nevertheless, the architectural<sup>23</sup> and sculptural<sup>24</sup> elements, which have fascinated many scholars and formed their main interest, can still contribute to the reconstruction of the theoretical elevation of the building, its decoration and sculptural programme.

Even after the numerous disturbances of the site, the Labyrinth still yields new supplementary data. During the Hawara 2000 survey two Middle Kingdom statues possibly recorded by Lepsius were found. In the immediate neighbourhood of the statues several *in situ* architectural elements of the Labyrinth as revealed by Petrie were recognizable.<sup>25</sup> What can be deduced from the remains so far is that both (re)discovered statues were integrated in the sculptural programme of the temple of Amenemhat III, which included statues of the king as king and in divine roles, as well as many figures of different local gods, above all, of Sobek. These statues were executed in a very dense white limestone, the sight of which must once have been magnificent. The temple itself was made of limestone as well, having beautifully carved reliefs on the walls and architectural details in other materials, such as red granite and sandstone.<sup>26</sup>

The two statues are located in the central western part of the Labyrinth across the canal, west of the rubbish heap along the Bahr Abdallah Wahbi (fig. 1). Statue 1 has a southwest–northeast orientation, whereas Statue 2, which is situated 8.70 m further to the northeast, is oriented more towards the northeast–east.<sup>27</sup>

*Statue 1: God wearing a penis sheath and another male figure (pl. XII, 1–2)*

*Material:* Hard limestone

*Dimensions:* H. c. 75.0 cm; B. 85.0 cm; D. c. 30.0 cm

*Description:* This is part of a group statue with at least two figures worked half in the round. The very fragmentary standing statue on the viewer's left is smaller than life-size and once formed part of a male figure. The portion running from the lower belly to the damaged knees is preserved; the left leg is slightly advanced. Two bands fasten a penis sheath to a

<sup>23</sup> Lepsius devoted a detailed report to the architectural fragments of the Labyrinth in various stone types and colours (limestone, granite and sandstone). Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Text II*, 14–17; idem, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Erste Abteilung. Vol. I und II*, pl. 47. Petrie also described the architectural remains in *Hawara*, 6, and *The Labyrinth*, 32–3.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 29–31, pls. xxiii–xxix. For the sculptures and reliefs from the Labyrinth, see also I. Blom, 'Sculpture Fragments and Relief Fragments from the Labyrinth at Hawara in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden', *OMRO* 69 (1989), 25–50; idem, 'Sobekstatue aus dem Labyrinth "neu" entdeckt!', *GM* 163 (1998), 111–12. See also PM IV, 100–1.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, pl. xxxii.

<sup>26</sup> The architecture and sculpture of the temple of Amenemhat III in Hawara will be discussed in detail in the PhD of Blom-Böer. Cf. *infra* n. 27.

<sup>27</sup> Both statues form part of the PhD of Ingrid Blom-Böer at the Rijksuniversiteit Leiden (the Netherlands), *Die Tempelanlage Amenemhets III. in Hawara. Das Labyrinth. Bestandsaufnahme und Auswertung der Architektur- und Inventarfragmente* (forthcoming), Kat.-Nr. 38 (Statue 1) and Kat.-Nr. 42 (Statue 2).

belt with a knot, which is not now easily recognizable. There are no traces of the arms directly against the body. The figure probably held his arms chest high, the hands holding offerings or receptacles. He might even have embraced the shoulders of the second figure to the viewer's right. This statue is slightly forward and remains of its right arm show that it was bent at waist level in front of the mainly lost chest. From the scanty remains of the clothing (a belt) it is clear that this must have been male as well.

*Commentary:* While at the time of (re)discovery during the survey in March 2000 the statue still consisted of one monolithic piece of limestone, it now shows a large crack, which 'slices' the left figure almost completely into two parts (pl. XII, 2).<sup>28</sup> The most prominent iconographical element is undoubtedly the penis sheath worn by the left figure. Among Egyptian gods depicted as wearing this garment, only Geb, Horakhty, Onuris, Ptah(-Tatjenen), Ra or the fertility figures are candidates for the identification of the figure. The only parallels sculpted in the round represent Onuris (Brooklyn Museum 58.192),<sup>29</sup> although his identity is not totally certain, and Ptah-Tatjenen (Cairo CG 38068).<sup>30</sup> The former is dated to the Old Kingdom, the latter to the New Kingdom. The penis sheath of the Hawara figure is identical with that of Ptah-Tatjenen cited above, and our statue might therefore be dated to the New Kingdom as well, unless we are dealing here with a forerunner of the type from the Middle Kingdom. More iconographical details (headgear, wig etc.) would be needed, though, to identify the left figure at Hawara with certainty with one of the above-mentioned deities. However, since neither Onuris nor Ptah-Tatjenen are particularly connected with the Fayum, the figure might instead represent a local Fayum god, his iconography possibly derived from a type of statue that emerges for the first time in the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, showing a male figure with arms across the chest holding receptacles.<sup>31</sup> In the example cited, he is wearing the heavy, tripartite, striated wig and plaited beard and the features of the face can be ascribed to Senusret II.<sup>32</sup> In our case, the statue would have had the facial features of Amenemhat III. Three unpublished pieces (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1912.605A (1) and (2); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 1415)<sup>33</sup> show the upper part of the body and the features of Amenemhat III. Here the king wears the heavy tripartite wig that identifies him as a deity (ÆIN 1415; pl. XV, 1),<sup>34</sup> and he was certainly involved in cults and rituals once performed at the Labyrinth. Although these upper parts of statues belonged to free-standing sculpture and therefore cannot belong to our statue, they must derive from a similar setting.<sup>35</sup>

The figure to the viewer's right might very well be Amenemhat III as king or as another local Fayum god with penis sheath and bent arms holding offerings or receptacles or the like. The group statue may even have consisted of three figures, with the king standing in a forward position between two local deities, or it could depict a group of three (different) local Fayum gods, probably all bearing Amenemhat's features.

<sup>28</sup> As noticed by Inge Uytterhoeven during a visit to Hawara on 15 March 2001.

<sup>29</sup> D. Wildung, 'Two Representations of Gods from the Early Old Kingdom', *Miscellanea Wilbouriana*, I (Brooklyn, 1972), 145–60, esp. 148–50, fig. 6–10, 156–8.

<sup>30</sup> G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, I (CG; Cairo, 1905), 25, pl. vi no. 38.068.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. S. Schoske et al., *Blumen für das Leben*, 142–3, no. 69.

<sup>32</sup> Schoske et al., *Blumen für das Leben*, 142–3, no. 69.

<sup>33</sup> These pieces will be published in the PhD of Blom-Böer as Kat.-Nr. 34–36. Cf. *supra* n. 27.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. B. Fay, 'The "Abydos Princess"', *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 115–41, esp. 125.

<sup>35</sup> One of them could have belonged to a similar statue (lower part of the body with penis sheath) now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (E.67.1911). It will be published in the PhD of Blom-Böer as Kat.-Nr. 37. Cf. *supra* n. 27.

*Statue 2: Mummiform god (pl. XIII, 1–2)**Material:* Hard limestone*Dimensions:* H. 73.0 cm; B. 51.0 cm; D. 35.0 cm

*Description:* This life-size, free-standing statue has been severely damaged and only the head and the upper torso remain.<sup>36</sup> The face has been completely lost and only part of the heavy, tripartite, unstriated wig as well as the large right ear remain. The body is presented here as that of a mummy, which explains the undifferentiated form and the ‘powerless’, slender shoulders. On the chest, in an off-centre position, are the remains of what once was a plaited, divine beard, curved at the end. At the back a wide slab probably indicates that the statue once formed part of a group statue.

*Commentary:* The type and the position of the mutilations, above all, the total disappearance of the face, suggest that the statue was deliberately damaged while still standing in an upright position. This type of mummiform statue dates from the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty and can be found for the first time in Aswan in the tomb of Sarenput II.<sup>37</sup> Our statue very likely once bore the features of Amenemhat III. A direct, although smaller, parallel (Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1934/2.89)<sup>38</sup> shows a mummified body with the features of Amenemhat III. Again, the heavy tripartite wig and the divine beard indicate that the king must be regarded as a god (F 1934/2.89; pl. XV, 2).<sup>39</sup> These characteristics as well as the mummified form all indicate that the king was involved in a cult or ritual as a deity, probably emphasizing afterlife and death. The mummified form may concentrate chiefly on the essential divine element of the statue.<sup>40</sup> The fact that the beard is off-centre and the left shoulder is wider than the right is perhaps just the result of its being handmade. The statue was certainly finished and integrated in the sculptural scheme of the temple, and was not discarded in an early, unfinished stage because of its asymmetrical appearance. In that case the ear would not have been executed in such detail as can be seen here.

These two sculptural fragments are rare examples of statues that have been found on the western embankment of the Bahr Abdallah Wahbi. Except for a large seated statue of Amenemhat III discovered in the very southwest corner of the Labyrinth,<sup>41</sup> all the sculptures described by Petrie originate from the central area on the eastern embankment. Most were unearthed immediately south of the pyramid close to its north–south axis.<sup>42</sup> The only reference to sculptural finds on the western embankment is given by Lepsius. Without add-

<sup>36</sup> Petrie already noticed that the statues he found in the Labyrinth were deliberately damaged. He tentatively dated the destruction of the face of a limestone mummiform deity with human head (*The Labyrinth*, 31, pl. xxv, 2 and 4) to the Hyksos Period.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. D. Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet* (Munich, 1984), 143, pl. 124.

<sup>38</sup> This piece is published in Blom, *OMRO* 69, 25–50, esp. 26, no. 2, pl. 1. It will be published in the PhD of Blom-Böer as Kat.-Nr. 40. Cf. *supra* n. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 31.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen. Ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 98.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 29, pl. xxxii: ‘seated figure’.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 29–31, pl. xxxii.

ing any details, he briefly mentions two statues across the canal: ‘(...) jenseits des Kanals (...). Dort liegen im Schutt mit Nilziegelerde vermischt 2 Statuenreste von hartem grauen Kalkstein’.<sup>43</sup>

Lepsius’ statues are probably identical with our fragments. The description of the find context of his sculptures suggests that they were located in the most eastern mudbrick chambers on top of the Labyrinth across the canal and that the buildings on that spot were already in ruins. Although one has to take into account some deviations and errors in Lepsius’ map of 1843,<sup>44</sup> the present position of the statues must correspond with the central-western area on Lepsius’ map, where the mudbrick constructions are interrupted (pl. XIV) with indication of the find spots of Statues 1 and 2). Most traces of these destroyed mudbrick walls have now completely disappeared. However, the comparison of Lepsius’ brief topographical indications with the determination of the position of the statues by theodolite indicates that—apart from some short-distance displacements—they stayed in the same location for more than 150 years.

### Conclusions

The small number of architectural and sculptural fragments recovered on the western embankment of the canal can be related to the building history of the Labyrinth in the Late Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman Periods. As far as can be deduced from previous excavation results and, in particular, from Lepsius’ detailed map of the Labyrinth area, the construction of the mudbrick buildings (partly) on top of the destroyed Labyrinth was actually limited to the western half of the temple. In line with the mudbrick walls at the southern edge of the western embankment, the structures on the eastern embankment apparently border a square area, which is now still clearly definable in the field. Their position suggests that the central area was still occupied by a building at the time of their construction. The surface pottery collected in the area of the eastern mudbrick structures places their occupation between the early Ptolemaic (third century BC) and early Roman (first century AD) periods. The surface ceramics also allow a dating to the third and second centuries BC for the constructions on top of the central part of the Labyrinth on the western embankment. Therefore, the eastern parts of the original Middle Kingdom temple probably remained in use until Graeco-Roman times, since its boundaries were respected when the mudbrick buildings were built during that period. On the other hand, its western part was apparently already destroyed in the Late Pharaonic or early Ptolemaic Period and overbuilt with mudbrick constructions with a funerary<sup>45</sup> and possibly also a domestic<sup>46</sup> function. Petrie identified these mudbrick chambers as a Roman town.<sup>47</sup> However, the surface ceramics found between the structures, as well as the ‘Graeco-Roman’ tombs with gilt-faced mask mummies and frescoed walls discovered by Vassalli,<sup>48</sup> suggest that the change in function of the Labyrinth area had

<sup>43</sup> *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Text II*, 22.

<sup>44</sup> The main error of Lepsius’ map involves the orientation of the mudbrick constructions. Whereas they in reality show a clear northwest–southeast orientation, they are oriented north–south (or even northeast–southwest) on his map.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Vassalli’s excavation results in this area.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the papyrological references to houses in the Labyrinth.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 28: ‘The site of this greatest of temples was finally identified in my work of 1888, when it was found that the brick chambers planned by Lepsius were only the ruins of the Roman town of the destroyers, and that the real Labyrinth had been so completely ravaged that only a great bed of chips showed its site’.

<sup>48</sup> Petrie was apparently not well informed about Vassalli’s excavation results in the area across the canal. In none of his



already taken place in the Ptolemaic Period. Petrie's dating of the 'village' to the Roman Period may have been based on the more recent pottery in the southwestern mudbrick area.

The fact that the eastern portion of the Middle Kingdom temple remained in use longer than its western counterpart explains why the most imposing architectural and sculptural elements have been found on the eastern embankment of the canal. The architectural remains visible on the surface in the western half of the Labyrinth are merely small building blocks and fragments of the floor level still *in situ*. This situation is clearly in contrast to that on the eastern embankment, where numerous large architectural fragments in white limestone, red granite and brown sandstone are located. Moreover, several of these elements can still be fitted together into complete columns of the 'closed papyrus-bud column' type. That some of these broken, albeit rather well preserved, monumental columns are still located in their original relationship to each other, even after many disturbances such as the construction of the canal, suggests that they were never moved far from their original position in the building. The same must be true for the excavated sculptural elements, particularly the heavier ones. Petrie discovered most of his statues in an overthrown position or scattered immediately south of the pyramid at a depth of 15 to 24 feet (= about 4.60 to 7.30 m).<sup>49</sup> It may thus be presumed that their find-spots must be close to their last location before the complete destruction of the building.

As regards our statues found on the surface, however, one must be cautious about pronouncing upon their original location within the Labyrinth, given the disturbances the entire Labyrinth area has undergone since antiquity. Thus, two sculptures that were re-buried by Petrie together with other fragments in a pit west of the pyramid<sup>50</sup> have been discovered again on the surface during the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven survey; they must have been dug up in the last century. Whereas a relief with crocodiles<sup>51</sup> is nowadays visible near its find-spot at the south-east corner of the pyramid, a Middle Kingdom bust found in the same area<sup>52</sup> is at present situated north of the pyramid. The two statues discussed here may have been moved during the construction of the canal, when the area on the western embankment was still covered with well preserved mudbrick buildings. On the other hand, they may have been dug up more recently in the area on the western embankment that remained in use until the final abandonment or destruction of the Labyrinth. Independent of this, however, they form valuable remains of the sculptural decoration of one of the most famous constructions of ancient times.

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publications does he show any awareness of the funerary use of the mudbrick constructions which was clearly demonstrated by the latter's excavation of tombs.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 29. In the rest of the Labyrinth site the sand and chips measured 2 to 4 feet (= about 0.60 to 1.20 m).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 33: 'The fragments which were not brought away were left in the ruins if too large to move; the portable pieces were buried in a pit outside of the chip bank west of the pyramid'.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 31, pl. xxvii, 4.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth*, 31, pl. xxv, 3.

**PLATE XII**



**1. Statue 1. God wearing a penis sheath (with crack) and another male figure (from the south)  
(photograph Inge Uytterhoeven).**



**2. Statue 1. God wearing a penis sheath and another male figure (from the south-east)  
(photograph Annie Cottry).**

**NEW LIGHT ON THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH:  
EVIDENCE FROM A SURVEY AT HAWARA (pp. 111–20)**



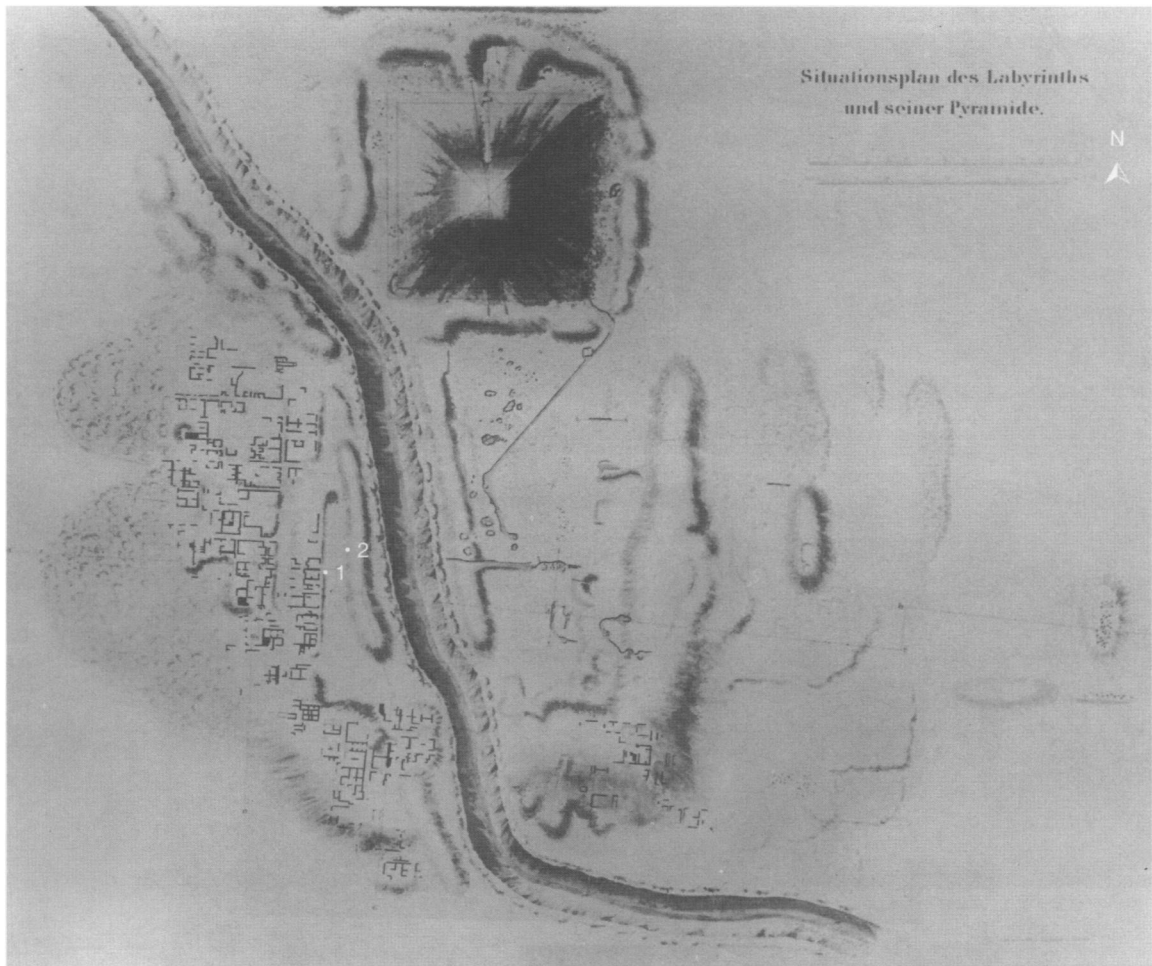
1. Statue 2: Mummiform god (from the west) (photograph Annie Cottry).



2. Statue 2: Mummiform god (from the north) (photograph Inge Uytterhoeven).

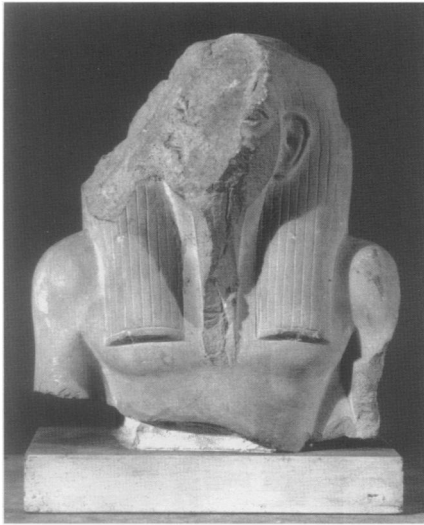
**NEW LIGHT ON THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH:  
EVIDENCE FROM A SURVEY AT HAWARA (pp. 111–20)**

PLATE XIV



Map of the Hawara Labyrinth and pyramid with indication of the find spot of statues 1 and 2, (after Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien. Erste Abteilung. Vol. I und II (pl. i-cxlv), pls. 46-9*).

NEW LIGHT ON THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH:  
EVIDENCE FROM A SURVEY AT HAWARA (pp. 111-20)

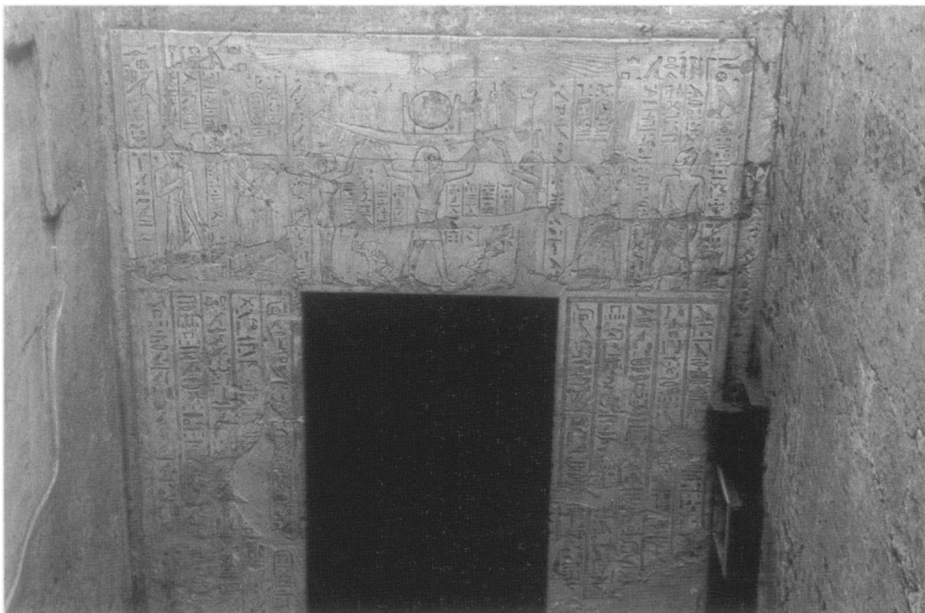


1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 1415 (photograph Norbert Böer, Cologne; courtesy of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen).



2. Leiden F 1934/2.89 (photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

**NEW LIGHT ON THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH:  
EVIDENCE FROM A SURVEY AT HAWARA (pp. 111–20)**



3. Lintel of the outer doorway of the tomb of Pabasa on the Asasif (TT 279) (author's photograph).

**THE PROBLEM OF AMENIRDIS II AND THE HEIRS TO THE OFFICE OF  
GOD'S WIFE OF AMUN DURING THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY (pp. 179–86)**

# MAGICAL BRICKS AND THE BRICKS OF BIRTH \*

By ANN MACY ROTH *and* CATHARINE H. ROEHRIG

Four mud-bricks inscribed with spells from Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead are often found in the burial chambers of royal and elite tombs dating from the New Kingdom. These bricks can be shown to represent the four bricks that supported women during childbirth. The use of bricks in a mortuary context is thus metaphorical, replicating the equipment of an earthly birth in order to ensure the deceased's rebirth into the other world. Such bricks may also have been used in the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual, both at funerals and in temple foundation ceremonies. In connection with their role at birth, bricks also appear at the judgment a person faced after death. Like other artifacts surrounding birth in Egypt, bricks of birth had parallels in ancient Mesopotamia.

## Magical bricks: the archaeological evidence

DURING the New Kingdom, four magical bricks were often placed in niches in the burial chambers of royal tombs, and in some private tombs and burials of the Apis bull as well.<sup>1</sup> The bricks and their associated figures were preserved in the tomb of Tutankhamun;<sup>2</sup> two bricks were found in the tomb of Horemheb,<sup>3</sup> and, surprisingly, bricks inscribed for Amenhotep IV/Akhenaton were found in KV 55.<sup>4</sup> Other inscribed bricks bear the names of Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, and two Apis bulls buried in the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II,<sup>5</sup> as well as various queens and private individuals.

Each of these four bricks was associated with one of four amuletic figures: a recumbent jackal on a shrine, a mummiform image, a reed that represented a flame, and a *djed*-pillar. Usually the bricks bore the text of a spell from Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead,

\* Some of the arguments in this article were presented by A. M. Roth at the Holman symposium at Fordham University in 1994; in a talk for the Religious Studies department at the University of Pennsylvania in 1994; and at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in 1997. The authors are grateful for the comments of these audiences and also to Kent R. Weeks, for allowing them to draw upon the field records of the Theban Mapping Project, most of which have now been published in K. R. Weeks (ed.), *Atlas of the Valley of the Kings* (Publications of the Theban Mapping Project 1; Cairo, 2000).

<sup>1</sup> The principal previous studies are those of E. Naville, 'Les quatre stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille', in *Comptes rendus du congrès provincial des orientalistes*, Third session, I (Lyons, 1878), 275–93; J. Monnet, 'Les briques magiques du Musée du Louvre', *RdE* 8 (1951), 150–62; E. Thomas, 'The Four Niches and Amuletic Figures in Theban Royal Tombs', *JARCE* 3 (1964), 71–8; and M. Heerma van Voss, 'An Egyptian Magical Brick', *JEOL* 18 (1965), 314–18. For a recent addition to the corpus of non-royal bricks, see D. P. Silverman, 'Magical Bricks of Hunuro', in P. Der Manuelian and R. Freed (eds), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), II, 725–41.

<sup>2</sup> N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* (London, 1990), 71.

<sup>3</sup> T. M. Davis et al., *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou* (London, 1912), 106.

<sup>4</sup> M. Bell, 'An Armchair Excavation of KV 55', *JARCE* 27 (1990), 103, no. 17, describes the northern brick, the most legible, as inscribed for *Nfr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>-n-R<sup>c</sup>*, a prenomen that is used both during his earlier reign as Amenhotep IV and his later reign as Akhenaton. The northern and southern bricks were larger and better made than the eastern and western ones, which were inscribed in hieratic rather than hieroglyphic. Thomas, *JARCE* 3, 75, states that the owner's name was not preserved on either of these cruder bricks, and they may have belonged to someone else.

<sup>5</sup> Monnet, *RdE* 8, 150–62.

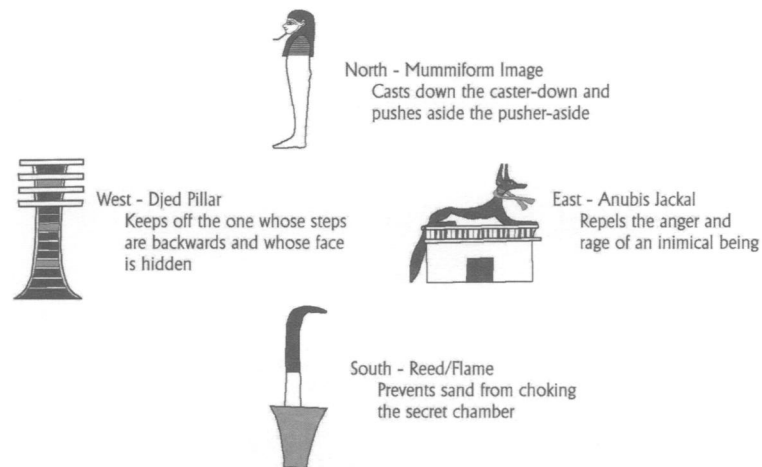


FIG. 1. A diagram showing the protective functions and amuletic figures associated with the magical bricks in Book of the Dead Chapter 151, aligned according to the cardinal points specified in their spells.

describing the protective function of the amuletic figure and a cardinal point designating the wall into which they were to be inserted (see fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> In these spells, the jackal is identified as the god Anubis, but the other figures are not explicitly identified with divinities.<sup>7</sup> The full text of this chapter, given in Book of the Dead manuscripts,<sup>8</sup> gives detailed instructions for the treatment of the bricks and figures: the bricks are to be unbaked; the mouth of the mummiform image is to be opened; and the *djed*-pillar is to be of faience and electrum, anointed, and wrapped in royal linen. The figures are to be attached to the bricks and placed in niches cut in the appropriate walls of the burial chamber. The niches should then be covered. In one case, the preparation of the bricks is said to require an officiant who has neither eaten fish and small cattle nor approached a woman.

Despite these specific directions, the placement of the bricks and figures varies considerably in the few depositions preserved *in situ*. In the tomb of Tutankhamun, the sole royal burial chamber in which all four niches were found with their contents sealed inside, only the mummiform image and its brick were in their proper position in the north wall. The jackal and its brick were placed in the west wall rather than the east; the *djed*-pillar and its brick were in the south wall rather than the west; and an anomalous figure of Osiris was attached to the brick associated with the flame, which was set in the east wall rather than the

<sup>6</sup> The translations of these protective actions, which seem to vary somewhat, are here taken from those given by Thomas, *JARCE* 3, 71, which are in turn based upon Gardiner's translations. More recent translations into German, based on a collation of all the published and many unpublished sources, may be found in B. Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 2; Wiesbaden, 1998), 258–9, 262–3, 267–8, 271–2. These spells were also occasionally inscribed directly on the amulet as well, for example, on a *djed*-pillar in the Saqqara tomb of Maya. See M. J. Raven, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, II: Objects and Skeletal Remains* (Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoir 65; Leiden, 2001), 5, 48 and pl. 21, 38. (We are indebted to the comments of a *JEA* reviewer for this reference.)

<sup>7</sup> M. J. Raven, 'Papyrus Sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues', *OMRO* 59–60 (1978–9), 251–96, has discussed the mummiform figure as one of a number of possible precursors for the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris papyrus sheaths of later periods. He points out that the figure (often called a *shabti* in secondary discussions) is designated in the spell only as a *twt*, that is, a male statue.

<sup>8</sup> The four parts of this Chapter associated with the bricks are sections 151 *d* through *g*. See Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, 170–204.

south.<sup>9</sup> A fifth brick, accompanied by a reed and inscribed with the spell that normally accompanies the flame, was found to the east of the burial chamber, at the entrance to the 'Treasury'.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, although the full text of Chapter 151 directs that only the *djed*-pillar was to be wrapped in linen, the priests who prepared Tutankhamun's burial wrapped in linen all the amuletic figures placed in niches *except* the *djed*-pillar.<sup>11</sup>

Variations in the nature of the amuletic figures and the disposition of the bricks are not unique to Tutankhamun's burial. Among bricks of Amenhotep II, the only two surviving figures were both jackals, one associated correctly with the eastern brick and the other, incorrectly, with the southern brick.<sup>12</sup> In the tomb of Thutmose IV, the jackal and its brick were found partially sealed into a niche on the south side of the sarcophagus instead of the east.<sup>13</sup> In KV 55, although the bricks were found in the proper relationship to one another, each deviated from its proper position by 270°.<sup>14</sup> M. Bell has argued, however, that the tomb had a theoretical orientation different from its true orientation; in terms of the theoretical cardinal directions, the bricks in KV 55 were accurately placed.<sup>15</sup> Her discussion raises the perplexing question of how the ancient Egyptians understood the orientation of the burial chamber, and the proper positions of the bricks within it, which will not, however, be dealt with here.<sup>16</sup> The anomalies in the placement of the bricks also occur in private tombs: in TT 32, fragments of two western bricks were found, perhaps to compensate for the lack of an eastern one.<sup>17</sup> Contrary to the spell's instructions, the brick niches in the later

<sup>9</sup> For the positions of the bricks and illustrations of them, see Reeves, *Complete Tutankhamun*, 71.

<sup>10</sup> The location of the flame and its brick is described by Howard Carter in *The Tomb of Tutankhamun: Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*, III (London, 1933), 33. This brick appears in none of Harry Burton's photographs of the tomb's interior, but from Carter's published account, one gets the impression that it was on the floor between the carrying poles of the large Anubis figure. Unlike the examples from other tombs, Tutankhamun's jackal brick seems to have been fashioned as a crude miniature of this image of Anubis crouched on his gilt pylon.

<sup>11</sup> Reeves, *Complete Tutankhamun*, 71.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas, *JARCE* 3, 74.

<sup>13</sup> H. Carter and P. E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (Westminster, 1904), 10. This is actually the south-west wall, but the Egyptians understood it as the south; see n. 16 below.

<sup>14</sup> For placement of these bricks, see Bell, *JARCE* 27, 111 fig. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *JARCE* 27, 116–17. The apparent ancient orientation of the tomb, which was followed by Ayrton, took true west as north.

<sup>16</sup> Few of the royal burial chambers are oriented precisely on the cardinal points, and only two preserve a clear indication of what the Egyptians understood as the orientation of the burial chamber. In the tomb of Horemhab (KV 57), the walls of the crypt, which is located at the far end of the burial chamber, are inscribed with the cardinal points: the back wall is 'north', the right wall is 'east', the wall parallel to the entrance wall is 'south', and the left wall is 'west'. Thus, in this tomb, the sarcophagus has its head oriented toward the east. In the tomb of Thutmose III, the twelve hours of the *Amduat* are arranged around the walls in such a way that it is clear that the left wall as one enters was understood as north, the far wall as east, the right wall as south, and the entrance wall as west. In this tomb, then, the head of the sarcophagus is oriented north.

In KV 55, the only tomb in which four bricks have been found placed in the proper relationship to one another (but not in actual conjunction with the cardinal points), they were placed so as to protect the entire room and all of its contents—the shrine of Tiye as well as the wooden coffin that may have contained her son, Akhenaten, whose name is written on two of the bricks. If one assumes that Martha Bell's reconstruction of the burial chamber is correct, and that the wooden coffin was found more or less *in situ*, the head of this coffin was oriented south (according to the bricks), and the shrine is oriented with its front to the west.

There seems, in fact, to be no consistent orientation of the body in the royal tombs, although the head is most often placed either to the north or to the west.

<sup>17</sup> L. Kàkosy, 'Magical Bricks from TT 32', in J. H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk (eds), *Funerary Symbols and Religion: Essays Dedicated to M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss* (Kampten, 1988), 60–2. Kàkosy associates the second western brick with the extra brick in the tomb of Tutankhamun.



royal tombs were not covered, and some bricks were baked.<sup>18</sup> Clearly, the magical bricks and images were often incorrectly prepared and placed.

Although the bricks themselves are rarely preserved, niches for them are found in most royal tombs from the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Amenhotep II) through the middle of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Merneptah), and possibly also in the tomb of Ramesses III. Like the *in situ* deposits, they show considerable variation in placement (see Table 1). Niches have also been noted in the tombs of several contemporary queens, including Sit-Re, Nefertari, and Bint-Anti,<sup>19</sup> and in KV 5, the tomb of the sons of Ramesses II. No niches have been found in private tombs, where the bricks seem simply to have been placed on the floor around the burial chamber. This type of distribution is found in KV 55 and may also have occurred in the earliest royal tombs, KV 38, KV 20, and KV 34, where no niches have been identified.<sup>20</sup>

TABLE 1. *The Placement of Magical Brick Niches in New Kingdom Royal Tombs*<sup>21</sup>

<i>Tomb</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Placement</i>	<i>Layout</i>	<i>Location</i>
KV 35	Amenhotep II	low	paired	sides of sarcophagus
KV 43	Thutmose IV	low	paired or 4 walls	ends/sides of sarcophagus or symmetrical <sup>22</sup>
WV 22	Amenhotep III	low	paired	sides of sarcophagus
KV 55	?	floor	4 walls	clustered at theoretical west <sup>23</sup>
KV 62	Tutankhamun	low	4 walls	clustered at west
WV 23	Ay	low	4 walls	symmetrical
KV 57	Horemheb	high	paired	ends of sarcophagus
KV 16	Ramesses I	high	paired	ends of sarcophagus
KV 17	Seti I	high	paired	ends of sarcophagus
KV 7	Ramesses II	high	paired	ends of sarcophagus
KV 8	Merneptah	mid-height	paired?	sides of sarcophagus
KV 11	Ramesses III	mid-height	two only	ends of sarcophagus

<sup>18</sup> For baked examples, see D. Silverman, 'Magical Bricks of Hunro', in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), II, 732–3, who suggests that it was only important that the bricks be unbaked prior to their inscription. Bricks might also be baked during subsequent fires in the tomb. However, it seems more likely that the baking of some bricks was simply another of the many ways in which the spell's instructions were disregarded.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas, *JARCE* 3, 72. She suggests that the tombs of four other queens, Mut-tuy, Nebet-tawy, Meryt-Amun, and Henutmi-Re, also had such niches.

<sup>20</sup> It seems likely that the burial of Thutmose III included bricks since two bricks were found in the private tomb of his contemporary, Amenemhat (TT 82). It is even possible that brick niches lie concealed beneath the painted walls of the burial chamber in Thutmose III's tomb (KV 34), or that they were unrecognizable in the crumbling walls of KV 20, the tomb of Hatshepsut.

<sup>21</sup> This list adds three tombs to those listed by Thomas, *JARCE* 3, 72: those of Amenhotep II (strangely omitted by Thomas), Merneptah, and Ramesses III. The two latter are somewhat anomalous, Merneptah containing multiple niches, and Ramesses III only two. The position of niches was determined using the notes and plans of the Theban Mapping Project, generously made available by its director, Kent R. Weeks. A travel grant from The Metropolitan Museum of Art to C. H. Roehrig allowed her to check and expand upon this information.

<sup>22</sup> The existence of eight possible brick niches in KV 43 (seven in the crypt area and one large rectangle painted on the south wall of the burial chamber, just to the left of the entrance) can be interpreted in both ways. The unfinished niches may represent false starts, or they could indicate an evolving understanding of the meaning of the niches and the bricks.

<sup>23</sup> There were no brick niches in the burial chamber of KV 55, but the placement of the bricks in the chamber resembles the arrangement of the niches in KV 62, Tutankhamun's tomb. This tomb is included for comparison.

In the royal tombs where brick niches exist, the niches are nearly always carved in the walls that immediately surround the sarcophagus. Thus, in fully realized tombs where part of the burial chamber floor was cut away to form a crypt for the sarcophagus, the brick niches were cut into the walls of the crypt and not placed around the burial chamber as a whole. In abbreviated tombs, where the complete royal plan was never achieved, the burial chamber itself served as a crypt—its floor sunk well below the level of the preceding corridor or chamber, and brick niches carved into its walls.<sup>24</sup>

The height of the niches also varies. From the tomb of Amenhotep II through the tomb of Ay (KV 35, WV 22, KV 62, WV 23), the niches were usually placed relatively low, about 1 m above the floor, never exceeding the height of the sarcophagus. The one exception is the tomb of Thutmose IV (KV 43), where the two niches cut in the pillar were 2.85 and 2.28 m above the floor of the crypt. However, in Horemheb's tomb through that of Ramesses II (KV 57, KV 16, KV 17, KV 7) the niches were placed much higher, only about 15–20 cm below the ceiling.

The increased height of the niches may be related to another change that seems to have taken place during Horemheb's reign. The brick niches found in earlier Eighteenth Dynasty tombs were closed and covered with plaster, following the instructions laid out in Chapter 151.<sup>25</sup> In the tombs built for Horemheb, Seti I, and Ramesses II, however, the niches seem to have been left open.<sup>26</sup> These later tombs differ from the tombs with closed niches in that they are decorated with relief rather than simply painted decoration. In the intervening tomb of Ramesses I (KV 16), which was again simply painted, the niches are placed near the ceiling in the walls at the head and foot of the sarcophagus, but these were covered with plaster and painted over as in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty tombs. Since the placing of the bricks and amulets and the closing of the niches with plaster probably took place during the funerary ritual, there would not have been time to decorate the areas over the niches with the relief found in the rest of the tomb. The change in height may reflect security concerns, as suggested by Thomas,<sup>27</sup> but it may also reflect a change in the beliefs about the bricks themselves.

The niches were usually paired. In the earliest tombs, they were paired in the walls on either side of the sarcophagus, but in later periods, the niches were overwhelmingly paired on the walls at its head and foot. The most intriguing of the early tombs is that of Thutmose IV, where seven niches were laid out around the crypt: two at the head and two at

<sup>24</sup> This is true of the tombs of Tutankhamun, Ay, and Ramesses I.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas, *JARCE* 3 73–4, cites Carter's excavation accounts mentioning that the 'secret' niches were 'plastered over and colored to match the finished wall', in the case of Tutankhamun's tomb, and 'plastered over', in the case of Thutmose IV's tomb. The brick niches in the tomb of Amenhotep II also seem to have been plastered over and painted to blend in partially with the dado of the wall decoration. However, the niches in these tombs were never truly hidden from view. The plaster closing of Amenhotep II's niches bulges out from the surface of the walls; Thutmose IV's burial chamber was left completely undecorated; and in Tutankhamun's tomb, the niche in the east wall was carved into an undecorated section of the wall, and the smoothed plaster over the other three niches would have made them easily detectable, as one can see in Harry Burton's photographs of the tomb.

<sup>26</sup> The tomb of Seti I (KV 17) shows this especially clearly, since the decoration has been designed to incorporate the niches rather than hide them.

<sup>27</sup> *JARCE* 3, 76–7. Thomas argued that the early niches were originally cut low because a large niche cut into the upper part of a pillar might have weakened it structurally. In the later tombs, all niches were cut into the walls of the chamber itself rather than the pillars, which allowed them to be cut higher, perhaps to protect their contents during the funeral. However, the niches cut for magical bricks were shallow, and regardless of their height above the floor would not have significantly weakened pillars, as demonstrated by the two niches cut high in a pillar in the tomb of Thutmose IV.

the foot of the sarcophagus; two more in one of the pillars on the left side; and a third, larger niche in the wall on the right side of the sarcophagus. It is possible that the bricks were placed in these side niches, since one was found *in situ* in the lower pillar niche. It is interesting that the two niches in the pillar are positioned one above the other, and the single large niche in the wall opposite is big enough to have accommodated two bricks, one stacked on the other, perhaps separated by a shelf.<sup>28</sup>

In the three tombs built immediately after the Amarna Period, the niches were cut in all four walls of the burial chamber. In KV 23 (Ay), the niches are evenly spaced, but in KV 62 (Tutankhamun) the niches in the northern and southern walls were placed towards the far western end, so that the northern, southern, and western niches clustered together in the western part of the tomb. The four bricks found in KV 55 also form a pattern, with three bricks clustered towards the theoretical western end of the tomb (actually the south), although only the western brick was placed in a niche.<sup>29</sup> This clustering at the west may be related to the fact that the head of the sarcophagus was placed to the west.<sup>30</sup> KV 5, the burial place of several sons of Ramesses II, has four apparent brick niches in one large chamber, and these cluster to the north as well as the west, that is, the niches in the north and south wall are placed towards the west, while those in the east and west walls are placed towards the north.<sup>31</sup> Placement on all four walls was also preferred in three queens' tombs dating from the early Nineteenth Dynasty, but they seem to have been positioned symmetrically, like those in the tomb of Ay.<sup>32</sup>

It is clear from the archaeological evidence that actual placement of magical bricks and niches within the burial chamber, and even the pairing of the bricks with their associated magical figures, vary considerably from what is prescribed in Chapter 151. These variations may be the result of alternative traditions or theological developments.

### Book of the Dead Chapter 151: the theoretical positions

Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead appears on papyri and occasionally on tomb walls as a gridded vignette (see fig. 2). At the center of the vignette, the mummy of the deceased lies on a lion bed under a canopy, tended by Anubis. The mourning sisters take their accustomed places, Nephthys at the head of the mummy and Isis at the foot, and the four sons of Horus are depicted in the corners of the scene. Along the four sides are placed the amuletic

<sup>28</sup> The bricks may also have been stacked in the tomb of Ramesses III, where there are only two niches, both taller than they are wide.

<sup>29</sup> Diagrams of these placements can be seen in Reeves, *Complete Tutankhamun*, 85; Bell, *JARCE* 27, 111. The 'niche' in KV 55 was probably the beginning of a storage chamber, and was certainly not a standard brick niche.

<sup>30</sup> The head of Tutankhamun was clearly positioned to the west. The coffin found in KV 55 was placed with its head to actual east (theoretical south), and thus does not correlate with the clustering of the bricks towards the theoretical west; however, this coffin is usually thought to have been secondary. The positions of the panels of the burial shrine suggest that the original burial was placed along the theoretical east–west axis of the chamber, although if the head was at the theoretical west, the body must have been inserted into the shrine feet first, in contrast to the placement of Tutankhamun.

<sup>31</sup> Weeks (ed.), *Atlas of the Valley of the Kings*, sheets 12 and 14. This chamber, numbered 5 on plans of the Theban Mapping Project, is to the north of the great pillared hall in the tomb. No sarcophagus or burial has been found in the chamber, but it has not yet been fully excavated. (The middle cross-section on sheet 14 cuts through room 5, apparently bisecting the niches on the northern and southern wall; the southern niche is not shown.) We are grateful to E. Brock for bringing these niches to our attention.

<sup>32</sup> Judging from plans published by Thomas in *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 215, and measurements made by the Theban Mapping Project in 1980, the niches in these tombs are roughly symmetrically placed around the burial chambers, allowing for the positions of doorways.

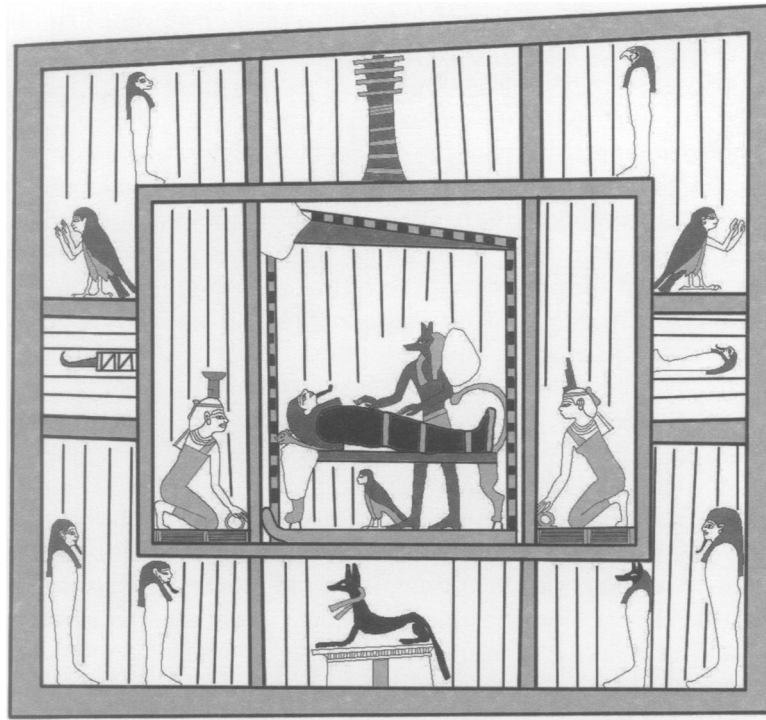


FIG. 2. The vignette depicting Book of the Dead Chapter 151 in the tomb of Sennefer (TT 96) (accompanying texts omitted).

figures, accompanied by their spells. The rectangles of the grid that sometimes surrounds them may represent the magical bricks themselves. With some consistency, the south brick and the flame associated with it are placed at the head of the mummy, while the north brick with the mummiform figure is at its feet.<sup>33</sup> The other two bricks are consistently oriented with respect to the top and bottom of the scene, rather than the mummy: the *djed*-pillar and west brick are shown at the top and the figure of Anubis on his shrine and the east brick are at the bottom. The position of these last two figures with respect to the cardinal points was thus accurate only when the mummy was turned so that its head was to the left and its feet to the right, as it is in figure 2. In most examples, however, the head is to the right and the feet to the left, the conventional orientation of a recumbant figure in a right-to-left hieroglyphic inscription, and in such cases, the bricks associated with the *djed*-pillar and the jackal are not correctly placed.

The arrangement of the figures and the bricks around the mummy of the deceased makes it clear that the central part of the vignette represents the burial chamber, or more likely the burial crypt.<sup>34</sup> The positions of the bricks illustrate the placement in the surrounding four walls prescribed in the accompanying spells. As noted above, however, this distribution is rare in the Valley of the Kings. In the royal tombs where the niches were paired, the place-

<sup>33</sup> This would imply that bodies of the dead were theoretically oriented with their head to the south; in fact, the actual orientation is extremely inconsistent during the New Kingdom, although north and, to a lesser extent, west seem to be the most popular orientations for the head of the mummy (see n. 16 above).

<sup>34</sup> This has been pointed out previously; see, for example, N. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)* (Theban Tomb Series 1; London, 1915), 116–18; R. O. Faulkner, *The Book of the Dead* (Austin, 1990), 146 and 148.

ment of the bricks and the guardian figures was necessarily different from the four cardinal points prescribed in the spells accompanying them. The bricks of Thutmose IV, for example, were all inscribed with spells indicating one of the cardinal points, despite the fact that they were probably paired at the north and south of the crypt.<sup>35</sup> This consistent inaccuracy suggests that the prescribed positions of the bricks at the four cardinal points were, in most royal tombs, subordinated to a stronger reason for arranging the bricks in pairs. These alternative positions, it will be argued below, are related to the nature and origin of the bricks.

A parallel to this discrepancy can be seen in the placement of the canopic deities in the Chapter 151 vignette at the four angles of the burial chamber. To judge from the burial of Tutankhamun and the remains of four-compartmented canopic chests inscribed for Hatshepsut, Thutmose I, Akhenaton, and Horemheb, in an actual royal burial the canopic organs were placed together and apart from the sarcophagus, rather than at the corners of the burial chamber. In the case of Tutankhamun, the organs seem to have been placed in the compartments of the canopic box in roughly the same arrangement that they had had inside the king's body, and the box was oriented in the same way, with the upper organs to the west, just as the head of the body was to the west (see fig. 3).<sup>36</sup> In the body, the lungs lie above the liver and stomach, but the liver does lie on the proper right side of the body (that is, on the left to an observer) and the stomach on the proper left (right for an observer), slightly lower than the liver. The intestines lie below both. The canopic box would have more exactly duplicated the natural positions of the organ had it been turned slightly counter-clockwise; however, the position of the liver and lungs, with the liver on the left, above (that is, to the west of) the stomach and intestines, with the stomach on the right, represents a schematic replacement of the organs in their natural positions.

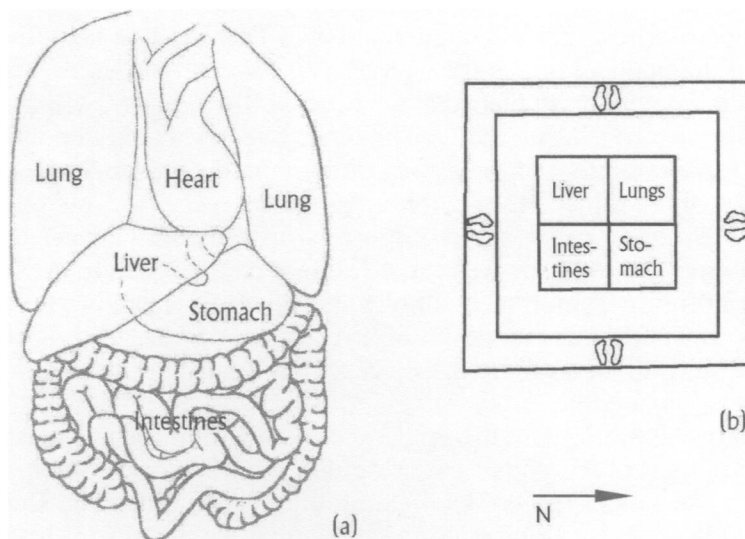


FIG. 3. A comparison between the alignment of the canopic organs in the human body (a) and the alignment of the canopic compartments in the canopic chest of Tutankhamun (b).

<sup>35</sup> Carter and Newberry, *Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, 9–10.

<sup>36</sup> The relative positions have been deduced from the diagram provided by Reeves, *Complete Tutankhamun*, 120, and the orientation was determined by *in situ* photographs of the shrine.

In the vignette for Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead, the natural placement has been modified. Although the arrangement of the four sons of Horus with respect to each other mimics that of Tutankhamun's canopic chest, and also the normal arrangement of these deities when they are depicted on a coffin or sarcophagus,<sup>37</sup> the organs are separated, lying in each of the four corners of the schematic burial chamber, rather than together as they are in the body and in the canopic chest. There is thus a tension between a theoretical configuration of the internal organs, depicted protectively around the mummy in the Chapter 151 vignette, and their actual position in the burial, where they were placed together in a schematic duplication of their natural positions, perhaps for more effective functioning. Like the actual placement of the canopic organs, the position of the magical bricks in the tomb chamber may represent their natural, functional position in life, as opposed to their theoretical position in the Chapter 151 vignette.

### Magical bricks as bricks of birth

Previous studies of magical bricks have not investigated why such homely objects as unbaked mud-bricks should be included among royal and elite burial equipment. While the equipment and rituals the Egyptians used to ensure resurrection after death could be derived from many sources (creation myths; the accounts of the resurrection of Osiris; the path of the sun; and rituals connected with temples, statue dedications, offerings to the gods, and royal coronations), ordinary mud-bricks play no role in any of these. The richest source of metaphors for a resurrection after death, however, is that of human conception and birth. Desroches-Noblecourt and Westendorf<sup>38</sup> have argued for the implications of sexual union to be found in the burial equipment of Tutankhamun, and others have dealt with the same theme in the decoration of private tomb chapels.<sup>39</sup> Apparently, the dead person re-engendered himself upon a female surrogate and was reborn. The use of artifacts and images relating to childbirth itself in a mortuary context have been investigated in articles by Roth<sup>40</sup> and by Dorman.<sup>41</sup> Since there is a group of four bricks that is clearly connected with the process of childbirth, the magical bricks most probably belong to the subset of mortuary equipment with metaphorical ties to birth. It seems reasonable to hypothesize that the magical bricks used in mortuary contexts represent the four bricks of birth.

Bricks were used in childbirth to raise a woman above the ground and to make the child more accessible to her helpers. This use is attested in several ethnographic parallels from relatively modern times. H. A. Winkler has described their use in an Egyptian village:

<sup>37</sup> Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, 126. Lüscher notes that, as with the magical bricks, the placement of the canopic deities and their spells is sometimes irregular.

<sup>38</sup> C. Desroches-Noblecourt, "'Concubines du mort' et mères de famille au moyen empire', *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 7–47; W. Westendorf, 'Bemerkung zur "Kammer der Wiedergeburt" im Tutanchamungrab', *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 139–50.

<sup>39</sup> G. Robins, 'Some Images of Women in New Kingdom Art', in Barbara Lesko (ed.), *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Atlanta, 1989), 109–10.

<sup>40</sup> A. Roth, 'The *psš-ḳf* and the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth', *JEA* 78 (1992) 113–47, suggesting that the *psš-ḳf* was used to cut the umbilical cord, and 'Fingers, Stars, and the Opening of the Mouth: The Nature and Function of the *ntrwj*-Blades', *JEA* 79 (1993) 57–79, arguing that the *ntrwj*-blades were models of the little fingers used to clear the mouth of a newborn baby.

<sup>41</sup> P. Dorman, 'Creation on the Potter's Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven', in E. Teeter and J. Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise: Studies in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (SAOC 58; Chicago, 2000), 83–99. Dorman discusses the idea that the sun, like a child, was formed on the potter's wheel just before its reappearance/rebirth.

A good sized hole is dug—since the lower story of the houses of the *fellahin* rests directly on the ground. Right and left of this hole are set two up-ended basins (*magūr*) or earthen cooking pots (*gālib*) or bricks, either singly or in stacks of two. The mother puts each foot on the pot or brick and crouches. As a result of this elevation, the midwife can perform her work more comfortably. The hole over which the woman crouches catches the amniotic fluid and the afterbirth. The mother is supported by several women.<sup>42</sup> [authors' translation]

Four bricks, stacked in pairs, were apparently the traditional support for the birthing mother in pharaonic times. The posture may be represented in a hieroglyphic determinative dating to the Late Period and is mentioned in earlier sources as well.<sup>43</sup> This tradition clearly survived through the Coptic Period<sup>44</sup> into Islamic times.

The ancient Egyptians personified the bricks used in birth as a goddess of birth, Meskhenet. She can be represented as a brick with a woman's head (see fig. 4) or as a woman or a falcon with a tall split object on her head.<sup>45</sup> Her name is a noun of place formed from the *m* prefix and the causative form of the verb *h<sub>n</sub>j*, 'to alight', hence the bricks are 'the place of alight-

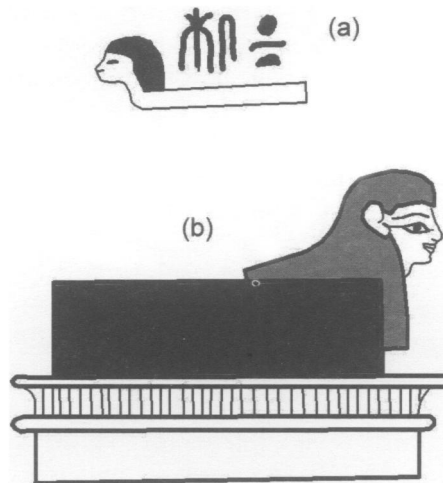


FIG. 4. Depictions of the goddess Meskhenet as a personified brick in Book of the Dead Chapter 125, from a late Book of the Dead in the Egyptian Museum, Turin (a) and from the papyrus of Ani in The British Museum (b).

<sup>42</sup> H. A. Winkler, *Ägyptische Völkskunde* (Stuttgart, 1936), 188.

<sup>43</sup> P. Ghalioungui, *The House of Life (Per Ankh): Magical and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt* (Amsterdam, 1973), 115. (The two 'bricks' of the late determinative are possibly simply striped examples of the *t*-hieroglyph, however.) Ghalioungui cites a number of references attesting to the use of these bricks, although he refers to them as 'stones'. In a stela from Deir el-Medina in the Turin Museum, published by M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi de Deir el-Medina, n. 50001–n. 50262* (Turin, 1972), 94–6 and 286 (n. 50058), a man subject to a goddess's curse describes his pain 'I sat on bricks like the woman in labor', according to the translation of M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, II. The New Kingdom* (Berkeley, 1976), 108.

<sup>44</sup> In a fragmentary Coptic magical text, the magician invokes the names of the bricks upon which Mary was elevated when she gave birth to Jesus. W. E. Crum, 'Bricks as Birth-Stool', *JEA* 28 (1942), 69. The names of only three bricks survive, 'Akramak', 'Waramak', and 'Akr...'; a fourth name was probably also given after the break, since an odd number of bricks would be impractical.

<sup>45</sup> For example, she is shown as human in PT 1183*b* and 1185*b* in the pyramid of Pepi I, in the birth scenes at Deir el-Bahari, and in subsequent versions of the same scene. The representation as a falcon occurs in PT 1183*b* and 1185*b* in the pyramids of Mernere and Pepi II. The tall, split head-dress has been identified as a bovine uterus or, more recently, as a special flint knife used to cut the umbilical cord (Roth, *JEA* 78, 144–6).

ing'. In later periods, this goddess takes four different forms, each of which corresponds to one of the four bricks. Each of these forms is associated with another goddess: Meskhenet-the-Great (*Mshnt-wrt*) is identified with Tefnut, Meskhenet-the-Grand (*Mshnt-ꜣt*) with Nut, Meskhenet-the-Beautiful (*Mshnt-nfwt*) with Isis, and Meskhenet-the-Excellent (*Mshnt-mnht*) with Nephthys. These four goddesses represent the female portion of the Heliopolitan ennead, and thus, in addition to childbirth, are intimately related to the creation of the world.<sup>46</sup>

The use of four bricks in childbirth is attested as early as the Sixth Dynasty, when they are mentioned on the north wall of room III of the tomb chapel of Watetkhethor in Saqqara. There, a scene of female dancers is accompanied by a song that clearly deals with childbirth.<sup>47</sup> Among the lines of the song is the phrase *jj (j)fd*, 'O four', determined by four rectangles. This is presumably a reference to the four bricks of birth, already sufficiently personified to be called upon.

One possible additional Old Kingdom depiction of birth bricks, in this case of a single brick, is in the determinative following the feminine title *jn't*, which occurs in the Old Kingdom. H. Fischer has suggested that this title is to be translated 'midwife', and that the determinative depicts a woman wearing a head-cloth and holding a brick of birth.<sup>48</sup> One of the rare occurrences of this sign is also found in the tomb of Watetkhethor.

Papyrus Westcar, which gives the account of the birth of the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty, dates to the Second Intermediate Period, but the story was probably either composed in the Old Kingdom or based on Old Kingdom prototypes.<sup>49</sup> According to the text, each of the newborn triplets is said to be placed on *jfd m dbt* immediately after he has been cleaned and his umbilical cord has been cut, and his fate is pronounced.<sup>50</sup> Because the word *jfd* is given a fabric determinative in the text, this phrase has been translated 'a cushion on bricks',<sup>51</sup> or even 'a pillow of cloth'.<sup>52</sup> As E. Staehelin<sup>53</sup> pointed out, the first translation would require the preposition *hr* rather than *m*; the second is clearly a further interpretation. G. Jéquier<sup>54</sup> suggested that the phrase refers to a birth stool made of the birth bricks and cloth. Staehelin<sup>55</sup> argued that the bricks on which the mother gave birth could not be meant, since after the first baby is born and laid on the *jfd m dbt*, two further children are born.

<sup>46</sup> M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel, 'Mesechenet', *LÄ* IV, 107. There is no clear connection between these goddesses and the emblems associated with the magical bricks in Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead. The *djed*-pillar and the anomalous Osiris figure from the tomb of Tutankhamun both represent Osiris, who like all four of the goddesses was a member of the Heliopolitan ennead. Anubis was said to be the son of Osiris and Nephthys in the tradition recorded in *On Isis and Osiris*, which would relate the Anubis figure to that ennead as well: Plutarch, *Moralia* V, F. C. Babbitt (transl.) (Loeb Classical Library 306; Cambridge, 1936), 39. We can suggest no explanation for the mummiform figure and the flame. Given the fact that Anubis and Osiris are male, the female bricks may have been guarded by male divinities, just as the four male divinities that personified the canopic organs were guarded by divinities of the opposite sex (Isis, Nephthys, Selket, and Neith).

<sup>47</sup> Roth, *JEA* 78, 142 (fig. 10). The text includes the exhortations 'Behold the mystery of birth!' and 'Oh, pull!'.

<sup>48</sup> *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and the Heracleopolitan Period*<sup>2</sup> (New York, 2000), 17–29 and figs. 24–6.

<sup>49</sup> The story clearly is a popular retelling of some kind of propaganda, literary or iconographic, created for the early Fifth Dynasty kings, intended to legitimize their assumption of power from the Fourth Dynasty. The only time such propaganda would have been useful was during the Fifth Dynasty itself; there would be no benefit to later dynasties in concocting a divine origin for a previous royal line. The details of the birth might have reflected later procedures, however.

<sup>50</sup> P. Westcar 10, 12.

<sup>51</sup> W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1973), 28.

<sup>52</sup> M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, I. The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley, 1973), 220.

<sup>53</sup> 'Bindung und Entbindung', *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 129.

<sup>54</sup> 'Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'un dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne', *BIFAO* 19 (1922), 39.

<sup>55</sup> *ZÄS* 96, 129–30.



However, the children could have been moved off the bricks when the mother was ready to use them again, or different sets of bricks could easily have been used for each birth, since bricks were plentiful. Staehelin also noted that bricks are an unsuitable place to lay a newborn baby; but the ancient Egyptians were surely less concerned with keeping babies clean and sterile than modern Westerners, and the immediate contact with the fertile Nile mud might easily have had symbolic meaning that would outweigh the baby's comfort.<sup>56</sup> Staehelin's conclusion, that the phrase refers to a brick-shaped pillow (taking *jfd* as 'bed'), founders on the fact that a single Egyptian brick would not be large enough to support a newborn baby.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, other examples she cites of a brick-shaped pillow are all written *dbt nt d3jw*, expressing the material second, in the normal way. If a brick-shaped pillow was meant here, one would expect that phrase to be used. A far simpler solution is to read *jfd* as the number four, translating the phrase 'four bricks', referring to the well-known bricks of birth. These bricks could easily have been moved after the birth to make a low platform upon which the child could be laid.<sup>58</sup> The goddess Meskhenet (herself a personification of the four bricks) would then decree its fate. The fact that Meskhenet's name means 'the place of alighting', as noted above, may itself refer to this custom. The explanation for the use of the cloth determinative is to be found in a confusion with the word *jfd*, 'four-weave cloth'. The association of cloth with the brick platform may have been reinforced because a cloth was put over the bricks or, more likely, because the child was swaddled in linen after he was cleaned.<sup>59</sup>

Like the bricks used in tombs, the bricks of birth associated with Meskhenet are clearly protective. In the hymn to Khnum found at the Graeco-Roman temple of Esna, it is said of the various forms of Khnum that 'they have placed their four Meskhenet at their sides, to repel the designs of evil by incantations'.<sup>60</sup> Spells are attested to make the bricks used in childbirth effective, although only a few examples survive. One mentions the striking or clapping (*sht*) of a brick for the sake of Osiris, and seems to be concerned with fending off the attacks of an Asiatic woman and a Nubian woman.<sup>61</sup> Specifying the geographical origin of these enemies from the north and south of Egypt may be a way of indicating the cardinal directions in which the bricks are supposed to offer protection, a parallel to the magical bricks which are also associated with the cardinal points. Although the Chapter 151 spells accompanying the magical bricks are nowhere exactly paralleled in the magical texts surrounding childbirth,<sup>62</sup> there is a close similarity in at least one of the dangers envisioned. In the spell associated with the west brick and the *djed*-pillar, protection is made against a

<sup>56</sup> Infant circumcision, for example, is uncomfortable for the baby, but is practiced in many places nonetheless.

<sup>57</sup> Bricks found in domestic contexts are normally about 23 cm long, 11.5 cm wide, and 7.5 cm high. The newborn babies in the story are said to be a cubit long (about 52 cm), so a pillow of brick-like dimensions would not support them. These measurements are converted from those given in S. Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Construction and Architecture* (Mineola, NY, 1990 reprint), 209–10.

<sup>58</sup> Using the measurement given in the preceding note, four domestic bricks, laid out with their long sides adjacent, would make a platform of 46 × 23 cm, which would easily support a newborn child (given that babies tend not to lie fully stretched out).

<sup>59</sup> A brick recently excavated in a Middle Kingdom house at Abydos, covered with a thin coating of plaster and painted with a scene of a mother and child as well as images associated with birth and the protection of children, would also tend to support the idea that the child was laid upon the bricks (J. Wegner, personal communication).

<sup>60</sup> As translated by M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III. *The Late Period* (Berkeley, 1980), 114, from *Esna* III, 250, 19.

<sup>61</sup> Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind aus dem Papyrus 3027 des Berliner Museums* (Berlin, 1901), 14.

<sup>62</sup> The only other spell mentioning bricks, (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, 24–5 (=F)) is unfortunately very badly preserved. It contains the phrase ...*hr dbty nt...*, '...upon the two bricks of...', which has been taken to refer to a birth where only two

demon 'whose steps are backwards and whose face is hidden'. This demon may be identical to the demon 'who comes in darkness and enters creeping, his nose behind, and his face backwards', who occurs in one of the most vivid spells for protecting a child.<sup>63</sup> The protective function of the bricks involved in actual childbirth is thus similar to that of the magical bricks in New Kingdom tombs.

It is easy to understand why the bricks used for a dangerous and liminal process such as childbirth might have acquired protective functions for rebirth after death as well, and inspired the placement of so-called 'magical bricks' found in New Kingdom tombs. Moreover, the pairing of the birth bricks in the context of their actual use suggests an explanation for the divergence between the placement of the brick niches in royal tombs and their theoretical configuration in the Chapter 151 vignettes. The pairing on either side of the coffin occurred in two of the earliest examples (the tombs of Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III), and perhaps also a third (that of Thutmose IV). This pairing represents the pairing of the bricks to support the feet of the expectant mother. Particularly significant is the possible placement in the tomb of Thutmose IV, where the niches for the bricks were actually stacked one above another (albeit somewhat inexact), even more closely approximating the position of the bricks used in an actual childbirth.

The bricks placed on either side of the sarcophagus were thus placed relative to the deceased person, waiting in his coffin to be reborn, in the same relationship that the birth bricks would have to a child at the moment of birth. Although the pattern was broken in the three reigns after the Amarna Period and a placement was substituted that was more in accord with the Chapter 151 vignette,<sup>64</sup> later royal tombs retained the pairing of the bricks, although the orientation relative to the coffin changed.

The bricks, like the canopic organs also depicted in the Chapter 151 vignette, moved from a practical position based on their role in human life to a more symmetrical distribution derived from their protective meaning. Further parallels can be drawn between the bricks and the canopic organs. Both the bricks and the canopic organs are magically charged objects personified by divinities. Each group consists of four objects (organs or bricks) personified as divinities and a second group of four divinities, opposite in gender, which is associated with them in consistent pairings. Just as the four goddesses Isis, Nephthys, Selket, and Neith guard the four canopic organs represented by the four sons of Horus, the male<sup>65</sup> amuletic figures guard personifications of the bricks, which are clearly female, because of their association with the goddess Meskhenet, with the goddesses Tefnut, Nut, Isis, and Nephthys, and, more fundamentally, because the word for 'brick', *dbt*, is feminine. The opposite-gender amuletic figures associated with the bricks, like the opposite-gender divinities associated with the canopic jars, probably played two roles, protecting the bricks or organs themselves from harm, and simultaneously protecting the mummy from any ill effects that might be caused by their proximity.

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bricks were used. While this accords with some of the ethnographic parallels, the bricks occur so often in pairs elsewhere that it is perhaps more likely that the remaining two bricks were mentioned in the lost part of the spell.

<sup>63</sup> Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, text C 1. This text does not mention bricks, although it does negate four threats to the child: that the male or female demons will kiss it, silence it, injure it, or take it away.

<sup>64</sup> Chapter 151 is well attested before this period, for example, in the tomb of Sennefer (TT 96), who served Amenhotep II.

<sup>65</sup> The jackal is specifically identified as Anubis, while the mummiform figure is called a *twt*, a male statue. The flame and the *djed*-pillar are both represented by masculine words: *tkʿ* and *dd*, and the *djed*-pillar, of course, is a form that can be taken by Osiris.

### Bricks of birth and the ‘Opening of the Mouth’

Roth has argued that the ritual of the ‘Opening of the Mouth’, as it is preserved in the Pyramid Texts offering ritual, represents a ritual of birth, applied to the analogous process of rebirth after death.<sup>66</sup> The four bricks of birth do not occur explicitly in the Pyramid Texts ritual, although several actions are repeated four times, and at two points in the sequence there are references to four deities connected with the four cardinal points.<sup>67</sup> These divinities might be related to the four bricks of birth, serving as earlier versions of the guardian figures. Several repetitions of the names of these gods occur directly before the spells interpreted as representing the birth, just when the bricks used in an actual childbirth might have been set out and their guardians invoked. The four repetitions of the crucial spells in the sequence in which the king is called forth<sup>68</sup> may also be related to the bricks and the corresponding cosmological divisions.<sup>69</sup>

On several occasions, the fourfold repetition is applied to the ritual as a whole. In the Book of the Dead papyrus of Hunefer,<sup>70</sup> several actions surrounding the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ are said to be repeated four times, and the same group (*zp* 4) occurs after the two earliest references to the ‘Opening of the Mouth’, in the tomb of Metjen<sup>71</sup> and in the earliest reference on the Palermo stone.<sup>72</sup> While these repetitions may simply represent the cardinal directions, they demonstrate the importance of those directions, which were also associated with the four magical bricks, in the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ ritual.

There is some tentative evidence for a more explicit incorporation of the bricks of birth into the New Kingdom edition of the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ ritual. In scene 36 of Otto’s analysis of the ritual, four objects called *ʿbt* are offered.<sup>73</sup> Otto interprets these objects as polishing stones, presumably because the word is determined in the tomb of Seti I with rounded green signs that might represent polishing stones if the context is statue-making, as he argues. Elsewhere, however, the determinative is invariably four white rectangles of brick-like proportions. These rectangles may well represent the four magical bricks of birth. The name *ʿbt* initially appears to be derived from the word *wʿb*, a simple reference to their purifying properties, but it may in fact be the word *ḏbt*, which is generally used for the four bricks. The normal writings of *ḏbt* (New Kingdom *ḏbt*) and *ʿbt* differ by only a single sign: one is written with a hand and the other with an arm and hand, which suggests a mechanism for the reinterpretation.

The verbs that accompany the presentation of the four *ʿbt* in the New Kingdom ‘Opening

<sup>66</sup> JEA 78, 113–47; JEA 79, 57–79. The ritual is normally inscribed on the north wall of the burial chamber.

<sup>67</sup> The four divinities, Horus, Seth, Thoth, and Dewen-anwy, who occur in PT 17 and PT 27–8, have been associated with the four cardinal points by R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), 5.

<sup>68</sup> PT 23*b*. The translation ‘going forth at the voice’, implying a summons, was suggested by J. P. Allen (personal communication); perhaps the first occurrence of these four repetitions is a summons to (re)birth addressed to the dead king and the second occurrence is similarly the calling forth of the placenta or afterbirth. In both cases a gap of white space was left on the wall after these important spells, emphasizing their liminal status.

<sup>69</sup> See, for comparison, the releasing of the four birds to the four winds at the end of the Min festival: E. Brunner-Traut, ‘Minfest’, *LÄ* IV, 142.

<sup>70</sup> See E. Rossiter, *The Book of the Dead: the Papyri of Ani, Hunefer, Anhai* (London, 1979), 84, fig. 4.

<sup>71</sup> *LD* II, pl. 5.

<sup>72</sup> As cited in E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden, 1960), II, 3. The reference to the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ here is restored, but it is made almost certain by the presence of the following phrase *m ḥwt nbw*, with which it regularly occurs in later entries.

<sup>73</sup> *Mundöffnungsritual* I, 88–90; II, 96–7.

of the Mouth' ritual are *snṯ* and *sk*. *snṯ* can refer to Khnum's fashioning of the limbs of a newborn child and his *k3* from the same earth as the brick itself,<sup>74</sup> or it may refer to the fundamental meaning of *snṯ*, to 'make a foundation for' or 'to plan', usually applied to a building.<sup>75</sup> The reference might be to the use of the four bricks of birth in temple foundation rituals or their role in planning the fate of a newborn, as in the Papyrus Westcar story. The other verb that occurs in this scene, *sk*, is normally negative, which is not likely here. The word probably means to wipe the mouth, as it does in several Pyramid Text spells.<sup>76</sup> It would thus use the bricks in a version of the principal ritual of rebirth, the 'Opening of the Mouth'.

In Otto's reconstruction of the order of these scenes, the offering of the four 'bt is directly followed by the presentation of the *psš-kf*-knife. According to the interpretation proposed by Roth, this knife was used originally for the cutting of the umbilical cord.<sup>77</sup> The context in which the four 'bt were offered is thus childbirth, rather than the statue ritual assumed by their interpretation as polishing stones. If the four 'bt represent the bricks of birth, then, they are here closely associated with the cutting of the umbilical cord, just as they are in the account of the divine birth of the kings in Papyrus Westcar. The *psš-kf*-knife is also associated with the bricks by the depictions of the goddess Meskhenet, the personification of the bricks, with a *psš-kf* on her head.<sup>78</sup>

The use of bricks in connection with the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual can also be seen in the temple foundation ceremony. El-Adly has argued that such bricks are represented in temple foundation ceremonies in the Ptolemaic Period, and were also used in earlier foundation deposits.<sup>79</sup> They were placed at each corner of the building, a four-fold variant of the cornerstones still laid at foundation ceremonies today. She argues that ritual surrounding the foundation of the temple had as its central metaphor the birth of a living being, so that the temple, like a child, was seen as being formed by Khnum on his potter's wheel and placed on the four bricks (also the product of Khnum's labours) soon after its birth. She connects this birth metaphor to the presence of *mammisi*.

In his review of el-Adly's work, Goyon related the occurrence of the bricks of birth to another element of temple foundation ceremonies, which el-Adly overlooked. This is the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual, which was performed on the temple just before its final presentation to the god.<sup>80</sup> He suggests that performance of this ritual, like the use of bricks in the foundation ritual, confirms the role of the temple as a model of the cosmos, and thus

<sup>74</sup> See Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, 11, where Khnum is said to *snṯ* a child's *tp*, *wpt*, and 'wt. This action takes place on a potter's wheel, of course, and uses clay, a more refined material than was used to make the simple mud-bricks.

<sup>75</sup> *Wb.* IV, 177, 10–179, 14.

<sup>76</sup> PT 626*b*, 1627*b*, 179*b*, and 286*a*. This interpretation and the accompanying references were pointed out to us by J. P. Allen.

<sup>77</sup> Roth, *JEA* 78, 123–7. In the earliest pyramid text version of the ritual, the offering of the *psš-kf* occurs in PT 30*a*; five spells earlier, in PT 23*b* (24 and 25 are omitted in the pyramid of Unas), there is a fourfold 'Going forth at the voice' invocation, which may be related to the fourfold nature of the bricks.

<sup>78</sup> Roth, *JEA* 78, 144–6.

<sup>79</sup> S. Abd el-Azim el-Adly, *Das Gründungs-und Weiheritual des ägyptischen Tempels von der frühgeschichtlichen Zeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (PhD Dissertation, Tübingen, 1981), as cited in a review by J. C. Goyon, *BiOr* 40 (1983), 353 and n. 5. Goyon's summary of the information and arguments from el-Adly's dissertation is the source of the following discussion, as we were unable to see the dissertation itself.

<sup>80</sup> Goyon, *BiOr* 40, 353. The use of this ritual in temple foundation ceremonies is also cited by P. Barguet, 'Les dimensions du temple d'Edfou et leur signification', *BSFE* 72 (1975), 23, based on texts inscribed on the façade of the sanctuary at Edfu.

a repository of life, which means it must be born and animated. He suggests that the absence of both these ritual actions from earlier representations of temple foundation ceremonies does not mean that they were not performed; decorum may have forbidden their representation precisely because of their importance. The ritual may thus be far older than its earliest attestation. In view of the proposed connection between the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual and childbirth, the joint appearance of these two rituals in the context of temples takes on an even greater importance. These rites are again part of a coherent sequence which is a ritual metaphor re-enacting the actions and events of a human birth.

The use of bricks in temple foundation ceremonies may also be relevant to the problems surrounding the occurrence of magical bricks in the vignettes illustrating Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead. While the bricks are placed on the four sides of the burial chamber in the vignette, in contrast to their placement at the four corners in temple foundations, the symmetrical arrangement of the bricks in Chapter 151 (as opposed to their paired placement in childbirth) may be derived from their use in temples.

### Bricks of birth and destiny

It is significant that both in the Papyrus Westcar stories and in the New Kingdom 'divine birth' scenes of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III, it is the goddess Meskhenet who comes forward after the birth has taken place to decree that the newborn is destined for kingship. In Papyrus Westcar, this decree comes directly after the baby is cleaned, its umbilical cord is cut, and it is laid upon the bricks that Meskhenet herself represents.

Meskhenet is also attested as a goddess of fate in other contexts. In the *Satire on the Trades* she is paired with Renenutet as the determiner of a scribe's fate.<sup>81</sup> Renenutet is a harvest goddess, concerned with nourishment, and ultimately, as her name suggests, with the nursing of a child. That qualities such as divinity or wisdom or kingship could be ingested from the breast of a goddess is clear from the many representations of nursing in Egyptian iconography.<sup>82</sup> Meskhenet's connection with destiny is less obvious. If Meskhenet was indeed associated by her head-dress with the cutting of the umbilical cord,<sup>83</sup> it is perhaps the nature of this moment as the first recognition of a new member of society, independent of its mother, that made it a propitious one for such prognostications. Unlike that of the Seven Hathors, who also appear at the birth of a child, Meskhenet's role is not to predict the manner of the child's death, but his or her social position. This is true in Papyrus Westcar, in the Hatshepsut birth reliefs, and in the scribal literature.

Because the Egyptians believed that fate was usually determined at birth, it may seem odd that divinities associated with fate routinely appear in the vignette of the weighing of the heart accompanying Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. Not only Meskhenet, but Shai and Renenutet are often present. Meskhenet, and more rarely also Shai and Renenutet, can be shown in the form of a human-headed brick, as well as in human form.<sup>84</sup> This brick is clearly a brick of birth (given Meskhenet's association with such bricks elsewhere), and is again referred to in a mortuary context. Here, however, the bricks are most often shown floating near the beam of the scales, and clearly not serving as protection or support for the

<sup>81</sup> W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dws-Htjj* (Kleine Ägyptische Texten; Wiesbaden, 1970), 146–50.

<sup>82</sup> See W. Guglielmi, 'Milch', *LÄ* IV, 126.

<sup>83</sup> Roth, *JEA* 78, 144–6.

<sup>84</sup> C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35; Berlin, 1976), 83–8; J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique* (OLA 2; Leuven, 1975), 147–50.

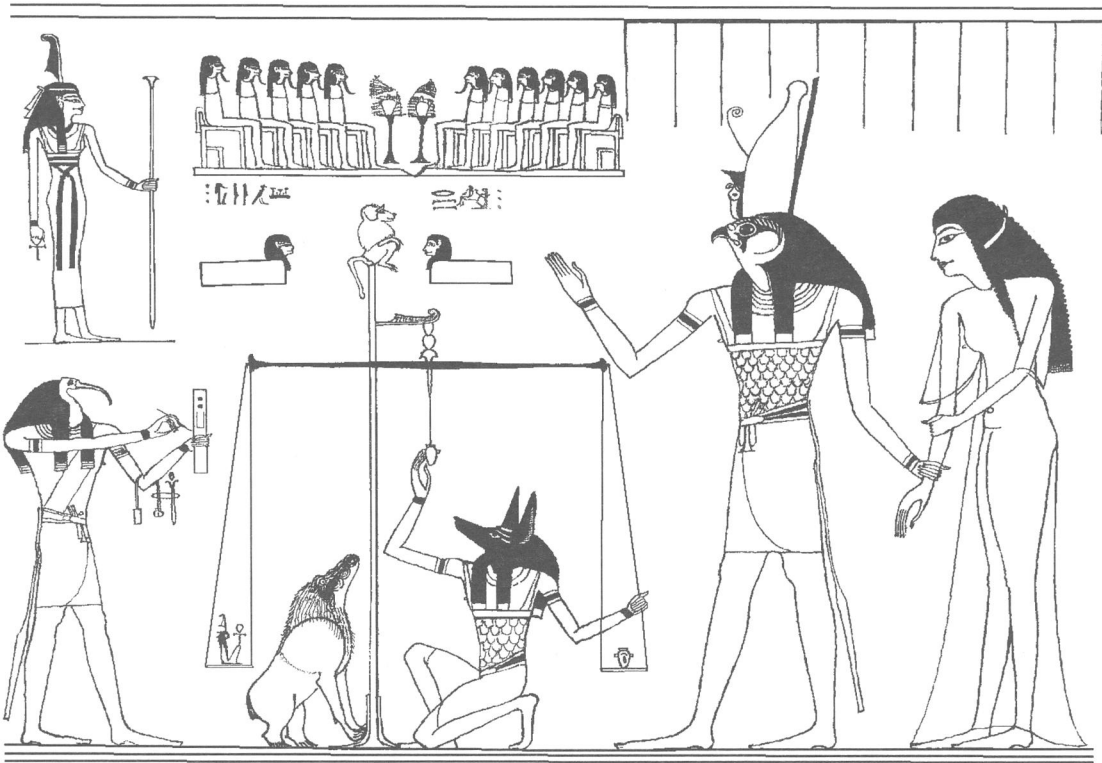


FIG. 5. Two personified bricks (here identified as Shai and Renenutet) above the balance in Book of the Dead Chapter 125 from the papyrus of Anhai in The British Museum (most texts omitted).

rebirth of the dead person (see fig. 5; the examples in fig. 4 were taken from such scenes).

An explanation for the presence of the bricks is suggested by the demotic story of Setne II,<sup>85</sup> in which Setne and his son Si-Osiris journey to the underworld through the hours of the Amduat and witness the judgment of Osiris. Before the throne of Osiris, the good deeds of a man are judged 'according to the measure (?) of his term of life that Thoth wrote for him',<sup>86</sup> in other words, compared to the fate decreed at his birth. In his notes to this story, Griffith cites two other texts which mention this predestination by Thoth, in each case stating that the fate is written out on a birth brick (or *meskhenet*);<sup>87</sup> he also notes the presence of this brick in judgment scenes. The meaning then is clear: the social position into which a person was born, decreed at birth and attested by the presence of a birth brick personifying the divinities connected with fate, was taken into consideration by the judges in determining whether sufficient good deeds had been done to justify admission to the afterlife.<sup>88</sup> This humane concept cannot have evolved later than the Eighteenth Dynasty, when such vignettes first appear.

<sup>85</sup> P. British Museum EA 604, verso, published and translated by F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford, 1900), I, 41–50, 142–61.

<sup>86</sup> Griffith, *Stories of High Priests of Memphis*, I, 155.

<sup>87</sup> *Stories of High Priests of Memphis* I, 48–9: In the Rh. Bil. Pap., II.2 (Brugsch, *Thes.* 898) we have, in the demotic, mention of 'the end of his life that Thoth had written for him upon his brick of birth', and in hieratic 'the end of his life that Asdenu (cf. G. Maspero, 'Notes au jour le jour – V', *PSBA* 20 (1898), 140) had engraved for him upon his meskhent'.

<sup>88</sup> Seeber, *Untersuchung*, 86–8, discusses this connection, and the metamorphosis of the brick into the goddess Maat.

### Mesopotamian connections

In view of the other connections between the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian 'Opening of the Mouth' rituals (not least of which is an apparent connection with childbirth), it is not surprising that bricks occur in the Mesopotamian version of the ritual. According to P. Boden,<sup>89</sup> in the 'Washing of the Mouth' ritual (*mīs pî*), the water used in the washing is to be set upon the 'brick of Dingir-mah', a Mesopotamian birth goddess. A variant ritual for the repair of a statue requires that offerings be placed on a 'brick of Belet-ili', another birth goddess.<sup>90</sup>

Other connections of bricks with birth in Mesopotamian society include association of the goddess of birth, Ninhursag, with a brick, although this brick may have been used as a platform for cutting the umbilical cord rather than as a birth stool.<sup>91</sup> A. Kilmer has pointed out that bricks seem closely related to the material in the womb, both the child and the placenta, since according to some Mesopotamian creation stories mankind was first made of mud, like a mud-brick, and since the placenta is red-brown and shaped like a plano-convex brick.<sup>92</sup> Kilmer argues for a parallel metaphor in Egypt, based on the fact that Egyptian children and their *kas* were also believed to be created on a potter's wheel, and hence presumably were also made of clay. She cites a passage in the late hymn from Esna, where pregnant women who have passed their term are called upon to respect Khnum, who opens the vagina and makes firm the birth brick.<sup>93</sup> However, it is unlikely that the brick in that passage refers to the placenta, since it is desirable in this case for the placenta to be loosened rather than fixed; it is more probably the brick the mother is standing on that is to be firm. Although bricks are clearly linked with birth in both cultures, the connection seems to be less closely parallel than other elements of the 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual. In particular, the Mesopotamian bricks seem to lack the protective characteristics of the Egyptian bricks and also their fourfold number.

### Conclusions

The role of magical mud-bricks was quite complex. They supported and presumably protected a mother during childbirth and they formed a platform upon which the infant was laid while its social destiny was determined. This destiny was then inscribed upon the bricks by Thoth. After death, the bricks again served as support and protection during the metaphorical rebirth into the afterlife, and, finally, they bore witness to the good or bad circumstances that had been decreed for the person at birth, which affected the way his or her life was judged.

As an extension of their role in human birth, the four bricks can be seen to have had a role in protecting temples, which were thought to be similarly born. If the bricks also formed part of the New Kingdom 'Opening of the Mouth' ritual, they may also have been used in

<sup>89</sup> In an extensive personal communication about her dissertation research, for which we are very grateful.

<sup>90</sup> Boden cites E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931), nos. 26 and 27.

<sup>91</sup> T. Jacobsen, 'Notes on Nintur', *Or* 42 (1973), 289–93, especially nn. 57 and 67.

<sup>92</sup> A. Kilmer, "'The Brick of Birth'", Appendix C to G. Azarpay, 'Proportional Guidelines in Ancient Near Eastern Art', *JNES* 46, 212–13.

<sup>93</sup> Kilmer, *JNES* 46, 215, citing R. K. Ritner, 'A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection', *JNES* 43 (1984), 215.

such rituals when they were applied to statues. Alternatively, such rituals may have substituted a more appropriate metaphor, as it has been argued that the adze was substituted for the finger in the statue version of the 'Opening of the Mouth'.<sup>94</sup>

The use of bricks in these rituals may also have had a deeper creative meaning, since they were made of the black alluvial mud that was the fertile substratum of the Egyptian cosmos, emerging from the floodwaters when they receded and forming a part of the primeval mound. In this sense, the stacked bricks on which a woman crouched to give birth represented the hill on which Re-Atum stood to create the cosmos. It is hardly surprising that the Egyptians wished to invoke the power of such primal objects in their quest to be reborn after death.

<sup>94</sup> See Roth, *JEA* 79, 75.



# GENDER AND CONVERSATIONAL TACTICS IN *THE CONTENDING OF HORUS AND SETH* \*

By DEBORAH SWEENEY

This article analyses the correlation of conversational tactics and gender in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, focusing on the linguistic behaviour of the goddesses Isis and Neith, and the gods Pre-Harakhte, Seth, and Osiris. During the litigation over the kingship of Egypt, certain male deities, such as Seth and Pre-Harakhte, attempt to achieve their aims by threats and outbursts of rage, tactics seldom adopted by the goddesses in this particular text. Isis, by contrast, tends to assume a vulnerable position in relation to her interlocutors and to persuade them to cooperate with her by offering them attractive rewards. However, the issues of speech and power are subtle and complex, and a simple binary division based on gender cannot do justice to them. This text also represents goddesses acting assertively and forthrightly, such as Neith in her correspondence with the Ennead. Similarly, few male gods are shown emulating Seth's boorish behaviour, from which the whole divine assembly suffers.

THE study of gender and language in recent decades is usually considered to have been inaugurated by the publication of Robin Lakoff's seminal work *Language and Woman's Place* in 1975.<sup>1</sup> Lakoff interpreted the hesitation and mitigation which she understood to be typical of women's speech as a reflection of their position in the hierarchy of gender and social power. Her work sparked a debate about whether the forms she identified were in fact typical of women, whether they applied to all women or only to the white middle-class American women of the 1960s whom Lakoff had investigated, and what the significance of these features might be.

Lakoff concentrated on isolating lexical and grammatical facets of women's speech. Building on the enumeration of characteristic features of gendered speech, research into gender and language has developed an interest in evaluating pragmatic choices and their relation to gender:<sup>2</sup> how, when, and why women and men choose different verb forms and sentence patterns from the options available to them in order to convey information, make requests, ask questions, and complain. More broadly defined conversational moves, such as boast-

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<sup>1</sup> R. Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place* (New York, 1975).

<sup>2</sup> S. McConnell-Ginet, 'Linguistics and the Feminist Challenge', in S. McConnell-Ginet, R. Borker, and N. Furman (eds), *Women and Language in Literature and Society* (New York, 1980), 17. See, for instance, J. Coates, *Women, Men and Language* (London and New York, 1993); M. Buchholz et al. (eds), *Cultural Performances: Proceedings of the Third Berkeley Women and Language Conference, April 8–10, 1994* (Berkeley, 1994); J. Holmes, *Women, Men and Politeness* (London, 1995); K. Hall and M. Buchholz (eds), *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self* (New York and London, 1995), among many others.

ing, threatening, pleading, insulting, and keeping silent in different settings, and whether these vary by gender, have also elicited interest.

Although some type of gender-based difference in speech is often evident, there seems to be no consensus across cultures about what form this difference might take. For example, in certain cultures assertive speech is associated with men and indirectness with women, but this is far from universal. The Malagasy men investigated by the ethnographer Elinor Keenan in the early 1970s favoured an indirect mode of speech, whereas the Malagasy women spoke assertively and directly.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, different cultures may have different perceptions of linguistic strategies,<sup>4</sup> such as what constitutes politeness and the degree of politeness associated with specific utterances or constructions.<sup>5</sup>

Recent work, however, has opened up additional avenues of thought. On one hand, male and female cannot be understood as monolithic categories.<sup>6</sup> Not all men nor all women can be assumed to speak in the same way.<sup>7</sup> Discussions of gender and speech must thus be adjusted to allow for different ways of being masculine and feminine. On the other hand, while gender may be an important factor in communication and society, it is part of an intricate social framework. Gender may not necessarily be the sole relevant factor in any given situation, or even the most salient factor.<sup>8</sup> Interpersonal behaviour is constituted not only in terms of gender but through several simultaneously overlapping categories, such as status, gender, occupation, skill, and personality.

For instance, following Lakoff's investigations, William O'Barr and Bowman Atkins suggested that hesitation and mitigation were not necessarily correlated with gender alone. They described the testimony of different witnesses in a court case, and observed that hesitation and mitigation characterised the less powerful witnesses, both male and female. On the other hand, women who spoke from a position of strength and expertise, such as the female pathologist called as an expert witness, demonstrated little hesitation and expressed themselves assertively. O'Barr and Atkins concluded that self-effacing language was linked to relative power in a given situation, rather than to gender.<sup>9</sup>

The ancient Egyptian literary text *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*<sup>10</sup> is an appropriate source for investigating gender and language use, since the story features several prominent female characters: the goddesses Isis, Neith, and Hathor. The tale includes many conversations in a lively colloquial style, in which these goddesses take an active part.

<sup>3</sup> E. Keenan, 'Norm-Makers, Norm-Breakers: Uses of Speech by Men and Women in a Malagasy Community', in R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds), *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking* (Cambridge, 1974), 125–43.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. D. Tannen, 'The Relativity of Linguistic Strategies: Rethinking Power and Solidarity in Gender and Dominance', in D. Tannen (ed.), *Gender and Conversational Interaction* (New York and Oxford, 1993), 165–88.

<sup>5</sup> P. van der Wijst, 'The Perception of Politeness in Dutch and French Indirect Requests', *Text* 15 (1995), 483; A. J. Meir, 'Passages of Politeness', *Journal of Pragmatics* 24 (1995), 385–6, 388.

<sup>6</sup> D. Cameron, 'Gender, Language and Discourse: A Review Essay', *Signs* 23/4 (1998), 947.

<sup>7</sup> M. Ariel and R. Giora, 'A Self versus Other Point of View in Language: Redefining Femininity and Masculinity', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 129 (1998), 59–86.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. McConnell-Ginet, in McConnell-Ginet et al. (eds), *Women and Language in Literature and Society*, 18–19; L. Meskell, 'The Somatization of Archaeology: Institutions, Discourses, Corporeality', *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 29 (1996), 10; id., *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1999), 2.

<sup>9</sup> W. M. O'Barr and B. K. Atkins, "'Women's Language" or "Powerless Language"?", in McConnell-Ginet et al. (eds), *Women and Language in Literature and Society*, 93–110.

<sup>10</sup> Published in A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (BAE 1; Brussels, 1932), 37–60, and recently translated with a commentary by M. Broze, *Mythe et roman en Égypte ancienne: Les aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le papyrus Chester Beatty I* (OLA 76; Leuven, 1996). The line references quoted in this paper are those of the original papyrus.

*The Contendings of Horus and Seth* is known to us from a papyrus from the mid-twelfth century BC.<sup>11</sup> It is a satirical account of the lawsuit between the god Horus, rightful heir to the crown of Egypt, and his uncle, the god Seth, who has usurped the crown by murdering Horus' father, Osiris.<sup>12</sup> This was one of the central myths of ancient Egypt, expressing values very dear to the Egyptians, such as justice and family solidarity. In this text, however, procedure in the divine court is far from ideal. One inconclusive confrontation follows another. Seth constantly delegitimizes the legal process by insisting that the verdict should be reached not in court but by a trial of strength between Horus and himself. Moreover, the chief god, the Lord of All (here also known as Pre-Harakhte and Atum),<sup>13</sup> secretly favours Seth (1.12–2.1). Whenever a verdict in favour of Horus is reached, the Lord of All refuses to accept it and disrupts the discussions by getting angry, stalling, or falling silent.

This text was probably composed and written down by a man. The chances of it being a woman's composition are relatively low, since few women held official administrative posts during the Ramesside Period, and it seems that it was rare for women to be highly literate.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, this text reflects women's speech and behaviour through two different filters—not only literary convention but also men's images of women.<sup>15</sup> The text actually presents the way in which the male author of a literary text thought he should represent women: *a cultural stereotype rather than accurate observation*.

This story is a literary narrative incorporating previously existing elements<sup>16</sup> of the con-

<sup>11</sup> U. Verhoeven, 'Ein historischer "Sitz in Leben" für die Erzählung von Horus und Seth des Papyrus Chester Beatty I', in M. Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag* (ÄAT 35; Wiesbaden, 1996), 361–3, argues convincingly for dating the text to the reign of Ramesses V to reinforce the royal succession from father to son, which had been called into question at that period.

<sup>12</sup> We cannot suppose that New Kingdom audiences of the text were unaware of Seth's murder of Osiris, as N. Wells, *Desire, Discord and Death: Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Myth* (Boston, 2001), 96, remarks. However, decorum probably prevented any explicit mention of this sacred yet highly problematic event; see J. Baines, 'Myth and Literature', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 10; Leiden, 1996), 369.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. F. Junge, 'Mythos und Literarizität: Die Geschichte vom Streit der Götter Horus und Seth', in H. Behlmer (ed.), *Quaerentes Scientiam: Festgabe für Wolfhart Westendorf zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1994), 95.

<sup>14</sup> It was rare for men to be literate in ancient Egypt, but female literacy seems to have been even more limited. See J. Baines and C. J. Eyre, 'Four Notes on Literacy', *GM* 61 (1983), 81–5; J. J. Janssen, 'Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medīna', in R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds), *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir el-Medīna and their Interpretation'*, Leiden, May 31–June 1, 1991 (CNWS Publications 13; Leiden, 1992), 89–91; B. Bryan, 'Evidence for Female Literacy from Theban Tombs of the New Kingdom', *BES* 6 (1984), 17–32; D. Sweeney, 'Women's Correspondence from Deir el-Medīneh', in G. M. Zaccane and T. R. di Netro (eds), *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egitologia* (Turin, 1993), II, 523–9, and S. B. Shubert, 'Does She or Doesn't She? Female Literacy in Ancient Egypt', *Proceedings of the Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations Graduate Students' Annual Symposia 1998–2000* (Toronto, 2001), 55–76.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. G. Robins, 'Some Images of Women in New Kingdom Art and Literature', in B. S. Lesko (ed.), *Women's Earliest Records from Ancient Egypt and Western Asia* (Brown Judaic Studies 166; Atlanta, 1989), 106; id., *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1993), 176.

<sup>16</sup> However, relatively few of the Egyptian myths are known in the form of detailed developed narratives before the New Kingdom; see J. Assmann, 'Die Verborgenheit des Mythos in Ägypten', *GM* 25 (1977), 7–9.

A Middle Kingdom narrative fragment (P. Kahun VI.12) describes Seth's attempt to seduce Horus (R. B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (London, 1991), 120–1), although Assman, *GM* 25, 33 n. 52, argues that it might actually belong to a medico-magical text. Baines, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 366, lists other Middle Kingdom narrative fragments set in the world of the gods, but the texts are too fragmentary for them to be identified unequivocally as *belles lettres*. It is uncertain when myths, in the sense of narratives about the divine world, first appeared. See, for instance, J. R. Baines, 'Egyptian Myth and Discourse: Myth, Gods and the Written and Iconographic Record', *JNES* 50 (1991), 81–105, and V. Tobin, 'Myth and Politics in the Old Kingdom of Egypt', *BiOr* 49 (1992), 605–36. On one hand, J. Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (Cornell, 2001), 96,

flict between Horus and Seth,<sup>17</sup> such as Seth tearing out Horus' eyes,<sup>18</sup> the homosexual incident between Horus and Seth,<sup>19</sup> and the battle between Horus and Seth in the form of hippopotami,<sup>20</sup> to mention a few incidents among many. The pragmatic behaviour of the characters in the story is thus dictated to some extent by earlier precedents and by the gods' established roles.<sup>21</sup> Seth appears as the opponent of Horus, rather than Thoth or Shu, in keeping with the well-established rivalry between Horus and Seth. Appropriate behaviour is assigned to the gods in keeping with their already established roles—Thoth, god of justice, consistently asserts correct procedure in court and comes to the aid of Horus,<sup>22</sup> whereas Seth, god of chaos, behaves disruptively. When mythical events were incorporated into narrative, dialogue and additional incidents must have been added to bridge the gaps in the story. Here, I argue, the author drew on his own and his audience's experience and expectations<sup>23</sup> of how people argued, litigated, and negotiated, of how men and women were thought to speak in public and in private, and which types of speech and interaction were viewed negatively and positively. Although the speech acts may depend on the mythical roles which underlie the narrative, they will also have enough connection to contemporary speech to be recognisable. On the other hand, since the text is generally held to be satirical<sup>24</sup> the audience might also expect some degree of exaggeration and parody for comic effect. We may thus use this text, albeit with caution, to draw broader conclusions about spoken interaction during the Ramesside Period.

Part of the text has close parallels from the New Kingdom, notably the *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days*, which includes a very close parallel to the contest between Horus and Seth as hippopotami,<sup>25</sup> and a variant on the story of Isis deceiving the ferryman Nemty by disguising herself as an old woman.<sup>26</sup> *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* would thus seem to be based at least in part on slightly earlier narratives. On the other hand, these narratives have undergone various degrees of adaptation and reworking<sup>27</sup> and are melded

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argues that myths may have taken form gradually, and that the information about the gods in Old Kingdom texts such as the Pyramid Texts is better described in terms of constellations, for example, Osiris as the deceased father and Horus as his loving son. By contrast, Baines, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 365, argues that although myths probably existed at early periods, they could not emerge as part of literature until literature began to use narrative forms, probably during the Twelfth Dynasty.

<sup>17</sup> Listed in full in J. Spiegel, *Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth in Papyrus Beatty I als Literaturwerk* (Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien 9; Glückstadt, Hamburg and New York, 1937), 29–67; Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, 125.

<sup>18</sup> J. G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), 2–3.

<sup>19</sup> Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 41–6.

<sup>20</sup> Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 46–8.

<sup>21</sup> Junge, in Behlmer (ed.), *Quaerentes Scientiam*, 94–5.

<sup>22</sup> Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth*, 3, notes that as early as the Pyramid Texts Thoth is represented helping Horus.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Junge, in Behlmer (ed.), *Quaerentes Scientiam*, 96. On the other hand, Junge (p. 88) points out that events in the divine world become precedents for action in this world, so that narratives about the gods also influence the behaviour of human beings.

<sup>24</sup> A. Loprieno, 'Defining Egyptian Literature', in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 50; S. Quirke, 'Narrative Literature', in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 272; J. L. Foster, 'Narratives', in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), II, 497; J. G. Griffiths, 'Allegory', in Redford (ed.) *Oxford Encyclopedia*, I, 58.

<sup>25</sup> C. Leitz, *Tagwählerei, Das Buch h:t nhh ph.wjj dt und verwandte Texte* (ÄA 55; Wiesbaden, 1994), 54–7.

<sup>26</sup> Leitz, *Tagwählerei*, 119–22.

<sup>27</sup> Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, 125.

with other incidents to form a narrative whole. Michelle Broze, in her recent translation and commentary on the text, has shown clearly that *The Contendings* is not an inconsistent juxtaposition of incidents,<sup>28</sup> but that the author has built them together into a narrative,<sup>29</sup> especially in their subtle representation of the growth and development of the god Horus.<sup>30</sup>

### The right to speak in court

During the Ramesside Period, women appeared in court as defendants, litigated as plaintiffs, and made arrangements for their property in court.<sup>31</sup> For example, during the reign of Horemheb a woman named Werel represented her family in administering the family estate, including litigation over the property, and at a later stage in this long-running lawsuit, during the reign of Ramesses II, the widow Nubnofret from the same family appealed to the vizier to defend her rights to the land.<sup>32</sup> In the reign of Ramesses V, citizeness Naunakhte appealed to the local court of Deir el-Medina to ratify the disposition of her property after her death.<sup>33</sup> Finally, during the reign of Ramesses XI, a woman named Nanefer from the Middle Egyptian town of Spermeru freed and adopted three slave children who had grown up in her family.<sup>34</sup> She also adopted her younger brother, who married the elder of the two girls.

The arrangements made by Nanefer and Naunakhte were somewhat unusual and for this reason may have needed official support from legal institutions. Naunakhte applied to the court because she wanted to disinherit various children who had failed to help her,<sup>35</sup> instead of dividing her property among all her offspring. Nanefer needed official confirmation of her adopted children's new status, particularly that of her younger brother as heir,<sup>36</sup> especially since her late husband's family might dispute these arrangements (v1–7).

<sup>28</sup> As argued by, among others, Assmann, *GM* 25, 33, and R. Schlichting, 'Streit des Horus und Seth', *LÄ* VI, 85.

<sup>29</sup> Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, 129 ff, 154.

<sup>30</sup> Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, 172–3, 227.

<sup>31</sup> Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 131–3, 136–7, 141; J. Johnson, 'The Legal Status of Women in Ancient Egypt', in A. K. Capel and G. E. Markoe (eds), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), 176–8; J. Toivairi, 'Man Versus Woman: Interpersonal Disputes in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina', *JESHO* 40/2 (1997), 160–9. However, it was unusual for women actually to participate as members of the court. For an exception, see O. Gardiner 150, recently translated by A. McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs* (Oxford, 1999), 169–70. As McDowell points out, the women mentioned in this document may have actually been witnesses to an oath. Since the court sat on day 22 of the month, most of the men in the crew may have been absent from the village at work.

<sup>32</sup> G. A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977), 22–7, pls. 50–63 (= *KRI* III 424–35); S. Allam, 'Some Remarks on the Trial of Mose', *JEA* 75 (1989), 103–12; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations*, III (Oxford, 2000), 307–11.

<sup>33</sup> P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.95 and 1945.97. See J. Černý, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents', *JEA* 31 (1945), 29–53; McDowell, *Village Life*, 38–40; A. McDowell, 'Legal Aspects of Care of the Elderly in Egypt to the End of the New Kingdom', in M. Stol and S. P. Vleeming (eds), *The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden, 1998), 215–16.

<sup>34</sup> P. Ashmolean 1945.96. See A. H. Gardiner, 'Adoption Extraordinary', *JEA* 26 (1940), 23–9; S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen, 1973), 258–67; E. Cruz-Urbe, 'A New Look at the Adoption Papyrus', *JEA* 74 (1988), 220–3; S. Allam, 'A New Look at the Adoption Papyrus (Reconsidered)', *JEA* 76 (1990), 189–91; C. J. Eyre, 'The Adoption Papyrus in Social Context', *JEA* 78 (1992), 207–21.

<sup>35</sup> J. Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina: A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants in the Workmen's Community During the Ramesside Period* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 15; Leiden, 2001), 102.

<sup>36</sup> Eyre, *JEA* 78, 221.

Secondly, both Nanefet and Nubnofret were widows. Nubnofret had a young son and Nanefet a younger brother, but since the latter married the elder of her adopted daughters he was probably younger than Nanefet. Similarly, the goddess Isis' active participation in court in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* was probably considered slightly anomalous, the death of her husband having placed her in a position where she was forced to appear in order to represent her son's interests.<sup>37</sup>

In many societies where formal public speaking contexts are prestigious, men tend to dominate this type of discourse,<sup>38</sup> and to make the rules for procedure.<sup>39</sup> In such societies, women tend to be granted less opportunity to participate in formal public settings.<sup>40</sup> Men tend to develop a formal speaking voice, while women tend not to do so. Women might be at a disadvantage in a male-dominated environment,<sup>41</sup> even if they attempted to conform to the type of speech considered appropriate in this particular context. In such societies, women tend to be more forthcoming in private settings.<sup>42</sup> I decided to verify this thesis in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*. I contrasted the contributions of the most prominent characters in the story as public or private discourse. Here, public discourse is defined as taking place in the presence of the majority of the gods, whereas private discourse takes place between two or three speakers.<sup>43</sup>

In this particular instance, the use of the dichotomy between public and private discourse seems justified. However, we should keep in mind that the official and the private spheres intersect to a certain degree<sup>44</sup> and are constructed differently in different societies. For instance, in ancient Egypt, as Lynn Meskell has shown, the domestic sphere in Deir el-Medina was affiliated with both genders.<sup>45</sup> The first room in the houses was associated symbolically with female activity, whereas the second room was associated symbolically with male activity (although in practice, both rooms may well have been used by both sexes, especially during the working week when most of the men were absent from the

<sup>37</sup> Men, rather than women, seem to have represented their family's interests in court wherever possible, but it was very rare for men to represent the personal interests of women. Only two possible cases are known from the Ramesside Period and both are ambiguous. In O. Nash 5, a man may be representing a woman in a case of wife-beating, but the text is so broken that it is difficult to be sure who is speaking; see A. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 5; Leiden, 1990), 152; Toivari, *JESHO* 40/2, 165; Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina*, 216. In P. Cairo JE 65739 a soldier named Nakhy speaks on behalf of citizeness Bakmut in a property case. The relationship between Bakmut and Nakhy is not mentioned. C. J. Eyre, 'The Market Women of Pharaonic Egypt', in N. Grimal and B. Menu (eds), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne* (BdE 121; Cairo, 1998), 178–9, suggests that Bakmut had died in the meanwhile and the lawsuit was brought by her male heirs.

<sup>38</sup> Holmes, *Women, Men and Politeness*, 37.

<sup>39</sup> Holmes, *Women, Men and Politeness*, 197.

<sup>40</sup> Exceptionally, women such as priestesses, female rulers, and oracles may have public speaking roles in such societies because of considerations of power, status, and ceremony.

<sup>41</sup> Coates, *Women, Men and Language*, 195.

<sup>42</sup> Holmes, *Women, Men and Politeness*, 68.

<sup>43</sup> Sometimes, however, it is not clear whether or not other gods are present during a private conversation, so the figures for private settings might actually be somewhat lower and those for public conversations somewhat higher. For instance, when Seth complains to the Lord of All about how Isis has tricked him (7.1–13), I understand this to take place in private, but P. Cassonet, *Les Temps Seconds i-šdm.f et i.iri.f šdm entre syntaxe et sémantique* (Paris, 2000), 49, envisages this scene as taking place in the presence of the other gods.

<sup>44</sup> Official attitudes impinge on the private lives of individuals, and individuals interpret public discourse in public settings in the light of their personal goals; see T. L. Sweeley, 'Introduction', in T. L. Sweeley (ed.), *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology* (London and New York, 1999), 6.

<sup>45</sup> 'An Archaeology of Social Relations in an Egyptian Village', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 5/3 (1998), 219–33; id., *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt* (Princeton, 2002), 111–21.

village). Conversely, Christopher Eyre has collected ample evidence for the entrepreneurial activities of women in Ramesside Egypt, both at home and outside.<sup>46</sup> These enterprises were usually on a small scale but may have allowed women to develop considerable expertise in unofficial public discourses of bargaining and negotiation.

TABLE 1. *Number of Speech Turns*<sup>47</sup>

	<i>Public setting</i>	<i>Private setting</i>	<i>Letter</i>
Isis	4 <sup>48</sup>	9 <sup>49</sup>	
Seth	11 <sup>50</sup>	10 <sup>51</sup>	
Lord of All <sup>52</sup>	15 <sup>53</sup>	3 <sup>54</sup>	2 <sup>55</sup>
Thoth	10 <sup>56</sup>		2 <sup>57</sup>
Horus	3 <sup>58</sup>	4 <sup>59</sup>	
Shu	3 <sup>60</sup>		
Onuris	2 <sup>61</sup>		
Banebdjed	2 <sup>62</sup>		
Hathor	1 <sup>63</sup>	2 <sup>64</sup>	
Osiris			2 <sup>65</sup>
Neith			1 <sup>66</sup>

From this table, it is clear that Seth and the Lord of All do the most talking overall. Isis has more than twice as many conversational turns in private as she does in public. The Lord of All, by contrast, has five times as many conversational turns in public as he does in private. Horus rarely speaks in either the private or the public domain. Finally, certain gods, such as Shu and Thoth, appear only in a public setting.

<sup>46</sup> In Grimal and Menu (eds), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, 173–91.

<sup>47</sup> Each time that a given character speaks, from the point that she or he begins speaking until she or he stops speaking, counts as a single turn, irrespective of how long the speaker continues. Outbursts of rage ('...and then Pre-Harakhte grew very angry...') are not included as a turn.

<sup>48</sup> 1.6; 4.11–12; 16.2–3; 16.6–8.

<sup>49</sup> 5.8–10; 5.11–12; 5.13; 6.1; 6.8–12; 6.14–7.1; 9.2–3; 9.7; 11.9–10.

<sup>50</sup> 1.9–10; 4.4–5; 5.1–2; 5.3; 8.7; 8.8; 8.9–11; 10.6; 12.2–3; 15.10–11; 15.13–16.1.

<sup>51</sup> 6.7–8; 6.12–13; 7.2–8; 7.9–11; 7.12–13; 9.4–5; 9.6; 11.1–2; 12.1; 13.7.

<sup>52</sup> Also known as Pre-Harakhte and Atum in this text.

<sup>53</sup> 1.7–8; 2.2–3; 2.4; 3.7–8; 4.3; 5.3–5; 9.11; 10.1; 10.12–11.1; 14.6; 15.2; 15.11–12; 15.12–13; 16.4; 16.6.

<sup>54</sup> 7.2; 7.8; 7.11–12.

<sup>55</sup> 8.3–5; 15.2–3.

<sup>56</sup> 1.5; 1.11–12; 2.9; 4.6–7; 9.12; 12.7; 12.8–9; 12.9–10; 12.11; 14.5.

<sup>57</sup> 2.9–3.1; 14.7–9.

<sup>58</sup> 4.9–10; 12.5–6. It is not clear whether Horus' long speech to Neith in 13.12–14.4 takes place in private or in public.

<sup>59</sup> 9.1–2; 11.2; 11.5; 12.1.

<sup>60</sup> 1.4; 1.7; 14.5–6.

<sup>61</sup> 2.2; 4.6–7.

<sup>62</sup> 2.5–6; 4.7–8.

<sup>63</sup> 10.10–11.

<sup>64</sup> 10.8; 10.9.

<sup>65</sup> 14.11–12; 15.3–8.

<sup>66</sup> 3.2–5.

Gay Robins remarks that although in theory women in ancient Egypt had considerable equality before the law, they may not necessarily have been able to use these rights when opposed by powerful men.<sup>67</sup> In this text, certain gods seem reluctant to grant Isis a fair share of the right to speak. However, the main opponent of Isis' right to appear in court is her adversary Seth (5.3), a negative character who plainly has vested interests in silencing her. By contrast, when Isis swears that she will take the case elsewhere, the Ennead attempt to mollify her, saying, 'Don't get angry. Right will be given to the one who is in the right. All that you have said shall be done'.<sup>68</sup> The author's choice to represent the issue in this way implies that, at least in theory, it was considered desirable for women to be able to speak freely in court.

### Tactics

Let us begin by investigating the different conversational tactics which various characters employ in order to achieve their aims.<sup>69</sup> Seth and the Lord of All turn out to be formidable opponents. The Lord of All changes the subject for tactical reasons—in his role as Atum, he avoids a challenge to Seth by inviting another god to adjudicate (1.11–2.3) and he deflects the other gods' support for a verdict in favour of Horus by insulting Horus (3.6–8). Similarly, Seth outflanks a verdict in favour of Horus by challenging him to fight (1.9–11). Seth threatens the other gods and the Lord of All uses indignant silence<sup>70</sup> and insults as disruptive tactics. By contrast, Isis and Neith criticise the gods' behaviour as unjust, but their criticisms do not deteriorate into personal name-calling. The most overt personal insult by a goddess in this text is when Isis taunts Seth after tricking him into supporting Horus' claims. She says (6.14–7.1), 'Weep for yourself. Your very own mouth has said it, your very own cleverness has judged you. What's wrong with you?'. Although Isis' stinging remarks succeed in reducing Seth to tears, her taunt is much milder than those voiced by the male gods. Similarly, male deities, notably the god Thoth (1.11–12), also reproach their colleagues for unfair behaviour, but without resorting to unpleasant personal remarks.

Pandemonium reigns in this court: shouts and yells abound.<sup>71</sup> It may be significant that Isis is represented as the first person to *š sgʒb*, 'to utter a loud cry' (1.5–6), and that individually she is portrayed uttering the greatest number of loud cries during the proceedings.

<sup>67</sup> *Women in Ancient Egypt*, 141.

<sup>68</sup> 4. 13.

<sup>69</sup> The term 'conversational tactics' is defined here very broadly to encompass many different types and uses of speech.

<sup>70</sup> For such tactics in relation to gender, see, for instance, V. DeFrancisco, 'The Sound of Silence: How Men Silence Women in Marital Relations', *Discourse and Society* 2/4 (1991), 413–24; D. Boxer, 'Complaining and Commiserating: Exploring Gender Issues', *Text* 13 (1993), 389, for contradiction as a more typically male strategy; S. Herring, 'Politeness in Computer Culture: Why Women Thank and Men Flame', in Buchholz et al. (eds), *Cultural Performances*, 280; R. Lakoff, 'Cries and Whispers: The Shattering of the Silence', in Hall and Buchholz, (eds), *Gender Articulated*, 27–8.

<sup>71</sup> The gods' misbehaviour here is probably a parody of regular court procedure. Court proceedings from the Ramesside Period seem to have been rather more decorous, as far as we can tell from the records. On the other hand, the written court records are probably a summary of the proceedings, rather than a verbatim transcript. See D. Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue: Pragmatic Factors in Late Ramesside Letter-Writing* (ÄAT 49; Wiesbaden, 2001), 19–20. It is possible that interruptions and comments from the audience were weeded out in editing.



TABLE 2. *Loud Cries Uttered by Various Characters*

Isis	3 <sup>72</sup>
Seth	2 <sup>73</sup>
Onuris	1 <sup>74</sup>
Onuris and Thoth	1 <sup>75</sup>
Horus	1 <sup>76</sup>
Osiris	1 <sup>77</sup>
The Ennead	2 <sup>78</sup>

However, only Isis is represented as uttering loud cries of joy. Everyone else, including Isis herself (9.2), utters loud cries of protest. She utters cries of joy near the beginning (1.5–6) and at the close of the text (16.2), in both cases celebrating Horus' coronation as king.

Isis emerges as the last speaker (16.6–8),<sup>79</sup> and one of the first speakers in the text (1.5–6).<sup>80</sup> As in earlier texts,<sup>81</sup> it is she who rejoices at the triumph of Horus. However, since her rejoicing is placed at the beginning of the text, at first sight it appears premature. Isis seems to jump to conclusions and be carried away by wishful thinking, since she proclaims victory prematurely when a verdict in favour of Horus has only just been mentioned. It is only later in the text that we are told that the case has already been in session for eighty years. In retrospect, Isis' behaviour seems appropriate, once its context has been explained.

At times the gods in court are shown reacting differently to the same behaviour by male and female deities; this is particularly true of anger when expressed by males and when expressed by females. For instance, Isis becomes annoyed on one occasion (4.10–11) and swears an oath that the case must be retried. The gods pacify her, saying, 'Don't get angry!' and attempt to placate her by promising that everything will be all right.

Male gods get angry more frequently than do the goddesses: the Lord of All flies into a rage thrice (1.8–9; 1.12; 3.7) and Seth four times (4.13–5.1, 8.5, 12.12, 13.1).<sup>82</sup> Significantly, the other gods do not forbid them to become angry; at most, Seth is asked to provide an explanation for his fit of rage. In this particular context, the male gods' anger is taken much more seriously than the anger of the goddesses. In many societies, posturing, challenging the other speakers, and aggressive conduct is a strategy considered to be more typical of men.<sup>83</sup> Male anger conforms more to audience expectations, whereas female anger is considered to be anomalous. We should, however, note that in certain Egyptian

<sup>72</sup> 1.5–6; 9.2; 16.2.

<sup>73</sup> 8.6; 9.4.

<sup>74</sup> 2.1.

<sup>75</sup> 4.6.

<sup>76</sup> 9.1.

<sup>77</sup> 14.10.

<sup>78</sup> 3.11–12; 12.3–4.

<sup>79</sup> Contra Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, 262.

<sup>80</sup> Following Shu (1.4) and Thoth (1.5).

<sup>81</sup> Cf. CT I, 23b (Spell 7) and Leitz, *Tagwählerei*, 113, 140, where Isis rejoices when Horus attains the crown.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Leitz, *Tagwählerei*, 272, where Seth makes a din in Heliopolis, his voice being full of rage.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. D. N. Maltz and R. A. Borke, 'A Cultural Approach to Male–Female Miscommunication', in J. J. Gumperz (ed.), *Language and Social Identity* (Cambridge, 1982), 198, 207–8.

mythological texts—*The Destruction of Mankind*, for instance<sup>84</sup>—the wrath of goddesses is envisaged as a distinct and terrifying possibility.<sup>85</sup>

### Correspondence with experts

In this threatening environment, it is not surprising that the gods in court avoid taking responsibility for decision-making. One way in which they do so is to consult outside experts. Atum summons the god Banebdje to resolve the dispute, but the latter suggests writing to the goddess Neith. Neith replies by letter (3.1–5), advising the gods to crown Horus as king but to compensate Seth by doubling his property and marrying him to two of the daughters of the Lord of All.

Neith addresses the gods in a very authoritative voice. Her missive omits the elaborate titularies with which Thoth had addressed her in the letter he had sent on behalf of the sun god. Immediately, she orders the gods to give the office to Horus. She criticises their behaviour, using very explicit language—‘Don’t do the blatant deeds of falsehood which are out of place’ (3.2–3)—and tells the other gods what to say to the Lord of All. She uses the simple and direct imperative and conjunctive forms (3.2–5), a very common way of requesting others to take action, not overtly marked for politeness.

The other gods respond favourably to Neith’s suggestion, saying *mꜣꜥ.tw tꜣjj ntr.t*, ‘This goddess is correct’ (3.7), but the Lord of All promptly stalls them by flying into a rage with Horus and insulting him: *tꜣjj jꜣw.t ꜣꜣ.tj r.k pꜣ ꜣdd bjn dp.t r.f*, ‘This office is too much for you, you kid with smelly breath!’ (3.8). Horus does not respond (probably he is too shocked), but all the other gods are furious on his behalf. One rather minor god, Baba,<sup>86</sup> goes as far as to insult the Lord of All: *krj.k šw*, ‘Your shrine is empty’ (3.10).

Neal Wells<sup>87</sup> argues that this obscure insult might be connected with the Book of the Dead, Utterance 93, where Baba is blamed for Re’s loss of sexual potency, and suggests that here Baba is alleging that Re is impotent, which might well explain Re’s subsequent attack of depression.<sup>88</sup> By contrast, Broze argues that Baba is referring to the cabin of the sun-bark. Apparently he is implying that Maat, who would normally accompany Pre on his voyages, has now deserted him.<sup>89</sup>

Baba manages to break up the proceedings—the sun god becomes very upset and lies down, feeling wretched (3.10–11). Whereas the gods are angry at the Lord of All’s insulting behaviour but mostly remain silent, they promptly pounce on Baba, who is less important than most of them, and scold him vigorously, screaming in his face (3.11–12): *pꜣjj btꜣ j-jrj.k ꜣꜣ r jqr*, ‘This wrong you have done is tremendous!’ (3.12–13). The Ennead also tell Baba *prjj n.k r bl*, ‘Just you get out!’ (3.12), but it is not clear whether he is subsequently

<sup>84</sup> E. Hornung, *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen* (OBO 46; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1982), 38–40, 93–4.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. also the wrath of Bastet (Leitz, *Tagwählerei*, 134).

<sup>86</sup> For Baba, see C. Leitz, ‘Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Baba und Thoth’, in Behlmer (ed.), *Quaerentes Scientiam*, 103–17; D. Meeks and C. F. Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods* (London, 1996), 44–5; A. Théodoridès, ‘Harpocrates dans les “Démêlés d’Horus et Seth”’, in C. Cannuyer and J. M. Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l’Égypte pharaonique et copte* (Ath–Bruxelles–Mons, 1993), 18 n. 92.

<sup>87</sup> Wells, *Desire, Discord and Death*, 99.

<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, Théodoridès, in Cannuyer and Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 19, suggests that Baba is alleging that the Lord of All is entirely brainless. Another possibility might be that he has no cult image to incarnate his divine power, and is therefore ineffective.

<sup>89</sup> *Les aventures d’Horus et Seth*, 241–3. However, this insult also has sexual connotations (p. 248).

expelled from court for his misbehaviour. He does not appear in the story again, but he is a relatively unimportant deity, who might not merit a second appearance in any case.

Neith's suggestion for a compromise is not adopted,<sup>90</sup> although it eventually forms the basis of the story's final outcome. At first sight, this outcome seems to exemplify the predicament of a powerful female whose advice is not taken seriously, thus causing her to lose face in front of the gods who consulted her.<sup>91</sup> We should note, however, that it is quite common in this story for suggestions not to be taken up. For example, Isis' protest that this case should be judged anew (4.12) has no effect. Similarly, Horus' protest to Neith (13.12-14.4) has no apparent consequences,<sup>92</sup> and neither Horus nor Seth are punished for their misconduct.<sup>93</sup> Even remarks made by the powerful Lord of All are not necessarily taken up: at one point he asks the gods, 'What are you doing making decisions on your own?' (1.7-8) and the gods do not respond to him.

Neith backs up her suggestion by threatening '...or I shall get angry and the sky will touch the ground' (3.3). This threat may be viewed in the tradition of the threats against the gods and the created order which magical practitioners used in the hope of bringing about desired ends.<sup>94</sup> However, Neith, as the personification of the divine forces which existed before creation,<sup>95</sup> might well have the power to dissolve the world into primeval chaos once more, and a threat of this type, from the mouth of this particular goddess, might evoke real fears.

We might contrast the Ennead's lack of reaction to Neith's threat with their far more serious reaction to two threats of violence by male gods. Seth threatens to kill one of the gods every day (5.1-2), after which his unfair request to have Isis barred from the court is taken seriously. Similarly, at the end of the story, the gods consult Horus' father, the god Osiris, who is now king of the Underworld. Osiris, predictably, supports Horus, and threatens to send his demon messengers to kill his opponents (15.4-6), at which point the gods hastily agree that of course he is right.

It is important to keep in mind that the writer of the story might presumably have chosen to represent the course of events differently: the Ennead might have taken Neith's threat seriously but prevented the goddess from carrying it out. Alternatively, the Ennead might have been portrayed standing up to Seth's bullying and convincing him that his aggression was totally inappropriate behaviour in court. In that case, the transfer of the court to the Island in the Middle and Isis' exclusion from the proceedings would have been explained in some other way.

Towards the end of the story, the Ennead enter into correspondence with Osiris (14.6-15.8), and receive two letters from him. Osiris, like Neith, expresses his support for Horus and complains that the gods are acting unjustly. Unlike Neith, however, Osiris also stresses

<sup>90</sup> DeFrancisco, *Discourse and Society* 2/4, 413-24, discusses possible correlations between gender and silencing.

<sup>91</sup> R. J. Watts, 'Acquiring Status in Conversation: "Male" and "Female" Discourse Strategies', *Journal of Pragmatics* 18 (1992), 474, discusses how raising a topic taken up by others leads to a speaker's gain in status in a communicative milieu, whereas raising a topic which is ignored or rejected leads to loss of status.

<sup>92</sup> Spiegel, *Horus und Seth*, 83, argues that the abrupt transition between Horus' petition to Neith and the Ennead's reaction which immediately follows it might indicate that a section of an earlier version of the text has been omitted here.

<sup>93</sup> Spiegel, *Horus und Seth*, 55; Schlichting, *LÄ* VI, 85.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. J. Walker, 'The Place of Magic in the Practice of Medicine in Ancient Egypt', *BACE* 1 (1990), 91-2; G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 73-5. H. Altenmüller, 'Götterbedrohung', *LÄ* II, 666, lists several such threats of bringing heaven crashing down to earth.

<sup>95</sup> Junge, in Behlmer (ed.), *Quaerentes Scientiam*, 95, argues that it is highly appropriate for Neith, the personification of the divine forces which existed before creation, to threaten to dissolve the world into primeval chaos once more.

his own importance as a fertility god, creator of wheat and barley, and uses plenty of rhetorical questions. (Rhetorical questions<sup>96</sup> are rarely used by female characters in this text<sup>97</sup> and elsewhere,<sup>98</sup> but quite often by male characters.)<sup>99</sup>

The Lord of All, in reply, avoids the central issue and delegitimizes Osiris' claim to status (15.2–3): *h3n3 bw hpr.k h3n3 bw ms.k jw jt bd.tjj hpr.w m r-5*; 'If you had not come into existence and if you had not been born, barley and wheat would have existed anyway'. In his reply, Osiris reaffirms his original arguments (including his right to respect) and adds the threat which leads to the resolution of the story.

### Negotiation

The central female character of the story, the goddess Isis, engages in several negotiations with other characters. Her first successful negotiation takes place with the ferryman Nemty. At Seth's request, the court has been transferred to an island and the ferryman has been warned to refrain from ferrying over anyone who looks like Isis. Isis, however, counteracts this problem by disguising herself as an elderly woman.<sup>100</sup> In her opening speech to the ferryman, Isis explains why she needs to cross over to the island:

I have come to you especially to ask, 'Ferry <me> over to the Island in the Middle', since the reason that<sup>101</sup> I have come with a pot of porridge for the little boy is because he has been looking after some cattle on the Island in the Middle for five days until now, and he is hungry' (5.8–10).<sup>102</sup>

<sup>96</sup> See Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 106–8, 141–7.

<sup>97</sup> Isis (7.1). The seed of Horus is female in gender (*mtw.t*). Arguably, it can be considered as an extension of Horus himself, but in certain contexts Maat is identified with semen; see T. DuQuesne, "'Semen of the Bull": Reflexions on the Symbolism of Ma'et with Reference to Recent Studies', *DE* 32 (1995), 108. There may therefore be some grounds for envisaging the seed of Horus as female. When ordered by Thoth to emerge from Seth's ear, the seed of Horus exclaims in disgust, 'Shall I come out of his *ear*, when I am divine fluid?' (12.10–11). For the sexual connotations of the ear in ancient Egypt, see L. Störk, 'Das Ohr in altägyptischen Sexualvorstellungen', *GM* 5 (1973), 33–8. Since no explicit course of action is recommended here, I argue that this is a rhetorical question, positively phrased and anticipating an answer of 'Certainly not!'

<sup>98</sup> In general, rhetorical questions are rarely associated with women. Anpu's wife in P. d'Orbiney (5.2) uses a rhetorical question when trying to convince her husband of her innocence, although actually she is recapitulating arguments used by her brother-in-law Bata earlier in the story when trying to repel her adulterous advances (3.9–10). See also the literary letter P. Bologna 1094 9.10–10.1, 10.1(× 2) and 10.2 (A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (BAe 7; Brussels, 1937), 9.7–9).

<sup>99</sup> Thoth (1.11–12); Onuris and Thoth to the Ennead (4.6–7); Banebdjed (4.7–8); Seth (6.12–13; 8.7); Nemty (5.13; 5.13–14); Osiris (15.6 (× 2); 15.7–8). In 8.5 the Ennead ask Seth why he is getting angry. This may be considered a rhetorical question (since they can probably infer that he is angry at the recent decision to award the crown to Horus) or it may be a complaint, implying that he has no right to get angry. See Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 142–4, for a discussion of distinctions between rhetorical questions and complaints. Seth's question to Isis, 'What have I done to you?' (9.4) may be asked rhetorically or with genuine intent to obtain an answer. See Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 108. His question 'Will you love the stranger's son more than your own maternal brother?' seems more to be asked in the hope of obtaining the reply 'No'.

<sup>100</sup> Isis sometimes manifested herself as an elderly woman (Meeks and Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*, 56 and n. 17). However, this representation of Isis as an aged woman '*j3w.t*' also has narrative value, since it echoes the pun on *j3w.t*, 'cattle', which she claims that Horus is looking after on the island, and *j3w.t*, '(Osiris') office', which he is actually pursuing: Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, 57.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Cassonet, *Les temps seconds*, 64.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. M. L. Bresnahan, 'Gender Differences in Initiating Requests for Help', *Text* 13 (1993), 17, on explaining the problem before making a request, a tactic she finds more typical of women than of men.

Isis adopts a tactic which appears elsewhere in letters from this period—including letters from men—when people make a request which they feel to be very demanding. On the one hand, a great amount of detail is used to explain and justify the request. This does not appear in requests from superiors and is unusual in requests between equals. On the other hand, the request is phrased as something that will make the addressee look generous if he complies. A typical example of this is Late Ramesside Letter no. 29, where the scribe Butehamun asks his correspondent, the Bowman Shedsuhor, to look after his father as they journey to Nubia together. This does not seem to be part of Shedsuhor's regular duties, and Butehamun goes to great pains to persuade him.<sup>103</sup>

Similarly, later in *The Contendings* Horus petitions the goddess Neith to intervene, and explains to her the course of litigation to date.<sup>104</sup> Horus states that he and Seth have been litigating for eighty years now, listing four of the courts in which he has been proved right against Seth. He asserts that he has been proved to be in the right 'millions of times', but because Seth refuses to listen to the court, the trial has never ended.

Were Nemty to agree to ferry Isis over to the island at this point, he would be aligning himself with a well-established good deed, providing transport for those who lack it, which is mentioned in autobiographical texts in parallel with feeding the hungry and clothing the naked.<sup>105</sup> However, Nemty refuses. He says, 'They told me, "Don't ferry any woman over"' (5.11). Secondly, Isis demolishes the ferryman's objections. She counters: 'It was because of Isis that they told you what you've said' (5.11–12).<sup>106</sup> In the third stage of negotiations, Isis and Nemty bargain over the price. Isis offers the food she has brought, which the ferryman refuses. He remarks that he is disobeying orders by ferrying her over, thus strengthening his own position by pointing out that he is putting himself at risk (5.13–6.1). Isis thus has to make a second, more substantial offer, of the gold ring on her finger, which Nemty accepts (6.1–2).<sup>107</sup>

This incident echoes an event from the *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days* where Seth disguises himself as an old man and bribes Nemty with a gold ring to ferry him over in order to execute various kinds of mischief in the place of embalment.<sup>108</sup> However, in this version Seth simply tells Nemty, 'Just ferry <me> over to the West', without elaborate negotiations. The story has been heavily rewritten for its inclusion in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*.

Once she arrives at the Island in the Middle, Isis turns herself into a beautiful girl in order to catch Seth's eye. Dazzled by her charms, he is delighted to favour her with his attentions.

<sup>103</sup> Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 243–4 and also 99–100, 252.

<sup>104</sup> Spiegel, *Horus und Seth*, 62, argues that this summary also has narrative value, since it recapitulates the main points at issue, after several incidents and contests have taken place outside the court.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Spiegel, *Horus und Seth*, 48 n. 2, and M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (OBO 120; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1992), 14.

<sup>106</sup> Meeks and Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*, 56, explain that although the prohibition was originally phrased in terms of any woman who resembled Isis, Isis' magic powers could enable her to take on any female form, so that any woman might potentially be Isis in disguise. They argue that Nemty should have been able to identify Isis, since she was known to take the form of an older woman, and that his greed affected his judgement.

<sup>107</sup> This detail is probably aetiological, explaining a taboo of Nemty's cult (Spiegel, *Horus und Seth*, 44), since Nemty would later be severely punished and forswear gold forever (7.13–8.1). In this particular text, however, the incident is used to stress Nemty's greed.

<sup>108</sup> Leitz, *Tagwählerei*, 119–22.

Isis presents herself as a widow, and asks Seth for help in order to trap him into admitting that in principle Horus' claims to the throne of Osiris are justified.<sup>109</sup>

Isis' negotiating strategy here has several interesting characteristics. Given her skill in magic, she could presumably turn herself into a truly intimidating figure and frighten her addressee into carrying out her orders, but she does not choose this strategy. Instead, in both cases, Isis presents herself as a highly vulnerable person, a widow or an old woman,<sup>110</sup> placing her interlocutor in a situation where he is supposed to show generosity.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, Isis does not rely solely on the other party's generosity, but also offers him a desirable commodity in return for his help—a gold ring for Nemty and attractive female company for Seth.

Another dialogue featuring Isis occurs during a trial of strength between Horus and Seth (8.11–9.7). Seth suggests to Horus that they turn themselves into hippopotami and sink into the depths of the sea, the loser being the one who emerges first. Isis, terrified for Horus' safety, decides to break up the competition and throws a harpoon at them. She misses Seth and hits Horus, who cries out to her to let him go, complaining that he is her son and implying that it is unfair of her to attack him. Isis tries again; this time she hits Seth, who complains in similar terms and reinforces his remarks by saying, 'Will you love the stranger more than your maternal brother Seth?'.<sup>112</sup>

A very similarly worded version of this incident appears in the *Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days*.<sup>113</sup> In that version of events, Isis initially bids her harpoon to hold fast once she realises that she has wounded Seth, and it is only after much pleading on Seth's part that she changes her mind:

Then she sent down another harpoon which fell on the *hfty* of her brother Seth. And then he cried out, saying, 'Look, I'm <your> brother Seth', and she called out to her harpoon, 'Hold fast!', and then Seth called out to her many times saying, 'Do you love the stranger more than your maternal brother Seth?'. Then her heart was very sore, and then she called out to this harpoon saying, 'Let go! Look, it's my maternal brother'.

Horus and Seth play on family solidarity here. Both in this text and in all the myths about her, Isis is quintessentially a goddess who operates out of family loyalties—in ancient Egypt a highly positive value for both men and women. In this incident, however, her cherished values are in fact turned against her, since she is forced to choose between her love for her son and her love for her brother.

<sup>109</sup> This declaration may have had binding legal force, counting as the admission of one of the litigants that he was in the wrong, according to S. Allam, 'Legal Aspects in the "Contendings of Horus and Seth"', in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (EES Occasional Publications 8; London, 1992), 139.

<sup>110</sup> Older people do not seem to have enjoyed very high status in ancient Egypt. See, for instance, R. M. and J. J. Janssen, *Getting Old in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1996), 3; L. Meskell, 'Cycles of Life and Death: Narrative Homology and Archaeological Realities', *World Archaeology* 31/3 (2000), 437. Isis may therefore have adopted this disguise in order to be perceived as non-threatening.

<sup>111</sup> Similarly, W. O. Beeman, *Language, Status and Power in Iran* (Bloomington, 1986), 59–60, describes the strategy of 'getting the lower hand' in interactions, whereby one interlocutor manoeuvres himself into a lower status position than the other in order to elicit favours from him.

<sup>112</sup> For the irony of Seth, the outsider *par excellence*, describing Isis' son Horus as a stranger, see A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (ÄA 48; Wiesbaden, 1988), 80–1.

<sup>113</sup> Leitz, *Tagwählerei*, 54–7.

Schlichting argues that Isis' behaviour here is inconsistent with her earlier unequivocal support of Horus, which he attributes to the inclusion of earlier material in the narrative.<sup>114</sup> By contrast, I understand Isis as torn between genuine loyalties. On one hand, if she refrains from intervening in the contest, Horus might lose the crown to Seth. On the other hand, she now understands that the combat has grown seriously violent, and that her intervention in the struggle has resulted in harming either Horus or Seth, both of whom, she now realises, are dear to her.

### Verb forms

Characteristic speech behaviour may be reflected in the specific choices of verb patterns made by an author to represent a character's speech. In her discussion of the text, Ursula Verhoeven draws attention to the bold way in which Seth is shown expressing himself in the first half of the story, as opposed to Horus' initially less assertive style.<sup>115</sup> She notes Seth's preference for the third future, nominal sentences beginning with 'I' and imperatives. However, although these linguistic options are often chosen when Seth is speaking, they are not characteristic only of him.

The third future is generally understood to be an objective future, asserting that a given future event will inevitably happen<sup>116</sup> or is obliged to happen.<sup>117</sup> The third future is used frequently in *The Contendings* for threats<sup>118</sup> (with first person subject and negative semantic content), promises<sup>119</sup> (with first person subject and positive or neutral semantic content) and fixing procedure in the future (with anonymous or third person subject). This latter form is particularly popular with Seth, who uses it four times: *jw.tw <r> rwj hd.t hr tp n Hr w s' 3s.t mtw.tw h3'f r p3 mw*, 'One must remove the white crown from the head of Horus, son of Isis, and throw him into the water' (8.8).

<sup>114</sup> Schlichting, *LÄ VI*, 85.

<sup>115</sup> In Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege öffnen: Festschrift Gundlach*, 349.

<sup>116</sup> P. J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen, 1974), 41–2; F. Neveu, *La Langue des Ramsès* (Paris, 1996), 93.

<sup>117</sup> P. Vernus, *Future at Issue: Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* (YES 4; New Haven, 1990), 11.

<sup>118</sup> Vernus, *Future at Issue*, 10.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Vernus, *Future at Issue*, 11–12; F. Junge, *Einführung in die Grammatik des Neuägyptischen* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 132.

TABLE 3. *Uses of the Third Future*

	<i>Threat</i>	<i>Promise</i>	<i>Future Procedure</i>	<i>Other</i>
Seth	1 <sup>120</sup>	1 <sup>121</sup>	4 <sup>122</sup>	1 <sup>123</sup>
Isis	2 <sup>124</sup>		1 <sup>125</sup>	
Neith	1 <sup>126</sup>			
Osiris	1 <sup>127</sup>			
Stranger (in Isis' story)	1 <sup>128</sup>			
Banebdjed		1 <sup>129</sup>		
The Ennead		1 <sup>130</sup>		
Speaker unknown			1 <sup>131</sup>	
Nemty				2 <sup>132</sup>
Seed of Horus				1 <sup>133</sup>
Thoth				1 <sup>134</sup>
Lord of All				1 <sup>135</sup>

Out of a total of 21 uses of the third future in this text, Seth is the most significant user of this form (7 times).<sup>136</sup> Interestingly enough, the next most frequent users of the third future are Isis (thrice)<sup>137</sup> and Nemty (twice).

On the other hand, imperatives are used by all the gods indiscriminately.

<sup>120</sup> 5.1–2.

<sup>121</sup> 5.3. However, Seth at one point declares his future intent using an initial prospective *stp.f* form (8.8).

<sup>122</sup> 7.10; 8.8; 8.10–11; 13.3.

<sup>123</sup> 4.5.

<sup>124</sup> 5.13; 6.1.

<sup>125</sup> 4.12.

<sup>126</sup> 3.3.

<sup>127</sup> 15.5.

<sup>128</sup> 6.11.

<sup>129</sup> 2.6.

<sup>130</sup> 4.13.

<sup>131</sup> 1.8.

<sup>132</sup> 5.12; 5.13.

<sup>133</sup> 12.9.

<sup>134</sup> 1.11.

<sup>135</sup> 8.3–4.

<sup>136</sup> 4.5; 5.1–2; 5.3; 7.10; 8.8; 8.10–11; 13.3.

<sup>137</sup> 4.12; 5.13; 6.1.



TABLE 4. *Use of Imperatives*

	<i>Imperative</i>	<i>Negative Imperative</i>	<i>Imperative + additional clause</i> <sup>138</sup>	<i>Total</i>
Seth	4 <sup>139</sup>	1 <sup>140</sup>	6 <sup>141</sup>	11
Lord of All	4 <sup>142</sup>	1 <sup>143</sup>	5 <sup>144</sup>	10
Horus	5 <sup>145</sup>		2 <sup>146</sup>	7
Thoth	4 <sup>147</sup>		1 <sup>148</sup>	5
Isis	4 <sup>149</sup>			4
Neith	2 <sup>150</sup>		2 <sup>151</sup>	4
The Ennead	1 <sup>152</sup>	1 <sup>153</sup>	1 <sup>154</sup>	3
Nemty	1 <sup>155</sup>	2 <sup>156</sup>		3
Unknown	1 <sup>157</sup>		2 <sup>158</sup>	3
Hathor	1 <sup>159</sup>		1 <sup>160</sup>	2
Banebdjed	1 <sup>161</sup>	1 <sup>162</sup>		2
Shu	1 <sup>163</sup>			1

Imperatives are not the exclusive domain of Seth. Although they are not marked for positive politeness, they are the standard way of making requests and not necessarily impolite.<sup>164</sup>

Other verb forms and sentence patterns are also used as requests in this text. Future

<sup>138</sup> Imperative followed by purpose clause, sequence of conjunctives, etc.

<sup>139</sup> 1.9; 9.4–5; 9.5; 12.2–3.

<sup>140</sup> 13.2.

<sup>141</sup> 1.9–10; 7.12; 8.9; 11.1; 12.1; 15.13–16.1.

<sup>142</sup> 4.3; 14.6 (× 2); 15.11.

<sup>143</sup> 5.4–5.

<sup>144</sup> 2.2–3; 10.11; 10.12; 14.6; 16.4.

<sup>145</sup> 9.1; 9.2 (× 2); 11.5; 13.12.

<sup>146</sup> 11.5; 12.5–6.

<sup>147</sup> 12.7; 12.8–9; 12.9–10; 12.11.

<sup>148</sup> 14.5.

<sup>149</sup> 1.6; 6.14; 9.2; 9.7.

<sup>150</sup> 3.2; 3.4.

<sup>151</sup> 3.2–4; 3.4–5.

<sup>152</sup> 3.12.

<sup>153</sup> 13.11.

<sup>154</sup> 10.11.

<sup>155</sup> 6.1.

<sup>156</sup> 5.11; 5.12.

<sup>157</sup> 12.2.

<sup>158</sup> 1.8; 2.4.

<sup>159</sup> 10.9.

<sup>160</sup> 10.8.

<sup>161</sup> 2.5–6.

<sup>162</sup> 2.5.

<sup>163</sup> 1.4.

<sup>164</sup> Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 53.

tenses with second person subject may also be used as requests:<sup>165</sup> *jh stp.f*,<sup>166</sup> the initial prospective *stp.f*,<sup>167</sup> the third future,<sup>168</sup> and *hft spr pꜣjj.j whꜣ r.tn jw.tn <hr> stp*,<sup>169</sup> ‘When this letter reaches you, you will...’<sup>170</sup> *jh stp.f*<sup>171</sup> and *wnn.f hr stp jw.k hr stp* are not necessarily polite forms of request. The prospective form is sometimes argued to be a polite request, since it expresses a wish that the addressee should undertake a certain action<sup>172</sup> rather than an actual request for them to do so. These forms are all used by male deities; Neith and Hathor do not employ them.

Although requests may be expressed ‘bald-on-record’,<sup>173</sup> to use the phrase coined by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson in their study of politeness in modern spoken English, requests are often presented more obliquely. This is particularly true when a request might constitute a serious imposition on the addressee, or when the speaker feels some doubt about whether they might make such a request from this particular addressee.<sup>174</sup> In modern spoken English, polite requests are conventionally phrased as questions, such as ‘Could you pass me the salt?’. In Egyptian, this turn of phrase is rarely used, although it is quite common for requests to be formulated as statements or wishes about the addressee’s future actions.<sup>175</sup> It may be significant, however, that Isis formulates her requests indirectly in situations where she assumes a needy character and introduces her requests with lengthy explanations.

When negotiating with Nemty the ferryman, Isis makes a remark which may be understood either as an initial prospective *stp.f* request, introduced by *r-dd*,<sup>176</sup> or as a clause of purpose:<sup>177</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 48–52.

<sup>166</sup> The Ennead to Thoth (2.8); Thoth’s letter to Neith (3.1); Thoth’s letter to Osiris (14.9); Pre-Harakhte to Thoth (15.2). Two out of four examples in this text are used in epistolary contexts. 2.4 and 11.1, where the non-initial prospective *stp.f* is in the second person, might actually be an imperative followed by an initial prospective *stp.f* as request.

<sup>167</sup> Pre-Harakhte to the Ennead (5.3–4); the Lord of All to Horus and Seth (10.12); Pre-Harakhte to the Ennead (16.6).

<sup>168</sup> Junge, *Neuägyptisch*, 132; Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 50.

<sup>169</sup> This is the earlier version of the Ramesside epistolary phrase *wnn tꜣjj.j šꜥ.t <hr> spr r.k jw.k <hr> stp*. The *hft spr...* formula was in current use during the Eighteenth Dynasty and was still used as a frozen formula during the Nineteenth; see O. Goldwasser, ‘A Late Egyptian Epistolary Formula as an Aid to Dating Ramesside Texts’, in S. I. Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1985), 50–6.

<sup>170</sup> Letter sent by Pre-Harakhte and Atum to the Ennead (8.4).

<sup>171</sup> Pace J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, I: *La morphologie verbale* (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 2; Liège, 1992), 224; Neveu, *La Langue des Ramsès*, 100, among others. In correspondence from the Late Ramesside Period, *jh stp.f* is very rarely used in requests to one’s superior. Requests to superiors never use *wnn tꜣjj.j šꜥ.t <hr> spr t.k jw.k hr stp* (Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 53), the descendant of the formula used here.

<sup>172</sup> J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup> (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4; Rome, 1984), 21.4.3; Vernus, *Future at Issue*, 21; Neveu, *La Langue des Ramsès*, 100. It is not certain whether *hn.n jrj.n n.f sbꜣjj.t*, ‘Let’s go so that we can punish him!’ (10.1) may be considered a request, since although phrased in the first person plural, it includes the second person.

<sup>173</sup> P. Brown and S. C. Levinson, ‘Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena’, in E. N. Goody (ed.), *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction* (Cambridge, 1978), 74, 77.

<sup>174</sup> Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 98–100.

<sup>175</sup> Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 49–52.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Cassonet, *Les temps seconds*, 64.

<sup>177</sup> M. Green, ‘The Passing of Harmose’, *Orientalia* 45 (1976), 405–6; Frandsen, *Outline*, 22; D. Sweeney, ‘The Nominal Object Clause of Verbs of Perception in Non-Literary Late Egyptian’, in G. Englund and P. J. Frandsen (eds), *Crossroad: Chaos or the Beginning of a New Paradigm* (Copenhagen, 1986), 341–2; Junge, *Neuägyptisch*, 151.

*jrj.j jj n.k r-dd t:jj.k <wj> r p: jw hrjj -jb*

It is to you I have come, saying, 'May you ferry me over to the Island in the Middle'. (or)  
It is in order to say 'Ferry me over to the Island in the Middle', that I have come to you. (5.8–9)

Similarly, Isis sums up her tale to Seth by expressing her wish that he should act as her champion, thus making an indirect request:

*hr jb.j rdj.t jrjj.k n.f nht*

Now my wish is to get you to act as a champion for him. (6.11–12)

Another way in which requests may be made more polite is to add information explaining the purpose of the request, or why this particular request is necessary. This softens the request by implying that the addressee is not in the position of a subordinate who is obliged to carry out orders automatically.<sup>178</sup> In *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, the justification of requests by explaining the purpose of the request is almost always associated with male deities. A non-initial prospective *stp.f* form is usually used in such cases. For instance, the Lord of All says:

*jmj š.tw n Hrw hn Sth wp.tw.w*

Have Horus and Seth summoned so that one can judge them. (10.11)

Thirteen such requests are uttered by male deities or the Ennead,<sup>179</sup> in contrast to one single example formulated by a goddess. When rescuing Horus, abandoned blinded on the mountain, Hathor instructs him:

*j-wn jr.t.k dj.j n:jj jrt.t jm*

Open your eye so that I can put this milk into it. (10.8)

On the other hand, explaining the background to a request in some way is a strategy used by both gods and goddesses more or less equally. Isis, as we have seen, gives long background explanations when attempting to persuade Nemty (5.8–10) and Seth (6.8–12). However, this may be a 'powerless' or 'courteous' rather than a 'female' tactic, since Horus adopts the same technique when petitioning Neith and asking her to intervene in the case (13.12–14.4).

Briefer reasons for complying with requests are made by Horus (9.2), Seth (9.5, 12.3) and Isis (9.3, 9.7). Most of them are similarly worded and are used on the same occasion of Isis' intervention in the contest between Horus and Seth as hippopotami. Seth cries out:

*j-š n hm.t.t sfh jm.j jnk p:jj.t sn n mw.t<.t?> šs.t*

Call to your weapon, 'Let go of me!' I am your maternal brother, O Isis. (9.4–5)

<sup>178</sup> Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 61.

<sup>179</sup> 1.9–10; 2.2; 2.4; 8.9; 10.1; 10.11; 11.1; 11.5; 12.1; 12.5–6; 14.5; 14.6; 16.4. 2.4 and 11.1, where the non-initial prospective *stp.f* is in the second person, might actually be an imperative followed by initial prospective *stp.f* forms as request. 8.9, 10.1, 12.1 and 12.5–6 are followed by a prospective *stp.f* form in the first person plural, which might be considered a polite request since it also obliges the hearers.

Nominal sentences and participial statements beginning ‘I’ are not limited to use by Seth but are also used by other deities: Osiris,<sup>180</sup> the seed of Horus,<sup>181</sup> and both Horus<sup>182</sup> and Seth<sup>183</sup> when wounded by Isis’ harpoon.

Both Seth and Isis use the construction *jr jnk* and bimembral nominal sentence. Seth uses it to argue his merits as ruler:

*jr jnk jnk Sth ʿ3 ph.tjj m hnw t3 psd.t*  
*hr tw.j <hr> sm3 p3 {p3} hft.jjw n p3 R3 m mn.t*  
*jjw.j m h3.t n wj3 n hh.w*  
*jjw nn rh ntr nb <r> jr.t.f*  
*jjw.j <r> šsp t3 j3w.t n Wsjr*

As for me, I am Seth great in strength amongst the Ennead  
 And I kill the enemies of Pre daily, when I am at the prow of the bark of millions, when no (other)  
 god can do it.  
 I ought to receive the office of Osiris. (4.4–5)

By contrast, this construction is also used by Isis, when presenting herself as a vulnerable character in need of help, as she begins her tale of woe to Seth and introduces herself as a poor widow:

*jr jnk wn.j m hm.t m-dj w3 mnjw k3.w*

As for me, I was the wife of a herdsman... (6.8)

Many of Seth’s speech strategies are not confined exclusively to him but are practised by many of the main characters in *The Contendings*. By contrast, Horus speaks rarely and uses these strategies seldom until the second half of the text. The speech strategies used by Seth and Horus should not so much be contrasted as placed at opposite ends of a continuum.

### Gods and goddesses in the text

The goddess Neith is invoked several times in this text as an arbitrator. She exchanges letters with the divine assembly early in the text (2.9–3.5), Isis swears an oath in the name of Neith at one point (4.10–11), and towards the end of the story Horus walks out of court and goes to complain to Neith (13.11–14.4). By contrast, Hathor plays a supportive and conciliating role in this particular text. She rouses the Lord of All from his injured feelings (4.1–3), and rescues Horus when Seth has gouged out his eyes and left him to perish in the desert (10.6–11). Hathor’s conduct is far from her usual assertive mode as the Eye-Goddess,<sup>184</sup> maybe because Isis is the heroine of this story and the spotlight focuses on her. Although all three goddesses, Isis, Hathor, and Neith, show support for Horus and his claim to the throne, they do not act in concert.

<sup>180</sup> 14.11–12; 14.12.

<sup>181</sup> 12.10–11.

<sup>182</sup> 9.2.

<sup>183</sup> 9.5.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. A. Roberts, *Hathor Rising: The Serpent Power of Ancient Egypt* (Totnes, 1995).

Horus, by contrast, begins the story as a rather passive figure, letting Isis fight his battles for him. Broze,<sup>185</sup> Junge,<sup>186</sup> and Verhoeven<sup>187</sup> argue that Horus' growth as a hero is a central theme of *The Contendings*, and that he grows in stature by proving himself in various tests. Quite early on, Horus protests that the court wants to take his father's post away from him: 'It is not good, this depriving of me in the presence of the Ennead!' (4.9–10), but he fails to speak up when Pre-Harakhte insults him (3.7–8). During the story, however, he grows visibly more assertive: he takes the lead in interrogating Seth in court after Seth has attempted to gain the advantage over him sexually, he overcomes Seth by both guile and force in the boat-building contest, and rejects Isis' intervention in a contest between him and Seth (9.7–9) and even goes so far as to chop off her head—and eventually walks out of the court and argues his case before the goddess Neith to invoke her help (13.11–14.4). Even though the case is ultimately resolved only by the intervention of Osiris,<sup>188</sup> Horus must prove himself first.<sup>189</sup>

### Conclusions

The situations in which the protagonists of *The Contendings* find themselves, their already established characters, and the topics about which they speak obviously influence the way in which they are depicted speaking. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the author of *The Contendings* had a certain amount of freedom of choice, and within this freedom the ways in which he chose to represent the characters may be significant; for instance, it is rare for the female characters to use rhetorical questions, whereas Osiris uses several in the space of a few lines (15.6–8). In this text, male gods use insults, stalling, and stressing their own importance as negotiating tactics. Isis, by contrast, adopts a position of low status as a hapless old woman and appeals to Nemty the ferryman's generosity as a negotiating tactic.

Initially, the text might seem to offer a simple binary gender-based difference in conversational tactics, with male characters imposing their will by force while female characters attempt some form of persuasion which also offers their interlocutor something they desire. However, the situation is more complex. Some of the differences shown here do not reflect gender alone but also power: for instance, the goddess Neith, who is consulted to give expert advice, makes requests outright in a very assertive fashion. In this text, character is also a salient factor, since Seth behaves in keeping with his aggressive personality. However, not all male deities favour such tactics. Other gods, such as Thoth and Shu, argue reasonably, upholding the merits of the course of action they favour on objective grounds, and providing a balanced and just alternative image of masculinity.

At first sight, this story offers a depressing picture of female negotiating power—a powerful female such as Neith who is in a position to make requests outright is not listened to.<sup>190</sup> By contrast, a woman in a weaker position such as Isis is presented as only able to

<sup>185</sup> Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, 126.

<sup>186</sup> Junge, in Behlmer (ed.), *Quaerentes Scientiam*, 97.

<sup>187</sup> Verhoeven, in Schade-Busch (ed.), *Wege öffnen: Festschrift Gundlach*, 349–50. By contrast, Théodoridès, in Cannuyer and Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 1–22, argues that Horus is portrayed as an adult from the outset.

<sup>188</sup> Junge, in Behlmer (ed.), *Quaerentes Scientiam*, 97–8.

<sup>189</sup> Broze, *Les aventures d'Horus et Seth*, 106.

<sup>190</sup> V. L. DeFrancisco, 'Review of Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (New York, 1990)', *Language in Society* 21/2 (1992), 322, remarks that in the modern West women who act assertively

obtain her aims by deception. Other people can disorientate her by turning her cherished ideals of family loyalty against her. However, not only females are victims in this text. Male characters of lower status or with less ebullient personalities also suffer. In this text, all the gods are bullied and intimidated at times by Seth and the Lord of All.

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are often perceived negatively. On the other hand, amongst the Malagasy investigated by Keenan (in Bauman and Sherzer (eds), *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, 125–43), direct assertive speech is conventionally associated with women, but has low prestige.

# THE NILE LEVEL RECORDS OF THE TWENTY-SECOND AND TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTIES IN KARNAK: A RECON- SIDERATION OF THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER\*

By GERARD P. F. BROEKMAN

Investigation of the Nile Level Records of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties with regard to their positions on the quay wall, their orthography and their structure can shed new light on their chronological order and on the identity of the kings mentioned. The author ascertains that in the texts the word *h'pj* is spelled in two different ways, with one orthography going out of use and being replaced by another. As a result there is more clarity about the so far uncertain identification of some of the kings mentioned. Contrary to what is generally accepted, text No. 3 does not belong to Shoshenq I, but should be attributed either to Shoshenq IV, the successor to Shoshenq III, or, more probably, to an Upper Egyptian king Shoshenq, not known from other sources, who might be defined as Shoshenq VIa.

THE Nile Level Records engraved on the quay of the great temple of Amun at Karnak constitute an important source for the chronology of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Egyptian Dynasties. Georges Legrain published these texts in 1896,<sup>1</sup> and Legrain's publication was used by James H. Breasted for his reconstruction of the chronology of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties.<sup>2</sup> Jürgen von Beckerath recollated the original texts in 1953 and compared them with Legrain's publication. The results of this examination were published in *JARCE* 5 (1966), 43–55. In that publication von Beckerath used the same order of the texts given by Legrain, numbering them from 1 to 45. However, he could not find the numbers 15 and 44, which will consequently be briefly discussed below on the basis of Legrain's publication.

The position of a record on the wall marks the inundation level of the Nile in the year in question. Each record mentions the regnal year, mostly the nomen—sometimes together with the prenomen—of the reigning king (or kings, in case of a co-regency or a collateral dynasty) and in some cases also the name of the officiating high priest of Amun. In a few cases the mother of the reigning king is mentioned and in six texts the king's name is lacking but the high priest's name is mentioned with the addition 'king's son of the lord of the two lands Osorkon'. The royal names are often preceded or followed by several titles and epithets and other textual additions such as wishes for (eternal) life. Especially in the

\* I thank Jürgen von Beckerath for the permission to copy in this article the Nile Level inscriptions published in 'The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period (Dynasties XXII and XXIII)', *JARCE* 5 (1966), 43–55, and for the very useful elucidation on some of those inscriptions given by him in a private letter. My thanks also go to Karl Jansen-Winkeln, who in a private letter confirmed the correctness of my view about the significance of the orthography of the word *h'pj* for the chronological order of the texts. Further I thank René van Walsem for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> 'Textes gravés sur le quai de Karnak', *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 111–21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV (Chicago, 1906), §§ 693–8 and 794.

Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty texts (Nos. 30–42) these additions are quite detailed.

In addition to the evidence from regnal years and other data about kings and high priests, the records may provide further indications concerning their chronological order. Such indications might be derived from (1) the positions of the records on the quay wall, (2) variety in orthography and (3) the design and the structure of the texts themselves. In the next sections of this article all Nile Level Records and their chronological order as given by von Beckerath will be examined in the light of these three characteristics. As there is far from consensus on the period involved, however, the outcome of this examination has to be interpreted differently, depending on the different views of various scholars.<sup>3</sup>

### The positions of the texts

The distribution of the texts on the quay wall is indicated in Table 1,<sup>4</sup> in which the texts are marked with the numbers allocated by von Beckerath. As a matter of course, the positions of the Nile texts from bottom upward on the quay wall reveal the maximum height reached by the inundation in the given years. Concerning the lateral distribution, it may be assumed that the earliest texts have been positioned close to each other, while, as the number of texts on the wall was increasing, the texts had to be spread right across the wall, depending on the available space between the earlier inscriptions.<sup>5</sup>

According to von Beckerath Nos. 1, 2 and 3 constitute the earliest group. No. 1, regnal year 6 of Shoshenq I, and No. 2, year 12 of Osorkon I, have been engraved close together. No. 3 is related to a year 5 and von Beckerath attributes this record, too, to Shoshenq I. However, this text has been cut at a distance of about one meter and a half to the right of No. 1.<sup>6</sup> If this text No. 3 really bears reference to Shoshenq I's fifth regnal year, this text would have been the very earliest of all Nile Level Records. After engraving it the rest of the quay wall would have been completely blank, and it would have been natural for the record of the next year, No. 1, to have been positioned close to it.

In all probability texts Nos. 16–21 make up one single chronological unit. None of these texts mentions the reigning king. No. 16 mentions year 5 and the High Priest Iuwelot, son of King Osorkon; Nos. 17, 18 and 19 mention the High Priest Smendes (III), son of King Osorkon, with regnal year 8 in texts No. 17 and year 13 or 14 in text No. 18, while in No. 19 the regnal year is not legible. In Nos. 20 and 21 neither the regnal years nor the high priests' names are legible; it only appears that here, too, a son of King Osorkon is involved as high priest. As will be shown below, most probably Osorkon I is the one whose name is mentioned in all these records. They have been engraved fairly close together above and beneath Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*<sup>3</sup> (Warminster, 1995), passim; A. Leahy, 'Appendix: The Twenty-third Dynasty', in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 B. C.* (London, 1990), 177–200; D. A. Aston, 'Takeloth II—A King of the "Theban Twenty-third Dynasty"?'', *JEA* 75 (1989), 139–53; A. Dodson, 'A New King Shoshenq Confirmed?', *GM* 137 (1993), 53–8; K. Jansen-Winkel, 'Historische Probleme der 3. Zwischenzeit', *JEA* 81 (1995), 129–49; J. von Beckerath, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Libyzeit' (1 and 2), *GM* 144 (1995), 7–13, and (3), *GM* 147 (1995), 9–13.

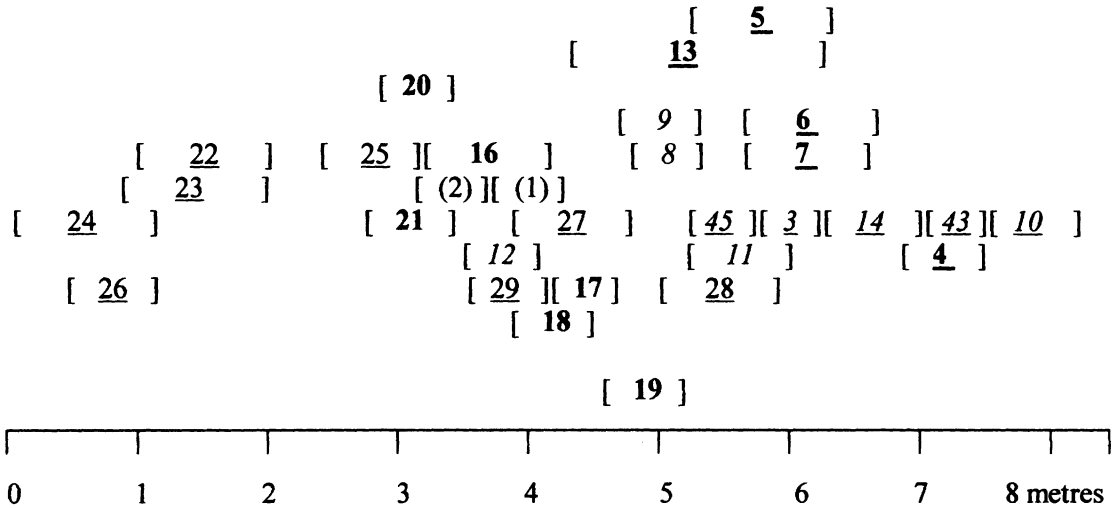
<sup>4</sup> With the exception of Nos. 15 and 44, whose positions are unknown.

<sup>5</sup> The length of the individual texts and the lateral distances between them have been borrowed from J. Lauffray, 'Les abords occidentaux du premier pylône de Karnak', *Kêmi* 21 (1971), fig. 6bis.

<sup>6</sup> For comparison: the total lateral spread of the texts from No. 10 (at the extreme right) up to and including No. 24 (at the extreme left) is about eight and a half metres.



TABLE 1. *Showing the Distribution of the Nile Level Records Nos. 1–14, 16–29, 43 and 45 on the Quay Wall at Karnak*



The approximate length of the texts is indicated by the distances between [ and ].  
 The different writings of the numbers (corresponding with those in Table 2) indicate the several groups in which the texts are clustered in this paper:

- Between brackets: the earliest texts
- Bold: the sons of Osorkon I
- Italics: the texts of Osorkon II
- Underlined: the time of Shoshenq III and the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*
- Bold, underlined: the texts of Osorkon III and his son Takeloth III
- Italics, underlined: the remaining texts

According to von Beckerath Nos. 8, 9, 11 and 12 may refer to regnal years of Osorkon II as well as to years of Osorkon III, though he considers Osorkon II to be more probable.<sup>7</sup> The position of Nos. 8 and 9, both recording year 12, is close to the right of texts Nos. 1 and 16, text No. 12 has been cut below No. 1 and text No. 11 to the right of the Nos. 8 and 9 and below No. 3. Von Beckerath also attributes text No. 13, engraved above Nos. 8 and 9, to the reign of Osorkon II (with Takeloth II as co-regent), although he considers the combination Osorkon III/Takeloth III to be possible as well.

The inscriptions belonging to the reign of Shoshenq III are scattered across a considerable part of the wall, with Nos. 22–26 engraved quite close together on the left of Nos. 1 and 2, with Nos. 27 and 29 a little more to the right, below No.1, and No. 28 further to the right, below No. 11.

To the reign of Osorkon III belong, according to von Beckerath, the Nile texts Nos. 5, 6 and 7,<sup>8</sup> No. 5, recording an exceptional high inundation, being cut just above No. 13, and Nos. 6 and 7 underneath and to the right of Nos. 8 and 9. On account of its position, text No. 13 might be attributed to Osorkon II/Takeloth II as readily as to Osorkon III/Takeloth III.

Text No. 4 most probably dates to regnal year 6 of Takeloth III. Its position is a little to the right, beneath Nos. 6 and 7 of Osorkon III.





<sup>7</sup> *JARCE* 5, 45. See also Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 94 and 353, mentioning both possibilities.

<sup>8</sup> *JARCE* 5, 44–5.

On the basis of what is preserved, it is impossible to attribute any of the remaining texts (Nos. 10, 14, 43 and 45) to a particular reign. The position of No. 45 is to the left of No. 3, whereas Nos. 10, 14 and 43 have been engraved in a line to the right of No. 3.

Although no chronological order can be concluded from the positions of the records in themselves, the positioning of texts close together may indicate that those texts also chronologically belong together, especially as regards the early texts such as Nos. 1 and 2 and Nos. 16–21. On the other hand, cases where texts that would logically be expected to have been cut close together have actually been positioned far apart may serve as an indication, complementary to other evidence, that those texts should be attributed to different kings or periods, as will be shown below, notably concerning texts Nos. 1 and 3.

### The orthography

All records begin with the phrase  $p^3 h'pj$ , 'the Nile flood'. The word  $h'pj$  is written in two different versions, either  with alternatives  and  (version 1) or  (version 2). The main difference appears to lie in the determinative which is used, in version 1 consisting of the *mw*-sign with or without the *itrw*-sign, and in version 2 consisting of only the *itrw*-sign.

Version 1 occurs in texts Nos. 1 (Shoshenq I), 2 (Osorkon I), 16–19 (the sons of Osorkon I), 23, 24 and 26–29 (Shoshenq III and Pedubast I) and text No. 25 (Shoshenq VI),<sup>9</sup> which may all be dated to the period from about 939 until 795 BC. Texts Nos. 8, 9, 11 and 12 (Osorkon II), also showing version 1, probably belong to this period as well. Version 2 occurs in No. 22 (the thirty-ninth and highest attested regnal year of Shoshenq III), in Nos. 6 and 7 (Osorkon III), in No. 4 (Takeloth III) and in text No. 13, belonging, as will be shown below, to the reign of Osorkon III with Takeloth III as co-regent. The records Nos. 34–42, not discussed in this paper, referring to the kings Taharka and Psametik I, also have version 2. These fourteen texts were engraved in the period from year 39 of Shoshenq III (c. 795 BC) until year 18 of Psametik I (c. 647 BC).

From this we may assume that during the final years of Shoshenq III in the orthography of the Nile Level Records version 1 of  $h'pj$  went out of use and was replaced by version 2. The only texts that do not seem to fit this chronological division are Nos. 3 and 5,<sup>10</sup> but that may not change the overall picture showing one spelling (version 1) generally used in a period of about 150 years, followed by the use of another orthography (version 2) in a subsequent period of about the same number of years. In fact, it appears that version 2 is the more ancient one, falling into disuse at the beginning of the New Kingdom and by then being replaced by version 1, but coming into vogue again in the later years of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties,<sup>11</sup> whereupon version 1 ceased to occur.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Formerly this successor of Pedubast I was called Shoshenq IV. After Dodson (*GM* 137, 53–8) identified a new King Shoshenq as the successor of Shoshenq III, Kitchen suggested (*TIP*<sup>3</sup>, xxvi) this individual be attributed the number IV and called the successor of Pedubast I, henceforth Shoshenq VI. I will use the same numbering in this paper.

<sup>10</sup> Nos. 15, 20, 21 and 44 do not show the word  $h'pj$ , while No. 14, with version 1, and Nos. 10, 43 and 45, with version 2, do not show names that might be attributed to any specific kings. Therefore, these texts are of no importance in this matter.

<sup>11</sup> As to the march of events in Thebes during the reign of Shoshenq III and the several dynasties in that period, I follow the scheme of Jansen-Winkel, *JEA* 81, 139–45, and consequently use his numbering of the dynasties in this paper.

<sup>12</sup> As confirmed by Jansen-Winkel in a private letter; also *Wb.* III, 42. A comprehensive search of spellings of  $h'pj$  is beyond the scope of this paper, but a search through available dated sources substantiates the findings presented here.

This development might reflect the archaizing tendency arising during the Twenty-second/Twenty-third Dynasties. In language and writing, this tendency finds expression by the use of the 'classical' Middle Egyptian as well in private as in official inscriptions, instead of the New or Late Egyptian, used from the beginning of the New Kingdom.<sup>13</sup> Thus, version 1 of *h'pj* occurs in Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty texts of Ramses II and Ramses III,<sup>14</sup> and version 2, figuring not only in the late Nile Level Records but also in other Late Period inscriptions,<sup>15</sup> appears to have also been used in Tenth to Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions.<sup>16</sup> A thorough word study might confirm that the phenomenon of an 'early' and a 'late' version of *h'pj* in the Nile Level Records might indeed reflect a general tendency towards archaism; however, such a study goes beyond the scope of this paper. Anyhow, the overall picture of the spelling of *h'pj* in the Nile Level Records makes it worthwhile to pay special attention to those texts that do not seem to fit that pattern (Nos. 3 and 5) and to try to connect any chronological consequences to the texts showing one of the versions of *h'pj* without clearly identifying the king (Nos. 10, 14, 43 and 45).

No. 5 presents the fewest problems. Von Beckerath attributes this text, like Nos. 6 and 7, to Osorkon III (his third regnal year). It is true that in this text, albeit of a more recent date than text No. 22 of year 39 of Shoshenq III, version 1 of *h'pj* occurs, but, as is generally assumed, the reign of Osorkon III started in or shortly after year 39 of Shoshenq III;<sup>17</sup> consequently, text No. 22, the first one in which version 2 was used, is only a few years earlier than text No. 5. Possibly the transition from the ancient to the new orthography was gradual, both versions being in use during a transitional period of a few years. Hence the occurrence of version 1 in this record does not contradict its attribution to year 3 of Osorkon III. Moreover, the position of the text indicates a very high inundation, and this is affirmed by a graffito in the Luxor temple concerning the inundation of that year, which flooded the temple.<sup>18</sup>

According to the reconstruction made by von Beckerath, text No. 3 has version 2 of *h'pj*. That this reconstruction is correct is seen from the copy of the inscription made by Legrain,<sup>19</sup> in which version 2 incontestably appears, an orthography one would not expect to find in an inscription dating to the reign of Shoshenq I if the chronological suggestions based on spelling presented here are correct.

On the grounds of its orthography, text No. 14 might refer as well to Osorkon II as to

<sup>13</sup> E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1954), 18–19; P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past. Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London, 1994), xxxv–xlii, with references in nn. 16–19.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. *KRI* II, 266, 378–9.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. on Berlin statue 8163 of Harwa (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) (B. Gunn, 'The Berlin Statue of Harwa and Some Notes on Other Harwa Statues', *BIFAO* 34 (1934), 138) and on Cairo stela JE 37494 from year 29 of King Amasis (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) (Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 382–4).

<sup>16</sup> E.g. in the Tenth Dynasty tomb of Kheti II at Siut (H. Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut* (ÄF 5; Glückstadt, 1937), 69), and the Middle Kingdom tombs No. 3 of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan (P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hassan*, I (ASE 1; London, 1893), 46) and No. 7 of Nakht-ankhu at Deir Rifeh (F. L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Der Rifeh* (London, 1889), pl. 19).

<sup>17</sup> M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300–664 B. C.)* (Warminster, 1975), 100–1; Aston, *JEA* 75, 150; Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 81, 142.

<sup>18</sup> Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 92 and n. 38, with references. The rendering of the word *h'pj* in the Luxor temple inscription by G. Daressy, 'Une inondation à Thèbes sous le règne d'Osorkon II', *RT* 18 (1896), 181–6, deviates from both orthographic versions used in the Nile Level Records.

<sup>19</sup> Legrain, *ZÄS* 34, 111.

Shoshenq III. The texts Nos. 10, 43 and 45 show version 2 and therefore probably refer to the final years of Shoshenq III or later years.

From the above it is obvious that the occurrence of two versions of *h'pj* in the Nile Level Records—version 1 in an early period and version 2 in a later one—may provide useful information about the chronological order of the texts and, consequently, about the identity of the kings to whom they refer.

### The structure

Next we should examine whether the structure of the Nile Level Texts as a whole might provide any indications concerning their chronological positions. In this connection we will consider (1) whether or not the name of the reigning king himself is mentioned, (2) whether a text refers to only one king or to several kings, (3) whether both nomen and prenomen occur or only one of them, (4) whether or not specific epithets occur in or behind the cartouches, (5) which royal titles occur, (6) whether the king's mother or the officiating high priest of Amun is mentioned, and (7) whether or not a wish for (eternal) life has been added.

Here a problem is presented by the fact that the kings of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties—with the exception of Shoshenq I, Osorkon I and Shoshenq II—showed practically no originality in the choice of their prenomen. Hence, in many cases it is difficult to ascertain whether more or less small differences in the design of the nomens and the prenomen are due to optional use or are variants of certain epithets, or whether in such cases we are dealing with different kings. To answer these questions it might be useful to consider the tendencies in the use of the royal names and their development in the course of time. It is obvious, for instance, that in many cases the epithets *Setepenre* and *Setepenamun*, occurring in many royal prenomen, could be used alternately, the former variant occurring especially in sources from Lower Egypt and the latter especially in Upper Egyptian texts.<sup>20</sup> It should also be noticed that the structure of the royal names at the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty was quite simple, and that from Osorkon II onwards this structure became more and more complicated. At first there was the sometimes optional addition of *Si-Ese* in the names of Upper Egyptian kings and *Si-Bast* in those of Lower Egyptian kings, while, subsequently, the names were sometimes extended by adding the epithet *Netjerheqawast* or *Netjerheqaon*. Whereas the epithets *Si-Ese* and *Si-Bast* probably refer to dynastic affiliation, certainly during the period when the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties coexisted, the epithets *Netjerheqawast* and *Netjerheqaon* may as well refer to dynastic affiliation as indicate the place of origin of the objects on which they occur, the former in Upper Egyptian inscriptions and the latter in Lower Egyptian ones.<sup>21</sup>

What might be deduced from the structure of the Nile Level Records? Nos. 1 and 2 show identical structures, both texts showing the nomen and prenomen, without the addition of any epithet, and they undoubtedly refer to Shoshenq I and his successor Osorkon I. Nos. 16–21 (as far as they are legible) mention, instead of the reigning king, the officiating High

<sup>20</sup> Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 85–6.

<sup>21</sup> Pedubast I, probably using both *Si-Bast* and *Si-Ese*, might be an exceptional case. See in connection with the use of epithets in royal names Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 92–3; von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 45; J. Yoyotte, 'Pharaon Iny, Un roi mystérieux du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.', *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), 124–7; Jansen-Winkel, *JEA* 81, 143; M.-A. Bonhême, 'Les Chechanquides: Qui, combien?', *BSFE* 134 (1995), 68–9; B. Muhs, 'Partisan Royal Epithets in the Late Third Intermediate Period and the Dynastic Affiliations of Pedubast I and Iuput II', *JEA* 84 (1998), 220–3.

Priest of Amun, calling him ‘the son of the king, the lord of the two lands (*nb t3wy*) Osorkon’. Except that in text No. 20 the king’s name is followed by a wish for eternal life, all these texts show the same structure, confirming that they constitute one single chronological unit. Nos. 8, 9, 11 and 12 very much resemble each other, showing the prenomen preceded by the title *nb t3wy* and the nomen preceded by the title *nb h3w*, though the orthography of the element *nb t3wy* slightly varies. Nos. 22–29 show a structure similar to each other in as far as each of these texts mentions, besides the name of the reigning king, the officiating high priest of Amun. The only exception is text No. 26, which does not mention a high priest but refers to two contemporary kings. There are some differences among these texts (Nos. 22–29) in expression, principally whether or not the prenomen is included and whether a wish for (eternal) life is added. As seen above, texts Nos. 5, 6 and 7 can be attributed to Osorkon III. In No. 5 (year 3) the name of Osorkon shows the addition *Si-Ese*, while this epithet is lacking in Nos. 6 (year 5) and 7 (year 6), which both show identical structures, mentioning the name of Osorkon III’s mother in a cartouche. Except for the addition *Si-Ese*, text No. 5 resembles Nos. 6 and 7; the opening of the royal style is somewhat different and the name of King Osorkon is followed by a wish for eternal life. Not surprisingly, text No. 13, referring to the twenty-eighth regnal year of Osorkon III in combination with year 5 of Takeloth III, shows a structure different from the other Nile texts of Osorkon III. Here both names have, besides the epithet *Si-Ese* in their nomen cartouches, the addition of *Netjerheqawast*, thus underlining the Upper Egyptian character of their kingship. From the use of version 2 of *h3py* and the occurrence of *Si-Ese* and *Netjerheqawast*, which epithets never were used by Osorkon II, the possibility that No. 13 can be attributed to him and Takeloth II should be excluded. This is confirmed by the fact that Shoshenq III succeeded Osorkon II three years after Takeloth II assumed kingship, as shown by Aston,<sup>22</sup> and therefore a combination of year 28 (or any other year) of Osorkon II with year 5 of Takeloth II is impossible. Besides, Takeloth II was probably not even a son of Osorkon II.<sup>23</sup> Text No. 4 mentions besides the nomen of Takeloth III, including the epithet *Si-Ese*, the name of his mother Tentsai.

The name on text No. 3 shows the epithet *Si-Ese*. This addition is met nowhere else among the first three kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty (Shoshenq I, Osorkon I and Shoshenq II), and, in addition to the orthography of the word *h3py* and its position on the quay wall, we have here another indication that this record is not to be attributed to Shoshenq I but to another Upper Egyptian king, whose reign should be dated much later.

Texts Nos. 10, 14 and 43 all have the same structure: only one cartouche, enclosing either the nomen or the prenomen, and preceded by *nb t3wy*. However, on the basis of the use of the orthographic version 1 in No. 14, this text cannot possibly be chronologically combined with Nos. 10 and 43, both showing version 2. As to text No. 45, von Beckerath could find no trace of the nomen or the prenomen. Its structure is identical to that of text No. 3: ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt’—prenomen (in cartouche)—‘Son of Re’—name (in cartouche).

It is obvious that the structure of the texts can provide useful information about their chronological positions: the epithet *Si-Ese* as well as the occurrence of the name of a royal father or mother may be distinctive enough for the identification of a king. The combina-

<sup>22</sup> Aston, *JEA* 75, 148–9; also Jansen-Winkel, *JEA* 81, 139. Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 92–3, also attributes text No. 13 to Osorkon III and Takeloth III, though he rejects the view of Aston and Jansen-Winkel that Takeloth II was an Upper Egyptian king reigning contemporaneously with Shoshenq III (*TIP*<sup>3</sup>, xxiii–v).

<sup>23</sup> Aston, *JEA* 75, 140; Jansen-Winkel, *JEA* 81, 138; N. Dautzenberg, ‘Bemerkungen zu Schoschenq II., Takeloth II. und Pedubastis II.’, *GM* 144 (1995), 24.

tion either of two kings or of a king with a high priest might also be a chronological indication, and structural resemblance of a group of texts might indicate that they chronologically belong together.

### The texts

In the preceding sections attention has been paid to the positions on the quay wall, the orthography and the structure of the Nile Level Texts. Here we will examine whether a combination of those three characteristics might add anything to the conclusions above, and what further statements might be made about the texts. The records, rendered in Table 2, will be discussed chronologically, as far as this is established or might be plausible from von Beckerath's publication and from the reconstruction in this paper. Subsequently the records whose chronological positions are problematic will be discussed and we will consider whether the characteristics of the texts as discussed in the preceding sections could provide any indications of their chronological positions.

The texts Nos. 1 and 2 are well established within the relative chronology. Text No. 1 mentions the sixth regnal year of *Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Meriamun* (Shoshenq I) and text No. 2 refers to year 12 of *Sekhemkheperre Setepenre Osorkon Meriamun* (Osorkon I). Both texts, engraved side by side, show the orthographic version 1 of *h'pj*, and otherwise, too, the structures of both texts are identical.

As established above, texts Nos. 16–21 constitute one single chronological unit. Text No. 16, of a year 5, refers to the High Priest of Amun Iuwelot *m<sup>ꜣ</sup>-hrw*, son of the king, the lord of the two lands, Osorkon. The High Priest Iuwelot was a son of King Osorkon I and the year 5 mentioned in the inscription must refer to a successor of Osorkon I because Iuwelot was in Osorkon I's tenth year still a youth.<sup>24</sup> Text No. 17 refers to the Nile inundation of year 8 with reference to the High Priest of Amun, king of the gods, Smendes *m<sup>ꜣ</sup>-hrw*, son of the king, the lord of the two lands Osorkon. Hence it may be assumed that this Smendes was a brother or half-brother of Iuwelot. Text No. 18 relates to year 13 or 14 with the same High Priest Smendes. Von Beckerath borrows the reconstruction of the name Osorkon in this text from Legrain.<sup>25</sup> This name was no longer legible in 1953, when von Beckerath recollated the texts. Text 19, too, refers to the High Priest Smendes, but the year is lost. In texts Nos. 20 and 21 neither the year nor the name of the officiating high priest is legible and consequently, they may belong either to the pontificate of Iuwelot, as assumed by von Beckerath,<sup>26</sup> or to that of Smendes. The structure of text No. 20 differs from the other texts of this cluster in as far as a wish for eternal life has been added to the name of King Osorkon I. The texts Nos. 16–21 are the only ones not mentioning the reigning king, often assumed to be Takeloth I.<sup>27</sup> As a possible explanation Kitchen advances: 'such an utter nonentity was Takeloth I that his own brothers as Theban high priests used his reign as dating-era but ignored the king himself'.<sup>28</sup> However, one should consider the possibility that after the death of Osorkon I two of his sons might have had royal aspirations: Shoshenq (II), whose

<sup>24</sup> H. Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit* (Leiden, 1964), 93–9; Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 121; Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, 80.

<sup>25</sup> *JARCE* 5, 48, n. 18.

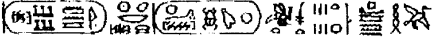
<sup>26</sup> *JARCE* 5, 46.

<sup>27</sup> Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 46; Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 121 and 311. Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 81, 138, n. 56, mentions the possibility that we are dealing here with regnal years of either Osorkon II or the high priests Iuwelot and Smendes themselves.

<sup>28</sup> *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 311.

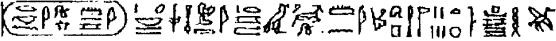
TABLE 2. *The texts*


**The earliest texts**


 (1)


 (2)

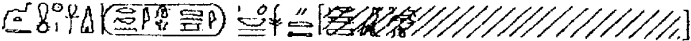
**The sons of Osorkon I**

 16

 17

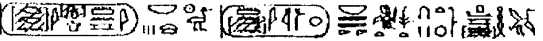
 18

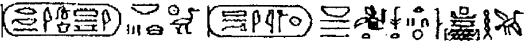
 19

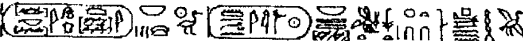
 20


 21

**The texts of Osorkon II**

 8


 9


 11

 12

**The time of Shoshenq III and the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon***

 23

 24

 26

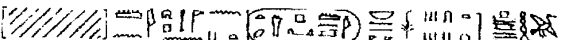
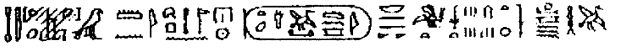
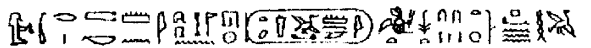
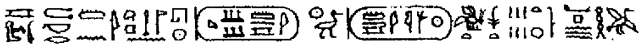

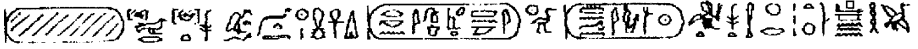


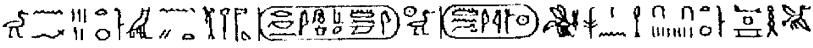
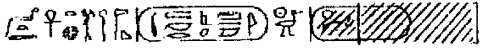

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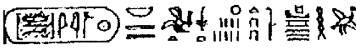



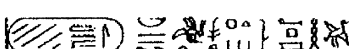
TABLE 2. *The texts (cont.)*

	27
	29
	25
	22

**Texts of Osorkon III and his son Takeloth III**

	5
	6
	7
	13
	
	4

**The remaining texts**

	15
	44
	14
	3
	45
	10
	43



mother was Maatkare, the royal daughter of King Psusennes II, and Takeloth (I), son of Tashedkhonsu, a lesser wife of King Osorkon I.<sup>29</sup> If, indeed, that was the situation, it should not be surprising that the Theban high priests deliberately omitted the reigning king's name, intending not to become involved in a conflict between their brother and their half-brother.<sup>30</sup>

According to both von Beckerath and Kitchen, texts Nos. 8, 9, 11 and 12 might belong as well to Osorkon II as to Osorkon III.<sup>31</sup> However, the use of the orthographic version 1 of *h<sup>c</sup>pj* and the absence of epithets and additions used by Osorkon III confirm that these texts should be dated to the reign of Osorkon II and not to that of Osorkon III. The records are related to the years 12 (twice, No. 9 probably being a correction of the Nile level recorded in No. 8),<sup>32</sup> 21 and 22 and, as noted in the previous section, all have the same structure.

Texts Nos. 22–29 all belong to the reign of Shoshenq III, who immediately followed Osorkon II on the throne, without an intermediate reign of Takeloth II. In Table 2 these texts are arranged according to Aston's chronology, elaborated by Jansen-Winkeln.<sup>33</sup> The earliest text belonging to Shoshenq III is No. 23, referring to his sixth regnal year, mentioning the High Priest Harsiese. The next five Nile Level Texts, in chronological order, mention Pedubast I. No. 24 refers to his fifth regnal year,<sup>34</sup> equal to year 12 of an unmentioned king, who must be Shoshenq III.<sup>35</sup> In this text, too, the High Priest Harsiese is mentioned. The double dating in this text and in No. 26 does not mean coregency but might have been done only for administrative purposes.<sup>36</sup> No. 26 dates to the sixteenth regnal year of Pedubast I, equal to year 2 of Iuput I. Nos. 28 and 27 refer to year 18 and 19 respectively of Pedubast I, once more with Harsiese named as high priest of Amun.<sup>37</sup> Text No. 29 of the twenty-third year of Pedubast I mentions a new high priest, Takeloth. This same Takeloth is mentioned as high priest in text No. 25, which refers to the sixth regnal year of *Usermaatre Meriamun Shoshenq Meriamun* (Shoshenq VI),<sup>38</sup> the successor of Pedubast I. Text No. 22, mentioning regnal year 39 of Shoshenq III (probably his final year) and the High Priest Osorkon is the earliest text showing the orthographic version 2 of *h<sup>c</sup>pj*.

What makes these texts conspicuous is that all of them refer to either a king and a high priest or to two contemporarily reigning kings. This illustrates the conflict between two Upper Egyptian dynasties, which dragged on for decades in the Thebaid, each dynasty

<sup>29</sup> See in this connection G. P. F. Broekman, 'Once more Shoshenq Heqakheperre', *GM* 181 (2001), 36.

<sup>30</sup> Another indication in this direction might be derived from the inscription on the statue of Djedkhonsuufankh (Cairo CG 559), in which it says: 'I was favoured by Sekhemkheperre Setepenre (Osorkon I); his heirs repeated the favours even more than he did. Each of them acceded to the throne...' Here, too, is a reference to kings (in the plural) whose names are not mentioned. See K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 8/2; Wiesbaden, 1985), 9–24 (Text A 1).

<sup>31</sup> Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 45; Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 94.

<sup>32</sup> Von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 45.

<sup>33</sup> Aston, *JEA* 75, 139–53; Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 81, 136–45 and 149 (Table 1).

<sup>34</sup> Legrain, *ZÄS* 34, 114, reads year 6 of Pimay instead of year 5 of Pedubast, but this reading has been corrected by von Beckerath, *JARCE* 5, 46–7.

<sup>35</sup> Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 134–6; Aston, *JEA* 75, 148.

<sup>36</sup> Leahy, in Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt*, 191; von Beckerath, *GM* 144, 11.

<sup>37</sup> The name Harsiese in text No. 27 has been borrowed from Legrain, *ZÄS* 34. In 1953 von Beckerath could find no trace of this name.

<sup>38</sup> Most scholars accept the existence of Shoshenq VI (formerly called Shoshenq IV; see n. 9) as an independent king, not identical with Shoshenq III. See von Beckerath *JARCE* 5, 47; Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 87–8; M. A. Bonhême, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire* (BdE 98; Cairo, 1987), 124–8; Aston, *JEA* 75, 151–3; Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 81, 139–40 and n. 67. Against this is Leahy, in Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt*, 183, assuming that Shoshenq VI is identical with Shoshenq III.

having its own line of high priests. This conflict has been described in the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, the same person as the high priest mentioned in Nile Level Text No. 22, who later was to ascend the throne as Osorkon III.<sup>39</sup>

Texts Nos. 5, 6, 7, 13 and 4 should be attributed to Osorkon III and his son Takeloth III in this chronological order. The double dating in text No. 13, year 28 of Osorkon III, equal to year 5 of his son Takeloth III, undoubtedly indicates here a true coregency.<sup>40</sup> In No. 4 the king's mother Tentsai is mentioned, a lesser wife of Osorkon III, whose chief queen was Karo-atjet, the mother of the God's Wife of Amun Shepenupet (I).<sup>41</sup>

The texts Nos. 3, 10, 14, 15, 43, 44 and 45 can be roughly arranged chronologically on the basis of the orthography of the word *h'pj*. Only text 14 bears version 1; Nos. 3, 10, 43 and 45 have version 2, and Nos. 15 and 44, not recovered by von Beckerath, were already so badly damaged in 1896 that the copies made by Legrain do not provide any information about the orthography either. These last two texts are rendered in Table 2 according to the copies made by Legrain.

Text No. 15 is too badly damaged to yield any useful information. It is impossible to draw any conclusion about the chronological position of text No. 44 from its orthography or its (unknown) position on the wall, but the reference made in this record to the high priest of Amun justifies the presumption that it belongs to the group of texts mentioned from the time of Shoshenq III. The traces of the prenomen, read by Legrain, seem to name a king *Usermaatre Meriamun* or *Usermaatre Setepenamun*, and hence we have to choose among Shoshenq III, Pedubast I and Shoshenq VI. The structure of this inscription resembles most closely that of text No. 25 of the sixth regnal year of Shoshenq VI, and might refer to year 8 (6 + x) of this king.<sup>42</sup>

Text No. 14 relates to the twenty-ninth year of a king *Usermaatre Setepenamun*. The orthographic version 1 of *h'pj* has been used and this limits the choice among the kings using this prenomen to those mentioned in Nile Level Texts with version 1. To attribute this text, as Kitchen does,<sup>43</sup> to Osorkon III is out of the question because from his fifth regnal year he uses version 2 of *h'pj*. Besides, one would not expect to find a text like this in Osorkon III's twenty-ninth year, following text No. 13 of his year 28 in which he is mentioned together with his son Takeloth III. The possibilities that remain are Osorkon II and Shoshenq III. If it is the latter, then the text ought to be positioned between No. 27 (year 19 of Pedubast I) and No. 29 (Pedubast I's twenty-third year). That might be possible, because it appears from the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* that in year 29 of Shoshenq III Prince Osorkon, who after the death of his father Takeloth II dated to the regnal years of Shoshenq III and not to those of Pedubast, had come to power again in Thebes. On the other hand, one would expect an unambiguous reference to Shoshenq III as well as the mention of Prince Osorkon himself, possibly as officiating high priest. However, since it is widely assumed<sup>44</sup> that the reign of Osorkon II must have been considerably longer than the 25 years attributed to him by Kitchen,<sup>45</sup> this record may refer to this king. Indeed it is probable that Osorkon II

<sup>39</sup> Leahy, in Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt*, 192–3; Aston, *JEA* 75, 150–1; Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 81, 141–2; von Beckerath, *GM* 144, 9–11. Against this is Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, xxxi, denying that Prince Osorkon is identical with Osorkon III.

<sup>40</sup> Leahy, in Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt*, 193.

<sup>41</sup> Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 352.

<sup>42</sup> Shoshenq VI may have reigned for nine years at most; see Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 81, 142.

<sup>43</sup> *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 126.

<sup>44</sup> Aston, *JEA* 75, 144–8; Dodson, *GM* 137, 58.

is the king mentioned in text No. 14, because he was the first king of the Twenty-second Dynasty to use this prenomen; no further indication was needed to distinguish him from preceding kings.

Nos. 3, 10, 43 and 45 all show orthographic version 2 of *h<sup>c</sup>pj* and, therefore, most probably should be dated after the thirty-ninth year of Shoshenq III. They have been engraved in one line to the left and to the right of text No. 14, close to the records of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties engraved on the right-hand section of the wall. Remarkably, we know of no Nile Level Texts dated to the period from the sixth regnal year of Takeloth III (No. 4) to year 3 of Shabaka (No. 30). According to the chronology given by Kitchen, this period numbers 45 years and the chronological calculations made by Bierbrier and Aston do not lead to considerably deviating results.<sup>46</sup> If it proves possible to fit the texts Nos. 3, 10, 43 and 45 within this period, this gap would be closed.

As has been shown by Aston and endorsed and elaborated by Jansen-Winkel and von Beckerath, Takeloth II was the founder of a Theban (Upper Egyptian) dynasty, which was continued by his son Osorkon III and subsequently by Osorkon's sons Takeloth III and Rudamun.<sup>47</sup> Possibly also King Ini, known from only one single inscription at Karnak, might have belonged to this dynasty.<sup>48</sup> Almost all the kings of this dynasty called themselves *Si-Ese*, whereas most Lower Egyptian kings used the epithet *Si-Bast* as part of their names. It is not clear where the kings of this Upper Egyptian dynasty—called by Jansen-Winkel Twenty-three (A)<sup>49</sup>—had their residence, but it may be assumed that from Osorkon III onwards the Thebans dated by the regnal years of these kings.

During the years following the death of Takeloth III the kingdom of Napata extended its influence as far north as Thebes and the Nubian king Pi(ankh)i had his sister Amenirdis (I) adopted by the Theban God's Wife of Amun Shepenupet I, daughter of Osorkon III. An important piece of evidence in this connection is a graffito in the Wadi Gasus, mentioning the year 19 related to the 'God's Wife' Shepenupet and a year 12 related to the 'Adoratrix of the God' Amenirdis. Kitchen has shown convincingly that we are here dealing with year 12 of Pi(ankh)i, equalling year 19 of a king recognised in Thebes and related to Shepenupet I.<sup>50</sup> Most probably this king belongs to Dynasty Twenty-three (A), and was apparently on good terms with the Nubian dynasty, then residing in Napata. But to which Upper Egyptian king might the nineteenth regnal year mentioned in the Wadi Gasus graffito refer? Kitchen attributes this year to Iuput II,<sup>51</sup> but that king was residing in Leontopolis and his power was limited to a more northern territory;<sup>52</sup> moreover, he may not be considered to be an ally of the Nubian king by that time, for he was one of the monarchs who was to submit to Pi(ankh)i in his twentieth year.<sup>53</sup> The only successors of Takeloth III known from inscriptions in Thebes are Rudamun and Ini. Should it be one of them who was meant in the graffito, then he would have reigned for at least nineteen years. Another possibility, how-

<sup>45</sup> *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, xxv, 107–8.

<sup>46</sup> *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, table 6 (revised), 592–3; Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, 102–3; Aston, *JEA* 75, 153.

<sup>47</sup> Aston, *JEA* 75, 139–53; Jansen-Winkel, *JEA* 81, 136–45, Table 1, 149; Jansen-Winkel, 'Der thebanische "Gottesstaat"', *Orientalia* 70/2 (2001), 178; von Beckerath, *GM* 144, 7–11 and *GM* 147, 9–13.

<sup>48</sup> Yoyotte, *CRIPEL* 11, 114–31; von Beckerath *GM* 147, 11–13; Aston, *JEA* 75, 152–3; Jansen-Winkel, *JEA* 81, 143.

<sup>49</sup> *JEA* 81, Table 1, 149.

<sup>50</sup> *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 175–8.

<sup>51</sup> *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 543–4, 581.

<sup>52</sup> Leahy, in Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt*, 181, 185–6 and 191, is of the same opinion.

<sup>53</sup> As appears from the victory stela of king Pi(ankh)i (Cairo JE 48862), line 100; for the translation of this stela see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III. *The Late Period* (Berkeley, 1980), 66–84.

ever, is the existence of a king unknown to us, perhaps belonging to the house of Takeloth II.

This brings us back to Nile Level Text No. 3. This relates to year 5 of a king with the prenomen *Hedjkheperre Setepenre*. Von Beckerath, recollating the Nile Level Records in 1953, was able to read in the nomen cartouche the epithet *Si-Ese* and traces of *Meriamun* and *Shoshenq*, and points out that ‘the space after the *st*-sign would be too small for the name *tkrtj* (Takelot)’.<sup>54</sup> Undoubtedly we are dealing here with a king named *Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Si-Ese Meriamun*. Which king Shoshenq known to us might he be? There are two kings with similar names: *Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Meriamun* (Shoshenq I) and *Hedjkheperre Setepenre Shoshenq Si-Bast Meriamun (Netjerheqaon)* (Shoshenq IV). The characteristics of text No. 3, its position on the wall (distant from text No. 1 of the sixth year of Shoshenq I), the use of orthographic version 2 of *h'pj*, an orthography that would only come into use some 130 years after the death of Shoshenq I, and the addition of the epithet *Si-Ese* (not used, as far as known, in any other inscription of Shoshenq I), together convincingly prove that the king Shoshenq mentioned here cannot possibly be the founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty.

Identification of the king mentioned in text No. 3 with Shoshenq IV encounters fewer difficulties: the position on the wall causes no problem and the use of the orthographic version 2 would conform with this identification. However, Shoshenq IV, being the immediate successor of Shoshenq III, was a Lower Egyptian king, in all probability buried in the city of his residence, Tanis.<sup>55</sup> In the sources attributed to him he calls himself *Si-Bast*, as is usual with Lower Egyptian kings from Osorkon II onwards. Nevertheless it might be possible that he, like his predecessor Shoshenq III, was recognised in Thebes, and that in Theban inscriptions he replaced the epithet *Si-Bast* by *Si-Ese*. But, as seen above, this would have been most unusual. Shoshenq III, too, calls himself *Si-Bast* in Theban inscriptions,<sup>56</sup> so that identification of the king Shoshenq mentioned in text No. 3 with Shoshenq IV is questionable.

Moreover, the position of Osorkon III is here at issue. If the king mentioned in text No. 3 really is Shoshenq IV, then it must be concluded that after the death of Shoshenq III, in his thirty-ninth or fortieth year, the Thebans initially dated according to the regnal years of Shoshenq IV, and then only after his fifth regnal year, referred to in No. 3, according to the years of Osorkon III, whose name appears for the first time in his third regnal year, in text No. 5. That would imply that Osorkon III, after he had made his appearance as high priest of Amun in year 39 of Shoshenq III, would have disappeared from the scene for several years, before he became king himself, some years after Shoshenq III's death.<sup>57</sup> The objections that can be made against the attribution of text No. 3 to Shoshenq IV mean that the possibility must be seriously considered that the king Shoshenq mentioned is a so far unknown Upper Egyptian king, recognised in Thebes, who might have been one of Takeloth III's successors.

The period of over 40 years between the death of the last-mentioned and the beginning of Shabaka's reign is long enough to include the reign of another king—Shoshenq ‘VIa’—

<sup>54</sup> Von Beckerath kindly affirmed this in a private letter.

<sup>55</sup> Dodson, *GM* 137, 53–8.

<sup>56</sup> As appears from Nile Level Text No. 22 and Karnak Priestly Annals fragments Nos. 5, 7, 11 and 44 (See J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak* (OLA 32; Leuven, 1989), 54, 59–61, 93 and 139–40).

<sup>57</sup> The position of Osorkon III is of no importance in this matter if Kitchen is right in his view that Osorkon III and Prince Osorkon are two different persons (*TIP*<sup>3</sup>, xxxi).

besides the kings Rudamun and Ini. During most of this period it was the Nubian King Pi(ankh)i who had supremacy in the southern part of Egypt, adopting Egyptian royal style, but his residence was in distant Napata and, most probably, the Thebans dated in that period by the regnal years of Takeloth III's successors, as the Wadi Gasus graffito suggests. The fact that in this inscription a year attributable to Pi(ankh)i is also mentioned does not alter the case: here the Nubian princess Amenirdis is referring to a regnal year of her Nubian royal brother whereas the Egyptian noblewoman Shepenupet refers to a regnal year of her Egyptian royal relative. Whether this royal relative was identical with the King Shoshenq of Nile text No. 3 is a different matter.

In this connection attention should be paid to text No. 45. This text refers to year 17 or 18 or 25 of a king who, as appears from the use of the orthographic version 2 of *h<sup>c</sup>pj*, must have reigned after Shoshenq III. The inscription shows the same structure as No. 3 and, according to Legrain, in the nomen cartouche the epithet *Meriamun* appears, an epithet we come across in the names of Osorkon III, Takeloth III, Rudamun, Ini and King Shoshenq mentioned in text No. 3. Attribution to Takeloth III is out of the question, because he did not reign that long. Of the remaining possibilities, Osorkon III seems to be improbable on the basis of the structure of the text, which does not show any of the additions occurring in the texts attributed to him (Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 13). Assuming that Osorkon III should be excluded as the ruler mentioned in text No. 45, this text might refer to King Shoshenq 'VIa' mentioned in text No. 3, or to Rudamun or to Ini, unless we have to reckon with another king unknown to us. At all events, the king mentioned in No. 45 might be identical with the king to whom the year 19 of the Wadi Gasus graffito refers. If he was not, there must have been two kings reigning successively for about 19 years each during the period between Takeloth III and Shabaka. Text No. 45 might belong to King Pi(ankh)i if this text refers to year 25, because probably after Pi(ankh)i's campaign in his twentieth year 'datelines henceforth were written in the name of Pharaoh Pi(ankh)y'.<sup>58</sup>

All that can be said about the two remaining texts is that it only appears from the use of the orthographic version 2 of *h<sup>c</sup>pj* that they should be dated to the time after Shoshenq III's reign. At the time of Legrain's publication more traces of text No. 10 were preserved. It refers to a king whose prenomen begins with *Usermaatre* and is dated to his fifth, sixth, thirteenth or fourteenth regnal year. This could be any king *Usermaatre* reigning after Shoshenq III. Text No. 43 refers to year 3 of a king *Meriamun*, and because from the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty onwards almost every king had this epithet added to his name, and because the orthographic version 2 of *h<sup>c</sup>pj* was used, this text, too, may refer to any king who reigned after Shoshenq III. However, Osorkon III has to be excluded because his year 3 is mentioned in text No. 5. Takeloth III could not be meant either, because in text No. 13, dating to his fifth regnal year, he is defined as co-regent of his father and, undoubtedly, the same would have been done in a text of his of two years earlier. Considering what has been said above, it seems unlikely that we are here dealing with Pi(ankh)i. If Theban inscriptions were ever dated by his regnal years, it was certainly not as early as his third year. Text No. 43 should not be attributed to the king mentioned in text No. 3 either, whether Shoshenq IV or Shoshenq 'VIa'. No. 3 relates to a fifth regnal year and in it the prenomen as well as the nomen are mentioned. It is improbable that in a text inscribed two years before, the same king would have been mentioned only by his nomen. The remaining possibilities, then, are the kings Rudamun and Ini; it must be one of them to whom text No. 43

<sup>58</sup> As stated by Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 370.

refers, unless even more unknown kings turned out to have reigned between Takeloth III and Shabaka.

### Conclusions

From what is said above, it is highly probable that the differences in the orthography of the word *h'pj* in the Nile Level Texts are the result of the falling into disuse of one version and its replacement by another. Therefore, the occurrence of these two different orthographic versions of *h'pj* may substantially contribute—in combination with special features of the structure of the texts and their positions on the quay wall—to the determination of the chronological order of the Nile Level Texts and may be of importance for the identification of distinct kings of (nearly) the same name mentioned in the texts. It may also provide a starting point for the identification of kings in those cases in which the royal names in the texts are incomplete or the texts are so badly damaged that the names are only partly legible. On this basis the following conclusions may be drawn:

- The texts Nos. 8, 9, 11 and 12 should be attributed to Osorkon II without the least restriction.
- Text No. 13 definitely belongs to Osorkon III and Takeloth III.
- Text No. 14 probably refers to year 29 of Osorkon II.
- Contrary to what is generally accepted, text No. 3 does not belong to Shoshenq I, but should be attributed either to Shoshenq IV, the successor to Shoshenq III, or, more likely, to an Upper Egyptian king Shoshenq, not known from other sources, a successor of Takeloth III, who might be defined as Shoshenq VIa.

# THE PROBLEM OF AMENIRDIS II AND THE HEIRS TO THE OFFICE OF GOD'S WIFE OF AMUN DURING THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY\*

By AIDAN DODSON

A discussion of the evidence for the career of Amenirdis II, daughter of Taharqa, and adopted daughter of the God's Wife of Amun Shepenwepet II. Consideration of the monuments and the titles used by the God's Wives and their heirs leads to the conclusion that Amenirdis never advanced to the position of God's Wife, but instead held a secondary office, signified by the title 'God's Hand', successively under Shepenwepet II and Nitokris I. It is also argued that a figure on Cairo lintel JE 29254B, usually identified as Shepenwepet II, is actually a hitherto-unknown Shepenwepet IV, a prematurely deceased heir of Nitokris.

ALTHOUGH the title went back to the New Kingdom, the high point of the prestige and power of the God's Wives of Amun came in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, when they eclipsed the High Priest of Amun as the head of the Amun cult at Thebes.<sup>1</sup> Following the departure of the last Kushite king, Tanutamun, from Egypt, the Kushite incumbents, the High Priest Harkhebi and the God's Wife Shepenwepet II, continued to serve apparently unmolested. However, in Year 9 of Psammetichus I, the latter's daughter Nitokris I arrived in Thebes from the north. In the so-called 'Nitokris Adoption Stela' (Cairo JE 36327), Psammetichus states:

I have given to him (Amun) my daughter to be God's Wife .... Now, I have heard that a king's daughter is there (of) the Horus Qakhau, the good god, [Taharqa], true of voice, whom he gave to his sister (Shepenwepet II) to be her eldest daughter and is there as God's Adoratrix.<sup>2</sup> I will not do what in fact should not be done and expel an heir from his seat ... I will give her (my daughter) to her (Taharqa's daughter) to be her eldest daughter just as she (Taharqa's daughter) was made over to the sister of her father.<sup>3</sup>

Later in the text, Taharqa's daughter and Shepenwepet's heir is revealed as one Amenirdis (II).

Ricardo Caminos pointed out that, contrary to the views of such earlier scholars as Adolf Erman and James Henry Breasted, Nitokris was being made heir to Amenirdis II, to reign

\* This paper was first read at the Annual Meeting of American Research Center in Egypt in Baltimore in April 2002, and has benefited from discussion there and from the comments of the editor of *JEA* and of the *Journal's* referees.

<sup>1</sup> Harkhebi is the last known (male) High Priest, last attested in Year 14 of Psammetichus I (P. Brooklyn 47.218: R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus* (Providence, 1962)). For a possible further, final, female High Priest, see n. 48 below.

<sup>2</sup> Written in a cartouche.

<sup>3</sup> Translation and glosses generally based upon R. A. Caminos, 'The Nitokris Adoption Stela', *JEA* 50 (1964), 71–101.

only after two generations.<sup>4</sup> However, it has long remained moot as to whether Amenirdis ever did actually occupy the office of God's Wife, or whether she was frustrated by premature death or political changes that sidelined Psammetichus I's apparently high-minded dispositions.<sup>5</sup> Jean Leclant suggested that Amenirdis served as Shepenwepet II's coregent.<sup>6</sup> First, he cited lines 16–17 of the Nitokris Adoption Stela, in which the ladies jointly give the resources of the office of the God's Wife to Nitokris. Second, he noted that blocks from the left side of the façade of the destroyed chapel of Osiris Pededankh at North Karnak<sup>7</sup> show an Adoratrix Amenirdis, alongside whose own cartouche is a mutilated example which might include traces of the ꜥ-sign from Taharqa's nomen. The right half of the chapel's façade has a Shepenwepet (presumably II), called 'mother of the God's Hand, [Amenir]dis'.<sup>8</sup>

Labib Habachi identified the wife of the Vizier Mentuhotep with Amenirdis II,<sup>9</sup> while a reconstruction proposed by Erhart Graefe makes Amenirdis II, in contrast, a fully-fledged God's Wife. He argues that Nitokris' accession should be dated to Psammetichus I's Year 26, and that on the basis of the impossible age this would bestow on Shepenwepet II at death, Amenirdis must have served in the interval from Shepenwepet's demise to Nitokris' installation.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, Robert Morkot suggests that Amenirdis II returned to Kush, where she became the mother of Nasalsa, mother of Aspelta.<sup>11</sup>

It is important to note that the Adoption Stela never refers to Amenirdis as anything more than Adoratrix, and since Shepenwepet and Amenirdis were to retain their status even after the advent of Nitokris, it seems more likely that the God's Wife and her heir(s) were simply regarded as a single administrative entity: that is, the 'college' of two was now to be a 'college' of three. Similarly, the chapel relief makes her no more than Adoratrix. On the other hand, the Shepenwepet text from the chapel makes Amenirdis God's Hand, a title more generally associated with Amenirdis I, but seemingly hardly used by any other God's Wives of the period.<sup>12</sup>

The question of the significance of the individual titles used by the God's Wives and their heirs is a complex one. That of 'God's Wife' (*hmt-ntr*)—explicitly or implicitly 'of Amun'—is the most straightforward, designating the senior female member of the Amun clergy

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 79; L.-A. Christophe had proposed that after Nitokris' adoption Amenirdis II had been sent back to Napata, to become God's Wife there ('La double datation du Ouadi Gassous', *BIE* 35 (1953), 147–8).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Leclant, 'Amenirdas II', *LÄ* I, 199–201.

<sup>6</sup> *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite éthiopienne* (BdE 36; Cairo, 1965), 364–5.

<sup>7</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 5–6.

<sup>8</sup> Leclant, *Recherches*, 365. Of course, if it were not for the apparent trace of the name of Taharqa in the erased cartouche on the left part of the façade, the figures could be Shepenwepet I and Amenirdis I.

<sup>9</sup> 'Mentuhotep, the Vizier and Son-in-law of Taharqa', in E. Endesfelder et al. (eds), *Ägypten und Kusch. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* (Berlin, 1977) 165–70. The unlikelihood of this reconstruction is pointed out by R. Morkot, 'Kingship and Kinship in the Empire of Kush', in S. Wenig (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Sudan: Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1999), 197. He notes that the Amenirdis in question is only a *s3t-nsw*, and not necessarily linked with Taharqa. Habachi's scenario is, however, accepted by Emily Teeter, 'Celibacy and Adoption among God's Wives of Amun and Singers in the Temple of Amun: a Re-examination of the Evidence', in E. Teeter and J. A. Larsen (eds), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (OIP 58; Chicago, 1999), 411.

<sup>10</sup> 'Der autobiographische Text des Ibi, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris, auf Kairo JE 36158', *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 96–7. However, it is by no means certain that the event identified with Nitokris' accession has been correctly interpreted.

<sup>11</sup> In Wenig (ed.), *Studien*, 194–200; in this he echoes an earlier view of Christophe (see n. 4). Cf. further below, n. 46.

<sup>12</sup> See below, pp. 181–2.



since New Kingdom times.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, that of ‘God’s Adoratrix’ (*dwꜣt-ntr*) is rather problematic.<sup>14</sup> The implication of the Nitokris Adoption Stela is that it is a designation of the heir: ‘(Amenirdis II) is there as God’s Adoratrix’. However, the title is also employed by apparently reigning God’s Wives, usually alongside the ‘God’s Wife’ title,<sup>15</sup> but with enough exceptions to make it rather difficult to argue that ‘Adoratrix’ on its own must necessarily indicate a woman who has yet to succeed to the sole office of God’s Wife. On the other hand, there are a number of contexts that make such a distinction clear. In particular, the Wadi el-Gasus texts each certainly commemorate a reigning God’s Wife alongside her heir: Shepenwepet I with Amenirdis I; Shepenwepet II with Nitokris I.<sup>16</sup> Closer examination of examples of a reigning Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty God’s Wife being called simply ‘Adoratrix’ reveal that she is usually given her higher title elsewhere on the same monument.<sup>17</sup> Thus, we may indeed be able to argue that an isolated mention of a lady with only the Adoratrix title may indeed generally imply that she was only heir to the God’s Wife when the monument was created—albeit recognising isolated exceptions on minor objects.

The third title, ‘God’s Hand’ (*drt-ntr*), is closely tied to that of ‘God’s Wife’,<sup>18</sup> but it remains uncertain whether they are truly synonymous. Of Shepenwepet I and Shepenwepet II, only the latter seems to have employed the title, and then only once, on a basin from Karnak, which also calls her ‘Adoratrix’.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, the title is frequently used by Amenirdis I, usually in conjunction with that of ‘God’s Wife’, but occasionally as a single title.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, it is also used as Amenirdis’ single title in adoptive<sup>21</sup> filiations of Shepenwepet

<sup>13</sup> Cf. M. Gitton and J. Leclant, ‘Gottesgemahlin’, *LÄ II*, 792–812. Until the Twentieth Dynasty, it was generally held by a wife of the king, but under Ramesses VI there appears perhaps the first ‘full time’ God’s Wife, Iset E (Manchester Museum 1781: PM V, 129).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Gitton and Leclant, *LÄ II*, 793, 806 nn. 9–10.

<sup>15</sup> Including its use in front of her prenomen, with ‘God’s Wife’ reserved for her nomen, an arrangement which is, however, sometimes reversed.

<sup>16</sup> PM VII, 339; Christophe, *BIE* 35, 141–52; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*<sup>3</sup> (Warminster, 1995), 543–4, 581 (henceforth *TIP*<sup>3</sup>). A pairing of an Adoratrix Amenirdis with a God’s Wife Shepenwepet on a scarab (H. Gauthier, *Livre des rois d’Égypte*, IV (MIFAO 20; Cairo, 1916), 27[J] (henceforth *LdR*)), would seem to have the same meaning.

<sup>17</sup> *LdR* IV, 25[A], 26[F] (Shepenwepet II); 83[D], 85[M] (Nitokris); 101[C], 103[J] (Ankhnesneferibre). The explanation may lie in a desire for variety in titularies, particularly in texts mentioning two different ladies in close proximity, for instance, in filiations: cf. the situation in TT 279, below, pp. 183–5.

<sup>18</sup> Leclant, ‘Gotteshand’, *LÄ II*, 813–15.

<sup>19</sup> Leclant, *Recherches*, 129 [N], pl. lxxv. Posthumously, she bears it in TT 36, where we also find the title applied to Nitokris in a long string of titles. Nitokris is again dubbed *drt-ntr* on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre, a lady who also uses it on this monument (British Museum EA 811), as well as on her Adoption Stela (Cairo JE 36907) and a statue from Karnak (CG 42205: *LdR* IV, 83–4 [Eb; d], 100 [A–C]; 103 [J]; 101 [Ad]; [Bc]).

<sup>20</sup> For example, in the temple of Osiris-Heqadjet, in the chapel of Osiris-Wennefer-in-the-Persea-Tree and on the statue of Harua in the British Museum (EA 32555): *LdR* IV, 21–2[K].

<sup>21</sup> Teeter, in Teeter and Larsen (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 405–14, questions the necessary celibacy—and thus adoptive nature of the relationships—of both the God’s Wives and the *hst hnw n Imn*. While a strong case is made for the latter group being at least capable of normal marital relationships, the arguments concerning the Third Intermediate and Saite Period God’s Wives are far less persuasive. The alleged marriage(s) of Amenirdis II are negatively judged elsewhere here (above, n. 9, and below, n. 46), while the evidence of an isolated example of *hmt-nsu* applied to Shepenwepet II on the sarcophagus of Nitokris (Cairo T 6.2.21.1: *LdR* IV, 85 [M]) can be easily dismissed as a slip when writing stereotyped phrases referring back to a woman long dead. Teeter’s second alleged example of an Adoratrix as a *hmt-nsu* relies entirely on Günther Roeder’s attribution of the upper part of a statue in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney, to Amenirdis II (*Statuen ägyptischer Königinnen, im Anschluss an den Torso Amon-irdas II in Sydney Untersucht* (MVAG 37/1: Leipzig, 1932), 7–8, pls. i–iii). However, while the remains of the *hmt-nsu* title certainly appear on the statue, together with the nomen of

II in the temple of Osiris-Hegadjet and elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Might this suggest that Amenirdis I's status differed in some way from that of the Shepenwepets? It could be argued that God's Hand was an intermediate rank between Adoratrix and God's Wife, perhaps assumed by the heir when *she* had in turn taken an heir in the third generation, and then been retained (like 'Adoratrix') as part of the lady's overall body of titles once she attained the actual office of God's Wife. In favour of this is the apparent length of Amenirdis I's service, from her installation as heir by Kashta, before c. 755 BC,<sup>23</sup> to her accession early in the reign of Shabaka (say c. 720/715 BC),<sup>24</sup> and her death at some unknown point subsequent to this, probably prior to Taharqa's accession in 690 BC. If Shepenwepet II had been installed as Amenirdis' heir during the second half of Piye's reign,<sup>25</sup> say around 730 BC, she could have spent nearly as much time as putatively God's Hand as she did as God's Wife.<sup>26</sup> Such a status as God's Hand *par excellence* might explain the title's frequent use when referring to Amenirdis I in filiations—although it might just as well have been used simply for reasons of orthographic variety!

Another document of significance is a lintel probably from the temple (rather than the chapel) of Osiris Pededankh at North Karnak (fig. 1).<sup>27</sup> This shows at least three ladies: in the central part, we have on the right the God's Wife Nitokris I, and on the left, a God's Hand Amenirdis, whose father's name has been erased. At the left-hand end of the lintel is an Adoratrix Shepenwepet, accompanied by the High Steward Padihorresnet, who has been dated to the end of the reign of Psammetichus I at the earliest.<sup>28</sup> Two similar figures appear at the right-hand end of the piece, and although the texts are partially broken away, they would seem to be identical to those on the left. It has been generally assumed that the figures of Shepenwepet, who is stated to be *m*<sup>3</sup> *hrw*, both represent Shepenwepet II,<sup>29</sup> but this seems difficult to accept, given that she is shown twice, in the company of a Steward who assumed office long—perhaps forty years<sup>30</sup>—after her death, and that she only bears the Adoratrix title and lacks the filiations provided for Amenirdis and Nitokris.

Taharqa, neither any title associated with the God's Wives nor the lady's name survive (only the top of the dorsal pillar exits, yielding <sup>1</sup>*iry*-<sup>2</sup>*p*<sup>3</sup>*t* *wr*[...] <sup>2</sup>(*g*<sup>3</sup>*hrq*). *hmt-n*[*sw* ...]). Any association of the statue with Amenirdis II, or for that matter any identifiable individual, is pure supposition! The celibacy of the God's Wives thus remains intact as a working hypothesis.

<sup>22</sup> For example, on the Shepenwepet II basin mentioned above.

<sup>23</sup> On the king responsible for her installation, cf. Morkot, in Wenig (ed.), *Studien*, 194–6.

<sup>24</sup> The resulting reign length (70 + years) for Shepenwepet I would support the higher date; this would also fit in with the Tang-i Var inscription, which would place Shabataka's accession (and thus Shabaka's death) before 706 BC (D. Kahn, 'The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var and the Chronology of Dynasty 25', *Orientalia* 70 (2001), 1–18: I reject any *ad hoc* invention of a coregency between the two kings purely to rescue a preconceived chronology).

<sup>25</sup> With Morkot, against Kitchen, *TIP*<sup>3</sup>, 151 n. 289.

<sup>26</sup> Neither Shepenwepet I nor II had such a 'waiting period' in the intermediate slot: the first had probably been installed directly as God's Wife as part of the events that followed Osorkon III's accession, which also saw Takelot G (= III) become High Priest of Amun; the second was seemingly without an heir until Amenirdis II was installed by Taharqa, almost certainly well after the death of Amenirdis I.

<sup>27</sup> Now Cairo JE 29254B = T 1.6.24.7: PM II<sup>2</sup>, 17.

<sup>28</sup> E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit* (ÄA 37; Wiesbaden, 1981), II, 80; his period of office stretched through the reigns of Necho II and Psammetichus II.

<sup>29</sup> Or Shepenwepet I on the right and Shepenwepet II on the left, as adoptive mothers of the two ladies in the centre of the lintel, making the Amenirdis the first of the name (L.-A. Christophe, 'Trois monuments inédits mentionnant le grand majordome de Nitocris Padihorresnet', *BIFAO* 55 (1966), 77–8).

<sup>30</sup> See below, p. 185.

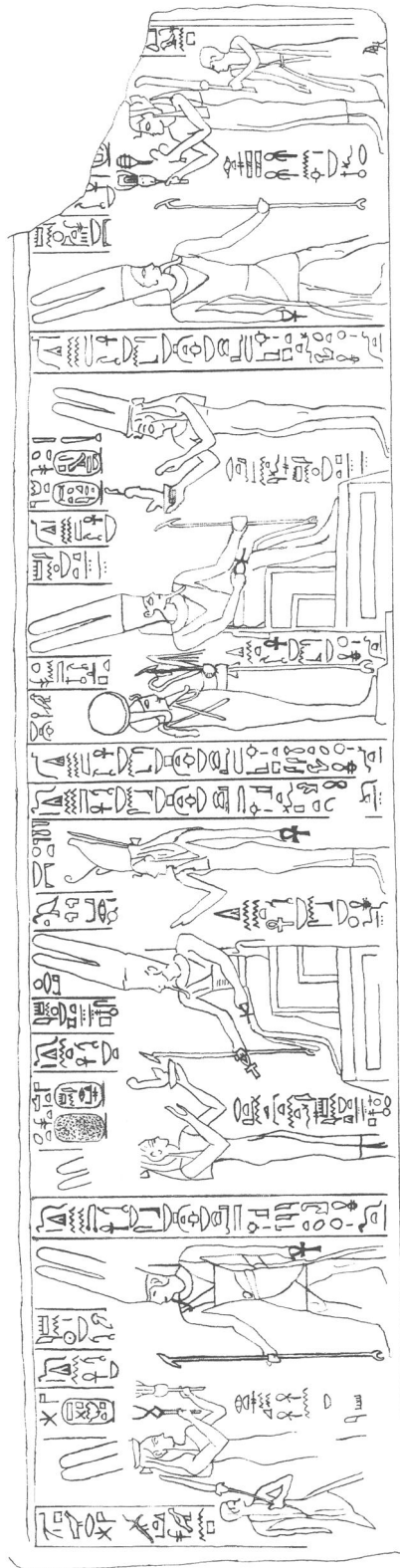


Fig. 1. Scenes from a lintel, probably once part of the temple of Osiris Pededankh at North Karnak (Cairo JE 29254B), (drawing by Dyan Hilton, after Leclant, *Recherches*, pl. Ixvii).

It has been pointed out that there is an apparent 46-year gap in adoptions by God's Wives of Amun between that of Nitokris I in Year 9 of Psammetichus I and Ankhnesneferibre in Year 1 of Psammetichus II.<sup>31</sup> As Anthony Leahy has also pointed out, however, it is quite possible that there were heirs who died prior to the long-lived Nitokris. Could it be that the Shepenwepet of the lintel was such a woman, holding the Adoratrix title with its meaning of 'heir to the God's Wife'? If so, this 'Shepenwepet IV'<sup>32</sup> will presumably have been the adopted daughter of Nitokris I, and probably the physical daughter of Necho II.<sup>33</sup>

This issue of heirs brings us back to the question of the status of Amenirdis II. That she is the Amenirdis on the Karnak lintel seems most probable—it is difficult to see why Amenirdis I should appear so long after her death. Taken with the Shepenwepet text (p. 180 above), we thus have two citations of her as God's Hand. If our hypothesis above as to the significance of Amenirdis I's use of this title were correct, this would fit in well with Amenirdis II's known status as an heir with an heir of her own.

With this, we come to a final monument (pl. XV, 3), one that seems to have hitherto escaped comment in this context. This is the outer lintel of the tomb of the High Steward of the God's Adoratrix (*imy-r pr wr dwꜣt-nṯr*) Pabasa (TT 279),<sup>34</sup> whose central motif is flanked on the left by the '𓆎𓅓 Nitokris, 𓆎𓅓 Shepenwepet' (facing right), and on the right by the '𓆎𓅓 Shepenwepet, 𓆎𓅓 Amenirdis' (facing left). Behind each lady

are depictions of Pabasa. There are a number of ways of interpreting these figures, in part depending on how one reads the groups that precede the second cartouches. One option takes the *sꜣt*-group as referring to the *nṯr*-sign, yielding the double title 'God's Daughter and God's Wife/Hand'; this may be supported by an isolated appearance of the 𓆎𓅓 group

within the cartouche of an Amenirdis.<sup>35</sup> Such an interpretation would result in the left-hand figure being Nitokris I, using her cognomen Shepenwepet (III)<sup>36</sup> as her second cartouche, and the right-hand one Amenirdis II, with 'Shepenwepet' as her hitherto unattested cognomen as well, but here used as a first cartouche.<sup>37</sup> That both Nitokris and Amenirdis II had the same cognomen seems unlikely, particularly when taken with the rarity (at best; see n. 35 above) of the putative 'God's Daughter' title.

The other approach takes the groups preceding the second cartouches as simply filiations; the left-hand figure would thus clearly be Nitokris I, filiated from Shepenwepet II. The

<sup>31</sup> A. Leahy, 'The Adoption of Ankhnesneferibre', *JEA* 82 (1996), 162–3.

<sup>32</sup> Shepenwepet III being Nitokris, who used 'Shepenwepet' as a cognomen; cf. below.

<sup>33</sup> Although the lintel could certainly post-date Necho II's accession, it would stretch out Amenirdis II's life rather excessively and perpetuate the unnatural gap in adoptions. As his own daughter aged, it would seem natural for Psammetichus I to give to her his own granddaughter, the offspring of the Crown Prince, to guarantee a smooth succession to the office of God's Wife.

<sup>34</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 357–9; although cleared and recorded by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1918–19, and long open to the public, the tomb has never been published.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Leclant, *Recherches*, 372 n. 2, pl. lxxv [C]. However, this cartouche is part of a cornice frieze, with the cartouche of a Shepenwepet to the right. It could thus simply be a filiation, with the *sꜣt*-group included within Amenirdis' cartouche for reasons of design.

<sup>36</sup> This *rn nṯr* is mentioned in lines 7 and 12 of the Nitokris Adoption Stela; cf. Leahy, *JEA* 82, 161, n. 64, who suggests that it was a 'gesture on her father's part towards his new Theban subjects'.

<sup>37</sup> The interpretation followed by PM I<sup>2</sup>, 357[2], and by Leclant, *Recherches*, 366 n. 2.

right-hand figure could theoretically be Shepenwepet II, filiated from Amenirdis I, or Nitokris again, under the guise of Shepenwepet III, filiated from Amenirdis II. A Shepenwepet II identification is unlikely, since by the time that TT 279 was built during Pabasa's career (c. 625–610 BC)<sup>38</sup> she would have been dead for many years,<sup>39</sup> and wholly unconnected with the tomb owner who is shown standing behind her.

This leaves Nitokris I (as Shepenwepet III) filiated from Amenirdis II. In favour of this are the known examples where Amenirdis II is God's Hand and the unique dual nature of Nitokris' adoption, which would thus be neatly shown by such a scene. The only drawback to this is the fact that the 'Shepenwepet III' cartouche has the same *mꜣꜥ hrw* epithet as the certainly dead Shepenwepet II, contrasting with the Nitokris cartouche's *'nh.ti*. On the other hand, Amenirdis II is also *mꜣꜥ hrw*, but she may well have still been alive (see below). In any case, the well known inconsistency in the use of these epithets makes this not an insuperable issue, and may simply represent slips by the scribe.

The final issue concerning this lintel is the significance of Nitokris being referred to only as 'Adoratrix', contrasting with the 'God's Wife' and 'God's Hand' titles given (on our analysis) to Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II. One could argue that it reflected Nitokris' actual status while the doorway was being decorated, perhaps around 625/20 BC. However, the implications of this for her predecessors makes such a conclusion unlikely (see below), and in any case is unnecessary, since on the jambs below the lintel, as elsewhere in TT 279, Nitokris is a full God's Wife. It is possible that the purpose of the lintel was to allow Pabasa to celebrate his mistress's heritage, alongside her two mothers,<sup>40</sup> bearing the title with which she entered the college of Amun. In support of such an idea would be the inclusion of her cognomen, Shepenwepet, not otherwise used outside the Nitokris Adoption Stela.

We may now return to the question of the career of Amenirdis II. We seem to have two monuments of her as Adoratrix,<sup>41</sup> three as God's Hand,<sup>42</sup> but none as God's Wife. Although this would seem to imply that she never reached the last office, this cannot be wholly ruled out, as the evidence of Amenirdis I shows that a God's Wife could—particularly retrospectively—be referred to as only God's Hand. In attempting to come to some form of conclusion, JE 29254B may be the key piece. The content of this lintel's decoration suggests that we might be presented with a single point in time, commemorating the key members of the college of Amun: the God's Wife Nitokris I, the God's Hand Amenirdis II, the Adoratrix Shepenwepet IV and the High Steward Padihorresnet.<sup>43</sup> If so, it would seem to indicate that Amenirdis II was indeed leap-frogged by Nitokris I on Shepenwepet II's death, but retained high office in the Amun clergy until at least the end of Psammetichus I's reign.<sup>44</sup> By this

<sup>38</sup> E. Graefe, 'Pabasa', *LÄ* IV, 640.

<sup>39</sup> If Shepenwepet II was aged around fifteen to twenty when adopted, c. 730 BC (see above, p. 182), it becomes clear that she cannot have lived down to 625 BC: even if one were to push her adoption down to the very end of Piye's reign, or beyond, and/or to reduce her age at adoption, her life-span (at least a century!) would still be rather excessive.

<sup>40</sup> Thus contradicting Morkot's assertion (*The Black Pharaohs* (London, 2000), 301) that Nitokris never calls Amenirdis her mother.

<sup>41</sup> Nitokris Adoption Stela; left side of the façade of the chapel of Osiris Pededankh.

<sup>42</sup> Right side of the façade of the chapel of Osiris Pededankh; JE 29254B; TT 279.

<sup>43</sup> I can see no reason for Leahy's assumption (*JEA* 82), 160 n. 51) that 'Amenirdis II was long dead by then': she is depicted and referred to in exactly the same way as Nitokris, with the exception of her 'God's Hand' title. Graefe takes a similar view, also assuming that the Shepenwepet is Shepenwepet II (*MDAIK* 50, 96–7).

<sup>44</sup> A possible compromise with Graefe's position could be to suggest that Amenirdis had indeed succeeded on Shepenwepet II's death, to be supplanted while she still lived in Year 26 of Psammetichus I, yet kept within the college as God's Hand. However, the dynamics of such a situation are difficult to visualise!

time she will have been extremely aged, having been installed as heir between sixty and seventy years previously,<sup>45</sup> and be the last representative of the vanished world of the Kushite pharaohs.<sup>46</sup>

In light of the foregoing discussion, the following tentative chronology may be proposed for the college of God's Wives of Amun during the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty:

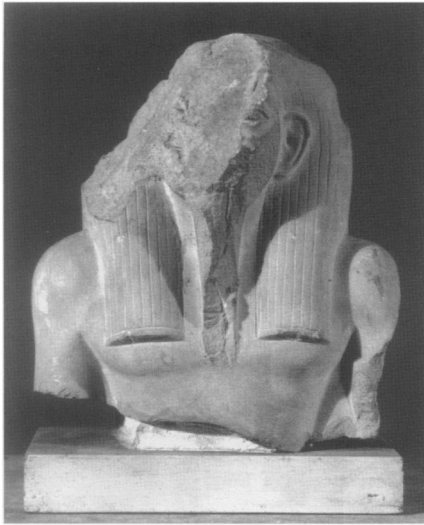
<i>Suggested Dates</i> <sup>47</sup>	<i>God's Wife</i>	<i>God's Hand</i>	<i>Adoratrix</i>
785–755 BC	Shepenwepet I		
755–730 BC	Shepenwepet I		Amenirdis I
730–720 BC	Shepenwepet I	Amenirdis I	Shepenwepet II
720–695 BC	Amenirdis I		Shepenwepet II
695–675 BC	Shepenwepet II		
675–656 BC	Shepenwepet II		Amenirdis II
<b>656–654</b> BC	Shepenwepet II	Amenirdis II	Nitokris I
654–625 BC	Nitokris I	Amenirdis II	
625–615 BC	Nitokris I	Amenirdis II	Shepenwepet IV
615–600 BC	Nitokris I		Shepenwepet IV
600– <b>595</b> BC	Nitokris I		
<b>595–586</b> BC	Nitokris I		Ankhnesneferibre
<b>586–525</b> BC	Ankhnesneferibre		(Nitokris II) <sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> One assumes that she would have been installed during the first half of Taharqa's reign, particularly if Amenirdis I had died prior to Taharqa's accession.

<sup>46</sup> This reconstruction would make impossible suggestions (see above, p. 180, n. 11) that Amenirdis II might have returned to Kush. This, of course, leaves the problem of the now-nameless *dwꜣt-nꜥr* in the genealogy of Aspelta. One suggestion might be that a Kushite queen could have adopted the Eighteenth Dynasty Theban practice of taking the Adoratrix title; another could be that the lady in question had been earmarked as Amenirdis' prospective successor at Thebes, but remained in Napata when Nitokris took her place in the succession instead. If the latter were the case, a major change comes about in the generational interpretation of Aspelta genealogy, since Amenirdis' planned heir would be of the generation after her. Thus, the *snt-nsw dwꜣt-nꜥr* of the Aspelta text would be a daughter of Tanutamun, which would also seem to imply that the king of whom she was sister would be Atlanersa, who would thus be a son of Tanutamun, rather than Taharqa, as is usually assumed.

<sup>47</sup> Based on Osorkon III reigning 796–769 BC; Piye, 752–721 BC; Shabaka, 721–707 BC; and Shabataka 707–690 BC. Dates in bold are based on explicit evidence; others are largely based on the likely ages of the individuals concerned, in particular Shepenwepet II (cf. n. 39).

<sup>48</sup> Not attested as *dwꜣt-nꜥr*, but Ankhnesneferibre is called her 'mother' on one monument (Chicago OI 10584), suggesting that she had been installed as her heir. The same piece also seems to make Nitokris II *hm-nꜥr [tpy] n 'Imn*—the last, and only female holder of this office: H. de Meulenaere, 'La famille du roi Amasis', *JEA* 54 (1968), 186.

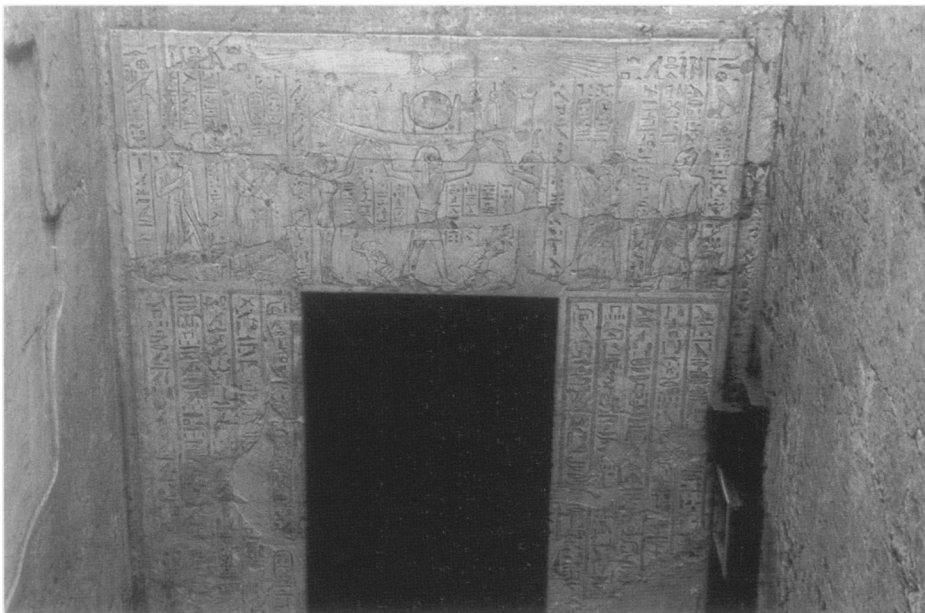


1. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 1415 (photograph Norbert Böer, Cologne; courtesy of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen).



2. Leiden F 1934/2.89 (photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).

**NEW LIGHT ON THE EGYPTIAN LABYRINTH:  
EVIDENCE FROM A SURVEY AT HAWARA (pp. 111–20)**



3. Lintel of the outer doorway of the tomb of Pabasa on the Asasif (TT 279) (author's photograph).

**THE PROBLEM OF AMENIRDIS II AND THE HEIRS TO THE OFFICE OF  
GOD'S WIFE OF AMUN DURING THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY (pp. 179–86)**

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Author(s): Steven E. Sidebotham, Hans Barnard, Gillian Pyke

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# FIVE ENIGMATIC LATE ROMAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EASTERN DESERT\*

By STEVEN E. SIDEBOTHAM, HANS BARNARD *and* GILLIAN PYKE

The on-going survey of the Graeco-Roman remains in the Egyptian Eastern Desert constantly reveals previously unknown sites and settlements. Most can be shown to be related to either quarries, (gold) mines or the ancient road system. Some have a less evident *raison d'être*. Five such enigmatic settlements, all dating from the fifth to seventh centuries AD, are presented here. They show similarities in the construction method of the structures, their general layout and the absence of surface finds other than potsherds. Remarkably small numbers of graves were found associated with the buildings and only two settlements had artificial hydraulic installations nearby. The main differences among the settlements seem to be their size, ranging from 47 to 141 structures, and differences in the relative complexity of the structures. A wide variety of possible purposes for these settlements are discussed. These include placer gold extraction centres; camps for soldiers, hunters, gatherers or charcoal burners; semi-permanent Bedouin towns and early Christian monastic settlements. The current dearth of information renders it impossible to favour any of these suggestions or even to be certain that the sites ever served the same purpose.

## Introduction

BETWEEN 1996 and 2000, two of the authors (SES and HB), with the help of local Maaza and Ababda Bedouin guides, located and drew measured plans of numerous Ptolemaic and Roman settlements in the Eastern Desert. Most of these were communities associated with gold mining or stone quarrying activities, and stations on ancient roads between the Red Sea and the Nile. The *raisons d'être* of the five settlements presented here, however, remain enigmatic. Despite the obvious similarities among these five sites, in location, plan, architectural style and date, their function may not be the same. The main objectives of this study were to draw detailed measured plans and collect surface finds at all sites in order to date them and determine their functions. Off-site research included the preparation of the maps and plans (by HB),<sup>1</sup> the drawing and study of the ceramic finds (by GP),<sup>2</sup> and historical research (by SES).

\* Steven E. Sidebotham, Professor of classical archaeology and ancient history, Department of History, University of Delaware, USA; Hans Barnard, visiting scholar at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, University of California in Los Angeles, USA; Gillian Pyke, freelance Egyptologist specializing in ceramics, UK. The authors wish to thank Roger S. Bagnall, James A. Harrell and Pamela J. Rose for their comments upon earlier versions of this article. All illustrations were prepared for publication by H. Barnard; all photographs were taken by S. E. Sidebotham.

<sup>1</sup> For the survey techniques used see: C. Meyer et al., *Bir Umm Fawakhir Survey Project 1993; A Byzantine Gold-Mining Town in Egypt* (Oriental Institute Communication no. 28; Chicago, 2000), 5; F. G. Aldsworth and H. Barnard, 'Survey of Shenshef', in S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996, Report of the Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden, 1998), 427–43; and S. E. Sidebotham, H. Barnard, J. A. Harrell and R. S. Tomber, 'The Roman Quarry and Installations at Wadi Umm Wikala and Wadi Semna', *JEA* 87 (2001), 135–70.

<sup>2</sup> With the assistance of J. Faiers, P. J. Rose and R. S. Tomber.

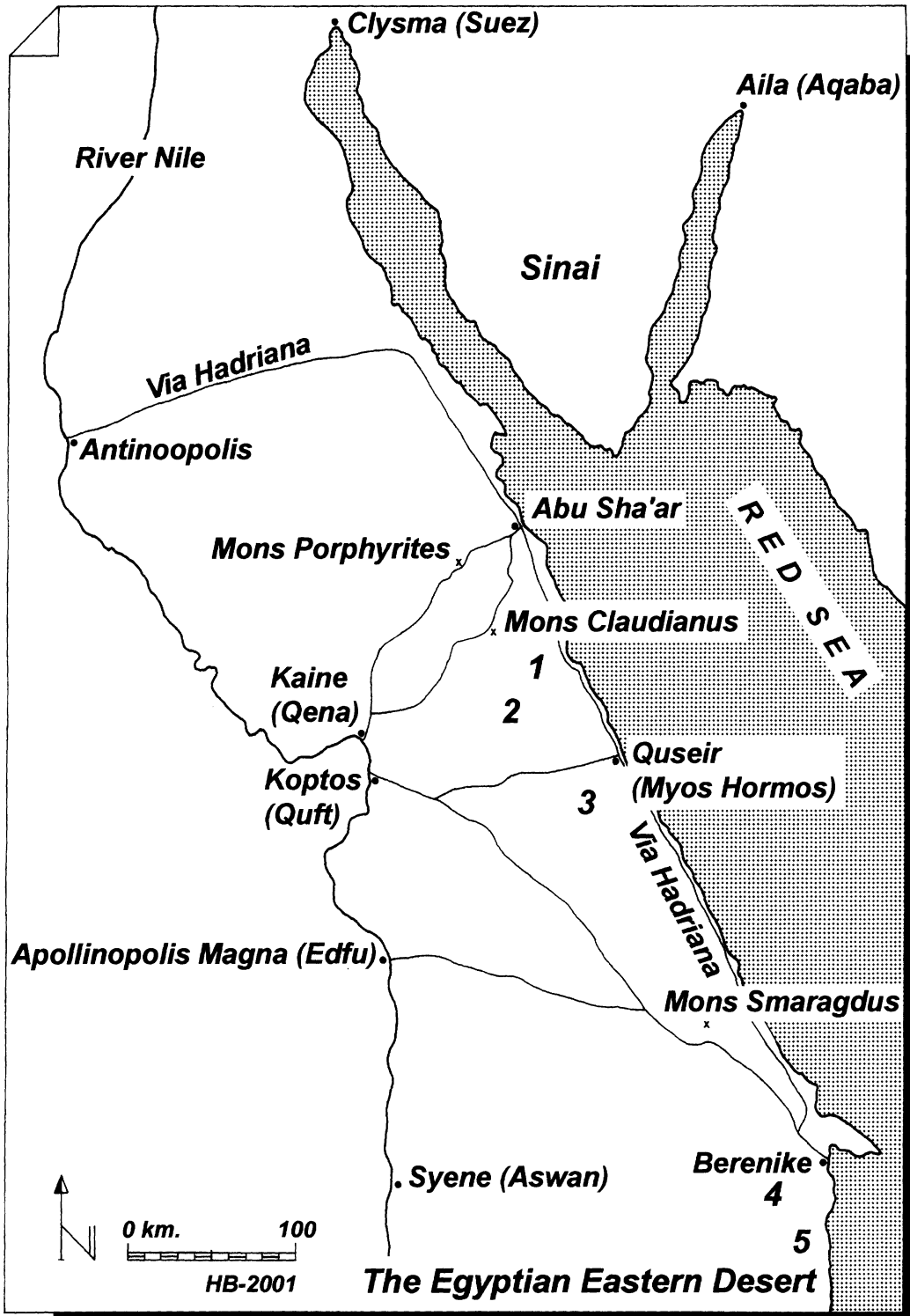


FIG. 1. Map of the Egyptian Eastern Desert in Graeco-Roman times, showing major routes through the desert and the locations of the settlements discussed here: Umm Howeitat Bahri (1), Bir Gidami (2), Bir Handosi (3), Hitan Rayan (4), and Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (5).

### Description of the sites

From north to south, the sites are identified (fig. 1, Table 1), by their Bedouin names, as Umm Howeitat Bahri (site 1),<sup>3</sup> Bir Gidami (site 2), Bir Handosi (site 3), Hitan Rayan (site 4) and Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (site 5). Each of the settlements lies at the end of a narrow valley or wadi relatively close to the Red Sea and all are within a two-day walk from other centres of habitation or major roads. None of the ancient names of these settlements is known and only Hitan Rayan has been previously studied in detail.<sup>4</sup> An adapted version of the typology of buildings, which was developed to describe Hitan Rayan, is used here to facilitate description of the other sites (Table 1). In this typology, structures with only one small room (about 10 m<sup>2</sup>) are classified as Type I, structures with two small rooms as Type II, and structures with three small rooms as Type III. Structures with more than three rooms or having any special features such as large rooms or steps are Type IV. Those that are too damaged to be classified are termed Type 0.<sup>5</sup>

Each site consists of between 47 and 141 small structures, the large majority of which comprise only one or two rooms. The walls, 0.7–1.2 m high, are built of locally available boulders and cobbles that appear not to have been worked before being laid without mortar. These walls frequently have two faces built of larger stones, with a fill of smaller cobbles and pebbles (pl. XVIII, 2). In places, natural rock faces form the walls and these are sometimes built up and abutted by free-standing walls. There is usually little or no tumble, suggesting that these walls were originally not much higher than they are today. A superstructure made of less permanent material is, therefore, likely to have been used, probably a wooden framework covered by hides, cloth or mats as is the current practice of the inhabitants of the area.<sup>6</sup> The interiors of the structures are mostly devoid of architectural details, although occasionally a raised feature resembling a bench or a bed (*mastaba*) survives. Many structures have a semi-circular or rectilinear cleared area beside them or in between them, sometimes outlined by a one- or two-course high wall. These may have served as yards for working, animal husbandry or even gardening.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confused with Umm Howeitat Qibli (at 25° 26.62' N/34° 34.19' E), which is a Ptolemaic gold mining settlement.

<sup>4</sup> For the location of the site, see D. Meredith, *Tabula Imperii Romani Sheet N.G. 36 Coptos* (London, 1958), map sheet; R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, 2000), sheet 81; and S. M. Burstein and D. Borough, 'Map 81 Triakontaschoinos', in Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, II 1182. For a brief preliminary description of Hitan Rayan, see S. E. Sidebotham, 'Survey of the Hinterland', in S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1994. Preliminary Report of the 1994 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden, 1995), 96–8. For a detailed description, see F. G. Aldsworth and H. Barnard, 'Survey of Hitan Rayan', in S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995. Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert* (Leiden, 1996), 411–40 and separate map sheet.

<sup>5</sup> The original division of each type into four subgroups (a, b, c and d) as published by Aldsworth and Barnard, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds) *Berenike 1995*, proved too fine to be of use here.

<sup>6</sup> The Ababda inhabitants of the Egyptian Eastern Desert traditionally live in houses constructed of cloth and mats on a wooden frame (*bayt bursh*), which are easily built, taken apart and transported, as well as being relatively durable. Although they are sometimes built against natural outcrops of rock, they lack stone-built walls.

<sup>7</sup> S. E. Sidebotham, 'Preliminary Report on the 1990–1991 Seasons of Fieldwork at 'Abu Sha'ar (Red Sea Coast)', *JARCE* 31 (1994), 157, n. 47; and S. E. Sidebotham, 'University of Delaware Fieldwork in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, 1993', *Dunbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994), 267. For Bedouin gardens, see J. J. Hobbs, *Bedouin Life in the Egyptian Wilderness* (Austin, 1989), 45–6, and M. Van der Veen, 'Gardens in the Desert', in O. E. Kaper (ed.), *Life on the Fringe*.

Finds were almost exclusively surface sherds, dating to the Late Roman Period (fifth to seventh centuries AD). These were scattered over each of the sites, inside as well as outside the structures. Areas with a higher concentration, as expected in storage areas and middens or near wells and cisterns, were not encountered. The number of sherds visible on the surface was well below 1000, which is comparable to most other contemporary sites in the Eastern Desert. No specific pottery sampling strategy was employed. Instead, between 50 and 100 of the more distinctive sherds (rims, bases and handles) were collected (by SES and HB) for the purpose of dating the period of occupation. The recovered sherds were identified, recorded and, where appropriate, drawn (by GP). The vessels can be divided into the following types: amphorae, fine wares, coarse wares and hand-made vessels. The pottery has been compared with that of relatively nearby Eastern Desert sites (Abu Shaar,<sup>8</sup> Berenike,<sup>9</sup> Bir Umm Fawakhir,<sup>10</sup> and Shenshef)<sup>11</sup> and Nile Valley sites (Amarna,<sup>12</sup> Ashmunein,<sup>13</sup> Elephantine,<sup>14</sup> and Esna)<sup>15</sup> for purposes of dating and general trends. Berenike has been used as the basis for dating comparison, where the Late Roman Amphora (LRA 1), and two Egyptian Red Slipped A (ERS A) forms (white slipped cups and decorated deep cups/bowls) are indicators for the latest phase of occupation at the site, dating to the fifth and sixth centuries AD. Parallels from the relatively well dated Nile Valley sites have been used to refine the dating.

The survey team found no household refuse or industrial waste at any of the sites and no cisterns or other hydraulic installations were noted. These may never have existed or have been destroyed or buried by flash floods. Even though the settlements lack large central buildings that could have functioned as administrative and military centres, they are, in many ways, reminiscent of communities associated with the numerous ancient gold mines in the Eastern Desert.<sup>16</sup> However, the environs of the settlements discussed here preserve

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*Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and Early-Byzantine Periods* (Leiden, 1998), 221–42. For gardens in Judean desert monasteries, see Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period* (New Haven and London, 1992), 76, 83, 105–7, 178, 183, 184, 186, 187, 189, 200–4, 220.

<sup>8</sup> J. A. Riley, 'The Pottery', in S. E. Sidebotham, J. A. Riley, H. A. Hamroush and H. Barakat, 'Fieldwork on the Red Sea Coast. The 1987 Season', *JARCE* 26 (1989), 149–61.

<sup>9</sup> J. W. Hayes, 'Summary of Pottery and Glass Finds', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1994*, 33–40; J. W. Hayes, 'The Pottery', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995*, 159–61, and R. S. Tomber, 'The Pottery', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 164–9.

<sup>10</sup> L. A. Heidorn, 'The Pottery', in C. Meyer, 'Gold, Granite, and Water: The Bir Umm Fawakhir Survey Project 1992', in W. G. Dever (ed.), *Preliminary Excavation Reports Sardis, Bir Umm Fawakhir, Tell el-Umeiri. The Combined Caesarea Expeditions and Tell Dothan* (New Haven, 1995), 74–90, and L. A. Heidorn, 'Pottery from the 1993 Survey', in Meyer et al., *Bir Umm Fawakhir*, 27–42.

<sup>11</sup> Tomber, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 146–51.

<sup>12</sup> J. Faiers, 'Pottery catalogue', in J. Faiers, *Excavations at Amarna. Byzantine Remains, I. A Corpus of Late Roman Pottery and Related Studies* (London, forthcoming).

<sup>13</sup> D. M. Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein, V. Pottery, Lamps and Glass of the Late Roman and Early Arab Periods* (London, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> R. Gempeler, *Elephantine, X. Die Keramik römischer bis früh-arabischer Zeit* (AV 43; Mainz am Rhein, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna, III. Céramique et objets* (Cairo, 1972).

<sup>16</sup> Many of these have been studied by two of the authors (SES and HB) and will be published in the near future. Examples can also be found in C. Meyer, 'Gold-miners and Mining at Bir Umm Fawakhir', in A. B. Knapp, V. C. Pigott and E. W. Herbert (eds), *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past. The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining* (New York and London, 1998), 259–75 and bibliography; Meyer et al., *Bir Umm Fawakhir*; A. Castiglioni, A. Castiglioni and J. Vercoutter, *Das Goldland der Pharaonen* (Mainz, 1995); K. Sadr et al., 'Archaeology in the Nubian Desert', *Sahara* 6 (1994), 69–75; and D. Klemm and R. Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche im alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1993).

TABLE 1. *Characteristics of the Five Late Roman Settlements (fig. 24)*

Number	1	2	3	4	5
Name	Umm Howeiati Bahri	Bir Gidami	Bir Handosi	Hitan Rayan	Qaria Mustafa 'Amr Gama'a
GPS	26 °N 33.30'/ 33 °E 54.38'	26 °N 24.53'/ 33 °E 24.07'	25 °N 48.44'/ 34 °E 11.00'	23 °N 47.82'/ 35 °E 19.57'	23 °N 36.73'/ 35 °E 23.37'
Size in m	750 m NS x 50 m EW	360 m NS x 320 m EW	100 m NS x 170 m EW	290 NS x 590 m EW	240 m NS x 390 m EW
in numbers	126 structures	119 (85 + 34) structures	47 structures	141 structures	109 structures
Type 0 (%)	18 (14%)	7 (6%)	13 (28%)	20 (14%)	9 (8%)
Type I (%)	66 (52%)	90 (76%)	16 (34%)	51 (36%)	71 (65%)
Type II (%)	31 (25%)	19 (16%)	11 (23%)	40 (28%)	21 (19%)
Type III (%)	7 (6%)	1 (1%)	4 (9%)	15 (11%)	3 (3%)
Type IV (%)	4 (3%)	2 (1%)	3 (6%)	15 (11%)	5 (5%)
Density	3.36	0.74	2.76	0.82	1.16
Complexity	16.7	3.3	43.8	58.8	11.3
Centrum	In box N3	None	West of point 'a'	Structure 122	None
Satellites	None	Bir Gidami South	None	None	None
Graves	One large modern tomb	About six modern graves	Modern cemetery nearby	Ancient cemetery nearby	Two ancient tombs
Surface water	None	None	Dry well nearby	In gorge nearby	None
Cut sherds	None	None	None	Yes	None
HM pottery	None	None	None	Yes	Yes
Textual finds	None	None	Tombstone in Arabic	Depinti	Depinti
Date	5th - mid 6th c.AD	6th - 7th c.AD	5th - 6th c.AD	mid 5th - mid 7th c.AD	5th - mid 6th c.AD

GPS co-ordinates are within Helmert's ellipsoid (= Old Egyptian 1906). 'Size in m' refers to the dimensions of the main settlement, ignoring any satellite settlements or cemeteries, whereas 'size in numbers' gives the total number of structures, excluding graves (HM = hand-made).

no evidence of mines or quarries, which invariably includes large amounts of debris within a settlement and the actual mine or quarry nearby, nor do they lie on any of the major ancient thoroughfares through the desert. Hence, the reason for which these settlements were constructed and the function that they served until deserted, after an unknown but probably short period of occupation, remain unclear.

### *Umm Howeitat Bahri*

Umm Howeitat Bahri is a long, narrow settlement covering an area of approximately 750 m N–S × 50 m E–W (ranging from 26° 33.48' N/33° 54.33' E to 26° 33.12' N/33° 54.42' E). At the time of the survey, the site comprised 126 structures preserving walls between 0.9–1.2 m high and 0.4–0.5 m wide (pl. XVIII, 1).<sup>17</sup> A total of eighteen structures (14 %) were Type 0 and there were eleven (9%) 'complex' structures (Type III and Type IV). One of these might have served as the focal point of the settlement.

Aside from a large number of oval to rectilinear Type I and Type II structures, which comprise about 77% of the settlement (figs. 2–4), the remains of a long and narrow edifice orientated approximately east–west are preserved (fig. 5). This building measures 2.45 m N–S × 7.75 m E–W, and has extant walls 0.5–0.6 m thick standing less than 1.0 m high; the edifice preserves what may have been an apse.<sup>18</sup> This putative apse, which measures 1.8 m across, abuts the building at its eastern wall. There is a single entrance into the building, about 0.9 m wide and approximately in the centre of the southern wall. The terrace adjacent to this entrance measures about 4.0 × 2.0 m. The only internal architectural details are a bench along the western wall and a rather curved northern wall; there are no columns or piers.<sup>19</sup> Although this building stands out as one of the largest single-roomed edifices on the site, the interior space is restricted to about 19 m<sup>2</sup>. The modern tomb of Sheikh Awad Soliman dominates the northern end of the ruins and appears to be a pilgrimage site. The survey team found no ancient graves. No ancient or modern source of water was noted in close proximity to the site and no graffiti or inscriptions were found.

The pottery collected from the surface is broadly comparable to the latest phase at Berenike and at Shenshef. It includes fragments of LRA 1, ERS A white slipped cups and deep cups/bowls, which at Berenike are indicators of a date of the fifth to sixth centuries AD. One of the white slipped cups has a scratched 'V' on its interior, comparable to examples found at Shenshef.<sup>20</sup> Although LRA 1 is the dominant amphora type, several body sherds of Nile silt amphora (LRA 7) were also collected as well as a rim of LRA 3. The parallels for other vessels confirm the broad date suggested by the presence of the LRA 1, ERS A white slipped cup and deep bowl. The date range of the site seems to be between the fifth and at least the mid-sixth centuries AD.

<sup>17</sup> S. E. Sidebotham and R. E. Zitterkopf, 'Survey of the Via Hadriana: the 1997 Season', *BIFAO* 98 (1998), 354–5 and 362 (fig. 7) gives the location and a short, earlier description of this site (as Umm Howeitat/Umm Hayatat).

<sup>18</sup> Hirschfeld, *Judean Desert Monasteries*, 112–13 discusses the physical appearance of churches in the Judean desert.

<sup>19</sup> The smaller churches in Wadi Natrun and those associated with the monasteries near the Red Sea (Saint Anthony and Saint Paul) also lack columns and piers; see C. C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt* (Warminster, 1974), 3, and Hirschfeld, *Judean Desert Monasteries*, 24–5.

<sup>20</sup> Tomber, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, fig. 6–4/44–6.

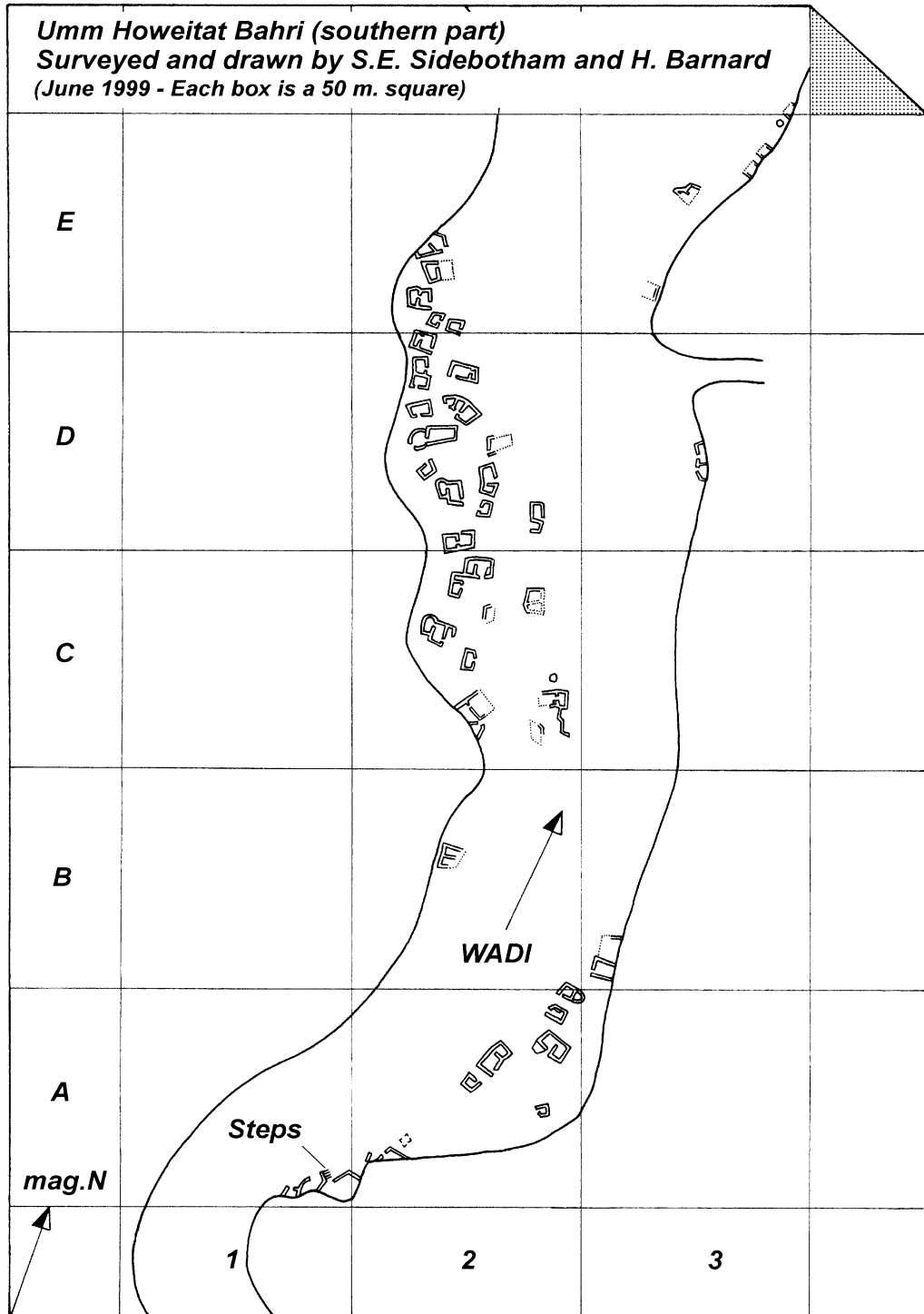


FIG. 2. Plan of the southern part of Umm Howeitat Bahri (site 1). For this and all following plans, 'north' refers to magnetic north, which locally is less than 2° off true north.

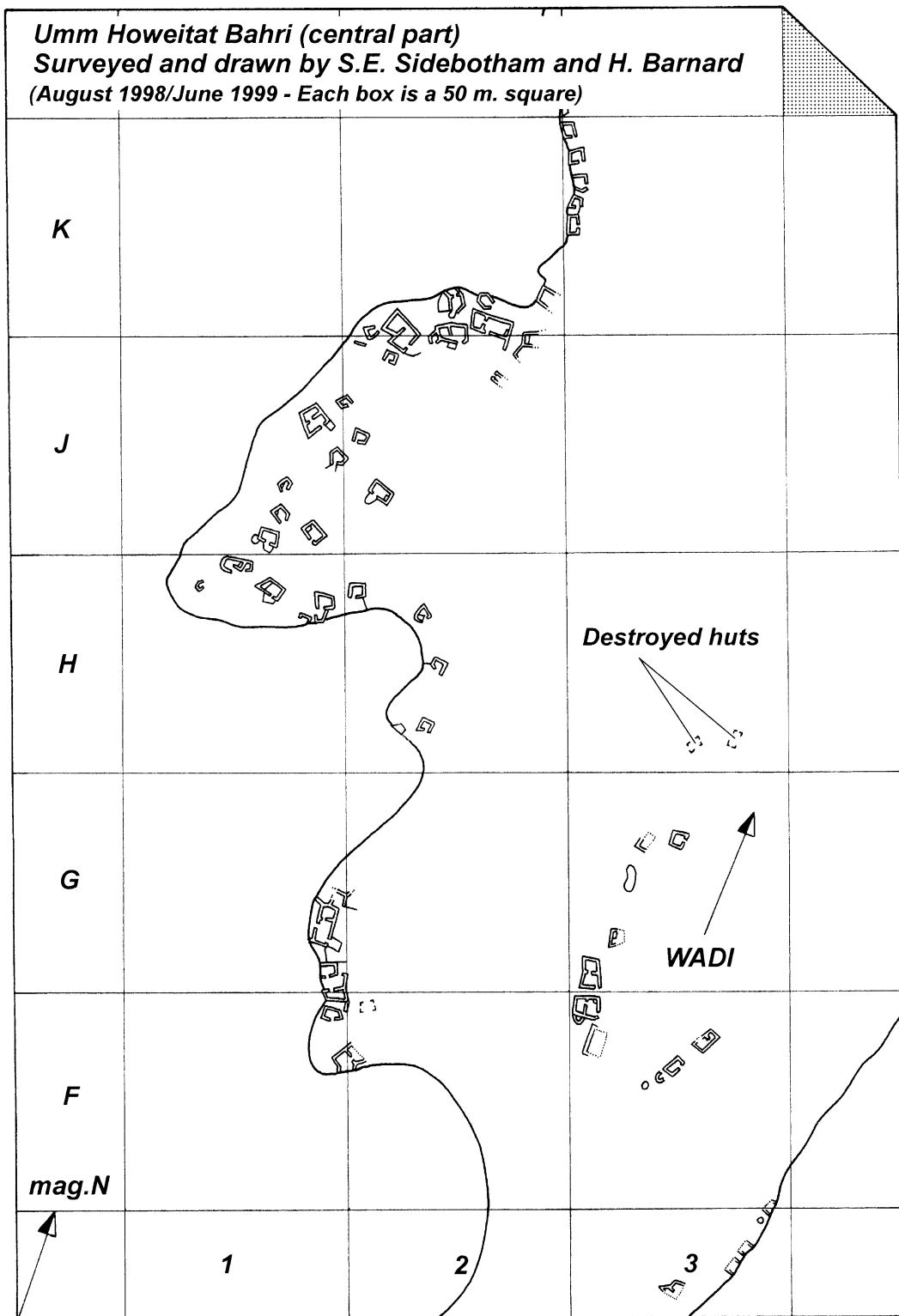


FIG. 3. Plan of the central part of Umm Howeitat Bahri (site 1).



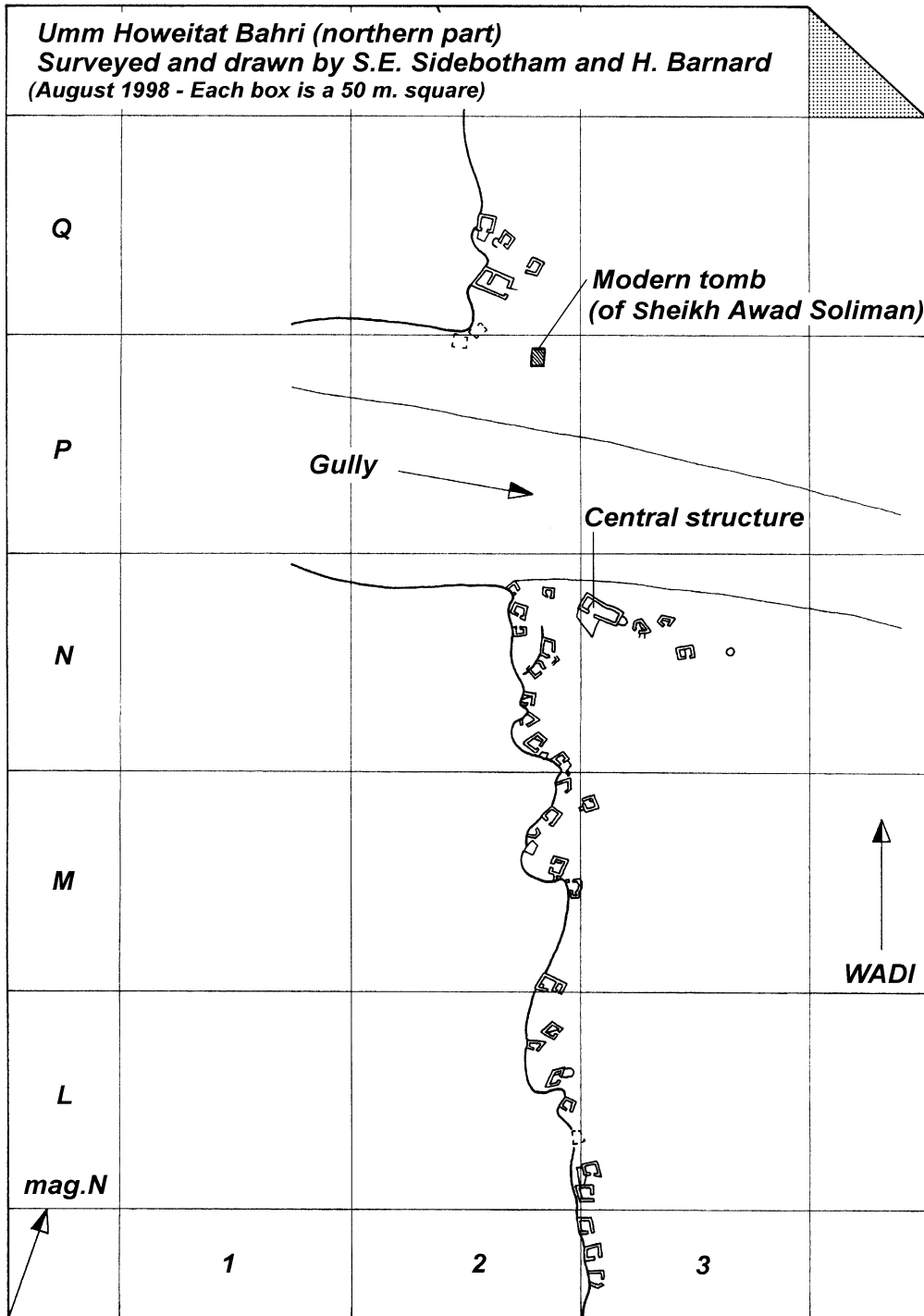


FIG. 4. Plan of the northern part of Umm Howeitat Bahri (site 1) showing a possible central structure (in box N3) and the modern tomb of Sheikh Awad Soliman (in box P2).

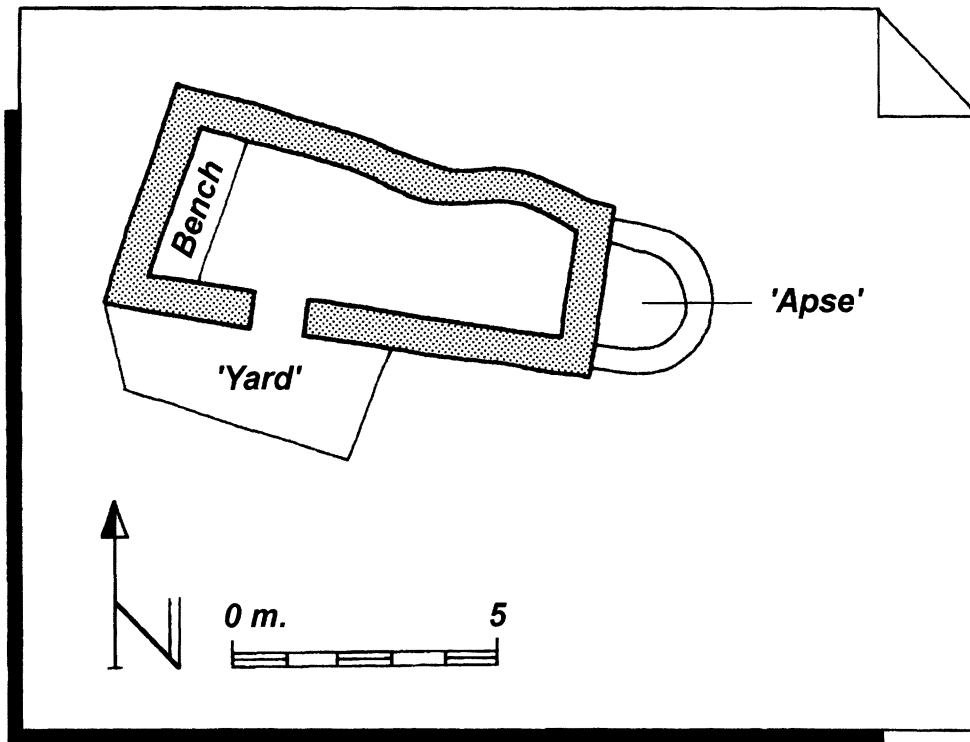


FIG. 5. Plan of the central structure at Umm Howeitat Bahri, showing the position of the terrace in front, the bench inside, and the possible apse abutting the eastern wall.

### Pottery catalogue (fig. 6)

1. LRA 3 rim. Rim diameter 5 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces brown (7.5YR 4/4). Section grey (7.5YR 5/1). Dense fabric, very hard, with rare fine-medium limestone, some blackened. Abundant mica visible on the surface. Drawing number: BE 00/62. Parallels: Berenike BE95 fig. 6-18/6-7 (earlier date).
2. ERS A white slipped cup with scratched 'V' shape on interior. Rim diameter 14 cm. Exterior and interior slip very worn pale yellow (2.5Y 8/3). Section pink (5YR 7/4). Dense fabric with rare fine-medium reddish brown particles and rare black particles. Drawing number: BE 00/61. Parallels: Amarna Catalogue 36, dated by an associated coin to AD 538–565; similar to, but deeper than Shenshef examples, some of which are incised (BE96 fig. 6-4/44-6). Date: mid sixth century AD.
3. ERS A deep bowl, exterior decorated with black and white super-imposed blobs, interior decorated with grey bands below rim. Rim diameter 20 cm. Exterior and interior slipped yellowish red (5YR 5/6). Faint streaks of dark red (5YR 4/1) on interior. Section yellowish red (5YR 5/8). Dense fabric with common fine and medium black and rare medium reddish brown particles and rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/64. Parallels: Berenike BE94 fig. 13, BE95 fig. 6-18/5; Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/40; Ashmunein C 58 (undecorated); Elephantine T608b; Esna D1, all of similar date. Similar to Amarna GP 488. Date: fifth to mid sixth centuries AD.
4. ERS B bowl with externally thickened rim. Rim diameter 24 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (2.5YR 4/6). Section red (2.5YR 5/6). Nile silt fabric with common fine to coarse limestone, rare medium white organic strands. Drawing number: BE 00/65. Parallels: none found.
5. ERS H carinated bowl with exterior black zigzag decoration, spilling over rim. Rim diameter 28 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (10R 4/6). Section yellowish red (5YR 5/6) with red (2.5YR 5/8) core. Nile silt fabric with rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/66. Parallels: similar to Ashmunein K 3, decoration similar to D 548. Date: perhaps fifth to mid sixth centuries AD.

6. Silt ledge-rimmed cookpot. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior and interior slipped reddish brown (5YR 4/3). Section yellowish red (5YR 4/6) with indistinct dark grey (7.5YR 4/1) core. Silt fabric with rare fine-medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/60. Parallels: similar to Ashmunein E 179. Date: sixth to mid seventh centuries AD.
7. Coarse marl basin. Rim diameter 30 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces are very eroded, pink (7.5YR 7/4). Section light brownish grey (10YR 6/2) at inner edge, grading to grey (7.5YR 5/1) at outer edge. Coarse marl fabric with common medium voids, common fine sand and rare fine limestone, some blackened. Drawing number: BE 00/67. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-5/56; Amarna GP 173.

There are several possible routes from Umm Howeitat Bahri to the outside world. One would have been by a track leading east. At some point, this would have joined the Via Hadriana, which runs more or less parallel to the Red Sea coast, approximately 10 km away. Another possible track led south-west to a route that passed through Wadi Saqi. From there the route leads west, towards the Nile, joining the routes from Abu Gerida and Bir Gidami or from Wadi Umm Wikala.<sup>21</sup>

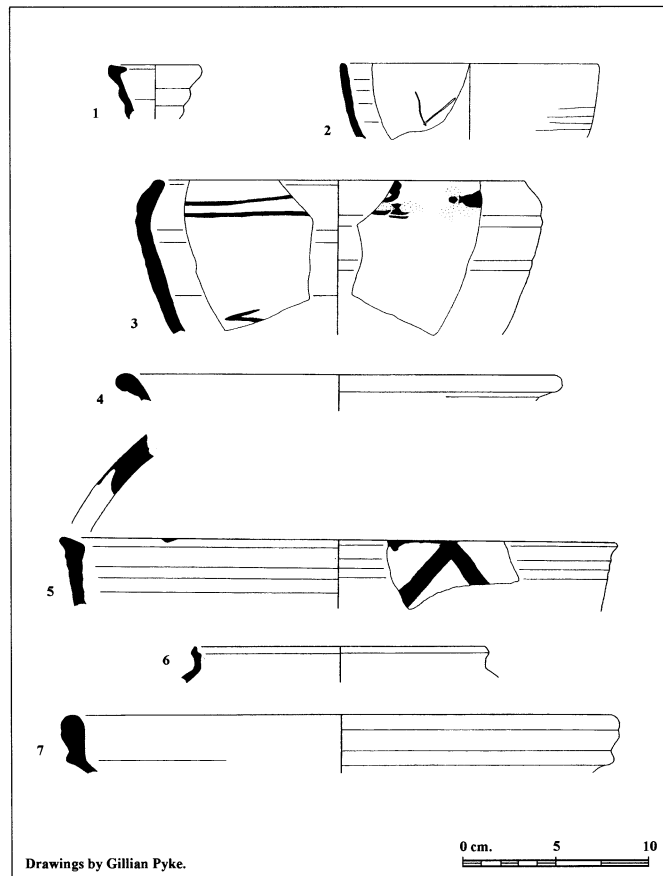


FIG. 6. Pottery surface finds from Umm Howeitat Bahri (site 1).

<sup>21</sup> Sidebotham, *JEA* 87, 168.

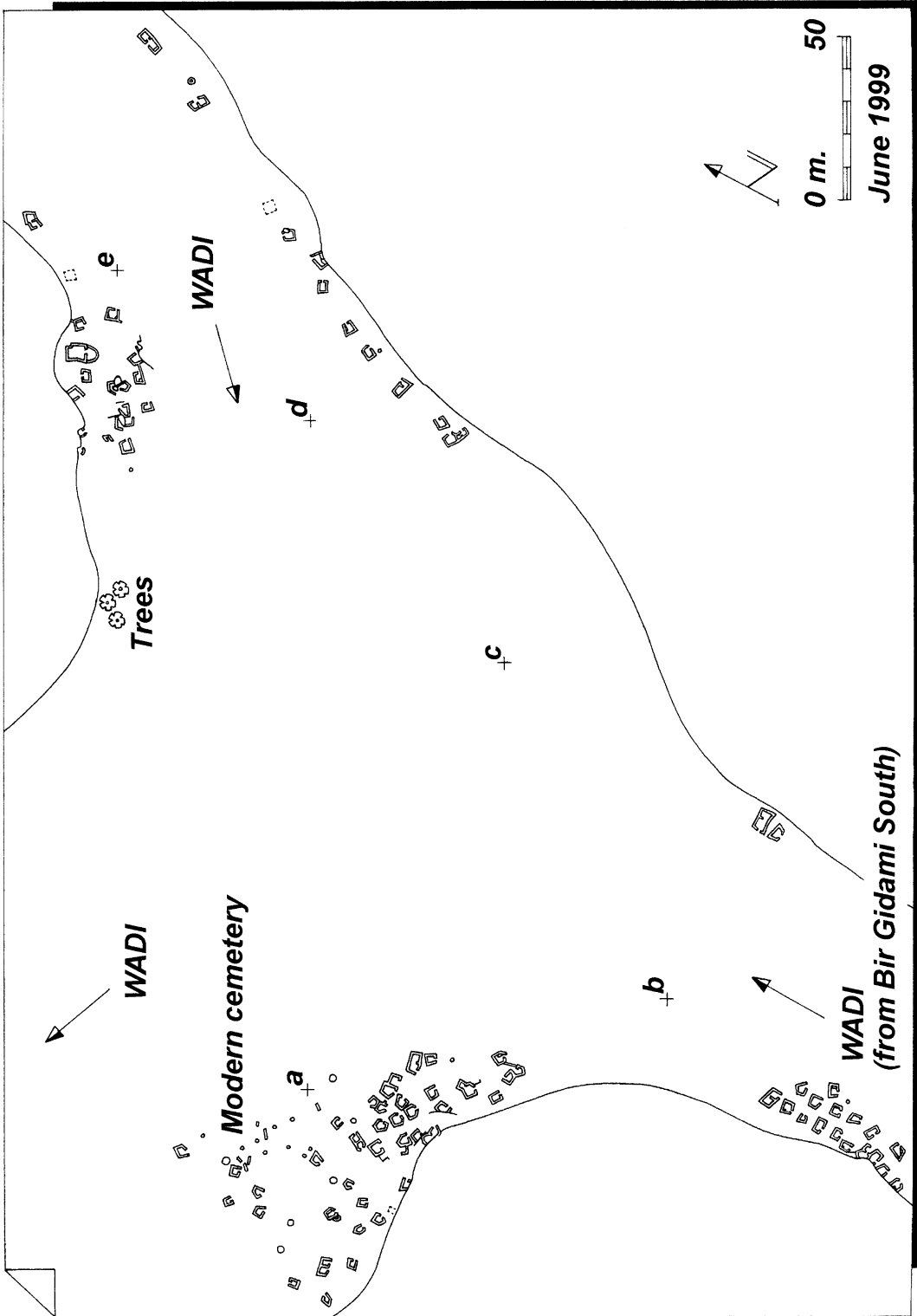


FIG. 7. Overview of the main settlement at Bir Gidami (site 2), showing the western (line a-b) and northern (line d-e) parts of the site (a-b is 111.8 m, b-c is 114.5 m, c-d is 95.4 m and d-e is 74.4 m). The entrance to Bir Gidami South is through the narrow gorge shown at the bottom of the drawing.

*Bir Gidami*

The sites at Bir Gidami could be interpreted as two or even three separate settlements, but the fact that these are contemporary and located close together at the end of a dead-end wadi makes it likely that they functioned as a single community. The largest concentration of buildings (at  $26^{\circ} 24.53' N/33^{\circ} 24.07' E$ ) covers an area of approximately 360 m N–S  $\times$  320 m E–W and preserved, at the time of the survey, 85 structures similar to those at Umm Howeitat Bahri (pl. XIV, 1). At the western end of the site some of these were destroyed when approximately six modern graves, most likely Bedouin, were constructed.

A satellite settlement south-east of the main settlement (at  $26^{\circ} 24.21' N/33^{\circ} 24.30' E$ ) and much closer to the end of the wadi, preserves 34 buildings (fig. 8). This brings the total number of extant structures in the area to 119. Of these, seven (6%) are Type 0 and only three (3%) are 'complex' (Types III and IV). No ancient or modern source of water was noted in close proximity to the site. The survey team noted no graffiti or inscriptions. North-east of the main settlement are some more dilapidated structures (possibly graves) and a segment of a road, most likely modern.<sup>22</sup>

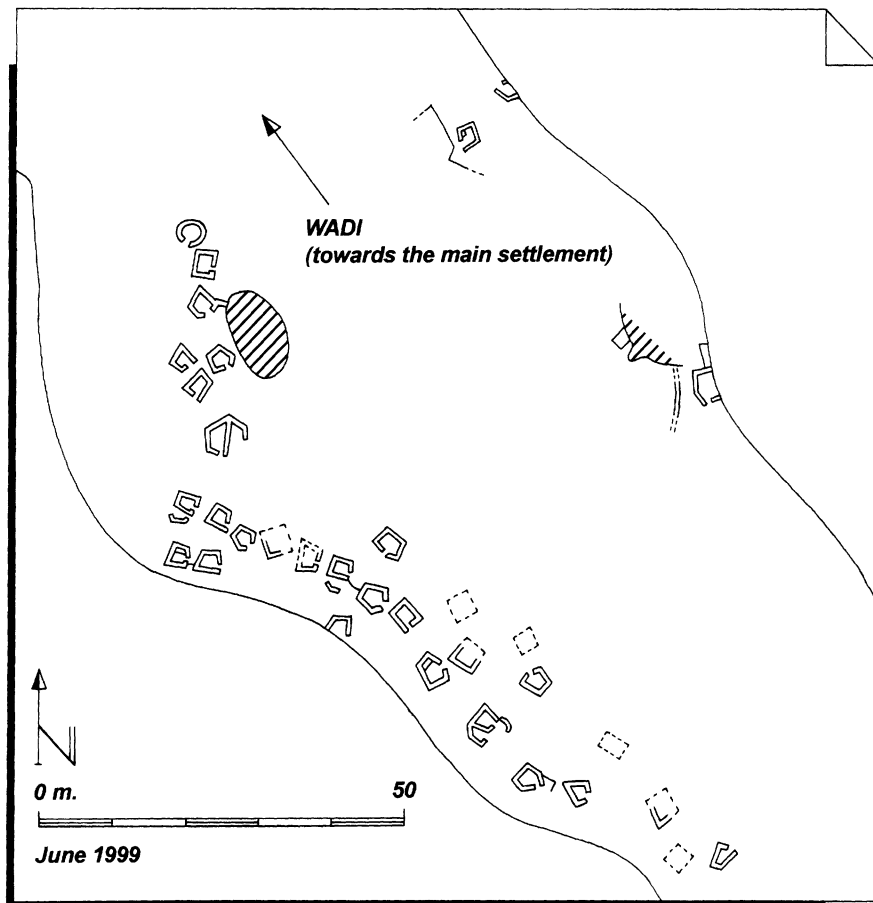


FIG. 8. Plan of Bir Gidami South (site 2). From here the main settlement can be reached through the narrow gorge at the top of the drawing while the wadi ends just south of this part of the ancient settlement.

<sup>22</sup> Their relation to the ancient settlement is too uncertain for them to be included in this analysis.

The pottery collected at Bir Gidami is comparable with that of the latest phase at Berenike and at Shenshef. The types include the LRA 1 and ERS A white slipped cup ceramic markers seen at Berenike, but the deep cups/bowls are absent. No direct parallels were found with the material at Berenike, but some forms were found at Shenshef and at several sites in the Nile Valley. Both LRA 1 and LRA 7 were well represented. The high proportion of the Nile silt amphora (LRA 7, not illustrated) contrasts with the pattern observed in the collected sherds from all the other sites included in this survey. The only other amphora type to be found was an Aswan amphora (not illustrated). All the fine wares picked up were of Aswan origin. A wide range of coarse wares was collected, suggesting a settled lifestyle. The dating of the other vessel types suggests that the fifth to sixth century AD date indicated by the LRA 1 and two ERS A types is too early, as none of the parallels date to before the sixth century. A date of between the sixth and seventh centuries AD is more likely.

#### Pottery catalogue (figs. 9–10)

8. ERS A rouletted cup. Rim diameter 12 cm. Exterior surface slipped red (2.5YR 5/6), interior surface reddish yellow (5YR 7/6). Section pink (no Munsell value, closest 5YR 7/4). Dense fabric with common fine black particles. Drawing number: BE 00/50. Parallels: similar to Ashmunein C 46; Elephantine T626; Esna D5 or D6; Amarna Catalogue 45 or 505, GP 200. Date: sixth to seventh centuries AD.
9. ERS A cup. Rim diameter 12 cm. Exterior and interior slipped light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section light red (2.5YR 7/6). Dense fabric with very rare medium black particles and rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/53. Parallels: Ashmunein C 45 (from *sebakh*); similar to Amarna Catalogue 36.
10. ERS A flanged bowl. Rim diameter 22 cm. Traces of red (10R 5/6) slip on the exterior of the rim. Exterior surface red (10R 5/8), interior surface light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section, no Munsell value, closest light red (10R 6/6). Dense fabric with rare fine limestone, rare fine sand and rare medium black and reddish brown particles. Drawing number: BE 00/51. Parallels: similar to Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/30; Amarna Catalogue 27; Elephantine T325.
11. Coarse marl copy of an ERS A dish. Rim diameter 30 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces slipped red (10R 4/6). Section light red (10R 6/6) with a wide light brown (7.5YR 6/4) core. Coarse marl fabric with many voids, common fine-medium limestone and abundant medium sand. Drawing number: BE 00/58. Parallels: none found.
12. Silt cookpot. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior slipped pink (5YR 7/3) with very pale brown (10YR 8/3) and reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4) bands at the rim. Section yellowish red (5YR 4/6) with a reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4) core. Nile silt fabric with rare fine-medium limestone, some blackened. Drawing number: BE 00/49. Parallels: none found.
13. Unslipped silt ledge-rimmed cookpot. Rim diameter 11 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4). Section reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4) with narrow red (2.5YR 4/8) bands at the edges. Nile silt fabric with common fine sand and rare medium limestone, some blackened. Drawing number: BE 00/48. Parallels: similar to Ashmunein E 42. Date: perhaps sixth century AD.
14. Silt ledge-rimmed cookpot. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior and interior slipped reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4). Section red (2.5YR 5/8) at the edges, with a wide red (2.5 YR 5/6) core. Dense silt fabric with rare fine limestone, some burnt. Large pebble in broken edge. Drawing number: BE 00/54. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-6/64; similar to Ashmunein E 312. Date: seventh century AD.
15. Silt ledge-rimmed bowl, with white dots at rim and wavy lines on interior. Rim diameter 22 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (10R 5/8) with pink (10R 7/4), probably white over red, dots and wavy line. Section yellowish red (5YR 5/8) with narrow pink (no Munsell value) bands flanking a bluish black (10BG) core. Dense silt fabric with a few fine voids and very rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/55. Parallels: none found.

16. Silt ledge-rimmed basin. Rim diameter 32 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (10R 4/6). Section yellowish red (5YR 5/6) with red (10R 5/6) core. Silt fabric with rare fine limestone, rare fine mica and common fine-medium voids. Drawing number: BE 00/56. Parallels: none found.
17. Marl basin with externally thickened rim. Rim diameter 35 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces pale yellow (2.5Y 8/2). Section light red (2.5 YR 6/6) with wide reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) core. Coarse marl fabric with common fine limestone, some blackened, rare medium chaff and rare coarse sand. Drawing number: BE 00/57. Parallels: similar to Ashmunein N 169. Date: sixth to eighth centuries AD.
18. Very warped silt lid. Exterior surface slipped red (10R 5/6), interior surface very dark grey (10YR 3/1). Section red (10R 5/8) with a thin band as interior surface, at interior edge. Coarse silt fabric with rare medium chaff voids, common fine-medium limestone, some burnt, common medium sand. Drawing number: BE 00/59. Parallels: similar to Amarna Catalogue 395.

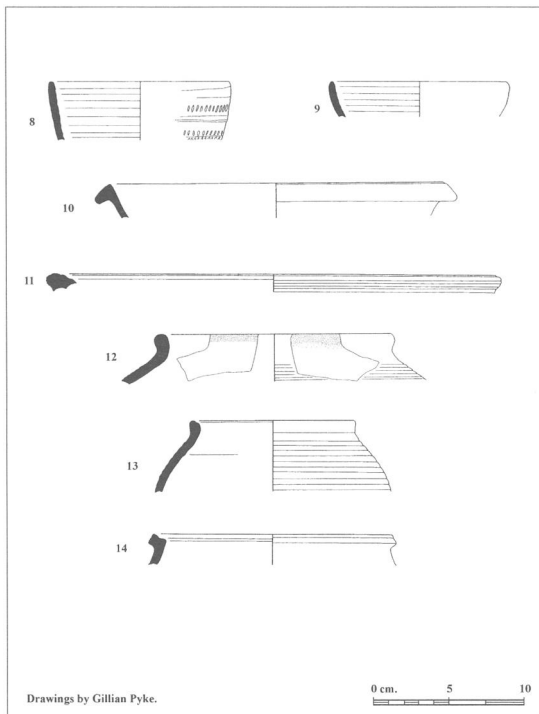


FIG. 9. Pottery surface finds from Bir Gidami (a).

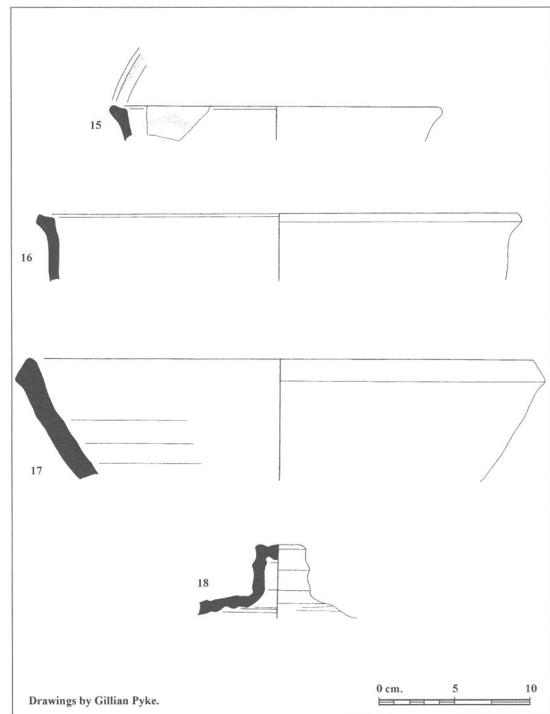


FIG. 10. Pottery surface finds from Bir Gidami (b).

The settlement at Bir Gidami is close to, but well hidden from, the same route one would have used when travelling from Umm Howeitat Bahri via Wadi Gidami and Abu Gerida towards the Nile, or via Wadi Umm Wikala and Wadi Saqi if travelling east.

### *Bir Handosi*

This settlement (at 25° 48.44' N/34° 11.00' E) covers an area approximately 100 m N–S × 170 m E–W and preserved, at the time of the survey, 47 structures (fig. 11, pl. XVI, 2). Of these 13 (28%) were Type 0 and 7 (15%) were 'complex' (Types III and IV). This makes Bir Handosi the smallest of the five settlements discussed here, but also one of most complex both in terms of architecture and chronology.

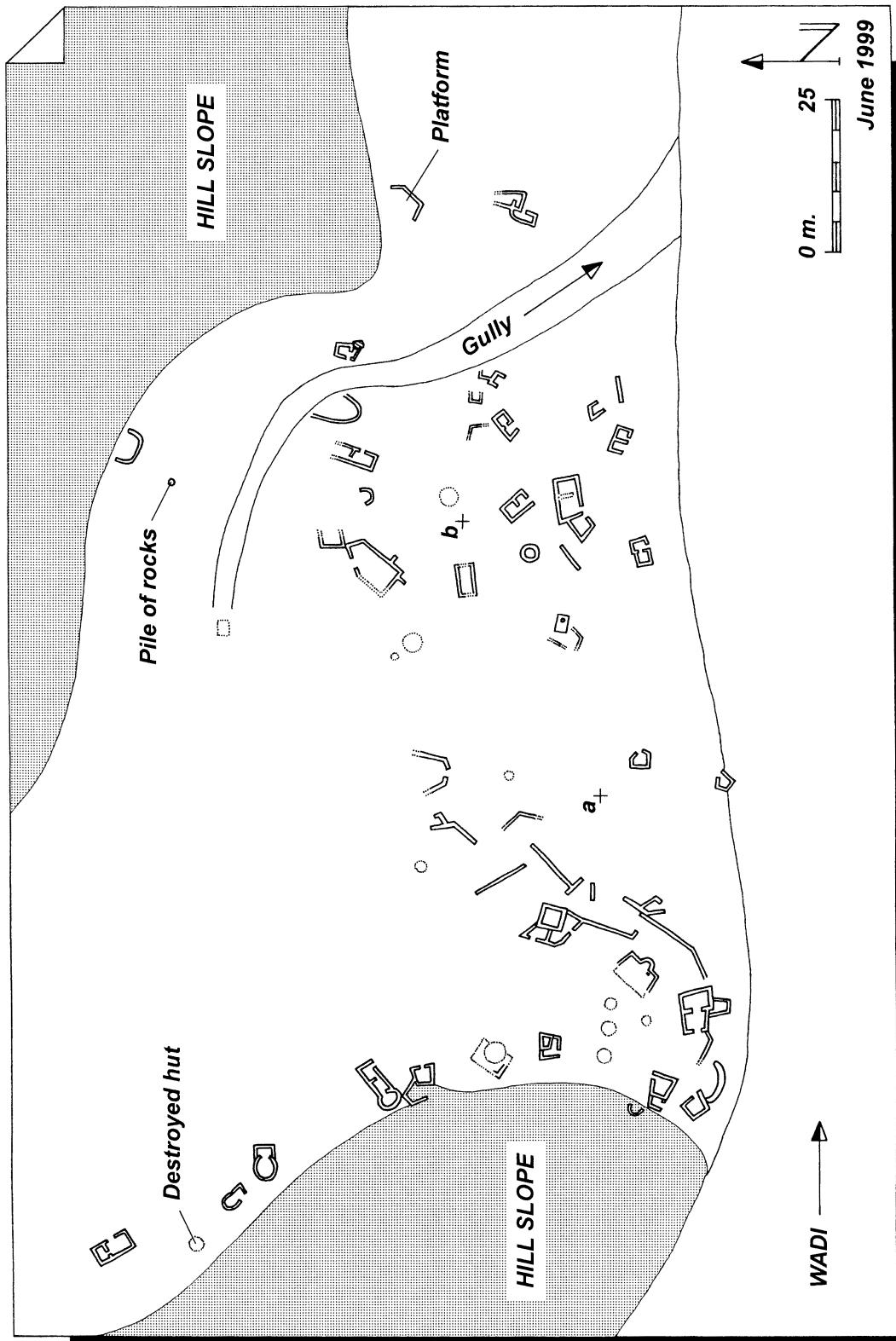


FIG. 11. Plan of Bir Handosi (site 3, a-b is 50 m). The possible former centre of the site is located west of survey point 'a'.



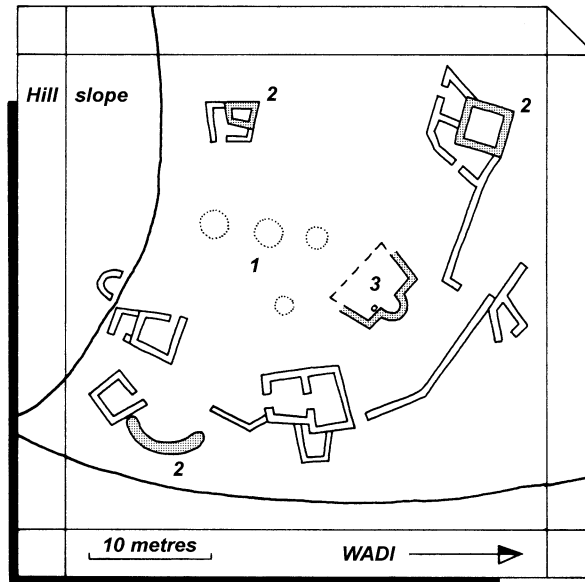


FIG. 12. Plan of the centre of Bir Handosi (site 3), just west of survey point 'a', which was clearly altered during the second phase of occupation of the site (1: dismantled structures 2: altered structures 3: Islamic praying area).

Bir Handosi was the only site of the five examined in this study that preserved clear evidence of a second phase of use, obviously dating to the Islamic Period. At the western end of the settlement, the former centre of the site (fig. 12), a line of stones seems to be arranged to form a *mihrab*, an empty niche present in every mosque to indicate the direction to Mecca (*qibla*). This *mihrab* is oriented  $134^{\circ}$  off magnetic north, which is close to the true *qibla* in the area of about  $128^{\circ}$  off magnetic north. Just south of this niche the survey team noted a stone with a four-line inscription in Arabic as well as the rim of a stone bowl.<sup>23</sup>

The irregularly shaped stone bearing the inscription preserves maximum dimensions of  $0.27 \times 0.32 \text{ m} \times 0.19 \text{ m}$  thick, but was obviously broken off at the right (pl. XVIII, 4). The letters vary in height from 2.5–3.5 cm and lack any punctuation, which may indicate that the text is early. The shapes of the letters, however, appear modern making it difficult to date the stone. The text reads:

*Lâ ilâha illâ Allâh  
Muhammad rasûl, sallâ Allâh  
'alayhi wa-sallam, al-maghfûr 'Umar*

.....

which translates:

*There is no god but God  
Muhammed is his prophet, God bless  
him and have mercy on the late Omar*

.....

<sup>23</sup> Until increased wealth and contact with the outside world allowed the Bedouin to import aluminium pots from the Nile Valley and ceramic vessels from Sudan, as well as glass and plastic from both, they used predominantly stone (steatite) receptacles.

This is obviously a tombstone, an item unlikely to be found in an Islamic praying area.<sup>24</sup> It probably came from the small cemetery of about fifteen graves on the opposite site of the wadi, approximately 40 m south-east of the ancient settlement. Why and when it was placed next to the *mihrab* is not clear, but this was most likely done at the same time that the structure was laid out and probably because it had the name of God inscribed on it.

Some of the edifices in the same part of the site do not have any doors. These structures seem to have been altered, with building material taken from nearby features, probably to serve as animal pens. In combination with the *mihrab* and the Arabic inscription, this seems to indicate that a group of Bedouin settled for some time in Bir Handosi after it was abandoned. Whether or not these later visitors randomly selected the buildings they altered or purposefully chose some earlier sanctuary remains uncertain.

All the sherds collected at Bir Handosi were quite worn, some to such an extent that they were impossible to identify or draw. Sherds of amphorae, fine wares and, predominantly, coarse wares were picked up, but no hand-made vessels. Two of the markers for the latest phase at Berenike, LRA 1 and ERS A white slipped cups, were found, but as at Bir Gidami, deep cups/bowls were absent. The vessel types collected at Bir Handosi were generally quite similar to those found at Shenshef. The small number of ERS A or other datable vessels makes it difficult give a date more precise than the fifth to sixth centuries AD suggested by the date indicators.

#### Pottery catalogue (figs. 13–14)

19. ERS A white slipped cup. Rim diameter 10 cm. Most of the white slip has worn off. Section light red (2.5YR 6/8). Dense fabric with abundant fine black and common medium reddish brown particles and common fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/68. Parallels: although there are ERS A white slipped cups at Shenshef, this example is deeper; Amarna Catalogue 36, dated by a coin to AD 538–565; Umm Howeitat North, above, number 2. Date: mid sixth century AD.
20. Marl, possibly ERS A, basin with internal black decoration. Rim diameter 32 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (10R 4/8), very worn. Internal decoration now very indistinct. Section light red (2.5YR 6/6) at exterior edge, rest reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6). Fabric ERS A or related fabric, with common fine and medium red particles, common fine black particles and common fine, medium and coarse limestone, some blackened. Drawing number: BE 00/79. Parallels: none found.
21. Silt cookpot. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (10R 4/6). Section yellowish red (5YR 4/6) with a reddish brown (5YR 5/3) core. Silt fabric with abundant fine sand and rare fine (and one extremely coarse chunk) limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/71. Parallels: none found.
22. Marl bowl with out-turned rim, possibly imitating an ERS A form. Rim diameter 18 cm. Worn exterior and interior slip red (10R 4/6). Section reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) with a light brown (7.5YR 6/3) core. Coarse marl fabric with common medium reddish brown and rare fine black particles, and common fine and coarse limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/72. Parallels: similar to Shenshef fig. 6-5/59; Ashmunein D 661; Amarna AG 91. Date: fifth to mid sixth centuries AD.
23. Marl bowl. Rim diameter 26 cm. Exterior and interior slipped, worn red (2.5YR 4/8). Section yellowish brown (5YR 5/6). Marl fabric with common fine-medium voids, common fine limestone, some blackened and rare medium sand. Drawing number: BE 00/75. Parallels: Shenshef fig. 6-5/56; similar to Amarna GP 182; Abu Shaar fig. 18/37; Bir Umm Fawakhir BF93/104; Umm Howeitat North (catalogue number 7, fig. 6).
24. Marl basin with externally thickened rim. Rim diameter 34 cm. Exterior and interior slip worn. Exterior slip at rim red (2.5YR 4/8), interior below rim light red (2.5YR 6/6). Section light red (2.5YR 6/8) with a reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) core. Marl fabric with abundant fine sand, rare fine limestone and common fine mica. Drawing number: BE 00/73. Parallels: none found.

<sup>24</sup> Translation and interpretation provided by Fred Leemhuis.

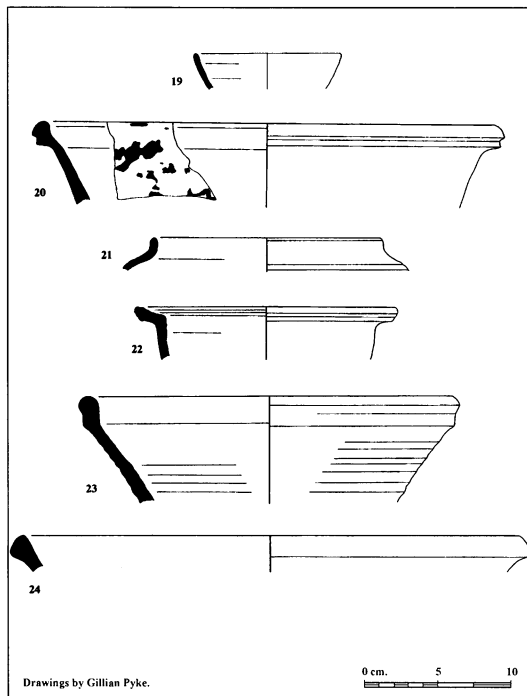


FIG. 13. Pottery surface finds from Bir Handosi (a).

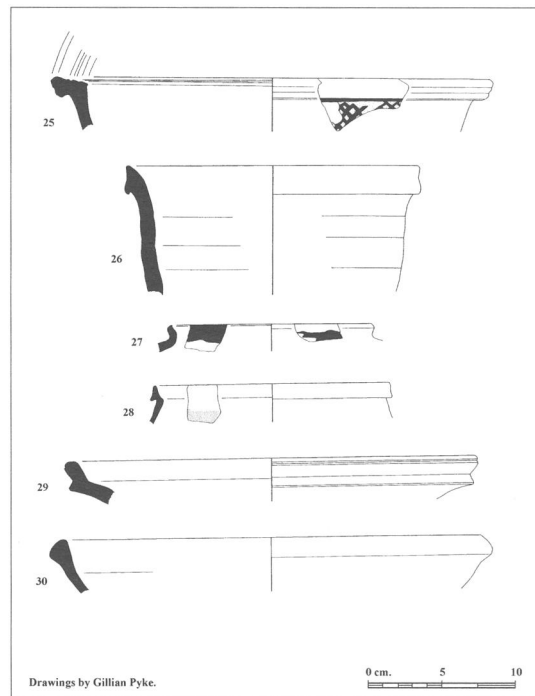


FIG. 14. Pottery surface finds from Bir Handosi (b).

25. Silt bowl with out-turned rim and external black band and cross-hatched decoration over white. Rim diameter 30 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (10R 4/6). Section light red (2.5YR 6/8) with a reddish brown (5YR 5/4) core. Dense micaceous silt fabric with medium voids in core only, and rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/80. Parallels: Similar to Shenshef fig. 6-5/59; Esna G 15, L 9, M 21; Bir Umm Fawakhir BF92 fig. 30/a; Amarna AG 91.
26. Silt deep bowl. Rim diameter 20 cm. Exterior and inside the interior rim slipped pale yellow (5Y 8/3), probably intended as white. Interior surface reddish brown (5YR 4/3). Section dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2). Coarse silt fabric with common medium voids, common medium and coarse limestone, some reddened. Vessel highly overfired. Drawing number: BE 00/74. Parallels: Amarna GP 104.
27. Silt jar with black decoration added over rim. Rim diameter 14 cm. Exterior slipped reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4). Interior surface reddish brown (2.5YR 5/3). Section yellowish red (5YR 5/8) with a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) core. Fairly soft silt fabric with common fine voids and rare fine-medium limestone, some burnt. Drawing number: BE 00/76. Parallels: similar to Amarna GP 270 and JF 804.
28. Silt ledge-rimmed jar. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Interior wash below ledge red (2.5YR 4/6). Section red (2.5YR 5/6) with a red (2.5YR 4/8) core. Soft dense silt fabric with rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/77. Parallels: Amarna GP 27.
29. Silt casserole or lid. Rim diameter 28 cm. Exterior and exterior slipped red (2.5YR 4/6). Section yellowish red (5YR 5/8) with a very dark grey (7.5YR 3/1) core. Coarse silt fabric with common medium voids, common fine-coarse limestone and coarse grog. Drawing number: BE 00/78. Parallels: similar to lid Ashmunein P 10. Date: fifth to seventh centuries AD.
30. Silt dish with externally thickened rim. Rim diameter 30 cm. Surfaces very worn but traces of red (2.5YR 5/8) slip remaining on rim. Section red (2.5YR 5/8). Silt fabric with common fine voids and common fine white material, either quartz or limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/81. Parallels: similar to Shenshef fig. 6-5/52; Amarna GP 474.

South of the settlement at Bir Handosi is a narrow gorge (at 25° 48.23' N/34° 10.91' E) where the rock faces are covered with graffiti, including numerous crosses and Bedouin tribal marks (*wusm*) as well as pictures of men holding well-signs and well-signs alone (*dalu*). The ancient settlement must have been supplied with water from here even though whatever well once existed is now completely filled in with sand and rubble.<sup>25</sup>

Farther to the east, between Bir Handosi and the Red Sea, but closer to the former (at 25° 48.80' N/34° 11.19' E), the survey team located five tombs of the late Roman 'ring cairn' type.<sup>26</sup> The largest of these tombs had three chambers and preserved a diameter of 4.8–5.2 m and a height of 1.0–1.1 m. Two smaller tombs were adjacent to this one and two additional tombs, constructed in a similar fashion as the larger one noted above, lay nearby. The smallest of these made use of a huge boulder for one of its walls. These tombs may have been associated with the nearby settlement at Bir Handosi. The nearest major thoroughfare in ancient times would have been the Via Hadriana, about 25 km toward the east where it intersected Wadi Asal.

### *Hitan Rayan*

Hitan Rayan (at 23° 47.82' N/35° 19.57' E) appears on a map of classical Hellenistic–Roman remains in the Egyptian Eastern Desert published in 1958; the site was carefully mapped and studied in 1995 as part of the on-going survey of the region by the University of Delaware–Leiden University Berenike Project.<sup>27</sup> Hitan Rayan covers an area of approximately 290 m N–S × 590 m E–W and comprised, at the time of the survey, 141 structures. Of these 20 (14%) were classified as Type 0 and 30 (21%) as 'complex' (Types III and IV). Hitan Rayan was, therefore, the largest settlement of the five discussed here and also had the largest percentage of complex structures. The plans presented here (figs. 15–16) are greatly reduced versions of the map published in 1996.

There is a large building located in the central northern part of the site (number 122 on the original site plan), which may have served some public function. (fig. 19, pl. XVII, 1). There is, however, no architectural evidence indicating what this function might have been. The structure was completely devoid of potsherds.

All of the ceramic indicators for the fifth to sixth centuries AD known from Berenike were collected at Hitan Rayan, as well as an Aswan amphora, many pieces of ERS A, some ERS H and a range of coarse wares. Several LRA 1 sherds with fragments of dipinti were also retrieved, as well as sherds which had been cut into rough 'T' or 'Y' shapes, the purpose of which remains unknown (pl. XVIII, 3). Sherds from five hand-made vessels were also found, including both open and closed forms (fig. 20). The bowls typically have sloping sides and wedge rims. Similar rim forms have been found at Berenike, though the walls of these vessels are generally steeper and thinner. No published parallels could be found for the jar or lug handles, though similar handles have been recently identified at Berenike. Similar burnishing and stab and drag decoration is used on vessels at Shenshef, though there the decoration occurs on the exterior of the vessels rather than the interior, and there

<sup>25</sup> That this well was used until recently is evident from the small amounts of concrete adhering to rocks, which our Bedouin guide claimed were the remains of catchment basins built by the Egyptian government 'many years ago', and a nicely preserved graffito recording the name 'Abd al-Tef Hamid Ibrahim, Aswan 1940'.

<sup>26</sup> Aldsworth and Barnard, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995*, 437–40; and H. Barnard, 'Human Bones and Burials', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 397–401.

<sup>27</sup> Aldsworth and Barnard, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995*, 411–40.

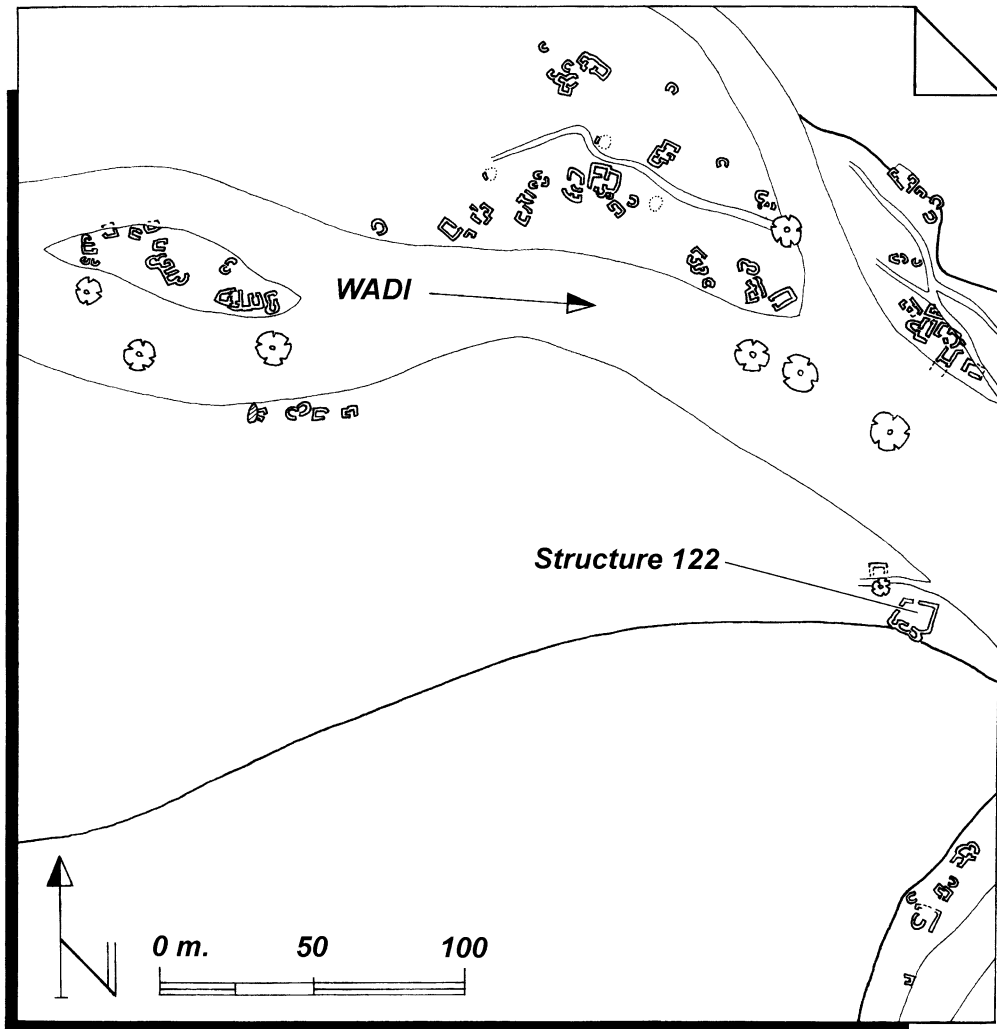


FIG. 15. Plan of the western part of Hitan Rayan (site 4), west of 'central structure' 122. The wadi ends a little to the west of this drawing. The original plan, surveyed and drawn by F. G. Aldsworth and H. Barnard for the Berenike Project in 1995, is redrawn at a much smaller scale.

were no specific parallels for any of the motifs. Most of the vessels were made of the same desert clay fabric, with sand, limestone and quartz (?). The lug-handled vessel (51) contained only a little limestone and no quartz (?), but instead included grog. The large number of ERS A vessels allowed the site to be dated more closely than the fifth to sixth centuries AD suggested by the date indicators. Most of the fine ware vessels date to the sixth to seventh centuries AD, with a few as early as the fifth century AD.

#### Pottery catalogue (figs. 18–20)

31. LRA 1 neck and rim. Rim diameter 12 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces worn, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6), section same colour. Marl fabric with abundant fine black particles, common fine to medium reddish brown particles, rare coarse white particles. Drawing number: BE 00/19. Parallels: Berenike BE94 fig. 13/bottom middle; Shenshef fig. 6-7/76; Abu Shaar fig. 16/13.

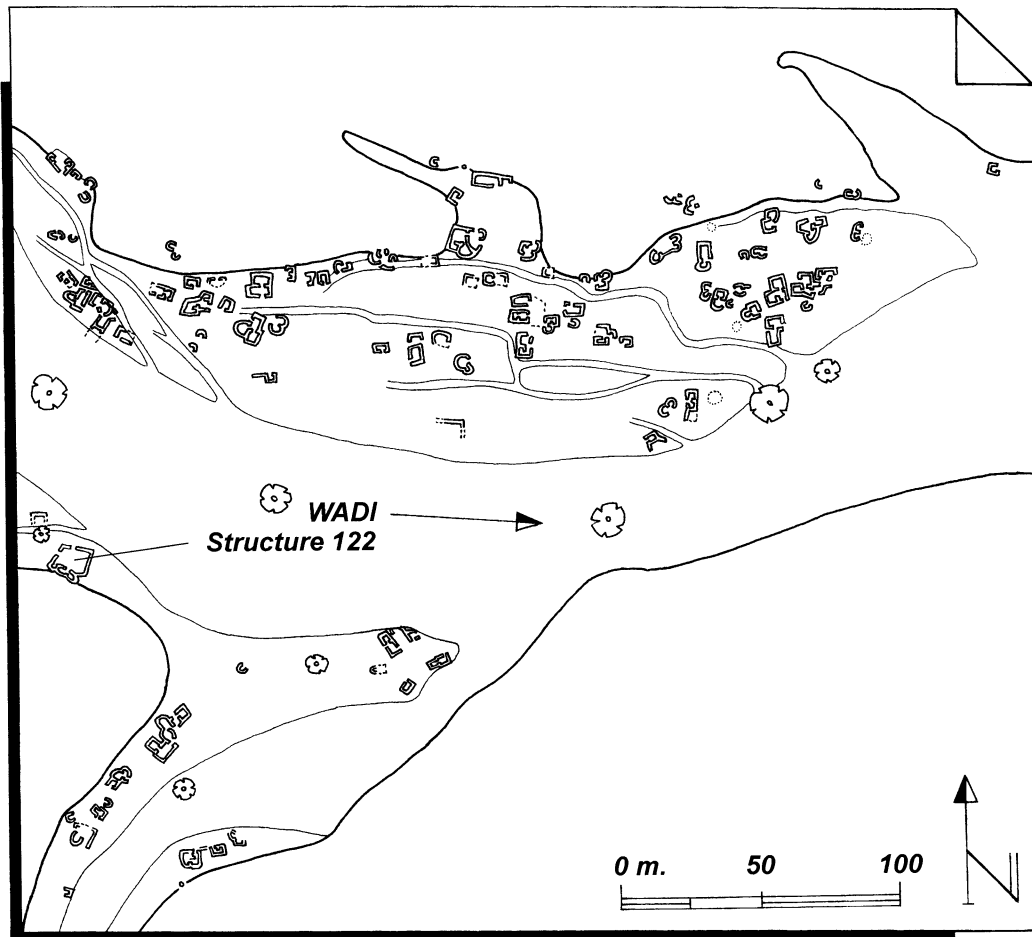


FIG. 16. Plan of the eastern part of Hitan Rayan (site 4), east of 'central structure' 122. East of this drawing are an ancient 'ring cairn' cemetery and a narrow gorge where the ground water comes to the surface. Between the ancient site and this gorge there is a modern, stone-lined well.

32. Aswan amphora. Rim diameter 10 cm. Exterior slipped red (10R 5/6), interior reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). Section light reddish brown (no Munsell value, closest 2.5YR 6/4). Coarse fabric with common unmixed clay, abundant medium sand, rare medium limestone and common coarse reddish brown particles. Drawing number: BE 00/21. Parallels: Elephantine K724.
33. ERS A white slipped cup. Rim diameter 12 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces slipped very pale brown (10YR 8/3). Section reddish yellow (7.5YR 8/6). Dense fabric with common medium black particles, medium reddish brown particles and very rare very fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/30. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/41; Ashmunein C 40. Date: fifth to sixth centuries AD.
34. ERS A cup. Rim diameter 11 cm. Exterior and interior slip worn, light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section light red (2.5YR 6/6) with reddish yellow (7.5YR 8/6) core. Medium density fabric with abundant very fine black, common fine-medium reddish brown particles and rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/29. Parallels: similar to Amarna Catalogue 37 and GP 144.
35. ERS A cup. Rim diameter 11 cm. Exterior and interior washed/slipped light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section reddish yellow (no Munsell value, closest 5YR 7/6). Fabric with common very fine reddish brown particles, black particles and limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/31. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/46; Elephantine T618. Date: fifth to sixth centuries AD.

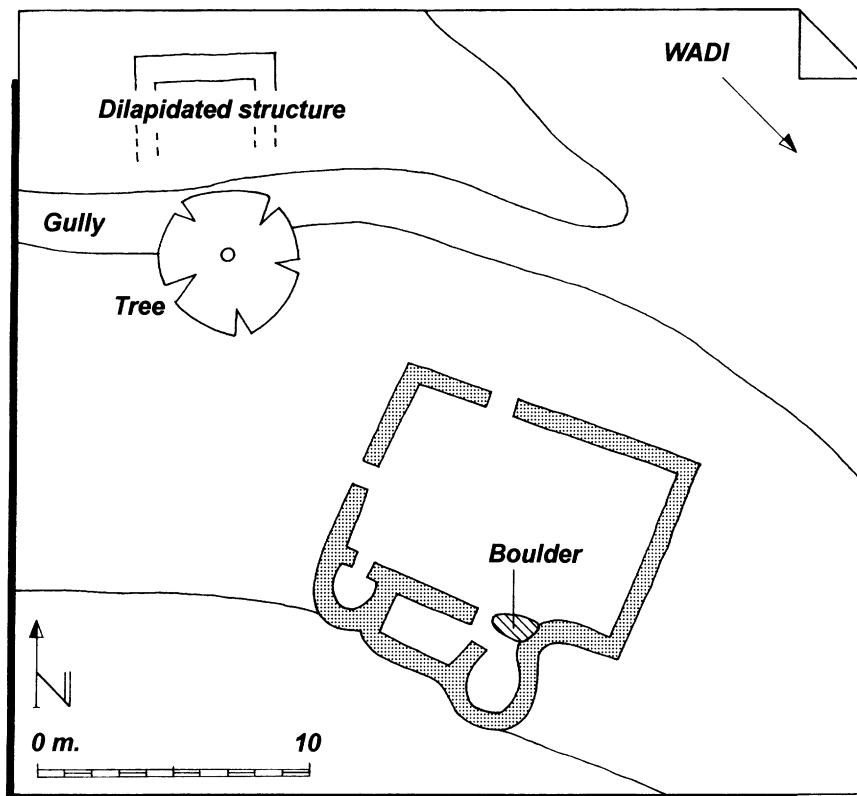


FIG. 17. Plan of 'central' structure 122 at Hitan Rayan.

36. ERS A cup with three rows of rouletting on the exterior. Rim diameter 14 cm. Exterior slipped red (2.5YR 5/6), interior light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section pink (no Munsell value, closest 5YR 8/4). Dense fabric with common fine black and reddish brown particles and fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/32. Parallels: Ashmunein C 46; similar to Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/31. Date: sixth to eighth centuries AD.
37. ERS A deep bowl with exterior black decoration. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior and interior surface light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section pink (no Munsell value, closest 5YR 7/4). Dense fabric with common fine-medium black particles and rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/27. Parallels: Berenike BE 94 fig. 13; similar to Shenshef fig. 6-4/40; form similar to Ashmunein C 84. Date: fourth to sixth centuries AD.
38. Coarse ERS A deep bowl with exterior black and white decoration. Rim diameter 28 cm. Exterior slipped red (2.5YR 5/8), interior light red (2.5YR 6/6). Section light red (2.5YR 6/4) with light grey (10YR 7/1) core. Dense fabric with abundant fine mica, fine black particles and common coarse and very coarse limestone, mostly grey. Drawing number: BE 00/37. Parallels: similar to Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/40; form similar to Ashmunein C 83. Date: perhaps fifth century AD.
39. ERS A bowl with exterior red rim band. Rim diameter 24 cm. Rim band worn, remaining colour red (10R 5/8), rest of surface light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section pink (no Munsell value, but close to 5YR 7/4). Dense fabric, abundant fine black particles, common medium reddish brown particles and rare medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/25. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/33; similar to Ashmunein C 173; Esna H4. Date: sixth to seventh centuries AD.
40. ERS A rouletted bowl. Rim diameter 18 cm. Exterior slipped red (2.5YR 5/6), interior surface light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section pink (no Munsell value, closest 5YR 7/4). Dense fabric with rare coarse reddish brown particles, common medium black particles and very rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/26. Parallels: similar to Ashmunein C 46; Elephantine T626. Date: sixth to seventh centuries AD.

41. ERS A flanged bowl. Rim diameter 18 cm. Exterior rim slipped red (10R 5/8), surface colour otherwise light red (2.5 YR 6/8). Section light red (2.5YR 6/6). Dense fabric, abundant fine and medium black particles and common medium reddish brown particles, rare medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/39. Parallels: Shenshef BE95 fig. 5-14/93 (no rouletting); BE96 fig. 6-4/35; form similar to Ashmunein C 344-5; Bir Umm Fawakhir BF92 fig. 30/h; Esna E14. Date: sixth to seventh centuries AD.
42. ERS A dish with rouletting on underside of rim. Rim diameter 32 cm. Interior and rim slipped red (10R 5/8), exterior light red (2.5YR 6/8). Section reddish yellow (no Munsell value, closest 5YR 7/5). Medium density fabric with abundant fine black particles. Drawing number: BE 00/28. Parallels: Elephantine T226b. Date: sixth to seventh centuries AD.
43. ERS A flagon. Rim diameter 7 cm. Exterior slipped (probably discoloured) yellowish red (5YR 5/6), interior surface reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6). Section yellowish red (5YR 6/6). Dense fabric with common fine black particles and rare fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/42. Parallels: Ashmunein C 644 (white slipped); Elephantine T714. Date: sixth century AD onwards.
44. Silt ledge rimmed cookpot. Rim diameter 18 cm. Unslipped. Exterior and interior surfaces reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4). Section yellowish red (5YR 5/8) with a red (2.5YR 5/4) core. Silt fabric with medium-coarse limestone, burnt in the core. Drawing number: BE 00/38. Parallels: similar to Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-6/64; Ashmunein E 186. Date: perhaps seventh century AD.
45. ERS H carinated bowl. Rim diameter 33 cm. Exterior decorated with black and white rim bands and a black zigzag with white dots. Exterior and interior slipped red (10R 4/6). Section red (2.5YR 5/8) with red (10R 5/8) core. Nile silt fabric with few visible inclusions, very rare very fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/23. Parallels: Amarna GP 393; Bir Umm Fawakhir BF93/81.
46. Casserole/carinated bowl. Rim diameter 22 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces slipped red (10R 5/8). Section light red (2.5YR 6/6). ERS A fabric with common medium reddish brown particles and fine black particles, rare medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/24. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-6/70; similar to Ashmunein N 39.
47. Marl flask. Rim diameter 5 cm. Unslipped, exterior and interior surfaces very pale brown (10YR 8/4). Section reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6). Coarse marl fabric with many medium voids, common fine and rare medium and coarse grog and rare fine black particles. P. J. Rose suggests that this vessel might be modern, on the basis of the presence of the grog temper. Drawing number: BE 00/40. Parallels: none found.
48. Silt flask with black decoration around the top of the shoulder. Exterior slipped very pale brown (10YR 8/3), interior surface red (2.5YR 4/6). Section as interior with a weak red (2.5YR 4/2) band at the exterior edge. Coarse silt fabric with abundant lenticular medium-coarse limestone, and common chaff voids especially at the neck. Drawing number: BE 00/41A. Parallels: none found.
49. Silt flask base, possibly of same vessel as above. Exterior slipped very pale brown (10YR 8/3), interior surface reddish brown (2.5YR 4/3). Section weak red (7.5YR 5/2) at interior edge and red (2.5YR 4/8) at exterior edge. Coarse silt fabric with rare medium lenticular limestone and common medium chaff voids. Drawing number: BE 00/41B. Parallels: none found.
50. Hand-made bowl with burnished exterior and interior. Rim diameter 20 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces red (10R 4/6) grading to dark reddish brown (5YR 3/2). Section red (2.5YR 5/8) with a dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/3) core. Desert clay fabric with abundant coarse quartz (?), coarse sand and rare medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/45. Parallels: Hitan Rayan (catalogue no. 52, fig. 20); Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (catalogue nos. 66 and 67, fig. 23).
51. Hand-made bowl with lug handle, flanked by incised diagonal strokes. Rim diameter 13 cm. Interior surface and upper part of exterior very dark grey (7.5YR 3/1), lower part of exterior brown (7.5YR 5/3). Section reddish grey (2.5YR 5/1). Coarse desert clay fabric containing abundant coarse sand, rare fine-medium grog and rare medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/46. Parallels: none found, but similar handles observed at Berenike.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> These are probably in the same tradition as those described on similar ware from the Nile Valley. See E. Strouhal, *Wadi Qitna and Kalabsha-South* (Prague, 1984), fig. 126 (P 834).



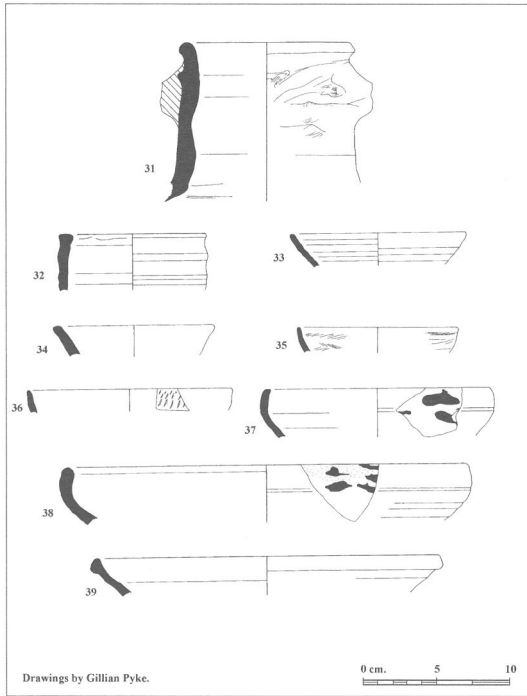


FIG. 18. Pottery surface finds from Hitan Rayan (a).

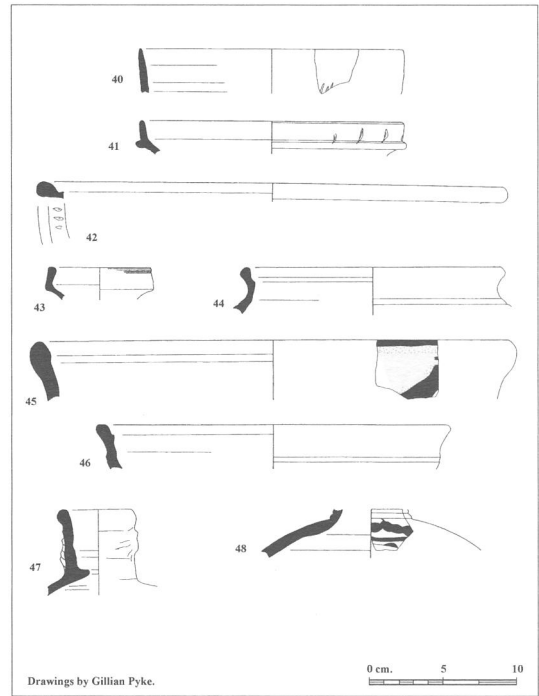


FIG. 19. Pottery surface finds from Hitan Rayan (b).

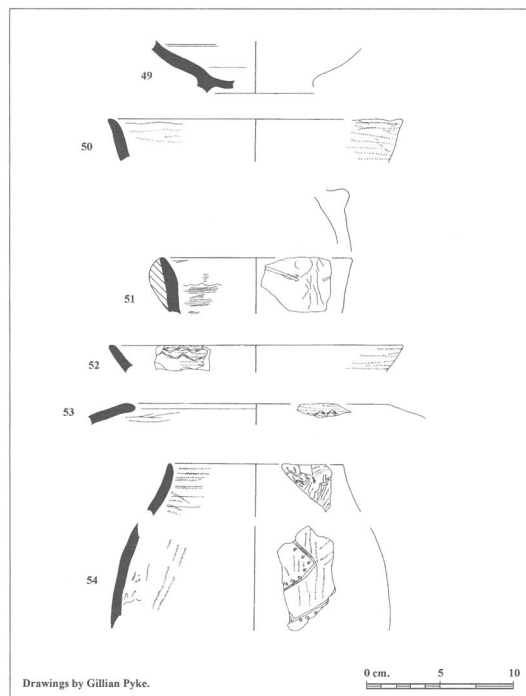


FIG. 20. Pottery surface finds from Hitan Rayan (c).

52. Hand-made bowl with internal stab and drag zigzag decoration below rim. Rim diameter 20 cm. Exterior and interior slipped and burnished. Exterior and upper part of interior to zigzags red (2.5YR 4/8), lower part of interior reddish brown (2.5YR 5/3). This change in colour is due to the firing and does not appear to be intentional. Section red (2.5YR 5/6) with dark grey (2/5YR N4) band at interior edge. Desert clay fabric, very coarse and soft, with abundant coarse sand and medium quartz (?). Drawing number: BE 00/43. Parallels: Hitan Rayan (catalogue no. 54, fig. 20); Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (catalogue nos. 66 and 67, fig. 23).
53. Hand-made jar with exterior burnishing and incised zigzag decoration. Rim diameter 18 cm. Exterior reddish brown (5YR 5/4), interior surface reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4). Section yellowish red (5YR 5/6) with greyish brown (10YR 5/2) core. Desert clay fabric with abundant fine rounded quartz (?). Drawing number: BE 00/44. Parallels: none found.
54. Hand-made jar with exterior and interior burnishing and exterior incised zigzag and punctuated decoration. Rim diameter 12 cm. Exterior slipped red (2.5YR 5/6) with patches of reddish brown (2.5YR 5/8). Interior surface yellowish red (5YR 5/6). Section red (2.5YR 5/8) grading to weak red (2/5YR 5/2) at the exterior edge. Desert clay fabric, quite dense with abundant fine sand and rare medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/47. Parallels: similar form to a very fragmentary example seen by P. J. Rose at Berenike.

West of the site the sandy wadi ends in the mountains. To the east the wadi narrows to a gorge, where the ground water comes to the surface, and then widens out and eventually issues onto the Red Sea coastal plain. East of the site, but west of this narrow gorge, is a small cemetery with about 32 ancient tombs, all of the 'ring-cairn' type, and an apparently modern well. There are some traces of what may be exploratory mining of a possibly gold-bearing quartz vein at Hitan Rayan, but the site preserves no further evidence that it was a mining camp and the purpose of the settlement remains unclear.<sup>29</sup>

At least two roads marked by cairns, and in one section by a cleared segment, connected Hitan Rayan to other settlements in the vicinity. One route linked Hitan Rayan, via a small settlement in Wadi Tum (at 23° 46.60' N/35° 23.15' E), to the contemporary site in Wadi Shenshef (at 23° 44.25' N/35° 22.72' E) approximately eleven kilometres to the south-east.<sup>30</sup> While the *raison d'être* of Hitan Shenshef is also uncertain, survey and excavations have revealed a relatively wealthy settlement in regular contact with the outside world via Berenike and with buildings constructed in a completely different style from those at Hitan Rayan.<sup>31</sup> A second route running north-east linked Hitan Rayan via Khor Regayga and Wadi Umm Jurah with the large fortified well (*hydreuma*) in Wadi Kalalat (at 23° 51.84' N/35° 24.46' E) about fifteen kilometres away.<sup>32</sup> From there roads led to Berenike and to the installations

<sup>29</sup> J. A. Harrell, 'Geology', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 135–6.

<sup>30</sup> S. E. Sidebotham and R. E. Zitterkopf, 'Survey of the Hinterland', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995*, 385, 401–3 and figs. 21–30.

<sup>31</sup> Sidebotham, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1994*, 93–6; and Sidebotham and Zitterkopf, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995*, 391–7 describe the initial survey of Shenshef. More detailed descriptions can be found in Aldsworth and Barnard, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 427–43. Also see D. A. Gould, 'The Excavations at Shenshef'; F. G. Aldsworth, 'The Buildings at Shenshef'; R. T. J. Cappers, 'Archaeobotanical Remains at Shenshef'; C. E. Vermeeren, 'Wood and Charcoal from Shenshef'; W. Van Neer and A. H. M. Ervynck, 'Faunal Remains from Shenshef and Kalalat', all in S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1997. Report of the Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert, Including Excavations at Shenshef* (Leiden, 1999), 371–443.

<sup>32</sup> S. E. Sidebotham, 'The Survey', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 421–4 describes the survey of this road system; S. E. Sidebotham, H. Barnard, D. K. Pearce and A. J. Price, 'Excavations in Wadi Kalalat', in S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1998. Report of the Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert, Including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat* (Leiden, 2000), 379–402 describe excavations at that site.

in Wadi Abu Greiya (ancient *Vetus Hydreuma*). There is a possible third route, not yet fully examined, which may have led from the *hydreuma* in Wadi Kalalat via Wadi Abu Dab and the late fourth to fifth century AD settlement of Qaria Ali Mohamed Hussein (at 23° 51.28' N/35° 20.00' E, 10–12 km from Hitan Rayan) coming into Hitan Rayan from the north.<sup>33</sup>

### *Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa*

This site was first discovered in 1998 during a survey of the region by the University of Delaware–Leiden University Berenike Project and preliminarily described in an earlier report.<sup>34</sup> As this settlement at the western end of Wadi Umm Atlee seems not to have a name, it is here identified as Qaria (Village of) Mustafa Amr Gamaa after the Ababda Bedouin guide who revealed its existence to the survey team. The site is about 45 km south-west of Berenike (at 23° 36.73' N/35° 23.37' E) and comprises 109 structures very similar to those at the sites discussed above (pl. XVII, 2). These edifices appeared in three distinct groupings covering a total area of approximately 240 m N–S × 390 m E–W (fig. 21). Nine (8%) of these were classified as Type 0 and 8 (7%) as ‘complex’ (Types III and IV).

One of the structures seems to preserve the remains of a stone floor, while another has the remains of what appears to be a hearth next to it (fig. 21). Just north of the settlement and atop a cliff the survey team noted two of the typical Late Roman ‘ring cairn’ tombs.<sup>35</sup> The larger of these was divided into three chambers, the smaller into two. No ancient or modern source of water was noted close to the site. The presence of a substantial group of shrubs in the middle of the site, however, indicates the proximity of ground water close to the surface.

The most common type of pottery collected at Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa was LRA 1, including a fragment with dipinto, one piece reworked into a lid and another reused as an ostrakon. Two ERS A date indicators were also present, as well as an Aqaba amphora, also relatively common in the latest deposits at Berenike. Small quantities of Nile silt amphora (LRA 7) and Aswan amphora were also picked up during the survey. Few other fine or coarse wares were collected. The six hand-made sherds were mostly of bowls similar to those found at Hitan Rayan, burnished, with comparable stab and drag decoration (fig. 23). The majority of these vessels were of the same fabric as those from Hitan Rayan. A single sherd (catalogue no. 69) was made of the same fabric as the vessels from Shenshef, with rare inclusions and some mica. The upright walls, wedge rim and stab and drag decoration also has parallels at Shenshef.<sup>36</sup> As at the other sites, a broad date of the fifth to sixth centuries AD is suggested by the presence of all the date indicators. The wide range of ERS A vessels gives a consistent date of the fifth century, perhaps continuing into the sixth century AD. The later date suggested by the Aswan amphora and one of the coarse ware vessels is less secure and are probably misleading.

<sup>33</sup> S. E. Sidebotham, ‘Survey of the Hinterland’, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1997*, 350, fig. 19-1, 360–4.

<sup>34</sup> S. E. Sidebotham, ‘Survey of the Hinterland’, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1998*, 367–72.

<sup>35</sup> Aldsworth and Barnard, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995*, 437–40; Barnard, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 397–401.

<sup>36</sup> Personal communication from P. J. Rose.

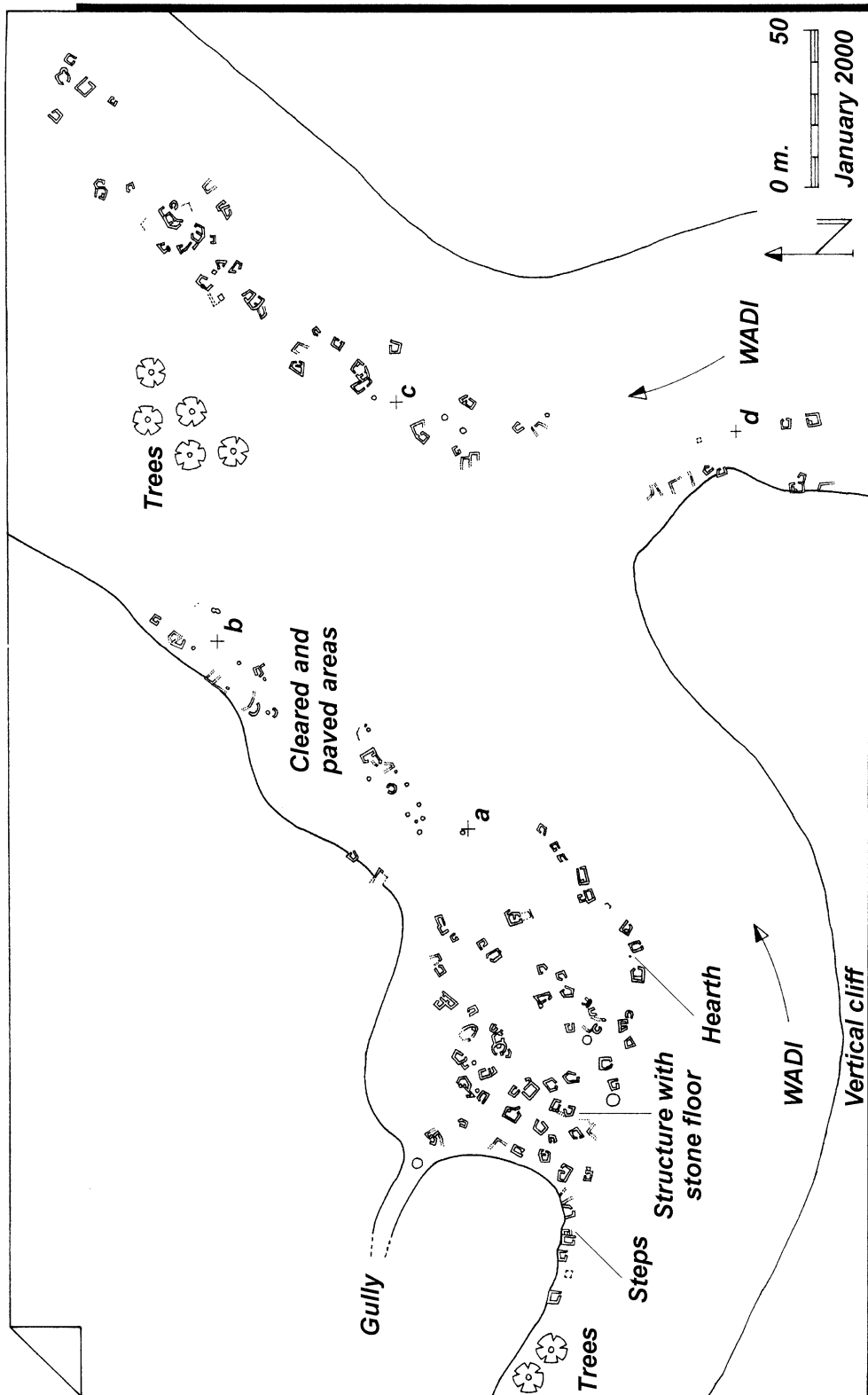


Fig. 21. Overview of the settlement of Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (site 5, a-b is 98.7 m, b-c is 95.1 m and c-d is 107.0 m). Barbara Tratsaert and Veerasamy Selvakumar assisted with the survey of this site.

## Pottery catalogue (figs. 22–23)

55. LRA 1. Rim diameter 10 cm. Exterior surface very pale brown (10YR 8/4). Internal surface and section reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6). Dense marl fabric with abundant fine limestone, common fine and medium sand and abundant black particles. Drawing number: BE 00/1. Parallels: Berenike BE94 fig. 13; Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-7/76; Abu Shaar fig. 16/13; Amarna Catalogue 441.
56. Aqaba amphora rim. Rim diameter 11 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces very pale brown (10YR 8/3). Section light red (2.5YR 6/6). Fabric hard dense marl with some voids, common coarse well rounded white stone particles, rare fine limestone and fine red particles. Drawing number: BE 00/2. Parallels: Berenike BE95 fig. 6-13/13; BE96 fig. 6-8/84. Date: fifth century AD.
57. Aswan amphora. Rim diameter 10 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces worn. Exterior and top of rim slipped red (2.5YR 5/6). Interior surface unslipped reddish yellow (5YR 6/7). Section pink - reddish brown (5YR 7/4-6). Medium density fabric with some chaff voids. Abundant fine black particles, common fine to medium sand, rare medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/8. Parallels: Elephantine K722. Date: sixth to seventh centuries AD.
58. ERS A white slipped cup. Rim diameter 14 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces slipped white (10YR 8/2). Section yellow (10YR 8/4). Dense fabric with abundant fine black and reddish-brown particles. Drawing number: BE 00/3. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/41-6; Ashmunein C 43. Date: fifth to eighth centuries AD.
59. ERS A white slipped cup with two black bands on interior of rim. Rim diameter 12 cm. Exterior and interior slipped white (2.5Y 8/2). Section reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) with indistinct reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) core. Dense fabric with abundant fine dark brown and black particles and common medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/7. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/42; Ashmunein C 40; Bir Umm Fawakhir BF93/11. Date: fifth century AD.
60. ERS A bowl with irregular black blobs on rim, and internal ledge. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (10YR 4/6). Section light reddish-brown to light red (2.5YR 6/4). Medium density fabric with abundant fine sand, fine black and reddish-brown particles and common medium to coarse limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/6. Parallels: Elephantine T327a. Date: fifth to sixth centuries AD.
61. ERS A orange slipped deep bowl. Rim diameter 20 cm. Exterior decorated above the groove with irregular black blobs offset over cream/white blobs. Exterior surface slipped light red (2.5YR 6/6-8). Interior surface slipped reddish yellow (no Munsell value, between 5YR 7/6 and 5YR 6/6). Section light reddish brown–light red (2.5YR 6/4-6). Dense fabric with common fine sand and fine reddish-brown particles and rare medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/4. Parallels: Berenike BE94 fig. 13, BE95 fig. 6-18/5; Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-4/40; Ashmunein C 83; Elephantine T602. Date: perhaps fifth century AD.
62. ERS A bowl, slipped red (10YR 4/6) on exterior of rim. Rim diameter 22 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces light red to red (no Munsell value, between 10YR 6/8 and 10YR 5/8). Section light reddish-brown to light red (2.5YR 6/4-6). Dense fabric with abundant extremely fine red and black particles, common coarse reddish-brown particles and rare medium–coarse limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/5. Parallels: Bir Umm Fawakhir BF93/71; similar to Shenshef fig. 5-6/53; Amarna Catalogue 59. Date: fifth to sixth centuries AD.
63. Red slipped Nile silt coarse ware jar or cookpot. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior and interior slipped 10R 4/6 (red). Section 5YR 4/3 (reddish brown), flanked by 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red) bands. Dense silt fabric with abundant fine to coarse unmixed clay and common medium to coarse limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/9. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-6/65; similar to Ashmunein E 1 and E 199. Date: sixth to seventh centuries AD.
64. Nile silt cookpot. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces dark red (2.5YR 3/6). Section red (2.5YR 4/8) with an indistinct core and band at edge yellowish red (5YR 5/6). Fabric dense silt with rare fine to medium limestone fragments, some burnt. Drawing number: BE 00/10. Parallels: Shenshef BE96 fig. 6-6/64.
65. Marl bowl. Rim diameter 28 cm. Exterior and interior slipped red (10R 4/6). Section red (2.5YR 5/8) with a greyer core—yellowish red (5YR 5/6). Hard medium density marl fabric with abundant fine sand and rare fine and medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/11. Parallels: similar to Amarna GP 423.

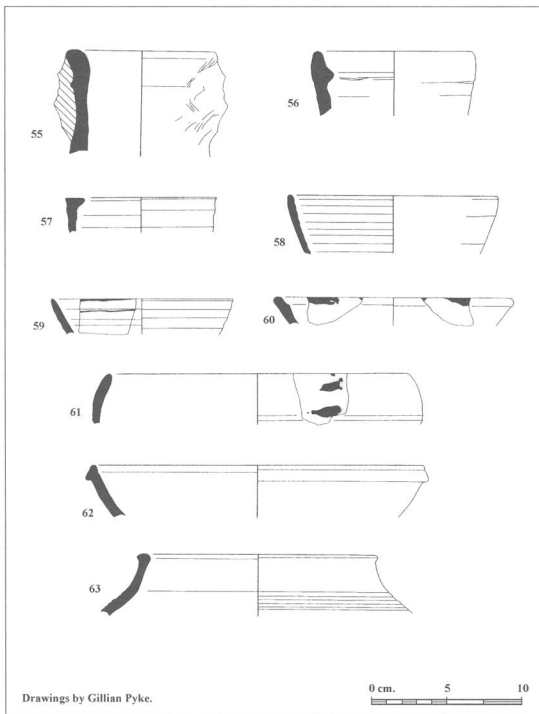


FIG. 22. Pottery surface finds from Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (a).

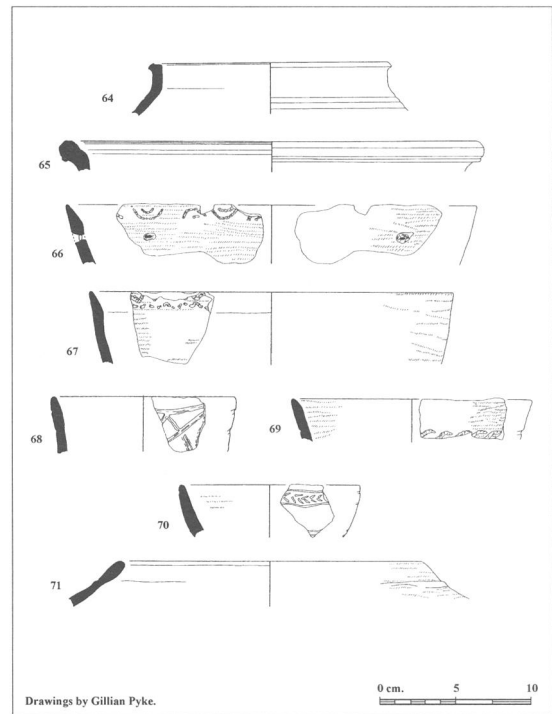


FIG. 23. Pottery surface finds from Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (b).

66. Hand-made bowl. Rim diameter 28 cm. Interior punctuated/stab and drag decoration below rim. Exterior and interior surfaces greyish brown (10YR 5/2), with exterior patches red (2.5YR 5/8) with chaff voids. Section dark grey (10YR 5/1) with black flecks and irregular band red (10YR 5/6) at exterior surface. Desert clay fabric with common medium quartz (?) and abundant fine limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/14. Parallels: Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (catalogue no. 67, fig. 23); Hitan Rayan (catalogue numbers 50 and 52, fig. 20).
67. Hand-made bowl. Rim diameter 24 cm. Interior punctuated decoration below the rim. Exterior and interior burnished greyish brown (10YR 5/2). Exterior patches of reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4), with chaff voids and mica. Section dark grey (10YR 4/1) with black flecks. Desert clay fabric with abundant medium and coarse white quartz (?) and common medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/13. Parallels: Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (catalogue no. 66, fig. 23); Hitan Rayan (catalogue nos. 50 and 52, fig. 20).
68. Hand-made bowl, consisting of two non-joining body sherds and a rim. Rim diameter 12 cm. Exterior unslipped with incised stab and drag decoration. Exterior and interior reddish brown (2.5YR 4/4). Section yellowish red (5YR 5/6) with grey (10YR 5/1) core with black flecks. Desert clay fabric with abundant fine sand and common medium limestone. Drawing number: BE 00/15. Parallels: the upright walls and wedge-shaped rim are similar to examples seen by P. J. Rose at Berenike.
69. Hand-made bowl. Rim diameter 16 cm. Exterior punctuate decoration below rim. Exterior and interior surfaces burnished dark brown (7.5YR 4/3). Section very dark grey (7.5YR N3) with narrow dark brown bands at edges (Munsell value not recorded). Desert clay fabric dense with abundant mica and very rare and very fine limestone or quartz (?). Drawing number: BE 00/16. Parallels: according to P. J. Rose, the fabric is similar to that of vessels found at Berenike. The exterior decoration is also paralleled at Berenike, the arcs perhaps being the tops of an interlocking 'S' design, the 'running dog' motif,<sup>37</sup> which is a common motif there.

<sup>37</sup> H. Ricke, *Ausgrabungen vor Khor-Dehmit bis Bet el-Wali* (Chicago, 1967), 55, Abb. 74, Tafel 25; Strouhal, *Wadi Qina*, 165, fig. 128 (P 1126), pl. 66 (P 803, P 820).

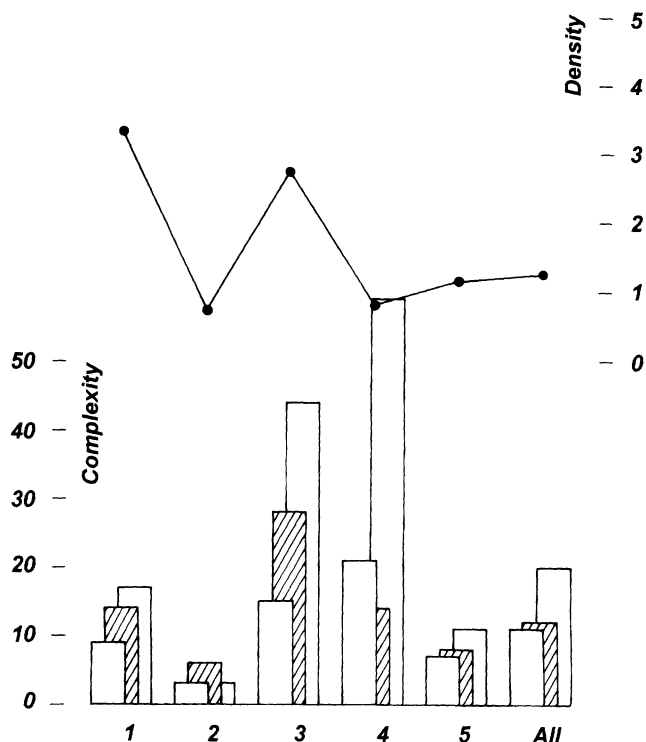


FIG. 24. Graphic presentation of some characteristics of the five Late Roman settlements under consideration (fig. 1, Table 1). The line on top represents the densities (number of structures/1000 m<sup>2</sup>) of Umm Howeitat Bahri (1), Bir Gidami (2), Bir Handosi (3), Hitan Rayan (4), Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (5) as well as the average density (All). The bars in front represent the percentage of complex structures at each of these sites, whereas the bars at the back represent the complexity (= [(Type III + Type IV) / Type I] × 100) of each site. The hatched bars in between indicate the percentage of structures too damaged to be classified (Type 0).

70. Hand-made bowl. Rim diameter 12 cm. Exterior bands of incised decoration below rim and towards base of vessel. Exterior traces of slip red (10R 5/6), interior worn slip light red (10R 6/6) with traces of burnishing. Section reddish brown (2.5YR 5/3) core flanked by red (2.5YR 5/8) bands. Desert clay fabric with abundant fine to medium sand, rare to common medium quartz (?), and fine mica which is also visible on surfaces. Drawing number: BE 00/17. Parallels: the form and herringbone decoration is similar to an example seen at Berenike by P. J. Rose, though the design on this example is on the interior rather than the exterior.
71. Hand-made jar. Rim diameter 20 cm. Exterior surface slipped and burnished pale brown (10YR 6/3) above thickened band, reddish brown (5YR 5/3) below. Interior surface worn, dark brown (10YR 4/3). Section dark greyish brown (10YR 4/2) with black flecks. Coarse desert clay fabric, with abundant fine white material, possibly quartz (?), and common medium limestone and common mica. Drawing number: BE 00/18. Parallels: a similar closed form was noted at Berenike by P. J. Rose, but with an external groove in the same position as the ridge on this example.

Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa could only have been linked by a route eastward through Wadi Umm Atlee. Cairns and graves mark this winding track. After about seven kilometres this route joins with an ancient coastal track running south from Wadi Kalalat.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Sidebotham, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1998*, 367–72. More cairns and graves were found along this route during the survey of Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa in January 2000.

### Discussion and conclusions

The five sites presented in this article comprised 542 structures covering slightly over 434,000 m<sup>2</sup>. This is an average density of 1.25 structures per 1000 m<sup>2</sup>, but the variation among the five individual settlements was great (Table 1, fig. 24). Umm Howeitat and Bir Handosi had a high density with each more than twice the average, while the other three settlements had a density of about 1 structure/1000 m<sup>2</sup>. Looking at the plans of the settlements it is obvious that the primary cause of such a low density is the presence of stretches of empty space, usually corresponding with a wadi, within each settlement. Allowing for this effect, it seems that all settlements were built with a density close to 2.5 structures/1000 m<sup>2</sup>. How many buildings or hydraulic installations were once present in the wadi, but have since been destroyed by the occasional flash flood (*sayl*) or buried under water-borne sediments, remains unclear. Hydraulic installations dependent on ground water necessarily have to be in a wadi but it seems unlikely that too many other structures would have been built there given the soft sandy surface, the lack of instantly available building material and the obvious risk of destruction by a *sayl*.

It is difficult to imagine more than one person living in any of the rooms of the settlements presented here. The maximum number of inhabitants of each settlement will, therefore, approximately equal the total number of rooms.<sup>39</sup> This number may have been higher if at one time more structures existed which are now destroyed beyond recognition, or if people also resided in less permanent structures like tents. More likely, the number of inhabitants will have been less than the number of rooms as some of them will have been used for work, storage or as animal pens. Additionally, the various structures may not all have been used at the same time.

The number of persons able to live in a desert settlement is limited by the water supply.<sup>40</sup> Water would have been obtainable from a dug well (*bir*),<sup>41</sup> a spring (*ain*) or a natural rock depression which accumulates rainwater (*qalt*) from where it must have been transported in leather bags or (re-used) amphorae. Too little evidence of the ancient water supply at these settlements was extant, however, to make a reliable assessment of the number of people that might have been supported. Given all these limitations, then, the following numbers can only be regarded as rough estimates:

Umm Howeitat Bahri (site 1):	149 inhabitants <sup>42</sup>
Bir Gidami (site 2):	131 inhabitants <sup>43</sup>
Bir Handosi (site 3):	50 inhabitants
Hitan Rayan (site 4):	176 inhabitants
Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (site 5):	122 inhabitants

<sup>39</sup> Meyer et al., *Bir Umm Fawakhir*, 15–17; and Sidebotham, *JEA* 87, 169.

<sup>40</sup> The minimum amount needed per person per day, for personal use like drinking, cooking and washing, is about 10 litres whereas this amount in present-day Egypt equals about 250 litres/person/day (figures kindly provided by the Development Cooperation Division of the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Cairo).

<sup>41</sup> The authors have done so themselves during the survey and excavation of Shenshef (in 1997) and have seen it done by Bedouin elsewhere in the desert.

<sup>42</sup> 66 Type I structures + 31 Type II structures + 7 Type III structures = 149 rooms. Type IV structures are considered to have had a public rather than a residential function and, therefore, do not appear in the estimate. Furthermore, the number of rooms which may have housed people but are now lost (Type 0 structures) is considered to be equal to the number of surviving areas intended for work or storage.

<sup>43</sup> It is remarkable that this settlement is called Bir Gidami when there seems to be no well or surface water present. Bir



This totals 628 inhabitants in 542 structures with an average of 126 persons per settlement.

Graves have been found at or near all sites, with ancient graves only at Hitan Rayan (at least 32 burials) and Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (at least 5 burials). Less firmly associated were the ancient graves seen near Bir Gidami and Bir Handosi. All ancient graves were disturbed Late Roman 'ring-cairn' tombs, with only fragmented human bones and sherds scattered around. The number of graves, however, seems rather small compared to the size of the settlements and so either more graves once existed (now destroyed or not yet discovered) or the settlements were only used for a short time, or a number of short periods, during which few deaths took place.<sup>44</sup> Alternatively, some of the dead may have been returned to the Nile Valley for burial.<sup>45</sup> The absence of household refuse, which is abundant at most settlements with lengthy habitation anywhere in Egypt, including the Eastern Desert, also points in the direction of a short period of occupation at the sites under study.

An analysis of the architectural evidence shows that more than half of all buildings surveyed (294 of 542) were simple structures comprising only one room of 10 m<sup>2</sup> or less (Type I) whereas 11% of the buildings (59 structures) were more complex (Types III or IV). Comparing the number of these complex structures with the number of simple structures can give a measure of the complexity (=  $[(\text{Type III} + \text{Type IV}) / \text{Type I}] \times 100$ ) of a settlement (Table 1, fig. 24). Bir Handosi and Hitan Rayan appear to have a relatively high complexity, both more than twice the average of 20.1, whereas the other three settlements have a below average complexity. A high complexity might indicate that a settlement was inhabited for a relatively long period. Not only does it take more time to build a complex structure, but the need for such structures might also only occur after a certain period of occupation. Alternatively, a high complexity might indicate that it was constructed relatively late because later builders would have had direct or indirect experience with the construction of any special kind of settlement, whatever the function might have been, and its specific needs. This latter option seems to be contradicted by the date attributed to the settlements on the basis of the ceramic finds. These suggest that Hitan Rayan was among the latest of the five settlements and Bir Handosi was probably the earliest. The former option, however, gains credibility by the fact that Bir Handosi and Hitan Rayan were the two settlements with evidence of a good water supply. This would make them much easier to sustain and possibly even allow the inhabitants to provide some of their own food (such as sorghum). Given the lack of phasing of the structures as well as variety of pottery, the absence of waste and the low number of graves associated with the settlements, if present at all, a short period of occupation seems plausible.

The collected pottery assemblages are generally comparable across all five survey sites and suggest settled occupation (Table 2). No indication towards the functions of the sites could be inferred from the pottery, nor could any statistical method be applied given the

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Handosi, on the other hand, has remains of a catchment basin nearby. The only site in this study with surface water at present is at Hitan Rayan, which translates 'houses without thirst'.

<sup>44</sup> The presence of modern Bedouin graves at Umm Howeitat Bahri, Bir Gidami and Bir Handosi is noteworthy. This could reflect the presence of ample building material, gathered on site in ancient times, or, less likely, the site may have a symbolic or religious meaning.

<sup>45</sup> B. Boyaval, 'Le transport des momies et ses problèmes', in F. Hinard (ed.), *La mort au quotidien dans le monde romain* (Paris, 1995), 109–15. Also see S. Walker (ed.), *Ancient Faces. Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (New York, 2000), 157–9, no. 115 = S. Walker and M. Bierbrier (eds), *Ancient Faces. Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (London, 1997), 187, no. 250.

TABLE 2. *Pottery Wares Collected at each Site*

	ERS A	Coarse wares	LRA 1 amphora	LRA 7 amphora	Other amphora	Hand made
<i>Umm Howeitat Bahri</i>	X	X	X	X	LRA 3	-
<i>Bir Gidami</i>	X	X	X	X	-	-
<i>Bir Handosi</i>	X	X	X	X	-	-
<i>Hitan Rayan</i>	X	X	X	X	Aswan	X
<i>Qaria Mustafa 'Amr Gama'a</i>	X	X	X	X	Aswan, Aqaba	X

small number of sherds and the lack of systematic sampling. The repertoire is dominated by LRA 1 (catalogue nos. 31 and 55), a bag shaped amphora produced in Cilicia and Cyprus<sup>46</sup> appearing at Berenike from as early as the late fourth century<sup>47</sup> and present in late fifth and early sixth century deposits at sites in the Nile Valley. Jar labels, or dipinti, in red pigment sometimes occur on the shoulders of these vessels, usually giving the batch number or capacity of the vessel.<sup>48</sup> Such a dipinto was also found at Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa. LRA 1 is the most common amphora type at Berenike,<sup>49</sup> possibly because this site was the port of entry for its contents (wine and oil) into at least Upper Egypt. Similarly, the Aqaba amphora<sup>50</sup> found at Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa and Late Roman amphora 3 (LRA 3)<sup>51</sup> found at Umm Howeitat Bahri are also well represented at Berenike, probably for the same reason. Conversely, the Nile silt amphora (LRA 7),<sup>52</sup> common throughout the Nile Valley and Delta, was picked up only at Umm Howeitat Bahri, and then in small numbers as is the case at Berenike.<sup>53</sup> This suggests that trade from the Nile Valley of wine and other commodities transported in this amphora type was quite limited.<sup>54</sup> The Aswan amphora is similarly rare, collected only at Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa. The dominance of the imported Late Roman amphora 1 (LRA 1) amphora, presence of the Aqaba amphora and hand-made vessels, and lack of Nile silt amphora (LRA 7) is consistent with the other desert sites.

Fine and coarse wares were collected at all sites. The majority of fine wares are from Aswan (ERS A), but a few Nile silt types (ERS B and H) were present.<sup>55</sup> Although these wares are found at sites throughout the Nile Valley, the two particularly common ERS A

<sup>46</sup> D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy. An Introductory Guide* (London, 1986), 185–7 (Class 44).

<sup>47</sup> Personal communication from R. S. Tomber.

<sup>48</sup> Personal communication from G. Majcherek.

<sup>49</sup> Personal communication from R. S. Tomber.

<sup>50</sup> Tomber, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 170, fig. 6–8/84.

<sup>51</sup> Hayes, in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1995*, 159–61.

<sup>52</sup> Peacock and Williams, *Amphorae*, 204–5 (Class 52).

<sup>53</sup> Personal communication from R. S. Tomber.

<sup>54</sup> G. Pyke, 'Late Roman Amphorae from Kom el-Nana: An Interim Report', in J. Faiers, *Excavations at Amarna. Byzantine Remains*, I, forthcoming.

<sup>55</sup> Bailey, *el-Ashmunein* V, 8–11 and 38.

forms, white slipped cups and decorated deep cups/bowls, are especially prevalent at Berenike, where they are date indicators for the fifth and sixth centuries AD. Conversely, these types are not particularly well represented in the Nile Valley sites, perhaps reflecting differing tastes in this area. A few coarse wares, both silt and marl, imitate these ERS A wares. Cooking pots and other indicators of settled habitation are also present and fit well into the repertoire of types found at both desert and valley sites, some of which can be directly paralleled.

Hand-made wares were picked up at Hitan Rayan and Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa. This group of material from the Eastern Desert remains an area in which little research has been undertaken, and although parallels exist from Shenshef,<sup>56</sup> and Berenike, none is yet published.<sup>57</sup> At both sites, this ware consisted of deep wedge-rimmed bowls with burnished exteriors and sometimes stab and drag decoration. The fabric is probably neither a marl nor a silt but a desert clay, with sand, limestone and a white angular stone, possibly quartz. This is generally quite different from that of the Shenshef material, which has rare inclusions, with some mica. A single fragment with this fabric (catalogue no. 69) was found at Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa.

Several cut sherds were collected at Hitan Rayan (pl. XVIII, 3). These sherds were predominantly from amphorae and usually LRA 1, which was perhaps selected for its hard fabric, as it would stand being shaped without flaking or disintegrating. The sherds were crudely shaped by chipping down the edges, perhaps using a stone or a hard tool. Two forms, roughly 'T' and 'Y' or 'V' shaped, were common. Similar cut sherds have been collected at a number of sites of varying functions in the Egyptian Eastern Desert,<sup>58</sup> spanning from at least the Ptolemaic to Late Roman Periods. The function of these worked sherds is at present unknown.

The five sites discussed here are representative of a larger group of settlements in the Eastern Desert, the function of which remains unclear.<sup>59</sup> The evidence in hand shows them to be similar in appearance and date, but provides no indication about their functions or even if they served the same or similar functions. However, they most likely supported

<sup>56</sup> We are grateful to P. J. Rose for giving access to her field notes on the Shenshef material.

<sup>57</sup> Research into this ware, which has been labelled Eastern Desert Ware from its geographic distribution and sandy fabric, is currently being undertaken by one of the authors (HB). A first publication will appear in the combined report on the Berenike 1999 and 2000 seasons.

<sup>58</sup> These include the Ptolemaic road station at Rod Umm al-Farraj (at 25° 04.95' N/34° 19.52' E) on the Marsa Nakari-Edfu road; the late 'classical', Ptolemaic-Early Roman watering point at Rod al-Baram (at 25° 05.12' N/34° 08.19' E) on the Marsa Nakari-Edfu road; the fortified well (*hydreuma*) at Siket (at 23° 55.88' N/35° 24.46' E) dating to the first to third century AD and located about 7 km north-west of Berenike; and an undatable gold mining camp at Abu Samra in Wadi Howeit at (at 23° 22.21' N/35° 11.86' E). They also appear at the first to fifth century AD settlement site of Kab Marfua (at 24° 32.62' N/34° 44.20' N) and at the fifth to sixth century AD settlement site of Talat al-Farraj (at 25° 19.83' N/33° 14.61' E).

<sup>59</sup> Some of the others include the settlement at Siqdit (at 25° 27.44' N/34° 04.65' E) that has previously been recorded as a gold mine which, given the absence of any evidence for mining or the processing of ore, cannot possibly be correct (see Meredith, *Tabula*; Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas*, sheet 80; and J. Keenan, S. E. Sidebotham and T. Wilfong, 'Map 80 Coptos-Berenice', in R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas*, 1175); the settlement at Bir Waseef (at 26° 30.31' N/33° 45.67' E), which comprises 119 structures (mostly Type I and II) built around a large boulder with an inscription in Greek, which must predate the settlement by at least several centuries (see A. Bernand, *Pan du désert* (Leiden, 1977), 140, no. 63); the settlement at Umm Mureer (at 24° 58.03' N/34° 40.76' E) comprising approximately 50 structures (mostly Type I and II); a settlement just north of Qasr Ibrim (at 22° 39.35' N/31° 59.92' E) on the east bank of present-day Lake Nasser; and two settlements north-west of Kalabsha (see Ricke, *Ausgrabungen vor Khor-Dehmit*, 33–5) which are now lost under water.

some sort of economic activity other than those leaving obvious traces like mines or quarries. Given the general appearance of the settlements and their location on possibly gold-bearing wadi sediments, it is possible that some, if not all of them, were involved in a kind of placer gold mining.<sup>60</sup> Arguments against this are the complete lack of archaeological evidence for such activity at any of the sites, even at Hitan Rayan where there is evidence for hard-rock gold prospecting. Perhaps placer gold working areas usually developed into proper gold mines and this process was somehow arrested at the sites under consideration. Another possibility along this line is that the settlements, or some of them, were communities where groups of prospectors would gather and then fan out in all directions looking for gold or other valuable deposits.<sup>61</sup>

Other possible economic activities, which may have left little or no trace, are the production of charcoal, of which the Egyptian Eastern Desert has always been a source,<sup>62</sup> and the production or collection of some other unknown commodity. Some of the settlements may have been bases for hunting parties or the collectors of herbs.<sup>63</sup> However, the large size of the settlements seems to argue against their use by such groups as these are likely to have consisted of about a dozen persons or less.

Another possibility is that the settlements were military marching or training camps. Yet, while the early Roman army is known to have built substantial marching camps, even if only needed for a few days,<sup>64</sup> in the Late Roman Period there is little archaeological evidence for them.<sup>65</sup> That the authors noted no household refuse, apart from potsherds, might support such a short-term use. Most known permanent Roman military installations, whether early or late, however, were located close to main communication arteries through the desert or were directly associated with quarrying or mining sites. Furthermore, the overall layout of the settlements seems to be haphazard rather than the result of Roman military planning and there is no evidence that any of these sites was ever fortified. Also, the complete absence of graffiti argues against this interpretation. If some of the settlements were military camps, however, they might have been built by local tribesmen, as the presence of possibly locally produced hand-made ware at Hitan Rayan and Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa might suggest, or by Egyptian militia not under Roman command.

There is some evidence that these settlements might have been semi-permanent Bedouin villages. The rather confusing historical sources suggest that the dwellers of the Eastern

<sup>60</sup> This usually involves the sieving or panning through the bed of a river. In a river which is carrying particles of gold that have been eroded from veins in the mountains, these will be deposited in places where the water is calm. This also must have happened in the Red Sea Mountains, which are known to have gold in many of the quartz veins, at times when the area still had many rivers running from the east to the west. When the African continent tilted, rendering these rivers dry and giving birth to the Nile, any gold in the riverbeds must have been buried under the sand of the desert. Sieving through this sand may retrieve this gold, as it has been done in California and Arizona since the beginning of the Gold Rush in 1849.

<sup>61</sup> The present-day fieldwork of the Egyptian Geological Survey and Mining Authority is organized in a similar way.

<sup>62</sup> A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup> (London, 1989 reprint), 456. The production of charcoal is still one of the sources of income for Bedouin in the area.

<sup>63</sup> Even today hunting parties, especially from Italy, Malta and the Arabian Peninsula, frequent the Egyptian deserts and the collection of (medicinal) herbs is still one of the sources of income for Bedouin in the area (see H. Barnard, I. N. Wolffers and M. M. Arab, 'Could the Low Prevalence of Diabetes Mellitus in the Egyptian Desert be the Result of Protective Elements in the Bedouin Diet?' *Egyptian Journal of Diabetes* 1 (1996), 23–30).

<sup>64</sup> A. K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC-AD 200* (Oxford, 1996), 111–13.

<sup>65</sup> P. Southern and K. R. Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London, 1996), 132–3. Vegetius (*Epitoma rei militaris* 1.21.25) complains that the Roman soldiers no longer carried tools for camp construction nor were they trained in methods of erecting them.

Desert controlled parts of the desert, including the beryl mines, and areas in the Nile Valley,<sup>66</sup> during the fourth and fifth centuries AD. They seemed to have answered to a chieftain (βασιλίσκος) or king (βασιλεύς),<sup>67</sup> and may have produced their own pottery (catalogue nos. 51–54 and 66–71).<sup>68</sup> The settlements described here might be the product of a short sedentary phase in the otherwise nomadic lifestyle of these indigenous people.<sup>69</sup> That the dwellings seem to have accommodated a number of rather egalitarian households, without a trace of industrial activity, supports this hypothesis. The abundance of imported amphorae, lack of household refuse and the paucity of graves at all the settlements argue against this interpretation, as does the fact that the hand-made sherds occur only at Hitan Rayan and Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa and not at all the sites.

Another alternative explanation is that the settlements were monastic in nature. In Late Roman Period Egypt the desert was a refuge for those trying to avoid punishment as criminals, taxes, public service, or political or religious persecution.<sup>70</sup> Christians of the Near East also believed that spiritual perfection was best sought in the solitude of monasticism,<sup>71</sup> resulting in their leaving the cultivated areas for the desert, a process known as ἀναχώρισις (*anachorsis*).<sup>72</sup> The late fourth and fifth centuries AD were periods of extensive construction of ecclesiastical buildings throughout the Roman empire.<sup>73</sup> Contemporary sources record that vast numbers of monks were living in the Egyptian deserts at the time (early fifth century AD) and that the population of some monasteries equalled that of ordinary cities.<sup>74</sup> Although these ancient accounts are undoubtedly exaggerated, by the second half of the fourth century AD this retreat apparently affected the tax revenues enough for the imperial government in Egypt to take legal measures to limit it.<sup>75</sup> By the fifth century Christian monasteries were a major economic component of Egyptian society and provided assist-

<sup>66</sup> For Blemmye control of portions of the Nile Valley in the area around Koptos in the late third century and for the upper reaches of Upper Egypt during the reign of Diocletian and later, see R. T. Updegraff, 'The Rise of the Blemmyes and the Roman Withdrawal from Nubia Under Diocletian', in W. Haase and H. Temporini (eds), *Augstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.10.1 (Berlin and New York, 1988), 70–6; and S. E. Sidebotham, 'Historical sources', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1994*, 8–9.

<sup>67</sup> For the use of these titles see T. Eide et al., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, III (Bergen, 1998), 1150, n. 777.

<sup>68</sup> P. J. Rose, 'Report on the Handmade Sherds', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1994*, 41–3.

<sup>69</sup> S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich, 'Interpretative Summary and Conclusion', in Sidebotham and Wendrich (eds), *Berenike 1996*, 451–3. Similar settlements, much closer to the Nile Valley, are described in Ricke, *Ausgrabungen vor Khor-Dehmit*, 33–7.

<sup>70</sup> D. J. Chitty, *The Desert a City. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Crestwood, 1966), 48; G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Oxford, 1993), 2–3; S. Elm, *Virgins of God. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1994), 271–3; Walters, *Monastic Archaeology*, 1.

<sup>71</sup> C. W. Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity from its Origins to 451 C. E. Coptic Studies*, II<sup>3</sup> (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1993), 102.

<sup>72</sup> The etymological root of the English word 'anchorite'.

<sup>73</sup> This is often referred to as *lithomania*; see R. T. Meyer (transl.), *Palladius, The Lausiac History (Ancient Christian Writers. The Works of the Fathers 34)* (London, 1965), 4.

<sup>74</sup> *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (Prologue 10; 8.20) see N. Russell (transl.), *The Lives of the Desert Fathers. The Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (London and Oxford, 1981); Athanasius. *The Life of St. Antony* 14–15, see R. T. Meyer (transl.) *St. Athanasius; The Life of St. Anthony* (New York, 1950); R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), 278–309; and Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity*, 150, 154, 189, n. 116.

<sup>75</sup> *Codex Theodosianus* 12.1.63. This decree dates from AD 370 and 373. See: C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and Sirmundian Constitutions. A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography* (Princeton, 1952), 351.

ance to individuals and groups in need.<sup>76</sup> The same sources indicate that each monk had to build his own cell, although he could ask the help of others.<sup>77</sup> These cells were loosely grouped together and a group of cells, usually in combination with inhabited caves and a church, was called a *laura* community.

The sites discussed here resemble these *laura* settlements. Positively identified or reasonably suspected archaeological remains of Christian monastic settlements in the Eastern Desert include that near Abu Darag (at 29° 28.19' N/32° 27.05' E);<sup>78</sup> a site in Wadi Nagat (at 27° 03.05' N/33° 17.09' E), which produced epigraphic evidence for its identification as an early Christian monastic settlement,<sup>79</sup> and the Late Roman fort at Abu Shaar (at 27° 22.13' N/33° 40.97' E) on the Red Sea coast approximately 20 km north of Hurghada, which has been identified on the basis of both archaeological and epigraphic remains.<sup>80</sup> Less well attested are putative *laura*-type monastic settlements near the Roman quarries of Mons Claudianus,<sup>81</sup> and Mons Porphyrites.<sup>82</sup> As with all the other previously suggested functions for the settlements presented here, the evidence for this one is slight and mostly circumstantial. Occasionally there were larger buildings on the sites and in the case of Umm Howeitat Bahri one might be identified as a church. The area with the apse may have been the sacristy. There is, however, no evidence of a *narthex*. This putative church is too small to have accommodated the large population suggested by the number of structures on the site, but could have been built at any time when the settlement was active but less well populated. None of the other sites, except perhaps Hitan Rayan, preserved a structure, which could be considered a church based on its layout, size or prominence of location.<sup>83</sup> The absence of any caves with traces of habitation,<sup>84</sup> carved crosses (except near Bir Handosi) or remains

<sup>76</sup> Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity*, 201, n. 220.

<sup>77</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*: 2.2 and 15.2, see Meyer (transl.), *Palladius*. In Judea, a monk could also pay professional construction teams to build his cell (Hirschfeld, *Judean Desert Monasteries*, 145, 187).

<sup>78</sup> M. Martin, 'Les ermitages d'Abû Darag', *Bulletin de la société de archéologie copte* 18 (1965-1966), 139-45 and plates.

<sup>79</sup> G. W. Murray, 'The Christian Settlement at Qattâr', *Bulletin de la Société royale de Géographie d'Égypte* 24 (1955), 107-14, for description of the site and text of the inscription of AD 339-342; S. E. Sidebotham, R. E. Zitterkopf and J. A. Riley, 'Survey of the 'Abu Sha'ar-Nile Road', *AJA* 95 (1991), 583-84 and notes. F. Van der Meer and C. Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (London and Edinburgh, 1958), map 17, record three sites as 'Porphyrites M'. One of these may be the site in Wadi Nagat.

<sup>80</sup> S. E. Sidebotham, 'University of Delaware Archaeological Project at 'Abu Sha'ar: The 1992 Season', *NARCE* 161/162 (1993), 5-7; Sidebotham, *JARCE* 31, 136-41; R. S. Bagnall and J. A. Sheridan, 'Greek and Latin Documents from 'Abu Sha'ar, 1990-1991', *JARCE* 31 (1994), 163-6; and Sidebotham, *Dunbarton Oaks Papers* 48, 273-4. See Van der Meer and Mohrmann, *Atlas*, map 17, on which the fort and ecclesiastical complex is wrongly labelled 'Myos Hormos'.

<sup>81</sup> D. P. S. Peacock, 'Wadi Umm Diqal', in D. P. S. Peacock and V. A. Maxfield, *Survey and Excavation at Mons Claudianus 1987-1993*, I. *Topography & Quarries* (FIFAO 37; Cairo, 1997), 151-62; and Van der Meer and Mohrmann, *Atlas*, map 17.

<sup>82</sup> Sidebotham, *AJA* 95, 576 and nn. 21-2; Chitty, *The Desert*, 169; Van der Meer and Mohrmann, *Atlas*, map 17; and Meyer (transl.), *Palladius*, 194-5 and nn. 288, 290-1, 294. Palladius reports that St. Piterorum and one Posidonius dwelt here (*Historia Lausiaca* 34.3 and 36.2); V. A. Maxfield, D. P. S. Peacock, *Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites 1994-1998*, I. *Topography & Quarries* (London, 2001), 6.

<sup>83</sup> The apparent absence of a church does not necessarily preclude any of these sites from having been Christian monastic settlements. Excavations of the settlement of Epiphanius at Thebes, for example, also failed to reveal the remains of a church or common eating place; see Walters, *Monastic Archaeology*, 10.

<sup>84</sup> Several ancient sources refer to hermits and monks living in caves in the Eastern Desert (*Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*: Prologue 10; 8.38; 15.1; 21.15; see Russell (transl.), *The Lives of the Desert Fathers*; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*: 2.1; 21.7; 36.2; 51.1; 58.5, see Meyer (transl.), *Palladius*). In the case of the sixth century Deir al-Dik near Antinoë/Antinoopolis in Middle Egypt, the *laura* caves were cut within an abandoned quarry. See M. Martin, *La laurie de Dêr al*

of Christian texts also argues against the identification of these sites as Christian. The dates of activity, however, combined with the historic sources as well as the almost complete dearth of other evidence concerning their function leaves the possibility that some of the sites were, indeed, early Christian monastic settlements.

Thus, arguments can be made for the five settlements presented here to be placer gold extraction centres, camps for soldiers, hunters, gatherers or charcoal burners, semi-permanent Bedouin towns or early Christian monastic settlements. Neither the study of the architecture of the structures and the lay-out of the settlements nor the analysis of the retrieved pottery has produced any clues towards the function of the settlements. Given the lack of areas covered by refuse, debris or other sediment, the authors believe that archaeological excavations will not add much to our knowledge and understanding of these settlements. Instead, it can only be hoped that the location, identification and study of other, similar settlements will yield sufficient additional information and insights to elucidate their enigmatic *raisons d'être*.

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*Dik à Antinoé* (Bibliothèque d'Études coptes 8; Cairo, 1971); and Walters, *Monastic Archaeology*, 10–11, 97–8, 108. Caves were also popular places for Christians in other regions of the eastern Roman empire (Hirschfeld, *Judean Desert Monasteries*, 54–5, 180–1, 215).

PLATE XVI



1. Bir Gidami (site 2), the main settlement (south of point 'a') looking north.



2. Bir Handosi (site 3), the southern part of the settlement looking east.

**FIVE ENIGMATIC LATE ROMAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE  
EASTERN DESERT (pp. 187–225)**





1. Hitan Rayan (site 4), 'central' structure 122 looking north.



2. Qaria Mustafa Amr Gamaa (site 5), the main settlement (west of point 'a') looking north.

**FIVE ENIGMATIC LATE ROMAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE  
EASTERN DESERT (pp. 187–225)**

**PLATE XVIII**



**1. Umm Howeitat Bahri (site 1), the southern part of the settlement looking north.**



**2. Detail of a wall (in Hitan Rayan) of which the method of construction is typical for all the sites considered here (scale = 20 cm).**



**3. Sherds (mostly LRA 1) cut into a 'T' or 'Y' shape from Hitan Rayan. Their function is unclear (scale = 10 cm).**



**4. Tombstone with Arabic inscription from Bir Handosi (scale = 20 cm).**

**FIVE ENIGMATIC LATE ROMAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EASTERN DESERT (pp.187–225)**

# JOHN MARTIN PLUMLEY

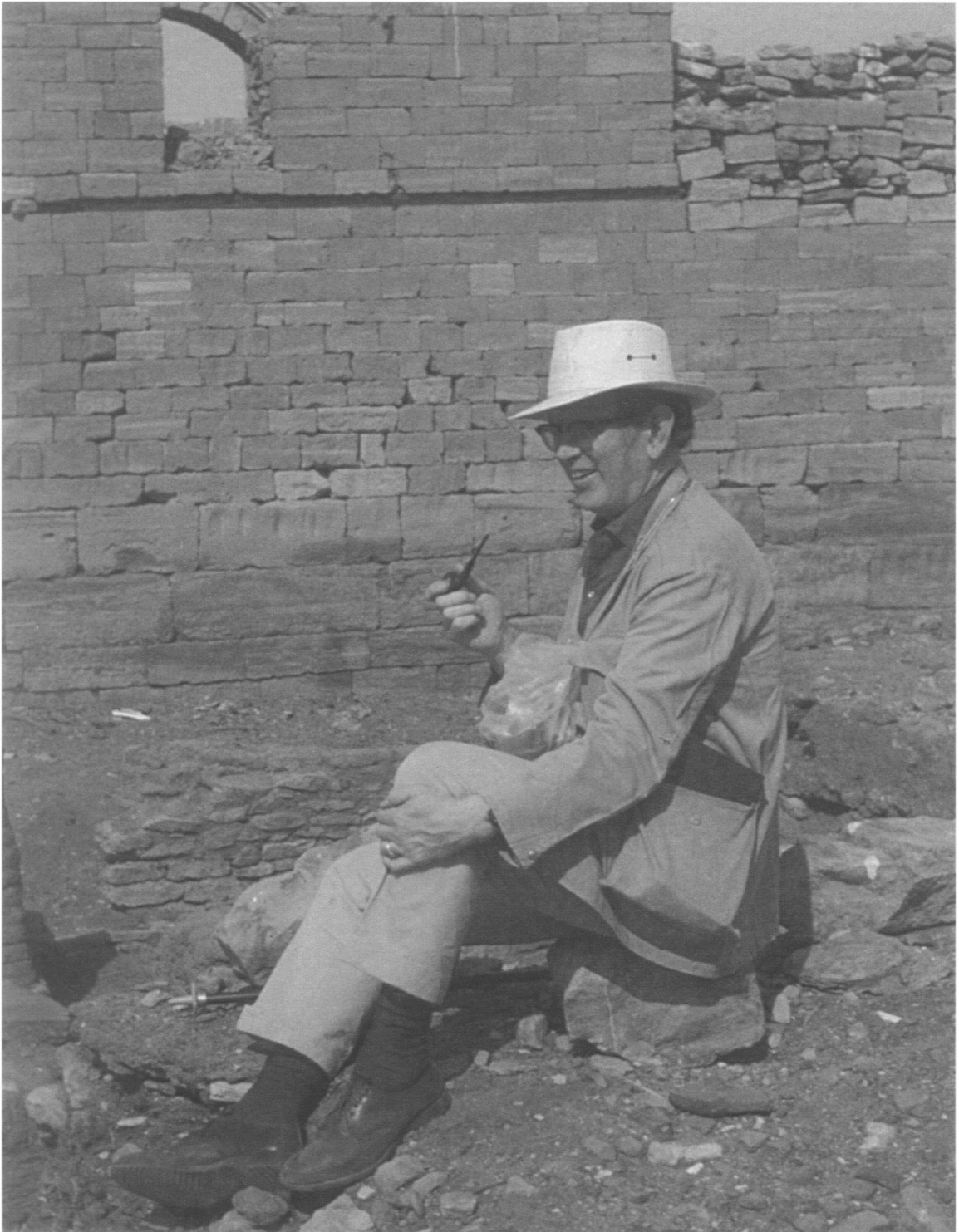
*By* H. S. SMITH

JACK Plumley, as he was known to family, friends, colleagues and parishioners alike, was a Church of England clergyman who successfully combined scholarship with active parish ministry, and eventually became Sir Herbert Thompson Professor of Egyptology in the University of Cambridge. Throughout his life his deeply held but wholly undogmatic Christian faith was manifested in undemonstrative acts of kindness and service to the poor, the sick, the old, the unfortunate and to children, never in evangelical activity or theological dispute. This quiet commitment to service to others was the background of Jack Plumley's life and career in Egyptology.

He was born on 2 September 1910 at Peverell near Plymouth in Devon, but spent most of his youth in London. His interest in Egypt was first aroused by his grandfather, a copper-smith, who used to read stories to him from the Jewish historian Josephus, and by a Sunday school superintendent at Muswell Hill, who had served in Egypt. Fortunately, he obtained entry to Merchant Taylors' school, then in Charterhouse Square in the city, which was the only school in England to teach Biblical Hebrew up to sixth form level, and consequently produced many distinguished orientalisists. Plumley and his near contemporary, the Egyptologist I. E. S. Edwards, were among the last to benefit from this valuable tradition. They were both also active in the school archaeological society. Plumley proved himself a gifted linguist in the Hebrew Sixth and gained a place at Durham University. His vocation for the church was already clear, and he read Hebrew and Theology, the doctrinal and theoretical aspects of which did not attract him, though he continued to rejoice in Hebrew and New Testament Greek. He also rowed with some distinction while at Durham. He was ordained in 1933.

His early appointments were to a series of curacies in east London, where his human sympathy, common touch and simplicity endeared him to his varied parishioners. His ministry is especially remembered with gratitude at Great Ormond Street Childrens' Hospital, where he was chaplain, and would sit for hours reading to and amusing sick children. But he did not neglect his antiquarian interests, and spent what leisure he had studying ancient Egyptian at University College under Stephen Glanville and Margaret Murray. These studies were interrupted by the advent of war, soon after his marriage to Gwen Darling in 1938. When the Blitz came in 1940, Jack and Gwen helped and tended their parishioners as best they could through many nightmare situations, and Jack's beaming smile and warm friendly voice were constantly present in the tube stations, raising morale among the shelterers. Particularly heart-rending to him was the bombing of his beloved Great Ormond Street Hospital, where he did whatever he could to comfort injured children and brought in bomb victims from the streets.

Among this destruction and misery he met by chance Jaroslav Černý, the great Egyptologist, who was then a lonely refugee attached to the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Exile. Jack and Gwen befriended him and cared for him, and in gratitude he taught Jack



*Professor John Martin Plumley on site at Qasr Ibrim.*

Late Egyptian and Coptic, the latter of which became Jack's principal scholarly interest. Inspired by Černý's teaching, he acted upon a suggestion by Stephen Glanville and wrote, while still engaged in parish duties as vicar of St. Paul's, Tottenham, his first book, *An Introductory Coptic Grammar (Sahidic Dialect)* (1948). Plumley's typically modest aim, as explained in his introduction, was to provide a grammatical primer for English-speaking students, as no Coptic grammar in English had been published since Tattam's in 1863. For its intended purpose, his book proved itself of great value over the next twenty-five years, and it is still arguably the clearest, simplest and most easily usable guide in English for the initial student. His treatment of the verb, though now outdated since it was written when Polotsky's great study of the Coptic Second Tenses had only just appeared, is nevertheless lucid and in some respects original. The criticism which the book received in certain continental learned journals was thus in some respects unmerited and misconceived, as it ignored Plumley's limited and praiseworthy aims.

In 1947 Stephen Glanville, who had been appointed Sir Herbert Thompson Professor of Egyptology at Cambridge the previous year, persuaded his college, King's, to appoint Plumley as Rector of Milton, a College living in the suburbs of Cambridge, so that he could teach Coptic in the new Degree courses in Egyptology in the Oriental Languages Faculty which Glanville was introducing. Jack proved himself an excellent teacher, enthusiastic, lucid and scholarly, yet undogmatic and extremely sympathetic to and patient with the difficulties always encountered by beginners in learning Egyptian or Coptic. Among the first generation of his students (1949–53) were two men who were subsequently to play very important roles in the Egypt Exploration Society, Robert Anderson as Honorary Secretary (1971–82) and Peter Shore as Chairman (1989–94). He was also a success as Secretary of the Board of Studies in Oriental Languages and Literatures, in which role his impartiality, his innocence of all guile and malice, his courtesy and good humour resolved many a dispute fraught with academic ire. He became trusted among his colleagues as one who could be relied upon in time of need.

Cambridge Egyptology suffered a major blow in April 1956 when Stephen Glanville died suddenly in his prime. Jack Plumley, with only one Egyptological assistant, contrived somehow to carry on all Glanville's courses in addition to his parish duties, while Sir Alan Gardiner and Jaroslav Černý, who were appointed electors, considered the vacancy. War-time losses, which included C. R. C. Allberry, John Pendlebury, Alan Shorter and P. C. Smither, had depleted the middle generation of Egyptology at that time, and the senior living Cambridge Egyptologist, I. E. S. Edwards, reluctantly declined the post in the interests of the British Museum. In view of Sir Herbert Thompson's wish that the chair he founded should be used to forward Demotic and Coptic studies, the electors chose Plumley, greatly to his own surprise, and he took office in autumn 1957. Soon afterwards he was elected to a Professorial Fellowship at Selwyn College.

Jack and Gwen moved from Milton, where it was a wrench to leave their parishioners, into a large Victorian house in Lyndewode Road, Cambridge, where they lived for the rest of their lives. Plumley enlarged the scope of his teaching by taking on courses in Late Egyptian, and was soon playing important roles in Faculty affairs as Chairman of the Board of Studies and Chairman of Examiners. He also took up again a project of his London days, a full new edition of the works of the one major native Coptic writer, Shenoute, which unfortunately was overtaken by subsequent events.

By the middle 1960s Jack was a well-known figure in Cambridge. A tall and very large man, somewhat clumsy in his movements, he regularly wore baggy trousers, a worn tweed

jacket or woolly waistcoat, a venerable off-white tie (he was virtually never seen in a clerical collar) and a flat cap. His big, bland countenance, with his old briar pipe, often empty, jutting from his jaw, could look vacant in repose, but in conversation his wide, boyish grin revealed his sense of humour, the twinkle in his eye his native shrewdness and intelligence. In his Milton days he had cycled into Cambridge, somewhat erratically, on an ancient bicycle, frequently neglecting to remove his cycle-clips before classes, meetings or even sermons. Raised to the dignity of a Chair, he purchased for a small sum a very old but splendid Rolls Royce, on the windscreen of which he posted admonitory messages to himself in Coptic, the most memorable of which was *karôk*, 'keep your mouth shut!' Though no longer a parish priest, Jack continued his ministry by standing in for hard-pressed colleagues, taking services and preaching at St. Edwards and other Cambridge churches and in Selwyn College chapel, insisting as always on using King James's Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. He became very popular in College, not only at High Table, where his bonhomie and his willingness to take on College duties such as that of Wine Steward were much appreciated, but also with the undergraduates for his kindly ministrations to those in trouble of any kind, and for the many hours he spent enthusiastically coaching the College eights on the river. On the narrow towpath the Reverend Professor, all six foot three inches of him, riding his ancient bicycle frenziedly with his eyes glued on his boat, bellowing through his megaphone in his stentorian bass voice, his fair hair flying in the breeze, was indeed a cynosure for all eyes, albeit a public menace to pedestrians. These characteristic oddities made him a figure of fun to some, but only endeared him the more to the many who had come to know his true kindness and benevolence.

In 1963 Jack Plumley's academic career suddenly changed course radically, the cause being the involvement of the Egypt Exploration Society (on the Committee of which he served from 1952–82) in the UNESCO campaign to rescue the monuments of Nubia. Bryan Emery, as the British representative on the UNESCO archaeological steering committee, had agreed in 1959 that the EES should undertake as Britain's archaeological contribution an archaeological survey and the excavation of the fortress and cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim in Egyptian Nubia, and the excavation of the fortress of Buhen in the Sudan, upon which Emery himself was already engaged. He believed at that time that, given the emergency, these would prove moderate tasks which he could oversee himself. Emery excavated the low-lying cemeteries at Ibrim in 1961, but by 1962 the danger to the fortress on its high rock appeared imminent, and, given Emery's commitments at Buhen and on various UNESCO committees, the EES decided that a separate director and team must be provided for Ibrim. Senior British archaeologists with experience of Nubia, like Sir Lawrence Kirwan, Herbert Fairman and Peter Shinnie, were either unavailable or already engaged in the campaign, while an untried junior was unlikely to be acceptable to the Egyptian authorities. In this predicament the Committee turned to Jack Plumley, requesting him over a few seasons to clear and record the major monuments within the fortress. Jack, while modestly recognizing his own lack of archaeological experience, was enthused by the challenge and felt that duty called him to play his part in rescuing Ibrim and fulfilling Britain's national commitment to the Egyptian government.

He sensibly started work with a short preliminary season in January 1963, in which the whole fortress site was surveyed and the major standing monuments tested by sondage and planned. In 1963/4 the cathedral and the crypt tombs discovered under it were excavated, and the main portion of the stone temple esplanade (known as 'the Podium') was cleared. In one of the crypts he made the exciting discovery of the intact burial of Bishop Timotheos



together with his consecration deeds of AD 1372, written in Arabic and Bohairic Coptic on two paper scrolls. In early 1966, the area south-west of the cathedral was excavated together with more bishops' tombs, yielding important Greek and Coptic stelae, including that of Marianos, bishop of Faras (deceased AD 1037). In 1969 a large mud-brick Christian building, perhaps the Eparch's palace, was uncovered, the south-west gate cleared and the Meroitic temple located. In late 1972, with the valuable collaboration as co-director of Bill Adams, the investigation of the buildings in the 'X-Group' city of the third–sixth centuries AD was undertaken, and the Temple Church, built within a ruined temple built by Taharqa, was excavated. In a house wall a cache of papyrus scrolls was found, including an important Arabic letter dated AD 758 from Musa Ibn Kaab, the Governor of Egypt, to the King of Nubia complaining that his officials were not observing a treaty signed a century before, and draft letters in Sahidic Coptic from his deputy at Ibrim to the King of Nubia excusing his non-compliance. In 1974, while Adams continued his investigations in the city, Plumley resumed excavations in the Christian piazza, the Meroitic temple and the Taharqa temple; they then combined to investigate what remained of the eastern gate, already largely submerged, and the threatened western fortifications. Near the latter, they discovered Greek and Latin literary documents of the period 50 BC–AD 50, possibly relics of the occupation by Petronius's legionaries in 23 BC, in addition to large numbers of cursive Meroitic, Coptic, Arabic and Turkish fragments. In Plumley's last season in 1976 Adams further investigated the X-Group city and established the history of the fortifications, while Plumley discovered a monumental portico leading to the Taharqa temple and many more fragmentary documents.

Conscious of his own lack of archaeological training, Jack worked successfully to attract well-qualified volunteers to Ibrim, both from Britain and abroad, and arranged collaborations both with the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo and the University of Kentucky to the great benefit of the work. Throughout seven seasons, isolated in Lake Nasser under weather conditions of extreme heat and cold, living in house-boats generally lacking air-conditioning and many amenities, Jack and Gwen together did all they possibly could to care for the health and comfort both of the expedition staff and of the imported Egyptian workmen, insisting upon the presence each season of a qualified medical practitioner. Local food supplies in Nubia varied at that time from the minimal to the non-existent and virtually everything had to be imported from England, Cairo or Aswan; the logistics were often a nightmare. All the personnel who worked at Ibrim praised the Plumleys for their quiet and competent management of the expedition and the harmonious, almost family atmosphere they created in the camp.

Thus under Plumley's direction the main monuments of the city with the longest continuous history in either Egyptian or Sudanese Nubia were excavated, and the greatest haul of mediaeval manuscripts ever made in Nubia was recovered. This debt of archaeological scholarship in general and of the EES in particular to him should be emphasized, because his work at Ibrim has been heavily criticized, both overtly and by implication, on the grounds of his failure to publish final reports on the seasons which he directed there. Undeniably this failure has had most unfortunate consequences, and in the case of a career archaeologist such criticism would doubtless be justified. But Plumley was primarily a Coptic scholar and was 53 when he took over at Ibrim. He did just what he was originally asked to do by the EES committee, and the seasonal preliminary reports that he wrote for *JEA* are lucid, compact and well-written, giving a clear picture of the archaeological, historical and lin-

guistic discoveries made and of the interest of the work. It was not envisaged that he should be held responsible for the massive final archaeological publications, and so modest a scholar would not have accepted such a trust in a field not his own. It is true that in 1963 the richness of Ibrim and the time likely to be available for its investigation were seriously underestimated and the full consequences of appointing a non-archaeologist were not thought through, but this error should not (with hindsight) be laid at Plumley's door. He did his loyal best to rescue the wonderful Nubian heritage of Ibrim, and without his unwavering enthusiasm and sensible direction much more might have been lost.

A more reasonable and justifiable criticism of Plumley might be that, among the wealth of Coptic documents found at Ibrim, he himself published a limited number only. His major publication was *The Scrolls of Bishop Timotheos: Two Documents from Mediaeval Nubia* (EES; 1975), in which he gave a lucid, succinct and scholarly account of both the Coptic and the Arabic scroll, the translation and commentary on the latter being the joint work of Professor Murad Kamal, Abuna Shenouda and Dr Martin Hinds. He also published accounts and translations of several of the Coptic bishops' stelae in articles and (with the collaboration of Dr Hinds) of the Arabic letter of Musa Ibn Kaab. These contributions did much towards establishing a sounder basis for the geography and chronology of mediaeval Nubia. Certainly, this left a significant number of Coptic documents, mostly in fragments, from the site unpublished, but the circumstances must be taken into account. It was impossible, except with exceptionally well-preserved documents, to treat, unroll and flatten them on the boat at Ibrim or in dark and dusty magazines at Aswan. Eventually, most of the documents, still untreated, became part of the collections of the Cairo Egyptian and Coptic Museums; at the former the Timotheos scrolls were unrolled, but even there the space and light conditions at that time were not favourable to the study of fibres and joining of fragments and the production of good publication photographs. By the conclusion of the last Ibrim season in 1976, Jack Plumley was 66 and he retired from his Cambridge Chair in that year. Thereafter his visits to Egypt inevitably became too short and infrequent for him to deal successfully with the administrative and technical problems involved. In his retirement, however, he studied Old Nubian, and collaborated with G. M. Browne on the first volume of *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim* (EES; 1988).

In the meantime he had acquired other commitments. Throughout the Ibrim excavations he had stayed each season for short periods at the Anglican Cathedral residential house in Cairo, and, besides preaching occasionally at the Cathedral, had made close contacts with the fathers of the Coptic church. He met the patriarch Shenouda III several times and became a close friend of Bishop Samuel, who was assassinated in Cairo on the same occasion as President Sadat. This trauma exacerbated the Coptic community's already mounting feeling of being under threat from the rising tide of Islamic fundamentalism. They found in Jack a trustworthy friend, who understood their traditional culture and rituals and valued their faith. During his stays in Cairo he always visited his Coptic friends, taking them presents from England of books or commodities scarce in Egypt in those times, and he and Gwen regularly entertained Coptic bishops, priests and research students in their own home in Cambridge, sometimes for extended periods. It was on one such visit that Abuna Shenouda of the Syrian Monastery in the Wadi Natrun retranslated the Arabic Timotheos scroll. This type of hospitality, also extended by Jack and Gwen to other Egyptian, Sudanese and Nubian scholars and students, was very deeply appreciated and created real bonds of friendship.

A major commitment of a scholastic order was to the re-edition of the New Testament,



which had been made necessary by the vast number of new manuscript texts on papyrus in Greek and Coptic found during excavations in Egypt over the previous half-century or more. Jack was coopted on to the British New Testament Committee, which met in Oxford, and undertook responsibility for collating and checking the readings of the Coptic versions, a time-consuming occupation. Within a few years he became Chairman of this committee, an office in which once more his impartiality and quiet firmness were invaluable. He also held the Office of President of the Society for Nubia Studies for several years, and regularly attended and gave papers at the international congresses the Society organized.

After his retirement he continued to act as a lecturer on Nile cruises, a role he had always enjoyed, and to visit and care for his Coptic friends in Cairo. Once more he had time to resume pastoral work, and on the invitation of the patron he became parish priest of the village of Longstowe outside Cambridge, where he was much respected and loved, and where he continued his ministry for fourteen years. His life was much saddened by the loss of his wife Gwen in 1984. She had supported him stoutly and loyally throughout his days of need in London and Milton, and acted as quartermaster and manageress of the Ibrim expedition, finding time not only to help draw finds but also to publish an amusing diary of one of the expeditions (*A Nubian Diary*, 1974) and to write a brief study of the *tambûr*, a Sudanese lyre. Some time after her death Jack married an old and close friend of Gwen's and his own, Ursula Dowle, who cared for him faithfully in his declining years. He died on 2 July 1999, and was survived by Ursula and his three sons by Gwen, Oliver, Crispin and Noël. A truly modest, good and kindly man, he was mourned by many in Egypt and the Sudan and at home in England.

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An Early Dynastic Dish from Thomas Shaw's Travels

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## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### An Early Dynastic dish from Thomas Shaw's travels

Re-publication of a carved stone vessel acquired by Thomas Shaw at Saqqara in 1721 and published in his *Travels* (1738). Newly identified in the Ashmolean Museum with other items from Shaw's collection, it is perhaps the first object of the Early Dynastic Period to have travelled to Europe from Saqqara.

IN her study of the evolution and typology of the decorated spoon in ancient Egypt, Ingrid Gamer-Wallert drew attention to a group of three particularly fine pieces of the Early Dynastic Period, now in Berlin, Oxford, and Paris.<sup>1</sup> All three are made of hard, dark stone and incorporate the motif of a bovid leg as their handle. Their size makes them more akin to dishes or bowls with well-modelled rims, the leg is not extended, in the manner of the ox-leg *hps*-sign (𓄏) and the handle of many spoons,<sup>2</sup> but is doubled back on itself and bound with rope. It thus forms a handle of convenient length and thickness, which is offset to the right of the bowl so that a right-handed person could use it to pour or tip a substance therefrom. On the Oxford example (pl. XIX),<sup>3</sup> the space within the folded leg has been completely cleared in carving, adding to the impression of elegant extension. The leg ends in a rather stylised hoof, with a knob-like feature on either side which may represent the vestigial second and fifth toes of an actual bovid hoof.<sup>4</sup> The leg is secured with a double turn of rope, cut through on the underside by the carving of the clear space.

In her discussion, Wallert observed that the three dishes were so similar in style and technique that it was tempting to think that they came from the same workshop, and she noted with regret that all were unprovenanced.<sup>5</sup> The Oxford dish does, however, have a kind of provenance, albeit one that has long remained ignored. It came to the Ashmolean Museum in 1887 as part of the transfer of the Bodleian Library's collection of antiquities to the museum. No information came with it, but it can be recognized as the object illustrated by Thomas Shaw (1694–1751) in his *Travels or Observations relating to several Parts of Barbary and the Levant*, published at Oxford in 1738 (fig. 1(b), item 'E'): on the page facing the illustration we read that he bought it at Saqqara.

Shaw visited Egypt in 1721, during his twelve-year spell in Algiers as chaplain to the factory of English traders.<sup>6</sup> His later career at Oxford was distinguished—he became Principal of St Edmund Hall (then a dependency of The Queen's College) in 1740, and Regius Professor of Greek the following year. The handsomely illustrated account of his observations made during his sojourn in Algiers and travels as far as Syria contains much interesting material on the geography, topography, natural history, and manners and customs of the areas visited, though his experience of Egypt was rather circumscribed compared with that of some other eighteenth-century visitors. He travelled from Alexandria to Cairo, and also visited Sinai. From Cairo he went to see the pyramids of Giza and the Saqqara necropolis, and the description of this experience and his theories arising therefrom were accompanied in his book by four plates illustrating Egyptian antiquities (fig. 1(a)–(d)). These included pieces acquired by him at Saqqara, or in his possession from unknown sources, together with other items which were apparently

<sup>1</sup> I. Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel. Seine Formgeschichte und Verwendung im alten Ägypten* (AA 16; Wiesbaden, 1967), 8, 77 no. B22 (Berlin inv. 13213, bought in Egypt in 1897), 134 no. O1 (Ashmolean Museum 1887.2428); the Paris example, cited on p. 8 but not catalogued, is Louvre E 23486, Curtis Bequest (ex Curtis Collection no. 987, N [= 'numéro' or 'Nahman'?] 3122).

My thanks are due to colleagues in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, and the Musée du Louvre, Paris, for making the examples in their care available to me for study; further details of these vessels may be found below, nn. 18, 21.

<sup>2</sup> See below, n. 17, for early examples.

<sup>3</sup> Siltstone; length 17.8 cm, height of bowl 2.8 cm, max. diameter 10.5 cm.

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Dale J. Osborn for his advice on these features.

<sup>5</sup> *Der verzierte Löffel*, 8.

<sup>6</sup> The details of his career may be found in W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*<sup>3</sup>, revised by M. L. Bierbrier (London, 1995), 388.

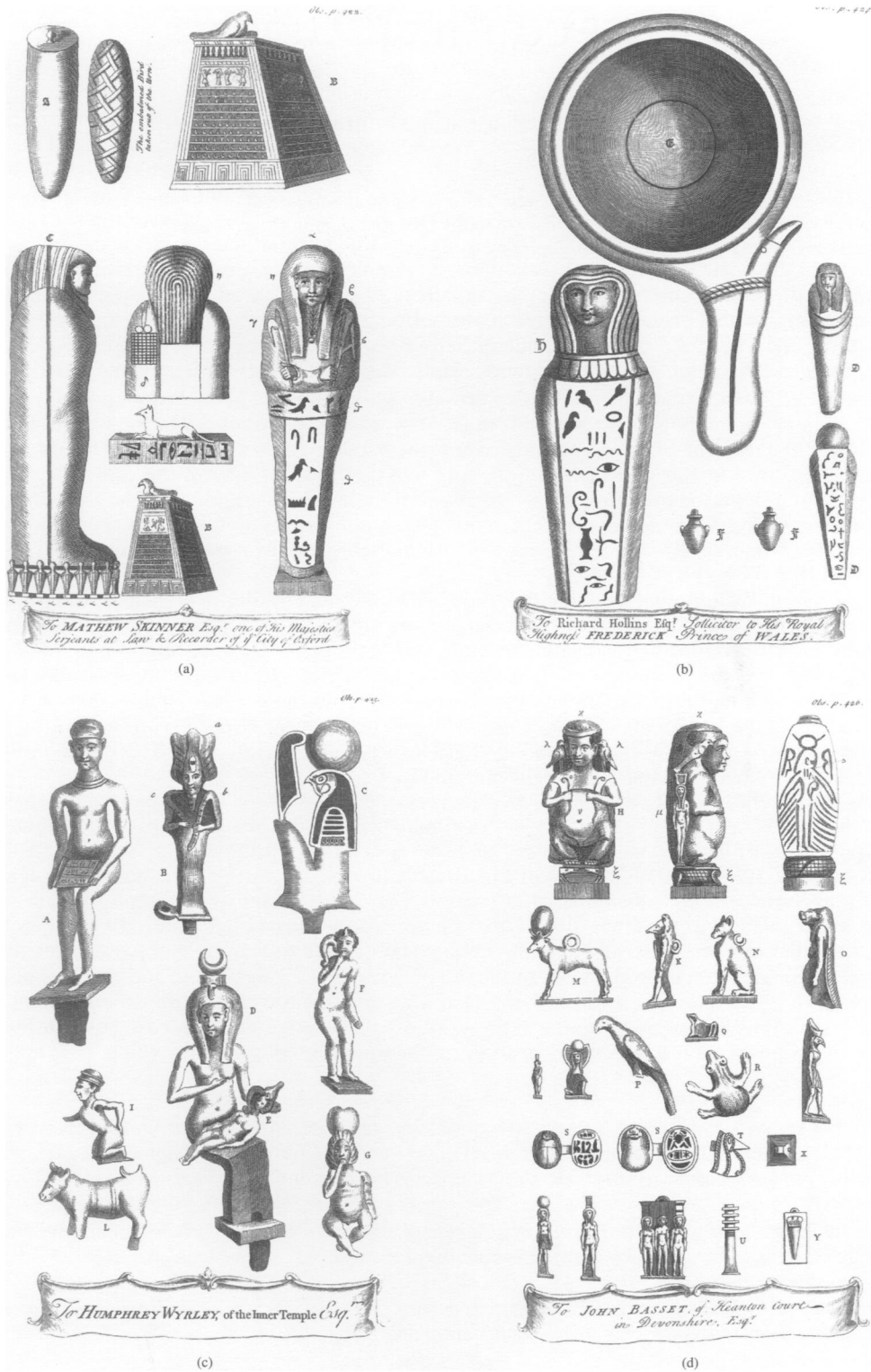


FIG. 1. (a)–(d) the Egyptian antiquities illustrated in Thomas Shaw's *Travels* (1738).

not his; his text does not specify the provenance or location of most of the objects. Like the dish, however, many of them are identifiable as antiquities transferred in the course of the last two centuries from the Bodleian Library to the Ashmolean Museum: the Appendix to this paper lists the contents of the plates with particular reference to those pieces in the museum.

Although it now has a respected place amongst the pre-nineteenth-century publications on Egypt, in its own day Shaw's book apparently attracted criticism, especially from Richard Pococke, doyen of English-speaking travellers and antiquaries with direct experience of Egypt, and author of his own travel account, *A Description of the East, and some other countries* (1743–5). Stung by this, Shaw published a *Supplement* at Oxford in 1746, with emendations and additions to the earlier text, but also seven new discussions refuting specific criticisms.<sup>7</sup> This supplementary matter was incorporated into a second edition of the *Travels* which Shaw was preparing in the years before his death in 1751, although it only appeared posthumously, published in London in 1757. For this, he cut the original text but added material previously 'overlooked in the author's journals or memoirs':<sup>8</sup> these papers were given to Oxford University on his death.<sup>9</sup> The Egyptian antiquities in Shaw's possession apparently reached the Bodleian Library as part of this bequest, although during Shaw's lifetime they were presumably amongst the 'curiosities' from his travels available for inspection in the library of The Queen's College.<sup>10</sup>

When Shaw visited Saqqara in July 1721,<sup>11</sup> he was the latest in a long line of Western travellers, and his description reflects the impact which early tourism and the trade in antiquities had had upon the area—generally known to visitors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as 'The Mummies' or 'The Field of Mummies', from the most common object of interest there.<sup>12</sup> Shaw was aware of the devastation:

The Accounts that have been hitherto given us of the *Mummies*, seem to be very imperfect; and indeed the *Catacombs* at *Sakara*, which are commonly visited, have been so frequently rifled and disturbed, that nothing hath preserved it's primitive Situation in Them.<sup>13</sup>

It seems that Shaw had not personally seen an intact burial *in situ*, and his description of the layout of a Late Period coffin and funerary equipment (cf. fig. 1(a)) was dependent on information from the French consul Le Maire. The material shown in his plates or mentioned in the text fits largely, but not entirely, with the general range of objects recorded or acquired by early visitors to Saqqara: mummified creatures from the animal catacombs, and the trappings of Late Period burials, from complete coffins and mummies to shabtis and the smallest amulets. But Shaw encountered some more unusual material as well: he recalls being shown wooden funerary models—oxen trussed for butchering, and a model boat<sup>14</sup>—and he bought the dish which is the subject of this paper. The purchase is noted at the close of his enumeration of typical funerary finds:

<sup>7</sup> The figure of a pugnacious rhinoceros decorating the initial letter 'T' of the preface (*Suppl.*, i), was perhaps a significant choice. Further on, Shaw expressed hurt at Pococke's criticism after their 'great Intimacy and Friendship', and surprise that he made no acknowledgement of 'the Assistance, or the many useful Hints, at least, which he had received from my Book of *Travels*' (*Suppl.*, xv).

<sup>8</sup> See his justificatory preface, *Travels*<sup>2</sup>, v. Amongst the cuts were the Egyptian antiquities, reduced to a single plate facing page 375 (the first of the four, fig. 1(a) here) and the preliminary part of the descriptive text. Shaw's posthumous editors restored the other three plates, however, 'as they will be esteemed of Importance by many, and an Ornament by all', inserting them with a revised text at the back of the volume (pp. 485–6).

<sup>9</sup> Bodleian Library MS Add. D. 27 and 2027 b.3; see F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, V (Oxford, 1905), 359–60 nos. 27811–12. The papers include more of Shaw's preparatory notes and study material than records made on the spot, and no specific reference to his collection of antiquities.

<sup>10</sup> As noted in the Preface to his *Travels*, xiii; the botanical specimens had joined the collection in the University's Physick (later Botanical) Garden. No record of the 'curiosities' has been found at Queen's. I am grateful to John Blair and Steven Tomlinson for checking the college and library records respectively.

<sup>11</sup> The date is given with reference to his visit to the Sphinx (*Travels*, 421).

<sup>12</sup> For the seventeenth-century scene, see H. Whitehouse, 'Egyptology and Forgery in the Seventeenth Century: the Case of the Bodleian Shabti', *Journal of the History of Collections* [hereafter *J. Hist. Col.*] 1 (1989), 187–95, esp. 188–92. The map facing page 291 in Shaw's *Travels*<sup>2</sup> uses the term 'Sakkara or the Plain of Mummies'.

<sup>13</sup> *Travels*, 422.

<sup>14</sup> *Travels*, 422.



Yet the greatest Part of the little Images, that are sold in *Egypt*, are commonly reported to have been lodged in such Repositories [mummies]. What may favour this opinion is, that the People of *Sakara* are the chief Venders of these Antiquities at present; of whom likewise I purchased the vase *℄*, which was probably an *Egyptian* Censer, being of a beautiful Slate-like Stone, with the Handle very artfully contrived to imitate the Leg of a Camel, tyed up in the same Fashion, the *Arabs* use to this Day...<sup>15</sup>

Shaw was right to remark on the high quality of his ‘Censer’, even if he mistook the animal to which the leg belonged. It is likely that Saqqara or its immediate neighbourhood was the place where it was found, as well as acquired—Saqqara was indeed the source not only for antiquities sold on the west bank of the Nile, but also for the stock available in Cairo. The bowl could have come from one of the Early Dynastic cemeteries north of the Step Pyramid, though it may have travelled from its original context not in Shaw’s day but long before, in the ancient plundering of cemeteries. J. E. Quibell observed that the archaic part of the necropolis stretching from Abusir to Dahshur, for instance, had been ‘utterly robbed in remote antiquity’.<sup>16</sup>

Together with its companions in Berlin and Paris, the Oxford vessel belongs to the earliest group of spoons or dishes with an animal-leg handle, several of which have come from sites with significant Early Dynastic remains.<sup>17</sup> The trio with the tied bovid leg are distinctive, however, for their iconography and the quality of their material and carving. The Oxford example is close to the slightly smaller Berlin vessel;<sup>18</sup> the identification of the elegantly long bovid leg on this as a gazelle’s, made by A. Scharff,<sup>19</sup> holds good also for the Oxford handle.<sup>20</sup> The handle of the vessel in Paris is broken, but the incomplete leg is stouter and the carving less accomplished, with a roughly incised line indicating the fold, and a single turn of rope.<sup>21</sup> The other two conceivably come from the same workshop, as suggested by Wallert, but iconography rather than workmanship and style relate the Paris example to them. All three belong to the category of carved stone vessels found in prestigious funerary contexts of the Early Dynastic Period at both Saqqara and Abydos. The sophisticated iconography of such vessels is the subject of current study.<sup>22</sup> These particular examples were probably made for the offering of liquid or unguent. The bound gazelle leg which forms the handle could be an early reference to the religious significance of the animal, usually described as an antelope, whose severed head appears on the prow

<sup>15</sup> Shaw, *Travels*, 424.

<sup>16</sup> *Excavations at Saqqara (1912–1914): Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), v; there is no comparable material from this site, but the Early Dynastic cemetery excavated by R. Macramallah yielded some fine carved stone vessels: *Une cimetièrre archaïque de la classe moyenne du peuple à Saqqarah* (Cairo, 1940), pl. xlii. For the fragmentary plate with a beetle amongst these, see S. Hendrickx, ‘Two Protodynastic Objects in Brussels and the Origin of the Bilobate Cult-Sign of Neith’, *JEA* 82 (1996), 33, citing a parallel from the Step Pyramid, gallery VII.

<sup>17</sup> For other examples, all of the straight-legged *hps*-type, see Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel*, 81 no. B41 (Boston MFA 03.1544, alabaster, unprovenanced), 103 no. K53 (Cairo JE 51354, bone, from Abydos), 104 no. K60 (Cairo JE 87527, bone, from Helwan H 299), 145 no. P30, pl. 4 (Louvre E 13919, ivory, from Maadi [Ezbet el-Walda]), and 127–8 no. M6 (Manchester, bone, ‘Abydos’); see also D. Randall-MacIver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos* (MEEF 23; London, 1902), pls. 7.5, 12.5 (el-Amrah grave b10).

<sup>18</sup> Most recently published by A. Grimm and S. Schoske, *Am Beginn der Zeit. Ägypten in der Vor- und Frühzeit* (exhib. cat., Munich, 2000), 55 cat. no. 99: siltstone; length 17.5 cm, ht. of bowl 3.6 cm, max. diameter 9 cm. As on the Oxford handle, there is cleared space within the folded leg (which is secured with a double turn of rope with a loose end on the upper surface), but the large hoof is depicted more naturally. The bowl is deeper, and the leg-handle set below the shoulder.

<sup>19</sup> *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens* (Berlin, 1929), II, 210 no. 630. Scharff noted the parallel for the Berlin example provided by Shaw’s illustration, but was clearly unaware of the existence of the object in Oxford.

<sup>20</sup> Dale J. Osborn (personal communication) observes that the ratio of length to width suggests the foreleg of a gazelle (Bovidae, subfamily Antilopinae).

<sup>21</sup> J. Vandier d’Abbadie, *Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1972), 28 no. 62, 29: schist; length (incomplete) 17 cm, depth of bowl 3.7 cm, diameter 9.55 cm.

<sup>22</sup> See, for instance, Hendrickx, *JEA* 82, 33; B. Adams, ‘Dish of Delight and Coleoptera’, in A. Leahy and J. Tait (eds), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith* (EES Occasional Papers 13; London, 2000), 1–9.

of the Sokar-boat and whose sacrifice is later depicted as a ritual act performed by the king.<sup>23</sup> Such a concept is far from the hobbled camel's leg which Thomas Shaw identified on his 'Censer', but he would surely have been gratified to know that he had acquired probably the first object of Early Dynastic date to have reached Europe from a site that was later to provide so much important evidence for this period.

*Appendix: objects illustrated by Shaw*

References in **bold** indicate those items identifiable in the Department of Antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum. Most, if not all, of Shaw's Egyptian objects arrived in the large tranche of antiquities transferred from the Bodleian Library in 1887, during a period when the Oxford University collections were being rationalised; these were given Ashmolean registration numbers. Items cited as 'Bodleian Collection' were probably amongst the material formerly exhibited in the old Anatomy School in the Library quadrangle, and transferred to the Ashmolean in 1937; these can be approximated to a list in the Museum's archives. With the possible exception of the two heart amulets (fig. 1(b), 'F': see below and n. 30), none of these 'Bodleian' pieces seems to have been associated with Shaw, but they may have been accessible to him for illustration.

*Travels*, plate facing p. 422 (fig. 1(a) here):<sup>24</sup>

A. mummified ibis in jar;

B. funerary box with falcon, two views;<sup>25</sup>

C. anthropoid sarcophagus with shabtis (detailed as 'α') and box;

α. shabti figure, front and back views (**Bodleian Collection, Laud D.148**);<sup>26</sup>

–. seated jackal on inscribed base or box.<sup>27</sup>

*Travels*, plate facing p. 424 (= fig. 1(b) here):<sup>28</sup>

D. imitation shabti (**Bodleian Collection, 'D'**);<sup>29</sup>

E. siltstone bowl (**1887.2428**);

F. two stone heart amulets from Saqqara (**Bodleian Collection, unnumbered**);<sup>30</sup>

H. Canopic jar of alabaster.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See P. Derchain, *Rites égyptiens, I. Le sacrifice de l'oryx* (Brussels, 1962), esp. 10–13 and 37, for the putative existence of such a ritual in the Old Kingdom. Cf. Schoske and Grimm, n. 18 above.

<sup>24</sup> Described in *Travels*, 422–4, and apparently featuring objects not in Shaw's possession.

<sup>25</sup> Not Shaw's, 'though I had one that was surmounted with a Dog ... and another with an Owl' (*Travels*, 423). Shaw cites Alexander Gordon's illustration of the box with a dog (*Twenty-five Plates Illustrating Egyptian Antiquities* (London, 1737), pl. xxiv.4: these are usually bound with Gordon's other works of 1737, *An Essay towards explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin of the Ancient Mummy belonging to Capt. William Lethieullier, and The Egyptian Mummy in the Museum of Doctor Mead*). See n. 27 below.

<sup>26</sup> The shabti traditionally identified as the 'Egyptian idol' given to the Library by Archbishop Laud in 1636: Whitehouse, *J. Hist. Col.* 1, 192–3, fig. 6. Whether this figure really is Laud's 'idol' (there are other possible candidates in the early Bodleian collection) is questionable: cf. Gordon, *Twenty-five Plates*, pl. xx, where two closely similar shabtis are illustrated (with a better copy of the inscription), top left, together with others in a different style but bearing the same person's name (Tared, daughter of Taamun); the caption to the plate notes that some of these figures belong to the Earl of Oxford. There are fourteen shabtis with this person's name in the British Museum (EA 9175–9188), eleven of them the gift of Pitt Lethieullier in 1755: my thanks are due to John Taylor for this information, and to Jaromir Malek for his observations on Gordon's plate.

<sup>27</sup> Taken from Gordon's illustration (above, n. 25), though Shaw does not identify it as his 'dog'.

<sup>28</sup> Described in Shaw, *Travels*, 423–5.

<sup>29</sup> Whitehouse, *J. Hist. Col.* 1, *passim*, esp. 194, where it was surmised that the letter 'D' related to the figure's having been classed in section D of the Library's catalogue. It may, however, be derived from the labelling of Shaw's plate: a Gothic 'D' in similar script is written on a piece of paper stuck to the figure. The date of its arrival in the Bodleian is unknown; Shaw does not cite it in a way that suggests ownership.

<sup>30</sup> The provenance is given by Shaw (*Travels*, 424), thus implying his purchase of them there, though they were not with the other 1887 items.

<sup>31</sup> Shaw's, but not traced amongst the Bodleian material; apparently acquired at Saqqara 'with two others [illustrated

*Travels*, plate facing p. 425 (= fig. 1(c) here):<sup>32</sup>

- A. bronze Imhotep (1887.2257);
- B. bronze Osiris (1887.2259);
- C. bronze Re-Harakhte plaque recessed for inlays (1887.2267a);
- D and E. bronze seated Isis with Harpocrates (probably 1887.2258);
- F. bronze Harpocrates (1887.2260);
- G. bronze seated Harpocrates (1887.2261);
- I. bronze kneeling figure, ?Hellenistic or Roman (1887.2291);<sup>33</sup>
- L. bronze bull, Roman (1887.2293).

*Travels*, plate facing p. 426 (= fig. 1(d) here):<sup>34</sup>

- H. faience Ptah-Pataikos figure, three views (Bodleian Collection, unnumbered);
- K. bronze Anubis amulet (1887.2246);
- M. bronze bull amulet (1887.2265);
- N. bronze cat amulet;
- O. faience Taweret amulet (1887.2248);
- standing figure amulet;
- faience Shu amulet (1887.2252);
- P. bronze hawk, Ptolemaic or Roman;
- Q. frog amulet;
- R. bronze frog, Roman (1887.2296);
- Horus amulet;
- S. two scarabs with Menkheperre cartouches (that on the right is possibly 1896-1908 EA.1106);
- T. faience *wedjat*-eye amulet (possibly 1896-1908 EA.969);<sup>35</sup>
- X. faience pyramidal seal-amulet (1887.2254);
- faience Re-Harakhte amulet (1887.2251);
- faience Isis amulet (1887.2249);
- faience triad amulet: Nephthys, Harpocrates, Isis (1887.2250);
- U. faience *djed*-pillar amulet (1887.2253);
- Y. papyrus-column amulet.

HELEN WHITEHOUSE

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on pl. xviii of Gordon's *Twenty-five Plates*] likewise from Sakara'. These were in Richard Mead's collection (Shaw, *Travels*, 425), and subsequently Walpole's (Shaw, *Travels*<sup>2</sup>, 485).

<sup>32</sup> Described in Shaw, *Travels*, 425–7; a marginal note on p. 425 styles them 'The Author's Collection of *Icunculae*' (= *imagunculae*, 'little figures'). My thanks are due to Tom Hardwick, Arthur MacGregor, and Christina Riggs for helping to trace these small pieces in the museum.

<sup>33</sup> This curious figure, perhaps made for attachment to another object, puzzled Shaw himself, who wondered if it was not Egyptian but 'originally belonged to some other Nation and Worship' (Shaw, *Travels*, 426).

<sup>34</sup> The '*Icunculae*' (see n. 32 above), continued.

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the item earlier registered as '3 fragments' under the number 1887.2255: the eye is broken and repaired.



Siltstone dish from Saqqara: Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, 1887.2428.

AN EARLY DYNASTIC DISH FROM THOMAS SHAW'S  
TRAVELS (pp. 237-42)

### A bronze seal from Meroe in the Petrie Museum, London\*

The first publication since its conservation of a bronze seal from Meroe in the Petrie Museum (UC 43960), formerly in the Wellcome Collection, relating to the temple of Amun-Ra at Meroe, Sudan. It includes the unusual feature of a modelled ram-headed sphinx beside a crocodile.

In the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College London is a bronze seal from Meroe (fig.1, pl. XX, 1–2), registration number UC 43960. It is a rare<sup>1</sup> type of temple seal and includes the unusual image of Amun-Ra associated with a crocodile. It was part of the collection from the Wellcome Collection presented to the Petrie Museum in 1964. Now that the thick corrosive products on the bronze seal have been removed by the conservator, Richard Jaescke,<sup>2</sup> to reveal the fine quality and detail of the piece, it can be presented for study.

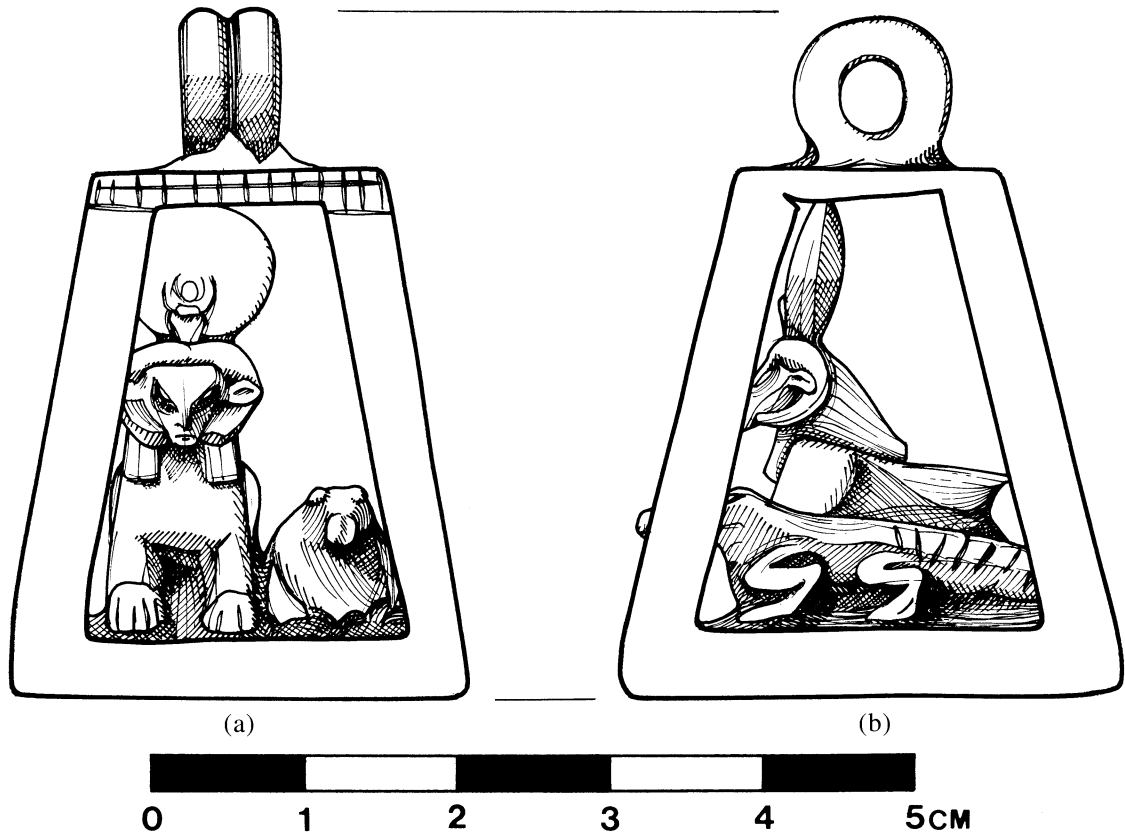


FIG. 1. UC 43960 from the (a) front and (b) side showing the crocodile (drawings by William Schenck).

\* I am indebted to the late Barbara Adams for encouragement and guidance and would also like to thank staff at the Petrie Museum for the photographs and permission to publish them. I am grateful to William Schenck for the line drawings in figure 1.

<sup>1</sup> The collection at Chiddingstone Castle, Kent, has a similar bronze seal in the form of a cage-like pyramidal structure. There are no modelled figures within the cage but the inscription on its base is identical to that on UC 43960. The Kent object is unpublished and has no catalogue number or known provenance.

<sup>2</sup> His conservation report (Lab.842) dated 20 November 1995 can be consulted at the Petrie Museum. The copper corrosive products on the seal were removed by mechanical cleaning using a polished scalpel and a glass bristle brush. It was then stabilised by immersion in solution of benzotriazole in industrial methylated spirits and protected with three coats of a 10% solution of paraloid B72 in acetone.

*Discovery and acquisition*

In the winter of 1909–10 the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology began excavating at the site in the Sudan which A. H. Sayce had identified as Meroe. Under the direction of John Garstang, five seasons of exploration were carried out from 1909 to 1914. Interim reports were published annually in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*<sup>3</sup> but Garstang never produced a full publication of the work. Fortunately, many objects, together with an incomplete selection of excavation records, are in the Liverpool University collection, and these have been used by László Török for his more recent publication.<sup>4</sup>

A photograph of this seal, together with a bronze Cupid (now UC 43961) and small bronze Greek-style sphinx, was published as plate V.3 in the interim report on the 1913 season of excavations at Meroe.<sup>5</sup> The caption gives its find-spot as 'Palace 294'. However, this appears to be a typographical error because 294 is in the south part of the city and was excavated during the 1911 season.<sup>6</sup>

In the report for 1913 Garstang states:

For the most part our labour was concentrated upon the north-east corner of the site...The great wall visible in the lower photograph is the south side of a large and well-built palace; it dates from about the 2nd Century BC. In its various chambers (in some cases on the original floor) there were found a number of instructive objects of bronze, faience, etc. shown in plates IV (No. 4) and V (Nos. 2, 3).<sup>7</sup>

Three rooms in this palace are marked 924 on the plan.

The site card for 1913,<sup>8</sup> now stored in the University of Liverpool and detailing artefacts registered from M.924 'on original floor', lists 924 a–w, including:

- f. small bronze sphinx on pedestal, Greek style, height 4.5 cm
- g. Cupid, bronze, winged, height 6 cm
- h. goat or deer [or gazelle?], lying, 4.5 cm high, 3.5 cm long

and an excavation photograph shows these three objects.<sup>9</sup> Although the Amun-Ra seal now in the Petrie Museum is not mentioned here and is replaced by the goat/deer in this photograph, it seems very likely to have been part of this group.<sup>10</sup>

This seal seems to have been given in the division of objects to a financial supporter of Garstang's excavations, possibly the Reverend William MacGregor. The MacGregor collection sale catalogue lists 'Two bronze seals inscribed with the name of Amen and referring to some house or temple'.<sup>11</sup> These may perhaps be this seal, presumably purchased by Sir Henry Wellcome and now in the Petrie Museum, and its parallel in the Chiddingstone Castle collection.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Sayce and J. Garstang, 'Preliminary Note on an Expedition to Meroe in Ethiopia', *LAAA* 3 (1910), 53–70; J. Garstang, A. H. Sayce and R. C. Bosanquet, 'Second Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia', *LAAA* 4 (1911), 45–71; J. Garstang, 'Third Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia', *LAAA* 5 (1912), 73–83; J. Garstang and W. S. George, 'Fourth Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia', *LAAA* 6 (1914), 1–21; J. Garstang, 'Fifth Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe in Ethiopia', *LAAA* 7 (1916), 1–10.

<sup>4</sup> *Meroe City. An Ancient African Capital*, I. Text and II. Figures and Plates (EES Occasional Publications 12; London, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Garstang and George, *LAAA* 6, pl. V.3.

<sup>6</sup> Török, *Meroe City* I, 153.

<sup>7</sup> *LAAA* 6, 2 and plan pl. I.

<sup>8</sup> See Török, *Meroe City* I, 231.

<sup>9</sup> Török, *Meroe City* II, pl. 189.

<sup>10</sup> Török, *Meroe City* I, 231, incorrectly assigns the goat/deer to plate V.3 in *LAAA* 6, in the place of the Amun seal.

<sup>11</sup> *Sotheby's Auction Catalogue for Rev. William MacGregor Sale on 4th July 1922* (London, 1922), 180, Lot 1385.

### Description

This bronze pendant stamp seal is in the form of a truncated pyramidal openwork cage (4.4 cm high and 3.1 cm wide) with four sloping corner supports, capped with a small, almost square plate (2.0 × 1.80 × 1.85 × 1.80 cm) with an incised row of squares along the front edge (pl. XX, 1). This is attached to a double-ringed hanging loop. The almost square base (3.1 × 3.3 × 3.25 × 3.3 cm) bears an inscription in high relief hieroglyphs, reading *pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup>*, 'House of Amun-Ra' (pl. XX, 2). The plates supporting the cage are not square, the base plate being wider at the rear than the front, and the top plate narrower at the rear than the front.

Within the cage and facing forward are modelled figures of a ram-headed sphinx (on the left) (fig. 1a) and a crocodile (on the right) (fig. 1b), both in an alert pose. The crouching sphinx is 3.0 cm long and 2.8 cm high. It has a realistically modelled lion's body, the tail curling over its right haunch and towards the rear. The head is of the typical ram of Amun with forward-curving horns and visible ears (*Ovis aries platyra aegyptica*), wearing a tripartite Egyptian wig and bearing a sun-disc with horned uraeus-cobra upon its head. There are three rows of incised design on the right shoulder which is exposed to view on that side but not visible from front or left side view. This may represent a textile covering. The iconography indicates Amun-Ra. The crocodile is 3.1 cm long and 0.8 cm high. It crouches beside the sphinx with flexed legs and its tail curves towards the rear of the lion. The anatomical details are carefully depicted, showing the bulging eyes and raised markings of its skin.

### Discussion

The association of a crocodile with the Amun-Ra sphinx in a temple or royal context is not known elsewhere but its appearance on this temple seal suggests that Amun-Ra of Meroe was strongly associated with a crocodile. In the same way Amun of Nubia is associated with a leaning tree in a temple context; in private contexts a crocodile can be included in a subsidiary position as a protective symbol.<sup>12</sup> Amun of Napata appears with a uraeus-cobra<sup>13</sup> in temple contexts, and it is likely that other associations at other sites are not yet fully understood.

Although no exactly comparable objects have so far been identified, the type of the seal can be related to the Egyptian genre of a modelled deity within a shrine, known from the Twenty-first Dynasty at Tanis. The burial of Wendjebaendjed contained two pectoral ornaments of lapis lazuli and gold, one being the figure of a crouching ram god representing Amun-Ra with sun-disc on its head placed within a naos and the other a figure of Ptah standing in a shallow naos.<sup>14</sup> Bronze statuettes of deities made by the 'lost-wax' process are common from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty onwards.<sup>15</sup> This complex object from Meroe was expertly made by a skilled craftsman using this process. The sun-disc on the sphinx's head is attached to the sloping corner support on its right and the snout of the crocodile protrudes slightly in front of the corner support on its left. This may indicate that wax figures were modelled separately and inserted into the prepared wax cage and the piece then cast in a single process. The shoulder detail appears to have been chased onto the sphinx after the casting process was completed.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The plaque from Qustul W43 (Cairo Museum N899920) shows Amun of Nubia in the form of a crosphinx lying under the *nbs*-tree: E. Kormysheva, 'Oval Plaque from the Cairo Museum n.89992', in D. A. Welsby (ed.), *Recent Research in Kushite History and Archaeology; Proceedings of the 8th International Conference for Meroitic Studies* (London, 1999), 285–7.

<sup>13</sup> In the Great Hall of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel in the upper register of the south wall (39–40 on plan, upper register) a relief shows 'King with incense before uraeus and Amen-re' (B. Porter and R. C. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, VII. *Nubia, the Deserts and Outside Egypt*. (Oxford, 1951), 102).

<sup>14</sup> P. Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis. II—Les constructions et le tombeau du Psusennes à Tanis* (Paris, 1951), 77–8 and pl. li.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Bronzefiguren* (Berlin, 1956), 337, 365; C. Insley Green, *The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara 1964–76* (EES Excavation Memoir 53; London 1987), 5–10. For earlier examples, see the discussion by M. A. Leahy 'Egypt as a Bronze-working Centre (1000 – 539 BC)', in J. Curtis (ed.), *Bronze-working Centres of Western Asia, 1000–539 BC* (London, 1988), 297–309.

<sup>16</sup> I would like to thank John Merkel of the Institute of Archaeology, UCL, for discussing this with me.

As no bronze working installations have been excavated at Meroe, it is not known whether the seal was made locally or ordered from elsewhere and imported.

UC 43960 by virtue of its iconography and inscription appears to be a temple seal of the Amun-Ra temple at Meroe, but there is no obvious reason for its deposition in the second century bc. Perhaps it was given into the keeping of an individual high priest or other temple official and not passed on to his successor. It may even have been included latterly in a burial assemblage, as the excavation report mentions the possibility of burials in the area of the palace where the seal was discovered. It might have been customary for a new seal to be made for each incumbent of the office. However, in that case one might expect that the owner's name and titles would have been added to the object, and no such instances are attested on Amun domain seals of this type.<sup>17</sup> This seal appears to be concerned only with the temple itself rather than with an individual official, just as the necropolis seal at Thebes did not contain individual names of priests.

As seen above, the location of the find-spot on the palace floor is not certain from excavation records and its significance can only be conjectured. The Kushite kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty emphasised their great piety and devotion to the Egyptian state cults, especially that of Amun-Ra, by extensive building programmes and textual statements, both in Egypt and Kush.<sup>18</sup> At Meroe votive objects with royal names were placed around the altar of the temple of Amun-Ra, but the relationship between temple priesthood and royal persons is not known. The Amun temple abuts the boundary wall of the royal city of Meroe and is not contiguous with palace M.924. The titles held by elite courtiers are not yet fully known so it is not possible to assess the relationship between palace and temple, which might explain the presence of this temple object in the palace context.

The seal itself shows the perhaps local importance given to the association of the crocodile with the cult figure of Amun-Ra. Although not named, the crocodile is not in a subsidiary position or of inferior size. The important ram-headed figure is not placed centrally in its open cage but space is provided beside it for the crocodile figure to be inserted as having equal importance. At all events, this seal in the Petrie Museum reinforces the archaeological evidence for the importance of the cult of Amun-Ra at Meroe City.

FRANCES WELSH

<sup>17</sup> See stamp seals of the temple of Amun (now UC 59459–64) in W. M. F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* (ERA 42; London, 1927), 69, nos. 173–8 and pl. lx.

<sup>18</sup> R. G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs. Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (London, 2000).



PLATE XX



1. UC 43960 general view.



2. UC 43960 base.

A BRONZE SEAL FROM MEROE IN THE PETRIE MUSEUM,  
LONDON (pp. 243-6)

### Miscellanea magica

A palaeographical study of the Old Coptic Schmidt papyrus, and a lexicographical note on the well-known Coptic magical spell of papyrus Berlin P 8313.

#### I. Das Rebus //š/ im altkoptischen Papyrus Schmidt

SEIT Satzingers mustergültiger Edition<sup>1</sup> aus dem Jahr 1975 ist unser Kenntnisstand über den altkoptischen Papyrus Schmidt quasi unverändert,<sup>2</sup> und ohne die Aussicht auf das verschollene Original,<sup>3</sup> welches allein Aufschluß über gewisse Zeichenreste und vor allem Zeilenanschlüsse bieten würde,<sup>4</sup> besteht auch keine Hoffnung auf die Lösung der verbliebenen editorischen Probleme. Was hier folgt, sind die Collectaneen eines langjährigen Umgangs mit dem Text.

Der altkoptische Papyrus Schmidt ist ein Brief an Osiris  $\eta\zeta\alpha\rho\omega$ ,<sup>5</sup> in dem sich eine Frau über einen Mann—vermutlich ihren eigenen—beklagt. Der Text hat seine nächsten formalen, lexikalischen und phraseologischen Parallelen in demotischen Briefen an Götter.<sup>6</sup> Gemeinsam sind der epistolographische Stil, die Adresse an einen Nekropolengott, die Bezeichnung  $\text{š}$ ,<sup>7</sup> das Verb *smj* als Terminus in der Einleitungsformel und im weiteren,<sup>8</sup> der Terminus *ir tym* ‘Hilfe leisten, beschützen’,<sup>9</sup> der Terminus *ir*

<sup>1</sup> H. Satzinger, ‘The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus’, *JARCE* 12 (1975), 37–50.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. zuletzt die Übersetzung von E. Meltzer in: M. Meyer und R. Smith, *Ancient Egyptian Magic. Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (Princeton und New Jersey 1999<sup>2</sup>), 21.

<sup>3</sup> Überrascht las ich bei G. Vittmann, ‘Zwei demotische Briefe an den Gott Thot’, *Enchoria* 22 (1995), 169 n. 3: ‘Die Handschrift, deren Aufbewahrungsort bisher unbekannt war, befindet sich m.W. in Heidelberg (so nach der Aufschrift auf einem Photo aus dem Nachlaß von W. Till, jetzt im Besitz von W. Brunsch, der mich über den Sachverhalt unterrichtete)’. Die Recherchen, die Georg Schmelz, ein guter Kenner der Heidelberger Papyrusbestände, freundlicherweise für mich vor Ort unternommen hat, blieben allerdings bislang ohne Erfolg.

<sup>4</sup> Die Zeilenanschlüsse von Z. 10 an sind nicht restlos klar. Satzinger rekonstruierte 18 Zeilen, darunter eine (Z. 14) fast vollständig verlorene; nach dem Zeilenverlauf und dem Kriterium unterschiedlicher Schriftgrößen wäre auch eine 17-zeilige Rekonstruktion ohne die weitgehend fehlende Z. 14 möglich.

<sup>5</sup> Von W. E. Crum, ‘An Egyptian Text in Greek Characters’, *JEA* 28 (1942), 23, n. 3 und Satzinger, *JARCE* 12 mit *hsr.t* identifiziert (nach Gardiner, *AEO* II 81: ‘*hsr.t* “Hasrôet” and Gauthier, IV, 42 f., thought to be the necropolis of Hermopolis, i.e. perhaps ... Tûnah el-Gebel’); vgl. auch J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge 1976), 357 f. Zu Osiris von *hsr.t* vgl. G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* (Kairo 1923), inscription n° 92, 10 (*Wsir hntj imnt.t hr ib hsr.t*), 92, 17; 102, 1 (*Wsir nb qd.t ntr š hr ib hsr.t*); 152, 1 (Opferformel) und G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929–1939* (Hildesheim 1959), 179, § 26, der die Identifikation von *hsr.t* mit Tuna el-Gebel bezweifelte (a.a.O., 25, § 28): ‘Der seit Dyn. XII belegte Name *hsr.t* Heseret bleibt in seiner Bedeutung unbekannt. ... Der Name, der wohl uralte ist, bezeichnet teilweise sicher den Heiligen Bezirk, in dem die Gottheiten wohnen ... Der Herr von Heseret ist Thot; doch auch Osiris wohnt in Heseret. Der Friedhof von Tuna ist mit Heseret wohl nicht gemeint, obwohl einige Inschriften zu dieser Bedeutung verlocken’.

<sup>6</sup> Zu diesem Genre vgl. A. G. Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter von der Spätzeit bis zur Römerzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des religiösen Brauchtums im alten Ägypten* (Würzburg 1986) mit der älteren Literatur sowie El-H. O. M. Zaghoul, *Frühdemotische Urkunden aus Hermupolis* (Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies 2, Kairo 1985) und zuletzt Vittmann, *Enchoria* 22, 169–81.

<sup>7</sup> P. Schmidt 11:  $\epsilon\tau\mu\text{ } \eta\zeta\alpha$  ‘höre meine Schreie’, vgl. Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter*, 31.

<sup>8</sup> P. Schmidt 1:  $\epsilon\tau\mu\text{ } \eta\zeta\alpha$   $\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma\chi$   $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon$ ; 9  $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon$ ; 9.10  $\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon$ ; vgl. Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter*, Urk. 3, Z. 1: *smj(=y) i-ir-hr Wsir-hp n p š hrw*.

<sup>9</sup> P. Schmidt 8:  $\mu\text{ } \eta\zeta\alpha$   $\rho\omega$ ; vgl. Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter*, Urk. 9, Z. 14: *bn-pw=n gm p š mtw=f* (für *nti-iw=f*) *ir n=n tym r-r=f bnr=tn mtwn n š i-ir hnt=n*. Satzinger, *JARCE* 12, 46 und *CoptE* VIII, 174 bewertete das Wort  $\rho\omega$  ( $\tau\omega\epsilon\mu$ ) als lexikalischen Archaismus. Das Wort ist zwar im Koptischen durchaus selten und im Sahidischen nicht (mehr) belegt, doch immerhin für drei selbständige Dialekte gut bezeugt, nämlich für F7, der Norm der Hamburger Bilinguis, in Lam 1, 7 ( $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\mu$   $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\epsilon$ ) und Eccl 7, 19 ( $\omega\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\mu$   $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon\alpha$ ) sicher, in Lam 3, 57 und 4, 17 höchstwahrscheinlich jeweils als Nomen, für L4 in PsB II 58, 17 ( $\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon$ , häufiger  $\beta\omega\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ : 18, 19; 57, 26; 76, 22 u.ö.) und für M in Codex Scheide 15, 25 ( $\tau\alpha\epsilon\mu$ ) jeweils als Verb; daneben auch im Mesodialekt V5. Es mag altertümlich geklungen haben, war aber offensichtlich nicht obsolet.

*hp irm*-<sup>10</sup> und die Formulierung ‘was NN. mir angetan hat’.<sup>11</sup> Auf der anderen Seite lassen sich bestimmte koptische Schadenszauber vergleichen, deren maliziose Anliegen gerne in der harmlosen Bitte  $\alpha\pi\ \pi\alpha\zeta\alpha\pi$  ( $\mu\eta$ -) zusammengefaßt wurden.<sup>12</sup>

Der ‘alt’-koptische Charakter des P. Schmidt wird weniger als bei anderen Texten dieser Kategorie durch sprachliche Anciennität<sup>13</sup> als vielmehr hauptsächlich graphemisch durch sein von den koptischen Dialekten abweichendes Ensemble der Sonderzeichen konstituiert.

Dieses Ensemble wurde erstmals, noch unvollständig, von Crum,<sup>14</sup> später von Satzinger<sup>15</sup> und Kasser<sup>16</sup> dargestellt. Es umfaßt, als Gemeingut aller altkoptischen Schriftsysteme, die in ihren demotischen Antecedentien und koptischen Nachfolgern hinlänglich bekannten Zeichen für *f*, *h* und *d*, das letztere durch die Vergrößerung der ‘Schlinge’ bereits den demotischen Schreibungen entrückt:  $\alpha$ . Das demotische Zeichen für *h*, altkoptisch sonst nur in P. BM 10808 belegt,<sup>17</sup> erscheint hier in einer typisch spätdemotischen Form mit entschiedener Unterlänge des Abstriches:  $\mathcal{J}$ , es weist insbesondere starke Ähnlichkeit mit der Zeichenform des London–Leidener magischen Papyrus auf:  $\mathcal{P}$ . Auch das wie ein durchgestrichenes Delta geformte Zeichen  $\Delta$ , das denselben Laut wie sahidisches  $\epsilon$  repräsentiert, scheint einem demotischen Einkonsonantenzeichen nachempfunden zu sein. Anders, als Satzinger annahm,<sup>18</sup> dürfte es sich aber nicht um eine Schreibvariante des *g*, sondern um die in spätdemotischen Texten anzutreffende dreieckige, sozusagen hieroglyphisch reduzierte Form des *q* in Schreibungen von *ky* ‘hoch sein’ handeln, vgl. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 531, *lin.ult.*:  $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{J}\mathcal{A}$  und im demotischen Papyrus London–Leiden VII 33:  $\mathcal{P}\mathcal{J}\mathcal{A}$ . Der quer durch den Buchstabenkörper geführte Strich könnte das Diakritikon darstellen, durch das dieses Zeichen vom Delta (Z. 8 in  $\Delta\theta\epsilon\iota\mu$ ) unterschieden werden

<sup>10</sup> P. Schmidt 4:  $\alpha\pi\ \pi\alpha\mathcal{J}\ \alpha\pi\ \mu\mu\zeta\alpha\pi$ ; vgl. Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter*, Urk. 9, Z. 24: *iw=w (r) ir p'i=n hp irm t'i=n wpi.t irm=f*.

<sup>11</sup> P. Schmidt 4–5:  $\eta\epsilon\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \eta\alpha\eta\ \eta\mu\ \eta\epsilon\pi\alpha\eta\ \eta\alpha\iota$ ; vgl. Vittmann, *Enchoria* 22, Nr. 1, Z. 2: *rḥ=k p' iy.t i-ir n=y P'i-di-B'st.t; Zaghoul, Frühdemotische Urkunden*, Nr. 5, Z. 2: *p'i ḥwr' r-ir n=y P'i-di-Is ... r-ir(=y) n=f*.

<sup>12</sup> Z.B. P. Mich. Inv. 1523, 15 (ed. Worrell, *Or n.s.* IV (1935), 3 f.); P. Lond. Copt. I 1223, 2.10 u.ö.; P. Lond. Copt. I 1224, 5.13.21; P. Bodl. Ms. Copt C. (P) 4 (ed. W. E. Crum, ‘Eine Verfluchung’, *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 85–9), ro 2.6, vo 1; P. Mon. Copt. 5 (ed. E. W. Hengstenberg, *Beiträge zur Forschung. Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Antiquariat Rosenthal* (München 1915), 95–100), Z. 4.25—aus dem letztgenannten Text, Z. 33–8, erfahren wir in seltener Ausdrücklichkeit, daß der Fluchpapyrus bei einer Mumie deponiert wurde, die damit zugleich als Mitstreiter für die Sache der rachedürstenden Ausstellerin rekrutiert werden sollte—ein *tertium comparationis* zur nachweislichen Zustellungs-Praxis von demotischen Briefen an Götter: vgl. Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter*, 24–5.

<sup>13</sup> Die Sprache des P. Schmidt ist beinahe Sahidisch. Die Form der Präposition  $\mu\mu$ -, von Satzinger, *JARCE* 12, 42 noch als ‘the main non-Sa'fidic feature of our text’ apostrophiert, ist inzwischen durch die sahidische Norm der Palau-Ribes-Evangelien repatriiert. Lexikalisch sind das bislang nur koptisch belegte  $\alpha\epsilon\pi\eta\eta$  (Z. 8) und die Verwendung von  $\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon$  (Z. 2) als Götterepitheton (im demotischen Papyrus London–Leiden noch *nb!*) markante ‘Neologismen’, die der von Satzinger konstatierten ‘demotischen’ Semantik bestimmter Präpositionen und dem typisch demotischen (bei Frauen obligatorischen) Gebrauch des Possessivpräfix’ *ta-* zur Filiationsangabe gegenüberstehen. Syntaktisch entspricht die Negation des Präsens (Z. 6:  $\eta\eta\alpha\eta\ \alpha\eta$ ) ohne das etymologische Negationsmorphem *bn* (*n-*), allein kraft der (im Demotischen noch entbehrlichen—Spiegelberg, *DGr* § 475) Postnegationspartikel  $\alpha\eta$  koptischer Norm, vgl. W.-P. Funk, ‘Zur Negation des Präsens in den oberägyptischen Dialekten’, *ZÄS* 114 (1987), 101–2. Der interlokutive Nominalsatz  $\alpha\eta\epsilon\kappa\ \alpha\epsilon\pi\eta\eta$  (Z. 8) kommt wie im Demotischen ohne den Prädikator  $\sigma\upsilon$ - aus, der im Koptischen unentbehrlich ist, vgl. H.-J. Polotsky, *GKS* I, § 27 und W.-P. Funk, ‘Formen und Funktionen des interlokutiven Nominalsatzes im Koptischen’, *LOAPL* 3 (1991), 33 ff. Der Relativsatz des Futurs III (Z. 9:  $\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon$ ) ist im Sahidischen, wo das alte Futur zur Untransponierbarkeit tendiert, äußerst selten, vgl. U.-K. Plisch, *Einführung in die koptische Sprache* (SKCO 5, Wiesbaden 1999), 64 und n. 45, in anderen Dialekten, namentlich im Bohairischen und Mittelägyptischen, jedoch in Gebrauch geblieben. Die Relativform (Z. 5/6:  $\eta\epsilon\pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \eta\alpha\eta\ \mu\mu\ \eta\epsilon\pi\alpha\eta\ \eta\alpha\iota$ ) existiert im Koptischen nurmehr in lexikalisierten Formen wie  $\eta\epsilon\alpha\alpha$  (während das Partizip  $\epsilon\pi$ - sporadisch in *S* und *A2* und regelmäßig—bei identischem Antecedens—im Dialekt *M* vorkommt).




<sup>14</sup> *JEA* 28, 21.

<sup>15</sup> *JARCE* 12, 38; ders., ‘Old Coptic’, *CoptE* VIII, 173.

<sup>16</sup> R. Kasser, ‘Alphabets, Old Coptic’, *CoptE* VIII, 42.


<sup>17</sup> Vgl. J. Osing, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (AÄ 33, Wiesbaden 1976), 6.

<sup>18</sup> Satzinger, *JARCE* 12, 38.

sollte. Ein Allograph<sup>19</sup> zum nur einmal (Z. 3 im Toponym ραρω) belegten ω ist das mindestens fünfmal vorkommende Rebus . Sein Lautwert und sein Ursprung im Determinativ  zu ρ, t 'Rücken' (koptisch ω(ω)=, Gardiner Sign List F37) sind bereits von Griffith/Thompson bestimmt worden, denn dasselbe Zeichen findet sich auch in der sogenannten 'Cipher'-Schrift des magischen Papyrus von London und Leiden:<sup>20</sup> . Bisher ungedeutet<sup>21</sup> ist jedoch das Zeichen, welches in P. Schmidt konkurrenzlos das Phonem /s/ darstellt und dabei die Form eines von unten links nach oben rechts gezogenen Querstriches hat: / . Es tritt sechsmal auf:






P. Schmidt 7: ΝΔ / ΤΕ Ν / ΗΡΕ 'Sohnes-Schutz'

P. Schmidt 8: ΜΝΤΙ / ΕΡΔΟΕΙΜ 'ich kann (mir) nicht helfen'<sup>22</sup>

P. Schmidt 11: ρΤΜ ΝΔ  / 'höre meine Schreie'

P. Schmidt 12: [N]Δ / ε 'zahlreich(?)'


Wir gehen davon aus, daß das Zeichen nicht einer kapriziösen *ad-hoc*-Erfindung des Schreibers entspringt, sondern ebenso wie die anderen nichtgriechischen Zeichen mittels demotischer Vorkenntnisse dekodierbar ist. Die Analogie der gedeuteten Zeichen läßt im Prinzip zwei Wege ihrer Gewinnung erkennen: die Übernahme konventioneller demotischer Einkonsonanten-Zeichen und die Verwendung unkonventioneller Zeichen, die zur Repräsentation des gemeinten Phonems geeignet erschienen (Rebus). Da die Möglichkeit, das Phonem /s/ durch ein konventionelles alphabetisches Zeichen darzustellen, hier—durch den Unterschied zu den meisten altkoptischen und koptischen Schriftsystemen nur umso offenkundiger—verschmätzt wurde, rechnen wir mit der zweiten Möglichkeit, der Verwendung eines Rebus.

Unter den demotischen Zeichen und Zeichengruppen, die ausweislich ihrer koptischen Form einen Lautwert in der Nähe von (ε)ω oder ω(ε) kodieren, wie *rh* 'kennen', *ht* 'Holz', *šm* 'gehen', *nh* als Schwurwort<sup>23</sup> etc., kommt graphisch nur ein einziges in Betracht, das sich überdies lautlich durch seine über alle koptischen Dialekte hin ausgeglichene Form empfiehlt: das Zahlwort ωε (*S.A.A2.B.Ak*), ωΗ (*F*), ωΥ (*M*) 'Hundert'. Die Kursivschreibungen der Hieroglyphe 'coil of rope' (Gardiner Sign List V1):  (als Ideogramm für šr 'Hundert') nähern sich im Spät demotischen, einem einfachen Schrägstrich an, vgl. die späten epigraphischen Belege bei Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 701:    und den Beleg in DMP London–Leiden XIII, 5: .

Die förmlich auf der Schwelle zum Koptischen stehende Sprachform des Papyrus Schmidt<sup>24</sup> und die paläographische Verwandtschaft seiner Sonderzeichen mit spätdemotischen Zeichenformen, namentlich solchen des London–Leidener magischen Papyrus,<sup>25</sup> bestärken mich in der Ansicht, daß der altkoptische

<sup>19</sup> Die geringe Belegzahl erlaubt keine Aussage darüber, ob die Allographe kombinatorisch (stellungsbedingt) distribuieren oder frei variieren.

<sup>20</sup> F. Ll. Griffith und H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, III (London 1909), 106, sign n° xi. Vgl. auch J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I* (CNI Publications 17, Copenhagen 1998), 49b, nota ce (Hinweis von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert).

<sup>21</sup> Crum, *JEA* 28, 21: 'In Sch. the simple stroke recalls that used in place of a cumbrous sign in hieroglyphic (Erman, *Gr.4* § 52)'; Satzinger, *JARCE* 12, 38: 'This sign is otherwise unknown, since other Old Coptic texts use signs derived from  like Coptic ω'; Kasser, *CoptE* VIII, 42: 'The choice of / for /s/ in Schm. is strange (in demotic / renders /r/ and also /f/; du Bourguet, 1976, p. 82)'.

<sup>22</sup> *rh* heißt im Demotischen u.a. 'können' (vgl. auch *rh ir* in Setna 5, 17.33); ΜΝΤΕ-/ΜΝΤ(Δ)ϵ + Infinitiv heißt im Koptischen 'nicht können', vgl. Till, *KGr* § 295. Es ist verlockend, statt des abundanten 'ich kann nicht können etc.' hier / (ω < *rh*) als nominalen Ausdruck (wie *rh* 'der Wissende', *Wb* II 445, 17) zu interpretieren: 'ich habe niemanden, der mir helfen kann', entsprechend der demotischen Formulierung (Migahid, *Demotische Briefe an Götter*, Urk. 9, Z. 14): *bn-pw=n gm p; mtw=f* (für *nti-iw=f*) *ir n=n tym* 'wir haben niemanden gefunden, der uns helfen wird'. Die Wendung *rh ir tym* finden wir übrigens in Raphia-Dekret 24: *n-dr.t bn-pw=w rh ir tym (n) n:i=w tš.w* 'since they where not able to defend their territories' (R. S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Oxford 1996), 249, vgl. zur Stelle auch J. F. Quack, 'Bemerkungen zum demotisch-koptischen Temporalis', *EVO* 17 (1994), 232 f.)

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. J. F. Quack, 'Über die mit *nh* gebildeten Namenstypen und die Vokalisation einiger Verbalformen', *GM* 123 (1991), 91–100.

<sup>24</sup> Siehe oben, n. 9 und 13.

<sup>25</sup> Das Anubis-Epitheton 'Rinderhirte' und vielleicht auch das der Osiris-Sohnschaft zeigen übrigens auch eine inhaltliche Affinität zwischen P. Schmidt (Z. 15: ΔΝΘΥΠ ρΙ ΟΥΤΙΡΕ ΠΕΛΘΙΣ) und DMP London–Leiden (II 7; XIV 28: *Inpw p; mr ih nfr*;

Papyrus Schmidt keinesfalls bereits um 100 n.Chr., wie allenthalben angenommen wird,<sup>26</sup> geschrieben worden sein kann, sondern vielmehr zu den jüngsten Spezimina vorkoptischer Transkriptions-Bestrebungen zu rechnen ist.

II. Was warf Horus auf dem Berg aus? Zum koptischen Homonym *ουελλαε* 'Lied'/'Fangseil' in Papyrus Berlin P 8313

Der Zauberpapyrus Berlin P 8313 Col. II und Verso mit seiner Historiola vom Horusknaben, der sich an unbekömmlicher Speise den Magen verdirbt,<sup>27</sup> ist einer der berühmtesten magischen Texte in koptischer Sprache. Er gehört zu jenem Textkonvolut, das, 1895 im Kairener Antikenhandel für die Berliner Papyrussammlung erworben, offensichtlich den Handapparat eines Magiers gebildet hatte<sup>28</sup> und nun erstmals die Blicke auf die Zählebigkeit paganer religiöser Traditionen im frühislamischen Ägypten lenkte.<sup>29</sup>

Der Anfang dieser Historiola, Z. 1–4, wird in Z. 21–Verso 1 wörtlich wiederholt, wenn der von Horus zu Hilfe gerufene Dämon der Mutter Isis vom Malheur ihres Sohnes berichtet. Dadurch ist wenigstens die Lesung des Textes über jeden Zweifel erhaben. Er lautet:<sup>30</sup>

(1) Ϸⲱⲡ [ⲡⲱⲬⲣⲉ ⲛⲏ]Ϸⲉ ⲁϳⲉⲓ ⲉϷⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲁ[ϳⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϳⲟⲩ-] (2) -ⲉⲗⲗⲉ  
(21) Ϸⲱⲡ ⲡⲟⲩⲱⲬⲣⲉ ⲁϳⲉⲓ ⲉϷⲛ ⲟⲩ- (22) -ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲁ<ϳ>ⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϳⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ

[ⲁϳⲱ]ⲗ ⲛⲛⲉϳⲱⲛⲏⲩ ⲁϳⲉⲱⲡ ⲟⲩⲱⲬⲟ ⲟⲩ[ⲃⲁⲛⲕ ⲟⲩϳⲣⲓ]ⲙ ⲛ- (3) -ⲧⲟⲟⲩ [ⲁϳⲱⲁ]ⲁⲧϳ  
ⲁϳⲱⲗ ⲛⲉϳⲱⲛⲏⲩⲉ (23) ⲁϳⲉⲱⲡ ⲟⲩⲱⲬⲟⲟ ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲛⲕ ⲟⲩϳⲣⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲩ (ν<sup>0</sup>1) ⲁϳⲱⲁⲁⲧϳ

ⲛⲁ[ⲧ]ⲉⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲁϳⲡⲉϳⲧϳ ⲛ[ⲁⲧ]ⲕⲱϳⲧ [ⲁϳ-] (4) [-ⲟⲩⲁⲙϳ ⲛⲁ]ⲧϳⲙⲟ[ϳ  
ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲟⲣⲧⲉ ⲁϳⲡⲉϳⲧϳ ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲟϳⲧ ⲁϳⲟⲩⲁⲙϳ ⲛⲁⲧϳⲙⲟϳ

'Horus, der Sohn der Isis (Z. 21: dein Sohn), er kam auf einen Berg, um zu schlafen. Er warf seine *ουελλαε* aus, er stellte seine Netze auf, er fing einen Falken, einen Bank(-Vogel),<sup>31</sup> einen Berg-Pelikan(?),<sup>32</sup> er zerschnitt ihn ohne Messer, er kochte ihn ohne Feuer, er aß ihn ungesalzen'.

II, 18/19: *hj 'Inp ... [p' s:] nfr n Wsir* an. Für weitere belege vgl. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis* I, 177, Anm. p (Hinweis von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert) und M. A. Stadler, *ZÄS* 130/1 (2003) (im Druck), n. 59.

<sup>26</sup> Diese Datierung, die P. Schmidt zum ältesten altkoptischen Dokument nach Vorläufern wie dem Graffito von Abydos und P. Heid. 414 macht, geht zurück auf Crum, *JEA* 28, 21: 'ca. 100' und wird seither tradiert, vgl. Satzinger, *JARCE* 12, 37: 'The writing was dated by Crum to approximately 100 A.D.'; ders., *CoptE* VIII, 169: 'first to second century A.D.'; Kahle, *Bala'izah*, I, 255: 'The Schmidt papyrus, being written about A.D. 100, is already in the main Sahidic'; R. Kasser, 'Prolégomènes à un essai de classification systématique des dialectes et subdialectes coptes selon les critères de la phonétique', *Le Muséon* 93 (1980), 249: 'I–II<sup>e</sup> siècles de notre ère'; ders., *CoptE* VIII, 41: 'first–second A.D.'; Meltzer in Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 21: 'ca. 100 C.E. (so Walter E. Crum)'; D. Frankfurter in: R. Valantasis (Hrsg.), *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice* (Princeton and Oxford 2000), 230 f.: 'from about 100 C. E.'. Vgl. auch Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis* I, 58b (Hinweis von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert). Das Besondere an dieser Datierung ist, daß sie niemals, auch nicht von Crum, begründet wurde. Das Schriftbild der griechischen Buchstaben ist paläographisch wenig aussagekräftig, denn anders als die Hände des altkoptischen Horoskops, des P. BM 10808 und der altkoptischen Passagen der PMG schrieb die Hand des P. Schmidt nicht flüssig. Übrigens widerspricht es keineswegs einer Datierung ins 3. Jh.n.Chr., man könnte sogar noch die aus dem paganen Milieu Aschmuneins stammende Hand von P. Herm. 6 und P. Ryl. 624 aus dem 4. Jh. zum Vergleich heranziehen, vgl. B. R. Rees (Hrsg.), *Papyri from Hermopolis and other Documents of the Byzantine Period* (EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs 42, London 1964), pl. v und vi.

<sup>27</sup> Zum Motiv weist mich Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert auf J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (Leiden 1971), 26–7, Spell n° 23 (mit Parallelen) und auf einen Spruch innerhalb eines von ihm gemeinsam mit Friedhelm Hoffmann zur Publikation vorbereiteten Athener Papyrus hin.

<sup>28</sup> A. Erman, 'Ein koptischer Zauberer', *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 43–6.

<sup>29</sup> A. Erman, 'Heidnisches bei den Kopten', *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 47–51.

<sup>30</sup> Nach *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin, Koptische Urkunden* I (Berlin 1904), N° 1.2.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. den Wasser- oder Sumpf-Vogel *bng* aus einem MR-Beleg (Beni Hasan), *Wb* I, 464 und N. M. Davies, 'Birds and Bats at Beni Hasan', *JEA* 35 (1949), pl. II, n° 13; p. 17, n° 13 sowie den Vogel *bng* in *Edfou* IV, 121, 2; vgl. D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* I (1977), N° 77.1265.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. evtl. *hmr(.t)* als Bezeichnung eines dämonischen Wesens, das die Aussteller von Selbst-Dedikationen fürchten,

Die Passage ist zwar im Ganzen leicht übersetzbar, jedoch im Detail alles andere als klar. Uns soll im weiteren ausschließlich der Vogelfang des Horus beschäftigen. Erman<sup>33</sup> übersetzte die diesbezüglichen Handlungen: 'Er sang(?) seine Lieder, er stellte(?) seine Netze auf', bemerkte aber in einer Fußnote dazu: 'ⲁϣⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϣⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ "er schoß seine Töne", falls dies nicht etwas ganz Anderes heißt'. Die meisten späteren Übersetzer interpretierten den ersten Satz, die Wortbedeutung des Verbs ⲓⲧⲉ dahingehend paraphrasierend, als ein Singen oder Musizieren des Horus, z.B. A. Kropp:<sup>34</sup> 'Er sang seine Weisen, stellte seine Netze auf', W. Beltz:<sup>35</sup> 'Er sang seine Lieder. Er stellte seine Netze' und M. Meyer und R. Smith:<sup>36</sup> 'He performed his Music, set his nets'. Diese Interpretation ist prinzipiell von zwei Problemen belastet: 1. dem inhaltlichen Problem, daß Musizieren eher zum Verscheuchen von Vögeln geeignet erscheint, 2. dem semantischen Problem der geringen Solidarität zwischen einem verbalen Lexem, das 'werfen, streuen, verteilen' bedeutet, und einem nominalen Objekt, dessen Valeur im Bereich von 'Melodie, Musik, Weise, Lied' liegt.<sup>37</sup>

Bisher wurde die Problematik der Stelle von der Inhaltsseite her in Angriff genommen. Erstmals versuchte W. Wessetzky, einer die Vogeljagd accompagnierenden Musik Sinn abzugewinnen:<sup>38</sup> 'Dass dieses Einfangen beinahe als eine kultische Handlung zu werten ist, verrät sein Gesang, den der Erzähler mit dem sonderbaren ⲁϣⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϣⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ ("Töne schiessen, werfen") umschreibt (vielleicht als magische Rufe zu deuten)'. Vor allem aber hat László Kákósy die Textstelle mehrfach als Beleg für den antiken Brauch des magischen, von Zaubersprüchen unterstützten Vogelfangs gedeutet:<sup>39</sup>

'The interpretation of the passage "he sang his melodies" ... is the most difficult. The reference to Horus singing while fowling seems to be surprising at the first glance. There are two hypotheses for the interpretation of this passage: it either refers to a custom well-known from ethnography, in which the hunter lures the birds by means of bird-calls or to the recital of magic spells in a melodic tone. The story itself, interwoven with several miraculous elements, seems to support the probability of the latter alternative. In addition to this, some passages can be quoted from later texts, in the first place from the Roman epoch, which display a striking affinity with the phrase in question.'<sup>40</sup>

Kákósy's Interpretation bildet denn auch die Referenz des Eintrags im Koptischen Handwörterbuch s.v. ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ: 'ⲓⲧⲉ-ⲛⲉϣⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ (S) seinen Vers rezitieren'.<sup>41</sup>

Gegen diese inhaltlich qualifizierte Interpretation bestehen allerdings noch stärkere lexikologische Bedenken als gegen die Deutung als bloßes 'Musizieren': Zur Problematik des inkompatiblen Verbs tritt hier nämlich bei näherem Hinsehen der mißliche Befund, daß ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ allem Anscheine nach nicht als 'Zauberspruch' verstanden werden kann (und konnte), zumal das Sahidische dafür Ausdrücke wie ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ und ⲓⲕⲓ besaß. Die Bedeutung der Handlung ⲁϣⲓⲧⲉ ⲛⲉϣⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ ist von Kákósy, trotz seiner plausiblen inhaltlichen Deutung und des von ihm reichlich herangezogenen Vergleichsmaterials<sup>42</sup> zum magischen Vogelfang, nicht wirklich erhellt worden.

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nach dem Determinativ ein Vogel: H. Thompson, 'Two Demotic Self-Dedications', *JEA* 26 (1940), 78. Zu *ḥmr* 'ghoulsh bird (probably an owl), vgl. auch H. S. Smith und W. J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri I* (London 1983), 94b (nota ε) und H. S. Smith, 'Some Coptic Etymologies', *JEA* 61 (1975), 198–200 (Hinweis von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert).

<sup>33</sup> *ZAS* 33, 48.

<sup>34</sup> *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, II (Brüssel 1931), 9/10.

<sup>35</sup> 'Die koptischen Zauberpapyri der Papyrus-Sammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin', *APF* 29 (1983), 66.

<sup>36</sup> *Ancient Christian Magic*, 96.

<sup>37</sup> Im Deutschen kann man freilich Lieder 'schmettern'. Im Koptischen sind Verben wie ⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲓⲗⲉ 'auf der Kithara intonieren', ⲁⲱ 'singen', ⲙⲟⲕ 'blasen' und ⲙⲟⲩⲧ 'sammeln' mit dem Objekt ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ 'Lied, Melodie' belegt, vgl. Crum, *CD* 477a–b.

<sup>38</sup> 'Die Wirkung des Altägyptischen in einem koptischen Zauberspruch', *AOASH* 1 (1950), 29.

<sup>39</sup> L. Kákósy, 'Egy kopt varázsszöveg magyarázatához', *Antik Tanulmányok* 4 (1957), 99 ff. (vgl. Janssen, *AEB* (1957), n° 57286); ders., 'Remarks on the Interpretation of a Coptic Magical Text', *AOASH* 13 (1961), 325–8; ders., 'Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten', *ANRW* II 18.5 (Berlin und New York 1995), 3045.

<sup>40</sup> Kákósy, *AOASH* 13, 326.

<sup>41</sup> W. Westendorf, *KHWB* 270 und n. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Kákósy, *AOASH* 13, 326–8; ders., *ANRW* 18.5, 3045: 'Die Methode des magischen Vogelfanges, die in dem koptischen Berliner Papyrus 8313 von Horus angewandt wird, ist zum ersten Mal im medizinischen Papyrus Ebers aus dem frühen

Die Lösung des Problems liegt wohl in der anderen Richtung, sie scheint doch lexikologischer Natur zu sein. An der Abfolge der beiden Handlungen des vogelfangenden Horus ist auffallend, daß die beiden Verben 'auswerfen'<sup>43</sup> und 'aufstellen' semantisch durchaus komplementär erscheinen, so daß ein entsprechender Parallelismus membrorum: 'Netze aufstellen' — '(ein anderes Fanggerät) auswerfen' an dieser Stelle sinnfällig wäre. Dieses andere Fanggerät nun ist vermutlich ein 'Fangseil', entsprechend dem meines Erachtens anzusetzenden Etymon von ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ in P. Berlin P. 8313 Col. II, Z. 1–2 und 22: *wʒr.t* 'Schnur, Strick', *Wb* I, 252. Dieses Wort bezeichnet die 'Zugschnur' am Netz (*Wb* I, 252, 3), das 'Traideseil' am Sonnenschiff (*Wb* I, 252, 4) sowie das 'Fangseil', namentlich das Seil, an dem die Nilpferd-Harpune befestigt ist (*Wb* I, 252, 5)<sup>44</sup> und den Fangstrick zum Vogelfang, so im Beinamen des Vogelfängers Chnum *hnti wʒr=f* 'der vor seinem Fangseil ist' (*Wb* I, 252, 6).<sup>45</sup>

Die neuägyptisch belegte Schreibung *wʒnr.t* weist mit *nr* statt *r* bereits auf das phonematische Korrelat // des dritten Radikals hin,<sup>46</sup> und in der ebenfalls neuägyptischen Graphie ohne die Femininendung *.t*, welche in den ptolemäischen Schreibungen zum Standard geworden ist, tritt uns jener Prozeß vor Augen, der die Doppelkonsonanz der Sonoranten ⲃ, ⲗ, ⲙ, ⲛ und ⲡ im Sahidischen bedingt.<sup>47</sup> Die Lautentwicklung von *wʒr.t*, NÄg. *wʒnr.t* zu ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ dürfte somit ungefähr dieselbe sein wie die von *qʒr.t*, NÄg. *qʒnrj* zu ⲕⲗⲗⲉ 'Riegel'.

Wir haben es beim Wort ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ also mit einem koptischen Homonym zu tun, wobei der Ausdruck ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ 'Fangseil' bisher *hapax legomenon* in P. Berlin P. 8313 ist.<sup>48</sup> Ob dessen Seltenheit damit zusammenhängt, daß er frühzeitig durch den Homonymenkonflikt mit ⲟⲩⲉⲗⲗⲉ 'Lied, Melodie' aus dem Wortschatz verdrängt wurde, oder damit, daß uns koptische Quellen mit einschlägigem Vokabular der Jägersprache fehlen,<sup>49</sup> mag dahingestellt bleiben. Allerdings spricht gegen eine homonymiebedingte Kommunikationsstörung eigentlich die semantische Distanz der beiden Wortbedeutungen. Das Auftreten der Worte 'Lied' und 'Fangseil' in ähnlichen Kontexten, Wortverbänden und Gedankengängen ist unwahrscheinlich genug, damit die Sicherheitsgrenze des Wortverständnisses in der Regel gewahrt worden sein dürfte.<sup>50</sup> Auch in Papyrus Berlin P 8313 ist es ja letztlich die Divergenz der Kontexte, die bereits Erman an der Richtigkeit der Übersetzung 'Töne schießen' hatte zweifeln lassen: Fangseile werden eben weder auf Instrumenten intoniert noch gesungen, Lieder hingegen nicht auf der Vogeljagd ausgeworfen.

TONIO SEBASTIAN RICHTER

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Neuen Reich belegt. Später findet man sie wieder in der demotischen Setna Geschichte, in Aelians großem zoologischen Werk und in der legendären Pythagoras-Biographie. In einer etwas abweichenden Form ist diese Praxis auch aus dem späten Tempelritual bekannt. Ihr Weiterleben dürfte vorerst dadurch gesichert worden sein, daß nach dem Volksglauben zum erfolgreichen Vogelfang außer Netzen, Fallen und Ködern auch Zaubersprüche unentbehrlich waren.

<sup>43</sup> Zu *cire* vgl. Crum, *CD* 360b–2a. Transitiv steht es für griechisches σπείρειν, ῥίπτειν, βάλλειν, im Koptischen alterniert es dann mit *ⲕⲟ, ⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ, ⲕⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ*.

<sup>44</sup> Neben den *Wörterbuch*-Belegen aus Dendera vgl. auch P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon* (OLA 78, Leuven 1997), 195 s.v. *wʒr*.

<sup>45</sup> Neben den *Wörterbuch*-Belegen aus Esnah und Ombos vgl. D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* II (1978), 84, n° 78.0858 und Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 195 s.v. *wʒr*.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. F. Kammerzell, 'Zur Umschreibung und Lautung des Ägyptischen' in: R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* (Mainz 1997<sup>2</sup>), xlvii.

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. G. Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* (Chicago 1951), § 27; W. C. Till, *KGr* §§ 65–6. Die Entstehung dieser Konsonanten-Verdoppelung wird an den Konstruktformen von ⲛⲉⲟⲗ anschaulich: die reduzierte pränominale Form lautet ⲛⲉⲗ-, die präsuffixale Form, die einen Tonvokal *hinter* dem ⲗ empfängt, hingegen ⲛⲉⲗⲗⲉⲥ (S) / ⲛⲉⲗⲗⲉⲥ (A).

<sup>48</sup> Entfällt hiermit auch ein Beleg für die magische Vogeljagd, so bleiben doch nicht nur genügend Zeugnisse dafür übrig, sondern es tritt in einem hieratischen Ostrakon des Ägyptischen Museums der Universität Leipzig ein kapitaler Beleg hinzu. Dieser Text, ein Zauberspruch zum Fangen, wird demnächst von Katharina Stegbauer M.A. (Leipzig) publiziert werden.

<sup>49</sup> Die biblischen, zumeist metaphorischen Bezugnahmen auf Vogeljagd wie Ps 63, 6; 90, 3; 124, 2; Prov 7, 23; Eccl 9, 12; Am 3, 5; Sir 27, 32 operieren mit den Ausdrücken ⲉⲡⲣⲥ (B: *ⲕⲟⲣⲭⲉ*; A, A2, F: *ⲉⲡⲣⲥ*; A *ⲉⲡⲣⲥⲩ*) und ⲡⲁⲩⲩⲩⲩ (B: *ⲡⲁⲩⲩ*; A: *ⲡⲁⲥⲥⲩ*).

<sup>50</sup> Zu Homonymie und Homonymenkonflikt vgl. Th. Lewandowski, *Linguistisches Wörterbuch* Bd. 1 (Heidelberg und Wiesbaden 1994<sup>6</sup>), 405–7.

## REVIEWS

*Ancient Egyptian Literature. An Anthology.* Translated by J. L. FOSTER. Pp. xxiii + 272. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2001. ISBN 0 292 72527 2. Price £14.50/US\$19.95.

It is a widely recognised fact that, although the physical remains of the culture of ancient Egypt are reasonably familiar to the general public, its intellectual and literary achievements are much less well known. This anthology accordingly aims, as others have (e.g. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley, 1973–80); R. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems* (Oxford, 1997)), to bring this rich and diverse literature to the attention of a wider audience while also providing a critical reading of the texts, ‘a reading Egyptologists, too, ..... can address with profit’ (p. xxi).

Readers may be familiar with many of the translations in this anthology which incorporates much material from Foster’s earlier books, including the entirety of *Echoes of Egyptian Voices* (Norman, 1992) and selections from *Love Songs of the New Kingdom* (Austin, 1974; 1992) and *Hymns, Prayers and Songs: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Lyric Poetry* (Atlanta, 1995). In addition, Foster publishes here for the first time his renderings of *The Satire of the Trades*, *The Prophecy of Neferti*, *The Instruction for Merikare* and *The Teaching of Amenemope*, as well as two shorter works: a love poem (P. Harris 500 rt 2.5–9) and an extract from the miscellanies (P. Anastasi IV 11.8–12.5).

The translations are prefaced by a good general discussion of the myriad problems involved in breathing life into ancient texts, discussing the problems of resurrecting a totally dead language and touching on the great antiquity of the Egyptian as opposed to the Biblical and Classical traditions. Particularly interesting for the general reader will be the lengthy account of the various stages of producing a modern translation, from collating manuscripts, through producing an eclectic text and literal translation and finally to an idiomatic translation. This amply demonstrates the manifold potential pitfalls that await the student of Egyptian literature.

Foster discusses once again the vexed topic of prosody and thought couplets, and likens Egyptian poetry to the free verse of ‘modernist American poets’ (p. xvi), thus implicitly discounting more formal modes of metrical analysis (for which cf. G. Fecht, ‘Prosodie’, *LÄ* IV, 1127–54). Foster’s division of the texts into ‘thought couplets’ sometimes works well, and few would deny the importance of parallelism and pairing as Egyptian rhetorical devices. However, in several places Foster’s couplets appear strained and it is hardly possible that they can represent the underlying structure of the poems. For example, in ‘My love is one and only’ (p. 20) his translation ignores the ancient verse pointing, and some of the lines that form the couplets are not present in the Egyptian at all.

The question of what constitutes ancient Egyptian literature has been much debated, and Foster takes a pleasingly broad interpretation incorporating not just the *belles lettres* of the Middle and New Kingdoms, but also religious and mortuary texts, scribal miscellanies and royal hymns. The inclusion of less well known texts such as a selection of hymns from P. Leiden I 350 and *Menna’s Lament* (Chicago Ostrakon 12074) is particularly rewarding. Another nice touch is the inclusion of hieroglyphic versions of several passages from the translated texts. One minor disappointment is that the texts are not arranged in any chronological order, and so the reader gets no impression of the range and development of genres at different stages of Egyptian history. Indeed, it is a pity that a book of this title provides no translations of Demotic literature at all and thus ignores the intellectual and poetic efforts of the last millennium of ancient Egyptian history.

Foster lays great stress on the fact that his are *poetic* translations: whereas a scholarly but literal translation preserves only the intellectual meaning of the texts, he strives to produce a ‘text transfigured’ wherein are conveyed the ‘incident, mood or emotion that seems to inspire the original poem’ (p. xx). This approach is responsible for both the strengths and weaknesses of the anthology. Foster is gifted with considerable poetic talent, and often produces an English rendering whose beauty and im-



mediacy are startling: in 'Oh, I'm bound downstream on the Memphis ferry' (p. 46) he admirably captures the feeling of the poem's persona (insofar as this can be recovered from the text), and his translations contain many resonant lines, such as (p. 163):

Dark be the changes, and dazzling the incarnations  
of God, God of wonders, of the two firmaments...

This poetic ability brings the poems to life in a way seldom achieved in modern times.

However, in several of the poems Foster's translations depart from the literal meaning of the Egyptian originals to a considerable extent. A good example is the poem 'Love, how I'd love to slip down to the pond' (p. 23), whose last two stanzas are impossible to reconcile with the Egyptian text. Most of the translations also gloss over all but the greatest lacunae and obscure passages in the originals. Though this presents a more unified poem to the reader, it risks obscuring the rather large degree of uncertainty in current interpretations of the texts. This broad approach to translation means that some of Foster's poems may best be considered as essentially new works inspired by the ancient Egyptian originals.

Furthermore, in striving before all else for immediacy and directness of emotional impact, Foster sometimes sacrifices certain nuances of Egyptian thought and belief. Apart from the provision of a glossary at the end of the book, the poems are presented with minimal background information and left largely to speak for themselves. This works well with love poetry, whose form and sentiments are perhaps the most accessible to the contemporary Western reader, but it is less successful with the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, where the complex religious and cosmological allusions of the tale are not mentioned at all. The converse of this is that sometimes Foster uses a phrase or word with strong contemporary resonances which does not help to convey the meaning of the original. For example, in a prayer to Amun, what translated literally would be 'Give breath, Amun!' (*jmj t'w Jmn*) he renders as 'Give us our Lebensraum, Father!' (p. 123).

Foster's translations of the major teachings, tales and discourses of the Middle Kingdom seem overall to be his most literal, though occasionally he offers new textual interpretations which are not convincing, such as translating *wnn ms ntj jm m ntr 'nh* as 'But to be one who is over there with living God' (p. 63). In some cases the translations also rely a little too heavily on disputed readings, such as those of H. Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with his Ba* (Baltimore, 1970). Nevertheless they prove on the whole to be very readable and are frequently enlivened by Foster's imaginative use of English. Foster generally accepts the authorship claims made by the poems, dating *The Teaching of Ptahhotep* to the Fifth Dynasty and *The Teaching for Merikare* to the First Intermediate Period.

Overall this is a lively, eminently readable book which frequently conveys the feeling of the original texts in a refreshingly direct way. The linguist may certainly object to Foster's free approach to the texts, but this does not necessarily diminish the value of the anthology: many of the poems deserve to be read as English literature in their own right, as well as for the sake of the ancient originals that stand behind them. The very accessibility of Foster's style will hopefully interest a wider reading public in the masterpieces of Egyptian literature, and this is surely to be welcomed by all Egyptologists.

ROLAND ENMARCH

*Minshat Abu Omar I. Ein vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Friedhof im Nildelta: Gräber 1–114.* By KARLA KROEPER and DIETRICH WILDUNG. Pp. xxii + 167, figs., pls., folding plans, tables. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1994. ISBN 3 8053 1623 2. Price not stated.

*Minshat Abu Omar II. Ein vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Friedhof im Nildelta: Gräber 115–204.* By KARLA KROEPER and DIETRICH WILDUNG. Pp. xviii + 177, figs., pls., folding plans, tables. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1994. ISBN 3 8053 2678 5. Price Euros 72.

Volume I starts with an Introduction, in which the history of the Munich excavations (since 1966) at Minshat Abu Omar is presented, along with details on the topography of the site and the organisation of the expedition. Tell 'A' appeared to have been the cemetery of the site, producing both Pre- and Protodynastic graves on the one hand, and Late Period and Graeco-Roman burials on the other. Tell 'B' contained settlement remains from the Late Period onwards. Survey activities showed a settlement area considerably more extensive than the confinements of Tell 'B' proper. Most of the finds are now in the

Cairo and Munich museums. Three more similar volumes are planned for the complete publication of the early cemetery, with an additional sixth evaluation volume.

A section on the technical principles of the publication of each single tomb and its contents precedes the catalogue proper and includes information on dating, colour, and descriptions of the human remains and of the pottery and the terminology associated with the latter (according to the Vienna System). This section is repeated in volume II. The undisputed dating criteria, mentioned on p. xiv, are more extensively documented in K. Kroeper, 'The Excavations of the Munich East-Delta Expedition in Minshat Abu Omar', in E. C. M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta* (Amsterdam, 1988), 11–46.

There is also a list of excavation campaigns and staff members, a concordance between tomb and publication numbers and a Bibliography, an update to which is given in volume II (p. xi). Extensive maps, folding plans, line drawings and photographs (some in colour) provide the illustrative material.

For the descriptions of the individual tombs, it is fortunate that photographs of all tomb layouts have been included. The corresponding tomb drawings are very schematic as regards the location and position of the skeletons and offer hardly any additional information compared to the excellent photographs. Another drawback is the lack of reference numbers for the grave goods in these drawings; in the case of several similar pieces of pottery in one tomb, for example, nos. 9 (755), 19 (756), 45 (184), 64 (202), or, in volume II, 119 (816) and 137 (866), it is often difficult to link individual objects (which are, incidentally, very well drawn) to their position in the tomb layout, notwithstanding a description of this position in the text. The only cases where this has been observed is for no. 89 (330) and, in volume II, 142 (322).

One striking feature shared by the tomb repertoire as presented in these volumes is the extreme scarcity of flint tools. Of the 204 tombs, only about 10 (about 4 %) contained one or more of these. Unfortunately, only five of these tools are provided with a more or less extensive description (I, pp. 141–2 and II, pp. 130, 141 and 158), and not all are drawn. From the same tomb, an unidentified needle-shaped ivory object (no. 4) could very well be a throw-stick for use in board-games.<sup>1</sup> Another rarity is the occurrence of only one mace-head in Tomb 145 (224), in II, p. 61.

WILLEM M. VAN HAARLEM

*Umm el-Qaab I. Das Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse.* By GUNTER DREYER, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 86. Pp. ix +195, figs., pls., folding plans, tables. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1998. ISBN 3 8053 2486 3. Price not stated.

This book is divided into the following parts: general layout of Tomb U-j; ceramics; other finds; conclusions; index of signs; and an appendix on the botanical investigations. In principle, the tomb is to be interpreted as a copy of the palace of the living ruler, with some additional storage rooms, built in a second construction phase. The separate rooms and their contents are listed, although many of them were found almost empty due to earlier robberies and excavations. The ruler is in all probability to be identified as 'Scorpion', and the tomb is sequentially anchored in the tradition of tomb construction in Abydos.

The pottery is divided into Egyptian and imported wares, and the former again into marl and Nile clay vessels. Of these, the marl vessels are mainly wavy-handled jars, while the Nile wares show more variation, being pointed jars, bowls, plates and bread moulds. Many of the wavy-handled jars carry inscriptions in ink, which are all reproduced in the next section. Scorpions, 'Fingerschnecke'?, fish, cows' heads, birds, ships and vegetation are among the representations. An extensive analysis of the meaning of these signs (probably origin designations) follows.

The imported ware is treated in the next section. This was mostly of Palestinian origin; analysis of the remaining contents has shown that these vessels almost exclusively contained wine. Seal impressions from clay stoppers are only found with this ware.

The next section catalogues the other small finds: labels, ivory and bone objects (for instance gaming pieces), miscellaneous objects and stone vessels. The labels (almost 200 of them) are especially

<sup>1</sup> G. Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab, I. Das Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse* (AVDAIK 86; Mainz, 1998), 151–64.

instructive. They are incised with numbers, human and animal figures, and stylized plants, which are to be considered as examples of real writing to indicate more detailed places of origin than the signs on pottery. Next come objects like an ivory sceptre, jewellery and make-up items, gaming pieces and throwsticks. The miscellaneous objects comprise items such as flints and beads and the remains of wooden packing cases. Among the relatively few stone vessels (most of them were probably stolen) is a remarkable obsidian bowl with two hands in relief on the outside. Some intrusive objects conclude the catalogue.

The evaluation chapter discusses the identities and sequence of the kings based in Abydos, as derived from the finds in U-j and from other evidence. The reference on p. 175 for Taf. 43 (concerning Oxford II) should be corrected to Abb. 104. That the King Scorpion (I) of U-j is different from the King Scorpion (II) of the Ashmolean mace-head seems to be convincing enough from the discussion on pp. 173–80, although some regard them as identical.<sup>1</sup> The chronological data do not seem to allow that, however, as the circumstantial evidence for both testifies.

Chapter 20 on the development of writing is very brief and leaves the question of Mesopotamian influence on the origin of writing in Egypt open. A list of signs is added. In the Appendix, some botanical remains are analysed; most of the wood samples are identified as cedar from Lebanon, and other samples investigated were found to be the remains of mats and barley.

WILLEM M. VAN HAARLEM

*Umm el-Qaab II. Importkeramik aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab) und die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* By ULRICH HARTUNG. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 92. Pp. xvi + 481, pls. 29, charts, plans. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 2001. ISBN 3 8053 2784 6. Price Euros 144.

It is not often that a single archaeological discovery comprehensively rewrites the textbooks, not even in Egypt, which has produced more than its fair share of spectacular finds. In the annals of Egyptology, the tomb of Tutankhamun and the Amarna letters should in future be joined by another, less famous though no less important discovery: tomb U-j at Abydos. Excavated in 1988–9 by the German Archaeological Institute, under the direction of Günter Dreyer, this tomb of a late Predynastic (c. 3150 BC) ruler has turned out to be the most important single source of evidence for the later stages of state formation in Egypt, with all its associated phenomena, from writing, to economic management, to foreign trade. A few examples of the objects found in tomb U-j serve to underline its importance: a royal sceptre of ivory, the earliest corpus of writing yet discovered, and hundreds of jars which are un-Egyptian in appearance.

It is this last group of objects that forms the core of Ulrich Hartung's magisterial study. To him fell the enviable, if daunting, task of studying and publishing the 350-plus vessels of foreign appearance from tomb U-j, together with the comparable material from some two dozen other Predynastic tombs in Cemetery U. As if this enterprise were not enough, Hartung has also expanded on the Abydos discoveries with a detailed analysis of Egypt's relations with the Near East during the fourth millennium BC. The result, at 500-odd pages and over 3 kg, is a volume of epic proportions and extraordinary scope, a weighty tome in every sense of the word.

The volume is as detailed, comprehensive and attractively presented as we have come to expect from the publications of the German Archaeological Institute. The only disappointment is the number of colour plates at the end. Given the cost of full-colour reproduction, the focus on pottery thin-sections is understandable in a work dedicated primarily to ceramic analysis. Nevertheless, since the vessels themselves are so unusual and attractive, it is a shame that only a single colour plate was produced for pictures of complete pots. Likewise, the black-and-white photographs are rather selective. However, what the book lacks in photographs it certainly makes up for in charts and plans; these are particularly impressive.

After a brief introduction setting out the nature of the topic, the current state of research, the sources of evidence and the methodology, Part 1 of the book (pp. 5–241) constitutes the excavation report proper. Hartung begins by recounting the excavation of Cemetery U and of tomb U-j. He then describes

<sup>1</sup> Discussion on the 'Egyptologists Electronic Forum' (<http://welcome.to/EEF>) of May 2002.

the foreign-looking pottery, dividing it into twelve main groups according to fabric. This is followed by a discussion of the function and provenance of the vessels. Many of the vessels still contained residues of their original contents, and it emerges that they were used for storing wine. Hartung estimates that the tomb once contained a staggering 4500 litres (equivalent to 6000 bottles): a veritable cellar for the afterlife!

Much more problematic is the question of provenance. Since their initial discovery, the vessels from tomb U-j have been termed 'imported'. Certainly, in shape, decoration and technology they are very different from the standard corpus of late Predynastic Upper Egyptian pottery. They undoubtedly look foreign. Hartung himself expresses certainty that they were imported from the Near East, present-day central and northern Israel, the West Bank and Jordan to be more precise. Comparison with archaeological material from these areas and chemical analysis of the vessels and their contents all seem to point in this direction. However, as we shall see later, it is not quite an 'open-and-shut case'.

The most impressive aspect of Part 1 is the complete pottery catalogue which includes a line drawing of every vessel at a 1:4 scale, accompanied by a technical description. The arrangement of these 72 plates—descriptions on the left-hand page, illustrations on the facing right-hand page—is particularly user-friendly and commendable. This is how every publication of excavated pottery should be presented.

As intriguing as the pots themselves are the clay sealings that were found with them. Their peculiar designs, combining animals set within geometric patterns, seem to reflect a hybrid Egyptian–Near Eastern inspiration. Without clear parallels from either tradition, the sealings are difficult to interpret, and any suggestions as to how they should be 'read' must necessarily be guesswork. Nevertheless, as Hartung correctly observes, they clearly demonstrate the existence of a sophisticated administrative apparatus in Egypt, some 150 years before the beginning of the First Dynasty. This is also reflected in the sheer volume of wine represented by the U-j vessels, which would have required considerable logistical expertise to transport. Analysis of the clay used for the sealings shows that they were made in Egypt. It is impossible to say whether the contents of tomb U-j represent trade goods or gifts; in either case, the fact that the wine was sealed within the borders of Egypt indicates that there was probably a central facility for processing imports—in other words, a Predynastic customs point—which may have been located in the Delta. While Hartung's interpretations of one motif as the emblem of the goddess Neith and another as a boat seem a little tenuous, there is no doubt that places like Buto and Minshat Abu Omar on the Delta coast played an important role in foreign trade in the later Predynastic Period. More easily decoded are the emblems of royal authority displayed on two of the sealing designs: a rosette and the figure of a man holding a staff. They suggest that foreign trade may effectively have been a royal monopoly from Predynastic times, as it was in later periods.

Summarising the new material from Cemetery U, Hartung writes that it 'schließt eine chronologische Lücke im Bild der ägyptisch-Kanaanäischen Beziehungen'. This statement is a curtain-raiser for Part 2 of the book (pp. 245–388), which is nothing less than the most comprehensive survey yet published of the archaeological evidence for Egyptian contacts with the Near East during the fourth millennium BC. The thoroughness with which Hartung has undertaken this project is impressive. He divides his survey into three: Near Eastern imports and influences from Egypt; Egyptian material from the Near East; and a comparison of the two sources of evidence. Artefacts of foreign origin or inspiration from Predynastic Egyptian contexts are surprisingly numerous and varied. Hartung deals separately with pottery, stone (including turquoise, lapis lazuli and obsidian), metals, organic materials (wood, resin and gum, and asphalt), and finally architectural elements and settlement remains. For each class of material, Hartung lists every example of secure provenance and date. This makes his work an immensely valuable reference source for scholars interested in Early Bronze Age trade networks. The fold-out charts succeed in presenting a vast quantity of material in an attractive visual format, and help to tease out chronological and geographical relationships between sites and finds.

A curious artefact is the fragment of red-slipped pottery found in a grave at Badari in Middle Egypt. Hartung (p. 258) does not consider this to be a genuine import, but rather, a piece inspired by foreign forms. However, close analysis of the sherd (held today in the Petrie Museum, London) reveals it to be almost certainly of foreign manufacture.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the closest parallels are not from the Levant but from further afield in northern Mesopotamia. Hartung rather plays down the importance of the

<sup>1</sup> T. A. H. Wilkinson, 'Uruk into Egypt: Imports and Imitations', in N. Postgate (ed.), *Artefacts of Complexity: Tracking the Uruk in the Near East* (Warminster, 2002), 237–48.

Egyptian–Mesopotamian axis in the fourth millennium BC, preferring to concentrate on the evidence for Egypt's relations with the Levant. In his eagerness to demonstrate the primacy of southern Palestine as 'the most important trading partner at all periods', he even doubts the idea that there were direct contacts at all between the Egyptian and Mesopotamian realms. This is slightly surprising given the abundant iconographic and architectural evidence for Mesopotamian influence in late Predynastic Egypt, not to mention Petrie's discovery of the head from an apparently Sumerian statue in the temple at Abydos, only a short distance from tomb U-j, and very likely dating to the same period.<sup>2</sup> It is all too easy to cast prehistoric foreign relations purely in terms of trade, forgetting that contacts between cultures usually involve personal interaction on at least some level. Hartung also discounts the foreign provenance of another artefact found in Middle Egypt, a cylinder seal from Matmar. Again, its material and manufacture strongly suggest that it was brought to Egypt from the Mesopotamian world.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most interesting conclusions to emerge from Hartung's study of fourth millennium BC foreign relations is the extent and importance of Badarian contacts with the Near East, via the Red Sea coast and the Sinai peninsula. The earliest examples of imported Near Eastern pottery, turquoise, copper, malachite and coniferous wood are all found in Badarian contexts. When, in the later Predynastic Period, the emergent Upper Egyptian polities sought to tap into the Near Eastern trading networks, the Badari region seems to have played an important role. Hartung speculates (p. 339) that the old route from Middle Egypt via the Wadi Asyuti to the Red Sea was brought back into use, and that the Badari region was the gateway to the Near Eastern world for Predynastic Upper Egypt.

This is a fascinating and attractive theory which fits with the increasingly abundant evidence for the importance of the Eastern Desert in prehistory. In recent years, there has been an upsurge in interest and activity in Egypt's desert margins, and it is unfortunate that Hartung has relied rather too heavily on older publications. For example, in his discussion of the petroglyphs of boats from the Eastern Desert, he states (following Winkler's published results from the 1930s) that square boats—once thought to be of Mesopotamian inspiration—are found mostly in two wadis without links to the Red Sea. Even though Hartung is right in dismissing theories of 'Eastern Invaders' having played a part in the formation of the Egyptian state, he should have taken into account the abundant boat petroglyphs from the Wadi Barramiya,<sup>4</sup> one of the main routes from the Nile Valley to the Red Sea from prehistoric times up to the present day.

Hartung's analysis of Egyptian contacts with the Near East demonstrates, above all, the vibrancy of international trade in the fourth millennium BC. Then, as now, Egypt exploited its geographical position at the crossroads of Africa and Asia. The owner of tomb U-j was as keen a participant in long-distance exchange as any of his contemporaries, even if the flow of goods was still at that point controlled by the Palestinians. It is likely that the Egyptian rulers' desire to control this trade for themselves was one of the principal motives for the political unification of the country a few generations later.

Part 3 (pp. 391–481) contains the appendices, in the form of various expert scientific analyses of the vessels from Cemetery U and their contents. F. Feindt examines the botanical remains, identifying grapes and figs; his findings are confirmed by P. E. McGovern, D. L. Glusker and L. J. Exner who conclude that the vessels originally contained 'resinated wine flavoured with fig' (p. 399), somewhat akin to the *retsina* of modern Greece. T. Schlüter and R. Kohring identify parts of beetles and lizard bones among the faunal remains from inside the vessels. The final chapter, containing analyses of the pottery itself, is also the most controversial part of the whole book. While two of the studies, the Neutron Activation Analysis by P. E. McGovern and the X-ray fluorescence analysis by A. Pape, conclude that the vast majority of the vessels were manufactured in the Levant and imported into Egypt, the petrographic analysis by N. Porat and Y. Goren reaches the opposite conclusion. They argue (p. 479) that 'the particular combination of clay and temper or the petrographic details point to non-Canaanite sources'. Even more startling is their hypothesis that the bulk of the 'imported' pottery was in fact made in Upper Egypt, possibly in the Qena area (which remains an important centre of pottery production to this day). Their preliminary study of the geological maps of the Wadi Qena lead them to believe that all the materials attested in the U-j pottery corpus could be acquired locally. Moreover, from their

<sup>2</sup> For the best illustration of this curious artefact, see M. Rice, *Egypt's Making* (London, 1990), fig. 36.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. Payne, *Catalogue of the Predynastic Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1993), 203.

<sup>4</sup> G. Fuchs, 'Rock Engravings in the Wadi el-Barramiya, Eastern Desert of Egypt', *African Archaeological Review* 7 (1989), 127–54; id., 'Petroglyphs in the Eastern Desert of Egypt: New Finds in the Wadi el-Barramiya', *Sahara* 4 (1991), 59–70; see also D. Rohl (ed.), *The Followers of Horus. Eastern Desert Survey*, I (Basingstoke, 2000).

long experience of Levantine pottery, they are quite adamant that the U-j vessels do not belong to a Near Eastern ceramic tradition.

This fundamental disagreement between the Egyptologist (Hartung) and his Near Easternist colleagues is characteristic of the response when archaeologists encounter artefacts that fall outside their familiar repertoire. The vessels from U-j look decidedly un-Egyptian, hence the assumption of the Egyptologist that they must be imports. But to archaeologists familiar with Near Eastern material they also look 'foreign'. How can this dilemma be resolved? Certainly, the contents of the vessels point to an origin outside the borders of Egypt, since there is little evidence for extensive viticulture in Egypt until a somewhat later period. Yet, it is conceivable that imported wine may have been transferred from its original containers into Egyptian-made vessels, perhaps at the time that it was sealed and processed at a central facility. All commentators agree that at least some of the vessels from U-j were made locally (p. 240). The potters of Predynastic Egypt were certainly able to copy foreign forms for specific purposes and adopt them into their own ceramic production, as demonstrated by the Palestinian-inspired wavy-handled jars that became such a distinctive feature of the Upper Egyptian pottery corpus in the middle of the fourth millennium bc.

There is also an increasing amount of evidence for foreign craftsmen having worked within Egypt. The V-shaped bowls from the earliest settlement level at Buto (discussed by Hartung on p. 257) seem to have been made by a community of Chalcolithic Palestinians living within the Delta settlement, using local clays but their own distinctive technology. From a later period, the recently discovered 'Minoan' frescoes from a late Seventeenth/early Eighteenth Dynasty palace at Tell ed-Daba may represent a similar phenomenon: works created in an Egyptian setting by foreign or foreign-trained craftsmen. These and other examples beg many questions, and may lead us to rethink our approach to other well-known Predynastic objects such as the Gebel el-Arak knife. Once again, our picture of Predynastic Egypt and its relations with neighbouring peoples and cultures may have to be expanded beyond mere trade to encompass direct, personal contacts as well.<sup>5</sup>

If the pottery from tomb U-j at Abydos raises more questions than it answers, this only underlines its potential for changing our understanding of Egyptian society at the dawn of history. Hartung is to be congratulated for presenting this key evidence in so exemplary a fashion, and for stimulating debate on some of the key, unresolved issues surrounding the late Predynastic Period. Metaphorically speaking, his monumental volume is the last word in excavation reports, but it is unlikely to be the last word on the fascinating subject of early Egypt's contacts with the Near East.

TOBY WILKINSON

*Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara.* By HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 42. Pp. 287, pls. 104 (8 in colour), figs. 41, plans 6. Mainz am Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1998. ISBN 3 8053 0504 4. Price Euros 155.

Lack of data from the large and important tomb of the vizier Mehu at Saqqara has for many years been one of the great gaps in our information about the high officials of the Old Kingdom. This became very clear to me when working on this subject many years ago, but I was fortunate enough then to be permitted to visit the tomb by the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation. Thus I was delighted when Altenmüller's long-promised publication appeared.

The tomb lies very close to the pyramid of Unas, between the enclosure wall of the Step Pyramid and the causeway of Unas. It is a large rectangular mastaba with six rooms and an open court, and one large shaft with a burial chamber. The tomb was found in the 1939–40 season by Zaki Y. Saad and Abdel Salam M. Hussein, at which time restorations were also made.<sup>1</sup> The tomb was one of the best preserved mastabas to be discovered at Saqqara. As well as the chambers of Mehu, one storeroom was adapted for his son (?) Ankhmeryre, while Hetepka, another descendant, perhaps a grandson, set up a false door in the court.

<sup>5</sup> T. A. H. Wilkinson 'Reality versus Ideology: the Evidence for "Asiatics" in Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt', in E. C. M. van den Brink and T. E. Levy (eds), *Egypt and the Levant* (London, 2002), 514–20.

<sup>1</sup> See Z. Y. Saad, 'A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Saqqara 1939' *ASAE* 40 (1940), 687–90, and A. S. M. Hussein, 'The Reparation of the Mastaba of Mehu at Saqqara (1940)', *ASAE* 42 (1943), 417–25. Details of the discovery do not appear to be provided in the present publication.

The publication concentrates on the wall decoration, although there is a section on the architecture. This is deliberate, because of the manner in which archaeological concessions have been arranged on the Unas causeway. The area in which the tomb of Mehu is located belongs, strictly speaking, in the concession of Peter Munro, but it was agreed in the 1970s that Altenmüller would publish the decoration, and Munro the architecture and results of excavations in the area. There is as yet no sign of the latter appearing. Altenmüller has provided readers with perfectly adequate plans and sections of the mastaba which will more than suffice until the Munro publication appears.

The chapel is an excellent example of a mastaba of the early Sixth Dynasty. Altenmüller adopts a slightly earlier dating (late in the reign of Teti) than has been generally accepted, arguing that the title associating Mehu with the pyramid of Pepy I could in fact have been inscribed after his death and burial; he sees Mehu as being roughly contemporary with Kagemni. The location of the tomb in the Unas cemetery might argue for his being an official of considerable standing at the end of the Fifth Dynasty. However, good parallels for the scenes may be seen in the mastabas of Kagemni, Mereruka, Khentyka and Ankhmahor, all of which are situated near the Teti pyramid and date from the reign of Teti to well into the reign of Pepy I.

Altenmüller's discussions illustrate how difficult it is to resolve the relationships of the principal individuals in the mastaba. The name of Mehu's eldest son has been removed (it might have been Mery), and his role could have been taken over by a son named Hetepka, who later changed his name to Ankhmeryre. The name Hetepka runs in the family, and was also the name of the son of Ankhmeryre who added the false door in the court. The names of two spouses of Mehu are preserved in the tomb.

The very numerous scenes in the chapels are mostly well preserved. The quality of the carving is variable, ranging from very high quality to a less accomplished style, the latter particularly in the case of the chapel of Ankhmeryre; such variation is also seen in the famous tomb of Mereruka of similar date, and also in the chapel of the latter's son Meryteti in his father's mastaba. There are many scenes of 'daily life', and the tomb will remain an important source for the study of the captions to Old Kingdom scenes, which are highly numerous: for example, I note depictions of fishing, catching birds, metalwork, and market and garden scenes, as well as the ubiquitous butchery and offering scenes. The most common depictions are of processions of offering bearers, which stress the wealth and power Mehu possessed.

Turning to the publication itself, each of these scenes is carefully described and analysed, and the texts given in (rather poor) hand copies, and transliterated and translated. No detail is spared, and this, of course, results in a very substantial book, at a substantial price. But quality does not come cheap, and quality it is which is presented to the reader here. Each scene is given a sequential number, and diagrams are provided to locate the scenes on the walls. Black and white photographs by Dieter Johannes are presented of all walls, and many which still bear pigment are also shown in colour plates. The colours are also verbally described using the standard canonical colours of 'red, green, yellow' and so on (no objective colour-measuring system is used).

I do not pretend to have read every word of all 287 pages of this book, but I have used it for research and find it, in general, highly satisfactory. There are bound to be points of disagreement and the occasional error in any work of this scale.<sup>2</sup> I have often said in reviews of DAI books that more use of line drawings would be advantageous; these were used to great effect in, for example, Altenmüller and Moussa's earlier publication of Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhotep. It sometimes seems as if having the services of an excellent photographer such as Johannes, and a superb printer of photographs such as Philipp von Zabern, means that it is felt that drawings can be dispensed with. But photographs are rarely shown to the same scale, and usually no indication of the relative size is provided; a careful line drawing can filter out many of the attention-diverting features in a photograph. That said, I can understand the reluctance of the author to draw row upon row of offering bearers. However, there are some scenes, notably the painted decoration in the pillared portico, which are primarily published in verbal description (pp. 205–7, pl. 102.5) and which cry out for a drawing.

A little more in the way of annotated plans to enable the reader to locate the numbered scenes within the chapel would complement well the wall diagrams, as would cross-references from the plates to the

<sup>2</sup> At the risk of seeming churlish, I note the following: p. 134, right column, at (b): Sz. 23.5 should be 24.4; p. 142, end of T180, (b) should read (a); did the author mean not to translate *imakhu*-texts such as in T298 on p. 178 or T349 on p. 190? Also, Taf. 103 has been badly printed.

text. As it is, the reader is required to look up the scene number in the table of contents and then turn to the required page. The same can be said for the text numbers, which can only be found by turning the pages until the right number is located. 'User-friendliness' perhaps needs to be considered by more authors of tomb publications.

This book is an excellent example of what can be achieved by full and detailed publication. At the same time as I was writing this review I was also reviewing Naguib Kanawati's *Tombs at Giza I* for another journal, and was struck by the different approaches. Kanawati has to be commended for his speedy publication approach, while Egyptology has waited more than twenty years for *Mehu*. Nonetheless, even allowing for the difference in scope between the monuments in these two books, Altenmüller's excellent publication shows what can be achieved over time, and why ultimately the fully detailed approach is the right one if it can be seen through to completion. *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu* should serve as a model for how to publish the decoration of an Old Kingdom tomb if the time and resources can be made available. Altenmüller deserves our highest praise for his work and his fortitude in seeing it through to publication.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

*Die Felsinschriften des Wadi Hilâl.* By HANS VANDEKERCKHOVE (†) and RENATE MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN, with a contribution and plans by FRANS DEPUYDT and photographs by ARPAG MEKHITARIAN. *Elkab VI*. 2 volumes. I. Text: Pp. 423. II. Plates: Pp. xix, 202, four folders. Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2001. ISBN 2 503 51023 X. Price Euros 297.

The splendid final publication of the hundreds of rock inscriptions of Elkab took Egyptology more than a hundred years. First came R. Lepsius, in 1873 L. Stern and G. Ebers, followed by J. Fraser, A. Sayce and F. W. Green just before the turn of the twentieth century. J. M. A. Janssen and A. Mekhitarian began in 1949–50 a registration of the rock inscriptions and their publication; the project came to an end with the death of Janssen in 1963. In 1981, the Comité des Fouilles Belges en Égypte launched a further project to complete the registration of the inscriptions, and entrusted Hans Vandekerckhove with their publication. Hans spent four campaigns (1981–7) collating the inscriptions, and in 1989, at Ghent University, he finished his PhD dissertation about the 480 Old Kingdom rock inscriptions of Elkab. He went to Tübingen University to complete the final publication, and I still remember several talks with Hans about the fascinating world of the Elkab rock inscriptions. Quite unexpectedly, Hans Vandekerckhove died on 10 November, 1989—a shock for all who knew him as a friend and colleague. Fortunately, Renate Müller-Wollermann took over his unfinished manuscript, translated it from the Dutch language, incorporated 148 more inscriptions and prepared the final publication—which is excellent but too expensive, I have to say.

The area of the ancient city of Nekheb/Elkab, on the east bank about 15 km north of Edfu, is characterized by the wide plain of the mouth of Wadi Hilal into the Nile valley, surrounded by cliffs of Nubian sandstone (see map as pl. 1 in volume II). It displays the ruins of the main temple (*pr wr*) of the city's goddess, the vulture Nekhbet, and the huge surrounding temenos walls, some Old Kingdom mastabas, a row of Old, Middle and New Kingdom rock tombs, and a temple about 3.5 km north-east from the walls into the desert, the 'upper temple' (*hwt-ntr hrt*), built by Amenophis III very probably on the site of an older building. Modern tourists normally do not realize the existence of hundreds of rock inscriptions, concentrated at five different places.

The most important of these are two impressive sandstone boulders where travellers coming from the wadi desert route can see the plain and the Nile valley for the first time. A huge isolated boulder 15 m in height, called 'vulture rock' (spot 64 on pl. 1, maps I–II, pl. 50) and labelled 'N' after F. W. Green's map from 1896, displays 280 inscriptions. The second boulder is north-east of the vulture rock, and lower ('O', spot 69, map III), just in front of the desert temple of Amenophis III, with 313 inscriptions. About 300 m to the north-east of the Ptolemaic hemispeos sanctuary (spot 57) is a further group of twelve inscriptions only ('M', spot 62 on pl. 1). The other, post-Old Kingdom inscriptions are grouped on the cliffs of the rock tombs (sixteen inscriptions 'F', spot 53), and six inscriptions are on another free-standing rock, the 12 m high Borg el-Hammam ('the dovecote'; labelled 'W', spot 77) at the southern end of Wadi Hilal. At least the vulture rock (N) and place 'M' were found suitable for graffiti



by travellers before Old Kingdom times, as several rock drawings demonstrate; these are visible on the plates but were not discussed in the book (the rock drawings of Elkab are treated by Dirk Huyge).

All 627 rock inscriptions are treated following the same formal scheme: number, position (marked on detailed maps of the spots), bibliography, description and technique (see pp. 23 f.), date, text in computer-generated standardized hieroglyphs, transcription, and translation with a commentary. The readings of the texts mostly can be checked against the excellent photographs, and there are facsimiles for 24 inscriptions in volume II.

Though we have thousands of tombs and several royal pyramids and pyramid temples, we still do not know much about religious life in Old Kingdom times, especially from beyond the residential areas in northern Egypt. Every tiny bit that adds to our knowledge about 'provincial' beliefs and customs is warmly welcome. The vast majority of the Elkab Old Kingdom inscriptions consists of title(s) and name(s) only, but there are some written by priests who wanted to tell posterity something more. They are composed adhering to roughly the same scheme, as a set of short, self-descriptive, laudatory phrases in the style of Old Kingdom autobiographies, and they offer a unique insight into the religious customs of the clergy in a provincial town. Some of the inscriptions begin with a date: 'Day of the regeneration of the year' (*rnpw rnpt*: N2, N9; see, too, U. Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung des ägyptischen Mittleren Reiches nach dem Tempelarchiv von Illahun* (Vienna, 1992), 167 f.), or 'Day of acting in the desert in the upper temple ...' (*jrw m ḥꜣst ḥwt-nṯr ḥrt* ...: O74, O144, N5 (?)). It follows the introduction of the author by title(s) and name and a mention of the actions: the going forth (*prj*) to the upper temple in the desert to perform the 'festival of sanctification of the land for/of Nekhbet' (*ḏsr-tꜣ nj Nḥbt*: N5, N6, N9, O54, O65), the successful fulfilment of his priestly duty with the result that he was praised by his superior, the *djaseti*-priest (N5, N6, O54, O65), and the remark that his coming was awaited (by the other priests) in the desert (N5, N6, O74). We can imagine groups of *ḥm-nṯr*-priests, led by their supervisors (*shd*) and superiors, the overseer of priests (*jmj-rꜣ ḥmw-nṯr*) and the *djaseti*-priest, and a 'crew of (clerical) rowers' (*hn(y)t*, N5, pls.18, 60b [*sic!*])—recalling the well-known later processions of sacred barques with the god's image—in a solemn procession from Nekhbet's city temple to the 'upper temple' in the desert plain where certain ceremonies took place. The priestly authors were silent about these, and accordingly, some had the additional title of a 'master of secrets' (*hrj-sstꜣ*, 'Geheimnistäger' in German). The yearly performance of the festival seemed an occasion appropriate for the priests to incise graffiti, some of them well-composed and produced with considerable expense, into the surface of the two 'sacred' rocks near the temple, amounting to hundreds in the course of the Sixth Dynasty.

These manifestations of the wish for immortalization of the priests' pious acts antedate the well-known graffiti of the Theban priests for the cult of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Sankhkare Mentuhotep and Amun-Re during the local 'festival of the valley' (PM I, 669) by more than three hundred years. Comparable to the ceremonial bond tied between city temple and desert temple of Nekhbet at Elkab is the procedure of another festival, the yearly procession of the goddess Anuket on land and on water between the temples of Elephantine and the island of Sehel that was commemorated also by hundreds of rock inscriptions.

The eloquence of these Sixth Dynasty priests is astonishing, and in sharp contrast to the evidence of later periods. Why are there so very few Middle and New Kingdom rock inscriptions, despite Amenophis III's building of a new desert temple, and although activities in this sacred area are attested up to Ptolemaic times?

The corpus of rock inscriptions is followed by an analytical section (pp. 281 ff.), which could serve as an annotated index to them. It starts with a catalogue of the 178 proper names mentioned, augmented by remarks on types of filiation, on the custom that several names could be owned by one individual (*rn nfr*, *njs m*, double and triple names), on short and nicknames, and on the heredity of names. Unfortunately, there is no attempt to sort the inscriptions by a prosopographical approach: which were produced by the same man or family? Although there is reference to the contemporary rock tombs, namely, that of *Sꜣ-wj-kꜣ*, and an offering-table of Shemai from Elkab, kept today at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (pp. 16 f.), this is certainly only a beginning in trying to tie together a net of correlations between the rock inscriptions and the people of Elkab known from other sources. The history of Elkab was also dealt with by Hartwig Hartmann, in his PhD dissertation at Mainz University (1989), *Necheb und Nechebet. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kultortes Elkab*. What about the Elkab tomb owners Kaimeni and the supervisor of priests Nefershemem, whose fine statue is now in Philadelphia's University Museum (E16160: *Expedition 21/2* (winter 1979), 35 fig. 53, and a second statue: Cairo CG 650;

PM V, 175; H. G. Fischer, *Dendera*, 19 n. 82)? It seems impossible to link this Neferhemem with one of his many namesakes known from the rock inscriptions. But was there really a longer time gap between 'Fourth Dynasty' tombs and Sixth Dynasty rock inscriptions?

There follows a list of titles (pp. 313–35), amounting in commentaries to 83 in number, with epithets. The comments are sometimes rather detailed but, of course, made without knowledge of D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 2000). The most common titles are 'priest' (*hm-ntr*) and 'supervisor of priests' (*shd hm-ntr*), and remarkably there are no *wab*-priests mentioned in Old Kingdom inscriptions (see too pp. 338 ff.). Important is the discussion of *d3stj*, a specific Elkab priestly title (no. 83, pp. 333 ff., 339 f.). There have been several explanations put forward by Egyptologists, and though I agree with a reading *d3stj*, I raise doubts as to whether we can translate the title properly. The attempt to link it with the root *d3(j)s* by H. Goedicke (*ZÄS* 92 (1965), 33 n. 1) and to translate 'Berater', 'counsellor', is not very convincing. To my mind, *d3js* always has a negative, even hostile, connotation—'to dispute', *d3jsw*, 'the disputant, opponent', and 'strife' (*Siut* III, 7; V, 31), which seems unsuitable for a high ranking priest. The title is unfortunately mixed by D. Jones in his *Index* II, sub no. 3638 with some attestations of *sd3wt*, 'seal'. Appended to title no. 76 (pp. 331 f.), mentioning the *hwt-k3* of Pepi I at Elkab, is a list of the attestations for *ka*-chapels of Sixth Dynasty kings, which were attached to provincial temples.

The section finishes with a short paragraph on the two temples at Elkab, the *pr wr* and the upper temple (pp. 335 ff.), and the hierarchical organization of the priests (pp. 339 ff.). Some of them, like their neighbours from Edfu, obviously were also engaged in mining expeditions, as their titles suggest (*shd-wj3*, *jmj jrtj*, *htmw-ntr*; pp. 341 f.). Accordingly, we find some 'Elkab names' in graffiti in the Eastern Desert Wadi Dungash and Wadi Umm Hode: Anues (*nw.s*, see no. 37, p. 283; R. D. Rothe et al., *JARCE* 33 (1996), fig. 17 [D9], fig. 31 [M1] = R. Klemm and E. Eichler, *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 256 f. [no. 23], pl. 31d, 263 ff. [no. 43], pl. 34d), and Geneg (*Gng*, no. 166, p. 289; R. D. Rothe et al., *JARCE* 33 (1996), fig. 35 [M5] = R. Klemm and E. Eichler, *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 261 [no. 38], pl. 33 f. *htmw-ntr* (*Nfr-k3-r3w*)-*nht*, *rn=f nfr Gng*).

It seems significant that there were obviously no links to the civil administration of the nome at Hierakonpolis opposite, on the west bank of the Nile. Niankhpepi of the Hierakonpolis tomb (p. 346) is not a likely candidate for a Sixth Dynasty nomarch, but probably the original owner of the tomb, called Itjefy, is (see now W. V. Davies, in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 113 ff).

The comments on the techniques of producing rock inscriptions and an extant palaeography are very useful (pp. 23 f., 347 ff.). The differentiation between the terms 'rock inscription' and 'graffito' (p. 9 ff.) seems a little bit artificial to me, though the first term is exact and comprehensive. The criterion of spontaneity is a very variable one, and always a certain amount of planning precedes the production of a graffito, and certainly they were intended and communicative.

Among the few Middle and New Kingdom inscriptions of more interest (e.g. F14, F16, O25, O32, O267b), I found a good old friend as a producer of an Elkab rock inscription: the chamberlain and commander of a troop of workmen Sobekhotep, who immortalized himself on rock O, no. 167 (pl. 165d, 166a): *jmj-r3* *hnwtj hrp skw Sbk-htp m33-hrw jr.n Sbk-htp*, and—I owe this reading to Marcel Marée—his wife *nbt-pr S3t-sbk* in O169 (pl. 166a). Sobekhotep, who lived around the reigns of the kings Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I of the early second quarter of the Thirteenth Dynasty, was a much-travelled official and had left his vestiges already at Abydos and on Sehel Island (see Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier no. 591, and add the offering-table Marseille 252). What did he do at Elkab? I guess he was occupied with the building projects of King Sobekhotep III at Elkab and Sehel, where the king erected chapels; see C. Eder, *Die Barkekapelle des Königs Sobekhotep III. in Elkab* (*Elkab* VII; Turnhout, 2002). Somewhat later, somebody undertook the hardship of carving the name of the (second?) king Dedumose of the Sixteenth Dynasty in raised relief near to Sobekhotep's graffito on the same rock (O159, pls. 128a, 164b). Why? We do not know.

I admire the excellent piece of work Hans Vandekerckhove had accomplished, and the endurance he showed in making sense out of the sometimes very tricky and cursory nature of the scratched signs. I am happy that his efforts finally found their way into an adequate, indeed superb, publication.

*Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt*. By LYNN MESKELL. Pp. xi + 260, figs., tables, plans. Oxford and Malden, Blackwell Publishers, 1999. ISBN 0 631 21299 X. Price £50 (hardback) £17.99 (paperback).

Anthropological archaeologists today often approach the presentation of data in one of two ways. The first is to bring the data to the fore and to draw upon the social theory that is most relevant and illuminating to that specific data. This is the approach taken by Lynn Meskell in her latest book, *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt*. The other approach is for the scholar to bring to the fore the social theory that he or she finds most intriguing intellectually and to search out archaeological examples that might be pertinent. Ever the versatile scholar, Meskell wrote *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt* from this latter standpoint.

Egyptologists and non-specialists who find themselves impatient with dense social theory will prefer *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt* (2002), in which the author's theoretical agenda is largely confined to a postscript. Furthermore, most of Meskell's original research on Deir el-Medina is presented in summary form in chapter seven of this work. However, the last three chapters of *Archaeologies of Social Life* are very 'reader friendly', and it is here that anyone reading the book specifically for information on Egypt should look.

Egyptologists who are curious as to how Egyptian data may be complemented by, and contribute to, cross-disciplinary discussion, however, should find Meskell's work of great interest. Egyptology and anthropology have long been estranged due largely to the fact that Egypt's great wealth of textual, artistic, and archaeological data demands specialist knowledge and in turn frustrates anthropologists who desire to extract general principles from it. Under the 'neo-evolutionary processualists', who dominated American archaeology through the 1960s and into the 1980s, this split was exacerbated further. In their search for universal laws and commonalities in human behaviour, these scholars regarded the characteristic traits of any particular culture as 'epiphenomenal'. Yet given that it was precisely these same 'epiphenomenal' traits that had attracted most Egyptologists to the field in the first place, opportunity and desire for interaction between the two camps was limited.

Since the 1980s, however, a post-processual movement in archaeology has worked vigorously to reintroduce the particular, the individual, and the idiosyncratic into discussion. Archaeologists now ask questions about multiple constitutions of the self, about the place of the individual in society, about how various subsets of a population interacted with one another and with state authorities, *et cetera*. For the first time, faced with research interests such as these, an exceedingly rich data set has become a thing to be coveted.

With her training in both Egyptology and social theory, Meskell is well poised indeed to take advantage of this shift in disciplinary attitudes. Furthermore, her aim of utilizing Egyptian material to address questions of broad social interest is certainly laudable.

In *Archaeologies of Social Life*, Meskell wrestles with the ideas of such theorists as Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, and Judith Butler, among others. The themes that she tackles are those current in much cutting edge archaeological theorizing, such as the varied nature of gender, identity, and the body project. According to Meskell, many of the archaeologists who attempt to employ such theory in their own work are unable to ground it convincingly in the material culture they examine. Because of the exceptional scope of Deir el-Medina's data set, however, Meskell contends that her own work is one of the rare instances in which theory and practice successfully intertwine.

Although the book is extremely interesting throughout, the boldness of Meskell's claim is not entirely substantiated in my view. For instance, although the audience she addresses in this book consists of other archaeologists who wish to apply social theory to their own data, the topic of the body and of embodiment in ancient Egypt is almost entirely addressed utilizing textual evidence. While this may be of interest to Egyptologists and social theorists, it is hardly a convincing demonstration of the applicability of high theory to archaeological data.

Similarly, when discussing the ways in which individuals at Deir el-Medina were active agents who at times struggled against their ascribed status in life, she cites three examples: adopted children rising through the ranks, high status men falling from grace, and female slaves enhancing their status via becoming pregnant by elite men of the household (pp. 21, 140). None of these seem particularly apt illustrations of her point. The act of being adopted at a young age could hardly be considered active on the part of the child, falling from grace was not always a desired outcome, and becoming impregnated

by an employer could have been the result of rape or coercion (and as an end result, in any case, assuredly such a pregnancy was not always welcomed or desired).

When Meskell does discuss archaeological matters, many of her conclusions are new and interesting, especially her finding that the higher in status the couple, the greater the discrepancy in burial expenditure between the husband and wife. Others of her conclusions, however, seem extremely banal. Sex was not the primary structuring principle for social inequality (p. 216); we do not have a monopoly on love for children (p. 214); and variations from norms in the archaeological record may be the result of individual choices and circumstances (p. 209). Especially in contrast with the complex and famously abstruse theorists that Meskell contends with in the first half of the book, the presentation of relatively humdrum archaeological findings in the second half is anticlimactic.

Likewise, in the course of her diachronic study of New Kingdom tombs, one might wish that Meskell had explored the social meanings and ramifications behind the dramatic switch in burial practices that took place during this period, rather than simply remarking upon its occurrence. Interestingly, she does note that lower status tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty often contained a quantity and variety of funerary goods equivalent to that found in high status burials. According to Aubrey Cannon,<sup>1</sup> whom Meskell quotes elsewhere in an unrelated context, radical shifts in mortuary practice are often initiated when the lower classes come to expend so much wealth in their burials that maintaining a status differential grows prohibitively costly for the upper class. When this happens, cross-culturally the elite of a society often initiate a move towards restraint in burial practices. While this is no doubt too simplistic to explain the widespread change between Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty burials, it may help us understand why significantly simplifying the burial assemblage would appeal to certain segments of the population.

There are numerous other relatively small points with which one can take issue. For instance, rather than being a proponent of neo-evolutionism (p. 140), Norman Yoffee is one of its most vociferous critics. Additionally, in a culture in which only a miniscule percentage of tombs survived unlooted, it seems naïve to assert that 'the best way to access individual wealth and status is by examination of idiosyncratic goods or non-standard burial items' such as a gold necklace, a gold cubit rod, and an electrum cup (p. 148). Fundamentally, however, this book should interest those of an interdisciplinary bent. Further, as attested by the anecdotal experience of myself and others who have taught from this book in a seminar setting, *Archaeologies of Social Life* unfailingly generates extremely lively discussion and debate.

ELLEN MORRIS

*Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt.* By LYNN MESKELL. Pp. xvii + 238, figs., map, tables, plans. Princeton and Woodstock, Princeton University Press, 2002. ISBN 0 691 00448 X. Price £19.99.

The object of *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt* is to explore the lived experience of ancient Egyptians during the period of c. 1550–1069 BC. The author takes as her template the human life cycle, from birth, to adolescence and a fertile adulthood, to old age, and finally to death. Although this highly logical framework has been employed in other Egyptological works, *Private Life* is important in that it focuses narrowly on the New Kingdom and self-consciously seeks to investigate the varied experiences of Egyptians of all walks and stages of life: males, females, adults, children, foreigners, servants, commoners, and nobles. Further, the author makes ample and effective use of the unparalleled Deir el-Medina dataset.

Lynn Meskell has been publishing on Deir el-Medina since the early 1990s, and evidence for age, sex, and class in domestic and mortuary contexts was the subject of her doctoral dissertation, completed in 1997 at Cambridge University. Within the structure of this work, she incorporates and synthesizes insights from her past research, which is useful considering that as an author she is extremely prolific. Likewise, being intimately familiar with the archaeological, textual, and iconographic material from this village and from other New Kingdom contexts, she is able to draw upon a wealth of specific examples to illustrate general points. Indeed, the text is peppered with quotations from poems,

<sup>1</sup> 'The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment', *Current Anthropology* 30 (1989), 437–58.

letters, lawsuits, wills, religious texts, etc. Artistic images and archaeological plans are also present in profusion.

The author draws upon such diverse primary sources as these to compose what she views as a heterogeneous and fragmentary mosaic of private lives. The metaphor of the mosaic confronts and subverts the idea of a coherent narrative, which she views as a postcolonial impossibility. To her mind, the ambiguities and seeming contradictions that arise when different types of evidence are compared must be addressed rather than disingenuously smoothed over. When discussing the nature of relations between adult males and females, for instance, she highlights the apparent disjuncture between, on the one hand, the highly romantic protestations of longing and desire expressed in the love poetry, and the clear sexual inequality often witnessed in non-literary texts and in the mortuary record on the other. In trying to understand this schism, she draws inspiration from the work of Lila Abu-Lughod on bedouin love poetry. In many cultures, according to Abu-Lughod, poetry occupies a unique, liminal space in which it is permissible to express sentiments that are otherwise denied or condemned in society at large. Whether one agrees or disagrees with such an analogy, the author's background in anthropology and social theory frequently provides new perspectives on even quite familiar data.

The book itself is divided into seven chapters, the first of which sets the interpretative framework. In chapter two, Meskell examines the urban and rural settings occupied by the Egyptians and explores their sense of place. Her discussions of the 'city hymn' and the literary trope of the traveller are of notable interest. The life cycle begins at conception and continues through adolescence in chapter three, and Meskell devotes a great deal of attention to exploring the ways in which the Egyptians themselves understood the place of the child in society. Courting, marriage, and divorce are the subjects of chapters four and five. Within these chapters particularly, the liberal employment of Egyptian texts is much appreciated. In chapter six, the author highlights the sensual aspects of life in ancient Egypt, from the scent of melting fat to the drunkenness that accompanied any good festival. A meditation on the manner in which the Egyptians cognized and commemorated death concludes the book.

While this work should be of interest and use both to specialists and non-specialists alike, there are, of course, the inevitable bones that can be picked. For example, it seems a little strange, given the rest of her theoretical interests, that the author takes such a negative stance regarding the social position of women in ancient Egyptian society and their ability to play an active role in shaping the world around them. Meskell sees women in ancient Egypt as oppressed and is dismayed by eroticized versions of femininity that had been created by and for men, specifically for the ultimate revivification of the male self. Such a view ignores the fact that female 'fertility' figures are often found in graves of women and of female children. Further it assumes, with regard to the 'female centred' front rooms of the houses at Deir el-Medina, that the female occupants had no voice in determining their own sacred space.

Likewise, even in the face of data that suggest that women did indeed possess certain important rights, on more than one occasion the author manipulates arguments of silence to try to undermine the evidence. Thus, confronted with texts demonstrating that women did actually own land, Meskell adds the comment, 'Yet it is easy to envisage situations where women's husbands curbed their economic activities' (p. 110). Similarly, in response to the texts that indicate that women received one third of the joint marital property following a divorce, she asserts, '...these ideal scenarios must have been moderated by serious forms of exploitation' (p. 110). Finally, Meskell relegates divorced women to a life of insecurity and poverty, although to do so uniformly is to ignore the substantial evidence for the incorporation of unmarried women into extended family households.

A similarly dangerous and depressing destiny is heaped upon the agricultural labourer, who 'struggled through a life of penury, privation, and toil and died leaving little trace in the world' (p. 13). This statement is made despite the fact that elsewhere in the book she admits that the lack of excavation in agricultural villages makes it impossible to discuss rural life (p. 38). For a scholar who is ordinarily much more careful in her source criticism, this seems an uncharacteristic lapse—particularly as she elsewhere points to the substantial numbers of household goods and items of personal adornment owned by the urban non-elite (p. 34). Finally, Meskell's admittedly crude division of Egyptian society into 'those who had servants or "slaves" and those who were in service' (p. 4) seems singularly inappropriate.

On the subject of domestic architecture, there are a few more points for discussion. Meskell asserts that houses of the rich and poor were distinguished in terms of size rather than design (p. 122), which seems patently false unless the criteria for similarity were so basic as to be virtually meaningless.

Likewise, she takes issue three times with Kemp's<sup>1</sup> identification of rooms with 'bed niches' as bedrooms. It is true that one must be wary of utilizing inappropriate analogies, yet given the typical patterning of these rooms in architecturally recognizable suites at the most private point in the house, her objections seem unduly strident. Further, her assertion that beds may have been restricted to the elite bears little relevancy with respect to the 'bed niches' as these features are most often found in upper class houses.

Two final minor points will round out the discussion. First, it seems to me unlikely that the discovery of ancestor busts north of the Hathor temple at Deir el-Medina indicates that these objects may have been paraded around the chapel during specific rituals. One would have to posit, in that case, that on six different occasions clumsy priests had simply left the busts where they had fallen. While this is possible, it is hardly plausible. Second, the author utilizes the statement 'death is today like the smell of flowers' in the *Dialogue of a Man and his Ba* to argue that 'specific smells were indissociably linked to the sphere of death and may have heralded its coming' (p. 157). Within the context of the *Dialogue*, however, it is clear that the speaker is simply expressing his own pleasurable anticipation at the prospect of annihilation.

These relatively insignificant quibbles aside, however, *Private Life in New Kingdom Egypt* is informative, well researched, entertaining, and makes an important contribution to the field.

ELLEN MORRIS

*La Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak: les Architraves.* By VINCENT RONDOT. 2 volumes. I. Text: Pp. xiii + 209 + 63 pages of hieroglyphic handcopies numbered 1\*–63\*. II. Plates: 56. Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1997. ISBN 2 86538 262 1. Price £48.

The architraves and soffits of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak preserve the largest corpus of New Kingdom building and dedication texts that have come down to us. Previously, Christophe<sup>1</sup> and Kitchen,<sup>2</sup> among others, have published the most important and well preserved texts found on the main east–west running architraves over the central nave, yet these represent less than a third of the architraves in the Hypostyle Hall. While about eighty per cent of the architraves inscribed by Ramesses II in the southern wing of the building have survived, only a fraction of those in the northern part—the work of Seti I—remain. Many fragments have fallen to the earth and now lie in the fields around the temple proper. In the present work, Rondot has collected and recorded all the surviving fragments and reconstructed their texts and original placement in the Hall.

The introduction reviews the architectural setting of the architraves, describing their situation, citing previous publications of their texts, and giving a number of key plans to the location of individual texts, and notes the original placement of fallen blocks. The various steps in the decoration and alteration of the architraves during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II are discussed along with the techniques the artists used to decorate them. The present condition of the architraves and the methods used to record them are also presented. Ironically, the disastrous collapse of several columns in the northern wing of the Hypostyle Hall on 3 October 1899, which seriously damaged the northern wing of the Hypostyle Hall, made most of the few surviving architraves from that part of the building easier to record as they now lie on the ground. When the building was restored in the early years of the twentieth century, Legrain substituted hollow wooden maquettes coated with cement for most of the ruined north–south running architraves there. The introduction is followed by translations of all the known fragments, with bibliography and commentary. Usurpations by Ramesses II are noted and both versions of an extensive palimpsest text on one of the main texts from the central nave are also given.

The next part of the text is a synthesis divided into four chapters on the royal titularies, royal epithets, dedicatory formulae and divine speeches respectively. Of particular interest in chapter one are the variant forms of Seti I's Horus name—some fourteen in number in addition to the two standard forms. Some of these variants are unique such as *kꜣ nḥt ṯn ḥꜣw šm pḥty*, 'Mighty Bull, dazzling of

<sup>1</sup> B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London, 1989), 296.

<sup>1</sup> L.-A. Christophe, 'La face sud des architraves surmontant les colonnes 74–80 de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak', *BIFAO* 49 (1950), 117–80.

<sup>2</sup> *KRI* I, 201–6 and 414–15; II, 556–64.

appearances, powerful of strength'. Many of Seti's prenomen cartouches are expanded with additional epithets commonly found on similar architrave texts such as those of Thutmose III in the *Akh-menu* at Karnak. It should be noted that these expanded versions are only found in texts that are arranged horizontally—vertically arranged cartouches on many of the soffits read simply 'Menmaatre'. With Ramesses II's inscriptions, the interest is in the variant forms of his prenomen cartouche, reflecting its well-known evolution in the earliest part of his reign and later modifications of selected cartouches once the final form and orthography, Usermaatre-Setepenre, had been settled.

Chapter two analyzes the royal epithets, grouping them into three broad categories. The first are introduced by one of a small group of ubiquitous titles including *ntr nfr*, 'perfect god', and *nswt nht*, 'powerful king'. These are compounded with a number of frequently short and unextraordinary epithets. Much more interesting is the second group of epithets which describe various qualities of the king and his royal duties, including his divine birth and filiation, royal functions and abilities as a warrior. Most interesting and sometimes unique are the sobriquets which describe the effectiveness (*ḥ*) of his actions, the king as an architect and his prescience in conceiving and carrying out his designs—in particular, the construction of the Hypostyle Hall itself. Unique expressions like *wn-hr mi Pth*, 'intelligent like Ptah', *ḳ m sšw mi Dḥwty*, 'versed in writings like Thoth' and *rh-sw r irrt k'wt nbt r ntr imy wnwtf*, 'knowledgeable in the execution of any construction project more than a god in his work'. The third group consists largely of epithets like *mry Imn di 'nh....etc.*, 'beloved of Amen, given life...' and similar formulae which close the texts. Also placed here are the epithets contained in the variant Horus names of Seti I found mostly on the soffits in the northern part of the hall and two unique epithets found only in the palimpsest text of Ramesses II (text no. 10): *mw n K'-mwtf*, 'issue of Kamutef', and *ḥq' n ḥq'w m t'w nbw*, 'ruler of rulers in every land'.

Chapter three examines the dedicatory formulae of the architrave inscriptions with special attention to what they say about the physical description of the Hypostyle Hall and its function. The name of the Hall, *ḥ Sty-mr-Imn m pr Imn*, is correctly translated as 'Beneficial is Seti-beloved of Amen in the domain of Amen'. The name of the Hypostyle, as with a number of parallel temple foundations of Seti I, employs the term *ḥ*, which is properly understood as meaning 'beneficial' and not 'glorious'. The physical descriptions of the Hypostyle Hall and its individual elements, in particular its columns, found in the dedicatory texts vary from accurate to rhetorical. It is correctly described as being made of sandstone and 'surrounded' (*phr.ti*) or 'filled' (*mḥ.ti*) with columns. The open campaniform and closed bud columns are distinguished, but claims that they 'touch the sky' and are coated in electrum are poetic and fanciful.

Several terms are used to describe what the Hall was and how it functioned in antiquity. It was clearly considered a *hwt-ntr*, 'temple', in its own right. Although it probably was not the locus for a daily offering cult, it did have its own treasury. It was also a *st htp/st ḥ'w*, 'place of resting/appearing', for the barques of the Theban triad during various festivals when these were carried forth from their sanctuaries. The wall reliefs and their accompanying texts clearly indicate that this was a major function of the Hall. So too the term *ḥnw*, 'repositoir', indicates that the Hall may be viewed as a gigantic barque station. The building is also called a *wb'ḥ*, a term whose meaning is somewhat controversial. It has been taken to mean variously 'forecourt', 'temenos', 'sanctuary' or 'all the land sacred to the god'. Rondot maintains that the root term *wb'ḥ*, 'open', should be seen in the context of certain sacred locales termed *št'ḥ*, 'closed'. The distinction is between areas of the temple which are accessible to the populace or inaccessible to all but the high clergy and king. Thus he translates *wb'ḥ* as '*parvis*'. In support of his conclusions is the fact that the column bases in the Hypostyle Hall have rebus designs with *rekhyet*-birds adorning the royal cartouches. The late William Murnane suggested that these might have served as visual signals to the largely illiterate general population that this was a part of the temple to which they had access. This view is further supported by the case of the Ramesside forecourt at Luxor Temple where the column bases on the eastern side of the court also have these designs. The eastern gate of the Luxor forecourt faced the ancient town and was entitled 'The Great Gateway of Ramesses II Whom all the *Rekhyet*-People Adore'. The populace was admitted to the eastern side of the court but was excluded from the west side where the column bases also lack the *rekhyet*-motif. At Luxor Temple, however, inscriptions of Ramesses II indicate that the area in front of the pylon gate with its two obelisks was considered the *wb'ḥ* of Luxor Temple. The Hypostyle Hall may also be called a *wsh't ḥ't*, 'great broad hall', and a *hwt-ntr nt ḥḥ m rnpwt*, 'Mansion of Millions of Years'. The latter refers to temples which had a statue cult of the king's divine aspect. Such 'Mansions of Millions of Years' are not limited to the so-called 'mortuary temples' like those on the West Bank of Thebes and examples like the Karnak

Hypostyle Hall show that the distinction between ‘royal mortuary’ temples and ‘divine’ temples is probably a false one.

Chapter four examines divine speeches on several of the architraves in which Amen-Re eulogizes the building and Seti I; at one point the god urges his fellow deities to ‘be beneficial for him just as he is beneficial for you’.

In his conclusions, Rondot argues that both the dedicatory texts of Seti I on the architraves and the unity of plan and construction techniques employed on the columns and architraves of the Hypostyle Hall are solid evidence that this king was responsible for conceiving and building the monument.<sup>3</sup> In transforming the open court of Horemheb between the Second and Third Pylons, Seti radically altered the function as well as the appearance of this part of Karnak Temple. The language used to describe the new edifice and its functions, however, shows that it continued to serve those of the old court as well as the new ones for which it was designed. Among its other purposes, it appears to have served as the venue for two particular cults in its function as a ‘temple’ (*hwt-ntr*): its resident deity was the compound god Amen-Atum-Re-in-Thebes. This god is attested in the architrave inscriptions as well as in a wall relief,<sup>4</sup> and may have been connected to the other ‘resident *djin*’ of the Hall, the divine royal *kꜣ* of Seti I himself. Seti’s cult is well attested in several reliefs of Ramesses II on the south wall of the Hall where he pays homage to his father’s cult image. Rondot demonstrates that the variant Horus names of Seti I—which may have once numbered fourteen, the same as those of the sun god Re—are evidence of this cult of Seti’s royal *kꜣ*. In further support of Rondot’s conclusions, I would add that a similar programmatic use of variant Horus names of Seti I can be found on the soffits of the inner hypostyle hall of the king’s temple at Abydos where a cult of the divine king can be found in the temple in general and in this chamber specifically.<sup>5</sup>

Under Ramesses II, the function of the Karnak Hypostyle Hall, as indicated by his completion and occasional revisions to the texts of the architraves, evolved. Here as elsewhere in the present work, Rondot avoids the term ‘usurpation’ due to its pejorative connotations. While respecting his father’s work in the northern part of the Hall, and completing the largely unfinished southern wing, Ramesses substantially recut the inscriptions on the architraves and soffits along the central east–west axis, mostly by surcharging his father’s titulary but in one case entirely replacing the texts on one of the architraves. This more radical change marked the dedication of two colossal statues dedicated to Ramesses’ own cult and is paralleled by changes to a pair of reliefs on the jambs of the south gate of the Hall where Ramesses II replaced his father’s name with his own in scenes where he adores the former’s cult image. While Rondot’s case for this adaptation of the Hall to Ramesses II’s own cult is convincing, it should be stressed that this change only took place later in the reign, probably after Year 21. In the earliest years of his reign as he completed the unfinished decoration in the Hypostyle Hall, Ramesses continued to stress the posthumous cult of his father, without inaugurating a cult of his own royal *kꜣ*. In the south part of the building, the texts of the architraves are much more simple while the soffits lack the multiple variants of the Horus name indicative of the *kꜣ*-cult of Seti I in the northern wing.

End matter in the text volume includes useful indices of royal epithets, text references to various collections of New Kingdom texts and a general index. Following the bibliography is a complete set of hand copies of the texts with notes executed in a clear, neat hand. The separate plates volume is in a handy folio format that makes for easy reference. Here, the hieroglyphic texts are presented in facsimile in a manner that conveys the style and paleography of the signs, including traces of paint. Simplified damage conventions also distinguish between vandalism, fortuitous damage, plaster patching and even cases where reliefs on some of the soffits were smeared with mud in an effort to obscure them.

Rondot is to be heartily congratulated for an attractive and useful publication which will prove valuable to the study of building inscriptions, lexicography, royal ideology and the history and function of the magnificent Karnak Hypostyle Hall itself for many years to come.

PETER J. BRAND

<sup>3</sup> My own research into the epigraphic and stylistic features of the wall decoration—especially in comparison with the Karnak reliefs of Ramesses I and II—have led me to the same conclusions: P. J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art-Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 2000), 192–219, esp. 211–19.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Nelson and W. J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall At Karnak*, I, 1. *The Wall Reliefs* (OIP 106; Chicago, 1981), pl. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *The Monuments of Seti I*, 387–90.



*The Tomb of Tia and Tia: a Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis.* By GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN, translations and a chapter by JACOBUS VAN DIJK, and contributions by DAVID A. ASTON, MAARTEN J. RAVEN, with a general account of the architecture by KENNETH J. FRAZER; photographs by MARTINUS VINKELSTEIJN and PETER-JAN BOMHOF. Excavation Memoir 58. Pp. xxvi + 113, figs. 5, pls. 175. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1997. ISBN 0 85698 121 4; ISSN 0307 5109. Price £96.

This volume represents the latest in the line of reports dealing with the Egypt Exploration Society–Rijksmuseum van Oudheden excavations in the New Kingdom necropolis, south of the causeway of Unas at Saqqara. It covers the tomb of the sister of Ramesses II and her like-named husband, located on 1975 and excavated in 1982–5, and follows the usual format of more recent EES Excavation Memoirs.

The Introduction reviews the discovery of the tomb, and also notes the additional monument of the couple at Kafr el-Gebel, just south of Giza. There is also a brief discussion of the location of the tomb at Saqqara, and the burial places of other minor royals of the period. The statement is made that ‘it was known that Kha’emwese...was interred at Saqqâra’: it is not made clear whether this is a (probably correct) inference from inscribed material found in the necropolis, or an acceptance of Mariette’s mistaken identification of an Apis bull burial with that of the famous prince.<sup>1</sup>

The book then proceeds in a systematic fashion, beginning with a description and discussion of the tomb’s architecture by Frazer, supplemented by Martin. It is assumed that the now-lost pyramidion of Tia and Tia, which was in London in the eighteenth century, came from the tomb, rather than the Kafr el-Gebel monument, although it is noted that the reported material of this pyramidion does not match that of pyramidion fragments found during the excavation of the tomb. Further research has indicated a possible sighting as late as 1882 in a dealer’s shop in Oxford Street, but the final fate of this important piece has continued to elude both Geoffrey Martin and Morris Bierbrier (see pp. 7–9).

Next, the scenes in the tomb are described and the texts translated, incorporating as appropriate blocks now in museum collections, and cross-referring to earlier publications. A lengthy commentary is provided by Dilwyn Jones of the Pilgrimage to Abydos (?) scene in Apis Chapel A, covering not only the boats but also the flora and fauna depicted. The scenes from the chapel of Iurudef are reprised as forming an integral part of the architecture of the Tias’ tomb, although they have already been published in Raven’s *Tomb of Iurudef* (London, 1991); graffiti and loose fragments are also fully catalogued. Concerning the latter, it is pointed out that those from old collections which lack a definite location in the tomb might come from Kafr el-Gebel.

To supplement this documentation, other monuments of the tomb owners without any apparent filiation with the tomb are also catalogued; most are provisionally attributed to Kafr el-Gebel, but until this monument is published, these must remain provisional. Jacobus van Dijk then moves to discuss the family and careers for the Tias (although the section heading refers to Tia in the singular).

The male Tia is shown to be of uncertain antecedents (van Dijk notes that there is no reason to make him, as Habachi did, the son of the Amenwahsu of Chicago OI 10507), and have had a career whose details are unrecorded. However, van Dijk reviews in detail his various documents, including OI 10507, which he argues has an Abydene provenance, linking it with the Brussels stela of May (E.5300), which also shows the young Prince Ramesse, the future Ramesses II. He also considers the sad fragments of Tia’s autobiographical text from the principal stela of the tomb, and the possible beginnings of his career, suggesting that Tia and Tia may well have been married before Ramesses I’s accession.

Switching to Princess Tia, her titles are reviewed, and it is pointed out that, in spite of her status, she plays a secondary role in the tomb vis à vis her husband. The latter’s titles are then considered, as is his relationship with Iurudef, who seems to have acted as a surrogate son in the absence of male offspring. On the basis of the orthography of Ramesses II’s prenomen, and possible depictions of the Queen Mother Tuy in the tomb, the decoration of the Tias’ tomb is dated to late in the second decade of the reign. Van Dijk also considers a frieze from (probably) the top of the pylon that may corroborate this dating. That the male Tia occupied the tomb not long afterwards is proposed on the basis of the existence of another bearer of one of his principal titles (*imy-r pr-ḥd n nb t;wy*) in Year 24, and the fact that the tomb was never completely finished.

The writer then moves on to a detailed discussion of the relationships of the early Nineteenth Dynasty royal family. The ‘Year 400 Stela’ is briefly described and discussed, with van Dijk seconding

<sup>1</sup> A. Dodson, ‘The Canopic Equipment from the Serapeum of Memphis’, in A. Leahy and W. J. Tait (eds), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith* (EES Occasional Publication 13; London, 1999), 66.

Sethe's interpretation that the viziers Sethy and Paramessu were none other than Sethos I and Ramesses I, for reasons with which this reviewer fully concurs. This, of course, leaves the problem that Sethy/Sethos I is thus the son of a woman named Tia, rather than the Sitre generally assumed on the basis of her being shown with Sethos and Ramesses I in Sethos' temple of Abydos, bearing the title 'King's Great Wife', and her mention in KV 17. However, she bears there the same title, rather than that of 'King's Mother' which one might have expected in such a context. Thus, van Dijk would prefer to see the 'Year 400 Tia' as Sethos I's mother and, with Maspero, Sethe and Helck, Sitre as his wife. In doing so, he dismisses the *mwt-nsw* (and *hmt-nsw wrt*) Sitre of QV 38 on the basis that 'evidence that this Queen is to be equated with the Satrē mentioned in the monuments of Seti I is not forthcoming'. However, the proportions of the figures in QV 38 are clearly attributable to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or the beginning of the Nineteenth, and make it almost impossible to find an alternative family for this Sitre. The only way out would be, with Bietak,<sup>2</sup> to make 'Sitre' an additional name taken by the 'Year 400 Tia' when she became queen. In this connection, it may be significant that a daughter of Ramesses II had the compound name Tia-Sitre.<sup>3</sup>

In the appended genealogical chart, Sourouzian's argument that Henutmire was a daughter, rather than a sibling, of Ramesses II is accepted.<sup>4</sup> However, although she lacks the expected title 'King's Sister', her presence on the Vatican statue of Tui is very difficult, if not impossible, to explain if Henutmire were only a junior<sup>5</sup> granddaughter of that lady. Indeed, Tui might well have been dead before Henutmire's putative birth. As for an explanation of Henutmire's late espousal by Ramesses II, it is not impossible that it may have followed her widowhood, if she had followed her elder sister Tia in marrying a commoner before the family's rise to royalty.

The last two sections of the book cover the non-architectural finds. Raven's treatment of the objects begins with a review of find-spots, in particular the material from the substructure, with material from both the original interments and intrusive deposits. The catalogue, with 161 entries, was compiled with the aid of various colleagues. It groups pieces by material, ranging from the male Tia's stone coffin through to basketry and textiles. Pottery is dealt with separately by Aston, and covers the Old Kingdom, New Kingdom, Third Intermediate and Late Periods, very much reflecting the known history of the cemetery—Old Kingdom tombs demolished in New Kingdom times, with subsequent intrusive deposits. This includes the embalmers' cache, found just north of the tomb, immediately against the wall of Maya's sepulchre.

The volume concludes with Addenda and Corrigenda, together with a series of indices, and a large body of illustrations. Key scenes are given in both line and photograph, the latter frequently composed so as to show their context as well as detail. The photographic plates are generally of high quality, with the exception of numbers 159 and 160, which display a very odd aspect, perhaps related to problems with the resolution of computer-scanned images. Altogether, the book provides scholars with an excellent and comprehensive account of this important monument.

AIDAN DODSON

*Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el Medineh. Teil II: Die Ostraka der 19. Dynastie.* By MANFRED GUTGESELL. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 44. Pp. xvi + 207. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg Verlag, 2002. ISBN 3 8067 8138 9. Price Euros 39.

In 1983 Manfred Gutgesell published his first study of the ostraca of Deir el-Medina attempting to establish a chronological framework for those which could be dated to the Twentieth Dynasty. His suggestions sparked off a vigorous debate, notably about those ostraca ascribed to the reigns of Ramesses IV–VII, each of whom reigned for similar lengths of time. Now, after nearly twenty years his study of the ostraca of the Nineteenth Dynasty, ironically Volume 2 of the series, dealing with chronology, has appeared, but the manuscript itself was completed in 1984, and no account has been taken of the many developments since that time except for a few comments by the editors, Arne Eggebrecht and Bettina Schmitz, in the introduction (pp. v–vii) and an updated bibliographic addendum (pp. 165–7). Notably

<sup>2</sup> M. Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a*, II (Vienna, 1975), 185 n. 786.

<sup>3</sup> Number 12 on Louvre ostrakon 666, dated to Year 53 (*KRI* II, 922–3).

<sup>4</sup> H. Sourouzian, 'Honout-mi-rē, fille de Ramsès II et grande épouse du roi', *ASAE* 69 (1983), 365–71.

<sup>5</sup> Given her absence amongst the elder daughters of Ramesses II in the numerous lists.

no mention is made of the important studies published in Leiden, J. Janssen, *Village Varia* (1997), B. G. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* (1999) and *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD* (2000). Nonetheless, this remains a valuable compilation of dated and datable ostraca, many of which are still unpublished.

The author's concept is deceptively simple. First, the securely-dated ostraca and the occasional papyri and graffiti of the period are identified with their names of workmen, and then these names, now chronologically fixed, can be used to date undated ostraca in which the names appear. The problem lies in the fact that in most cases the securely-dated ostraca are dated themselves by the names of the workmen, since they rarely feature a king's name. There is thus a very great danger of circular argumentation. Also the names of the workmen are repeated from generation to generation, so great care has to be taken to avoid identifying grandfather with grandson. Some names are common in one generation which could lead to confusion, while a securely-dated workman may have lived through several reigns and thus several years 1–5. Establishing the chronology is not as easy a task as it seems and the author does well to tread warily.

Gutgesell begins with his securely-dated texts (pp. 3–26). Those assigned to Ramesses II, especially the higher years, are uncontroversial although, as the editors point out, the exact date of the famous 'year 40' ostraca list of workmen, now in The British Museum, has been questioned. Still, it must belong to the last half of his reign. He is perhaps on more uncertain ground with the ostraca (O de M 611 and O Cairo 25517) of a 'Year 1' which he assigns to Siptah. Because of a lack of dated ostraca from the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, there remains a possibility that these might date to Year 1 of Sethnakht or even Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty. We have no way of knowing at present when the well-known foreman Paneb was dismissed, but the mention of his son in Papyrus Greg, published by Janssen in *Village Varia*, 111–29, might imply that it may have been early in the Twentieth Dynasty. At any rate, I would be wary of calling these ostraca 'secure' although the author may well be right in their dating.

His next section (pp. 27–54) deals with the dated texts with no regnal year, which he now can date by reference to the workmen listed in the previous section, although a few of these types of text have already been discussed in the earlier group. Most of his conclusions appear sensible but again he is perhaps more positive than the actual evidence warrants. Take, for example, O de M 697 of Year 6 *peret* which mentions the killing of an unnamed foreman. Many years ago, this reviewer suggested that the foreman might be the well-known Paneb and so the ostrakon should date to Year 6 of Siptah or Ramesses III. The author loyally supports my conclusion on the foreman but is positive about the Year 6 being that of Siptah, although there is no firm evidence for this and slight circumstantial evidence of Papyrus Greg could support the theory that Paneb survived to Year 7 of Siptah. However, the author firmly rejects the suggestion by Krauss (pp. 27–8) that the foreman was Neferhotep who is known to have been killed under Sethos II. It would be odd, but not impossible, for his death to be mentioned under Year 6 of Siptah, but the author's conclusion is based on the fact that Sethos II died on IV *akhet* 28 and never reached Year 6 of *peret*. Janssen in *Village Varia*, 154 n. 45, is more cautious and points out the suggestions that Sethos II died between IV *akhet* 28 and I *peret* 2. If he in fact died on I *peret* 1–2, O de M 697 might date to that time period, during his last days, and the reference would be to Neferhotep, not Paneb. It would also mean that Sethos II reigned nearly a full six years since he succeeded about II *peret* although Janssen pleads caution here too. In matters of dating, it is always best to be careful.

The final section covers those texts which carry no date but can be assigned to a reign through the workmen named on them (pp. 55–137) and those ostraca which are too uncertain to be dated (pp. 138–62). In an era of short reigns at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, it is difficult to be exact as to what texts were written under Sethos II, Amenmesse or Siptah. For example, HO 26, 3 is dated to Sethos II, but Janssen in *Village Varia*, 107, dates it to Siptah. Also, some of the author's suppositions from the previous sections are transformed into facts so, for example, all texts naming Paneb must have been written before Year 6 of Siptah since the author has 'proved' that he died in that year. However, that is not a fact, merely a supposition. The reader must be careful of falling into this trap and certainly some of Gutgesell's assertions are open to dispute. The book closes with the updated bibliography (pp. 165–7), a correlation of ostraca, papyri etc. to those published in Kitchen's *Ramesseide Inscriptions* 8 (pp. 168–78), and indexes of names (pp. 179–200), and ostraca, papyri etc. by sources (pp. 201–7). The volume is a useful, if belated, contribution to Deir el-Medina studies as it will certainly inspire more discussion and examination of the chronology of the ostraca. However, it will most certainly not be the last word on the subject.

*The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art. The Construction of the Kushite Mind (800 BC –300 AD).* By LÁSZLÓ TÖRÖK. Probleme der Ägyptologie 18. Pp. xix + 525, figs. 44, pls. 30. E. J. Brill, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2002. Price US\$154/Euros 132.

Im vorliegenden umfangreichen Werk wird versucht, die Entwicklung der kuschitischen Konzepte von Ordnung im Staat und im Kosmos anhand ikonographischer und textlicher Beispiele aufzuzeigen. Die Termini Nubien und Kusch werden geographisch bzw. zeitlich verwendet: Nubien umfaßt die Region des mittleren Nil vom 1. Katarakt bis Khartum (bzw. für die meroitische Epoche nach dem heutigen Stand des Wissens bis Makwar), Kusch das alte Reich vom 8. Jh. v. Chr. bis mindestens 3. Jh. n. Chr. Als chronologische Termini werden 25. Dynastie, Napatazeit und meroitische Epoche verwendet. Die Kultur wird als Ausdruck einer literaten Elite verstanden, die das Priestertum und den König umfaßt. Die Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede zwischen der ägyptischen und der nubischen Kunst stehen im Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung.

Das Buch ist in vier große Kapitel gegliedert. Der erste Teil beschreibt die 'heilige Landschaft Nubiens'. Der Nil als Quelle des Lebens kommt aus dem Süden. Er gilt als zentrales Element der geographischen Ordnung, als Orientierungsachse in der Welt als heiligem Raum. Amun von Napata wird mit der Flut identifiziert, die Krönungsreise des neuen Herrschers durch die heilige Landschaft führt zu den Kultstätten des Gottes. Die königlichen Residenzen sind mit den Amuntempeln verbunden, die den Urhügel darstellen, gleichsam als Bild der Erschaffung der Welt und Repräsentant ihrer Ordnung. Die Orientierung der Tempel war astronomisch bestimmt, was an einigen Gebäuden aufgezeigt wird, u.a. am Tempel F von Naqa. Dieser wurde erbaut von der Königin Shanakdakhete (so in dem bisher einzigen Beleg ihres in meroitischen Hieroglyphen geschriebenen Namens: REM 0039 a, b), nach heutiger Lesung richtiger Sanakadakhete—der Verfasser zitiert sie jedoch immer als Shanakdakheto (z.B. p. 27, 207, 261, 452). Sanam wird als Geburtsort des Gründers der 25. Dynastie verstanden und ein Zusammenhang mit dem großen Amuntempel B 500 am Jebel Barkal hergestellt.

Das zweite sehr umfangreiche Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der Weltordnung, wie sie sich zumeist in der Tempelikonographie ausdrückt. Die 'Grammatik' des kuschitischen Tempels zeigt, daß Beziehungen aufgestellt werden mithilfe gewisser kanonischer Prinzipien der Komposition. Die Kuschiten übernehmen die ägyptische Interpretation des Tempels als Abbild der Welt und formten ihre Heiligtümer, um die Erfüllung der Weltordnung darzustellen. Die ägyptischen Kulte des Neuen Reiches wurden in der 25. Dynastie wiederbelebt und bis in die meroitische Periode weitergeführt, wie am Beispiel einer Anzahl von Tempeln aufgezeigt wird: die Tempel von Napata, Kawa, Sanam bis hin zur Großen Anlage von Musawwarat es-Sufra. T 101 gehört nicht in den Komplex der städtischen Landschaft. Die Funktion der Großen Anlage als Pilgerstätte wird angezweifelt. Der Verfasser bekräftigt seine Interpretation von T 101 als Thronhalle und sieht in Musawwarat es-Sufra eine Art 'Wüstenpalast'. Die Person des Herrschers steht für ihn im Zentrum kultischer Aktivitäten, so daß der Komplex durchaus als sakrales Gebäude interpretiert werden kann, in dem der König als Krieger und Jäger verehrt wurde. In Halle 101 wurde gemäß dieser Interpretation der König von Amun erwähnt und von den anderen Göttern von Musawwarat es-Sufra, nämlich Arensnuphis und Sebiuameker, bestätigt. Im Löwentempel derselben Stätte, dessen ikonographisches Programm aus Oberägypten übernommen wurde, sind die einheimischen Götter integriert. Das trifft auf Apedemak und sicher auf seine Gefährtin zu, die stets als 'Göttin mit dem/den Falken' bezeichnet wird (so z.B. p. 182, 210, 232, 238, 253). Inzwischen ist jedoch ihr meroitischer Name *Amesemi/Mesemi* durch die Naqa-Stelen REM 1291, 1292 bekannt. Sebiuameker (meroitisch Sabomakal) und besonders Arensnuphis können aber kaum diskussionslos als einheimische Gottheiten interpretiert werden.

Weitere meroitische Tempel, deren Ikonographie zur Darstellung der Weltordnung ausgewertet werden, sind der Tempel II A von Musawwarat es-Sufra, der große Amuntempel von Meroe aus der meroitischen Epoche, Tempel F von Naqa, Tempel M 250 bei der Stadt Meroe, der Apedemak- und der Amuntempel von Naga und der Amuntempel von Amara. Bei den Darstellungen der unter Natakamani und Amanitore errichteten Tempel erkennt der Verfasser einen Wandel zu einer neuen Apedemak-Theologie. Das ikonographische Programm beinhaltet demnach eine neue Formulierung des Staatsmythos hin zu einem Dualismus der Regentschaft.

Das dritte Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der 'Grammatik' der Beziehung zwischen Tempel und Gesellschaft. Die Tempelgebäude als Bilder einer geordneten Welt sicherten die Existenz von Kosmos und Gesellschaft durch das Zusammenspiel von Göttern und dem König. Im 3. Jh. v. Chr. tritt mit dem Auftauchen einer neuen Dynastie aus dem Süden ein politischer und kultureller Wandel ein, der sich in

ikonographischen Neuerungen ausdrückt. Eine besondere religiöse Bedeutung kommt den Statuen vor den Tempeln zu. Die Kioske vor den Tempeln zeigen die wachsende Bedeutung der festlichen Prozessionen, die die Gesellschaft einbezieht. Ausdruck dafür sind auch die Votivgaben als Zeichen einer persönlichen Frömmigkeit. Die Feste sind besonders verbunden mit Riten, die die königliche Legitimation bestätigen sollen.

Bei jedem Deutungsversuch ist die Spärlichkeit unserer archäologischen Information zu beachten. Unsere Unkenntnis des Geschehens im Tempelinneren und auch außerhalb der Tempel, führt bei einer Rekonstruktion ihrer Rolle im Leben der Gemeinschaft zu einer Einschränkung der Aussagen. Dazu muß bei Darstellungen immer beachtet werden, daß Fehlinterpretationen durchaus möglich sind. So wird z.B. zur Demonstration der Ikonographie einer Prozession eine Bronzeschüssel aus Gemai herangezogen, die einen weihräuchernden und Trankopfer bringenden Priester vor einer Reihe von Göttern zeigt. Der Priester wird als Hohepriester bezeichnet und mit dem König identifiziert, worauf eine weitere Deutung folgt. Die Gleichsetzung des Opfernden mit einem König basiert auf der falschen Interpretation der beigegebenen Inschrift neben dem Opfernden (REM 1014): *ant qerhgo*, d.h. 'dieser (der Dargestellte) ist der Priester (namens) Qerakha', eine der üblichen Inschriften auf *-go*, die in jedem Totentext auf den Verstorbenen hinweisen (vergleiche auch die Inschriften aus der Meraitenkammer von Philae). Die an dieser Stelle getroffene Gleichsetzung des *ant* mit dem König ist nicht recht verständlich, da der Verfasser an anderer Stelle (p. 459) den *ant*-Titelträger als 'Priester eines ziemlich niederen Ranges' bezeichnet.

Das vierte Kapitel schließlich befaßt sich mit den unterschiedlichen Aspekten der Literatur. Vom 8.–3. Jh. v. Chr. war Ägyptisch die Literatursprache. Die Texte auf Stelen und Tempelwänden beschreiben den kultischen Bereich und die königlichen Aktivitäten in einer Art annalistischer Berichte. Es wird ein allgemeiner Überblick über die erhaltenen Texte gegeben. Eine Analyse der Texte der 25. Dynastie ermöglicht es, die Unterschiede zu den zeitgleichen Texten in Ägypten herauszuarbeiten. Die Texte selbst funktionieren als Garant für die Weltordnung. Die meroitische Periode beginnt mit einer neuen Dynastie und Kontakten zum ptolemäischen Ägypten. Die neue schriftliche Fixierung der eigenen Sprache soll um etwa 270 v. Chr. begonnen haben, wofür es aber bisher keinerlei Belege gibt. Die älteste Verwendung der Hieroglyphenschrift stammt aus dem Tempel F von Naqa, erbaut von Shanakdakhete im späten 2. Jh. v. Chr. Die ältesten Belege für die Kursivschrift kommen aber nicht aus dem Grab N 12 ihres Nachfolgers Taneyidamani (so p. 452), sondern aus Grab N 11, dem Grab der Königin (REM 0804). Aus N 12 dagegen stammt das älteste Beispiel für einen Totentext (REM 0805). Bald kommen auch nichtkönigliche Totentexte vor (z.B. REM 0425, 0428, 0434) mit dem gleichen frühen Zeichen für *s* wie gelegentlich in der Taneyidamani-Stele REM 1044. So muß der Datierung von REM 0543 aus Faras in das späte 2. Jh. v. Chr. (p. 459) widersprochen werden. Es handelt sich dabei um den Totentext des Vizekönigs *Tsemeres*. Der Titel *peseto/pesto* ist zunächst in den späteren Texten der *pqr* Akinidad belegt. Wohl während seiner Amtszeit erfolgte die Rückverlegung der Grenze zum römischen Ägypten bis Maharraqa. Die Schaffung eines vizeköniglichen Verwaltungsapparates für die nördliche meroitische Provinz unterstand offensichtlich dem Amtsinhaber einer *pqr*-Position, so daß Akinidad der einzige Mann blieb, der zeitweise beide Titel, den eines *pqr* und eines *pesto* trug. Seine Ortsgebundenheit als *pqr qorise* an Meroe machte aber eine Ämtertrennung notwendig. Faras wird zunächst Amtssitz des für den Norden zuständigen Vizekönigs, und der wird *Tsemeres*. Seine zeitliche Nähe zu Akinidad, vor allem auch aus paläographischen Erwägungen, hatte bereits Griffith erkannt (*Recueil d'études dédiés à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion* (Paris 1922), 595 f.). Älter oder zeitnah sind auch die Totentexte REM 0427, 0429, 0430, 0435, 0436, 0441, 0442, 0443, 0445 und 0449.

Die Struktur der Totentexte auf Stelen und Opfertafeln, wie sie auf S. 458 herausgearbeitet wird, bezieht sich jedoch nur auf die Grabinschriften des Nordens, wo die Betonung des Deskriptionsteiles mit der Titelangabe des Verstorbenen und seine Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Familie immer wichtiger wurde. Im meroitischen Kernland fehlt dieser Teil vollständig. Eine Analyse einiger Amtstitel wird vorgenommen. Auch die demotischen Texte des Dodekaschoinos werden in die Abhandlung über meroitische Literatur einbezogen.

Im Epilog wird die Selbständigkeit der kuschitischen bzw. meroitischen Kultur und ihre Bedeutung als unabhängiger und gesonderter Zweig der Alten Geschichte betont. Auf die ausführliche Bibliographie folgen abschließend die Indices der Namen, Stätten, Völker sowie der Gegenstände bzw. Themen.

*The Jon Hosking Collection of Ptolemaic Coins.* By C. E. PITCHFORK. Pp. xxii + 72. Sydney, University of Sydney, 2000. ISBN 0 646 39589 0. Price US\$20.

To judge from Alan Walmsley's affectionate foreword to this catalogue, Jon Hosking was that *rara avis*, and every museum curator's dream: a knowledgeable and committed enthusiast with the means to acquire an important collection, and the generosity to give it away. A dynamic figure within the world of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology in Sydney, Australia, by the time of his death in 1989, Hosking had formed an impressive collection of Ptolemaic and related coinage. This, together with his books and an endowment, were bequeathed to The Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney. This volume presents a catalogue of the 178 coins, edited by one of the foremost coin dealers in Australia, Colin Pitchfork.

It should be stated at the outset that this catalogue does the collection and its late owner proud. Every coin is illustrated next to its text description; the quality of illustrations is generally good. The descriptions are meticulous, and references to standard works in the field and relevant *comparanda* are full and up to date. It remains to the reviewer merely to point out some highlights, note the odd slip, and mark those places where the remarkable recent advances in the study of Ptolemaic coinage, even since the appearance of this book, might suggest different interpretations.

The catalogue in fact starts before the beginning of the Ptolemaic dynasty and ends outside Egypt. The first three coins are silver tetradrachms of Alexander the Great minted at Memphis. There then follow two coins of Ptolemy I (who died in 282 BC, not 285 BC) in the name of Alexander on the intermediate standard, one of them (no. 5) of very fine quality, before the next seven silver coins of Ptolemy I and II, of the types that would become standard for the rest of the dynasty (the head of Ptolemy I/an eagle on a thunderbolt), from Alexandria and the Phoenician mints. The bronzes of Ptolemy II follow. Here we begin to enter the minefield that is Ptolemaic numismatics. Only in the last few years has sufficient hoard evidence become available for the sequences and attributions of the third century bronze coinage to begin to be determined. Catalogue no. 13, until recently firmly attributable to Ptolemy II, now appears, like many of the c. 95 g bronzes to belong instead to Ptolemy III.<sup>1</sup>

No. 18, too, with a cornucopia over the shoulder of the eagle, appears to be later than Philadelphus. Catalogue no. 34, presented as a tetradrachm of Ptolemy IV, and bearing a date of 'Year 49', is, in fact, one of the so-called 'coins of an uncertain era' which Otto Mørkholm correctly identified as being civic issues of Aradus with Ptolemaic types, dated by the city's era of autonomy. Curiously, elsewhere in the catalogue (no. 73), Pitchfork accepts the identity of the mint for a similarly dated didrachm, though regarding the issue as a coin of Philometor.<sup>2</sup> Both coins should be regarded as civic issues of the Phoenician city. At nos. 69–70, two Seleucid issues of the so-called Egyptian series of Antiochus IV creep in, though, as Pitchfork notes, almost certainly minted at Antioch. Among the bronzes assigned to Philopator, several probably really belong to Euergetes: those with E control marks (nos. 44–48) and one with Λ (no. 52).<sup>3</sup>

Among those ascribed to Ptolemy VI, nos. 75–78 (Svoronos 1424) and nos. 89 and 91 (Sv. 1636–7) probably belong to the reign of Ptolemy V.<sup>4</sup>

In the long run of tetradrachms beginning in the joint reign of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX, the catalogue reaches its high point. Particularly strong are the holdings of Ptolemy XII Auletes (nos. 109–128) and of Cleopatra VII (nos. 129–169, including three portrait bronzes). An attractive conclusion to the volume is provided by the bronze civic issues from three eastern cities bearing the portrait of Cleo-

<sup>1</sup> See C. C. Lorber, 'Large Ptolemaic Bronzes in Third-century Egyptian Hoards', *American Journal of Numismatics* 12 (2000), 67–92.

<sup>2</sup> For the identification of Aradus as the mint, see O. Mørkholm, 'The Ptolemaic "Coins of an Uncertain Era"', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1975–6), 23–58.

<sup>3</sup> Such a conclusion has been clear since M. J. Price's publication of the Anubieion hoard: 'The Coins', in D. G. Jeffreys and H. S. Smith, *The Anubieion at Saqqâra, I: The Settlement and the Temple Precinct* (EES Excavation Memoir 54; London, 1988), 66–76.

<sup>4</sup> For the attribution and characteristics of Sv. 1424, see S. M. Huston and C. C. Lorber, 'A Hoard of Ptolemaic Bronze Coins in Commerce, October 1992 (*CH* 8, 413)', *Numismatic Chronicle* 161 (2001), 11–40. Sv. 1636–7 have been reattributed to Epiphanes by C. C. Lorber, 'The Lotus of Aphrodite on Ptolemaic Bronzes', *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 80 (2001), 39–51.

patra, no. 170 (Orthosia), 171 (Tripolis), 175 (Damascus), as well as three denominations issued by Cleopatra as tetrarch of Chalcis in Syria (nos. 172–174).

Misprints are few: some extraneous Greek has appeared in the description of no. 29; the denominational term *dichalkon* is consistently misspelt as *dichalcos*; under nos. 172–174 the Greek letter *stigma* (for the numeral six) has been printed as a capital 'G'.

ANDREW MEADOWS

*Statuen der 30. Dynastie und der ptolemäisch-römischen Epoche.* By EVA ROGGE. Corpus Antiquarium Aegyptiacarum Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung Lieferung 11. Pp. xvii + 178 (loose). Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999. ISBN 3805325304. Price Euros 39.90.

Although Classicists have more recently embraced Greek-style material culture of the fourth to first centuries BC, a period traditionally neglected, there remains an imbalance in the studies of material from Egypt at this time. Part of the problem is the lack of interest within Egyptology in the Thirtieth Dynasty and so-called Greco-Roman periods, a term coined and used through a lack of comprehension that the real problems in dating material from this thousand year span focus on the late fourth and early third centuries BC. This particular problem is addressed, although not solved, in the first group of statues in Rogge's catalogue: the sphinxes from the dromos of the Sarapieion at Memphis. This section takes up a substantial part of the catalogue and is helpful in that there are good photographs of each statue from at least three viewpoints and the inscriptions are fully recorded and discussed. An inventory, which includes the present location of other sphinxes from the site and a brief record of proposed dates by other scholars is given. Some important bibliography is missing, most notably K. Lembke's article in *MDAIK* 54 (1998) which considers the Sarapieion sphinxes alongside sculptors' models. This section of the catalogue highlights the problems between Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic royal sculpture. Uncertainty has been exacerbated by one-off publications by those unfamiliar with the wider corpus of material, which in turn simply add to the confusion for those approaching the subject for the first time. In contrast, Rogge's discussion is well informed and uses sensible parallels.

Other, non-related sphinxes are also catalogued, such as the headless grey granite statue (ÄS 5751) which she places firmly within the Ptolemaic Period. Once again the discussion involves the citation of several possible parallels from the Late, Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. One particular problem which is not addressed in either the discussion or dating of this particular piece is the Roman practice of copying Ptolemaic originals. One example of a granite sphinx with the portrait of Domitian from the Iseum Campense in Rome and now housed in the Musei Capitolini (no. 16) has identically carved flanks and modelling. Similarly the head of a female with corkscrew locks (ÄS 9), which is dated by Rogge to the second to first centuries BC, has an almost identical parallel in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli. The lack of royal iconography and a small hole at the top of the head (unusually illustrated) would suggest that this particular piece also falls within the category of copy. This adds another potentially confusing problem to the field of Ptolemaic and Roman sculpture, but it is nonetheless a phenomenon which needs to be addressed and which scholars need to be aware of.

ÄS 5780 further illustrates the more general lack of confidence of scholars when treating material from the late Ptolemaic to early Roman periods, and is dated to the second/first centuries BC or first century AD. Such conclusions highlight the confusion when distinguishing representations of late Ptolemies from those of first century Roman emperors, a problem which is exacerbated by the phenomenon of copying earlier images, but which can often be resolved by using the Egyptian material in Italy as *comparanda*. The back pillar on this particular piece, which continues into the pigtail of the nemes head-dress, is another feature that can be found on images of Domitian from Benevento and may perhaps point to a Roman, rather than an Egyptian, sculptor. Similarly, the thin lappets of the head-dress are a feature of Roman copies. Rogge's caution is perfectly justified and the date range feasible, but a reference to the Italian material would have helped in narrowing the possible dates of the piece.

For other objects in the catalogue Rogge seems to be confident in areas that I would see as potentially confusing, and which, in my opinion, warrant more caution. The fragment of a statue that is identified as Ptolemy IV (ÄS 8) by the author would also fit comfortably in the first century BC, at which period there are parallels amongst the late Ptolemaic portraits of so-called 'princes'. I can see

why the subject may have been identified as Ptolemy IV, but the Greek-style portraits of the early Ptolemaic rulers are as problematic as their Egyptian counterparts and it might have been safer here to adopt a more general Ptolemaic date for the piece. It is easy to draw such conclusions when looking at an object in isolation, and the first century material should perhaps have been consulted before such a firm decision was made on the date.

While I agree that one should err on the side of caution, one particular piece, which has parallels amongst the sphinxes that make up the dromos at Narmouthis, has only tentatively been dated to the Ptolemaic Period (ÄS 5767). This limestone sphinx follows the Egyptian form of a recumbent lion, but the head is female and breasts are indicated. Although it is not possible to see from the photographs, it appears that there may also have been a knot between the breasts, a feature that is apparent from the photographs of the Narmouthis female sphinx, which is now lost. The hairstyle, which is Greek and consists of the fringe pulled back with corkscrew locks falling onto the shoulders and a bun at the rear, is paralleled on several Greek-style representations of Ptolemaic queens. Once again, this particular point illustrates the level of interdisciplinary knowledge that is required when dealing with the Ptolemaic Period and which may explain why Egypt during this time has been so neglected.

In the majority of the other royal representations, it is reassuring that Rogge, like others working within this field, draws very similar conclusions in terms of chronology and date. Once again erring on the side of caution, she sensibly dates two fragments of colossal representations of rulers (ÄS 79 and 80) to the early Ptolemaic Period on account of their stylistic features. ÄS 406, a masculine depiction of Cleopatra II or III, is arguably one of the finest Ptolemaic royal 'portraits' in terms of its message to the viewer. This image more than any other exudes the power held by Ptolemaic royal women during the mid second to early first centuries BC. It also represents the dependence of queens on the rulers, illustrated by the fact that this portrait type copies that of the male ruler in all but the hairstyle and Venus-rings. As in many museum catalogues, it was not possible to expand upon the importance of this piece and its meaning. However, the very fact that this catalogue is dedicated to the later periods of ancient Egyptian culture is certainly a step in the right direction.

Roughly a third of the catalogue is devoted to private sculpture and here again the reader is presented with other problems in terms of dating the so-called 'veristic style'. Rogge appears to be more confident here, offering tighter dates whilst noting alternatives from earlier works. She generally accepts Bianchi's earlier dating of examples such as ÄS 42, whilst allocating a late first century BC date to ÄS I 689, which has similar features to those of the more securely datable statue of Hor, now in the Cairo Museum (CG 697). This indicates that the phenomenon of the 'veristic' portrait type is likely to span a wider date range than previously supposed by scholars.

A charitable interpretation of ÄS 8470, a naophoros which is dated to '27. Dynastie oder später', would be that this is also a Roman copy of an earlier form of statue. In its proportions the image has parallels in the second and third centuries AD, but the lack of understanding of the facial features and wig must surely make the authenticity of this piece questionable.

The problems addressed in this review are typical of any study of Late Period, Ptolemaic and Roman statuary. The collection catalogued is rich in terms of its variety and quality, but the lack of provenance for many of the pieces weakens the non-specialist's confidence in the identification and dating of such pieces. Rogge's conclusions are for the most part sensible and well balanced, and this study is a useful tool for anyone working on material of this kind. The problems encountered and the uncertainty of some of the dates show that we still have a long way to go, but, on the other hand, scholars do seem finally to be agreeing over the Ptolemaic and Roman divide. A catalogue of Ptolemaic and Roman sculpture that also includes material from the Thirtieth Dynasty is certainly to be welcomed, and the confusion over the dating of individual pieces is testimony to the close links between the periods.

Rogge's suggestion of an Alexandrian provenance for many of the Ptolemaic royal statues is refreshing and also shows an awareness of recent excavations in the city, a factor that few Classical scholars seem to have acknowledged. Sadly I suspect that few Classicists will be tempted to use the catalogue, or indeed will have easy access to it within familiar libraries. The very fact that when considering Ptolemaic material it is necessary to include that of the Thirtieth Dynasty creates a problem for the non-Egyptologist. If such boundaries can be crossed, there will be a need for more works which embrace all sides of the Ptolemaic and Roman *milieu* rather than maintaining artificial divisions between Egypt and the Classical world. Rogge's catalogue offers a good synopsis of scholarly opinion and shows skillful, logical judgement over dates, which is a refreshing change from the usual treatment of this important material.



In practical terms, the loose-leaf format of these catalogues can be frustrating to use, and it is easy for pages to be mislaid or misplaced out of order. One cannot but ask, given that the page layout is perfectly arranged for transfer to an on-line database, whether museums should not be moving towards this more accessible medium now?

SALLY-ANN ASHTON

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