Studies in Honor of
William Kelly Simpson

VOLUME 2

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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Edited by Peter Der Manuelian and Rita E. Freed

DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN, NUBIAN, AND NEAR EASTERN ART

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1996

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Contents

Volume 1

Preface by Rita E. Freed xi
Bibliography of William Kelly Simpson, 1963–1996 xv
James P. Allen Some Theban Officials of the Early Middle Kingdom 1–26
Hartwig Altenmüller Geburtsschrein und Geburtshaus
DIETER ARNOLD Hypostyle Halls of the Old and Middle Kingdom?
JAN ASSMANN Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egyptian Portraiture
JOHN BAINES On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne
LAWRENCE M. BERMAN The Stela of Shemai, Chief of Police, of the Early Twelfth Dynasty, in The Cleveland Museum of Art
Janine Bourriau The Dolphin Vase from Lisht
EDWARD BROVARSKI An Inventory List from "Covington's Tomb" and Nomenclature for Furniture in the Old Kingdom
EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT Zur wunderbaren Zeugung des Horus nach Plutarch, De Iside Kap. 9
Betsy M. Bryan The Disjunction of Text and Image in Egyptian Art 161–168

SUE D'AURIA Three Painted Textiles in the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum	6
Margaret A. Leveque Technical Analysis of Three Painted Textiles in the Collection of the Boston Athenaeum	8
Leo Depuydt Egyptian Regnal Dating under Cambyses and the Date of the Persian Conquest	0
Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt Les Déesses et le Sema-Taouy	7
ELMAR EDEL Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru	8
RICHARD FAZZINI A Statue of a High Priest Menkheperreseneb in The Brooklyn Museum	5
Gerhard Fecht Der beredte Bauer: die zweite Klage	6
Henry G. Fischer Notes on Some Texts of the Old Kingdom and Later	4
Detlef Franke Sesostris I., "König der beiden Länder" und Demiurg in Elephantine	5
RITA E. FREED Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12	6
Florence Dunn Friedman Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid Complex	1
Hans Goedicke A Special Toast	9
Stephen P. Harvey A Decorated Protodynastic Cult Stand from Abydos	8
Zaнı Hawass The Discovery of the Satellite Pyramid of Khufu (GI–d) 379–39	8

Joyce L. Haynes
Redating the Bat Capital in the Museum
of Fine Arts, Boston
Erik Hornung
Zum königlichen Jenseits
T.G.H. James
Howard Carter and Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs
Volume 2
Jack A. Josephson
A Portrait head of Psamtik I?
Gerald E. Kadish
Observations on Time and Work-Discipline
in Ancient Egypt
Werner Kaiser
Zwei weitere <i>Hb-Hd.t-</i> Belege
TIMOTHY KENDALI.
Fragments Lost and Found: Two Kushite
Objects Augmented
Arielle P. Kozloff
A Masterpiece with Three Lives—
The Vatican's Statue of Tuya
·
Peter Lacovara A Faience Tile of the Old Kingdom
JEAN-PHILIPPE LAUER
Remarques concernant l'inscription d'Imhotep gravée sur
le socle de statue de l'Horus Neteri-Khet (roi Djoser) 493–498
Jean Leclant and Catherine Berger
Des confréries religieuses à Saqqara,
à la fin de la XIIe dynastie?
Mark Lehner
Z500 and The Layer Pyramid of Zawiyet el-Aryan 507–522
Ronald J. Leprohon
A Late Middle Kingdom Stela in a Private Collection

Antonio Loprieno Loyalty to the King, to God, to oneself	2
JAROMIR MALEK The "Coregency relief" of Akhenaten and Smenkhare from Memphis	9
Peter Der Manuelian Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tomb Scenes of the Old Kingdom	8
Yvonne Markowitz A Silver Uraeus Ring from Meroë	4
Geoffrey T. Martin A Late Middle Kingdom Prince of Byblos	9
Andrea McDowell Student Exercises from Deir el-Medina: The Dates 601–608	8
N.B. MILLET The Wars against the Noba	4
GAMAL MOKHTAR Mummies, Modern Sciences, and Technology 615–619	9
David O'Connor Sexuality, Statuary and the Afterlife; Scenes in the Tomb-chapel of Pepyankh (Heny the Black). An Interpretive Essay	3
Jürgen Osing Zur Funktion einiger Räume des Ramesseums	6
R.B. Parkinson Khakeperreseneb and Traditional Belles Lettres	4
Paule Posener-Kriéger Au plaisir des paléographes. Papyrus Caire JE 52003 655–664	4
Stephen Quirke Horn, Feather and Scale, and Ships. On Titles in the Middle Kingdom	7
Donald B. Redford Mendes & Environs in the Middle Kingdom	2

ROBERT K. RITNER The Earliest Attestation of the <i>kpd</i> -Measure
GAY ROBINS Abbreviated Grids on Two Scenes in a Graeco-Roman Tomb at Abydos
James F. Romano The Armand de Potter Collection of Ancient Egyptian Art
Alan R. Schulman The Kushite Connection
Gerry D. Scott, III An Old Kingdom Sculpture in the San Antonio Museum of Art
David P. Silverman Magical Bricks of Hunuro
HOURIG SOUROUZIAN A Headless Sphinx of Sesostris II from Heliopolis in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37796
Anthony Spalinger From Esna to Ebers: An Attempt at Calendrical Archaeology
Donald B. Spanel Palaeographic and Epigraphic Distinctions between Texts of the So-called First Intermediate Period and the Early Twelfth Dynasty
Rainer Stadelmann Origins and Development of the Funerary Complex of Djoser
Bruce G. Trigger Toshka and Arminna in the New Kingdom 801–810
JEAN VERCOUTTER Les Minéraux dans la naissance des Civilisations de la Vallée du Nil

Cornelius C. Vermeule
Mythological and Decorative Sculptures in Colored
Stones from Egypt, Greece, North Africa, Asia Minor
and Cyprus
Pascal Vernus
Réfections et adaptations de l'idéologie monarchique
à la Deuxième Période Intermédiare: La stèle
d'Antef-le-victorieux
Kent R. Weeks
Toward the Establishment of a Pre-Islamic
Archaeological Database
Edward F. Wente
A Goat for an Ailing Woman (Ostracon Wente)
Christiane Zivie-Coche
Miscellanea Ptolemaica
Author Address List

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A Portrait Head of Psamtik I?



JACK A. JOSEPHSON

philologist, has consistently demonstrated great concern for and a fascination with objects from ancient Egypt. His lengthy tenure and record of important acquisitions at the Museum of Fine Arts confirm this enduring interest. I respectfully dedicate this brief essay on the stylistic analysis of a mysterious royal head to a great scholar and good friend.

There were few pharaohs with longer, or more successful, reigns than Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.). He was the founder of the Twenty-sixth (Saite) Dynasty and, due to a scarcity of information about his life, somewhat of an enigma. Usually presumed to be of Libyan descent, ² he began his kingship as a vassal of the Assyrians, but later, during their decline, aggressively filled the void they left by expanding Egypt's influence into the Levant.³ An astute politician, Psamtik spent his early regnal years consolidating his power in the Delta, and then, using diplomacy rather than force, reunited upper and lower Egypt. He made liberal use of Hellenistic mercenaries who enhanced the capability of an army that performed both garrison duty and the extension of his suzerainty into parts of Lebanon and Palestine.⁴ Throughout his long reign, Psamtik maintained his royal residence at Sais in the Western Delta, with Memphis as the political and administrative capital of Egypt.⁵ He certainly traveled there and probably to the Levant as well.⁶ There are no records of journeys to Upper Egypt; apparently, he was content to be represented in Thebes by his daughter Nitocris, who became the Divine

¹ The dates used throughout this article are from J. Baines and J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1980).

 $^{^2}$ A[nthony] S[palinger], $L\ddot{A}$ 4 (Wiesbaden, 1982), col. 1166. The author uses the word "probably" to describe Psamtik I's Libyan descent.

³ See A. Spalinger, "The Concept of the Monarchy during the Saite Epoch—an Essay of Synthesis," *Orientalia* 47 (1978), pp. 16–17.

⁴ K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1986), p. 402.

⁵ See N. Grimal, A History of Ancient Egypt (Oxford, 1992), p. 357.

⁶ See M. Smith, "Did Psammetichus I Die Abroad," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 22 (Leuven, 1991), p. 109.

Consort of Amun, and played an important role in the reunification of Egypt. Aside from his primarily political successes, Psamtik had a prosperous reign that, according to Grimal, lead to a resurgence of temple construction with its attendant sculptures and reliefs. There remains today an extraordinary number of artifacts from that period, which is commonly referred to as a "renaissance." Certainly it was a revival of an artistic tradition whose roots reached back to the Old Kingdom. Necho II (610–595 B.C.) succeeded to the throne after his father's death in 610 B.C. There is no evidence that he usurped or defiled any monument built for, or dedicated to Psamtik I. Therefore, it strains one's credulity to recognize that not a single inscribed anthropomorphic image of this great king is known to have survived. There must be some explanation for why so few relics of this monarch remain.

It is rational to assume that the Delta, particularly Sais, would have preserved abundant artifacts of his fifty-four year reign. Porter and Moss do list a considerable quantity of blocks bearing his name, although they do not show any temples built by him. ¹⁰ His royal residence, necropolis, and probably numerous temples were there, a site now largely submerged. The difficulty of excavating this area makes it an expensive and perhaps fruitless venture, although this now inaccessible location surely must contain a number of statues of him. Memphis, his capital and not too distant from Sais, should also be a logical place to find his statuary. Yet, Porter and Moss list almost none of his remains in Memphis. 11 Thebes, of all the major centers of Egypt, other than the Delta, appears to have the largest number of relics (although these are not abundant) associated with Psamtik I. Although he probably never visited that area, Nictocris, or others, must have ensured that his name was visible there. The answer to this mysterious lack of traces of Psamtik I may be political in nature.

Although Grimal asserts that there was a surge in building activity during the Saite Dynasty, ¹² it may have begun after the founder's reign. All the available evidence points in that direction. It is quite conceivable that Psamtik's attentions were concentrated more on his political ventures with the Assyrians than to immortalizing his lengthy reign as

⁷ Grimal, Ancient Egypt, p. 357.

⁸ Spalinger, "The Concept of Monarchy," p. 12.

⁹ See B.V. Bothmer, Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period; 700 B.C.–100 A.D. (Brooklyn, 1960), p. xxxvii.

¹⁰ See *PM* IV (Oxford, 1934).

¹¹ See *PM* III, parts 1 and 2 (Oxford, 1974).

¹² See note 5.



Fig. 1. Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 36915; photograph courtesy of the The Brooklyn Museum, Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture.



Fig. 2. British Museum, London 20; photograph courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

pharaoh. Although it was an astute decision to send Nictocris to Thebes, and to allow Montuemhat to continue his hegemony in Upper Egypt, it showed behavior rather aberrant for an omnipotent pharaoh. The impression gathered from his various activities is of a reclusive man, tentative in his use of power, and in the latter sense, substantially at odds with his predecessors on the throne of Egypt. While there are yet unexplored areas, particularly in the Delta, that may yield more information about Psamtik I, it is reasonable to posit that he will remain one of the least understood of any Egyptian ruler whose reign was as lengthy and whose achievements were so considerable.

A relatively small sphinx in Cairo (fig. 1), bearing his name, is the only three-dimensional representation of Psamtik I extant. 13 Its face is completely idealized, the only noteworthy features are a long face and unusual, downward slanting, cosmetic lines. It is not a portrait in any sense of subject recognition, or realistic treatment. 14 There are, however, several relief portraits of this king that do demonstrate unusual facial characteristics. Two likenesses of Psamtik I in the Theban tomb of Montuemhat present him with a prominent nose, thick protruding lips, a noticeably recessed, but knobby, chin, and a distinct double chin with a small wrinkle of flesh where it joins the neck. 15 Another relief representation of this king from Edfu is so similar to those in Montuemhat's tomb, that it could have been made by the same hand. 16 An intercolumnar slab, found in the Delta site of Rosetta and now in London, has an analogous treatment of Psamtik's portrait (fig. 2).¹⁷ The physiognomic singularities shown on these images reinforce the impression that the faces on the reliefs portray the official, and perhaps actual, likeness of the king. Thus, one could make a convincing argument for an attribution of an uninscribed statue to Psamtik I if an anomalous royal statue with these rather unusual facial idiosyncrasies were discovered. Sadly, this has not yet occurred.

The lack of a three-dimensional model for the likeness of Psamtik I, other than the idealized Cairo sphinx, renders it difficult to assign any unidentified royal likeness to him. No known royal statue has the

¹³ The Egyptian Museum, JE 36915; limestone, 1. 140 cm; PM 2 (Oxford, 1972), p. 143.

¹⁴ A recent and excellent exposition on this subject is by R. Brilliant, *Portraiture* (Cambridge, Ma., 1991).

¹⁵ K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz, 1988), pl. 51, a–b. E.R. Russmann gives a similar description of these portraits in, "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT 34)," *JARCE* 31 (1994), p. 16.

¹⁶ Cairo, the Egyptian Museum JE 38997; sandstone; Myśliwiec, ibid., pl. 51, c.

¹⁷ The British Museum, 20; Myśliwiec, ibid., pl. 54, a-b.





Figs. 3–5. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York X 358; photographs courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig. 4.

unmistakable features shown on the reliefs. A small number of headless statue fragments of this king are all that seemingly remain. ¹⁸ If a portrait head exists, only stylistic analysis could serve to identify it.

I believe that a royal bust, now in New York (figs. 3–5), can be convincingly assigned to Psamtik I.¹⁹ The Metropolitan Museum's fragment is completely unprovenienced—with no existing record of its purchase or donation.²⁰ In fact, the statue spent many years in storage with doubt cast on its authenticity. Cyril Aldred, while working at the

 $^{^{18}}$ A list of these were compiled by A. Leahy, "Saite Royal Sculpture: A Review," *GM* 80 (1984), p. 62. Also see Bothmer, *ESLP*, p. 29, no. 25, pl. 22, fig. 51. A torso fragment with the name Wa-ib-ra on its belt is attributed to Psamtik I. Bothmer finds the fragment in keeping with the Theban style. Leahy does not mention this statue.

¹⁹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, X 358; granite (granodiorite?), h. 31 cm; W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II (Cambridge, 1959), p. 343.



Fig. 5.

Metropolitan Museum in 1956, recognized the statue as ancient. He did not assign it to Dynasty 26, but rather, to Dynasty 19. Aldred based his date on a few iconographic details, one of which was the formation of the *uraeus*. He disregarded certain other details, not common to the Nineteenth Dynasty, because he considered the statue to be unfinished. Since Aldred, one of this century's finest art historians, vouched for the statue's legitimacy, it escaped the obscurity it had been relegated

 $^{^{20}}$ According to Dorothea Arnold, chairman of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. I would also express my gratitude to Dr. Arnold for permission to publish this statue and her gracious assistance with the Museum's files.

 $^{^{21}}$ From Aldred's notes on file at the Egyptian Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

to and the prejudice engendered by its lack of provenience and anomalous appearance.

A number of years ago, E.R. Russmann, then an assistant curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, proposed that this statue fragment belonged to the oeuvre of the early Saite Dynasty. It was apparent to her that it represented Psamtik I.²² B.V. Bothmer, while believing the statue to be ancient, suggested an earlier date (perhaps based on Aldred's attribution) ranging from the Ramessid to the Third Intermediate Period.²³ I hope, in this article, to expand upon Russmann's astute observation and demonstrate the strong possibility that the Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses a unique portrait of Psamtik I. Unfortunately, such an attribution must remain tentative unless future excavation uncovers a corresponding inscribed example.

The statue fragment in New York is exceptionally well-carved with fine detailing cut into a very intractable stone, leading me to disagree with Aldred's opinion that this statue was unfinished. Aldred believed that the single beard strap, the lack of ribbing on the beard, and even the shape of the face indicated an incomplete condition. However, the surface polish and the careful draftsmanship argue against that. The quality of the workmanship is undeniably high, as befits a product from a royal workshop. The attention the sculptor paid to the modelling, surface finish, and the formation of the *nemes* make it apparent that this is a finished work. Furthermore, the use of a single line to delineate the beard strap is common in Dynasty 26.²⁴

The statue has a *nemes* headdress with the remains of a symmetrical, single loop *uraeus*. The queue on the *nemes* falls below the level of the shoulder blades where no back pillar is immediately visible. However, just below the queue is a small projection that could only be the remnant of a low back pillar (which Aldred duly noted). As the Museum label states, the most probable pose of this figure is of a kneeling king, perhaps holding offerings in his hands.²⁵ The other alternative would be the king seated on a low-backed throne; this pose, however, is virtually unknown in the Late Period.²⁶

²² Personal communication.

²³ Again, personal communication. However, I did notice in the slide files of The Brooklyn Museum, that Prof. Bothmer had placed slides of this statue in the Saite section. Perhaps, before his death, he was beginning to change his opinion of the date of the Metropolitan's bust.

²⁴ For example, see Bothmer, ESLP, no. 41, figs. 89–90, pl. 38.

 $^{^{25}}$ It is also interesting to note that Leahy's list (note 18) of headless representations of Psamtik I are both granite, kneeling statues. It would be worthwhile to check to see if either joins the Metropolitan's head.

The face is quite intact, with only a part of the nose missing and some damage around the mouth. There is extensive modelling around the mouth and nose, with meticulously engraved indications of the lower facial muscles. Along the sides of the nose, near its midpoint, are signs of excess fleshiness, not unlike the folds seen on slightly earlier Kushite sculpture.²⁷ It is not surprising to find this particular feature on the statue. These flesh folds specifically point to an origin early in the reign of Psamtik I, when the influence of the Nubian kings' workshops was still strong. It also increases the possibility that the statue was carved in a Theban atelier that formerly sculpted images of Dynasty 25 rulers. However, the lack of a double uraeus, or any signs of central axes through the eyes, indicate a post-Kushite dating.²⁸ A smooth beard, attached to the lower jaw and covering most of the chin, is a rare attribute on royal representations of the Late Period.²⁹ The left arm and shoulder are missing, as is the lower right arm. The statue is broken off just below the protruding nipples on its chest. Overall, the impression imparted by the statue is both pleasing and impressive.

The size of the eyes of this portrait is strikingly large relative to the face. They are almond-shaped, extremely long, and have extended cosmetic lines that begin at the outer canthi, thus appearing to wrap around the entire width of the head from ear to ear. Another singular feature of the eyes is a shelf-like lower lid. The bottoms of the eyeballs are cut deeply away from the lids, which in turn have a depression below them. Above the eyes, the bold, plastically rounded eyebrows are parallel to the upper lids and cosmetic lines. The unsmiling mouth has delicately curved, full lips unlike the simplified, straight lips of the Kushite images.³⁰ The shape of the face is thin and elongated, again contrasting

²⁶ See notes 18 and 25.

²⁷ In particular as described on a representation of Shabako by E.R. Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty* (Brussels, 1974), p. 15. Russmann further elaborates on this singularity in *Relief Decoration in Theban Private Tombs of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties: Its Origins and Development, with Particular Reference to the Tomb of Harwa (TT 37),* (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1992), pp. 137–42.

 $^{^{28}}$ The use of the double *uraeus* by the Nubian kings of Egypt is well established. However, I have not seen in print any reference to the sometimes strong line that usually can be seen through the centers of the eyes on Kushite sculpture. The effect is almost that of a discontinuity. I presume that the first observation of this phenomenon was by Bothmer, who referred to it in his classes.

²⁹ I believe there is only one other example—a Ptolemaic king now in Zagazig, Orabi Museum 1141; quartzite; see K. Myśliwiec, "A Lower Egyptian sculptor's 'school'," Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 6 (1992), p. 63, pls. 1–4.

³⁰ Particularly see the examples illustrated in Russmann, *Representations*, figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, and 11. All are in stone.

with the round, full faces common to the representations of the Nubian kings. 31

Although there are no royal three-dimensional representations of Psamtik I to compare with the Metropolitan's bust, there are a considerable number of Osiris statues that fulfill this need. Many of these god figures are obviously products of royal workshops and tend to simulate the look of the king. Fortunately, some of them are datable and their geographical origins known. H. De Meulenaere and B.V. Bothmer discussed the criteria for accurately dating a group of Osiris statues from the eighth and seventh century. They came to the conclusion that the best indicator of a chronology was the position of the beard and its associated beard straps in relation to the chin. Those statues having their chins covered by the beard were considered to be from the time of Psamtik I or slightly earlier. Although there are stylistic differences that also can be used, this rather simple iconographic test appears to be essentially correct.

An example of the beard covering the chin is on an Osiris figure in Cairo (fig. 6).³³ The statue, found in Medinet Habu in Thebes, is dedicated to Psamtik I. The face depicted on it has the same long, narrow shape as that of the Metropolitan's bust. The configuration of the eyes and eyebrows, the eyes disproportionately large, with eyebrows in bold, plastic relief, and the shelf-like structures formed by the lower eye lids, as well as the lips are all very similar to those features on the Metropolitan Museum's representation. The Osiris statue's face, additionally, has more than a hint of the "Kushite fold" near its nose.

Another representation of Osiris, dedicated to Psamtik I, is in a New York private collection (fig. 7).³⁴ Although smaller in scale than the Cairo Osiris figure, it has a finely carved face in almost pristine condition. The reason for comparing this small seated figure to the bust in the Metropolitan Museum and the Cairo Osiris lies in its place of origin—the inscription showing that it comes from Shedenu (Pharbaithos) in the Eastern Delta.³⁵ There are some salient stylistic differences that distinguish this image from the two Upper Egyptian figures, the most obvious of these being the facial shape. The seated statuette has a round face,



Fig. 6. Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 38231; photograph courtesy of the The Brooklyn Museum, Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture.

³¹ See note 27.

³² H. De Meulenaere and B.V. Bothmer, "Une tête d'Osiris au Musée du Louvre," Kêmi 19 (1969).

 $^{^{33}}$ The Egyptian Museum JE 38231; graywacke, h. 130 cm; De Meulenaere and Bothmer, "Une Tête D'Osiris," p. 12, pl. 4, fig. 12.

³⁴ The Thalassic Collection; graywacke, h. 35.9 cm; J.A. Josephson, "A Fragmentary Egyptian Head from Heliopolis," *MMJ* 30 (1995), forthcoming.

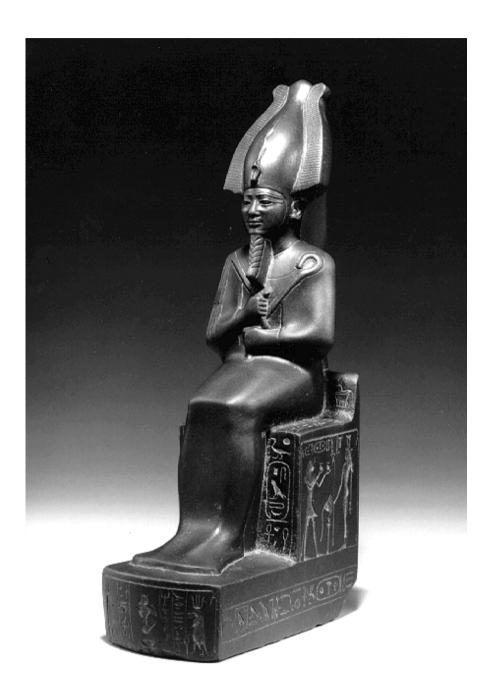


Fig. 7. The Thalassic Collection, New York; photograph courtesy of the Thalassic Collection.

unlike the long, thin face of the Cairo Osiris or the Metropolitan bust. It is comparable in this respect to the various relief representations of Psamtik I.³⁶ The size of the eyes is not as exaggerated as the others, whose origins are from the South. The New York Osiris statuette may represent a more accurate image of the king than either the Metropolitan's bust or the Osiris statue from Thebes. Nicholas Reeves kindly brought to my attention a shabti figure of Psamtik I, formerly in the McGregor Collection, which exhibits the round face and smaller eyes of the New York Osiris statuette.³⁷

The portrait bust in the Metropolitan Museum appears not to have parallels either earlier or later than the reign of Psamtik I. It is so similar in style to the Cairo Osiris, including the position of the beard on its chin, that they must be considered to be coincident in time and from Thebes. Thus, this bust very likely constitutes a unique document of the three-dimensional royal image at the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in Thebes. Its idealizing features tend to reinforce my hypothesis that Psamtik I did not visit Thebes—at least not before this statue was made. The realistic relief portraits of Psamtik I in Montuemhat's tomb and in Edfu are best explained by the probable use of Memphite workmen in Thebes—a theory convincingly argued by Russmann.³⁸



³⁵ It is unlikely that this statuette was made in this provincial area. The vignettes engraved on this figure have a cartoon-like quality, out of keeping with the work of a royal workshop. Furthermore, there are a number of misspellings in the inscriptions; a fact brought to my attention by R. Brier. It appears as though the figure was brought to Shenedu where it was inscribed and decorated.

³⁶ A point also raised by Russmann in *Relief Decoration*, p. 16, note 95.

³⁷ Sales catalogue, Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge (June, 1922), lot 1350.

³⁸ E.R. Russmann, *Relief Decoration in Theban Private Tombs*, pp. 227–33. The author specifically refers to the strong possibility that Memphite stonecarvers worked in the tomb of Harwa (TT 37). This would be a precedent for the continued use of these workmen at a slightly later time.

Observations on Time and Work-Discipline in Ancient Egypt



Gerald E. Kadish

NE ASPECT OF THE CONSIDERABLE DIVERSITY OF WILLIAM KELLY Simpson's scholarly interests and talents is reflected in his valuable studies of the Reisner papyri. I would like to offer a few observations on those documents to honor his achievements and the riches he has given us to explore. ¹

By far the largest portion of the waking hours of most Egyptians was devoted to work or, in the case of bureaucratic and/or aristocratic overseers, to the watching of work.² The greatest number of workers was engaged in agriculture, but a significant segment of the labor force was in crafts and construction. Workers and their managers went about their daily tasks, the rhythms of their labor shaped by the natural indicators of day, season, and year, as well as by the artificial constructs of civil calendar, festivals, the formal length of the work day, and, at least in some periods, regular days off. To paraphrase the words of the poet of the hymn to the Aten, each day, when the sun has risen, the entire land went off to work.

Work and workers needed to be organized so as to achieve a desired level of production and delivery of goods and services. While laborers of all sorts were subject to a certain amount of violent coercion, that is not a sufficient explanation of the generally successful discipline of labor, nor is the likely correct notion that workers obliged to perform corvée labor on major royal projects, such as pyramid-building, were, at least in part, motivated by religious devotion (i.e., to the monarch).³

The Reisner papyri⁴ offer exceptional insights into the organization of work in Middle Kingdom Egypt, reflecting usages for the calculation of labor needs, the logistics of labor, the nature of labor record-keeping, etc. They also afford an opportunity for a look at the relationship

¹ An early attempt at this problem was presented to a meeting of the Egyptological Seminar of New York; the present essay is part of a larger study of the temporal aspects of ancient Egyptian economic life.

² The non-royal tombs offer numerous examples of the tomb-owner watching his estate laborers at their tasks.

between time and work, especially at two related issues: time as a factor in worker discipline and the role of a culture of timeliness. To look at these issues, I have adopted the interpretational framework of the now famous and widely influential article by the late English historian, E.P. Thompson, entitled "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism." While it is true that Egypt's economy presents a rather different profile from that of England during the transition to a capitalist economy, Thompson's analysis brings into bold relief features of the relationship between time and work that are applicable to the ancient setting.

Thompson argued that, before the institutionalization of industrial capitalism in factories, workers—and here he means both skilled and unskilled laborers, but not those employed in agriculture for the most part—were in the habit of deciding pretty much for themselves how much time they would invest in a unit of production. The forces that might persuade them to work faster were largely those of the market and a sense of their own needs rather than any externally imposed norms or work quotas. This pre- or proto-capitalist manufacture Thompson characterizes as "task-oriented" or chore-determined. He notes that this differs from agriculture, where production is strongly determined by other factors, such as nature's cycles. For Thompson, a crucial transition took place when labor was timed, when the workplace came to have a clock on the wall. The essential point is that henceforth the owner of the clock, i.e., the owner (or his agent) of the plant or construction project now controlled the amount of time—rather precisely measured—to be

³ On corvée labor, see in particular two articles by Ingelore Hafemann: "Zum Problem der staatlichen Arbeitspflicht im Alten Ägypten. I," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 12 (1985), pp. 3–21, and "Zum Problem der staatlichen Arbeitspflicht im Alten Ägypten. II," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 12 (1985), pp. 179–215. I have not considered here the issues connected with the important question of corvée labor. The Reisner workers are likely free workers with some state labor obligation to discharge; time constraints on them reflect the fact that these are imposed on them. Still there are issues that need to be addressed in a fuller treatment.

⁴ William Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I. The Records of a Building Project in the Reign of Sesostris I* (Boston, 1963); idem, *Papyrus Reisner II. Accounts of the Dockyard Workshop at This in the Reign of Sesostris I* (Boston, 1965); idem, *Reisner Papyrus III. The Records of a Building Project in the Early Twelfth Dynasty* (Boston, 1969); idem, *Papyrus Reisner IV. Personnel Accounts of the Early Twelfth Dynasty* (Boston, 1986). Hereafter cited as pReisner I, pReisner II, pReisner III, and pReisner IV respectively. See also Simpson's entry (Pap. Reisner I–IV) in LÄ 4 (1982), cols. 728–30. Simpson has conveniently listed major reviews of *pReisner I–III* and some of the literature in *Papyrus Reisner IV*, p. 26.

⁵ Past & Present 38 (1967), pp. 56–97.

 $^{^6}$ See H. Goedicke, "Bilateral Business in the Old Kingdom," *DE* 5 (1986), pp. 73–101, for the view that some Old Kingdom artisans engaged in tomb-building or decorating played an active work in negotiating their remuneration.

expended on a unit of production. The control of the rate of production had been transferred to the hands of the entrepreneur, and the employed craftsman lost control of his time/labor investment. Indeed, in subsequent periods, a classic worker tactic was to attempt to slow down production to achieve certain work conditions or pay concessions. Since power resided elsewhere until comparatively recently, such efforts were largely doomed to failure. In the USSR, the clock-owner (i.e., the state) developed the idea of the Stakhanovite in order to put pressure on the workers to continually exceed, let alone meet, work norms imposed from above, all the time exhorting them to perform better for the greater good of the state. In these systems, the laborer's power to resist was muted by the very real danger of starvation as an alternative to working by the clock. Moreover, the state, while not directly involved in the factory's processes, was nonetheless a guarantor, through its police power, of the entrepreneur's ability to impose his will. But there is another factor.

Not only did this change alter the work situation as an institutionalized reality, but it was accompanied by an insidious co-feature: a conscious inculcation of a value system in which timeliness became a social virtue. It is no accident that in some places a gold watch came to be thought of as an appropriate retirement gift to a worker who had, during his working lifetime, met the time/work demands of the new production system. The parodic slogan of George Orwell's 1984 "Work is Pleasure, Time is Gold" comes to mind. Not only did labor market realities discipline the worker, ⁷ but he was further subverted by the value system. Not surprisingly, there is resistance, although typically in such a less overt form as the hangover from Sunday's drinking excesses becoming a cause of absenteeism on the first day of the work week, memorialized by the workers into an alleged observance of the feast of a mythical "St. Monday."8 Work avoidance was the only other, rather precarious, option for the laborer in a surplus labor situation. The key change is characterized by Thompson as a "greater sense of time-thrift among the improving capitalist employers."9

A last item from Thompson's article is in order. One of his earliest and most interesting sources of information is the records of the Crowley Iron Works, ca. 1700. There it is apparent that the record-

⁷ That this can even apply to agricultural labor in a pre-industrial society is evidenced by the Great Revolt of 1381 in England, a violent reaction to the Statute of Laborers of the 1370s which limited how much an employer of labor was allowed to pay in wages.

⁸ Thompson, op. cit., p. 72ff.

⁹ Ibid., p. 78.

keeping that backed up the enforcement of time/work discipline was organized on a temporal basis. Records were kept of loitering, time-serving, sloth, etc. Time-sheets were kept for each worker noting work hours, mealtime breaks, time-keepers, informers, and fines. So hostile to the system were the workers that the clock had to be locked up to prevent the workers from surreptitiously changing it. It should be stressed that this temporal documentation served two purposes: the discipline of labor *and* the rationalization of production pace and costs; the managers' doubt obliged to maintain control and justify expenses. We can turn now to ancient Egypt. It

Consisting mainly of manpower planning, utilization, and compensation accounts for construction projects and dockyard activities dating to the early Middle Kingdom, the Reisner papyri present a number of features that reflect the relationship between work and time. They allow us to observe these connections over reasonably long periods of time (at least for Egyptian records): for example, the pReisner I documents cover periods of seventy-five to 122 consecutive days, while pReisner II includes records for periods of 228 days and 1,245 days (i.e., three years and five months), the latter group not continuous. In addition, the number of named workmen accounted for in the documents exceeds 300. Lists of workmen and their ration allotments (compensation) are not at all unusual in the surviving Egyptian records, but the Reisner accounts offer some uncommon aspects.

One of these is the accounting methods used for reporting and determining work and rations allotted. In pReisner I, Section A, the summaries are given, not as one might expect, in terms of numbers of men and days worked, listed separately, but rather in terms of "man-days." There is no specific term for this unit that is ubiquitous in the Reisner papyri, but it is evident that the manpower summaries are a product of the totals of men employed and the number of days each worked, a "man-day" apparently by this time defined as a ten-hour day. Simpson suggested that this section represents a pay-sheet prepared perhaps for a disbursing

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 81ff.

¹¹ The literature on the various aspects of the Egyptian work force is large. Two articles of particular importance might be mentioned, both in Marvin A. Powell, ed., *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, Ancient Oriental Series, 68 (New Haven, 1987): C.J. Eyre, "Work and the Organization of Work in the Old Kingdom" and C.J. Eyre, "Work and the Organization of Work in the New Kingdom."

¹² The use of the concept man-day goes back to the Old Kingdom, according to an article by I.I. Perepelkin (cited by O.D. Berlev in his review of pReisner I in *BiOr* 22 (1965), p. 264, n. 4). I have been unable to consult the original. Section H's calculations appear to indicate a man-day equaled one man working for one ten-hour day. Cf. *pReisner III*, p. 14.

or fiscal agency. ¹³ The close connection between men working and days worked was part of the calculation of rations. These figures represent the number of "man-days" multiplied by a standard unit—the *trsst*—perhaps originally a kind of bread-loaf, but here clearly a formal unit of account for compensation; in Section A, the ratio is not clearly the otherwise normal 8:1 in the Reisner papyri. ¹⁴ A standard work-day length, then, had already been formalized.

The "man-day" was used, however, as a labor planning unit as well as a worker compensation basis. One cannot help, like Simpson, being "amazed and bewildered by the complexity of the bookkeeping practices, whereby an accountant recorded such details as the exact dimensions of blocks of stone to a fraction of a fingerbreadth and the sum of man-days to a fifth of a working day." 15 pReisner I, Sections G, H, and I correlate length, width, and thickness of blocks of stone with numbers of workers, a table which appears to represent a standard assignment of work units based on the physical requirements of the project. This is corroborated in pReisner I, Section I, where a number of such work assignments are quite explicit, e.g., "IV Peret 15: Given to him in order to erect three interior portals: six workers, two and a half days (equalling) 15 (man-days)." ¹⁶ The results achieved were reported, and one supposes they would be expected to conform with the original projects. Section K is such a report, indicating, among other things, that 715 "man-days" were spent moving stone and 101½ in carrying sand, for a total investment of 816½ man-days for this stage of the project, while the overall summary reports a total expenditure of 4.312½ man-days. 17 pReisner II, Section K details day-by-day the expenditure of "man-days" in the royal dockyard for a period of 228 days. ¹⁸ pReisner III adds to the accounting repertoire with a series of documents that appear to be periodic work status reports which detail for each worker the number of "man-days" expended and those still available out of an allocation. 19

The crucial observation to be made here is that the constraints on manpower and remuneration put into the hands of those making the allocations—whether a private contractor or a state agency—control

¹³ pReisner I, p. 24.

¹⁴ *pReisner I*, pp. 26, 35. Further on this unit, cf. Simpson, "Two Lexical Notes to the Reisner Papyri: *whrt* and *trsst*," *JEA* 59 (1973), pp. 220–22. Cf. D. Mueller, "Some Remarks on Wage Rates in the Middle Kingdom," *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 249–63.

¹⁵ pReisner I, p. 52.

¹⁶ pReisner I, p. 57.

¹⁷ Section K, pReisner I, p. 128, 56–57.

¹⁸ pReisner II, pp. 32–33.

¹⁹ pReisner III, Sections F, G, K, L (= pp. 22–30).

over both the time and work of the laborers, as well as their remuneration. They define the tasks, the allocation of labor, and the time constraints, right down to the numbers of hours. The immediate supervisors of these projects were obliged to keep and submit detailed records. These points are of exceptional interest, but there is one other feature of the Reisner papyri that makes them even more compelling.

Returning to pReisner I brings us to the question of worker discipline. Section B has to do with essentially the same project and work data as Section A (as the heading makes clear²⁰), but it presents them from a quite different perspective. This text is a roster of laborers. The section is important, because it represents the accountability incumbent on the contractor to go beyond a simple statement of man-hours expended to provide what is in effect an itemized account of the number of man-days contributed to the project by each worker by name, different from the status reports noted in pReisner III (which may have been the sort of raw records from which Section B was drawn). In order to provide accurate figures, the project manager kept track of each worker's activities. Three columns appear alongside the list of names. The first is labeled "Spent on the Road;" one has the impression from the very small number of entries in this column, that this represented a category for remuneration of supervisory personnel, perhaps a sort of portal-to-portal bonus. 21 The second column specifies actual "man-days" spent working on the project. It is the third column that links the temporal considerations with worker discipline, for it lists the number of "man-days" each worker was absent from the work site. The heading "that which he spent fleeing" is a problem. Simpson himself weighed the matter judiciously and ended up reluctant to understand the word wer as implying the shirking of work, pointing out, that it may in fact lump together a variety of reasons for absence from work, or perhaps be merely an indication that not all the workers were needed for every day of the project.²²

²⁰ See Simpson's comments in *pReisner I*, pp. 29–30.

²¹ Ibid., p. 35. It surely does not refer to any substantial number of the workers.

²² Ibid., p. 36 for his discussion of the term. In *pReisner III*, p. 19, he seems to have accepted "fleeing," although he offers no further discussion. Simpson does point out, however, in *pReisner I*, p. 36, that *w*τ appears always to mean "fleeing." O.D. Berlev, in his *BiOr* review cited earlier applauds Simpson's caution. W. Schenkel discusses the word under the heading "Flüchtling und Flucht aus Arbeitsverhältnissen," in *LÄ* 2 (1977), cols. 276–77. Cf. E.F. Wente, review in *JNES* 24 (1965), p. 129, in favor of the fleeing idea.

It is worth taking a look at the range of things noted in Section B.²³ When the scribe makes a single entry in black ink reading I Peret 10, this means the worker in question had a perfect attendance record; he was there working all 122 days. There are eight examples of this. In eleven cases, a date is given in red; this means that the worker was present continuously from the beginning of the project until that date, although, in three cases, the number of man-days does not include the date noted in red, i.e., the worker was not credited with working on that terminal day. An interesting example of the recording method is item no. 27 (bottom right column), the entry for Si-ese's son Mentu-hotep. Three dates are given for him: II Akhet 8 (or 7), III Akhet 8, and I Peret 10. He is credited with ninety days on the job and thirty-two days absent, for a total of 122 days, the length of the project. The dates make it clear that this Mentuhotep worked twenty-nine days from and including the beginning of work on I Akhet 9 until II Akhet 7. He was then gone for thirty-one days (II Akhet 8 to III Akhet 8); the thirty-two day entry under absence makes it clear that he was not paid for the first and last days of this period. On his return, Mentu-hotep works for sixty-two days, from III Akhet 9 through I Peret 10. The three blocks of time add up, predictably, to 122 days.

A similar record is contained in section F,²⁴ although it is for a different project, this one for a total of seventy-five days beginning after the one in sections A and B (commencing on III Peret 16 of [presumably] the same year 25). Here the workers are organized according to crew and crew leaders. Three columns are employed for noting "man-days," but here the first column is actually the sum of columns two and three. Column two represents days working, while column three represents days absent. The figures make it clear that not all the workers were engaged to work the entire seventy-five days. Items 33–36 are workers assigned to only eleven days work, although every one of them was in fact absent more than he worked. Indeed only two men seem to have worked the full seventy-five days. Oddest of all is the fact that five men marked down for an eleven-day period did no work at all.

The question arises, then, as to what choices the worker had and what means were available to enforce worker discipline. An answer has already been suggested: the worker can do the work demanded of him, he can indulge in absenteeism, or he can malinger. Likely all of these

 $^{^{23}}$ See *pReisner I*, pp. 112–15, and pls. 2, 2A, 3, 3A. Simpson's discussion is on pp. 26–31, esp. pp. 30f. on the markings.

²⁴ *pReisner I*, Section F: pp. 120–24, pls. 9,9A–12,12A; Simpson's discussion is on pp. 41–43

routes were taken. Moving to another labor market was probably a relatively uncommon option, partly for geographic reasons, and partly because of the extensive control of workers throughout Egypt. Where we have evidence of worker action in the form of strikes, most notably the rather special-status workmen of the New Kingdom community at Deir el-Medineh, the labor action was taken by these state employees, not to force greater worker control over the means of production, but to protest the tardiness of payment for their work and to attempt to get some rectification of that problem.²⁵ On the other hand, there were instances of malingering and other forms of work avoidance at Deir el-Medineh. ²⁶ By and large, there was little else the worker could do. The work supervisor or overseer, on the other hand, had the means to coerce workers, at least to some extent. The obvious, if unofficial, means of dealing with malingering or with absenteeism is clear enough: "If he (i.e., the laborer) skips a day of weaving, he is beaten fifty strokes."27 Representational materials from tomb paintings and reliefs confirm what one finds in the texts: beatings were common, the bastinado a ubiquitous presence in the workplace in virtually all economic spheres; Egypt was essentially a violent society in which the controllers of labor felt free to use physical force.

Be that as it may, we learn more about the formal approach to the question, at least for the late Middle Kingdom, on state-controlled projects from P. Brooklyn 35.1446, which dates to the reign of Amen-emhat III (1842–1797).²⁸ The entries show that there were formal legal procedures which could be applied in cases of labor obligation avoidance. The worker's absence could lead to quite serious punishment: loss of free status, assignment as a laborer on some royal estate.²⁹ It is likely that such methods failed to curb absenteeism entirely, but did keep it under control. The papyrus lists seventy-six work shirkers—one of them a woman—but it is hard to say how representative this figure might be

²⁵ Among the voluminous literature, see C.J. Eyre, "A 'Strike' Text from the Theban Necropolis," in J. Ruffle, G. Gaballa, and K.A. Kitchen, *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1979), pp. 80–91.

 $^{^{26}}$ Jac. J. Janssen, "Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workers of Thebes," SAK 8 (1980), pp. 127–52.

²⁷ The so-called 'Satire on the Trades,' translated by M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I (Berkeley, 1973), p. 188.

²⁸ William C. Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446], Wilbour Monographs V (Brooklyn, 1955).

 $^{^{29}}$ See Hayes, op. cit., pp. 127–34. Cf. S. Quirke, "State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom. A Reconsideration of the Term hnrt," Rd'E 39 (1988), pp. 83–105. These "fugitives" are free men with state labor obligations; otherwise they could not be threatened with loss of free status.

or how widespread work avoidance was at any given time. The determination of officialdom to limit such avoidance of work obligation was fed by a culture of timeliness.

The willingness of Egyptian officials and contractors to enforce timely and regular work performance was not merely a practical impulse, but was informed, and in some sense reinforced, by a value structure about the performance of work in a timely manner. Not surprisingly, the voices we hear on this subject come almost exclusively from those individuals or groups who hold authority and power, namely the official classes, at whatever level. The voices of the workers are rarely heard, and, even when they are, it is necessary to distinguish the authentic voices from those that are merely the refractions of bureaucratic attitudes. It is in the nature of the beast to face the fact that the grumbling is likely to be authentic, the joyous celebration of work speedily accomplished the "would that!" world of the overseer. We hear of workers' disinclination to toil in the quarries of the eastern deserts during the hottest times of the year, but work they must; they are being sensible about having little or no choice. We may learn of complaints about the frustrating failure (or corrupt unwillingness) to deliver food rations, for example, on time and about consequent sit-down strikes, but these are largely normal human responses to the insolence of office. The administrative hierarchies above these workers, however, profess, at least, a sharp sense of their obligation to be efficient, a value they sought to pass on to the workers, not always with brilliant success.

The basic principle is that work of any kind is done not only for survival, but on behalf of the god who ruled over the country as king. Therefore, it had to be performed promptly, almost as an act of worship. During the Old Kingdom, royal officials were given to emphasizing, in their tomb biographies and other inscriptions, not only what they had accomplished during their lifetime on behalf of the god-king, but how quickly they had carried out their assignments. The Sixth Dynasty official Weni reports on the various quarrying expeditions he had undertaken for the monarch, noting that, in one instance, he had completed his mission within seventeen days; in another case, having done the job within a single year is an occasion for boasting. His younger contemporary, Harkhuf of Elephantine, is proud of the several trade missions he carried out to distant regions of Nubia; that he had been able to complete two of them in seven and eight months respectively was a source of great

³⁰ Urk. I, pp. 107–08; Cf. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I, p. 21. He also boasts of all he accomplished within one expedition to Ibhat.

pride to him, especially since it had been somewhat dangerous work and had brought positive royal attention and, more importantly, favor to him.³¹ The Fifth Dynasty vizier Ptah-hetep advised his peers not to waste time on daily cares, by which he suggested that the speedy completion of one's official responsibilities would afford the whole man the time needed to "follow the heart," i.e., enjoy oneself.³²

If upper level officials felt the need to please the king by swift completion of their appointed rounds, we can be sure that their sense of urgency was passed on to their subordinates in the pyramidal bureaucratic structure. Pity the Old Kingdom work-gang overseer in the limestone quarries at Turah, who, under great pressure to get specified quantities of stone cut and shipped to the construction site, faced bureaucratic delay; he pens a frustrated, but responsible complaint to the appropriate authority:

Regnal year 11, 1st month of Shemu, day 23: The commander of the work-gang says: 'There has been brought to this servant an order of the Chief Judge and Vizier with regard to bringing this work-crew of the Turah quarry to be given their clothing ration in his presence . . . However, this servant protests against the requirement, since six barges are coming (for the cut stone). This servant has become accustomed to spending six days at the Residence with this crew before it is clothed, whereas only a single day should be wasted for this battalion when it is to be clothed.'³³

In this case, the responsible sense of time urgency resides with the man in charge of actually getting the assigned work done; the higher official in the vizier's office seems to be interested primarily in making a production out of being the visible provider of the clothing ration to the workers.

In the 11th Dynasty, the fuss-budget land-holder Heka-nakht writes to his overseer (who may, in fact, be his son), constantly urging him not to waste time: "Look, this is not a year for a man to be lazy towards his master, father or brother . . . Behold, this is a year for a man to work for his master!" Elsewhere, his letters become more insistent: "Hoe all my land, sieve with the sieve, hack away with your noses to the work! Look, if they are diligent, the god will be praised on your behalf, and I shall not have to make things unpleasant for you."³⁴

 $^{^{31}}$ Urk. I, pp. 124–25; cf. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I, p. 25. Cf. H.G. Fischer, "Two Tantalizing Biographical Fragments of Historical Interest," JEA 61 (1975), pp. 33–35.

³² Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I, p. 66.

³³ A.H. Gardiner, "An Administrative Letter of Protest," *JEA* 13 (1927), p. 78. I have reworded Gardiner's translation slightly.

³⁴ T.G.H. James, *The Ḥekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), pp. 14 (Letter I), 32–3 (Letter II). Cf. H. Goedicke, *Studies in the Hekanakhte Papers* (Baltimore, 1984), pp. 17ff, 28, n. m.

Of considerable interest for the present discussion are such statements when they come within the framework of education, since the training of scribes was one of the best ways in which any set of values about service and timeliness could be given the widest possible impact, scribes having had such a pervasive presence in Egyptian economic and administrative life. School texts—texts that were used in the process of teaching scribes how to write and about the various activities they would be expected to play a role in—form a fairly common body of material, especially in the later New Kingdom. One topos presents an older, experienced scribe lecturing—indeed hectoring—a younger scribe not to waste his time drinking and cavorting, but to apply himself diligently to his lessons and to learning to write properly. He is further exhorted to spend all his time on his proper tasks on the grounds that to follow such a course is profitable for a person with an eye to his future.

This point of view was vigorously backed up with corporal punishment and the use of physical restraint in the form of stocks.³⁵ Those who, by virtue of their scribal skills, were to form the nucleus of the administrative apparatus of pharaonic Egypt learned from a very early age that they would be expected to take time—in both the general and specific senses—into consideration in their work assignments. They also learned that coercion was one of the methods they would be in a position to apply when they attained some higher level of officialdom.

In Egypt, the value of timeliness was inculcated and institutionalized to such an extent that the attitudes were taken to the grave as evidence of the individual's worthy service and merit for eternity. A culture of timeliness that brought rewards to the manager or supervisor permeated his later behavior toward those who were under his supervision.

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³⁵ The idea is common that a boy hears best when he is beaten, because his ears are on his back. Cf. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II (Berkeley, 1976), p. 172.

Zwei weitere Ḥb-Ḥd.t-Belege



WERNER KAISER

EM VEREHRTEN KOLLEGEN, DER UNSERER WISSENSCHAFT SO VIELE wichtige Monumente und Texte erschlossen hat, seien im folgenden einige Bemerkungen zu zwei weiteren Belegen eines Kultvorganges gewidmet, den die Ägypter selbst als ½b ½d.t bezeichnet haben.

Noch in der wenige Jahre zurückliegenden Behandlung des Themas¹ konnte auf nur fünf Belege Bezug genommen werden: je einen Darstellungsrest aus dem Pyramidentempel von Cheops und dem Sonnenheiligtum von Neuserre, ein in der Stadtmauer von Kairo verbautes Fragment eventuell gleichfalls aus dem AR,² eine weitgehend vollständige Szene aus der Zeit Thutmosis III. im Karnak-Tempel und eine weitere, ähnlich erhaltene Szene in der archaisierenden Dekoration eines Palasttores aus der 26. Dynastie in Memphis.³ In der Diskussion der Gesamtheit der Belege wurde zu zeigen versucht, daß sie nicht etwa als Wiedergabe eines königlichen Jagdrituals zu verstehen sind, sondern die Verehrung einer alten Nilpferdgöttin im Umfeld des frühen unterägyptischen Königtums dokumentieren. Zur Begründung⁴ wurde darauf verwiesen, daß

• es sich bei dem Nilpferd der ḥb-Ḥd̄.t-Szenen nicht wie bei den eindeutigen Jagdbildern um einen bloßen Vertreter der Gattung Nilpferd handelt, sondern

¹ W. Kaiser, "Zum Ḥb Ḥd.t," MDAIK 44 (1988), S. 125–34; für ebd. S. 128, ist zu beachten, daß die Maßstab-Angabe 1:10 nur für Abb. 3 gilt, während Abb. 1–2 im Maßstab 1:20 wiedergegeben sind.

 $^{^2}$ Gegen eine eindeutige Datierung ins AR, wie a.a.O., S. 126, noch angenommen, spricht, daß in der Schreibung von $\dot{h}b$ der $s\dot{h}$ -Pavillon unmittelbar auf der Steinschale aufsitzt; s. weiterhin unten Anm. 7.

³ Für die fünf Fragmente bzw. Szenen vgl. inzwischen auch A. Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter*, Teil I, *Katalog*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXXVII, Archäologie, Bd. 22 (Frankfurt, 1989), Dok. 62, 63, 72, 159 und 196.

⁴ Für einen Teil der Argumentation s. bereits T. Säve-Söderbergh, "On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive," *Horae Soederblomianae* III, (Uppsala, 1953), S. 45ff., der in *Ḥd.t* jedoch eine oberägyptische Göttin sehen möchte. Die Deutung als Jagdritual wurde zuletzt vor allem von W. Helck vertreten, s. *LÄ* V (1984), Sp. 275, und *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, Ägyptol. Abh. 45 (Wiesbaden, 1987), S. 31ff.; ebenso offenbar auch A. Behrmann, s. bes. a.a.O., Dok. 122a/b, 159, 183a1o und 196, wobei im einzelnen jedoch auf den noch nicht erschienenen Teil II verwiesen wird.

um ein nach Geschlecht und Farbe genau bezeichnetes und danach benanntes Tier;

- gerade das weibliche Nilpferd im Gegensatz zum männlichen in der ägyptischen Religion nahezu ausnahmslos die Stellung einer wohltätigen Göttin einnimmt;
- die Betonung der weißen Farbe gleichfalls auf eine grundsätzlich positive Bedeutung hinweist;
- die bevorzugte Wiedergabe des Nilpferds im hb Hd.t auf einem Schilfbündel bzw. einer Schilfmatte, von deren hinterem Ende ein entsprechendes Bündel bzw. Matte senkrecht aufragt, auf eine ortsfeste Konstruktion in der Art eines primitiven Heiligtums hinweist, in dem anstelle eines lebenden Tieres eventuell auch eine Statue gestanden haben könnte;
- der König in allen Darstellungen, soweit erhalten, nur ruhig stehend bzw. schreitend wiedergegeben ist;
- \bullet auch außerhalb des $\dot{h}b$ $\dot{H}\underline{d}.t$ vereinzelte Belege eine Verehrung der $\dot{H}\underline{d}.t$ als Göttin belegen;
- die Konzentrierung dieser Belege auf das nördliche Ägypten und der Umstand, daß der König beim *ḥb Ḥd.t*, soweit erhalten, stets die unterägyptische Krone trägt, auf eine Zugehörigkeit des Kultgeschehens zum unterägyptischen Landesteil hinweisen;
- die vom AR an abnehmende Zahl der hb Hd.t-Belege sowie die insgesamt geringe Menge zusätzlicher Zeugnisse darauf hinweist, daß der Kult der Hd.t mit der Ausformung des gesamtägyptischen Staates immer mehr an Bedeutung verloren hat.

Von den beiden inzwischen neu hinzugekommenen Belegen ist der eine wiederum nur ein kleines Fragment, das sich unter der Acc. Nr. 67.175.2 im Brooklyn Museum befindet (Abb. 1).⁵ Das Material ist mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht Kalkstein, sondern ein stark gipshaltiger Mörtel, mit dem einst wohl eine Fehlstelle in einem Kalksteinblock geschlossen worden ist. Der erhaltene Dekorationsrest zeigt das Nilpferd auf dem charakteristischen Schilfuntersatz mit senkrecht aufragendem Abschluß. Die fehlende Keule und das *t*-Zeichen dürften darüber oder davor gestanden haben. Darunter ist, nicht ganz mittig, sondern etwas nach rechts verschoben, der obere Teil des *sḥ*-Pavillons erhalten und links daneben der Rest eines Zeichens, das kaum anders als *wts* zu ergänzen⁶ und bereits in einem der beiden Ortsnamen der Karnak-Szene belegt ist.

⁵ Maße: 16,5 cm breit, 14,5 cm hoch, 3,4 cm dick. Den Hinweis auf das Stück verdanke ich der freundlichen Aufmerksamkeit von H. Stadelmann-Sourouzian. Für die hilfreiche Beantwortung von Fragen danke ich J.F. Romano und R.A. Fazzini sowie letzterem für die Veranlassung einer chemischen Analyse des Stückes und die freundliche Erlaubnis zur Publikation.

 $^{^6}$ Für freundliche Diskussion des Sachverhaltes danke ich R.A. Fazzini, J.F. Romano, E. Edel, J. Osing und St. Seidlmayer.

Abb. 1. Brooklyn Museum 67.175.2; courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.



Die Größe der Hieroglyphen und vor allem der Abstand des wts-Zeichens vom sh-Pavillon erlauben eine ungefähre Rekonstruktion der Gesamtszene. Wie bei der Mehrzahl der Belege, die das Nilpferd auf dieser Art von Untersatz zeigen, ist sie relativ kleinformatig und hat mit Sicherheit nicht die gesamte Bildhöhe vor dem König ausgefüllt; die Nilpferddarstellung selbst ist, wie bei dem Neuserre-Fragment und der archaisierenden Memphisszene, deutlich nur ein Teil des Szenenvermerkes, nicht der eigentlichen Handlung (Abb. 2). Als Datierung dürfte, auch in Anbetracht der sehr detaillierten Ausführung der Schilfbündel bzw. -matten, am ehesten die Zeit des AR in Frage kommen, womit sich die Zahl der Belege aus dieser Zeit auf wenigstens drei erhöhen würde. Aber auch die Herkunft aus einem archaisierenden

⁷ Für die Memphisszene s. Kaiser, a.a.O., Abb. 5. Erheblich größer ist nur die Darstellung des Kairener Fragmentes; möglicherweise ein weiterer Hinweis auf die Datierung des Stückes jenseits des AR. Für das Neuserre-Fragment ist zu beachten, daß der Hieroglyphenrest links der Keule in jedem Fall zu groß ist, als daß er zu einer Figuren-Beischrift rh-nswt (F.W. v. Bissing und H. Kees, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures), Bd. III, [Berlin, 1928], S. 30) gehören könnte. Eher kommt die Ergänzung zur Königstitulatur oder der Beischrift zu einem Schutzgeier in Frage; eine Nachprüfung am Original ist leider nicht mehr möglich, da das Stück nach freundlicher Auskunft von A. Grimm zu den Kriegsverlusten der Münchner Sammlung zählt.

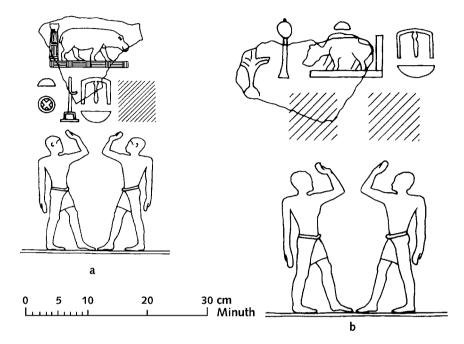


Abb. 2. Rekonstruktion der hb-Hd.t-Szene a) des Brooklyn- und b) des Neuserre-Fragments.

Zusammenhang ist nach Ausweis der memphitischen Torfassade sicher nicht auszuschließen.⁸

Der zweite neue *ḥb-Ḥd.t-*Beleg ist eine weitgehend vollständige Szene, deren Erkennen in der stark zerstörten Nordhalle der unteren Terrasse des Hatschepsut-Tempels von Deir el Bahari der Arbeit der polnischen Mission zu danken ist. Freilich ist gerade die Darstellung des Nilpferdes und der beiden Figuren darunter in der Amarna-Zeit weitgehend getilgt und auch anschließend nicht wieder hergestellt worden. Eindeutig erkennbar ist jedoch immerhin noch, daß die getilgte Partie wie die Szene insgesamt grundsätzlich der nahezu gleichzeitigen im Karnak-Tempel entspricht, mit der sie im übrigen auch in ihren Gesamtabmessungen weitgehend übereinstimmt. Wie in Karnak ist die Darstellung des Nilpferdes im Verhältnis zum König, der hier an Stelle der Königin der Handlungsträger ist, ¹¹ und im Verhältnis zu den beiden Figuren darunter erheblich größer als dies sonst der Fall bzw. rekonstruierbar ist. Ebenfalls wie dort nehmen Nilpferd und

⁸ S. oben Anm. 7

⁹ F. Pawlicki, "Une représentation inconnu de la Fète de l'Hippopotame Blanc dans le Temple de Hatschepsout à Deir el-Bahari," *Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences*, Bd. 28, *Etudes et Travaux* XIV (Warschau, 1990), S. 15–28.

¹⁰ Pawlicki, a.a.O., S. 16.

¹¹ Schon original als Mencheperkare Thutmosis, vgl. Pawlicki, a.a.O., S. 17 und Abb. 5-6.

Figuren zusammen den Bildraum vor dem König voll ein. Das Nilpferd selbst steht wie in Karnak nicht auf dem üblichen Schilf-Untersatz mit senkrecht aufragendem hinteren Ende, sondern auf einem schlittenoder bootartigen Gebilde, wie es schon in der königlichen Nilpferdjagd des AR vorkommt: als floßartiges Boot des Königs und zum Herbeiführen des gefesselten Nilpferdes. ¹² Erkennbar ist weiterhin die für das *ḥb Ḥd.t* charakteristische Bekleidung und Ausstattung des Königs; lediglich die nur noch mit einem Rest erhaltene Krone könnte grundsätzlich nicht nur eine unterägyptische, sondern auch eine Doppelkrone gewesen sein. ¹³ Wenigstens in schwachen Umrissen sind auch die beiden menschlichen Figuren unterhalb der Ḥd.t-Darstellung noch erhalten, während ihre Bekleidung und Haltung kaum näher bestimmbar sind. Das gleiche gilt für die Benennung der Figuren. ¹⁴ Ebensowenig ist der übliche Szenenvermerk erhalten.

Ungeachtet ihres schlechten Erhaltungszustandes kommt dieser zweiten Szene des NR dennoch in mehrfacher Hinsicht besondere Bedeutung zu. Dies gilt zunächst schon für die mit der Karnak-Szene übereinstimmende Darstellung des Nilpferdes auf einem schlitten- oder bootartigen Gebilde, die deutlich macht, daß es sich dabei in Karnak nicht um eine vereinzelte Abweichung von der seit dem AR belegten Darstellungsart handelt, sondern diese Form der Wiedergabe in der 18. Dynastie zumindest in Theben offensichtlich nicht unüblich gewesen ist. Nun ist die ältere Verbindung von waagerechtem und senkrechtem Schilfbündel zwar keineswegs eindeutig, aber doch immerhin derart zu verstehen, daß es sich bei ihr um eine offensichtlich ortsfeste Konstruktion handelt. Die Annahme, daß deren Abwandlung zu einem grundsätzlich eher beweglichen Gebilde mit einem veränderten Verständnis der Szene insgesamt zu tun hat, liegt von vornherein nahe. Es fehlt aber auch nicht an einer Reihe von Anhaltspunkten, die zusammengenommen einen solchen Verständniswandel nicht nur bestätigen, sondern auch in seiner Richtung erfassen lassen, und zwar von der ursprünglichen, auf die Hd.t gerichteten Kulthandlung des Königs zur königlichen Nilpferdjagd.

Der erste Hinweis in dieser Richtung liegt bereits in der Ähnlichkeit des abgewandelten Nilpferd-Untersatzes mit den flachen, nur vorn aufgebogenen Booten, die seit dem AR für Nilpferdjagden, aber auch das

¹² Vgl. G. Jéquier, Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II, Bd. III (Kairo, 1940), Taf. 32.

¹³ Pawlicki, a.a.O., S. 17.

¹⁴ Pawlickis Rekonstruktion als "Wts et Imt" (s. a.a.O., S. 17) scheint im wesentlichen auf der Parallel-Darstellung im Karnak-Tempel zu basieren; vgl. a.a.O., Abb. 2.

Herbeiführen gefangener Nilpferde offenbar besonders charakteristisch sind. 15 Einen weiteren Hinweis gibt die von Pawlicki mitgeteilte Beobachtung, daß sowohl das Nilpferd der Deir el-Bahari-Szene wie dasjenige in Karnak noch Reste von roter Farbe aufweist, also ursprünglich, trotz des jedenfalls in Karnak beibehaltenen Szenentitels hb Hd.t, rot bemalt gewesen ist. 16

Ein dritter Hinweis ergibt sich aus der Betrachtung des Kontextes insbesondere der Szene in Deir el-Bahari, die hier an ungleich prominenterer und damit aussagekräftigerer Stelle steht als dies in Karnak der Fall ist. Dank der polnischen Arbeiten ist die Dekoration der Rückwand der unteren Nordhalle heute wenigstens in ihren Grundzügen rekonstruierbar. Sie umfaßt insgesamt sieben Szenen, und zwar in der Abfolge von Süd nach Nord: Kälbertreiben vor Amun, Vasenlauf vor Amun(?), Weihung von Königsstatuen (vor Amun?), hb Hd.t. Papyrusraufen, Vogelfang mit dem Netz und Vogeljagd im Papyrusdickicht. ¹⁷ Daß die Zusammensetzung dieser Dekoration, d.h. Auswahl und Abfolge der Szenen, wohl überlegt ist, darf als sicher angenommen werden. Diese Überlegung auch genauer zu erfassen, ist freilich umso schwieriger, als gerade die Bedeutung der letzten drei Szenen schon grundsätzlich problematisch ist. Weitgehende Übereinstimmung besteht hier lediglich darin, daß die eigentliche Bedeutung dieser Bilder sich nicht in den tatsächlich dargestellten Handlungen erschöpft. Die Interpretationen der sicher nicht zu Unrecht angenommenen Ambivalenz sind jedoch höchst unterschiedlich und reichen von Vernichtungsritualen zur Abwehr des Bösen bis zur magischen Sicherung geschlechtlicher Vereinigung und Wiedergeburt. 18 Für die hier interessierende Wertung der hb *Hd.t-*Szene ist es freilich im Grunde ohne Belang, welche der möglichen Ambivalenzen den drei folgenden Szenen zuzumessen ist. Außer Zweifel sollte jedoch stehen, daß zwischen ihnen und den drei einleitenden, nahezu sicher durchweg auf den Reichsgott Amun gerichteten Szenen¹⁹ die Darstellung der kultischen Verehrung einer sonst kaum noch

¹⁵ Für die königliche Nilpferdjagd des AR s. oben Anm. 12, für die Nilpferdjagd der Privaten im MR und NR s. Behrmann, a.a.O., Dok. 120 und 161 a-j, bzw. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, Bd. IV (Paris, 1964), S. 773ff.

¹⁶ Pawlicki, a.a.O., S. 17, 28.

¹⁷ Pawlicki, a.a.O., S. 16f.

¹⁸ K. Martin, LÄ VI (1984), Sp. 1051ff. mit ausführlicher Literaturübersicht; bes. zur Nilpferdjagd vgl. weiterhin seither H. Altenmüller, "Nilpferd und Papyrusdickicht in den Gräbern des Alten Reiches," BSGE 13 (1989), S. 9–21, und "Papyrusdickicht und Wüste," MDAIK 47 (1991), S. 11–19; bes. zum Papyrusraufen sowie Vogeljagd und -fang zuletzt P. Munro, Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I (Mainz, 1994), S. 55ff.; weiterhin W. Wettengel, "Zu den Darstellungen des Papyrusraschelns," SAK 19 (1992), S. 323ff.

belegten Nilpferdgöttin fraglos höchst erstaunlich wäre, während andererseits die Darstellung einer Nilpferdjagd, wie die gleichzeitigen Privatgräber zeigen, sich problemlos zu den folgenden Szenen im Papyrusdickicht fügt.²⁰

In den Privatgräbern folgt die Darstellung der Nilpferdjagd durch den Grabherrn freilich dem Muster, wie es im AR allein dem König vorbehalten war. Und eben in dieser Übernahme des königlichen Musters durch Private, die bereits im frühen MR einsetzt, dürfte der Grund zu sehen sein, daß man im NR für die königliche Nilpferdjagd, wo sie denn dargestellt werden sollte, auf die alte, inzwischen unverständlich gewordene Festszene des hb Hd.t zurückgriff. Bei der geringen Kenntnis königlicher Totentempel des frühen NR muß dabei offenbleiben, wie weit es sich bei diesem Rückgriff in Deir el-Bahari um eine ad-hoc-Lösung im Zusammenhang damit handelt, daß auch die drei folgenden Papyrus-Szenen nicht zum üblichen Bildprogramm eines NR-Totentempels gehörten, sondern zumindest in diesem Umfang eine Besonderheit

¹⁹ Vgl. die Szenen an entsprechender Stelle der südlichen Halle (E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Bd. VI, Taf. CLVI–CLIX). Für den überlegten Aufbau der Bilddekoration insgesamt ist u.a. bemerkenswert, daß den Papyrusszenen der Nordhalle in der Südhalle der Obeliskentransport aus dem Süden gegenübersteht; weiterhin, daß in den südlichen Hallen beider Terrassen mit Obeliskentransport und Puntexpedition jeweils reales Geschehen dargestellt ist, während auf der Nordseite die Darstellung der königlichen Zeugung und Geburt in der oberen Halle eindeutig der göttlichen Sphäre zugehört, aber auch die Papyrusszenen der unteren Halle in Anbetracht ihrer hohen Ambivalenz sicher ebenso zu werten sind; vgl. dazu auch u.a., daß das Netz des Vogelfangs von Gottheiten zusammengezogen wird (Pawlicki, a.a.O., S. 16).

 $^{^{20}}$ Selbst die fraglos bestehende prinzipielle Beziehung der $\underline{Hd}.t$ zum Bereich der Papyrussümpfe dürfte kaum ausreichen, daß die Szene hier noch wegen ihrer ursprünglichen kultischen Bedeutung in die Dekoration der Hallenrückwand aufgenommen worden ist. Ein gegenteiliger Hinweis könnte zwar darin liegen, daß Nilpferd und Figuren, anders als etwa die Tiere des Kälbertreibens, in der Amarnazeit getilgt worden sind; sie wurden andererseits aber auch, im Gegensatz zu anderen Götterfiguren, in der Nach-Amarnazeit nicht wiederhergestellt (Pawlicki, a.a.O., S. 15, 26), was insgesamt eher darauf hinweist, daß die Szene für die Akteure beider Vorgänge nicht eindeutig verstehbar gewesen ist; in dieselbe Richtung weist, daß die Tilgung sich nicht nur auf das Nilpferd, sondern auch die menschlichen Figuren darunter erstreckt hat. Ein deutlicher Hinweis auf den Jagdcharakter der Szene könnte andererseits nicht zuletzt darin liegen, daß der Handelnde hier schon original nicht die Königin, sondern der König gewesen ist.

²¹ S. oben Anm. 12.

²² Als offenbar frühester Beleg für die Nilpferdjagd Privater nach dem königlichen Muster des AR s. Behrmann, a.a.O., Dok. 120. Im königlichen Bereich andererseits ist eine Fortsetzung dieser Darstellungsart nur noch ganz vereinzelt auf Schmuckstücken belegt, vgl. auch hier Behrmann, a.a.O., Dok. 133a/b (Anhänger mit Kartusche von Amenemhet III.) und 180 (Ring mit Namen von Thutmosis' III.). Für die einzige, im Grab des Eje vorkommende Wanddarstellung andererseits erscheint fraglich, ob sie überhaupt zu einer Nilpferdjagd zu ergänzen ist (Behrmann, a.a.O., Dok. 168). Bemerkenswert ist andererseits, daß auch hier das für ein Königsgrab ungewöhnliche Auftreten von Papyrusszenen (hier: Vogeljagd und Papyrus-Raufen) zumindest möglicherweise die Darstellung einer Nilpferdjagd nach sich gezogen hat.

der Hatschepsut-Anlage sind. Daß die Szene in dieser Form nur noch einmal, aber fast zur gleichen Zeit in einem Nebenraum des Karnak-Tempels belegt ist, könnte jedenfalls ein Hinweis in diese Richtung sein.

Eine andere und bei dem Erhaltungszustand der königlichen Totentempel des AR und MR kaum zu lösende Frage ist, wie lange das hb Ḥd.t jenseits der 4./5. Dynastie noch in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung zur Darstellung gelangt ist. Wenigstens ein Stück weiter können hier höchstens einige Überlegungen zu den unterschiedlichen Ortsbezeichnungen führen, die den beiden menschlichen Figuren unter dem Nilpferd beigeschrieben und in der Karnak- und Memphisszene sowie z.T. auf dem Brooklyn-Fragment erhalten sind.

Karnak- und Memphisszene stimmen hier nur in einem, wohl als Im.t oder Hw.t nh.t zu lesenden Ortsnamen überein, während der andere in Karnak wie auf dem Brooklyn-Fragment Wts.t lautet, in Memphis aber Zsw(?) oder Zw(?). Die Gründe für diese Unterschiedlichkeit können selbstverständlich höchst verschiedener Natur sein. Geht man aber davon aus, daß eine der beiden Kombinationen die ursprüngliche sein sollte, ist dies fraglos am ehesten für die Memphisszene anzunehmen: zum einen schon deshalb, weil bei dem durch die Krone angezeigten unterägyptischen Charakter des hb Hd.t ein Vorkommen ausschließlich unterägyptischer Orte grundsätzlich das wahrscheinlichere ist; darüber hinaus und vor allem aber, weil die archaisierende Dekoration der memphitischen Torfassade offensichtlich auch sonst auf sehr alte, bis in die Frühzeit reichende Vorlagen zurückgegriffen und diese in ihrem Grundinhalt nicht verändert hat. 24

Der Wechsel zu *Wts.t* andererseits scheint durch das Brooklyn-Fragment bereits für das fortgeschrittene AR belegt zu sein. Falls damit Edfu gemeint ist, könnte dies entweder dadurch begründet sein, daß man die Bedeutung des Kultvorganges bewußt auf beide Landesteile erweitern wollte. Er könnte aber auch anzeigen, daß die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der königlichen Kulthandlung schon in dieser Zeit nicht mehr verstanden worden ist und die Umdeutung in den Vollzug einer Nilpferdjagd bereits hier ihren Anfang genommen hat, ohne deshalb zunächst auch schon Einzelheiten der Darstellung selbst zu verändern.

²³ Zur Lesung und Lokalisierung der Orte, mit Ausnahme von *Wts.t*, in Unterägypten s. zuletzt H. Kees, "Das 'Fest der Weissen' und die Stadt *Sw*," *ZÄS* 83 (1958), S. 127–29.

²⁴ W. Kaiser, "Die dekorierte Torfassade des spätzeitlichen Palastbezirkes von Memphis," MDAIK 43 (1987), S. 141ff.; für das hohe Alter der Vorlage der Memphisszene spricht u.a. auch, daß das Bild des Nilpferds hier deutlicher noch als in allen anderen vergleichbaren Zeugnissen nur ein hieroglyphisches Zeichen des Szenenvermerkes ist, s. ebd., Abb. 10 und Tafel 47.

Stellt man in Anbetracht der weiteren Entwicklung in Rechnung, daß die eigentliche Kulthandlung wohl bereits in der 4./5. Dynastie nur noch dargestellt, aber kaum mehr realiter durchgeführt worden ist, scheint eine relativ frühe, d.h. noch vor dem Ende des AR einsetzende Umdeutung der Szene zumindest nicht ausgeschlossen zu sein. ²⁵



 $^{^{25}}$ Korrektur-Zusatz: Der Versuch H. Altenmüllers, auch das $\dot{h}b\cdot H\underline{d}.t$ in seine Deutung des Nilpferdes als eines bedrohlichen "Schwellentieres" einzubeziehen ("Das 'Fest des weißen Nilpferds' und das 'Opfergefilde'," in $Hommages\ \grave{a}\ Jean\ Leclant\ 1$, BdE 106/1 [Kairo, 1994], S. 29–44), konnte hier nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden. Es soll darauf jedoch noch in $MDAIK\ 53\ (1997)$ eingegangen werden.

Fragments Lost and Found: Two Kushite Objects Augmented



TIMOTHY KENDALL

URING MY MANY YEARS OF HAPPY ASSOCIATION WITH KELLY Simpson as a member of his staff at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, I used to marvel when he would identify stray fragments of sculpture on the art market or in museums and match them up with others elsewhere, thus complementing or completing an original to everyone's amazement. Such art historical legerdemain amazed me and I certainly never expected to make similar joins myself. Incredibly, however, in 1993 it happened twice—although the process, in each case, was less due to eye and intellect than to pure chance. The two tales are amusing. One surely belongs to the genre of the "small world story" and involved the help and assistance of four others: Janice Yellin, Julia Schottlander, Geneviève Pierrat, and László Török, without whose help and kindness the results would not have been the same. The other can only be described—tastelessly—as "following one's nose." With the need to generate a brief tribute to Kelly for his Festschrift, I thought I could do no better than to report these bits of fluff and dedicate them to him. It is a pitifully small token of gratitude for one to whom I owe my career, for it was he who gave me my first—and undoubtedly my last job in Egyptology.

MEROITIC GOBLET LOUVRE E 11378 AND ITS NEW PIECES

In 1978 a large parcel of unpublished records from John Garstang's University of Liverpool excavations at Meroe turned up—surprisingly, in storage at the MFA, Boston. This parcel, containing miscellaneous drawings, watercolor renderings, photographs and correspondence, had been sent by Garstang to Curator Dows Dunham in 1948 with a letter expressing the wish that he (Dunham) might include these materials in his announced forthcoming publications of Reisner's excavations of the Meroe cemeteries. Garstang had been prompted to send the material to Dunham by his receipt of several sharply worded letters (included in the parcel) from Anthony. J. Arkell, then Commissioner for Archaeology of the Sudan. In these letters Arkell reminded him of his yet unfulfilled

obligation to produce a complete publication of his Meroe excavations, which he had abandoned in 1914—thirty-four years previously. Other documents in the package were copies of Garstang's replies to Arkell, explaining his inability to publish this material due to other commitments and the great passage of time. In his letters to Dunham, however, he expressed the hope that the latter might be able to include them in his own planned Meroe publications. Dunham, a close friend of Arkell's, had obviously agreed to help Garstang at the time, but as his work evolved over the next two decades, the material did not seem to fit conveniently into his publication schema and was in the end put aside and eventually forgotten. Garstang died in 1956.

When the Garstang papers resurfaced in Boston, they contained several surprises: among other things, two extremely important watercolor renderings of the long-destroyed fragmentary murals exposed in building M 292 ("The Augustus Temple") at Meroe, which were at once published in color by Meroe's latter-day excavators, Peter Shinnie and Rebecca Bradley, in the Dows Dunham Festschrift in 1981. Others comprised an incomplete set of tracings of the relief fragments associated with Building M 250 ("The Sun Temple"). Unbeknownst to us at the time, a better and more complete record of these same reliefs was almost simultaneously being prepared on the site by Dr. Friedrich Hinkel, who will soon publish them with a complete discussion of that monument. Still other drawings recorded some of the more interesting objects—all unpublished—that had been found in Garstang's last two seasons, 1912-13 and 1913-14. By 1984 all of the documents had been returned to Liverpool, awaiting the arrival of Dr. László Török, who would soon begin the task of preparing the long-awaited final report of Garstang's Meroe records and material still housed at the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool.

¹ M.L. Bierbrier, ed., Who was Who in Egyptology (London, 1995), p. 163.

² P.L. Shinnie and R.J. Bradley, "The Murals from The Augustus Temple, Meroe," in W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, eds., Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980 (Boston, 1981), pp. 167–72.

³ J. Garstang, A.H. Sayce, and F.Ll. Griffith, *Meroë: The City of the Ethiopians* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 25–27, pls. 28–35.

⁴ F. Hinkel, "Zur Architektur und Baugeschichte des sogenannten Sonnentempels von Meroe," in C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. 2: *Nubie, Soudan, Ethiopie* (Cairo, 1994), pp. 203–19; idem, "Conjectural Restorations of Temple Mer 250," in *Eighth International Conference for Meroitic Studies: Pre-prints of the main papers and abstracts* (London, July 1996), p. 141.

⁵ László Török, Meroe City, An Ancient African Capital. John Garstang's Excavations in the Sudan (London, in press).

Before being shipped back to Liverpool, one of the drawings in the parcel caught my attention. It represented the profile and surface decoration of a small, highly unusual Meroitic pottery beaker. Shortly afterward I showed the drawing to Janice Yellin, who, having then just returned from Paris, informed me that the object was in the Louvre and bore the number £ 11378. This object, I discovered, through records kindly suppied me by Conservateur Geneviève Pierrat, had been purchased from Garstang for the Louvre by Georges Bénédite in London in July, 1913, together with fifteen other objects from the 1912–13 season at Meroe. The beaker is a fine cream marl ware bearing dark brown and red painted decoration. It has vertical sides, 3 to 4 mm thick, and a slightly convex base with flat bottom; it is 11.7 cm high and a variable 8.25 to 9 cm in diameter. It is, however, only about two-thirds preserved; the lacunae have been filled in with plaster (fig. 1a–c).

The drawing from the Garstang papers would inspire me to discuss and illustrate the beaker in a paper I would present at the Fifth International Conference for Meroitic Studies in Rome in 1984. To quote from that paper:

The chief interest of this object is its amusing painted decoration, which is a lively rendering of a group of men engaged in a kind of dance. All have short, tightly curled hair and wear headbands; two display a stubbly growth of beard; and all are wearing... short loincloths and long belt sashes.... The most completely preserved figure, drawn frontally, beats a *daluka*, or two-sided drum, which is suspended from his neck horizontally at waist level. Four other men proceed around the vessel from left to right, bypassing a large water jar and wine amphora on a stand. While one of these figures, like the amphora, has almost completely disappeared due to a break, the remaining three are almost complete and hold palm fronds. One of them is shown in a wild contorted posture, in which the chest is thrust forward and the head is thrown backward...

My chief interest in this object then was that the highly unusual pose of the latter figure seemed to be very similar to that assumed by modern Nubian women when they perform the popular *raqaba* or "neck dance," a photograph of which I included in the final publication for comparison. ¹⁰ My suggestion was that this vessel might offer evidence that the modern Nubian dance, now performed most frequently by

⁶ The other objects purchased by the Louvre in the same lot bear the numbers £ 11379–11393. On Garstang's selling off selections of his material after each season, see note 12.

⁷ The object was first described by C. Ziegler, Catalogue des instruments de musique (Paris, 1979), p. 73.

⁸ T. Kendall, "Ethnoarchaeology in Meroitic Studies," in S. Donadoni and S. Wenig, eds., *Meroitica* 10: *Studia Meroitica* 1984 (Berlin, 1989), pp. 658–59, 735. fig. 2, pl. III.

⁹ Ibid., p. 659.

¹⁰ Ibid., pl. III.

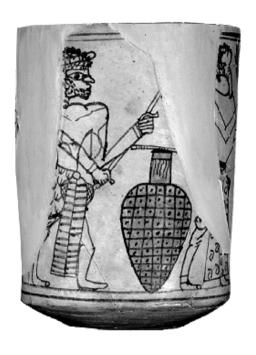








Fig. 1a–d. Painted pottery goblet found by John Garstang at Meroe, 1912–1913 and acquired by the Louvre (inv. number. E 11378) in July, 1913. Fig. 1d shows the new fragment (E 27493), discovered in England in 1993 and presented to the Louvre by Ms. Julia Schottlander. Photographs courtesy Musée du Louvre.

women—and proscribed by orthodox Islamic authorities—was a survival of an ancient traditional Nubian dance that had existed at least as early as Meroitic times and may then have been performed commonly by men.

After the completion of my paper and the passage of eight years, I had given this vessel little further thought. Early in 1993, however, it was to come back into my consciousness in the most unexpected way. One day I received a letter from Ms. Julia Schottlander, a dealer in small Egyptian antiquities who operates a well-known shop every Saturday off Porto Bello Road in London. Her letter brought my attention to a group of Meroitic potsherds which she had recently acquired from an English collection, and which she suggested might be of interest as a possible purchase for the MFA as study material, given the Museum's famous collection of Meroitica. Documents that accompanied the sherds identified them as having derived from Garstang's excavations at Meroe. Presumably, like other lots of Garstang's archaeological material from Meroe, it had simply been sold off after the excavation season to help pay for the next. With her letter she enclosed several photographs of the collection, and in the middle of one I could see a sherd bearing the unmistakable style of the Louvre cup and what appeared to be the entire torso of the single missing figure. Checking her photograph with the published drawing I realized at once that the sherd and the cup belonged together. Although the MFA could not purchase the sherds, I informed her of the match, whereupon she generously donated the sherd to the Louvre. There it was gratefully accepted, soon reattached to the cup, and given the new number E 27493 (fig. 1d). Later Geneviève Pierrat sent me a fine set of photographs of the newly restored cup. Later still, she sent me a copy of her publication of the new acquisition in Revue de Louvre and also kindly allowed me to discuss the join again here and sent me all the relevant information.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 660-61.

¹² Dr. Török writes me that "Garstang's sponsors were entitled to choose from the objects exhibited as new finds after each season in the Burlington House in proportion to their subscription to field work; the individual objects were given an estimated value by Garstang, and the sponsors counted together such value units. Understandably, they assembled values and not contextual units—which, anyhow, were completely uninteresting not only in their eyes but also for Garstang." The fifteen objects selected by Bénédite, in other words, had no contextual relation to one another other than that they derived from Meroe. Unfortunately, no records were kept of the proveniences of these objects. We will eagerly await the publication of Dr. Török's work for full details—as much he has been able to reconstruct them from such old and chaotic records. See also, B.G. Trigger, "The John Garstang Cylinders from Meroe in the Redpath Museum at McGill University," in C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal, eds, *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. 2: *Nubie*, *Soudan*, *Éthiopie*, pp. 389–97.

After having received the photographs from the Louvre, it occurred to me that I should bring them with me to Lille, France, in September, 1994, at the convening of the Eighth International Conference on Nubian Studies, where I expected to see László Török. I knew that, as the scholar most knowledgeable about the Garstang material, he would have a special interest in the find. I also wondered if he might not have been able to identify other sherds from the same vessel in the Liverpool collections. By chance we met at the Gare du Nord in Paris, and immediately as we boarded the train to Lille, I began to tell him the story. Hardly had I commenced the tale, when he smiled a broad smile and told me of his own discovery in Liverpool of another loose sherd from the same vessel. When I showed him "my" sherd, his smile became broader still, and he said that "his" fitted onto it and provided the full missing face of the "lost" figure (fig. 2). I immediately asked him to collaborate with me in this paper, but he declined and urged me to "go it alone." He did request, however, that I recognize his discovery of the second sherd and duly record it as his own tribute to Kelly Simpson. When Dr. Török returned to Budapest, he kindly sent me a photograph of this sherd and all the relevant pages of commentary from his Garstang reports, still awaiting publication.

With the appearance of the two fitting sherds, most of the single "lost" figure could be reconstructed, as shown in the splendid new drawing of the vessel by Yvonne Markowitz (fig. 3). One can only hope that the other lost fragments may yet surface. Given the unmistakable style of the painting and unusual subject, it is extremely odd that the two stray sherds were not included with the rest of the vessel prior to its sale to the Louvre. No records appear to have survived that mention where this extremely interesting object was found. Dr. Török suggests to me that "it seems to belong to the best sort of painted fine ware of the 1st c. A.D. (late?) and may even be dated as late as the 1st half of the 2nd."



Fig. 2. Fragment of Meroitic goblet Louvre E 11378, now in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool (inv. number E 8384), and identified by Dr. László Török, Budapest. Photograph courtesy of the University of Liverpool.

 $^{^{13}}$ G. Pierrat, "Peintres potiers d'Assouan du IVe au VIe siècle ap. J.C.," La revue du Louvre et Musées de France 5/6 (1995), pp. 39–40.

 $^{^{14}}$ Dr. Török informs me that the Liverpool sherd bears the inventory number SAOS E8384. It measures 3.8×1.3 cm, and has a thickness of 0.4 cm.

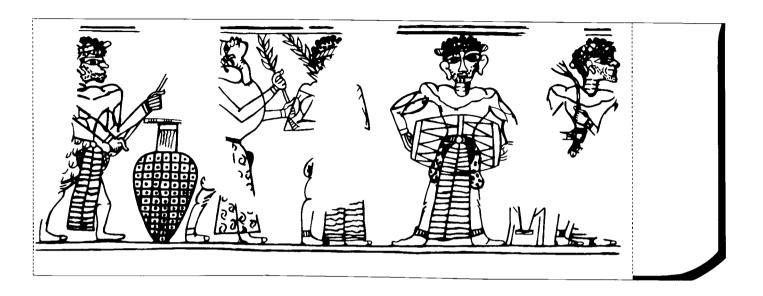


Fig. 3. Meroitic goblet Louvre E 11378, with its two newly identified fragments (Louvre E 27493 and SAOS, Liverpool E 8384) inserted. Reconstruction drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

¹⁵ Personal communication. During the preparation of this paper, I had one further stroke of luck that sheds even more light on the Louvre vessel and its possible meaning. By chance I received a package from Patrice Lenoble with extensive materials relating to his 1987 and 1990 excavations at the site of Hobagi, on the right bank of the Nile, about 70 km upstream from Meroe on the left bank (cf., for example, P. Lenoble and Nigm ed-Din Moh. Sherif, "Barbarians at the Gates? The Royal Mounds of el-Hobagi and the End of Meroe," Antiquity 66 (1992), pp. 626-35, and "The Division of the Meroitic Empire and the End of Pyramid Building in the Fourth Century A.D.: An Introduction to Further Excavations of Imperial Tumuli in the Sudan," in Eighth International Conference for Meroitic Studies: Pre-prints of the main papers and abstracts (London, July 1996), pp. 68-103). Included were notes concerning some of the objects recovered from two royal stonewalled mound graves dating to the fourth century A.D. Among the fifty bronze vessels recovered, one was a fragmentary basin engraved with an extraordinary scene of dancing men. The object, registered as HBG VI/1/21, was 29.4 cm in diam. and 17.4 cm high and was catalogued into the Sudan National Museum, Khartoum, as SNM 26313. The scene had contained at least sixteen figures, of which eleven are still partly visible. One man, standing frontally but looking right, holds a daluka that he beats with both hands. Another behind him claps, while three others behind hold palm fronds and bob and sway to the beat. The last man in this group, although he looks right, has his body directed left, toward a line of leftward moving figures, of which at least seven remain. These men appear to be running wildly. Their legs do not touch the ground; their arms are outstretched and nearly rest upon the shoulders of their neighbors. While the dance represented here differs from that on the Louvre cup, the figures are very closely related in dress and appearance. The men wear loincloths around their waists, from which hang long ankle-length sashes between their legs; all wear headbands; and they appear amid large jars and cups or goblets. Several figures hold palm fronds. Obviously the Louvre and Hobagi vessels depict closely related ceremonies, which Lenoble convincingly suggests are funerary (cf. P. Lenoble, "A Funerary Dance of Political Meaning at Meroë," in Esther Dagan, ed. The Spirit's Dance in Africa [Montreal, in press]]. The subject of ancient Nubian dances—and whether they or their aspects are still to be seen in modern Nubian dances, as I once suggested, or whether they are not, and whether the use of ethnographic parallels is unjustified, as Lenoble maintains—is far too complex a subject to be discussed here; I only will hope that the two of us might tackle this subject at a later date, each of us from our divergent perspectives. I am grateful to Dr. Lenoble for sharing this information with me.

The Recovery of the Nose of Boston's Statue of Aspelta (MFA 23.730)

One of the most sensational finds made by G. A. Reisner in the Sudan was his discovery, in two separate caches, of ten complete or nearly complete hard stone statues, representing, sometimes in multiple image, Taharqa and four of his five successors on the throne of Kush to the early sixth century B.C. Seven of the statues were lifesize or nearly lifesize; three others were of colossal scale; one represented a contemporary queen.

The find was full of ironies. One was that Reisner discovered the first cache completely by accident, in an otherwise vacant area ("B 500, Trench A"), immediately beside the pylon of the Great Amun Temple B 500—an area being probed by him as a prospective dump site (fig. 4). Here he expected, indeed hoped, to find nothing at all. Six weeks later, he found the second cache just as unexpectedly—in and around a room (B 904) of the neighboring smaller Amun temple B 800/900, over a hundred meters distant from the first cache (fig. 5). The surprise was the discovery that many of the fragments found here joined those from the first cache and completed or augmented some of the same statues. Because the fragments from the second cache were found mixed with a thick layer of ash, charcoal, and burned wood and appeared to have been dumped carelessly in their burial place with rubble from a conflagration, Reisner speculated that the statues had been deliberately broken in a violent episode that had also included a fire. Since the generally larger, heavier statue fragments of the first cache lay immediately outside and to the right (northeast) of the entrance to B 500, and since fragments of statues or monuments mixed with the second cache joined others still lying within the walls of B 500, 19 he speculated that all the royal statues had originally been set up inside the great temple, that they had been toppled

 $^{^{16}}$ G.A. Reisner, "The Barkal Temples in 1916 (pt. 1)," JEA 4 (1917), pp. 215–17, pl. 41; "The Barkal Temples in 1916 (pt. 3)," JEA 6 (1920), pp. 251–53, pls. 32, 33; D. Dunham, The Barkal Temples (Boston, 1970), pp. 17–24, pls. 1–22.

¹⁷ Reisner commenced excavations in this area on February 8, 1916. The next day his workmen began to lay bare fragments of a Meroitic pavement. On February 10, just below the level of the pavement, he found the lower leg of a lifesize statue, which at this depth seemed an isolated find. On February 13 he remarked in his diary, "I think we may safely dump on this whole area, but have ordered the floor cut at several places to ascertain the character of the earth below." Two days later, at a depth of 1.85 m many more fragments of large statues suddenly began to appear, scattered willy-nilly over a broad area of about 10 m by 6 m. Their fragmentary condition and chaotic arrangement, sometimes lying one across the other, indicated to Reisner that they had been buried carelessly here in a pit, which was later sealed by the overlying pavement.

¹⁸ Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), p. 251.

¹⁹ For example, Dunham, The Barkal Temples, pp. 25, 28, 29.



Fig. 4. First cache of fragmentary Kushite royal statues, as found, Feb. 16, 1916: Gebel Barkal, Area B 500, Trench A (MFA expedition photograph B 2683). The noseless head of Aspelta appears at right.



Fig. 5. Second cache of fragmentary Kushite royal statues, as found, March 31, 1916: Gebel Barkal, Temple B 800/900, Room B 904 (MFA expedition photograph B 2744).

and broken in place, and that the temple had then been burned. He concluded that, as an initial step toward restoring the temple after the disaster, the workers had cleared the broken statues and burned debris from the devastated original building and buried the statue fragments in the two widely separated caches.

The statues exhibit similar patterns of breakage. When found, most were split at the base, the legs, and in the middle, and all the heads were broken off. Five of the statues are still headless. Of those whose heads were recovered, only that of the small Senkamanisken statue in Boston shows no other damage to the face. The statue of Taharqa is missing its nose. The head of the large statue of Anlamani lacks its nose and chin, while the face of Aspelta was also found noseless. The tall feathered crests of each of the colossal statues have also been split from the crowns. Five of the statues either lack their right hands or exhibit damage to their lower right arms and hands. Although there are no obvious indications of hammer blows to the stone, the damage seems too extensive to be natural and suggests a concerted attempt at mutilation. How the statues were broken remains puzzling. Nevertheless, the work would appear to be that of an enemy determined to "kill" the statues and to render them—and the individuals whom they represented—powerless to avenge their destruction.

Reisner realized that the destruction of B 500—and of the statues—must have occurred during or soon after the reign of Aspelta, the last king in the statue series. Although he attributed the destruction to a hypothetical dynastic quarrel in the mid-sixth century B.C., recent examination of destruction patterns at Barkal and Sanam suggest that each of these sites suffered violent destruction and fire damage contemporaneously, probably during or very near the early reign of Aspelta. Because it would be most unlikely that the royal and sacred buildings at Barkal, as well as the statues of kings spanning over a half century—especially that of Taharqa—would be deliberately destroyed by a rival dynastic faction, the vandals must have been outsiders. Since the reign of Aspelta coincides chronologically with the well-known Nubian campaign of Psamtik II of 593 B.C., there seems little reason to doubt that the vandals were the troops of the Egyptian king.

²⁰ Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), pp. 252–53.

 $^{^{21}}$ Cf. R.K. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (Chicago, 1993).

Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), pp. 263–64.
 Cf. T. Kendall, "The Napatan Pal

²³ Cf. T. Kendall, "The Napatan Palace at Gebel Barkal: A First Look at B 1200," in W.V. Davies, ed., *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam* (London, 1991), p. 308; cf. also T. Eide, T. Hägg, R.H. Pierce, and L. Török, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (Bergen, 1994), pp. 229–30.

When the recovered statue fragments were sorted out and reunited and the figures made as complete as they could be (given that not all of the missing elements were recovered), the statues were divided equally between the Sudan government and the MFA Boston, according to the terms of Reisner's contract. The five statues selected by the then Anglo-Sudanese authorities for the Sudan National Collections were a colossal Taharqa, a lifesize, headless Tanwetamani, a lifesize, headless Senkamanisken in leopard skin robe, a complete lifesize Anlamani, and a lifesize, headless queen, named Amanimalel. Those statues consigned to Boston were the nearly complete colossal statues of Anlamani and Aspelta (fig. 6), a complete, slightly under lifesize Senkamanisken, and slightly larger headless images of Tanwetamani and Senkamanisken. In 1923 the latter group was shipped to Boston with all the other finds from Gebel Barkal, and thirty years later, the two headless statues were deaccessioned and transferred to the Toledo (Ohio) Museum of Art and the Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, respectively.

Besides sending back from Gebel Barkal only the large stone monuments and their fragments, Reisner also sent back to Boston hundreds of other smaller stone fragments that he had found on the site but which he could not join to any of the known monuments. Many of these fragments bore no worked surface at all, but because they were granite, diorite, or gneiss, it was clear to him that they had not been natural to the area and must have belonged to ancient objects yet unidentified. Other fragments exhibited worked surfaces, traces of inscription, or details that gave evidence of the kinds of statues or monuments to which they

²⁴ S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique," *BIFAO* 50 (1952), pp. 157–207, pls. 1–4; H. Goedicke, "The Campaign of Psammetik II against Nubia," *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 187–98; P.D. Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London, 1994), pp. 333–71; Eide, Hägg, Pierce, and Török, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, pp. 279–90.

 $^{^{25}}$ Dunham, *The Barkal Temples*, pls. 7, 11, 13–14, 17, 20. The Senkamanisken statue is now housed in the Gebel Barkal Museum.

²⁶ Ibid., pls. 9–10, 12, 15–16, 19, 21–22.

²⁷ From records in the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, it can be established that the statues and other objects from Gebel Barkal, Nuri, Kurru, and Meroe comprised 78 crates, which were assembled at the Karima railhead and taken by train to Port Sudan, via Atbara. At Port Sudan they were consigned to the Khedival Mail Steamship Co. and carried to Suez, where on June 27, 1923, they were transferred to the American steamer "Atlanta City" and sent to Boston. They arrived in Boston several weeks later and the restored statues were erected in the galleries on the second floor of the Museum in the fall of 1923.

 $^{^{28}}$ The headless statue of Tanwetamani was sold by the MFA in 1949 to the Toledo Art Museum, where it received the accession number 49.105. The headless statue of Senkamanisken was sold by the MFA in 1953 to the Virginia Museum of Art, Richmond, where it received the number 53–30–2.



Fig. 6. The statue of Aspelta reconstructed in the field prior to shipment to Boston; Karima, Sudan, April 25, 1920 (MFA expedition photograph A 2990).

had belonged but of which no other fragments were known. All these fragments, of which there were over three hundred, filled ten wooden drawers in one of the Egyptian storage rooms in the MFA basement.

Long after the excavations, some of these fragments were identified as pieces of known monuments. Three were recognized by Dows Dunham as belonging to the Piye Victory Stele in Cairo. Karl-Heinz Priese, on a recent trip to Boston, discovered among them a fragment of the Dream Stele of Tanwetamani. In 1990, MFA intern Brian Curran found the lost beak of the Horus Nekheny statue of Amenhotep III, which had been moved from Soleb to Barkal by Piye, and during the 1950s had been restored in Boston from other fragments reassembled by Dows Dunham and later published by Kelly Simpson. Numerous elements of other New Kingdom statues have recently been identified from the Gebel Barkal fragments in Boston and studied by Peter Lacovara.

One day in October, 1993, while casually examining the Barkal stone fragments myself, I turned over one rough gray granite fragment that I had never noticed before and realized that its reverse side was rounded and finely polished. Closer examination revealed that it was the better part of a nose from a statue, nearly 1 1/2 times lifesize. The color and type of stone and the size of the nose immediately led me to review in my mind all of the noseless royal statues from Barkal. There seemed to be only one obvious choice: the statue of Aspelta. Taking the library ladder from the department office, and carrying it and the nose fragment to the galleries on the second floor where the statue stood, I climbed to the level of the statue's face, pressed the fragment to the cavity where the nose had been, and it snapped right into place. The fragment comprised about two-thirds of the original nose. A small part of the bridge was missing as well as the proper right nostril, but the full front was there and the complete left nostril, providing more than enough information for a complete and certain restoration of the entire nose on the face (fig. 7). The find was not without a touch of humor: in 1970 the

²⁹ Until they were removed and relocated to better metal cabinets in 1995 during storage renovations, organized by Assistant Curator Peter Lacovara.

³⁰ Dunham, The Barkal Temples, pp. 48, 58, 77; N.-C. Grimal, Etudes sur la propagande royale égyptienne I: la stèle triomphale de Pi(rankh)y au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086–47089 (Cairo, 1981), pp. 25, 55, 57.

³¹ Personal communication.

 $^{^{32}}$ W.K. Simpson, "A Horus-of-Nekhen Statue of Amunhotpe III from Soleb," *BMFA* 69 (1971), pp. 152–64.

³³ P. Lacovara, "New Kingdom Sculpture from Gebel Barkal," paper presented before the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt: April 28–30, 1995, Atlanta.

³⁴ The nose fragment was expertly reattached to the statue in May, 1994, by MFA conservation intern Marie Swoboda.

Museum had published a promotional poster with the noseless face of Aspelta prominently featured in a color photograph. The caption read: "If you find Aspelta's nose, call 267-9233. There are over a thousand stories like this at the Museum of Fine Arts." (I was urged by my colleagues to call the number, but in 1993 it was inoperative.)

It was clear that the nose fragment had never been recognized for what it was and I wondered why. It bore the field number 20–2–1, which revealed that it had been the first object registered at Gebel Barkal in February, 1920. The number also indicated that it had been found four years after the original statue caches. Furthermore, the original entry in the object register revealed that it had not been correctly identified by the recorder, for it was described only as a "fragment of a polished blade" with a "modelled, eye-like sinkage" (i.e., the nostril). The important piece of evidence was the provenience, which was given as "B 900 Ex. 2 Debris." This indicated that the fragment had been found in the area between the two caches, just outside the walls of B 800/900. An examination of the data pertaining to the other parts of the Aspelta statue revealed the following: the better part of the body, as well as the detached head, had been found in the first cache, B 500, Trench A (fig. 4), while the detached four-feathered crest of the statue's crown had been found in the same general area as the nose fragment.

Since the nose fragment lay over 100 m from the statue's head, it would seem to have been broken from the face when—and where—the statues were originally destroyed, probably inside court B 501 or B 502. Since it lay outside the wall of B 501, in the open space between B 500 and B 800/900, I had initially assumed that whoever destroyed the statues had simply thrown the detached nose over the wall. An examination of other objects found in this area, however, indicated that there were at least seventy other worked stone fragments, many joining monuments known to have originally been set up in B 500, or fitting fragments of other objects found in B 500. Interestingly, while some of these frag-

³⁵ These are visible in the photographs of cache I: Dunham, *The Barkal Temples*, pl. I, a-b. See also expedition diary Feb. 31, 1916.

³⁶ See unpublished expedition photograph C 7196. Dunham's remarks concerning the proveniences of the Aspelta fragments ("Torso from B 500 A, head and feet from B 801") are not correct (Dunham, *The Barkal Temples*, p. 23).

³⁷ An examination of the object register entries 19–12–65 to 20–206 will reveal just how many worked, hard stone fragments were recovered here. Among those that can be identified, 20–1–77 and 20–1–185 were fragments of the Piye Victory stela; others belonged to the feathered crest of the Horus Nekheny statue (ibid., p. 25) and to the statue of the Viceroy of Kush Merymose (ibid., p. 28). The object 19–12–190, a right hand closed on a roll, apparently belongs to the statue of Senkamanisken in leopard skin robe, now in the Gebel Barkal Museum.



Fig. 7. Face of Aspelta statue showing reattachment of recently identified nose fragment 20–2–1 and final restoration of face.

ments were contemporary with or earlier than the statue caches, others were much later. One can only conclude, therefore, that periodically, throughout the Napatan and Meroitic periods, parts of the floor area of B 500 were swept or modified in ways that resulted in the recovery of fragments from broken statues and monuments that had once been set up there. When this debris was removed from the temple's interior it was apparently routinely carried out to the area between B 500 and B 800/900 and unceremoniously dumped. It is thus impossible to say whether Aspelta's nose was carried outside in the original clearing of B 500—soon after the destruction of the statues—or whether it had simply been been found many centuries later, picked up with other old rubbish, carried out, and dumped.



³⁸ Other fragments from B 500 and B 900, Ex. 1 and 2 (i.e., 19–12–67, 68, 69, 103, and 20–1–98) belonged to the black granite Meroitic sphinx now in Boston (21.2633); others (20–2–168 and 20–3–88) formed the Meroitic footrest (24.1792; T. Kendall, Kush: *Lost Kingdom of the Nile* [Brockton, 1982], p. 56).

A Masterpiece with Three Lives— The Vatican's Statue of Tuya



Arielle P. Kozloff

Ship. What I have treasured in Kelly is his "eye." It is the eye of a true connoisseur of art—all periods of art. He brings to Egyptology and to the study of Egyptian art a rare understanding of what it takes to make a work of art and an appreciation of the process. A walk through any art gallery or museum with Kelly Simpson is an eye-opening event. This paper, centering on the identification of a recut statue in the Vatican museum, is a small token of thanks to Kelly for the many times over the years—be it in Boston, in Cairo, or in Beaubourg—that he has gently opened my eyes to details, surfaces, and fine points I would have missed without him.

In the past two or three decades Egyptologists have become more and more aware of the frequency with which pharaohs—some more than others—reused their predecessors' statuary and had it recut in their own likenesses. This should not be surprising. After all, the Egyptian kings reused their predecessors' temples, adding a courtyard with pylon here, a processional way with columns there. The only procedural difference between remodeling a temple and revamping a statue is that the former process was additive—parts were added on—while the latter was reductive—parts were carved away. Both required new cartouches to be added, sometimes over old ones.

Hourig Sourouzian, Christine Strauss-Seeber, Claude Vandersleyen and others have unmasked portrait after portrait, often Ramesside ones, for having started out their ancient lives as images of much earlier kings. For the most part, their methodologies have concentrated on the fact that in each period, and to a certain extent in each reign, sculptors devised unique forms for anatomical details. For example, a Dynasty 4 kneecap does not look like a Dynasty 12 kneecap which does not resemble a Dynasty 18 kneecap. Parsing a statue's physique and focusing on its anatomical features allowed each scholar to recognize anatomical details that were foreign to the period. Correctly redating these details—often several for each statue—allowed each scholar to identify the

individual for whom or at least the time period during which the statue was first carved.

While this is a valid approach, it deals with only part of the subject. What must also be considered in any discussion of recutting is how the transformation was actually accomplished—the steps the recarver followed to change the old image to a new one. It is easy to understand how a heavier image was transformed into a slimmer one by simply removing the excess stone. Making a thinner image appear fatter is more complicated, however, since stone can not be added onto the outside like so much clay. But a statue can be made to appear greater in one direction or another by reducing the length of the perpendicular axis. Understanding this process will allow many more examples of recutting to be detected in the future.

One example is the Louvre's large granodiorite seated statue of Ramesses II (A20), which was originally a statue of Amenhotep III. It was easy to translate Amenhotep III's fleshier upper torso to Ramesses the Great's more athletic build by simply carving off some of the excess flesh. However, transforming the earlier king's narrower face to the later king's broader one required some very deft plastic surgery. The recarver accomplished this by erasing Amenhotep's nemes browband and creating a new one lower on the forehead, thereby shortening the vertical length of the face and making the lateral axis appear wider.

The surface of the statue tells the story. The original sculptor and the recarver worked under different circumstances—the first in the quarry on a fresh piece of stone and the second on a surface made hard and brittle from centuries' exposure to the elements. Therefore, the marks left by the recarver differ from the original cuts. Usually the later marks are coarser and broader. The surface polish of the original features often differs from the surface polish of the recarved parts. Sometimes the later surface appears rougher than the earlier one, although sometimes the reverse is true and a new polish has been given to the entire surface of the statue to make it appear uniform.

¹ Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland, 1992), pp. 172–75, no. 14. In Miguel Angel Corzo, *Nefertari, Luce d'Egitto* (Rome, 1994), pp. 146–49, no. 21, Christophe Barbotin accepted all of the points of recutting that I identified in 1992, however, he claimed that the statue was originally Ramesses II and that Ramesses recut his own statue. That is highly unlikely, however, since there is no other lifesize granodiorite seated statue of Ramesses II wearing the nemes. On the other hand, there is an entire series of such statues for Amenhotep III (see Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, p. 462), and the Louvre statue was undoubtedly one of that Dynasty 18 series before it was removed and recut for Ramesses in Dynasty 19.

Ghosts of earlier features are often apparent under close examination of the surface. Most of the recut statues are quite large and the average ancient viewer would never have come close enough to discern the traces of earlier kohl lines or eyebrows, for example. Therefore, the offending details had to be erased only enough so that they would not be seen from the usual viewing distance. All of these phenomena were present on the Louvre statue. The surface was true to form for Ramesses II being matte or even rough² in the areas that had been abraded away or recut while still retaining the high polish characteristic of Amenhotep III statuary in the un-recut areas.

What strikes the eye immediately on viewing the Vatican's overlife-size statue of a queen, attributed by its inscription to Ramesses II's mother Tuya (inv. no. 22),³ is its surface polish which is unusually high for any period of Egyptian art (figs. 1–3). It is typical, however, of the work of some eighteenth and nineteenth century sculpture restorers who hoped that a gleaming surface would distract the viewer from noticing the restorations. Tuya's restorer was trying to distract us from the fact that her lower legs are restored with those from a second statue, also in granodiorite, but of a slightly lighter color and with many more inclusions than in the upper part. The join was achieved after smoothing down the breaks on both pieces, the resulting unnatural straight line being most visible in the left side view (fig. 2). We will return to that subject later.

The fact that some reworking had occurred prompts the viewer to search for other clues of a similar nature. One of these (though visible only below the proper right breast and partially hidden behind the raised left hand) was the presence of fat folds over the rib cage. These were a feature of queens' statuary from the reign of Amenhotep III, like those standing beside him on the colossi of Memnon and like the fleshiness of his own sculpted torsos as noted above. But fat folds are absent from stone portraits of Ramesses the Great's queens as they are from his own. Thus, the presence of fat folds on the Vatican statue opens up the possibility that it could have been carved in Dynasty 18, presumably during the reign of Amenhotep III, when flesh was in vogue. The next step is to study the surface for alterations.

The Vatican queen wears a combination of coiffure and crown invented for Queen Tiy's imagery and best known from the statuettes in

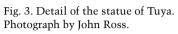
 $^{^2}$ Turin's seated statue of Ramesses wearing the blue crown is one of the few exceptions to this rule. There the surface has a satin finish, but is not highly polished.

³ Giuseppe Botti and Pietro Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano egizio* (Vatican City, 1951), pp. 18–21, no. 28. H. including modern (eighteenth century?) base: 3 meters.





Figs. 1–2. Statue of Tuya, mother of Ramesses II, recut from a statue of Queen Tiy, wife of Amenhotep III, restored probably in the eighteenth century. Granodiorite, h. 3.00 meters including base. Museo Gregoriano egizio, inv. no. 22. Photographs by John Ross.





glazed steatite (fig. 4) and Egyptian blue in Paris, Cairo, and London, a gilded wood appliqué in Munich, the colossal limestone group from Medinet Habu now in Cairo and the "colossi of Memnon" still at Kom el-Heitan. It consists of a heavy wig of dozens of tresses that terminate in long twisted ends and completely shroud the shoulders. On top of this lies a vulture headdress with its fanned-out wings framing the queen's face. On top of this is a floral wreath, and above this is a tall modius which on a large figure can be faceted with cartouches or on a small statuette is merely striated vertically.

Ramesses II's queen Nefertari, whose images are far more numerous than Tuya's and therefore give a better representation of the styles of her period, also wears a simplified version of this coiffure and headdress, but without the wreath and with other important differences. First, Nefertari's coiffure itself rarely shrouds the shoulders, but usually divides with one group of tresses falling in front of the shoulders and the others behind. Second, Nefertari's hair length characteristically extends below her bustline instead of above as here. Queen Tiy's hair length always allowed her breasts to be exposed, and her nipples, as were those of many of the goddess statues made during her husband's reign, were almost always covered by a rosette motif. Nefertari never used this device. Furthermore, it was characteristic of Queen Tiy to wear a broad collar of a length equal to her hair length. Nefertari's hair was always significantly longer than her collar.

The tooling of the wig and vulture is remarkably delicate. Each line appears to have been achieved in a single, swift cut although it must have taken a series of tiny taps with hammer and chisel. The flat planes on the face of each feather and the undulating surface of each tress are polished to a satin finish. The quality of the workmanship is true of the highest level of Egyptian mastery in granodiorite and cannot be claimed for any one period in particular. However, when this high quality of carving appears on a sculpture, it occurs consistently on every part of the statue where fine details are required. Therefore, on this statue, one would expect to find the same delicate tooling also on the necklace, the bracelets, and the floral wreath. However, it becomes clear as we travel back and forth along the statue that the toolmarks indicating the tresses, the twisted ends, and the vulture feathers are the only details on this statue of such delicacy. The necklace, the bracelets, and the wreath, for

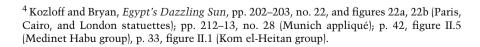




Fig. 4. Figure of Queen Tiy (fragment of a group). Glazed steatite, h. 30.5 cm. Louvre N 2312. Photograph by author.

example, are all described rather broadly with rough, wide interstices between elements.

Examination of the top of the floral wreath reveals the reason for this. In the front center, where a vulture neck and head once protruded before they broke off, the wig and wreath rise about 2 cm higher than on the rest of the circumference, obviously because the rest had been cut down making the modius taller. It was easier to rework the top of the floral wreath than to create a new design more typical of a Ramesside queen.

The only practical reason for cutting away part of the top of the head is to allow more room on the face of the modius. The only reason for more room is to replace rather short cartouches like Amenhotep III's with rather long ones like Ramesses II's. The workmanship of the cartouches and the uraei, with which they alternate, is similar to the broad, heavy treatment of the bracelets, the necklace, and the floral wreath; and it is distinctly different from the wig and the vulture wings.

Where else does the heavier toolwork appear on this statue? There are two cuts in particular that equal the heavy-handed work on the modius, etc. These are the wrinkle on the neck and the widened space between the upper and lower lips. As on Louvre A 20 when it was altered, these features have been added to conform with Ramesside style. The neck line is a standard Ramesses II feature. And the space between the lips had to be widened to trim down Tiy's thicker upper lip (like Amenhotep's) to the more narrow form of a Ramesside queen. The labial folds on either side of her mouth were also rather coarsely indented like Louvre A 20's to create the chubby-cheeked Ramesside face.

The eyes were also revised. What would have started out as Tiy's dramatic eyebrows and kohl lines were shaved down so that neither is visible—although traces are palpable to the touch—except for the part of the kohl line that was more deeply undercut to create a heavy Ramesside upper eyelid, like that on the Turin Ramesses.

Some major work was done to the shape of the face before these individual features were revised. First of all the entire face was slimmed down from its original full-moon shape, by cutting away the sides from the temple down to the jaw line. A dead space of up to a centimeter wide frames the face where wig and headdress were cut away. The interior line of the wig, which is straight up and down on every untouched portrait, now forms a keyhole shape.

That the face was cut down is in keeping with what happened to the rest of the figure especially from the hips down. The clue is the space between the pendant right forearm and the body, where there should be

no space. The forearm should lie directly against the body and the space between the hand and the thigh should be either nonexistent or minimal, whereas here it is quite wide. If the bent left elbow seems to poke out unusually far to the side, this, too, is caused by the slimming down of the hips and thighs on that side.

As the statue now stands, the breadth of the breasts is about equal to the breadth of the hips, which is consistent for Dynasty 19 standards. If one could replace enough stone to fill in the gap between the present hips and the pendant right arm and replace an equal amount on the left side (thereby making the left arm more comfortably arranged), then the statue's proportions would be in keeping with Queen Tiy's proportions wherein the hips are usually one-half to one whole grid square wider than the Dynasty 19 versions.⁵

The pose, the rosettes on the breasts, the combination of heavy wig, vulture headdress, floral wreath, and modius, the scaled-down proportions, the recutting of face, modius, and jewelry all point to this statue inscribed for Ramesses II's mother as having started out as a statue of Amenhotep III's great Queen Tiy.

One question that has not been satisfactorily answered above concerns the date at which the foreign set of lower legs was attached. Perhaps the answer is suggested by the style in which the little figure of the prince Henutmire is carved on the left side of the back pillar, a space that must have been left blank by Tiy. He is rendered in two halves. The join between the upper part of the statue and the new lower legs runs through the prince's waist and just below his bent elbow. Any connoisseur of Egyptian art would recognize the upper half's slim proportions, the elongated arms and the long, lazy s-curve of the prince's sidelock as archetypically Ramesside in style.

However, the figure below the waist, that is, from the cleanly dressed, slowly curving join down, bears no resemblance to any traditional Egyptian style of any dynasty. While Egyptian kings and princes wore kilts, this boy's outfit is a strange sort of mini-skirt unknown in ancient Egypt. Furthermore, the prince's legs should have the same long, thin look of his arms, but instead they have the firm muscles and jaunty active bend to them that one would expect in classical or post-Renaissance art. The lower half of the prince's figure must have been added by a thoroughly skilled stonecutter who knew that Egyptian males wore short skirts and that they were posed in two-dimensional

 $^{^{5}}$ See Betsy Bryan's grid chart in Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, p. 466, table 3.

representation with one foot in front of the other, but did not understand the fine points of Egyptian art well enough to recreate a good facsimile.

Perhaps it was done in the eighteenth century by the likes of a Cavaceppi or some other gifted restorer of ancient classical marbles.⁶ Perhaps it was then, too, that some of the other repairs were made to this statue such as the nose, the knuckles on the left hand and the attachment to a new base. Some of Cavaceppi's distinguishing traits included "joins with cleanly dressed, slowly curving edges that are meant to look like accidental breaks; setting the remnants of an ancient plinth into a modern base To further mask that a piece is repaired, the entire surface of the [sculpture]... may be reworked, producing a homogeneous texture ... highly polished surfaces are characteristic of Cavaceppi's early restorations."⁷ This evidence is not enough to attribute the restoration to Cavaceppi himself, but at least it gives us a period to which the types of repairs we see on the Vatican queen could reasonably belong, and it would explain the classical flavor of Henutmire's skirt and legs.

Many pharaonic statues have now been recognized as having led two different lives, both of them ancient. Perhaps the Vatican statue is the first to be appreciated for having gone through three manifestations, and as such this communication may be appropriate for a volume of studies dedicated to a gifted and gentle man who is a great scholar, curator, and teacher—but most of all a great connoisseur—one who truly knows what he sees.



⁶ Carlos A. Picon, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth-century Restorations of Ancient Marble Sculpture from English Private Collections (London, 1983), describes Cavaceppi's work on Greek and Roman marbles. Examples of eighteenth century restoration of Egyptian sculptures are illustrated and documented in Jean-Marcel Humbert, Michael Pantazzi, and Christiane Ziegler, Egyptomania, L'Egypte dans l'art occidental 1730–1930 (Paris, 1994), pp. 52–56, nos. 4, 5.

⁷ Picon, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Eighteenth-century Restorations of Ancient Marble Sculpture, p. 17.

A Faience Tile of the Old Kingdom



PETER LACOVARA

MONG THE NUMEROUS OBJECTS DERIVED FROM THE COLLECTION of Robert Hay that became the foundation of the Egyptian collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is a small faience tile whose date and significance have remained a mystery.

The tile measures 9.2 cm high, 2.0 cm thick and is preserved to a length of 11.3 cm. It has a blue grey-brown faience core with a bright blue-green glazed surface. Carved into the surface of the tile are three figures of goddesses along with hieroglyphic captions (figs. 1–2). The cut out areas were originally filled with gypsum plaster and gilded. Small patches of the gypsum substrate remain, but only slight traces of the gilding. It is possible that the gold was deliberately removed at a later date. The tile itself was produced by efflorescence, a method characteristic of early faience technology. Along the surface of the edges are traces of an adhesive, perhaps a hide glue, that would have been used to set the finished plaque in place.

Cutting into a faience body to create spaces for inlay material is a technique known from the late Old Kingdom. An excavated example and a close parallel to the Boston plaque was found recently at Abusir. The latter has a frit body and depicts a procession of gods. The figures have been cut through the surface of the tile and filled with a white cement covered with gold leaf. Here much of the gilded surface has remained intact and it appears that details of the figures have been chased

¹ On the purchase of material from the Hay collection by Bostonian Samuel Way, see Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History* 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1970), p. 21.

² MFA (18)72.1593, Gift of C. Granville Way. I would like to thank Dr. Rita Freed, Curator of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art for permission to publish this object and Yvonne Markowitz for her help and for the drawn illustrations.

 $^{^3}$ I would like to thank Richard Newman, Senior Research Scientist in the Department of Objects Conservation and Scientific Research of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for this analysis.

⁴ Alex Kaczmarczyk and R.E.M. Hedges, Ancient Egyptian Faience (Warminster, 1983), p. A–4.

⁵ Op. cit., p. A-89.

⁶ Miroslav Verner, "Excavations at Abusir, Season 1982—Preliminary Report," ZÄS 111 (1982), pp. 70–78; idem, Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids (Prague, 1994), pp. 142, 151.



Fig. 1. MFA (18)72.1593; gift of C. Granville Way. Photograph courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

into the metallic surface. This technique, in which large inlay surfaces are sunk flush into a finished substrate, appears peculiar to the Old Kingdom, as is demonstrated in the reliefs of Nefermaat.

The goddesses depicted on the plaque can be identified as possibly Neith, ⁸ Rennutet, and *Ipy* the great. They are drawn in an attenuated style typical of the period, and shown holding *nh* signs with the last figure also grasping a *wss* scepter. Another faience tile of similar design was discovered in the mortuary temple of Sahure. Here the figures of Sekhmet and Ptah are cut through the surface glaze layer into the faience body, filled in with plaster and gilded.

Two additional plaques or tablets were found at Saqqara, both inscribed for Pepi II. These two show the king standing on a base of nb symbols in the company of a goddess. Wadjet is depicted on one plaque

⁷ Cf. William Kelly Simpson, ed., William Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1981), pp. 81–84.

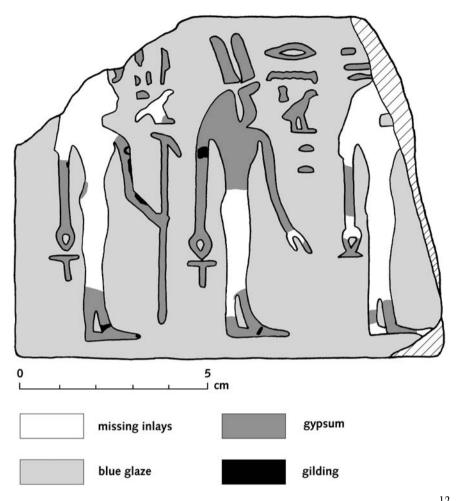
⁸ Dominique Valbelle, personal communication.

⁹ Cf. A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache* 1 (Leipzig, 1926), p. 68. I would like to thank Stephen Quirke for the identification of this goddess.

¹⁰ Ludwig Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'asḥu-Rer 1 (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 127–28.

¹¹ Sally B. Johnson, The Cobra Goddess of Ancient Egypt (London, 1990), p. 173.

Fig. 2. Drawing of tile by Yvonne Markowitz.



and on the other the king is shown between Hathor and another deity. Both are made of gilded and painted plaster on wood, but the ground preserved on the latter is painted blue, perhaps in imitation of a faience tile (fig. 3). Fragments of additional panels were found in the mortuary temple of Pepi II, including one depicting the king between Horus and Seth and one with the king's cartouche flanked by two Horus falcons.

Borchardt thought that the faience tile from Sahure's mortuary temple was a private votive stela set into the wall of the temple at a later date. It is more likely, however, that such elaborate panels served as

¹² G. Jéquier, "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles executées en 1933–1934 dans la partie méridionale de la nécropole memphite," *ASAE* 34 (1934), pp. 76–82; idem, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II* 3 (Cairo, 1938–1940), pp. 39–40.

¹³ Ibid., frontispiece.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 39–40.

¹⁵ Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'asḥu-Re^c 1.

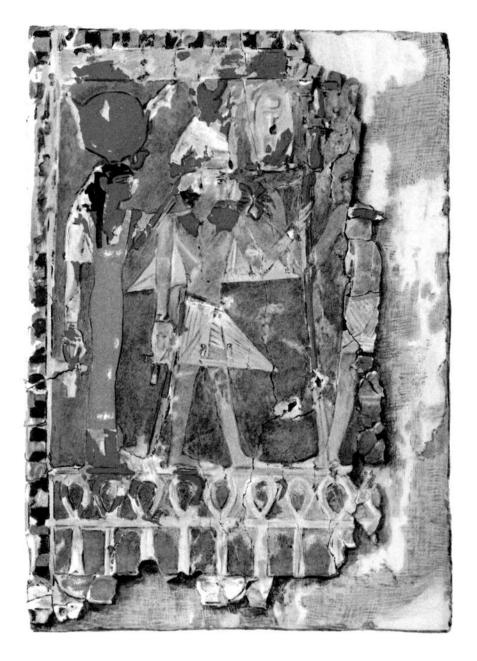


Fig. 3. Plaque of Pepi II from Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II* 3 (Cairo, 1938–1940), frontispiece.

the decorative sides of boxes or small shrines for temple equipment and cult figures in the mortuary temples of the Old Kingdom. The Abusir papyri mention "boxes" in the lists of temple equipment. In the tale

¹⁶ P. Posener-Kriéger and Jean-Louis de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Fifth Series: *The Abu Sir Papyri* (London, 1968), pls. 21 and 25.

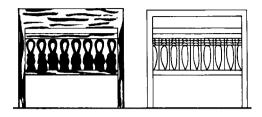


Fig. 4. Depictions of chests from the tomb of Hesire, after G. Killen, *Egyptian Woodworking and Furniture* (Princes Risborough, 1994), p. 29, fig. 36.

of "Khufu and the Magicians," a box of ebony and gold enclosed the makings of the magical crocodile figure. 17

Wooden boxes with faience inlays date as far back as the Old Kingdom. Indeed, the Pepi panels look like the representations of chests with a base of hieroglyphic symbols depicted in the tomb of Hesire (fig. 4).

 17 William Kelly Simpson, ed., The Literature of Ancient Egypt (New Haven, 1973), p. 17.

¹⁸ Ernesto Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin, 1963), pl. 11.

¹⁹ Geoffrey Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture* 2 (Warminster, 1994), pp. 6–7.

Remarques concernant l'inscription d'Imhotep gravée sur le socle de statue de l'Horus Neteri-khet (roi Djoser)



JEAN-PHILIPPE LAUER

'EST EN JANVIER 1926 QUE CECIL M. FIRTH DÉCOUVRAIT, À CINQ mètres au sud de l'enceinte de la Pyramide à degrés et à quelque vingt-cinq mètres de son angle sud-est, le précieux socle de statue de l'Horus Neteri-khet portant soigneusement gravés outre son serekh le nom et toute la titulature de son ministre Imhotep (voir fig. 1), tandis que d'autres fragments plus petits, disséminés à proximité, ne tardaient pas à apparaître. L'ensemble fut bientôt transféré au Musée du Caire, où l'étude en fut confiée à Battiscombe Gunn, qui constata qu'il s'agissait là d'une seule statue; il parvint ainsi à en donner une restitution figurant le roi Djoser debout, les pieds joints sur le même alignement, ce qui est assez exceptionnel, mais se retrouve également au complexe de la Pyramide à degrés, dans la chapelle à tores d'angles située à l'extrémité nord-ouest de la cour dite du Heb-sed, où subsistent en place quatre paires de pieds de statues (2 grandes et 2 petites) pareillement alignées.

B. Gunn réussit ensuite à compléter avec une très grande probabilité l'extrémité gauche cassée perdue portant la fin de l'inscription d'Imhotep, et tenta de résoudre le problème de l'inscription centrale comportant, affronté au *serekh* de l'Horus Neteri-khet, le groupement qu'il traduit: "Roi de Basse-Egypte, Senwi (ou Sensen)." Mais immédiatement après, il posait à juste titre la question suivante: "Why then does he appear here as the ruler of only half his kingdom?" Sa réponse était que nous aurions eu là une paire de statues, dont seule-

¹ Cf. C.M. Firth, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Saqqara 1925–1926," ASAE 26 (1926), p. 97–101; également Firth, Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara, Step Pyramid (Le Caire, 1936), vol. I: p. 113, et vol. II: pl. 58.

² Cf. B. Gunn, "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site. I: An Inscribed Statue of King Zoser" ASAE 26 (1926), p. 177–96 et pl. 1, A et B.

³ Cf. Firth, Quibell, Step Pyramid II, pl. 63.

⁴ Cf. B. Gunn, ASAE 26 (1926), p. 190–94, et fig. 8 et 10.

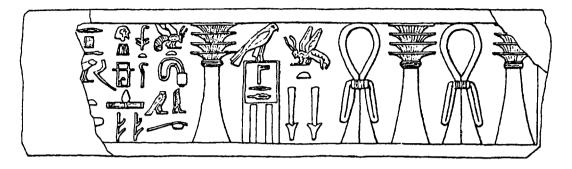


Fig. 1. L'inscription d'Imhotep, d'après D. Wildung, Imhotep und Amenhotep, p. 6.

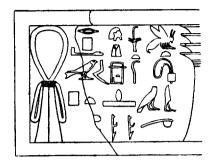
ment des éléments de l'une d'elles nous sont parvenus: celle retrouvée aurait porté la couronne rouge de Basse-Egypte, et l'autre la couronne blanche de Haute-Egypte, mais cette seconde statue aurait conservé le même nom , car on ne connaît pas d'exemple de roi ayant des noms différents pour l'Egypte du nord et l'Egypte du sud. Il ajoute, néanmoins, qu'il n'est pas exclu qu'au début de la IIIème dynastie Djoser ait pu avoir la titulature suivante:

surmontant le nom d'Imhotep, font manifestement partie de sa dédicace à l'Horus Neteri-khet. Il se refuse, en revanche, à y adjoindre les deux autres titres plus modestes de charpentier et de sculpteur situés sous son nom et auxquels il y aurait lieu d'ajouter celui de fabricant de vases dont apparaît l'extrémité très probable du premier signe (voir fig. 2). Il estime que ces derniers titres devraient être suivis du nom du sculpteur de la statue tout en reconnaissant que "the perpetuation" du nom du sculpteur sur un monument royal "is a more striking feature," et surtout que ce nom ne pourrait guère trouver place dans la partie perdue du socle, si l'on y situe le symbole 🖣 qu'il préconise. Il est donc fort probable que le nom du sculpteur ne fut jamais gravé là (voir fig. 3); mais Imhotep, en citant les principaux corps de métier qu'il avait sous sa direction pour la construction du complexe funéraire royal, les associait à l'hommage qu'il rendait à l'Horus Neteri-khet en offrant et lui présentant cette statue. Par cette dédicace, ajoute Gunn, nous avons un document contemporain jusqu'à présent unique du fameux Imhotep-Imouthès, qui constitue, écrivait-il, "perhaps the most important feature of that monument."

⁵ B. Gunn, *ibidem*, p. 188–90.

⁶ Cf. W.G. Waddell, Manetho (1964), p. 40-41.

⁷ B. Gunn, ASAE 26 (1926), p. 194.



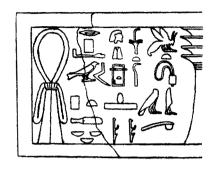


Fig. 2. D'après Battiscombe Gunn, *ASAE* 26, p. 191, fig. 8.

Fig. 3. Restitutions présentées par B. Gunn.

Il cite alors deux exemples de la même titulature que celle gravée ici (qui peut ainsi être complétée par ce titre , fabricant de vases) découverts l'un sur un bol dans la tombe de Peribsen à Abydos, et l'autre sur un fragment d'assiette en diorite recueilli précisément dans la Pyramide à degrés même; chacune de ces deux titulatures est suivie du nom , Ptḥ-n-Ptḥ. Depuis lors nous avons recueilli une quinzaine d'exemplaires plus ou moins complets de la même titulature avec le même nom dans les galeries VI à VIII de la pyramide parmi l'énorme amoncellement de vaisselle de pierre des Ière et IIème dynasties, prélevé dans le trésor royal par Djoser et que nous avons découvert entassé là et inviolé. Cinq autres exemplaires ont, en outre, été retrouvés en divers autres points des souterrains de la pyramide ou de son complexe. Ajoutons, enfin, la trouvaille dans la pyramide d'une coupe en cristal de roche peu translucide qui présente les mêmes titres mais précédant un autre nom , "lion." Bien antérieurement, la même inscription avait été trouvée gravée sur un bol et un fragment d'assiette dans la tombe n° 2302 du cimetière archaïque nord de Saqqarah par Quibell.

 $^{^8}$ Cf. Amélineau, Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1897–1898 (Paris, 1904), pl. L, 1, 2, et p. 491.

 $^{^9}$ B. Gunn, "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site," ASAE 28 (1928), p. 165–66 et pl. III, 10; également Lacau, Lauer, Pyramide à degrés IV, Texte (1961), p. 67 et Planches, pl. 25, n° 142.

¹⁰ Cf. à ce sujet J.-Ph. Lauer, Histoire monumentale des pyramides d'Egypte (Le Caire, 1962), p. 92–94.

 ¹¹ J.-Ph. Lauer, Pyramide à degrés III, Compléments (1939), p. 1–26 et pl. 2 à 13 et 16 à 19.
 12 Firth, Quibell, Step Pyramid II (1926), pl. 90, n°s 11–14; également Lacau, Lauer, Pyramide à degrés IV, Planches (1959), pl. 25 et Texte (1961), p. 68, n°s 144 et 146–48, p. 69 n° 149.

¹³ Lacau, Lauer, Pyramide à degrés IV, Planches, pl. VI, 9, et Texte, p. 72.

¹⁴ Lacau, Lauer, *ibidem*, pl. 6, 5 et 6, et *Texte*, p. 72; également Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1912–1914*, *Archaïc Mastabas* (Le Caire, 1923), pl. XVII, 4.

Près d'un demi-siècle après la découverte du socle, Dietrich Wildung, dans son remarquable ouvrage *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, cherche à son tour à résoudre le même problème, bien qu'il considère que l'interprétation de k ne paraît guère possible sans la découverte d'un nouveau document complémentaire.

Néanmoins, étant donné que les restitutions de Gunn à gauche des titulatures (voir fig. 3) ont été généralement acceptées, et qu'elles ne permettent pas d'ajouter un autre nom à la seconde série de titres disposés sous le nom d'Imhotep, il considère comme H. Junker, ¹⁶ P. Kaplony ¹⁷ et nous-même, que ces trois derniers titres relativement modestes doivent, comme les cinq beaucoup plus importants qui le précèdent, s'appliquer également à lui. Il explique alors comment ces derniers titres concernent Imhotep, et souhaiterait y joindre aussi l'inscription centrale, mais la direction inverse de l'écriture face au serekh de l'Horus Neteri-khet rend la chose "kaum möglich," écrit-il.

Cependant, il y a lieu, croyons-nous, de faire observer qu'il n'est nullement prouvé que soit le nom du roi de Haute et Basse-Egypte, puisque d'une part on ne connaît par ailleurs aucun exemple de noms différents pour le roi du Nord et le roi du Sud et que, d'autre part, ce nom royal supposé ne se retrouve dans aucune autre inscription contemporaine de Djoser ni même plus tardive. Il semble ainsi plausible d'interpréter ce groupement hiéroglyphique ocmme la qualification très particulière d'Imhotep par rapport au roi de Basse-Egypte: son compagnon d'enfance, son intime, peut-être même son jumeau comme le traduit R. Stadelmann, mais plutôt son "alter ego." Elevé ainsi avec Djoser au palais royal des "Murs Blancs," la future Memphis, lieu considéré comme en Basse-Egypte par rapport aux résidences royales de Haute-Egypte (à Nekhen et Abydos), ce serait cette très grande intimité

¹⁵ D. Wildung, Imhotep und Amenhotep, MÄS 36 (1977), p. 6.

¹⁶ H. Junker, Die Gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich (Vienne, 1959), p. 77.

 $^{^{\}rm 17}$ P. Kaplony, Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit I (Wiesbaden, 1963), p. 402–405 et 519 (dernières lignes).

¹⁸ J.-Ph. Lauer, Histoire monumentale des Pyramides d'Egypte I (1962), p. 114–15, note 6, où nous proposions "de considérer la dernière ligne de titres comme s'appliquant également à Imhotep, ce dernier, grand maître des principales corporations travaillant à la réalisation de la demeure d'éternité du roi Zoser, représenterait ici à lui seul leurs fonctions en se qualifiant de 'constructeur, sculpteur-graveur et fabricant de vases,' formule abrégée pour 'Maître des charpentiers-constructeurs, des sculpteurs-graveurs et des fabricants de vases.'"

¹⁹ D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 7.

²⁰ Cf. R. Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden* (Mayence, 1991), p. 266–67, note 127, où cependant il ne semble pas réaliser qu'il devait s'agir là d'Imhotep même.

entre Djoser et Imhotep qui aurait permis à ce dernier de dédicacer, en quelque sorte, avec toute sa titulature la première statue de l'Horus Neteri-khet visible dans son immense complexe monumental. Cette statue aurait été vraisemblablement présentée dans le sanctuaire à façade à redans, dont l'accès se trouve vers le milieu de la colonnade d'entrée, en lisière du massif de l'enceinte sud. ²¹

En conclusion, nous estimons pouvoir dire que toute l'inscription concerne effectivement Imhotep même, comme le souhaitait D. Wildung. Elle débute ainsi par l'adresse de "l'alter ego" du roi de Basse-Egypte à l'Horus Neteri-khet, auquel il est intentionnellement affronté (par le sens inverse de l'écriture) et qui, en son complexe funéraire, est considéré comme divinisé. Puis à gauche, après un grand pilier , ses cinq titres majeurs du moment: "Le chancelier du roi de Basse-Egypte, le premier après le roi de Haute-Egypte, l'administrateur du grand Palais, noble héréditaire, le Grand-prêtre d'Héliopolis, Imhotep;" et finalement les trois titres plus modestes, "charpentier-constructeur, sculpteur-graveur, fabricant de vases," associant ainsi à sa dédicace les trois principaux corps de métiers qui travaillaient sous ses directives à la demeure d'éternité du roi Djoser.

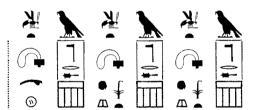


Fig. 4. D'après ASAE 33, p. 159.

Signalons enfin une autre particularité dans la titulature d'Imhotep: elle concerne l'ordre des deux premiers titres (c) et (c) qui est inversé ici par rapport à la norme. Or, il en est de même sur les empreintes de sceaux que nous avions relevées sur le mortier des joints du parement de calcaire fin de la salle sépulcrale de la galerie III de la Pyramide à degrés (peut-être celle de la reine) où s'ajoute aux deux premiers titres d'Imhotep celui de charpentier-constructeur de Nekhen (voir fig. 4).

 $^{^{21}}$ Cf. C.M. Firth, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Saqqara (1925–1926)," ASAE 26 (1926), p. 99 et plan de la colonnade.

²² Cf. D. Wildung, op. cit., p. 7.

²³ J.-Ph. Lauer, "Fouilles du Service des Antiquités à Saqqarah (secteur nord)," *ASAE* 33 (1933), p. 159–160 et figure reproduite ci-dessus, donnant deux fois les titres de chancelier du roi de Basse-Egypte et de premier après le roi de Haute-Egypte, suivi par une seule fois, semble-t-il, le chancelier du roi de Basse-Egypte, et le charpentier-constructeur de Nekhen. Le linteau de Ihynès qui porte également ce titre a été découvert à proximité de la colonnade: cf. J.-Ph. Lauer, "Note sur divers travaux effectués à Saqqarah," *ASAE* 37 (1937), p. 110, fig. 3.

Quoique le nom même d'Imhotep n'apparaisse pas là, on ne peut ainsi guère douter qu'il s'agisse de ses sceaux; ce nouveau titre , en accord avec le texte de Manéthon, est encore une confirmation de plus de son rôle d'architecte, constructeur du complexe monumental du roi Djoser.

Telles sont les remarques complémentaires concernant cet unique et précieux document signé d'Imhotep, qui me sont venues à l'esprit bien des années après sa découverte, et que je suis particulièrement heureux de pouvoir présenter comme contribution personnelle à ce *Festschrift* en l'honneur de mon cher et éminent ami, William Kelly Simpson, longtemps Président de notre Association Internationale des Egyptologues.

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Des confréries religieuses à Saqqara, à la fin de la XIIe dynastie?



JEAN LECLANT ET CATHERINE BERGER

S I LA DOCUMENTATION RESTE QUASI MUETTE SUR LES ASSOCIATIONS religieuses durant l'époque pharaonique, leur réalité solidement attestée dès l'époque ptolémaïque laisse pourtant soupçonner leur existence déjà à plus haute époque.

Un petit monument de calcaire gris retrouvé en multiples fragments en 1973 par la Mission Archéologique Française de Saqqara dans le temple haut de Pépi Ier nous semble pouvoir peut-être apporter un nouvel élément pour l'étude de ce dossier.

Au nom de Néferhor, chef de la divine offrande, chef des sacrificateurs dans les temples, administrateur, chef des échansons dans le temple de Ptah, le document a pu être qualifié par P. Vernus de table d'offrandes d'un modèle particulier: outre le plateau proprement dit de la table, les quatre côtés sont également décorés, ce qui implique probablement que le présent monument n'était pas destiné à être placé sous une stèle, le long d'un mur, mais qu'on devait pouvoir sans doute tourner autour de lui. Rapprochée par P. Vernus de la stèle retrouvée par

¹ Cf. F. de Cénival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* (Le Caire: 1972), p. 139–142. P. Vernus, *LÄ* III, 6 (1979) col. 848–850 (*s.v.* Kultgenossenschaft) recense les attestations d'associations connues à partir de la XXVIe dynastie et précise leurs attributions. Pour une période antérieure, B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Medineh, MIFAO* 58 (1930), p. 57 et 85–86 attirait l'attention sur des vestiges de Deir el-Medineh qu'il pensait pouvoir mettre en relation avec une association d'artisans vouée à Amenhotep Ier; plus récemment, W. Helck ("Ein früher Beleg für eine Kultgenossenschaft?," *SAK* 18 [1991], p. 233–240) propose une nouvelle lecture d'un ostracon de l'époque de Ramsès II, qui évoquerait, encore à Deir el Medineh, une association de fervents d'Anoukis.

² Pour les travaux de la MAFS au temple de Pépi Ier, on consultera la chronique annuelle publiée par J. Leclant et G. Clerc dans les *Orientalia*, en particulier les volumes 38 (1969) à 58 (1989).

 $^{^3}$ Cf. D. Franke, "Die Stele Inv. Nr. 4403 im Landesmuseum in Oldenburg," SAK 10 (1983), p. 169, n. 50.

 $^{^4}$ P. Vernus, "Deux inscriptions de la XIIe dynastie provenant de Saqqara," $\it RdE$ 28 (1976) p. 119–138, pl. 11–14.

⁵ Sur la variété des types de monuments au Moyen Empire, cf. en particulier P. Vernus, *RdE* 26 (1974), p. 103: free standing stelae, "pseudo-naos," stèles cintrées, stèles rectangulaires, pseudo-coffrets, fausses chapelles, obéliscoïdes.

G. Jéquier dans le temple funéraire de Pépi II⁶ à Saqqara-Sud et conservée désormais au Musée du Caire, notre table d'offrandes est dédiée vraisemblablement à une figure remarquable du clergé de Ptah à la fin de la XIIème dynastie, même si les titres mentionnés sur les deux monuments demeurent modestes et la qualité du travail relativement médiocre.

Depuis l'étude de P. Vernus et sans pour autant la modifier, deux nouveaux fragments sont venus compléter la table d'offrandes qui demeure toutefois assez incomplète; une lacune importante subsiste toujours au centre. Le dessus de la table n'est pas plat; une pente légère descend du fond vers l'avant du monument, où l'on devine au milieu les traces d'arrachement d'un apex (face A, cf. fig. 1). Ainsi, si les deux longs côtés—le devant et l'arrière de la table—sont rectangulaires (A et C), les deux petits (B à gauche, D à droite) sont trapézoïdaux, légèrement plus hauts à l'arrière (19,5 cm) qu'à l'avant (17 cm).

Aux deux extrémités du devant (face A), sous un bandeau d'inscription incisée, deux personnages sont assis face à face de chaque côté de l'apex central; devant chacun d'eux est dressée une table garnie d'offrandes. Celui de droite, mieux conservé, est vêtu d'un pagne à devanteau triangulaire empesé; son cou était paré d'un collier à grosses perles; derrière sa tête, son nom: Néferhor. A gauche, la scène, dont il ne reste guère que la table d'offrandes et le pied du personnage, devait sans doute être d'une disposition symétrique. Les trois autres côtés (B, C et D) sont ornés, sous une ligne d'inscription mal conservée,

 $^{^6}$ G. Jéquier, Le Monument funéraire de Pépi II, t. III, p. 39–42 et fig. 29; P. Vernus, RdE 28 (1976), p. 128–37, pl. 14.

⁷ J.E.51733.

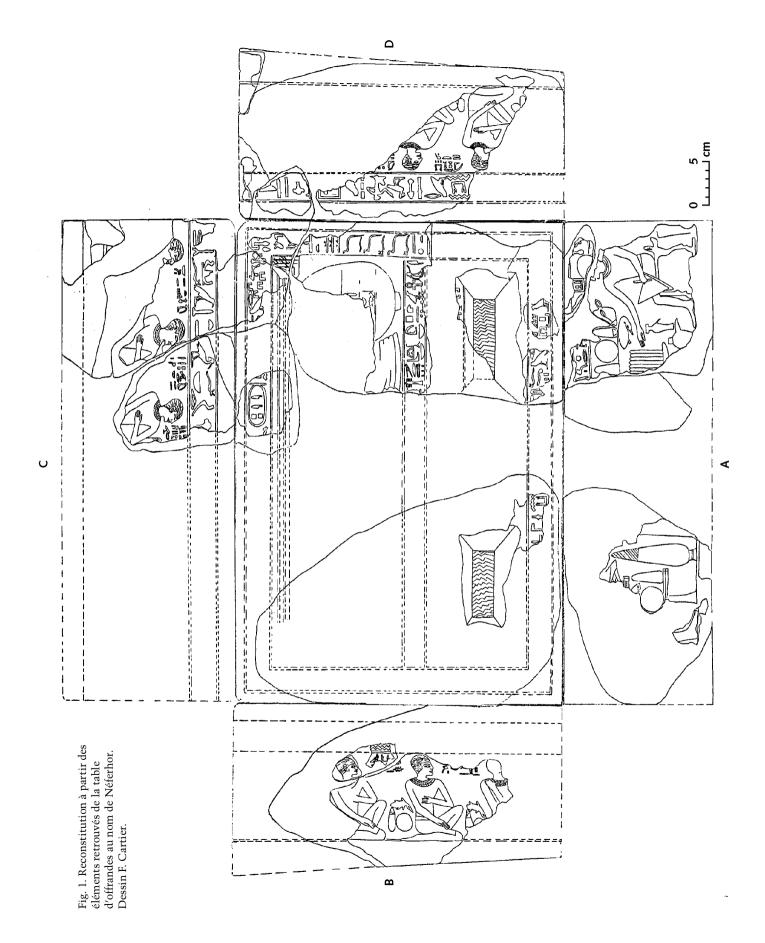
⁸ P. Vernus, *RdE* 28 (1976), p. 119, évoque le contexte très perturbé de la découverte; les fragments ont été recueillis en fait près d'un four à chaux installé dans le premier magasin au Sud du sanctuaire de Pépi Ier. On a retrouvé également à proximité nombre de monuments en calcaire provenant de la décoration ancienne du temple; cf. par exemple J.-Ph. Lauer et J. Leclant, "Découverte de statues de prisonniers au temple de la Pyramide de Pépi Ier," *RdE* 21 (1969), p. 55–62, 6 fig., pl. 8–10. Quant à la sépulture sommaire signalée par P. Vernus, *ibid.*, elle est postérieure (Nouvel Empire) et sans rapport avec notre monument.

 $^{^9}$ Les dimensions de la table d'offrandes restent ainsi difficiles à préciser: 38×55 cm environ; hauteur à l'avant: 17 cm; à l'arrière: 19,5 cm environ.

¹⁰ Par rapport au lecteur des textes principaux qui se place face au monument, du côté du bec, c'est-à-dire en sens opposé des offrandes placées sur la natte décorant le plateau de la table; cf. G. Lacaze, O. Masson et J. Yoyotte, "Deux documents memphites copiés par J.-M. Vansleb au XVIIe siècle," *RdE* 35 (1984), p. 130.

 $^{^{11}}$ Nous n'avons pas suivi l'ordre proposé par P. Vernus, $\it RdE$ 28 (1976) p. 119, d'où notre désignation des faces différente de la sienne.

 $^{^{12}\,\}mathrm{C'est}$ ce qui explique le décalage entre les lignes incisées des bases de scènes dans l'angle C/D.



rangée de prêtres, ¹⁴ agenouillés derrière un petit tas d'offrandes ¹⁵ sur une ligne incisée figurant le sol; leurs titres et leurs noms sont précisés au niveau de leur visage: ¹⁶ chacun des personnages représentés semble identifié par un titre de prêtre suivi de son nom et de la mention "*maa khérou, neb imakh.*" Vêtus d'un petit pagne, ils portent autour du cou un collier formé de trois rangs de grosses perles rondes; leur coiffure courte est légèrement précisée en petites mèches souples à l'horizontale. La main gauche du premier d'entre eux, sur le côté B, repose sur son épaule droite; sa main droite retombait sans doute sur son genou en terre, comme chez les autres prêtres dont le second bras est toujours ramené à mi-poitrine, coude sur le genou dressé. ¹⁷ Quatre personnages dans la même attitude devaient figurer sur chacun des côtés latéraux B et D; sur l'arrière (côté C) du monument, trois prêtres subsistent encore des six qui y étaient sans doute représentés.

Sur la stèle, sensiblement mieux conservée que la table d'offrandes et où figuraient quatorze personnages, il n'est jamais fait mention d'un

 $^{^{13}}$ Le bandeau inscrit, de 3,5 cm de hauteur, est encadré par deux lignes horizontales incisées, la ligne supérieure étant à environ 2 cm du sommet.

¹⁴ Rectifier P. Vernus, *RdE* 28 (1976), p. 123 pour notre côté B (pour lui C).

 $^{^{15}}$ Des pains sur le côté D, comme probablement d'après les traces conservées sur le côté C; une oie est ajoutée sur le côté B.

 $^{^{16}}$ Gravés, les hiéroglyphes sont peints en vert turquoise. Il n'y a aucune autre trace de couleur sur la table d'offrandes.

¹⁷ P. Vernus avait déjà souligné l'aspect archaïsant des graphies et de la phraséologie (*RdE* 28 [1976], p. 137, n. 20). La scène représentée sur les côtés B, C et D de la table d'offrandes de Néferhor n'est pas non plus sans évoquer des reliefs plus anciens, comme par exemple le banquet funéraire figurant sur la paroi Sud de la chapelle de Kahif, Giza G 2136, PM III², 1, p. 76, datée par N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées de l'Ancien Empire* (1989), p. 137–38, de Niouserrê; nous remercions Mme Amal Hilal-Giret pour cette référence, extraite de sa thèse en cours sur les marques des liens sociaux dans les représentations de l'Ancien Empire. Pour l'influence du style de l'Ancien Empire sur les monuments du Moyen Empire à Saqqara, voir P. Munro, *SAK* 10 (1983), p. 283–295, à propos par exemple de la tombe de Ounas-hay-ishetef; celle-ci devrait désormais être datée de la XIIe dynastie, malgré l'archaïsme évident du nom et des titres du défunt ainsi que des représentations de sa chapelle.

 $^{^{18}}$ Le nom du premier a disparu; le second s'appelait Ny-Ptah-Kaou (cf. P. Vernus, RdE 28 [1976], p. 123); le nom du troisième (disparu comme le dernier) devait commencer par Pépi...; Ny-Ptah-Kaou et Pépi... étaient tous deux prêtres ouab.

 $^{^{19}}$ Les trois premiers personnages sont encore visibles, mais il ne subsiste plus que des traces de leurs titres et leurs noms.

²⁰ Le nom du premier est peu lisible; le second et le troisième, tous deux prêtres ouab, s'appelaient respectivement Pépi-our et Nefertoum (P. Vernus, RdE 28 [1976], p. 123).

²¹ Deux hypothèses: les uns derrière les autres ou face à face ce qui est beaucoup moins probable, car une telle disposition romprait le rythme de la succession des prêtres et s'opposerait à la continuité du texte qui, horizontalement, domine en bandeau. La différence de hauteur des offrandes qu'on devine au niveau de l'épaule du premier prêtre conservé pourrait correspondre à un souci de souligner l'axe du monument.

parent de Néferhor, en dehors de sa mère nommée à deux reprises. C'est sur la prêtrise de chacun des personnages associés à l'hommage qu'on insiste; la plupart des fois (vu l'état de conservation du monument), il s'agit d'un prêtre ouab; dans un cas, c'est un prêtre-lecteur (<u>hry-ḥbt</u>). Chacun précise également le nom de sa mère, ce qui n'est pas le cas sur la table d'offrandes où on ne trouve pas non plus d'allusion à la famille de Néferhor.

La présence d'une stèle et d'une table d'offrandes au nom d'un même personnage, Néferhor, disposées dans deux monuments funéraires royaux différents, semble être le témoignage qu'une attention particulière lui était portée. On notera que d'un monument à l'autre on ne retrouve pas les mêmes intervenants. De toute façon il n'est mentionné aucun lien de parenté entre les prêtres et Néferhor, en particulier pas de filiation.

S'il est normal au Moyen Empire de trouver un collègue d'un défunt associé au culte funéraire de celui-ci, il l'est beaucoup moins que ce soit en l'absence de toute mention des membres de sa famille. La présence de tant d'intervenants sans liens familiaux avec lui invite à penser qu'il peut s'agir d'un hommage rendu à un des leurs par des collèges de prêtres. On est ainsi en droit de s'interroger si nous avons affaire réellement à un monument dû à une initiative privée. On ajoutera que la localisation de cette stèle et de cette table d'offrandes dans deux temples funéraires royaux n'est pas sans surprendre.

Le dégagement du temple de Pépi Ier a mis en évidence une remise en état du monument funéraire du pharaon au début du Moyen Empire, s'insérant dans un programme de restauration des cultes funéraires royaux à travers la région memphite. Les fouilles d'Ahmed Fakhry à Dahshour avaient déjà attiré l'attention sur les témoignages du fonctionnement, à la XIIe dynastie, de sanctuaires de l'Ancien Empire.

²² Cf. par exemple P. Vernus, "La stèle C 3 du Louvre," RDE 25 (1973), qui note p. 234: "Quant aux personnages qui figurent sur la stèle C 19, ce sont très probablement non des parents de Mry, mais des collègues."

²³ Ou la persistance, si l'on en croit Aly Abdalla ("The cenotaph of the Sekwaskhet family from Saqqara," *JEA* 78 [1992], p. 110), ou si l'on tient compte, par exemple, du titre de Meni à la Première Période Intermédiaire (cf. H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the third millenium B.C.* [New York, 1968], p. 170–75).

²⁴ Cf. J. Leclant, "Une statue-cube de dignitaire memphite du temple haut de Pépi Ier," Miscellanea in Honorem Josephi Vergote, OLP 6/7 (1975/1976), p. 355–59, 3 fig., pl. XII–XIII; P. Vernus, RdE 28 (1976), p. 137–38; C. Berger, "Le temple de Pépi Ier au Moyen Empire," dans Saqqara, Les dossiers d'archéologie, 146–47 (Mars–Avril 1990), p. 90–93; J. Leclant, "Un support d'autel à libations du temple haut de Pépi I^{er}," Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim, II (Jérusalem, 1990), p. 653–55 et fig. p. 1118–19; id., "Un dignitaire de l'heureuse Memphis au Moyen Empire: Ptah-ounenef," Mélanges C. Aldred, à paraître.

Plusieurs endroits de la nécropole devaient être à cette époque encore en service, avec un clergé particulier qui leur était affecté. De nombreux documents de cette période attestent alors une coutume qui consiste, pour des personnes privées, à laisser, comme une sorte d'ex-voto, un monument à leur nom dans un endroit consacré pourtant au culte funéraire d'un pharaon de l'Ancien Empire, lui-même traité à l'égal d'un dieu. Comme nous l'avons suggéré, ces monuments ne sont peut-être pas tous dus à l'initiative privée; certains semblent avoir été plutôt dédiés à un des leurs par des collèges de prêtres attachés plus précisément à l'un ou l'autre de ces monuments à la fin de la XIIe dynastie.

Peut-on comprendre ainsi par exemple deux autres documents retrouvés sur le temple de Pépi Ier: un fragment de statuette-cube en pierre dure noire ²⁸ (fig. 2 et 3) où une ligne d'invocation d'un personnage au nom disparu, imakh auprès du roi Isési défunt, surmonte encore au moins sept colonnes de texte commençant chacune par "le prêtre ouab...," ou encore un socle de statuette en calcaire au nom du majordome Seneb, mentionnant au plat du monument onze prêtres ouab (fig. 4)? Enfin le curieux support de lampes à niche au nom de Séchénou, chef des sculpteurs dans le temple de Snéfrou, pourrait-il être rapproché des documents mis au jour sur le temple de Pépi Ier: au dos, sur quatre des cinq registres, se succèdent au moins neuf prêtres "ouab" et un prêtre-lecteur, figurés debout présentant des offrandes au défunt.

Au Moyen Empire, on constate un phénomène de vénération de certaines personnalités. Plus tôt peut-être déjà, des mentions d'un imakhou auprès de Kagemni ou, plus récemment découverte, d'une

²⁵ Cf. essentiellement Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, II, *The Valley Temple*, part II: *The Finds* (Le Caire, 1961).

²⁶ Cf. par exemple J. Yoyotte, Les Pèlerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne, Sources Orientales 3 (Paris, 1960), p. 22.

²⁷ Sur les formules htp di nswt utilisant le nom d'un pharaon "divinisé," cf. H.G. Fischer, Egyptian Studies, I, Varia, MMA (New York, 1976), p. 59–61, n. 6; J. Leclant, "Un dignitaire de l'heureuse Memphis au Moyen Empire: Ptah-ounenef," Mélanges Aldred, à paraître, p. 204, n. 23.

²⁸ Hauteur conservée: 10, 5 cm. Inventaire MAFS: T 717.

²⁹ Sur les imakhou auprès d'un roi défunt, de l'Ancien ou du Moyen Empire, cf. G. Lapp, Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), p. 212, § 362; J. Leclant, Mélanges Aldred, à paraître, p. 204, n. 22; P. Munro, "Bemerkungen zur Datierung MŢŢſS," Hommages à Jean Leclant, I (Le Caire, 1994), p. 250.

³⁰ 27 cm x 21 cm; hauteur conservée: 11,5 cm. Inventaire MAFS: T 1324.

 $^{^{31}}$ A. Fakhry, The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur, II, The Valley Temple, part II: The Finds, p. 63–69, fig. 385–389. Voir également éventuellement le piédestal n° 6, p. 53–55, fig. 350–353.

³² Cf. D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints, Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*, (New York University Press, 1977); H. Goedicke, *LÄ* VI, 7 (1986), col. 989–92, *s.v.* "Vergöttlichung."





Fig. 2 et 3. Fragment d'une petite statuette-cube provenant du temple haut de Pépi Ier à Saqqara (hauteur conservée: 10,5 cm). Clichés J.-Fr. Gout-MAES

imakhout auprès d'Inenek/Inti (une des épouses de Pépi Ier)³⁴ témoignent de l'évolution des mentalités; elles attestent des sortes de cultes populaires rendus à des figures marquantes qui deviennent des intercesseurs pour la postérité.

Ce même processus est-il à l'origine de la stèle et de la table d'offrandes de Néferhor? Mais peut-être ces monuments permettent-ils de percevoir en outre l'existence de confréries de prêtres, association religieuse proprement dite ou simplement groupement corporatif. La table d'offrandes et la stèle de Néferhor montrent un souci évident de vénérer un homme chargé en particulier de la répartition de la divine offrande entre différents temples memphites. Traduisent-elles aussi concrètement l'hommage de deux associations (ou confréries) de prêtres attachés à des sanctuaires (l'une de Pépi Ier, l'autre de Pépi II).

³³ Cf. B Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I (Le Caire, 1926), p. 130, mais également auprès de bien d'autres personnages encore, à Saqqara ou en province.

 $^{^{34}}$ Cf. C. Berger, Hommages à Jean Leclant, I (Le Caire, 1994), p. 74, n. 7.

L'hommage s'adresserait alors à l'un des leurs qu'on a jugé assez remarquable pour partager prières et offrandes dues au Pharaon et figurer pour l'éternité à proximité du roi divinisé.

Puissent ces remarques présentées à propos de matériel de Saqqara constituer un hommage d'admiration et d'amitié envers un savant qui a tant apporté pour une meilleure connaissance du Moyen Empire.





Fig. 4. Face supérieure d'un socle de statuette au nom de Seneb, provenant du temple haut de Pépi Ier à Saqqara (27 x 21 cm; hauteur: 11,5 cm). Cliché J.-Fr. Gout-MAFS.

Z500 and The Layer Pyramid of Zawiyet el-Aryan



Mark Lehner

William Kelly Simpson. Prof. Simpson was one of the first Egyptologists I met in Egypt. At the time I was an undergraduate student at the American University in Cairo. I happened to find Prof. Simpson working on the epigraphy of the tomb of Idu during one of my many visits to the Giza Plateau. Later Prof. Simpson became a supporter of my work at Giza, and then my advisor at Yale University where, with great patience, he guided me through basic skills in ancient Egyptian language and history. Among many valuable lessons that I learned from Prof. Simpson was that the material retrieved by George Reisner and the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Expedition to Egypt and Nubia are living records and not dead archives. I am honored to dedicate to Prof. Simpson this attempt to shed more light on a poorly known site by drawing upon those records.

Following the Step Pyramid of King Netjerykhet (Djoser) at Saqqara, the royal builders attempted and failed to complete another step pyramid complex at Saqqara for Sekhemkhet, similar in form and comparable in size to that of his predecessor. The Layer Pyramid of Zawiyet el-Aryan is a third step pyramid complex begun for a king whose identity is uncertain. There can be little doubt that the Layer Pyramid follows shortly after that of Sekhemkhet, because the substructures and masonry of the superstructures are so similar, even though there are large uncertainties in the measurements of both so far reported.¹

The Layer Pyramid is less known and more poorly documented than the Sekhemkhet complex. Lepsius (1848) visited the pyramid and numbered it XIV.² Barsanti excavated the substructure in 1900.³ Reisner and Fisher cleared more of the substructure, and excavated the north and east exterior of the pyramid and the cemeteries around it from December 1910 until May 1911. Their publication of the pyramid itself was

¹ J.P. Lauer, Histoire monumentale des Pyramides d'Egypte 1 (Cairo, 1962), pp. 209-11.

² R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Text 1, p.128, Pyramid no. XIV.

³ A. Barsanti, "Ouverture de la pyramide de Zaouiét el-Aryan," ASAE 2 (1901), pp. 92–94.

limited to a brief article.⁴ Maragioglio and Rinaldi⁵ point to serious discrepancies between the published architectural drawings of the pyramid and the measurements given by Barsanti and Reisner. In 1978 Dows Dunham, at the age of 87, prepared a volume on the Harvard–MFA Egyptian expedition.⁶ While reproducing the plan and profile and some brief remarks about the Layer Pyramid, this publication dealt mostly with 73 out of about 300 graves from the nearby cemeteries dating to the Archaic Period, Dynasty 3, New Kingdom, and Roman Period. To date, no map has been published showing the pyramid and its relationship to the cemeteries.

Topography of the Layer Pyramid

Because the context of this pyramid is so poorly published, I offer a topographic map of its site from the 1:5,000 map series of the Cairo area (fig. 1).⁷ The one-meter contours of this series allow us to see clearly the topographic context of the Layer Pyramid.

The pyramid occupies a site about 7 km north of Saqqara. It is situated about 113 m west of an escarpment that rises 27 m above the flood plain. In choosing a location close to the flood plain the builders departed from the trend of Netjerykhet and Sekhemkhet to build far out in the desert. In this sense the setting of the Layer Pyramid is transitional to that of the Meidum pyramid, where proximity to the flood plain facilitated the connection of the pyramid with a dock and valley temple by way of a causeway. Is this a hint that the builders of the Layer Pyramid already had in mind a departure from the old rectangular enclosure to the newer idea of a smaller enclosure, and an eastern chapel and causeway?

⁴ G.A. Reisner and C.S. Fisher, "The Work of the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Egyptian Expedition," *BMFA* 9 (1911), pp. 54–59.

⁵ V. Maragioglio and C.A. Rinaldi, L'Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite, Part 2: La Piramide di Sechemket, La Layer Pyramid di Zauiet el-Aryan e le minori piramidi attribuite alla III dynastia (Turin, 1963), pp. 40, 43.

⁶ Dows Dunham, Zawiyet el-Aryan: The Cemeteries adjacent to The Layer Pyramid (Boston, 1978).

⁷ This series for the greater Cairo area was plotted photogrametrically from aerial photography flown in 1977 for the Egyptian Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction. The Layer Pyramid is included in Map Sheet F19. I took out most modern structures in the vicinity of the pyramid for the preparation of this map.

⁸ Already planned during the earlier stages E1 and E2 of the pyramid?

⁹ Major elements of the Djoser type of pyramid enclosure were to reappear during the history of Egyptian pyramids. See D. Arnold, "Das Labyrinth und seine Vorbilder," *MDAIK* 35 (1979), pp. 1–9; idem, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III. in Dahschur* 1: *Die Pyramide* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), pp. 97–98.

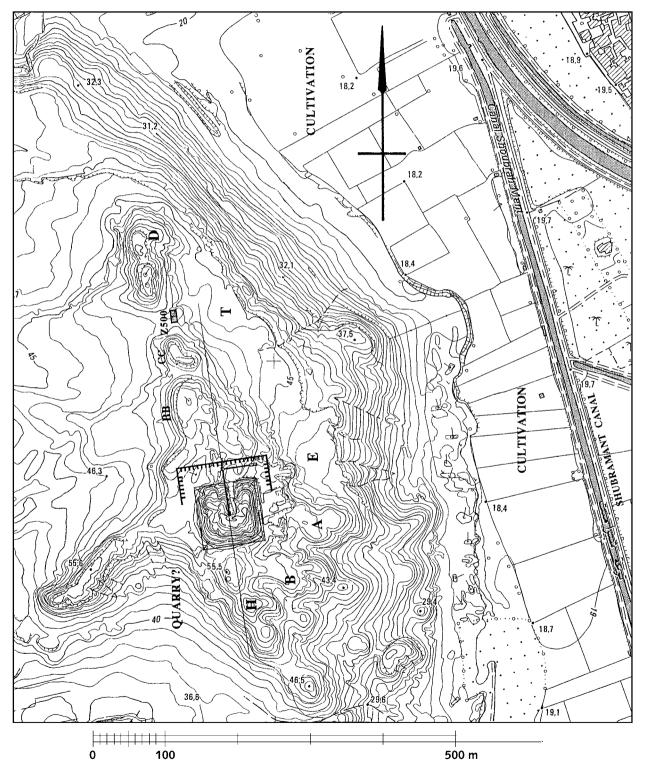


Fig. 1. Topographic map of Zawiyet el-Aryan and environs, based on aerial photography from 1977.

Perring made the curious observation that the rock before the north front "had been scrapped away, so as to form on the eastward an inclined approach from the plain beneath." Yet, in spite of the Layer Pyramid's proximity to the flood plain, there is no easy route by which a causeway could have descended the escarpment which drops 16 m over a distance of 68 m, too steep for a causeway without the construction of a long foundation ramp to make a functional slope. As Maragioglio and Rinaldi pointed out, 11 there is a more gradual slope through a narrow recess in the escarpment to the southeast of the pyramid, between spurs A and B. While this is the traditional place for an entrance in the Djoser type of pyramid enclosure, 12 it is a slope yet too steep for the Meidum type of causeway.

Like the Sekhemkhet enclosure, ¹³ the Layer pyramid sits astride a long ridge that the builders may have wanted to utilize in laying out a long rectangular terrace or enclosure oriented slightly northwest–southeast. The ridge, defined by spurs H, the pyramid site, BB, CC and D, forms a nearly continuous line oriented approximately 18° west of north. The pyramid is also oriented in this general direction, about 8° to 9° west of north (measured off the map). Clarence Fisher records in his notes (see below) that he did a "gridiron of trenches" from spur A toward the E–NE and found no traces of walls that might have formed an enclosure. ¹⁴ Immediately below the southwest corner of the pyramid, the builders might have used the steeper edge of another wadi as a quarry. But this depression comes very close to the pyramid, and it is hard to imagine room for the south end of a long enclosure like those of Netjerykhet and Sekhemkhet.

To the northwest of the pyramid, the natural ridge gives way to a wide and gentle northward slope (off the upper right corner of the map, fig. 1). This might be compared to Saqqara, where a broad wadi slopes from the old Abu Sir lake basin at the edge of the flood plain up to the area of the royal enclosures of Netjerykhet, Sekhemkhet, the royal subterranean gallery tombs of Dynasty 2, and the great rectangular enclosures on the west. ¹⁵

¹⁰ J.S. Perring, The Pyramids of Giseh 3 (London, 1842), pl. IV, p. 4.

¹¹ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, L'Architettura 2, p. 45.

¹² See note 9.

¹³ Maragioglio and Rinaldi, L'Architettura 2, p. 12; L'Architettura 2, Addenda, Obs. 1 bis.

¹⁴ MFA Record Box 2, Site Diary II, pp. 51, 68.

Z500: THE PUBLISHED RECORD

The pyramid and its substructure have already been described based on what has been reported from the original fieldwork. There is general agreement that the pyramid and its enclosure were never completed. The substructure was likewise left unfinished and possibly never used for a royal burial. Lauer suggested that the work stopped with the premature death of the king and the possible total loss of his body. The only clue about the identity of the king for whom the pyramid was begun is the Horus name, Khaba, inscribed on stone bowls that were part of a cache of alabaster, limestone, and hard stone vessels from "Mastaba Z500" located north of the pyramid. 18

Z500 is the only Dynasty 3 tomb treated in Dunham's publication of the graves from the nearby cemeteries. This gives the impression that Z500 is the only Dynasty 3 tomb of consequence near the Layer Pyramid, although Reisner and Fisher mentioned "four large mud-brick mastabas of the type common in the late Third Dynasty." Dunham notes that Z500 is oriented east—west, however the photograph he published shows that it is, in fact, oriented north south. He published four entries from Fisher's site diaries as the "only diary notes dealing with this building and its contents." The first of these follows:

February 4, 1911. The large mastaba to the north of Mound C (the Zawiyeh Pyramid) is divided by cross-walls of mud, below which are rubble walls; there are no shafts.

February 6, 1911. The mastaba now seems to have been of two periods. The outer casing of mudbrick, as well as the cross-walls, are reconstructions resting on debris. Inside these and below some of the cross-walls are walls of rather rough construction, not yet fully cleared. Just to the east of the northeast

¹⁵ D. Jeffreys and A. Tavares, "The Historic Landscape of Early Dynastic Memphis," *MDAIK* 50 (1994), pp. 150–51. "The location of the late Second Dynasty galleries does not necessarily show a shift of the necropolis as a whole, but indicates a new royal type of site, set farther back in the desert, but equally, if not more, prominent as viewed from the Abusir valley." This was not a "new royal type of site" as much as the royal tomb site moving to Saqqara. At Abydos the royal tombs had been far out in the desert at Umm el-Qarab through Dynasty 1.

¹⁶ Barsanti, ASAE 2, p. 94; G.A. Reisner, The Development of the Egyptian Tomb Down to the Accession of Cheops (Cambridge, MA, 1936), pp. 134–36; Lauer, Histoire monumentale 1, pp. 208–11; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, L'Architettura 2, pp. 40–49. In reviewing the MFA records for this article, I saw several photographs of the substructure of the Layer Pyramid. Fisher recleared at least the eastern entrance stairway, northern shaft, and northern corridors. It is quite possible that unpublished information is to be gleaned about the substructure from these records.

¹⁷ Lauer, Histoire monumentale 1, p. 209.

¹⁸ Dunham, Zawiyet el-Aryan, pp. 29-34.

¹⁹ Reisner and Fisher. BMFA 9, p. 59.

²⁰ Dunham, Zawiyet el-Aryan, fig. A, p. xii.

²¹ Ibid., p. 29.

angle of the mastaba is a large rock-cut pit which was never finished, being sunk only to a depth of two meters. $^{\rm 22}$

The remaining two entries, dated April 16, 1911, and May 11–12, 1911, relate to the stone vessels being removed from Z500, with no additional information about the structure of the tomb or its position.

The lack of any definite substructure associated with Z500, the fact that it seemed the only Dynasty 3 mastaba associated with a Dynasty 3 pyramid, the report of its east—west orientation, and the serekhs on five bowls out of the total cache of stone vessels, prompted Nabil Swelim to suspect that Z500 was the beginning of a chapel or north temple for the Layer Pyramid.²³ This also seemed plausible to me, particularly after I prepared the map in fig. 1. My initial impression from the published photograph²⁴ was that Z500 lay close to the north side of the pyramid and near its center axis—just north of the vertical entrance shaft.²⁵ The lower cross-walls "of rather rough construction" could be understood as the kind of debris-filled cross walls found in the enclosures of Sekhemkhet²⁶ and Netjerykhet²⁷ where they were used to build up massifs and terraces. The lower cross-walls, then, could be the beginning of a terracing to level out the ridge and to prepare for an enclosure extending north from the pyramid.

TOMBS AND TOPOGRAPHY: THE UNPUBLISHED RECORD

Although it was never plotted, Fisher did collect the data for a map of Z500 and the other Zawiyet el-Aryan tombs that would show their locations with respect to the pyramid. The data consists of a large plot of Fisher's survey points from which he took compass readings and distance measures, lists of these measurements, and separate sketch maps of individual tombs and groups of tombs. The plotting of this data will take more time and study of the excavation records. In addition to the

²² Ibid

²³ Nabil Swelim, Some Problems on the History of the Third Dynasty (Alexandria, 1983), pp. 78, 96; R. Stadelmann, Die ägyptischen Pyramiden (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), p. 77.

²⁴ Dunham, Zawiyet el-Aryan, fig. A, p. xii.

 $^{^{25}}$ I learned from a visit to the site in February, 1995, that the area immediately to the north of the Layer Pyramid is blocked off by a wall recently built to surround modern government installations.

 $^{^{26}\,\}text{M.Z.}$ Goneim, Horus Sekhemkhet. The Unfinished Step Pyramid at Saqqara 1 (Cairo, 1957), p. 1.

²⁷ J.P. Lauer, *La pyramide à degrés* 1 (Cairo, 1936), pp. 206–208.

 $^{^{28}}$ I would like to thank Rita Freed and Peter Lacovara for their generous assistance in using the MFA records, and Peter Der Manuelian for help with the article's illustrations.

²⁹ Box HH 8. Peter Lacovara informed me that he found the plot of survey points during a reorganization of the basement collections. The map was temporarily lost when Dunham prepared his publication. So Dunham, *Zawiyet el-Aryan*, p. ix.

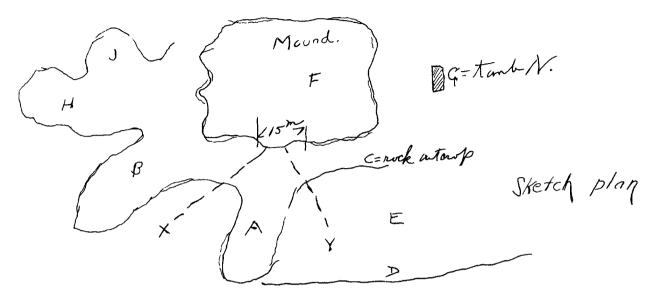


Fig. 2. Fisher's sketch of Zawiyet el-Aryan, December 20, 1910, from Diary II, p. 51.

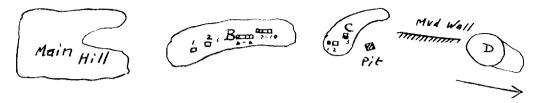
survey data, the records include Fisher's diaries and his small pocket notebook (referred to as the "Red Note Book" in the records).³⁰ These contain sketch maps and plans that can be compared to the contour map of the site (fig. 1) for some clarification of the position of Z500 with respect to the Layer Pyramid.

At the beginning of the work, Reisner and Fisher gave letter designations to the spurs south and east of the pyramid. Figure 2 is traced from Fisher's sketch of December 20, 1910.³¹ Lines "x" and "y" delimit the area of his initial trial excavations from spur A to the east side of the Layer Pyramid. The "tomb" labelled "G" is probably the vertical shaft of the pyramid substructure. By January 5, Fisher had also given letter designations to the spurs and hillocks to the north where he had excavated tombs on B and C, as shown in fig. 3, his next sketch map of the site.³² Since in his later notes Fisher repeated the letter B, by which he referred to the spur southeast of the pyramid and that to the northwest, I have given the latter the designation BB (fig. 1). Similarly, Reisner originally designated the area immediately northeast of the pyramid as C which he also used to refer to the semi-circular hillock to the north, which I have labelled CC. Fisher designated as T the flat terrace north and east of the pyramid.

³⁰ Box 2. Diary II is titled: "Giza, Mesaeed, March 29 to May 2, 1910; Zawiyet el-Aryan, Dec. 18, 1910 to Feb. 11, 1911." Box HH 12 contains a collation of typed diary and notebook excerpts (referred to as the "Cut Diary") relating to Z500. Box HH 11 contains a typed transcription of the Red Notebook. The tomb cards are kept separately.

³¹ Diary II, p. 51.

³² Diary II, p. 68.



An understanding of the overall development of the cemeteries needs a thorough reading of the records, and the plot of the survey data. In his diary entry for March 24, 1911, Fisher indicated the following pattern:

Fig. 3. Fisher's sketch of mounds B, C, and D at Zawiyet el-Aryan, January 5, 1911, from Diary II, p. 68.

We had already our tombs to the N. with Dynasty I names, the Dynasty II group to the N.E., the Roman graves to the E. Now, in the rest (?) work south we have a XVIII Dyn. Cemetery.³³

Dunham quotes an unpublished statement of Reisner:

Excavations at Zawiyet el-Aryan covered three periods in time. There were three cemeteries from three successive dynasties (I–III). Although the three cemeteries were in the same district north and east of the pyramid, they were clearly distinguished in position, in types of tombs, and in types of funerary furniture. . . . South and southwest of the pyramid there was a large cemetery of the New Kingdom, and mixed with this on the southeast there were a few late graves of the Roman period. 34

The early layout of this part of Zawiyet el-Aryan—a Dynasty 3 step pyramid located south–southwest of an Archaic cemetery which developed along the northern edge of the plateau—bears some resemblance to Saqqara, where the Dynasty 2 royal tombs and the Netjerykhet Step Pyramid were built southwest of the Archaic Period cemetery along the northern escarpment.

Z500: THE UNPUBLISHED RECORD

A review of the records of the Harvard–MFA Expedition's work at Zawiyet el-Aryan makes it certain that Z500 is a mastaba tomb with its own substructure located at the far north end of the ridge. The first hint of mastaba Z500 comes in an entry in the Red Notebook (Fisher's pocket notebook) for January 5. Fisher did a cursory sketch of mounds B, C, and D showing "a long mudbrick wall" between C and D. His following note states:

Only 3 graves in C. The N. wing of mound contains no graves. To E. of the mound is a square rock shaft & to N. a long wall of mudbrick is coming out. In line with this wall & hill C is another hill D, the end of the series.

³³ Diary III, pp. 30–31.

³⁴ Dunham, *Zawiyet el-Aryan*, p. iii; see also Reisner, *Development of the Egyptian Tomb*, p. 136.

The wall is shown on the sketch map that Fisher drew in his diary entry of that same day (fig. 3). This proved to be the west wall of Z500. The next we hear of the mastaba is Fisher's diary entry just before February 4, one of several entries for Z500 that Dunham did not include in his publication, perhaps because it had been omitted from the typed "Cut Diary" collation of material pertaining to Z500:

Work has now (?) been begun on the mudbrick mastaba lying between hills C and D (cf. sketch plan on page II. 68; Jan. 5 [fig. 3 here]), a portion of the W. wall having been found in the beginning of January. There are 8–11 courses of mud brick in situ, resting on debris and not on the rock surface. The courses are laid as headers and as stretchers, all those in a single row being laid the same, but the courses not alternating regularly.³⁵

Next is the Red Notebook entry dated February 4, which is the first of Dunham's excerpts (see above) about the dividing walls. Dunham erred in inserting the parenthetical reference to the Zawiyeh Pyramid after "Mound C" in that excerpt. "Mound C" refers to the natural hill (C in fig. 3 = CC in fig. 1), not the pyramid. Fisher wrote another diary entry about Z500 on February 4, perhaps in the evening after the day's work. This entry included a sketch plan of the mastaba superstructure (fig. 4):

Three sides of the mastaba between C and D are now exposed. Inside are two square rock shafts, both entirely empty, There are brick cross-walls dividing the mastaba into smaller chambers. The outer walls are 1.10 m thick.³⁶

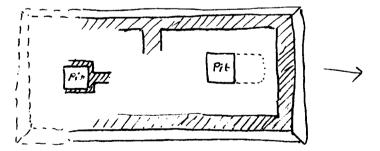


Fig. 4. Fisher's sketch plan of the mastaba Z500 superstructure, February 4, 1911, from Diary II, p. 95.

Just under the sketch plan is the diary entry for February 6 that is the second of Dunham's excerpts quoted above about the alleged two periods of construction.

The fact that the mastaba is divided by cross-walls into at least two smaller chambers, each with its own shaft, may indicate it is a multiple

³⁵ Diary II, p. 94.

³⁶ Diary II, p. 95.

tomb, similar to others that Fisher found on hill B (fig. 3). The southern shaft with the mudbrick around the rim is seen in the photograph that Dunham published.³⁷

With the information so far, we can make a preliminary plot of the size and location of Z500 (fig. 1). It lay between hills C and D. The photograph suggests it shared the same general north–south (or north–northwest) orientation as the pyramid. So far I have found no dimensions for the superstructure. Based on an estimate for the height of the tripod in the published photograph and the derived length of the closer south side, a rough size estimate is $8.6 \times 11.5 \, \text{m}$. On the other hand, taking Fisher's sketch (fig. 4) as roughly in proportion, with $1.10 \, \text{m}$ thick outer walls, the mastaba would be about $7.48 \times 17.6 \, \text{m}$ (roughly the size in fig. 1).

Fisher's Red Notebook indicates that as the season progressed he excavated several large mastabas at the north end of Area T (fig. 1). In the survey notes there are sketches of a large niched mastaba near the edge of the escarpment. Prior to the middle of February, Fisher and Reisner changed the numbering system of tombs at Zawiyet el-Aryan. Those on spur A were numbered 1–79, those on hill B (BB in fig. 1) were 80–89, and those on hill C (CC) were 90–100. The "main group" on terrace T were numbered from 101–onwards.³⁹

The diary entry for April 16, partially excerpted by Dunham, ⁴⁰ refers to the stone vessels being removed from Z500. The full entry notes the unfinished condition of many of the vessels, and the badly weathered condition of others, including those with the serekh of Khaba:

The large mud mastaba, which is numbered 500, is still producing fragments. These are carried to the house and are being pieced together as quickly as possible. There are a great number of solid lumps of badly weathered alabaster, some in the shape of cylinders, with rough rims and the central body just begun. Others are simply truncated cones. There are a number of offering tables, three with low stands or bases attached, the rest simply large discs. The best piece is of saccarine alabaster, a deep orange color, and 51 cm. diameter. A series of bowls, plan rims of thick unpolished alabaster, with wide bands of rose color and white large shallow plates of light colored translucent alabaster, and some diorite bowls and plates. The best pieces are four or five white limestone plates (?) with greenish veins (perhaps porphyry, as they are weathered rather badly) with Horus names on each thus —, the bird in the panel being an Ibis with long bill and legs. When we have completed the tomb and have all the

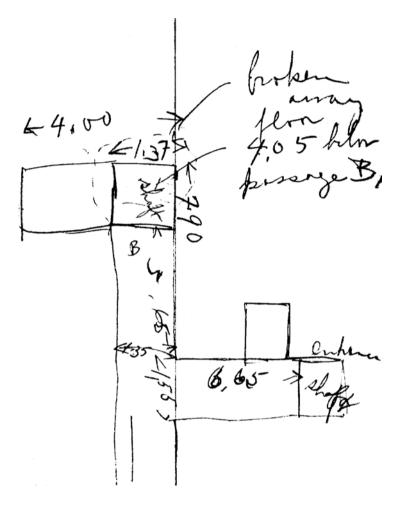
³⁷ Dunham, Zawiyet el-Aryan, fig. A, p. xii.

 $^{^{38}}$ In a brief perusal of the survey notes and sketches, Z500 ("Mastaba 3") appears in sketches of tomb groups in this area. There may be compass and distance measurements that will better fix its size and position.

³⁹ Diary II, pp. 76–77.

⁴⁰ Dunham, Zawiyet el-Arvan, p. 29.

Fig. 5a. Fisher's Red Notebook sketch of substructure of mastaba Z500, April 21, 1911.



pieces, I can more accurately state the number of pieces. There will, however, be a large number of pieces which can never be pieced together. 41

In his Red Notebook entries for April 21, Fisher jotted a few short notes (e.g., "skull,""faience pendant") under the successive headings 506 though 510, apparently for tombs at the north end of Terrace T. Then follows the next information on Z500, under its old designation, "Mastaba 3," namely a sketch of its substructure (fig. 5a here, redrawn in the typed diary as in fig. 5b). This goes along with a written description of the substructure in Fisher's diary entry for April 19:

The work along the terrace has now been finished, including the mastabas and a number of rock shafts, none of which contains anything. . . . The mastaba 500 is nearly completed. From the entrance shaft, which is on the south end, one enters a short passage running W. Near the door, on the right is a small chamber. The passage continues for a few metres and then divides, to the S.

⁴¹ Diary III, typed transcript, p. 32.

Hoon 4.05 helow penage B

1.35

B 35

S 5

S 6.65

The stance

1.35

A 6.65

The stance

1.35

A 6.65

Fig. 5b. Redrawing of fig. 5a from the typed diary.

leading (around a corner) to a small chamber, to the N. extending to a pit 5.00 m deep, from the bottom of which a short passage leads to the W. There is no main chamber. No coffin or trace of burial remained. Slightly to the N.E. of this Tai (?) has come across another large rock pit with a cave which is producing alabaster and diorite fragments. A fragment of plate bearing the same Horus name as those from No. 500.⁴²

It is not clear if the entrance shaft is the southern of the two that Fisher sketched earlier (fig. 4) and which he reported as "entirely empty," or whether this is a new shaft found later. The weathered condition of the vessels inscribed with Khaba's name, and the fact that a fragment inscribed with this name came from another shaft, are worth noting.

The following is the April 22 diary entry:

The contents of Mastaba No. 500 can now be said to be:

18 alabaster cylinders

6 " tables and discs

30 " bowls

5 " plates

45 " blocks, rough

10 diorite bowls

3 porphyry plates and bowls

1 diorite table

7 " squat type pots

⁴² Diary III, pp. 76–77.

5 porphyry (?) inscribed plates

There are also many fragments which may fit into the pieces already sorted out or belong to other shapes. 43

Notes and sketch plans of three other large substructures for tombs 505, 511, and 513 follow in Fisher's Red Notebook for April 26. These may be, with Z500, the "four large mudbrick mastabas of the type common in the late Third Dynasty" that Reisner and Fisher mentioned in their Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin article. ⁴⁴ The large niched mastaba close to the edge of the escarpment and depicted in sketches as part of the survey data may belong to one of these substructures. However, substructure 511 contained multiple burials and the Red Notebook notes and sketches on the contents of this tomb and on the contents of substructure 513 suggest at least the possibility that they were reused in the New Kingdom or Roman period.

There is a final piece of information on Z500 at the end of the Red Notebook. Fisher did a sketch plan of a simple niched recess (fig. 6) labelled "500." A line in front of the recess represents the platform—probably formed of the cross-walls of rough masonry and debris fill mentioned earlier—on which the mastaba was built. Underneath this sketch is written "Buckeet Marad" (one of the workmen?) and, next to an elevation sketch of a bowl, "fine red." Fisher emphasized the rim with a thick dark line so that it could be interpreted as a black band like those on early New Kingdom bowl types. But this is probably the early Old Kingdom round bottom bowl type with a rolled rim. The pot was found upside down in front of the niche, indicated by the circle in the sketch plan. The next page (fig. 6) has sketches of more fragments of jars and an Old Kingdom type of carinated bowl. Fisher's label "500/From Mastaba 3" assures that both designations refer to the same mastaba.

This recess is shown in photograph C 1968 with the upside down pot in front of it. The platform of the mastaba can be seen, as well as the weathered brick masonry of the niche. The photograph is labelled "Mastaba: 3rd niche in N. face, \rightarrow S[outh], C 1968, Apr. 18, 1911" (see fig. 7). C 1968 is pasted on a sheet in the box of collected photographs from Zawiyet el-Aryan. Beside C 1968 is photograph C 1975, labelled with the same date, showing the top of a crude shaft blocked by a large, rounded boulder. The rough masonry of the mastaba foundation platform can be seen at the far right. The label reads "pit, this (or thin?) slab" with an

⁴³ Diary III, pp. 77–78.

⁴⁴ Reisner and Fisher, BMFA 9, p. 59.

⁴⁵ Reisner's type C–LXVIb; G.A. Reisner and W.S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* 2: *The Tomb of Hetep-heres, the Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), p. 83, fig. 116. I thank Peter Lacovara for pointing this out to me.

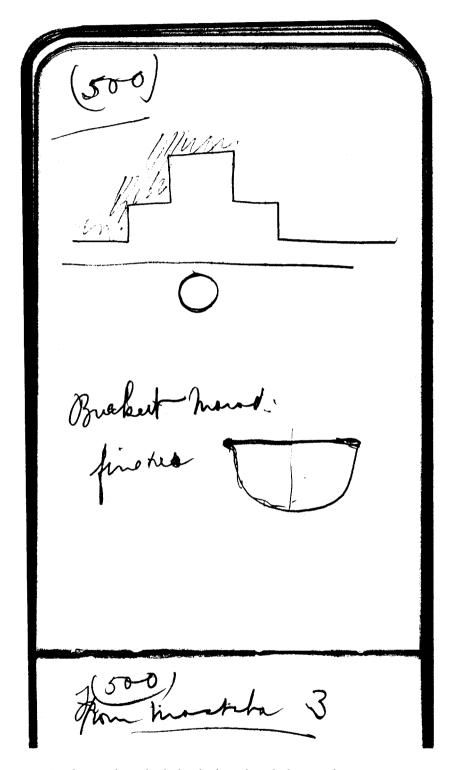


Fig. 6. Fisher's Red Notebook sketch of simple niched recess of mastaba Z500, April 26, 1911.

Fig. 7. Mastaba Z500, third niche in north face, looking south, April 18, 1911 (MFA Expedition negative C 1968).



arrow pointing to the photograph just below of an emptied shaft and a tunnel leading off one side. This must be the entrance shaft of Z500 as described in the notes excerpted above.

Conclusion

It is certain that Z500 is a niched mastaba tomb and not the beginning of a mortuary chapel for the Layer Pyramid. This may not diminish the possibility that the Layer Pyramid was built for a king Khaba. Given the impression that the pyramid was not used for a burial, ⁴⁶ one could speculate that Khaba was buried in Z500, one of the few northern mastabas of his time at Zawiyet el-Aryan. More certain, however, are the examples of stone vessels inscribed with royal names found in nonroyal tombs. Among the other examples known to him, Reisner included the inscribed vessels of Khaba from Z500 as a member of this class, with the presumption that the inscribed names would have been those of reigning kings who gave the vessels to their subordinates. As he pointed out, when inscribed stone vessels are found among other stone vessels in royal mortuary temples, the royal names are those of pre-

⁴⁶ Reisner, Development of the Egyptian Tomb, p. 136; Lauer, Histoire monumentale 1, p. 209.

decessors of the king for whom the temple was built, as in the examples of vessels from the pyramid temples of Khafre, Menkaure, Sahure, Neferirkare, Niuserre, ⁴⁷ and the preponderance of vessels inscribed with royal names from the enormous cache found in the Netjerykhet Step Pyramid. ⁴⁸

Thus the inscribed vessels from the substructure of Z500, and possibly from a shaft just to the northeast of Z500, could have been gifts to the owner of this mastaba from the king for whom the Layer Pyramid was begun, one caveat being the lack of any evidence of the burial in Z500. Another point of concern is the unfinished, broken, and weathered condition of some of the vessels, a point that makes the objects worth a reexamination. Further discussion of the role of the manufacture and recycling of royal stone vessels must be kept for another forum. A discussion of Zawiyet el-Aryan as an example of a royal pyramid complex built in proximity to, or subsuming, an older cemetery must also be kept for the future, after the map of the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts excavations at Zawiyet el-Aryan is plotted.



 $^{^{\}rm 47}$ G.A. Reisner, Mycerinus. The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza (Cambridge, MA, 1931), pp. 102–103, 179.

⁴⁸ P. Lacau and J.P. Lauer, *La Pyramide à degrés* 4: *Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, 2 fascicles (Cairo, 1959–61).

A Late Middle Kingdom Stela in a Private Collection



RONALD J. LEPROHON

T IS WITH GENUINE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE THAT I DEDICATE THIS short article to William Kelly Simpson, who not only has been very kind toward me for many years but also gave me an opportunity to study the stelae in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, many years ago. Hence, I thought it appropriate to offer him a study of a new stela in a volume presented in his honor.

During a visit to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, I was shown a stela belonging to a private collector. I wish to thank the owner of the stela, who wishes to remain anonymous, for permission to publish the piece, and Professor N.B. Millet, Curator of the Egyptian Department at the Royal Ontario Museum, for bringing the stela to my attention (see figs. 1–2).

DESCRIPTION

The rectangular limestone stela is generally in good condition; the surface was carefully prepared and is smooth and even. There is some chipping at the top left corner, and a break on the lower left, by the chair and the owner's legs and feet, has been repaired. Parts of the stela have been resurfaced with plaster in modern times. The colors red, black, blue, green, and yellow are visible. The design and the hieroglyphs are done in sunk relief. The actual stone measures 57.2 cm by 41.5 cm, and is 4.4 cm thick. However, the measurements of the design itself are noteworthy. The whole of the representation, from the top of the *kheker*-frieze to the lower horizontal incised and painted frame below the figures measures 52 cm, which is one cubit, while the distance below the *kheker*-frieze and the bottom of the lower frame is 44.7 cm,

¹ Photograph by A. Hollet, Royal Ontario Museum; drawing by B.E. Ibronyi.

² Not an unusual length for a stela; see the remarks by William Kelly Simpson, "The Steward Iey's Son Anhurhotpe in Vienna (Stela Inv. 90) and the Reisner Papyri," *SAK* 11 (1984), p. 161. On the cubit and its divisions, see Susan K. Doll, *Egypt's Golden Age. The Art of Living in the New Kingdom*, *1558–1085 B.C.* (Boston, 1982), p. 59, and the references there.



Fig. 1. A late Middle Kingdom stela in a private collection. Photograph by A. Hollet.

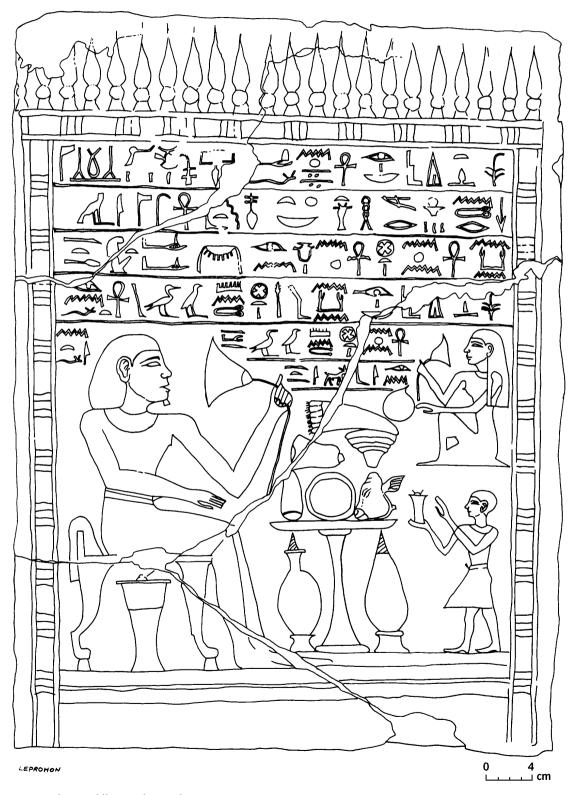


Fig. 2. A late Middle Kingdom stela in a private collection. Drawing by B.E. Ibronyi.

which is a short cubit (6 palms); the *kheker*-frieze itself is 7.4 cm, which is 1 palm; the first two registers of text measure 3.4 cm while the last two measure 3.5 cm, which are short spans of 2 fingers; and the lower scene with the figures measures 26.2 cm, which is close to half a cubit.

The *kheker*-frieze at the top, the round ties of which are painted red, is outlined in black. Below that, and framing the top and sides of the representation, is a border of colored rectangles painted red, save for the upper right corner rectangle, which is blue. The incised horizontal lines that frame this design show traces of blue paint in the cuts, while the short vertical incised lines that separate the red rectangles are black. Below this are four horizontal registers of text. The background for this section shows traces of yellow color, while the individual signs are painted green, much of which is preserved. The incised cuts that divide the four registers of text are black.

The text, done in the customary rightward orientation, consists of two offering formulas and an additional caption. These read:

(1) An offering that the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Ankh-tawy, that he may give invocation-offerings of [bread] and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster (vessels) and cloth, (2) incense and oil, and everything good and pure on which a god lives, (3) for the spirit of the Soldier of the Town Regiment Ankh-ib born of Dedet-Nebu true-of-voice.

(4) An offering that the king gives (to) Osiris, lord <of Abydos², for the spirit of the Commander in Chief of the Local Regiment Sa-Montu repeating life, born of It-en-itef.

³ A finger is 3.8 cm. One can easily imagine a craftsman with a wooden cubit rod that has notched, or even painted, markers for the various measurements; quick markings on the stone on his part may produce short or long measurements, depending on the width of his cubit rod's markers.

⁴ The upper left corner rectangle shows no trace of paint today.

⁵ The one exception is the last part of the name It-en-itef, where, because the background color was not prepared in yellow below the text register, the n-it = f portion of the name appears in blue.

⁶ For the epithet, see especially Hartwig Altenmüller, *LÄ* I (Wiesbaden, 1973), cols. 266–67; Joachim Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos: Studien zum ägyptischen Synkretismus* (Wiesbaden, 1973), pp. 16–23, and the convenient list of references given on p. 174.

⁷ The surface of the stone to the right of the *prt-hrw* group, where the bread loaf hieroglyph might have been engraved, is chipped and has been repaired with plaster in modern times.

⁸ Ranke, PN I, 62:23.

⁹ Ranke, PN I, 403:14.

¹⁰ Ranke, PN I, 282:7.

¹¹ Ranke, PN I. 50:21.

And before the seated man:

The Soldier of the Town Regiment, Sa-Montu true-of-voice, (2) born of Ibi 12 true-of-voice.

Below this is a scene where three people are shown. At the left is the seated figure of a man facing right. He wears a short bag wig that leaves his ears uncovered, the inside of which is outlined in blue. His face is outlined in red while his small beard, eyebrow, and the outline of the eye are black; there is also red paint in the corner and the inside lower edge of the eye. His collar is green and his skin is outlined in red. He wears a short kilt, which is also outlined in red. His right hand extends toward the offering table before him and his left holds a lotus flower up to his nose; the flower is outlined in blue and the stem is also blue. He is seated on a low-backed chair; its seat and cushion are outlined in red, while its animal's legs, which are painted black, rest on truncated coneshaped limestone supports outlined in red. Under the chair is a tall alabaster jar painted red with a black string seal at the top.

Before him is a table of offerings outlined in red and piled with, from bottom to top and left to right, a conical and a round loaf of bread, a calf's head, a red leg of beef, ribs, leeks, and a blue-painted fig. Save for the fig and the leg of beef, all the offerings are outlined in red, with some black details. Under the table are two tall jars on stands, painted red except for the clay cone sealings on their tops, which show diagonal incised stripes painted black; the sealing on the left does not cover the rim of the jar.

On the right are two figures. At the top is a woman seated facing left, with one knee raised. Her left arm rests on her knee while her right holds a blue lotus flower to her nose. She wears a long black wig, through which the outline of her shoulder and arms can be seen, 17 a green collar, and she is outlined in red.

¹² Ranke, PN I, 20:7.

¹³ Note the two proper feminine forms of the adjective "true" for the women's names.

¹⁴ On the motif of the lotus flower and its connotations of rebirth, see especially Philippe Derchain, "Le lotus, la mandragore et le perséa," *CdE* 50 (1975), pp. 65–86; Michel Malaise, "La position de la femme sur les stèles du Moyen Empire," *SAK* 5 (1977), pp. 189–91; and Gay Robins, "Problems in Interpreting Egyptian Art," *DE* 17 (1990), pp. 50–51.

¹⁵ On these, see Edward Brovarski, "A Stela of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr," *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 18 (1983), p. 5.

¹⁶ Note the slit for the eye, as opposed to the more customary open-eyed design; cf. stelae CG 20054 and 20737, and MFA 72.768 (= Ronald J. Leprohon, *CAA MFA Boston 2 Stelae* 1 [Mainz, 1985], p. 2,8) for similar treatments of the calf's eye.

¹⁷ Curiously, the outline of the woman's raised leg can also be seen through her dress.

On the lower right, a servant stands, facing left. His hair is short, his skin red, and he wears a stiff projecting kilt, which is outlined in red. Both arms are raised toward the stela owner, and his right hand holds a tall alabaster jar painted red with black sealing string. A black base line under the servant figure and the offerings probably represents a mat. The entire scene is bordered at the bottom by a red band at the top and a yellow band at the bottom, the incised framing lines of which are black.

COMMENTARY

DATING

The design at the top of the stela helps in determining a date in the late Middle Kingdom for the piece, as the *kheker*-frieze is typical of late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty stelae. Some iconographic details also place the stela within the period of the late Middle Kingdom: the man's bag wig, with exposed ears, occurs most frequently during the reigns of Amenemhat III and IV; the motif of a man smelling a lotus flower appears first during the reign of Amenemhat III but attains its greatest popularity during the reign of Amenemhat III; and the woman shown squatting, with one knee drawn up, is mostly found in the reign of Amenemhat III.

The terminology of the offering formula also points to the same date. The relevant features are the introductory phrase written in the standard Middle Kingdom, but pre-Dynasty Fourteen, fashion; the writing of the divine name Osiris without a determinative, and with a stroke under the eye; the epithet *nb 'nh tswy* for Osiris; the verb *dief* in the phrase *dief prt-hrw*, "that he may give (invocation-offerings);" the inverted hoe sign in the word *mrḥt*; and the epithet *wḥm-'nh* applied to the deceased, a designation that is first met in the Sinai inscriptions in the reign of Amenemhat III. These criteria suggest a date

¹⁸ See William Kelly Simpson's remarks in "Acquisitions in Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1970–71," *The Connoisseur* 179:720 (1972), p. 116; cf. also stela Fitzwilliam E.207 (= Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* [Cambridge, 1988], cat. no. 39, p. 50), from the reign of Amenemhat III onward.

¹⁹ Rita E. Freed, "Representation and Style of Dated Private Stelae of Dynasty XII" (Master's thesis, New York University, 1976), p. 59.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²² Paul C. Smither, "The Writing of *htp-di-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms," *JEA* 25 (1939), pp. 34–37; Gloria Rosati, "Note e proposte per la datazione delle stele del Medio Regno," *Or Ant* 19 (1980), p. 271.

²³ C.J.C. Bennett, "Growth of the *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom," *JEA* 27 (1941), pp. 27–28.

in the reign of Amenemhat III at the earliest, and perhaps as late as early Dynasty Thirteen.

Provenance

Given the use of the epithet Lord of Ankh-tawy for Osiris, ²⁹ and that so many stelae from the late Middle Kingdom come from Abydos, it is most likely that our stela comes from that site.

TITLES

The two titles 'nh n niwt, "Soldier of the Town Regiment," and ½w '3 (n) niwt, "Commander in Chief of the Local Regiment," are well known military designations. The ranking between the two titles is made clear by the full *cursus honorum* of the famous Khu-(wi)-Sobek of the

²⁴ For the same writing, see, e.g., stelae Rio de Janeiro 2435 (= Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro* [Warminster, 1988], cat. no. 1); Bologna KS 1904 (= Edda Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archaeologico di Bologna* [Bologna, 1985], cat. no. 3); Stuttgart no. 11 (= W. Spiegelberg and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen* 1 [Strassburg, 1902], pl. 7); and Vienna ÄS 111, 152, and 160 (= Irmgard Hein and Helmut Satzinger, *CAA Wien* 7. *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* 2 [Mainz, 1993], pp. 7,49, 7,75, and 7,86 respectively), all from the time of Amenemhat III or later.

²⁵ C.J.C. Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–81; *idem*, "Motifs and phrases on funerary stelae of the later Middle Kingdom," *JEA* 44 (1958), p. 121; Winfried Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, 1968), p. 74; Joachim Spiegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 21; Janine Bourriau, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Cf. also stelae Vienna ÄS 97, 103, and 115 (= Irmgard Hein and Helmut Satzinger, *CAA Wien* 4. *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* 1 [Mainz, 1989], pp. 4,8, 4,12, and 4,32 respectively), all from the late Twelfth, or early Thirteenth Dynasty.

 $^{^{26}}$ C.J.C. Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), pp. 77–78, where the examples grow more numerous toward the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

²⁷ An epigraphic irregularity not uncommonly seen on stelae from the late Middle Kingdom. See stelae BM 827 (= *BM Stelae* II:30) and UC 14416 (= H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae*, *Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*. Part 2 [Warminster, 1979], pl. 26:4) for the same anomaly, and the remarks by Saphinaz-Amal Naguib in "A Middle Kingdom Stela in Oslo," *CdE* 55 (1980), pp. 17–22, regarding stela Oslo EM 2383.

²⁸ See the references given by Oleg D. Berlev, review of H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae*, *Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*. Part 2, in *Bi Or* 38 (1981), p. 319, and Gloria Rosati, *op. cit.*, p. 277, to which add stelae Vienna ÄS 133, 191 (= Hein and Satzinger, *CAA Wien* 4. *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* 1, pp. 4,39, 4,145), ÄS 160 (= *idem, CAA Wien* 7. *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* 2, p. 7,86), and BM 238 (= *BM Stelae* III:15), all from the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty.

²⁹ Joachim Spiegel, op. cit., p. 17; Janine Bourriau, op. cit., p. 48.

³⁰ See Oleg D. Berlev, "Les prétendus "citadins" au Moyen Empire," *RdE* 23 (1971), pp. 23–48; Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, *op. cit.*, p. 17, n. 3; William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles in the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), no. 695, p. 84; Detlef Franke, "Die Stele Inv. Nr. 4405 im Landesmuseum in Oldenburg. Zur Lebensmittelproduktion in der 13. Dynastie," *SAK* 10 (1983), pp. 167–68; Stephen Quirke, "The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom," *RdE* 37 (1986), p. 122, no. 604; and Pierre-Marie Chevereau, "Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires du Moyen Empire," *RdE* 42 (1991), pp. 64–68.

late Twelfth Dynasty, as detailed on his various inscriptions. These state that he was promoted from a simple 'hswty, "private," to *smsw n hqs, "Bodyguard of the Ruler," and shd *smsw, "Supervisor of the Bodyguards;" then to *stw 's n niwt, "Commander in Chief of the Local Regiment," which is the final title given on his Manchester stela and the only important one listed on stela BM 1213; to, finally, *stw n tt hqs, "Commander of the Crew of the Ruler," a title found only on his graffito from Semna, when Khu-(wi)-Sobek must have been well advanced in age. From this list, and notwithstanding the fact that Khu-(wi)-Sobek does not seem to have ever been an 'nh n niwt," it seems clear that an *stw 's n niwt held the higher rank. Thus, the *stw 's (n) niwt Sa-montu of the present stela was superior in rank to the simple 'nh n niwt Ankh-ib.

Personal Data

A search for the two men has proven inconclusive so far. One possible identification is another 'nh n nìwt named Ankh-ib found on stela Geneva D 51. Unfortunately, the Ankh-ib of the Geneva stela is given no filiation to support definite identification with our Ankh-ib, and his position on the Geneva piece, on the lower left, facing away from most of the figures on the stela, makes it difficult to establish his own relationship with the group of people named on the stela. Another possible connection between our stela and Geneva D 51 is that the latter belongs to a man named Iri-nefer, who happens to be a priest of Montu. Since the priests of a given divinity were likely to beseech that particular deity for children, it is possible, though unprovable, that our ½ (n) nìwt Sa-Montu might also belong to this extended family.

The ownership of the stela presents a few problems. The fact that a stela is dedicated to two individuals is not in itself rare. What is noteworthy, however, is the order of the two men within the text. The first and more elaborate offering formula is dedicated to the 'nh n nìwt Ankhib, but the second-named person, Sa-Montu, is then not only named

³¹ For full references, see Detlef Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1984), dossier no. 455; Pierre-Marie Chevereau, *op. cit.*, p. 66, no. 172.

³² A title lower in rank than an 'nh n nìwt; see Stephen Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom* (New Malden, 1990), p. 192.

³³ R.I.S. 1 (= Dows Dunham and Jozef M.A. Janssen, *Semna Kumma*. *Second Cataract Forts* 1 [Boston, 1960], p. 131).

 $^{^{34}}$ Contra Svetlana I. Hodjash and Oleg D. Berlev, "Several Middle Kingdom Stelae of the Moscow Fine Arts Museum," *AoF* 3 (1975), p. 10.

³⁵ A. Wiedemann and B. Pörtner, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus verschiedenen Sammlungen (Strassburg, 1906), pl. 3.

³⁶ Cf. the two people named Montu-hotpe and Sat-Montu on stela Geneva D 51.

twice, once within the main body of the text and once in a caption, but is also given two titles, the second of which, as noted above, implies a promotion. Because of the position of the caption before the man's face in the lower register, one can then presume that this is Sa-Montu, and that he is, in fact, the main owner of the stela.

Given the design of the stela, with its *kheker*-frieze representing the top of a building, it is possible that the piece formed part of the rear wall of a chapel that would have contained other stelae, with a complete list of names belonging to the extended family and possibly a number of colleagues. If this was the case, the chapel and its group of stelae would have given full information on the relationships between the various individuals, and the peculiar arrangement seen here would then have been fully understood.



³⁷ Cf., e.g., stelae CG 20057, 20087, 20088, 20122, 20242, 20275 (two women here), and 20284; Chicago Field Museum of Natural History no. 31672 (= Thomas G. Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in the Field Museum of Natural History* [Chicago, 1936], p. 20); and UC 14428, 14562, 14416, and 14360 (two women) (= H.M. Stewart, *op.cit.*., pls. 25:1, 25:3, 26:4, and 34:2 respectively). I owe these references to Ms. Jennifer E. Hellum.

 $^{^{38}}$ But note that in the caption identifying him, he is given his less significant title, perhaps out of deference to his colleague Ankh-ib.

³⁹ See the remarks by William Kelly Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–17. Cf. also stela Fitzwilliam E.207 (= Janine Bourriau, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 39, pp. 50–51), which has a similar design at the top and is also part of a group chapel (= William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* [New Haven, 1974], ANOC 56, pl. 77; Detlef Franke, *op. cit.*, dossier no. 83).

Loyalty to the King, to God, to oneself



Antonio Loprieno

Nan to His Son," constitutes one of the most complex textual genres of Middle Kingdom literature. The basic philological work for the former text has been provided by Kuentz and Posener and enriched by a variety of specific contributions; in the case of the latter, the reconstruction is still incomplete, but a detailed edition by Fischer-Elfert is about to appear. Moreover, monographic studies have stressed the relevance of loyalistic literature within the frame of Middle Kingdom culture as a whole as well as of the significance of this genre within the

¹ "Deux versions d'un panégyrique royal," in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), pp. 97–110; idem, "A propos de quelques ostraca égyptiens: un nouveau recueil de préceptes du Moyen Empire," *CRAIBL* 1931, pp. 321–28.

² L'Enseignement loyaliste. Sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire, Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie II, Hautes Études Orientales 5 (Genève, 1976). When quoting this text, I will follow Posener's edition.

³ Most importantly W.K. Simpson, "Mentuhotep, Vizier of Sesostris I, Patron of Art and Architecture," *MDAIK* 47 (1991), pp. 331–40. For a list of specific contributions see A. Roccati, *Sapienza egizia*, Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico I/4 (Brescia, 1994), pp. 89–90.

⁴ H. Goedicke, "Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn," ZÄS 94 (1967), pp. 62–71; K. Kitchen, "Studies in Egyptian Wisdom Literature, I. The Instruction by a Man for His Son," OrAnt 8 (1969), pp. 189-208; idem, "Studies in Egyptian Wisdom Literature II. Counsels of Discretion (oMichaelides 16)," OrAnt 9 (1970), pp. 203-10; E. Blumenthal, "Eine neue Handschrift der 'Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn' (pBerlin 14374)," in Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 8 (Berlin, 1974), pp. 55-66; A. Roccati, "Tra i papiri torinesi," OrAnt 14 (1975), p. 245, 7; J. Osing, "Vier Ostraka aus Giza," MDAIK 33 (1977), pp. 109-11; G. Fecht, "Schicksalsgöttinnen und König in der 'Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn'," ZÄS 105 (1978), pp. 14-42; J.L. Foster, "Texts of the Egyptian Composition 'The Instruction of a Man for His Son' in the Oriental Institute Museum," JNES 45 (1986), pp. 197–211; W. Helck, Die Lehre des Djedefhor und die Lehre eines Vaters an seinen Sohn, Kleine Ägyptische Texte (Wiesbaden, 1984); G. Posener, "L'enseignement d'un homme à son fils," in E. Hornung - O. Keel, eds., Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren, OBO 28 (Freiburg-Göttingen, 1979), pp. 307-16; idem, "Pour la reconstitution de l'Enseignement d'un homme à son fils," RdE 36 (1985), pp. 115-19; H. Fischer-Elfert, "Zum bisherigen Textbestand der 'Lehre eines Mannes an seinen Sohn'," OrAnt 27 (1988), pp. 173-209; E. Blumenthal, "Zur Wiederherstellung zweier ägyptischer Weisheitstexte," OLZ 87 (1992), pp. 229-36; Roccati, Sapienza egizia, pp. 97-98.

⁵ G. Posener, Littérature et politique dans l'Egypte de la XII^e Dynastie (Paris, 1956), pp. 117–40.

history of Egyptian private religiosity.

However, loyalistic literature has not yet experienced an adequate treatment within the new approach to the study of Egyptian literary texts which now prevails in the wake of a general scholarly shift in the humanities from the "fragmentary" to the "detailed" perspective, i.e., from the attention devoted to each document of the past as a piece of the puzzle represented by the entire contemporary civilization to its analysis as a potential indicator of the main features of the society that produced it: rather than privileging the analysis of Egyptian literary compositions in the light of contemporary non-literary evidence, scholars have become increasingly interested in their intrinsic degree of "literariness," i.e., in the formal and intellectual features that characterize Egyptian literary discourse as a vehicle of Egyptian culture. In the case of loyalistic literature, the reasons for this delay in investigating its discourse features are twofold: on the one hand, the problems caused by the philological fragmentation of the two texts, the first of which is known from only one Middle Kingdom epigraphic text, the stela of Sehetepibre, and by several New Kingdom papyri and ostraca which display a rather expanded version, whereas the second can be expected to be reconstructed for the first time only in Fischer-Elfert's editio princeps; on the other hand, a tendency by scholars to follow Posener's interpretation of loyalistic texts, as well as of other genres of Middle Kingdom literature, as a form of propaganda in defense of the political restoration of a centralized state after the destabilizing experience of the First Intermediate Period. Thus, the study of loyalistic instructions touches on methodological issues which have been clarified by William Kelly Simpson's insightful observations, ¹¹ and I am privileged to dedicate to him the following somewhat heterodox discussion.

⁶ J. Assmann, "Weisheit, Loyalismus und Frömmigkeit," in *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, pp. 11–73.

⁷ O. Calabrese, *L'età neobarocca*, Sagittari Laterza 8 (Bari, 1987), pp. 73–95.

⁸ For the Egyptological use of this concept see J. Assmann, Ägypten. Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur, Urban-Taschenbücher 366 (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 192ff.; idem, Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten (Munich, 1990), pp. 49–50.

⁹ See A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis. Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur*, ÄgAbh 48 (Wiesbaden, 1988), pp. 1–13.

 $^{^{10}\,\}mathrm{For}$ a recent contribution to the problem of propaganda in Middle Kingdom literature see C.A. Thériault, "The Instruction of Amenemhet as Propaganda," JARCE 30 (1993), pp. 151–60.

¹¹ See his contribution "Belles lettres and Propaganda in Ancient Egyptian Texts," in A. Loprieno, ed., Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms. Probleme der Ägyptologie (Leiden, forthcoming).

§ I LITERARY DISCOURSE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

As I suggested above, a crucial debate in contemporary Egyptology revolves around the presence, absence, or conditions for the emergence of an autonomous literary discourse in Ancient Egypt. It is obvious that all textual genres may be sources of equally fundamental importance for the reconstruction of the historical environments or of the religious attitudes within which a dialogue occurred between author and text on the one hand and text and readership on the other. In this respect, "cultural texts"—to use an expression coined by Assmann—are historically more informative for what they reveal implicitly than for what they assert explicitly. Symmetrically, many Egyptian texts will display a combination of aesthetic elegance and prosodic devices regardless of the discourse to which they belong, and to a certain extent also regardless of the nature of the conveyed information. 12 But what makes literary texts deserving of a discrete treatment is their *primary* function, which, if we are to adopt Jakobson's terminology, 13 can be described as "poetic," i.e., autoreferentially oriented towards the message itself, as shown for example by the colophon formula iw=fpwh3, t=frph.wi=fi "So it goes from its beginning to its end," in which the literary text itself is anaphorically referred to by the third person pronouns, as opposed, to give some examples at random, to "referential" mathematical or medical treatises (ir q3°=f st mwt=f pw ir [°m=f] st °nh=f pw "If he vomits it, it means that he will die; if he swallows it, it means that he will live" 15, "metalinguistic" mythological glosses and aetiologies (*ir sf wsir pw* "As for 'yesterday,' it means 'Osiris'"), "conative" royal decrees (wd-nzw), "emotive" workers' utterances in Old Kingdom tombs (mk wi hr=s mry=i "I am right on it, my beloved"), or "phatic" greetings (i.ndhr=k).

¹² See the discussion in J. Assmann, "Schrift, Tod und Identität. Das Grab als Vorschule der Literatur im alten Ägypten," in A. Assmann, J. Assmann and Chr. Hardmeier, eds., Schrift und Gedächtnis, Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation 1 (Munich, 1983), pp. 64–93.

 $^{^{13}}$ R. Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in Th. A. Sebeok, ed., $\it Style$ in Language (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 350–77.

¹⁴ The example is from Sin. B 311.

¹⁵ pRamesseum IV C 18–19.

¹⁶ CT IV 193b

¹⁷ A. Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara*, University of California Occasional Papers 11: Archaeology (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1978), fig. 36.

In a hermeneutic approach to Ancient Egyptian texts, 18 the poetic function of literary texts is conveyed by the concomitant presence of three dimensions: (1) *Fictionality* as the creation of a mutual solidarity or complicity between the author and his model reader to the effect that the representation of the world in the text need not coincide with factual reality and no sanctions apply in the case of discrepancy. In a perspective drawn from contemporary theory of reception, one might call this dimension poiesis. [2] Intertextuality as the internal dialogue between texts, which are never wholly original authorial creations, but rather the inevitable result of a dynamic "universe of texts" in dialectic interrelation. The "cathartic" filter 22 provided by the dialogue between texts is responsible for the emergence of codified textual genres as well the fixation of rules for the assertion or the deletion of authorship, for example by means of pseudepigraphy. 23 (3) Reception as the evidence for the existence of an audience for these author-text-reader dialectics, i.e., of a readership of the aesthetic text within Egypt's cultural history itself. It is through the concomitant presence of these three textual qualities in specific sets of texts, in our case loyalistic wisdom, that we can infer the presence in Ancient Egypt 24 of an autonomous literary discourse distinct from non-literary textual genres.

§ 2 LOYALISTIC LITERATURE BETWEEN SOCIETAL AND INDIVIDUAL CONCERNS

If one adopts the model just described, it is very doubtful that such a

 $^{^{18}}$ J. Weinsheimer, $\it Philosophical$ $\it Hermeneutics$ and $\it Literary$ $\it Theory$ (New Haven, 1991), pp. 1–23.

¹⁹ I have dealt with this problem more extensively in an article entitled "Defining Egyptian Texts: Ancient Texts and Modern Literary Theory," in J. Cooper, ed., *The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference* (Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

²⁰ U. Eco, Lector in fabula. La cooperazione interpretativa nei testi narrativi (Milano, 1979).

²¹ H.R. Jauß, Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 955 (Frankfurt, 1991), pp. 103–24.

²² Jauß, Ästhetische Erfahrung, pp. 165–91.

²³ See B. van de Walle, La transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens (Brussels, 1948), pp. 35–37. See also M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings, vol. 1 (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 6ff. Pseudepigraphy allows the author not to appear as "assertor" of the text: see Assmann, in Schrift und Gedächtnis, p. 89.

²⁴ A similar perspective is now also adopted in the analysis of literary discourse in Classical antiquity: see G. Cavallo, P. Fedeli, A Giardina, eds., *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica* (Rome, 1989–91): I. La produzione del testo; II. La circolazione del testo; IV. L'attualizzazione del testo. In our case, because of the absence of a continuous dialogue with Egyptian literature between late antiquity and the birth of modern Egyptology, this latter aspect of the "actualization" of Egyptian literature is necessarily underdeveloped.

complex category of referentially fictional, intertextually dynamic, and intraculturally transmitted texts emerges in Egypt before the Middle Kingdom. 25 The frequent references to the Old Kingdom and especially to the First Intermediate Kingdom in the texts of classical literature tend to create a "mythical" age whose intellectual values represent the horizon from which the literary author draws his symbolic models. Whether the origin of Egyptian literary discourse has to be sought in the funerary sphere or not, 26 there can be little doubt that the autobiographies of the late Old Kingdom officials 2/ represent the point of departure of two textual forms which, once decontextualized from the Sitz im Leben of the commemoration of the single individual to the level of a collective cultural experience, acquire the status of literary genres. These two genres are wisdom texts, which expand the motives of the so-called "ideal autobiographies" and convey the ideological expectations of Egyptian society in the form of instructions addressed to its officials, and narrative literature, ultimately related to the structure of "career autobiographies," in which the fictional representation of reality acquires the form of an individual response to these expectations. 29 From its onset, the autobiographical genre expresses through a rhythm of different styles (poetry vs. prose, ethical vs. narrative sections) the tension of late Old Kingdom society between social expectations and individual achievement. This tension will become the crucial feature of fictional discourse, especially in a society in which even the elite is likely to remain at a relatively low level of individual emancipation. Instructions and tales represent the two opposite answers to the challenge inherent to the controversy between social and personal sphere: wisdom literature represents the compliance with ideology, narrative literature the

²⁵ Here I share the interpretation offered by J. Assmann, "Schrift, Tod und Identität. Das Grab als Vorschule der Literatur im alten Ägypten," in A. Assmann – J. Assmann – Chr. Hardmeier (eds.), *Schrift und Gedächtnis*, Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation 1 (Munich, 1983), pp. 64–93; the more traditional opinion is presented by H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Weisheit. Lehren für das Leben* (Zurich–Munich, 1988), pp. 45–61.

²⁶ See the discussion by S. Quirke, *Discussions in Egyptology* 16 (1990), p. 93 in his review of Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*.

²⁷ M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom*, OBO 48 (Freiburg, 1988).

²⁸ J. Assmann, "Stein und Zeit. Das monumentale Gedächtnis der altägyptischen Kultur," in J. Assmann – T. Hölscher, eds., Kultur und Gedächtnis, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 724 (Frankfurt, 1988), pp. 87–114; Loprieno, Topos und Mimesis, p. 33.

²⁹ Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, pp. 1–21.

³⁰ J. Assmann, "Sepulkrale Selbstthematisierung im Alten Ägypten," in A. Hahn – V. Kapp, eds., Selbstthematisierung und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 643 (Frankfurt, 1987), pp. 213–21.

rise of the human hero.

Rather than alternative archetypes in rigid opposition, however, these two genres represent the poles—which I conventionally labeled topos and mimesis—of a textual continuum in which one finds a variety of gradual solutions: if prototypical "Teachings" describe the conditions for a smooth social integration of the Middle Kingdom individual, who can be the intellectual (as in "Instruction of Ptahhotep"), but also the fictional king (as in the "Instruction for Merikare^e"), in the "Lamentations" the author's own world view is more explicitly released through a reading post eventum of a depressed political present against the background of the ordered past (as in the "Admonitions of Ipu-wer"), of the individual meditation on tragedy (as in the "Complaints of Khakheperre'seneb"), ³² or of the prospect of a redressed future (as in the "Prophecy of Neferti"). ³³ To this first intermediate position away from the static topos toward the dynamicity of mimesis, one in which the individual questioning of societal expectations is wrapped, as it were, in a formal recognition of their validity, I would also ascribe loyalistic literature, a genre in which the king is presented as the main addressee of individual loyalty. A further stage on this hierarchy from the social towards the personal sphere of concerns is detectable in texts such as the "Dialogue of a Man and his Ba" and the "Eloquent Peasant," in which the authors investigate the existential limits of post mortem salvation—the Ba—or of the political order of society—Ma^cat. ³⁴ At the other end of the spectrum, the narrative literature of "Sinuhe" or the "Shipwrecked Sailor" portrays a mimetic reality in which the excellence of the hero becomes the paradigm of human success.

To judge from the internal history of reception, it was "topical" literature which enjoyed in Egypt the highest recognition as a textual genre. However, the fact that I prefer to characterize the narrative

³¹ F. Junge, "Die Welt der Klagen," in J. Assmann et al., eds., Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 275–84; J. Assmann, "Die Klagen des Mittleren Reiches," in Stein und Zeit. Mensch und Gesellschaft im Alten Ägypten (Munich, 1991), pp. 260–71; P. Seibert, Die Charakteristik. Untersuchungen zu einer ägyptischen Sprechsitte und ihren Ausprägungen in Folklore und Literatur, ÄgAbh 17 (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 11–54; W. Schenkel, "Sonst-Jetzt. Variationen eines literarischen Formelements," WdO 15 (1984), pp. 51–61.

³² See the expression ½½ nì ½ "intellectual investigation" in the "Complaints of Kha'kheperre'seneb" (I, 2), one of the foremost representatives of this literary genre: B.G. Ockinga, "The Burden of Kha'kheperre'sonbu," *IEA* 69 (1983), pp. 88–95.

³³ E. Blumenthal, "Die Prophezeiung des Neferti," ZÄS 109 (1982), pp. 1–27.

³⁴ J. Assmann, Ma^cat. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten (Munich, 1990), pp. 58–91.

³⁵ According to the model of N. Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, 1957).

genre by the very technical term, *mimesis*, which in the history of literary analysis specifically defines the connection between the work of art and its non-artistic referent, implies that I take the latter to be the privileged vehicle of individually authorial, rather than socially authoritative literature. As has been pointed out, punctual innovation in Egypt seldom became generalized inauguration, and the rules of decorum allowed for personal leeway only within the frame of a formal adherence to the sociopolitical context. Therefore, being potentially more subversive, narrative literature was on the one hand less likely to become "classical," on the other hand closer to the aesthetic standards of *mimesis* in the Western sense.

§ 3 FICTIONALITY IN LOYALISTIC LITERATURE

The complicity between author and reader which characterizes fictionality is displayed in loyalistic literature by a series of three semantic neutralizations of potentially conflicting spheres:

(1) *Anonymity*. In general, while it is relatively easy to see how a name like *Z3-nh.t* ("Son-of-the-sycamore") evidently alludes to the hathoric dimensions of the tale 42 and to the privileged relationship between the hero and the queen, 43 the fact of *not* naming the "Shipwrecked Sailor" projects the hero and his tale into the realm of the "imaginary;" in this case, the text is not only fictional in the sense that it creates between author and reader a solidarity that neutralizes referentiality, but it also posits a world in which basic conventions of

³⁶ J. Baines, "Interpreting Sinuhe," *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 31–44; idem, "Interpreting the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor," *JEA* 76 (1990), pp. 55–72; Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, pp. 41–59; idem, "The Sign of Literature in the Shipwrecked Sailor," in U. Verhoeven – E. Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65.Geburtstag am 24.Juli 1991, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 39 (Leuven, 1991), pp. 209–17.*

³⁷ Brunner, Altägyptische Weisheit, pp. 11–98.

³⁸ See Weinsheimer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics and Literary Theory*, pp. 77–78. See also E.A. Schmidt, "Historische Typologie der Orientierungsfunktionen von Kanon in der griechischen und römischen Literatur," in A. Assmann – J. Assmann, eds., *Kanon und Zensur*. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation 2 (Munich, 1987), pp. 252–53.

 $^{^{39}}$ J. Assmann, "Gibt es eine 'Klassik' in der ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte? Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Ramessidenzeit," in *ZDMG*, *Supplement VI* (Stuttgart, 1985), p. 51.

 $^{^{40}}$ For the usefulness of this concept in exploring and explaining Egyptian cultural phenomena see J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster, 1985), pp. 277–305.

⁴¹ See F. Martinez-Bonati, Fictive Discourse and the Structures of Literature. A Phenomenological Approach (Ithaca, 1981); Schmidt, in Kanon und Zensur, pp. 252–55.

 ⁴² See S. Purdy, "Sinuhe and the Question of Literary Types," ZÄS 104 (1977), pp. 124–25.
 ⁴³ Ph. Derchain, "La réception de Sinouhé à la cour de Sésostris I^{er}," RdE 22 (1970), pp. 79–83.

our concrete reality are broken; a world in which, for example, a snake can speak and prophesy.

On his Middle Kingdom stela from the time of Amenembat III, Sehetepibre presents himself as the author of the loyalistic encomion of the king, but other portions of the text are clearly borrowed from the inscription of the vizier Mentuhotep, who had lived a century earlier; the same could in fact apply to the wisdom text, since, for their part, the New Kingdom copies do not mention any author. In the same vein, the author of the "Instruction of a man to his son" is explicitly nameless (zi). Much like the fictional attribution of a literary composition to the king himself in the Instructions to Merikare, or Senwosret I, the anonymity of loyalistic literature crystallizes a collective experience of the Egyptian elite vis-à-vis the state: by making a nameless bourgeois the assertor of the sapiential text, the author of the "Instruction of a man to his son" neutralizes the potentially critical aspects of his work and prompts its reception, along the same scheme of Sinuhe's attribution of his flight to the *ntr* rather than to his own will or the worthy attendant's as well as the prince's anonymity in the Shipwrecked Sailor. Rather than being the signal of this text's more popular public as opposed to the stela's more aristocratic background, as suggested by Posener, to renounce the authorial attribution is a strategy aimed at facilitating the adoption by the entire social class which represents the public of literary texts of the ideological perspective they convey. Thus, the dialogue between a king and his heir about their subjects in Merikaree's or Senwosret's speculum regis becomes functionally identical to the dialogue

⁴⁴ This is not, however, the only functional yield of a nameless mention. Ph. Derchain, "Eloquence et politique: l'opinion d'Akhtoy," *RdE* 40 (1989), p. 38, rightly observes that this device is also used to convey the opposite effect, namely to allow the identification of a covert referent by one specific addressee: "L'anonymat est ici discrétion de connivence, non souci de généralité."

⁴⁵ A. Loprieno, "Lo schiavo," in S. Donadoni, ed., *L'uomo egiziano* (Bari, 1990), pp. 208–13. I refer here to "bourgeois," rather than to "aristocratic" heroes because in the Middle Kingdom, unlike in preceding epochs, the emerging social class tends to promote non-aristocratic protagonists: in Middle Kingdom literature, success is achieved by means of personal excellence, and individual accomplishment is not measured against the background of one's own inherited status: one may refer *pars pro toto* to the literary figures of the Shipwrecked Sailor, or the Eloquent Peasant, or the magician Djedi in pWestcar, who are all prototypical examples in which the literary elite disguises itself by identifying—and identifying itself with—successful *nds.w* "commoners."

 $^{^{46}}$ Sin. B 229–230 $n\underline{t}r$ $\check{s}\imath(i)$ $w^cr.t$ to $\dot{h}r$ $s\underline{t}\imath\!\!>\!\!i$ "The god who had decided this flight dragged me."

 $^{^{47}}$ Posener, *Littérature et politique*, pp. 126–27. Fecht, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), p. 34ff., bases this interpretation of the different social background of the two works upon the prosodic simplicity of the "Instruction of a man to his son" as opposed to the formal elegance of the "Loyalistic instruction."

between an Egyptian zj and his son concerning the king in loyalistic texts: both convey in a veiled form the basic problematics of Middle Kingdom literary production, which is the debate between state ideology and personal experience. In the transition from the non-literary autobiography, which revolves around the individual name as the sign of the tomb owner's achievement, to a literary genre, which reveals patterns of societal interaction, the named assertor becomes a nameless author.

(2) God vs. king. The second neutralization concerns the opposition between the semantic spheres of god and king. Middle Kingdom loyalistic literature displays an interesting interface between the concepts of nzw and ntr. The "Instruction of a man to his son" and the text of the scribal palette Ashmolean Museum 1964.489 invite the addressee to be loyal to "god," who has been phraseologically identified by Blumenthal with the king. Assmann too suggests that only in the Ramesside "personal piety" god is gradually perceived as king; this would be a symptom of a departure from traditional loyalism of preceding epochs and of the development of a solidarity between the divine and the individual dimension to the disadvantage of monarchic devotion.

It is probable, however, that the individually oriented Middle Kingdom elite already expresses in its literature at an embryonic level intellectual developments which in Ramesside times will extend to different textual genres and broader segments of the population. One may think of the extraordinary difference between the genres of Middle Kingdom

⁴⁸ This analysis may benefit from a comparison with Machiavelli's *Principe*: in the same way in which the dedication of this work to the prince of the Medici family does not make it a true *speculum regis*, but rather allows the author to neutralize its character of mirror of his own personal experience and political vision against the background of contemporary Florentine history, the attribution of the instructions to Merikare and to Senwosret I to a royal author is a device aimed at facilitating the social reception of a primarily individual experience.

⁴⁹ In the "Instruction of a man to his son" one finds the command m stni(.w) ib > k hr ntr dws sw mry > k sw [m] mri.w "Do not withdraw your heart from god: worship him and love him like a servant (or: among the servants):" Helck, Die Lehre des Djedefhor und die Lehre eines Vaters an seinen Sohn, § II 7; Fecht, ZÄS 105 (1978), § 3,1–2. From now on, I will quote this text according to Fecht's analysis. For the text of Ashmolean Museum 1964.489 see [mk(?) smnh].n ntr smnh sw "God has exalted him who exalts him:" J. Barns, "A New Wisdom Text From a Writing-Board in Oxford," JEA 54 (1968), pp. 71–76, text A, line 1. For the development of this reciprocity between god and man (see the expression mri ntr mrr sw in Neferhotep's inscription: M. Pieper, Die große Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos, MVAeG 32,2 (Leipzig, 1929), line 29) from Middle Kingdom loyalistic literature down to Ramesside personal piety see Assmann, in Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren, p. 36ff.

⁵⁰ Blumenthal, in Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, pp. 55–66, esp. p. 60ff.

⁵¹ Assmann, Marat, p. 260ff.

literature, few in number but canonic in paradigmaticity, ⁵² and the literary culture of the New Kingdom, which sees the coexistence of the reception of Middle Kingdom "classical" texts ⁵³ and the emergence of "proletarian" genres such as popular narrative or love poetry; or of the phenomenon of democratization of the Netherworld in the transition from the Coffix Texts to the Book of the Dead; or of the structure of New Kingdom society itself, with the rise of new social classes characterized by a high degree of professional specialization and loyalty: the motive of the "Satire of the Trades" is perceived in the Middle Kingdom as the encyclopaedia of the scribal aristocracy, as is shown by its attribution to Khety, the quintessential paradigm of the literate man, whereas in Ramesside times it has become a school text with corporative overtones.

Within this perspective, it is easy to understand why the identification between *nzw* and *ntr* in loyalistic literature is never direct, but rather interrelated with the problem of the unnamed *ntr* of other wisdom as well as narrative Middle Kingdom texts. In fact, one of the most basic issues for a proper assessment of Egyptian fictionality as a whole is represented by the status of theological discourse as a dialogue between referential theology and autoreferential literature. In loyalistic texts, the generic *ntr* of wisdom literature acquires a more personal connotation, which echoes contemporary experiments in the domain of theodicy and prepares a development which in Dynasty 18 leads to the humanism of the official "theology of Amun" and the anthropocentricity of the

⁵² See J. Baines, "Ancient Egyptian concepts and uses of the past: 3rd and 2nd millennium BC evidence," in R. Layton, ed., *Who Needs the Past? Indigenous Values and Archaeology* (London, 1989), pp. 131–49, esp. pp. 140–44.

⁵³ Assmann, in *ZDMG Supplement VI*, pp. 35–52.

⁵⁴ For the opposition between *classicus scriptor* and *proletarius* see Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 19.8.5; Weinsheimer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, pp. 124–57.

⁵⁵ This phenomenon is parallel to the "demotization" to which Assmann, *Macat*, p. 114 refers in describing the emergence of the theology of an individual *bs* in the Coffin Texts of the First Intermediate Period as opposed to the royal monopoly conveyed in the Pyramid Texts

⁵⁶ W. Helck, "Die soziale Schichtung des ägyptischen Volkes im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *JESHO* 2 (1959), pp. 1–36; idem, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des alten Ägypten im 3. und* 2. *Jahrtausend vor Chr.*, Handbuch der Orientalistik I,1,5 (Leiden, 1975), pp. 217–25.

⁵⁷ Loprieno, in *L'uomo egiziano*, p. 225.

⁵⁸ J. Vergote, "La notion de Dieu dans les livres de sagesse égyptiens," in *Les sagesses du Proche-Orient Ancien*, Colloque de Strasbourg 17–19 mai 1962 (Paris, 1963), pp. 159–90; Blumenthal, in *Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, p. 61ff.; E. Hornung, "Monotheismus im pharaonischen Ägypten," in O. Keel, ed., *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt*, Biblische Beiträge 14 (Fribourg, 1980), pp. 83–97. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, p. 93.

⁵⁹ Ph. Derchain, "Encore le monothéisme," *CdE* 63 (1988), pp. 77–85.

"new solar theology" on the one hand and to the extreme anticonstellativism of the Amarna age on the other. While in Dynasty 18 texts such as the theological text of pCairo 58038—and a fortiori in the Great Hymn to the Aten—the interaction between god and man(kind) is indicated by general predicates rather than by personal appeals, and even the new solar theology emphasizes god's role as mankind's "good shepherd" rather than as the author's personal savior, in the Ramesside era the attentional focus shifts away from the assessment of god's qualities towards the expression of the existential needs of his human interlocutors. Bringing god down to the level not only of human, but also of private history necessarily enhances his likelihood to leave the realm of referential speculation and to enter the author's self-constructed world, i.e., the domain of mimesis.

In this case too, it is hardly surprising that a hermeneutic key is offered by the autobiographic genre, which by its very nature tends to explore the interface between the social and the individual sphere. I am thinking here of two texts, paradigmatic of a more general cultural trend: the autobiographies of Sa-Mut, surnamed Kiki (TT 409), and Djehutiemhab (TT 194). Generally speaking, both texts belong to the intellectual movement of Ramesside "personal piety," itself a cultural phenomenon in which the individual and the official dimension are intertwined more than in any other form of Egyptian religiosity. Individual is its focus on the tie between the human and the divine sphere, the emphasis on the god as addressee of one's personal concerns; official

⁶⁰ Compare the use of the term ntr accompanied by the suffix pronoun in the "Instruction of a man to his son:" Fecht, ZÄS 105 (1978), § 6, 4–5 wrì n=k m-r=k rr=k rh-w=k m-hnw shr ntr=k "Great will be your property if you spend your lifetime within your god's plan," or in Ashm. Mus. 1964. 489 [ht]p r=k ntr=k "May your god be pleased with you:" Barns, JEA 54 (1968), pp. 71–76, text A, line 3.

⁶¹ Assmann, in *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, pp. 36–53; idem, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, p. 198ff.

⁶² J. Assmann, Re und Amun. Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.–20. Dynastie, OBO 51 (Freiburg, 1983), pp. 96–188.

⁶³ J. Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete (Zürich, 1975), pp. 199–207, 549–53.

⁶⁴ Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, pp. 215–21, 557–58; J.P. Allen, "The Natural Philosophy of Akhenaten," in W.K. Simpson, ed., Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt, Yale Egyptological Studies 3 (New Haven, 1989), pp. 89–101.

 $^{^{65}}$ See pCairo 58038, IV, 3–5 "Who listens ($s\underline{d}m.w$) to the plea of he who is in distress, and is well disposed (ims-ib) towards the one who cries out to him; who saves ($n\underline{h}m.w$) the fearful from the hand of the violent, and who judges rightly (wpi.w) between the poor and the rich."

⁶⁶ As was pointed out above, a similar phenomenon of "privatization of history" had accompanied the rise of literary discourse during the Middle Kingdom: Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, pp. 84–97.

⁶⁷ Assmann, Re und Amun, pp. 264–86.

is its constellative framework, the fact that this partnership involves a specific entity within state religion, rather than the undetermined *ntr* of earlier wisdom literature. In the former inscription, the narrator describes in the first person not his own achievements, as in earlier traditional biographies, but his metonymically founded loyalty to the goddess Mut (Z3-Mw.t = "son-of-Mut"). The role of the king, the dimension of the family, even the quest for social promotion fade out. The text is accompanied by a series of formal devices, such as (a) the retrograde direction of the writing, which in spite of the orientation of the hieroglyphs goes from the individual to the goddess, or (b) the congruous number of intertextual reminiscences. In the latter inscription, somewhat symmetrically, it is the goddess herself (in this case Hathor) who appears to the individual in a dream. First of all, the oniric dimension specifically evokes fictionality; secondly, the dialogue with a god had previously been the king's prerogative. Once more, the text displays metalinguistic signals, ' the intervention of intertextual memories, o and the ties with constellative state religion. It seems, therefore, that in a time in which true autobiographic inscriptions have disappeared from funerary discourse, the textual genre "autobiography"

⁶⁸ And not only Egyptian: for Mesopotamian and Biblical personal piety see R. Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion*, Calwer Theologische Monographien A/9 (Stuttgart, 1978).

⁶⁹ See E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt. The One and the Many*, translated by J. Baines (London, 1982), p. 44ff.; Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, pp. 93–94.

 $^{^{70}}$ See P. Vernus, "Littérature et autobiographie. Les inscriptions de Si-Mwt surnommé Kyky," RdE 30 (1978), pp. 115–46.

 $^{^{71}}$ A 5 "He found that Mut was ahead of the other gods."

⁷² A 9–10 "I was a weak citizen of her city, a poor vagabond of her town."

⁷³ Such as beginning the narration with the Middle Egyptian construction A 1 *zì pw wnn(.w)* "Once upon a time there was a man," as in the "Eloquent Peasant," or borrowing the Late Egyptian expression A 17 *bw ìr≈ì n⊧ì nḥw m rmt.w* "I made no human protection for myself" from scholastic prayers (see pAnastasi II 9, 3–4): Vernus, *RdE* 30 (1978), p. 130ff.

⁷⁴ J. Assmann, "Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor. Zeugnisse 'persönlicher Frömmigkeit' in thebanischen Privatgräbern der Ramessidenzeit," RdE 30 (1978), pp. 22–50.

⁷⁵ See the famous passage from Sin. B 223–226: "Look, this flight which your servant made, I did not plan it, it was not my decision; I did not devise it, I do not know who brought me away from my place: it was like a dream, as if a man from the Delta saw himself in Elephantine, a marsh-man in Nubia." See P. Vernus, "Traum," in LÄ VI, pp. 745–49.

⁷⁶ I 11 "You are the one who spoke to me with your very mouth (...) while I was asleep, and the earth was in silence," and Hathor responds by listing all the gods with whom she

and the earth was in silence," and Hathor responds by listing all the gods with whom she will intercede for the deceased.

77 Such as the wordplay between the juxtaposed m \S 30 "at the beginning" and m \S 30 "as

acquires a higher literary status by incorporating the theological dimension. By the same token, theology itself loses referentiality to the advantage of fictionality: from the sacral it is moved to the individual sphere, from the canonic to the literary level.

One can argue, therefore, that Middle Kingdom loyalist discourse already prepares under the disguise of a royal encomion the aspiration to a more personal relationship with god. During the earlier part of the New Kingdom, this debate will enter theological discourse, favoring after Amarna the emergence of texts in which the enquiry about god's nature is tied into one's personal experience—thus a generalized use of explicit theological discourse, characterized by genres such as s3h ("transfiguration"), rdi.t isw ("prayer") or dwsw ("hymn").

One will object to this reading, which attributes a more emancipatory tone to the loyalistic ntr, that if the objective proof of antimonarchic potential is already tenuous in Sinuhe and in the entire narrative literature, it seems totally extraneous to sapiential texts whose main thrust is precisely the encomion of the king and of his leadership qualities. But the observation of the social background of these works may provide us with an insight into their authors' deeper concerns. The most relevant social phenomenon in the transition from the Old to the Middle Kingdom is the emergence of a class of "free citizens" exempt from state corvées (wrb), who—in search of intellectual emancipation (rtb) ithter the interval terms of the period of this new social class, the period

⁷⁹ Assmann, Theologie und Frömmigkeit, pp. 258–82.

⁸⁰ Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, pp. 78–94; A. Barucq – F. Daumas, Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne (Paris, 1980), pp. 19–47.

⁸¹ Merikare' E 86–87 wn w'b nḥb m 'ḥ.t bik n=k mì tz.t w'î.t "A free citizen to whom a field has been assigned works for you like an entire gang;" for the text see J.F. Quack, Studien zur Lehre für Merikare. GOF IV/23 (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp. 48–53; Merikare' E 101 dd-s.wt km=s zì 10,000 m nds.w w'b nn bik.w=f "The Memphite area(?) hosts 10,000 people as commoners exempt from corvées:" Quack, Merikare, p. 61. See also E. Blumenthal, "Die Lehre für König Merikare," ZÄS 107 (1980), p. 14 n. 106, 16.

⁸² See the discussion in H. Brunner, "Die 'Weisen,' ihre 'Lehren' und 'Prophezeiungen' in altägyptischer Sicht," ZÄS 93 (1966), pp. 29–35; Assmann, in Schrift und Gedächtnis, p. 85.

⁸³ Not only in literary texts: one thinks of the stela of Merer 10–11 \vec{n} \vec{r} \vec{q} \vec{l} \vec{m} \vec{l} \vec{m} \vec{l} \vec{l}

⁸⁴ See the beginning of the anecdote told by the bi to the man in Dialogue 68–70 iw nds ski = f iw = f iw = f iv = f iw = f iv = f iv

which it identifies as "mythical" in the sense described above, is precisely the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. Regardless of its political or archaeological reality, this is a period of reaction to the centralized monarchy and of emergence of self-conscious personalities which express their ideology in autobiographical texts. In the Middle Kingdom, the new elite must confront itself with a reborn central monarchy: while it still defends more traditional social values in biographical texts, it delegates to literary discourse, which presupposes the existence of a readership identifiable with the economically independent social class itself, the function of vehicle of a dialectic confrontation between individual and society.

Further evidence of this complex interplay between the intellectual and the divine sphere is offered by the wealth of similar concepts in other texts of Middle Kingdom literature, such as the b_i in the "Dialogue of a Man and his Ba" or the ib in Khakheperre'seneb, which I take to be analogous aspects of the individual's meditation about human condition. "Soul," "heart," and loyalistic "god" are partners in the process of individual investigation. One need only think of the extraordinary parallel conclusion of the first part of the "Loyalistic instruction," the one focusing on the king, and of the second section, which emphasizes the bourgeois's duties vis-à-vis the working class. Through the use of an identical lexical choice, the text implies that the intellectual should be committed to the dependents as much as to the king, because his own condition depends on theirs, i.e., because "it is people who make happen what exists." The corresponding attitude pervades other texts of contemporary literature and points to the perception that serving the king and serving one's dependents are two complementary aspects of a

⁸⁵ S.J. Seidlmayer, Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich. Studien zur Archäologie der Ersten Zwischenzeit, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 1 (Heidelberg, 1990), especially pp. 5–39.

⁸⁶ See Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*; J. Assmann, "Sepulkrale Selbst-thematisierung im Alten Ägypten," in A. Hahn – V. Kapp, eds., *Selbstthematisierung und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis*, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 643 (Frankfurt, 1987), pp. 213–21.

 $^{^{87}}$ R. Parkinson, "Literary Form and the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*," *JEA* 78 (1992), pp. 163–78.

⁸⁸ Ockinga, JEA 69 (1983), pp. 88–95; Brunner, Altägyptische Weisheit, pp. 378–83.

^{89 § 6,1} hr rn=f twr hr hh=f "Fight for his [i.e., the king's] name, respect his oath."

 $^{^{90}}$ § 14,1–2 ths hr rmt.w hr sšr nb tw.t pw sh n nb>sn "Fight for the people in every situation: they are a flock useful to their master."

⁹¹ § 9,7 *in rmt.w shpr ntì.* "People" refers here to the workers' corporations (*is.wt*), as shown by the parallelism with § 10,1 *is.wt pw ìrì.t dfs.w* "It is the workers who produce food." Nevertheless, the use of a term which in other contexts displays a clear emancipatory connotation is remarkable: Loprieno, in *L'uomo egiziano*, p. 209ff.

symmetrical reality: the elite of the Middle Kingdom understands itself as point of juncture between the two potentially conflictual spheres of a well-functioning society, crystallized in the figure of the *king*, and of personal ethical responsibility, in which *god* becomes the silent partner of the individual quest.

(3) Success in life vs. survival after death. The evolution whereby theological discourse tends to reach out to individual tensions, and hence to increase its degree of *mimesis*, can also be observed in loyalistic literature in a third neutralization between semantic spheres, i.e., that between success in this world through loyalty to the king and survival after death as guaranteed by the funerary cult. The emergence of ethical concerns is typical for Middle Kingdom society and finds its expression, as we saw above, in the development of the theology of the b; and the concept of individual ib first in the Coffin Texts and then in secular literature. This intellectual horizon creates the need for a "good character" (qd), of or moral qualities that guarantee to the individual the access to the Netherworld. Parallel to the hiatus one finds in the "Loyalistic instruction" between the encomion of the sovereign in the first part and the treatment of the responsibilities towards the working class in the second, the "Instruction of a man to his son" divides into an exhortative prologue, a first section devoted to the ntr, and a second section dedicated—from what one can surmise from the fragmentary state of the text—to the relationship with the others and the funerary dimension. This reference to human destiny is anticipated by the references to Renenet and Meskhenet in the first portion of the text; Fecht onvincingly interprets the corresponding passages as a rejection of the intervention of fate in human success, whose only source is seen instead

⁹² See Merikare E 130–31 hn rmt.w rw.t nì.t nṭr ìrì.n≈f p.t tɜ n ìb≈sn "Well-tended is mankind, god's flock: for their sake he created heaven and earth:" Quack, Merikare, pp. 78–79; see also the proverb (W. Guglielmi, "Sprichwort," in LÄ V, cols. 1219–22) in the Eloquent Peasant B 1,51 (I follow the text edition by R. Parkinson, The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant, pp. 12–13) dm.tw rn nì hwrw ḥr nb≈f "The name of a poor is pronounced only in reference to his master:" Loprieno, Topos und Mimesis, p. 89.

⁹³ Loprieno, Topos und Mimesis, pp. 91–93; Assmann, Macat, pp. 114–21.

 $^{^{94}}$ Fecht, ZÄS 105 (1978), § 2,1 iri qd nn znì.t im n hpr.n wsfs.t n sss "Display a good character, but without excess: laziness does not befit the sage."

⁹⁵ Assmann, *Macat*, p. 110 sgg.; on the *bis(.t) nfr(.t)* see P. Vernus, "La formule du bon comportement (*bjt nfrt*)," *RdE* 39 (1988), pp. 147–54; Assmann, *Macat*, p. 62.

⁹⁶ See Posener, Enseignement loyaliste, p. 13 n. 4; idem, in Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren, pp. 312–16; Fecht, ZÄS 105 (1978), p. 21ff.; Brunner, Altägyptische Weisheit, pp. 185–88.

⁹⁷ ZÄS 105 (1978), p. 30ff.

as the \$\hat{hzw.t} n.t ntr" god's favor." Here too, as in Sinuhe, the potential conflict between constellative state religion and individual ntr is neutralized by keeping the imagery of constellative theology, while at the same time reserving to the ntr the control over individual ethical discourse. The funerary world becomes an equivalent aspect of the devotion towards the god, exactly as the behavior vis-à-vis the dependents is symmetrical to the loyalty towards the king. In a certain sense, the literary author conceals under traditional icons the claim to individual intellectual autonomy: "Interpret the text without altering it." The attention devoted to the funerary cult stresses the "protestant" ethics of this new social class: success in life \$\left(mini)^{100}\right)\$ as sign of divine election \$\left(hzw.t n.t ntr\right)\$. Thus, it becomes clear that the funerary cult, itself a symptom of divine election, "is more useful to the one who practises it than to the one for whom it is practised;" since literature is \$diesseitsorientiert\$, it becomes obvious that "it is the dead who helps the one who remains on earth," rather than the opposite!

§ 4 Intertextuality and reception in loyalistic literature

As we saw above, the dialogue between the contents of a text and its formal structure and the intracultural recognition of its paradigmatic value are—besides fictionality—the two fundamental components of literary genres. That the reception of loyalistic literature was the highest among Egyptian "cultural texts" is shown by the extremely high number of copies by which it is transmitted: besides the stela of Sehetepibre', three papyri and about seventy ostraca for the "Loyalistic instruction," seven papyri and more than 200 ostraca for the "Instruction of a man to his son." But the *textual universe* of this literature, its connection with other forms of literary discourse, requires closer attention.

⁹⁸ Wri hzw.t n.t ntr '3 hsf=f r-sì "Great is god's favor, and powerful is his punishment": Fecht, ZÄS 105 (1978), § 4, 7–8 and p. 32; Assmann, in Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren, p. 31 ("Antwort auf vorhergehende Bewährung des Anderen im Sinne von Anerkennung, Lob und Segen"); idem, Marat, p. 260ff.

⁹⁹ Loyalistic instruction § 2,8 who mdt nn snm. The expression who tzz.t "to unravel what is tied" is common in other texts of the Middle Kingdom, see Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, s.v. I thank Richard Parkinson for calling my attention to this expression.

¹⁰⁰ Loyalistic instruction § 5,7.

¹⁰¹ Loyalistic instruction, § 4,7. The same concept is also present in the Instruction of man to his son § 3,8 $\underline{dd} = f \ ib = f \ n \ mr(i.w).n = f$ "He [i.e., god] gives his heart to those whom he loves." See also Blumenthal, in *Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, p. 58.

¹⁰² Loyalistic instruction § 14,11 [3½ n] irr r irrw n≈f.

 $^{^{103}}$ Loyalistic instruction \S 14,12 in šmw mki hrl-ts; see Posener, Enseignement loyaliste, pp. 49–50.

¹⁰⁴ Roccati, Sapienza egizia, pp. 89-90, 97-98.

On the stela of Sehetepibre from the Middle Kingdom, the loyalistic praise appears within a funerary context and is combined with references to the Osirian mysteries at Abydos; roughly speaking, the text is primarily *jenseitsorientiert*. In the cursive copies, the encomion exhibits a longer version and precedes an even longer section devoted to the author's attitude to his offspring and to different categories of human groups, especially the working class; the setting is clearly diesseitsorientiert. This internal conflict within the text is to be understood as a symptom of the general tendency of Egyptian literary genres to gradually develop out of non-literary settings, as we observed in the case of the fictionalization of motives from the autobiographical genre in Middle Kingdom wisdom and narrative. Much in the same way in which the emergence of theological concerns in Middle Kingdom literature predates by several centuries the exploration of explicit theology in the New Kingdom "personal piety," or the expression of the debate between individual and society in the autobiographies of the Old Kingdom is only later expanded into full-fledged literary genres, stories about gods, i.e., narrative structures in which divine entities are presented as dialectic partners within a dialogue rather than as static entities within a constellation, rest upon a protohistory of formal and textual preliterary ante-One should observe that the only literary text possibly composed during the Middle Kingdom which makes use of religious material, i.e., the "Hymn to the Nile," presents itself as a dwsw: in Ramesside times, the same technical term has come to characterize a whole literary genre. Several other features contribute to isolate the "Hymn to the Nile" from the religious context stricto sensu and to project it into the domain of literature: its narrative structure, its universalist message, its relative lack of constellative references, and especially the formal and ideal connections it establishes between the Nile and the King. In many respects, a very similar analysis applies to royal hymnic and loyalistic wisdom: instead of the god, it is here the king who functions as the fictional addressee of the literary composition, but this can only occur through a kind of "appropriation" of the

¹⁰⁵ An example is provided by the famous homosexual episode of the Horus-Seth myth in a papyrus from Illahun: F.Ll. Griffith, *The Petrie Papyri. Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), pl. 3, VI.12.

¹⁰⁶ See D. van der Plas, L'Hymne à la crue du Nil, Egyptologische Uitgaven 4 (Leiden, 1986), pp. 187–90 for a dating of the text in the early New Kingdom.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 57ff.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 186–87.

¹⁰⁹ Posener, *Littérature et politique*, pp. 117–40.

divine or the royal sphere by the actors of the literary dialogue. ¹¹⁰ Genuinely religious texts do not allow this requisition of the royal or the divine sphere by the individual author: they *describe* the ontologically higher entity ideationally, they do not *address* it interpersonally.

A specific feature of Egyptian texts is the impact of the formal environment of the text on its message. The same social class of literary "readers" presents itself with aristocratic self-consciousness in the loyalistic praise of the king, but adopts a tone of religious humility when, as in the "Instruction of a man to his son" and in connected texts, object of human devotion becomes the ntr—whether this term refers to the king, to the unspecific god, or to a conscious intersection of the two, as suggested above. Once more, it is the textual form which conditions the ideological frame: in Sinuhe, the "topical" hymns and the letter addressed to the king swarm with references to icons of official constellative theology, whereas in the more reflective "mimetic" passages the hero proclaims a direct relationship with (his) god. A useful parallelism is offered by a comparison between the "Hymn to Senwosret III" of which we might liken to the loyalist portions of the stela of Sehetepibre, and the "Hymn to the Nile," more similar to the "Instruction of a man to his son." While the universalist tone of the latter text recognizes in the mimetic Nile god the core and the symbol of the entire creation, the former texts share with contemporary biographies (Mentuhotep, Khnumhotep, Sarenput, etc.) the topical ideal of the king as defender of Egypt against internal and external enemies. The literary genre is similar, but the textual form and its intertextual ties display greater correspondences with contemporary monumental discourse. on the one hand, in order to qualify as "literary," genres must display a later reception—which would seem to limit the literary potential of monumental texts—their textual forms appear less bound by the nature

¹¹⁰ See the presence of the textual instruction *iny.t* "refrain" in Senwosret III's hymns or the substitution of the loyalistic *nzw* "king" with the more personal *ntr* "god" (whom I do not take to be necessarily identified with the king, see above) in the "Instruction of a man to his son:" Kitchen, *OrAnt* 8 (1969), p. 193; Posener, in *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, pp. 307–16.

¹¹¹ See the text of Ashmolean Museum 1964.489 and the maximes of pRamesseum II: J. Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1956), pls. 7–9, 11–14; Brunner, *Altägyptische Weisheit*, pp. 193–95.

¹¹² Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, Text 1–3, Pl. 1–3; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I, pp. 198–201; Ph. Derchain, "Magie et politique. A propos de l'hymne à Sésostris III," *CdE* 62 (1987), pp. 21–29.

¹¹³ On the difference between "genre" and "form" see J. Assmann, "Der literarische Text im Alten Ägypten. Versuch einer Begriffsbestimmung," *OLZ* 69 (1974), pp. 117–26; idem, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, pp. 6–25, 78–94.

of the material through which they are made public: all cotextual forms of the Middle Kingdom, ¹¹⁴ including the narrative, are also documented epigraphically.

§ 5 Loyalism to the divine vs. loyalty to the human king

A last point concerns the ontological nature of the king presented in loyalistic literature, who shows deeper similarities with the hero of the *Königsnovelle* than with the theological assumption of the king as god. One should avoid a one-sided reading of the expression "good shepherd," which may refer to the undefined god of literary texts (as in the reference to mankind as "god's herd" in Merikare, in pWestcar, and in loyalistic literature, but also to the bourgeois as motor of the new social class of which Middle Kingdom literature is the privileged mode of expression (as in the "Loyalistic instruction". Parallel to the adoption of the god into the individual sphere, the king appears humanized by the literary vehicle and "appropriated," as it were, by the literary public. This is explicitly verbalized in the "Instruction of Amenemhat": the king of Middle Kingdom literature himself oscillates between the two poles of a *ntr* who partakes of divine constellations and of a *hm* dialectically connected with the life of his people,

¹¹⁴ With the emergence of "proletarian" literature in Ramesside times, the situation changes dramatically: epigraphic texts continue to follow the classical model according to which the same genre can be transmitted in monumental or in cursive form: for example, this is the case for historical texts relating the battle of Qadesh: Th. von der Way, *Die Text-überlieferung Ramses' II. zur Qades-Schlacht*, HÄB 22 (Hildesheim, 1984), pp. 1–20. On the other hand, fictional literature, even when it echoes historical motives, is only conveyed in manual form: for example H. Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre'* (San Antonio, 1986); idem, "The Capture of Joppa," *CdE* 43(1968), pp. 219–33.

 $^{^{115}}$ See already Posener, Litt'erature et politique, p. 136ff.: "la personne du roi qui est sublimis\'e ici sans le secours de la th\'eologie."

 $^{^{116}\,\}mathrm{D}.$ Müller, "Der Gute Hirte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ägyptischer Bildrede," ZÄS 86 (1961), pp. 126–44.

 $^{^{117}}$ See the already discussed Merikare E 130–131 "Well-tended is mankind, god's flock: for their sake he created heaven and earth."

¹¹⁸ In pWestcar 8, 17 mankind is called *ts cw.t šps.t* "the noble flock," obviously of the god. 119 As in the text of Ashmolean Museum 1964.489: Barns, *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 71–76, text A, line 3 [ht]p r=k ntr=k mšc.w=f c.w wnd.wt=f rdi.n=f n=k st hr-s.t hr=k "May your god be pleased with you: his orders and the condition of his cattle—he has put them under your responsibility."

 $^{^{120}}$ See the already discussed Loyalistic instruction § 14, 1–2 "Fight for the people in every situation: they are a flock useful to their master;" see also Müller, $Z\ddot{A}S$ 86 (1961), pp. 133 sgg.

¹²¹ W. Helck, *Der Text der 'Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn'*, Kleine Ägyptische Texte (Wiesbaden, 1969), Id *bi m ntr* "Appear as god!;" see E. Blumenthal, "Die Lehre des Königs Amenemhet (Teil I)," *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 87.

¹²² Ibid., XVj r-gs hm=k; Blumenthal, ZÄS 111 (1984),p. 93.

are his *mrì.w* "dependents," ¹²³ but also his *snn.w* "images." ¹²⁴ Far from being the inspirator of a propaganda literature, the king of loyalistic teachings appears rather as a dialectic model for his people, of the new intellectual elite which emerged out of the crisis of the Memphite state and has discovered literary discourse as a valve to express its concerns. Even the king, like his subjects, moves between the expectation of loyalism and the reality of loyalty, between presentation of his function and self-presentation through literature, between the topical expression of participation in divinity and the mimetic need of sharing in the fate of mankind.

¹²³ Ibid., IIIb *ḥr-ntt nn wnn mrì.w n zì hrww nì qsn.t* "Because no one has dependents in the day of disgrace;" Blumenthal, ZÄS 111 (1984), p. 87.

¹²⁴ Ibid., Va snn.w=î 'nḥ.w pzš.w=î m rmṭ.w "You, my living images, my human party;" see Blumenthal, ZÄS 111 (1984), pp. 88–89.

The "coregency relief" of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare from Memphis



JAROMIR MALEK

PROFESSOR W.K. SIMPSON HAS ALWAYS BEEN A GOOD FRIEND OF THE Topographical Bibliography, and this small divertimento is offered with thanks for kindnesses received from him in the past, and with best wishes for many years to come.

It was Thebes which witnessed the opening moves of the Amarna "revolution." To continue with the chess metaphor, in the middle game, from Akhenaten's fifth year, the action moved to El-Amarna. The north became significantly involved only in the endgame, most of which was played out under his successors; the role of Memphis, the country's former capital in nearly all respects but its religion, was curiously low-key during much of Akhenaten's reign. This was in stark contrast with the situation in Thebes, but such a pattern of events was not unexpected. The new order's ultimate success or failure depended on whether its ideology would successfully assert itself in Egypt's most important religious centre, and the ensuing move to El-Amarna may be seen as an early portent of difficulties ahead. The turn of Memphis came when the court returned there under Tutankhamun.

The construction of the temple for the Aten at Memphis must have begun shortly after Akhenaten's year 5. The temple was probably quite modest in size. It seems to have been called ½-n-1tn, like the king himself, and it has been suggested that it was situated at Kom el-Qal'a, some 750 m to the south-east of the traditional temple of Ptah. It was still attested in the reign of Sethos I but was probably pulled down and its blocks re-used in the structures built at Memphis by Ramesses II. It is likely that the pylons of the Memphite Ramessid temples were filled

¹ This is the date of the "earlier proclamation" on the boundary stelae at El-Amarna. The stelae were most recently studied by W.J. Murnane and C.C. Van Siclen III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* (London and New York, 1993).

² B. Löhr, "Ahanjāti in Memphis," *SAK* 2 (1975), pp. 139–87.

³ A very perceptive evaluation of the roles played by Thebes and Memphis was made by C. Traunecker, "Thèbes – Memphis: quelques observations," in A.-P. Zivie, ed., *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1988), pp. 97–102.

with talatat just like their counterparts at Karnak, Luxor and El-Ashmunein.

One of the Memphite talatat ⁹ has been thought to provide evidence for a coregency between Akhenaten and another, youthful, king, usually identified as Smenkhkare. Joseph Hekekyan ¹⁰ found it, together with several other Amarna blocks, during his excavations at Mit Rahina early in July 1854. Three blocks re-used in a pavement were discovered in no. 52 of "the seventy two pits that were dug between the Excavation of the 3 Colossi and the southern skirt of Mount Khonsou." ¹¹ This was close to Kom Khanzir, in the northeastern part of the enclosure surrounding

⁴ A letter sent to Amenophis IV by steward Ipy, dated to year 5, the 3rd month of prt, day 19, only mentions the temple of Ptah. Meryty-neit, steward in the temple of the Aten (tomb at Saqqara, PM iii², p. 666), was able to retain the name of the goddess Neith in his name (later changed to Meryty-re or Meryty-aten) while associated with the Memphite temple of the Aten. This must have been relatively early in Akhenaten's reign because such a feat would have hardly been possible when exclusivist tendencies became more pronounced. Two of the re-used Amarna blocks found at Memphis and discussed below contain the early form of the name of the Aten (Sir C. Nicholson, "On some remains of the disk worshippers discovered at Memphis," *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, 2 Ser. ix (1870) (repr. as Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca*), pls. 1 [nos. 2a, 3, 7], 2; *PM* iii², p. 839). The same early name occurs on a "stela" from Kom el-Qal'a (A. Mariette, Monuments divers, etc. [Paris, 1872], pl. 34 [e]; PM iii², p. 862) and on a statue-fragment, also from Memphis, now in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Æ.I.N. 1144 (M. Mogensen, La Collection égyptienne [Copenhagen, 1930], p. 6, pl. iii [A 7]; PM iii², p. 863). The early form of the name of the Aten probably continued to be used until the year 8 or 9 (B. Gunn, "Notes on the Aten and his names," JEA 9 [1923], pp. 171-72), possibly even a little later (Murnane and Van Siclen, op. cit., p. 213).

⁵ Relief in Sydney, Nicholson Museum, R. 1143, Sir C. Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 197–214 (pp. 117–34 of the reprint), pls. 1 [Nos. 2a, 7], 2; *PM* iii², p. 839.

⁶ See my contribution in the collection of papers presented at the British Museum colloquium in July 1994, S. Quirke, ed., *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, forthcoming.

⁷ pRollin 1882 = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 213, fragment a, recto 4, W. Spiegelberg, Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (Strassburg, 1896), pp. 29, 73–74, pl. xvia.

⁸ One relief was found in the pylon of the small temple of Ptah, L. Habachi in R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 65, pl. 23 [c, left]; *PM* iii², p. 844, and another in the large temple of Ptah, removed to a magazine of the SCA at Mit Rahina, L.L. Giddy, D.G. Jeffreys and J. Malek, "Memphis, 1989," *JEA* 76 (1990), p. 4. The core of the pylon of this temple was examined by an EES team (L.L. Giddy, K. Eriksson, J. Malek) in the autumn of 1994, *JEA* 81 (1995), forthcoming. Although the test trench across the southern wing of the pylon provided ample evidence for re-used Old-Kingdom blocks decorated in low raised relief, and for others, decorated in high raised relief, probably of the Eighteenth Dynasty and more specifically of the reign of Amenophis III, no additional talatat were found. The core of the pylon was, however, robbed of all removable blocks to such an extent that only very large pieces, or those difficult to extract, were left undisturbed by Islamic stonemasons.

⁹ Present location not known; PM iii², p. 839.

¹⁰ W.R. Dawson and E.P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1972), pp. 138–39. See J. Malek, "The monuments recorded by Alice Lieder in the 'Temple of Vulcan' at Memphis in May 1853," *JEA* 72 (1986), pp. 103–104 for Hekekyan's work at Mit Rahina.

the large memorial temple of Ptah that was built by Ramesses II. ¹² The "coregency relief" came from nearby: "In one of the pits in the close vicinity of the Pit No. 52, there was found {in} a block of stone occupying the same level as the pavement in No. 52, exhibiting the following design" (fig. 1a). Another block found in the same area seems to have been inscribed with the cartouches of Smenkhkare and Merytaten.

A summary account of this discovery was included in a paper on the Amarna Period read by Sir Charles Nicholson before the Royal Society of Literature some fourteen years later, in 1868. Subsequently it was published in the Society's Transactions, accompanied by two plates of line drawings. 15 Nicholson's plate 1 shows the "coregency relief" (fig. 1b), together with a plan and section of Horner's (= Hekekyan's) excavation, the other four blocks, and a reconstruction of the scene with one of the reliefs which is also shown in a detailed copy on plate 2. There is no doubt that the drawings on pl. 1 were based on Hekekyan's notes sent to Leonard Horner in whose name, and in that of the Geological Society, the excavation was conducted (although it was financed by the Egyptian Government). Nicholson states that the relief on his plate 2, drawn by Joseph Bonomi, had been presented to him by Hekekyan. 16 It is unlikely that Bonomi was able to inspect any of the other talatat but it is almost certain that he was also the author of the published plate 1. The copy of the "coregency relief" in the papers of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (fig. 1c) is secondary, derived from Hekekyan's papers, and

 $^{^{11}}$ Hekekyan MSS. Add. 37452, 286. These are the three decorated blocks on Nicholson's pl. 1 [no. 2], with the cartouches of the Aten on one of them shown separately as no. 3 on the same plate.

¹² D.G. Jeffreys, The Survey of Memphis i (London, 1985), fig. 7, JH 1854.

¹³ Hekekyan MSS. Add. 37452, 289. I am grateful to the British Library for permission to reproduce a re-drawn version of Hekekyan's copy, and to Mrs. M.E. Cox for preparing this and the other line drawings for publication.

¹⁴ Nicholson, op. cit., pl. 1 [no. 4].

¹⁵ Nicholson, op. cit.

¹⁶ Op. cit. p. 199 (repr. p. 119). Nicholson's introduction to the 1891 reprint of his article (*Aegyptiaca*, p. 115) suggests that he owned all the pieces of the Amarna Period discussed in it and that they were in Sydney. This is unlikely to be correct (see J.R. Harris, "Nefernefruaten Regnans," *Acta Orientalia* 36 [1974], p. 18 n. 28). That only one of the published copies was made from the original monument and that this piece was specifically singled out elsewhere in Nicholson's original text as being in his possession are two strong arguments against it. More than thirty years after his Egyptian trip and some twenty years after the first publication of his paper, Nicholson's recollection perhaps was no longer perfect.

¹⁷ Gardner Wilkinson papers at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, section B:24 xiii, p. 78 [lower], by kind permission of the National Trust. I am grateful to Mrs. M. Clapinson, Keeper of Western Manuscripts, and Mr. C.G. Harris, for their help. Sir John Gardner Wilkinson saw Hekekyan's notes in Cairo, probably at the end of March or the beginning of April 1856.



Fig. 1.

a = Hekekyan MSS. Add. 37452, 289, in
London, British Library, by kind permission.

b = Sir C. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca*, pl. 1 [no. 5].

c = Gardner Wilkinson papers, section B:24
xiii, p. 78 [lower], in Oxford, Bodleian
Library, by kind permission of the National
Trust. All re-drawn by M.E. Cox.

has no independent value as a source of information. The drawing in the papers of Charles Edwin Wilbour 18 is based on the illustration in Nicholson's article.

It appears that Bonomi very convincingly "improved" Hekekyan's rough and ready sketch of the relief. The right part of the larger figure was suppressed and its obese stomach rather prudishly censored by omission. Most of the corrections, however, affected the smaller figure. A uraeus was added to its forehead and the shape of its "Amarna skull" was modified to suggest the form of the blue crown. What looks like a rather faintly sketched sash attached to the fan, but may be a misunderstood outline of the sleeve of the garment, was transformed into streamers of the crown. The large disc earring was omitted. The figure, of a rather indeterminate sex in the original sketch, was draped in a pleated garment and became that of a handsome youth. The metamorphosis was now complete. Curiously, a border-line was added near the left end of the block.

Nicholson had no hesitation in identifying the smaller figure as "belonging to the family of whom we have such striking pictorial representations at Tell el Amarna." L. Borchardt developed the idea further. He suggested that these were Akhenaten and Smenkhkare and cited the cartouches of [Ankh-]kheperu[-re] (Smenkhkare) on one of the other blocks in support of this identification. More cautiously, H. Schäfer doubted that the drawing was accurate enough to warrant such certainty, but the theory was accepted and further elaborated by P.E. Newberry in his opinion-forming article. Later, it received support from G. Roeder. Scholars continued to cite this relief, albeit selectively, but no convincing objection could be raised against a monument which was known only from Nicholson's illustration. J.R. Harris and B. Löhr expressed their doubts about its reliability. W.J. Murnane, believing that the

¹⁸ Wilbour MSS. 3C, 239, in The Brooklyn Museum. I am grateful to Dr. Richard A. Fazzini, Chairman of the Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art, for a copy of this page. I also wish to thank Dr. Donald Spanel for his help.

¹⁹ Bonomi's drawings quoted by J.R. Harris, op. cit., p. 18 n. 28, are not currently available. Notes made by R.L.B. Moss, who saw them in 1958, suggest that they are the original drawings used in Nicholson's publication.

²⁰ "Aus der Arbeit an den Funden von Tell el-Amarna," MDOG 57 (1917), p. 10, Abb. 7.

 $^{^{21}}$ "Altes und Neues zur Kunst und Religion von Tell el-Amarna," $Z\ddot{A}S$ 55 (1918), p. 20, Abb. 24.

 $^{^{22}}$ "Akhenaten's eldest son-in-law 'Ankhkheprure', " $\ensuremath{\textit{JEA}}$ 14 (1928), pp. 8–9, fig. 3.

²³ "Thronfolger und König Smench-ka-Rê (Dynastie XVIII)," ZÄS 83 (1958), p. 47.

²⁴ Op. cit., pp. 18–19.

²⁵ Op. cit., pp. 155–57.

identification of the second figure as Smenkhkare was assured by an adjoining block, suggested that the original "non-royal" figure of Smenkhkare was re-worked in order to reflect his new royal status. This is an ingenious but purely speculative theory, and there is no real evidence to support it.

Once it is realized that the published drawing bears only a vague resemblance to the relief, the problem ceases to exist. The scene showed, in a typically Amarna fashion, a large figure, probably Akhenaten or Nefertiti, followed by a fan-bearer represented on a smaller scale. The fan has a long staff which terminates in a papyrus umbel with an ostrich feather attached to it. This was a utilitarian implement as well as a mark of rank, and many examples of it can be found in Amarna art.

The sex of the smaller figure on the "coregency relief" cannot be established with certainty. Royal ladies-in-waiting carrying fans, but preceded by men with sun-shades, can be seen, for example, on a sand-stone relief from Karnak, now in Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 4863, or on another, limestone, relief from Ashmunein which used to be in the N. Schimmel collection. Female attendants of the royal family, equipped with fans and sashes, are standing in groups or are being driven in chariots in Amarna tombs. All these ladies, however, wear wigs. If the shape of the skull of the smaller figure on the "coregency relief" was faithfully recorded by Hekekyan, the person may have been an Amarna princess. Fans are waved busily by the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti in the tomb of Huya at El-Amarna (or carried in an upright position over the shoulder by Nefertiti's sister Mutnedjmet in the tombs of Panehesy, Parennufer, Tutu, Ay and anonymous tomb 21 however, princesses (and also

²⁶ Ancient Egyptian Coregencies (Chicago, 1977), p. 173 with n. 313.

 $^{^{27}}$ It is not. The block with the supposed names of Smenkhkare and Merytaten does not adjoin.

 $^{^{28}}$ C. Aldred, Akhenaten and Nefertiti (The Brooklyn Museum, 1973), p. 124 [44] with fig.; PM ii², p. 190.

²⁹ G. Roeder and R. Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, ii (Hildesheim, 1969), p. 404 [P.C. 15], pl. 172.

³⁰ E.g., of Meryre, N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I (London, 1903), pls. x, xix, xxi–xxii, xxiv–xxvi, xxx, and others.

³¹ Ibid. III (London, 1905), pl. xviii.

³² Ibid. II (London, 1905), pls. vii, viii.

³³ Ibid. VI (London, 1908), pl. ii.

³⁴ Ibid., pls. xvi, xvii.

³⁵ Ibid., pl. xxvi.

³⁶ Ibid. V (London, 1908), pl. xvi.

Mutnedjmet) wear a sidelock rather than have closely shaven heads, although the latter was common in three-dimensional sculpture.

Male fan-bearers are also well-attested in Amarna art, and large disc earrings were worn by men as well as women. Royal sunshade-bearers sometimes have shaven heads, but male fan-bearers invariably wear a wig.

I suggest that the "coregency relief" has nothing to do with the Akhenaten and Smenkhkare question, and that the whole idea is based on a misinterpretation of the scene. The ultimate test of this would be examination of the monument itself. Unfortunately, the chances of the limestone relief's survival, once exposed to the Mit Rahina environment, are minimal but may be better if it was removed to a place of safety by Hekekyan. We can only hope that this proves to be the case.



Presenting the Scroll: Papyrus Documents in Tomb Scenes of the Old Kingdom



Peter Der Manuelian

A together, I reflected on the score of monographic "documents" that William Kelly Simpson has produced for the Egyptological community. His books include excavation reports from the Nubian salvage campaign, several volumes of hieratic papyri translations, syntheses on the significance and monuments of Abydos, textbooks on Egyptian history and literature, and completions of Reisner's Old Kingdom mastaba excavations at Giza. The last-mentioned category is the subject of the following remarks. The honoree will recognize many scenes from Old Kingdom private tombs that he published in his own Giza Mastabas volumes. May they bring back pleasant memories.

Among the more interesting aspects of a society's experience is its concept of documentation and communication. How information is recorded and then shared among individuals cannot be observed in many ancient civilizations, but in the Egyptian case, the well-preserved material culture reveals much on the subject. In the private tomb decoration repertoire from the Old Kingdom there occurs a scene where an official presents the tomb owner with a document concerning some aspect of his estate (fig. 1). This is one of many scenes that at first glance appear identical from tomb to tomb, but upon closer examination reveal a wide variety.

¹ These scenes are not to be confused with representations of offering rituals, where priests sometimes recite formulae from a papyrus document in front of them (e.g., Nyhetep-Ptah, Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 71 b = A. Badawy, The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara [Berkeley, 1978], pl. 7). For remarks on documents in general in ancient Egypt, see J. Černý, Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt; an inaugural lecture delivered at University College London, 29 May 1947 (London, 1952), Wolfgang Helck, Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr., MÄS 31 (Berlin, 1974), and P. Der Manuelian, "An Essay in Document Transmission: Nì-ks-'nh and the earliest hryw rnpt," JNES 45 (1986), pp. 1–18. The subject of literacy among the Egyptian population has been discussed by John Baines and C.J. Eyre, "Four notes on literacy," GM 61 (1983), pp. 65–96, with bibliography, and by John Baines, "Literacy and ancient Egyptian Society," Man, N.S. 18 (1983), pp. 572–99.

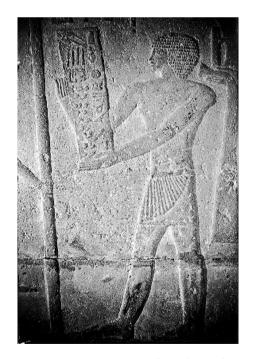


Fig. 1. Document presenter from the north entrance thickness of the tomb of Merib at Giza (G 2100–1). Photograph by K.-H. Priese.

In an attempt to understand this scene better, as one small aspect of information exchange in ancient Egypt, a corpus of over eighty examples from Giza, Saqqara, and a few provincial cemeteries was gathered for analysis.² The results summarized below focus on the location of the document presentation scene in decorated private tombs of the Old Kingdom, the composition of the scene, including the titles and association of the document presenter to the tomb owner, the texts and grammatical forms found in the accompanying captions, the form and contents of the papyrus document, the poses of the presenter and discussion of the chronological development of the scene.³

LOCATION OF THE PRESENTATION SCENE

The document presentation scene can appear almost anywhere in the tomb where a large scale figure of the deceased is to be found. Often the scene occurs on the entrance thicknesses of the chapel doorways, but examples inside the chapel are also frequent. Chapel wall occurrences are not limited to any particular wall, but occur on any of the four walls, north, south, east or west.

THE RECIPIENT TOMB OWNER

In none of the examples gathered was the document presenter female, but the recipient tomb owner is in at least four cases a woman. Two of these are among the earliest known examples of the scene. Her pose is always a standing one, with both feet together. She is attested crossing one arm across the breast (Hemet-re), or sniffing a blossom with one hand, the other hand either remaining empty (Meresankh III) or holding a bird (Idut). By far the most common pose shown for the male recipient

² For permission to consult the expedition records of the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Expedition to Giza I thank Rita Freed, curator of the Museum's Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art. I am also grateful to Henry G. Fischer and Edward Brovarski for very helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

³ The present study is limited to document presenters only. It omits scenes of officials actually inscribing their papyri, or carrying other forms of scribal equipment. For more general remarks on administrative and other duties in the Old Kingdom, see Christopher J. Eyre, "Work and the Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom," in Marvin A. Powell, ed., *Labor in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven, CT, 1987), pp. 5–47. On the of scribal profession, cf. Patrizia Piacentini, "Les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire," *Abstracts of Papers. Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge*, 3–9 September 1995 (Oxford, 1995), p. 141.

⁴ Meresankh III (G 7530–7540): Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, Giza Mastabas 1 (Boston, 1974), pl. 2c, fig. 3b; Hemet-re: Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza* 6, pt. 3, 1934–1935 (Cairo, 1950), p. 56, fig. 40; Idut: R. Macramallah, *Le Mastaba d'Idout* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 20; Khentkaues, Junker, *Gîza* 7, p. 73, fig. 31 (upper portion of the figure damaged). For discussions of women and literacy, see John Baines and C.J. Eyre, "Literacy in Ancient Egypt," *GM* 61 (1983), pp. 81–85.

tomb owner is standing, with a staff in the "front" hand and a handkerchief in the "back" hand. While the presenter always extends the document to a single individual, more than one person is often present at the occasion. The tomb owner can appear alone, with a child at smaller scale holding onto his staff, or with a spouse and/or children shown "behind." Often the recipient sits, either on a simple chair with lion's or bull's legs, in an elaborate booth,⁵ or even in a sedan chair.⁶ The number of people shown seems to depend, not on the nature of the scene and appropriate or inappropriate individuals present, but on the amount of available space on the tomb wall.

Like many scenes in the Old Kingdom repertoire, the document presentation scene is very frequently unaccompanied by hieroglyphic captions. It must have been understood, therefore, that the document presenter offered a list of produce or other such items for the benefit of the tomb owner(s). The presence or absence of a specific hieroglyphic caption is unrelated to the presence or absence of a more general, overall scene description relating directly to the large scale figure of the tomb owner. The most common text for overall captions relates the following general theme: ms (s š n) ndt-hr/prt-hrw innt m niwwt n pr dt... "Overseeing the (document of) offerings which are brought from the towns of the funerary estate..."

TITLES OF THE DOCUMENT PRESENTERS

A number of titles occur near the document presenters, very few of which in the corpus under review stipulate any filial relation to the

⁵ Werirni: N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd* (London, 1901), pls. 15–16; Isi: Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2 (London, 1902), pl. 19; a standing couple appears in a booth in the Saqqara tomb of Neferiretenef: B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferiretenef* (Brussels, 1978), pl. 12; the tomb owner is seated alone in Pepiankh-hery-ib: A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 4 (London, 1924), pl. 15.

 $^{^6}$ Khnumenty (G 2374), room 1, east wall; Brovarski, Giza Mastabas, forthcoming. I am grateful to the author for sharing this unpublished material.

⁷ For earlier lists of the presentation scene, Siegfried Schott et al., *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1990), p. 332, no. 1503; Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches (2980–2475 v. Chr.)* (Heidelberg, 1915; reprint Hildesheim, 1982), p. 23 ("VI. Bericht der Beamten"), and p. 19, fig. 8, p. 24, fig. 12.

⁸ Compare the following variations: Merib, Giza G 2100–1: Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 22c; Sekhemankhptah, Giza G 7152: Alexander Badawy, *The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhemrnkh-Ptah, and Kaemnofret at Giza* (Berkeley, 1976), fig. 29 = Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 91c; Iymery, Giza G 6020: Kent Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, Giza Mastabas 5 (Boston, 1994), figs. 26–27, pl. 12b = Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 49a; Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, Saqqara: A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), fig. 13. For an interesting reversal in the tomb of Ptah-hotep at Saqqara, where the phrases are oriented towards the individuals "seeing" (*mss*) and "bringing" (*int*), see the discussion below on reversals.

deceased. Our survey indicates that document presentation was not a function particularly reserved for family members as was, for example, the role of se(te)m priest. Attested titles of the document presenters gathered include:

TITLE	Translation
imy-r pr	steward ^a
imy-r ḥm(w)-k3	overseer of funerary priests ^b
ìry-p ⁻ t	hereditary prince ^c
iry m <u>d</u> st	document keeper ^d
ḫtmy st̞i-ḥb	sealer of the festival perfume ^e
h̞ry-ḥ̞b smsw	eldest lector priest ^f
s; nswt	king's son ^g
ss=fsmswmry=fhry-tpnswt	his eldest and beloved son, at the head of the $\ensuremath{king^{h}}$
s³b imy-r sš	magistrate, overseer of scribes ⁱ
s3b sš	magistrate, scribe ^j
s3b sḥḏ sš	magistrate, inspector of scribes ^k
sɨb sš sḥḍ ḥmw-kɨ	magistrate, scribe, inspector of funerary priests ¹
sn-dౖt s³b sš	estate brother, magistrate, scribe ^m
sḥḍ sš ʿ nswt (sš) ʿprw imy-r ḥm(w)-kз	inspector of royal document scribes, (scribe) of workcrews, overseer of funerary priests ⁿ
sš	scribe ^o
sš · nswt s³=f	royal document scribe, his son ^p
sš ḥm-k³ pr-ˤ³	scribe of funerary priest(s) of the palace ^q
sš ḥm-k³	scribe, funerary priest ^r
šps-nswt smr pr	king's nobleman, companion of the house ^s
šps-nswt sḥḍ ḥm(w)-nṭr	king's nobleman, inspector of funerary priests ^t
nṭr sḥḍ sš	(priest?), inspector of scribes ^u

⁹ A few instances of sons of the tomb owner presenting documents do occur: Nofer's son Setka (G 4761): Junker, *Giza* 6, p. 36, fig. 5; Khaf-khufu I's sons Wetka and Iunka (G 7130–7140): W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978), pp. 12–13, pl. 17b, fig. 29; and Nisut-nefer's son Kaherisetef (G 4970): Junker, *Giza* 3, p. 169, fig. 30; Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah*, p. 32, fig. 41, pl. 54 (erased). Cf. Luise Klebs on the issue of sons presenting documents, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, p. 23: "Das Verzeichnis aller dieser Dinge ist auf eine große Papyrusrolle geschrieben und wird dem Herrn von einem Schreiber oder Beamten oder auch von einem seiner Söhne überreicht oder zum Lesen vorgehalten...."

^a Werirni: Davies, Sheikh Saïd, pl. 16; Perneb (Saggara; now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art): Caroline Ransom-Williams, The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-Neb (New York, 1932), pl. 6, W.C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt 1 (New York, 1953), p. 92, fig. 51; Hemetre (Giza): Hassan, Gîza 1934-35, p. 56, fig. 40; Seneb (Giza): Junker, Gîza 5, p. 89, fig. 22; Khunes (Zawiyet el-Meitin): Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 105a, 107; Rashepses (Saqqara): Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 64a; Kagemni (Saqqara): F. von Bissing, Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai 1 (Berlin, 1905), pls. 12-13; Ti (Saggara): Henri Wild, Le tombeau de Ti. La chapelle (Cairo, 1965, 1966), pls. 44, 167; Mereruka (Saqqara): Prentice Duell et. al., The Mastaba of Mereruka 1 (Chicago, 1938), pl. 51; Fetekta (South Abusir): Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 96; Meresankh III (Giza): Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, p. 20, fig. 12; Kaninisut (Giza; now in Vienna): Junker, Gîza 2, p. 153, fig. 19; Tjenti (Giza): Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 30, idem, Ergänzungsband, pl. 26; Idut (Giza): Macramallah, Idut, pl. 20; Za-ib (Giza): A.M. Roth, A Cemetery of Palace Attendants, Giza Mastabas 6 (Boston, 1995), p. 110, pls. 68b and 172c; P. Munro, Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), p. 66, pl. 38.

^b Khentkaues (Giza): Junker, *Gîza* 7, p. 73, fig. 31; Iymery (Giza): Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G* 6000, figs. 26–27, pl. 12b; Meresankh III (Giza): Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, pl. 2c, figs. 3b and 12.

^c Irenre (complex of Khentkaus [Abusir]): M. Verner, *Abusir III, The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus* (Prague, 1995), pp. 70, 86 (90/A/78).

^d Neferherenptah (Giza, G 4311): unpublished, MFA 37-7-21, Expedition photograph B 8903; and our figs. 5 (no. 8) and 8.

^e Merib (Giza, G 2100–1): K.-H. Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 46, 48; Junker, *Gîza* 2, p. 128, fig. 11; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 22 b.

^f Qar (Giza): W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, Giza Mastabas 2 (Boston, 1976), p. 9 and fig. 28.

g Khaf-khufu I (Giza): William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, Giza Mastabas 3 (Boston, 1978), pp. 12–13, pl. 17b, fig. 29.

^h Ptah-hotep I (Saqqara): Selim Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara, 1937–1938, vol. 2, Mastabas of Nyrankh-Pepy and Others (Cairo, 1975), p. 49, pl. 44; M.A. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas 1 (London, 1905), pl. 9; Henry G. Fischer, The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part 1, Reversals (New York, 1977), pp. 73 and 75, fig. 76.

ⁱ Kagemni (Saqqara): von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 13; Senedjemib-Mehi (Giza): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 74c, and Brovarski, Giza Mastabas, forthcoming.

^j Ptah-hotep (Saqqara Ls 31): Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 102a.

k Nofer I (Giza): Junker, Gîza 6, p. 37, fig. 5.

¹ Seshem-nofer IV (Giza): Junker, Gîza 11, p. 209, fig. 80.

 $^{\mathrm{m}}$ Khnum-hotep (Giza, Fakhry no. 8): unpublished; MFA Expedition photograph A 7177; PM 3, p. 213.

ⁿ Ti (Saggara): Wild, Tombeau de Ti, pls. 19, 27.

^o Neferiretenef (Saqqara): van de Walle, *Neferirtenef*, pl. 12; Meresankh III (Giza): Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, p. 20, fig. 12; Hemre-Isi (Deir el-Gebrawi): Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 18 (figure above; damaged).

^p Nisut-nefer (Giza): Junker, Gîza 3, p. 119, fig. 30.

^q Idut (Giza): Macramallah, *Idut*, pl. 11.

^r Iymery (Giza): Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 39, text 2.100; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler 2*, pl. 51 (no text copied).

⁸ Hemre-Isi (Deir el-Gebrawi): Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 18 (figure below, damaged).

^t Pepiankh-hery-ib (Meir): Blackman, Meir 4, pl. 16.

^u Sekhemka (Giza): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 89c (copy inaccurate?).

COSTUME AND EQUIPMENT OF THE DOCUMENT PRESENTERS

The presenting official always wears a kilt, either short (plain or pleated) or longer with triangular tab in front. Occasionally he carries scribal equipment under one arm, and/or has one or more pens tucked behind his ear. The presenter appears first in any line of procession marching toward the tomb owner, since the document presentation requires the latter's direct attention. Where more than one official presents a document, the individuals appear first and second in line. In cases where the document is merely being carried (rather than extended towards the tomb owner), the bearers can take their place further back in the line.

Some uncertainty arises as to the medium used for the document. While the majority of the texts seem to be written on papyrus, some poses (see pose 5 described below) suggest a stiff tablet or writing board is the only logical object represented. Furthermore, if one examines the numerous scenes of seated scribes busily writing, one notes that they hold their document cradled in one arm. Unless we are to posit the use of a supporting board, like the modern clipboard, this position is theoretically impossible for writing on papyrus, which, due to its flimsy nature, must be stretched over the lap of a cross-legged scribe. Does this mean that all such scribal writing scenes involve writing boards and not papyrus, and if a document presenter is shown in the same scene, must he be presenting a stiff tablet, rather than a papyrus, to the recipient tomb owner?

A few examples speak against such an interpretation. The tomb of Nefer and Kahay at Saqqara shows seated scribes writing, and the cradled document of the first scribe is a partially unrolled papyrus. The scribe has even allowed one end to dangle carelessly on the ground.¹³ The document presenter in front of the seated scribes holds a curving

¹⁰ This rule proves that a certain individual standing behind the deceased tomb owner Werirni at Sheikh Saïd most likely carries a rectangular bolt of cloth rather than a papyrus document. A different individual holds a text in front of the tomb owner. The cloth was correctly identified by Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pls. 15 (cloth bearer) and 16 (document presenter). For another scene of handing the tomb owner a linen sheet held by two men in different registers, see the Saqqara tomb of Akhet-hotep, Christiane Ziegler, *Le mastaba d'Akhethetep* (Paris, 1993), pp. 34, 117.

¹¹ Two examples appear in the tombs of Khaf-khufu I at Giza: W.K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, pp. 12–13, pl. 17b, fig. 29, and Khunes at Zawiyet el-Meitin: Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 105a.

¹² One example seems to show a scribe extending, rather than merely carrying, a document, but appearing second in line behind a companion who extends a vessel to the tomb owner. See A. El-Khouli and N. Kanawati, *The Old Kingdom Tombs of El-Hammamiya* (Sydney, 1990), pl. 44.

¹³ A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, Old Kingdom Tombs at the Causeway of King Unas at Saqqara, AV 5 (Mainz am Rhein, 1971), pl. 24a.

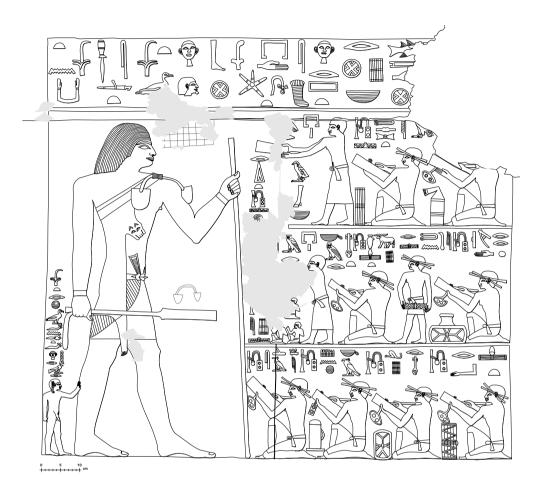


Fig. 2. Uncollated digital drawing of the north wall of the tomb of Kaninisut at Giza (G 2155), now in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, ÄS 8006.

form, most likely an unrolled papyrus rather than a stiff writing tablet. In the chapel of Kaninisut from Giza (G 2155), now in Vienna, the north wall shows several seated scribes, each cradling his document in one arm. But between them stands another scribe with a rolled up, bound, and sealed papyrus document, the tie strings clearly showing that this is no tablet (fig. 2). A third example, from the Giza tomb of Kanefer (G 2150, fig. 3 no. 1) reveals a seated scribe once again writing on a tablet(?) cradled in one arm, yet just in front of him a document presenter extends what must be a papyrus to the deceased. The lines of the two end rolls are clearly indicated, and the document is not rectangular but

¹⁴ G.A. Reisner, A History of the Giza Necropolis 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 441, fig. 262.

is actually wider (i.e., unrolled unevenly) at one end than the other. Such an unevenly unrolled papyrus may also be found in the Giza tomb of Khafre-ankh (G 7948; see fig. 3 no. 2, and fig. 9), and nearby seated scribes actually hold the ends of several partially and fully unrolled papyri, which dip and sag, proving they are not stiff tablets. ¹⁵

These examples show that there was more than one way to sit while inscribing a papyrus; it need not be placed solely on the tightly stretched, pleated kilt of a cross-legged scribe. Either some sort of supporting "clipboard" was indeed used by the seated scribes, ¹⁶ or, if the "traditional" (cross-legged) scribal pose was too awkward to represent in two-dimensional wall reliefs, the pose in fig. 2 may be a modified one used for purposes of representation. ¹⁷

Poses of the document presenters

One wonders if a distinction is to be made between document *reciters* and document *presenters*. Perhaps the official in some cases recites the document to the tomb owner and retains possession of it, while in other cases he actually hands the papyrus over to him or her. Several examples even orient the descriptive caption *m³s sš...*, "Viewing the document..." to the document presenter, instead of the recipient tomb owner (see below, reversals). The variety of poses seems to suggest both interpretations, reciting, and presenting, are possible. The verb most often used in the accompanying captions is *rdi.t*, which suggests that the

 15 LG 75 = G 7948; cf. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 9a (= MFA Expedition photographs A 7390 [Jan. 18, 1936] and A 7398 [Jan. 21, 1936], both unpublished).

¹⁶ Could such a clipboard be represented by the double line in the document penned by a scribe in the Kanefer scene (Giza G 2150, cf. Reisner, Giza Necropolis 1, p. 441, fig. 261? ¹⁷ For examples of frontal cross-legged representations, see A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pl. 54a, fig. 24 (Dynasty 5, Niuserre to Menkhauhor), John D. Cooney, "Three Early Saïte Tomb Reliefs," INES 9 (1950), pl. 16 (Dynasty 26). On the difficulty of interpreting cross-legged poses in general, see Heinrich Schäfer, Von ägyptischer Kunst, 4th edition, (Wiesbaden, 1963), pp. 253-56, fig. 268 = Principles of Egyptian Art (Oxford, 1986), pp. 251-53, with references to Junker, Gîza 3, pp. 105-109 and idem, Gîza 11, pp. 88-89. A frontal view of a seated man bundling flax with splayed legs appears in the Saqqara tomb of Kaemnofret; cf. William Kelly Simpson. The Offering Chapel of Kavemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts. Boston (Boston, 1992), pl. 21b; a full frontal standing figure of Redi-nes from Giza (G 5032, MFA 21.961) with splayed feet is represented in the author's "The Giza Mastaba Niche and full frontal figure of Redi-nes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," in D.P. Silverman, ed., For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer, SAOC 55 (Chicago, 1994), pp. 55-78, esp. figs. 4.6-7, 4.12-13. For a semi-frontal view of a squatting boy in the Saggara tomb of Nfr cf. H.G. Fischer in BiOr 31 (1974), p. 67, fig. 2.

¹⁸ Examples of presenters actually placing the document into the hands of the tomb owner include Pepiankh-hery-ib (Meir D 2): Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15 (showing two documents, or one document passed hand to hand?), Werirenptah: T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 1, 2nd edition (London, 1961), pl. 29; Kahif (Giza G 2136): Junker, *Gîza* 6, p. 115, fig. 34, pl. 6a.

official physically hands the document over to the tomb owner. Other verbs used to describe the scene are <code>sw.t</code> "extending," or "spreading out" and <code>sic.(t)</code> "proffering." In terms of document reciters, both Old and Middle Kingdom examples exist that use the verb <code>šd.t</code>, "reading." It is doubtful that <code>rdi</code> has a more general meaning, denoting the presentation of <code>information</code> as well as of objects such as papyri. If the document presenter keeps the document himself, then the phrase <code>rdi</code> <code>sš</code> would have to refer to presenting the <code>contents</code> of the document, i.e., the information. The caption <code>rdit</code> <code>sš</code> would therefore have to mean something like "reporting to" the tomb owner.

From the various poses one might conclude that the presenter in some cases reads the document aloud to the deceased, in other cases unrolls it to show it to and discuss it with the deceased, and in still others, merely hands it over sealed for the deceased's subsequent inspection. Perhaps we should understand the scene as a frozen moment in time, and the varying poses might simply indicate different gestures in the same chronological process of unrolling, perhaps reading aloud, and eventually handing over the papyrus for the tomb owner's perusal.

The present corpus has revealed five basic attitudes for the document presenter in private tombs of the Old Kingdom. In the hopes of distinguishing them from each other, I have given them the following loosely descriptive names, referring to the action suggested by the position of the document: "extending/spreading out," "cradling," "holding," "proclaiming," and "proffering" the document.

Pose 1: extending/spreading out the document (22 examples)

The presenter extends the document with both hands. The near arm (that is, the arm from the shoulder nearest the document) reaches out, bending downward at the elbow, while the hand usually grasps the document along its top edge (fig. 3).²⁰ The far arm (from the shoulder "farther" from the document) reaches out and downward to hold the document at its bottom edge.²¹ The pose often appears too awkward for the official to be reading the text, and this suggests he is in the process of handing the papyrus over to the tomb owner. One example shows the document actually placed in the outstretched hands of the tomb owner

¹⁹ See the Saqqara tomb of Ankhmahor Sesi: *Urk.* 1, 203.7 = Jean Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah* (Brussels, 1907), pl. 49.63 = Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken*, p. 332 § 1503: *šd.t n≈f sš n kṛst≈f dyt n≈f m ḥṭp dì nswt*, "Reciting to him the document for his burial equipment which was given to him as a *ḥṭp-dì-nswt*." Cf. also the Giza tomb of Qar: Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, Giza Mastabas 2 (Boston, 1976), p. 9 and fig. 28. From the Middle Kingdom, cf. Blackman, *Meir* 3, pl. 23 (tomb B4, Ukh-hotep, son of Ukh-hotep and Mersi): *šd.t sš ìn ḥṛy-ḥb ḥṛy-ṭp sš mdṣwt Ḥnw sṣ Wḥ-ḥṭp*, "Reading the document by the chief lector priest, scribe of the books, Henu's son Ukh-hotep."

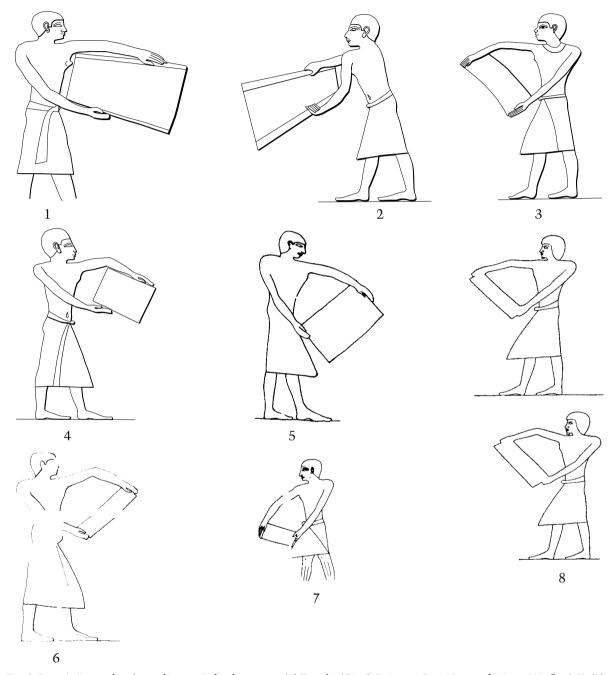


Fig. 3. Pose 1: "extending/spreading out" the document. (1) Kanefer (Giza): Reisner, Giza Necropolis 1, p. 441, fig. 262. (2) Khafre-ankh (Giza): fig. 9; Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 9a (= MFA Expedition photographs A 7390 [Jan. 18, 1936] and A 7398 [Jan. 21, 1936], both unpublished). (3) Nefer and Kahay (Saqqara): Moussa and Altenmüller, The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay, fig. 13. (4) Nikaure (Giza): Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 15. (6) Neferbauptah (Giza): Weeks, Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, fig. 11. (7) Neferiretenef (Saqqara): van de Walle, Neferiretenef, pl. 12. (8) Nofer I (Giza): Junker, Gîza 6, p. 37, fig. 5.

(additional examples occur under the other poses described below).²² In another case, the tomb owner extends his left hand, palm open, to receive the document.²³

To look beyond the Old Kingdom for a moment, a three-dimensional wooden example on model "yacht T" from the Dynasty 11 tomb of Meket-re at Thebes (MMA 20.3.4) is instructive in explaining pose 1. In three dimensions, the presenter's arms are at equal height; the papyrus is unrolled and oriented so that the seated Meket-re can read "a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of oxen and fowl."²⁴

Pose 2: cradling the document (24 examples)

In this case the far arm again reaches down to hold the papyrus at the bottom, similar to pose 1. The near arm, however, stretches down, then up towards the papyrus, bending upward at the elbow (fig. 4). The arm often disappears behind the document, with the hand reappearing on the far side, either to hold or cradle the papyrus. The near arm's hand is usually placed halfway up the document. The pose is much more conducive to reading the document aloud, but is equally suited to handing it over to the tomb owner. In what one might term variants A and B of pose 2, the papyrus can be either unfurled (A, 17 examples) or rolled up and sealed (B, 8 examples).²⁵

Pose 3: *holding* the document (14 examples of pose A; 4 of pose B) This pose resembles pose 2 with the exception that the near arm holds the papyrus at the top (fig. 5). The presenter thus no longer cradles it but

²⁰ Additional examples of pose 1, not shown in fig. 3, may be found in the tombs of Werirni: Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 16; Khentkaues (Giza): Junker, *Gîza* 7, p. 73, fig. 31; Neferbauptah and Iymery (Giza): Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, figs. 9 (= Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 56a) and 27 (= Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part 1, *Reversals*, p. 72, fig. 74, and Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 49a); Rashepses (Saqqara): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 61a; Perneb (Saqqara): Ransom-Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-Neb*, pl. 6, and Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1, p. 92, fig. 51, and H.G. Fischer, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), p. 83, fig. 2; Werkhu (Giza): Hassan, *Gîza* 5, p. 248, fig. 106 = Lepsius, *Ergänzungsband*, pl. 38; Hemet-re (Giza): Junker, *Gîza* 6, pl. 56, fig. 40; Ptah-hotep (Saqqara, Ls 31): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 102a; and Rawer (Giza), Lepsius, *Ergänzungsband*, pl. 25; P. Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut* (Mainz am Rhein, 1993), p. 66, pls. II.3 and 38.

²¹ An unusual example from the tomb of Shetwi at Giza shows the presenter holding the papyrus from the top with the near arm, but apparently gesturing at it with the free hand of his outstretched far arm; cf. Junker, *Gîza* 9, p. 187, fig. 86.

²² James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 1, 2nd edition, pl. 29.2, no. 718 (Werirenptah from Saqqara, temp. Neferirkare or later, *PM* 3, 2nd ed., p. 699).

²³ Moussa and Altenmüller, The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay, pl. 24a.

²⁴ See H.E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, MA, 1955), p. 60, pls. 45 (bottom), 49 (right), and 50 (top, center). For an inscribed, unrolled papyrus on the lap of Amenhotep, son of Hapu(?) (OIM 14321), see E. Teeter, "Amunhotep son of Hapu at Medinet Habu," *JEA* 81 (1995), pp. 232–36, pl. 22



Fig. 4. Pose 2: "cradling" the document. (1) Khaf-khufu I (Giza): Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, pp. 12–13, pl. 17b, fig. 29. (2) Merib (Giza): Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib*, pp. 23, 32, 58; Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 22b. (3) Duaenre (Giza): unpublished, MFA Expedition photographs B 7990 [January 10, 1932] and A 3654 [September 20, 1925]. (4) Meresankh III (Giza): Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersy-ankh III*, p. 20, fig. 12, pl. 12c. (5) Khunes (Zawiyet el-Meitin): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 105a. (6) Nefer-ked (Giza): unpublished: MFA Expedition photographs A 6481 [April 10, 1932], A 6482 [April 11, 1932]. (7) Wehemka (Giza): after Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka*, pp. 36–37. (8) Seneb (Giza): Junker, *Giza* 5, p. 89, fig. 22. (9) Nofer I (Giza): Junker, *Giza* 6, p. 36, fig. 5. (10) Iymery (Giza): Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G* 6000, fig. 39 = Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 51.

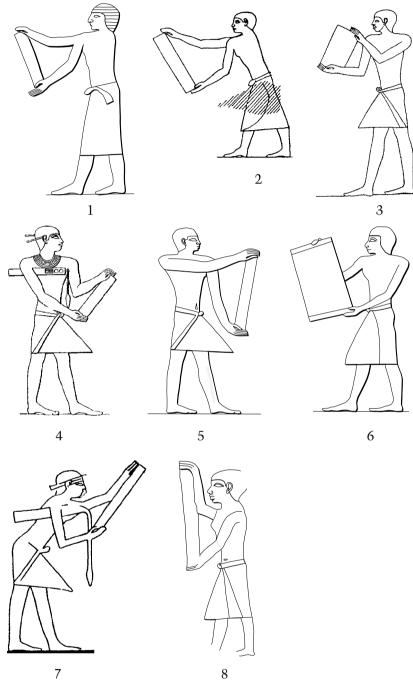


Fig. 5. Pose 3: "holding" the document. (1) Seshat-hotep (Giza): after Junker, *Gîza* 2, p. 183, fig. 29. (2) Nisut-nefer (Giza): Junker, *Gîza* 3, p. 169, fig. 30. (3) Seshemnofer IV (Giza): Junker, *Gîza* 11, p. 209, fig. 80. (4) Ptah-hotep (Saqqara): Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1937–1938, vol. 2, *Mastabas of Nyrankh-Pepy and Others* (Cairo, 1975), p. 49, pl. 44; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 9. (5) Kagemni (Saqqara): von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 13. (6) Sekhemka (Giza): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 89c. (7) Pepiankh-hery-ib (Meir): Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 16. (8) Neferherenptah (Giza), unpublished: MFA Expedition photograph B 8903 (December 11, 1937).

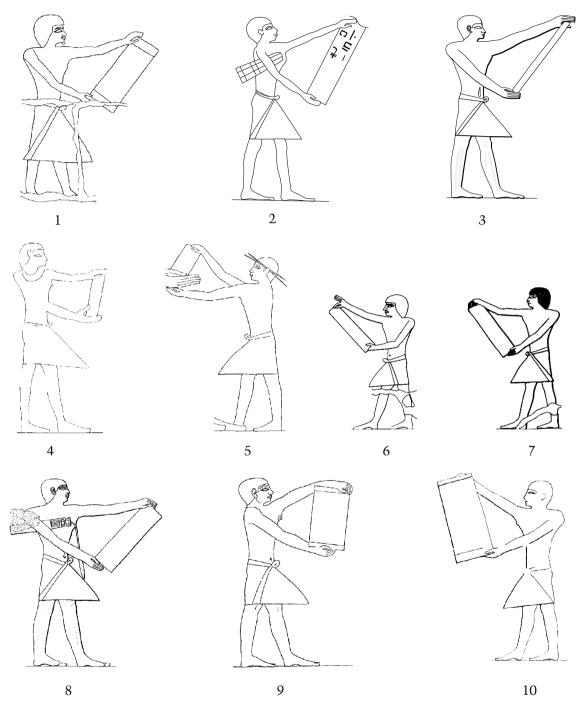


Fig. 6. Pose 4: "proclaiming" the document. (1) Meresankh III (Giza): Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, pl. 2c, fig. 3b. (2) Fetekta (South Abusir): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 96. (3) Kagemni (Saqqara): von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, pl. 12. (4) Hemre-Isi (Deir el-Gebrawi): Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 18. (5) Kahif (Giza): Junker, *Giza* 6, p. 115, fig. 34, pl. 6a. (6) Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Saqqara): Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, scene 15.2, p. 103, pl. 34 and fig. 13. (7) Idut (Giza): Macramallah, *Idut*, pl. 20. (8) Mereruka (Saqqara): Duell et. al., *Mereruka*, pl. 51. (9) Ti (Saqqara): Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pl. 167. (10) Ti (Saqqara): ibid., pl. 27.

actually holds it firmly. The official could either be reading or handing it over, but the document remains held rather close to his body. Once again, one might distinguish between 3A, where the papyrus is unfurled, and 3B, where it is rolled up. One example may show the document in motion(?), first in the hands of the presenter, then in the outstretched hands of the recipient tomb owner.²⁶ For exceptions to the pose described above, i.e., with the near arm at the bottom of the document and the far arm at the top, compare the figures in the tombs of Seshem-nofer IV (pose 3A) and Kagemni (pose 3B).²⁷

Pose 4: proclaiming the document (16 examples)

This pose shows the near arm extended straight and upward, holding onto the top of the papyrus document (fig. 6). The far arm reaches downward once again to grasp the bottom of the papyrus. The presenter seems to keep the document as far away from his body as possible. He holds it completely unrolled, at its maximum length, giving it to the tomb owner. One tomb shows the official delicately pinching the papyrus at the top between his thumb and forefinger, with the remaining fingers clearly delineated separately, while another depicts the same hand with fingers curled protectively over the top front edge of the papyrus.

²⁵ In the tomb of Nofer (I), presenter figures hold a rolled up document on the south thickness and an open one on the north thickness; Junker, Gîza 6, p. 36, fig. 5. Additional examples of pose 2, not shown in fig. 4, may be found in the tombs of Inti (Deshasheh): W.M.F. Petrie, Deshasheh (London, 1898), pl. 13 = N. Kanawati and A. McFarlane, Deshasha. The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others (Sydney, 1993), p. 25, pl. 28; Hemre-Isi (Deir el-Gebrawi): Davies, Deir el-Gebrâwi 2, pl. 18; Duaenre (Giza): unpublished, MFA Expedition photographs A 6762, B 5768, A 6759; Khnumhotep (Giza): A. Fakhry, Sept tombeaux à l'est de la grande pyramide de Guizeh (Cairo, 1935), figs. 7, MFA Expedition photographs A 7177 (July 19, 1933), A 6965 (May 28, 1932); Setju (Giza G 4710 = LG 49), unpublished: MFA Expedition photographs A 7925 (February 21, 1938), A 7140 (June 30, 1933); Tjenti (Giza, LG 77), unpublished: MFA Expedition photographs A 7452–53 (February 3, 1936): Ipv (Giza, LG 80), unpublished: MFA Expedition photographs A 7465-66 (February 19, 1936); Iymery (Giza): Weeks, Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, fig. 39 = Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 51; Khunes (Zawiyet el-Meitin): Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 107; and Khentkaus (Abusir), M. Verner, Abusir 3, The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus (Prague, 1995), pp. 70, 86 (90/A) 78); Oar (Giza): Simpson, The Mastabas of Oar and Idu, p. 9, fig. 28; Nebet (Saggara): Munro, Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut, p. 70, pl. 17 (twice).

²⁶ Pepiankh-hery-ib (Meir D 2): Blackman, Meir 4, pl. 15; see above, note 18.

²⁷ Seshem-nofer IV: Junker, *Gîza* 11, p. 209, fig. 80; Kagemni: von Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai* 1, p. 13. Additional examples of pose 3, not shown in fig. 5, may be found in the tombs of Rashepses (Saqqara): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl.64a; Khnumenty (Giza): Brovarski, Giza Mastabas, forthcoming; and Niuty (Giza): Lepsius, *Ergänzungsband*, pl. 30; Nebet (Saqqara): Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut*, p. 70, pl. 19 (three examples) and p. 66, pls. II.3 and 38.

²⁸ Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Saqqara): Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, scene 15.2, p. 103, pl. 34 and fig. 13. The thumb is also visible on a figure in the Giza tomb of Za-ib (G 2092+2093): A.M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, Giza Mastabas 6 (Boston, 1995), p. 110, pls. 68b and 172c.

Pose 5: proffering the document (4 examples in two tombs)

This is the only pose that suggests a medium other than papyrus for the document presented (fig. 7). The presenter extends both arms fully out in front of him and grasps the document with both hands from the bottom (or is it the side?). Actual papyrus would droop downward when held only at one end; hence the document may represent a writing board or tablet, rigid enough to withstand being held at the edge. Note, however, the discussion above under costume and equipment of the presenter, with fig. 2 indicating papyrus documents all around the document presenter. The official can hardly be reading the document aloud in this pose, thus he must be giving it to the tomb owner.

VARIANT POSES AND MISCELLANEOUS EXAMPLES

Several scenes display interesting variants on typical Egyptian representational perspective, with torsos and arms in three-quarter or true profile view. Most of these examples are found when the presenter faces left in the scene towards the rightward-facing tomb owner. Some of them may also be ascribed to (often late Old Kingdom) provincial variations, created at a distance from the prevailing court styles of the earlier Old Kingdom. Examples of poses with one shoulder shown in three-quarter perspective occur in the tombs of Werirenptah, Iymery, Werkhu, Hemre-Isi, Pepiankh-hery-ib, and Ti.³⁰ Both shoulders appear bent forward towards the document, often with one arm obscured behind the other, in the tombs of Khafre-ankh, Pepiankh-hery-ib, Seshat-hotep, Nisutnefer, Kahif, and Kaninisut.³¹ The most striking example is on a loose block from the tomb of Neferherenptah at Giza (g 4311; fig. 8). The pre-

³¹ Khafre-ankh: Lepsius, *Denkmaeler 2*, pl. 9 = Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, p. 526, fig. 183; Pepiankh-hery-ib: Blackman, *Meir 4*, pl. 15; Seshathotep: Junker, *Gîza 2*, p. 183, fig. 29; Nisut-nefer: Junker, *Gîza 3*, p. 169, fig. 30; Kahif: Junker, *Gîza 6*, p. 114, fig. 34, pl. 9; Kaninisut: Junker, *Gîza 2*, p. 153, fig. 19.

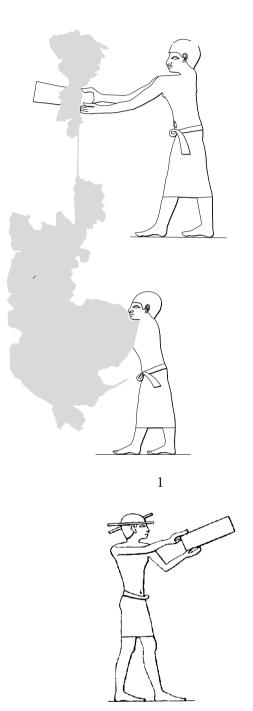


Fig. 7. Pose 5: "proffering" the document. (1) Kaninisut (Giza): fig. 2 and Junker, *Gîza* 2, p. 153, fig. 19. (2) Tjenti (Giza): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 30, idem, *Ergänzungsband*, pl. 26.

²⁹ Ti (Saqqara): Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pl. 167. Additional examples of pose 4, not shown in fig. 6, may be found in the tombs of Senedjemib-Mehi (Giza): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 74c; and Kaemnofret (Giza), unpublished: MFA Expedition photographs A 7375 (January 9, 1936), A 7334 (January 3, 1936); Nebet (Saqqara): Munro, *Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut*, p. 60, pls. I.4 and 13, p. 63, pl. 14, and p. 70, pl. 17.

³⁰ Werirenptah (Saqqara): James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 1, 2nd edition, pl. 29.2, no. 718; temp. Neferirkare or later, *PM* 3, 2nd ed., p. 699); lymery: Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000*, figs. 26–27, pl. 12b = Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 49a; Werkhu: Hassan, *Giza* 5, p. 248, fig. 106; Hemre-Isi: Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 2, pl. 19; Pepiankh-hery-ib: Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 16; Ti: Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pl. 167. For an unusual Middle Kingdom example in the tomb of Khnumhotep (tomb 3) showing the *sš r nswt Nfr-htp* with two documents, one of them rolled, see P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasa*n 1 (London, 1893), pl. 30.



Fig. 8. Digital drawing of loose block 37–7–21 from the tomb of Neferherenptah at Giza (G 4311; actually found in G 4341), based on MFA Expedition photograph B 8903 (December 11, 1937).

senter, a document keeper (*iry-mdst*) appears in partial profile, with the left shoulder delineated and the breast protruding.

A few examples of officials seated while presenting documents are worth mentioning. In the tomb of Ptahhotep at Saqqara, a seated presenter places the document directly into the hands of the tomb owner.³² In the Giza tomb of Merib, an official sits holding a rolled up document with the caption (oriented to the tomb owner): mis sš wdb-rd, "Viewing the document of the reversion offerings."³³ This same caption is oriented, not to the tomb owner but, unusually, to the document presenter, in the Giza tombs of both Seshat-hotep and Nisut-nefer (see the caption translations below).

The orientation of the document presented

An interesting question arises as to the orientation of the text on the papyrus document. Are the inscriptions written horizontally or vertically? It appears as if the papyrus is almost always a vertical one, with the text in columns rather than horizontal lines. Actual examples, such as the Hekanakhte letters, confirm such an orientation.³⁴ But it is possible that Egyptian representational perspective clouds the issue here, and one wonders if the scene is carved with one arm shown "above" the other in order not to obscure either part of the document or the hands of the presenter.

It is interesting to note several examples where the rolled ends of the papyrus are indicated in relief by additional carved lines (see fig. 9).³⁶

³² R.F.E. Paget and A.A. Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (London, 1896, reprint 1989), p. 27, pl. 35.

³³ Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 22c = Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib*, pp. 32, 59. For a recently published Middle Kingdom example of a seated scribe, see Henry G. Fischer, *The Tomb of Ip at El Saff* (New York, 1995), rear wall, pls. 5 and G.

³⁴ T.G.H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and other early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962). For discussions of papyrus manufacture, size, recto/verso and orientation of papyrus fibers, etc., cf. Jaroslav Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt*; see also R. Parkinson and S. Quirke, *Papyrus* (Austin, 1995), B. André-Leicknam and C. Ziegler, *Naissance de l'écriture. cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes* (Paris, 1982), esp. pp. 340–57.



Fig. 9. Detail of the east wall of the tomb of Khafre-ankh at Giza (G 7948 = LG 75; MFA Expedition photograph A 7390, January 18, 1936).

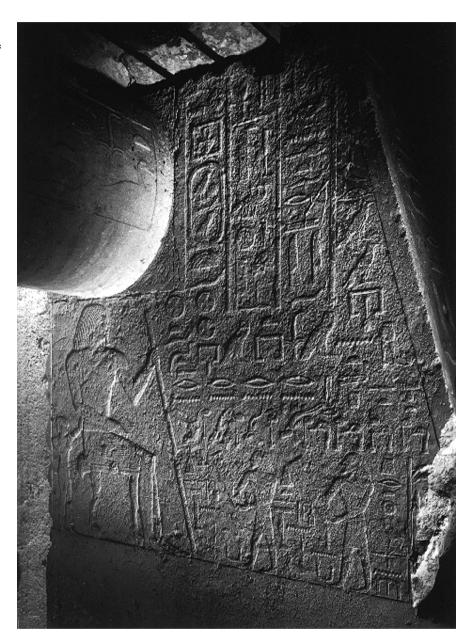
This detail occurs, logically enough, almost exclusively in scenes where the presenter grasps the papyrus at the top and bottom, i.e., holding the two end rolls apart, exposing merely a portion of the text's contents (see poses 1, 3, and 4). One example even shows the fingers of the lower hand wrapped around the papyrus roll, which would logically be invisible in a modern perspective.³⁷ In poses where the papyrus is cradled, or held in the middle (pose 2), the end roll detail is absent from this representation.

³⁵ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 11; for improvements on the translation, see Henry G. Fischer, "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' *Deir el Gebrâwi*," *JARCE* 13 (1976), pp. 11–13. In the tomb of Pepiankh-hery-ib at Meir, there occurs a similar scene, although there is no text visible on the document itself; cf. Blackman, *Meir* 5, pl. 15. The caption above the scene reads: sš m wy hmt n ht 3bd 84, "Registering the handiwork of female servants for the whole month, 84" (following Fischer, *JARCE* 13 [1976], p. 11).

³⁶ Cf. Khafre-ankh (G 7948 = LG 75): our fig. 9, and Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 9a, unpublished MFA Expedition photographs A 7390, 7398; Kanefer (Giza, G 2150): Reisner, *Giza Necropolis* 1, p. 441, fig. 262; Meresankh III (Giza, G 7530–40): Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, pl. 2c, fig. 3b; Shetwi (Giza): Junker, *Gîza* 9, p. 187, fig. 86; Perneb (Saqqara; now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art): Ransom-Williams, *The Decoration of the Tomb of Per-Neb*, pl. 6, Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 1, p. 92, fig. 51; Werkhu (Giza, LG 95): Hassan, *Gîza* 5, p. 248, fig. 106; Hemet-re (Giza): Junker, *Gîza* 6, pl. 56, fig. 40; Pepiankh-hery-ib (Meir): Blackman, *Meir* 4, pl. 15; Sekhemka (Giza, LG 51 = G 4411): Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 89c; Ti (Saqqara): Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pls. 19 and 167.

³⁷ Cf. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 4th edition, p. 147, fig. 126, p. 254 = *Principles of Egyptian Art*, p. 143, fig. 126, p. 253.

Fig. 10. North entrance thickness of the tomb of Khufu-khaf I at Giza (G 7130–7140; MFA Expedition photograph A 6747, December 20, 1931).



The contents of the document

As noted above, the document presentation scene often occurs with no identifying caption whatsoever. In other cases, nothing more is stated other than the fact that the papyrus is offered r ms, "for inspection." 38

In only three examples is the papyrus actually inscribed; a fourth shows a seated scribe writing the text. From Giza, two of the examples

³⁸ See the tomb of Ti at Saqqara, Wild, *Tombeau de Ti*, pl. 167.

show carved numbers on the document itself, and a third, damaged scene from Saqqara contains painted signs. Other examples may once have contained texts in paint only, which has since disappeared. Below is given a list of the contents of the documents, wherever they are specifically stated in our corpus. The first three entries, Merib, Khaf-khufu I and Fetekta, contain inscriptions directly on the documents.

Merib (Giza; figs. 1 and 4 [no. 2]). The document is presented by the sealer of the festival perfume, but more than just unguents are listed in the text:

200,000 t 40,000 ḥnķt 3,300 p³t 500 š³tౖt 500 iw³ 400 m³-ḥdౖ 200 sr 400 t̪rp

Bread: 200,000, beer: 40,000, cakes: 3,300, shatjet-food: 500, oxen: 500, oryx: 400, set-geese: 200, tjerep-geese: 400^{39}

Khaf-khufu I (Giza; figs. 4 [no. 1] and 10). The overall caption to the scene mentions viewing the invocation offerings. Since no other scene is present on this jamb, one can assume the documents contain lists of *prt-lprw*:⁴⁰

Document of Wetka: t? [...] [hnkt?] 200,000 pst 200,000 [...] 400 trp? 300 [...] 600?

Bread? [...], [beer?] 200,000, cakes 200,000, [...] 400, tjerep-geese? 300, [...] 600?

Document of Iunka: t? 30,000 ḥnķt 30,000 p3t 20,000 ḥnķt 20,000 [...] 400? [...] sr? 200? [...] 200 [...] 200 ṭrp? 200 s? 200

Bread? 30,000, beer 30,000, cakes 20,000, beer 20,000 [...] 400?, ser-geese? 200? [...] 200, tjerep-geese? 200, se-geese? 200

Fetekta, (South Abusir; fig. 6 [no. 2]): [...] pr [...] nswt [...], [...] estate [...] king [...]⁴¹

Ibi, Deir el-Gebrawi: src kzw wt 32,400, The production of cattle, large and small, 32,400⁴²

Khentkaues (Giza), Ptah-hotep (Saqqara), Sekhemka (Giza): ndt-hr, offerings⁴³

Seshat-hotep (Giza), Nisut-nefer (Giza), Merib (Giza): wdb-rd, reversion offerings 44

Kaninisut (Giza): sš n niwt n pr-dt, document of towns of the funerary estate⁴⁵

Meresankh III (Giza): sš n hmw-k3, document of funerary priests⁴⁶

Shetwi (Giza): sš r m33 prt-hrw, inspection of the invocation offerings⁴⁷

³⁹ Priese, Die Opferkammer des Merib, pp. 23, 32, 58 = Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 22b.

⁴⁰ The document numbers, difficult to read in the drawing, are not translated in Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II,* pp. 12–13, pl. 17b, fig. 29. No MFA Expedition photographs of the scene taken straight on exist for "remote collation;" the scene needs additional study at Giza.

⁴¹ Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 96. On the recently rediscovered tomb: M. Verner, "The Tomb of Fetekta and a Late Dyn. 5–Early Dyn. 6 Cemetery in South Abusir," *MDAIK* 50 (1994), pp. 294–305.

⁴² Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi* 1, pl. 11; Fischer, *JARCE* 13 (1976), pp. 11-13.

⁴³ Khentkaues: Junker, *Gîza* 7, p. 73, fig. 31; Ptah-hotep: Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1937–1938, vol. 2, *Mastabas of Nyrankh-Pepy and Others*, p. 49, pl. 44; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* 1, pl. 9; Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part 1, *Reversals*, pp. 73 and 75, fig. 76; Sekhemka: Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 89c.

⁴⁴ Seshat-hotep: Junker, *Gîza* 2, p. 183, fig. 29; Nisut-nefer: Junker, *Gîza* 3, p. 169, fig. 30; Merib: Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib*, pp. 23, 32, 58 = Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 22b.

⁴⁵ Junker, *Gîza* 2, p. 153, fig. 19.

⁴⁶ Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, p. 9, pl. 2c, fig. 3b.

Qar (Giza): s3hw 53w, numerous glorifications 48

Kagemni (Saqqara): three captions list livestock: mdst sš n wt, document of the list of

mdst n iws imy mdt document of oxen in the stall, and mdst n wndw, document of short-horned cattle

Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep (Saggara): sš n iht bnrt, document of sweet things⁴⁹

Texts accompanying the presentation scene

About twenty-six examples were gathered where the action of presentation itself is described with a caption. With a few notable exceptions, the phrase most often begins with an infinitival form of the verb rdi, and varies from a few words to an entire descriptive sentence. Attested forms of the verb(s) include di, di.t, rdi and rdi.t. Other initial narrative infinitives include 3wt "extending/spreading out," sir.(t) "proffering," and *šd.t* "reciting."

The orientation arrows used below always refer to the direction in which the hieroglyphs face, for example, \leftarrow indicates 50 In the following passages, additional texts containing names and titles are omitted (for the titles of the document presenters, see the discussion above).

Pose 1: Rashepses, Saqqara Ls 16 (Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 64a)

Presenting the document

Pose 1: Kaemnofret, Giza LG 63 (Badawy, The Tombs of Iteti, Sekhem^enkh-Ptah, and Kaemnofret at Giza, fig. 29 = Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 91c)

Pose 1: Khentkaues, Giza (Junker, Gîza 7, p. 73, fig. 31)

rdit sš n n<u>d</u>t-ḥr

Presenting the document of offerings

Pose 1: Shetwi, Giza (Junker, Gîza 9, p. 187, fig. 86)

⁴⁷ Junker, *Gîza* 9, p. 187, fig. 86.

⁴⁸ Simpson, The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, p. 9 and fig. 28.

⁴⁹ Moussa and Altenmüller, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep, scene 15.2,

⁵⁰ On the confusion in the use of orientation arrows, see Fischer, The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part 1, Reversals, p. 5.

rdit sš r m33 prt-hrw

Presenting the document for inspection of the invocation offerings

Pose 1: Neferbauptah, Giza G 6010 (Weeks, Mastabas of Cemetery G 6000, fig. 9)

Pre[senting the document for in]spection

Pose 2A: Seneb, Giza (Junker, Gîza 5, p. 89, fig. 22)

Presenting the document of the funerary estate

Pose 2A: Merib, Giza G 2100-1 (Priese, Die Opferkammer des Merib, pp. 46, 48; Junker, Gîza 2, p. 128, fig. 11; Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 22 b; Harpur, Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, p. 472, fig. 62); E. El-Metwally, Entwicklung der Grabdekoration in den altägyptischen Privatgräbern [Wiesbaden, 1992], p. 210, fig. 27)

$$\leftarrow \bigwedge_{i} \bigcap_{j=1}^{n} \bigcap_{i=1}^{n} \bigcap_{j=1}^{n} \bigcap_{j=1}^$$

Presenting the document by the sealer of the festival perfume

Pose 2A: Khaf-khufu I, Giza G 7130-7140 (W.K. Simpson, The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, pp. 12-13, pl. 17b, fig. 29)

- (1) Presenting the document by the king's son Wetka

- (2) dì.t sš ìn s3 nswt Iwn-k3
- (2) Presenting the document by the king's son Iunka

Pose 2A: Wehemka, Giza D 117 (Hans Kayser, Die Mastaba des Uhemka. Ein Grab in der Wüste [Hannover, 1964], pp. 36-37)

Viewing the document

Pose 2A: Meresankh III, Giza G 7340-7350 (Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, p. 20, fig. 12, pl. 12c; El-Metwally, Entwicklung der Grabdekoration in den altägyptischen Privatgräbern, p. 211, fig. 29)

$$(3) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c} \\ \\ \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \\ \\ \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \\ \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \\ \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} \\ \\ \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}$$

- (3) possessor of veneration before his lord every day, (4) the scribe Khemetnu junior.

Pose 2A: Qar (Giza): Simpson, The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, p. 9 and fig. 28.

(1) Reciting numerous glorifications (2) by the eldest lector priest, (3) possessor of veneration before the great god, Qar

Pose 3A: Sekhemka, Giza G 4411 (Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 89c)

Pose 3A: Ptahhotep I, Saqqara (Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara, 1937-1938, vol. 2, Mastabas of Ny ankh-Pepy and Others, p. 49, pl. 44; Murray, Saqqara Mastabas 1, pl. 9; Fischer, The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part 1, Reversals, pp. 73 and 75, fig. 76)

rdit sš n ndt-ḥr

Presenting the document of the offerings

Pose 3A: Seshat-hotep, Giza G 5150 = LG 36 (Junker, *Gîza* 2, p. 183, fig. 29)

Viewing the document of the reversion offerings

Pose 3A: Nisut-nefer, Giza G 4970 (Junker, Gîza 3, p. 169, fig. 30)

Viewing the document of the reversion offerings

Pose 3B: Kagemni, Saqqara (von Bissing, Gem-ni-kai 1, pl. 13)

Pose 3B: Kagemni, Saqqara (von Bissing, Gem-ni-kai 1, pl. 13)

$$|m_s|$$
 $|s|$ $|m_s|$ $|s|$ $|m_s|$ $|s|$ $|m_s|$ $|s|$ $|s$

Pose 4: Meresankh III, Giza G 7340-7350 (Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, p. 9, pl. 2c, fig. 3b; Urk. 1, 157.5)

⁵¹ For the omissiom of in, cf. E. Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik (Rome, 1955/64), § 696, and Henry G. Fischer, Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part 1, Reversals, p. 82, n. 214.

 $^{^{52}}$ On the verb si° , see Fischer, JARCE 13 (1976), pp. 11–13; Pierre Montet, Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire (Strasbourg, 1925), pp. 114-15 (mostly citing Kagemni).

(1) Presenting the document of the funerary priests (2) for inspection, by (3) the overseer of funerary priest(s), Khemetnu

Pose 4: Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, Saqqara (Moussa and Altenmüller, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep, scene 15.2, p. 103, pl. 34 and fig. 13)

sš n iht bnrt

Document of sweet things

Pose 4: Ti, Saqqara (Wild, Tombeau de Ti, pl. 167)

rdit (r) m3

Presenting (for)⁵³ inspection

Pose 4: Ti, Saggara, (Wild, Tombeau de Ti, pl. 44)

Presenting the document for inspection

This is the only example so far to show the $S\check{S}$ sign oriented correctly in a left-to-right inscription. This indicates that Gunn was correct in noticing the Egyptians' confusion or reluctance to reverse the scribal hieroglyph in texts written from left to right.⁵⁴

Pose 4: Mereruka, Saggara (Duell et. al., Mereruka 1, pl. 51)

Extending/spreading out the document

Pose 4: Kagemni, Saqqara (von Bissing, Gem-ni-kai 1, pl. 12 = Wreszinski, Atlas 3, pl. 87)

si^c md3t sš n 'wt

Proffering the document of the list of goats

This passage must contain both the words mdst and ss since mdst is never written with as a determinative.⁵⁵

Pose 4: Hemre-Isi, Deir el-Gebrawi (Davies, Deir el-Gebrawi 2, pl. 19; Fischer, JARCE 13 [1976], p. 13)

Proffering the document of the list

As Fischer has noted, ssr here must be a mistake for sir.

 $^{^{53}}$ The arrangement for the signs allows for the interpretation of a dittography, a second r serving as the preposition.

⁵⁴ C.M. Firth and B. Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries 1 (Cairo, 1926), p. 147, n. 1.

⁵⁵ On the verb si², see Wb. 4, 32.14; Fischer, JARCE 13 (1976), p. 13 with n. 10 (for this reference I am grateful to Edward Brovarski), citing Montet, Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire, pp. 114-15; Hans Kayser, Die Mastaba des Uhemka. Ein Grab in der Wüste (Hannover, 1964), pp. 36-37.

Pose 4: Za-ib, Giza G 2092+2093: A.M. Roth, A Cemetery of Palace Attendants, Giza Mastabas 6 (Boston, 1995), p. 110, pls. 68b and 172c

... for inspection (by) the steward...

Pose 5: Kaninisut, Giza G 2155 (Junker, Gîza 2, p. 153, fig. 19)

Presenting the document of the towns of [the funerary estate, and the li]st of the census of people

Pose 5: Tjenti, Giza G 4920 = LG 47 (Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 30; Lepsius, Ergänz. pl. 26; Junker, Gîza 3, pp. 38-39; (MFA Expedition photograph A 7178); Reisner, Giza Necropolis 1, pp. 214(10), 312(n)

Presenting the document for inspection [...] of the funerary estate

Note here the scribal equipment sign precedes the full spelling of ss.

Pose uncertain (figure erased): Ankhmahor Sesi, Saqqara (Badawy, The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara, p. 32, fig. 41, pl. 54 (erased); Urk. 1, 203.7 = Jean Capart, Une rue de tombeaux à Saggarah, pl. 49.63; Schott, Bücher und Bibliotheken, p. 332, § 1503

(1) $\delta d.t$ n = f $\delta \delta$ (2) n = fas a htp-di-nswt

REVERSALS

We have already discussed variations on the pose of the document presenter. What we might term "reversals" in the presentation scene often consist of the miss ss texts ("Viewing the document...") that should face the same direction as the tomb owner instead facing the same direction as the presenting official. ⁵⁶ Additional reversals involve the scribal palette of Gunn noted that is often reversed in texts written from left to right (i.e., the opposite of the hieratic *Vorlage*), since the scribe neglected to make the customary reversal.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Wehemka (Giza D 117): Kayser, Die Mastaba des Uhemka, p. 37 (m33 sš); Nisut-nefer (Giza G 4970): Junker, Gîza 3, p. 169, fig. 30 (mss sš n wdb-rd); Seshat-hotep (Giza G 5150 = LG 36): Junker, Gîza 2, p. 183, fig. 29 (mss sš n wdb-rd); Duaenre (Giza G 5110): unpublished, MFA Expedition photographs B 7990 [January 10, 1932] and A 3654 [September 20, 1925].

⁵⁷ C.M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 1 (Cairo, 1926), p. 147 n. 1. Examples in our corpus may be found in the tombs of Merib, Meresankh III, Khaf-khufu I, Seshathotep, Nisut-nefer, Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, and Kaninisut (see the translations above in the section on texts accompanying the presentation scene).

In order to avoid possible confusion, it should be mentioned that no reversal of administrative duties exists in the tomb of Meresankh III. In the caption "Presenting the document of the funerary priests for inspection by the overseer of funerary priests, Khemetnu," the phrase "by the overseer of funerary priests, Khemetnu" (*in imy-r ḥmw-ks Ḥmt-n(w)*) refers of course to the presenting, not the inspecting. It is Meresankh III herself (and not Khemetnu) who will do the inspecting (fig. 11).⁵⁸

Occasionally, different portions of the hieroglyphic caption are reversed in accordance with the individuals and actions they refer to. Noteworthy examples may be found in the tombs of Kahif at Giza and Ptah-hotep at Saqqara. But an additional example cited in the literature is actually no example at all, but rather is based on a Lepsius copy error. At Giza, Iymery's presentation scene shows the verb mis ("viewing") oriented with the tomb owner; the verb innt describing the articles being brought appears reversed in orientation with the offering bearers who do the "bringing." In fact, no reversal of the verb ini sign is present; the sign faces right along with the rest of the inscription. 60

CHRONOLOGY OF THE DOCUMENT PRESENTATION SCENE

To judge from the corpus assembled here, the earliest examples of the presentation scene occur in the tombs Khaf-khufu I (G 7130–7140, Khafre), Nikaure (LG 87, Khafre to Shepseskaf), ⁶¹ Hemet-re (Giza central field, Khafre to Userkaf), Meresankh III (G 7530–7540, Shepseskaf), Duaenre (G 5110; Shepseskaf), and Merib (G 2100-1, Shepseskaf to Unas).

A survey of the corpus by date indicates that the documentation scene occurs most frequently in the second half of Dynasty 5. In fact, the tomb with the greatest number of document presenters (11 examples) comes from the double mastaba of Nebet and Khenut (temp. Unas).⁶²

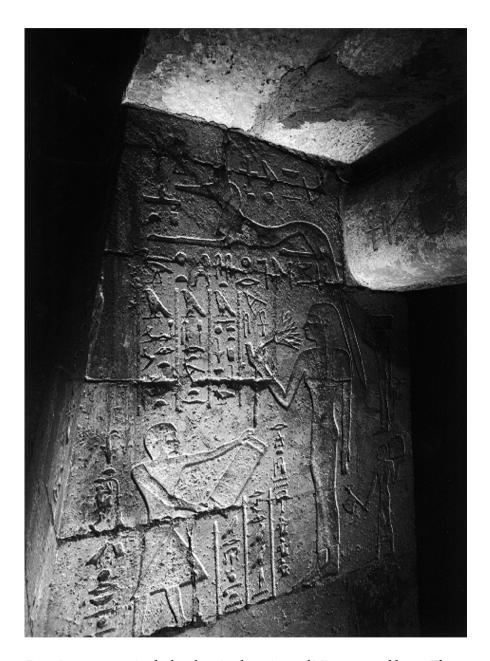
⁵⁸ The full caption reads: *rdì.t sš n ḥmw-k³ r m³³ ìn ìmy-r ḥmw-k³ Ḥmt-n(w)*, "Presenting the document of the funerary priests for inspection, by the overseer of funerary priests, Khemetnu."

⁵⁹ Kahif: north wall of chapel (Pepi II), Junker, *Gîza* 6, p. 127, fig. 40; Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part 1, *Reversals*, pp. 73–74, fig. 75; Ptah-hotep I: south wall (middle or late reign of Isesi); cf. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1937–1938, vol. 2, *Mastabas of Nyrankh-Pepy and Others*, p. 49, pl. 44; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas* I, pl. 9; Fischer, *Reversals*, pp. 73 and 75, fig. 76.

⁶⁰ The incorrect drawing, with the ∫ sign facing left, is in Lepsius, *Denkmaeler* 2, pl. 49a, and Fischer, *Reversals*, p. 72, fig. 74. The correct drawing may be found in Weeks, *Mastabas of Cemetery G* 6000, figs. 26–27, pl. 12b. Note that the document presenter is incorrectly drawn in all three examples, and should show two arms (not one) in pose 1. Cf. "An Old Kingdom Epigraphic Minutia (or: When a Reversal is not a reversal)," *Jubilatem Kollegi. Studies in Memory of Abdel Aziz F. Sadek, Varia Aegyptiaca* 10 (San Antonio, 1996), forthcoming.

⁶¹ Lepsius, Denkmaeler 2, pl. 15.

Fig. 11. South entrance thickness of the tomb of Meresankh III at Giza (G 7530–7540; MFA Expedition photograph A 5593, June 5, 1930).



Pose 1 occurs particularly often in the reigns of Niuserre and later. There is no particular chronological evolution from one pose to another; all five poses occur simultaneously, at least as far as the examples gathered reveal (pose 5, for example, is very rare).

 $^{^{62}}$ Munro, Der Unas-Friedhof Nord-West I. Das Doppelgrab der Königinnen Nebet und Khenut, pls. I.4, II.3, 13, 14, 17, 19, 38.

Conclusions

The presentation of the document can occur on nearly any wall of an Old Kingdom private tomb, from entrance facades and thicknesses (jambs) to chapel walls. In other words, anywhere a large scale figure of the tomb owner is present, a documentation presentation may take place. The document presenter is always male, and may bear familial relation to the tomb owner, but is rarely explicitly labelled as anything but an official. He often bears titles associated with (royal document) scribes, stewards, magistrates and funerary priests. Captions identifying the presenter and describing the scene are often absent; only about twenty-six out of more than seventy examples of the scene bore such inscriptions, although the nature of some early publications (e.g., Lepsius, Denkmaeler makes it difficult to confirm exact numbers. When captions describing either the presenter's action or the supervision of the tomb owner are present, a few interesting examples of hieroglyphic reversals occur, orienting the signs to the appropriate individuals involved.

The five poses of both presenter and tomb owner recipient display a wide variety, but the most common is pose 1, showing the presenter standing with front arm bent down at the elbow holding one end of the papyrus from above, and supporting the lower end with the back hand (fig. 3). The recipient tomb owner stands (rather than sits) most frequently with a staff in the "front" hand and a handkerchief in the "back" hand.

The document itself is inscribed in only three examples (noted above), but painted hieroglyphs might have disappeared from many examples. The contents of the document are either mentioned explicitly in the accompanying caption, must be gleaned from the surrounding offerings, or must be assumed to be generic in cases where no inscriptions are present. From the clearer examples, the papyri show a wide range of lists: invocation offerings (prt-hrw), reversion offerings (wdb-rd), ndt-hrofferings, festival perfume, rosters of funerary priests, of towns of the funerary estate, of livestock, and even sweets. The earliest examples of the scene occur at Giza during the reign of Khafre, but the highpoint of attested examples comes from the reigns of Niuserre and his immediate successors, in the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.

A Silver Uraeus Ring from Meroë



YVONNE MARKOWITZ

HILE THE MOST POPULAR MEROITIC RING TYPE WAS THE SEAL OR signet, other forms, including those with figural bezels, are known to exist. This subgroup is well-represented among the unplundered remains of Meroë W 179, a Meroitic burial that dates from the first to late second century A.D. Here, four of the six silver finger rings recovered by G.A. Reisner are tri-dimensional and depict motifs common to the Meroitic world, namely, the uraeus and ram's head. The two remaining rings are of of the signet variety.

Of the four figural rings from Meroë W 179, two were found adjacent to the remains of an ivory box with incised decorations. The most dramatic of these is a cast silver ram head ring with an Amun crown flanked by two uraei. The other ring, a uraeus with double feather crown, was found in several fragments. Fabricated from thick silver sheet, it appears to have been inlaid with colored enamels.

On the left hand of the deceased, Reisner discovered the corroded remains of a small uraeus ring. Unfortunately, neither fragments nor documentation currently exist for this jewel. However, the uraeus ring

¹ For a silver ring with a small figure of a seated ape in the round, see Pyramid N XVI, tomb of King Aryesbekhe, ca. 62–78 A.D., in Dows Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal*, RCK 4 (Boston, 1957), p. 139, pl. 60g. For a silver ring with an applied ram's head in relief from the western cemetery at Meroë (W 120, ca. 100–250 A.D.), see Dows Dunham, *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, RCK 5 (Boston, 1963), p. 228, fig. 159, 4, no. 5.

 $^{^2}$ For a detailed account of this tomb with its contents, see Dunham, *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, pp. 177–88.

³ The larger of the two signets (MFA 24.562), found on the left hand of the deceased, has a round bezel, flat profile and measures 2.0 cm (diameter) x 2.0 cm (bezel). The bezel image, corroded and indistinct, appears to be that of a seated figure before an altar. The second signet (B22–2–586), located on the right hand, has a circular bezel with scored parallel lines and measures 1.6 cm (diameter) x 1.8 cm (bezel). See Dunham, *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, p. 183, fig. 130e.

⁴ The large number of beads and pendants of varying materials, shapes and sizes associated with these fragments suggests that this container served as a jewelry casket.

⁵ For a discussion of the crowned ram ring, see Yvonne Markowitz in Nancy Thomas (ed.), *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Los Angeles, 1995), p. 238, no. 124.

 $^{^6}$ This item, corroded and in need of conservation, is in the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁷ The specific finger locations were not recorded for any of the rings.



Fig. 1. Silver uraeus ring from Meroë W 179, ca. 150–250 A.D. Museum Expedition 24.515. Photograph courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

from the right hand (MFA 24.515), including a finger bone positioned within the the ring's hoop, was recovered largely intact (fig. 1). Hand wrought from heavy silver sheet, it measures 1.9 cm in diameter, has a bezel height of 3.0 cm and a thickness that varies from 2.0 mm at the hoop to 3.0 mm along the cobra's hood. Several areas on the ring's surface appear golden to the naked eye. Also evident are three pairs of recesses located on the surface of the snake's hood (fig. 2). The floors of these "carved out" cells have tool marks (fig. 3) that suggest the use of a metal graver. The deep furrow that outlines the cells is also consistent with the removal of metal (engraving) rather than indenting (chasing), a decorative metal technique of considerable antiquity. Inlays, presumed to have filled the cells, are now missing.

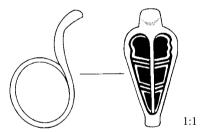


Fig. 2. Silver uraeus ring (MFA 24.515). Blackened areas represent regions where metal has been removed. Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

⁸ The graver was probably made of iron obtained from the extensive iron deposits of Meroë. See Jean Leclant, "Le fer dans l'Egypte ancienne, le Soudan et L'Afrique," *Annales de l'Est*, Mémoire 16 (1956), pp. 83–91.

⁹ While engraving was a technique employed by jewelers of Classical antiquity, chased decoration remained the preferred method of achieving pattern and linear design. See Jack Ogden, *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (London, 1982), pp. 44–45.



Fig. 3. Enlargement of upper left recess of uraeus ring showing tool marks made by a metal graver, Photograph courtesy Pamela Hatchfield.

Microscopic examination of the ring by Richard Newman (Department of Objects Conservation and Scientific Research, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) revealed the presence of golden areas on both the exposed surfaces and in the recesses. Using energy-dispersive x-ray fluoresseveral sites along the body of the snake and one spot within each cell were analyzed in order to determine the surface metal composition. Results indicate an average of 66.7% silver, 32.6% gold and < 1% copper for five spots along the body of the cobra and 84.6% silver, 14.7% gold and < 1% copper for areas within the recesses. In both cases, the gold content was greater than expected, 11 a finding compatible with the presence of a gilding layer. The consistently lower gold concentrations found in the recesses are harder to explain. It may be that a thinner gilding layer was used in these regions 12 although one questions the value of the latter since, presumably, inlays once filled these depressions. Another suggestion is that the metallic composition on the surface of the recesses reflects a base alloy or the diffusion of gilding material from one area to another.

While the recesses in the silver uraeus ring are missing their inlays, there is reason to believe they once contained enamel and represent a form of enamelwork known as *champlevé* enameling (fig. 4D). A rectangular silver plaque of comparable date from the northern royal cemetery at Meroë provides evidence for this technology in Nubia (fig. 5). This 4.1 cm x 2.5 cm decorative item, whose function remains unknown, is made of silver sheet approximately 1.2 mm thick. Its surface, enhanced by chased linework and gilding, has been systematically deformed

¹⁰ Sampling and analysis by electron microprobe was rejected in favor of a less destructive, albeit less definitive, technique.

¹¹ An analysis of the silver substrate from King Aspelta's jeweled alabastron (MFA 20.1070) revealed a silver content greater than 90%. See technical analysis by Richard Newman in Susanne Gänsicke, "King Aspelta's Vessel Hoard from Nuri in the Sudan," *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 6 (1994), pp. 33–34.

 $^{^{12}}$ An alternative explanation is that the body of the ring is a silver/gold alloy approximately 85% silver and 15% gold.

¹³ Jack Ogden has commented on the infrequency of enameled silver in the Ancient Near East and the presence of gilded surfaces in the few known examples. He explains that "... possibly the high coefficient of expansion with silver caused technical problems;" see *Jewellery of the Ancient World*, p. 135. More recently, Henderson noted that even slight differences in the expansion rates of metal and enamel can cause compression cracks during cooling. See Julian Henderson, "Technological Characteristics of Roman Enamels," *Jewellery Studies* 5 (1991), pp. 65–76.

¹⁴ This possibility was suggested by Richard Newman.

¹⁵ The plaque (MFA 24.1078) was found by Reisner in the debris left by Budge following his excavation of Pyramid N 24 in 1903. The tomb's occupant, possibly King Yesbokheamani, is believed to have lived during the second half of the third century A.D. See Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal*, pp. 193–94.

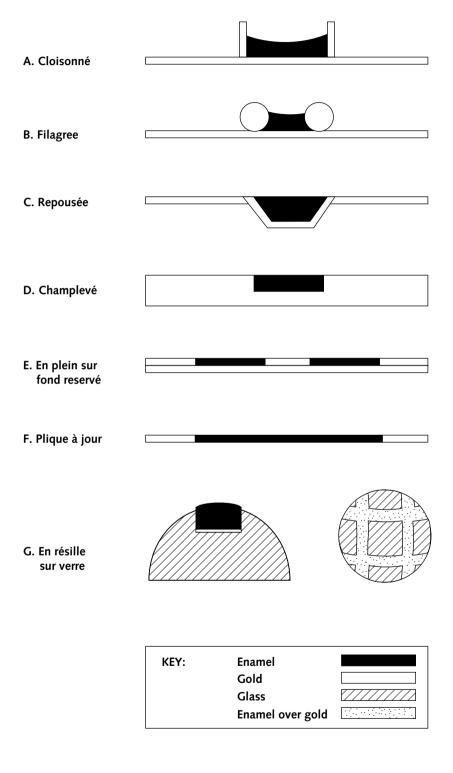
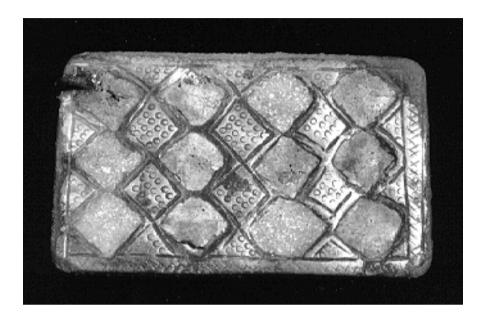


Fig. 4. Enameling techniques employed at Meroë.

Fig. 5. Plaque of gilded silver with enamel inlays (MFA 24.1048) from Meroë N. 24, ca. 280–300 A.D. Photograph courtesy Susanne Gänsicke.



downward to create twelve diamond-shaped depressions which were subsequently filled with inlay material. It is not known whether the metal surfaces under the inlays are gilded. Laboratory analysis of the insets revealed alternating blue/grey and green enamels that contained lead, copper, iron, antimony, strontium , manganese (blue/grey only) and possibly cobalt (blue/grey only). The concentration of lead was high in the blue/grey inserts while the green inlays were rich in copper.

An early first century A.D. example of an enameled silver ring also comes from the western cemetery at Meroë. This finger ornament, corroded and fragmentary, was examined and found to be approximately 97% silver. The blue and green inlays, formed from glass fused in place (true enamel), contained antimony, cobalt (blue inlays only), copper, zinc, calcium, strontium and lead. The ring is unique in that it appears to have been cast in a mold. The colored enamels were at some point set into the recesses created through the casting process.

 $^{^{16}}$ Using energy-dispersive x-ray fluorescence, a compositional analysis of the twelve inserts was carried out under the direction of Richard Newman, Department of Objects Conservation and Scientific Research, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

¹⁷ The ring (MFA 23.847), recovered from Meroë W 214, was found on the right hand of the deceased. The bezel, inlaid with blue and green enamels, is in the form of a *wadjet* eye. See Dunham, *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, p. 137.

¹⁸ Pamela Hatchfield of the Department of Objects Conservation and Scientific Research, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has examined the ring and concluded that it was cast rather than hand fabricated.

Enamelwork at Meroë

It is clear that by the third century A.D., the craftsmen of Meroë had developed the art of enameling to a high degree. Their ingenuity and sophistication are documented in a number of exceptional jewels that have survived theft and destruction.

From the Ferlini Treasure, the hinged bracelets of Queen Amanishekheto dramatically demonstrate *cloisonné* work where the enamels are placed in small compartments formed from metal strips soldered to a metal base (fig. 4A). *Repoussé* enameling (fig. 4C), in which depressed negative spaces on gold sheet are filled with colored enamels, is also frequently employed in the queen's jewels (fig. 6). Unique, however, is a solitary example (fig. 7) of open-backed or *ajouré* enamelwork (fig. 4F).

Other forms of the enamelers art at Meroë can be found among the jewels excavated by Reisner. They include several fine examples of filagree enamel (fig. 4B), notable for the use of wirework in lieu of metal strips. Less well-known are those ornaments where broad areas of fused glass are used in a painterly manner. Known as en plein sur fond reservé enameling, this technique involves a broad application of enamel to cover a simple surface (fig. 4E). It is well-represented in the hinged Hathor bracelet of gold and colored enamels from Pyramid 8 at Gebel Barkal (MFA 20.333). Perhaps the tour de force of enameling is that of en résille sur verre. In one variant of this technique, powdered enamel is set into grooves cut into glass (fig. 4G). This method was used to fabricate the glass eye beads from several royal tombs in the northern cemetery which date to the mid-first century A.D.

The silver uraeus ring from Meroë W 179, with its "carved out" recesses once filled with colored enamels, adds yet another technique to the enamelers' repertoire. While present among provincial Roman artifacts of the third to fifth century A.D., champlevé enameling has not previously been established as a method of enameling at Meroë.



¹⁹ Six of the original ten bracelets have survived. See Karl-Heinz Priese, *The Gold of Meroë* (New York, 1993), pp. 17–18.



Fig. 6. Hathor head pendant with blue enamels set into *repoussé* goldwork; h. 2.3 cm. Munich 2449c. Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

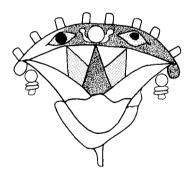


Fig. 7. Lotus pendant, gold frame and *plique à jour* enamel; h. 2.2 cm. Berlin 176-1. Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.

 $^{^{20}}$ For a late first century B.C. pair of earrings with gold and filagree enamel bosses from Meroë W 5, see Dunham, *The West and South Cemeteries at Meroë*, p. 122, fig. 125a.

²¹ The bracelet, found on the queen's coffin bench, dates to late first century B.C. See Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal*, p. 62, fig. 32.

²² For "... twenty-two ball beads of dark blue opaque glass decorated with gilded crisscross bands interspersed with 'eyes' of white, blue and yellow" from Meroë N 15, possibly the tomb of King Pisakar, ca. 30–40 A.D., see Dunham, *Royal Tombs at Meroë and Barkal*, p. 133, fig. 89a.

²³ Katharine Reynolds Brown, Migration Art, A.D. 300–800 (New York, 1995), pp. 18–19.

A Late Middle Kingdom Prince of Byblos



Geoffrey T. Martin

N A RECENT VISIT TO ST. PETERSBURG I WAS PRIVILEGED TO VIEW the Egyptian Collection of the Hermitage Museum in the company of the Curator, Dr. Andrey O. Bolshakov, who also showed me some material from the reserves. Among the latter was the scarab of prince K3-in, which I published as my first Egyptological article many years ago. 1 At that stage I was unable to assign a precise date to this hitherto unattested Byblite ruler, and terminated my brief paper with the hope that new evidence would be forthcoming to date him more closely. Such evidence has now emerged in a rather curious fashion. Examination of the back and sides of the scarab in question surprisingly revealed the fact that these crucial diagnostic features, shown on photographs generously supplied to me in 1968 by the then State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, were of an entirely different scarab-seal. On the illustrations published in my article the accession number of the scarab (5945) can be discerned twice: below the photograph of the base, and on one of the wing-cases, of the object. Unless there are two scarabs in the Collection bearing the same number, it appears that in this instance some confusion has arisen at an earlier stage in the history of the Collection. At any rate, the photographs illustrating the back, profile, front and rear of the object have nothing to do with the scarab-seal of prince K3-in. Personal examination has shown that the typological details² are in reality as shown in the accompanying fig. 1, and these have important chronological implications, revealing that the scarab is of a common and well-documented Thirteenth Dynasty type. The back conforms exactly to my Type 6c, with a single line separating the prothorax from the elytra, with a double line between the elytra, and a single line below.³ The profile is identical to my Type 5d, where the

¹ Geoffrey T. Martin, "A new Prince of Byblos," *JNES* 27 (1968), pp. 141–42, with pl. II. Subsequent publication in idem, *Egyptian administrative and private-name seals* (Oxford, 1971), no. 1689, with pl. 20 [37].

 $^{^2}$ The drawings are published in lieu of new photographs, which cannot at the moment be supplied.

front leg only is hatched or "feathered." The height of the scarab is 10 mm. With these details to hand a date for *K3-in*, prince (*ḥ3ty-r*) of Byblos, can confidently be suggested, since numerous royal name scarabs exhibiting precisely these diagnostic features are extant, covering the reigns of Sekhemrē^c-swadjtowe Sobekhotep III, Khacsekhemrē^c Neferhotep I, and Khacneferrē^c Sobekhotep IV. According to the Turin Canon, the first of these ruled a little over 3 years, the second rather more than 11 years, while the regnal years of the last are not extant in the Turin Papyrus. The reigns in question fall roughly between 1750 and 1720 B.C. We shall see below how prince *K3-in* is to be fitted into the existing Byblite "king-list."

Another Byblite ruler, prince Intn, whose name figures on three scarabs, 10 is firmly dated to Neferhotep I, 11 but might, of course, have begun his rule under one of this king's predecessors and could have survived into the reign of one of his successors. One of the scarabs of Intn (no. 262 in my catalogue) is of the same basic Thirteenth Dynasty type as that of Ks-in, though the base has a scroll, rather than a plain, border. Another scarab of Intn (no. 261) likewise dates to the same period, though typologically it is slightly "debased," 12 raising the faint possibility of the existence of a second Intn, distinct from the prince of no. 262, reigning later in the Thirteenth Dynasty. Generally speaking, the scarab of Ks-in now falls into one of the most easily recognizable and datable Thirteenth Dynasty types. 13



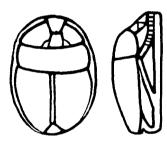


Fig. 1. Scarab of prince *K3-ìn*, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

³ Typology in Martin, Egyptian administrative... seals, pl. 53; cf. p. 5.

⁴ Op. cit., pl. 55.

⁵ Jürgen von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1964), pp. 240–243 [XIII.21].

⁶ Ibid., pp. 243–245 [XIII.22].

⁷ Ibid., pp. 246–250 [XIII.24].

⁸ All conveniently in Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961, repr. with corrections, 1962), p. 440. The chronology is that of William J. Murnane, *The Penguin Guide to Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1983), p. 352.

⁹ For a list of Bronze Age Byblite rulers, see W.F. Albright, "Further light on the History of Middle-Bronze Byblos," *BASOR* 179 (Oct. 1965), p.42, updated by K.A. Kitchen, "Byblos, Egypt, and Mari in the early Second Millennium B.C.," *Orientalia* 36 (1967), pp. 40–41. Cf. Nina Jidejian, *Byblos through the Ages* (Beirut, 1968), pp. 209–211.

¹⁰ Martin, op. cit., nos. 261–263, with pls. 32[14], 9[19].

¹¹ Kitchen, op. cit., p. 40, with previous bibliography.

¹² Martin, op. cit., pl. 53 (Type 8); cf. p. 5.

¹³ To cite only two major sources: W.M. Flinders Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with Names (London, 1917), pl. 18; Olga Tufnell, Studies on Scarab Seals II (Warminster, 1984), pls. 54–55. Cf., however, the view outlined in William A. Ward and William G. Dever, Studies on Scarab Seals III. Scarab typology and archaeological context (San Antonio, 1994), pp. 18–10.

A brief word may now be said on the reading of the name of the prince of the St. Petersburg scarab-seal. Originally I read the text as: "A boon which the King gives (to) Hathor, Lady of Byblos, (for) the Prince of Byblos, Ks-in," a translation to which I still adhere. H. De Meulenaere, in a generous review of my catalogue, queried the reading of the personal name, and suggested the possibility of its being another form of the name In(tn). Unwittingly I may have caused the misunderstanding by erroneously printing a superfluous phrase, $n \ ks \ [n]$, in the transliteration in the catalogue (no. 1689). This expression, "for the ka of," could not in any case be part of the standard $htp \ di \ nsw \ formula \ here, since the sign <math>ks$ is inserted after the title (hsty-r) and the toponym (Kpn). The correct transliteration of the text is therefore: $htp \ di \ nsw \ Hthr, \ nb(t) \ Kpn \ (n) \ hsty-r \ n \ Kpn \ Ks-in$.

In Kitchen's "king-list" of Byblos¹⁵ the son(?) and successor of *Intn* is named as Ilima-yapi(?), the source being an amethyst scarab, now in the Louvre Museum (no. 25729). This seal features as no. 174a in my catalogue. The scarab has been assigned to Byblos Royal Tomb IV,¹⁶ but on no firm evidence, and the object merits a re-examination here, not least on grounds of date. Typologically, this naturalistically modelled scarab is certainly earlier than the Thirteenth Dynasty, where the owner finds a place in the currently accepted "king-list." I would assign the seal to the early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty. ¹⁷ Further, there are grounds even for doubting the seal-owner's status as a ruler of the city-state of Byblos. Although we need not doubt that the scarab was acquired in Byblos after Ernest Renan's excavations, its precise find-spot is completely unknown. ¹⁸ The owner bears common Egyptian titles, whether execu-

¹⁴ Herman De Meulenaere, CdE 47 (1972), p. 147. For foreign masculine names incorporating the element ks, see now Thomas Schneider, Asiatische Personennamen in $\ddot{a}gyptischen$ Quellen des Neuen Reiches (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1992), pp. 209–23, 278–81, 297, 391–92. Professor Kenneth Kitchen (personal communication) thinks that the name Ks-in can feasibly be understood as West Semitic, either from the root $\sqrt{KL3}$ + affix $\ddot{a}n$, or from the root $\sqrt{GR3}$ + affix $\ddot{a}n$; hence, *Gur'an or *Kul'an. Cf. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament... based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius, edited by Francis Brown with the cooperation of S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs (Oxford, 1892), pp. 323, 378.

¹⁵ Kitchen, op. cit., p. 41, no. 6.

¹⁶ W.F. Albright, "The Eighteenth-Century Princes of Byblos and the Chronology of Middle Bronze," *BASOR* 176 (Dec. 1964), pp. 39–41, accepting the position of Pierre Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte: quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil* (Paris, 1928), pp. 197–99. Kitchen, loc.cit., assigns it to Tomb IV without demur. The paper of Alessandra Nibbi, "The Byblos question again," *DE* 30 (1994), pp. 115–41, came to hand as I was finishing this article. Page 136 is relevant here.

¹⁷ For the back type see Martin, op. cit., pl. 56 (type 4aq), cf. pp. 4–5. The remark concerning semi-precious stones needs to be revised in the light of the scarab under discussion. For the profile: pl. 55 (Type 3b), a type which cries out for a date in the Twelfth Dynasty.

tive or honorific, conventionally translated as "hereditary prince and count." It is noteworthy that there is no qualifying toponym, "of Byblos."

Most of the epithets engraved on this seal, larger than normal, are those that feature on other private-name scarabs. ¹⁹ The epithet ss mdd tbwt it > f, "a son who presses his father's sandals," i.e., who follows his father obediently, or in his footsteps, ²⁰ is unusual, but need not indicate that he was the heir to a princely throne. The same observation applies to the title iry p-t, "hereditary prince." The epithets could apply to any dutiful son, not least in the early Middle Kingdom, when such sentiments seem to be commonplace, ²¹ in inscriptional form if not in real life. The personal name on the scarab (fig. 2) which I read as Impy, is a common Egyptian one, cited for the Old and Middle Kingdoms. ²² In short, the seal seems to be that of an Egyptian official, but whether he had any function at the Byblite court, or whether his seal found its way to the Levant by chance, ²³ cannot of course be known.

On these grounds, and unless further evidence emerges, "prince Ilima-yapi(?)" should be ejected from the "king-list." This apparently radical move would leave a vacancy for prince K3-in at an appropriate time in the Thirteenth Dynasty, but whether as the immediate successor of Intn only future discoveries will show.

It is sobering to reflect how tenuous is our hold on these historical personages, powerful and influential no doubt in their day, now mere names surviving for the most part on small and fragile objects such as scarabs and seal-impressions.²⁴



Fig. 2. Facsimile drawing of the scarab of *Impy* or *Ims-ipy*, Louvre Museum. Paris.

¹⁸ Citing Ernest Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris, 1864), p. 854: "A Gébeil a été trouvé, depuis la mission, un scarabée en améthyste dont la base est couverte d'hiéroglyphes. Ce scarabée est en la possession de M. Péretié." The statement is reiterated by Pierre Montet, op. cit., p. 197: "Ce scarabée a été acquis à Gebeil peu après le départ de Renan par Péretié." ¹⁹ Especially *k3*, *nfr*, and *w3ḥ*, for examples of which see Martin, op. cit., pp. 187–88.

²⁰ Cf. related epithets in Jozef Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk, Erste deel* (Leiden, 1946), p. 71. Our epithet is cited there as Bc 28; cf. *Tweede deel*, pp. 103–105.

²¹ For an overview see Janssen, loc. cit.

²² PN I, 26, 13. I interpreted the first sign as a *yodḥ*, but even if it is an *ìm*; it does not lessen the force of the argument, since there are plenty of Egyptian personal names incorporating this element, cf. PN I, 25; II, 263. The name *Im*; *ipy*, citing this scarab, is PN II, 263, 7.

²³ Cf. my remarks in Tufnell, op. cit., p. 147. A fairly comprehensive list of scarabs and sealings of officials found in Western Asia generally can be made by consulting the index in my catalogue, pp. 189–90. Material continues to emerge: see, for example, Raphael Giveon, "Hyksos Scarabs with Names of Kings and Officials from Canaan," *CdE* 49 (1974), pp. 222–33. For a recent study, see Daphna Ben-Tor, "The historical Implications of Middle Kingdom scarabs found in Palestine bearing Private Names and Titles of Officials," *BASOR* 294 (May, 1994), pp. 7–22.

This reassessment of part of the "king-list" of Byblos is offered as a small tribute to an admired scholar and friend, whose enviable output of monographs and articles has illuminated so many aspects of Egyptian civilization and its interconnections with neighboring cultures, not least in the Middle Kingdom.



²⁴ Of many examples of officials of rank known only from such material, cf. the sealing and scarab of the vizier *Sbk-*^{c3} (called) *Bbì*, Martin, op. cit., nos. 1383–1384. A fuller treatment of his seal impression and of many others from Lisht South is in preparation by the writer. Finally, it may be suggested that when times are more propitious a facsimile corpus of all the crucial Egyptian texts from Gebeil might be undertaken.

Student Exercises from Deir el-Medina: The Dates



Andrea McDowell

K him I read many of the Middle Egyptian classics which were also assigned to pupils in Deir el-Medina 3,000 years earlier. It is appropriate, therefore, that I should offer him this piece on education in the workmen's village.

Students exercises are the single best attested genre at Deir el-Medina; several thousand ostraca bear fragments of the Middle Egyptian literary works, P Anastasi I, Miscellanies type texts, and the Kemyt. These are often assumed to be the work of beginners, because they are quite short and written on ostraca. In contrast, the Late Egyptian Mis-

¹ I am grateful to Richard Parkinson, John Baines, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert and Rob Demarée for advice and references. Publications of ostraca: O Ash 588 in D. van der Plas, L'hymne à la crue du Nil = Egyptologische Uitgaven 4, vol. 2 (plates) (Leiden, 1986); O Berlin P 12379 in A.H. Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe (Paris, 1916), p. 132 n. 2; O Cairo '217 = O Cairo 25217 in W. Helck, Der Text der "Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn," KÄT (Wiesbaden, 1969); O Cairo '224 = O Cairo 25224 in W. Helck, Die Prophezeiung der Nfr.tj, KÄT (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 45; O Cairo 25501-25832 in J. Černý, Ostraca hiératiques (nos. 25 501-832 = Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1935); O DeM 1001-1675 in G. Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Medinéh, 3 vols. = DFIFAO 1, 18, and 20 (Cairo, 1934–1980), continued by A. Gasse (nos. 1676–1774), 1 vol. = DFIFAO 25 (Cairo, 1990); O EA 329 in Posener, op. cit. vol. 2 = DFIFAO 18, pls. 1-25; O Gard 47 in W. Helck, Die Lehre des Dws-Ḥtjj, KÄT (Wiesbaden, 1970); O Genf 12551 in Helck, Lehre des Dws-Ḥtjj; O Glasgow 77 = O Glasgow D.1295.77 in A.G. McDowell, Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (Oxford, 1993); O Gol = O Golenischeff 4470 in G. Maspero, Hymne au Nil = BdE 5 (Cairo, 1912), pp. 18-20, and in van der Plas, op. cit.; O Grds = O Grdseloff in S. Bickel and B. Mathieu, BIFAO 93 (1993), pp. 31-51 and pls. 1-5; HO in J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1957); O Louvre EHT 7 in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I., KÄT (Wiesbaden, 1983); O Mich in H. Goedicke and E.F. Wente, Ostraka Michaelides (Wiesbaden, 1962); O OI 19361 in van der Plas, op. cit.; O Petrie 70 in Helck, Lehre des Dw3-Htjj; O Toronto A2 and A3 in A.H. Gardiner, H. Thompson, and J.G. Milne, Theban Ostraca (London, 1913); O Turin in J. López, Ostraca Ieratici, N. 57001-57568, Tabelle Lignee, N. 58001-58007. Cat. Mus. Eg. Tor., Ser. II-Collezioni, vol. 3, fasc. 1-4 (Milan, 1978-84); Var. Lit. C in van der Plas, op. cit.; O Wilson 106 in Helck, Lehre des Dw3-Ḥtjj.

² Hellmut Brunner *Altägyptische Erziehung*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1991), 66 and 76; similarly Adolf Erman, *Die ägyptischen Schülerhandschriften* = Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1925, Phil.-Hist. Kasse, Nr. 2 (Berlin, 1925), 9 and 23.

The thousands of student exercises from Deir el-Medina thus provide no evidence about the initial stage of instruction, that is, about the 't-sbsyt' where groups of boys were taught to read and write; and some hypotheses about primary education based on the ostraca should be reconsidered. For example, it is often said that there was a school at the Ramesseum, but so far as I know this is based only on the discovery of about 100 literary exercises in a raised area in the south-east corner of the magazine area. If the methods of instruction at the Ramesseum were the same as in the workmen's village, these would be evidence of advanced tuition and not of a school (which is not to say, of course that there was no such institution at the Ramesseum). Similarly, the find spots of exercises at Deir el-Medina do not correspond to the site of a local school, as Brunner suggested; in fact, it has recently been proposed that there was no school in the village at all. Second, while ostraca may

 $^{^3}$ Van de Walle, La Transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens (Brussels, 1948), pp. 17–18.

⁴ For colophons to Kemyt texts, see Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires* = DFIFAO 18, pls. 18 and 21. O Cairo JdE 56842, O DeM 1153, O Munich 1638, O Brussels E 3208, O DeM 1157, and O Brussels E 7627 are copies of the Kemyt with colophons of this type.

⁵ R.M. Janssen and Jac. J. Janssen, *Growing Up in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1990), pp. 79–80; van der Walle was probably also thinking of this text when he speaks of ostraca in which the signs are well separated from one another, as in our primary school texts (*Transmission*, p. 10).

⁶ On a school at the Ramesseum, see Brunner, *Erziehung*, 18 and *LÄ* V, col. 741–43; Janssen and Janssen, *Growing up*, p. 76. On the literary ostraca at the Ramesseum, see the Introduction in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Hieratic Ostraka & Papyri found by J.E. Quibell, in the Ramesseum*, 1895–6, Egyptian Research Account, Extra Volume, 1898 (London, 1898).

⁷ Brunner, Erziehung, p. 18 and LÄ V, col. 742.

⁸ Dominique Valbelle, *Les Ouvriers de la Tombe*, BdE 96 (Cairo, 1985), p. 245; Janssen and Janssen, *Growing up*, pp. 76–77.

well have been used for children's first exercises in writing because they were cheap and readily available, this cannot be demonstrated since none of these earliest efforts survives. And finally, the script and writing errors of the texts from Deir el-Medina cannot be used to explain how writing and reading were taught in the first instance.

This leaves us with very little data indeed for the study of primary schools, but with a large body of evidence for the more advanced stage of education, the apprenticeship. The present study focusses on one feature of these advanced student exercises, namely the dates. Over 100 of the ostraca contain at least one date, usually written in red and at the end of a chapter of the text. The dates I have collected are the following:

I 3ht 10 (DM 1132) I 3ht 13, yr 10 (DM 1039) I 3ht 13 yr 17 (DM 1052) I 3ht 24 (DeM 1113) I 3ht (sic) year 17 (DM 1054) II 3ht 3 (DM 1143) Kemyt II 3ht 3 (HO 41, 2) magical II 3ht 12 (HO 94, 1) Satire II 3ht 12 (Var.Lit. C) Nile II 3ht 13 (Berlin P 12379) II 3ht 23 (DM 1256) II 3ht 16 (DM 1601) II 3ht 24 (DM 1523) II 3ht 25 (DM 1431) II 3ht X (DM 1270) A I II 3ht X (DM 1635/Tur 6625) III 3ht 7 (DM 1557) III 3ht 8 (DM 1520) III 3ht 10 (HO 93,3) hymn III 3ht 10+X (DM 1368) AI III 3ht 10+X (HO 10, 2) hymn III? 3ht 16 (DM 1539) III 3ht 21 (DM 1536) III 3ht X (DM 1035) AI III 3ht X (DM 1258) Any IV 3ht 11 (O Tor A3) IV 3ht 13 (O DM 1263) IV 3ht 20+X (Tur '539=HO 112,1) IV 3ht 23 (Tur '539=HO 112,1) IV 3ht 25 (HO 13, 1) IV 3ht 26 (Mich 9) IV 3ht 29 (HO 6,3) X 3ht 19 (DM 1053) X 3ht X+4 (DM 1109) I prt 10 (DM 1188) I prt 13+X yr 26 (HO 3,3) I prt 14 (DM 1358) I prt 17 (HO 5, 1) I prt 207 (sic) (HO 39,2) I prt X (DM 1313) AI II prt 5 (O Genf 12551) II prt 12 (DM 1179+Tur 6622) II prt 16 (DM 1179) II prt 27 (Tur '539=HO 112,1) II prt X (O Genf 12551) II prt X (HO 102,3) II prt X (DM 1178) II prt sic (HO 93, 1) III prt 1 (Glasgow 77) III prt 3 (HO 10, 3) III prt 4 (O Genf 12551) III prt 20+X? (DM 1333) III prt 22 (Tur '313=HO 112,2) III prt 25 (HO 10, 1) III prt 29 (O Louvre EHT 7) III prt [2]7 (HO, 10, 1) III prt X (DM 1005) III prt (sic) (DM 1033) III prt X (DM 1712) IV prt 2 (HO 40, 3) IV prt 4 yr 5 (Mich 20) IV prt 7 (DM 1136)

⁹ Williams, *JAOS* 92 (1972), p. 218.

¹⁰ As in Brunner, Erziehung, pp. 66–67.

IV prt 14 (DM 1203) IV prt 20 yr 16 (HO 12, 3) IV prt 21 (Petrie 70) IV prt 25 (O OI 19361) IV prt X yr 16 (O Gard 47) IV prt X (O Ash 588) I šmw 2 (DM 1087) I šmw 5 (O Grdsl) I šmw 11 (HO 41, 1) I šmw 13 (DM 1013) I šmw 19 (DM 1013) I šmw 23 (Mich 23) I šmw 14+X (Cairo '217) II šmw 3 (Mich 67) II šmw 8 (HO 96, 1) II šmw 18 (HO 43, 2) II šmw 25 (DM 1581) II šmw 24 (Cairo '217) III šmw 3 (Turin '298) III šmw 6 (Mich 16) III šmw 16 (DM 1012) III šmw 17 (HO 102, 4) III šmw 23 (DM 1006) III šmw 27 (DM 1101) III šmw 28 (O Gol) IV šmw 7 (HO 14, 2) AI IV šmw 7 (O Gol) Nile Hymn IV šmw 13+X (DM 1043) IV šmw 18 yr 25 (DM 1219) lit. IV šmw 18 (DM 1021) AI III/IV? šmw X (HO 103,2) X šmw 8 (HO 106, 1) X *šmw* 9 (Mich 23) X šmw 11? (DM 1015) X šmw 15 (DM 1672) X šmw 22 (O Wilson 106) X šmw 26 (DM 1664) [...] 6 (DM 1024) [...] 13 (O Tor A2) [...] 16 (O EA 329) [...] 17 (HO 113,4) Nile Hymn [...] 18 (DM 1135) Kemyt [...] 24 (DM 1377) AI [...] 27 (Cairo '224) I[...] yr 17 (DM 1094) III [...] (DM 1279) AI 1,1-5 III [...] (DM 1312) AI 1,7-9 III [...] (DM 1671)

The text of the exercise is identified only where two examples have the same date. AI = "Instructions of Amenemhet I;" Any = "Instructions of Any;" lit. = unidentified literary text; Nile (Hymn) = Hymn to the Nile: Satire = Satire on the Trades

There are signs that the dates were added later than the text itself; they are often written out of line with the copied passage, across the bottom of the ostracon or at an angle 111; and where the date occurs part of the way through a document, it sometimes overlaps with the following text, as though a space had been left for it which was not quite big enough. 122 Erman's suggestion that the instructor added the dates after he had glanced over the lesson may therefore be correct. 133 The purpose

¹¹ HO 5,1; 10,2; 10,3; 40,3; 41,2; and 96,1, to name just a few examples.

¹² E.g., *HO* 10, 11. 2, *HO* 14, 2, and O DeM 1557. Brunner noted that many ostraca consist of one pericope and the opening line or first few words of the next; he suggested that the extra line was intended to help the student remember the order of the pericopes, which might otherwise be difficult given that he would have memorized at most one verse per day (Brunner, *Erziehung*, p. 75).

¹³ Erman, *Schülerhandschriften*, pp. 8–9. Brunner argued that the dates are in the same handwriting as the rest of the text, and therefore were added by the students themselves (*Erziehung*, p. 76), but since the body of the text seldom if ever includes a date, this is difficult to confirm.

of the dates is not clear; they may have been the tutor's check-marks or perhaps, as Posener suggested, they were used to keep track of the order of the copied passages. Fewer than 1/10 of the student exercises contain a date, suggesting that the practice was idiosyncratic to a few instructors or students.

The dates are distributed throughout the week, but fall rather more often during the Deir el-Medina working week (days 1-8) than on the weekend (days 9-10); I count 72 mid-week dates and 9 weekend, so that the former make up about 89% rather than the expected 80% of the total. Now, during the week the artisans and, presumably, their assistant-pupils, spent their days in the Valley of the Kings and their nights on the mountain ridge nearby; yet almost all the exercises come from the village. The excavators noted the findspots of individual ostraca only in the broadest terms—when they bothered to note them at all but it seems that the vast majority of the exercises came from the rubbish dumps to the North and South of the village walls or from the grand puits, which was filled to the brim with the community's debris and waste. 16 These would originally have come from the village itself. A relatively small_number of exercises were also discovered in the Valley of the Queens; ¹⁷ and a few literary texts were found the Valley of the Kings, at least two of which are dated; ¹⁸ but the village appears to be the normal place of instruction. A single ostracon, HO 41, 1, records that it was drawn up m st tn, "in this place;" it is not clear whether this expression refers to the workplace or to the village.

It seems, therefore, that instruction took place on the gang's days off, when both they and their teachers happened to be in the village; we know that such breaks were frequent, especially towards the end of a reign. Alternatively, the young men were given an occassional day's

¹⁴ G. Posener, "Les ostraca numérotés et le conte du revenant," *Drevnii Vostok*, Sbornik 1, Fs. M.A. Korostovtsev (Moscow, 1975), pp. 105–12, especially p. 108.

¹⁵ Černý, Catalogue... = DFIFAO 3 (Cairo, 1935), p. v.

¹⁶ Finds at the grand puits, Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1948–1951) = FIFAO 26 (Cairo, 1953), pp. 60–62. In debris south of the village walls, Bruyère, *Rapport* (1930), pp. 4–6; ostraca found here are marked K.S. for "Koms du sud," and a quick glance at Posener's publication of literary ostraca shows how many of our school texts are included.

¹⁷ Valbelle, Ouvriers, pp. 245–46.

¹⁸ O Cairo 25224, "Prophecy of Neferti," of a "day 27;" O Cairo 25217, "Instructions of Amenemhet I," dated I *šmw* 14 + x. The other literary texts from the Valley of the Kings may also be schooltexts; cf. Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 45 and van de Walle, *Transmissions*, p. 15. ¹⁹ Janssen, "Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen of Thebes," *SAK* 8 (1980), p. 131 n. 9 presents some cases in which *m st tn* evidently refers to the place of work, but the question remains open (Rob Demarée, personal communication).

leave from assisting in the Royal Tomb to do their homework. Either way, lessons had to be fitted in around the work. Additional evidence of this may be found in the handful of longer ostraca which include two dates, corresponding to the completion of two successive assignments; these are usually three to four days apart. ²⁰ Unless the boys were exceptionally slow at mastering their little set pieces, they were not full time students. Furthermore, if the young men had to take time off from work for their lessons, it should follow that their education was neglected in the early period of a king's reign when the gang was particularly busy; and indeed, it turns out that the few year dates in the exercises are quite high; year 5, 10, 16, 17, 25, and 26.²¹ (The latter 4 years must belong to Ramesses II or III, or, less likely, Ramesses IX.) The aversion to practicing writing on the weekends is more difficult to explain, unless it was regarded as work and the sort of thing from which one needed a break.

This irregular schedule is in contrast to the New Kingdom ideal of daily studies. Fischer-Elfert has recently discussed references in two literary texts to the "daily chapter" which students were required to prepare. The students who copied out the Late Egyptian Miscellanies also pursued their studies every day, and managed to do much more than a chapter; regular dates at the end of each section copied show that they averaged three to four pages of papyrus daily. At Deir el-Medina, this convention appears to have been adapted for students who could not spend part of each day on their homework.

The dates in the school text can also elucidate the method of instruction itself. It has often been suggested that teaching process was similar to that used in Qur'anic and Rabbinic schools, where a class chants short passages in unison until they have been learned by heart. That at least some students not only copied the classical texts but

²⁰ O DeM 1013: I *šmw* 13 (rt. 8) and I *šmw* 19 (vs. 9). O DeM 1179: II *prt* 12 (l. 4) and II *prt* 16 (l. 8). O Genf 12551: II *prt* 5, II *prt* [...] and III *prt* 4. O Gol: III *šmw* 28 (l. 4), IV *šmw* 7 (l. 8), and IV *šmw* [...] (l. 10). *HO* 10, 1: III *prt* 25 (l. 2) and III *prt* [2]7 (l. 7). Another pair is probably formed by O Mich 67 (II *šmw* 3) and *HO* 96,1 (II *šmw* 8), since they bear successive chapters of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual (Posener, "Les ostraca numérotés," p. 109). O Turin 57539: IV *iḥt* 20 + x (l. 5) and IV *iḥt* 23 (l. 10) could possibly furnish an exception to this pattern. (A transcription of this ostracon also in *HO* 112, 1, where the first date is misread.)

²¹ Year 5: O Michaelides 20. Year 10: O DeM 1039. Year 16: HO 12, 3. Year 17: O DeM 1052, 1054, and 1094. Year 25: O DeM 1219. Year 26: HO 3, 3.

²² H.-W. Fischer Elfert, "Vermischetes II," *GM* 135 (1993), pp. 31–37. In the first, P Anast. V 22,8–23,1, the student is told, "Place your hand to (your) clothing / straighten your sandles / and bring [yo]ur daily [chapter]." The second example is on an ostracon from Deir el-Medina, O DeM 1730; "[...] a chapter daily in your [papyrus roll?/palette?]/ [...] it on the palette in writing [...]."

²³ Erman, Schülerhandschriften, pp. 8–9.

memorized them is clear, both from P Anastasi I 10,9 - 11,2, where a scribe is told reproachfully, "you quote me a verse of Djedefhor, but you do not know whether it is positive or negative; What comes before it and what comes after it?;" and from Chester Beatty IV vs. 6, 3-9, "Instruction is good; there is no wearying of it. A son should answer with the verse of his father." ²⁵ The red verse points in many of the exercises also indicate that they were read out after they had been copied. It need not follow, however, that the students were instructed in groups, and there are reasons to think they did not; first, we do not know how many assistants a scribe or draughtsman at Deir el-Medina may have had at one time, but it is unlikely to have been more than one or two. Second, Burkhard has demonstrated that the texts were not written to dictation but copied, so that at least one step of the learning process was an individual and not a group activity. Finally, van de Walle suggested in 1948 that the dates in the Deir el-Medina exercises provide some positive evidence that tuition was one-on-one; if students were taught in groups, he said, we would expect to find some duplicates of the same passage dated to the same day, but no such pairs exist. 27 Van de Walle's argument is stronger today than when it was first proposed, because many more dated texts are known and his observation still holds. Perhaps with 100 examples spread over two centuries we might not have expected to find many pairs; but if the practice of dating school exercises was peculiar to a minority of instructors and their students, as suggested above, then the chances of a match would be significant.

Rather than look to modern Qur'anic classes for an analogy to Egyptian methods of instruction, one might consider those described in Sumerian texts from the Old Babylonian period such as "Schooldays." Although the passages are obscure, it seems that the student's personal tutor wrote out a passage for him to copy in the afternoon, which he would "study" the following morning; the teacher would then examine him on his lesson. So too, the Egyptian students may have been given a daily passage to learn on their own. A short text recently discussed by

²⁴ J. Baines and C.J. Eyre, "Orality and Literacy in Ancient Egypt," in *Literacy and Society*, ed. K. Schousboe and M.T. Larson (Copenhagen, 1989), p. 94; Janssen and Janssen, *Growing up*, p. 78; Williams, *JAOS* 92 (1972), p. 219; Brunner, *Erziehung*, p. 67.

²⁵ Cf. Brunner, Erziehung, p. 75.

²⁶ Günter Burkard, Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des alten und mittleren Reiches, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 34 (Wiesbaden, 1977), especially pp. 68–71, 142–45.

²⁷ Van de Walle, *Transmission*, p. 27.

 $^{^{28}}$ S.N. Kramer, "Schooldays: a Sumerian Composition Relating to Edubba," $\it JAOS~69~(1949)$, pp. 199–215, especially pp. 205, 208–9 with notes 184 and 186–87.

Fischer-Elfert illustrates the way in which a meeting between tutor and student might be arranged:

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rt. The scribe Piay speaks to the scribe Amenmose as follows: "A third (chapter) is ready for you."
vs. (Amenmose) "I will do it! See, I will do it!"
(Piay) "Bring your chapter and come!"
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Fischer-Elfert interprets this (correctly, I think) to mean that the instructor Piay wrote to his pupil to say that his next assignment, the third chapter of the text he was studying, was ready for him. The latter returned the ostracon with his eager promises to do so written on the verso; Piay then sent the sherd a third time with instructions to bring yesterday's exercise, presumably to be examined.

Eventually an entire text was copied in this way from beginning to end; this is clear from the fact that the colophon, "it has come well and in peace," almost always appears at the end of the actual text. Some students kept track of the order of the completed sections by numbering them, as Posener pointed out; the numbers go as high as "7" and even "11."

In short, the dates in student exercises provide significant information about methods of instruction in Deir el-Medina. Lessons took place in the village during the week, and so presumably on days when the gang was not working. Not surprisingly, under these circumstances, students received tuition at irregularly spaced intervals rather than every day. Instruction was normally one on one, rather than in pairs or groups, so the theory that students learned their texts by chanting in unison should be modified.

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 $^{^{29}}$ O DeM 438: Fischer-Elfert, GM 135 (1993), pp. 32–34; E.F. Wente, Letters from Ancient Egypt (Atlanta, 1990), no. 275.

³⁰ The publication has Piay's name here and Amenmose's in the next line, but it is clear from Fischer-Elfert's subsequent discussion that he intended the two to be reversed (confirmed by personal communication).

³¹ G. Posener, "Les ostraca numérotés."

 $^{^{32}}$ Chapter 7: HO 96,1, Opening of the Mouth Ritual (Posener, op. cit., p. 109). Chapter 11: O DeM 1607, didactic text.

The Wars against the Noba



N.B. MILLET

HE FOLLOWING STUDY OF AN ANCIENT AND OBSCURE WAR IS A small but heartfelt tribute to my teacher and friend, who first took me to Nubia, inspired me with enthusiasm for its antiquities, and deepened my interest in the mysteries of its ancient language.

In a thesis the writer submitted to Professor W.K. Simpson in 1968 he made, among other things, an attempt to ascertain the general purport of the well-known Meroitic inscription on a wall of the temple at Kalabsha, sometimes called the inscription of Kharamadove (MI 94). Several years later in an issue of the Meroitic Newsletter he expanded somewhat on the earlier attempt. Despite the fact that the text contains a high proportion of words whose meaning is known or can be roughly guessed at, both attempts were essentially unsuccessful in that there did not exist then, as there does not now, any material providing an independent check on any interpretation of the narrative sequence involved. The exercise therefore did not succeed much beyond F.Ll. Griffith's pioneer treatment of the text in his Meroitic Inscriptions II³, although some segments of the rendering carried a certain degree of plausibility. Mere plausibility, however, is a feeble guide indeed to the truth in such matters, and the Kharamadoye inscription and the events recounted in it remain an obscure chapter of Nubia's history.

In one group of words in that text, however, this writer then saw (and continues to see) a series of ethnic names: the names of tribes or peoples inhabiting Lower Nubia, and perhaps the adjacent deserts, with whom King Kharamadoye (perhaps more properly rendered Kharamandoye) had dealings of a political or a warlike nature. The names involved are:

1k	sq(ye)	nsedoke
temev	nxhr	mho

 $^{^1}$ $\it Meroitic \, Nubia$, unpublished dissertation, Yale University (New Haven, 1968); University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1969.

 $^{^2}$ Bulletin d'Information Meroitique (Paris, 1973), pp. 31–49 (hereafter abbreviated as BIM). 3 F.Ll. Griffith, Meroitic Inscriptions II (London, 1912), p. 27ff. (hereafter abbreviated as MI)

One of these terms for which a gloss was suggested was *mho*, which was tentatively identified as meaning "people (or land) of the Blemmyes." Whatever the case may be about the identification of the particular peoples involved, it was noteworthy that no name was included which could easily be equated with that of the Noba, mentioned by the Eizana inscription and in other sources.

Other Meroitic texts of an earlier period, however, do in fact mention a people called the *nob* (*/noba/) or Noba, and enough can be gathered from these texts to show that they were a definite threat (or perhaps, for all we know, a prey) to the Meroites of Lower Nubia in the third century and even before.

The earliest mention in the Meroitic record of such a people would seem to be the inscribed bronze "prisoner" plaque found by Reisner at Barkal, published by Dows Dunham in his *Barkal Temples* and included after its cleaning in the Brockton exhibition. The author of the catalogue, Timothy Kendall, quotes K-H. Priese's translation of the brief text and points out that it may well identify the bound prisoner as a chief of the Noba. The date is presumably first century BC or first century AD. No other occurrence of the word is known to me until third century times, but it would seem that the Noba were already present and a problem in the great days of the Meroitic Empire.

By far the most instructive piece of evidence on the relations between the Meroites and the Noba in this later period is the tombstone discovered by the French Expedition at Tumas in Lower Nubia during the UNESCO campaign of the 1960s. Found with a fellow piece built into a modern house, it was without doubt originally placed in one of the larger tombs at the nearby cemetery of Karanog, for it commemorates one Abaratoye, *pesto akine-te* or "Prince in Akin," in other words civil ruler of the Lower Nubian province of the Meroitic Empire. It is perhaps misleading to refer to it as a tombstone, for it lacks the usual funerary invocation and the usual final offering formulae, and seems more to be a bragging biography of the deceased. The document, however it is to be regarded, is of all the more value in that it can, unlike most Meroitic inscriptions, be more or less accurately dated, for the same person is also recorded in a Demotic graffito at the Philae temple dated to AD 251.

⁴ D. Dunham, Barkal Temples (Boston, 1970), p. 46.

⁵ T. Kendall, Kush: Lost Kingdom of the Nile (Brockton, Mass., 1982), p. 56.

 $^{^6}$ Kindly made available to me by Professor Jean Leclant in photographs, and quoted here by his permission.

⁷ Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus (Oxford, 1937), no. 416.

Despite our continuing ignorance with regard to the translation of Meroitic, enough of the words in the tombstone's text can be understood to enable us to make out the general import of the inscription. The word *nob* in particular leaps from the page in several contexts whose implications, in general terms at least, are quite clear.

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Line 6 ande.seqk neyi NOB nk diretil 1 brebri aqese br-lh 52 yeke[d]...
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The first word or group, <code>ande.seqk</code>, is unknown; the second is known, but all that can be said about it is that it seems, in its many occurrences, to be a superlative adjective. The two words which follow NOB are also unknown, but the following numeral <code>1</code> suggests that a noun is indicated. The four words succeeding strongly suggest a noun followed by the genitive <code>aqe-se</code> "his, hers," and <code>br-lh 52</code> must mean "grown man, 52." One is strongly tempted to see in the whole phrase some such meaning as "<code>nk</code> the lord/leader (Nubian <code>tirti??</code>) (and) his fifty-two warriors?? he slew," taking <code>brebri</code> as a reduplication with emphatic force of the known word for "man," <code>br</code>; the word <code>yeked</code> is fairly certain to be a word for "to kill."

If we attempt a connected rendering the result would be

"... Noba, naka [personal name??] the leader/lord?? (and) his warrior(s) 52 he slew? ..."

In line 13 of the same text is a similarly suggestive number of known or guessable words.

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tmne pri-lh-lxe axrk neyi NOB-s ked
dh tk ssekye br-lh 201 ked
mreke agese 209 wttesw kbxe-lo
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The two incidences of the word *ked* not followed by *-lo*, suggests a sentence with three clauses, each with its own verb in final position, served by a single *-lo* in sentence-final position. Taman is a familiar place name, of uncertain location, but possibly to be identified with the modern Tumas. *lh* is (or can be) the common word for "great," and *lxe* is a not uncommon postposition. There follows a word *axrk* followed by the same adjective *neyi*. Then comes the phrase *nob-s*, presumably meaning "Noba-person(s)."

```
"At?? a great pri Taman axrk neyi Noba-folk he slew; dh tk ssekye grown men 201 he slew; (and) his/their 209 mreke (and) wtte-sw he carried off??"
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⁸ See Millet, *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 285.

⁹ Meroitic Nubia, p. 231; Millet, BIM (1973), p. 44.

The Meroitic word *mreke* is a hapax, but one wonders if it does not correspond to the Nubian word *murti* "horse" (suggesting /marke/); their number would be about right if the Noba force was mounted. *wtte-sw* might mean "much booty" or the like.

```
1. 16
... br-lh 41 ked
kdi[m-dx\]e 35 anese [.]50 [kel]w arohe-bx
mr-le yitk-bx-lo

"... grown men 41 he slew;
young women\]? 35 and animals\] x+50\]... he sent back\];
mr-le he carried off\]?"
```

The word *kdimdxe* is restored in view of its occurence later in the text (see below). It would seem to be a designation of a type of female person (*kdi*) worthy of being taken captive, or the like. One wonders if the element *dxe* is not the word for "to give birth," so familiar from the parentage statements in the standard Meroitic funerary inscriptions, in which case it might be very tentatively suggested that it be analysed as *kdi-m-dxe* "woman who has not given birth," with the medial *m*- element being a negative, as similar phonemes so often are in languages around the world.

As for the word *anese*, its position in these texts suggests that it is a general term serving as a unit numerator for *mreke* or *ase* (see below), and to be translated as "head(s) of stock" or the like.

Further on in the text another sentence occurs:

```
... axrk NOB br-lh 40 yeke[d] asebe k[di-tk] br-tk 31 mrle yitk-klite-se-lo

"... Noba, grown men 40 he slew;
(as) prisoner?? living?? women, living?? men 31 ... he seized?? (or the like)"

An offering-table found by the French expedition at the same time (REM 1088) also belonged to Abaratoye, and although necessarily much briefer does add another mention of the Noba to the record.
```

```
NOB 535 ked asbe kdi-tk br-tk 2003 meqe-seke 3 anese ase-tk mreke-tk 1700 arohe-lo

"Noba 535 he slew; asbe (booty??) women-tk (and) men-tk 2003, meqeseke 3, (and) animals—cattle-tk (and) horses-tk-1700, he sent (back??)"
```

Later in the stela text there are similar contexts which do not indeed mention the Noba, but may well refer to them; it is also possible that other, unknown peoples are in question whose names our feeble grasp of the language makes it impossible to recognize. At the very conclusion of the text there is a long section which reads:

```
... srk br-lh 42 ked
anese 1002 tth-lo
... br-lh 27 kdimdxe 1 mreke aqes 40
... srk axrneyi sbwikw srk br-lh 50
... srk yhekye atiye tenekele toh br-lh 12 mqolxe toh [ca.6–7]
kelw kede-bx
kdimdxe ... anes sw tthde-bxe

"... grown men 1 he slew;
ssske 2 and 100 animal(s)?? he ...'d;
srk grown men 42, animal(s)?? 1002 he ...'d;
grown men 27, young woman?? 1, (and) their horses?? 40 ... srk axrneyi sb-
wikw srk grown men 50, ... srk Yakhekaye (personal name??) on?? the west
of?? Atiye toh grown men 12, mqolxe toh [.....] he slew;
young women?? (number??) (and) many?? animals he carried off??
```

The few known or guessable words in this part of the Abaratoye text are enough to show that the kind of action mentioned earlier is being continued, either still against the Noba or with regard to other groups; the word *srk* suggests itself as a possible ethnic to be added to the list.

In the epitaph of a certain Ataqo buried at Serra, who calls himself a *tr* of Isis, of uncertain date (*Serra*) the Noba appear again:

```
NOB br-lh 1-ni dt-wese-li yikxe-lo

"Noba, grown men 1 (as) his share?? he brought away??"
and in an Arminna text we have:

NOB-ote qes-k nob br-lh 1-ni doke-lo
ase [a]nise 14 [do??]ke-lowi

"From Noba(-land) to Kush Noba, adult male 1 he ...'d;
cow(s()??, animal(s)?? [i.e., head] 14 he ...'d"
```

¹⁰ For the apparent meaning of the verb *arohe* see Millet "Some Meroitic Ostraka," in Ägypten und Kusch (Berlin, 1977), pp. 315–24, passim. Oddly enough the same number of Noba is mentioned in the famous Meroitic Chamber at Philae, in the text published by Griffith as MI 98, which commemorates the well-known personage Bekemete: *nob* 535 *kelbe*. The three words are simply appended to a list of Bekemete's distinctions, and no obvious reason can be adduced for their appearance. One is at a loss as to how to explain them, but although no verb can be satisfactorily identified, the mention of the Noba is clear enough, and the number given is the same as that in the Abaratoye text. Is it possible that both persons are claiming credit for the same event? It should be pointed out that the figure of 535 slain Noba given in Abaratoye's offering-table text and in the Philae Meroitic chamber inscription is more than the sum of the numbers given in the Tumas stela text.

¹¹ AW3a 17; Bruce G. Trigger, *The Funerary Inscriptions from Arminna West*, Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition to Egypt No. 4 (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1970), p. 13.

¹² For this interpretation of the postpositions see Millet, *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 287. I am assuming that *nob-ote* is from */noba-yate/*, or the like.

The suggestion that the word ase may mean "cow" is based partly on its appearance here and its occurrence in an Ibrim text, 13 in which last we seem to be told that the deceased was presented by the kroro-officer with one such, presumably as a funeral gift. The notion is based on nothing more than the probability that cattle would be the most likely sacrificial animals for a cattle-breeding population such as the Meroites. The word, if actually pronounced /ase/, raises the interesting possibility that it may be related to the Nubian word for cow, ti.

The picture that emerges from these scraps of usable evidence is one of numerous military actions against the Noba (and perhaps others) by at least the middle of the third century. It is a pity that more placenames do not occur in the texts to enable us to say something about the geographical range of the operations, or even whether they were defensive or offensive, although the mention of Taman and Atiye (Sedeinga), certainly Meroitic valley settlements, suggests the former in the case of at least some of the cases. The Noba would appear to have been moving in bands of considerable size and to have their women with them; possible but by no means certain is the presence of cattle and horses.



¹³ A.J. Mills, *Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim*, Egypt Exploration Society Memoirs No. 51 (London, 1982), p. 73.

Mummies, Modern Sciences, and Technology



GAMAL MOKHTAR

MUMMY IS PRIMARILY AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CORPSE WHICH HAS been embalmed to preserve its personal and physical features. A lot of information about mummification has come down to us through classical writers such as Herodotus (2, 86–88) and Diodorus (19,6) and also through Egyptological pioneers such as Mariette and Petrie. The discovery of the New Kingdom royal mummies at the end of the last century encouraged numerous medical and scientific studies, using x-rays, ultrasound, computerized tomography, and other technical non-destructive techiques.

In 1912, after intensive study of the royal mummies, the physician Elliot Smith suggested x-raying them.¹ This suggestion was realized by Dr. Douglas Derry, who, for the first time, x-rayed a mummy in 1930, with the help of Dr. Khayat.² We must also mention here the efforts of the scientist Alfred Lucas,³ the physician Ahmed El-Batrawy,⁴ and the chemist Zaki Iskander.⁵

Since such experiments have given us a great deal of information and provided impressive results, I shall refer here to three projects that

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ E. Smith, The Royal Mummies, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Cairo, 1912).

² D.E. Derry, "Report upon the examination of Tut-Ankh-Amen's mummy," in Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, discovered by the late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter* 2 (London, 1927), pp. 143–61; idem, "An x-ray examination of the mummy of King Amenophis I," *ASAE* 34 (1934), pp. 47–48; R. Engelbach and D.E. Derry, "Mummification," *ASAE* 41 (1941), pp. 233–65.

³ A. Lucas, Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, rev. ed. by J.R. Harris (London, 1962).

⁴ A. Batrawi, "The Pyramid studies: Anatomical reports," *ASAE* 47 (1947), pp. 97–111; idem, G.M. Morant, "A Study of a First Dynasty series of Egyptian skulls from Sakkara and of an Eleventh Dynasty series from Thebes," *Biometrika* 34 (1947), pp. 18–27.

⁵ A. Zaki, Z. Iskander, "Materials and method used for mummifying the body of Amentefnekht, Saqqara 1941," *ASAE* 42 (1943), pp. 223–560; J.-P. Lauer, Z. Iskander, "Données nouvelles sur la momification dans l'Egypte ancienne," *ASAE* 53 (1956), pp. 167–94; Z. Iskander, A. Shaheen, "Temporary stuffing materials used in the process of mummification in Ancient Egypt," *ASAE* 58 (1964), pp. 197–208.

took place in the years 1965 and 1978, when I was responsible for Egyptian antiquities.

The first project dealt with the bones found inside the tomb of Queen Tiye, in a coffin inscribed with the name of King Smenkhare, who might have ruled Egypt for a short time between Akhenaten and Tutankhamen. The relation between those three kings is not yet certain, and even Smenkhare's personality and role are still to be definitively identified.

Two professors of anatomy, Dr. Harrison and Dr. Abdula, x-rayed, investigated, and studied both the bones thought to belong to Smenkhare, and the mummy of Tutankhamen. They hoped mainly to find any genetic relations between the two kings. As they had found distinctive similarity of skulls, some inheritable defects in the skeletal remains, and the same blood group, they suggested that they may have been brothers, a supposition which needs to be confirmed.

They also found through this x-ray examination traces of wounds in Tutankhamen's skull, which, in their opinion, had been caused by falling down from a high place or through a mortal attack. This may have been the reason for his death at such an early age. Dr. F.F. Leek, a dentist who shared in the research, confirmed, after a study of the wisdom teeth, that Tutankhamen had died approximately at the age of eighteen.

As there were doubts concerning the sex of the person whose bones were found in Queen Tiye's tomb, and due to the debate about the existence of a male king named Smenkhare, a joint team of researchers composed of J. Harris, I. El Nawawy, N. Iskander, and others began an experiment to solve that problem. After scientific and anthropological research, they concluded through an unpublished report that the bones belonged to a male. This strengthens the identification of Smenkhare as a male king, who was most probably married to Meritaten, Akhenaten's eldest daughter.

The second research was achieved by a team from the University of Michigan, which since 1967 has conducted a complete x-ray survey of the royal mummy collection at the Cairo Museum. The study of the radiographs has provided archaeologists and historians with vast and

⁶ R.G. Harrison, R.C. Connolly, A.B. Abdalla, "Kingship of Semenkhare and Tutankhamun demonstrated serologically," *Nature* 224 (1965), pp. 325–36; R.G. Harrison, A.B. Abdalla, "The remains of Tutankhamun," *Antiquity* 46 (1972), pp. 8–14; R.G. Harrison, R.C. Connolly, Sohair Ahmed, "Serological evidence for the parentage of Tut^ϵankhamūn and Smenkhkarē^ϵ," *JEA* 62 (1946), pp. 184–86.

⁷ F.F. Leek, *The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tutrankhamūn*, Tutrankhamūn's Tomb Series 5 (Oxford, 1972).

useful data, especially in the fields of chronology, racial diversity, family relationships and ages at death of the kings.

An interesting problem which this team solved concerned the mummy of Makare who died at a relatively early age, and the small mummy buried with her and thought to be her daughter. Everyone was astonished when the radiography of the small mummy showed without doubt that it belonged to a female baboon.⁸

The third project in that field dealt with the treatment of the mummy of Ramses II, which relied completely on advanced science and state of the art technology. The idea began when a prominent French physician applied in 1975 to x-ray the mummy of King Merenptah after unwrapping it, aiming to discover his relation to the events of the Exodus. A group of Egyptian and French scientists and Egyptologists who were gathered to attend the experiment, were shocked to discover the serious decay of Merenptah's mummy (subsequent to its unwrapping). The group was also worried about the conditions of his family's mummies, especially that of his father Ramses II, and asked to unwrap it too. Fortunately, his mummy was in a better condition in spite of the cavities and grooves which had damaged it. While it seemed impossible to restore the mummy of Merenptah, it looked possible to treat the mummy of his farther after difficult scientific investigations and research. The French proposed to conduct the entire study and treatment in Paris, and Egypt accepted this beneficent proposal.

The Musée de l'homme in Paris took responsibility for the task, assisted by the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle. Many other institutions, such as the Pasteur Institute, I.G.N. (National Geographic Institute), C.N.R.S. (National Center for Scientific Research), the Commission of Atomic Energy, the General Company of Radiography, and the Institute of Human Paleontology all participated in the various aspects of the project. In all, the public and private organizations that sponsored the work numbered about twenty-one, and the work team was composed of 105 scientists, specialists, and technicians headed by Dean L. Balout.

On September 26, 1976, the mummy of Ramses II was transported to Paris in an official ceremony and on a French military plane. It was settled in a well equipped laboratory at the Musée de l'homme, where daily information was recorded. A thematic program of research and

⁸ W.M. Whithouse, J.E. Harris, P.V. Ponitz, A.T. Storey, K.R. Weeks, J.W. Russell, "Radiology in Archaeology; a study of the pharaohs," paper and exhibit presented at the annual meeting of the American Roentgen Ray Society (Boston, 1971); James E. Harris, K.R. Weeks, X-Raying the Pharaohs (New York, 1973); James E. Harris, Edward F. Wente (ed.), An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies (Chicago, 1980).

treatment was planned and well executed, composed of the following items:

- a full physical examination of the mummy, especially it skeleton, skull, hair, teeth, and registration of the different defects
- radiographical investigations and studies
- bacteriological, microbiological and entomological studies

All these examinations and other researches on the mummified body confirmed the existence of several recent fungal infections, with the most serious foci located on the back left side and the abdominal cavity.

- restoration of the cracks and filling of the cavities with suitable natural products
- irradiation of the mummy and the coffin with gamma rays from cobalt 60 to destroy the fungi which populated more than 370 colonies
- museological presentation of the mummy with a stereo photogrammetric survey
- placement of the mummy inside its ancient wooden coffin which, was restored, strengthened and sterilized
- preparation of the mummy for transportation back to Cairo after histopathological investigation, physicochemical assay, microscopic examinations and neutron activation. The coffin was outfitted with a special device to maintain sterile conditions during its journey back to Egypt
- transportation of the mummy on May 10, 1977 from Paris to Cairo and the final installation in the Cairo Museum
- publication of the entire project in a valuable monograph in French, which contained more than 550 pages and 500 plates and figures, along with summaries in English and Arabic⁹

Despite of the serious damage to the royal mummies through the plunder of the tombs, scientific studies have resulted in valuable information concerning especially the following fields:

- general health conditions in ancient Egypt
- diseases and ailments during the pharaonic period
- ancient medical and surgical techniques
- ancient Egyptian diet
- Egyptian origins and racial diversity
- pharaonic chronology
- genetic relationships between members of royal families
- the approximate age of certain kings at time of death
- mummification techniques and embalming materials
- religious, cultural, and social information
- discovery of objects and religious amulets and jewelry hidden within the mummified bandages and bodies

Nevertheless, we must be cautious concerning some of these scientific results, especially if the research is not serious, the method is not

⁹ La momie de Ramses II (Paris, 1985).

scientifically accepted, the reports not academic, or if the researcher's primary interest lies in fame or financial reward.

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Sexuality, Statuary and the Afterlife; Scenes in the Tomb-chapel of Pepyankh (Heny the Black). An Interpretive Essay



David O'Connor

friendship and collegial collaboration with William Kelly Simpson. In recognition of his long-standing interest in Egyptian art, I discuss here an assemblage of scenes in the tomb-chapel complex (Meir Tomb-Chapel A no. 2) of Pepyankh, also called Heny the Black. Pepyankh served as governor of the nome of Cusae (Upper Egyptian 14th) during the reign of Pepy II. The set of scenes in question occupies the north wall of Room A in Pepyankh's tomb chapel complex (fig. 1). They were described in the original publication, and aspects of them have been discussed elsewhere but, to the best of my knowledge, they have not received the kind of analysis I shall attempt here.

II. THE SCENE ASSEMBLAGE ON THE NORTH WALL, ROOM A

The north wall of Room A is pierced by a doorway leading into an undecorated chamber (Room E) behind it, and also incorporates a statue recess. Organized around the doorway and recess is an assemblage of scenes set within a single framing motif, as if they are to be understood as an interconnected unity (fig. 2). In fact, the scenes seem to be disparate in content and hence not comprehensively interconnected. But I hope to suggest here that this impression is misleading, and that the scenes, in their totality, do form a conceptual and (for the Egyptians) magically effective unity.

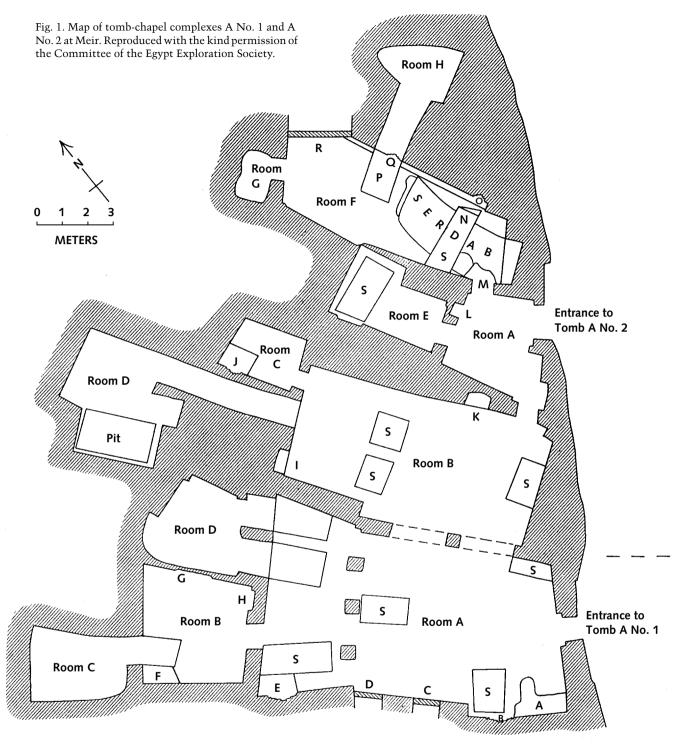
¹ Blackman and Apted, *The Rock Tombs at Meir* 5 (London, 1953), pp. 16–56.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, pls. 18–19; cf. fig. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 27–28.

⁵ E.g., M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen Band 39 (Wiesbaden, 1984), pp. 17–18, 29, 31, 39, 43, 46–47, 49–50, 139–41, 183.

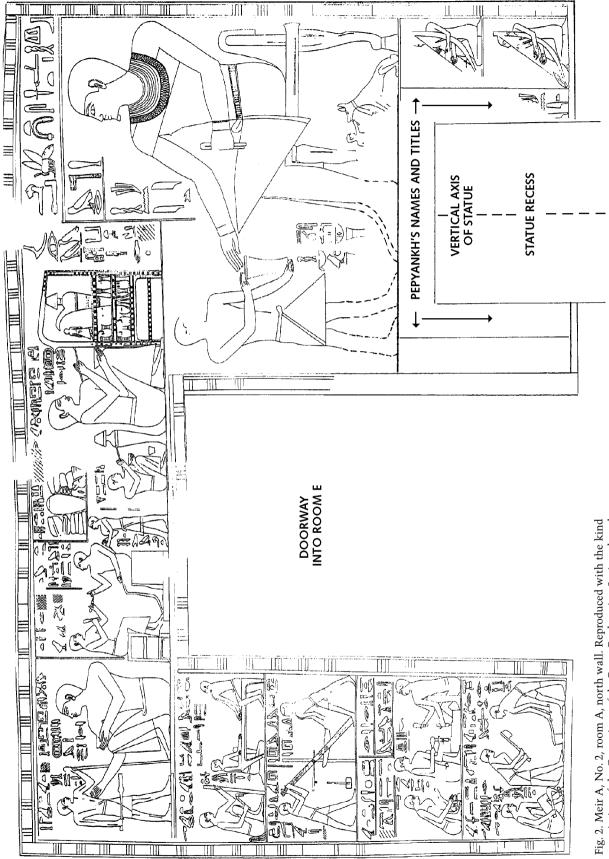


TOMB-CHAPEL A, NO. 1

- A. Rough block about 1 meter high
- B. Facade stela
- C. & D. Blocked entrances to horizontal shafts
- E. Facade stela and offering table
- F. Rough block about .15 meter high
- G. & H. Unfinished statue recesses

TOMB-CHAPEL A, NO. 2

- I. Statue recess
- J. Facade stela and offering table
- K. & L. Statue recess
- M. Rough steps down to serdab
- N. Blocked entrance to horizontal shaft
- O. Facade stela
- R. Cement partition
- S. Shafts



permission of the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society; based on Blackman and Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* 5 (London, 1953), pls. 18–19.

The recessed statue, ⁶ it should be noted, seems to be an integral part of this otherwise two-dimensional assemblage. The upper part of the recess was framed by panels (once bearing Pepyankh's names and titles) which are actually part of the two-dimensional rendering, while—in terms of their location—two serenading harpists depicted on the wall seem to direct their attention both to the statue, and a rendering of Pepyankh above, and largely right of the recess. Moreover, the statue represented Pepyankh seated, as did the two-dimensional image; and the feet of the latter were placed immediately above the vertical axis of the statue. If the two-dimensional rendering were swiveled around this axis so as to face outward, it and the statue would line up with each other, suggesting that the three- and two-dimensional renderings of Pepyankh incorporated into the north wall of Room A were thought of as one and the same entity.

Given the roles of statues in Egyptian ideas about funerary and temple cult, one might suggest that here two spheres of reality (from the Egyptian view point) were being linked. The statue was the natural recipient of cult performed in Room A, cult which empowered it to become magically effective in terms of receiving offerings but in other ways also. This effectiveness was then transferred to the statue's "alterego," the two-dimensional rendering of Pepyankh. This, in its turn, was now empowered to secure other benefits for the deceased Pepyankh, benefits not so much directly depicted as implied or "encoded" by the rest of the scenes on this wall.

As noted earlier, these scenes in their totality are seemingly *not* closely interconnected, falling rather into three discrete sub-units or components. First, Pepyankh (as represented by his appropriately large-scale figure in two-dimensional form) is stated to be looking upon, seeing to, or inspecting (*mss*; all three nuances may co-exist and combine here) the painters and the work of the [sculptors]. Evidently, this action of Pepyankh applies only to the uppermost register of the remaining scenes, in which the activities of two painters and two sculptors are represented. The lector-priest and scribe of the house of the sacred books of the royal palace Ihyemsapepy (also called Iri) applies by hand pigment to a statue of Pepyankh to the left, and on the right, brushes decoration or inscriptions (probably the former, since the decorative pattern is

⁶ Blackman and Apted, Meir 5, p. 27, pl. 53, 3.

⁷ C. Aldred, "Bild," in W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., LÄ 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols. 793–95.

⁸ P. Derchain, "Symbols and Metaphors in Literature and Representations of Private Life," Royal Anthropological Institute News 15 (1976), pp. 7–10.

⁹ Blackman and Apted, Meir 5, p. 27, col. 2, n. 1.

literally shown as incomplete) onto an elaborate support for a *hes*-vase, the latter first receiving painted decoration from the scribe Zeshshen. Moreover, in the middle, another statue of Pepyankh is being detailed by an overseer of sculptors and another sculptor.

Also incorporated into this register is a depiction of food and drink intended for the "painters and sculptors," a reference made elsewhere in the tomb in connection with other craftsmen as well. A second subunit, its content seemingly unrelated to that just described, has the seated Pepyankh (the representation showing him inspecting the painters and sculptors) as its focus. Pepyankh reaches out for (a mixture of ?) festival perfume and heknu oil with which he will anoint himself: they are proffered by a relatively high status individual (according to his relative size) whose name is not recorded, or has been lost. Beneath (in reality beside) Pepyankh's chair a dwarf teases a dog; and nearby are the serenading harpists already mentioned.

To the left (or "west") of the doorway four registers form yet a third component, not apparently related to the other two, and focused on carpentry. In the lowest register, wood is axed into pieces which are then shaped (adzed) by an overseer of carpenters, perhaps to be used for the making of a door leaf, a process depicted and described in the register above. The third register up depicts the sawing of wood into planks, intended (as the determinative for $s\underline{d}r$ in the accompanying text hints) to be used for the bed depicted in the fourth register, its elements shaped by the same overseer of carpenters seen in the lowest register, and then, as an assembled entity, smoothed down by other carpenters.

Thus, the three sub-units or components making up the assemblage seem unconnected to each other, and the totality of scenes on this wall hence lacking in unity. Deeper analysis however—it seems to me—shows this impression to be misleading.

¹⁰ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, p. 28, state that Ihyemsapepy is here "holding a brush," but no brush is shown in their drawing, nor is it visible in a photo of this scene kindly shown to me by David Silverman, although the wall is admittedly not in very good condition. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary*, p. 140, n. 747, suggests that the brush has been "forgotten." In all, it seems probable that no brush was ever depicted.

¹¹ For example, Blackman and Apted, Meir 5, pp. 26, 28, 29.

 $^{^{12}}$ Rather than the pygmy of *ibid.*, p. 27; cf. V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford, 1993), chapters 3 and 4, especially pp. 42–43.

¹³ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, p. 28; David Silverman suggests the reference is to lying flat, not nightfall, as Blackman and Apted thought.

III. THE PAINTERS

I shall begin with the two painters depicted at work in the uppermost register of the north wall of Room A. Two things are striking about them. First, one—Ihyemsapepy, superior in status (according to relative size) to the other, Zeshshen—is actually described as a lector-priest (not a painter) and scribe of the sacred books (not a simple scribe). Why is such a specialized individual involved in the painting of statues, and painting or inscribing of cult-object supports? Second, Ihyemsapepy and Zeshshen are of sufficient importance to be depicted a number of times throughout the whole tomb-chapel complex, not simply on this wall alone.

Thus, Ihyemsapepy—here, called Ihyemsameryre, as well as Iri—is conspicuous [and depicted on an unusually large scale] on Room A's east wall as well. Here, Pepyankh was evidently once depicted (his image is now gone) looking at/seeing to/inspecting another set of artisanal activities. Ihyemsapepy paints or inscribes one, implicitly two, large vessels, while five masons each chisel at "what appear to be tall, upright blocks of stone, painted yellow, but without graining." Since the tomb-chapel complex is rock-cut, these stone structural elements at first glance seem mysterious; but the east wall of Room A actually fronted a serdab or statue shrine (fig. 1), which—after being cut and supplied with statues—would have to be walled off, the probable purpose of the stone slabs the manufacture of which is depicted. That the scenes on the east wall were indeed connected with the serdab is suggested by the wall's lowest register, which depicted originally five statues which had been explicitly sent to "the statue-house," i.e., the serdab. The other scenes, of wine making, are less obviously connected.

Ihyemsapepy and Zeshshen also played prominent roles in the ritual aspects of the embalming and burial of Pepyankh, participated in a "procession" involving Pepyankh, and are included amongst the people bringing offerings depicted in Room C. In all of these contexts however Ihyemsapepy is shown on the same scale as his peers (including

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pl. 21.
<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 29.
<sup>16</sup> E. Brovarski, "Serdab," in LÄ 5 (Wiesbaden, 1984), cols. 874–79.
<sup>17</sup> Blackman and Apted, Meir 5, pl. 20.
<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pl. 21.
<sup>19</sup> As depicted in Room F; ibid., pl. 42, pp. 54–55; pl. 43.
<sup>20</sup> Room A, west wall; ibid., pl. 16.
<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pl. 34.
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Zeshshen), not on the exaggerated scale found on the north and east walls of Room A.

In addition, Ihyemsapepy also features twice on the east wall of Room B. ²² On this wall, (escorted, amongst others, by Ihyemsapepy) Pepyankh looks upon/sees to/inspects work being done in the country-side of the "south and the north," specifically plowing, bird catching, fishing, and papyrus gathering. In this last, lowest register (which clearly has symbolic content as well: the Sethian hippopotamus is being speared, ²³ for example, and papyrus itself is associated with the goddess Hathor) ¹⁴ Ihyemsapepy, as Iri, is shown seated at a table, eating and drinking and garbed in fine linen.

Zeshshen and more especially Ihyemsapepy were then individuals of considerable significance to Pepyankh, in terms of both preparing cult-objects for his tomb and for his actual embalming and burial. More generally, Ihyemsapepy's involvement with Pepyankh's statue, and the *hes*-vase support, are an unusually specific expression of the Egyptian concept of a cult-statue, namely that it represented a divine being (a deity, deceased—or living!—pharaoh, a deceased Egyptian) and had to be ritually brought to life, both initially, and thereafter on a periodic basis so that the essence of that being could be embodied by the statue, and benefit from the cult performed for it. The objects used in such a cult, such as the *hes*-vase, also needed to be ritually empowered so they could be effective in carrying out their part in this process.

Statues were initially activated by the "Opening of the Mouth" ritual, ²⁶ naturally performed by a lector-priest such as Ihyemsapepy, since the "carriers of the ritual book" knew, and usually recited the arcane rituals involved in temple and funerary cults. But Pepyankh's tomb-chapel scenes indicate that lector-priests were also directly involved in literally finishing off the statues and items involved in the cult, stressing—as has often been observed anthropologically—that the formation, and especially the surface treatment of such items, is itself seen as a magical process, leading to the magical effectiveness of the images or objects in question. Moreover, as a scribe of the house of the

^{22 &}quot;North scene;" ibid., pl. 30.

²³ Cf. Silverman, "The Nature of Egyptian Kingship," in D. O'Connor and D. Silverman (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Kingship (Leiden, 1995), p. 82, and the references provided there.
²⁴ R. Drenkhahn, "Papyrus," in LÄ 4 (Wiesbaden, 1980), cols. 667–70; L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History (Uppsala, 1986), p. 58.

²⁵ C. Aldred, "Bild ('Lebendigkeit' eines Bildes)," in LÄ 1 (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols. 793–95.

²⁶ R. Gundlach, "Mundöffnung(sritual)," in LÄ 4 (Wiesbaden, 1980), cols. 223–24.

²⁷ A.H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica (London, 1947), pp. 55*–58*.

sacred books, Ihyemsapepy presumably also controlled prototypical drawings or representations of cultically effective statuary and cult objects, and perhaps even of total repertoires of scenes for temples and tombs, further involving him in the preparation as well as the ritual "energizing" of tomb complexes such as Pepyankh's.

IV. THE SCULPTORS

As noted above, the north wall of Room A also depicts two sculptors at work on a statue of Pepyankh, both unusually identified by name. Again, the effect, as with Ihyemsapepy, is to highlight how crucial statues were in funerary, as in other cults.

However, these same scenes indicate that the "shaping" role was less important than the finishing off process in the production of statuary, for both the overseer of sculptors and his assistant are on a much smaller scale than Ihyemsapepy (although the overseer of sculptors is equivalent in scale to the scribe/painter Zeshshen), and functionally they would lack the knowledge of magically effective ritual enjoyed by lector-priests.

However, it is subtly indicated that what is seen here, while part of the shaping process, is merging into the finishing process, for these two evidently very skillful sculptors are involved in the final detailing of the statue. Naturally, the overseer is distinguished from his subordinate; he is on a larger scale, wears a longer kilt, and is seated comfortably on a high stool while he concentrates on the more challenging frontal aspects of the statue, specifically the fine detailing of the statue's clenched hand. The subordinate sculptor, in contrast, is on a smaller scale, stands rather than sits, wears a short kilt, and works on the less demanding rear of the statue. Yet that both are doing light but detailed work is well conveyed: both use small chisels, and the overseer taps his with a tiny mallet, the other only with his hand.

The implication of the scene is that the sculptors produced all the items shown in the upper register, namely the statue and *hes*-vase support painted by Ihyemsapepy and the *hes*-vase itself. It seems that these items were also made of wood; this is very likely for the *hes*-vase

²⁸ Cf., for example, A. Gell, "The technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology," in J. Coote and A. Shelton, *Anthropology, Art and Aesthetics* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 40–63.

²⁹ Artisans depicted in Egyptian art are usually anonymous, although there are a number of exceptions to this in Pepyankh's tomb-chapel complex, e.g., the named masons depicted on the east wall of Room A. Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, pl. 21.

 $^{^{30}}$ On sculptors and their products, cf. especially Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary*.

support, apparently the *hes*-vase itself (since it is being painted), and probably the two statues, given the emphasis on wooden objects elsewhere on this wall. Why elite Egyptians required cult-statuary in both wood and stone is a difficult issue; clearly relative expense was one factor, yet quite wealthy individuals had wooden as well as stone statues, so there were probably some desirable, if different, qualities inherent in both materials. These qualities were probably symbolic, as well as technological or aesthetic, and that wooden statuary was highly valued is emphasized by the prominence of its makers as rendered on this very wall!

V. The Other Scenes and their Implications

Above, I briefly described two other sets of scenes on the north wall of Room A. What might they mean, and what implications might they have had for their designers and executants, and for their patron, Pepyankh? And how might they relate, if at all, to the sculpting and painting scenes discussed previously?

One set of scenes focused on carpenters and their products, supervised by an overseer of carpenters (his status subtly emphasized, both times he is depicted, by the mat, with back support, upon which he sits). The specific items involved are a door-leaf and a bed, the latter assigned greater prominence in a number of ways.

First, the bed is the only finished item actually depicted (the door-leaf is referred to only in a text). Second, the bed is allocated the highest, implicitly most prestigious position in the carpentry scenes, just as the even more important statuary and cult-objects are assigned to the highest register of the wall as a whole. Third, the bed is in the only register in which the overseer's status is visually emphasized by his obviously greater size, an indirect reflection of the bed's importance. In the other register (the lowest) where the overseer is present, he is also on a greater scale than the other carpenters, but this is visually much less obvious.

The greater prominence assigned to the bed provides us with our first interconnection, in this case to the two sets of scenes which combine a seated Pepyankh, about to anoint himself, with harpists and a dwarf teasing a dog. The act of anointing and the presence of harpists can have erotic implications (but need not), while the dwarf is a more

³¹ Cf. ibid., pp. 47, 52–53; Eaton-Krauss believes the jar is ceramic, rather than wood; *ibid.*, p. 47, n. 66.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 58–60.

 $^{^{33}}$ Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, pl. 18, lowest and highest of the registers depicting carpentry.

specific encodement for an erotic sub-text, for dwarves are sometimes treated as equivalents to monkeys and the latter have a well-known association with eroticism. Given the possible or probable erotic implications of these elements, it seems reasonable to link them to the prominently featured bed in the other set of scenes, and suggest that the entire combination—bed, an anointed Pepyankh, harpists and dwarf—could have been read by the ancient Egyptians as equivalent to more explicitly erotic scenes, such as that of Mereruka seated on a bed (with unguent jars underneath) with his wife, who plays a harp. The latter scene we may I think interpret as either a preliminary to intercourse, or as a synonym for intercourse itself.

The significance of such erotic encodement in general in Egyptian tombs is derived from the belief that deceased Egyptians achieved the perpetual regeneration and rebirth required of this state of being by impregnating their deceased wives who—following paradigms based on solar and other mythology—would conceive, and then give birth to a renewed form of the deceased himself. The maintaining of sexual potency and the achievement of intercourse and orgasm was therefore of great importance to deceased males, and magically effective means of ensuring these had to be supplied. These means included a variety of scenes found in tombs, but also items made available to the deceased.

Of course, in this particular tomb of Pepyankh, one key player, the female protagonist, is surprisingly absent (neither of the two small-scale harpists—females—are likely to represent her). But, if we consider these scenes in their broader context, the presence of Pepyankh's wife may be evoked in another way.

The north wall of Room A is in effect the front wall of an undecorated burial chamber (Room E; fig. 1), with a shaft at its rear. This burial chamber is of a size suggesting an elite occupant, but not apparently Pepyankh, whose own burial chamber is likely the larger one (Room D), opening up off Room B (fig. 1). We might then suggest that Room E was

³⁴ Dasen, 1993, pp. 35–36, 124–25, 157.

³⁵ On this, and other "erotic encoding," cf. G. Robins, Women in Ancient Egypt (Cambridge, Mass, 1993), pp. 187–90; Derchain, Royal Anthropological Institute News 15, pp. 7–10; W. Westendorf, "Bermerkungen zur 'Kammer der Wiedergeburt' im Tutankhamungrab," ZÄS 94 (1967), pp. 139–50.

³⁶ P. Duell, et. al., The Mastaba of Mereruka, Part I (Chicago, 1938).

³⁷ L. Manniche, *Sexual Life in Ancient Egypt* (London and New York, 1987), p. 39, fig. 27; pp. 38–51. Note also J. Baines and J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York and Oxford, 1982), p. 205, where the scene is linked to the "amorous encounters" of Mereruka and his wife.

³⁸ Cf., for example, Troy, Patterns of Queenship, pp. 20–32.

intended for Pepyankh's wife who in this way, in a rather literal sense, would be available for involvement in the erotic activities implied by the scenes on the north wall of Room A, which I have just discussed.

Some support for this inevitably very tentative suggestion comes from elite domestic architecture of a later period. In one type of Middle Kingdom elite house (Kahun, "north mansion" only 40 there are two, separate elite suites, 41 one evidently for the master of the household, the other probably for his wife. Kemp implicitly suggests the second suite was for the eldest son, 42 but, for reasons for which there is no space to discuss here, this seems less likely. Each suite has its own bedroom, defined by a substantial bed recess; and the wife's suite is on the left of the master's suite, from the perspective of anyone departing from the latter. The analogy suggested here is that, in tomb-chapel A No. 2, Rooms B, C, and D correspond to the master's suite, and Rooms A and E (on the left of the others!) to the wife's suite, with D and E corresponding to the bedroom of each, the burial pit or shaft recess being equivalent to the bed recess in an elite house. These equivalents would not only suggest Room E was the wife's burial place, but that it was equivalent to her bedroom, and thus relates directly to the erotic elements depicted on its "front" wall (north wall of Room A).

This discussion of the erotic aspects of the north wall scenes, and their relationship to Room E, an apparent female's burial chamber, may seem unnecessarily tortuous, and over-reliant on subtle, potentially ambiguous points. But it is worth remembering that although sexual intercourse was of great importance to the ancient Egyptians, they were remarkably discreet in their artistic portrayals of this subject. Thus in their art Egyptian practice reflected a nearly universal social reality, "invisible sex;" "Ordinarily, run-of-the-mill, everyday sex relations in virtually all human societies are hidden, conducted away from the gaze of all but the participants."

The preceding discussion also implies that the bed and the door, the manufacture of which are depicted or referred to in the scenes, are directly linked to the sexual, and ultimately reproductive potential of

³⁹ Although this was admittedly a secondary development: cf. Blackman and Apted, *Meir* 5, pp. 35–45.

⁴⁰ B. Kemp, Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization (London and New York, 1989), p. 152, fig. 54.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 152, fig. 54, nos. 2 (master's suite), and 1 (wife's suite).

⁴² Ibid., p. 154.

⁴³ Robins, Women in Ancient Egypt, pp. 187–90.

⁴⁴ E. Friedl, "Sex the Invisible," *American Anthropologist* 96 (1994), p. 833.

Room E (just as the scenes on the "front" wall of the serdab—i.e., the east wall of Room A—related, at least in part, to the serdab specifically, with regard to the statues placed within it, and the stone slabs sealing it off). Placed in Room E, the bed became the locus for the imagined sex act, while the emphasis on this particular door (after all, every doorway within the tomb-chapel complex must have had a wooden door) perhaps reflects the special need for privacy and security desirable for this funerary equivalent of a wife's bedroom, where intercourse took place.

VI. CONCLUDING SYNTHESIS

These two sets of scenes, discussed in section V are, I would suggest, also interrelated with the third set (covering the detailing and finishing of statuary and cult-objects) in both meaning and function.

First, there may be a direct connection. In preparing to anoint himself, Pepyankh is being served by an individual proffering an ointment jar. His titles and names are not provided, or have disappeared, but it is possible that it is Ihyemsapepy, the only person represented on the north wall at the same scale as this particular individual. In any case, the anointing of Pepyankh suggests some meaningful parallels with the scenes in the uppermost register. First, the actual anointing of cult statues was a key step in the cult ritual; so here Pepyankh's self-anointing makes him analogous to his own cult-images, represented in the uppermost register. Second, as we have seen, the surface treatment of images and cult-objects was fundamental to their magical effectiveness. And here Pepyankh, about to embark on a magically effective event (intercourse, leading to his own rebirth or replication) treats himself as if he is a statue, transforming his own surface appearance, making it radiant (the sheen of the ointment) and aromatic. Moreover, the fact that Ihyemsapepy applies pigment to Pepyankh's statue with his hand (rather than a brush) reinforces the analogy between the magically effective surface treatment of statues, and the anointing of Pepyankh, carried out with the assistance of someone who may be Ihyemsapepy himself, or at least analogous to him.

However, the fundamental relationship linking the third set of scenes (focused on the statuary and cult-objects) to the others, I would suggest, is that the replication of the deceased in statue form, and then cultically rendering this image magically effective or alive, is another manifestation of the deceased's need to ensure an endless cycle of taking on form and being reborn, the sexual version of which links together the other two sets of scenes.

Ihyemsapepy then is not only ensuring, via his magically effective roles, that Pepyankh's statues and cult objects (in this case, following the arguments presented above, intended specifically to be used within, or in connection to Room E) will serve to ensure Pepyankh's regeneration in the afterlife, much as Ihyemsapepy's involvement in the embalming and burial rituals is another way of ensuring this. The analogies between the statues' roles, and the sexual mode of reproduction, discussed above, also indicate that Ihyemsapepy is involved in ensuring the imagined sexual mode of reproduction will also be effective, a point probably referred to elsewhere in a scene involving Ihyemsapepy. As noted above, on the east wall of Room B 15 Ihyemsapepy is treated to a feast, evidently in recognition of his services, within a symbolically significant context. Not only do the associated papyrus gathering scenes evoke Hathor, a goddess of great significance as a paradigm for the regeneration of gods and the dead; ⁴⁶ but in close proximity to Ihyemsapepy's meal are depicted a bull, three of his "wives," i.e., cows, and a calf, in all a striking symbolic statement about male potency, female fecundity, sexual intercourse and reproduction, the very themes of such importance to deceased Egyptians such as Pepyankh, and which are here, again, linked to Ihyemsapepy.

 $\overset{\smile}{\longrightarrow}$

⁴⁵ Blackman and Apted, Meir 5, pl. 30.

⁴⁶ Troy, Patterns of Queenship, pp. 21ff., 28ff.

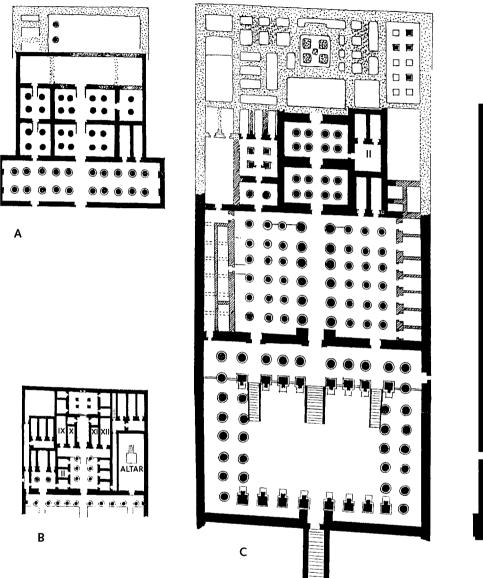
Zur Funktion einiger Räume des Ramesseums



Jürgen Osing

M RAMESSEUM FÜHRT DER AXIALE PROZESSIONSWEG VOM I. PYLON aus durch den ganzen Tempel zu dessen wichtigstem Raum, dem Sanktuar des Amonre von Karnak, der hier bei seinem Besuch während des Talfestes Station machte. Zwei parallele, jedoch viel kürzere Prozessionswege gehen nördlich und südlich hiervon von der Westseite des 2. Hofes aus. Sie führen hier über zwei eigene Aufgänge zu dem höhergelegenen Portikus und durch jeweils eine eigene Tür (aus schwarzem Granit) in der Westwand und durch die große Säulenhalle zu hieran anschließenden, wieder etwas höhergelegenen Heiligtümern (vgl. Abb. 1). Den drei Prozessionswegen zugekehrt hat später Ramses III. auf den Basen der flankierenden Säulen in der Säulenhalle und schon im Portikus seine Doppelkartusche anbringen lassen. 1

Die Funktion der genannten Heiligtümer, von denen nicht mehr als die Grundrisse und Grundmauern erhalten sind, ließ sich bisher nur nach ihrer Position im Tempel und der entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Verbindung mit anderen Totentempeln bestimmen.² Auch die Dekora-¹ Axialer Weg: vorhanden auf Nr. 49–50, 73–77, 79–81 und 83. Bei Nr. 82 ist die Basisfläche zerstört, Nr. 78 und 84 (an der Rampe des westl. Türdurchgangs) sind anepigraph. Südl. Weg: vorhanden auf Nr. 52-53, 91-95 und 97-99. Nr. 100 und 102 sind nicht erhalten, bei Nr. 96 und 101 ist die Basisfläche zerstört. Nördl. Weg: vorhanden auf Nr. 46-47 und mit deutlichen Resten auf Nr. 65. Nr. 66 (an der Rampe zum anschließenden Heiligtum) anepigraph, Nr. 55-64 nicht erhalten. Auf den Basen der Säulen des Portikus und des axialen Prozessionswegs ist die Doppelkartusche nach beiden Seiten hin noch um eine waagerechte Titulaturzeile erweitert (bei Nr. 46-47, 49-50, 52-53 und 83 umlaufend, bei Nr. 73-77 und 79-81 nur auf der dem Weg zugekehrten Hälfte). Von den Säulen, die nicht einen der drei Prozessionswege flankieren, sind die in der Säulenhalle undekoriert geblieben (Nr. 67-72 und 85-90), die im Portikus hingegen (Nr. 48 und 51) später mit der Titulatur Ramses' IV. versehen worden. Ebenso wie entlang den Prozessionswegen hat Ramses III. seine Doppelkartusche und eine beiderseits anschließende, umlaufende Titulaturzeile auch auf den Basen der Säulen, welche auf der Nord- und der Südseite den 2. Hof flankieren, anbringen lassen (erhalten auf Nr. 28, 30, 31 und 33; Nr. 32 (an der Rampe) ist anepigraph, Nr. 29 und 34-37 sind nicht erhalten). Die dahinter liegenden Säulen 21-27 und 38-45 sind, soweit erhalten, erst von Ramses IV. mit seiner Titulatur versehen worden. Die vorstehenden Angaben nach J.-Cl. Goyon - H. el-Achirie, Le Ramesseum I. Hypostyle N (travée centrale), CS 30 (Kairo, 1973), 38-48 und pl. 2, 3, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37; W. Helck, Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums I. ÄA 25 (Wiesbaden, 1972), 56f., 89 u. 134; H.H. Nelson, Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations, OIP 56 (Chicago, 1941), pl. XXXII; und eigenen Unterlagen (1978-79).



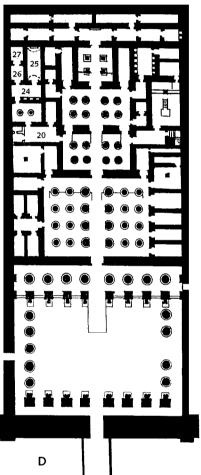


Abb. 1. Grundrisse des Tempelhauses (und des 2. Hofes) in den Totentempeln des Aja (A), Sethos' I. (B), Ramses' II. (C) und Ramses' III. (D) (nach Hölscher, *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 2; und PM II 2 , Plan XLI und XLVII).

tion der flankierenden Osirispfeiler und Säulen und der Tore und Wände am Beginn der beiden Prozessionswege gibt m.E. aber einige Hinweise. Hier sind Götter dargestellt und genannt, die eng mit der Prozession selbst verbunden sind.

Zur Ergänzung des recht fragmentarischen Befundes im Ramesseum ziehe ich den Totentempel Ramses' III. in Medinet Habu heran (vgl. Abb. 1), bei dem die architektonische Anlage und, wie Ch.F. Nims³ gezeigt hat, die Dekoration des 1. und 2. Hofes weitgehend vom Ramesseum übernommen sind. Die Übereinstimmung der Dekoration geht hier soweit, daß man sie im Ramesseum mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit grundsätzlich auch für die Teile des 2. Hofes annehmen darf, die nicht erhalten sind: die Süd- und die Nordwand mit den vorgelagerten Säulen, die Südhälfte der Ostwand mit den Osirispfeilern davor, die Nordhälfte der Westwand und die Osirispfeiler und Säulen vor der südlichen Hälfte der Westwand.

Der nördliche Prozessionsweg des Ramesseums endet gleich nach der großen Säulenhalle in zwei gleich großen langgestreckten Räumen, die unmittelbar nebeneinander liegen. Am Beginn des Weges sind im Portikus noch die flankierenden Osirispfeiler und Säulen mitsamt ihrer Dekoration erhalten, von der anschließenden Tür zur Säulenhalle noch der nördl. Türpfosten.

Die in der Nordhälfte des Portikus erhaltenen vier Osirispfeiler sind auf den drei freien Seiten mit jeweils zwei Ritualszenen übereinander dekoriert, in denen Ramses II. einem Gott gegenübertritt⁴ (vgl. Abb. 2). Vertreten sind dabei vor allem die Götter der Neunheit von Heliopolis und die thebanische Triade, auf der Rückseite der Pfeiler erscheint im oberen Register stets Amonre. In den Szenen, die den nördl. Prozessionsweg flankieren, begegnet ausschließlich die thebanische Triade, Amonre jeweils im unteren Register und im oberen Mut (Süd) und Chons (Nord).⁵ Die Szene mit Chons ist dabei unter den Szenen auf den Pfeilern in der Nordhälfte des Portikus besonders hervorgehoben, da der Gott hier nicht eine Gabe empfängt, sondern sie seinerseits dem König überreicht (ein Bündel von 'nḥ- und wss-Zeichen, wie nach der entsprechenden Szene in Medinet Habu zu ergänzen ist).⁶ Eben Mut

 $^{^2}$ Hölscher, *Medinet Habu* III, 22–32 mit Tf. 2; R. Stadelmann,"Totentempel und Millionenjahrhaus in Theben," *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 311; und ders. in $L\ddot{A}$ 5, 94.

³ "Ramesseum Sources of Medinet Habu Reliefs," Fs Hughes, 169–75.

⁴ Ch. Leblanc u.a., *Le Ramesseum* IX 1. *Les piliers "osiriaques.*" CS 33 (Kairo, 1980), pl. 68–93; Ch. Leblanc – S. El-Sayed Ismaïl, *Le Ramesseum* IX, 2. *Les piliers "osiriaques.*" CS 34 (Kairo, 1988), pl. 42–68.

⁵ Ramesseum IX, 1, pl. 86–89; Ramesseum IX, 2, pl. 60–61 und 63–64; Helck, Ram., 61f. und 64f.

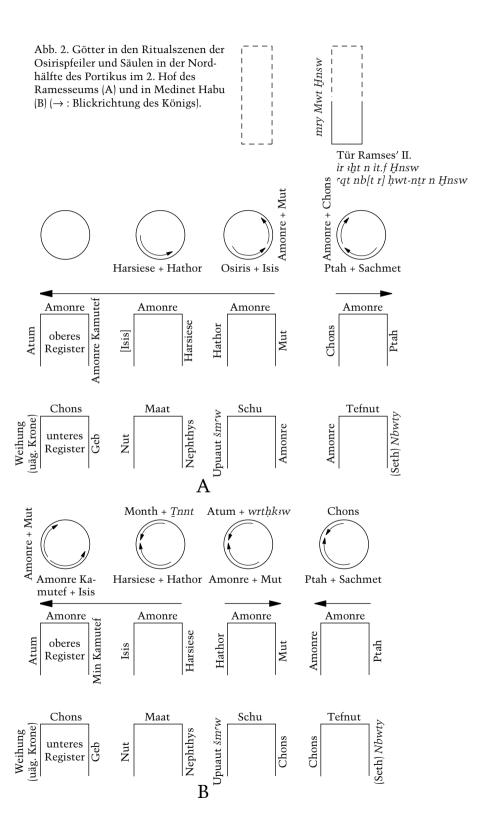
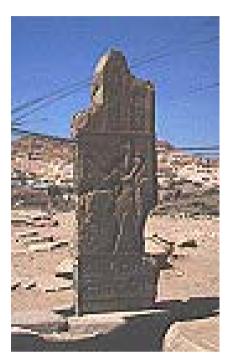


Abb. 3–4. Nördl. Pfosten der nördl. Tür zur Säulenhalle im Ramesseum, Ostseite (links) und Südseite (rechts).





(Süd) und Chons (Nord) erscheinen zusammen mit Amonre auch in den beiden Ritualszenen, die auf den zwei anschließenden Säulen den Weg flankieren.⁷

Von der Tür dahinter ist nur der nördl. Pfosten erhalten (Abb. 3–4). Auf diesem heißt es "Tür von König Ramses II., der Nützliches tut für seinen Vater Chons" (sb3 nswbit Wsr-m3°t-R° stp.n-R° ir 3½t n it=f Ḥnsw) und "Alles, was in den Tempel des Chons eintritt, ist ganz rein" (rqt nb[t r] ḥwt nṭr n Ḥnsw iw=w wrb wrb), 8 und im Türdurchgang wird Ramses II. als "geliebt von Mut und Chons" bezeichnet. 9 Der südliche Pfosten ist nicht erhalten, doch haben seine Inschriften vermutlich in kongruenter Weise auf Mut Bezug genommen.

Da in den flankierenden Szenen am Anfang des nördl. Prozessionswegs neben Amonre allein Mut (Süd) und Chons (Nord) erscheinen und der nördl. Türpfosten vom Eintreten in den "Tempel des Chons" spricht, ist zu vermuten, daß die beiden Räume am Ende des Weges eben für Mut (S) und Chons (N) bestimmt waren, ¹⁰ wohl zur Aufnahme ihrer Barken

⁶ Medinet Habu V, 282.

⁷ Helck, Ram., 82–85.

⁸ Op. cit., 90f.

⁹ Siehe den Text rechts (bei Helck, Ram., 92 nicht aufgeführt).

 $^{^{10}}$ Für die in Ramesseum IX, 1, S. 69f. und pl. 111 vorgeschlagene Rekonstruktion des Weges, den der König beim Besuch des Tempels im 2. Hof genommen haben soll, kann ich keine Anhaltspunkte sehen.

beim Talfest.¹¹ Die gleich große langgestreckte Form der Räume und die Position von Mut rechts von Chons (vom Hauptsanktuar hinten im Tempel gesehen) stehen mit einer solchen Funktion in Einklang.¹²

Es sei weiterhin erwähnt, daß in den Ritualszenen der beiden Säulenpaare, die vor dem vermuteten Mut-Sanktuar den Zugang flankieren, eben Mut besonders herausgehoben ist (Amonre Kamutef + Isis und Amonre + Mut auf Nr. 71–72 sowie Amonre + Mut und Ptah + Mut *ḥnt pr Ptḥ* auf Nr. 65–66). ¹³ Auf der nördl. Seite der beiden Säulen 65 und 66, die den Zugang zu dem vermuteten Sanktuar des Chons auf der Südseite flankieren, finden sich Chepre + Iusas und—direkt vor der Tür—Amonre + Chons. ¹⁴

Im Totentempel Ramses' III. sind in der Nordhälfte des Portikus nur geringfügige Änderungen gegenüber dem Ramesseum vorgenommen worden¹⁵ (vgl. Abb. 2). An den Stellen, die im Ramesseum den Prozessionsweg flankieren, sind sowohl auf den Osirispfeilern wie auf den Säulen weiterhin die Götter der thebanischen Triade vertreten, allerdings in verschobenen Positionen.

Der südliche Prozessionsweg führt im Ramesseum in den "contiguous temple," ein Heiligtum mit drei parallelen, gleich großen Kapellen und zwei kleinen, von vier Pfeilern bzw. zwei Säulen getragenen Vorhallen. In seiner Anlage, der Position südlich der Hauptachse und dem eigenen, vom Portikus des 2. Hofes ausgehenden Prozessionsweg hat dieser Trakt im Totentempel des Aja, den Haremhab hier unverändert übernahm, und in dem von Sethos I. in Gurna seine direkten Vorläufer (vgl. Abb. 1). Im Totentempel der Hatschepsut in Deir el-Bahari entspricht ihm der Trakt mit den Räumen für den Totenkult der Königin und ihres Vaters Thutmosis I. 16 Es wird daher allgemein angenommen,

¹¹ Da diese beiden Räume des Ramesseums sich im Totentempel des Aja in der gleichen langgestreckten Form, in der gleichen Lage direkt nebeneinander und im Rahmen des Tempels in vergleichbarer Position finden (Hölscher, *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 33; II, 77f. und 111f.; III, 22–25), ist dort wohl die gleiche Funktion anzunehmen.

¹² So die reguläre Verteilung dieser beiden Räume in den anderen thebanischen Totentempeln. Auch im Tempel von Luxor waren unter Amenophis III. die Barkenräume von Mut und Chons (II und I) unmittelbar nebeneinander angelegt, doch ist der Raum des Chons spätestens unter Ramses II. in einen Raum (III) verlagert worden, der seiner Dekoration nach ursprünglich offenbar für Amonre bestimmt war. Vgl. PM II², 319f. und Plan XXXII; Gayet, Temple de Louxor, pl. 16bis und 27–33; G. Daressy, Notice explicative sur les ruines du temple de Louxor (Kairo, 1893), 60f.; und G. Legrain, "Le logement et transport des barques sacrées et des statues des dieux dans quelques temples égyptiens," BIFAO 13 (1917), 2f. Auf den beiden Türwangen von Raum I wird Amenophis III. von Chons (falkenköpfig) empfangen.

¹³ Vgl. Helck, Ram., 105–09 und 113–15.

 $^{^{14}}$ Vgl. Helck, Ram., 108. Die übrigen Säulen (55–60 und 61–64), die einst den Prozessionsweg durch die Halle flankierten, sind nicht erhalten.

¹⁵ Vgl. Medinet Habu V. 279–82 und VI. 375–76; sowie Nims, S. 173.

daß er in all diesen Tempeln für den Totenkult des Königs, teilweise auch seines Vaters, bestimmt war.¹⁷ In Medinet Habu entspricht ihm der Trakt der Räume 20–27, der für den Kult des verstorbenen Ramses III. zusammen mit Ptah-Sokar-Osiris und Nefertem bestimmt war.¹⁸ Weder in Deir el-Bahari noch in Medinet Habu verfügt der Trakt über einen separaten Prozessionsweg.

Im Ramesseum sind von der südlichen Hälfte des Portikus die Osirispfeiler und Säulen nicht erhalten, wohl aber die Rückwand zwischen der Tempelachse und der südl. Tür sowie die beiden Pfosten dieser Tür (vgl. Abb. 5).

Auf den beiden Seiten der Pfosten, die im Ramesseum den Türdurchgang flankieren, wird Ramses II. als "geliebt von Sokar-Osiris" (Süd) bzw. "geliebt von Nefertem, dem Herrn des Himmels" (Nord) bezeichnet. Auf der Ostseite beider Pfosten heißt es "Tür König Ramses' II., der Denkmäler macht im Haus seines Vaters Amun" (sbraswbit Wsr-msct-Rc stp.n-Rc ir mnw m pr it-f Imn), und dem König, der Tür im Weihungsgestus zugewandt, ist beigeschrieben: "Weihen aller reinen, schönen Dinge. Alles, was in dieses Haus (pr pn) eintritt, sei ganz rein" (S) bzw. "Alles, [was eintritt] in den Tempel des Amun (hwt-ntr n Imn), 1 ist ganz rein" (N). 1 In der Beischrift über ihm wird Ramses II. hier bezeichnet als "[geliebt von P]t[ah]-Sokar-Osiris und Nefertem Horus-[He]k[nu]" (N) bzw. "geliebt von [...] A[mu]n" (S). 23

Auf der Ostwand der Säulenhalle bringt der König, nach Norden gewandt, über der Tür im 2. Register Wein vor Nefertem und in der nördlich anschließenden Szene Salbe vor Sokar-Osiris und Sachmet dar

²³ Helck. Ram., 90-92.



¹⁶ Deir el-Bahari V, 107–16 und 127–28; PM II^2 , 359–61.

¹⁷ Hölscher, *Medinet Habu* III, 22–25 (mit Tf. 2) und 29–31; R. Stadelmann, "Totentempel und Millionenjahrhaus in Theben," *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 311; ders. in *LÄ* 5, 94.

¹⁸ Medinet Habu VI, 445–75; PM II², 510–12 und Plan XLVIII. Vgl. auch C. Graindorge-Héreil, Le Dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire, GOF IV. Bd. 28 (Wiesbaden, 1994), 162–67.

¹⁹ Siehe den Text rechts. Vgl. Graindorge-Héreil, op. cit. I, 161 und II, pl. XIb. Bei Helck, Ram., 90f. ist die Inschrift nicht aufgeführt.

²⁰ Helck, Ram., 91.

²¹ Warum in dieser Beischrift Amun herausgestellt ist und nicht (Ptah-) Sokar-Osiris, ist mir unklar

²² Auf die breite mittlere Tür in der Westwand des Portikus bezieht sich die Weihungsszene, die sich, direkt am Prozessionsweg, auf dem nördlichen flankierenden Osirispfeiler im unteren Register findet (Helck, Ram., 80; nicht aufgenommen in Ramesseum IX, 1, 119ff. u. pl. 71ff. und IX, 2, pl. 42ff.). Hier heißt es "Alles, was [in den Tempel] des Amonre, Königs der Götter, eintritt, sei ganz rein." Der axiale Prozessionsweg ist damit dem Amonre zugewiesen. In der gleichen Position und um die kongruente Darstellung auf dem südlichen flankierenden Osirispfeiler ergänzt findet sich diese Szene auch in Medinet Habu (Medinet Habu V, 272 u. 279).

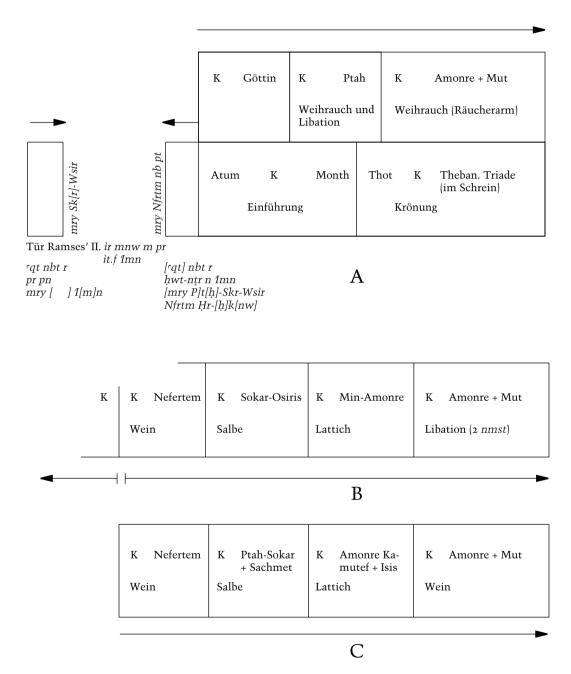


Abb. 5. Götter und Kulthandlungen in den Ritualszenen A: im 2. Hof des Ramesseums, Südhälfte des Portikus, Rückwand; B und C: in der Säulenhalle des Ramesseums (B) und in Medinet Habu (C), Südhälfte der Ostwand, mittleres Register (K = König).

(ebenso in Medinet Habu vor Nefertem bzw. vor Ptah-Sokar und Sachmet).²⁴

Der Bezug auf (Ptah-) Sokar-Osiris und Nefertem an dieser Tür ist so dominierend, daß der Prozessionsweg und das Heiligtum an seinem Ende für diese Götter bestimmt gewesen sein dürften. In den Ritualszenen der zwei Säulen 95 u. 96, die in der Säulenhalle den Zugang zu dem Heiligtum auf der nördlichen Seite flankieren, sind Sokar ("im Ramesseum in der Domäne des Amun") + Sachmet und Amonre + Mut dargestellt.²⁵

Die genannte Zuweisung läßt sich durch einen Vergleich mit Medinet Habu weiter stützen. Hier erscheinen auf den Seiten der Osirispfeiler und Säulen, die im Ramesseum den Beginn des Prozessionswegs flankieren, die Götter Sokar-Osiris (S) und Nefertem (N) und dahinter auf der Rückwand des Portikus im unteren Register zwei Opferszenen vor Sokar-Osiris und vor Ptah²⁶ (vgl. Abb. 6). Diese beiden Szenen hatten ihre Entsprechung im Ramesseum wohl auf dem südlich an die Tür zur Säulenhalle anschließenden Teil der Wand.

Im 2. Hof des Ramesseums ist von der Nord- und der Südwand nichts erhalten und von der Ostwand nur ein schmaler Teil in der nördlichen Hälfte. Die hier erhaltenen Szenen zeigen, daß auf der Nordwand und dem nördlichen Teil der Ostwand einst in der gleichen Weise das Min-Fest dargestellt war wie in Medinet Habu.²⁷ Es liegt daher die Annahme nahe, daß auf der Südwand und dem südlichen Teil der Ostwand im Ramesseum ebenso wie in Medinet Habu einst das Sokar-Fest (mit der Sokar-Barke, dem Nefertem-Emblem und einem abschließenden Opfer vor Sokar-Osiris) dargestellt war.²⁸ Die Darstellung ²⁴ Op. cit., 100f.; *Medinet Habu* V, 312. Vgl. Nims, S. 174.

Weges sind nicht erhalten.

²⁵ Die Götter auf den vorausgehenden Säulen 91–94 nehmen nicht in einer erkennbaren Weise auf den Prozessionsweg Bezug: Thot + Seschat, Atum + Iusas, Harsiese + Isis, Amonre Kamutef + Isis (Helck, *Ram.*, 130–34). Die Säulen 97–102 auf der südl. Seite des

²⁶ Medinet Habu V, 272-75 u. 289-90 und VI, 373-74.

²⁷ Medinet Habu IV, 196–208; und M. Maher-Taha – A.-M. Loyrette, Le Ramesseum XI. Les fêtes du dieu Min. CS 36 (Kairo, 1979). Vgl. Nims, S. 170.

²⁸ Medinet Habu IV, 196 und 218–26. Vgl. hierzu G. Wohlgemuth, Das Sokarfest (Diss. Göttingen, 1957; unveröff.); G.A. Gaballa – K.A. Kitchen, "The Festival of Sokar," Or 38 (1969), 1–76; W. Helck in LÄ 5, 1074f.; und Graindorge-Héreil, op. cit. I, 162, 165–67 u. 311ff. Wenn Ramses III. in der Einleitung seines Festkalenders angibt, er habe die "großen Opfer, Rituale und Riten" (3bt, nt, irw) des Sokar "gemäß dem Festritual (des Ptah-Tempels) von Memphis (hwt-Pth) vortrefflich gemacht" (smnh r hbt; Medinet Habu III, 138, Z. 29–30), so folgt hieraus doch keineswegs, daß erst er den Kult und das Fest des Sokar von Memphis nach Theben verpflanzt hat (vgl. Wohlgemuth, op. cit., 173, 71 und 106f.; Gaballa – Kitchen, op. cit., 75). Das Sokar-Fest ist ja schon lange vorher in Theben nachgewiesen (vgl. Wohlgemuth, op. cit., 106f.; Gaballa – Kitchen, op. cit., 26–29; und Graindorge-Héreil, op. cit.), und offenbar hat Ramses III. auch den Festkalender nur aus dem Ramesseum übernommen (vgl. Nims, S. 170 u. 175).

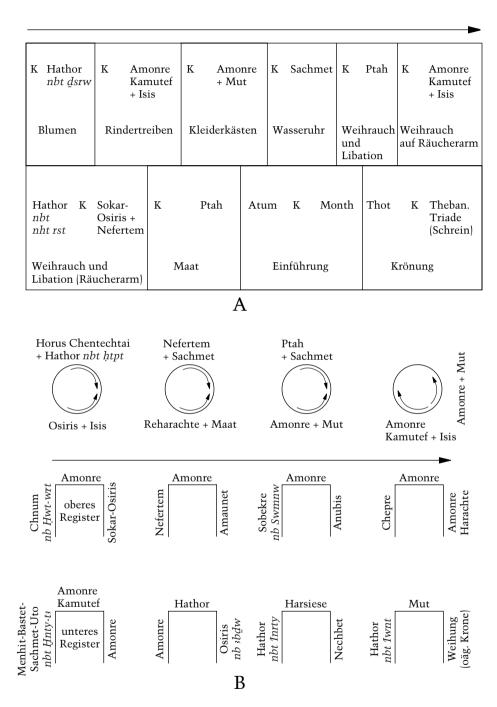


Abb. 6. 2. Hof von Medinet Habu, Südhälfte des Portikus: Götter und Kulthandlungen in den Ritualszenen der Rückwand (A) und der Osirispfeiler und Säulen (B).

dieses Festes stände dann sicherlich in direktem Zusammenhang mit dem südlichen Prozessionsweg, an dessen Beginn eben (Ptah-)Sokar-Osiris und Nefertem besonders herausgestellt sind, und die beiden oben erschlossenen Szenen südlich der Tür zur Säulenhalle mit Opfern vor Sokar-Osiris und vor Ptah hätten von dem Fest auf der Südwand direkt zu diesem Weg übergeleitet.

So deutlich sich im Ramesseum die Dekoration am Beginn des südl. Prozessionswegs auf (Ptah-)Sokar-Osiris und Nefertem bezieht, so gewichtig sind doch auch die Gründe, die für eine Verbindung des "contiguous temple" mit dem Kult des verstorbenen Königs sprechen (vgl. Anm. 17). Die einander scheinbar widersprechenden Indizien lassen sich, wie die Räume 20–27 in Medinet Habu (vgl. Anm. 18) zeigen, allerdings durchaus miteinander vereinbaren, und sie sprechen dann dafür, daß schon im "contiguous temple" des Ramesseums der verstorbene König zusammen mit (Ptah-) Sokar-Osiris und Nefertem einen Kult empfing.

Kapellen für (Ptah-) Sokar-Osiris und Nefertem finden sich auch im Totentempel Sethos' I. in Gurna, und zwar in den Räumen IX und XII, die flankierend neben den drei Barkenräumen für Amonre, Mut und Chons (XIII, X, XI) liegen.²⁹ Eine Verbindung mit dem hier in einem südlichen Seitenraum (II) der Säulenhalle anzusetzenden Kult des verstorbenen Königs³⁰ ist nicht erkennbar. Auch im Totentempel Amenophis' III. nimmt ein Heiligtum des Ptah-Sokar eine herausgehobene Stellung ein, doch ist Genaueres hierüber bisher nicht bekannt.³¹

Über die Möglichkeit hinaus, einige Szenen im 2. Hof des Ramesseums nach denen in Medinet Habu zu ergänzen, macht ein Vergleich ²⁹ Vgl. vorerst *PM* II², 413f. und Plan XL (1); und meinen Beitrag "Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna," *Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Forschungsbericht 1981–1986.* Bd. I (Bonn, 1988), 159–67. Im Grab Sethos' I. und schon in den Gräbern seiner Vorgänger Haremhab und Ramses I. flankieren Ptah und Nefertem den Zugang zur Sargkammer, auch dort Ptah immer rechts und Nefertem links (von der Sargkammer her): *PM* I², 534 (2, 5), 540 (30, 31) und 568 (3, 4). Vgl. auch E. Hornung, *The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I. Das Grab Sethos' I.* (Zürich/München, 1991), 193; ders. – E. Staehelin, *Sethos–ein Pharaonengrab. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig* (Basel, 1991), 34; und ders., *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige* (Bern, 1971), Tf. 16 u. 20. Einen separaten Trakt, in dem ihre Räume nebeneinander liegen, haben Ptah-Sokar und Nefertem im Totentempel Sethos' I. in Abydos (*PM* VI, 22; R. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* [Warminster, 1981], 97–108).

³⁰ Vgl. R. Stadelmann in *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 313f.; und meinen in Anm. 29 genannten Beitrag.

³¹ H. Ricke in H. Ricke – L. Habachi – G. Haeny, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel Amenophis' III*. Beiträge Bf 11 (Wiesbaden, 1981), 31–37; G. Haeny, op. cit., 66 und Tf. 14; Gaballa – Kitchen, op. cit., 28–30; H. Brunner, "Sokar im Totentempel Amenophis' III., *Fs Edel*, 60–65; und S. Bickel, "Blocs d'Amenhotep III réemployés dans le temple de Merenptah à Gournah," *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 1–13.

dieser beiden Höfe etwas anderes deutlich. Die Dekoration ist für das Ramesseum geschaffen worden und dort eng auf die vom 2. Hof ausgehenden Prozessionswege und der an ihrem Ende liegenden Räume bezogen. Diese organische Einheit besteht in Medinet Habu nicht mehr. In der architektonischen Anlage sind wesentliche Änderungen vorgenommen. Die beiden seitlichen Prozessionswege sind samt den Aufgängen und den Türen in der Westwand des Hofes aufgegeben, da auch die Räume, zu denen sie im Ramesseum führen, an andere Stellen im Tempel gesetzt sind. Die Räume 20–27 für den Kult des verstorbenen Königs und für Ptah-Sokar-Osiris und Nefertem sind weiter nach hinten gerückt, die Barkenräume von Mut und Chons liegen flankierend neben dem Barkenraum des Amonre. Dies zeigt, daß sich im 2. Hof von Medinet Habu die Überlieferung der Dekoration verselbständigt und von der ursprünglichen Bindung an die Raumfunktion gelöst hat.

<u>~</u>

Khakheperreseneb and Traditional Belles Lettres



R.B. Parkinson

Where is that holy fire, which *Verse* is said To have? is that inchanting force decai'd? J. Donne, *Sapho to Philaenis*, Il. 1–2

TILIAM KELLY SIMPSON IS A DISTINGUISHED CHAMPION OF ancient Egyptian "belles lettres," and it is with deep gratitude for his encouragement and his kindness towards me that I offer a discussion of a Middle Kingdom passage concerning fine style.

The Words of Khakheperreseneb survive—in what may well be a partial copy—on an Eighteenth Dynasty writing board (BM EA 5645); its provenance is unrecorded in the British Museum's records. The name of the fictional protagonist indicates that the composition cannot predate the reign of Senwosret II; Pascal Vernus dates the text on the basis of a grammatical analysis to the late Twelfth or the Thirteenth Dynasty.

The opening passage (recto ll. 1–9) discusses style and the difficulties of articulating its subject explicitly. This is unusual, but the passage is not unique in its self-concern: the breakdown in communication is a common motif in pessimistic discourses. The dense, punning, and self-referential style makes the passage difficult for the modern reader, a difficultly that is compounded by the unevenly placed—and possibly unreliable—verse-points, as well as the occasionally faint and smudged writing.

¹ I am very grateful to J. Baines for valuable comments, and to P. Vernus for discussing the passage with me and allowing me to cite his forthcoming study (which offers a different reading to mine), "l'intuition de "Khâkheperrêseneb" in his *Essais sur la conscience de l'histoire dans l'Egypte pharaonique*.

² A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Ancient Egyptian Sage, from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 95–110, pl. 17–18. Photographs with revised translation: G. E. Kadish, "British Museum Writing Board 5645: The Complaints of Kha-kheper-re'-sene-bu," *JEA* 59 (1973), pp. 77–90. According to Gardiner there is an unedited ostracon in Cairo: *Hieratic papyri in the British Museum. Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift* (London, 1935), I, p. 40 n. 8.

³ Future at Issue: Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics (Yale Egyptological Studies 4; New Haven, 1990), p. 188; also id., in press (see n. 1).

⁴ J. Assmann, Ma'at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten (Munich, 1990), pp. 82–5.

Khakheperreseneb desires a "new speech" (recto 1. 2), and this has often been taken at face value, as the wish of an original revolutionary; Ockinga's study, for example, views Khakheperreseneb as an early and influential individualist. Despite this supposed revolutionary attitude, however, the sage subsequently laments the passing of "last year" in "then-now" formulations that are typical of Middle Kingdom wisdom discourse. The presence of the normal literary speech code, and the absence of any revolutionary features, has led to dismissive evaluations of the sage's achievement, as failing in his intentions, and also to suggestions that the conventional phraseology was a deliberate strategy to demonstrate the "sense of failure in the writer." The disparity between the usual literal interpretation of the sage's stated aim and his subsequent achievement, however, can lead one to question the usual reading of the passage. I suggest that the introduction was intended as a rhetorical device to enhance the virtuosity of what follows, and is not incompatible with the conventions of contemporaneous literary texts. Such rhetorical introductions are found in many other literatures: Milton claimed that the supremely canonical *Paradise Lost* was some "things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme" (I, 16), and Donne opened his passionate verse letter Sapho to Philaenis by proclaiming poetry to be inadequate to its subject.

The first extant excerpt of the *Words of Khakheperreseneb* opens as follows:

```
<sup>r.2</sup>h3-n≈i hnw-hmmy •
                                             "Would that I had unknown utterances
tsw-hppyw •
                                             and strange phrases,
m-mdt-m3wt tmt-sw3 •
                                             in a new speech that does not pass away,
šwt m-whmmyt •
                                             free from repetitions,
                                             without a verse of transitory speech
nn-ts n-sbt-r3 •
r.3ddt.n-tpiw- [•]<sup>b</sup>
                                             that was spoken by the ancestors!
sh3k=i-ht=i hr-ntt-im=s •
                                             I shall wring out my body for what is in it,
                                             as a release of all my speaking —
m-fh n-ddœ-nb •
```

⁵ B. Ockinga, "The Burden of Kha'kheperre'sonbu," JEA 69 (1983), pp. 88–95.

⁶ For example, recto ll. 10–11; for "then-now" formulations see W. Schenkel, "Sonst-Jetzt: Variationen eines literarischen Formelements," *WdO* 15 (1984), pp. 51-61.

Gardiner, Admonitions (Leipzig, 1909), p. 110. More recently, L. H. Lesko, in id. (ed.), Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of Deir el Medina (Ithaca, 1994), p. 142.

⁸ G. E. Kadish, *JEA* 59 (1973), p. 87.

that they who follow shall find it good."

hr-ntt-rf-whmw-dddwt •since what has been spoken is (mere) repeating.iw-dddwt-dd(w) •What has been spoken is spoken (once and for all);nn-cbw-mdt-imiw-r.4 hit •this is no boast of ancestral talk,

a. The meaning of *sbt-rs* is unclear; suggestions include: "Umgangsprache" (Kadish, *JEA* 59 (1973), p. 79, n. r), "déja rapportée par (toutes) les voix" (J.-L. Chappaz, *BSEG* 2 (1979), p. 4); "überlieferten Sprüche" (Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* [Munich, 1992], p. 99); "statements that have not been used (lit. "passed")" (C. J. Eyre, in S. Israelit-Groll [ed.], *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* [Jerusalem, 1990], I, p. 160). If it derives from the verb of motion *sbì*, it may mean "the going-of-speech;" it could also be related to *sbì* "decay."

- b. There seem to be slight faint traces of red between the signs, not noticed by Gardiner. c. Reading as a nominal $s\underline{d}m > f$; Vernus reads $\underline{d}dw$ "speaker" (in press, n. 1).
- d. The area is smudged. One could read gmi < i > s[t] (as Vernus, Future at Issue [Yale, 1990], p. 140), but the traces of the supposed t are, to my eyes, part of the general smudging.
- e. For gmì as "to find (good)," see e.g. Loyalist Teaching §6.10 (G. Posener, l'Enseignement Loyaliste [Geneva, 1976], p. 31).

The opening verses' desire for enduring speech that does "not pass away" is standard, and the following image of speech as "release" is very similar to a passage in the *Eloquent Peasant* B1 306–11. The desire for "new speech" is, however, unusual, and "repeating" and "speaking" here have negative connotations, scarcely found elsewhere in Middle Kingdom texts. The final triplet echoes the denials of falsehood that occur in commemorative texts, and seems to state that the sage's dismissal of "what has (already) been said" is distinct from the traditional claim that ancestral speech will find its fulfilment in the future, through an audience that "comes after." The "ancestors" occupy a negative role, and the past and its speech have no relevance. This attitude to the past contrasts strongly with that of many texts (e.g., *Merikare*, edition Helck, 9i–j), and for the original audience would have been a striking and despairing opening.

Such an attitude is, however, not unique. A complex range of attitudes towards the past can be detected through Egyptian history, ¹² and

gm-is-ø imiw-ht •

⁹ Ockinga, JEA 69 (1983), pp. 90–91.

¹⁰ E.g. J. M. A. Janssen, De traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie voor het Nieuwe Rijk (Leiden, 1946) I, pp. 54–6 (V), pp. 122–5 (Hc).

¹¹ For example, "This is what I did, in very Truth. There is no boasting (nn-cbc), there is no falsehood therein": K. Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1928), p. 82 1.12). See also B. Ockinga and Y. al-Masri, Two Ramesside Tombs at el Mashayikh (Sydney, 1988), I, p. 41 n. 180.

this passage can be compared with the *Tale of King Cheops' Court*. In this, prince Hordedef begins to speak by dismissing the previous old tales:

```
He said, "[...] of a deed [...] is what is known only to those who have passed away (sw3)<sup>13</sup>—one cannot know Truth from Falsehood.

There is (in contrast) someone who exists under your Majesty, in your own time."

(P. Westcar [ed. Blackman], ll. 6.23–4).
```

Hordedef implies that what is past is unreliable, and one cannot be certain of the truthfulness of the tales from the past; in the context of the Tale, itself set in the ancient past, this must be wittily ironic. The impermanence of ancestral works is also voiced in a more serious and elevated text, the *Dialogue of a Man and his Ba* (ll. 60–64), which probably predates *Khakheperreseneb*. A similar attitude is expressed in the opening of the *Words of Neferti*, which was apparently composed near the start of the Dynasty: when king Sneferu is asked whether he wishes to hear of the past or the future, he replies:

```
"But of what will happen! For today happens and then it is passed (sws) by." (ed. Helck, 2n)
```

The impermanence of human affairs is part of an awareness of the universe's imperfection, which is expressed in wisdom texts. The title of *Khakheperreseneb*, by identifying its genre as "discourse," implies that the sage is speaking amid such imperfection. His sentiments must be assessed within the fictional setting; they need not refer to a normal state of affairs, but rather to his inability to express his extraordinary plight. His need for a "new speech" indicates how desperate his situation is.

The poem continues:

¹² J. Baines, "Ancient Egyptian Concepts and Uses of the Past: 3rd–2nd Millennium Evidence," in R. Layton (ed.) Who Needs the Past: Indigenous Values and Archaeology (London, 1989), pp. 131–49.

 $^{^{13}}$ Perhaps read: [sdd] n-sp [n-hprwt] m-rht m-nthw-sw3 "[Telling] of a deed [of what has happened] is what is known only to those who have passed away."

¹⁴ A similar passage seems to have occurred earlier: P. Westcar (ed. Blackman) ll. 4.20–22.

¹⁵ Attested by the second half of Twelfth Dynasty: e.g., R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991), pp. x, xxvi.

¹⁶ In the *Teaching for Merikare*, the transitory nature of mankind in general is noted: "generation passes generation of mankind" (ed. Helck, 43a).

$^{\text{r.5}}$ n - $\underline{d}d$ - $\underline{d}d(w)$ $\underline{d}d$ - $\underline{d}d.t(\hat{i})$ ≈ fi •	No (true) speaker has spoken, so may someone who will (really) speak (now) speak;
gmy-ky $\underline{d}d.ti = f \bullet$	may another find what he speaks good!
$n\text{-}md.t(w)^a n\text{-}mdt \nmid r\text{-}ss\text{-}iri \bullet$	No one has talked with regard to(?) a talked-of-matter afterwards,
ìr.n≈sn dr-c •	when they have acted before.
$nn-mdt-ntt-ks=s-\underline{d}d=s(?) \bullet$	Here is no talking what is (only) planned to be said:
^{r.6} ḥḥì-pw r-3qt {•} ^{? c} grg-pw <•> [?]	this is seeking after disaster; this is falsehood.
nn-sḫ3.tì≈fì-(•}-rn≈f n-kt-ḫy •	There is none who will remember his name to others.
₫d.n≈i-nn ḫft-ms.n≈i •	I have said these (preceding) things as I have seen.
šṣw-r-ḥt-tpt nfryt- ^{r.7} r-łww-ḥr-s₃ •	From the first generation unto they who come after,
snì≈sn r-sw³wt <•>	they now imitate (i.e., become like) those things that have passed away.
ḥ₃-₃-rḫ=ì-ḫm.n-kìwì •	Would that I knew what (these) others ignored,
m-tmmt-wḥmt <•>	what is not being repeated.
₫d=ì-st wšb-n=ì ìb=ì •	I would speak it and my heart would answer me;

a. Tw is usually written out in full by the scribe (e.g., recto l. 11). One could also emend to n < n > mdt n - mdt "Here is no matter of speaking" (for mdt n + thing, see Wb. II, 181.18).

The first couplet echoes the final couplet of the preceding excerpt (with $\underline{d}d$ and $\underline{g}m$), and its wishes about speaking and reception act as a preludium to the sage's lament. ¹⁷ The statement that no speaker has spoken is a striking opening, after the earlier dismissals of "what has been spoken." There follow a couplet and a triplet dominated by

b. There are difficulties in translating $mdw\,n$ -, which is attested only as "speak to" someone (Wb. II, 179.12).

c. The verse-points seem badly placed in this line.

¹⁷ Compare the preludium in *Loyalist Teaching*, §1.3–8 [G. Posener, *L'Enseignement Loyaliste* [Geneva, 1976], 18, with parallels). Also *Neferti*, ed. Helck, 3a–e.

negative constructions. In these, the sage first implies that he will not just speak after the event—since no one ever does this—and then states that he will not speak only of what he might say—since this is fruitless. This remark is very pertinent to a preludium.

The sage then states that he is instead speaking of present reality. This concern with giving voice to one's present experience (recto l. 10, verso l. 1) is well attested in wisdom literature: Neferti also speaks of "what is before the face" of his audience and of himself, invoking direct sight as evidence for the truth of what he says (ed. Helck, 4a–b, 5f). Khakheperreseneb then claims that all other mortal speakers emulate not what endures, but what he is shunning: that which has "passed away."

In a fictional literary text, this claim would not be intended literally as a denunciation of the state of contemporary literature, any more than the passage in *Man and Ba* lamenting the lack of wise interlocutors (ll. 103–30) denounced an actual lack of wisdom in the Twelfth Dynasty. Both of these compositions are internal, potentially subjective, monologues, and are sited in the flawed, fictional world of the "Lament" genre. The poet's implied claim to uniqueness is also a well attested rhetorical strategy: the Eloquent Peasant claims more directly that he is uniquely perceptive (B1 314). Khakheperreseneb wishes to "know what others ignored" and, echoing earlier verses, "what is not *repeated*." In *Man and Ba* too, the man aspires to take possession of "what he did not know" (ll. 139–40). As the excerpt ends, Khakheperreseneb turns to consider the source of his difficulties in formulating his distress: his heart.

The synonymous qualities of wisdom and literary art are often characterized as essentially "hidden," and thus precious (e.g., P. Chester Beatty IV verso ll. 3.9–10, where literary "magic" is "hidden"). Like magic, effective literary expression is something esoteric, which Khakheperreseneb hopes to achieve after "searching" (ḥḥi: recto l. 1, echoed ironically in recto l. 6). The implications of this characterization for the use of such art can be seen in the *Dialogue of Ipuur and the Lord to the Limit*, where the power of magic words is thwarted by being "laid bare" and being "recalled by men." From this analogy, it seems possible that Middle Kingdom authors considered that the efficacy of literary art

¹⁸ Compare also Sasobek (ed. Barns, Five Ramesseum Papyri [Oxford, 1956]) A.17.

¹⁹ J. Assmann, Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im Alten Ägypten (Munich, 1991), pp. 267–71.

²⁰ Ipuur 6.6–7. Note, however, that shis "recall" can be read as s<w>.his "to garble" (J. F. Borghouts, LÄ III [1980], col. 1141); the older reading is maintained by R. K. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice, SAOC 54 (Chicago, 1993), p. 202.

could be worn out by repetition, and I suggest that this concern in part underlies Khakheperreseneb's desire for new speech that will endure.

This preludium may not express revolutionary attitudes towards literary style. Many of the ideas and phrases can be paralleled elsewhere, which suggests that this is likely rather to be a rare surviving example of preludium of a discourse. In such a reading, the poet's disillusion with the words of the past is not a rejection of established literary strategies, but it expresses a fear that words had been worn out through indiscriminate repetition, and that they were unequal to expressing his present suffering. It creates a very effective sense of expectation for what follows. His subsequent utterances are conventional, but this is not to be interpreted as a sign of failure: they are arguably vivid and successful. The apparent mixture of conventional and original aims is problematic only for a strictly modern audience which assumes implicitly that the truest literature is the most innovative. Other attitudes are attested from relatively recent literatures, as in the medieval English tradition that regarded literary invention as "the keye of remembraunce;" it was not a means of innovation, but one of renewal:

a process of manipulating language so that the wisdom evolved in the past will become available, applicable and operative in the present. Its most distinctive characteristic as poetry is its ability to stir emotion—to move knowledge into operation.

Khakheperreseneb's desire for a "new speech" is not necessarily for innovative originality, but may be interpreted as for a fresh invention in traditional poetics, to render the sage's wisdom effective. The value placed on invention can perhaps be detected in the literary texts, such as *Neferti* or the *Eloquent Peasant*, which describe extemporary performances. Khakheperreseneb's striking emphasis on the "passed" nature of ancestral speech can be accommodated in this reading as a preparation for the subsequent lament, where the misery of today surpasses that of yesterday (recto l. 10); the failure of the past and of its speech is a sign of the troubled world characteristic of literary "Laments," in which the past is neglected. The punning and convoluted style enacts the sage's proclaimed search for strange new expressions in order to formulate his unparalleled misery. His self-proclaimed inability to express his plight is itself a means of expressing its nature.

 $^{^{21}}$ E.g., Lesko views Khakheperreseneb as a critique of Neferti's rewriting of history: id. (ed.), Pharaoh's Workers (Ithaca, 1994), p. 140.

²² The Legend of Goode Wimmen, Prologue 1. 26.

²³ R. O. Payne, The Key of Remembrance: A Study of Chaucer's Poetics (Westport, Conn., 1973 [1963]), p. 89.

It is not surprising that the composition articulates its stylistic concerns in a distinctive manner, or emphasizes different aspects of the topic from other texts: the various and ever-changing strategies adopted to articulate Maat in the *Eloquent Peasant* indicate that the accepted norms of literature in the Middle Kingdom canon included variety.

Thus if *Khakheperreseneb* is interpreted within its generic context, the sage's need for a new speech is a rhetorical variation on a well established motif. Its aesthetics are as representative of the period as is the style of the text itself, and they accord with his having been listed among the canonical master scribes of the Middle Kingdom in the Ramesside period.



²⁴ Both in P. Chester Beatty IV and in the "Daressy Fragment": R. B. Parkinson in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), p. 111.

Au plaisir des paléographes Papyrus Caire JE 52003



Paule Posener-Kriéger

ANS CE VOLUME QUI EST FAIT POUR HONORER VOS ÉMINENTS travaux, je ne vous offre, mon cher Kelly, que deux photographies, mais vous aurez, je crois, quelque plaisir à les regarder, car elles vous présentent, dans sa réalité, un document peu ordinaire. En souvenir des heures passées ensemble à l'EPHE où nous nous sommes tant amusés à lire des textes égyptiens, je me suis permis d'ajouter quelques tentatives de transcriptions à la publication que le professeur Kitchen a déjà donnée de cette feuille de papyrus (KRI VII, n° 256). En toute modestie, et dans l'espoir que cette édition photographique donnera à d'autres l'envie d'améliorer mes lectures incertaines et mes essais de traductions, je vous prie, mon cher Kelly, de trouver ici l'expression de ma longue et fidèle amitié.

Le papyrus Caire JE 52003 est un feuillet de 44 cm de haut sur 25 cm de large; le papyrus Caire JE 52002 (Posener-Kriéger, RdE 33 (1981), p. 47-58 et KRI VII, n° 255) dont notre papyrus est la suite, est fait de trois feuilles de ce type collées les unes à la suite des autres. Le document est inscrit recto-verso, en sens inverse. Le recto porte 18 lignes de texte et le verso, qui est l'envoi, n'en porte que 7. Au recto de notre feuillet, on remarque une bande de renforcement en fibres verticales de 1,3 cm de large collée le long du bord droit de la feuille tandis qu'au verso, une bande de 1 cm de large, en fibres verticales elles aussi, est collée le long du bord gauche, si on regarde le recto. Toujours en regardant le recto, le bord gauche de la feuille est pratiquement complet tandis que son bord droit est endommagé par une grande lacune qui a fait disparaître le début des lignes 9 à 12 du manuscrit. Le bord supérieur du document est quasiment complet, mais il manque une bonne partie de son bord inférieur; les limites de la feuille sont cependant partout préservées et hormis les lacunes déjà signalées, le texte est complet. Des fentes assez importantes le long des pliures anciennes de la feuille endommagent un peu le texte. Quelques traces permettent de penser que le papyrus est un palimpseste: les bandes de renforcement le long

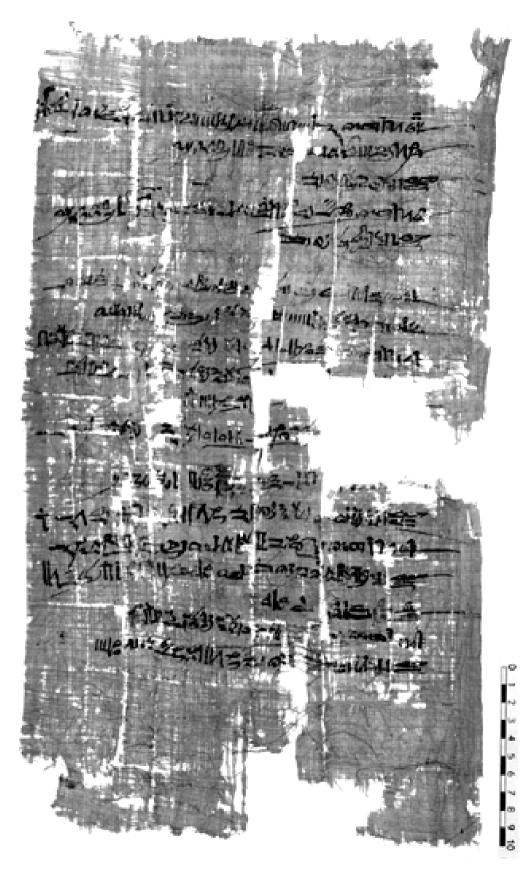


Fig. 1. Papyrus Caire 52003, recto (photographie IFAO).

Fig. 2. Papyrus Caire 52003, recto, transcriptions.

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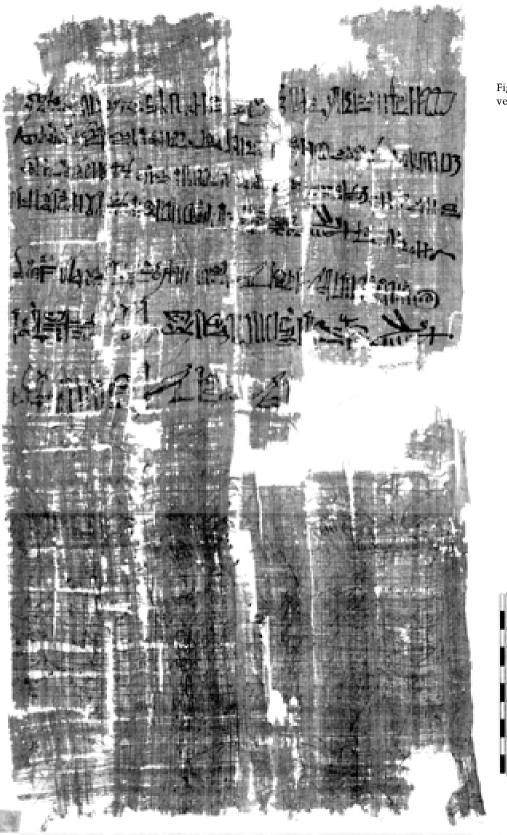
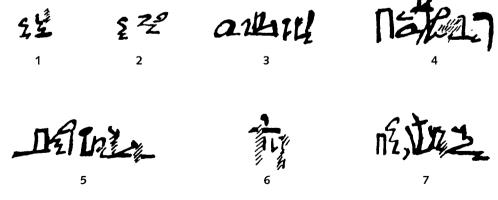


Fig. 3. Papyrus Caire 52003, verso (photographie IFAO).

Fig. 4. Papyrus Caire 52003, verso, transcriptions.

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Fig. 5. Transcriptions et fac-similés des groupes incertains.



des bords latéraux du document indiquent sans doute, qu'après lavage, le papyrus manquait de solidité.

On trouvera, sous la transcription que je propose, celle du Professeur Kitchen qui diffère, par endroits, de la mienne, afin de donner au lecteur un choix bien légitime.

Traduction

RECTO

- 1 L'an 15, premier mois de *šmw*, jour 9, alors qu'On était dans la Maison de Ramsès, aimé d'Amon, Vie santé force, le grand *ks* de *Re-Hr-shty* a
- 2 15ème jour du travail de commande^b par le personnel qui est sous l'autorité du scribe *Bw.kn.tw*€f.^c
- 3 Ce qui a été fait en déblaiement^d en ce jour: (aucune dimension indiquée).
- 4 L'an 15, premier mois de *šmw*, jour 10, 16ème jour du travail de commande par le personnel qui est sous l'autorité du scribe du courrier ^e *Bw.kn.tw=f*.
- 5 Ce qui a été fait en travail^f en ce jour: (aucune indication de la nature exacte du travail, ni des dimensions des travaux).
 - -espace équivalant à une ligne-
- 6 C'est l'ouvrier agricole^g *Ptḥ-ms*, appelé le Syrien, fils de *Pn-dwsw*, des terres-hautes^h de Memphis
- du Grand canal de *Bṣ-n-Rṛ-Mry-Imn*, ⁱ Vie santé force, qui a volé ^j une commission ^k du travail en cours ^l de la barque ^m de *Ipṣ*.
- 8 L'an 15, premier mois de *šmw*, jour 13, second jour de préparer le terrain^o dans la voie [d'ouverture]^p à l'aire^q de la tombe.
- 9 [L'an 15 premier mois de *šmw*, jour 14(?), troisième jour] de préparer le terrain dans la voie d'ouverture de la salle à piliers ^r de
- 10 [La tombe(?). Ce qui a été fait en préparation de terrain en ce jour: X] s+1 coudées; largeur: 4 coudées, 3 palmes.
- 11 [L'an 15, premier mois de *šmw*, jour] 18, sixième jour de préparer le terrain du chemin d'ouverture à
- 12 [élément du bâtiment] par le personnel qui est sous l'autorité du scribe Bw.ķn.tw=f.
- Ce qui a été fait en préparation de terrain en ce jour: (longueur) 12 coudées, largeur: 5 coudées, 5(?) palmes; ce qui fait 17 coudées, 5 palmes.
- 14 L'an 15, premier mois de *šmw*, jour 19, huitième jour de construire en pierre dans la chapelle(?); construit: 7 coudées.
- 15 Ce qui a été fait en construction de pierre en ce jour: pierre au module de brique:^u 8; (en) 2 coudées, 5 palmes; largeur: 1 coudée, 2 palmes; épaisseur: 6 palmes:^v 12
- avant les briques. Total des briques: (chiffre non indiqué).
- 17 L'an 15, premier mois de *šmw*, jour 20 [neuvième? jour] de préparer le terrain dans le chemin de la chambre du fond.^w

18 Ce qui a été fait en préparation de terrain en ce jour: (longueur) 13 coudées; largeur: 6 coudées; hauteur: 4 coudées.

VERSO

- 1 (Au) Flabellifère à la droite du roi, scribe royal et général *M*'y. Le scribe *Bw.kn.tw=f* salue son maître
- en vie santé force. Ce message est pour informer mon maître que le travail de commande que le Seigneur a commandé
- que mon maître m'ordonne de faire très très bien, solide comme le bronze, sans faire que mon maître y trouve de faute à mon endroit, est en cours d'exécution.
- 4 Autre salutation au Roi de Haute et Basse Egypte, Maître des deux terres, *Wsr-Msr.t-R^c-Mry-Imn*, Vie santé force, Fils de *R^c*, apparaissant comme *Imn-R^c* roi des dieux,
- 5 *R^c-mss-ḥṣṣ-Iwnw*, Vie santé force, aimé de *R^c-Ḥr-ṣḫty*, de *Stḫ*, grand de vaillance, fils de *Nwt*.
- 6 (Au) Roi de Haute et Basse Egypte, *Wsr-Msr.t-Rr-Mry-Imn*, Vie santé Force, Fils de Rê, maître des apparitions comme *Tm*, le seigneur des deux terres, l'Héliopolitain.
- 7 [*R^cmss-ḥkṣ-¹wnw*, Vie santé] force, aimé de *R^c-Ḥr-ṣḥty* et de *Stḥ*, grand de vaillance
- 8? [Fils de *Nwt*].
- ^a Le document s'ouvre par une formule assez semblable à celle utilisée dans les lignes 3 r° et 1 v° du rapport 52002 du même scribe *Bw.kn.tw≈f* (Posener-Kriéger, *o.c.*, p. 51, n. b–c) occupé en l'an 15 de Ramsès III à construire, sur commande royale, la tombe du général *M'y*. Arrivé au bord gauche de la feuille de papyrus qu'il utilise, le scribe a arrêté le protocole royal; il n'a pas même réussi à écrire entièrement le nom de *Ḥr-ṣlḥty*, bien qu'il ait serré les signes autant qu'il le pouvait. Il n'y a pas lieu de restituer les signes manquants, car cela donne l'impression que le papyrus est endommagé en fin de ligne.
- ^b Comme dans le papyrus 52002, les travaux sont désignés par le mot *sḥny* (Černý, *Community*, p. 84–85; Posener-Kriéger, o.c., p. 51, n. e).
- ^c On a très exactement ici la suite du verso du papyrus 52002: le scribe reprend la formule introductive du verso de ce dernier et la même expression pour désigner le personnel dont il dispose.
- ^d Il s'agit de la poursuite du travail de préparation du terrain (Posener-Kriéger, o.c., p. 56, n. aah). J. van Dijck, *The New-Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis*, p.16, n. 46 propose de voir dans ce déblaiement qui semble avoir été laborieux, puisqu'il ne dure pas moins de 15 jours, la démolition de structures antérieures existant sur le terrain, peut-être les restes de mastabas de l'Ancien Empire. Comme dans la ligne 4 du verso du papyrus 52002, les mensurations des travaux ne sont pas indiquées.
- ^e La transcription tient compte des traces nettes qui précèdent le nom du scribe et que je ne vois pas comment interpréter autrement, s'il ne s'agit pas des traces du texte antérieurement inscrit sur le document. Les scribes du courrier sont généralement des employés royaux (Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, p. 21*), ce que notre scribe semble bien être, la tombe de *M*'y étant une commande royale.
- $^{\rm f}$ Le terme de bik est vague et peut s'appliquer à toutes sorte de travaux (Černý, Valley of the Kings, p. 18; Eyre, JEA 66 (1980), p. 115); il semble que le travail de déblaiement soit terminé et que l'on passe à une autre sorte d'activité. Les dimensions et autres détails sont laissés en blanc.

g La transcription est incertaine (fig. 5, fac-similé 1. Le fac-similé donné dans KRI est inexact car la photographie dont disposait le Professeur Kitchen faisait sans doute apparaître la lacune en haut à droite en noir). Il s'agit sûrement d'un nom de métier.

h Pour ce terme voir Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* II, p. 27–29 et *Onomastica* I, p. 10[⋆] [55]: terres arables situées hors des zones inondées, mais irriguées (Schenkel, *Bewässerung*, p. 61); il s'agit ici, non d'une désignation de qualité de terre cultivable, mais d'une indication topographique. Yoyotte (*RdE* 15 (1963), p. 119) signale un Amon du "terrain-haut de *Mn-'nḥ*," lieu sans doute proche de la pyramide de Pépi II. Le terrain haut mentionné sur notre papyrus est sans doute au nord de celui repéré par Yoyotte sur la statue Caire 29308 et sur le torse de Vienne; l'ensemble évoque la fertilité des environs de Memphis.

ⁱ Le grand canal de Merenptah cité ici n'est pas autrement connu, à ce qu'il me semble.

^j Pour cette construction en "cleft-sentence," voir Vernus, RdE 38 (1987), p. 175–81.

^k La transcription est incertaine (voir fig. 5, fac-similé 2). Le mot, si c'est bien ainsi qu'il faut lire, est vague. S'agit-il d'un chargement de paille destiné à la fabrication des briques, ou d'autre chose ?

¹ Le travail en cours désigne assez généralement la tombe royale en construction (Černý, *Community*, p. 81) ou tout travail de construction, comme la tombe de *Mry* dans le papyrus Caire 52002 (Posener-Kriéger, *o.c.*, p. 53, n. f), mais l'expression peut être aussi appliquée à des travaux des champs (Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 123, 13–14) et sans doute à tout autre travail.

^m Le groupe n'est pas très clair. Il ne peut en tout cas s'agir du titre du personnage nommé, qui aurait été suivi du signe de l'homme armé (fig. 5, fac-similé 3).

ⁿ Pour ce nom comparer Ranke, *PN* I, p. 55, 26. Le trait qui suit le signe du bateau pourrait être transcrit par un *yod*, mais il manquerait alors un trait vertical après le signe que je lis comme le signe du bateau. J'ai adopté cette transcription faute de mieux.

° Le mot n'est connu que par Lansing 12,1, que Caminos, *LEM*, p. 414, ne traduit pas. J. van Dijck, *o.c.*, p. 25, suggère "Levelling the bed-rock with a layer of rubble." On aimerait pouvoir traduire dans le cas de Lansing 12,1 (La maison de Raia s'est bâtie) "fondée en travail d'éternité" et adopter pour *trr* "poser des fondations;" la suite du texte (l. 18) m'a portée à adopter une traduction plus vague.

^p Le mot en lacune est restitué d'après les traces existant dans les ligne 9 et 11 du manuscrit. *N\text{lb}*, en dehors des désignations de types de terres arables (sol nouvellement mis en culture, Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 65; *The Wilbour Papyrus* II, p. 28, repris par Vernus, *RdE* 29 (1977), p. 180, n. 10 et Schenkel, *Bewässerung*, p. 61) sert aussi à désigner un endroit où se construit un temple (Gardiner, *I.c.*, n. 10) et le fait d'ouvrir une galerie de mine (Gardiner-Peet-Černý, *Sinaï*, n° 47, 48, 51, 53).

^q On aurait aimé pouvoir transcrire $m^c h^c t$, le premier signe étant clairement le signe du canal, mais les traces ne conviennent pas et le mot est masculin (voir fig. 5, fac-similé 4).

^r La transcription qui figure dans KRI ne me paraît pas juste et celle que je propose est sujette à révision (fig. 5, fac-similé 5): le 3 de p3 se confond avec le signe de la maison(?)

s tr chc.t à restituer avant la restitution de *ìryt m trr m hrw pn*, à moins de supposer que le scribe a laissé en suspens le *n* qui figure à la fin de la ligne 9. "Ce qui a été fait en préparation de terrain en ce jour" est pratiquement commandé par les mensurations qui figurent à la fin de la ligne 10.

^t Lire sans doute, sous le signe de la palme, un signe tel que " (voir fig. 5, fac-similé 6), car 5 est sûr dans l'addition en fin de ligne, faute de quoi il faudrait admettre une erreur du scribe.

" inr dbs.t est traduit par le Wb. V, p. 554, 14 "Haus-Stein." Le chiffre 8 me paraît sûr, bien qu'extrêmement modeste.

^v Il s'agit de blocs plus conséquents; le chiffre 12 qui suit les mensurations ne peut s'expliquer que si l'on comprend qu'il s'agit de deux types de blocs, les uns petits, les autres plus gros, servant de base à un édifice ou une partie d'édifice en brique.

w Le mot sert à désigner sur le plan de la tombe de Ramsès IV (Carter–Gardiner, *JEA* 4 (1917), p. 143 et n. 4) la pièce ou niche du fond de l'hypogée royale, voir aussi *Abbott*, p. 3, 1. 2 (la pièce du fond de la pyramide de *Shm-R* · *Šd-tswy Sbk-m-ss=f*). On aurait aimé traduire "la chambre sépulcrale," si dans Abbott on n'employait pas le mot *st-krs* pour désigner ce lieu, qui doit donc être différent de *nfrw*. La lecture n'est pas entièrement satisfaisante (voir fig. 5, fac-similé 7).

^x La ligne 18 implique qu'il s'agit de creuser dans le terrain, puisque l'on a une mesure de hauteur. $M\underline{d}w.t$, proposé dans KRI, me paraît difficile à lire dans le groupe que je lis plutôt $\underline{h}y$.

y Clairement le faucon sur pavois après nb, le groupe désignant le roi.

LE CALENDRIER DES TRAVAUX DE Bw.kn.tw=f

Le papyrus Caire 52002 s'arrête le 15 du quatrième mois de *prt*, au second jour du nettoyage du terrain, avant l'entrée en action des carriers. *Bw.kn.tw=f* ne recommence à écrire son rapport que le 9 du premier *šmw*, date où il en est déjà au 15ème jour de ce type d'activité. Il y a donc un trou de 11 jours dans ses travaux, peut-être en raison d'une fête. La fête de Renenoutet se situe à la fin de *prt* et au début de *šmw* (Schott, *Festdaten*, p. 101–103; Altenmüller, *LÄ* II, col. 178) ce qui pourrait justifier un arrêt du chantier.

Le 9 du premier *šmw* donc, il recommence son rapport en poursuivant le déblaiement du terrain, mais il ne dit rien des 12 jours pendant lesquels il a, semble-t-il, continué à nettoyer l'emplacement de la tombe de son maître, soit qu'il nous manque un document, soit qu'il ait jugé inutile d'écrire à ce sujet. Ces 12 jours peuvent se situer entre le 16 IV *prt* et le 27 IV *prt* ou entre le 27 IV *prt* et le 8 I *šmw* à supposer que l'activité du chantier ait été continue. Il est clair en tout cas qu'il commence le second rapport que nous possédons par le dernier jour du déblaiement et que la suite du document décrit d'autres phases des travaux.

Le 10 du premier *šmw*, il définit les travaux par le terme vague de *b³k*; sans doute le nettoyage du terrain étant achevé, s'affaire-t-on, de-ci de-là, à préparer une nouvelle étape de la construction.

Le 11 du premier *šmw* n'est pas mentionné. C'est vraisemblablement le jour où le vol commis par un paysan local a eu lieu et la journée a dû être consacrée à trouver l'auteur du larcin dont l'identité est très précisément donnée.

Le 12 ne figure pas non plus dans le rapport, mais comme le jour suivant, le 13, est le second jour de préparer le terrain ou de poser des fondations (*trr*), le 12 doit être le premier jour de cette activité, à moins que *b³k* ne recouvre la préparation des sols et que le 11 et le 12 aient tous deux été consacrés au vol commis par *Ptḥ-ms*.

Le 13, on continue à préparer le terrain dans la voie d'accès à l'emplacement de la tombe.

Le 14(?)—ou n'importe lequel des jours entre le 14 et le 17—la même activité se poursuit et on va jusqu'à la salle hypostyle(?) de la tombe; les mensurations du travail accompli sont indiquées: x+1 coudées de long, 4 coudées, 3 palmes de large (soit une longueur non déterminable sur 2 m 32 de large).

Le 18 du premier *šmw*, qui devrait être le 7ème jour de *trr* est dit être le 6ème; ou bien il y a eu une interruption dans le chantier pendant un jour ou bien *Bw.ķn.tw=f* a fait une erreur de jour. La préparation du terrain se fait pour accéder à une partie du bâtiment qui est en lacune. Depuis le dernier jour mentionné (le 14?) et jusqu'au 18 compris, on a préparé le terrain sur 6 m 27 de long sur 2 m 98 de large, soit sur 9 m 25; C'est sans doute parce que l'activité du personnel n'avait pas changé qu'il était inutile de mentionner ces jours-là.

Le 19 du premier *šmw* est le huitième jour d'édification (karpoinde karpoinde karpo

Le 20 du premier *šmw*, il semble qu'il s'agisse de creuser un passage dans le terrain, puisqu'il s'agit d'une voie en trois dimensions de 6 m 80 de long, sur 3 m 15 de large et 2 m 10 de haut, menant à la partie la plus profonde de la tombe. Comme le mot *trr* est employé ici, il est difficile de considérer qu'il signifie "poser des fondations." Ce qui différencie *šd* de *trr* est sans doute que le premier implique des blocs taillés et le second des pierres de remplissage.

Le travail de préparation est alors terminé et le scribe, ayant clos son rapport, peut prendre quelque repos, ce qu'il ne manque sans doute pas de faire puisque le calendrier de la suite de son activité se situe approximativement 4 mois plus tard, au second mois de *3ht* de l'année suivante (KRI VII, n° 257), mais il est probable que nous ne possédons pas la totalité de ses rapports et qu'il dut, entre temps, faire avancer les travaux de la tombe de son maître.

Quelque imprécis que nous paraisse le second rapport du scribe Bw.kn.tw=f, il mérite l'attention des paléographes car toutes les difficultés de lectures ne sont pas résolues et je souhaite qu'il divertisse par

Studies	in	Honor	of William	Kelly	Simpson

son originalité l'expert en travaux de constructions à qui ce volume est dédié.

Horn, Feather and Scale, and Ships: On Titles in the Middle Kingdom



STEPHEN QUIRKE

Word usage is nowhere more apparent than in the extent to which words from hieroglyphic texts are divorced from their source context to be codified as titles. This can cause problems if the "titles" are used as building-blocks to reconstruct the administration of ancient Egypt. Into this debate I would like to raise the issue of definition to which Oleg Berlev drew attention in 1972, and dedicate my efforts to the scholar who has made to live again the names of generations of Egyptians from their monuments, from Old Kingdom Giza to Middle Kingdom Abydos and beyond.

The problem can be confronted from the specific instance of a title pairing inscribed on the surviving lower part of a statuette in indurated limestone, of unknown provenance and now in a private collection (figs. 1–6). I am grateful to Dr. Nicholas Reeves for bringing the piece to my attention, and encouraging me to discuss it. The man is seated on the ground with legs folded, and arms outstretched across his lap: he wears a long dress, with fold running from the knot above the waist diagonally across the lap to the right knee. Under the figure the base is 2.3 cm high, and behind it survives part of a back-pillar 2.8 cm wide. The statuette is broken above the waist, with damage to base edge and arms; it is not possible to determine whether the hands were upturned or downturned. On the lap and over the legs to the pedestal the following text is cut in shallow, precisely formed hieroglyphs:

¹ O.D. Berlev, Trudovoe Naselenie Egipta v epokhu srednego Tsarstva (Moscow, 1972), p. 5. The issue is tackled by Detlef Franke in his review article of William Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom (Beirut, 1982); "Probleme der Arbeit mit altägyptischen Titeln des Mittleren Reiches," Göttinger Miszellen 83 (1984), pp. 103–24.

 $^{^2}$ Height as surviving to lower torso 6.5 cm, base 11 x 9.5 cm; there are no criteria internal or external by which to assess the vendor's provenance "Saqqara."

³ J.Vandier, Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne. Tome III. Les Grandes Époques. La Statuaire (Paris 1958) 233, P.M.E.XIV(d) palms downturned (with n.3) and (e) palms upturned (with n.4).



Fig. 1. Seated statue of Renseneb, top view.

ḥtp di nswt Ḥr mṣr-ḥrw di=f pr(t)-ḥrw t ḥnqt kṣw ṣpdw n kṣ n imy-r rb(ṣ) śwt nšmt imy-r pr ḥsb(ṣ) rḥrw(ṣ) Rn-snb wḥm rnḥ

An offering given by the king to Horus true-of-voice that he may give invocation-offerings of bread, beer, cattle and fowl to the ka of the overseer of horn(?), feather and scale, the overseer of the estate and accountant(?) of ships(?) Renseneb repeating life

The statue has been published, but its combination of titles is worth exploring, because it highlights two different ways of deploying words before personal names in hieroglyphic texts. The signs are not easy to read where the edge of the lap has been worn smooth. Nevertheless, both tongue signs seem clear, and the first group has a well-formed

⁴ R. Gillam, GM 36 (1979), pp. 15–27.



Fig. 2. Seated statue of Renseneb, detail of inscription on lap.

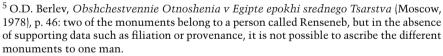


Fig. 3. Seated statue of Renseneb, detail of inscription on front. $\,$

feather before the word nšmt, while the second stands over a pair of signs, one giving three sides of a rectangle, and the other a cross or circular mark with protrusions, in either case suggesting the title *imy-r* pr with the specification in late Middle Kingdom style hsb + object of account. The sign after hsb is, judging from the surviving left part, the ship, giving the compound title imy-r pr hsb hw(!) for which Berlev cites five examples. This describes authority in the technical language of administration, in this instance the responsibility of an estate overseer for shipping accounts. In the Nile Valley this would imply management of all transport within the pr "economic unit." The other words between n k3 n and the personal name seem in this light a refinement of that position, but in a different language, the phrasing of the formalized autobiography. "Overseer of horn, hoof, feather and scale" appears in the early Middle Kingdom among self-descriptive phrases, presumably to denote responsibility for herds and their produce. Ward cites nine hieroglyphic texts as sources for the title; in every case it denotes the owner of the monument, but in none is it found independently, as the following enumeration of the sources indicates.

1 stela MMA 26.3.217, *imy-r pr* Henenu, reign of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep. 8
2 Beni Hasan tomb-chapel no.2, *ḥry-tp ·3 n Mɜḥd* Amenemhat, reign of Senusret I.
3 stela Louvre C 2, *imy-r ·-ḥnwty* Hor, year 9 of Senusret I.
4 Wadi el-Hudi stela Cairo JdE 71901, *imy-r pr* Hor, reign of Senusret I.

5 stela Leiden II 6,imy-r pr wr Kheperkara, reign of Senusret I or later.



 6 V. Loret, RT 38 (1916), pp. 61–68 established the reading and sought to deduce from the few sources for the title "la vie administrative de ces fonctionnaires."

⁷ W. Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom (Beirut, 1982), no. 64.

⁸ From the published facsimile, *JEA* 35 (1946), the principal title can be seen from the condensed offering formula ending $n \ ks \ n$ + principal title + name, in the short vertical line immediately in front of the seated official, echoed on the left framing column where we find $rh \ nswt \ ms^c$.

⁹ P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I (London, 1893), pl. 7.

 10 E. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre. Stèles de la XIIe dynastie* (Paris, 1886), pl.2: the principal title is written behind the head of the official, at the only point where the name is followed by m_3 ^c- h_2 ^c.

¹¹ A. Rowe, ASAE 39 (1939), pp. 188–89; A. Sadek, The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi I (Warminster, 1980), pp. 84–88, no. 143, II (Warminster, 1985), pl.23. The text is dated from the expedition personnel to year 16 by K.-J. Seyfried, Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-Wüste, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 15 (Hildesheim, 1981), p. 97 with n. 96.



Fig. 4. Seated statue of Renseneb, back view.



Fig. 5. Seated statue of Renseneb, left side.



Fig. 6. Seated statue of Renseneb, right side.

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6 stela Hannover 2927, imy-r cwt(?) Amenemhat, year 12 of Amenemhat III.
7 Deir el-Bahri coffin CG 28027, imy-r pr Buau, early Middle Kingdom.
8 CG 20538, imy-r gs-pr, idnw n imy-r htmt Sehetepibra, reign of Amenemhat III.
9 Leiden II 8, imy-r pr n šnc Sehetepibraankh, reign of Amenemhat III.
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On the broken statuette these words specify the area of competence of the titleholder, dropping for orthographic or other reasons the hoof from the formalized phrase. Renseneb would then be an official charged with transport of livestock and/or meat. The name of the deity invoked does not provide location for either monument or place of work of the official: Horus true-of-voice is rarely attested, and may here simply emphasise the role of the deity in a funerary context, as at Abydos, where so many monuments were set up for functionaries visiting or passing by on royal commission. From the involvement in shipping, it is tempting to associate the official with the provisioning of expeditions, contributing to a logistical operation of particular complexity. The epithet "repeating life" occurs within Egypt only after the Twelfth Dynasty, but occurs on hieroglyphic inscriptions outside the valley toward the end of that dynasty. From the reign of Amenemhat III a substantial corpus of inscriptions records expeditions sent to Sinai, but this can be no more than one possible provenance for the statuette.

The statuette presents several important features of titles in the surviving record. Many interesting examples occur on barely legible monuments, and these must occupy an outer rather than the inner circle in our hierarchy of sources. Every instance of a title can only be explained in context, even if that is inevitably compromised by lacunae in what can now be known. On this statuette, the unique variant "overseer of horn, feather and scale" fills a particular space to refine a title which,

¹² P. Boeser, Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden. Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reich und des Mittleren Reiches. I Stelen (Den Haag, 1909), pp. 3–4, pl. 5.

¹³ M. Cramer, ZÄS 72 (1936), pp. 85–86, pl. 4.

¹⁴ P. Lacau, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire nos. 28001–28086. Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire I (Cairo, 1904), p. 71 (side 4, contrast on side 2 in the parallel position *imy-r ipt nbt m šm^c mḥw*, "overseer of all that is counted in Upper and Lower Egypt").

¹⁵ H. Lange and H. Schäfer, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire nos.20001–20780. Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs. II (Berlin, 1908), p. 146, IV (Berlin, 1902), pl. 40.

¹⁶ P. Boeser, Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung... I Stelen, p. 4, pl. 7.

¹⁷ Wb. II, 17, 13 cites for the Middle Kingdom only Louvre C 43, the Abydene stela of a ssb shd shw n niwt rst, "dignitary, inspector of scribes of the Southern City (= Thebes)" Paentyeni, cf P. Pierret, Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du musée égyptien du Louvre II, Etudes Egyptologiques 8, (Paris, 1878), p. 50.

though already within the late Middle Kingdom spirit of precision, can still be elaborated a little farther—the estate overseer with special responsibility for shipping, specifically (or including) animals and birds. Two traditions meet on this hieroglyphic monument, the official expression of tasks undertaken on a regular basis by a person ("administrative title" from the "They" point of view) and the self-referential use of words and phrases to express positions in life ("ideal autobiography" from the "I" point of view): both are social expressions of the two standpoints—the contrast here is not between individualized and social means of expression. The I tradition may seem farther from our intentions in writing histories of the administration, but it is more properly at home in the hieroglyphic arena of monuments for the offering cult of specific persons. The statuette is not the only source to merge the two traditions; the late Middle Kingdom stela of Neferher from Saggara gives his regular title as *imy-r pr* but elaborates on his activities in phrasing inserted at particular points; thus, one line across the top of the monument adds two specifications, not otherwise attested in the surviving record, hrp wbsw m Hwt-Pth "director of cup-bearers in the domain of Ptah" and *imy-r sftyw m rw-prw* "overseer of butchers in the chapels."

For synthetic analysis I would separate regular titles into the following categories:

- I EARLY MIDDLE KINGDOM
- a) hieratic texts, regular administrative titles
- b) hieratic texts, titles of manual workers and craftsmen
- c) hieratic texts, titles of temple officiants
- d) hieroglyphic texts, regular administrative titles
- e) hieroglyphic texts, titles of manual workers and craftsmen
- f) hieroglyphic texts, titles of temple officiants
- II LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM
- a) hieratic texts, regular administrative titles
- b) hieratic texts, titles of manual workers and craftsmen
- c) hieratic texts, titles of temple officiants
- d) hieroglyphic texts, regular administrative titles
- e) hieroglyphic texts, titles of manual workers and craftsmen
- f) hieroglyphic texts, titles of temple officiants

Expeditionary records in the Eastern Desert and Nubian Nile valley form a special corpus of inscriptions, drawing on both the hieroglyphic

¹⁸ W. Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles, nos. 337, 1143.

workshops and the hieratic bureaux for their textual compositions; they refer to a seasonal rather than continuous activity, and are located in the geographically and ideologically liminal zone of the desert frontier.

The regular titles of workers and officiants in ritual should be distinguished from labels identifying role or function in one particular scene. Where a designation labels a figure in a scene without any personal name, it must remain uncertain whether it was used as a regular title, that is used by the external structures of society to designate an individual.

In the process of categorization I remove nominalized and participial phrases in self-descriptive passages to be reunited with their closer kin in the fundamental treatise by Janssen on the formalized autobiography. These are "pseudo-titular epithets" for Fischer, "Epitheta" for Franke. The same tradition generated global qualifications such as $m t_3 r dr = f$. Since official designations of administrative personnel can consist of words identical with the phraseology of the "ideal autobiography," only context and repetition distinguish an impersonal or official title from a personal or unofficial self-description. The official title is recognizable from its use, in more than one source, as a single element identifying a person in addition to the name; any "title" attested only on one source remains open to various interpretations, depending on comparison with securely attested regular titles. The Egyptians themselves observed the difference between the socially approved designation of a position for which payment was received (identified by me with the word ist) and the generalized phrasing that might be generated to describe a person without indicating whether he received material reward for the activity: the formula of official damnation may be written simply ws n rn=f "accursed be his name," but may be expressed more fully by the words $w_3 r X w_3 n Y$ where X is the regular title or position, and Y is the personal name. On stela Leiden II no. 5 this attitude leads to erasure in line 13 of the two principal titles http-r and imy-r hmw-ntr as well as the name; in line 3 only the second title and the name have

 ¹⁹ E.g., W. Ward, Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles, no. 553 from Meir.
 ²⁰ J. Janssen, De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk (Leiden, 1946).

 $^{^{21}}$ H. Fischer, Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A Supplement to Wm. Ward's INDEX, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1985), p. 1.

²² D. Franke, Göttinger Miszellen 83 (1984), p. 124.

²³ Cf Ward, *Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles*, p. 46, discussion of no. 363 "The Leiden stela adds 'southward to Elephantine, northward to the papyrus-marsh,' but this must be an expression for 'all' and not part of the title."

²⁴ Cf LÄ IV. cols. 338–41.

been destroyed, whereas the unknown adversary has not deleted either in the label to the offering-scene below, presumably because it was concealed there by the context. Here the extended description of the man and his life in nominalized phrases has not been touched; destruction was aimed with technical accuracy only at those few signs which conveyed full identity, i.e., the name and the regular title pairing.

On this interpretation ist embraces both administrative and temple positions, and professions or crafts, since both imply income. Selection of a particular phrase for this official usage may vary from one period to another. Although imy-r htmt becomes the regular title for the official in charge of the pr-hd by the Twelfth Dynasty, on the stela of Tietji from the reign of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep (British Museum EA 614), hry-tp nswt is privileged over imy-r htmt in the abbreviation of the identity of the stela-owner in securing offerings for his ka. Similarly, iry Nhn "keeper of Nekhen" appears within strings of self-descriptive phrases on early Middle Kingdom monuments, but seems to be recast as r nhn "mouthpiece(?) of the place of the royal child(?)" in the late Middle Kingdom, when it is used as the official designation for members of a category of officials, perhaps those locally based but with commissions direct from the inner palace. A similar pattern may be observed for wr mdw šm^c "chief of tens of Upper Egypt;" this is possibly to be read wr m'b'yt "chief of the Thirty" in the early Middle Kingdom, when it occurs among autobiographical phrases, but as wr mdw šm^c it becomes one of the most common regular titles of the late Middle Kingdom. Again, rh nswt "one known to the king" occurs in the early Middle Kingdom only in autobiographical context, generally qualified as m₃c mry=f, whereas it is frequently found in the late Middle Kingdom without accompaniment immediately before personal names. Another phrase of early Middle Kingdom autobiography attested as a regular title (alone before a name) in the late Middle Kingdom is Ward no. 974 hry wdb. Other designations found only in autobiographical phrasing in the early Middle Kingdom are adopted as regular suffix titles in the late Middle Kingdom, such as Ward no. 23 imy-is.

Despite these differences between the early and late Middle Kingdom, it should be noted that many items in the Ward index occur only in autobiographical phrasing:

²⁵ Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum I (London, 1911), pls. 50–52, BM EA 614, 614b side-panel, and 614c lintel where <u>hry-tp nswt</u> is the sole title given for Tjetji.

nos. 15–18a, 21, 33, 35, 43–45, 51, 52, 56–58, 62–64, 68, 122, 127, 129, 186, 191–93, 204, 213–14, 222, 229, 232, 233a–35, 238a, 242, 258, 290a, 291, 300, 301, 337, 340, 345, 349–51, 353–55, 360a–62, 365, 372, 376, 386–87, 394, 399–401a, 412 , 413, 416, 427, 522, 532, 545, 554, 588, 634, 638, 688 (if a separate phrase: the context is broken), 723, 725–27, 774, 788, 790, 800a–b, 806, 810–11, 818, 834, 836, 843–45, 846, 850–56, 861, 863, 871, 873, 893, 895, 907–8, 911, 918, 922–23, 928–29, 933–34, 938, 942, 962, 976, 1004 (not all instances), 1008, 1009–11, 1013–19, 1021–27, 1029–32, 1046–49, 1060, 1066, 1068–75, 1079a, 1081–84, 1086, 1090, 1102, 1106, 1113, 1123–24, 1131 (correctly read?), 1134–37, 1143–45, 1148–49, 1152–54, 1156–57, 1159–60, 1164–65, 1169, 1175, 1179, 1186, 1213, 1238, 1257–58, 1267–68, 1275, 1289–91, 1293, 1295–6, 1301–2, 1306–7, 1311, 1318–21a, 1325, 1332, 1338, 1340, 1345, 1355, 1385, 1390, 1466, 1503–4, 1602, 1609

To these may be added examples in the *Supplement* by Fischer, included by him for consistency with the selection by Ward:

nos. 14a-b, 17a, 20a, 33a, 152b, 153b, 236a, 258a, 289a-d, 306a, 323a, 326a, 389a, 401bis-ter, 406a, 417a, 419a-c, 420a-b, 532, 537a, 585a, 587a, 638a-d, 715a, 716a, 723a, 780a, 860a, 890b, 897a, 923a, 926a, 928a, 931a, 934a, 1004a-c, 1012a, 1021a, 1027a, 1029a, 1040a, 1045a, 1054b, 1061a, 1068a, 1072a, 1074a-c, 1077b, 1082a-b, 1085a, 1133a, 1136b, 1138a, 1142a, 1154a, 1155a, 1163a, 1165a, 1172a, 1179a, 1181a, 1226bis, 1243b, 1244a, 1258a, 1259a-b, 1268a, 1283a-b, 1295a, 1298c-d, 1313a, 1389a, 1466a bis, 1507bis, 1541a, 1550a, 1591a, 1609a

Among the sources cited the following are prominent:

- (1) tomb-chapels (particularly in framing contexts there) for the early Middle Kingdom provincial governors (Asyut, Qubbet el-Hawa at Aswan, Beni Hasan, Bersha, Meir); similar large-scale offering-chapels and tomb-chambers of the early Middle Kingdom at Kom el-Hisn (Khesu the Elder), Lahun (Inpy), Lisht (notably Senusretankh and Imhotep), Saqqara (Hetep, Ihy), and Thebes (Dagi, Senet); and fragments from the late Middle Kingdom tomb-chapels e.g., that of the high steward Khnumhotep at Dahshur.
- (2) hieroglyphic inscriptions on monuments from offering-chapels, among which may be noted the early Middle Kingdom stelae of Usermont (MMA), Semty the younger and Semty the elder (British Museum EA 574 and 839), general Mentuhotep (Buhen stela Firenze 29), treasurer Mentuhotep (Cairo CG 20539); the late Middle Kingdom stelae of Sehetepibra (Cairo CG 20538), and of the Iykhernefret team (Berlin 1204, Cairo CG 20683); this group includes

²⁶ Some sources cited by Ward have been excluded from this list, because they predate reunification, such as the stela from Deir el-Ballas cited as Coptite Nome fig.15 (Boston 25.680: sole source for nos. 227, 380) and the tomb-chapel of Meni (Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 170, sole source for nos. 126, 378, 404). Others are later than the end of the Middle Kingdom, defined here as the breakup of the unified kingdom when the eastern Delta seceded from the kings ruling from Itjtawy; these include the statuette of the Eighteenth Dynasty mayor Sobekhotep (sole source for no. 352). and a Second Intermediate Period stela from Buhen (sole source for no. 1177).

 $^{^{\}rm 27}$ CG 20539 only: the other two sources cited give a regular late Middle Kingdom title no. 411.

sculpture, e.g., the late Middle Kingdom statuette of the high steward Khentkhetywer (Museo Barracco 11)

(3) expeditionary records with long autobiographical passages (Hatnub, Lower Nubia, Sinai, Toshka, Wadi Hammamat, Wadi el-Hudi)

The strings of self-descriptive phrases may open with the words $(\underline{d}d \ge f)$ ink... "(he says) I am ...," making explicit the self-referential (I) rather than external (They) orientation (e.g., Cairo CG 20712). There is a danger that these phrases might be discarded from Egyptological study simply because they occupy a different paradigmatic slot to the regular title. It cannot be emphasized too strongly how much information they carry. For court ritual we have virtually no other source material, and they also offer, on their home territory of the ideal autobiography, the most reliable dating criterion for those hieratic literary texts in which similar phrasing occurs.

Once self-descriptive phrasing or ideal autobiography has been separated out from the regular titles, the deployment of the two different systems of reference can be studied with greater precision on each monument. Self-descriptive phrasing of the highest officials and provincial governors may include some phrases used at a lower level as the regular title of a person. This seems particularly true of expressions connected with temple and cult; the concrete question would be whether the occurrence of a particular phrase implies that the governor received regular income for that position in addition to his regular temple revenue as governor. Even some higher phrases may be used either in autobiographical strings or as regular part of a specific titulary, such as Ward no. 1176 hrp šndyt nbt. In other instances a phrase may denote a role in a singular, rather than repeated, ritual, such as Ward no. 1201, the unique attestation of hry by nswt on stela BM EA 101, describing an official at the sed festival. This may apply to other phrases with reference to cult, such as Ward no. 1110 hq3 B3t, which occurs outside autobiographical phrasing only as the identification of a role in the funerary liturgy from the late Middle Kingdom Ramesseum papyri.

Some inscriptions identify a man only by self-descriptive phrasing, as on stela CG 20518 where Khnumnakht is designated by nos. 44 and 202. Other monuments give a self-descriptive variant for a well-attested regular title, as no. 85 (for no. 87 *imy-r hwty n hs n tsty*) no. 89 (*imy-r hwty n Hpr-ks-Rr*) or no. 228 (extension from no. 226 *imy-r nww*). On

²⁸ Cf the study by E. Blumenthal on the expression mdw is w in the Teaching of Ptahhotep, in Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht, Ägypten und Altes Testament 12 (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 84–97.

two stelae connected with the large town adjoining the pyramid complex of Senusret II at Lahun, the owner is described by a series of phrases in which more than one regular title is present, but to different effect. On the stela of Nebipu from Haraga, 29 the owner is given five different titles in alignment with five appropriate deities: iry-rt n pr-hd "keeper of the storechamber of the treasury" under the god of weaving, Hedjhotep; iry hbsw "keeper of clothing" under the god of treasure Ptah (the alignment of those two deities with treasury and clothing may seem reversed, but is probably intended, showing the value of cloth and its prominence among treasures of an estate or household); shy-ntr "man of the god's pavilion (embalming-booth)" under the god of embalming, Anubis; imyr htmtyw "overseer of sealers" under the god of Athribis, Khentkhety (perhaps reflecting the importance of that city and/or its deity in the Middle Kingdom); *ibh* "libationer" (in the royal cult) under the king buried at Lahun, Senusret II. All five titles are attested as regular titles on other sources, that is as the sole designation before a name, and it is uncertain whether all were held at the same time, or whether some are used as self-descriptive phrasing. The stela of Dedusobek from Abydos expresses his position, it seems at Lahun, as the regular temple title hryhbt 's' "general lector-priest" given the geographical specification m *Shm-Snwsrt* "in Sekhem-Senusret," the pyramid-complex of Senusret II according to my interpretation of the local toponyms, ³¹ with the regular administrative title nty m srt "representative of officialdom" given the geographical specification m Htp-Snwsrt "in Hetep-Senusret," the name of the Middle Kingdom town next to that complex, and between the two the self-descriptive phrase m₃ bs m hwt-ntr nt Inpw "he who sees the one who is brought in (initiated?) in the temple of Anubis" (registered by Ward as his no. 788). Dedusobek gives an instance of a middle-ranking official with a position in both temple and administration. Both Nebipu and Dedusobek remind us through their multiple positions, or at least multiple reference to official position, that there is no nine-to-five job in the ancient world, and that the official held his regular title as fixedly as he held his personal name. This obvious Weberian difference between

²⁹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 1540, published R. Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923), pl. 71, and Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Les Stèles Egyptiennes* (Copenhagen, 1948), pp. 13–14, no. 14, discussed by O.D. Berlev, *Obshchestvennie Otnoshenia v Egipte epokhi srednego Tsarstva*, pp. 242–43.

 $^{^{30}}$ W.M.F. Petrie, $Tombs\ of\ the\ Courtiers\ and\ Oxyrhynkhos\ (London,\ 1925),\ pl.\ 12,\ lower\ right.$

³¹ S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the late Middle Kingdom* (New Malden, 1990), pp. 157–59 with nn. 7–12 on pp. 177–78.

premodern and modern social organization carries important ramifications for our study and understanding of the Egyptian elite.

The proposed groups of sources could be subdivided to distinguish within hieratic contexts, e.g., between accounts documents, letters and literary texts, and within hieroglyphic contexts, e.g., between private offering-chapels (distinguishing also terms used for monument "owner," his kin, colleagues, and servants) and royal inscriptions. We might then achieve a nuanced database with which to work in our reconstruction of conditions and changes in the Middle Kingdom, and begin to answer the challenges laid down in the *Papyrus Reisner* volumes and the *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*.

Appendix: the Anastasi stelae in the British Museum

Much of the hieroglyphic database for the Middle Kingdom consists of material from the Abydos offering chapels brought back to life by Professor Simpson. In his master work on that material, a volume which opened the way for so many advances in our knowledge of the period and the site, Professor Simpson emphasized the importance of identifying the nineteenth century collections to which Middle Kingdom stelae belonged. With the privilege of daily access to departmental registers and archives in the British Museum, I have been able to make some contributions towards the list which he began there, and I present these findings in acknowledgment.

Collection of Anastasi purchased by the British Museum in 1839 According to the handwritten catalogue in French, drawn up for the sale, the collection purchased included fifty-one large stone objects, excluding the sarcophagi; these are forty-four stelae, one pyramidion (EA 477), one four-sided pyramidion-naos, three statues (one was placed within a stela-niche, EA 570 inside EA 569), and two offering-stones. This seems confirmed from the museum register, where the items acquired were listed under the registration date 21 December, 1839. Other archive material, not always necessarily accurate, indicates that the Museum acquired from Anastasi in 1839 stelae EA 237 (? from adjacent numbers, acquired before 1839, this seems likely to be an error, perhaps for Athanasi), 280, 289, 290, 302, 303, 308, 324, 335, 364, 366, 507, 549 to 552, 556 to 569, 571 to 577, 580 to 587. These identifications have been made to date:

	BM EA		BM EA
5	303	26	564?
6		27	585
7	573?	28	558
8	571?	29	560?
9	572?	32	
10	567?	33	
11	574	34	
12	569 (contained statue 570)	35	
13	575?	36	562
14	565	49	
15	582	50	
16	559?	51	
17	566?	52	366
18		53	561??
19	577	54	308
20		55	335
21		56	302
22	584	57	583
23	580	58	324
24	290?	59	568?
25	587??	60 to 62	are items from the Horemheb tomb-chapel, Saqqara, EA 550 to 552

Stelae purchased by the British Museum at the sale of the Anastasi collection in 1857

The Lenormant catalogue of the Anastasi collection at the time of the final sale of antiquities in his possession, in 1857 at Paris identifies as stelae numbers 12 to 111. The museum register records the acquisition of thirteen of those lots from the Anastasi collection auctioned at Paris, under the registration date 11 August, 1857, and these can be identified with the following stelae:

<u>~</u>

	LOT NO.		LOT NO.
826	62	833	12bis
827	24	834	61
828	17	835	66
829	22	837	104
830	28	838	109
831	23bis	839	65bis
832	30		

Mendes & Environs in the Middle Kingdom



DONALD B. REDFORD

Mendes (Tel er-Rub'a) has failed to solve is the whereabouts of strata dating from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Our growing prosopographical list includes only a relatively small number of individuals associated with the site in Dynasties 12–13, although the Coffin Texts and toponym occurrences would lead one to believe that the site continued to be occupied.

The excavations in Field AL, i.e., the SE quadrant of the great NW enclosure, which have gone on from 1992 through 1995 have revealed stratigraphy identical to that which the New York University expedition laid bare just east of the main temple: a thriving Sixth Dynasty occupation was succeeded by short-lived First Intermediate Period houses, then abandonment. In square AL–K, which is over 100 m ENE of the excavation units of NYU immediately east of the temple, the mastabafield uncovered in the early 1960s was found to continue. Here parts of three mud-brick mastabas, unfortunately anepigraphic, were laid bare, the best preserved still standing to a height of 2.20 m and containing twin barrel-vaulted chambers (robbed). At some time after the construction of the mastabas domestic occupation is attested in the street or alley running between them, and the deposition of four or five thick layers of debris eventually filled in the terrain to their roofs. There followed two short-lived periods of squatter occupation during which intrusive

 $^{^1}$ See H. de Meulenaere, *Mendes* II (Warminster, 1976), p. 172; idem, $L\ddot{A}$ 4 (1982), col. 45; C.L. Soghor, "Inscriptions from Tell el Rub'a," *JARCE* 6 (1967), p. 25. Our current excavations have uncovered a Snb > f on a small statue base in 4th century fill.

² F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des mittleren Reiches II. Unterägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 246–49; Redford, "The First season of Excavations at Mendes (1991)," *JSSEA* 18 (1988), p. 51.

 $^{^3}$ D.P. Hansen, "The Excavations at Tell er-Rub
¢a," JARCE 6 (1967), p. 11.

⁴ 7.75–8.25 A.S.L. in the section in fig. 1, reading at the north (left-hand) margin. Bone from the lower of the two squatter levels yielded an accelerated C-14 date of 4200 B.P. (Report of the "Isotrace Laboratory" [The Canadian Centre for Accelerator Mass Spectrometry, University of Toronto] for 1994.)

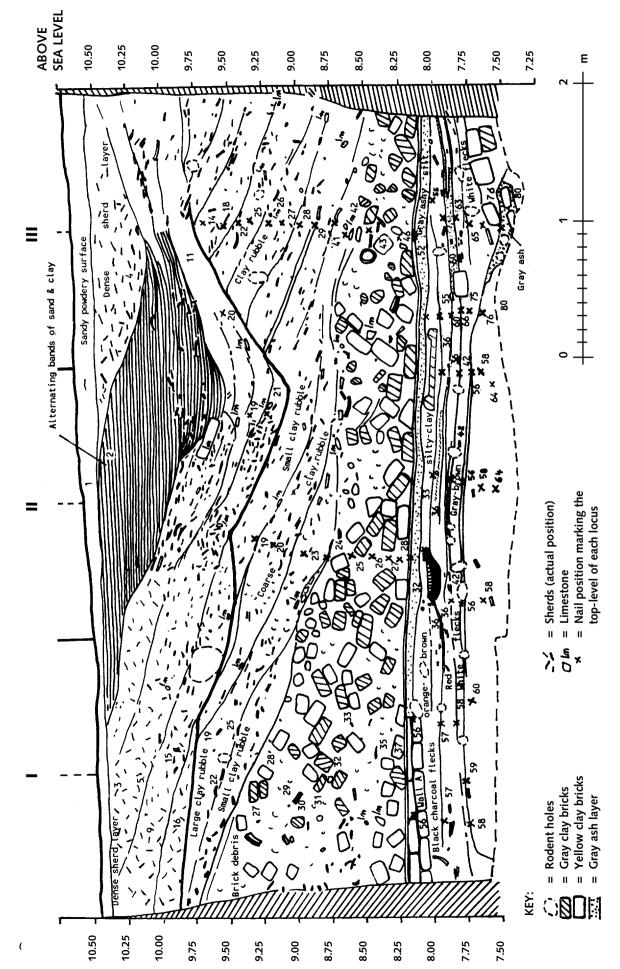


Fig. 1. Mendes Field AL Square K: East baulk.

burials were introduced beneath floor surfaces and even in the robbedout barrel-vaults. A thin layer of grey ash and silt capping the squatter levels suggests a firing of the area, after which all occupation ceased. The area was not used again until the Third Intermediate Period when burials once again are attested.

The location of the Middle Kingdom settlement thus continues to elude us. A sondage 50 m south of the naos undertaken in 1991 turned up the same stratigraphy as the NYU excavations and our work in AL–K, viz. a brief period of First Intermediate Period occupation followed by abandonment. The conclusion is gradually being forced upon us, therefore, that sometime during the Herakleopolitan period the entire northwest section of the mound at Tell er-Rub'a ceased to be occupied.

This need not, however, affect our search for the location of the original shrine of the Ram. The suggestion, mooted by scholars over several decades, that the present temple was a Saïte creation, and that the earlier shrine must be sought elsewhere on the tell, can no longer be entertained. Twenty-eight years ago Donald Hansen argued on the basis of a reburied foundation deposit that the temple was at least as old as the Eighteenth Dynasty, was enlarged in the Nineteenth Dynasty, and provided with naoi in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. We can now confirm this hypothetical Baugeschichte insofar as the Nineteenth Dynasty is concerned: excavation of the east wing of the front pylon revealed a block with the name Merenptah, and it is now clear that the block with the names of Ramesses II, and Merenptah a few metres to the south came from the gate of the pylon.

In spite of the paucity of evidence from Mendes itself, there exists a hitherto misinterpreted passage in a well-known text which casts light on the environs of the Mendesian nome in the late Second Intermediate Period. These are the words placed in the mouth of Apophis by Kamose as an arrogant boast: "I am lord without equal from Hermopolis to Pi-

 $^{^5}$ G. Mumford, "Mendes, Square HF," <code>JSSEA 18</code> (1988), pp. 55–63. The identification of Twelfth–Thirteenth Dynasty material here must remain in doubt.

⁶ It may be that diminution of Nile discharge toward the close of the third millennium adversely affected the "weak" Sebennytic and Mendesian branches (cf. M. Bietak, *Tel-ed-Dabra* II [Vienna, 1975], p. 52; M.M. el-Gamili and F.F.A. Shabban, "Tracing Burial Channels in Northwestern Dakahlia Governorate ..." in E.C.M. van den Brink, ed., *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta: Problems and Priorities* [Amsterdam, 1988], pp. 223–24] and rendered Mendes unattractive for settlement: cf. K. Butzer, "Perspectives on Irrigation Civilization in Egypt," in D. Schmandt-Besserat, ed., *Immortal Egypt* (Malibu, 1978), p. 17; F. Hassan in M.R. Rampino, et al., eds., *Climate, History, Periodicity and Predictability* (New York, 1987), pp. 37–56.

⁷ JARCE 6 (1967), pp. 9–10.

⁸ Mendes II. pl. 10.

hathor upon the "..."." Since the enigmatic word in the half brackets is now to be read as *Rḫ.ty*, i.e., the "Rekhty-water" which was the *Pḥw* of the Mendesian nome, a valuable insight is gained into the perceived "Ultima Thule" of Hyksos dominion. Since the "Rekhty-water" elsewhere is said to be contiguous to Tanis and Sile as well as Mendes and Pi-hathor, only one tract of land is thereby a candidate, and that is the Daqahlieh plain between Tell er-Rub'a and San el-Hagar which before the early Nineteenth Dynasty was flooded most of the year. The implication is that Mendes in the seventeenth–sixteenth centuries lay within the Hyksos ambit of political control.

Corings done on the north side of Kom el-adhem (i.e., the north-eastern protuberence of Mendes) produced excellent evidence of water-laid clays reaching down beneath the water table. This virtually proves that a substantial flooded area abutted the site on the north and northeast. A shell submitted for accelerated C–14 testing at the Isotrace Radiocarbon Laboratory, the Accelerator Mass Spectrometry facility at the University of Toronto (TO-5044), yielded an age of 3740 BP ± 50. This result corroborates convincingly the suggestion that a large body of water (the "rekhty-water") lay immediately north of Mendes in the Second Intermediate Period.

Over a century ago Naville came to Mendes looking for Second Intermediate Period remains, but was disappointed. In 1992, however, four sherds of Tell el-Yehudiya ware turned up in Field OB in the excavations for our storehouse (SC IV, 1); and while found in the later fill, the sherds augur well for future work!

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⁹ Kamose II, line 16: L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital* (Glückstadt, 1972), ad loc.

¹⁰ See the present author in E. Oren, ed., *The Hyksos* (Philadelphia, forthcoming).

¹¹ R.K. Holtz, et al., *Mendes* I (Warminster, 1980), maps on pl. 9–10. Whether Pi-hathor is to be equated with Tel Tebilla must remain moot; this site is usually equated with Ranoufe/Khas: Gomaà, op. cit. II, p. 241f.

The Earliest Attestation of the *kpd*-Measure



ROBERT K. RITNER

A seditor of the four Reisner Papyri, William Kelly Simpson has been much concerned with ancient Egyptian measurements. It is a pleasure to be able to offer my senior Yale colleague the following note on obscure metrology, inspired by our own collections.

On extended loan to the Yale Art Gallery, Yale Babylonian Collection 2123 is an Egyptian alabaster cosmetic bottle inscribed for Xerxes I (486–65 B.C.). A hieroglyphic inscription, centered on the vessel and enclosed within a vertical rectangle, provides the royal name: H383y3rw83 pr-63 p3 63 "Xerxes the Great King." Above the rectangle, the same phrase is repeated in three parallel cuneiform lines composed in Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian. Although the Yale jar has been published three times, only the recent publication by Gerry Scott notes the existence of a fifth inscription in contemporary Demotic Egyptian.

 $^{^{1}}$ I would like to thank William Hallo, Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, for permission to republish the jar under discussion, and Susan Matheson, Curator of Ancient Art, Yale Art Gallery, for valued assistance in obtaining measurements and photography. For all matters of Aramaic lexicography, I am indebted to Richard Steiner and Paul-Alain Beaulieu.

² Registered as YAG 1.7.1954.

³ The vessel represents a typical, and well-studied, artifact of Achaemenid Egypt; see Max Burchardt, "Datierte Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung aus der Achämenidenzeit," ZÄS 49 (1911), pp. 69–80; G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (Cairo: IFAO, 1936), pp. 137–51 and 189–90; and Denise Schmandt-Besserat, ed., *Ancient Persia. The Art of an Empire* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1978), pp. 36–37 (cat. no. 29) and 88–90 (cat. nos. 111–14). In the last work, the photographs are switched in error on pp. 37 (= cat. no. 114) and 90 (= cat. no. 29). The unpublished vessel of year 33 of Darius I, noted in Posener, p. 37 (no. 37), is now pictured in a current sales brochure of the Manhattan antiquities dealership Antiquarium, Ltd.

⁴ Gerry D. Scott III, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1986), p. 145. The cosmetic bottle was first published by A.T. Clay, "A Vase of Xerxes," *Art and Archaeology* 4/1 (1916), pp. 59–60. Although this article contains a photograph, the uncited Demotic inscription is faint and was not recognized by G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 144, no. 53.

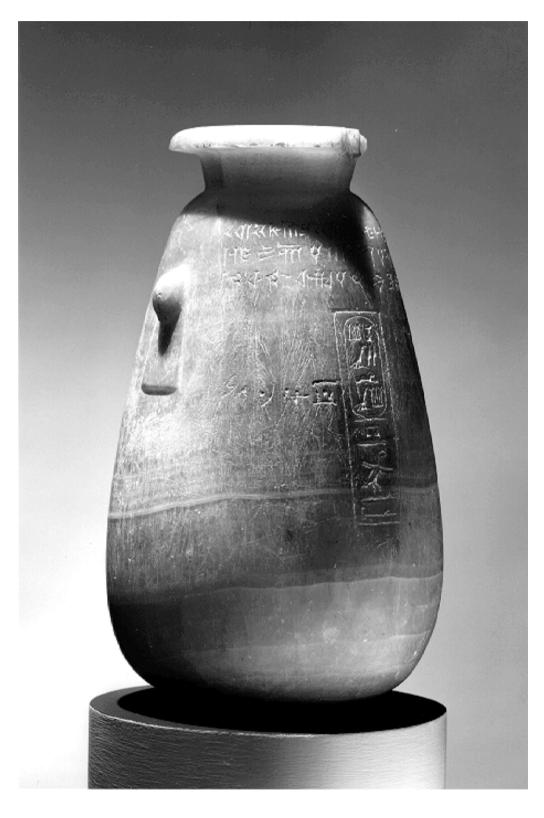


Fig. 1. Alabaster cosmetic bottle, Yale University, Yale Babylonian Collection 2123, on loan to the Yale University Art Gallery, 1.7.1954. Photograph by Michael Agee.

To the left of the central cartouche, the brief Demotic line runs as follows:

タイソルゴ

Scott assumes that the Demotic text restates the royal name, but despite certain superficial similarities this is incorrect. The proper reading of the line is $kp\underline{d}$ 12 "12 $kp\underline{d}$ -units." Surviving into Coptic as 6apeixe, $kp\underline{d}$ designates a standard unit of volume.

The word *kpd* is not recorded in Erichsen's *Demotisches Glossar*, though unrecognized examples of this measure have long been published, and were gathered by myself for an initial draft of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary. An example of late Ptolemaic or early Roman date was copied in 1895 by Eugène Revillout, who simply transliterated the term without translation from column 3 of P. BM 10225:

kpdy 31111-5_

On the basis of the determinative, Herbert Thompson tentatively recorded this citation in his lexical cards as a type of wood. In 1906, Wilhelm Spiegelberg published in photograph a broken and unread Ptolemaic variant from P. Cairo 30791, line 4:

gpd 1122

⁵ I.e., the *š* of Xerxes and the *p* of *kpd*, though early Demotic writings of *š* are distinct from the form on the vase. The word is not in a cartouche and certainly begins with the letter *k*, unlike hieroglyphic and Demotic spellings of Xerxes. A supposed example of **ksrhyh* read by Revillout in the Demotic Chronicle is nonexistent, contra Burchardt, "Datierte Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung," p. 80, following Revillout, "Textes démotiques," *Revue Égyptologique* 2 (1881), plate 13, "Nota" (wrongly cited as p. 12). Scott's handcopy of the conclusion of the Demotic line is inaccurate.

⁶ Walter Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939, reprinted 1972), p. 827b; Wolfhart Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1965–77), p. 464; Jaroslav Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 335; Werner Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte* (Leuven: Peeters, 1983), p. 346a.

⁷ E. Revillout, *Mélanges sur la métrologie*, *l'économie politique et l'histoire de l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1895), p. 54. The papyrus is dated to year 22 of an unspecified ruler. Aside from Revillout's questionable autograph, the papyrus remains unpublished.

 $^{^8\,\}mathrm{Herbert}$ Thompson Ms. (unpublished), p. 22.

⁹ W. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotischen Papyrus. II*, (CGC) (Strassburg: Elsässische Druckerei, 1906), Text, p. 166 (physical description of papyrus only), and plate LXII. The determinative is incomplete.

E.A.E. Reymond was the first to identify the Demotic term in a papyrus of Roman date, P. Vienna 6257, 15/4:

kpd -

Unaware of the British Museum and Cairo examples, Reymond wrongly declared that "the word is not attested in texts of earlier date." In fact, additional Ptolemaic examples have now been noted in the British Museum collection by Carol Andrews.

The relative rarity of the word *kpd* is perhaps due to its acknowledged foreign origin. Černý has characterized the Coptic descendant as "a loan-word from [the] Near East... perhaps ultimately Persian." In support of this conclusion is the mention of a kapivqh measure by Xenophon in his Persian adventure *Anabasis* (I. 5. 6), recording events in the reign of Artaxerxes II (401–399 B.C.) but written shortly after 386 B.C. Greek sources are rather inconsistent regarding this measure. If Xenophon's kapivqh is valued at two Attic choinikes, the Second Century A.D. extracts of Polyaenus (IV. 3. 32) record a kapevti" of one Attic choinix, while the Fifth Century lexicographer Hesychius notes a kapivqh of 2 Attic cotyles (= 1/2 choinix) and a kapevti" of one choinix. Regardless of transcription or capacity, the unit represents a fraction of the artaba, a standard grain measure of undisputed Persian origin.

Numerous Semitic variations attest to the continued currency of the term. ¹⁵ Marcus Jastrow records the Talmudic Aramaic $q^e p \bar{\imath} z \bar{a}$ as a name of a "small measure." ¹⁶ J. Payne Smith, probably misreading the Greek definition of kapevti" (1/48 of an artaba), wrongly translates the Syriac $qf\bar{\imath}z\bar{a}$ as "a measure equalling about 48 bushels, an ass-load." ¹⁸

¹⁰ E.A.E. Reymond, *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis. P. Vindob. D. 6257*, MPON 10 (Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1976), pp. 124–25, 192, and 234 (where the term is restored in *Normalschrift* with a jug determinative).

¹¹ Ibid., p. 192.

¹² Carol A.R. Andrews, "Unpublished Demotic Papyri in the British Museum," lecture presented at the Fifth International Demotic Conference, Pisa, September 5, 1993, in regard to P. BM 10399; now cited in *Acta Demotica*, EVO 17 (Pisa: Giardini, 1994), pp. 33–34

 $^{^{13}}$ Černý, $Coptic\ Etymological\ Dictionary,\ p.\ 335.$

¹⁴ See H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), pp. 875b (kapevti") 876a (kapivvqh) and 1996a (kotuvlh).

¹⁵ Dictionary references courtesy of Richard Steiner.

¹⁶ Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi (Brooklyn: P. Shalom Publishers, 1967), p. 1401a.

¹⁷ Liddell, Scott and Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon, p. 875b.

¹⁸ J. Payne Smith, A Compendious Syriac Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, reprint of 1903), p. 513b.

In the Mandaic dictionary of Drower and Macuch, the term kabi\$a is cited simply as "a measure." Likely derived from these Aramaic forms are the Armenian $kapi\~c$, the Latin $kapi\~s$ and the Arabic $qaf\~z$.

Modern Persian has both the form $kaf\bar{\imath}z$, borrowed back from Aramaic-influenced Arabic, and the native descendant $kav\bar{\imath}\check{z}$, derived from Middle Persian $kap\bar{\imath}\check{c}$ and the hypothetical Old Persian *kapica. The term has received problematic treatment from Iranists. It is ignored in Walther Hinz's study of Achaemenid lexical influence on neighboring languages. Geo Widengren does discuss the word, but declares that it can be only of Parthian origin. This is certainly wrong, as is proved by the example from Xenophon and the yet earlier Yale cosmetic bottle.

As is evident, the various dictionary entries on this Persian measurement are vague and inconsistent. By virtue of its inscription, the calibrated Yale jar thus provides unique evidence for the contemporary value of the *kpd*. While two comparable vessels are provided with indications of their quantity, both are calibrated in units of the Egyptian *hin*-measure and are inscribed in hieroglyphs. The Yale example is at once the only such bottle to bear a Demotic inscription, the only bottle certainly calibrated in a foreign standard, and the first witness to the Achaemenid *kpd*-measure. In an attempt to better determine the capacity of the Yale jar, I had the opportunity on May 11, 1994, to subject it to measurement. With the assistance of Susan B. Matheson, Curator of Ancient Art at the Yale Art Gallery, I filled the cosmetic bottle with rice up to the base of the jar's neck, allowing space for the possibility of a stopper. In a stroke of mathematical convenience, the 12 *kpd* jar held 1,200 ml, so that one *kpd* may be evaluated securely at .1 litre. This

¹⁹ Lady Ethel Drower and R. Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 195a.

²⁰ Samuel Krauss et al., eds., *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum Alexandri Kohut*, Publications of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation 8 (Vienna: The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1937), pp. 370–71 (s.v. qpz). See also Heinrich Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*. *Erster Teil: Armenische Etymologie* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962, reprint of 1897), p. 165. In the Armenian version of 2 Kings 6: 25, *kapič* is substituted for the ancient Hebrew *kab*-measure, estimated to be roughly one quart (= 946 ml). This substitution for an older name need not reflect a genuine equivalence of capacity. ²¹ Krauss, ibid.

²² Walther Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975).

²³ Geo Widengren, Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geistwissenschaften 70, (Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960), p. 94.

 $^{^{24}}$ Posener, La première domination perse en Égypte, p. 151 (nos. 98 of 2 hin and 99 of 8 hin). A further bottle without explicit ancient calibration has been measured at 10 hin; ibid., pp. 146–47 (no. 78).

result establishes the Achaemenid $kp\underline{d}$ as equalling approximately one tenth the Ptolemaic choinix (o.98 litre), clear witness to the fluctuating value of the Greek—and perhaps also the Persian—unit. 25

As both the $kp\underline{d}$ and the related choinix may be subunits of the grain measure, dictionaries often describe the $kp\underline{d}$ as simply a "dry measure." Such a description is overly restrictive, since the Yale vase is likely to have served as a container for unguent or perfume. The interior of the vessel exhibits obvious stains from a dark and strongly aromatic residue. Like the Egyptian hin-measure also associated with these containers, the $kp\underline{d}$ is a unit of volume, applicable to both dry and liquid measurement.



 $^{^{25}}$ P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), p. 49. Cf. the alternative Greek equations noted above, in which the $kp\underline{d}$ equals variously 1/2, one or two choinikes.

²⁶ See the Coptic entries, above, n. 6.

²⁷ Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 190, following a suggestion by Clermont-Ganneau. See further Schmandt-Besserat, *Ancient Persia. The Art of an Empire*, p. 90.

Abbreviated Grids on Two Scenes in a Graeco-Roman Tomb at Abydos



GAY ROBINS

OMB NUMBER 83 IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN CEMETERY AT ABYDOS excavated by Garstang in 1907 had as an unusual feature a chamber with painted walls. Part of the decoration is preserved on two photographic negatives that are housed in the archives of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, at the University of Liverpool. It is unclear how the scenes preserved on these two negatives relate to each other or what proportion of the decoration in the chamber they cover. Plainly the condition of the scenes in 1907 was not good, and it may be that there were other scenes too badly destroyed to be worth recording.

A print of the better-preserved negative was published by Aly Abdalla, who pointed out that artists' grid lines could be seen on both photographs. Since it was not germane to his work on stelae, he did not discuss the grid lines further. In this paper, I should like to explore these lines in greater detail. It is immediately noticeable that they do not form a regular, squared grid of the type employed by artists since the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, although the use of such grids in the Graeco-Roman period is well documented. At this time, standing figures were drawn on grids comprising twenty-one squares between the soles of the feet and the upper eyelid, and seated figures on grids comprising seventeen squares. An obvious question, then, is: do the lines on the scenes from Abydos relate in any way to the horizontals and

 $^{^{1}}$ I would like to thank Dr. C.J. Eyre and the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, The University of Liverpool for providing me with prints from these negatives and for giving me permission to publish.

 $^{^2}$ Aly Abdalla, $\it Graeco-Roman$ Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt (Liverpool, 1992), p. 5, pl. 76.

³ Alv Abdalla on cit

⁴ E.g., in temples, Philippe Derchain, Zwei Kapellen des Ptolemäus I Soter in Hildesheim (Hildesheim, 1961), Lepsius, Denkmaeler IV, pls. 32c, 49c, 75c, 87d; in private tombs, Klaus Kuhlmann, Das Ammoneion. Archäologie, Geschichte und Kultpraxis des Orakels von Siwa (Mainz, 1988), color plates IV, XII. See Gay Robins, Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art (Austin, 1994), pp. 160–77.

verticals of the squared grid system in use at this time? To answer this, I have measured the spacing of the preserved lines on the photographs and compared them with the lines of a mathematically calculated grid appropriate to the standing figures in the scenes. Damage and deterioration of the scenes themselves, the poor condition of one of the negatives, and the lack of a color record all contribute to the difficulties of working on this material. However, I believe the results are of sufficient interest to be worth recording, and I offer them in homage to Professor Kelly Simpson, whose deep understanding of aesthetic principles and practice has thrown so much light on the artistry of the ancient Egyptians.

The first photograph that I shall discuss shows a scene featuring, from left to right, standing figures of Horus and Isis, facing right, before a left-facing seated figure of Osiris, with figures of Nephthys and Thoth, also left-facing, standing behind him (fig. 1). A mummiform figure stands to the right of Thoth, facing left, but its details and identity are unclear. Just to its right is the front part of a left-facing female figure identified by the standard on her head as the goddess of the west. She is bent forward in an unusual pose with her hands on the ground. The edge of the photograph cuts through her torso, so that the rest of the figure is not shown. Although parts of the figures have been painted—for instance, the garments of the goddesses and Osiris, and part of Horus's double crown—other areas, like the wigs and skin, are still unpainted. Traces of the grid lines are visible on the unpainted areas but disappear beneath the paint where it has been applied. These facts, together with the absence of any hieroglyphic inscriptions, show that the scene was never finished.

The top of the scene is marked by a distinct horizontal line running above the heads of the figures. Below, it is limited by a baseline that runs beneath the soles of the standing figures' feet. Between these two lines other horizontals run at the level of the knees, the groin where the lower abdomen meets the top of the thigh, the junction of the neck and shoulders, and the upper eyelid of each standing figure. In addition, a second horizontal is clearly visible just below the junction of the neck and shoulder line. The figures of Horus, Isis, Osiris, Nephthys and Thoth also have axial verticals, which run through the ears of the human-headed figures. In addition there are three more verticals, one just to the right

⁵ I would like to thank Dr. Richard Nichols of the Department of Physiology, Emory University, for producing a computer-generated grid appropriate to the standing figures of the better-preserved scene that was most helpful to me in analyzing this scene.

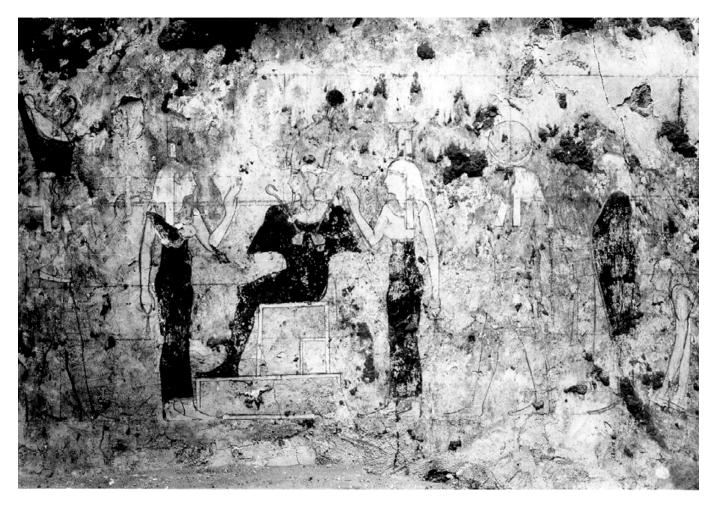


Fig. 1. Painted scene from a decorated chamber in tomb no. 83 of the Graeco-Roman cemetery at Abydos excavated by Garstang in 1907. Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, The University of Liverpool, England.

of Horus's axial vertical, another just to the left of Osiris's face, and the third just to the left of Thoth's axial vertical.

Curiously enough, the horizontals at the top and bottom of the scene are not parallel, but converge toward the right. Thus, the distance between the two lines measured along the axial vertical of Horus is 14.6 cm, whereas along the axial vertical of Thoth, which is 19.15 cm to the right, it is only 14.2 cm. One might suppose that this convergence could have arisen from photographic distortion, had the scene not been photographed square on, but this cannot be the explanation because other surviving horizontal lines maintain the same distance from the baseline along their length. One has to conclude, therefore, that the topmost line fails to be horizontal through an error of drawing. As is well-known, irregularities in the construction of artists' grids and guidelines were common.

It is possible to calculate the size of grid square appropriate to the standing figures in this scene by taking the height of the figures between the soles of the feet and the upper eyelid line, which is 10.1 cm, and dividing it by 21. This gives a grid-square size of 0.48 cm, correct to two decimal places. It is now possible to see how the lines in the scene would relate to a grid with such a square size.

Horizontals	CM ABOVE BASE- LINE	EQUIVALENT NUMBER OF SQUARES ^a
Upper eyelid line	10.1	21.00
Upper neck line	9.15	19.06
Lower neck line	9.00	18.75
Groin line	5.7	11.88
Knee line	3.4	7.08
Top of dais	1.8	3.75
Baseline	0	0

^a Correct to two decimal places.

Allowing for slight inaccuracies in the construction of the original lines and also in making measurements on a small-scale photograph, we can see that several of the lines correspond quite closely to horizontals on a 21-square grid calculated for the standing figures. The upper neck line is very close to 19 squares above the baseline, that is, two squares below the upper eyelid line, which is the norm for figures on a 21-square grid. The groin line, which also usually passes through the maximum convexity of the buttocks on female figures (as in this scene), forms horizontal 12 of a squared grid. Here, the line is the equivalent of 11.88 squares above the baseline. The knee line is 7.08 squares above the baseline, close to horizontal 7 of a squared grid, the normal level for the top of the knee.

The seated figure of Osiris should comprise 17 squares on the standing figures' grid, assuming that all the figures are drawn on the same scale, since the head of Osiris has the same proportions as the heads of Isis and Nephthys. In this case, the figure of Osiris should measure from his upper eyelid to the soles of his feet $17 \times 0.48 = 8.16$ cm. In fact, it measures 8.3 cm or 17.29 squares. Seated figures in the Graeco-Roman period normally have the top of the seat on horizontal 6, that is to say, 11 squares below the upper eyelid line. The distance between the upper eyelid of Osiris and the top of his seat is 5.3 cm or 11.04 squares. However, the top of the dais, on which the seat is placed and which acts as the baseline for the god, lies 3 cm below the top of the seat, that is, 6.25

squares rather than the expected 6. Since the line is not quite parallel to the baseline but slopes down slightly to the left, this means that the lower leg of the figure is elongated by slightly more than a quarter of a square.

When standing and seated figures with the same upper eyelid level appear together on a squared grid, the seated figure is normally raised on a dais of four squares, since 17 + 4 = 21. Here, however, the highest part of the dais is only 3.75 squares above the baseline, so that it would not fall on a horizontal of a 21-square grid. There is one other horizontal that has no place on the 21-square grid and that is the lower neck line, lying 9.0 cm or 18.75 squares above the baseline. This line has no obvious function and was most probably drawn in error and then replaced by the correct upper neck line. However, it is strange to find that it lies 15 squares above the dais, when we remember that in many seated figures the top of the dais was placed 15 squares below the neck line. Perhaps the top of the dais was positioned in relation to the lower neck line and never corrected.

Verticals	CM TO THE RIGHT OF HORUS'S AXIAL VERTICAL	EQUIVALENT NUMBER OF SQUARES ^a
Axial vertical of Horus	0	0
Vertical in front of Horus's axial vertical	0.3	0.63
Axial vertical of Isis	5.1	10.63
Vertical in front of Osiris	9.6	20.00
Axial vertical of Osiris	10.6	22.08
Axial vertical of Nephthys	14.7	30.63
Vertical in front of Thoth's axial vertical	18.65	38.85
Axial vertical of Thoth	19.15	39.90

^a Correct to two decimal places.

Taking the axial vertical of Horus as 0, I have measured the other verticals in relation to this. The axial verticals of Horus and Thoth are almost 40 squares apart. The vertical line in front of Osiris divides this distance virtually in half, being 20 squares from Horus's axial vertical and 19.90 from Thoth's. The axial vertical of Osiris lies 22.08 squares from that of Horus. The other vertical lines do not, however, lie at

⁶ Gay Robins, op.cit., pp. 187–191.

distances from the axial vertical of Horus that even approximate to whole numbers of squares. However, if the axial verticals of Isis and Nephthys are measured not from Horus's axial vertical but from the vertical in front of that line, we find that the distances between them do correspond to whole numbers of grid squares. Thus the axial vertical of Isis is 10 squares from the line in front of Horus, and the axial vertical of Nephthys 30 squares, so that the figures of the two goddesses are the equivalent of 20 squares apart. It follows that while the axial verticals in the scene cannot all be matched to verticals on the same squared grid, they do in fact form two groups that are each spaced according to the grid square size derived from the height of the figures.

It is possible that the axial verticals of the goddesses may have been shifted so as to bring them as close as possible to Osiris whom they are adoring and protecting. Isis's forward leg nearly impinges on Osiris's toe, and Nephthys's raised forward wrist touches the flail held by Osiris in his rear hand. It would have been impossible for the goddesses to have been placed with their axial verticals coinciding with grid verticals in line with the axial verticals of the gods without Isis overlapping Osiris's foot and Nephthys obscuring his flail, or alternatively distancing the goddesses further from the god. Such manipulations of space were not uncommon in compositions at all periods, and could easily be carried out by eye when scenes were drafted onto a squared grid, by simply moving figures or texts in relation to the grid verticals; there would be no need to draw extra lines. Here, however, because the draftsman was basically using only axial verticals, it was necessary to draw the "shifted" verticals of the two goddesses.

The one vertical that presents a problem is the line in front of Thoth's axial vertical. It lies 38.85 squares from the axial vertical of Horus and 38.22 squares from the line in front of Horus, so that it does not at first glance fit with either group of verticals. However, it is in fact 1.05 or almost exactly one square to the left of Thoth's axial vertical. The reason why it does not closely approximate to a distance from Horus's axial vertical in an exact number of squares is because there are only 39.9 squares between the axial verticals of Horus and Thoth, not the expected 40. In other words, a slight error was introduced when the distances between the verticals were measured out on the walls. The purpose of this second vertical relating to the figure of Thoth remains unclear. Perhaps it was originally intended to be Thoth's axial vertical but then the draftsman realized that this would bring the figures of Thoth and Nephthys too close together and unbalance the composition.

The second photograph preserves a scene with three standing figures. In the center is a mummiform figure of Osiris with two male figures standing one on either side of it, each pouring a stream of *ankh* and *was* signs over Osiris. Not only is there damage to the scene, but the quality of the negative is poor, being underexposed and scratched, and for these reasons it is not reproduced here. In addition, it cuts off the tops of the deities' heads; moreover because of the underexposure, only the lower parts of the figures from the waist down can be clearly seen. Osiris's body is painted but other areas are not, showing that like the first scene, this one was also never finished.

Parts of three horizontal and two vertical lines are preserved: a baseline, a knee line and a groin line, and the axial verticals of the two outer deities. If we assume that the groin line, which lies 8.15 cm above the baseline, is the equivalent of line 12 of a squared grid, this gives us a grid square size of 0.68 cm, correct to two decimal places. The kneeline is 4.75 cm above the baseline, which is the equivalent of 6.99 squares, correct to two decimal places. This is almost exactly the seven squares expected for the knee level of figures drawn on a squared grid. The two axial verticals are 12.9 cm apart, which works out to be the equivalent of almost exactly 19 squares.

Despite some inaccuracies, adjustments, and a corrected error, it is clear that the lines drawn on these two scenes relate to the squared grid system in use on monuments during the Graeco-Roman period. However, in neither case was a complete grid placed on the wall, perhaps in order to save time. The selected horizontals drawn between the baseline and upper line were used to control the proportions of the standing figures, and enabled the draftsman to make sure that the figures matched each other and were drawn at the same scale. The vertical lines controlled the spacing of the figures, and in one scene were manipulated by the draftsman to achieve the desired composition.

The Armand de Potter Collection of Ancient Egyptian Art



James F. Romano

In 1908 The Brooklyn Museum augmented its holdings in ancient Egyptian antiquities with the purchase of the Armand de Potter Collection, sold to Brooklyn by de Potter's widow. The published histories of Brooklyn's Egyptian Department give only superficial notice of the obscure Mr. de Potter. This neglect underscores how little we know about the man and his collection. In this brief essay—dedicated to William Kelly Simpson, himself a connoisseur and collector of Egyptian art—I will relate the highlights of de Potter's life and clarify some of the confusion surrounding the only comprehensive publication of his collection, a pamphlet appropriately entitled *The De Potter Collection*. Like every good tale, this one has a moral: the relationship between an exacting curator and a captious collector has changed little in the last one hundred years.

Armand de Potter was a Frenchman born in 1850, or very early in 1851 (perhaps as P.L. Armand de Potter, P.L. Armand de Pottier, or P.L. Armand de Pothier).³ By the time he emigrated to the United States, no

¹ For the history of the Department, see, for example, Richard A. Fazzini, in *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1989), pp. vii–x.

² Two scholars have written, albeit briefly, about Armand de Potter. John D. Cooney characterized Mr. and Mrs. de Potter as "apparently well-to-do and enthusiastic" collectors "who appear to have been in Egypt and adjacent areas for a few years just before and after 1890." He also determined that part of de Potter's collection had been on exhibition at the University Museum in Philadelphia after 1893; John D. Cooney, "Assorted Errors in Art Collecting," *Expedition* 6,1 (Fall 1963), pp. 22–23. Judith A. Lerner discovered that Armand de Potter owned a highly successful travel company, De Potter's European and World Tours, that often included trips to Egypt on its "Oriental" and "World" itineraries; "Three Achaemenid 'Fakes;' a Re-evaluation in Light of 19th Century Iranian Architectural Sculpture," *Expedition* 22,2 (Winter 1980), p. 16.

³ The minutes of Union College Trustees Meeting of 22 June 1880 indicate that an honorary A.M. degree was awarded on that day to "Professor P.L. Armand De Pottier" of Albany, New York (p. 96). This spelling also appears in the *Union University–Centennial Catalog 1795–1895* (Schenectady, N.Y., 1895), p. 145. He is called "Prof. P.L. Armand de Pothier" in a Union College publication; *Concordiensis 3*,9 (June 1880), p. 145. The year of de Potter's birth is provided by a Bradstreet's report on file in the archives of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (henceforth U.Mus. Archives). It lists his age on 8 January 1902 as 51.

later than 1878, he had risen to the rank of colonel in the French army. With no suitable documentation for de Potter's years in France we must resort to inference. Almost certainly he belonged to a family of wealth and standing. Although the French army expanded dramatically in the decade after the Franco-Prussian War, de Potter could not have risen so high, so fast without influential family connections. He must also have been well educated. De Potter was fluent in German and English; he secured a teaching position in a private academy almost immediately upon arriving in the United States; in 1880 a major American university awarded him an honorary M.A. degree; and throughout his life he recounted his various academic accomplishments with considerable pride.

In October 1878 Armand de Potter married the fourth of six children of William S. and Ann M. (née Collyer) Beckwith of Red Hook in Dutchess County, New York. The given name of de Potter's bride is uncertain because the Beckwith family's official history lists her as Annie G., and the Dutchess County records identify her as Amy. By 1880 Mrs. de Potter was using the name Aimée. De Potter married well. His father-in-law, William Beckwith was an "Old Yankee" whose family history in North America can be traced to an ancestor who settled in Hartford, Connecticut in 1639. A prosperous farmer, William Beckwith

⁴ Paul Beckwith, The Beckwiths (Albany, N.Y., 1891), p. 154.

⁵ Ernest John Knapton, France: An Interpretive History (New York, 1971), p. 432.

⁶ See above, note 3.

⁷ In a letter written in 1897, de Potter states: "In 1880 I received the degree of M.A. at Union College [see above, note 3]; in 1883 Docteur es Lettres, University of France; have been for 25 years a member of the American Oriental Society; since 1883 a life member of the Archaeological Society of France—and [for] some years an officer at the Royal Academical Institute of Italy;" Armand de Potter (henceforth AdP) to Sara Yorke Stevenson (henceforth SYS), New York, 24 May 1897, U.Mus. Archives. Regarding de Potter's French degree, Michel Dewachter observes: "... il faut comprendre *Docteur es Lettres de l'Université* (française), et très probablement de la Faculté de Lettres de Paris, mais absolument pas du Collège de France: cet établissment n'étant pas habilité à décerner un tel titre." (personal communication, 21 September 1994).

⁸ Cf. Beckwith, *The Beckwiths*, p. 154 (this source indicates that she was born on 14 March 1857) and *Commemorative Biographical Record of Duchess County, New York, Containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens, and of Many of the Early Settled Families* (Chicago, 1897), p. 767. The problem of Mrs. de Potter's Christian name is further complicated by the fact that, despite the claims of the Beckwith family historian (see above), her middle initial was S, not G (see, for example, the letter signed by her cited below, note 44).

⁹ According to the records of the Albany Female Academy in Albany, New York. Mrs. de Potter continued to use the name Aimée at least until 1908 (see later letter cited below, note 44). This Francophilic affectation was perhaps the product of personal regard for French culture, her wish to acknowledge her husband's homeland, a name she adopted while studying or living in France, or an interplay among some or all of these influences.

owned "one of the best farms in the town of Red Hook, comprising... 144 acres of rich and fertile land;" 10 he also held several important local offices including Town Supervisor and Tax Assessor and was an influential member of the Democratic Party in New York State.

By September 1879 Armand and Aimée de Potter had settled in Albany, capital of New York State. ¹¹ Armand joined the faculty of the Albany Female Academy (now the Albany Academy for Girls) as Professor of Modern Languages and Literature (i.e., French and German). ¹² His wife, Aimée, began teaching French at the Academy in 1880. Their association with the Academy, the oldest and one of the most prestigious private schools for girls in the city, provided the de Potters with an entrée into the highest levels of Albany society.

These social ties would serve the young, ambitious Armand de Potter well in business. In 1882 he resigned his teaching position to devote his unqualified attention to De Potter's European and World Tours, a tourist agency he had founded in Albany three years earlier while still at the Academy. ¹³ De Potter specialized in European tours for "the better sort." Twice a year he and Aimée conducted groups initially comprising wealthy Albanians; later he would cultivate a truly national clientele—to the major tourist attractions in Europe. ¹⁴ To advertise his tours, while allaying the anxieties of prospective clients, de Potter edited and published an annual journal, The Old World and European Guide. Each volume offered endorsements from satisfied customers, practical advice for the first-time traveler, ¹⁵ listings of currency exchange rates, and short articles on academic subjects. In addition to his European tours, de Potter would occasionally lead a seven-month long "Grand Tour Around the World." A major component of these tours was an extended visit to Egypt's major archaeological sites. 16 De

¹⁰ Commemorative Biographical Record (1897), p. 766.

¹¹ In 1879–1880 the de Potters resided at 59 Maiden Lane in Albany; they moved to 105 State Street in 1881. The Albany City Directory for 1883 indicates that they were no longer living within the municipal limits in that year. In all probability the de Potters had moved to one of Albany's more fashionable suburbs, such as Loudonville, Guilderland, or Bethlehem, each quite accessible to Albany by carriage.

¹² Albany Evening News (19 June 1880), p. 10.

 $^{^{13}\,}$ The offices were located at 645 Broadway in Albany; the company motto was "Reisen ist Leben."

¹⁴ The Old World and European Guide 6,1 (1886), p. 1.

¹⁵ E.g., "For travel, ladies require three sets of underclothing, one set of warm flannels, an old silk or woolen dress for railroad, etc., a dress suitable to wear in hotels and galleries, and a thin cool dress for Italy to replace the woolen traveling dress, a light wrap, a shawl, a plain hat and a sun umbrella. A gossamer waterproof will be found useful." *Old World* 6,1 (1886), p. 20.

Potter must have spent some of his free time in Egypt frequenting the shops of antiquities dealers in Cairo and Upper Egypt.

By 1893 de Potter had both established an office in New York¹⁷ and. more importantly for this narrative, amassed a sizeable collection of Egyptian objects. In the spring of that year he exhibited 270 pieces from his collection—clearly not all he actually owned—in the Anthropology Building of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. ¹⁸ De Potter limited the installations to objects focusing on the theme of religious belief and practice, including images of the principal Egyptian deities as well as cultic and funerary objects. The display was dominated by several cases of bronze statuettes and faience amulets of gods (fig. 1); a number of shabtis, animal mummies, stone vessels, faience necklaces, and scarabs were also exhibited. 19 As a supplement to the installation, de Potter authored and published a forty-four page catalog, The Egyptian Pantheon, 20 containing an overview of Egyptian history, two short essays on the major Egyptian deities and funerary religion, a list of the objects on view (usually with a description one or two sentences in length), and a glossary and index.

¹⁶ The 1887 tour, for example, included stops at Cairo, Heliopolis, Giza, Memphis, Saqqara, Mit Rahineh, Rhoda, Minya, Abydos, Qenna, Thebes (including Karnak and Luxor), Aswan, and "many interesting temples and other ruins;" ibid., p. 79. De Potter's 1890 visit to Egypt was his third trip to the country; A. de Potter, "The Land of the Pharaohs," *Old World* 12 (1891), p. 77. Readers interested in travelers' impressions of Cairo in the 1890s are commended to de Potter's articles in the *Old World*. His observations about Cairo hotels, particularly the New Hotel, which he describes in considerable detail, are particularly illuminating; ibid., pp. 78–79.

¹⁷ De Potter's first office was located at 1466 Broadway; he later moved to 1122 Broadway. Despite opening a new company headquarters in New York, he maintained his old office in Albany. De Potter's European and Oriental Tours flourished in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In 1899 he claimed a personal worth of \$125,000, with no debts, and maintained residences in New York and Pasadena, California. De Potter was described as "reliable in his dealings and prompt in discharging his obligations;" see the Bradstreet's report cited in note 3.

¹⁸ For the Anthropology Building, see John J. Flinn, Official Guide to the World's Columbia Exposition in the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, May 1 to October 26, 1893, by the Authority of the United States of America (Chicago, 1893), p. 37. Normally the packing, insurance, and shipping of so many objects would have caused major inconvenience. Because the de Potters relocated from Albany to New York City in 1893, their antiquities had to be moved to the de Potter's new home. Any difficulties created by "detouring" the collection through Chicago would have been minimal.

¹⁹ Sara Yorke Stevenson, "Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece," in *Report of the Committee on Awards of the World's Columbian Commission; Special Reports upon Special Subjects or Groups* I (Washington, D.C., 1901), p. 341, figs. 19 and 20.

²⁰ Armand de Potter, The Egyptian Pantheon: An Explanatory Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Collected and Classified with Especial Reference to the Religion and Funerary Rites of Ancient Egypt, by Armand de Potter, and Exhibited in the Egyptian Section of the Archaeological Department in the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A. (New York, 1893).

Fig. 1. View of twenty-four objects from the de Potter Collection on exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition (1893). Twenty are now in The Brooklyn Museum. Top row: 08.480.34, .24, .29, .98, .25, .137, and .106; middle row: repository not known (henceforth rnk), .37, .150, .47, .68, .50, .36, rnk, .43, and .65; bottom row: .38, .49, .27, .26, rnk, rnk, and .33. From Stevenson, *Report* I (1901), fig. 19.



The installation in the Anthropology Building also included antiquities on loan from the University Museum, Philadelphia. Many had been excavated by W.M.F. Petrie during his recent seasons at Tell Defenneh, Gurob, Lahun, Meidum, and El Amarna. Sara Yorke Stevenson (1847–1921), Curator of the Museum's Egyptian and Mediterranean section, brought these objects to Chicago and supervised their installation. It was then that she met Armand de Potter. Their camaraderie must have been instinctive, for there were striking similarities in their experience and interests. Although an American citizen, Stevenson's

²¹ Although this institution was officially known as the Free Museum of Science and Art for much of its early history, at the turn of the century it was commonly referred to as the University Museum. This name became official in 1913; David O'Connor and David Silverman, "The Egyptian Collection," *Expedition* 21,2 (1979), p. 34. In 1994 the University Museum changed its name to the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. For the sake of convenience, it will be called the University Museum throughout this article.

 $^{^{22}}$ Stevenson, Report I (Washington, D.C., 1901), pp. 337–41. As a major sponsor of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the University Museum received a generous share of Petrie's finds.

²³ For Sara Yorke Stevenson, see especially Christine Moon van Ness, "Sara Yorke Stevenson," in Ute Gacs, et al., eds., *Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies* (Urbana and Chicago, 1989), pp. 344–49 (with bibliography and listing of selected works by SYS); to the bibliography at the end of that entry, add O'Connor and Silverman, "The Museum in the Field," *Expedition* 21,2 (Winter, 1979), pp. 13–19, fig. 15; and ibid., pp. 33–37 (see also fig. 2 on page 5 of that volume for a photograph of Stevenson).

background was, like de Potter's, French. She was born and educated in Paris, living there, almost exclusively until she was fifteen.²⁴ Both were comfortable in the society of ladies and gentlemen of wealth and influence, and, they shared—one as curator, the other as collector—a profound intellectual devotion to the past.²⁵

Sara Stevenson could be persuasive. Although de Potter originally intended to sell his collection at the Exposition's close, ²⁶ Stevenson convinced him to lend his objects to the University Museum for "at least three years." The relationship between de Potter and the University Museum would last well beyond that prescribed limit. He continued to purchase antiquities almost yearly and ship them to directly to the Museum. ²⁸ In 1896, for example, he sent a green faience pectoral in the form of a naos with an inlaid scarab. ²⁹ Five years later de Potter forwarded to Stevenson a case of Coptic textiles purchased from Albert Jean Gayet (1856–1916) of the Musée Guimet. ³⁰ Undoubtedly his most significant acquisition was a pair of nested coffins, a mummy board, mummy, and pair of gold earrings of the High Priest of Amun, Paseba-

²⁴ Moon Van Ness, in Woman Anthropologists (1989), p. 344.

²⁵ Stevenson's interest in the past can be traced to the years 1858–1862. Each weekend she left the confines of the Institution Descauriet for the intellectual stimulation afforded by her French guardians M. and Mme. Achille Jubinal. M. Jubinal was himself a scholar, connoisseur, and collector with a particular interest in ancient tapestries and arms. His insatiable quest for information and objects left a life-long impression on the girl; Frances A. Wister, *Sara Yorke Stevenson* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 9.

²⁶ Mrs. Stevenson made this claim many years later, SYS to the President of the Museum's Board of Managers (Samuel F. Houston), Philadelphia, 27 December 1905, U.Mus. Archives.

²⁷ The Museum was obviously quite pleased to welcome the loan. The 1893 Report of the President of the Board of Managers on the Department of Archaeology and Paleontology lauded the de Potter material as "one of the most valuable collections of Egyptian bronze statuettes and other small objects in this country;" quoted in Wister, *Sara Yorke Stevenson*, p. 35.

²⁸ The University Museum's records contain copies of receipts for shipments from de Potter dated November 1893, 19 November 1894, 27 April 1896, 4 March 1897, 13 June 1898, 19 October 1898, and (no date) 1901.

²⁹ Brooklyn 08.480.159; Erika Feucht, Pektorale Nichtköniglicher Personen, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 22 (Wiesbaden, 1971), p. 76, no. 54, pl. 33.

³⁰ AdP to SYS, Summit, New Jersey, 12 March 1902, University Museum Archives. In this letter de Potter mentions that he bought the textiles from Gayet "at the Musée Guimet." From this wording it is unclear whether the textiles belonged to Gayet, or he sold de Potter objects from the collection of the Musée Guimet. These textiles are probably those currently cataloged in The Brooklyn Museum as 08.480.52–.59; for 08.480.52, see John D. Cooney, Late Egyptian and Coptic Art: an Introduction to the Collections in The Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, 1943), p. 22, pl. 44; Deborah Thompson, Coptic Textiles in The Brooklyn Museum, Wilbour Monographs 2 (Brooklyn, 1971), p. 34, no. 12; and Claudia Nauerth, Koptische Textilkunst im spätantiken Ägypten: Die Sammlung Rautenstrauch im Städtischen Museum Simeonstift Trier (Trier, 1978), p. 47, no. 33, n. 66.



Fig. 2. Brooklyn 08.480.1A&B: outer coffin of Pasebakhaemipet, wood overlaid with gesso and painted, from Deir el Bahri, mid-Dynasty 21, length: 2.13 m., Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund.

khaemipet, who was buried at Deir el Bahri in mid-Dynasty 21 (fig. 2). De Potter obtained them in 1894 from Emile Brugsch (1842–1930) the year after he discovered them "150 metres au n-e du temple de DeB." 32

Until the University Museum opened at its present location in December 1899, de Potter's collection was exhibited in the University Library—the present Furness Building—in cases with labels acknowledging his ownership (fig. 3). They stood amidst, but separate from, other cabinets containing the balance of the Museum's Egyptian antiquities. Eventually de Potter chafed at this arrangement, claiming it denied his collection the prominence it deserved by right of quality. He could temporarily overlook the existing installation but insisted that his pieces be isolated in one room when the new building eventually opened.³³ But he was to be even less satisfied with the new galleries which displayed the antiquities typologically rather than by provenance.

De Potter reacted strongly when he discovered his pieces interspersed among the rest of the Museum's holdings in what must have appeared, to him, an unseemly amalgamation.³⁴ In March 1902 he inquired about the procedure for removing his objects from the Museum.³⁵ By then Stevenson had come to realize that the road to de Potter's sympathies lay in his vanity. She wrote him, declaring her intention to produce a *catalogue resonnant* of the de Potter Collection, assuring him that, "[I] have already the material for it. When this appears, it must, of course do you dignified credit among the learned public."³⁶

³¹ Brooklyn Museum 08.4801A&B and 2A–F; *PM* I², p. 636; Andrzej Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, Theben 5, edited by Jan Assmann (Mainz, 1988), pp. 158–59, no. 301, with additional references.

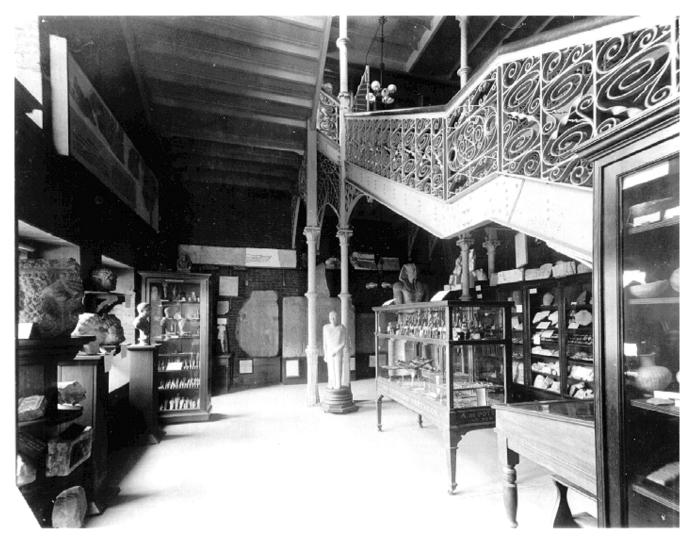
³² A complete description of the coffins written by E. Brugsch can be found in the University Museum Archives. It was sent by Aimée de Potter along with a letter to Sara Y. Stevenson announcing that the coffins had been shipped to Philadelphia; Aimée de Potter to SYS, Alexandria, 2 March 1894, U.Mus. Archives.

³³ AdP to SYS, Jerusalem, 16 March 1896, U.Mus. Archives.

³⁴ "I feel that my little collection, placed as it is amid all the rich treasures of your museum has not been and is not appreciated by the Directors nor by the faculty of the University.... If the Directors of your Museum care to retain my collection for some time to come as a loan, I would like to have my scarabs and all other objects *placed together* and have them well marked as belonging to the *De Potter Collection*. I feel that in this way only can one see of what it consists. Of course I appreciate your idea of classification, but it prevents my collection of receiving due recognition *as a whole!*"; AdP to SYS, Summit, N.J., 1 March 1901, U.Mus. Archives.

³⁵ "I would also ask you how long before removing my collection, I should send notice of my intention to do so. I am now thinking of making a change next October;" AdP to SYS, Summit, N.J., 12 March 1902, U.Mus. Archives.

³⁶ SYS to AdP. Philadelphia. 19 June 1902, U.Mus. Archives.



De Potter's constant carping and quibbling no doubt tried Mrs. Stevenson's patience. He repeatedly complained about a misunderstanding concerning reimbursement for shipping charges³⁷ and attempted to induce her, without success, to write some complimentary comments about his collection for either the *American Journal of Archaeology* or the *Old World*.³⁸ Upon receiving an official receipt for the Pasebakhaemipet coffins, de Potter instructed his secretary to write the University Museum asking if he could add to the document "a few words of

Fig. 3. View of the University Museum's Egyptian installation in the University Library (now the Furness Building), circa 1898. De Potter's objects can be seen in the cabinet projecting from the left wall and in the free-standing case beneath the staircase. Photo: courtesy the the University of Pennsylvania Archives.

 $^{^{37}}$ E.g., AdP to SYS, Summit, N.J., 1 March 1901, U.Mus. Archives, and AdP to SYS, New York, 13 May 1902, U.Mus. Archives.

³⁸ De Potter's secretary (Edmund Gastinian) to SYS, New York, 20 December 1893; and E. Gastinian to SYS, New York, 13 December 1894, U.Mus. Archives.

introduction and affix Mrs. Stevenson's name to it, simply as if it were an extract.... If I could do this, I would also ask permission, if not objectionable, to add to the sentence 'such cases are very difficult to obtain,' the words 'and this one is unique in this country.' I think Dr. de Potter understood Mrs. Stevenson to say this."³⁹ Her equanimity was severely tested in 1897 when de Potter requested that she "use [her] influence, and the probable usefulness of my little collection, to obtain for me some hon. degree from the University."⁴⁰ She promised to "see some of my friends about it and [determine] what can be done."⁴¹ Apparently she let the matter drop. De Potter's importunity, however, resurfaced four years later: "... some Hon. Degree... would of course attach me more to the Museum—As it is, I am often asked why I have my collection in Philadelphia and not New York. At all events I will leave the collection in the Museum for the present."⁴²

The sometimes fractious relationship between Stevenson and Armand de Potter ended abruptly in 1905. She resigned her curatorship on 8 March of that year, ⁴³ and he died, in June, "while returning from a trip in the interior of Greece." Soon thereafter Aimée de Potter began casting about for a museum to purchase her late husband's collection. She first approached the University Museum. Eckley B. Coxe, Jr. (1872–1916) recommended offering Mrs. de Potter \$500, ⁴⁵ but in the face of strong objections to the transaction by David Randall-MacIver (1873–1945), director of the Museum's excavations in Egypt and Nubia, the Board of Managers decided not to pursue the matter. ⁴⁶

Aimée de Potter may then have contacted the Metropolitan Museum of Art or the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, but the records of these institutions contain no correspondence from her. In 1907 she did write

³⁹ E. Gastinian to U. Mus. Secretary (S.M. Hunter), New York, 27 December 1894, U. Mus. Archives.

⁴⁰ AdP to SYS, New York, 24 May 1897, U.Mus. Archives.

⁴¹ SYS to AdP, Philadelphia, 2? May 1897, U.Mus. Archives.

⁴² AdP to SYS, Geneva, 20 September 1902, U.Mus. Archives.

⁴³ See O'Connor and Silverman, Expedition 21,1 (1979), p. 19.

⁴⁴ Aimée de Potter to SYS, n.p., 13 December 1905, U.Mus. Archives.

⁴⁵ E.B. Coxe, Jr. to President of U.Mus. Board of Managers (S.F. Houston), memo dated 18 April 1907, U.Mus. Archives; for Coxe, see O'Connor and Silverman, "Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr.," *Expedition* 21,2 (Winter 1979), p. 44.

⁴⁶ On the day the Board voted to reject Aimée de Potter's offer, Randall-MacIver voiced three objections to purchasing the collection: 1. the Museum already had material of its own which it could not display for lack of exhibition space; 2. the de Potter Collection contained only "a small number of specimens which I should have liked to have acquired...;" and 3. the \$500 price was too high; Randall-MacIver to S.F. Houston, memo dated 25 September 1907, U.Mus. Archives.

to James Henry Breasted, Director of the Haskell Oriental Museum of The University of Chicago (now The Oriental Institute Museum), perhaps hoping he would recall seeing the collection at the World's Columbia Exposition fourteen years earlier. ⁴⁷ She sent him two letters (dated 27 December 1907 and 9 January 1908) offering to sell the entire collection or, if he wished, only the nested coffins of Pasebakhaemipet. ⁴⁸ Breasted did not respond until October 1908. ⁴⁹ By then much of the de Potter Collection had moved to its current repository, The Brooklyn Museum.

Aimée de Potter's letters to Breasted mention that both mailings contained a copy of a catalog of her husband's collection. She sent either the 1893 publication, The Egyptian Pantheon, or a twenty-eight page, illustrated catalog called *The De Potter Collection*. ⁵⁰ This extremely rare book—truly a pamphlet—was written anonymously and bears neither date nor place of publication. Judith Lerner averred that its appearance must have postdated 20 September 1902 when "De Potter wrote to Mrs. Stevenson asking that the University Museum produce an illustrative catalogue of his collection. Since the actual catalogue produced bears the name of no publisher or institution, it must be assumed that De Potter eventually published it himself."51 Although her attribution of the book to a post-1902 date is correct, Lerner overlooked two key points: 1. De Potter's letter of 20 September contained his response to Stevenson's offer to prepare a catalog,⁵² and 2) the first sentence in *The* De Potter Collection states that the "collection was made with great care by the *late* [italics mine] owner. Armand de Potter."⁵³ Obviously. the pamphlet could not have been written or published by de Potter and must postdate June, 1905. Because the catalog mentions neither the

 $^{^{47}}$ Breasted was working on his dissertation in Berlin in 1893 and probably never saw the Exposition; John A. Larson (personal communication; 19 September 1994).

⁴⁸ Aimée de Potter to J.H. Breasted, Asheville, North Carolina, 27 December 1907, and 9 January 1908, Oriental Institute Archives. Courtesy of The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago.

⁴⁹ Breasted had been abroad until late September or early October, 1908. J.H. Breasted to Aimée de Potter, Chicago, 14 October 1908, Oriental Institute Archives. Courtesy of The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago.

⁵⁰ A copy of *The Egyptian Pantheon* is today among the holdings of the Joseph Regenstein Library, the current home of the former Oriental Institute Library. Its presence there, however, does not prove that it was one of the two catalogs Aimée de Potter sent to Breasted. It could have entered the library at any time as a souvenir of the World's Columbian Exposition any time after it opened in May 1893.

⁵¹ Lerner, Expedition 22,2 (1980), p. 16.

⁵² See above, note 36.

⁵³ The De Potter Collection (n.p, n.d.), p. 1.

University Museum, which surrendered any claim to the collection on 25 September 1907, nor The Brooklyn Museum, which purchased the de Potter material on 21 March 1908, the text must have been completed during this six month period. Furthermore, if it was the book she sent to Breasted, and not *The Egyptian Pantheon*, it was printed by the date of her first communication to him (27 December 1907). The book's spare prose suggests that either it was written in haste, or the author had little else to say about the objects, or both.⁵⁴

The identity of the author of *The De Potter Collection* remains problematic. The most conspicuous candidate is Sara Yorke Stevenson. She knew the collection intimately and had begun compiling notes for a *catalogue resonnant* at least as early as 1902^{55} . Yet evidence suggests that Stevenson may not have written the booklet. In his correspondence with Stevenson, Armand de Potter characterized the collection as the fruit of "my searches for choice objects during many years of travel." Clearly he did acquire some of his antiquities in Egypt, such as the Pasebakhaemipet material, presumably while conducting tours. A reference in *The De Potter Collection* asserts that many of the objects had originally belonged to Clot Bey (1799–1867) whose heirs sold them to de Potter, Presumably in Egypt or France. This putative Clot Bey – de Potter connection has proven unverifiable, but the claim seems reasonable.

⁵⁴ The text for the first 270 entries in *The De Potter Collection* follows closely that of *The Egyptian Pantheon*. By comparing the entries, however, some differences become apparent. A number of pieces mentioned in the 1893 book do not appear in the later publication (23B, 24B, 25B, 241–243, 248, 265, and 266), and some objects are found for the first time in *The De Potter Collection* (19a&b, 26, 26a, 62b, 200a, and 263). These discrepancies probably reflect de Potter's attempts to refine and improve his collection through sales of unwanted pieces and purchases of superior examples. The later book contains ninety-five entries listed after no. 270. Some were already owned by de Potter in 1893 but not exhibited in the Chicago Exposition. One of these, an unpublished black stone head and bust possibly of Old Kingdom date (Brooklyn 08.480.22), is mentioned by de Potter in a letter to Stevenson dated 24 November 1893; U.Mus Archives. Others, probably the majority, represent additions to his collection made after 1893. Among these are the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins (*The De Potter Collection*, p. 26; see above, note 31), and the Coptic textiles (ibidem.; see above, note 30).

⁵⁵ See above, note 36.

⁵⁶ AdP to SYS, Summit, N.J., 1 March 1902, U.Mus. Archives.

⁵⁷ See above, note 31. J. Lerner reached the same conclusion concerning three other de Potter pieces; *Expedition* 22,2 (1980), p. 16.

⁵⁸ "A great portion of it was collected by Clot Bey, one of the early and well-known Egyptologists, whose general collection was sold to the French Government, but who retained many fine pieces, which, after his death, were bought by Mr. de Potter from his heirs;" *The De Potter Collection* (n.p., n.d.), p. 1. For Clot Bey's collection, see Gaston Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Egyptien de Marseille* (Paris, 1889), pp. v–viii.

Stevenson, however, had a quite different version of the collection's provenance. In a "background memo" sent to the President of the University Museum's Board of Managers, she claimed, "Some of the best pieces were obtained by Mr. de Potter's father in Egypt in the days of Mariette [1821–1881] who was a friend of his." Because we know nothing of Armand de Potter's life in France, including his father's name, Stevenson's statement is impossible of proof. It certainly controverts Armand de Potter's claims and those made in the little catalog, both of which characterize the collection as Armand's alone.

Perhaps Stevenson was merely "gilding the lily" in an attempt to enhance the collection's cachet, thus helping an old acquaintance, the widow de Potter, find a buyer. Alternatively, her account of the collection's history might have been accurate. The senior de Potter could have purchased part of the collection "in the days of Mariette," perhaps from Clot Bey's heirs; Armand, hardly a disinterested party, may have aggrandized his part in the collection's formation; ⁶² and Stevenson may have been aware of the specific roles played by father and son. In accepting this scenario, we must conclude that either: 1) if Stevenson did write *The De Potter Collection*, sometime between 1905 and 1907 she was disabused of her erroneous notion of a Mariette–de Potter link, or, far more likely, 2) she was not the author.

That person was probably Aimée de Potter.⁶³ Intelligent and presumably well educated, she would have had little difficulty taking the

⁵⁹ SYS to S.F. Houston, Philadelphia, 27 December 1905, U.Mus. Archives.

⁶⁰ Michel Dewachter could find no reference to a de Potter among Mariette's friends and associates (personal communication; 21 September 1994).

⁶¹ De Potter's writings reveal an ambiguity about Egyptian art. He seems to have admired its technical skill but he saw the form, style, and iconography of statuary and relief in terms of his highly personal perception of Egyptian society: "Had Egyptian art not been wholly subjected to the rules of a priestly oligarchy, it certainly would have attained perfection. How admirable the sharp cut of the hieroglyphics, the finish of statues in red and black granite as hard as steel. How exquisite and durable the colors of the pictures. Yet withal we find a sameness and stiffness in the oldest monuments as well as in those of the decadence during some four thousand years!"; Old World 12 (1891), pp. 81–82.

⁶² Like many collectors, then and now, de Potter would not let humility mar his character. At least he freely admitted his faults. In one of his letters requesting greater recognition for his collection in the University Museum galleries, he wrote, "This may seem to you the expression of vanity on my part, and I grant that it may be so as I do not claim to be free from this universal weakness;" AdP to SYS, Summit, N.J., 1 March 1901, U.Mus. Archives

⁶³ At this time Aimée de Potter was residing in Forest Hill, a fashionable Colonial boarding house in Asheville, North Carolina. Forest Hill survived until 1979. There is a wisp of evidence for the existence of at least one de Potter child. In a letter from Armand to Sara Stevenson written in 1896 he mentions that his wife "is with our little traveler;" AdP to SYS, Jerusalem, 16 March 1896, U.Mus. Archives.

first 270 entries in the 1893 publication *The Egyptian Pantheon*, rephrasing them, and adding at least one measurement for each object. Working from her husband's notes, and, perhaps from Sara Stevenson's as well, Aimée could easily have produced entries for the pieces not included in the earlier book.⁶⁴ Armand's "official version" of the collection's history recounted in *The De Potter Collection* is that which Aimée repeated in her letters to Breasted⁶⁵ and differs markedly from Stevenson's. Also, Mrs. de Potter liked to drop names.⁶⁶ If the books she forwarded to Breasted were copies of the recently produced *The De Potter Collection*, it is most unlikely that she would have failed to acknowledge the true author if that person had been Sara Stevenson.

Of the 432 objects mentioned in *The De Potter Collection*, something in the neighborhood of 232 ultimately came to Brooklyn. ⁶⁷ Curators who have discussed de Potter's collection tend to disparage it. ⁶⁸ Most of the objects are uninspired "collectibles" of a type accumulated

⁶⁴ See above, note 51. If Aimée was the author of *The De Potter Collection*, she occasionally demonstrated a more cautious approach to the subject than is apparent in her husband's *Egyptian Pantheon*. Note, for example, that in de Potter's book, entry number 7b identifies the subject of a bronze sculpture as Isis and Horus; in *The De Potter Collection*, a more qualified identification of the goddess ("Isis or Mut;" p. 3) is given. Also arguing for Aimée de Potter's authorship is the fact that the pamphlet's text is strained and forced—quite unlike the graceful style of Stevenson's correspondence. When we look at *The De Potter Collection* today, we realize that it has no pretentions to scholarship; in form and flavor it is a standard early twentieth century sale catalog.

⁶⁵ See above, note 48.

⁶⁶ In her letters to Breasted, for example, she evoked the name of Wilhelm Max Müller (1862–1919) who lived in Philadelphia while the collection was in the University Museum. According to her, Müller "knew the collection and has deciphered many of the inscriptions;" see above, note 48.

⁶⁷ The figure of 232 is an approximation. Because Brooklyn's accession records for 1908 have disappeared, the exact number of objects in the original de Potter sale is not known. In the late 1950s some de Potter pieces were sold in the Museum shop without being adequately cataloged; others pieces were apparently consigned to storage in 1908 before they were inventoried. Occasionally a Brooklyn curator will recognize that a previously unaccessioned object in storage is described in *The De Potter Collection*, but we will probably never know precisely how many objects were included in the original sale. Today the de Potter material is cataloged under the acquisition number 08.480.NN. The disposition of the de Potter pieces that did not come to Brooklyn is not known; nor is the process by which the final selection was made. Certainly no one in The Brooklyn Museum in 1908 had the expertise or experience to make a reasoned judgment. Perhaps Mrs. Stevenson or Albert Lythgoe (1868–1934) of The Metropolitan Museum of Art assisted in the choice.

⁶⁸ E.g., Cooney, *Expedition* 6,1 (1963), p. 22: "Despite its size the collection contained no outstanding pieces though it did include some interesting items, a few fine bronzes, and a showy coffin and sarcophagus from the famous find of the priests of Amen at Deir el Bahri." Although I would not argue with Cooney's comments, it is important to remember that the de Potter Collection as it exists today in Brooklyn provides only an imperfect impression of the complete collection that was broken up before the de Potter material arrived in Brooklyn.

by many Nineteenth Century travelers. The collection as purchased by Brooklyn included 109 amulets in gold, faience, stone, and bronze, ⁶⁹ forty-seven bronze sculptures, 70 and eleven faience and wood shabtis. 71 In addition, the the de Potter purchase brought to Brooklyn many beads. scarabs, faience rings, gold finger-and earrings, and vessels in stone, glass, and faience, all now relegated to the "oblivion" of storage. However, the collection did contain some antiquities of artistic merit or archaeological significance. Some of the more noteworthy pieces from the de Potter Collection not previously mentioned in this study include a Thirteenth Dynasty round-topped stela (fig. 4),⁷² an Eighteenth Dynasty funerary cone of the "Prince of Kush, Merymosi," 73 an attractive late New Kingdom vignette, perhaps from a Book of the Dead papyrus (fig. 5),⁷⁴ a glazed Bes-image of a type recently dated to Dynasty 22,⁷⁵ a Twenty-fifth Dynasty painted wooden stela showing the Lady Takhenemet and Re-Horakhty (fig. 6), ⁷⁶ a green faience handle with the name of Amasis, ⁷⁷ and a gilded mummy mask. ⁷⁸ Although *The De Potter Col*lection proclaims provenances for many of the objects, only the Pasebakhaemipet objects come from a well-documented findspot, Deir el Bahri.⁷⁹



Fig. 4. Brooklyn 08.480.176: stela of Renefseneb, limestone, provenance not known, Dynasty 13, height: 40.5 cm, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund.

⁶⁹ Of these, only one has been published (08.480.108; an inscribed green feldspar figure of a woman [Maat?]); Kevin Herbert, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum*, Wilbour Monographs 6 (Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum), pp. 54–55, pl. 27.

⁷⁰ Some of the better examples include a seated bronze Osiris (08.480.32; Günther Roeder, Ägyptische Bronzefiguren, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 6 [Berlin, 1956], pp. 169 [215b, fig. 228], 176 [220g], and 184 [225c2], pl. 78d); an inscribed standing image of Mut (08.480.45; ibid., pp. 226 [278g; mislabeled 10.8140], and 227 [279a–b], fig. 271) and a small cynocephalus ape atop a palm capital (08.480.69; ibid., pp. 373 [490d], 452 [617b] and 502 [674c], fig. 676).

⁷¹ One of these, a wooden figure, represents Ramesses II; John H. Taylor, "Aspects of the History of the Valley of the Kings in the Third Intermediate Period," in C.N. Reeves, ed., *After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavations in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 198–199, pl. 19.

⁷² Brooklyn 08.480.176; T.G.H. James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum I From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII, Wilbour Monographs 6 (Brooklyn, 1974), pp. 62–63, no. 145.

⁷³ Brooklyn 08.480.222; James, *Corpus* (1974), p. 115, no. 258.

⁷⁴ Brooklyn 08.480.17; unpublished.

⁷⁵ Brooklyn 08.480.4; Jeanne Bulté, *Talismens égyptiens d'heureuse maternité: 'Faïence' bleu vert à pois foncés* (Paris, 1991), p. 21, Doc. 14, pl. 2.

⁷⁶ Brooklyn 08.480.201, unpublished.

⁷⁷ Brooklyn 08.480.16, unpublished.

⁷⁸ Brooklyn 08.480.3; unpublished.

⁷⁹ See above, note 31.



Fig. 5. Brooklyn 08.480.17: Book of the Dead(?) vignette, painted papyrus, provenance not known, probably late New Kingdom, length: 34.4 cm, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund.



Fig. 6. Brooklyn 08.480.201: stela of Takhenemet, painted wood, provenance not known (probably Thebes), Dynasty 25, height: 27.3 cm, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund.

POSTSCRIPT

After this article was submitted for publication, Virginia B. Bowers (see Acknowledgments below) told me of the Beckwith Society in Stillwater, Oklahoma. The Society referred me to Thomas G. Beckwith (of Gibsonia, Pennsylvania) whose grandfather was Amy Beckwith de Potter's cousin. Mr. Beckwith discovered a number of references to Mrs. de Potter in his family archives. Thus we now know that sometime after 1908 she returned to Red Hook, New York where she was living in 1928. As we suspected (see above, note 63), Amy de Potter had at least one child, for she became a grandmother in the summer of 1922. Not surprisingly, Amy continued to travel long after her husband Armand's death. In 1923, for example, she wintered in Algeria, and on 23 February 1928 (the latest reference to her in Mr. Beckwith's letters) she sailed to Europe with her sister, Leilla H. Harrens.

Acknowledgments

In researching the history of a man who died almost 90 years ago, I have had to rely the assistance and generosity of numerous individuals. Foremost among these is Virginia B. Bowers, City Historian for Albany, New York. I have known many historians in my career but none with more commitment, tenacity, or "love of the hunt" than she. The following list contains the names of other dedicated scholars and researchers who have helped me understand Armand de Potter and collection: Morris Bierbrier (Department of Egyptian Antiquities, the British Museum); Michel Dewachter (Paris); the staff of the Dutchess County Historical Society (Poughkeepsie, New York); Ellen H. Fladger, Archivist, Union College (Schenectady, New York); Theodore H. Fossieck, Chairman of the Genealogy Committee of the Albany County Historical Society (Albany); Marsha Hill of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of Egyptian Art (New York); Peter Lacovara of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston); John A. Larson, Museum Archivist, the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago (Chicago); Leonard H. Lesko, Brown University (Providence); the staff of the Genealogical Section of the New York Public Library; David O'Connor, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia); Alessandro Pezzati, Reference Archivist for the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania; Jean Rainwater, Coordinator of Reader Services, Brown University Library (Providence); Zoe Rhine, Library Associate, the Asheville-Buncombe Library (Asheville, North Carolina); and Deborah Wythe, Archivist, The Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn).

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The Kushite Connection



ALAN R. SCHULMAN

ERTAIN CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES DEAL WITH ASA, King of Judah. In II Chronicles 14:8–13, the following passage concerning his battle with the Kushites is recorded:

And there came Zerah the Kushite with a vast army and three hundred chariots. And he came to Mareshah. Then Asa went out to meet him, and they joined battle in the Valley of Zephath at Mareshah. And Asa cried out to the Lord... (and) the Lord smote the Kushites before Asa and before Judah, and the Kushites fled. And Asa and the people that were with him pursued them as far as Gerar. And the rest of the Kushites fell, so that none of them remained alive, for they were shattered before the Lord... and they carried very much booty, and they smote all of the cities around Gerar... for there was much spoil in them.

A little more detailed information about this invading army is given two chapters later, in II Chronicles 16:8–9, when Asa managed to break up the alliance which Baasha of Israel had forged with Ben-Hadad of Aram:

Were not the Kushites and the Libyans a vast host, with chariots and horsemen exceeding many? Yet, because you relied on the Lord, He delivered them into your hand.

The reasons for this Egyptian attack, which took place around the four-teenth year of Asa, i.e., around the twenty-eighth year of Osorkon I, are completely unknown. It has been suggested that the by now aged Osorkon was trying to emulate the triumph which his father, Sheshonk I, had achieved several decades earlier, on the one hand in order to again enrich Egypt with the plunder of Asia and, on the other, to again ensure the security of Egypt's eastern frontier with a weak Judah. Obviously, in spite of the fact that there is net hard evidence for any sort of relations between Judah and Egypt at this time, there must have been some, if only mercantile, with trading caravans from one region going to the other. Within Judah, the havoc which had been wrought by the earlier raid of Sheshonk apparently had no lasting effects and Rehoboam remained on the throne for almost another decade, a good part of which was devoted to the repair of the old and construction of new Negev

fortifications. Certainly there was hostility between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, as well as between their immediate short-reigned successors, a hostility which frequently erupted into violent and bloody conflict. Nor did this enmity cease when Asa came to the throne. It is true that later in his reign, during his struggle with Baasha of Israel, Asa, after suffering initial reverses, prevailed, even managing to push Judah's frontier with Israel somewhat further to the north. He then consolidated it with a chain of fortifications which effectively served as the line of demarcation between the two kingdoms. However, these military achievements were to come later. We cannot attribute the attack of Zerah to Osorkon's fear of Asa's military accomplishments, but it is not unlikely that Osorkon, deeming Judah to be weak and an easy prey in spite of the rebuilt Negev fortifications, and in the light of her difficulties with Israel, decided that the time was ripe for a quick raid in force and an easy, booty-laden victory could be won. It should be noted that after the defeat of the Egyptian invaders in the Valley of Zephath at Mareshah, their survivors retreated to Gerar where they were annihilated, after which the triumphant forces of Asa carried fire and sword to the cities of Gerar. From this we may adduce that the land of Gerar, i.e., the northwestern Negev outside the fortified southern frontier of Judah and, by patriarchal tradition, inhabited by the Philistines, i.e., the southeastern limit of both Philistine influence and penetration, was allied with the Egyptians. This, in turn, suggests that, since any Egyptian army had to pass through Philistia, it may have, in fact, been the Philistines who triggered the invasion, perhaps out of a revanchist spirit over their defeats of the preceding century, perhaps out of fear of a possible resurgence of Judah, or perhaps for loot and an easy victory inasmuch as Judah appeared to be weak. If so, their actions were in vain and they, along with the Egyptians, ate the bitter fruit of defeat.

Like the earlier expeditionary force of Sheshonk, the infantry of Zerah was comprised of Egyptianized Libyans and Nubian mercenaries who, in the vaguest of terms, are described as a vast multitude. If the failure to name the Tjukten Libyans from the Western Desert has any import, this is something about which we can only speculate. Perhaps the Libyans were having difficulties with their kinsmen to the West and could no longer recruit mercenaries from them. Zerah's chariotry force was only a third of the size of Sheshonk's. This, if we were to assume that the New Kingdom ratio of chariots to infantry was still followed, would imply that his infantry numbered somewhere in the vicinity of thirty thousand men. In the initial account of the invasion, the text is clearly derived from an original archival source. This is clear from the

opening formula "and then." This, however, is not the case with the description of the invading army in the second passage. Here, the context is that Asa prevailed against Zerah because of his trust in God, but that against Baasha he has sinned in his reliance on Ben-Hadad and consequently will fall. Consequently, while it is possible that the figure for the chariotry may be drawn from an original archival source, we may discount the attribution of horsemen to his army in exactly the same way we did with the horsemen of Sheshonk's army.

Finally, there is the problem of Zerah himself. The exact identity of this Egyptian invader has long remained a cipher. It is clear that the Hebrew Zerah cannot reflect an original underlaying Egyptian Osorkon. It has been assumed that from the qualifying ha Kushi that he was of Nubian origin or descent, but this may be questioned since the name is attested several more times in the Bible: as one of the twins of Tamar (Genesis 38:30; 46:12; I Chronicles 2:4), as a son of Simeon (Numbers 26:12; I Chronicles 4:24), as a grandson of Levi (I Chronicles 6:6, 26), and as an Edomite chief (Genesis 26: 13, 17, 33; I Chronicles 1:37, 44). On the basis of the foregoing where, with a single exception, the name is always that of a Semite, I would suggest that ha Kushi is not used here as an ethnicon qualifying a Semitic name, but was rather a descriptive adjective and that it had the same connotation "Blackie" just as it has in modern Hebrew today. If I am correct in this, it may very well have been the case that Zerah was indeed a Semite in Egyptian service rather than a Nubian with a Semitic name.

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An Old Kingdom Sculpture in the San Antonio Museum of Art



GERRY D. SCOTT, III

HEN CONSIDERING A SUITABLE SUBJECT TO PRESENT IN HONOR of my teacher, William Kelly Simpson, I decided to select a topic that would reflect an area of scholarship in Egyptology that has interested him, and to which he has contributed greatly during the course of his career. Professor Simpson has written extensively on the art and archaeology of Old Kingdom Egypt, has conducted painstaking field research on the Old Kingdom mastaba tombs at Giza, and has curated one of the finest collections of Old Kingdom sculpture in the world. It is my hope, then, that the presentation of an Old Kingdom sculpture in the collection of the San Antonio Museum of Art will be an appropriate offering from a student who retains most pleasant memories of his professor's seminar at Yale University on Giza mastabas.

San Antonio's Old Kingdom gneiss ("Chephren diorite") bust of a woman came to the museum in 1991 as part of the second great donation of ancient art given by San Antonio art collector and philanthropist Gilbert M. Denman, Jr (figs. 1–6). It bears the museum accession number 91.80.126, and measures 25.4 cm in height, 18.4 cm in width, and 12.7 cm in depth. The face, which lamentably has lost most of the nose and suffered some surface abrasion, measures 7.4 cm from the chin to the brow.

Mr. Denman acquired the sculpture in 1969 from the well-known New York antiquities dealer Michel E. Abemayor. At the time, the work was known to John D. Cooney, William Stevenson Smith, and Dows Dunham, each of whom expressed a brief opinion on its high quality and Old Kingdom date, Cooney further stating that he believed the sculpture belonged to the Fifth Dynasty.² While the present notice is the bust's first full publication, it was mentioned and illustrated by Carlos A.

¹ The two antiquities gifts, given in 1986 and 1991, respectively, hold the museum accession numbers 86.134.1–201 and 91.80.1–193. The objects given in 1986 are predominantly classical antiquities, those in 1991 mainly Egyptian.

 $^{^2}$ Letter from Dows Dunham to Gilbert Denman of 16 January 1969, and letter from John Cooney to Gilbert Denman of 8 January 1969, both in the museum's files.





Fig. 1. Old Kingdom bust of a woman, San Antonio Museum of Art 91.80.126.

Fig. 2. Old Kingdom bust of a woman, rear view.

Picón in an article on the Denman collection when the sculpture was still in Mr. Denman's possession.³

At the time the work was purchased, it was, "said to have been found near Sakkara." While this general provenance suggests that the San Antonio bust was originally placed in a tomb at Saqqara, the statement is so general that it probably would be unwise to rule Giza out as another possibility.

The bust derives from a statue that once showed the owner seated upon a block support with the hands resting on the thighs, as the left arm, which is bent at the elbow, demonstrates. There is no indication of a back support, nor is there any evidence to suggest the presence of another figure. Thus, the statue is one of the relatively small number of single sculptures of women dating to the Old Kingdom.⁵

³ Carlos A. Picón, "Ancient Art from the Denman Collection," *M*3 (San Antonio Museum Association Quarterly, Winter 1987), p. 16, ill. p. 13.

 $^{^4}$ Correspondence from Michel Abemayor to Gilbert Denman of 20 January 1969, in the museum's files.

Upon her head, the anonymous woman wears a full short wig of a common Old Kingdom type. It is parted in the center. In front, the wig falls approximately to the jaw line and it gradually tapers to a length that brushes the top of the owner's back above the shoulder blades. Carefully carved and regularly spaced striation lines denote the strands of the wig. The costume is probably completed by the usual close-fitting sheath, although there is no indication of the garment's neckline.

The modeling of the body is simple, yet it is elegant in its simplicity. The breasts and the spinal recess are indicated, and there is some shaping of the back, abdomen, and arms to give the impression of the interplay between the musculature and the fleshy portions of the body.

Much more attention has been given to the carving of the face, which is full and rounded.⁷ The jaw is firm and the lips are set in a fairly straight line. While the eyebrows are not shown, the brow ridges are indicated, and the well-modeled eyes reflect the orbits and the bony structure of the skull beneath the flesh. The ellipses of the eyes themselves are well defined. The upper eyelids are shown, and the cheeks are worked, as are the fleshy pockets just below the eyes. The fleshiness of the face, the treatment of the naso-labial area, and the firm set of the mouth and jaw combine to lend the facial features the look of a more advanced age than the usual robustly youthful visage of the era.⁸

Although the corpus of Old Kingdom single statues of seated women is not large, it may be traced back to the Third Dynasty. Two well-known examples are in Italy, a seated statue of Princess Redief in Turin and an anonymous seated woman in Naples. Both show the owner seated with the arms held in the earlier manner: right arm placed palm down upon the thigh, left arm bent at the elbow and passing across the torso. Each of these sculptures is carved in hard stone.

⁵ For the statue type, see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III (Paris, 1958), pp. 66–67.

⁶ It often leaves a small portion of the woman's hair visible at the forehead, as in Nofret's statue (CG 4), but this is not the case for the San Antonio bust.

⁷ The contrast between the simplicity of the carving of the body and the sophisticated treatment of the facial features recalls William Stevenson Smith's observation on the cross-legged sculpture of Prince Khu-en-re in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: "The whole figure shows a conventional, simple treatment of surfaces, the attention being concentrated upon the face" (*HESPOK*, p. 41).

⁸ Signs of age in the facial features during the period are relatively rare, the Ankh-haf bust of the Fourth Dynasty (Boston 27.442) and the Senedjem-ib-mehy wood statue of the Sixth Dynasty (Boston 13.3466) being two especially notable examples.

⁹ Both are illustrated in *HESPOK*, pl. 3 a,b, respectively. The Turin princess has recently been discussed and illustrated in Wilfred Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao* (Vienna, 1992), cat. no. 9, pp. 86–87.

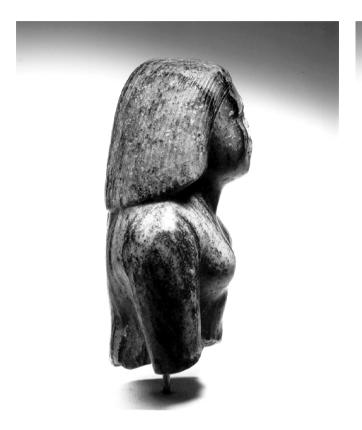




Fig. 3. Old Kingdom bust of a woman, right profile.

Fig. 4. Old Kingdom bust of a woman, left profile.

Seemingly similar is the first major statue of this type assigned to the Fourth Dynasty, the famous statue of Nofret from Maidum. The pose for Nofret's statue is essentially the same, except that the arm positions are reversed. Other differences include the addition of her long cloak and the statue's material, limestone. In addition, the placement of this statue, in close proximity to that of her husband Rehotep, has long led it to be conceptually considered as part of a dyad rather than as a totally separate entity. It

Other important Old Kingdom examples are to be found in Paris (such as Louvre A 109) and Cairo (such as CG 53).¹² In each case, the pose shows both hands placed flat, palm down, on the thighs. Each work also shows the full short wig, and is carved in limestone. Linked with

¹⁰ Cairo, CG 4, recently discussed and illustrated in Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), cat. no. 27.

¹¹ Cyril Aldred commented on this: Old Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt (London, 1968), no. 10, p. 28.

¹² Both are conveniently illustrated in Vandier, op. cit., pls. XV, 5 and XXI, 4, respectively.





Fig. 5. Old Kingdom bust of a woman, right 3/4 view.

Fig. 6. Old Kingdom bust of a woman, left 3/4 view.

these statues, although not strictly a single statue since it includes the diminnutive figure of a standing son, is the sculpture of Khent in Vienna (Inv.-Nr. ÄS 7507). ¹³ Clearly, however, Khent is the primary figure, and shows the pose with both hands placed palm down on the thighs, the sheath dress, and the full short wig. Her sculpture is usually assigned to the Fifth Dynasty.

In *HESPOK*, William Stevenson Smith discusses an interesting group of statues belonging to Chephren's queen Kha-merer-nebty I and various members of her family. These were discovered at Giza by Count Galarza.¹⁴ Included in this group was a colossal seated statue of the queen and three smaller single statues of seated women, all carved in limestone.¹⁵ The colossal statue reportedly shows the queen wearing a

 $^{^{13}}$ The statue has recently been illustrated and discussed, see Wilfred Seipel, op. cit., cat. no. 28, pp. 126–27.

 $^{^{14}}$ $HESPOK,\ p.\ 41$ and G. Daressy, "La tombe de la mère du Chefren," $ASAE\ 10\ (1910),\ pp.\ 41–49.$

¹⁵ HESPOK, p. 41.

lappet wig, as is typical for statues of queens during the Old Kingdom. ¹⁶ The practice is not, however, necessarily universal at this time, as may be seen in the Boston pair statue of Queen Hetep-heres II and her daughter, Queen Mersyankh III. ¹⁷ In this sculpture, the elder queen wears the same sort of full short wig as is found on the San Antonio bust. It is again found on a tantalizing fragment of a female statue, probably also Hetepheres II, that shows its owner wearing a pleated cloak. The fragment was found near the entrance to Mersyankh III's rock-cut tomb. ¹⁸

Even with the addition of single standing female statues of Old Kingdom date, ¹⁹ the number of works that may be drawn upon for comparison with the San Antonio bust remains relatively small, and the majority of these sculptures are in a less intractable material than the gneiss of the San Antonio lady, most surviving examples being carved in limestone. Indeed, the fact that the San Antonio bust is carved of gneiss seems of singular significance, given the small number of Old Kingdom statues carved in this material and their subjects. Included are such works as the late Third or early Fourth Dynasty striding deity in Brooklyn (58.192), the Fourth Dynasty seated statue of Chephren in Cairo (CG 14), and the Metropolitan Museum's pair statue of Sahure in New York (18.2.4).²⁰ All are important Old Kingdom sculptures in this stone, each the work of highly competent sculptors.

While it may be impossible to state the identity of the owner of the San Antonio bust, it is possible to offer a few observations regarding her relative station and date. The fact that the sculpture represented a single seated woman and is carved in a dense and uncommon luxury material such as gneiss combine to suggest that the owner was a woman of some

¹⁶ Ibid. In the pair statue of Mycerinus and Kha-merer-nebty II (Boston 11.1738), the queen wears a lappet wig as does Meryre-ankhnes in her pair statue with her son Pepy II (Brooklyn 39.119). The Brooklyn statue has recently been published in Seipel, op. cit., cat. no. 16, pp. 102–103 and Richard A. Fazzini, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1989), cat. no. 15.

¹⁷ Boston 30.1456. The Queen of Djed-ef-re may also wear this wig in the fragmentary pair statue now in Paris (Louvre E. 12627), illustrated in Vandier, op. cit., pl. II, 1.

¹⁸ Boston 30.1461. For the fragment, see Dows Dunham and William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), p. 23, pl.XIX a–c (with additional reference) and *HESPOK*, pp. 42, 43, fig. 14c.

¹⁹ See Vandier, op. cit., pp. 63–64.

²⁰ The Brooklyn statue of a deity has recently been published in Seipel, op. cit., cat. no. 7, pp. 82–83 and in Richard A. Fazzini, op. cit, cat. no. 7. The Cairo Chephren, often published, appears in Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, op. cit., cat. no. 31. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Sahure pair statue also was included in Seipel, op. cit., cat. no. 15, pp. 100–101. The same publication discusses and illustrates a private male single striding statue in this stone (Berlin Inv.-Nr. 1122), attributed there to the mid-Fifth Dynasty, see Seipel, op. cit., cat. no. 17, pp. 104–105.

importance who had access to the products of the royal ateliers. The full face bears comparison with a number of visages from the late Fourth Dynasty, including Queen Kha-merer-nebty II, Prince Khu-en-re, and particularly those of Queen Hetep-heres II and Queen Mersyankh III. Such rounded features and firmly set lips appear also to continue into the early Fifth Dynasty, the Cairo greywacke and red granite heads of King User-kaf and the New York gneiss pair statue of King Sahure with the personification of the Coptos nome coming to mind. In concluding, it seems likely that the San Antonio bust may represent a significant female member of the royal family and that it was probably carved during the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty.

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 $^{^{21}}$ Boston 11.1738, Boston 13.3140, and Boston 30.1456. All are conveniently illustrated in *HESPOK* (pls. 13 a, 16 c, and 17 b, respectively) and in Vandier, op. cit. (pls. V 3, XIII 2, and VI 2, respectively).

²² Cairo JE 90220 and 52501, Metropolitan Museum of Art 18.2.4. Each has been frequently illustrated and discussed. For Cairo JE 90220, see Saleh and Sourouzian, op. cit., cat. no. 35; for JE 52501, see Vandier, op. cit., pl. VII, 6; for MMA 18.2.4. see note 20 above.

Magical Bricks of Hunuro



DAVID P. SILVERMAN

EXPERIENCE IN ILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON IS A SCHOLAR OF MANY TALENTS WHOSE expertise in all facets of Egyptology is well-known and respected throughout the world. Unlike many in the field, who have chosen between the museum and academia, Kelly has worked in both, and, for the greater part of his career, he has done the job simultaneously and without parallel. The Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, of which Kelly has been a curator and is now emeritus, has collected essays from his many colleagues, friends, and students, and I am honored to be included in this tribute. The objects about which I have chosen to write are from museum collections, and I present this study to Kelly in the hope that it may remind him of some of the unexpected, but nonetheless interesting, developments that curators sometimes encounter when they are dealing with what appears at first to be routine museum work.

The objects that form the basis of this study were first brought to my attention by Barbara Lesko of Brown University who had been researching the New Kingdom woman Hel (or Hunuro). She had written to me seeking information about a reference to a University of Pennsylvania Museum piece (29-86-708) inscribed with the name of an individual in whom she had interest. In Porter and Moss, under the heading "Pyramid" (of Tomb 300 at Dra' Abu el-Naga', belonging to the Viceroy of Kush, 'Anhotep), was the listing: "Fragments with titles of wife, one in Philadelphia Univ. Mus., 29-86-708, one in Cairo Mus." The University of Pennsylvania Museum accession card for the former had the designation: "Part of tile," as well as the following description: "Pottery. Baked. Inscription in hieratic scratched in (Spell from Book of the Dead). Dimensions: 0.118 x 0.101 m;" yet it mentions nothing about the owner. Both this object and its mate, now in the Cairo Museum, derive from The University of Pennsylvania Museum (Coxe) Expedition to Dra' Abu el-Naga' in 1922 that was headed by Clarence Fisher, and the files in

¹ See the 1994 ARCE abstract by Barbara Lesko, "A Significant Monument for a Woman," in the *ARCE Annual Meeting, Program and Abstracts,* Toronto, 1994, p. 46.

² PM I², pp. 380–81.

³ Ibid.

Philadelphia indicated that field negatives (40152 and 40257) existed for each "tile."

While the Museum's photographic services prepared a print from our negative of the Cairo "tile" (which was intact, according to the information on file), I examined the less complete one that has remained in the collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. It was immediately apparent that the "tile" in Philadelphia was in fact a magical brick inscribed in hieratic script with a "western" spell dedicated to Hunuro (see fig. 1 and the translation below). This individual was, according to *PM* I², p. 380, the wife of the viceroy of Kush, 'Anḥotep. As soon as I received the print of the other "tile," now in the Cairo Museum, I realized that it too was a magical brick. Also inscribed in hieratic and dedicated to Hunuro, the text inscribed on it was an "eastern" spell (see fig. 2 and the translation below). These two bricks, therefore, represented two of the four spells necessary for the deceased's protection against enemies from the four cardinal points.

In her major study of these artifacts, J. Monnet was apparently unaware of these two bricks and, considering the confused published reference to them, this omission is not surprising. She included in a note, however, a reference to a brick with a "northern" spell in the Berlin Museum that was dedicated to a male individual whose name was Hunuro. Monnet apparently accepted the hieroglyphic transcription of the text (Berlin Museum Inv. no. 17295) in the original publication, where a male determinative appears after the name. In order to check

⁴ I am indebted to Professor Lanny Bell of the Oriental Institute, who is in charge of the publication of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Dra 'Abu el-Naga' projects, for permission to publish these objects from the site.

⁵ For relevant studies on magical bricks, see most recently, L. Kákosy, "Magical Bricks from TT 32," in Funerary Symbols and Religion: Essays dedicated to M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss on the Occasion of his retirement from the Chair in History of Ancient Religions at the University of Amsterdam, ed. by J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk (Kampten, 1988), pp. 60-72; J. Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques du Musée du Louvre," RdE 8 (1951), pp. 151-62; E. Thomas, "The Four Niches and Amuletic Figures in Theban Royal Tombs," JARCE 3 (1964), pp. 71-78; and M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, "An Egyptian Magical Brick," JEOL 18 (1964), pp. 314-17 and "Ziegel (magische)," LÄ VI (1986), col. 1402, and the references cited therein. For the associated Book of the Dead Spell 151, see T.G. Allen, The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day, SAOC 37 (Chicago, 1974), pp. 147-50; R.O. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (Austin, 1990), pp. 145-48, and I. Munro, "Totenbuch Spruch 151 des wieder lesbaren pTnns (P. Louvre N3074)," in Quaerentes Scientiam. Festgabe für Wolfhart Westendorf, ed. by H. Behlmer (Göttingen, 1994). See also the forthcoming articles on the subject by Ann Macy Roth and John Larson. The University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation by Stacie Olson also deals in part with aspects of magical bricks.

⁶ Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 155, n.1.

⁷ Gunther Roeder, ed., Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II (Leipzig, 1924), p. 522.

the reading, I wrote to Dr. Dietrich Wildung, Director of the Berlin Museum, requesting a photograph of the original piece. He sent the print along with the information that, in 1904, Borchardt had acquired the brick in a shop in Egypt for 60 piasters. It is clear from the photograph that the hieratic sign in question, which does have some damage, is more likely a female rather than a male determinative (see fig. 3). It was also clear, as Monnet had already noticed, that the hieratic text was a "northern" spell (see the translation below). Thus, this third brick, which belonged also to a person named Hunuro, was in all likelihood originally part of the same set discovered by the Coxe Expedition. Now, three of the traditional four were accounted for.

The orthography and paleography used in the texts on each of the three bricks show many similarities. For example, all of the signs in the words ss, "protection," and Wsir, "Osiris," are similar. In all three, ss is spelled with a single stroke, a bookroll, and plural strokes, a fuller writing that is not as common on the bricks as is a more simple spelling. Wsir appears with the seat, the eye, and the god on a standard. In addition, the Hunuro bricks occasionally express a phrase in a slightly different way than that usually found on bricks belonging to other individuals. A case in point is the less common occurrence of the indirect genitive after ss in the expression, iw > im ss Wsir, "I am the protection of the Osiris so-and-so." This evidence would support the supposition that these bricks were all produced by the same hand and undoubtedly represent three of an original set of four that were made as part of the burial equipment of Hunuro, wife of Anḥotep, buried at Dra' Abu el-Naga'. No record of a provenance exists for the Berlin brick.

A date for the Hunuro bricks in the Ramesside Period is assured by the reference to the ruler Ramesses II that occurs in an inscription in the hall of the tomb of 'Anḥotep. A partial translation of this text, made by expedition member David Greenlees, is preserved in the archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, but unfortunately, no epigraphic or photographic record of it exists. The same inscription also includes several references to Hunuro, and Greenlees translated the pertinent part of the text: "His beloved [sister], Lady of the House, Singer of Amun in Karnak over the choir... Huel" (Hunuro/Hel).

 $^{^8}$ For example, see the orthography of this word in the sources listed in Monnet, "Les Briques," pp. 156, 158, 159, and 160.

⁹ For the examples, cf. those listed by Monnet, ibid.

 $^{^{10}}$ Since the Berlin piece was purchased, no provenance exists. See the references to Wildung's remarks on it, above.

¹¹ The text is referred to as "Negative Confession(?)" in PM I², p. 380.

A careful check of the object register of the University of Pennsylvania Museum expedition revealed a listing of yet another inscribed item; this one was described as an "amulet with a hole for suspension." The excavator, Clarence Fisher, discovered it in the vicinity of the pyramid of the same tomb in which he found the other bricks. PMI^2 , p. 380, does not mention this object at all, but the authors of the Topographical Bibliography, who may have had access to the field notes, could easily have confused the provenance of the "amulet" with that of the other two bricks when they listed the find spot of the latter as the pyramid. The accession card for the "amulet" (29-86-709) did not include a record of any photograph, but it had the following description: "Part of a tile. Pottery. Hieratic inscription: of Hal [Hunuro] (spell from the Book of the Dead). Part of a hole for suspension.100m. x .134m." Subsequently located in the storage collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, this tile, like the others before it, turned out to be a magical brick. The text was inscribed in hieratic script in a hand and textual style similar to that of the other three discovered thus far. It too was dedicated to the same individual, Hunuro. The content of the inscription proved to be the "southern" spell (see fig. 4), and the "hole" was not for suspension but for reception of the torch associated with the spell. Thus, with this brick, a full complement of four magical bricks had been located for Hunuro, wife of Anhotep.

No record exists for a tomb of her own, but the fact that her name was inscribed several times in the tomb of her husband 'Anḥotep suggests that Hunuro shared the tomb with him. The plan in *PM* I², p. 370, shows one shaft within the tomb, but the excavation records, which are incomplete, do not include a description of either the shaft or its contents. It does refer, however, to two other shafts outside, one of which may have been later; both, however, were left unexcavated. Fisher also noted the presence of two seated statues that he found in the eastern niche of the first chamber of 'Anḥotep's tomb, the one on the right being that of a female. Unfortunately, the archives do not contain a further description, drawing, epigraphic record, or reference to any photographs. It is likely, however, that the presence of the shafts and the statue, as well as the frequent reference to Hunuro and her designation on the tomb wall as 'Anḥotep's wife, are all good indications that Hunuro was buried in the tomb of her husband.

 $^{^{12}}$ The notes include here a parenthetical explanation of Hunuro's last title: i.e., "choir-leader $hry d_3dis_3$."

¹³ I am indebted to Jennifer R. Houser, Research Associate at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, whose diligent research brought this important reference to my attention.

Magical bricks became a part of the burial equipment during the New Kingdom, and they, along with the four amuletic objects associated with them, were to be used by the deceased in warding off enemies that might approach from any of the four cardinal points. The three magical bricks dedicated to Hunuro that were found inside and in the vicinity of the tomb of 'Anhotep and the related one now in the Berlin Museum represent an essential part of her original funerary equipment, and these objects would have been positioned in the burial chamber according to custom so that they could perform their apotropaic function for her in the Afterlife. The suggestion that a set of magical bricks for a wife could be placed in the tomb of her husband is an unusual, perhaps unique, variation on an established tradition. ¹⁵ Most of the bricks that are now in collections throughout the world were acquired without a provenance by museums early in the century. Still, it is more or less a rule in Egyptian funerary customs to include references in a tomb not only to the owner, but also to members of the family, some of whom would also be buried there. Names and images of both husband and wife can be found on stelae, false doors, tomb reliefs, paintings, and statuary from the Old Kingdom on, and the funerary prayers may have more than one beneficiary. 10 Although it is rare to find a similar situation, in regard to shabtis of the New Kingdom, examples do exist. The tomb of Iouiya and Touiya contains figurines of both individuals, ¹⁷ and the lid of a double shabti coffin, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has the names of both the husband and wife, Niya and Iuy, inscribed on the surface.

¹⁴ Refer to the sources mentioned in note 5 above for a fuller discussion of the purpose of these items, their composition, and the scarcity of information about them. For an explication of the figures, see Maarten J. Raaven, "Papyrus sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues," *OMRO* LIX–LX (1978–1979), p. 255.

 $^{^{15}}$ The brick found in the tomb of Iouiya and Touiya, which is now in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, was not dedicated to either of these individuals. According to E. Thomas, "The Four Niches," p. 77, it belonged to another individual and "represents an accidental intrusion."

 $^{^{16}}$ Textual reference to a spouse can even be found in the use of particular personal pronouns on stelae: the singular masculine and feminine suffixes together or the third person plural suffix alone can function as a pronominal subject in place of the traditional solitary third person singular suffix. For references, see D. Silverman, "The Priestess of Hathor," $Z\ddot{A}S$, 110 (1983), pp. 80–89 and Ronald J. Leprohon, "The Sixth Dynasty False Door of the Priestess of Hathor Irti," JARCE 31 (1994), pp. 41–46.

¹⁷I am indebted to Ms. Stacie Olson for pointing out this reference to me. For a description of the shabti, see J.E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Yuaa and Thiuu; Catalogue genéral des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire; no. 51001–51191*, v. 43. (Cairo, 1908), no. 51035.

¹⁸ See S. D'Auria, et al., *Mummies and Magic* (Boston, 1988), p. 153, no. 98. For further references to multiple shabti figurines, see ibid., notes 1 and 2. Multiple funerary figurines exist also earlier, if one can accept such a description of the group statuettes such as University of Pennsylvania Museum 59–23–1.

Buried in the tomb of Setau was equipment not only for the owner but also for many members of his extended family, including a shabti of Kaineferu. Funerary cones of the New Kingdom are often inscribed not only with the name and title of the tomb owner, but often with that of the wife as well. More rare are cones with only the name of a female, but it has been suggested that such examples may have been arranged in the tomb along with cones of the husband. All

The very same conclusion might also explain the fragment of an unattributed magical brick published by Kákosy. Found in another Ramesside tomb, TT 32, it belonged to the royal scribe Thutmose who lived during the reign of Ramesses II. 22 Kákosy discovered nine unbaked clay fragments during the excavation of this tomb, and although he found no evidence of a brick with an eastern spell, he was able to join a number of the pieces to form three bricks with fairly complete versions of the northern, southern, and western spells. The two fragments forming the western brick contained a spell that was complete, except for the beginning. Kákosy did discover an additional small fragment of the same spell that contained the missing first line and a very small part of the second line. He concluded, however, that this small fragment did not join with the others, and that it represented an intrusive or a duplicate brick. 23 He compared this find to the only other duplicate brick known to him, that found at the feet of the figure of Anubis in the Treasury of the tomb of Tutankhamun. 24 Although Kákosy recognized that burial practices of royalty differed from those of private individuals, he felt that his discovery suggested that in regard to the duplication of magical bricks, the two had a similar custom.

Kákosy's smaller fragment, however, contained no dedication, and it may not have belonged to Thutmose, but instead to his wife or another family member. If this alternate explanation is accepted, then the bricks found in Thutmose's tomb may represent further evidence that magical bricks dedicated to someone other than the tomb owner could have been

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 151-52.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 148.

²¹ Ms. Stacie Olson has noted this observation by M. Dewachter, "Un nouveau type de cônes funéraires," *RdE* 32 (1980), pp. 140–41. Dewachter proposes that the Lady of the House, whose name is inscribed on two types of cones, may well be the same woman designated as wife of the vizier Ramose (TT 55).

²² Kákosy, "Magical Bricks," pp. 61-62.

²³ Ibid., pp. 60–61.

²⁴ Ibid., and H. Carter, p. 73, *The Tomb of Tutankhamun* III (London, 1933) pp. 40–41. Note that E. Thomas, "The Four Niches," p. 73, had already commented on this and other "variations" from tradition in this tomb. She further comments on other royal tombs that have more than their required four bricks, ibid., pp. 74–76.

placed in the tomb of the owner.²⁵ This conclusion would fit well with our interpretation of the bricks dedicated to Hunuro. Still it must be admitted that no magical bricks have yet been found for Hunuro's husband, 'Anḥotep, and the extra fragment found by Kákosy is ambiguous, since it contains no name.

More information about the use of these items may ultimately come to light when new examples are excavated or when researchers discover provenances for some of those bricks already in museum collections. 20 While scholars have known about magical bricks for a fairly long period of time, and examples of them are not uncommon in museum collections according to the list published by Monnet and augmented by Kákosy and Heerma van Voss, 27 they are much less numerous than are other funerary items of the New Kingdom. Their relative scarcity may be attributed more to the fragility of their composition than to their unpopularity, since they were traditionally made of unbaked clay. The survival of the bricks of Hunuro may be the result of their having been baked. The University of Pennsylvania Museum Expedition object register lists 29–86–708 (fig. 1) as "pottery" and 29– 86-709 (fig. 4) as "tile," and both terms suggest that the bricks were baked in antiquity. The brick now in the Cairo Museum (fig. 2) was listed as "red ware," a description that would imply the same thing. Dr. Wildung's original letter noted that the Berlin brick (fig. 3) was also baked, a feature he had attributed to a fire in the building in which it had been kept during World War II.

The Berlin brick of Hunuro, however, was first published in 1913²⁹ and described in that volume as "gebrannter Ton." It is likely then that, the Berlin brick, like the three others of the set excavated by the

 $^{^{25}}$ All of this material provides further information on the rights and privileges possessed by women of the New Kingdom. While fewer tombs may have been built solely for women, the funerary accessories with which they were buried appear in many cases to be similar to those of their husbands.

 $^{^{26}}$ We can add to the corpus a listing in $PM\,\rm III^2$, p. 775, of two clay magical bricks belonging to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty individual Neferebre'-sineit from a tomb in Saqqara. Recorded in Černý's notebook, the text in hieratic presumably is a "northern" spell, since there were emplacements for Osiride figurines. See also Lanny Bell, "Dira Abu el-Naga: The Monuments of the Ramesside High Priests of Amun and Some Related Officials," MDAIK 37 (1981), p. 57. John Larson of the Oriental Institute has informed me that he has discovered and intends to publish an unbaked brick dedicated to Thutmosis III, in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum.

²⁷ See above, note 5.

²⁸ An exception to the custom is the set of four limestone stelae now in the museum in Marseilles; see most recently Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 151, and the references therein, and Christine and Dmitri Meeks, *Cahier du Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéene: La Collection Égyptienne, Guide* (Marseilles, n.d.), pp. 77–79.

²⁹ Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, p. 522.

University of Pennsylvania Museum earlier this century, was fired sometime in the more distant past. The same volume lists several additional bricks in the Berlin collection; some are described as baked or unbaked; others, however, have no details indicating whether or not they were fired. In light of this situation, I wrote again to Berlin. Dr. Wildung and K.H. Priese of the Berlin Museum responded that they had determined that the following bricks were baked in antiquity (some of which the publication states were unbaked): 15011, 15012, 15013, 15014, 15017, 15022, 15024, 17294, 17297.

If only a few baked bricks had survived into modern times, it might be possible to suggest that their state was due to accidental firing; but there are several. In the case of the examples excavated by the University of Pennsylvania Museum, though, the expedition records state no evidence of a fire in the tomb. Moreover, the fairly large numbers of baked bricks in the Berlin collection would be further evidence in support of the suggestion that some of the magical bricks were indeed baked in antiquity. Considering the fragility of unbaked bricks, it would not be surprising to find that the baking of bricks was customary, except for the fact that the directions listed in Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead state that the spell to be recited was to be incised on an unbaked brick. While efficacy of the spell undoubtedly depended on the preparation of everything according to the rules, 31 apparently exceptions could be made. Once the bricks were formed of unbaked clay and inscribed with their text, they could be baked, ostensibly to ensure their preservation. The need for preservation might also explain the appearance of the four spells on a set of limestone stelae, dating to the reign of Seti I, now in the Marseilles Museum. 32 Each of the stelae had the required text, as well as a space carved out in which would be placed the appropriate amulet, and the durability of stone ensured the apotropaic purpose of the spell of the amulets. Hunuro may also have wanted to ensure the survival of her funerary equipment and hence her afterlife. Whatever the reasons for the firing of the four bricks of Hunuro, it would appear

 $^{^{30}}$ Many published references to the bricks omit mention of whether or not they were baked. A systematic examination of bricks, now in museum collections throughout the world, might reveal even more examples of baked magical bricks. It would appear that those surviving baked magical bricks derive mainly from non-royal contexts.

³¹ As is clearly indicated in BD 151, associated rituals were to take place, and only in the case of the "northern" spell (see below fig. 3, along with the translation and commentary, and T.G. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 148) whose amulet took the shape of a human figure, it included the phrase, "an image ... whose mouth has been opened," an apparent reference to the ceremony of "opening the mouth" (see ibid. and N. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt [no. 82]* [London, 1915], p. 107, n. 6).

³² Meeks and Meeks, *Cahier*, pp. 77–78.

logical to assume that they were in fact originally part of her funerary equipment, all of which was placed in the tomb of her husband. This conclusion, while otherwise unattested, would appear to be in keeping with traditional ancient Egyptian funerary customs.





Fig. 1. The "Western" Brick. UM 29–86–708 (photograph [neg. 63–40152] courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum; illustration by Jennifer R. Houser).

Translation and Commentary

- I The "Western" Brick; UM 29–86–708 (fig. 1)
- 1 $ii^{(sic)a} m hh hsf...$
- 2 $H_3^{(\text{sic})} h_7^{(\text{sic})} = k shd = k^{(\text{sic})} H_3^{(\text{sic})b} [ink ...]^c$
- 3 hṣ dd hrw [ḥsf ...]d
- 4 *š^cd iw≈i m s³ n [Wsir ...]*e
- 5 *Ḥnr* (= *Ḥl*)

(1) O' you who comes seeking, (your movements)^f are repelled. (2) Your face is (hidden);^g however, (your camouflage)^h is revealed. [I am] (the one who stands)¹ (3) behind the *Dd* amulet^j on the day of repulsing (4) slaughter.^k I am the protection of the Osiris ... (5) Hunuro (Hel).¹

Commentary

^a Although the condition of the brick today makes the reading perhaps less certain, the photograph taken many years ago seems to indicate a "t" rather than the diagonal strokes that occur in all other variants.

^b I have put the *sics* here to indicate what appears to me to be errors

based on either hearing or copying mistakes, or a combination of both. J. Monnet has suggested, however, the variant texts that have H_3 should be understood as a Memphite version of the spell. She had translated the passages as written: "Ha is before you; Ha illuminates you." Our text would fall into her category of a Memphite version, but understanding the text as she does leads to two problems. The first one is minor: the appearance of the stroke after the hr would suggest reading the noun "face" rather than her understanding of the preposition "upon, before." The second, however, is more serious: The translation by Monnet treats the suffix "k" as if it were the dependent object pronoun. Because of these grammatical difficulties, it seems more appropriate to view those texts with H_3 in another way. Perhaps the first H_3 (at the beginning of line 2) was a corruption of the original verb k_3p (see below, comment g) and the second as a corruption of the original noun k_3p (see below, comment h).

^c Traces of ink are still visible on the brick.

^d Most of the initial sign in *hsf* is still visible on the original and in the photograph.

^e While none of the signs for *Wsir* and only traces of the extreme right of n(?) can be seen on the photograph, the other signs are fairly clear on the surface of the brick.

surface of the brick. 37 has $nmtwt \ge k$, and there would have been sufficient room for it at the end of line 1.

g For reasons given above (comment b), I prefer this translation rather than " H_3 is upon you," both in terms of context and orthography. The confusion between k_3p and H_3 may well derive from an original k_3p that was rendered simply in hieratic by the determinative = (M"oller, 430) followed by a t. At some point, this sign was misinterpreted as = (a combination of M"oller 322 and 545) and may have been understood subsequently as a deity when the divine determinative was added. Then this version persisted as a separate tradition. It is unlikely,

³³ For examples, see, Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 159, Kákosy, "Magical Bricks," p. 61, and Herma van Voss, "An Egyptian Magical Brick," p. 21.

³⁴ Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," pp. 160-61.

 $^{^{35}}$ One of the Marseilles stelae also has part of the "Memphite," or corrupt, version; however, the second phase contains only \underline{H}_3 and omits $s\underline{h}\underline{d}$. The translators have rendered the first expression as did Monnet, (Meeks and Meeks, *Cahier*, p. 79), but they omitted the second.

³⁶ The k after shd in line 2 could be explained either as the only remnant of nmtwt > k or the first letter of k > p (See comment f). In either case it is extraneous here.

³⁷ See those noted in note 32, above.

³⁸ For example, see, Berlin brick 15016, Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, p. 525, and perhaps, E.A.W. Budge, *The Mummy* (Cambridge, 1925), p. 354.

however, that the distinct orthographies indicate a Memphite and/or Theban tradition.

h If the suggestions in comments b and g above are accepted, then it is likely that *k Ḥ³* after *sḥ₫* should be understood as a corruption of an original *k³p*. Here, the word is used as a noun, and the translation is based on its connotation of "hiding place."

- i All of the different versions have 'h' here, and there is room enough to suggest that it too originally was part of the participial statement.
- ^j M. Heerma van Voss has understood the <u>dd</u> in this passage to be in apposition to the participial statement. The <u>dd</u> refers to the amulet placed in the hole usually found on the bricks with this spell.
- ^k *Šrd* or *šrt*, the determinatives of which occur at the beginning of line 4, would have begun at the end of the preceding line.
- ¹ There is probably not enough room to suggest that a title occured before Hunuro, and since none occurs in any of the other, more complete spells in the set, it is likely that none preceded her name here either.
 - II The "Eastern" Brick; now in Cairo (fig. 2)
 - 1 Rs-tp≈k Wsir Hnr (= Hl)
 - 2 Rs-tp(y) dw=f 3t=k
 - 3 $hsf=tw^a$ iw hsf.n=i 3d
 - 4 iw=i m s³ n Wsir
 - $5 \quad Hnr (= H1)$
 - (1) You should be vigilant, O' Osiris Hunuro (Hel)!^b (2) The One-Who-Is-Upon-His-Mountain (i.e., Anubis) is vigilant.^c Your striking power (3) is repelled.^d I have repulsed the anger.^e (4) I am the protection of the Osiris (5) Hunuro (Hel).

COMMENTARY

^a The Marseilles stelae with the Eastern spell also has *tw*, presumably for the third person feminine singular old perfective, as does the brick of *Ḥnwt-mḥyt* in the British Museum and one of those in the Berlin Museum (17296). The variants listed by Monnet have, for the most

³⁹ It is not unusual to find such errors in a variety of texts. See G. Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reichs*, ÄA 34 (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 10–16, and R. Jasnow, "A Lexicographical Note on the Medinet Habu Inscription of Year 11," *JEA* 80 (1994), pp. 101–102 and the references in note 6.

⁴⁰ Both Gardiner [in N. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, p. 108] and M. Heerma van Voss, "An Egyptian Magical Brick," p. 314, rendered *k3p* as "hiding place."

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 314–16.

⁴² For a similar division of the word, see ibid., pl. XVII.



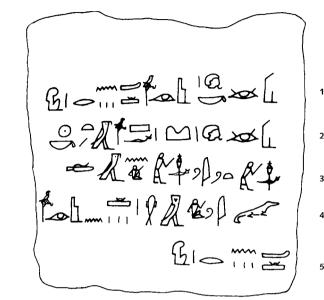


Fig. 2. The "Eastern" Brick. Cairo Museum (photograph [neg. 63–40287] courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum; illustration by Jennifer R. Houser).

part, ti.

^b The Marseilles stela, the brick in the British Museum (noted above in comment a), and also two bricks in the Berlin Museum (17294 and 15017) refer directly to the deceased, while the examples listed by Monnet omit this reference to the dedicant.

^c This clause and the first could be understood as a *Wechselsatz*. It is also possible to render the second phrase as an imperative, a suggestion that might fit in well with the prospective sense of rs-tp>k in the first line.

^d Despite the appearance of the sun determinative here and in most of the versions under discussion, ⁴⁷ it is clear that *3t* "striking power or force," not *3t* "moment," was meant.

^e The translation given above conforms to the text on our brick. Most of the other versions in these sources contain another appearance of the word *st*, and it functions there as the direct object of *lpsf. sd* "anger" or

⁴³ For the first source, see Meeks and Meeks, *Cahier*, p. 79; for the second source, see Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 354; and for the third, see Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, p. 524.

⁴⁴ Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 159.

⁴⁵ Ibid., Meeks and Meeks, Cahier, p. 79 and Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, p. 525.

 $^{^{46}}$ Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 149, in translating an analogous passage (BD 151 g S) apparently understood $\it rs-tp$ as an imperative.

⁴⁷ The version on the stela in Marseilles (Meeks and Meeks, *Cahier*, p. 27), however, has the head of the hippopotamus as the determinative.

its variant writing 3dw "aggressor" follows, and it could then function in a direct genitive construction. 3dw could alternatively be understood as a vocative: "Oh aggressor!"



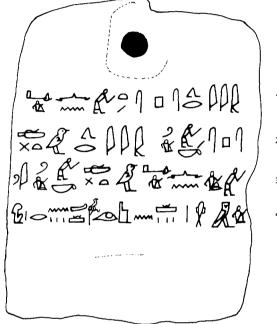


Fig. 3. The "Northern" Brick. Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin 17295 (photograph by Margarete Büsing, courtesy of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung SMB; illustration by Jennifer R. Houser.

- III The "Northern" Brick; Ägyptisches Museum 17295 (fig. 3)
- 1 $ii^a r spst^{(sic)b} nn di=i$
- 2 sps=k ii r wdt=
- 3 $i nn di=i wdt^{(sic)}=k^c wi iw=$

(1) O' you who comes in order to tangle; I will not allow (2) you to tangle. O' you who comes in order to assault (3) me, I will not allow you to assault me. (4) I am the protection of the Osiris Hunuro (Hel).

⁴⁸ See Monnet, Les Briques Magiques, p. 159. The Marseilles stela (Meeks and Meeks, Cahier, p. 27), that in the British Museum (Budge, p. 354), and Berlin Museum 15017 (Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, p. 525, and perhaps also 17296, ibid. p. 524) all have iw hsf.n=i followed only by id(w) as on our brick.

COMMENTARY

- ^a This writing for the participle is unusual, ⁴⁹ that with two diagonal strokes being the norm.
- $^{\mathrm{b}}$ Sps as a strong three radical verb should not have an infinitival t. 50
- ^c Although the *t* ending here is unnecessary for the prospective *sdm=f* of wdi, most of the versions contain it. For examples, see Monnet's versions 2, 4, 5, and 7, the British Museum brick, the Berlin Museum brick (15012), and that discovered by Kákosy.
- d While our text and most of the other versions are fairly straightforward here, that on the stela in Marseilles is quite corrupt.
- ^e None of the versions published by Monnet has a direct object here. ⁵⁶
- One also occurs, however, on the British Museum brick. The Stela in Marseilles, the brick in the British Museum, and Monnet's source 2 as well, conform to an abbreviated version of the spell that omits two more clauses: $iw=i \ r \ sps=k$ and $iw=i \ r \ wdt=k$.

The "Southern" Brick; UM 29-86-709 (fig. 4)a IV

- [...ih/rh^b... [1
- [š'd (or t?)]c r db3 imnwd 2
- 3 hsf.n=i sw r t3e
- smyt iw stnm w³t≈sn
- 5 ìw≈ì m s3 n Wsìr
- Hnr (= H1)

⁴⁹ See also the brick in the British Museum and 15558 in Berlin. For the latter, see ibid., p. 527, and on the former, Budge, The Mummy, p. 355.

⁵⁰ Wb. IV, 107, p. 9, lists *sps*, and 14 lists *spsp*, the latter meaning primarily the same thing as the former. Moreover, the former can be written for the latter. In either case, the infinitive traditionally does not have a t ending.

⁵¹ Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 156.

⁵² Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 355.

⁵³ Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, p. 524.

⁵⁴ Kákosy, "Magical Bricks," p. 63.

⁵⁵ Meeks and Meeks, Cahier, p. 79.

⁵⁶ Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 156.

⁵⁷ Budge, The Mummy, p. 355.

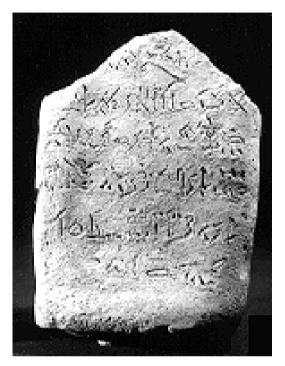
⁵⁸ Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, p. 527.

⁵⁹ Meeks and Meeks, Cahier, p. 79.

⁶⁰ Budge, The Mummy, p. 355.

⁶¹ Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 156.

⁶² Ibid. Note also BD 151d S (Allen, The Book of the Dead, p. 148).



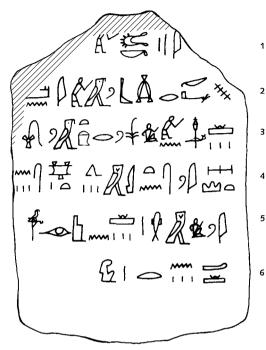


Fig. 4. The "Southern" Brick. UM 29–86–709 (photograph by Edward Angelo, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum; illustration by Jennifer R. Houser).

(1) [It is I who wipes away/catches^f (2) and cuts down^g] in order to stop up the hidden places.^h (3) It is in order to heat the necropolis/desert that I have repulsed him.ⁱ (4) Their roads have been confused. ^j (5) I am the protection of the Osiris (6) Hunuro (Hel).

Commentary

^a In the center of the top of the brick is a curved area with a smooth finished surface that must be part of the depression into which the torch, which is associated with this spell, would have been placed. Aside from the versions included by Monnet, the southern spell occurs also on several bricks in Berlin (15013, 15014, 15015, 15021, 15557, 17297 and 20113), one in the British Museum, on one of the stela from Marseilles, and on one discovered by Kákosy. A study of the sources

 $^{^{63}}$ BD 151 T (Allen, Book of the Dead, p. 149), states that a lighted torch should be attached to the unbaked brick. See also H. Carter, *Tutankhamen* III, pl. LIIa, where the inscribed brick dedicated to the king and the torch are illustrated.

⁶⁴ Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," pp. 157–58.

⁶⁵ See Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, pp. 275 and 522–27.

⁶⁶ Budge, The Mummy, p. 354.

⁶⁷ Meeks and Meeks, Cahier, p. 79.

of this spell reveals that there is more than one tradition and that variations and corruptions are present in most versions.

b The text is fragmentary, since only the central part of the top still exists. Traces of is and/or ih appear just after the break on the right. A net determinative follows, suggesting the reading ih/ch. Clearly indicated below this sign is a k, which appears to be an error. It is less likely to be a misplaced sign belonging to an initial ink. This "extra" letter k appears also in the British Museum brick, where the line is transcribed as ink is is k. It is possible that its scribe may have heard or understood ink is sk which would probably have had a meaning similar to ink is ch. A brick in the Berlin Museum (15013)

^c While nothing remains after the striking man determinative, enough space would have existed for several signs. Either $\check{s}^c d$ or $\check{s}^c t$ are possible on the basis of the other sources and the determinative at the beginning of line 2.

^d The plural *imnw* is written in our text, and the determinative utilized is the bookroll. Other sources can have the singular or plural form of the word, and some can employ the human figure or house sign as a determinative.

e It is difficult to determine whether the hieratic here under the t represents t_3 (Möller no. 393)or k_3 (Möller no. 108), and this confusion may also have been a problem in ancient times as well. Tk_3 appears after the preposition t in those sources listed by Monnet, Berlin Brick 20113, and a brick in the British Museum. Most of these sources (but not all) make use of the longer version of the spell and include another clause that also has tk_3 . tk_3 occurs in several bricks in Berlin (17297, 15013, 15014, and 15557), the stela in Marseilles, and the brick discovered by Kákosy. In this group, an abbreviated version of the spell appears to have been used; t_3 occurs after the preposition t, and no clause with tk_3 is present. In light of these reasons it is likely that t_3 was written in our text as well.

f The poor state of preservation of the first line of our text makes any ren-

⁶⁸ Kákosy, "Magical Bricks, " p. 62.

⁶⁹ Budge, The Mummy, p. 354.

⁷⁰ Roeder, Aegyptischen Inschriften, p. 526.

⁷¹ See for example, the sources in n. 59 above.

⁷² Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 157.

⁷³ Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, pp. 275 and 527.

⁷⁴ Budge, The Mummy, p. 354.

⁷⁵ Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, pp. 523, 524, 526, and 527.

⁷⁶ Meeks and Meeks, Cahier, p. 79.

⁷⁷ Kákosy, "Magical Bricks," p. 62.

dering tentative. Space would permit ink at the beginning, and all of the other sources have this independent pronoun. A brick in the Berlin Museum $(15013)^{79}$ begins with the words ink ist ik = k, a phrase which may have been similar to what appeared originally on our brick. The introductory line of the brick in the British Museum was transcribed by Budge as ink is isk. Each of these examples shows the apparently extraneous k and, along with ours, may represent a common error or corruption.

g Our text and several others contain *šrd* "cut" or *šrt* "slaughter," while others have *šry* "sand." The former two generally have determinatives consistent with the meaning given, while the latter is in most cases determined with pellets/grains and/or plural strokes.

h Our text has only a bookroll determinative and plural strokes after *imnw*, while many other sources include either a house or a human figure. The different determinatives and the presence or absence of plural strokes are responsible for the meanings "hidden place(s)" or "being(s)." ¹ Most translations have rendered this prepositional phrase as either "to illuminate the necropolis" or "to be as the flame (i.e., torch) of the necropolis." ⁸⁴ *Ts* as written, however, does not appear to have that connotation (See *Wb*. II, pp. 229–230).

Our text appears to use the passive construction $iw s\underline{d}m(w)$ noun, and the same may be true for several sources. Many other bricks, however, express the phrase with the active construction iw(=i) stnm.n=i.

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⁷⁸ See above, notes 60, 61, and 62.

⁷⁹ Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, p. 526.

⁸⁰ Budge, The Mummy, p. 354.

⁸¹ The absence of the net determinative in the word *isk* and the presence of only the striking man in the British Museum brick (*ibid.*) suggest that perhaps the word *sk*, "wipe out/away," may have been understood by the scribe. See also the atypical introduction to the same spell: *ink dd ist*(?) in Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, p. 523 (17297).

⁸² See, for example, Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 158; Kákosy, "Magical Bricks," p. 62; Meeks and Meeks, *Cahier*, p. 79; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, pp. 523 (17297), 524 (15014–15015), 526 (15013), 527 (15557); and Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 354.

⁸³ See for example, Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 158; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, p. 275 (20113) and BD 151.

⁸⁴ See for example, Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 158; Kákosy, "Magical Bricks," p. 62; Meeks and Meeks, *Cahier*, p. 78; Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, p. 149.

⁸⁵ See for example, Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 354; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, p. 523 (17297), 524 (15014), and 526 (15013); Meeks and Meeks, *Cahier*, p. 79; Kákosy, "Magical Bricks," p. 62.

⁸⁶ See for example, Monnet, "Les Briques Magiques," p. 62; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, p. 275 (20113) and 527 (15557). Cf. also *BD* 151 (see Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, p. 141).

A Headless Sphinx of Sesostris II from Heliopolis in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 37796



Hourig Sourouzian

HE MANY CONTRIBUTIONS OF KELLY SIMPSON TO THE HISTORY OF Egyptian Art, and particularly his scholarship on the history of the Middle Kingdom, are of great importance. It is an honor to participate in these studies presented to him with an object from his period of predilection, which I hope will bring a pleasant addendum to his rich catalogue of Middle Kingdom documents.

The sphinx was found rebuilt in the Mosque of Mottahar, in the Gamaliya district of Old Cairo, and entered the Egyptian Museum in 1905. It bears the no. JE 37796; the conserved height is 47 cm, the length 162 cm (figs. 1–3).

The recumbent sphinx, which was carved in a greenish graywacke and was very smoothly polished, has suffered extremely from damage by both time and reuse. The head, paws and base are now lost; the left side and the lower part of the right flank have been cut to serve in a modern construction. A severe blow has mutilated the middle of the back. In spite of the bad state of preservation, this object bears enough indices to reveal excellent workmanship, the name of its owner and the provenance of the sculpture and, finally, to show a feature of iconography which appears to be an important dating criterion.

On the mutilated chest, a fragment of the left lappet of a nemes is still preserved, and on the back, a remnant of a projection indicates the tip of the nemes tail. The stylized tufts of the mane hair are incised in parallel lines down the shoulders. A broad collar is carved around the

¹ It was on exhibit in the garden of the Museum flanking its east side. Later, this part of the garden was temporarely closed to the public. Recently, on the initiative of the director, Dr. Mohamed Saleh, it was decided to reopen this sector again to visitors. The reorganization of the exhibit is carried out by May Trad. I thank Dr. Saleh for the kind permission to study and publish this monument, and Adel Mahmoud for his constant kind and friendly assistance with all my researches at the Museum. And my special thanks go to Peter Der Manuelian for editing my English.

² See also nos. SR 212 and TR 16.2.21.6.



Figs. 1–3. Sphinx of Sesostris II, Cairo JE 37796



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4. Sphinx of Sesostris II, detail of the chest.



Fig. 5. Sphinx of Sesostris II, detail of the collar.

neck, and on the chest an incised inscription in three columns gives the Horus and throne names of Sesostris II, who is "beloved of the Souls of Heliopolis, lords of the Great Sanctuary."

The rounded rump at the back of the leonine body is better preserved, with the root of the tail, the thigh of the right hind paw and knee, encircled by the upper part of the tail which ends with a long grooved and striated tuft. Thus this statue of Heliopolitan origin represented King Sesostris II as a recumbent sphinx, with leonine body and human head, wearing a nemes headdress; his chest was adorned by a broad collar. This type of sphinx, most common in Egyptian sculpture, is well attested since the Old Kingdom, and best illustrated by the Great Sphinx of Giza.

In the Middle Kingdom, royal sphinxes are produced in great number and on a colossal scale, but very few have kept their original inscriptions or were found in their original position. Most of these sphinxes have been scattered all over the Delta, displaced, reused, and reinscribed, sometimes several times, from the Hyksos dynasties up to the Third Intermediate Period. Numerous magnificent specimens, now bearing names of later kings, belong to predecessors and successors of Sesostris II, and can be identified either by scanty remains of their own name or on solid stylistic criteria, especially if the heads are preserved. But if the sphinxes are headless or uninscribed, when they appear with recarved heads and altered inscriptions, it is more difficult to trace them back to their actual date. For this reason, sphinxes that clearly bear the titulary of Sesostris II are otherwise unknown and this explains the small number of monuments inscribed with the name of this king. Ironically, this single identified sphinx of Sesostris II, having exceptionally escaped alteration in later dynasties, was destined to be cut and reused as building material in relatively recent past. The loss of the head and a great part of the body, deplorable for the study of the style, is compensated by a rare feature in the otherwise common iconography, which brings a new dating criterion to a well known type. Indeed, the iconography is uncomplicated: the preserved pleated fragment of the lappet of the nemes is rendered in the traditional way by regular, horizontal, raised ridges tightly alternating with parallel grooves (fig. 4). This feature is known on all sculptured nemes examples from the Fourth Dynasty up to the Middle Kingdom (fig. 5), independently from the

³ See H.G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* II (Munich, 1929), pp. 105–109; Simpson, in *LÄ* V, cols. 899–903; Vandier, *Manuel* III, pp. 181–84; Altenmüller, in *LÄ* III, 565; Jaroš-Deckert, *Statuen*, CAA Wien, Lieferung I (Mainz, 1987), pp. 55–59; B. Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz am Rhein, 1996), chapter VII.

pattern of the upper part and wings of the headdress, which can vary from reign to reign and even within a reign. From the Thirteenth Dynasty on, the lappets are provided with an inner border which reappears sporadically in the Eighteenth dynasty, especially during the reign of Amenhotep III and later in the Nineteenth Dynasty, when the pattern of the lappets is frequently altered to larger pleats. The parallel incised lines rendering the tufts of the mane, most common during the Twelfth Dynasty on this type of sphinx with royal headdress, run down the shoulders on both sides of the chest, from the lower border of the nemes lappets, down to the start of the destroyed forepaws; the innermost line coincides with the inner edge of the lappets.

The tail of the lion, which is round in section, curls upward on the right side to encircle the knee, and ends with a broader tuft hanging down the rump and rendered in raised relief (fig. 7). It is divided horizontally by shallow grooves indicating the waves, which in turn are incised with incurved striations, representing the curled strains. A horizontal band limits the striations at the tip of the tuft which is flat and perpendicular to the sphinx's body. The nearest parallels to this type of tail are attested on sphinxes of the Twelfth Dynasty. On the red granite sphinx of Sesostris' predecessor, Amenemhat II, from Tanis (Louvre A 23), the tail is equipped with a similar tuft, but it is shorter and ends higher on the rump (fig. 8). A tail similar in shape, length and striations may be observed on the sphinx of Nebesheh in Boston (MFA 88.747), which has recently been attributed to Sesostris II. In the reign of his successor, Sesostris III, the gneiss sphinx in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 17.9.2), presumably deriving from Karnak, has a tail tuft with grooves and observes the same length as that of Sesostris II. On the quartzite sphinx of this king (of unknown provenance) now in the British Museum (E 1843), the length of the tuft is similar but the grooves fewer and more widely spaced. Of the two sphinxes of Amen-



Fig. 6. Sphinx of Amenemhat II, Louvre A 23.



Fig. 7. Sphinx of Sesostris II, detail of the tail.

⁴ Evers, op. cit., pp. 11–16.

⁵ Evers, op. cit, p. 13, no. 70–73.

 $^{^6}$ Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* I, pls. 48–50, ibid., II, pp. 42–46; this sphinx is now safely dated to the reign of Amenemhat II by B. Fay, op. cit.

⁷ Fay, op. cit., Sphinx Appendix No. 28, pl. 86 a-d.

⁸ Evers, op. cit., pls. 78–79; C. Aldred, in *MMJ* 3 (1970), pp. 43–44, fig. 25; L. Habachi, in *MMJ* 19/20 (1986), pp. 11–16, fig. 6; N. Cherpion, in *RdE* 42 (1991), fig. 4; F. Polz, *Studien zur Porträtplastik Sesostris' III und Amenemhets III.*, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Heidelberg 1990, cat. no. 38; see finally, with fuller bibliography: W. Seipel, *Gott Mensch Pharao* (Vienna, 1992), cat. no. 44; Fay, op. cit., Sphinx Appendix No. 30, pl. 87a, b. ⁹ *Werke ägyptischer Kunst*, Auktion 46, Münzen und Medaillen AG (Basel, 1972), pl. 23, no. 34, pl. 9; H. Goedicke, *JSSEA* 7, 4 (1977), p. 10; N. Cherpion, op. cit., fig. 8; Fay, op. cit. Sphinx Appendix No. 32, pl. 86e–h; F. Polz, op. cit., cat. no. 40.

Fig. 8. Sphinx of Amenemhat II, detail of the rump.



emhat III found in Syria, the fragmentary one sculptured in green schist, now on exhibit in the Damascus National Museum (former Aleppo no. 473), shows a tail which ends at the same length but with fewer grooves and incised striations. By contrast, on the diorite headless small sphinx of the Aleppo Museum (no. 6450), the tail ends with an undetailed and flatter tuft. From the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, two sphinxes found in Abukir and exhibited in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, repeat the type of the Amenemhat III sphinx tail: one inscribed for Amenemhat IV with a much damaged tail, and its companion piece, usurped by Ramesses II, with a better preserved tail. It is worth noting that on the mane of sphinxes with leonine hair tuft, the tail is always much shorter and ends in a bulbous appendice, inherited from the tail form of the rarely preserved examples from the Old Kingdom.

 $^{^{10}}$ PM VII, p. 393; C.F.A. Schaeffer, $Ugaritica\ 4\ (1962),$ p. 223, fig. 25; Polz, op. cit., cat. no 108.

 $^{^{11}}$ PM VII, p. 395; Scandone-Mathiae, RdE 40 (1989), pp. 125–29, pl. 4; Polz, op. cit., cat. no. 107.

¹² Evers, op. cit., pls. 135–36; Fay, op. cit., Sphinx Appendix Nos. 55 (pl. 94c) and 56.

¹³ Attributed to Amenemhat III: Cairo CG 391, 393, 394, 530, 1243, SR 175 and 202. Amenemhat IV, British Museum 58892: U. Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im Alten Ägypten*, ÄF 15 (Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1948), pl. X, 8; Fay, op. cit., Sphinx Appendix No. 54, pl. 94a, b. Two Middle Kingdom sphinxes reshaped and reinscribed by Ramesses II are now in Ismailia (forthcoming article, in preperation).

The broad collar on the sphinx of Sesostris II is partly destroyed (fig. 5). The remaining lower part is not interrupted by any trace of a raised structure, which may indicate that the sphinx was beardless or, if there was a beard, the base of its plinth would have been placed higher on the chest. The collar was composed of several rows of tubular beads of which the two lower rows only are preserved. They are set vertically between horizontal bands, the lowermost of which is doubled and bordered by a row of drop-shaped pendants. The rows of vertical beads as well as their joining bands are entirely incised on the chest, while the drop-shaped pendants are carved in shallow relief. The broad collar is attested on statues since the Old Kingdom, and include examples painted around the neck. 15 Carved examples reappear on royal statuary in the Twelfth Dynasty, the first known being on the sphinx of Amenemhat II in the Louvre, where the collar is incised on a raised surface, and the rows of incised vertical beads are all set between single bands rendered in raised relief (see fig. 6). Thus the collar of Sesostris II on the sphinx under discussion is the second known carved example within the surely dated royal statues, and it introduces a double lowermost band between the last row of tubular beads and the drop-shaped pendants.

While the single banded collar of Amenemhat II will remain as the classical type in royal sculpture, be it incised or carved in relief, the double-banded frame seems to be attested only sporadically and for a limited time. In two-dimensional representations, it appears occasionally on royal and private monuments. In sculpture in the round, it is observed on a few royal statues bearing royal names of the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Dynasties, and when they are uninscribed, they can be attributed by other criteria to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty.

On the female limestone statue discovered by Petrie in Abydos and generally known as the "princess of Abydos," ¹⁸ the broad collar is

¹⁴ Djedefrê, Cairo JE 35137: PM III, p. 3; Hornemann, Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary, 1523. Merenrê: National Museum of Scotland 1984.405: J.Bourriau, JEA 72 (1986), p. 180, fig. 1; Fay, op. cit., Sphinx Appendix No. 13, pl. 84a–b, d. Pepi II: Moscow, Fay, op. cit., Sphinx Appendix No. 14.

¹⁵ Carved on a statue of Snofru: R. Stadelmann, in *Kunst des Alten Reiches*, SDAIK 28 (Mainz am Rhein, 1995), pl. 62; painted on statues of Mycerinus: see Reisner, *Mycerinus*, pls. 44–45.

¹⁶ Bas-reliefs of Sahure (L. Borchardt, Sashurer II (Leipzig, 1913), pls. 17, 18, 22, 33); and Sesostris III (F. Bisson de la Roque et J.J. Clère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1928), FIFAO VI (Cairo, 1929), pl. IV,2.

¹⁷ Example in an Old Kingdom mastaba, Hassan, *Giza* IX, pl. XVI; Middle Kingdom: reliefs of the tomb of Siesi, Cairo TR 24.5.28.1, 24.5.28.2 and 24.5.28.3; see De Morgan, *Dahchour*, pl. XIV.

 $^{^{18}}$ Cairo, JE 36359; PM V, p. 43; Petrie, Abydos I, p. 33, pl. LXX,12; Maspero, $Guide\ to\ the\ Cairo\ Museum\ (Cairo, 1903), p. 98, no. 228.$



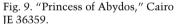




Fig. 10. Fragment of a female statue, Cairo.

worked on a raised surface and composed of seven rows of vertical beads set between bands in shallow relief, the upper- and the lowermost of which are doubled (fig. 9). This statue bears all the characteristics of the Twelfth Dynasty, and was recognized as such by Evers, but its dating has often been disputed, without convincing argumentation, and ranges from the Twelfth to the Thirtieth dynasties.

The right upper fragment of a limestone bust, 57 cm high, whose provenance is not recorded, is stored in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Around the neck can be seen the remains of a broad collar with three preserved rows of vertical beads set between bands in shallow relief, the uppermost of which is doubled (fig. 10). The material, the style of the sculpture, the wide tripartite wig, and the treatment of the ear with schematized anatomy, as well as the wide back slab, all are comparable to the iconography and style of "the princess of Abydos," and these two monuments cannot but be contemporary, if not of identical provenance as well.

¹⁹ Staat aus de Stein I, pls. 51–52; ib. II, pp. 102–105.

²⁰ See most recently H. De Meulenare, "Meskhenet à Abydos," in *Fs. Derchain, Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 39 (Leuven 1991), pp. 243–49, pl. 1. For a safer attribution of this sculpure in the Middle Kingdom, see Biri Fay, forthcoming article in *MDAIK* 52 (1996).

Three similar examples of carved broad collars with doubled upper and lower bands are found on divine statues, ²² discovered by Petrie in the temple of Amenemhat III in Hawara. Two of these are adorned by a collar worked on a raised surface, with the bands and drop-shaped beads in relief; on the third statue the whole collar is incised on the chest, and only the pendant beads are worked on a sunk surface.

Two statues in red granite, one found on Elephantine and stored in the Museum of Aswan, the second in the temple of Tod, both represent a seated king wearing the *heb-sed* cloak and holding the crook and flail. The statues are uninscribed but bear iconographic criteria datable to the Twelfth Dynasty, such as the royal insignia with longer handles than those of other periods. On both statues, a broad collar with double upper and lower bands ends on each shoulder by semi-circular clasps which are too damaged to show if they were once incised with the details of a falcon's head.

A fragmentary statue in Tanis, reinscribed by Ramesses II, was discovered in the approach to the temple of Khonsu. On the chest is a very finely carved broad collar with double upper and lower bands, and a single band framing the drop-shaped pendants. For certain anatomic and iconographic criteria, this statue under study can also be attributed to the Twelfth Dynasty.

Finally, the last of the well-dated royal effigies is the limestone double statue of Neferhotep I from Karnak, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (figs. 11–12). It represents the king twice, standing in a niche, the chest adorned with an incised broad collar framed by double bands and bordered by pendants in shallow relief. We can conclude that, independently from the technique, which appears to alternate between the



Fig. 11. Neferhotep I, CG 42022.



Fig. 12. Neferhotep I, detail of collar.

²¹ Petrie, *Abydos* I, p. 31, claims to have found several fragments of a statue group in crystalline limestone. This could be one of the fragments he mentions to have belonged to a "joining statue."

²² Cairo, RT 30.9.14.9, RT 1.10.14.1 and RT 1.10.14.2. I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Mohammed Saleh the opportunity to see, study and photograph these sculptures in storeroom R 17, and Mrs. Salwa Abd el-Rahman, who kindly helped me during my work.

²³ Petrie, *The Labyrynth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* (London, 1912), pp. XXIV and XXV (bottom right). Biri Fay, whom I thank for this reference, is preparing a study on these divine statues.

 $^{^{24}}$ Inv. 1091; h. 62 cm. See Sourouzian, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* I (Cairo, 1994), p. 511, no. 15, fig. 1d.

²⁵ Torso: inv. 2518, h. 67 cm; lower part: h. 90 cm. See *Hommages Leclant* I, p. 512, no. 16, fig. 2a.

²⁶ The statue is unpublished. I thank Philippe Brissaud, Director of the French Mission of Tanis, for kindly allowing me to study the fragments and entrusting me with their publication in the forthcoming *Cahiers de Tanis*.

²⁷ Legrain, Statues et Statuettes de rois et de particuliers I, CG 42022, pp. 13–14, pl. XIII.

carved and the incised, the feature of the double bands framing a broad collar, can be considered as characteristic of the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Dynasties. The sphinx of Sesostris II would then be the first example, among the well dated monuments, to bear this feature.

The inscription on the chest of the sphinx is composed of three incised hieroglyphic columns set in a rectangular frame, on the top of which is the sign of the sky. It reads: "Horus, leader of the Two Lands, given life, stability and dominion, the good god, lord of the Two Lands, forever, beloved of the Souls of Heliopolis, lords of the Great Sanctuary" (fig. 4).

The *bsw Iwnw*, best translated as Souls of Heliopolis, seem to "indicate the divinized dead kings" of that city, and are repeatedly attested throughout Egyptian history. On certain statues and sphinxes from Heliopolis, the name of the king is followed by the epithet "beloved of the *bsw Iwnw*," often completed by the title Lords of the *Hwt-*". This *Hwt-*", generally translated as great mansion or temple, seems to refer to a sanctuary in Heliopolis mentioned in the documents of the New Kingdom in relation to official ceremonies, such as the coronation of the king by Atum and the celebration of the royal jubilee.

Thus, the sphinx of Sesostris II derives most certainly from Heliopolis, and can be associated with the great sanctuary of that city, since the king apparently dedicated the statue to the Souls of Heliopolis on an official occasion. The vicinity of Heliopolis to the present-day capital explains the frequent reuse of its monuments in buildings of Old Cairo. Before the reuse of the sphinx, it is very probable that it was still in situ and visible in Heliopolis. If its head was taken to Italy in the Roman Period or, presuming it had survived until the search for Egyptian Antiquities by dealers during the nineteenth century, it should

²⁸ In the New Kingdom the uppermost band is doubled on a completely different type of collar, with floral design, for example on the "White Queen" in Cairo, CG 600.

²⁹ LÄ I, 380. See Kees, Götterglaube, p. 156–57; L.V. Žabkar, A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts, SAOC 34 (Chicago, 1968), pp. 22–33.

 $^{^{30}}$ Sphinx of Pepi I, Cairo CG 541; statue of Psametik I in Alexandria, near the Pompei Pillar: A. Rowe, *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* no. 35, NS Vol. XI, (1942), pp. 154–55, pl. XXXIII, D.2; and two sphinxes of Apries in Alexandria, Kom elShugafa, no. 90 and 91: Daressy, *ASAE* 5 (1904), p. 127.

³¹ Obelisk of Sesostris I in Heliopolis (*PM* IV, p. 60; Habachi, *The Obelisks*, p. 49); base of a monument of Sesostris I in Berlin, 7720 (*PM* IV, p. 63, Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften* I, p. 140).

³² LÄ II, col. 1111; see Helck, ZÄS 82 (1957), pp. 112–16.

³³ See E. El-Bana, "Deux études héliopolitaines," BIFAO 85 (1985), pp. 149-63.

 $^{^{34}}$ See the naos of Ramses II found in Tell el-Maskhuta: K. Myśliwiec, $\it BIFAO$ 78 (1978), p. 189, fig. 7.

³⁵ See *PM* IV, pp. 69–73.

be located somewhere in a collection abroad. If the neck is preserved, a double band at the start of the broad collar would be a valuable clue for matching the dispersed elements.

Until such a match takes place, this fragmentary sculpture adds a new document to the short list of statues of Sesostris II, which are all either headless or fragmentary. As for the complete statues attributed to him, their features were so much altered by the Ramesside kings that they cannot be used to describe a portrait of Sesostris II. To complete the idea of the head of the Cairo sphinx, the only reference of comparison would be the granite bust with unaltered features found in Memphis and now in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen (ÆIN 659; see fig. 13). On the belt of the king, the scanty remains of inscriptions can be restored to the throne name of Sesostris II: Hrj-Hpr-Rr. The King's headdress is the nemes with low top and very wide wings. The lappets, free of interior border, repeat the tightly alternating ridges and furrows of the classical type, but the coiffe of the nemes is decorated by one large and two narrower raised bands alternating with sunk spaces. The frontal band which joins the ears is narrow and rendered in raised relief. Two lappets emerge in front of each ear; the hood of the uræus is based at the lower border of the frontal band, its tail in relief forming two loops before ending on the top of the head. The portrait depicts a young ruler with a round and large face, high cheek-bones and a wide chin. The long and arched eyebrows are worked in raised relief; the elongated eyes, bordered on their upper eyelid by a thin rim in raised relief are set horizontally, their inner canthi prolonged slightly obliquely towards the nose. Under the lower eyelids, a depression enhances the modeling of the cheeks. The nose is short, with a thin root and shows, in spite of the damage, a wide base with duly modeled wings flanked by two oblique furrows joining the corners of the mouth. The latter is horizontal, much wider than the base of the nose, the lower lip being thicker, with a curved contour disappearing, before the end of the upper lip, at the corners of the mouth into slight hollows. The chin is limited horizontally

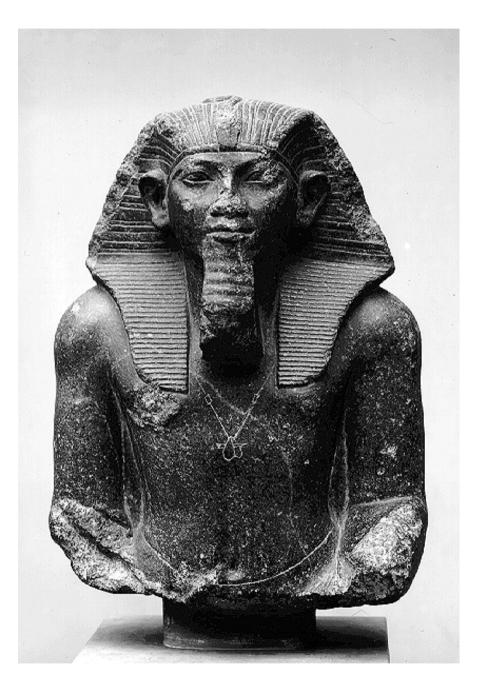
³⁶ See footnote 3.

³⁷ Cairo CG 430 and 432; Berlin 7264; Vienna ÄS 5776. See Evers, op. cit., pp. 105–109.

³⁸ *PM* III, p. 863.

³⁹ The remaining signs are a sun-disk, very small and placed high up at the start of the cartouche, followed by the upper part of a sign which seems to be the head of the beetle [hpr], the arm of a ks, or the plume of Msct. Thus the name can well correspond to Hcj-lpr-Rc (Sesostris II), and, less likely, due to incompatibility of style, to Nbw-ksw-Rc (Amenemhat II), Hcj-ksw-Rc (Sesostris III), or Nj-Msct-Rc (Amenemhat III). I am most obliged to Dr. Mogens Jørgenson for this indication and thank him very kindly for his warm hospitality in the Glyptothek, for the splendid photograph and the kind permission to illustrate the bust.

Fig. 13. Sesostris II, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 659.



by the royal beard which ends high above the lower border of the nemes lappets. The ears occupy a space on the sides of the face between the line of the eyes and that of the mouth; they are set obliquely on the frontal plane and worked in detail in such raised relief that the ears are fully visible from the front and the side views simultaneously; the helix, forming

a raised frame, curves and disappears behind the projecting tragus. The short neck is advanced, its root being much lower than the line of the shoulders. The stocky torso is smoothly modeled in nuances. These features are also repeated on the two statues of Queen Nofret, consort of Sesostris II 40 and on contemporary private statues.



⁴⁰ Cairo CG 381 and 382; Evers, *Staat* I, pls. 72–75.

⁴¹ See Evers, Staat I, pls. 61–63; Habachi, The Sanctuary of Heqaib, AV 33 (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), no 15, pls. 42–45.

From Esna to Ebers: An Attempt at Calendrical Archaeology



Anthony Spalinger

■ HE DEVELOPMENT OF CALENDRICAL STUDIES IN EGYPTOLOGY HAS all too often encountered a series of tantalizing hypotheses that end up being mere will-of-the wisps, appearing significant at the moment but turning out to be illusory in the long run. The oftentimes over-concentration on mathematical deductions, championed by Ludwig Borchardt in his series of remarkable studies, proved on closer inspection to be mirages more worthy of a Thomas De Quincey than a sober minded Egyptologist as Sir Alan Gardiner. In recent times the pathfinders, though finding their ways less encumbered by the overgrowth of hastily supported theories and inadequate translations, have nevertheless been sidetracked by an over surplus of tar babies. In fact, it is not unfair to characterize a sizeable portion of research in the area of Ancient Egyptian astronomy and calendrics as having gotten itself stuck on that well-known nemesis of Brer Rabbit: the more the scholar tries to extricate himself from the idée fixe upon which he has fastened, the more he becomes permanently attached to his questionable theory.²

Rather than present another long-winded list of quibbles concentrated on the *arcus visionis* of Sothis or the exact location of its heliacal sighting, I prefer, metaphorically speaking, to excavate the edifice of the civil calendar.³ Even an exact lunar month arrangement at a certain time in Pharaonic history—if it were possible to perform that deed with one hundred percent certainty—will be overlooked in the following analysis. On the contrary, these remarks will encapsulate the situation

¹ This is not an unfair characterization: see Gardiner, *JEA* 31 (1945), p. 21 note 4 with Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*² (Munich, 1969), pp. 6–7. The reader should observe that I have kept to a minimum the references in the footnotes so that the argument in this discussion remains the most clear.

² Note the recent reviews of Leitz's work, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*, (Wiesbaden, 1989), in *BiOr* 49 (1992), col. 723–28 and *OLZ* 87 (1992), col. 23–26. The literary reference is: Joel Chandler Harris, *The Complete Tales of Uncle Remus* (Boston, 1955), pp. 6–8.

 $^{^3}$ The method followed in this study has been partly adumbrated in my earlier work, "A Chronological Analysis of the Feast of thy," SAK 20 (1993), pp. 289–303.

in Egypt when the civil calendar was constructed out of an earlier counterpart based on the moon. The argument itself is simple, but in order not to lose even the most inattentive reader due to the series of interlocked historical studies, I have felt it incumbent on myself to present an overview of my most recent work in this area.⁴

Owing to the breakthrough of Ulrich Luft devoted to the *w*3gy-feast, the first deep detailed insight into the meshing between the lunar calendar and its later civil counterpart came to the fore. In that short yet highly informative presentation, Luft showed in a far more accurate fashion than Parker—who in 1950 did not possess the data that we now do—how the original lunar *w*3gy celebration took place. When the civil calendar came into existence, a second *w*3gy was created and permanently set on 1 3ht 18 even though the original one still remained, operating according to the age-old rules of the older, lunar-based system.

For the feast of Thoth, located in the civil calendar one day later than wigy (1 3ht 19), a different development occurred. In this case it is necessary to examine the difference between a lunar year (354 days) and the Egyptian civil year (365 days). This interval of 11 days, common in most historical sources culled from various ancient and modern civilizations, was subject to a small yet highly informative analysis by Martin Nilsson. Baldly put, a lunar year will fall short of its Egyptian civil equivalent by 11 days. This self-evident conclusion can be reworded to state that the civil year will fall short of a lunar one with 13 months by 19 days. In modular arithmetic this is easily expressed by the equation: -11 = 19 (mod 30), a fact well-known to calendric experts. 8 Indeed, the importance of the integer 19 in the Mesopotamian calendrical system is hereby resolved. Whereas days 7, 14, 21, and 28 of their lunar months the original of the Hebrew Sabbath is obvious at this point—were easy for such a scholar as Langdon to explain, he was unable to interpret lunar day 19 in that calendrical system. 9 However, as I hoped to have made

⁴ In addition to the study listed in the last note see the chapter, "Thoth and the Calendars," in the recent volume, *Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics* (San Antonio, 1994).

⁵ "The Date of the *Wigy* Feast: Considerations on the Chronology of the Old Kingdom," in *Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics*. Parker's old analysis is presented in his *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1950), pp. 36–37, §§ 182–85; with much more information at hand, Parker's hypothesis has now been disproved by Luft. ⁶ See the two studies listed in the previous note. It goes without saying that Parker's analysis of the *thy* feast is also inaccurate as well. It was most certainly not determined by the

⁷ Primitive Time Reckoning (Lund, 1920), p. 241.

⁸ In particular, see Neugebauer-Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III (London, 1969), p. 223

clear, day 19 in the Mesopotamian system was significant for the reasons that 1 3ht 19 was in the Egyptian: both civilizations, with their great emphasis on the lunar aspects of their calendars, saw fit to enshrine an event connected with the deity of the moon. It is for this reason that in the Nile Valley day 19 of the first civil month was in honor of the god Thoth. The festival was a national one: i.e., it was not merely celebrated in key centers devoted to the ibis-headed deity. Moreover, there was no moveable feast of Thoth coursing its way through the civil calendar in historical times akin to the original wigy.

Connected to the feast of Thoth was its neighbor, *thy*. In this case, it was necessary to examine its importance with the help of Luft's work on *w3gy*. ¹⁰ Providing welcome support was the absence of any lunar-based doublet and the fact that the name of the first civil month was originally *thy*—it later became Thoth—could not be overlooked. *A fortiori*, since all the names of the civil months were borrowed from the original lunar calendar, the connection of *thy* with the lunar month I and day 20 in the first month of the later civil calendar have to be explained.

From 1906, the year in which Gardiner published what he later described as "something of a bombshell," the problem of the eponymous names of the civil months raised its complicated head. 11 The basic situation was easier to describe than the ensuing explanations. In essence, the situation is as follows: by and large, the names of the months in the civil calendar—designations clearly borrowed from an original lunar system—can be associated with various feasts. The latter posed the conundrum since for the most part those religious celebrations could be located around if not on day 1 of the following civil month. For example, eliminating the epagomenal days (as was often the case), the festival of wp rnpt occurred on 1 3ht 1 (Thoth 1) and the name of the twelfth civil month is identical to that event. In similar fashion, Choiak, civil month 4, is to be equated with the festival surrounding the first of Tybi, the old Nhb-ksw, on 1 prt 1 (civil month 5). As the evidence has been recent summarized by Luft, among others, and was a major bone of contention between Gardiner and Parker, I need not present any lengthy description

⁹ Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendar (Oxford, 1935), pp. 83–90, and pp. 86–97 in particular.

¹⁰ See his study listed in note 5 above. It revises the earlier analysis of Posener-Kriéger, "Remarques préliminaires sur les nouveaux papyrus d'Abousir," in Ägypten. Dauer und Wandel [Mainz, 1985], pp. 35–43.

 $^{^{11}}$ ZÄS 43 (1906), pp. 136–44; his exact words derive from the later study of RdE 10 (1955), p. 9.

of the situation. ¹² Left aside was the reference to civil (or lunar) month 1: i.e., *thy*.

In a recent contribution to the ongoing discussion of these eponymous month names I stressed a series of important points with regard to this peculiar feast. ¹³ By and large, instead of its companions such as Choiak or $wp \; rnpt$ (the later Mesore, $mswt \; R^c$), thy fell, permanently fixed, on day 20 of the first civil month. In addition, there were some associated calendrical references to a religious rite connected with inebriation, a new beginning, and the like as well as the related fact that no lunar doublet could be found as in such cases as wsy.

A look at the original set-up of the lunar versus civil year was necessary to explain this outstanding oddity among all of the eponymous feasts of the ancient Egyptians known to us. Carrying on from the arguments presented with respect to the feast of Thoth, that placed on 13ht 19 in the civil calendar, I added the next. Given was that the lunar year moved beyond its 354 days with the end boundary of a month occurring on 13ht 19—i.e., 354 + 30 = 384 which, minus 365, the length of an Egyptian civil year, results in 13ht 19. In other words, the subsequent month, which would be called thy would commence on civil day 20. Hence, the apparent oddity of that eponymous feast occurring ten days earlier than it would have been expected is resolved, keeping in mind the normal pattern in the civil-lunar interchange.

The reason for the date of civil *tḫy* having been explained, we can now turn once more to the original lunar calendar in order to ascertain what would have taken place in that system. First, the end of the lunar year would have occurred on day 354. *Tḫy*, of course, is placed 19 days later than 1 *sḫt* 1 in the civil calendar, the regular civil feast of *wp rnpt*. Now it turns out that the beginning of the subsequent year would turn out differently: 1 *sḫt* 20 minus 11 days owing to the lunar cycle. That is to say, 1 *sḫt* 9 in the civil calendar then marked the commencement of the first month. (Note my stress on the adjective.) Nilsson puts it succinctly:¹⁴

If the new moon falls on a certain day of the solar year, in the following year a new moon will occur about 11 days before or 19 days after this day, and in the year after that about 21 days before or 9 days after it.

¹² The Gardiner-Parker controversy was presented in *RdE* 10 (1955), pp. 9–31 and 10 (1957), pp. 85–107; Luft's recent analysis is in *GM* 92 (1986), pp. 69–77.

¹³ "A Chronological Analysis of the Feast of *thy*," referred to in note 3 above. In addition, the brief remarks of Waitkus, *GM* 135 (1992), pp. 108–111, are worthwhile.

¹⁴ Primitive Time Reckoning, p. 241.

Is there any evidence that Thoth 9, 1 3 bt 9, was connected with New Year's Day?

The festival calendar of Esna preserves such a designation. ¹⁵ In that inscription the events surrounding Thoth 9 read as follows: "Feast of Amun; feast of Re, corresponding to what the ancestors called the Feast of Wp Rnpt." This reference has been a thorn in the side of virtually any scholar interested in the calendrics of Egypt, if only as the same calendar presents one as well with the "normal" wp rnpt located on 1 3ht 1. Parker, in his famous 1950 volume, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt, attempted to calculate the date of the Esna temple on the basis of this reference, it having been understood that wp rnpt ought to be connected to prt Spdt. ¹⁶ His result, 165/75 A.D. (time of Marcus Aurelius) was later dismissed by Sauneron in his final publication of the religious rites at Esna. Providing a wealth of contradictory information including his recollation of the material from this Roman temple, Sauneron located the actual building to the first century A.D. a date that was considerably removed from Parker's. ¹⁷ As a result of this work, it became clear that the wp rnpt of 1 3ht 9 could not be interpreted by a simple calculation of the heliacal rising of Sothis, even if the connection of wp rnpt with prt Spdt is taken for granted.

However, the added descriptive phrase of "corresponding to what the ancestors called the Feast of $Wp\ Rnpt$ " was sidestepped. In essence, the latter indicates an age-old designation for the beginning of the year, even though the exact definition of the latter may be left in abeyance at this point. It is my contention that what is present here is, in fact, the old commencement of the New Year. The connection with the feast of thy and the name of the first month are intimately associated. Day 20 of the first civil month, thy or later Thoth, corresponds to day 9 in the same calendar if the following simple arithmetic is employed:

(1) 354 + 30 = 384, or Thoth 19 in the civil calendar. The next day, Thoth 20, the day of the thy feast, heralds the beginning of month 1, itself originally labeled thy;

¹⁵ Sauneron, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna (Cairo, 1962), pp. 3–8 and 146–48. I frankly admit that my overview of the situation in the last chapter of *Three Studies on Egyptian Feasts and Their Chronological Implications* (Baltimore, 1992) is now rendered obsolete.

¹⁶ Calendars, p. 49, §§ 44–46. Brugsch's older work on this citation may be found in his Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du calendrier des anciens égyptiens (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 19–20, 26, and 50 and, later, Thesaurus II, pp. 343, 380. In connection with this situation see RdE 42 (1991), pp. 209–22. The latter article covers some of the problems associated with the various Vorläge of the Esna festival calendar, cf. Redford, King-Lists, Annals and Day Books (Missassauga, 1984), pp. 167, 227 note 91, and 244–45 with note 60.

¹⁷ See his results referred to in note 15.

(2) In similar fashion, Thoth 20 - 11 = Thoth 9 in the civil calendar. This can be likewise seen as the first day of the first month.

If any reader fears that the previous discussion reflects more the mental gymnastics of the author than the situation in ancient Egypt, there is additional material concerning the events of civil Thoth 9 to allay those doubts. In pBrooklyn 47.218.50, Goyon has revealed that a series of liturgically crucial events took place from the close of the previous civil year into the first month of the following one. ¹⁹ In particular, there were various acts celebrated during the five epagomenal days, on the first day of the civil year, Thoth 1—which is to be expected, on the fifth, and then from the sixth to the ninth of the same month. "In sum," he adds, "the totality of the rites of anniversary and confirmation of royal power lasted 14 complete days. Therefore, one is correct in considering that the feasts constituted an important moment of the liturgical year and that they were able to leave traces in the calendars of the Ptolemaic temples."²⁰ Assembling further information from the festival calendar of Esna and connecting it to Kom Ombo as well, Goyon placed emphasis on Thoth 9 as one of the most important dates connected with the new year, rebirth, and the renaissance of power, be it associated with the king (as the Brooklyn Museum papyrus indicates) or a god. Where the French scholar differs from me is merely in connection with the reasons surrounding the importance of Thoth 9. However, I cannot leave unsaid the necessity for future researchers to read all available Egyptian religious texts before turning to calendrics and, perhaps more importantly, to avoid complicated mathematical deductions when a simple solution is at hand. In this case, even though Goyon had stressed the interrelationship of 1 3ht 9 with the hitherto vexed situation at Esna, others overlooked it.

¹⁸ This explanation may be seen by many to be the best of all.

¹⁹ Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an (Cairo, 1972), pp. 42–43 and notes 257–58 in particular.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

The evidence from pBrooklyn 47.218.50 is fortunately not the only piece of supporting evidence for the solution to the second wp rnpt of Esna. At Esna itself there is a further reference to a rebirth and a New Year. 21 Located outside of the festival calendar itself are various inscriptions concerned with the rite of the "Union with the Disk" (hnm itn). These ceremonies are in turn dated to day 9 in the month of Re-Horakhty. That is to say, as Sauneron indicated in his sumptuous edition, on day 9 of civil month 12 (old wp rnpt, later mswt Rs, Mesore) an occurrence seemingly identical to that adumbrated in the official festival calendar took place. For him, the only solution to the glaring discrepancy of civil month 12 replacing that of civil month 1 was recourse to the 1906 hypothesis of Gardiner in which there was an alteration in the names of the Egyptian months by the New Kingdom. (It cannot be left aside that Goyon, in his edition of the Brooklyn papyrus covered above, also saw this reference.) Unless we wish to resurrect the present defunct position of Gardiner—and I cannot see any reason to do so, considering the wealth of information that we now possess—then this anomaly must be resolved. That the two Esna citations go hand in hand, as Sauneron argued, I take as given.

The next series of deductions, forming the *Zugzwang* of my analysis, solely concentrate on the famous insert of pEbers. At the onset it should be made clear that I consider this very perturbing document to be more valuable as an intellectual aspect of ancient Egyptian calendrics than as a solution to the chronology of the New Kingdom. And if I take for granted that the coverage of this small calendar by Luft, Helck, Leitz, and even by myself, has advanced our interpretation to a new level, this is because grave doubts surrounding its applicability to absolute chronology cannot be dispelled. ²² In fact, it was Leitz who pressed the equations of month names (such as Hathor or Choiak) and civil designations (2 or 3 *3ht*) to their logical conclusion: namely, that there is no lunar sys-

²¹ Sauneron, 146-48; cf. Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque grécoromaine III (Montpellier, 1990), p. 457.

²² Recent studies on the famous calendrical section of pEbers include: Luft, *GM* 92 (1986), pp. 69–77—a brilliant survey; Leitz, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie*, pp. 23–34; von Beckerath, *SAK* 14 (1987), pp. 27–33; Helck, *SAK* 15 (1988), pp. 149–64; and *BES* 10 (1989/90: the Schulman *Festschrift*), pp. 137–44. Von Beckerath's persistence in relying upon complicated mathematical solutions may be seen in his most recent study, *ZÄS* 120 (1993), pp. 131–36. His previous discussion will be found in *Ägypten und Levante* 3 (1992), pp. 23–27; cf. Krauss's discussion in the same volume, pp. 75–85. I suspect that the continual hearkening back to the same mathematical arguments regarding pEbers by von Beckerath and Krauss (without, it seem to me, any final resolution of the problem) indicates that a wrong path of research has been taken. To be honest, the only sensible study in this issue of *Ägypten und Levante* is that of Ulrich Luft (pp. 109–14).

tem present in this document.²³ On the contrary, it appears certain that the names in column 1, set beside civil equivalents in the second, are also civil in nature. The remaining problem must be the connection to the heliacal rising of Sothis—itself designating a New Year—associated with the twelve entries. In this context, the evidence from Esna plays a crucial part. As we have seen, the festival calendar in that temple places New Year's day (*wp rnpt*) on Thoth 9 (1 3 lpt 9). In a second citation the same event appears one civil month earlier: XII 9. How does Ebers relate to this?

In the third line of that insert there is contained the following:

The dots represent dittos, as Leitz and I have previously argued.²⁴ What is presented is civil *thy* associated with civil 4 *šmw* 9, the first dot referring to that season and the second indicating that *prt Spdt* is to be understood. In other words, the Ebers calendar is nothing more than a series of Sothic risings set on day 9 of the 12 civil months.²⁵ What has been overlooked, however, is the overt connection to the Brooklyn papyrus edited by Goyon and the two Esna citations, the *wp rnpt* set on 1 *3ħt* 9 as well as its partner located in the twelfth Egyptian civil month. Ebers, on the other hand, is identical to the second since it sets the name of the first Egyptian month, *thy*, side-by-side with the common numerical entry for civil month 12, 4 *šmw*. Nothing could be more simple: Esna and Ebers coincide.

The Ebers calendar therefore presents the beginning of the Egyptian year with Sothis set, artificially if one wants, into a 360 day cycle beginning in the third month of *šmw* (lines 1-2). Whether this can be located exactly in regnal year 9 of Pharaoh Amunhotpe 1 is another question. The delineation of the twelve civil months in which day 9, connected to *prt Spdt*, is significant as well. As the event of the heliacal rising of Sothis (*prt Spdt*) was the ideal beginning of the year—and I ignore which type of year at this point—the ancient text is rather clear, if a bit too schematic for us moderns.

Reasons for the integer 9 associated with *thy*/month I and *wp rnpt/mswt-Rr*/Mesore/Re-Horakhty/month XII, were presented earlier in this discussion. Nevertheless, it is interesting to view this hypothesized commencement of the year, which I have equated with the original *thy*

²³ It is on this point that I partly agree with Leitz's overview in his *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie: BES* 10 (1989/90), pp. 139–44.

²⁴ See the references in note 22.

²⁵ SAK 15 (1988), pp. 149–64.

feast, juxtaposed with the month thy at this point; this is, in fact, what we should have expected. Of further importance is the move throughout the year in pEbers. As each civil month had written to it "day 9," it is well-nigh certain that the system is purely civil rather than a civil-lunar equation, as Parker thought. ²⁶ It should therefore come as no surprise that I consider the evidence marshalled by Ebers to be part of a source (not necessarily the very one) to which the festival calendar of Esna refers.

The Ebers insert can be further seen as "an aborted experiment to substitute the Regnal year for the Civil Year," to quote Luft.²⁷ This position, in fact, provides an additional reason why we cannot interpret this famous calendar along the lines presented by Parker, von Beckerath, et al. However, I would add the following: does Ebers, in fact, indicate that by regnal year 9 of Amenhotep I, the Egyptians decided to change their method of regnal year dating? That is to say, did the date of year 9 III *šmw* 9 witness the alteration from the Middle Kingdom system of regnal year dating (with the years following the inaugural one commencing with I *3\theta* 1) to that in which these anniverseries were celebrated exactly 365 days after the accession to the throne? This question, posed here in a speculative fashion, deserves serious consideration.

This short study has concentrated on a series of sticky calendrical notations in various Egyptian texts. The latter, divergent in nature, run from the early New Kingdom (pEbers) right down to the last centuries of Egyptian paganism (Esna). It can be fairly stated that the wp rnpt set on 1 3ht 9 in the festival calendar at Esna hitherto has remained an unresolved problem to modern Egyptologists. In like fashion, the evidence from the Ebers insert not to mention that contained in pBrooklyn 47.218.50 have been hard to grasp. The solutions offered above attempt to resolve the quandaries associated with each by connecting them together. It is a very simple one, avoiding complicated mathematical formulae while at the same time presenting the original causes for the importance of day 9 of the first civil month. It goes without saying that this conclusion leads inexorably to the reconstitution of the Egyptian civil calendar, itself derived from a lunar one, at the time of its inception. The work on that problem, akin to the historical linguistic research of the Nineteenth Century, is now ready to be tackled from a mature viewpoint.

²⁶ Calendars, pp. 37–39, §§ 188–93.

²⁷ Agypten und Levante 3 (1992), p. 113.

Palaeographic and Epigraphic Distinctions between Texts of the So-called First Intermediate Period and the Early Twelfth Dynasty



DONALD B. SPANEL

EW SCHOLARS RIVAL KELLY SIMPSON'S MASTERY OF SO MANY DIVERSE aspects of Egyptology, among them textual translations and studies, palaeography, epigraphy, art history, history, archaeology, and cultural interpretation. The following essay pays tribute to his pioneering research in the early Middle Kingdom.

Discussions of the Herakleopolitan Period, the Eleventh Dynasty, and the first decades of the Twelfth Dynasty are often hampered by highly biased art-historical assumptions. The designations "Middle Kingdom" or "Twelfth Dynasty" and "First Intermediate Period" or "Eleventh Dynasty" have become shorthand notations for "good" and "bad" art respectively that are as arbitrary as they are chronologically simplistic. At first glance, the two stelae presented here, both in The Brooklyn Museum (54.66 [Inyotef] and 37.1346E [Amenemhat], figs. 2–5, see Appendices A–B), would appear to fall under the third and fourth rubrics because of their ostensibly localized style. Such an impression is incorrect. Although the first stela does indeed date to the Eleventh Dynasty, as several scholars have suggested, it may belong to the post-reunification years, hence to the very first part of the Middle Kingdom

¹ Thanks are offered to the following persons for various assistance: Madeleine E.V. Cody, Richard A. Fazzini, Rita E. Freed, Christine Lilyquist, Paul F. O'Rourke, Barbara A. Porter, James F. Romano, and Patricia Spencer. Tamara Bower dedicated several months to the line drawings that appear in figs. 3 and 5. For his computer wizardry, his heroic editorial patience, and his obtaining the photographic reproduction that appears in fig. 1, a very special note of gratitude goes to Peter Der Manuelian. Responsibility for all remarks, however, remains with the author.

 $^{^2}$ Furthermore, most studies regard the Eleventh Dynasty as the full duration of the "First Intermediate Period," making the Herakleopolitan Ninth and Tenth Dynasties either completely concurrent with the Theban Eleventh Dynasty or entirely nonexistent. Both of these chronological considerations are beyond the scope of this essay. For the limitations of the term "First Intermediate Period," see Donald B. Spanel, "The Herakleopolitan Tombs of Kheti I, $I_2(i,j)ib(i,j)$, and Kheti II at Asyut," Or 58 (1989), p. 302, n. 1.

³ See the bibliography in Appendix A.

and not to the "First Intermediate Period." Likewise, close inspection of the second stela reveals that it dates to the early Twelfth Dynasty, indicating that stylistic details alone are frequently insufficient criteria for a chronological determination. To regard the second stela as a product of the "First Intermediate Period" because it is "provincial" would be subjective and misguided.

Significant palaeographic and epigraphic elaborations in 37.1346E illustrate the profound changes in writing that occurred at the very beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, perhaps at the instigation of Amenemhat I himself. Although the epigraphic features were first noticed more than fifty years ago in a still-valid study by Bennett,⁵ they have not been utilized as often as they should be and deserve reemphasis. Since the publication of Bennett's article, a palaeographic detail the shape of the book-roll determinative—has emerged as an essential dating criterion, but it receives only intermittent attention. Both the epigraphic and palaeographic innovations are important criteria that distinguish between not only the two Brooklyn stelae but also countless other inscribed monuments of the so-called First Intermediate Period' and the early Twelfth Dynasty. Both stelae have been published, but they are reedited here to discuss the important contrasts they provide. To address immediately the interesting innovations, a discussion of the two texts ensues, and Appendices A-B contain other essential data, such as acquisition information, dimensions, translations of the texts, and commentaries.

The two most important differences between the two inscriptions consist of 1) the epigraphy of the *htp diw niswt* offering formula and 2) the palaeography of the book roll. In his commentary on 54.66 (Inyotef), James agrees with Vandier's dating to the Eleventh Dynasty because the epigraphy conforms to the results of Bennett's study of the invocation-

⁴ The supposedly awkward and provincial styles from Herakleopolitan and especially from Theban contexts are hardly isolated phenomena. They are manifestations of an aesthetic continuum—the so-called second Saqqara style—that evolved in the late Old Kingdom, flourished throughout the Herakleopolitan Period and the Eleventh Dynasty, continued into the early Twelfth Dynasty, and reappeared at the beginning of the New Kingdom (see end of Appendix B). This style was not born of waning artistic talent; it was a conscious, intentional form of representation; see E.R. Russmann, "A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom," *MDAIK* 51 (1995), pp. 269–80.

⁵ See n. 9.

⁶ Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Neue Serie, 13 (Bonn, 1962) §2; Harco O. Willems, "The Nomarchs of the Hare Nome and Early Middle Kingdom History," *JEOL* 28 (1983–1984), pp. 86–87; Spanel, *Or* 58 (1989), pp. 309–10, n. 40.

⁷ See n. 2.

⁸ See the bibliographical references to Vandier and James in Appendices A and B.

offering formula. The particular examples of congruity have not been adduced, however, and they must be mentioned here.

The invocation-offering formula is the best-attested ancient Egyptian inscription. Regardless of context (such as on stelae, lintels, false doors, tomb walls, and coffins), the various versions remain fairly simple from the Old Kingdom through the Eleventh Dynasty. Pared to its most basic elements, the formula at this stage of its development reads: "An offering given by the king (and) Osiris, lord of Busiris, foremost of the westerners, lord of Abydos, (that is,) food offerings to (or of or for) the honored one N (or the one honored by + [name of deity] N)." Inyotef's version has no unusual variations.

Likewise from the Old Kingdom through the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, the palaeography of the book roll displays virtually no changes. The hieroglyph depicts a papyrus scroll seen in profile with a mud-lump seal on top. Only in very few, unusual, and experimental instances does the book roll hieroglyph have one or two ties before the Twelfth Dynasty (fig. 1).

At some point in the reign of Amenemhat I, the situation changes suddenly. Although the traditional, simple version of the invocation-

⁹ C.J.C. Bennett, "Growth of the *HTP-DI-NSW* Formula in the Middle Kingdom," *JEA* 27 (1941), pp. 77–82; see also the important addenda in Gloria Rosati, "Note e proposte per la datazione delle stele del Medio Regno," *OrAnt* 19 (1980), pp. 269–78; Claude Obsomer, "Di.f prt-hrw et la filiation ms (t).n/ir(t).n comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire," *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Egypte pharaonique et copte: Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Ath, Brussels, and Mons, 1993), pp. 163–200; and Ronald J. Leprohon, "The Offering Formula in the First Intermediate Period," *JEA* 76 (1990), pp. 163–64. Two very fine works are Günther Lapp's *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen*, SDAIK 21 (Mainz, 1986) and *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie*, SAGA 7 (Heidelberg, 1993).

Although Bennett's results largely remain valid, they are occasionally misleading. Bennett limited his material to well-dated inscriptions. That approach may seem cautious and commendable, but the very restricted data base excludes the vast quantity of undated inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period and the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties and thus yields misleading statistics. For example, Bennett was unable to cite an occurrence of the phrase $n \ ks \ n$ in the invocation-offering formula earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty, but it appears in rare instances in that context during the Old Kingdom; see Lapp, *Opferformel*, §355. It was not uncommonly written at Asyut in the Herakleopolitan Period and the Eleventh Dynasty; see Hellmut Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut mit Übersetzung und Erläuterungen*, ÄF 5 (Glückstadt, 1937), pp. 60 (IV. 68), 62 (IV.83); and Lapp, *Särge*, Blätter 18–19. Lapp's dating of several Asyut coffins to the Eleventh Dynasty is certainly correct. Nowhere in their versions of the invocation-offering formula do the three Twelfth Dynasty epigraphic additions nor the book roll with one or two ties appear. For other corrections to Bennett's study, see Rosati, *OrAnt* 19 (1980), pp. 269–78.

¹⁰ For a convenient collation of the various versions found on coffins of the Old Kingdom through the Eleventh Dynasty, see Lapp, *Särge*, Blätter 1–34. Lapp's earlier study (*Opferformel*) of the invocation-offering formula in the Old Kingdom contains many observations that are pertinent for later periods.

Both the palaeographic and epigraphic embellishments, which are consistent with an overall tendency toward elaborations of older texts

11 In the Twelfth Dynasty and later periods, the offering formula regularly has the datival n, "to" or "for," preceding imsh and its variants. In both the Herakleopolitan Period and the Eleventh Dynasty, however, n or nt come before imsh. The nt is the feminine indirect genitive, taking its gender from prit-hrw, which stands in apposition to htp; see Lapp, Opferformel, §§68, 160–61, 163, and Hans J. Polotsky, Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie, UGAÄ 11 (Leipzig, 1929), §79e. Neither the feminine form prit-hrw nor the feminine indirect genitive nt is frequently encountered in the Old Kingdom or in the Twelfth Dynasty; it is primarily a phenomenon of the Ninth–Eleventh Dynasties. Among the many coffins listed in Lapp's superb Typologie are several with nt, all of which are dated to the "First Intermediate Period" or to the Eleventh Dynasty: Ab5 (Blatt 1), Sid 3a, 7 (Bl. 24 [Dyn. 11/12]), and many examples from Bersheh and Beni Hasan, all dating to the Eleventh Dynasty, none to the Twelfth (Bl. 4, 7). See also Harco O. Willems, Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins, MVEOL 25 (Leiden, 1988), p. 65 (table).

¹² Figure 1 illustrates a detail of an excavation photograph made during the course of A.M. Blackman's work at Meir and is reproduced with the permission of the Egypt Exploration Society. The print consulted, however, resides in the archives of the Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Rita E. Freed allowed access to the Meir archives and Peter Der Manuelian commissioned the photographic reproduction of the detail. For a discussion of this interesting book roll see Spanel, *Or* 58 (1989), pp. 309–10, n. 40. The two ties of the book roll are positioned on either side of the mud lump and both face to the right. Because this Sixth Dynasty example marks a very early, and possibly the first, appearance of the two ties, the experimentation is not surprising. The Meir book roll is analogous to a Twelfth Dynasty example with both ties on the same side of the mud lump; see the discussion in Appendix C of the palaeographical array in the tomb of Ihy at Saqqara.

A line drawing of the Eleventh Dynasty stela of Hetepi from El Kab, which has the titulary of Wahankh Inyotef, renders the book roll with two ties, but the "facsimile" is probably incorrect. The ties are not clearly visible in the concomitant plate; see Gawdat Gabra, "Preliminary Report on the Stela of *Ḥtpì* from El-Kab from the Time of Wahankh Inyôtef II," *MDAIK* 32 (1976), p. 48, fig. 2 and pl. 14. The book roll occurs in line 2.



Fig. 1. Detail of book roll hieroglyph with two ties slanting to right, tomb of Pepiankh(u), Meir (A2). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

and individual hieroglyphs in the Twelfth Dynasty, ¹⁶ are of two types: 1) clarification of passages that were susceptible to misinterpretation and 2) fancier writings. These two types of changes are related in some instances. Whereas the addition of *dî.f* before *prìt-ḥrw* falls under the first category because it glosses or makes easier a difficult reading, the other two epigraphic innovations probably belong to both groups. They are certainly elaborations, but they may also have served to clarify offerings and comments (e.g., *ḥt nbt nfrt w'bt 'nḥt nṭr ìm*) that were implicit but not clearly stated in earlier versions. ¹⁷ Likewise, the addition of one

13 The importance of *dî.f prìt-lprw* as a dating criterion has been reaffirmed in Obsomer's excellent study in *Mélanges Théodoridès*, pp. 169–70, esp. 196–98. Prior to the Twelfth Dynasty, *dì.f prìt-lprw* is not attested in the invocation-offering formula. In the late Eleventh Dynasty stela of Nakhti-iker at Chatsworth House, Devons., however, the plural *dì.sn prìt-lprw* occurs; see PM 5, p. 104; Hans W. Müller, "Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition," *MDAIK* 4 (1933), p. 187, fig. 11; Vandier, "Quelques stèles de soldats de la première période intermédiaire," *CdE* 18 (1943), fig. 11 facing p. 27; and G.B. Deakin, "Two Egyptian Stelae in the Devonshire Collection," *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* 10 (1971), pp. 63–65 and fig. 1. (The ostensible occurrence of *dì.f prìt-lprw* in a line drawing of the Eighth Dynasty false door of princess Nebet, daughter of king Neferkauhor and wife of Shemai of Coptos, is surely no more than an unbracketed and erroneous restoration; see Labib Habachi, "The Tomb of Princess Nebt of the VIIIth Dynasty Discovered at Qift," *SAK* 10 [1983], p. 211, fig. 3).

The addition of <code>di.f</code> prit-hrw to the offering formula may have been occasioned by the reinterpretation of the text in the Twelfth Dynasty; see Leprohon, <code>JEA 76</code> (1990), pp. 163–64. If the offerings were no longer jointly given by the king and Anubis or Osiris to the deceased but by the king to the deity in order that the latter in turn give them to the deceased, then the prospective <code>di.f</code> (with resultative or optative nuance) was no doubt added to make this redistribution clear.

14 "Alabaster" is not the petrologically correct translation for the stone šs, but it is more poetic than either "travertine" or "calcite," which are among the proposed identifications; see Spanel, "Two Unusual Eighteenth-Dynasty Shabtis in The Brooklyn Museum," BES 10 (1989–1990), p. 149, n. 15. In addition to the publications cited there, see James A. Harrell, "Misuse of the Term 'Alabaster' in Egyptology," Newsletter of the Association for the Study of Marble in Antiquity 8 (1991), pp. 2–4; Dietrich and Rosemarie Klemm, Steine und Steinbrüche im Alten Ägypten (Berlin and Heidelberg, 1992), p. 199; Thierry De Putter and Christina Karlshausen, Les pierres utilisées dans la sculpture et l'architecture de l'Egypte pharaonique, Connaissance de l'Egypte Ancienne, Etude 4 (Brussels, 1992), pp. 43–44; Elisabeth Barre, Choix et role de la pierre dans la construction des temples égyptiens (Paris, 1993), pp. 31–40; Barbara G. Aston, Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels: Materials and Forms, SAGA 5 (Heidelberg, 1994), pp. 42–47; and Christine Lilyquist, "Stone Vessels at Kamid el-Loz: Egyptian, Egyptianizing, or Non-Egyptian? A Question at Sites from the Sudan to Iraq to the Greek Mainland," in Kāmid el-Loz 16, edited by Rolf Hachmann, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Bonn, forthcoming).

 15 The addition of n k; n occurs before the Twelfth Dynasty, especially at Asyut (see n. 9), and therefore is not utilized here as an essential criterion.

¹⁶ The elaborations on the *htp diw niswt* formula support Schenkel's observations about an increase of lexicographical and grammatical "classifications" in the Twelfth Dynasty. Schenkel does not discuss the offering formula specifically but his remarks are applicable here; see Schenkel, "Zur Redaktions- und Überlieferungsgeschichte des Spruch 335A der Sargtexte," in *Göttinger Totenbuchstudien: Beiträge zum 17. Kapitel*, edited by Wolfhart Westendorf. GOF, IV. Reihe: Ägypten, Bd. 3 (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 57–58.

or two ties to the book roll may seem to be no more than a simple adornment. In keeping with the first type of embellishment, however, the more complex book rolls may have had a symbolic value. The one or two ties may have "signified" or "guaranteed" the integrity of the book roll. The seal had not been broken; the contents of the papyrus had not been divulged.

In the second line of its main text, Brooklyn 37.1346E (Amenemhat) displays the single palaeographic innovation and the third of the three epigraphic additions: The book roll with one tie serves as the determinative for stp(w)t ("choice cuts") and the phrase ht nbt nfrt w bt wnmt ntr lm follows immediately thereafter. Linen and alabaster are not specified directly as commodities in the wish list of the invocation offering. Instead they follow ht "thousand(s of)," a form found prior to the Twelfth Dynasty. Incense and oil are not specified.

17 However, the shorter phrase *lpt nbt nfrt (w^cbt)* is found very often before the Twelfth Dynasty; see, among many examples, Jean-Jacques Clère and Jacques Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie*, BAe 10 (Brussels, 1948), §§4, lines 1, 3 (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 20011); 13, text at bottom of page, line 3 (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 20009); 14, line 1 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 14.2.7); 15, line 1 (New York, MMA 13.182.3); 16, line 7 (Cairo, CG 20512); 19, line 2 (Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E.4985); 20(b), line 1 (London, British Museum, 100 [614]); 22, line 2 (New York, MMA 14.2.6); 23, line 1 (London, BM 99 [1203]); 25, line 3 (Cairo, Temp. Reg. ³₂₅+⁶₂); 27(A)δ, line 3 (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, no number cited); 27(A)ε, lines 1–7 (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 47267); 27(B)τ, lines 1–2, 4–5 (New York, MMA, 07.230.1 a–b); 27(C)φ, lines 1–2 (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 47397); 27(D)γγ, line 2 (Theban tomb 308); 33, line 4 (London, BM 134 [1164]); Svetlana Hodjash and Oleg D. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), cols. 68–69, no. 26, line 2 (Moscow, I.1.a.5603 [4071]).

¹⁸ The changes in the writing of the book roll were surely inspired by a similar transformation in the form of the unguent jar $\hat{\mathbb{T}} \rightarrow \hat{\mathbb{T}}$, which occurred before the Twelfth Dynasty. The book roll with the mud lump resembles exactly the narrow rim or lip of the jar and its stopper seal seen in profile. Appearing not only as a hieroglyph but also as an item in Kingdom through the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. More complicated writings of the jar with at least one or two ties next to the seal and sometimes also cloth strips down the neck and around the body of the jar occur at some point before the Twelfth Dynasty, Like the new forms of the book roll, the ornate writings of the unguent jar perhaps reinforce the idea of unviolated contents. To cite but three of many Eleventh Dynasty examples, the two ties on the rim of the jar occur on: 1) TBM 54.66 (stela 1 here: the jar in Inyotef's hand and all four jars on the offering table); 2) Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, I.1.a.5603 (4071; stela of Henenu; see Hodjash and Berley, Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum, no. 26, plates between cols. 68-69, 72-73; and 3) Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 47267, interior of sarcophagus of Ashaït; see Brigitte Jaroš-Deckert, Grabung im Asasif, 1963-1970, Bd. 5: Das Grab des Įnj-jtj.f: Die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie, AV 12 (Mainz, 1984), pl. 9. For the different renderings of vessels, contrast figs. 377, 380 with figs. 373–76, 378– 79, 381–84 in Gustave Jéquier, Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du moyen empire, MIFAO 47 (Cairo, 1921) and pl. 31, figs. 17, 31 with 20-30, 32-33 in Pierre Lacau, Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire, II: CG 28087-28126 (Cairo, 1906).

¹⁹ For example, on the stela of Henenu in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, cited in the previous note, p. 69, no. 26. For a discussion of stp(w)t, iht nbt nfrt w-bt wnmt ntr im, and hs, see Lapp, Opferformel, §§ 199, 228, 235–37, 256.

A further contrast, which illustrates the proclivity of Twelfth Dynasty scribes for more elaborate writings, concerns the use of expletive and plural strokes. Although both of these items certainly appear in the late Eleventh Dynasty, their usage becomes much more common in the Twelfth Dynasty. Whereas Inyotef's stela has but one of the former (after *ib* in line 3) and none of the latter, Amenemhat's stela has seventeen expletive strokes and ten markers of the plural.

These changes yield only relative, not absolute dates. They serve to separate Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions from earlier texts, but they by no means pinpoint the particular reign to which a monument belongs. Thus the absence of the three epigraphic additions and the simple form of the book roll simply demonstrates that 54.66 was made at some point before the Twelfth Dynasty. The name Inyotef clearly suggests Theban origin. The facial modeling, which resembles the sculptures, paintings, and reliefs, of Nebhepetre Montuhotpe and his successors, are evidence for a late Eleventh Dynasty date. Nonetheless, a date in Nebhepetre's reign before the reunification remains possible. The date of 37.1346E is more difficult to determine. That it belongs to the Twelfth Dynasty has been determined. The use of some but not all of the epigraphic features, in particular the absence of the prospective *di.f.*, and the overall symmetry suggest a date in the early part of the dynasty—either the reign of Amenemhat I or Senwosret I or their coregency.

These changes are found first in several private inscriptions from different geographic regions during the reign of Amenemhat I. Exactly when they first occur is problematical because the earliest dated inscriptions from his tenure are not forthcoming until his twentieth year. Nonetheless, numerous other inscriptions that may well date to the earlier years in his reign include new forms of the book roll and the phrases "that he may give invocation offerings" and "every good and pure thing upon which a god lives" to the <code>htp diw niswt</code> formula. The wide geographic distribution of the inscriptions—Meir, Abydos, Thebes, and elsewhere—strongly suggests that the instigation for the changes came from the court itself, no doubt as part of the well-documented and widely ranging efforts of Amenemhat I to restore centralized control.

²⁰ For example, the great stela of Henenu in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, I.la.5603 (4071), perhaps from tomb 313 at Deir el Bahri, temp. Nakhtnebtepnefer Montuhotpe; see Hodjash and Berlev, *Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum*, no. 26, cols. 68–69. Other late Eleventh Dynasty inscriptions are much more sparing in their use of expletive and plural strokes. The stela of Meru in Turin (Egyptian Museum, Inv. 1447), which contains the regnal year 46 of Nebhepetre Montuhotpe has relatively few strokes of either type in its long inscription; see Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches (VII.–XVII. Dynastie, ca. 2475–1580 v. Chr.): Materialen zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, AHAW, phil.-hist. Kl. 6 (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 22, fig. 14.

Because they occur so early in the Twelfth Dynasty, these innovations serve as valuable criteria for distinguishing between between contemporary monuments and those of the Eleventh Dynasty and Herakleopolitan Period. Although earlier, simpler forms of the <code>htp diw niswt</code> formula certainly continue, versions with at least one of the new forms are much more common. This frequency of attestation is especially valuable in determining the date of monuments that feature an earlier, traditional artistic style.

APPENDIX A: CRITICAL DATA FOR 54.66 (FIGS. 2-3)

Material: Limestone, plaster, pigment *Dimensions:* 35.3 cm wide x 29.6 cm high

Provenance: Not known Date: Late Eleventh Dynasty

- ²¹ For a discussion of these texts, see William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40 (Chicago, 1977), pp. 2–5; Lawrence M. Berman, *Amenemhet I*, (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1985), pp. 99–172; and Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{ex}: Etude chronologique et historique du règne*, Connaissance de l'Egypte Ancienne, 5 (Brussels, 1995), passim. Pertinent here are the following two monuments:
- 1. Paris, Louvre, C1 (year date not certain), which has the book roll with no ties and with one tie and also a damaged phrase ending [wr]bt 'nht ntr im. Perhaps made for the Nesumontu known from two early block statues; see 1 and 3 in the first section of Appendix C). For the various dates proposed for this stela (year 4, 7, 8, or 9 of Senwosret I), see Schenkel, FmäS, §1e; Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, p. 17 (ANOC 6.2) and pl. 14; Berman, Amenemhet I, pp. 102–127; Wolfgang Helck, "Schwachstellen der Chronologie-Diskussion," GM 67 (1987), pp. 44–45; Detlef Franke, Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.–16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) Dossiers 1–96, ÄA 41 (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 195 (dossier 282); C. Obsomer, "La date de Nésou-Montou (Louvre C1)," RdE 44 (1993), pp. 103–40; idem, Mélanges Théodoridès, pp. 180–81, list 6; idem, Sésostris I^{ex}, pp. 11, 37, 39, 50–58, 61–65, 67–69, 71–81, 132, 247, 288, 305, 394, 401, 405, 546–52 (doc. 34).
- 2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 20516 (= year 30 of Amenemhat I), which also has the addition of *dì.f prìt-ḫrw* to the invocation-offering formula. Although the poor quality of the published photograph does not enable verification of the form of the book roll in line 6 of the text, Detlef Franke has stated in a personal communication that the book roll with one tie is clearly visible in a good photograph in his possession. For the published photograph, see Hans O. Lange and J. Heinrich Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs (CG 20001–20870)*, Part 2: *Text zu Nr. 20400–20780* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 108–109; and vol. 4: *Tafeln* (Berlin, 1902), pl. 35. See also Franke, *Personendaten*, p. 114 (dossier 137); Obsomer, *RdE* 44 (1993), pp. 108 and fig. 3, 134; idem, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, pp. 180–81, list 6; idem, *Sésostris I^{ex}*, pp. 12, 38, 45–56, 77, 82, 96–99, 104, 112, 138, 141, 417, 515–18 (doc. 25).

 $^{^{22}}$ See Appendix C.

²³ Janine Bourriau, "Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom," in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke (New Malden, Surrey, 1991), pp. 3–20.

²⁴ One of the earliest of the coffins from Lisht South, belonging to the woman 'nht, dates to years 10 to 15 of Senwosret I. Its version of the htp diw niswt formula has none of the three important epigraphic additions, but its orthography does point to a date in the Twelfth Dynasty. The coffins from Lisht North and South will be published by James P. Allen, who kindly made available his copies of the coffin inscriptions.

Means of Acquisition: Museum Purchase, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund Bibliography: Jacques Vandier, "Quatres stèles inédites de la fin de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Epoque Intermédiaire," RdE 2 (1936), pp. 59–64); John D. Cooney et al., Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art: 1951–1956 (Brooklyn, 1956), pp. 23–24, no. 26; Wolfgang Schenkel, Memphis•Herakleopolis•Theben: Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens, ÄA 12 (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 117–18, no. 88; Hollis Baker, Furniture in the Ancient World: Origins and Evolution, 3100–475 B.C. (New York, 1966), p. 54, fig. 51 (reference from Barbara A. Porter); T.G.H. James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum, I: From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII, Wilbour Monographs, 6 (Brooklyn, 1974), p. 34, no. 80; and Obsomer, Mélanges Théodoridès, p. 178 (see n. 9).

Condition and Modeling: The rough limestone of the stela is covered by a thin and smooth plaster surface painted to resemble indurated limestone. The plaster has flaked in parts and there are several cracks and abrasions.

Translation: (line 1) An offering given by the king (and) Osiris, lord of Busiris, foremost of the westerners, lord of Abydos, in all his fine and pure places, (that is,) food offerings, (l. 2) thousands (of) bread, beer, oxen, and fowl for the honored one, Inyotef, born of, a Senebet, (and) for his beloved wife, Senettekh. It is his beloved son and heir (l. 3) who does what

²⁵ Certainly the best example is Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 20003; for extensive bibliography, see Gay Robins, Proportions and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art (Austin, 1994), p. 264, n. 25 on ch. 4. The artistic style of both the sunk relief and of the decoration closely follows that of late Eleventh Dynasty monuments. Nonetheless, the single occurrence of the book roll has two ties, and linen and alabaster are among the commodities requested in "l'appel aux vivants." A grid pattern appears on the figures of the deceased. If, as is likely, the stela belongs to the Twelfth Dynasty, it is either an extraordinary archaism, or a very interesting continuation of Eleventh Dynasty tradition by a Theban artist who did not abandon the style with which he was familiar. If it was made in the Eleventh Dynasty, it has extremely rare occurrences of the three features mentioned above that are virtually unknown elsewhere before the Twelfth Dynasty. Furthermore, if it dates to the Eleventh Dynasty, it contains one of the earliest occurrences of both the book roll with two ties and the grid pattern (illustrated and discussed in Hans W. Müller, "Die Kanon in der ägyptischer Kunst," in Sigrid Braunfels et al., Der »vermessene« Mensch—Anthropometrie in Kunst und Wissenschaft [Munich, 1973], pp. 8, 15, fig. 8; and Robins, Proportions, pp. 70-73, and figs. 4.6-7). For discussions of Cairo CG 20003 and the problems associated with its dating, see Freed, The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief: Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI with an Appendix on the Trend of Early Dynasty XII (2040-1878 B.C) (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1984), pp. 21, 82-90, and fig. 24; and Spanel, Beni Hasan in the Herakleopolitan Period (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1984), pp. 65-68. The grid pattern consists of rectangular cells that represent a type transitional between the Achsenkreuz, which were used from the Old Kingdom through the Eleventh Dynasty, and the squared cells, which appeared in the early Twelfth Dynasty; see Robins, Proportions, p. 73.



he favors every day, Inyotef, born of Senettekh, who causes his name to live, who makes his monuments, so that he may follow his heart in his own nome.^c

(Identification above woman seated at left): His beloved wife, Senettekh, true of voice.

(Identification above man seated in middle): The honored one, Inyotef, true of voice.

(Identification above and in front of man standing at right): His beloved servant, who does what he favors every day, the chamberlain, Imy, true of voice.

Fig. 2. Stela of Inyotef; The Brooklyn Museum, 54.66.

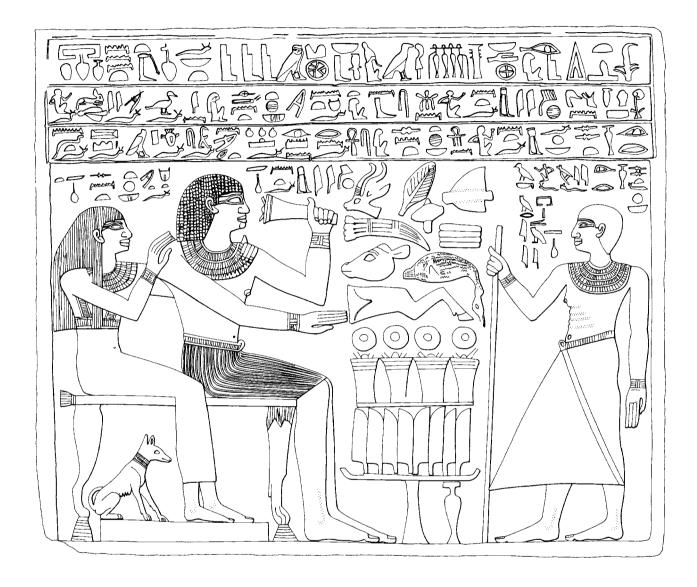


Fig. 3. Stela of Inyotef; drawing by Tamara Bower.

Commentary:

^a On the significance of *ms.n Snbt* as a dating criterion, see Obsomer, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, p. 178, list 5. This phrase and the style of relief clearly point to a late Eleventh Dynasty date, probably the reign of Nebhepetre Montuhotpe; whether the stela was made before or after the reunification, however, remains uncertain.

^b The second writing of the name (in l.3) is elliptical, but the correct reading is indicated by the festival determinative. Vandier in his thorough discussion of the name *Sntth*(*it*) regarded it as theophoric, not-

ing, however, that both elements are unclear ($RdE\ 2\ [1936]$, pp. 61–63). Having conceded that snt may mean "semblable," that is, "she who resembles/is like," in reference to a deity, Vandier refrained from offering this explanation or any other translation because no conclusive proof existed. He then presented three possible explanations for th(i), choosing the third—it is the name of the deity of the first month.

Vandier's observations are convincing. The woman's name appears to be Tipsy ("she who resembles the drunken one [Hathor]"). For *snt*, see Dimitri Meeks, *Année Lexicographique: Egypte Ancienne* 2 (1978) (Paris, 1981), p. 329, no. 78.3574; ibid., 3 (1979) (Paris, 1982), p. 256, no. 79.2595.

The meaning of thi is more complex. Depending on the determinative with which it is written, thi can refer to a festival or to intoxication or both. The suggestion that the word has connotations of a plumb line or of Thoth may be valid in other contexts, but it does not seem likely in the present occurrence with the feminine name Sntthi(it); cf. Alan H. Gardiner, "The Problem of the Month Names," RdE 10 (1955), p. 25. Written with the festival determinative as here, the name Sntthi(it) perhaps refers to 20 Thoth (first month) and 20 Athyr (third month). On the festival of thi, see Anthony Spalinger, "A Chronological Analysis of the Feast of thy," SAK 20 (1993), pp. 289–303, esp. 300, n. 41.

More often, *thì* has the jug determinative. Several Middle Kingdom examples of the personal names *Th(ît)* and *Si(t)th(ît)* so determined are cited in Ranke, *PN* I, pp. xxviii, 285.2, 294.18, 382.30–31. In its meaning "intoxication," "drunkenness," *thì* (*Wb*. 5, pp. 324.18–325.4) can allude to Hathor; see François Daumas, "Les objets sacrés de la déesse Hathor à Dendera," *RdE* 22 (1970), p. 75; Jean-Claude Goyon, "Hathor, l'ivraie et l'ivresse," *Cercle Lyonnais d'Égyptologie Victor Loret* 6 (1992), pp. 7–16; and Heike Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Ein Hymnus an die Göttin Hathor und das Ritual "Hathor das Trankopfer Darbringen" nach den Tempeltexten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Rites Egyptiens 7 (Brussels, 1992). (The last two references are from Richard A. Fazzini.)

Whether written with the festival or jug determinative, th(it) appears to denote intoxication. "Festivals of drunkenness" were celebrated on both 20 Thoth (first month) and 20 Athyr (third month); see *Année Lexicographique* 2, p. 416, no. 78.4600. The great Hathor temple itself at Dendera acquired the epithet *st thi*, "the place of drunkenness," ibid., no. 78.4599); Hartwig Altenmüller, "Feste," $L\ddot{A}$ 2, cols. 173–75, nn. 26, 71–72; and Daumas, "Hathorfeste," $L\ddot{A}$ 2, col. 1035.

^c The sign has been read *grgt* "tomb" (i.e., that which has been established). This suggestion makes good sense both in context and in

consideration of the hill determinative, which would apparently denote the west; see Schenkel, *Memphis•Herakleopolis•Theben*, p. 118, n. b. *Grg* has several possible connotations and palaeographic permutations; see Willems, *JEOL* 28 (1983–1984), p. 90; and Edward Brovarski, *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga ed-Dêr*, vol. 3, (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1989), pp. 525–27 and fig. 53. The prism-shaped tank can sometimes be a variant for spst, "nome;" see Henry G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, NY, 1968), p. 95 and n. 424.

Additional Comment: Characteristic of Eleventh Dynasty relief, sculpture, and painting are the modeling of the facial details and the ears, in particular the narrow, elongated eyes with cosmetic lines; the crescentmoon shaped incision indicating a flesh fold behind the nasal alae; the bee-stung lips; and the large and obliquely positioned ears with pendulous lobes. The style is particularly well represented in the reliefs from the tomb of Neferu, chief wife of Nebhepetre Montuhotpe, and as is well known, similar facial features were appropriated by both royalty and private persons in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. What has not been widely recognized, however, is the legacy of the so-called second Saggara style (which originated in the latter half of the Old Kingdom) to the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Eighteenth Dynasties. For Old Kingdom origins, see Russmann, MDAIK 51 (1995), pp. 269-80. For appearance in other periods, see James F. Romano, in Richard A. Fazzini et al., Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn, 1989), cat. no. 17 (with bibliography); idem, "A Relief of King Ahmose and Early Eighteenth Dynasty Archaism," BES 5 (1983), pp. 103-15; Cyril Aldred, "Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt," MMJ 3 (1970), p. 31, fig. 3-4 (MMA 26.3.29, head of Nebhepetre Montuhotpe); Rita E. Freed, Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief, pp. 33–34; and Roland Tefnin, "Contribution à l'iconographie d'Aménophis I: La statuette 42.099 du Musée du Caire," AIP 20 (1968–1972), pp. 433–37.

APPENDIX B: CRITICAL DATA FOR 37.1346E (FIGS. 4–5)

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: 53.4 cm wide x 42.3 cm high

Provenance: Not known Date: Early Twelfth Dynasty

Means of Acquisition: Museum Purchase, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund Bibliography: New-York Historical Society 1915; James, Corpus of

Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum, p. 38, no. 86 and pls. 6, 31; Michelle Thirion, "Notes d'onomastique: Contributions à une révision du Ranke *PN* (Troisième Série)," *RdE* 34 (1982–1983): 101–102 (reference from Richard A. Fazzini); and Obsomer, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, p. 199, list 14.

Condition and Modeling: Although the main text in the upper half of the stela and some portions of the figures below are finished, much of the rest is roughly cut and minimally modeled. The surface is extensively blemished by exfoliation and craquelure. It lacks the thin plaster wash of 54.66.

Translation: (line 1) An offering given by the king (and) Osiris, lord of the west, foremost of the westerners, lord of Abydos, (that is,) food offerings—thousands (of) oxen, fowl, and bread; thousands (of) "alabaster," linen, all kinds of green vegetables (l. 2), hhkt offerings, split bread, hhr and pdw offerings, choice cuts, every fine and pure thing of which a god partakes, (l. 3) that is, hsb bread, beer, (milk of) the Hesat cow, of (for?) the great god; thousands (of) (l. 4) divine offerings for the honored one, Amenemhat, made by Shabet, true of voice, possessor of honor.

(Identification in front of man to left of offering table): The honored one, Amenemhat.

(Identification of woman behind him): His beloved wife, ^j Satmontu, made by Yi, ^k possessor of honor.

(Identification of man to right of offering table): The honored one, Montuhotpe, (made) by Satmontu.

(Identification of woman behind him): The honored one, Iy, made by Iymeru.

Commentary:

- ^a See n. 14 for the various translations of šs.
- ^b Another possible translation for *rnpwt* is "goods for the New Year festival;" see Lapp, *Opferformel*, §§243–46.
- ^c Ibid., §§ 183, 235–39, 247–50 for *ḥnkt*, which can refer to many types of offerings, such as meat, fowl, and liquids. Here the determinative suggests the latter.
 - ^d Ibid., §251 for gsw.
- $^{\rm e}$ Ibid., §§252–54 for $p\underline{h}r$ and §255 for $p\underline{d}w$. Although the translation "redistributed offerings" for the first word would seem logical, Lapp cautions against the translation "Umlaufopfer" in §253.
 - f See n. 19 for stp(w)t.

g The meaning of *hsb* here is obscure. For two other examples of the offering formulae in which *ts n hsb, hsst,* and *dfsw* occur, see Winfried Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel,* ÄF 24 (Glückstadt, 1968), pp. 46(g), 58(k).

h See Lapp, Opferformel, §189 for htpw-ntr.

i On the importance of irt.n NN as a dating criterion, see Obsomer, $M\'elanges\ Th\'eodorid\`es$, pp. 163–200. For other Middle Kingdom attestations of the name \check{S} 3bt, see Ranke, PN I, p. 324(25). Whether the name derives from $\check{s}(s)b(w)$, "food," "meal," is not certain; some occurrences have the vine determinative as here; see Wb. IV. 410.2–3. Possibly, the name is related to $\check{s}(s)bt$, a type of plant; ibid., IV.410.7–8; 438.2–5; and Meeks, $Ann\'ee\ Lexicographique$, I.77.4080, 77.4139; II.78.4038; III.79.2960–2961. It may designate a settlement to the north of Dendera; see Thirion, $RdE\ 34\ (1982–1983)$, p. 102.

^j In front of the woman's face at the left, the hm hieroglyph in hmt.f mryt.f resembles the female genitalia; see Spanel, Or 58 (1989), p. 311, n. 46–47.

^k For the determinative after the woman's name at left, see Fischer, "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom," *MMJ* 8 (1973), p. 23, n. 51.

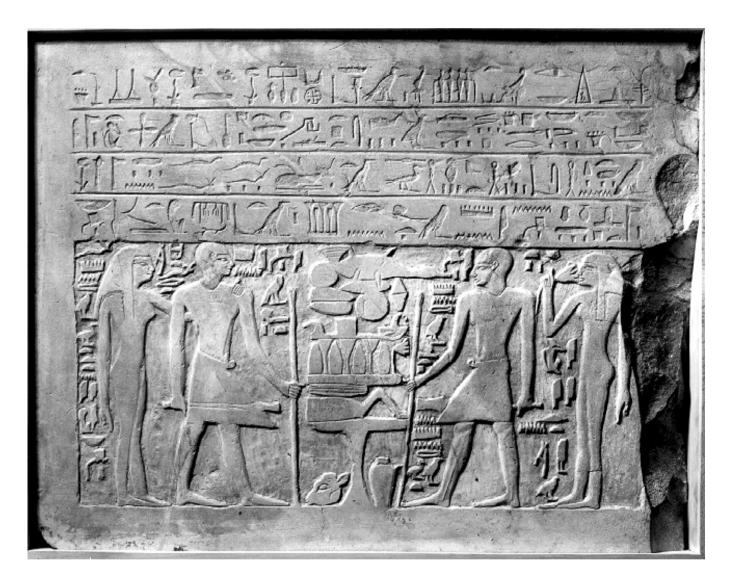
Additional Comment: For the armlike censer on the offering table, see Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," JARCE 2 (1963), pp. 29–34; idem, Dendera, p. 87 and n. 390.

Appendix C: New Forms of the Book Roll and the Addition of di.f prit-hrw and ht nbt nfrt w^*bt *nht (wnmt) ntr im to the Invocation-Offering Formula in the Reign of Amenembat I

N.B.: Because Claude Obsomer's magisterial *Sésostris I^{et}* (see n. 21) appeared after the completion of this article, complete consultation was not possible. Careful examination of the nearly two hundred documents cited by Obsomer will surely refine the following lists. See also Nicolas Grimal's "Coregence et association au trône: L'Enseignement d'Amenemhat I^{et}," *BIFAO* 95 (1995), pp. 273–80, which also appeared after this study was in press.

Book Roll with One Tie

1. Paris, Louvre, C1 (year date not certain), from Abydos, which has the book roll with no ties and with one tie and a damaged phrase ending [w]bt nht ntr im. See below (second item in the section on ht nbt nfrt wbt nht [wnmt] ntr im), and for bibliography, see n. 2. Perhaps made for



the Nesumontu of Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum (Charlottenburg), ÄGM 26/66 (see 3 in this section and n. 21).

2. Paris, Louvre C3 (dated to year 9 of Senwosret I alone = year 29 of Amenemhat I), from Abydos; W.K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13.* Publications of the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition to Egypt, 5 (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974), p. 17 (ANOC 6.3), pl. 15; Pascal Vernus, "La stèle C3 du Louvre," *RdE* 25 (1973), pp. 217–34; Murnane, *Coregencies*, p. 4; Franke, *Personendaten*, pp. 192, 195 (dossiers 276, 282); Obsomer, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, pp. 180–81, list 6; idem, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 50–51,

Fig. 4. Stela of Amenemhat; The Brooklyn Museum, 37.1346E.

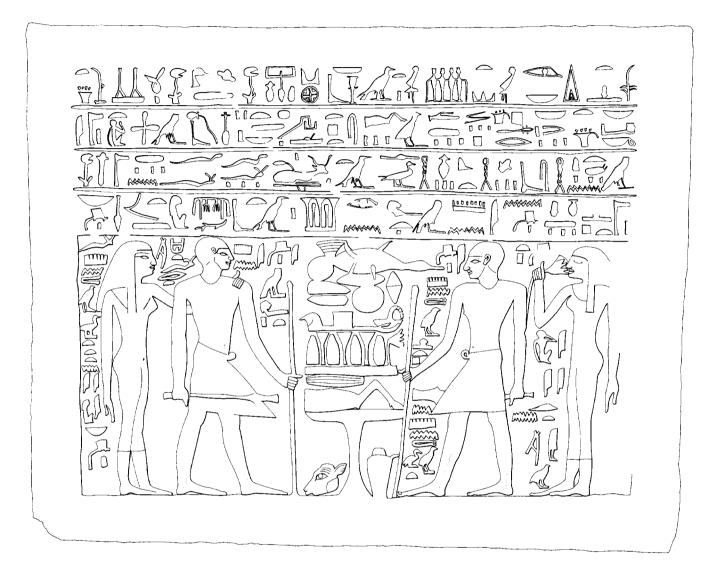


Fig. 5. Stela of Amenemhat; drawing by Tamara Bower.

- 62, 68, 70–72, 76–77, 96–99, 554–59 (doc. 36). On this and other monuments that date to the ten-year coregency of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I but contain the cartouches only of the junior partner, see Simpson, "The Single-Dated Monuments of Sesostris I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956), pp. 214–19; and Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{et}*, pp. 104–12. In the latter publication (pp. 45–136) and earlier in *RdE* 44 (1993), pp. 103–40, Obsomer presents an interesting refutation of the existence of the coregency. See also Grimal, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), pp. 273–80.
- 3. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum (Charlottenburg), ÄGM 26/66, from Abydos; see Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, p. 17 (ANOC 6.4),

- pl. 15; Franke, *Personendaten*, pp. 101, 195 (dossiers 112, 282); Helmut Satzinger, "Die Abydos-Stele des *Jpwy* aus dem Mittleren Reich," *MDAIK* 25 (1969), pp. 121–30 and pl. 3b; and Obsomer, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, pp. 180–81, list 6; idem, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 52, 54, 508–509 (doc. 20). Perhaps made for the Nesumontu of Paris, Louvre, C1 (see 1 in this section and n. 21) and of a block statue in Munich (Wildung, *MDAIK* 37 [1981], pp. 503–507), which is not listed here because it does not have the invocation-offering formula or the book roll. For the congruity of these monuments, see Franke, *Personendaten*, p. 195 (dossier 282).
- 4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 20516 (year 30 of Amenemhat I), from Abydos, which also has the additions of *di.f prit-hrw* and incense, oil, linen, and alabaster. See n. 21 for bibliography.
- 5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 20515 (year 10 of Senwosret I), from Abydos; see Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs (CG 20001–20870)*, vol. 2, p. 107; and vol. 4, pl. 35; Simpson, "Studies in the Twelfth Dynasty, I–II," *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 53, 55 (B); idem, *Terrace of the Great God*, p. 19 (ANOC 30.1); and Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 50–53, 72, 77, 78, 99, 513–15 (doc. 24). In the typeset copy of the inscription, Lange and Schäfer conventionalize the book roll with two ties. Inspection of the plate reveals that it has one; Simpson correctly reproduces it. Because the date of CG 20515 is not certain, it may not be valid evidence for the appearance of the book roll with one tie in the reign of Amenemhat I. Year 10 of Senwosret I corresponds to year 30, the final year of Amenemhat I. Whether the stela was produced shortly before or after his death is not clear; see Simpson, *JARCE* 2 (1963), p. 53. See also 3 in the third section below.
- 6. Tomb of Ihy at Saqqara, which also has the form with no ties and with two ties. The validity of this example is not certain, however, because the tomb may date to a reign later than that of Amenembat I. See 8 in the next section.

Book Roll with Two Ties:

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20.3.122, fragment from the Theban coffin of Meketre, whose burial has been dated to the very early years of the reign of Amenemhat I; see Dorothea Arnold, "Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes," *MMJ* 26 (1991), pp. 5–37 (for the date of the tomb), 38, fig. 62 (for the coffin fragment); and in the same publication, James P. Allen, "Appendix II: The Coffin Fragments of Meketre," pp. 39–40.

- 2. Paris, Louvre C34 (attributed to year 9 of Senwosret I), from Abydos; see Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, p. 19 (ANOC 29.2), pl. 43; and Franke, *Personendaten*, p. 268 (dossier 424); and Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, p. 306. In addition to the book roll with two ties and the insertion of *di.f* before *prìt-ḥrw*, this stela has a garbled and damaged variant on the phrase "every good and pure thing upon which a god lives."
- 3. Tod, inv. no. 1060 (cartouche of Amenemhat I but no regnal date); see Fernand Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd (1934 à 1936)*, FIFAO 17 (Cairo, 1937), p. 105, fig. 59 (book roll is in column at right). This inscription is said to contain the earliest occurrence of the book roll with two ties (Schenkel, *FmäS*, §2[d]), but the reason for the claim is not clear.
- 4. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 20024, from Akhmim, without cartouche[s] or regnal date but perhaps, though not necessarily, belonging to the same person—Inyotef— responsible for Wadi Hammamat graffito 199, which has the cartouches of Amenemhat I but no specific year. For CG 20024, see Dietrich Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet: Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Fribourg, 1984), p. 11, fig. 1, and for Inyotef of the graffito, see Franke, *Personendaten*, p. 112 (dossier 132); and Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{et}*, pp. 361–62, 705–708 (doc. 165). Obsomer (p. 361, n. 1) believes that two different persons named Inyotef are involved.
- 5. Meir, tomb chapel (B1) of Senbi, son of Ukhhotpe, son of Senbi. This structure has been tentatively dated to the reign of Amenemhat I; see A.M. Blackman, *Meir* I, EEF, ASE, 22nd Memoir (London, 1914), pp. 8, 11, pls. 3 (second row from top, toward right), 9 (middle row, center).
- 6. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum (Bodemuseum), 22820, from Kamala, near Luxor; see Freed, "A Private Stela from Naga ed-Der and Relief Style of the Reign of Amenemhet I," in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, The Aegean, and The Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980,* edited by William K. Simpson and Whitney M. Davis (Boston, 1981), p. 76; Rudolf Anthes, "Eine Polizeistreife des Mittleren Reiches in die westliche Oase," *ZÄS* 65 (1930), pp. 108–14; and Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, p. 132. Elsewhere, the stela has been incorrectly dated to the Eleventh Dynasty; see Ingeborg Müller, "Stele des Kai," in Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, edited by Karl-Heinz Priese (Mainz, 1991), p. 53, no. 34.
- 7. Possibly a graffito from Wadi el Girgawi in the Sudan, attributed to the reign of Amenemhat I; see Zbynek Žába, *The Rock Inscriptions*

of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak Concession), Charles University of Prague, Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology in Prague and in Cairo, Publications I (Prague, 1974), p. 54, no. 27, and fig. 55; and Obsomer, Sésostris I^{er}, pp. 50, 61, 283–85, 650–51 (doc. 102). Whether this graffito belongs to the reign of Amenemhat I is not certain.

8. Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Ihy at Saggara, which also has the form with no ties and with one tie (see 6 in the previous section). The date of this tomb is not certain. In two lectures delivered on 23rd September 1994, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and on 6th September 1995 at the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Selwyn College, Cambridge, respectively, David P. Silverman reported that the three following forms appear in the expression hrì sšt; on the false door on the west wall of Ihy's tomb: book with no tie, one tie, two ties both on the same side of the mud seal (clearly an experimental type analogous to the Sixth Dynasty example at Meir; see n. 12). On the north wall of the tomb, the form with two ties (one on either side of the seal) occurs. Silverman has tentatively assigned Ihy's tomb (and Hetep's) to the tenure of Amenemhat I, probably late in his reign, conceding that some scholars date Ihy's tomb to the reign of Amenemhat II; see Silverman, "The Middle Kingdom Chapels of Ihy and Hetep at Saggara," Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995: Abstracts of Papers, edited by Christopher Eyre (Oxford, 1995), pp. 168– 69; and cf. Cyril Aldred, Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt (London, 1950), pp. 43–44, no. 36; and Simpson, *JARCE* 2 (1963), p. 54(f). In a related lecture, Rita Freed likewise assigned the two tombs to the tenure of Amenemhat I for art-historical reasons; see Freed, "An Art Historical Analysis of the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Ihy and Hetep at Saggara," Seventh ICE: Abstracts, pp. 60–61.

Silverman and Freed will republish the two tombs. Already in the previous publication of portions of Ihy's burial, however, some of these forms of the book roll are carefully distinguished in the typeset copies; see Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe G. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1926), pp. 280 (4, 7), 281 (18, 20) (no ties), 284 (two ties); vol. 2, pl. 83 (simple form of htp diw niswt formula, book roll with no ties, and book roll with one tie).

Di.f prit-hrw

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 45626, from Thebes; see Freed, *Dunham Studies*, p. 76, second in list, for the attribution to the reign of Amenembat I.

- 2. Paris, Louvre C2 (dated to year 9 of S. I = year 29 of A. I), from Abydos. Although *dì.f prìt-ḥrw* is not present, the invocation offering has the interesting variation *dì.f mw* and requests for incense and oil, linen and alabaster (see the next entry); see Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, p. 19 (ANOC 29.1), pl. 44; idem, *JNES* 15 (1956), p. 215; Franke, *Personendaten*, p. 268 (dossier 424); Obsomer, *RdE* 44 (1993), pp. 111–12; idem, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 50–53, 60, 77, 107–112, 306, 401, 552–54.
- 3. Louvre C19 (does not contain cartouche[s] or year date[s], but together with Louvre C1 [see 1 in the first section and 2 in the next], it possibly, though not necessarily, belongs to a group that for prosopographical reasons can be dated to the ninth or tenth year of Senwosret I, corresponding to the twenty-ninth or thirtieth year of Amenemhat I), from Abydos. This stela has the variant *di.f mw prit-hrw* (see the preceding entry) "that he may give water (and) food offerings." See Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, p. 17 (ANOC 6.1), pl. 15; Franke, *Personendaten*, pp. 192, 195 (dossiers 276, 282); and Obsomer, *Sésostris I*^{er}, p. 77.

Containing di.f prit-hrw but to be removed from the group of monuments previously dated to the reign of Amenemhat I is New York, MMA, 12.182.1, the stela of Rehuerdjersen, from Abydos; see Freed, Dunham Studies, p. 74, n. 43, first in list (not 08.200.5); and Franke, Personendaten, p. 250 (dossier 391). The stela is usually associated with the person whose tomb lay within the enclosure wall of the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht North. Elsewhere, Freed has dated the stela to the reign of Amenemhat II and has suggested either that Rehuerdjersen lived into the latter king's reign or that the stela was commemorative (made in the reign of Amenemhat II for R., who died in the reign of Amenembat I) or that the stela and tomb belonged to two persons with the same name; see Freed, Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief, p. 271, n. 697. Freed's third suggestion is certainly very possible; see Obsomer, Mélanges Théodoridès, p. 191; idem, Sésostris Ier, p. 207, n. 3. The name is also known from a Twelfth Dynasty coffin now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 62.5; see Willems, Chests of Life, p. 32. As for Rehuerdjersen's unpublished mastaba at Lisht North, none of the extant inscriptions is pertinent here. Dorothea and Dieter Arnold and Janine Bourriau kindly allowed access to the unpublished notes and photographs from the excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the enclosure of the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht North.

ht nbt nfrt w'bt 'nht (wnmt) ntr im

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 20518 (dated to year 7 of S. I alone = year 27 of A. I), from Abydos. This stela has a shortened form of the

phrase (no *nfrt w^cbt*); see Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. 2, pp. 113–14, and vol. 4, pl. 35; Simpson, *JNES* 15 (1956), p. 215; Murnane, *Coregencies*, p. 3; Obsomer, *RdE* 44 (1993), pp. 111–12, 133–34; and idem, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 50–53, 60–61, 68, 107, 111–12, 431, 518–20 (doc. 26).

- 2. Louvre, Paris, C1 (date not certain), from Abydos. This stela has a damaged phrase ending $[w^{\epsilon}]bt$ 'nht ntr im describing df3 ("food"). See n. 21 for bibliography.
- 3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 20515 (dated to year 10 of S. I alone = year 30 of A. I), from Abydos; for bibliography see 5 in the first section above. In the "appel aux vivants," this stela has the phrase, omitting *nfrt*; see Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. 2, p. 106; vol. 4, pl. 35; Simpson, *JNES* 15 (1956), p. 215; Murnane, *Coregencies*, p. 4; Obsomer, *RdE* 44 (1993), p. 131; idem, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 50–53, 72, 77–78, 99, 513–15 (doc. 24).



Origins and Development of the Funerary Complex of Djoser



RAINER STADELMANN

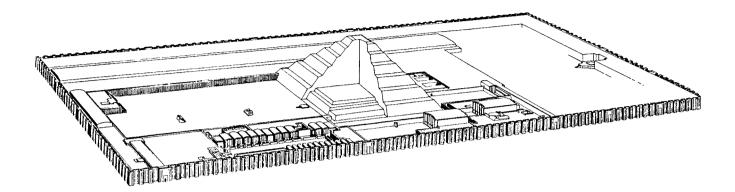
the development of royal funerary installations and especially cult traditions at Abydos and Memphis/Sakkara. He has strongly stimulated the excavations and investigations at Abydos. I hope that dedicating this essay to a long-standing friend and great scholar will please him.

No other religious or funerary complex in Egypt plays such an important role in the development of architecture and research in Egyptian mortuary concepts as the funerary precinct of Djoser in Sakkara. It is nowadays commonly accepted that Djoser's funerary complex originally grew from a much smaller precinct by the enlargement of the royal tomb and the addition of new elements into the harmonic ensemble we can still recognize today. More intensive research will, however, be needed, as well as more profound surveying in the complex on the individual buildings. This will provide us with precise, large-scale plans and sections allowing us to differentiate the sequence of construction phases and recognize the reasons behind them. Even if we sometimes claim to understand a building or recognize and identify its prototype, there are still many questions to answer and hypotheses to investigate (fig. 1).

About fifteen years ago W. Kaiser put forward some substantial remarks concerning the origins and the development of the Djoser complex. His two main theories are as follows. First, the complex was originally considerably smaller and was enlarged when the step mastaba was converted into a step pyramid. Secondly, the solid masonry buildings in the complex would originally have been free-standing chapels which were bound and connected in a later construction phase by massive fillings. In answer to these ingenious proposals Lauer accepted the first thesis about the enlargement. He refused, however, with convincing

¹ Jean-Philippe Lauer, La Pyramide à degrés. L'Architecture. Fouilles à Saqqarah (Cairo, 1936).

 $^{^2}$ W. Kaiser, "Zu den königlichen Talbezirken in Abydos und zur Baugeschichte des Djoser-Grabmals," MDAIK 25 (1969), pp. 1ff.



criteria, the interpretation of an evolution of the solid masonry buildings out of originally free-standing rows of chapels. Lauer's arguments, that the casing of the chapels enclosed in the solid masonry was not smoothed, clearly demonstrate that the solid masonry enclosing of the chapels was intended and belonged already to the first construction phase. This does not mean that Kaiser's astute assumption is completely incorrect. It shows, however, that during the planning concept of the complex two steps were skipped: the intellectual transition from existing structures built of wood and bricks to those model edifices built in stone, and the reassembling of these models into cult ensembles. These are the massifs of the heb-sed court, the massifs of the two "maisons" and the solid masonry construction north of the entrance hall. It is therefore more reasonable to remain with the cautious interpretation of Lauer and to differentiate between the solid core masonry buildings not intended for practical cult use and those of the mortuary temple or temple T which came to serve an enduring mortuary cult.

It follows that Kaiser's final conclusion, that these solid core masonry structures may have been abandoned relics of an earlier cult and construction phase, must also be questioned. He has correctly observed that these dummy chapels and solid core masonry buildings do not exist any more in the subsequent complexes of the Third Dynasty nor in the pyramid temples of the Fourth Dynasty. Yet they do not disappear completely. They become incorporated into the structural and pictorial program of the later pyramid temples. The five statue chapels of the later pyramid temples that are enclosed in a massive core construction

Fig. 1. Isometric plan of the Djoser complex (drawing by Nairi Hampikian).

³ Lauer, "Sur certaines modifications apportées au complexe funéraire de Djoser au cours de son regne," in J. Baines et al., eds., *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (London, 1988), pp. 5ff. and 9.

 $^{^4}$ Perhaps already in Dahshur/North, cf. Stadelmann, in *MDAIK* 49 (1993), pp. 260–63 und Abb. 1b.

may be duly traced back to these massive constructions of the Djoser complex. Some of the other dummy buildings can be found transformed into two-dimensional reliefs but with the same function on the walls of the later pyramid temples.

The interpretation of the model chapels and their true nature certainly has a great influence on the interpretation of the total complex and on the development of the Djoser complex and the pyramid temples. Lauer recognizes in the complex the eternal residence of Djoser, a true copy in stonework of the white enclosure wall and the *heb-sed* courts of the royal residence in Memphis. Following the harsh criticisms of von Bissing and Ricke, he referred to the great mastabas with paneled facades in Sakkara and Nagada. Ricke too had no doubts in the character of a residence, however, under the particular aspect of an eternal residence. According to Ricke each individual building in the Djoser complex has its prototype in the residence. They are, however, not simple copies but were carefully chosen under the aspect of the king's requirements for his eternal residence and with respect for the historical differences between Upper and Lower Egypt and their traditional and symbolic constructions.

This outstanding and well-documented synopsis has, however, in its sometimes rather dogmatic statements, often provoked fierce criticism and opposing interpretations. In the eyes of those scholars convinced that the royal tombs of the First Dynasty are exclusively the tombs at Abydos, and that the great palace facade mastabas of Sakkara/North are not royal but merely the tombs of courtiers, Ricke's view of the Djoser complex as an amalgamation of nomadic Upper Egyptian—Abydene—burial traditions with predominantly rural Lower Egyptian—Memphite—traditions lost its foundations and became unacceptable. For the following argumentation this discussion is of rather secondary importance, because I am insisting mainly on discernible architectural factors and influences. Reflections on whether a residential cemetery is

⁵ In the archives of Abusir this chapel mount ist called <u>tpht</u> "the cave," see Posener-Kriéger, Les Papyrus d'Abusir, <u>Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê</u>r-Kakaï II, pp. 502–503.

⁶ Ricke, Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches I, BÄBA 5, (Zurich, 1950), pp. 34–35; Arnold, "Rituale und Pyramidentempel," MDAIK 33 (1977), pp. 10–12; Stadelmann, Die ägyptischen Pyramiden (Mainz, 1985), pp. 206–207.

⁷ Lauer, *PD* I, p. 90.

⁸ v. Bissing, Ägyptische Kunst I, p. 51.

⁹ Histoire monumentale des pyramides d'Egypte, BdE 39, pp. 171ff.; idem, "Developpement des complexes funéraires royaux en Egypte," *BIFAO* 79 (1979), pp. 366ff.

 $^{^{10}}$ Ricke, Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches I, pp. 66ff. In den Bemerkungen II, pp. 1ff., Ricke modified this term to "Butisches Königsgrab."

conceivable without royal tombs—and especially the cemetery inaugurated by Menes when he founded the royal castle of Inebu-hedj—cannot, however, be excluded implicitly. ¹¹

It was Helck who first assumed that the so-called *Talbezirke* at Abydos might be the direct prototypes of the Djoser complex. In his view they might have been the stage for the burial ceremonies but primarily statue palaces for the *ka*-statue of the kings of the Thinite Period who resided in distant Inebu-hedj in the Memphite area and not at Thinis. For Lauer, these *Talbezirke* were the magazines for the temple of Chontamenti at Abydos, a view that can no longer be upheld after the detailed investigations of Kemp Kaiser and O'Connor. On the other side, Kaiser emphasizes strongly and surely the funerary aspect of the *Talbezirke* with regard to the Djoser complex and dismisses the idea of a statue palace. In his view, the light building material of the older enclosures and the untraceable constructions inside—pavilions made from tents, wood and mats—strongly indicate that these complexes were not intended to be monuments for eternity. They might also have been used for the reception of the funerary cortège coming from the

 11 There is a clear reference and relation between all important residence cemeteries and founders of a dynasty or outstanding kings:

Abydos: chieftains and kings of the Predynastic Period to Dynasty O;

Sakkara/North: Menes?; Sakkara/Center: Djoser;

Dahschur: Snofru; Giza: Cheops;

Sakkara/South: Pepi I; Thebes/Taref: Antef kings; Asasif: Mentuhotep II;

Dra Abu el-Naga/Sheikh Abdel Gurna: kings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties;

Lischt: Amenemhat I.

¹² Helck, "Die Herkunft des abydenischen Osirisrituals," *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952), pp. 72–85; idem, "Pyramiden," in *RE* 23,2 (1959), 2172; idem, "Zu den 'Talbezirken' in Abydos," *MDAIK* 28 (1972), pp. 95–99. This concept was already expressed by Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhinchos*, p. 3 who vaguely assumed they might have been valley temples for the tombs in Umm el-Qaab und repeated by Reisner, *Tomb Development*, pp. 10–11 and 246; his large-scale reconstruction as valley temples in the form of "dummy mastabas" has been rightly refused by Ricke, *Bemerkungen* I, p. 130 n. 164.

¹³ Lauer, Histoire monumentale des pyramides d'Egypte, BdE 39, p. 60.

 $^{^{14}}$ B. Kemp, "Abydos and the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty," *JEA* 52 (1966), pp. 13–22. 15 Kaiser, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), pp. 1–5; idem, in Kaiser–Dreyer, "Umm el Qaab, Zweiter Vorbericht," *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pp. 242–60.

¹⁶ O'Connor, "New Funerary Enclosures (Talbezirke) of thee Early Dynastic Period at Abydos," *JARCE* 26 (1989), pp. 51–86 and idem, "Boat Graves and Pyramid Origins," *Expedition* 33 (1991), pp. 5–17.

¹⁷ MDAIK 25 (1969), pp. 15ff.

¹⁸ Yet according to the newest field invetigations by O'Connor, *JARCE* 26 (1989), pp. 51–86, the enclosure of Djer was already constructed in brick.

residence in the north—as Helck thinks ¹⁹—and the performance of the funerary ritual, however, not as statue palaces, according to Helck their predominant purpose.

Kaiser also applies this conception consistently for the complex of Djoser. According to him, all the solid core masonry constructions in Djoser's complex would have enclosed chapels and edifices which once served the funerary ritual at Abydos and were now transferred at Sakkara into eternal stone construction—a kind of petrified stage of eternal funerary rites. Some of them may even have become obsolete, falling into disuse.

Kaiser imagines the origins of the Djoser complex in an amalgamation, an architectural combination of the Abydos enclosures/*Tal-bezirke* at the edge of the cultivation and the far-off royal tombs in Umm el-Qaab into a homogeneous cult- and funerary complex. This view was until now accepted by all scholarly theories concerned with the development of the pyramid complexes. Only Helck had some substantial reservations, emphasizing the importance of the statue cult in the enclosures/Taltempel and the later valley temples and pyramid temples.

In recent years critical reflections about this theoretical model have occurred to me. In particular, I have two objections. Both the royal tomb and the enclosures/*Talbezirke* at Abydos develop at the beginning of the First Dynasty towards a certain norm or standard that is completed not later than the middle of the First Dynasty in the reign of Den/Udimu with the addition of a monumental staircase for the tombs in Umm el-Qaab and the palace facade enclosure of the *Talbezirke*. Later on, there was no additional evolution at Abydos. The recent excavations of the German Institute of Archaeology in Umm el-Qaab have even furnished the striking evidence that the superstructures of the royal tombs were just shallow sand heaps not surpassing the natural desert level by more than about one meter. The traditional view of the Upper Egyptian tumulus tomb as the ideal prototype of the Memphite pyramid tomb

¹⁹ Helck, Archiv Orientalni 20 (1952), pp. 72ff.

²⁰ Kaiser, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), p. 21. In a later investigation to "Rituale und Pyramidentempel," *MDAIK* 33 (1977), pp. 1–14, D. Arnold points out a controversial concept of the funerary temples. According to him, the pyramid complexes served only as installations for securing the eternal existence of the king, the preservation of royal power, the domination over enemies and the presevation of royal deification. He does not see or accept any installation for the royal funerary ritual. This is without doubt too contradictory and cannot be completely maintained, see Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden*, p. 213.

²¹ MDAIK 28 (1972), pp. 95–99.

²² In accordance with Kaiser, MDAIK 38 (1982), p. 253.

²³ Dreyer, "Zur Rekonstruktion der Oberbauten der Königsgräber der 1. Dynastie in Abydos," *MDAIK* 47 (1991), pp. 93–104.

must therefore be revised. This terminus of evolution after reaching a certain norm also seems to be valid for the second component of the Abydene installations. In the reign of Djer the enclosures/*Talbezirke* have accomplished their definite form of large, wide, brick-built enclosures with palace facade paneling outside and light material constructions inside. It is only in the Second Dynasty that a small brick construction near the entrance is attested. Through the end of the Second Dynasty these main features do not change; the essential evolution is towards monumentalization in the reign of Khasekhemui. It should be mentioned that similar enclosures also exist at Sakkara from the First Dynasty and at Hierakonpolis, dated to Khasekhemui, which surely complicates the findings.

Between this mature period in the middle of the First Dynasty at Abydos and the presumed merger of the two components at Sakkara in the complex of Djoser lies a considerable stretch of time. All the important innovations of this period, in particular the technique of carving a deep shaft in hard limestone rock, the evolution of the dominating three-chamber system and the design and formation of a monumental superstructure with impressive facades, took place in the residential cemetery at Sakkara and not at distant Abydos. It was definitely at Sakkara where the new type of the royal tomb of the Second Dynasty was innovated. Following an increased demand for more tomb deposits, not only provisions but also deliveries of furniture and equipment for the royal representation, the tombs had to be enlarged with the means of expanded subterranean magazines of 150 m to 200 m in length and 50 m in width. The superstructures of these tombs remain at present unknown. It is, however, reasonable to assume that they followed the

²⁴ Kaiser, MDAIK 25 (1969), pp. 1ff.

 $^{^{25}}$ The relation and the time sequence of the enclosure at Hierakonpolis to that of the same king at Abydos is not evaluated.

²⁶ Enclosure of Den/Udimu near Serapeum, see Rizkallah Makramallah, *Un cimetière archaïque de la classe moyenne du peuple à Saqqarah*, Fouilles à Saqqarah, (Cairo, 1940), and Kaiser, "Ein Kultbezirk des Königs Den in Sakkara," *MDAIK* 41 (1985), pp. 47–60; for the Second Dynasty enclosures see Stadelmann, "Die Oberbauten der Königsgräber der 2. Dynastie in Sakkara," in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* II, BdE 97/2 (Cairo, 1985), pp. 304ff.

²⁷ Kaiser, *MDAIK* 38, and also "Zur unterirdischen Anlage der Djoserpyramide," in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck, eds., *Gegengabe. Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen, , 1992), pp. 167–90, gives much importance to the increased depth of the tombs at Umm el-Qaab but without regarding the respective underground. Without any doubt it was much easier to carve the sandy underground at Umm el-Qaab, and there might even have been more reason to go deeper there for the sake of security. At Sakkara this was much more difficult and a real innovation in the reign of Hor Aha. But already by the middle of the First Dynasty the tombs at Sakkara have reached a greater depth than those at Abydos.

design of the large Memphite mastabas in an even more monumental form. For these large structures there was no space on the cliffs at Sakkara/North, which was already built up. It was therefore abandoned in favor of the terrain in the center of Sakkara, which had the advantage of tafl underneath, a kind of shale which is softer than the rocks of the northern cliffs. The work of carving was easier and more time-efficient there. This choice was surely not accidental but intentional. All subsequent pyramid constructions up to the reign of Cheops deliberately sought out this specific underground, regardless of whether the substructure construction was accomplished through an open shaft or with the help of a rock-cut corridor. At Abydos, however, the tombs of Peribsen and Khasekhemui were built as a brick construction in the same sandy underground. This kind of subterranean construction looks like an application in brickwork of the original rock-cut galleries. The superstructure of the Abydos tombs is likewise unknown. They cannot, however, have been smaller than the subterranean construction nor much larger; these tombs were in any case certainly smaller than the comparable Sakkara tombs of the Second Dynasty. This fact confirms my feeling that the Abydos tomb of Khasekhemui might have been a cenotaph—regardless of the solid historical reasons Kaiser cited and the mention by Dreyer that Amelineau had found parts of a skeleton in the Abydos tomb. 30 In its final condition this tomb has two entrances, one from the north and one from the south, which is an addition. This reminds me of the entrance into the burial chamber of Djoser's south tomb which was also arranged from the south.

In the light of these considerations, the thesis that at the beginning of the Third Dynasty the two funerary installations separated at Abydos for centuries would have been simply merged in the new residential cemetery of Sakkara by putting one into the other seems more than questionable and problematic, especially since at the same time Abydos was definitely abandoned as a royal cemetery. This idea requires a dimension of abstract intellectual thinking, an academic distance from the predominant essentials of Egyptian royal ideology, that is to say, victory/conquest/triumph over death and deification by means of an adequate and correct burial and an enduring cult in the eternal palace of

²⁸ For different views see Stadelmann, in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* II, pp. 295–307 and Kaiser, "Zu den Königsgräbern der 2. Dynastie in Sakkara und Abydos," in *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio, 1994), pp. 309–16.

²⁹ See Kaiser, note 28.

³⁰ The large so-called western mastaba in the Djoser complex which I suppose to be the Sakkara tomb of Khasekhemui also had a burial in one of its central chambers, see Stadelmann, in *Mélanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar*, BdE 97/2, pp. 298ff.

the hereafter. Changes and innovations in the arrangements of the tomb and the cult installations are the visible expression of an eternal search for an ideal, spiritual security in the hereafter.

Fundamentally, we should question why the merger of the tomb and the funerary enclosure happened only two hundred years later at Sakkara and not much earlier at Abydos itself. The reason cannot be a lack of space or the short distances at Abydos. It might have been the same Upper Egyptian ideology that later in the New Kingdom resulted in the separation of the tomb and cult installations at Thebes. Dreyer states historical arguments: the kings of the First Dynasty had to be buried in the traditional cemetery of the earlier chieftains and kings, whereas the funerary cult demanded location and installations near the residence (personal communication). This is all, however, at this point very conjectural.

Misgivings about these uncertainties and the actual lack of evolution at Abydos have prompted O'Connor recently to undertake a painstaking re-excavation and investigation inside the enclosure/Talbezirk of Khasekhemui. 31 In the midst of Late Period brick walls, tombs and burials of animals, he came across a layer of Early Dynastic bricks laid at an angle on a sand bed. O'Connor interprets these admittedly rather scanty findings as the rests of a large mound which was covered with a brick skin, a first step towards the pyramid form within an enclosure. Indeed, such a mound—a primæval hill—might be envisaged within the stage of a holy precinct connected with the funerary cult and resurrection. But even if this meager row of bricks would once have formed a primæval hill, the most essential part of a tumulus tomb would be still missing: the burial pit and the grave! Above all, it is the pit over which a mound, a mastaba, and finally a pyramid was built, and it was the grave that existed from the beginning, not the mound! For these reasons I do not see any basic approach in this setting for the evolution of the pyramid and the pyramid complex.

The origin and evolution of the Djoser complex must be, in my opinion, sought in the traditions and ideas of the area where the complex was innovated and realized. This is the residential necropolis of Sakkara. At Sakkara/North, already 300 years earlier under Hor Aha/Menes, a monumental tomb shape had been developed, the "Butic Mastaba" up to 100 cubits long and 10 to 15 cubits high, with white palace facade paneling towering above the limestone cliffs and attracting the eyes from the nearby residence and fortress Inebu-hedj. The royal tombs of the Second

 $^{^{31}}$ O'Connor, JARCE 26 (1989), pp. 51–86, esp. pp. 82–83 and idem, Expedition 33 (1991), pp. 5–17, esp. pp. 9–10 and figs. 6 and 7.

Dynasty at Sakkara presumably used the same shape in a much more monumental extension as superstructure covering the subterranean galleries. The South Tomb and the western magazines in the Djoser complex most likely represent the appearance of this tomb type. Like the last (royal) mastaba S 3505 of the time of Qa, they might have had a funerary cult temple at the northern face covering and protecting the entrance to the tomb. None of these installations is preserved. The funerary temple of the South Tomb lies consequently on the northern face of the South Tomb in the southern court. The cult installation of the western magazine—which would have been the Sakkara tomb of Khasekhemui—was integrated into the northwestern extension of the Djoser complex and is still today only superficially excavated. In a nearby shaft Mariette discovered the two lion-shaped offering tables made of alabaster, which are definitely of royal origin.

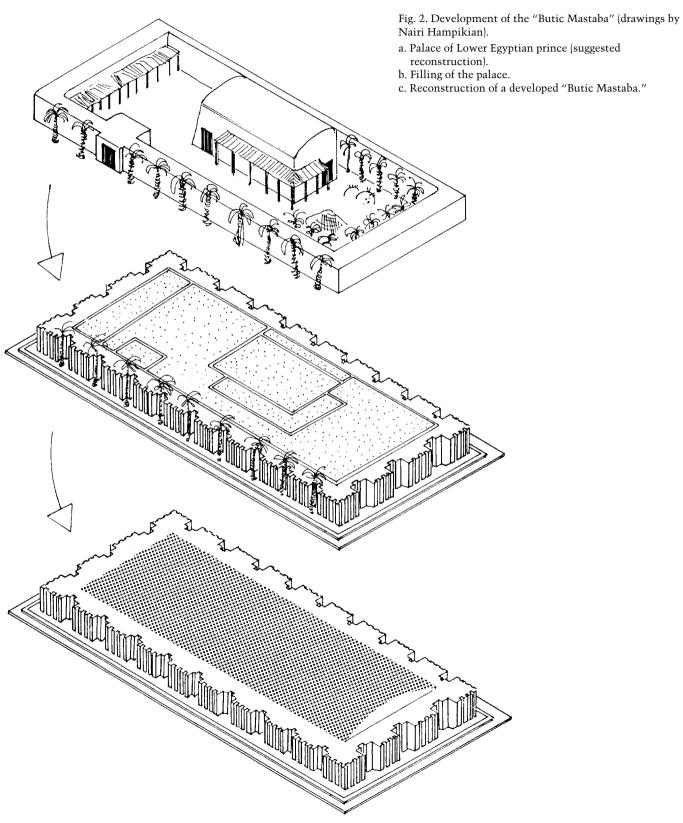
Ricke has viewed the Djoser complex as a gigantic "Butic Mastaba." His presentation of the development of the tomb palace of the Lower Egyptian princes into the shape of the Memphite "Butic Mastaba" within two or more centuries is generally accepted even by scholars who do not agree that these mastabas were royal tombs of the First Dynasty kings. The main steps of this transition are at the beginning a real palace lying under palm trees in a residential area which was closed after the death of the prince, the courts leveled with filling materials and sustaining walls and the outside enclosure walled up (fig. 2). Out of this developed a palace type tomb with massive core filling which left only the burial chambers accessible, and recessed and paneled enclosure walls in front of which palm trees were planted, later on merely depicted in wall painting. This setting is still represented in the so-called Menes tomb at Nagada from the beginning of the First Dynasty. The burial chambers are still constructed above the ground level; their arrangement is, however, already very systematic, one block of two magazine rooms respectively with the actual burial chamber in the middle. At Sakkara we find already the next step: tomb 3357 of Hor Aha/Menes or his contemporary—probably about ten years later than the Nagada tomb—is already more advanced in its architectural plan. The burial chambers lie in a pit cut into the hard limestone rock. The superstructure shows a

³² See note 28.

³³ Emery, *Great Tombs* III 10 und pls. 24–27; Lauer, "Le premier temple du culte funéraire en Égypte," *BIFAO* 80 (1981), pp. 161ff.; Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden*, pp. 2 – 27.

³⁴ Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 83–86; Cairo CG 1321 = Cairo Official Catalogue, p. 18.

³⁵ Ricke, Bemerkungen II, pp. 20–22.



strictly regular chessboard pattern of walls and rooms which are, as Kaiser has proved, not additional magazines but purely fillings. The further development at Sakkara is even more radical: with progress in technique, the pits in Sakkara are carved deeper and wider into the hard rock, and the arrangement of the chambers kept to a canonical three-chamber system. The large gallery tombs of the Second Dynasty at Sakkara do not digress from this evolution. The technical progress of carving the rock was expanded into the width instead of the depth by excavating extended corridors and rooms. The 28 m deep pit underneath Djoser's step mastaba is finally the consequent continuation of this development into the depth and the breadth. The pit with the burial chamber is again more or less centered under the superstructure, whereas the magazines extend from the central pit.

Regardless of all technical and logistical progress, the act of carving in hard rock always remained a fundamental difficulty. This becomes evident in a nearly regular alternation in the construction of the subterranean parts of the tombs by means of an open pit or a corridor carved through the rock. 36

The shape of the royal tombs of the Second Dynasty at Sakkara—or at least the known subterranean extension—was determined by an increased demand for storage rooms for goods for the hereafter of the king, whereas the installations for the funerary cult were presumably not elaborated. They may have been restricted to enclosures comparable to the *Talbezirke* at Abydos but situated to the west of the necropolis in the desert, known as Qisr el-Mudir and Great Enclosure. These settings change fundamentally at the beginning of the Third Dynasty. The subterranean magazines around the tomb pit are not diminished but become more regular and concise. Additionally, the funerary cult installations gain substantial in space and dominant importance. The idea of the tomb as an eternal residence from which the deceased king rules and exercises his cultic obligations as he did in the world of the livings gains supreme importance. He celebrates eternal Sed-Festivals that grant him everlasting existence in the hereafter; he performs the cult for the gods of the unified land. Included in these commitments are his court and

³⁶ Stadelmann, *Die Ägyptischen Pyramiden*, p. 221. This substantial difference of carving in silificated sand underground and in rock is widely disregarded in Kaiser argumentation, *Gegengabe. Festschrfit für Emma Brunner-Traut*, pp. 185ff.

³⁷ These enclosures are mostly attributed to the later Third Dynasty, see *PM* III, p. 417, Swelim, *Some Problems on the History of the Third Dynasty*, chapter II. For a contrary opinion see Stadelmann, in *Mëlanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar*, BdE 97/2, pp. 304ff. Recent investigations by the Geophysical Survey of the EES at these enclosures seem to favor an attribution to the Second Dynasty, friendly communication by H.S. Smith.

subjects in his eternal residence and existence—quite different from the forced execution and burial of courtiers during the First Dynasty. All these ceremonies were in need of a new setting for the ritual stage. In this process we witness an essential change in the religious consciousness of the hereafter, from the supply of the deceased from a purely material aspect, to a more ideal supply from spoken and written offering formulae and the representation of offerings and ritual scenes.

To create the arena for these new installations, Djoser's architect and the elite society at Memphis around Djoser recalled the origins of the great Memphite niche mastabas. It was presumably never forgotten that these superb mastabas had originally been actual palaces transformed to palaces of the hereafter by a filling with walls and solid materials. In the time of Djoser and under the instruction of Imhotep the contrary proceeding takes place (fig. 3): the paneled palace facade enclosure is extracted and becomes once again an outer enclosure wall. The sand and debris filling is removed, the courts are virtually emptied and in the newly gained empty space all necessary cult installations can be constructed: the entrance gate and hall (for actual use), the solid core constructions with the recognizable facades of the royal entrance palaces north and south of the entrance hall, the *heb-sed* court with the solid core chapels, the small temple palace—temple T—west of it, the massive constructions of the sanctuaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, with their respective courts, and the actual and real mortuary temple to the north of the pyramid tomb. Only the actual installations for the rites of the funerary ceremony and the continuing cult, the entrance hall and the mortuary temple, could actually be entered and used; all the other constructions are dummy buildings transformed in stone from real ones in the worldly residence of the king at Inebu-hedj/Memphis.

After the completion of the first building phase with the step mastaba in the center, the complex, seen from the Nile Valley, must have looked like an enormous niche mastaba of the Second Dynasty. If one had decided to fill the courts with debris, it would have just barely surpassed the older tombs. The intention behind the alteration in the plan, however, was grandeur. In a second and third building phase, the step mastaba was enlarged to a towering step pyramid. With this proceeding the new and truly monumental shape of the royal tomb was created. For a harmonic balance the whole complex had to be enlarged to the west and to the north. In the west the so-called western magazines were included, presumably originally an older royal tomb from the end of the Second Dynasty, perhaps the tomb of Khasekhemui (see notes 28 and 30). In the north, a pendant to the great court in the south was created

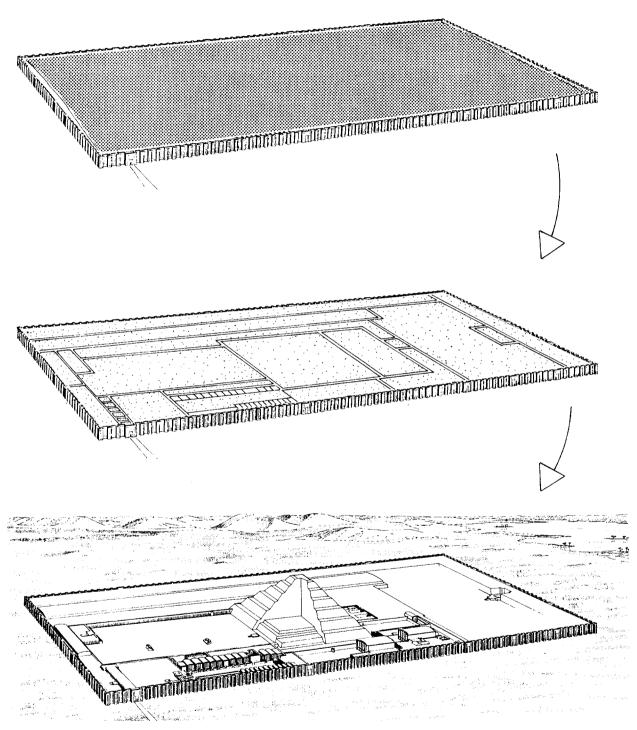


Fig. 3. Development of the Djoser complex.

- a. Monumental "Butic Mastaba;" suggested Second Dynasty royal tomb.
- b. Re-exavating the fillings of the suggested "Butic Mastaba."
- c. Djoser Complex, final phase.

with an imposing altar in front of the interior of the northern enclosure wall where a large gallery magazine was carved underground. alterations were, however, more than simple enlargements. Like the later mortuary temples of the Old and New Kingdom, the complex of Djoser is a replication, the eternal image of all of Egypt. Just as the secular Egypt in the time of Djoser had acquired through colonization the Delta marshes, the eternal Egypt, represented by the funerary complex, was enlarged to the north by a wide court, personnifying these marches. The products of the marshes supplied funerary offerings to the northern magazine. On the other hand, the inclusion of the western magazines if these were indeed originally an older royal tomb—could symbolize that this superb architectural idea and planning even included the necropolis of the west, the world of the deceased, and the tombs of deified predecessors. The singularity of this architecture and the universal importance of Djoser's funerary complex was still alive in the consciousness of the Egyptians in the New Kingdom. Since the Middle Kingdom, tradition credits Dioser with the invention and innovation of stone construction. In the Turin Royal Papyrus Djoser's titles nswt-bit are singled out by a rubrum, the only one in the papyrus to receive such emphasis.



³⁸ Stadelmann, "Das vermeintliche Sonnenheiligtum im Norden des Djoserbezirkes," *ASAE* 69 (1983), pp. 374ff.

³⁹ Wildung, *Die Rolle der ägyptischen Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt* (Berlin, 1969), Dok. XVI 60 and XVI 80. I kindly thank Dr. Peter Der Manuelian for editing the English of this manuscript.

Toshka and Arminna in the New Kingdom



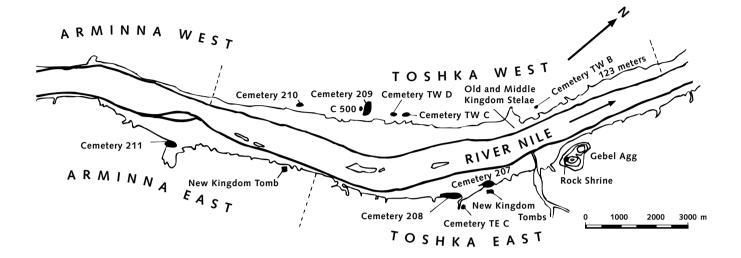
Bruce G. Trigger

Between 1961 and 1963, William Kelly Simpson, Director of the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition to Nubia, carried out a series of excavations at Toshka and Arminna, shortly before this section of the Nile Valley disappeared beneath the rising waters of the High Dam. Archaeological work had been done in this part of Nubia by Walter B. Emery and L.P. Kirwan as well as by Ugo Monneret de Villard in the early 1930s, Hermann Junker in 1911 and 1912, Arthur Weigall in 1907, Carl Richard Lepsius in 1843, and Jean-Nicolas Huyot in 1819. In 1813, John Lewis Burckhardt recorded the first archaeological observations. One of the most important reports of work done in this area is Simpson's Heka-nefer and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna. In this paper, I examine Heka-nefer's tomb in relation to what is known about Toshka and Arminna during the Middle and New Kingdoms.

Prior to initial flooding as a result of the raising of the Aswan Dam in the 1930s, extensive areas of arable land had supported populations of up to one thousand people each at Toshka West, Toshka East, and Arminna East. Toshka East and Arminna East were separated by a narrow rocky projection that approached the river's edge. All three areas were separated from extensive fertile areas some distance to the north and south by tracts of sand and barren rock that supported only scattered and meager human settlement near the river. In February 1874, Amelia Edwards climbed Gebel Agg and looking south described Toshka East as follows: "The bank shelves here, and a crescent-like wave of inundation, about three miles in length, overflows it every season... now it is a bay of barley, full to the brim, and rippling with the breeze." Similar descriptions would have applied to Toshka West and Arminna East. By contrast, there was only a narrow strip of arable land at Arminna West.

¹ For a history of research undertaken in this area, see William Kelly Simpson, *Heka-nefer* and the Dynastic Material from Toshka and Arminna (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 1–2.

² Amelia B. Edwards, A Thousand Miles up the Nile (London, 1877), p. 523.



Traces of A-Group settlement were found only at Toshka West and Toshka East, which seem to have been the two richest areas.³

Early in the 20th century, a large number of Kenuzi Nubians were resettled in the Toshka-Arminna area, greatly increasing its population. In the 1930s, the original floodplain was drowned beneath approximately four meters of impounded water during the winter, forcing the relocation of settlements to higher ground and the installation of pumping systems to irrigate fossil silts. As a result, the human landscape was very different in 1960 from what it had been like in earlier times.

Toshka West appears to have been an embarcation point that the Egyptians used to exploit the diorite and carnelian quarries located in the desert about 130 kilometers to the northwest. These quarries were worked by pharaohs of Dynasties 4 and 5, as well as by rulers of the Middle Kingdom. Near the north end of Toshka West, the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition discovered the fragment of an Old Kingdom stone inscription and two Middle Kingdom stelae, one recording a mining operation carried out in the fourth year of Amenemhet II. These may have come from Egyptian installations that in the 1930s had been lost beneath the waters of the Aswan Dam.⁴

Fig. 1. Map of the Toshka-Arminna region showing locations of C-Group, Pan-Grave, and New Kingdom sites.

³ For a bibliographical guide to sites in this area, Bruce G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia* (New Haven, 1965), pp. 172–73, 181–82, 193–94. More recent works include Bruce G. Trigger, *The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1967) and Kent R. Weeks, *The Classic Christian Townsite at Arminna West* (New Haven and Philadelphia, 1967); both Publications of the Pennsylvania–Yale Expedition to Egypt, edited by William Kelly Simpson.

⁴ Simpson, Heka-nefer, pp. 48–53.

The main area of C-Group settlement at Toshka West lay about three kilometers to the south. Three cemeteries were discovered, each probably associated with a separate community. The largest (Cemetery 209), dug by Junker, and later by Emery and Kirwan, yielded 479 graves belonging to Bietak's C-Group periods Ib, IIa, and IIb. These were dated to the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom, the later Middle Kingdom and Dynasty 13, and the Second Intermediate Period respectively.⁵ Cemetery 210, about 2 kilometers farther south, contained 22 graves dating to periods Ib and IIa; while Cemetery C, which Simpson excavated about a kilometer to the north of 209, had 103 graves that also appear to date to these two periods. A cluster of three graves (TW B), just north of the Egyptian installations seems to date from period IIb or III.6 The only sites at Toshka West dating to the New Kingdom were Cemetery 500, consisting of three C-Group graves located 100 meters south of Cemetery 209, and a small Pan-Grave (Medjayu) cemetery (TW D) about a kilometer to the north. The graves of Cemetery 500 are assigned to Bietak's period III, which includes material from the late Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom. At least one grave has been dated specifically to the early New Kingdom.⁷ The offering niche of the main burial in Cemetery TW D contained a bronze dagger of Egyptian manufacture of a type elsewhere assigned to Dynasty 18.8

Unfortunately, much less is known about the C-Group occupation at Toshka East. Emery and Kirwan noted that a large cemetery (Cemetery 207), located below the 123 meter line directly in front of the tomb of Heka-nefer, contained graves of the "Early Dynastic [A-Group], C-Group, and New Kingdom periods," but they recorded nothing further about it. By 1961, it was impossible to recover more information about this possibly very important cemetery. They also noted that a still larger, but thoroughly plundered, cemetery (Cemetery 208), some 300 meters farther south, contained C-Group and Meroitic graves. A small

⁵ Manfred Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie der Nubischen C-Gruppe (Vienna, 1968). Bietak makes extensive use of Hermann Junker, Ermenne (Vienna, 1925) and Toschke (Vienna, 1926).

⁶I thank Wendy Anderson for her views concerning the dates of these sites and for permission to read a draft of her doctoral dissertation "The Significance of Middle Nubian C-Group Mortuary Variability, *ca.* 2200 B.C. to *ca.* 1500 B.C." (McGill University, in preparation).

⁷ Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie, p. 42.

⁸ David O'Connor, Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 140.

⁹ Walter B. Emery and L.P. Kirwan, *The Excavations and Survey between Wadi es-Sebua and Adindan*, 1929–1931, vol. I (Cairo, 1935), p. 358.

C-Group cemetery (Cemetery TE C) also farther south contained period IIb graves. At Arminna East, Junker excavated a cemetery (Cemetery 211) which contained 33 graves assigned to C-Group period III and 187 graves of New Kingdom type. This cemetery appears to represent a single community undergoing cultural change from the late Second Intermediate Period into the early New Kingdom.

The New Kingdom is well represented at Toshka East and Arminna East. There were New Kingdom graves in cemeteries 211 and 207. An early Dynasty 18 rock-cut tomb at the north end of Arminna East resembles the substructure of the tomb of the Nubian Prince of Tehkhet, Amenemhet, at Debeira West. At Toshka East are three more rock-cut tombs, one of which belonged to a Prince of Miam, named Heka-nefer. Simpson has argued persuasively that this is the same Heka-nefer portrayed in the Theban tomb of the late Dynasty 18 Viceroy of Nubia, Huy. In the vicinity of the Toshka and Arminna tombs, were found graffiti of the Pharaohs Kamose and Ahmose and their viceroys and of Heka-nefer and another Prince of Miam, Re^c-hotpe, as well as the rock texts of an otherwise unknown early Dynasty 18 viceroy, Se, and of a Ramesside mayor of Aniba, Hor-nakhte. 10

At the northern extremity of Toshka East, in a partly natural and partly excavated concavity on the south side of Gebel Agg, was a rock shrine (fig. 2). While the earliest grafitto, showing the deified Sesostris III, may date to the Middle Kingdom, the main panel, showing the veneration of the god Horus, Lord of Miam, Sesostris III, and Reshep by five Nubian worshippers dates to late Dynasty 18. It was cut by Huma'y, "the Medjay of his Majesty." A thick deposit of Pan-Grave pottery and of gazelle and sheep bones was found below the shrine, as well as fragments of a stone stela and offering basin that appear to date to Dynasty 19. Gebel Agg was surrounded on all but the river side by a rough stone wall of uncertain date (fig. 3).¹¹

Toshka West was occupied by the C-Group during the Middle Kingdom and Toshka East likely was also. Originally there were a number of C-Group settlements at Toshka West, but by period IIb settlement appears largely to have been consolidated near cemetery 209. The C-Group continued to prosper at Toshka West into, and perhaps through, the Second Intermediate Period. Yet, by the beginning of the New Kingdom, this area was depopulated, perhaps as a consequence of the

¹⁰ Simpson, Heka-nefer, pp. 1–35. For the tomb of Amenemhet, Torgny Säve-Söderbergh and Lana Troy, New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Finds and Sites (Uppsala, 1991), pp. 182–211.

¹¹ Simpson, Heka-nefer, pp. 36–44.



Fig. 2. William Kelly Simpson studying rock shrine on south side of Gebel Agg, Toshka East, 1961.

Egyptian occupation of Lower Nubia. Cemetery TW D may have belonged to a troop of Medjayu who were part of the Egyptian occupation force early in the New Kingdom. If the C-Group population survived, they must have moved elsewhere, possibly to Arminna East, which seems not to have been settled prior to this time.

In contrast, Toshka East appears to have flourished in the early New Kingdom. While the Princes of Miam probably lived at Aniba, which was the administrative center of their principality and of all Lower Nubia, some or all of them chose to be buried at Toshka East. They also may have had a residence, or country house, at Toshka East. The pottery found at Gebel Agg suggests that, perhaps beginning as early as the Middle Kingdom, this hill may have been a cult center for Medjayu who pastured their flocks along the banks of the Nile each winter. The main panel may commemorate an affluent Medjayu family of the early New Kingdom. Simpson has suggested that in the New Kingdom, Toshka East may have been the center of a leather industry. Heka-nefer bore the title



tbw ny-swt, which may mean "king's sandal maker," and Hu-ma'y's brother Seni-nefer, who bore the title "Herdsman of the Cattle of Horus, Lord of Miam," is depicted at Gebel Agg carrying a pair of sandals, which could have been one of the exports of the district. ¹² Medjayu of the Eastern Desert may have supplied much of the leather used by this industry.

Pan-Grave material appears in C-Group graves at Toshka West and elsewhere beginning in Period IIa. Evidence of Medjayu settlement in the form of individual Pan-Graves and Pan-Grave cemeteries, does not begin before Period IIb, and at Toshka West not before the New Kingdom. ¹³ The Middle Kingdom Egyptian fortress at Serra East, south of

Fig. 3. View south from the rock shrine at Gebel Agg showing part of the stone rampart constructed around the hill.

¹² Ibid., p. 26.

¹³ Bietak, Studien zur Chronologie, p. 149.

Toshka, was called "Who is Repressing the Medjayu," which suggests that one of its functions was to protect that bank of the Nile against attacks by pastoralists from the Eastern Desert. By the late Second Intermediate Period, the Medjayu were allies of the Theban rulers or were at least working for them as mercenaries. Medjayu appear to have played a major role in Kamose's and Ahmose's occupation of Lower Nubia, which may have disrupted C-Group settlement more severely than has been recognized. Hereafter, some Medjayu may have continued to work as desert scouts for the Egyptian garrisons in this region. 14

As a reward for their service, the Egyptians may have allowed Medjayu groups to utilize large areas of Lower Nubia during the New Kingdom. At this time or earlier, intrusive Medjayu farmers or herders appear to have been replacing C-Group people in the populous Faras-Ashkeit region to the south. ¹⁵ It is possible that the early New Kingdom Princes of Miam and Tehkhet were the descendants of Medjayu who had allied themselves with the Theban kings during the Second Intermediate Period. While Heka-nefer was portrayed wearing Nubian accountrements in the tomb of Huy, on their own monuments these princes and their families are invariably portrayed as Egyptian officials. ¹⁶

Toshka East seems to have been a locality of special importance to the Princes of Miam. It may have been a spot that their Medjayu ancestors had visited annually long prior to settling in the Nile Valley, and that remained a trading place with Medjayu from the Eastern Desert who continued to pasture their flocks along the river during the New Kingdom. It might have been of special interest to Kamose and Ahmose because of its association with their Medjayu allies.

There is additional indirect evidence of Toshka East's continuing importance for the pastoralists of the Eastern Desert. When this region was resettled in the Meroitic period, settlements were established at Toshka West, Toshka East, Arminna East, and for the first time at Arminna West, where the *saqia* may have permitted effective cultivation for the first time. This widespread settlement may reflect the firm political control exercised at this period. In the following X-Group period, the population of Toshka West and Arminna West appears to have been severely reduced, while there is no evidence of settlement at Toshka East and Arminna East. The attacks of the Blemmyes, who were

¹⁴ Manfred Bietak, "The C-Group and the Pan-Grave Culture in Nubia," in Tomas Hägg, ed., *Nubian Culture: Past and Present* (Stockholm, 1987), pp. 113–28.

¹⁵ O'Connor, Ancient Nubia, p. 44.

¹⁶ Bruce G. Trigger, Nubia under the Pharaohs (London, 1976), pp. 114–17.

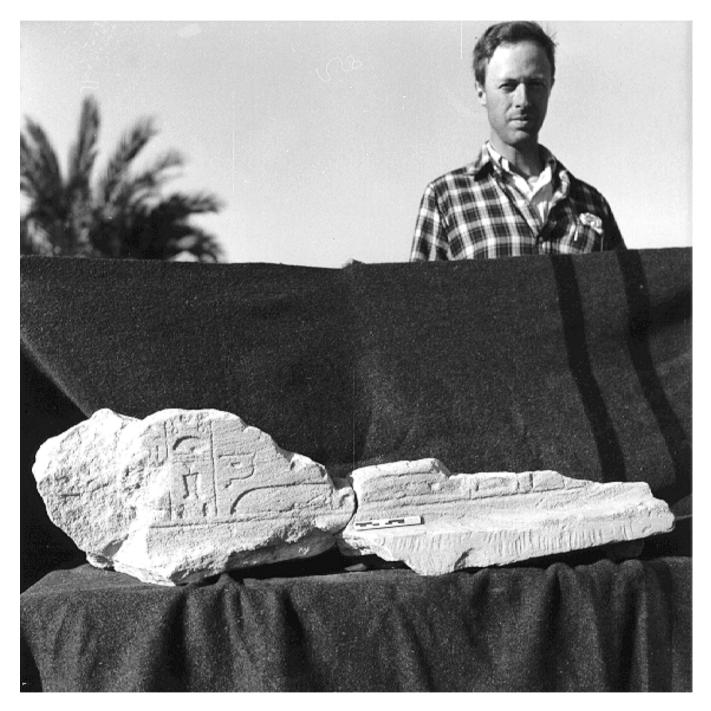


Fig. 4. William Kelly Simpson supervising photography of detached portion of lintel from entrance to tomb of Heka-nefer, Toshka East, 1961.



Fig. 5. Cemetery TW C after surface clearance, 1962.

probably descended from the Medjayu, seem to have forced the population of this region to relocate in larger centers, such as Qasr Ibrim and Aniba to the north and Qustul and Ballana to the south. ¹⁷ During the Christian period there appear to have been two settlements at Toshka West and one settlement each at Arminna East and Arminna West. At Toshka East, settlement seems to have been limited to anchorites living in New Kingdom tombs during the Early Christian period. This suggests that during the Christian period Toshka East may have been controlled by pastoralists from the Eastern Desert, who continued to use this area into modern times. Simpson observed that when arriving at Arminna

¹⁷ Trigger, History and Settlement, p. 143.

East in winter in the 1960s, the first person an archaeologist was likely to meet was a Bishari herdsman from the Eastern Desert. 18

The archaeological record suggests that certain long-term patterns of human occupation in Lower Nubia were dictated by the availability of arable land and the continuing attractiveness of certain places, such as Arminna East, to the pastoralists of the Eastern Desert. It also indicates that the population of Lower Nubia may have been more susceptible to short term disruptions than was believed to be the case in the 1960s; although disruptions as a result of predatory warfare and misrule were clearly documented by visitors to Lower Nubia in the early 19th century. 19 It is sad to reflect that the archaeological work done in Lower Nubia in the early 1960s raised so many interesting questions just when further archaeological work in the region (except at Qasr Ibrim) became impossible. Yet, without Simpson's efficient organization and determined leadership, the Toshka-Arminna region would not have become archaeologically one of the best studied areas of Egyptian Nubia; a situation all the more desirable because this research revealed the historical specificity and complexity of a region that was not a major center and therefore was the kind of setting in which most ancient Nubians must have lived.

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¹⁸ William Kelly Simpson, "Nubia: The University Museum-Yale University Expedition," Expedition, 4, 2 (1962), p. 30.

¹⁹ John Lewis Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia (London, 1819).

Les Minéraux dans la naissance des Civilisations de la Vallée du Nil



JEAN VERCOUTTER

Inotion de *dualisme* s'impose peu à peu à l'esprit: la Basse Egypte s'oppose à la Haute, la Nubie entre Ière et IIème Cataractes se distingue de celle au sud du Batn-el-Haggar, la couleur rouge (*desheret*) attribuée par les Egyptiens aux déserts de l'Est et de l'Ouest tranche avec le noir (*kemet*) de la vallée alluviale fertile. Ce dualisme se retrouve dans les textes égyptiens anciens: dans les *Textes des Sarcophages*, le démiurge affirme, *Sp. 1130*, "J'ai créé le jour et la nuit (...), séparé le faible d'avec le puissant;" dans le *Sp. 261*, le dieu Héqa déclare: "je suis celui que le Maître Unique a créé alors qu'il n'existait pas encore une dualité dans ce pays."

A force d'évoquer ces dualités, on risque d'oublier l'essentiel: au Vème millénaire avant notre ère, l'ensemble de l'Afrique du Nord-Est formait un tout cohérent qui présentait des conditions trés favorables à l'établissement et au développement de sociétés humaines. Cet "environnement" fut à l'origine des cultures et civilisations de la Vallée du Nil depuis le sud de l'actuelle Khartoum jusqu'aux rives de la Méditerranée.

Les déserts à l'ouest comme à l'est du Nil ne furent pas toujours arides. Ils ont connu plusieurs phases de sécheresse et d'humidité successives. Aux VIIe et VIe millénaires, ils ont joué leur rôle, comme le fleuve avec sa crue et le limon qu'il apporte, dans l'élaboration des diverses cultures qui se développaient dans la Vallée. Le climat fut aussi important que la géographie physique ou la géologie dans la naissance et l'évolution de ces sociétés anciennes. Lorsqu'il était favorable—ce fut le cas de 5100 à 2200 avant J.-C.—les ressources offertes par le désert pouvaient être exploitées sans difficulté. Or, par leur nombre, leur importance, leur diversité, ces ressources complètaient une bonne part des besoins des sociétés nilotiques en formation: dans la vallée alluviale, la

 $^{^1}$ E. Otto, dans $L\ddot{A}$ 1, s.v. "Abstractionvermögen," col. 18–23, et "Dualismus," col. 1148–50

cueillette et l'agriculture fournissaient les plantes comestibles, la pêche et l'élevage une partie des protéines animales; les arbres donnaient le bois indispensable. Les déserts environnants apportaient un appoint de nourriture grâce à la chasse et aux pâturages, mais surtout, leurs carrières et gisements de minéraux pouvaient procurer les matières premières, pierres et métaux, nécessaires à des sociétés humaines organisées.

Aux Ve et IVe millénaires, le désert occidental a tenu une place non négligeable, mais c'est surtout le désert oriental, entre Nil et Mer Rouge, qui a été le plus exploité.

Les ressources ainsi obtenues par l'Egypte et la Nubie étaient fort variées. C'étaient, pour les métaux et minerais: l'azurite, des chrysocolles, le cuivre, l'électrum (alliage naturel d'or et d'argent), l'étain, le feldspath, la galène, le plomb, et, en quantité importante, l'or.

Les pierres nécessaires à la construction, à la statuaire et à la fabrication des vases comprenaient l'albâtre, le basalte, le bois fossile, les brêches, la calcite, les diorites, la dolérite, les granites, le grès silicifié, le gneiss, la grauwacke ou "pierre de *bekhen*," le marbre, les schistes, le porphyre.

D'autre part nombreuses sont les pierres précieuses ou semiprécieuses qui servent à fabriquer bijoux, amulettes et scarabées. Elles se trouvent soit en surface du désert, Ouest et Est, soit en filons dans les roches métamorphiques entre Nil et Mer Rouge. Ce sont: agates, amazonite, améthyste, béryl, calcédoines, cornaline, cristal de roche, émeraude, grenat, hématites, jaspes, quartz divers, péridotite, serpentine, stéatite, turquoise.

Pour compléter cette énumération déjà fort longue, il convient de rappeler que l'argile, ordinaire ou fossile, le calcaire et le grès, comme le sable et le silex abondent en Egypte de même qu'en Nubie dans la vallée alluviale ou à proximité.

Dans la naissance de la culture nilotique, il serait difficile de sousestimer l'importance des matières minérales qui viennent d'être citées. Dès le néolithique, puis au pré-dynastique et à l'époque archaïque, elles sont toutes utilisées. Je limiterai ici mon étude d'une part aux pierres dures employées dans la construction, la statuaire, la fabrication des vases, des outils ou des armes, et d'autre part au cuivre, à l'or et à l'électrum.

 $^{^2}$ Carte détaillée des mines connues dans G. Castel et G. Soukiassian, Gebel Zeit I (Le Caire, 1989), p. 10–11.

La civilisation pharaonique a été souvent qualifiée de "civilisation de la pierre," par opposition aux cultures du Proche-Orient appelées "civilisations de l'argile." En fait, l'argile, qu'elle provienne du limon du fleuve ou des marnes fossiles, est utilisée tout autant dans la vallée du Nil que dans celles du Tigre, de l'Euphrate ou de l'Indus. Toutefois, en raison de son abondance la pierre tient une place primordiale dans les civilisations nilotiques, de la préhistoire à nos jours.

Grâce à la pierre, dès le IVe millénaire, et sans doute dès le néolithique, au Ve millénaire, se forme une classe d'artisans doués d'une maîtrise incomparable. De père en fils, ces artisans instruisent les tailleurs de massues, de couteaux, de palettes puis de vases, qui sont des symboles de puissance et d'autorité nécessaires aussi bien dans la vie de chaque jour que dans celle d'outre-tombe. Ce sont eux qui donnent naissance à la sculpture en ronde-bosse et créent des chefs-d'oeuvre tels que la tête de lionne en granite du Musée de Brooklyn ou les statues de Djeser, de Chephren et de Mycérinus, au Musée du Caire. Du néolithique à l'époque archaïque—de 5800 environ à 2700—les tailleurs de pierre constitueront une classe privilégiée, souvent associée à celle des dirigeants locaux, rois ou pharaons; parfois même les sculpteurs appartiendront à la famille royale.

L'abondance et surtout la qualité du silex semblent avoir été à l'origine de la classe sociale que formeront les tailleurs de pierre. Dans la vallée du Nil, le silex se présente sous deux formes: en galets tout d'abord, dans les régions gréseuses au sud du Gebel Silsileh, et un peu partout en surface du désert. Ces galets sont nombreux dans les graviers des terrasses anciennes du Nil, et au paléolithique déjà, les Egyptiens se les procuraient en creusant des tranchées et des puits pouvant atteindre deux mètres de profondeur. Ces tranchées et ces puits ont pu être datés des environs de 33,000 avant notre ère. Il n'est peut-être pas indifférent de noter que cette activité s'est manifestée en Haute-Egypte dans les régions où apparaîtront les premières cultures prédynastiques. Les galets, roulés par le fleuve, sont de petites dimensions. Ils ne peuvent fournir que des coups-de-poing, grattoirs, burins, pointes de javelot ou de flèche.

La seconde forme de silex nilotique est fort différente. C'est celle qui va permettre aux Egyptiens prédynastiques de parvenir "au sommet incontesté de la taille du silex." Elle se trouve dans les falaises éocènes

³ Dès le paléolithique, le silex est exploité en Egypte dans des carrières et des mines, cf. P.M. Vermeersch et al., "Palaeolithic Chest Quarries and Mines in Egypt," *Sahara*, 2 (Milano, 1989), p. 95–98.

de calcaire de Moyenne et Haute Egypte, en plaques et nodules de fin silex blond. Les plaques notamment peuvent atteindre plusieurs dizaines de centimètres de longueur. Ce sont elles qui serviront à éxécuter les admirables couteaux du type "Gebel el-Arak" en anglais "ripple-flaked knife," que se disputent tous les musées et collectionneurs. Ce silex, que l'on pourrait qualifier de fossile par opposition à celui des galets, est recherché et employé en Egypte dès le néolithique.

Le silex, sous ces deux formes, n'est pas la seule roche dure susceptible d'être taillée. Au paléolithique déjà, les tailleurs de pierre qui creusaient puits et tranchées pour se procurer les galets de silex utilisaient aussi le grès silicifié et de nombreuses autres pierres dures, auxquelles il faut ajouter l'obsidienne venue d'Ethiopie, ou peut-être du désert oriental égypto-nubien.

Ainsi, à l'aube du néolithique, les artisans de la vallée du Nil possédaient une solide expérience de la taille de la pierre; expérience acquise au cours des millénaires du paléolithique qui leur permettait d'utiliser même des pierres de grandes dimensions, comme les meules découvertes à Kubaniyeh.

Au fur et à mesure que le temps s'écoule, la fabrication de l'outillage en pierres dures se perfectionne: au Ve millénaire, elle s'effectue au sein de la famille, mais ce stade est vite dépassé. Au cours du néolithique, lorsqu'apparaît le polissage des deux faces de l'outil, couteau et pointe de flèche entre autres, la spécialisation se précise et, en conséquence, la hiérarchie à l'intérieur du groupe s'affirme. La taille et le polissage des armes prennent, en effet, un temps considérable; l'artisan spécialisé ne peut plus participer aux activités du groupe, pêche, chasse, cueillette, culture, et son entretien est donc pris en charge par la collectivité. Plus celle-ci devient nombreuse, plus s'accroissent ses besoins en outils, armes et objets divers en pierre. Ainsi s'établit au cours des siècles la classe artisanale.

Au néolithique toujours, cette panoplie d'objets divers en pierre se développe aussi. Pour les vases de pierre, dont les premiers datent de cette période, pour les massues, symboles de puissance et d'autorité, qu'elles soient piriformes ou tronconiques, les artisans utilisent de préférence les pierres les plus dures: basalte, brêche, granite, marbre, porphyre, diorite, alors qu'une matière plus facile à travailler aurait convenu. On peut donc se demander si les choix adoptés répondent à une

 $^{^4}$ B. Midant-Reynes, "Contribution à l'étude de la société prédynastique," $\it SAK$ 14 (1987), p. 185.

⁵ M.A. Hoffman et al., *The First Egyptians*, McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, (Columbia, South Carolina, 1988), p.102–103.

exigence symbolique qui, par magie, accroît la valeur et l'efficacité de l'objet. La matière et sa couleur joueraient ausi leur rôle. Ainsi, les cultures néolithiques du Fayoum, de Merimdé, de Tasa, puis du Badarien, de l'Amratien et du Gerzéen, auraient transmis à l'Egypte "classique" des symboles, bien attestés du début de l'Ancien Empire jusqu'à l'époque gréco-romaine qui avaient pris naissance au IVe, voire au Ve millénaire avant notre ère. Cette observation, évidente pour le silex, ne peut être écartée pour les autres pierres. Les difficultés techniques que devaient maîtriser les tailleurs de pierre pour fabriquer et polir massues et vases, pour sculpter des animaux, en silex d'abord puis dans des pierres trés difficiles à manier, expliquent la place importante que ces artisans ont tenue dans la formation de l'état pharaonique, et éclairent le fait que le démiurge Ptah de Memphis, "patron" de ces artisans, soit l'une des plus anciennes divinités connues de l'Egypte.

Après les artisans de la pierre, ceux du métal jouent à leur tour un rôle notoire dans la formation des sociétés préhistoriques de la vallée du Nil. L'or et le cuivre sont les premiers métaux à apparaître. Dès la plus haute antiquité l'or a fourni des ressources considérables aux habitants de la vallée du Nil. Il est trés répandu dans tous les massifs montagneux du désert oriental, égyptien et nubien, entre Nil et Mer Rouge. L'artisanat de la pierre et celui du métal se sont parfaitement associés, car les Egyptiens ne distinguent pas l'un de l'autre: pour eux les pépites d'or trouvées dans le sable sont de même nature que celui-ci. Dans les déserts, les prospecteurs prédynastiques recueillent aussi bien l'or, la galène ou le minerai de cuivre que les pierres utiles ou précieuses.

En Egypte ou en Nubie, l'or contient toujours une certaine proportion d'argent qui, au-delà de 20%, lui donne une couleur très claire, presque blanche, c'est l'électrum, en égyptien djam, distinct pour les Egyptiens de l'or jaune, noub. A haute époque, l'électrum est pour eux plus précieux que l'or pur: selon leurs croyances, la chair des dieux est en or, et leurs os, de couleur blanche, sont en électrum; ils ne distinguent pas ce dernier de l'argent, hedj. Au cours des périodes d'intense humidité du paléolithique et du néolithique subpluvial, les pépites de métal précieux que l'érosion avait arrachées aux filons des rochers s'étaient amassées dans les vallées du désert oriental où elles pouvaient être recueillies par simple lavage des sables devenus aurifères. Travailler cet or alluvial était simple, il suffisait d'agglomérer les pépites

⁶ R.H. Wilkinson, Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art (London, 1994), p. 82–125.

⁷ J. Vercoutter, *CdE* 68 (1993), p. 71–72.

⁸ En égyptien Sementyou, cf. J. Yoyotte, BSFE 73 (1975), p. 44–55.

par martelage pour en faire des plaques. Celles-ci, parfois d'une extrème minceur grâce à l'habileté de l'artisan servent à orner l'orifice des vases de pierre ou à protéger l'extrèmité des couteaux de silex.

Le travail du cuivre est plus complexe car il doit au préalable être extrait d'un minerai, le plus souvent la malachite. Le cuivre est employé en Egypte dès le Badarien, vers 4400/4000 avant notre ère, et l'on a souvent admis qu'il venait alors du Sinaï par l'intermédiaire des Palestiniens. Cependant il n'est pas impossible que la découverte du cuivremétal soit due aux artisans égyptiens. Dès 3200, peut-être avant, la malachite était exploitée dans des gisements du désert de Haute-Egypte. Aux Ve et IVe millénaires, cette belle pierre verte était utilisée à Badari, soit broyée comme fard pour les yeux, soit mélangée à du quartz pulvérisé pour fabriquer le glaçage qui recouvrait perles et amulettes de stéatite. Le cuivre, dont le point de fusion est assez bas (1065°), a pu être découvert par accident au cours de ces opérations. Au Ve millénaire déjà, le métallurgiste badarien connaît plusieurs techniques de travail pour le cuivre: le martelage et le tréfilage pour les petits objets (perles, hameçons, etc.), ou la coulée du métal en fusion dans des moules de pierre pour les gros objets comme les lames de hâches. Ces techniques sont alors tout à fait au point, et pourtant, malgré son utilité le cuivre reste rare au prédynastique. Les artisans préfèrent se servir de pierres, du silex surtout dont l'emploi se maintiendra longtemps. Les couteaux "ripple-flaked" (cf. ci-dessus) sont des imitations d'armes en cuivre.

Ainsi dès le Ve millénaire avant notre ère, on constate que les minéraux ont joué un rôle essentiel dans la naissance des civilisations nilotiques. Leur utilisation est à l'origine de la classe des artisans qui, elle-même, va favoriser la création des petits Etats, ancêtres de l'Empire des Pharaons.

L'emploi de l'argile fossile pour la poterie avec son décor rouge sur fond clair, du silex blond éocène et des pierres les plus dures pour les armes, les vases, la statuaire, ou encore du métal, or, électrum, cuivre, avec leurs techniques propres, l'emploi de tous ces matériaux exige une spécialisation extrème. Parmi eux, les pierres—basalte et grauwacke surtout—garderont une place prépondérante que les "palettes" illustrent bien. Présentes dans le mobilier funéraire depuis le néolithique de Shaheinab jusqu'à celui du Fayoum, elles se retrouveront dans le Badarien, l'Amratien, le Gerzéen; elles ne disparaîtront que sous les pharaons de l'Epoque archaïque. Sur elles sont gravés les premiers signes

⁹ Cf. The First Egyptians (note 5 ci-dessus), p. 20, n° 19, et p. 32, n° 123.

¹⁰ G. Castel et B. Mathieu, "Mines de cuivre du Ouadi Dara," BIFAO 92 (1992), p. 51–65.

indiscutables de l'écriture hiéroglyphique; elles sont alors faites en "pierre de bekhen" d'une extrème dureté. La recherche des carrières de ce minéral, son exploitation, puis sa taille, sa sculpture, sa décoration enfin, témoignent de l'existence d'une Société que la classe des artisans a particulièrement contribué à créer.



Mythological and Decorative Sculptures in Colored Stones from Egypt, Greece, North Africa, Asia Minor, and Cyprus



CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE

ROMAN COPIES IN (EITHER GREEN OR BLACK) EGYPTIAN "BASALT," DESIGNED TO IMITATE OLDER (EARLY AND HIGH CLASSICAL) STATUES IN PATINATED BRONZE, BLACKENED IVORY, OR RARE WOODS In terms of Greek sculpture from the Persian Wars to the successors of Alexander the Great, the first use of Egyptian colored stones was to make Graeco-Roman copies of Greek originals. These statues were carved in and polished from the best basalts the Fayoum could produce. The purpose was to give an accurate colored copy of a bronze original which had turned black or green from the passage of time. Black or green basalt was also used to copy sculptures, most notably cult-images, which had been fashioned out of rare woods, such as ebony or varnished mahogany. In short, this was the use of Egyptian colored stones for aesthetic effect, history and visual pleasure mixed.

Youth ("Fanciullo") in green "basalt" ("grovacca del Uadi Hammamat"). Found in a criptoportico near the Temple of Jupiter Victor on the Palatine. This is a unique, early imperial replica of a statue of an Olympic victor(?) of the time of Pheidias and Polykleitos. H. 0.82 m.

Rome, Museo Nazionale, Inv. no. 1059.

Paul Zanker, in W. Helbig, Führer, 4th. ed., III (Tübingen, 1969), pp. 130–31, no. 2213: as an Augustan eclectic work influenced by a patinated bronze statue of about 420 B.C.; Enrico Paribeni, Museo Nazionale Romano, Sculture Greche del V Secolo, Originali e repliche (Rome, 1953), p. 31, no. 36.; Emanuela Paribeni, in Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture I, 1 (Rome, 1979), pp. 61–62, no. 51. A variant of the head, in lava basaltina, is no. 37 in Enrico Paribeni's catalogue, provenance not given. R. Gnoli, Marmora Romana (Rome, 1971), fig. 150.

Fragments of a Peplophoros, "Basalto verde." The provenance is unclear. This Peplophoros is related to the bronze statuette with the basin from Delphi, and known in a number of marble replicas.

E. Paribeni, op. cit., p. 52, no. 84: the photograph shows two fragments, but the text describes only one. This statue appears to copy a work in bronze of the school of Sikyon.

Torso of the Doryphoros in green "basalt." Brought from the Villa Medici in Rome. H. 1.13 m.

Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Paolo Enrico Arias, *Policleto* (Florence, 1964), p. 131, pls. IX, X.; G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le Sculture* I (Rome, 1958), p. 34, no. 7, figs. 6 a–d.

Torso of a type related to the Doryphoros, in green "basalt." H. 0.39 m. Vatican Museums, Museo Chiaramonti.

Walther Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* I (Berlin, 1903), p. 806, no. 726, pl. 86.

Head of the Polykleitan Doryphoros, in green basalt. H. 0.26 m. Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. A 292.

Detlev Kreikenbom, in *Polyklet, Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), pp. 546–47, no. 52; *Le sport dans la Grece Antique*, Edited by D. Vanhove, Palais des Beaux-Arts (Brussels, 1992), pp. 284–86, no. 149.

This restored copy, close to the statue in Naples from Herculaneum, is dated A.D. 75 to 100.

Lower torso and upper thighs of a version of the Polykleitan Diskophoros in "basalt." H. 0.63 m.

Benevento, Museo del Sannio, no. 1931, from San Agostino, Benevento.

Detlev Kreikenbom, in *Polyklet, Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), p. 529, no. 31.

Copy of the so-called Ares Borghese, in "marmo nero venato." H. 1.73 m. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi*, *Le Sculture* I, pp. 44–45, no. 20, fig. 20. The torso to the knees, with the upper arms, is ancient. This copy has been dated in the time of Nero (54 to 68). It is a good one, with all the feelings of a patinated bronze in "basalt" like stone. The desire to imitate patinated bronze masterpieces on the part of Graeco-Roman sculptors in dark green or black stones is confirmed by the fact that such statues were often restored with bronze extremities and attributes when excavated in the Italian Renaissance to the eighteenth century.

Fragmentary head of the Idolino in black or very dark green "basalt." H. 0.185 m. Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregorio Profano, formerly in the Galleria dei Candelabri (before that in the Magazzini). From J.J. Winckelmann's collection. The nose, chin, and the lower part of the head including the right ear have been broken away.

Detlev Kreikenbom, in *Polyklet, Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, pp. 648–49, no. 179; W. Fuchs, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th. ed., I (Tübingen, 1963), pp. 403–404, no. 508; P.E. Arias, *Policleto*, p. 133, pls. XXIII, XXIV; Guido Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano* (Vatican City, 1937) I, pp. 39–42, no. 60, II, pls. XIX–XX.

Professor Fuchs noted that such statues in this hard material were carved in the early imperial period to copy patinated classicizing bronzes.

The two underlifesized groups of a sphinx attacking a youth, in "Grauwacke = black Egyptian stone," probably basalt. H. 0.71 m. L. ca. 1.00 m.

H. Manderscheid, Die Skulpturenausstattung der Kaiserzeitlichen

Thermenanlagen, Monumenta Artis Romanae, XV (Berlin, 1981), p. 88, nos. 169, 170, pl. 26; M. Aurenhammer, *Die Skulpturen von Ephesos* I (Vienna, 1990), pp. 178–81, no. 148, pls. 110–115; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, *Katalog der Antikensammlung* II, Wolfgang Oberleitner, (assisted by) Kurt Gschwantler, Alfred Bernhard-Walcher, Anton Bammer, *Funde aus Ephesos und Samothrake*, Photos Erich Lessing (Vienna, 1978), pp. 110–11, nos. 150–51, ten entries (no. 150 being the plaster models, H. 0.79 m, from the Studio of A. Rainbauer, of the two groups, as researched by Prof. F. Eichler in 1959).

These fragments (more in the British Museum, to a total of seventy-four) were found in the Harbor Baths, specifically in the Marble Hall of the Harbor Gymnasium at Ephesus and are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, under nos. I 1536. The two groups are dated in the early second century A.D., but they are thought to copy the arm-supports of the throne of the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia in the period around 430 B.C., the originals in ebony(?).

Statuette of Aphrodite, of the Medici Type, in black "basalt:" (diabase). H. 0.449 m. The legs are preserved to above the knees; the left arm was worked separately.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954), p. 84, no. 148, pl. CVIII, d–f.

Torso of a replica of the Capitoline Venus, in black "basalt." H. 1.025 m.

Vatican Museums, Magazine.

G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano I, p. 122, no. 262, II, pl. LIV.

This variant, with the vase, is good work of the Hadrianic period.

Upper part of a replica of the Capitoline Venus, in black granite with rose-colored spots. H. $0.38\ m.$

Vatican Museums, Magazine.

G. Kashnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano* I, p. 123, no. 263, II, pl. LIV.

This good replica has also been dated in the Hadrianic period.

Small head of Dionysos, in green "basalt." H. 0.107 m.

Berlin Museums, from Rome.

R. Kekulé et al., Beschreibung des antiken Skulpturen (Berlin, 1891), p. 58, no. 120

His hair has been done up in a knot on the top of his head, like the so-called Apollo Giustiniani in the British Museum.

Statue of a reclining Satyr, heavily restored, in green "basalt." H. $0.515~\mathrm{m}$. L. $1.01~\mathrm{m}$.

Vatican Museums, Galleria dei Candelabri, I.

G. Lippold, Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums III, 2 (Berlin, 1956), p. 143, no. 56, pl. 67.

The figure imitates a Hellenistic statue in bronze.

Torso of a Satyr with a *nebris* on his right shoulder, in green "basalt." H. 0.415 m. The quality is seen as very good.

Vatican Museums, Museo Chiaramonti.

W. Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums I, pp. 802-803, no. 718, pl. 86.

IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS OR DECORATIVE STATUES

IN OTHER COLORED STONES

Once the trade in colored marbles and stones from the Peloponnesus, the Eastern Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Tunisia was fully developed, on a pan-Mediterranean basis, ateliers from Ostia to Aphrodisias, from Athens to Antalya or Antioch in Syria, could exploit these materials in developing the chromatic effects of Archaistic creations, of Roman copies, and of new compositions in all types of materials. The favorite fashion was to turn out bodies, hair, and draperies in colored marbles or stones while faces, hands, and possibly feet were executed in white marbles.

The habit of exotic marbles was carried on in:

Two statuettes of female water-carriers, in red marble (rosso antico).

H. (of the more complete figure) 0.42 m. H. (of the second) 0.32 m.

They were found at Poggio Mirteto, Sabina, in the ruins of a small temple with the inscription IOVEI LEIBERO.

Rome, Museo Barracco.

H. von Steuben, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th. ed., II, p. 628, no. 1868. A third example, in the same stone, is in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. They are an opposite pair and support the basins on their heads with a deerskin, indicating they were intended as votives to Iuppiter Liber. They are fastening their peploi, like the Herculaneum dancers.

Small head of the Hermes of Polykleitos in rosso antico. H. 0.33 m.

From the Hartwig Collection in Rome.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 19.192.68.

P.E. Arias, Policleto, p. 130, pl. III.

G.M.A. Richter, Catalogue of Greek Sculptures, pp. 32–33, no. 40.

Roman adaptation of the Venus Genetrix, with chiton and swirling mantle in black marble. The head and neck, the arms, and foreparts of the feet are in white marble.

Munich, Glyptothek.

M. Bieber, Ancient Copies (New York, 1977), pp. 47, 56, fig. 157.

The purpose is to suggest colored garments, like that worn by Prof. Bieber's model in fig. 49.

Fragment of a variation on the Kallipige, in "pietra verde, assai dura." H. 0.18 m. Vatican Museums, Magazine.

G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano I, pp. 137–39, no. 285, II, pl. LX.

Here the original has been related to the art of Pergamon in the second half of the third century B.C.

Veiled Demeter in "marmo nero (non basalto)," with diademed head, neck, and arms in white marble. H. 1.93 m.

Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi*, *Le Sculture* I, pp. 61–62, no. 38, fig. 39. This draped figure is Praxitelean, and the original should be dated around 350 B.C. The material was chosen because Demeter mourning for Kore was thought to have taken on the coloring of the Underworld.

Colossal cult-statue of Minerva, in various materials. H. 2.50 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, found in 1923 in the Piazza dell'Emporio. The body is of Oriental, reddish-yellow alabaster. The hair is of basalt. The Aegis was also made out of alabaster, with the Gorgoneion being of Luna marble and basalt. The right foot is of Luna marble, and the base is again a form of alabaster. This statue is truly a Roman imperial visual experience, based on the memories of images in gold and ivory going back to Pheidias in the fifth century B.C. E. Simon, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th. ed., III, pp. 153–54, no. 2244.

Archaistic water-bearer, one of three terminal figures, carved in *nero antico* ("a matte-finished gray marble," principally from Tunisia).

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, from the Palatine Hill, near a cryptoporticus or covered passageway connected with the Domus Flavia. Inv. nos. 1056, 1048, 1053. They derive from the model for one of the Herculaneum dancers.

M.L. Anderson, "At the Museums. Radiant Statuary," *Archaeology* 42, No. 6 (November–December, 1989), pp. 54, 56, illus.; Daniela Candilio, in *Radiance in Stone, Sculptures in Colored Marble from the Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome, 1989), pp. 85–91.

Statue of a female dancer, the hair, chiton, and flowing himation in dark gray marble, an undergarment (tank-top sweatshirt) in jet black "basalt" (black stone or marble), the face and arms in white marble. H. 2.25 m.

Antalya Museum, from Perge, no. 10.29.81.

Engin and Iiknur Ozgen, *Antalya Museum* (Ankara, 1988), p. 203, no. 103, color plate, p. 87.

This great statue is purely a creation of Asia Minor, the head and body from the Hellenistic art of Rhodes or Aphrodisias, and the colored stones employed so skillfully from quarries in Asia Minor. It has a replica of the first century B.C. in gilt bronze, from Asia Minor. H. 0.23 m. "Bronzes of the Ancient World," *Atlantis Antiquities*, New York, May 27 to July 1, 1988.

Colored Stone Sculptures Suggesting Egypt and the Exotic

In Roman imperial times, various colored stones (mostly from Egypt) were used to suggest the colors of Egypt and Africa. Most of the subjects were animals and reptiles from along the Nile and beyond into Africa's

heartland, but the various aspects of the early Ptolemaic god Sarapis were expressed in all kinds of stones. Supporting figures in Egyptian poses and dress, sphinxes in the Egyptian style, and colored basins or sarcophagi in the traditions of furniture from Egyptian temples were also popular subjects in the worlds of Roman villas, such as Hadrian's at Tivoli, or the Egyptian-style buildings of Herodes Atticus throughout the ancient world.

The river god Nile reclining with a large cornucopiae in the left hand, which rests against a hippopotamus, a crocodile beside his left knee. The ensemble is carved in greenish-black "basalt" (rather than the graywacke from the Eastern Desert).

Rome, Palazzo Doria-Pamphili.

M. Bieber, Ancient Copies, p. 34, fig. 63.

This type of the river god Nile accords well with the Greek imperial coins of Alexandria. Prof. Bieber reminds us that Vespasian, about 75, set a copy in "basalt," with the sixteen cubits (children) around, in the Forum Pacis: Pliny, *NH* XXXVI, 58. A similar figure, sphinx below the cornucopiae, in dark gray marble is in the Musei Vaticani, Museo Egitto (M. Bieber, op. cit., p. 34, fig. 64).

Crocodile from the Canopus of Villa Hadriana, a fountain figure in "cipollino" (a Euboean stone). L. 1.66 m.

Tivoli, Villa Hadriana, Museo.

Klaus Parlasca, in W. Helbig, Führer, 4th. ed., IV (Tübingen, 1972), pp. 159-60, no. 3196.

J. Raeder, Die statuarische Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli, p. 94, no. I 92.

This figure is unusual because, while it is clearly a creature of the Nile River, the stone is Greek, but its mottled white, pink, and strong yellow qualities suggest the slimy, weedy skin of the reptile.

Crocodile from the Iseum in the Campus Martius, red granite. L. 1.70 m. Rome, Museo Capitolino.

K. Parlasca, in W. Helbig, Führer, 4th. ed., II, pp. 43–44, no. 1195.

Crocodile, said to be from Rome, in a color quite pink with flecks of black (red-dish-yellowish) Aswan granite (fig. 1). The outer half of the tail is missing. L. (tip of mouth to tail) 1.08 m. H. (to the top of the mouth) 0.305 m. W. (of its own plinth) 0.36 m.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, from a Private Collection in New York. This splendid reptile was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to be placed in the pool in front of the Egyptian temple sent to New York at the time of the construction of the Aswan Dam and the creation of Lake Nasser.

D. Arnold, *BMMA* 50, No. 2 (1992), p. 8 and illus. on p. 9.

It has been suggested that this is an Egyptian Dynastic (New Kingdom?) creature repaired, recut in Roman times, leaving traces of the original Egyptian polished surface only on the lower flanks of the body. To me, the crocodile appears to be pregnant, perhaps as a symbol of the fertility of the lands along the Nile.

Fig. 1. Crocodile in pink Aswan granite, first century B.C.to first century A.D.; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 1992.13; Purchase, The Bernard and Audrey Aronson Charitable Trust Gift, in memory of her beloved husband, Bernard Aronson.



Elephant possibly (unconfirmed) from Villa Hadriana.

The material is black granite with small red areas of spots. H. 0.96 m.

Rome, Villa Torlonia-Albani.

K. Parlasca, in W. Helbig, Führer, 4th. ed., IV, p. 337, no. 3362; Silvio Curto, Le Sculture Egizie ed Egittizzanti nelle Ville Torlonia in Roma, (Leiden, 1985), p. 53, no. 17.

Tigress, stretched out with a ram's head under the right paw. Gray spotted granite. L. 0.88 m.

Liverpool Museums, from Ince Blundell Hall. This small statue was found with two Egyptian vases in a vineyard near the Porta Portese.

Bernard Ashmole, A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall (Oxford, 1929), p. 34, no. 77, pl. 28.

The type was said to have been used as a grave monument.

Forepart of the body of a leopard, in yellow alabaster, nero antico, and giallo antico. H. (as restored) 0.525 m.

Musei Vaticani, Sala degli Animali.

Walther Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* II (Berlin, 1908), p. 357, no. 154, pl. 36; H. von Steuben, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th. ed., I, p. 81, no. 112.

These marbles, not from Egypt but from Greece and Tunisia, are appropriate to the representation of an African(?) animal.

Hippopotamus, in *rosso antico*. The nose, tail, feet and part of the body have been restored. H. 0.76 m. L. 1.20 m.

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Found in the Gardens of Sallust, Rome. F. Poulsen, *Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1951), p. 137, no. 187, pl. XIV.

This lively hippo was part of a fountain, with a pipe up through the belly and a jet of water from the mouth. A rosso antico hippo is like a purple ox (Paul

Bunyan) or a purple cow (Ogden Nash). The color could have suggested a hippo who has just had a mud bath in the reddish waters of the Nile, although from a distance the creatures do appear to be reddish-brown in color.

In September 1989, I also observed that cattle and even horses bathing in the Euphrates take on reddish and yellowish coloring. On the other hand, a bath in the Tigris at Diyarbekir gives domestic animals a dark gray coloring, perhaps because of the basalt sands in the river.

Head of "the black sheep" ("Ovis Steatopygia"), in "basalto nero." L. 0.30 m. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi*, *Le Sculture* I, p. 162, no. 134, fig. 134 a, b. The eyes were inset in another material. The quality of carving is precise and excellent. Such rams or fat-tailed sheep are still to be seen on Cyprus.

Colossal head of Sarapis, in green "basalt" ("grovacca del Uadi Hammamat"). H. (without bust) 0.68 m.

Rome, Villa Torlonia-Albani.

Hans von Steuben, in W. Helbig, Führer, 4th. ed., IV, p. 330, no. 3353; R. Gnoli, Marmora Romana, fig. 154.

The date of this head with its restored bust is not clearly stated, but it would seem to be Roman imperial, probably the Julio-Claudian period.

Bust of Sarapis, in black "basalt," much restored, including the modius, but much of the bust is ancient. H. $1.225~\mathrm{m}$.

Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti, no. 298.

W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* II, pp. 495–96, no. 298, pl. 68; H. von Steuben, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th. ed., I, p. 128, no. 171. This is a free rendering of the original, made in Roman times.

Sarapis exists in every material, suggesting the multichromatic nature of the original and the various lighting conditions under which it could be viewed. A complete bust in alabaster is said to have come from Alexandria and is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. H. 0.254 m. The date is "probably Hadrianic." H. Hoffmann, *Ten Centuries that Shaped the West* (Houston, 1971), pp. 72–74, no. 22.

The seated Sarapis with Cerberus at his side from the Palaestra complex at Salamis has a body carved of "fine-grained bluish-grey marble, reputedly of Cypriot origin." H. 0.98 m.

Cambridge, England, The Fitzwilliam Museum.

L. Budde, R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in The Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 31–32, no. 56, pl. 18. The head(?), arms and feet were of Parian marble.

Statuette of the seated Sarapis, part of the torso being ancient and carved out of *bigio morato*. H. 0.585 m.

(The head, arms, and feet have been restored in white marble.)

Vatican Museums, Museo Chiaramonti.

W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* I, p. 482, no. 255, pl. 50.

Draped bust of Zeus Sarapis, in "green basalt." H. "1 foot 1/2 inch"= 0.337 m.

London, British Museum, Towneley Collection and previously bought around 1780 by Sir Robert Ainslie, the British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte.

A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture*, British Museum, III (London, 1904), pp. 4–5, no. 1526, fig. 2. The left shoulder and corresponding section of drapery have been restored in plaster.

Head of Sarapis, restored as a bust, in green "basalt."

H. (as restored) 0.38 m.

Berlin Museums.

R. Kekulé, Beschreibung der antiken Skukpturen, p. 109, no. 250.

Bust of Sarapis, in *rosso antico* ("a matte-finished red marble"). H. 0.245 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 65187, from the Museo Kircheriano. M.L. Anderson, "At the Museums. Radiant Statuary," *Archaeology* 42, No. 6 (November–December, 1989), p. 54, illus.; Ada Ciofarelli, in *Radiance in Stone, Sculptures in Colored Marble from the Museo Nazionale Romano*, pp. 99–100, no. 19.

Supporting figures in Egyptian costume (not representations of Antinous), in red granite.

H. (each) 3.35 m. They have been restored.

These statues appear to have been found in the Canopus of Villa Hadriana, in 1504 to 1507, and they have been dated in the second century A.D.

Musei Vaticani (Vatican Museums), Sala a Croce Greca, nos. 306, 307.

Georg Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III, 1 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936), pp. 151–53, pl. 50; K. Parlasca, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th. ed., I, pp. 25–26, no. 39.

Pair of recumbent sphinxes, Roman work in the Egyptian style, in reddish-gray and in gray granite. H. 1.16 m. and 1.04 m.

Vatican Museums, Sala a Croce Greca.

G. Lippold, Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums III, 1,

pp. 182-83, nos. 578, 579, pl. 50.

Both these small statues (certainly no. 579) appear to have been part of the decoration of the Circus of Gaius (Caligula) and Nero across the Tiber where Saint Peter was crucified and near where he was buried.

Fragment of a group of a black acrobat on a base with a marine shell and a crocodile, in black stone (Egyptian graywacke?). H. 0.17 m. W. 0.36 m. Antakya, Museum(?).

From the so-called Bath C at Antioch-on-the-Orontes.

G. Elderkin, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* I, *The Excavations of 1932*, (Princeton, 1934), p. 49, fig. 2. H. Manderscheid, *Die Skulpturenausstattung der Kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen*, p. 100, no. 261, pl. 34.

"Black basalt" or the black stones used at Aphrodisias are most appropriate materials for this Nilotic subject. The subject, however, also exists in white marbles.

Statuette of a black doing a handstand, in Luna marble. H. 0.54 m.

Rome, Museo Nazionale; found in 1908 in the former Villa Patrizi on the Via Nomentana.

H. von Steuben, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th. ed., III, pp. 202–203, no. 2288. Bergama Museum, no. 165, is cited here as a replica. Another such figure, on a dolphin, is in the Museum at Nysa on the Maeander.

"Bath" or sarcophagus in "green basalt."

London, British Museum, Towneley Collection, 1776, from the Dukes of Bracciano, Odescalchi, and Queen Christina of Sweden. L. 6 ft., 2 in. W. 2 ft., 9 in.

A.H. Smith, Catalogue of Sculpture III, p. 412, no. 2542.

The big basins made from various granites quarried in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, the quarries of *Mons Claudianus*, were used in Roman baths and (with lids) as sarcophagi. They are discussed by Marina Sapelli, in *Museo Nazionale Romano*, *Le Sculture* I, 3 (Rome, 1982), pp. 33–34, under no. I, 42. A krater in black "Egyptian basalt," H. 1.42 m, was found in 1772 in the ruins of the house of Pomponius Atticus on the Quirinal and is in the Vestibule of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco of the Vatican; E. Simon, in W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th. ed., I, p. 467, no. 602; W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* I, pp. 58–59, no. 39, pl. 6. The entire object with its masks, thyrsoi, and vines, was made in imitation of metalwork. Roman thrones in *rosso antico*, now in the Louvre and the Vatican, Gabinetto delle Maschere, H. 0.85 m, played an important part in Papal enthronements at the Lateran; E. Simon, op. cit., I, pp. 156–157, no. 212; W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, II, pp. 709–710, no. 439, pl. 77.

A splendid example of an elaborately moulded basin in *rosso antico* is the first work of Roman sculpture in Galleria dei Candelabri V of the Vatican Museums. H. (ancient parts) 0.11 m. See G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, III, 2 (Berlin, 1956), p. 368, no. 1, pl. 163. There are also two shallow bowls of black and gray or white granite in Galleria dei Candelabri V of the Vatican Museums. Despite some restorations, they are elegant affairs. H. 0.275 m. and 0.19 m. See G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* III, 2, pp. 402, no. 43, and 405, no. 47, pl. 170.¹



¹ On the Egyptian connections for all these various types of figured furniture, see C. Vermeule, "Bench and Table Supports: Roman Egypt and Beyond," in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, The Aegean, and The Sudan. Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980* (Boston, 1981), pp. 180–92: the Vatican throne, fig. 18; the dark-green-black "basalt" basin with Scylla as support, in Naples and from the Palatine, fig. 10. It seems most timely that the freestanding sculptures with Egyptian antecedents should form an essay in honor of William Kelly Simpson, family friend since the 1930s, who continued the great scholarly traditions of Dows Dunham and William Stevenson Smith

Réfections et adaptations de l'idéologie monarchique à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire: La stèle d'Antef-levictorieux



PASCAL VERNUS

E Professeur W.K. Simpson a donné ses lettres de noblesse au Moyen Empire égyptien par ses nombreux travaux consacrés, plus particulièrement, aux débuts de la XIIe dynastie, en quelque sorte le matin lumineux de cette période. Voici une stèle qui est, quant à elle, le produit du crépuscule dans lequel s'anéantit le Moyen Empire.

La stèle fut achetée par Gardiner et a été enregistrée sous le numéro 1645 dans les collections du British Museum. Sa provenance est inconnue, mais des indications internes suggèrent qu'elle a pu être dressée à Edfou. Elle mesurait 4 pieds et un pouce de haut. Taillée dans un calcaire médiocre, elle a beaucoup souffert des outrages du temps (fig. 1–2), accentuant l'aspect repoussant que lui conférait la médiocrité de son style. Point d'étonnement, donc, si l'objet a été particulièrement négligé, malgré son grand intérêt. Tout juste a-t-il été utilisé dans le recueil des inscriptions de la D.P.I. dû à W. Helck.

CINTRE

La stèle était cintrée, mais le cintre semble avoir été laissé anépigraphe, autant que l'état déplorable du monument permet d'en juger.

PREMIER REGISTRE

Trois lignes d'inscriptions. La première ne commençait qu'au milieu de la largeur disponible, là encore, autant qu'on en puisse juger. La

¹ HTBM VI, pl. 28.

 $^{^2}$ La photographie m'a été aimablement fournie par T.G.H. James, alors conservateur en chef des antiquités égyptiennes au British Museum.

³ W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* Kleine Ägyptische Texte (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 77, n.º 112. Une traduction avec commentaire est donnée dans P. Vernus, *La principauté d'Edfou du début de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Paris, 1985), p. 418–23, mais l'ouvrage est de diffusion restreinte.

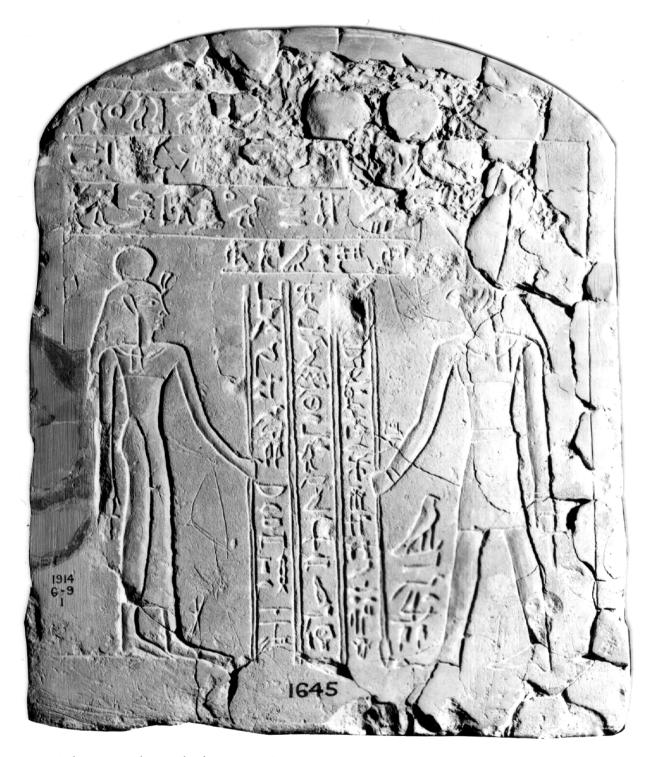


Fig. 1. Stèle BM 1645; photographie fournie par T.G.H. James.

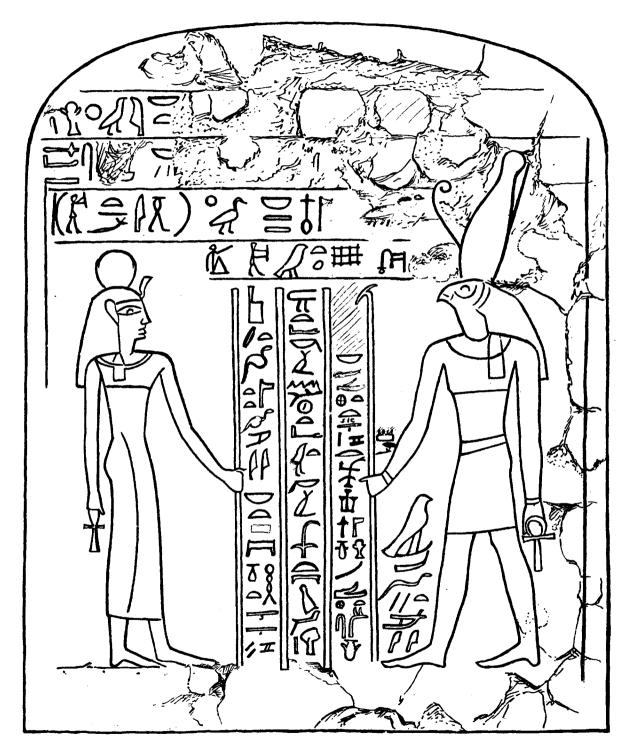


Fig. 2. Stèle BM 1645; dessin au trait de HTBM VI, pl. 28, modifié d'après une photographie.

deuxième et la troisième étaient limitées à droite par le pschent du dieu Horus, figuré au second registre. Ces trois lignes sont sémantiquement prolongées par les colonnes 1, 2 et 4 du second registre, grâce à l'épihtète *mry*, "aimé de." Elles en sont matériellement séparées par une quatrième ligne, qui, nous le verrons, est une insertion d'après son contenu. Elles se laissent traduire ainsi:

(1) ...tout ce sur quoi le soleile [brille]^a (2) ... tout, grand de (3) puissance, ^b le dieu bon, le maître des deux pays, Antef-le-victorieux. ^c

SECOND REGISTRE

a) Economie d'ensemble

A droite, Horus de Behedet, coiffé du pschent, tenant le sceptre-ouas et le signe de vie. A gauche, Isis, coiffée du disque solaire et de l'uréus, tenant un bâton et le signe de vie. Au milieu, une ligne d'inscription (= ligne 4) surmontant trois colonnes dont les délimitations externes sont constituées par les sceptres des divinités. La colonne de droite (= colonne 2) est précédée d'un tiers de colonne, sans démarcation matérialisée, sous le bras de Horus, et qui sera comptée comme la colonne 1. Ces deux colonnes et celle qui court devant Isis (= colonne 4) sont reliées sémantiquement à l'inscription du premier registre par *mry*, qui fait d'elles tout à la fois une qualification du pharaon, d'une part, et, d'autre part, des légendes afférentes aux deux divinités représentées. d'autre part, des légendes afférentes aux deux divinités représentées. d'autre part ces deux divinités.

b) Traduction des inscriptions

Ligne 4

Le scribe de nome^e Hornakht. f

Colonnes 1 et 2

(1) Aimé d'Horus de Behedet,^g (2) [le dieu grand, maître du ciel(?)], maître de Behedet^h et du pays tout entier, i le dieu grand qui réside à Behedet, le puissant de coeur.^j

Colonne 4

(4) Aimé d'Isis, la divine, ^k maîtresse du ciel, dame des deux pays.

Colonne 3

Puisses-tu prendre possession victorieusement (/en tant que victorieux de bras). $^{\rm l}$ Tu $^{\rm m}$ es en position de roi; la couronne blanche, elle appartient à [ta] tête. $^{\rm n}$

Commentaire

^a Le dernier signe de la ligne est sûrement un s ∫. Il s'agit probablement d'un pronom résomptif référant à une forme relative au féminin exprimant le neutre comme *wbn.t nb.t šw hr≈s.

b Le s, qui précède le groupe 3 pourrait être le préfixe du causatif s3. En ce cas, nous aurions affaire à une épithète du roi du type s3 4w, ou s3 htpw-ntr (E. Blumenthal, Königtum, p. 113 et 127). En revanche, si ce s n'est pas le morphème du causatif, 3 devrait être considéré comme un adjectif formant la première partie d'une épithète bâtie sur l'annexion de qualification. Or, les traces subsistantes à la ligne suivante s'accommodent fort bien d'une lecture . Au demeurant, dans la publication des HTBM, est notée une tête d'oiseau, qui n'est plus visible à l'heure actuelle. C'est là une précieuse indication, même si cette copie n'est par d'une égale acribie. 3 b3w est connu comme nom d'Horus d'Amménémès III (E. Blumenthal, o.c., p. 206). Pour les b3w du pharaon au Moyen Empire, voir Vernus, "compte-rendu," RdE 23 (1971), p. 221.

^c La graphie utilisant le groupe ∫ Å dans le nom Antef est bien attestée pour les pharaons porteurs de ce nom à la XVIIe dynastie, cf. J. von Beckerath, *2. Zwischenzeit*, p. 170, 280–83 et 293. L'épithète nht accolée au nom du roi est l'illustration d'un usage bien établi, lui aussi, dans les noms des pharaons de la XVIIe dynastie :

intf-3, Antef-le-grand, J. von Beckerath, o.c., p. 292, (1) à (4).

t-3-qn, Taâ-le-vaillant, ibid., p. 294 (3) et 295 (13).

k3-ms(.w)-nht, ibid., p. 296-97 (5) et 298 (16) et (17).

p3-hq3-nht, dans un cartouche désignant Kamès, Louvre C 201 = 6141, cintre.

Voir aussi Lorton, *The juridical terminology of international Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dynasty XVIII*, The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies (Baltimore et Londres 1974), p. 51–52, n. 75 et 76. Cette épithète est, par ailleurs à rapprocher de celle dont s'affuble Ânkhtyfy durant la P.P.I.: voir J. Vandier, *Moralla*, BdE 18 (Le Caire, 1950), p. 13; P. Vernus, *LÄ* 4, col. 327. Et aussi de son corrélat en langue de la seconde phase *p:-nht*, dans l'appellation *lywhn ms-htw p:-nht*, "Lyouhen, juste de voix, le victorieux" à la T.P.I. (graffito du temple de Chonsou = J. Yoyotte, "'Osorkon fils de Mehytouskhé,' un pharaon oublié?," *BSFE* 77–78 [1977], p. 41).

Quel pharaon Antef, parmi ceux de la XVIIe dynastie, s'est ainsi désigné comme Antef-levictorieux? J. von Beckerath a suggéré Antef nwb-lppr-r, sans dout parce que la femme de ce roi fut enterrée à Edfou, et que notre stèle évoque Horus de Behedet. Cette identification est plausible, mais pas totalement assurée; voir W. Helck, Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 138. On notera qu'auprès de la momie d'Antef nwb-lppr-r, avaient été déposés deux arcs et des flèches (M. Dewachter, "Nouvelles informations relatives à l'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Drah Aboul Neggah," RdE 36 (1985), p. 47), ce qui donne à penser qu'on entendait valoriser l'activité guerrière du pharaon. Mais il s'agit peut-être d'une coutume propré à l'époque plutôt qu'à un pharaon particulier. En effet, la momie du roi Sekhemrê-shedtaouy Sobekemesaf était munie d'un cimeterre aux dires des pillards qui la profanèrent: iw=f lin m lips, "alors qu'elle (= la momie) était munie d'un cimeterre" (P. Amherst-Leopold II 2, 4 = KRI VI, 484, 12–13, et P. Vernus, Affaires et scandales sous les Ramsès [Paris, 1993], p. 6).

^d Le fait que *mry ḥr bḥdty* fonctione comme épithète du nom du roi dans l'inscription du premier registre explique l'inversion de l'orientation du nom du dieu. Cas analogue, à Edfou, avec la célèbre stèle de *m-ḥb*. L'idéogramme du nom du dieu a été interprété comme représentant le faucon dans la barque par H. Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, p. 77, n. 1; E. Graefe, *Studien zu den Göttern und Kulten im 18. und 10. Oberägyptischen Gau* (Fribourg, 1980), p. 25; J. Baines, "'Greatest god' or category of gods?," *GM*, 67 (1983),

⁴ Voir aussi le cas de *ìdì/ ìdì-nḥt*, CGC 20502; mais l'état du document laisse planer une incertitude.

⁵ J. Černý, "Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu," MDAIK 24 (1969), p. 87–98.

p. 25.

- ^e Pour ce titre, voir W. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirout, 1982), p. 164; S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom* (New Malden, 1990), p. 222, n. 10.
- f Un monument provenant d'Edfou (stèle CGC 20499) nous fait connaître un wb q. "prêtre-pur qui a accès," nommé hr-nht, qui, d'après le style, a de bonnes chances d'être un contemporain, ou, à tout le moins, d'avoir traversé le règne d'Antef-le-victorieux. A priori, rien n'inciterait à rapprocher cet hr-nht de celui de notre stèle, s'il ne se vantait, dans son autobiographie, d'avoir plu au souverain par "l'exactitude de sa parole:" rdi.n n=i hq3 nfr-bstî.t nfr.t n 'qsy n mdw=î, "si le souverain m'a donné Neferbatit, la belle, c'est à cause de l'exactitude de ma parole." Dans ces conditions, l'hypothèse d'une identification des deux personnages est-elle totalement exclue, le prêtre-pur qui a accès hr-nht pouvant s'être arrogé le titre "scribe de nome" parce qu'il avait exécuté pour le pharaon une mission occasionnelle qui ressortissait à cette fonction? Pour la possession d'un titre religieux et d'un titre administratif au Moyen Empire avancé, cf. CGC 20780, où un grand prêtre-pur d'Hathor (wb 3 n hw.t-hr) est en même temps "directeur des champs" (mr 3h.wt). Voir aussi le cas du célèbre hr-m-hcw=f, qui était à la fois "contrôleur des prophètes" (shd hm.w-ntr) et "directeur des champs" (mr sh.wt): W.C. Hayes, "Horemkhuef of Nekhen and his Trip to It-towe," IEA 33 (1947), p. 3-11. Pour le problème posé par la mention d'un particulier sur un monument royal, voir infra.
- g La graphie de *bḥdty* avec le prest bien attestée à la fin du Moyen Empire et à la D.P.I., voir P. Vernus, La principauté d'Edfou du début de la XIIe dynastie au début de la XVIIIe dynastie, p. 665.
- h Ce qui a été rendu par *t3-mry* sur la publication semble devoir se lire, en fait, *nb bḥd.t*, le signe ⇐ ayant été confondu avec ∠ , en raison de l'écartement oblique du pouce dans le signe de la main. Auparavant, une lacune dans laquelle on peut proposer [*ntr* ? *nb p.t*].
- i (r)-dr≈f (ou (r)-3w≈f?) est ajouté à l'extérieur de la démarcation.
- ^j Voir *Wb.* I, 361.11–13 (comme épithète de divinité); voir aussi A. Piankoff, *Le coeur dans les textes égyptiens*, (Paris, 1930), p. 110 (comme épithète royale).
- k *Ntr.t* est déterminé par ☑. Pour Isis à Edfou, voir M. Münster, *Isis* (Berlin, 1968), p. 161–62. Ajouter "Isis qui réside à Behdet," W.K. Simpson, "A Statuette of Amunhotpe III in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," *BMFA* 68 (1970), p. 260–69; C. Vandersleyen, "Aménophis III incarnant le dieu Néferhotep," *OLP* 6/7 (1975–1976), p. 535.
- ¹ Nht, en considérant comme un idéogramme, plutôt que nht en considérant comme un déterminatif. Pour nht, voir E. Blumenthal, o.c., p. 218. L'emploi absolu de it est bien attesté, ibid., p. 223.
- ^m *Twk* est certainement le pronom préfixe du présent I. Voir GEG, § 124, B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (Potsdam, 1970), p. 86 sq; H.S Smith et A. Smith, "Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS* 103 (1976), p. 55. Il s'agit d'une des plus anciennes attestations, sinon de la plus ancienne de ce pronom préfixe. Notre stèle est donc un jalon dans l'évolution de la langue et dans l'ouverture de l'écrit au vernaculaire. La traduction de M. Münster, o.c., "Du hast mit deiner Kraft als König die weiße Kröne auf [dir] ergriffen" est inexacte.
- ⁿ Lire hd.t n(y) s(y) tp[*k]; les traces du sont encore visibles sur le bord supérieur de la cassure.

La nature de la stèle

Le premier problème est de déterminer la raison d'être exacte de cette stèle, qui comporte des textes qui ressortissent à l'idéologie royale, mais aussi la mention d'un particulier, le scribe de nome *ḥr-nḫt*. Deux interprétations sont possibles:

- A. Il s'agirait d'un monument privé mais faisant place à l'expression directe de l'idéologie royale.
- B. Il s'agirait, inversement, d'un monument royal sur lequel un particulier a été admis à inscrire son nom, à titre de privilège.

A. La premier cas est bien illustré à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire:

1°) par la stèle de Sânkhptah, chambellan du roi Râhotep, lequel est représenté dans le cintre accomplissant le rite devant Osiris. Les inscriptions et les représentations montrent qu'il s'agit sans aucun doute possible d'un monument privé; le roi y est convoqué à titre d'intercesseur, pour ainsi dire; à cette époque, on commence à peine à représenter un particulier faisant l'offrande directement face à la divinité.

2°) par la stèle du directeur du trésor, suivant du roi *ìtḥ-nfr.* Le premier registre représent un pharaon Antef, dont le nom est écrit comme sur notre document, adorant Osiris (*dw3 ntr sp 4*), tandis que *ìtḥ-nfr* se tient derrière le roi. Mais les bribes de l'inscription du deuxième registre montrent bien qu'il s'agit d'une stèle privée.

 2°) La même interprétation vaut pour la stèle du "fils royal, chef de troupe (hry pdt)" nht, trouvée à Abydos. Dans le cintre, il est représenté derrière le pharaon Antef, mais son autobiographie occupe la partie dévolue à l'inscription principale.

4°) Les trois documents précédents illustrent l'extension sous la D.P.I. d'un privilège consenti auparavant à certains chefs d'expédition aux contrées lointaines, très souvent des *imy-rs lptm.t*, "directeur du trésor." Ce privilège était celui de convoquer, pour ainsi dire, le pharaon sur leurs monuments votifs et de tenter de bénéficier ainsi des avantages qu'il reçoit à côtoyer le monde des dieux. Excellente illustration de

⁶ Je n'envisage évidemment pas les expressions indirectes de cette idéologie, à travers les mentions du pharaon dans les autobiographies, ou encore à travers des proclamations loyalistes, comme c'est le cas de *sḥtp-ib-r*, qui prend à son compte l'Enseignement loyaliste.

⁷ J.J. Clère, "La stèle de Sânkhptah, chambellan du roi Râhotep" *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 60–65, pl. 6.

⁸ Voir P. Vernus, "Etudes de philologie et de linguistique (II)," *RdE* 34 (1982–1983), p. 116–17. Pour les divinités représentées sur les stèles de particuliers du Moyen Empire, voir M. Malaise, "Inventaire des stèles égyptiennes du Moyen Empire porteuse de représentations divines" *SAK* 9 (1981), p. 259–83, et id., "Les représentations de divinités sur les stèles du Moyen Empire," *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata (Hommages et Opera Minora volume* IX), p. 393–420.

⁹ Abydos II, pl. XXXII, 3.

¹⁰ Abydos I, pl. 55, 8 et 57.

¹¹ P. Vernus, "Observations sur le titre *jmy-rs ḫtmt*, 'directeur du trésor'," dans S. Allam, éditeur, *Grund und Boden in Altägypten* [Tübingen, 1994], p. 256.

ce phénomène que la stèle de Bouhen datée de l'an 18 de Sésostris I: le cintre représente le dieu traînant devant le roi les contrées étrangères; suivent le protocole du roi et des épithètes laudatives. Mais, en fait, il s'agit d'un monument privé consacré par Montouhotep qui a mené la campagne en Nubie. ¹² On en trouve d'autres illustrations au Sinaï, où, dès le Moyen Empire, le pharaon règnant ¹³ est plusieurs fois représenté sur les monuments de particuliers gravés au Sinaï. 14 Parfois, il est dans une attitude rituelle devant la divinité: par exemple, Sésostris III adore Hathor "quatre fois" et reçoit d'elle "vie, stabilité, prospérité" sur le monument du chancelier du dieu *ḥr-wr*; ou encore, Amménémès III recoit la vie et la prospérité des mains d'Hathor sur le monument du directeur de la Basse Egypte s3-nfrt qui avait ouvert une carrière; 16 le même roi reçoit de la même déesse "vie, stabilité, prospérité" sur le monument d'un directeur du trésor. Du même genre relève évidemment la célèbre stèle du chambellan, chancelier du dieu, connu du roi véritable, *hnwm-htp*, retrouvée au Ouâdi Gasous. ¹⁸ Dans le cintre, une scène typique de l'idéologie royale, le pharaon devant un dieu qui lui donne les principes fondamentaux, "vie santé, prospérité." Mais le second registre est dévolu à l'énoncé de la titulature de ce hnwm-htp, qui avait "parachevé ses (= le pharaon) monuments dans le Pays du dieu." Profitant d'une mission à Pount effectué au nom du pharaon, hnwm-htp a dressé un monument où il capte à son bénéfice les dons que le pharaon recoit ex officio des dieux.

¹² Florence 2540, cf. H.S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, EES Forty-eighth Excavation Memoir, (Londres, 1976), pl. LXIX. Voir les analyses de G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Egypte de la XIIe dynastie* (Paris, 1956), p. 133–34. L'expression loyaliste que G. Posener met en valeur dans ce document et dans d'autres apparentés est la contrepartie et la justification de cette captation au bénéfice d'un particulier des avantages propres à la fonction pharaonique.

 $^{^{13}}$ A côté d'autres pharaons, comme Snéfrou, mentionnés au Sinaï parce qu'ils sont devenus les saints patrons du lieu.

¹⁴ E.g., Sinai n° 23; n° 114; n° 116 et 164; n° 120; n° 122; pour n° 89 et 116, voir E. Blumenthal, "Die 'Gottesväter' des Alten und Mittleren Reiches," ZÄS 114 (1987), p. 16–21; cet article fondamental n'a pu être inclu dans la bibliogaphie donnée dans mon article, "Observations sur le titre...," cité supra, pour des raisons techniques. Les représentations du pharaon sur les monuments des particuliers au Sinaï se retrouvent aussi sur les monuments du Nouvel Empire.

 $^{^{15}}$ Sinai n° 89.

¹⁶ Sinai n° 56.

¹⁷ Sinaî n° 83.

¹⁸ Durham N 1935. En dernier lieu, D. Franke, "The Career of Khnumhotep III, of Beni Hasan and the so-called 'Decline of the Nomarchs'," dans S. Quirke, éditeur, *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), p. 59–60, et fig. I A, p. 66.

Pour s'autoriser ainsi à faire se côtoyer, ou, à tout le moins, à faire coexister leur image et l'image de celui dont ils étaient mandataire, on a lieu de croire que les chefs d'expédition là-bas envoyés tiraient avantage non seulement de leur rôle de responsables de missions en contrées lointaines, qui en faisait, en quelque sorte, des potentats temporaires en ces lieux, mais aussi de leur statut particulier qui les rendait propres à remplir ce rôle; on constate, en effet, qu'ils avaient des fonctions—inter alia la fonction de directeur du trésor (imy-rs htmt), je veux dire le directeur du trésor à l'échelle nationale, qui permettaient à son détenteur de figurer sur les monuments royaux dans certains cas.

Exceptionnellement à cette époque, à tout le moins, le pharaon officiant figure sur une stèle de particulier quand elle a été érigée pour sacraliser un acte juridique; c'est évidemment à titre de "medium idéologique" qu'il est alors convoqué.

B. Le second cas, celui ou un particulier est admis à être évoqué par le nom et/ou par l'image sur un monument royal demanderait d'amples développements. Pour nous en tenir au Moyen Empire, à la D.P.I. et au début de la XVIIIe dynastie, qui prolonge culturellement le Moyen Empire, il arrive que des particuliers soient mentionnés sur des monuments érigés par le pharaon parce qu'ils y sont impliqués de quelque manière:

1°) Le directeur du trésor du pays tout entier, <u>h</u>ty figure sur un graffito de Schatt er-Rigal, dont le but premier est clairement d'exprimer les principes de la légitimité dynastique.²³

2°) Dans le "sanctuaire des rois" au Sérabit el Khadîm, une stèle proclamant les liens de Nemty, maître de l'orient et d'Amménémès IV, et la décoration de ce sanctuaire dont l'inscription ²⁴ a été faite sous la supervision du directeur du département en chef de la maison blanche, dsf/hr-m-ss=f.

¹⁹ Ces fonctionnaires remplissent au nom du pharaon un rôle qui revient en propre au pharaon; ainsi, s³-nfrt, cité supra, en ouvrant une carrière, effectue un acte spécifique à la fonction pharaonique, celui d'élargir le monde en en découvrant, en en dévoilant, et en en nommant les parties jusqu'alors inconnues. Voir P. Vernus, Essais sur la conscience de l'histoire dans l'Egypte pharaonique (Paris, 1995), seconde partie, § 23.

²⁰ Il y a, en effet, des "directeurs du trésor" à différents échelons.

²¹ Stèle décrite dans Sotheby's Antiquities, London 12 December 1988, n°78.

 $^{^{22}}$ Le cas des membres de la famille royale, *inter alia*, les fils royaux mentionnés dans les temples funéraires de l'Ancien Empire, doit être mis à part.

 $^{^{23}}$ PM V, 207, n° 489. Excellentes analyses dans E. Blumenthal, "Die 'Göttesväter'...," cité supra.

²⁴ Sinai n° 123 A, 1. 4.

- 2°) La stèle proclamant les "triomphes" du pharaon Montouhotpi, c'est-à-dire son repli dans les forteresses de la Thébaïde, mentionne le haut personnage, peut-être un prince, nommé, semble-t-il, *mntw-wsr.*
- 3°) La (seconde) stèle de Kamès représente et évoque le directeur du trésorier $n\check{s}i$ dans un formulaire identique à celui du monument précédent.
- 4°) A Bouhen, un autre twr a gravé le sien sur une porte aux cartouches d'Amosis.
- 5°) Le cas le plus éclairant est celui de Senmout, dont une inscription commémore précisément le privilège d'avoir droit d'inscrire son nom dans les temples.
- 6°) *nḥsy*, un autre "directeur du trésor," est nommé dans les scènes du temple de Deir el Bahri racontant l'expédition envoyée par Hatshepsout à Pount pour en avoir été le chef.
- 7°) Le fils royal de Koush nhy est représenté sur un pilastre de Thoutmosis III, près de l'entrée du temple de Bouhen.

²⁵ Sinai n° 119; le même personnage a dressé des monuments plus personnels, dont la stèle n° 120, gravée à la même époque, et surtout les inscriptions n° 123 et 124 du sanctuaire des rois, qui mentionnent les actions d'Amménémès IV en utilisant la phraséologie royale ([ir.n≈f] m mnw≈f]. Voir D. Franke, Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.−16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.), Äg. Abh. 41 (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 446, dossier n° 774.

 $^{^{26}}$ Je ne m'appesantis point ici sur l'ambiguité de ss nsw, d'autant plus que la lecture de ce titre sur la stèle n'est pas avérée.

²⁷ P. Vernus, "La stèle du pharaon *mntw-ḥtpì* à Karnak: un nouveau témoignage sur la situation politique et militaire au début de la D.P.I.," *RdE* 40 (1989), p. 145–61, particulièrement p. 152–53.

²⁸ Bibliographie dans P. Vernus, "Observations..." (cité supra). Pour *nšì*, voir récemment J. Malek, "An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Monument of Sapair from Saqqara," *JEA* 75 (1989), p. 75; S. Allam, "Some Remarks on the Trial of Mose," *JEA* 75 (1989), p. 104 n. 8; C. Eyre, "The Semna Stelae Quotation, Genre, and Functions of Literature," dans S. Groll, éditeur, *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jérusalem, 1990), p. 145.

²⁹ H.S. Smith, The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions, p. 76 et pl. LXXX, 1-4.

³⁰ W.C. Hayes, "Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut," *MDAIK* 15 (1957), p. 80–85; "sixty doorways, each of which was provided with a wooden door or with a pair of doors opening inward in such a way as to mask from view the rebated surfaces of its reveals. On almost every one of these normally hidden surfaces Senmut, the architect of the temple, caused to be carved a small figure of himself kneeling or standing with hands upraised in the act—as the accompaniying inscriptions tell us—of "giving praise to Amun (or Hathor) on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of Maakarê (Hatshepsut)." Voir P. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut. Problems in historical Methodology* (Londres et New York, 1988), p. 157.

³¹ Urk. IV. 354.13-17.

³² R.A. Caminos, The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen I (Londres, 1974), p. 23, pl. 23.

8°) A Athribis, ³³ le gouverneur *t*wr a laissé son nom sur un jambage aux cartouches de Thoutmosis III dont il avait supervisé (*îr ln c*) l'exécution.

9°) Il est d'autres cas au Nouvel Empire qu'il n'est pas lieu d'énumérer ici.

Deux types de monuments, donc qui s'opposent par leurs finalités. Dans le type A, la finalité première est l'avantage du particulier qui fait dresser le monument. L'idéologie royale dans ses manifestations et apparats n'est convoquée qu'autant qu'elle peut servir cette finalité par les vertus de l'écrit et de l'image. Inversement, dans le type B, il s'agit fondamentalement de monuments royaux où un particulier n'est admis qu'accessoirement. Cela posé, ces deux types mettent en jeu des personnages appartenant au même cercle étroit, celui des hauts dignitaires, au point qu'à un même personne, par exemple le directeur de la Basse Egypte d3f/hr-m-s3=f puissent être attribués des monuments appartenant à l'un et à l'autre type (cf. supra). Il est même des cas limites où, l'incomplétude du monument ou l'insuffisance du contexte ne permettent pas de trancher entre le type A et le type B. Bien évidemment, de très hauts responsables pouvaient aussi bien s'être arrogé le droit d'utiliser un apparat propre à l'idéologie royale sur leur monument, qu'avoir reçu du pharaon la faveur de figurer sur un monument royal dont ils avaient dirigé la construction ou dans lequel ils étaient, d'une manière ou d'une autre, partie prenante.

Qu'en est-il de la stèle ici étudiée? Attendu que la présence du particulier, le scribe de nome *ḥr-nḥt*, se réduit à une simple mention, écrite

³³ P. Vernus, *Athribis*, BdE 78 (Le Caire, 1978), p. 22–23, pl. I.

³⁴ La même expression pour introduire le nom de celui qui a érigé la stèle avec la titulature d'Amménémès IV au Sinai (n° 119, voir *infra*, n. 25).

³⁵ Hérihor, en tant que prophète d'Amon est mentionné dans le temple de Chonsou pour en avoir dirigé la décoration; par exemple *ir hr-c sb:.n.hm≈f ìry-prt ḥry-tp t3 wy ḥm-nṭr n imn-rc-nsw-nṭr.w mr mšc wr ḥ: wty ḥry-hṛ, "*Fait sous la direction de celui qu'a instruit sa majesté, le noble, chef des deux pays, prophète d'Amonrêsonther, général en chef, commandant, Hérihor," *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the first hypostyle Hall. The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 2, SAOC 103 (Chicago, 1981), pl. 153, 199–200, cf. p. XVIII, "he claims that he undertook the work there because of the "instruction of his majesty." Mentionnons aussi le cas de *mḥy*, sur les bas-reliefs de Séthy I, voir W. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh. A historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak*, SAOC 12 (Chicago, 1990), p. 171; et celui du directeur du trésor Bay, en compagnie de Siptah: H. Altenmüller, "Zweiter Vorbericht über die Arbeiten des Archäologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg am Grab des Bay (KV 13) im Tal der Könige von Theben," *SAK* 19 (1993), p. 15–36; G. Posener, "La complainte de l'échanson Bay" dans *Gs Otto*, p. 386.

³⁶ Ainsi la stèle fragmentaire mentionnant un "directeur du trésor" publiée dans Balcz, *MDAIK* 3 (1932), p. 39–40, et celle publiée dans J. Yoyotte, "Le roi Mer-Djefa-Rê et le dieu Sopdou—Un monument de la XIVe dynastie," *BSFE* 114 (1989), p. 17–22.

en hiéroglyphes d'un module inférieur aux trois lignes du premier registre, attendu que le deuxième registre est régi par une économie des textes et des représentations visant à l'expression idéologique des droits du pharaon, sans qu'interviennne aucunement *ḥr-nḥt*, la conclusion s'impose qu'il s'agit fondamentalement d'un monument royal sur lequel a été admis l'évocation du particulier qui a concouru à son élaboration (type B).

Monument royal, soit. Mais quel genre de monument royal? Son contenu suggère qu'il proclamait et fixait "pour l'éternité" l'interprétation locale d'un nouvelle formulation de l'idéologie monarchique, élaborée pour rendre compte de la nouvelle situation politique. Elle prend la forme d'une série d'épithètes introduisant le nom du pharaon, puis, par le biais de l'expansion $mry\ n$, "aimé de," se noue le lien avec les deux divinités affrontées du deuxième registre, Horus de Behdet et Isis la divine, convoquées à titre de divinités locales. Entre leurs légendes, une colonne contenant, d'après l'économie d'ensemble, leur discours commun:

Puisses-tu prendre possession victorieusement (/en tant que victorieux de bras). Tu es en position de roi; la couronne blanche, elle appartient à [ta] tête.

Fais essentiel: le pouvoir du pharaon, sans doute réaffirmé à l'occasion d'un fait d'armes,—d'où l'épithète nht, "victorieux"—est explicitement limité à la Haute Egypte dans la bouche même des divinités qui le cautionne: nsw ne répond-il pas à hd, la couronne blanche? L'idéologie assume donc un état de fait, la limitation de la souveraineté de la dynastie nationale à la Haute Egypte, puisque les Hyksôs tenaient le nord du pays, tout en faisant place au volontarisme nationaliste par l'addition ts(r)-dr = f. Puisqu'il s'agit d'actualiser, on emploie une langue reflétant le vernaculaire de l'époque; d'où le recours au préfixe du présent 1 du néoégyptien. A situation nouvelle, formulation nouvelle.

La fonction de cette stèle était probablement de rendre effective la présence du pharaon dans une région de son royaume. Elle appartient ainsi à un type documentaire bien connu, entre autres par les stèles de Sésostris III à Semna. Toutefois, une nuance: la région où est proclamée cette présence n'est pas un pays étranger nouvellement subjugué et dont les habitants seraient des rebelles potentiels, mais une province partie constitutive du territoire égypten. Aussi, la souveraineté du

³⁷ Il n'est pas exclu qu'ils aient établi des garnisons dans le sud, en particulier à Gébélein; voir R. Giveon, "The Hyksôs in the South," *Fontes atque Pontes. Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner*, ÄAT 5 (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 155–61.

³⁸ Ch. Eyre, "The Semna Stela ..." (cité supra), p. 134–65.

pharaon est-elle légitimée dans les termes des traditions religieuses locales, en invoquant la caution des deux divinités majeures de l'endroit. Par là, la stèle doit être rapprochée d'une autre stèle proche dans le temps, et tout aussi méconnue, la stèle CGC 20533, dressée par le pharaon Dedoumès Djednéferrê à Gébelein. Le premier registre est divisé en deux parties, chacune avec une représentation du pharaon en sens opposé, aux côtés de divinités, à gauche Souchos, à droite Chonsou et Anoubis. En-dessous, une série de qualificatifs du pharaon:

Le dieu bon, aimé de Thèbes, élu au milieu de(?)³⁹... ses apparitions comme brille le disque, élevé en vue de la royauté des deux pays, dont la couronne de Haute Egypte et la couronne de Basse Egypte sont bien établies, qui réunit les deux puissantes sur sa tête, à qui ont été assignées la Blanche et la Rouge à la grande joie de chaque divinité.

La lettre diffère quelque peu de la stèle d'Antef, puisqu'alors la partition de l'Egypte n'était pas consommée, mais la finalité est la même: consacrer le cautionnement local (en l'occurrence, Gébélein) de la légitimité du pharaon. Sans doute les stèles de Dedoumès et d'Antef-levictorieux sont-elles les vestiges d'une série dressée par les pharaons de la D.P.I. dans les régions intégrées au cartel thébain pour fixer les formulations locales de l'idéologie royale propre à cette époque.

Organisation sémiotique de la stèle

Comme on l'attend d'un monument à fins fortement idéologiques, l'économie de la stèle met en oeuvre les ressources sémiotiques de l'écriture et de l'image: divinités affrontées, discours commun, marqué comme tel par les colonnes contenant leurs légendes, la démarcation extérieure de ces colonnes étant constituées par les sceptres; bref, des procédés tirés du riche arsenal expressif de la civilisation égyptienne. Cela posé, derrière la sophistication a surgi la maladresse. Pour ne rien dire du style exécrable, notons le rajout de (r)-dr = f (ou 3w = f) hors colonne, l'investissement désiquilibré de l'espace du cintre, où la moitié droite paraît avoir été laissée sans inscription, et surtout, ce que je qualifierai de "pas-de-clerc sémiotique," à savoir l'inversion du nom d'Horus par rapport à son image, ce qui, dans la tradition classique, signifierait la prépondérance du pharaon sur le dieu. La même inversion est opérée sur la stèle de m-hb, et, qui plus est, à l'avantage d'un particulier! Ces inversions traduisent moins une dévaluation de la divinité qu'une maîtrise

³⁹ Lecture incertaine; j'ai proposé une interprétation qui demanderait à être confirmée ou infirmée par un examen de l'original: P. Vernus, "La stèle du pharaon..." (cité supra), p. 158, n. 23.

⁴⁰ Voir P. Vernus, dans A.M. Christin, éditeur, Ecritures II (Paris, 1985), p. 45-66.

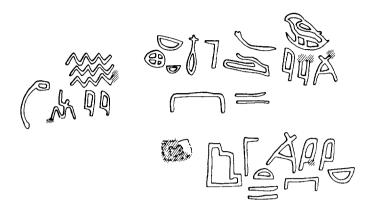


Fig. 3. Graffito de Bouhen, d'après J. Baines, *GM* 67 (1983), p. 24, fig. 1.

imparfaite de l'écriture hiéroglyphique. Nul doute qu'un lettré des bonnes époques eût agencé la légende d'Horus de façon que les signes s'orientassent dans le sens de son image.

Un graffito de Bouhen apparenté

Durant la D.P.I., on assiste à une subversion de la sémiotique classique. Non que ses procédés soient perdus; il s'en faut de beaucoup. En fait, ils demeurent, mais quelque peu affranchis des contraintes qui réglaient leur utilisation. En ce sens on comparera la présente stèle à un graffito de Bouhen (fig. 3), avec lequel elle présente des affinités par le contenu, ainsi la mention d'Horus de Behedet et d'Isis—et l'épigraphie. J. Baines les a fort bien reconnues, et a suggéré une datation dans le cours de la D.P.I. Or, ce graffito associe à un nom propre de particulier des légendes divines, avec jeux d'orientation sophistiqués, formulées dans le style des monuments de l'idéologie royale. De ces légendes, je donne ici ma lecture qui diffère un peu de celle de J. Baines:

mry ḥr nb bḥd.t ntr '3 nb p.t nb t3.wy mry 38.t ntr.t nb.t p.t nb.t t3.wy

On observera que nb bhd.t est réparti symétriquement autour de l'axe défini par ntr 3, dont l'orientation est rendue neutre par dans l'agencement du groupe $\[\bigcap \]$.

⁴¹ J. Baines, "'Greatest god'...," cité supra, p. 24–26.

Studios	in	Honor	of William	Ko11v	Simpson

Quant à nb, il est évidement en facteur commun à bhd.t, à p.t et à ts.wy dans la légende d'Horus, comme il l'est à p.t et à ts.wy dans celle d'Isis.

Toward the Establishment of a Pre-Islamic Egyptian Archaeological Database



KENT R. WEEKS

HIS IS A REPORT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL database of pre-Islamic Egyptian sites, currently undertaken by the Theban Mapping Project (TMP) through the American University in Cairo and the American Research Center in Egypt. Professor Simpson has served for many years on the governing boards of both AUC and ARCE, and his interest in protecting Egypt's patrimony is well known. Further, the TMP is directed by one of his former (and very grateful) students. Thus, it seems appropriate to outline here the work that has been accomplished to date in the TMP's program of cultural resource management.

There is a desperate need in Egypt for the regular monitoring of archaeological sites, a need by no means limited to such major sites as Jīzah, Şaqqārah or Thebes. Between the Mediterranean coast and Aswan there lie well over a thousand pre-Islamic sites, ranging from townsites to necropoleis, from petroglyphs to temples. Although these sites have survived in various degrees of preservation for millennia—some for nearly half a million years—each one of them today is threatened by vandalism, theft, encroaching development, deteriorating environmental conditions, or neglect. If these sites are to be protected—indeed, in some cases if they are to survive for even another generation—it is essential that they be recorded and inspected in a regular and systematic fashion.

Archaeological databases—some call them Cultural Site Inventories—are an essential part of Cultural Resource Management, a system that seeks to preserve, conserve and manage archaeological sites, both excavated and unexcavated, by means of technical studies, descriptive recording, assessment reports, management plans, and education. Without such databases, there can be no adequate planning for the protection, touristic utilization, or interpretation of archaeological materials. This view is given prominence in the *Charter for the*

Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage published by ICOMOS and ICAHM:

The protection of our archaeological heritage must be based upon the fullest possible knowledge of its nature and extent. General surveys of archaeological resources are essential working tools in developing strategies for site protection. Consequently archaeological survey should be a basic obligation in the protection and management of the archaeological heritage. Further, inventories of site contents constitute primary data needed for any further study. Inventories should include information even at the most basic level of significance and reliability, since even superficial knowledge of a site can help determine a starting point for its protection.

The establishment of an archaeological database for Egypt, as well as more detailed and specialized databases for Thebes, Şaqqārah, Jīzah, and other major sites, will help ensure the more efficient management of Egypt's archaeological heritage and will permit the identification of potential threats to sites before those threats inflict real and irreversible damage.

Article 26 of Egyptian Antiquities Law 117 of 1983 states: "The authority shall prepare a register for environmental and urban data and factors affecting every archaeological site according its importance [sic]." It is true that local inspectors of antiquities are expected to make regular checks of sites within their district. But in fact these visits, when they do occur, are cursory and irregular and do not produce condition reports that can regularly be updated. There is no defined procedure for such inspections; there is no standard for the kinds of information to be gathered; there is no baseline against which the changing conditions of a site can be plotted; and there is no training to show how such inspections should be carried out.

As part of its long-term commitment to the study of the Theban Necropolis, the TMP has established such an archaeological database for Thebes. It provides basic historical and descriptive records and essential condition reports for each of the Theban monuments, and will make possible the regular monitoring of their changing condition. Work on this database has already begun in the Valley of the Kings (KV), an area

¹ United States Committee/International Council on Monuments and Sites and The International Committee of Archaeological Heritage Management, *Charter* (Washington, D.C.: US/ICOMOS, 1988). See also: *Conservation-Based Management of Significant Cultural Sites* (Marina del Rey, CA: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1992); George Smith and John Ehrenhard, *Protecting the Past* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 1991).

 $^{^2}$ Law No. 117 of the Year 1983 Concerning the Issuance of Antiquities Protection Law. *Official Gazette* (Cairo, August 11, 1983). English translation: Cairo: Egyptian Antiquities Organization, 1984.

of particular environmental concern, and is being expanded to include the other parts of the Necropolis.

As an offshoot of this Theban work, the TMP decided two years ago also to establish a database for all of pre-Islamic Egypt. Work on this broader database has proceeded in an irregular and informal manner, as time and funds have permitted, but it already includes basic data for about 1,200 archaeological sites, from Palaeolithic through Christian date, and other sites continue to be added and their descriptive data expanded upon. Some of the sites are little more than scattered rock drawings in the Eastern Desert or Palaeolithic workstations in the oases; others are much more complex: Mīt Ruhaynah (Memphis), for example, or Aswan, Abydos, Ṣān al Ḥajar (Tanis). (Work on Ṣaqqārah and Jīzah is still in an elementary stage.)

Initially, we had intended to model our database upon those established in other countries, notably the United States, Great Britain, Jordan, and the Sudan. But those models have required significant modification. Egyptian sites pose a number of special and complex problems. These problems include: the unusually wide variety of archaeological site types to be found in Egypt; the sheer number, size, and complexity of these sites; the many different natural and cultural environments in which they lie; the numerous (and often immediate) environmental, economic, and social pressures to which virtually all Egyptian sites are subjected; and the need to develop inexpensive, low-tech, sustainable approaches to their continued monitoring. The result is a database that generally follows those other models, but which also exhibits many differences. For example, written descriptions have been relied upon much more extensively than simple attribute coding forms such as those used in Jordan. And there is a much greater emphasis upon bibliographical sources, since many sites have long records of exploration or excavation.

An example of the Egyptian database forms that we have prepared is illustrated in this article (fig. 1): it is the entry for Maʿadī, an important prehistoric site near Cairo. (I should note that the database form we have developed for Thebes differs significantly from the Egypt-wide form discussed here. When dealing with individuals monuments, many of the general catagories are divided into more specific entries, covering, e.g.,

³ Gaetano Palumbo, Abdul Sami' Abu Dayyah, Khawla Gussous and Mohammed Wahib. Cultural Resources Management and National Inventory of Archaeological and Historic Sites: The Jordanian Experience. *Papers of the V Conference on the History and Archaeology of Jordan, Irbid, April 12, 17, 1992* (Amman, Jordan, 1992); *Cultural Resources Management Guidelines, NPS-28* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1985); F.W. Hinkel, *The Archaeological Map of the Sudan* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1991–).

the condition of foundations, walls, paint, and plaster, and are accompanied by a number of detailed photographs and sketch plans.)

In what follows, I shall explain each of the categories used in the Egyptian database form, its purpose, its format, and its sources.

SITE NAME

One of the first problems our database encountered was that of naming the site. Egyptian sites often have several names: ancient Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Coptic, and often several modern Arabic names. For example, Hierakonpolis was anciently called Nekhen or Mekhen; modern Egyptians might call it Kawm al Aḥmar; villagers living nearby call it Muwayssat or simply Al Kawm (neither terms listed in standard toponymical sources). Other sites contain several monuments or areas, each of which has its own name. Thebes, for example, is divided into over a dozen named areas (more, if you include local toponyms), and hundreds of named (or numbered) monuments. We have tried to include all the names for a site in the database, and to cross-reference them. The names might be variant spellings, or different names used in publications by ancient writers, Classical visitors, or modern excavators. We also have included names gathered in interviews with local villagers.

We have established a system that imposes one name as the preferred name for each site. Usually, that name is one of its modern Arabic appellations. Other names are then cross-referenced to that principal entry.

Where possible, the Arabic name selected as the principal entry is that given in the Survey of Egypt's *Index to Place Names Appearing on the Normal 1:100,000 Scale Map Series of Egypt* (Arabic ed., Cairo, 1932). Thus, it is Al Kawm al Aḥmar (not Hierakonpolis), Kafr 'Ammār (not Tarkhan). I know that our choice of site name will not always satisfy my colleagues. Often, a site's Greek or Roman name is more commonly used in the literature than its Arabic name. But our system has the advantage of being consistent, and uses the name preferred internationally by most cartographic authorities, the name that is also the most readily understood in Egypt itself.

The transliteration of Arabic place-names has a confusing history. Is it Giza, Gizeh, Guize, or Jeezeh; is it Luxor, Louqsor, Luksr, or El-Uqsur? Here, we have generally followed the joint recommendations of the United States Board on Geographic Names (BGN) and the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use (PCGN), issued by the Defense Mapping Agency (*Gazetteer of Egypt*, Washington, 2nd ed., 1987). This is the system of transliteration used by the Library of Congress, the British Library, all other libraries that use the

LC or BL cataloguing system, and virtually all official US and UK cartographic agencies. It thus has the advantage of being as close to a standard for the English-speaking world as it is possible to achieve, and it provides an accurate and standardized form for transliterating the Arabic original. In this system, it is Jīzah, not Giza; Al Uqṣur, not Luxor; Al ʿAmārinah, not Amarna; and the Arabic definite article is ignored in alphabetizing. We cross-reference common spelling variants, including some peculiar nineteenth century forms, and also cross-reference the usual German (e.g., Gisa) and French (e.g., Louqsor) spellings.

DESCRIPTION OF SITE (TYPE)

A brief description of the principal components of the site. Key words in such descriptions might include: cemetery, rock-cut tomb, mastaba, pyramid, campsite, settlement, townsite, workstation, quarry, mine, petroglyph, temple complex, shrine, monastery, or church.

LOCATION

A site's location is noted in at least four ways. First, its position is given in latitude and longitude (to the nearest minute), as determined from the U.K. Directorate of Military Survey's 1:100,000 series on Egypt (1930–1958), or the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency's 1:250,000 Egypt series (1966–1981), or as listed in the *Gazetteer of Egypt*, cited above. The appropriate map sheet is indicated in parentheses, and follows the world-wide map sheet identification system (the JOG number) of the Joint Operations Graphic (Series 1501). The purpose of this entry is to facilitate locating the site on published maps.

Second, where possible, a precise reading of latitude and longitude, to the nearest second, and with elevation in metres above sea level, has been taken at the site using a Geographical Positioning System (GPS) instrument, which measures position by calculating data received from three or more geosynchronous earth satellites. These readings are accurate horizontally to within about five metres, and the exact spot where the reading was taken is indicated on the form. The TMP is regularly adding additional GPS readings to site database forms. The purpose of this and the following two references is to facilitate locating the site (or component parts of the site) on the ground.

Third, we include the location as given in the Survey of Egypt's *Index* (cited above) or as determined from the Arabic-language 1:100,000 map sheets themselves. This gives the northerly and easterly map grid intersections, the map sheet number, and the serial number of the site's entry in the *Index*. These grid references are also applicable to the 1:25,000 maps and to other Survey of Egypt map series.

Also included, where appropriate, are other reference systems, such as the Theban grid references established on the West Bank at Al Uqşur by the Theban Mapping Project; the grid references established at Karnak by the Centre Franco-égyptien; the descriptive system used by Reisner at Jīzah; and others.

Finally, we give a description of the site location in relation to nearby geographical, topographical, or archaeological features (e.g., its distance from the Nile, its proximity to wadis, villages, roads, or to other monuments).

SITE BOUNDARIES

The full extent of the archaeological site is defined. Ideally, the boundaries should be defined by GPS coordinates taken at each corner, and also be given in terms of clear and permanent surface features. In some cases, the actual extent of a site and the legal definition of the site (if the Supreme Council for Antiquities has prepared such a description) will differ. Where possible, such differences are clearly noted.

Map Sources and Site Photographs

Reference is made to any site maps, aerial photographs, general photographs, or descriptions of the site that have appeared in published sources or are accessible in government or research archives. Where possible, the most informative of those maps and photographs are included in the database (by means of computer scanning).

IMPORTANCE OF SITE

A brief indication of the historical, archaeological, and environmental importance of a site is given to place the site in its broader cultural context.

Date

A date for the site (or a range of dates for its various components) is given, by dynasty, reign, or archaeological period (i.e., relative date), and according to a standard calendrical system based on textual material or C–14 dating (i.e., absolute date).

LOCAL LORE CONCERNING SITE

People who live near an archaeological site often have extensive knowledge of the site's history, exploration and depredation. Local toponymy and folktales can provide clues to the nature of a site or reveal the existence of other sites in the area. The TMP has conducted interviews in the

⁴ The grid network of the TMP is described in "The Berkeley Map of the Theban Necropolis: Preliminary Report," *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 1978.

Theban area to gather such material and, as a matter of course, we interview villagers living near sites when we collect GPS readings or conservation data.

HISTORY OF WORK

It is important to have a complete record of previous excavations at a site, and to supplement the "official" excavation list with information from early travelers' diaries, general studies that make reference to the site, and articles that discuss objects known to have been removed from the site. Evidence of illicit digging is also noted.

SITE SURFACE

Is the surface of the site covered with weeds, groves of trees, or water-filled depressions? Are there patches of salt crystals or soil discoloration? Are there concentrations of sherds, stone chips or other materials? Do paths or roads cross the site? Is there evidence of depredation, deterioration, modern construction? Such data is of importance in assessing the condition of a site and in determining what kinds of material an unexcavated site might contain. For example, the heavy growth of certain kinds of vegetation often indicates the presence of large mudbrick walls.

On-site structures

We divide this section into two parts: a brief description of historical structures found above ground, and reference to those that past excavations have uncovered below ground. The kind of material from which the structures are built is noted (e.g., mud, mud-brick, limestone, sandstone, granite), as is any evidence of painting or carving. The extent of deterioration (e.g., salt damage), structural weakness, or vandalism is described. Modern structures are also noted, either here or on the accompanying site plan.

OBJECTS

A general listing is included of the types of organic and inorganic objects to be seen at the site today or removed from the site, legally or illegally, in the past. Such information can provide useful indications of what any future protective measures must include.

Geology, Physiography, Hydrology, subsurface Characteristics Such features as local geology, the nature of the terrain, the presence of irrigation canals or high groundwater are noted, to the extent that such information can be obtained without extensive fieldwork. Obvious geological problems, such as cracking, slipping, expansion or compression are noted. Usually, these comments are limited to what can be learned

from published studies, available SCA reports, the observations of inspectors, local inhabitants, archaeologists who have visited the site, or from brief field study. It is not possible at this stage to undertake borings, mineralogical tests, or physical analyses.

CONDITION OF SITE AND CURRENT THREATS

Some factors relevant to this section may also have been noted in other categories. Current threats may include new construction, leaking water channels, pollution, refuse dumping, illicit digging, agricultural encroachment, vandalism, or large-scale tourism. It may often be possible to check the current condition of a site against earlier evidence from site photographs or excavation reports to determine how conditions may already have changed. Nearby (especially unlined) irrigation canals may seriously affect groundwater levels, and these are located and described. (Present groundwater levels can be determined not only by drilling, but by checking for surficial water, asking local inhabitants about recent well-drilling, or making inquiries of local governmental or industry representatives.) No less serious are bureaucratic threats: changes in a site's status, for example, when permission to use the site is given to the military, or a housing authority is allowed to construct blocks of flats, or a local government is allowed to build or widen a road.

Previous conservation measures

Information on such activity can sometimes be seen on-site, or found in published site reports, local Antiquities Department archives, or in conversation with local villagers. Previous measures may range from the erection of signs, the construction of enclosure walls, to the reconstruction of ancient structures.

LEGAL STATUS OF SITE

In theory, all archaeological sites in Egypt, except those owned by religious endowments (*waqfs*), are owned by the State and administered for the State by the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA, formerly the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, EAO). However, many sites have been ceded to the control of other ministries, among them the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Irrigation, to various local governments, or to private sector companies. Such transfers, in theory, are temporary and do not involve actual transfer of title. Permission to construct a block of flats on a site, therefore, does not, in theory, mean that ownership of the land is relinquished by the State. A site may be legally reduced in size if portions of it are declared by the SCA to have no archaeological value. This occurred recently, for example, when the SCA's antecedent, the EAO, gave permission for a highway to be

constructed north of Ṣaqqārah (permission being strongly protested by UNESCO, and that the SCA has now revoked). The fact that a site like Jīzah or Thebes has been declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO does not guarantee it special status as a protected zone under Egyptian law. That can only be done by the Egyptian legislature, and that has not yet happened.

Urgency of Conservation, protective measures

The site (or specific parts of the site) is rated in comparison with other sites in the region, and with other sites of similar type. One ranking indicates whether its current condition is excellent, good, fair, poor, or destroyed; another, whether conservation/restoration work should be considered and, if so, whether that work is of first, second, third, or fourth level priority. A description of the proposed work is included, when possible. Evidence of potential conservation or preservation problems at a site are noted.

Touristic activity and/or potential

If a site currently is open to tourists, the level of activity is noted. Where possible, the opinions of various government, scientific, and business agencies are solicited to determine whether tourism should be allowed to increase or what actions would be necessary to make certain that tourism (whatever its current level) has minimal impact on the site. The views of the local inhabitants as to present or future tourism are noted, when appropriate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A list of the principal references to the site is included, and particular effort is made to indicate published sources of maps or photographs of the site. If the references are to unpublished reports or manuscripts, some indication is given of where copies might be found. Bibliographical abbreviations are generally those used in The International Association of Egyptologists, Egyptology, 2: Liste der Abkürzungen und Kurztitel in ägyptologischen Publikationen (Berlin, 1994), with alterations made to conform to Kent R. Weeks, Research Guide to Egyptology (New York: Garland, in preparation).

ACCOMPANYING ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

Each site entry will have added to it at least one site map, if possible one taken from a recent publication of the site, or a sketch map based upon earlier records and annotated by a brief site survey. To this map will be added any of the features described above that have archaeological significance or that impact on the current and future preservation of the site: pools of water, for example, or modern footpaths, new construction,

agricultural encroachments. The map also should show enough of the surrounding area to help locate the site. In addition, photographs of the site are included, ideally a series of photographs taken at several intervals in the past, together with a recent photo taken during the on-site survey. Commentary will note changes in the condition of the site that are visible in these photographs.

As part of its work at Thebes, the TMP has developed a series of training seminars to introduce this archaeological database to inspectors of antiquities, and we hope to offer them when funding becomes available. In the meantime, we are preparing an Arabic-language handbook for inspectors that explains the database and its uses. We consider the preparation of this current first-stage database to be a turnkey operation: it is the inspectors of antiquities, after all, who will bear the principal responsibility for maintaining the database system in coming years. That is why the database itself will be bilingual (because of limited space, I have included here only the English version of the Macadī form). Only by producing a database in English and Arabic can we hope to reach the wide audience that might profit from its use, and insure that it will continue to be maintained. That is also why, although we hope to make the database available on CD-ROM, we recognize that it must be designed to work in the field as a low-tech "pencil and paper" operation. Computers are not available in most inspectorates and computer literacy consequently is still uncommon.

The establishment of a comprehensive Egypt-wide database is a large undertaking. But, having now compiled the basic forms for over 1,000 sites, we believe that it will be possible in future years to build upon this foundation. The information provided for each site should be sufficient to make the regular re-examination of site conditions a relatively straightforward matter. If each site were checked annually, or even every two or three years, the database updated with new condition reports and photographs, we believe that substantial progress could be made in efforts to protect these fragile resources. In doing so, we will help to insure that the archaeological sites of Egypt will come to be treated with the long-term care and respect that they deserve but only infrequently receive.

 $^{^{5}}$ I wish to thank Edwin Brock, Mark Easton, and Ahmed Harfoush for their valuable comments on the database form.

12.94 Site name: Maʿādī, Al

Theban Mapping Project Archaeological Database of Pre-Islamic Egyptian Sites

SITE NAME:	Maʻādī, Al	Importance of site or	Highly important Neolithic settlement, culturally related to other northern Egyptian Neolithic sites; early copper working; evidence of contact with Syro-	
VARIANT SPELLING:	Meadi	MONUMENT:		
Other names:	_		Palestine.	
Description of site (type) or monument:	Stratified village (1.80 m of occupation debris) and pit grave cemetery.	DATE:	Formerly thought to be ED, now assigned to the Neolithic (C–14 dates range from ca. 5100 to 3500 B.C.; the lower dates are the most likely).	
Lat/long/map reference:	Lat 29+58'N, Long 31+15'E (NH 36–09)	LOCAL LORE CONCERNING	_	
GPS reading:	Lat 29+57.98' N, Long 31+16.39' E, eleva-	SITE:		
Survey of	tion 140 msl Serial 10691, sheet 80/60, 805.7N,	HISTORY OF WORK:	First identified in 1918, the site was excavated by Cairo University between 1930–1953, and published 1987–1990. An Italian mission worked here briefly in the 1980s and in 1991–1992.	
EGYPT REFERENCES:	640.0E. The site is more clearly shown on Cairo 1:5.000 (sheet 806/639, 1938, rev. 1948) at the grid intersection noted			
	for sheet 80/60. The 1:25,000 series (1938) shows the approximate extent of the antiquities zone and the location of the Cairo University expedition house.	Site surface:	Undulating surface of silt, sand, some stone; substantial construction debris covers much of the site. There are several small groves of trees.	
OTHER LOCATORS:	The site lies south of the Ministry of Telecommunications Satellite Station, adjacent to Road 216, near the mouths of Wādī Dijlah and Wādī Tīh, south of the district of Basātīn, adjacent to the districts of southern Cairo called Dijlah,	On-site structures:	Settlement with oval, rectangular and subterranean houses (of uncertain number); pit grave cemeteries (over 470 graves are known). Numerous modern buildings.	
SITE BOUNDARIES:	Maʿādī and New Maʿādī. The least damaged parts of the site are bounded on the west by Road 216, on the	Овјестѕ:	Lithic material; pottery; small objects of clay, copper, bone, shell, wood, leather, basketry; human and animal skeletons; botanical remains.	
	south by the intersection of Roads 216 and 254, and on the north by Shārī Zah-			
	rah. In fact, these streets cut through the site, which formerly extended significant distances beyond these modern features.	Physiography, hydrology, subsurface character- istics:	The site lies in the Basātīn Basin, "on sandy alluvial deposits from lateral 'widioms' tributaries of the Nile, at the edge of the Wādī Degla fan." (Caneva, Marcolongo, Palmieri).	
Map sources:	As noted in the bibliography, below.			
Aerial photos and site photos:	As noted in the bibliography, below.			

Fig. 1. Sample database form from the Theban Mapping Project's cultural site inventory.

Condition of SITE AND CURRENT THREATS: Virtually all the site has been destroyed, parts in World War II by the British Army, parts in recent years by construction of apartment complexes, military and police installations. Of the site's original 40,000 sq. m, only a few hundred sq. m are to be seen today. Ground water at the site and below the storeroom has caused considerable salt damage. The 1992 earthquake damaged the storeroom and some of its contents.

Previous measures for conservation: No attempts have been made to protect the site from further depredation.

LEGAL STATUS OF SITE: Presumably still under SCA authority, although most of the site is now occupied either by the Ministries of Defense and Interior, or by substantial apartment complexes and roadways.

URGENCY OF CONSERVATION, PROTECTIVE MEASURES:

TOURISTIC
ACTIVITY AND/
OR POTENTIAL:

High for the small area of the site that remains. There are tentative plans to fence in what remains of the site (a project funded by ARCE).

Many objects from the Cairo University excavations are stored in a museum storeroom located on the site. It would be possible to remodel and open this as a museum. Given the number of other predynastic sites in this area needing protection, and the number of nearby schools that could make use of such a museum, the increased public awareness could make this a priority.

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A Goat for an Ailing Woman (Ostracon Wente)



EDWARD F. WENTE

Possession without at the time providing a copy of the text or its transcription. This contribution, written in honor of my old friend Kelly Simpson, is an attempt to atone for this irregular procedure on my part. The document in question is a short letter that some might prefer to call a communication because of its brevity. Although the provenience of the ostracon is unknown, it is obvious from the individual named in the address that it is to be connected with the Deir el-Medina community. The use of a potsherd for the communication suggests perhaps that it was written in the village rather than in the Valley of the Kings or the Valley of the Queens, where limestone flakes would have been the more readily available material on which to write such a brief document.

As with many communications from Deir el-Medina, the writer is unidentified, but the addressee of this communication is the well-known police chief Montumose, who had an extraordinarily long career of approximately fifty years, from Year 6 of Seti II to Year 1 of Ramesses V, and it is within this time-span that this ostracon must be situated. Because the police and their chiefs were not residents of the Deir el-

¹ Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, Society of Biblical Literature: Writingfrom Ancient World, vol. 1 (Atlanta, 1990), p. 143 (no. 188).

 $^{^2}$ See Jac. J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, vol. 6 (London, 1991), p. 8 with n. 2, for the distinction.

³ An admittedly rapid survey of the materials of which ostraca are made reveals that whereas approximately 25% of the ostraca from the Valley of the Kings are potsherds (using Jaroslav Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques* [Cairo, 1935], as the basis) and approximately 20% of the ostraca from the Valley of the Queens are potsherds (using Jesús López, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57001–57092*, Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie seconda—collezioni, vol. 3, fasc. 1 [Milan, 1978], as the basis), a good 65% of the non-literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina are potsherds (using Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, vols. 1–5, DFIFAO 3–7 [Cairo, 1935–51]; Serge Sauneron, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*, DFIFAO 13 [Cairo, 1959]; and Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médinéh*, DFIFAO 14 [Cairo, 1970] as the basis).

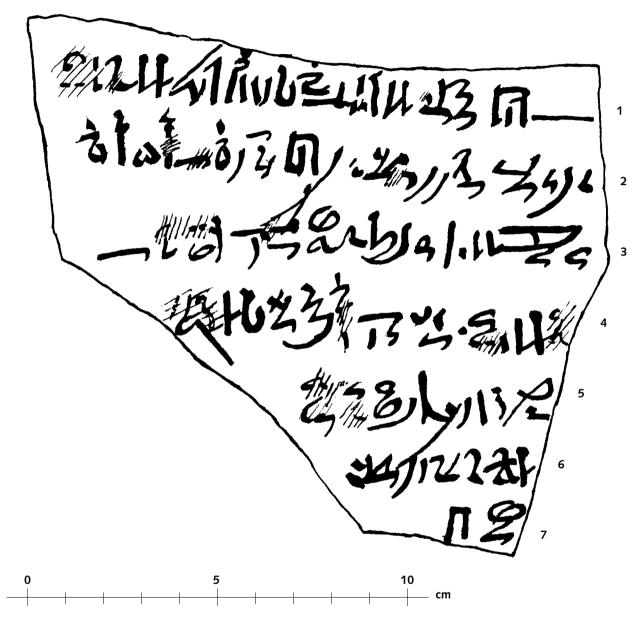


Fig. 1. Facsimile of Ostracon Wente.

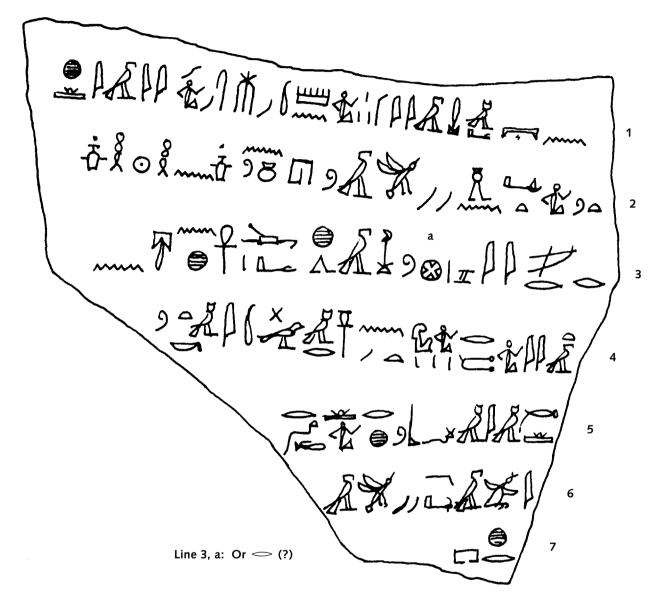


Fig. 2. Transcription of Ostracon Wente.

Medina village, ⁶ they may have had more contact with the outside world than village citizens, who were rather more confined to the necropolis area because of their work on the royal tombs. For this reason the residents of Deir el-Medina made use of the police to procure items that were not readily available in their town, and the police functioned as letter-carriers for communications between the village and areas beyond the confines of the Theban necropolis. One might suppose that the police, who had considerable responsibility for maintaining security in the necropolis, were regarded as somewhat more trustworthy than others and could be relied upon to transmit communications and purchase items on behalf of residents of the community. In the case of the ostracon under discussion perhaps the simplest explanation is that

⁴ On the basis of the similarity of the handwriting, I hazard the guess that the writer was identical with the scribe of Ostracon Turin 57458 (formerly 9754), published in Schafik Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri: Transkriptionen aus dem Nachlass von J. Černý* Band 1: *Tafelteil* (Tübingen, 1973), pls. 72–73; and in López, *Ostraca ieratici N. 57450–57568. tabelle lignee N. 58001–58007*, Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie seconda —collezioni, vol. 3, fasc. 4 (Milan, 1984), pl. 156. Since the Turin ostracon is the memorandum of two oaths taken in court in connection with a business dispute, this scribe was probably one of the administrative scribes of Deir el-Medina. The Turin ostracon is to be dated to the period spanned by Year 17 of Ramesses III and Year 1/3 of Ramesses IV, according to Manfred Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka und Papyri aus Deir el-Medineh und ihre ökonomische Interpretation, Teil 1: Die 20. Dynastie*, 2 vols., HÄB 18–19 (Hildesheim, 1983), vol. 2, p. 423.

⁵ On the dateline for Montumose, see Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, BdE 50 (Cairo, 1973), p. 266; Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 66–67; R. van Walsem, "The God Monthu and Deir el-Medîna," in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, eds. R. J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen (Leiden, 1982), pp. 202 and 209; Gutgesell, *Die Datierung der Ostraka*, vol. 1, p. 298, and vol. 2, p. 336, and especially vol. 1, p. 256, for the latest attestation of Montumose in Papyrus Turin 2044, which is to be dated to Year 1 of Ramesses V, cf. also Dominique Valbelle, "Les Ouvriers de la Tombe" Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside, BdE 96 (Cairo, 1985), p. 36, n. 1. For discussions regarding the activities of Montumose, see Raphael Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead: A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 69 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1986), pp. 90–92; John Romer, *Ancient Lives: Daily Life in Egypt of the Pharaohs* (New York, 1984), pp. 100–01, 119–21, 127, and 145; and A. G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medîna* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 53–54.

⁶ See Černý, Community, p. 280; McDowell, Jurisdiction, p. 54.

⁷ See J. G. Manning, Gary Greig, and Sugihiko Uchida, "Chicago Oriental Institute Ostracon 12073 Once Again," *JNES* 48 (1989), pp. 120–22, although McDowell, "Contact with the Outside World," in *Pharaoh's Workers: the Villagers of Deir el Medina*, ed. Leonard H. Lesko (Ithaca and London, 1994), chap. 2, argues that the workmen of the village were less restricted in their movements beyond the necropolis area.

⁸ But as McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 54, points out, most of our information concerning the activity of police chiefs is based on documents featuring Montumose; and Montumose was not the most dependable person when it came to paying debts, see Romer, *Ancient Lives*, p. 100, and McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, pp. 178 and 180–82.

because the writer had to stay at home with his sick wife, he made use of the police chief Montumose as a middleman.

With regard to the hieroglyphic transcription of the hieratic text, there is one point that deserves comment: the hieratic sign transcribed as the city determinative of mry(t) in line 3, which some might prefer to read as the r-mouth sign. A similar problem arises in connection with the hieratic sign which has been interpreted as the irrigation canal determinative (Gardiner sign-list N23) of *mryt* in Ostracon University College London 19614, recto 4.9 From the disposition of this sign in relation to the word mryt and the fact that the continuation of the text has been written slightly higher at an angle at the end of the line, there is some justification for following Allam, who utilized Černý's transcription, and Kitchen in regarding this sign as a determinative of mryt rather than the r-mouth sign. I would, however, propose a slightly different transcription than that provided by Allam and Kitchen in reading the irrigation canal sign in place of t and reading the city sign rather than the irrigation canal sign after the vertical stroke. For a similar hieratic form of the city sign, the determinative of dmi, "town," in Ostracon Gardiner 5, recto 7, 11 provides a parallel. In the case of our ostracon, the hieratic sign that I have transcribed as the city sign in line 3 appears rather more compact than the r-mouth sign at the beginning of this line, suggesting that the sign may not be r, but rather a cursive form of the city sign. ¹² Although in my opinion mryt was spelled the same way in both ostraca, the possibility that the sign is the *r*-mouth, and not the city sign, will have to be considered as an alternative in our discussion of the translation which follows:

⁹ Published in Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, Band 1: *Tafelteil*, pls. 74–75, and also transcribed in Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 5 (Oxford, 1970–83), pp. 1–2, superseding Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Hieratic Ostraca from Thebes," *Ancient Egypt* 1 (1914), pp. 106–08.

¹⁰ For *mryt* spelled without the feminine *t*, see ODM 112, recto 2 (Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques*, vol. 1, pl. 62); and for the city sign as an additional determinative of *mryt*, see the examples in Černý, *Community*, pp. 93 and 95–97, and the comment of Ventura, *Living in a City*, p. 80, n. 99.

 $^{^{11}}$ Published in Jaroslav Černý and Alan H. Gardiner, $\it Hieratic~Ostraca,~vol.~1~(Oxford,~1957),~pl.~XVIII,~1.$

¹² See Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1927), p. 31, sign 339 (P. Rollin), for cursive forms of the city sign that resemble *r*.

To the chief of police Montumose: What's the point of my sending a that hin-measure of nhh-oil to the market-place Look for a he-goat for my woman who is ill and take possession of it. I am not aware that <I> have been removed <from> the necropolis community.

If the sign before whs in line 3 is the r-mouth sign and not the city-determinative of mry(t), one's natural inclination would be to regard it as the preposition r introducing the infinitive whs and to translate instead, "What's the point of my sending that hin-measure of nhh-oil to the marketplace to look for a goat for my woman who is ill and for you to (or, "that you might") take possession of it?" However, good examples of the Late Egyptian conjunctive continuing r + infinitive (with unspecified actor) are relatively rare when compared with the common use of the conjunctive to continue an imperative. Normally the implied actor of an infinitive after r is a person previously mentioned, often the same as the subject of the main verb. Since up to the point where whs appears the only person mentioned in the text of the communication is the first person tw=i, one would logically infer that the writer, as the first person,

¹³ This example of *iis ili* + First Present was cited in Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, SAOC 33 (Chicago, 1967), p. 18, n. *d*, and Paul John Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen, 1974), p. 56 (ex. 17).

¹⁴ The commonly accepted identification of nhh as sesame oil (e.g., Janssen, Commodity Prices, pp. 330–33; Renate Germer, Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten [Mainz am Rhein, 1985], pp. 171–72) has has been questioned by Karl-Heinz Priese, "Zwei Wörter in den 'spätäthiopischen' Inschriften," ZÄS 95 (1968), p. 42; and by Dimitri Meeks, "Une Fondation memphite de Taharqa," in Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, vol. 1: Egypte pharaonique, BdE 81 (Cairo, 1979), p. 247.

¹⁵ On mryt, literally "riverbank," with the nuance of "marketplace," see Černý, Community, p. 97; McDowell, Jurisdiction, p. 219; idem, "Contact with the Outside World," p. 46. 16 Although "nh is technically "small cattle" and includes goats and sheep (see Janssen, Commodity Prices, p. 165), the absence of sheep at Deir el-Medina, where goats on the contrary were common (see Rosalind and Jack Janssen, Egyptian Household Animals [Aylesbury, 1989], p. 32), suggests that a goat is what the writer had in mind. A hin of nḥḥ-oil cost generally 1 deben, the price of a small goat, see Janssen, Commodity Prices, pp. 166 and 331–33.

¹⁷ Feminine *rmtt*, "woman," is not all that common in Late Egyptian, some examples being Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), pl. 8, line 25, and p. 24; I. E. S. Edwards, "The Bankes Papyri I and II," *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 128, line 7; Horus and Seth 7, 2 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, BAe 1 [Brussels, 1932], p. 45, line 15); Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, BAe 9 (Brussels, 1939), p. 15, line 2. The probability is that this sick woman was the sender's wife. In the Gardiner and Sethe example, "the woman" is clearly the wife (hmt) of the writer of that letter, and in demotic feminine *rmt.t* can also mean "wife," see Pieter Willem Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, 1961), p. 11, n. 3. I doubt that the use of the term *rmtt* in our brief communication can be related to the issue of two types of wives raised by Janssen, "Two Personalities," in *Gleanings*, eds. Demarée and Janssen, p. 127, n. 37.

 $^{^{18}}$ Cf. ODM 118, verso 1 (Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques*, vol. 2, pl. 4) for a similarly written mh m m = f, used in reference to taking possession of a goat.

would be doing the searching for the goat, but this makes much less sense than having the second person recipient of the communication doing the searching and taking possession of the goat. The problem of the delayed mention of the second person in the conjunctive is easily resolved, however, if whs is parsed as an imperative. There is one way, if r-mouth is held to be the correct transcription, to retain the translation I have preferred, and that is to regard the r as an alternate writing of the prothetic i, which frequently appears with imperatives.

It is the last sentence of the text that presents the greatest difficulty. As it stands, the simplest transliteration is $bw \ rh = i \ r - dd \ its = tw \ ps \ hr$, with tw being understood as the impersonal suffix "one," serving as subject of the perfect active sdm = f-form. The resulting translation would then be, "I do not know (or, "I am not aware" that ps hr has been seized." According to Ventura's valuable discussion of the term ps hr, absolute ps hr cannot mean the royal tomb, but refers to the administrative unit charged with the preparation of the royal tombs and the territory it occupied. Inasmuch as this ostracon could have been written in the first part of the Twentieth Dynasty and we now know that as early as Year 28 of Ramesses III's reign there was a reported incursion of "the enemy," who was probably Libyan according to Kitchen, it might be

¹⁹ See Frandsen, *Late Egyptian Verbal System*, par. 71, ex. 1 (Wen. 1 x+20–21). For the demotic conjunctive continuing *r* + infinitive, see Janet H. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, SAOC 38 (Chicago, 1976), p. 290. Leo Depuydt, *Conjunction, Contiguity, Contingency: On Relationships between Events in the Egyptian and Coptic Verbal Systems* (New York and Oxford, 1993), pp. 94–96, discusses the issue of the Coptic conjunctive, where the actor is always expressed, conjoining a preceding infinitive with omitted actor.

 $^{^{20}}$ For the prothetic element written as r in imperatives, see Jean Winand, $Etudes\ de\ n\'eo-\'egyptien,\ 1:\ la\ morphologie\ verbale,\ Aegyptiaca\ Leodiensia,\ 2\ (Liege,\ 1992),\ pp.\ 159$ and 161; and Adolf Erman, $Neuaegyptische\ Grammatik$, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1933), par. 348.

²¹ See Jaroslav Černý and Sarah Israelit Groll, A Late Egyptian Grammar, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1984), pp. 29–30; and Winand, Etudes, pp. 331–36.

²² See Gary S. Greig, "The Influence of the Semantic Categories of Egyptian Verbs of Perception and Cognition on Grammatical Structure in Late Egyptian" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1990), p. 64. On r-dd after verbs of perception and cognition, see also Erman, Neuaegyptische Grammatik, par. 428; M. Korostovtsev, Grammaire du néoégyptien (Moscow, 1973), pp. 213–14; and Černý and Groll, Late Egyptian Grammar, p. 212, ex. 563, where the form after r-dd is parsed as the perfect active sdm≈f.

²³ For rare examples of *its* with immovable object, see ODM 225, 6–7 (Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques*, vol. 3, pl. 16), of taking possession of a house; and P. Sallier I, 9, 3 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, BAe 7 [Brussels, 1937], p. 87), of taking fields away from someone.

²⁴ Ventura, *Living in a City*, chap. 1.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 16–17 and 23, and fig. 1 (p. 228), for the location of p3 hr in western Thebes.

²⁶ "Les suites des guerres libyennes de Ramsès III," RdE 36 (1985), pp. 177-79.

argued that the reference in the communication was to such a potential threat which had not yet materialized. However, it would be a bit strange to have a complaining writer tell a chief of police that to his knowledge the necropolis had not been seized or occupied, for chiefs of police were the ones who are elsewhere attested imparting important news to the Deir el-Medina community, including the approach of an enemy.

Alternatively, it might be proposed that tw is to be taken as the second person masculine dependent pronoun object of its, resulting in the translation, "I am not aware that the necropolis (administration) has removed you." Although Ventura has argued for the nuance of "administrative unit" for ps hr, it seems to me highly unlikely that this term could function as an animate subject of a verb like "remove," "take away." Appointments to the crew and promotions were normally made by the vizier, and since the chiefs of police generally worked for the vizier, one would assume that the removal of a chief of police would have been done by the vizier, not the local officials of the necropolis. There is, of course, the possibility that the final sentence of the ostracon should be understood as bw rh = i r - dd its = (i > tw < m > ps hr, "I am not aware that < I > i have removed you < from > i the necropolis community," but it seems unlikely that the writer of the communication was of sufficient stature to speak about his power to dismiss a chief of police. Besides this rendition does not make the best sense.

A communication of such brevity should possess unity in its epistolary polemics or argument and not simply record some incidental item of information unrelated to the basic thrust of the text. The last sentence of the communication should, I believe, serve to persuade the recipient to respond to the writer's demand. Instead of taking *p*³ *h*^r in a topographical sense, I suggest that it has the more abstract meaning of an administrative department or community. Thus I would understand

²⁷ See Černý, Community, p. 280.

²⁸ E.g., ODM 35, lines 9–10 (Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques*, vol. 1, pl. 15), and Papyrus Turin 2044, verso 2, 8–9 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 6 [Oxford, 1969–83], p. 342).

 $^{^{29}}$ In O. Cairo 25566 the removal of three boys was done by the "great magistrates," see Černý, Community, p. 116.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 114–16, and McDowell, *Jurisdiction*, p. 125.

³¹ McDowell, Jurisdiction, p. 54, n. 96.

 $^{^{32}}$ For the frequent omission of the first person singular suffix pronoun, see Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*, par. 62–64.

³³ For the omission of *m*, see ibid., par. 607, and Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 111.

 $i\underline{t}s.tw >< i>$, "<I> have not been taken/removed," and assume the omission of the preposition m before ps hr, "<from> the necropolis administration/community." Since a person's removal from the necropolis community was regarded as something untoward, the import of the final sentence would be to affirm that the writer has not been stricken from the roster of the necropolis administration. In other words, he is arguing that because he is still a member of the community in good standing, his request should be heeded.

My analysis and translation of the concluding sentence, however, is not entirely in accord with the recent findings of Winand, whose chapter on the suffix passives attempts to delineate the functions of these much neglected passives. According to Winand the passive $s\underline{d}m(w)=f$ with either noun or suffix pronoun subject is a predicative perfect, whereas perfect $s\underline{d}m.tw=f$ with a suffix pronoun subject is emphatic (nominal). The formation $s\underline{d}m=tw+1$ Noun can be either a nominal perfect, or it can be analyzed as involving the perfect active $s\underline{d}m=f$ with tw being the Late Egyptian suffix pronoun "one," serving as subject, and the noun being the direct object of the verb. Since this last formation, according to

³⁴ See Papyrus Salt 124, vs. 1, 6–8 (Černý, "Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055)," *JEA* 15 [1929], pl. 45), and Klaus Baer, "Ein Grab verfluchen?" *Or* 34 (1965), pp. 432–33.

³⁵ See Winand, *Etudes*, pp. 306–07.

 $^{^{36}}$ See Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 283, ex. 767, and ODM 418, recto 2–3 (Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques*, vol. 5, pl. 20), for similar .tw-endings of the first person singular Old Perfective after tw=i.

³⁷ Etudes, chap. 8.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 303-07.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 310–14.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 331–36.

Winand, admits only nouns, the last clause of the ostracon, if it is to be transliterated as I have proposed in my preferred alternative, would have to be emphatic and thus translated, "I am not aware that it is from the necropolis community that I have been removed." While such a rendition is possible, it does not strike me as yielding the best sense.

Winand emphasizes the dichotomy that exists between predicative passive $s\underline{d}m(w)=f$ with suffix pronoun subject and emphatic (nominal) $s\underline{d}m.tw=f$. Although the derivation of the latter from Middle Egyptian $s\underline{d}m.n.tw=f$ is invoked to support an emphatic interpretation, there might also be some etymological justification for regarding Late Egyptian occurrences of passive $s\underline{d}m(w)=f$ with suffix pronoun subject as emphatic.

Winand's example 717 deserves to be considered in conjunction with the preceding clause, which Winand fails to quote: p_3 n iw n drt, $h_3 y = f m pt$, ms = f m Iwnw, $wd n = f nhtw m t_3 nb$. Here the parallelism with the initial emphatic verb of motion strongly suggests that the passage is to be translated, "The handy javelin. It was from heaven that he descended, and it was in Heliopolis that he was born. It is in all lands that victories have been decreed for him." Regarding his example 718, because it is so exceptional compared with the more normal phrasing as given in example 719, I would tend to agree with Satzinger's suggestion that a nominal passive sdm(w) = f is involved here. Indeed Winand's examples 751 and 752 are quite clearly emphatic as he himself admits. In Papyrus Mayer A 6, 15, it is possible that ptr = w iw.w hn, "They were seen hastening," is a further case of a nominal passive sdm(w) = f, if ptr is viewed here as a verb of incomplete predication.

Turning to the formation *sdm.tw=f* (with suffix pronoun subject), I admit that Winand's example 744 provides a nice illustration of the form used to emphasize an interrogative adverbial phrase, and there is consid-

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 310 with n. 38.

⁴² See Eric Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian*. Cahiers d'Orientalisme 12 (Geneva, 1986), p. 85 with n. 1001, and p.167.

⁴³ P. Anastasi III, 7, 2–3 (Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies, pp. 9–10).

⁴⁴ See Wente, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense," *JNES* 28 (1969), p. 6. Mr. John Darnell has pointed out to me another probable emphatic passive sdm(w) = f of the verb msi with suffix subject in a hieratic graffito in the tomb of Ramesses IX (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. 6, p. 461, lines 1–2).

⁴⁵ Helmut Satzinger, Neuägyptische Studien: Die Partikel ir. Das Tempussystem (Vienna, 1976), p. 294, n. 2 of par. 2.3.10.2.2.

⁴⁶ Winand, *Etudes*, pp. 315–16.

 $^{^{47}}$ T. Eric Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A* \oplus *B*, (London, 1920), page 6, cf. Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 245, ex. 666.

erable probability that examples 740 and 741 from the Turin Judicial Papyrus are nominal. However, I am not convinced that all his examples must necessarily be emphatic. In particular, his example 736 is surely a non-initial prospective *sdm.tw=f* used as a purpose clause, and example 737 can be analyzed similarly.

Among the examples quoted by Winand in support of his interpretation of sdm = tw + Noun is: Date: $b \cdot k$, $in = tw + ts \cdot ist + r \cdot ivy + r \cdot drw$, "Date: work, one brought the entire crew up." However, just several lines prior to this entry in the necropolis journal there is found another entry, Date: $b \cdot k$, $in = tw + ns \cdot ivww + r \cdot ivv \cdot iv + sv \cdot ivv \cdot$

In selecting the passive formation $its.tw=\langle i \rangle < m > ps. hr$, rather than the expected First Present with Old Perfective predicate, it is possible that the writer was wishing to stress the adverbial adjunct in conformance with Winand's analysis of the passive formations, but in view of some of the uncertainties we have raised against his position, it is also possible that the writer was, on the analogy of other sdm.tw=f formations in which tw functions as a true passive element, simply expressing an indicative passive without any special emphatic nuance.

Returning to the major thrust of the communication, we may ask why should a he-goat have been sought for a sick woman. To judge from its price, the goat being requested was a small one, ⁵² and one might suppose that the lady was famished and required substantial animal protein to supplement what was normally provided by fish at Deir el-Medina. ⁵³ Yet one wonders if the woman could consume a whole goat, even if it were only a kid, at one sitting. There thus arises the problem of preserving the remainder of the meal in a climate where uncured meat could

⁴⁸ See the translations by Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*: vol. 2, *Commentary*, (Oxford, 1948), p. 115; and by Groll, "Diachronic Grammar as a Means of Dating Undated Texts," in *Egyptological Studies*, ed. Groll (=*Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 28 [Jerusalem, 1982]), p. 32.

 $^{^{49}}$ Cf. the translation of this example from O. University College London 19614 in McDowell, "Contact with the Outside World," p. 46.

 $^{^{50}}$ Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, vol. 6, p. 695, line 7 (= Winand, Etudes, p. 332, ex. 810).

⁵¹ Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, vol. 6, p. 695, lines 4–5.

⁵² See above n. 16

⁵³ See Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, pp. 348–50, and Valbelle, "*Les Ouvriers*," pp. 272–74; but occasionally the meat of goats, which were not normally included in the wages at Deir el-Medina, was consumed, see ibid., pp. 154 and 277.

not be kept for long. ⁵⁴ While it is conceivable that the writer intended to have the meat preserved as jerked ⁵⁵ or pickled meat, ⁵⁶ either time-consuming process would have delayed supplying the woman with her nutritional needs if indeed she was malnourished.

It is also unlikely that the goat was to be used to pay a doctor's bill, for the writer could have remunerated the doctor directly with the equivalent *hin* of oil. Although there exist medical recipes that make use of goat's blood, fat, or gall, ⁵⁷ it is doubtful that the writer was thinking in terms of pharmacology.

There is, I believe, a simpler explanation for requesting a goat to improve the woman's condition, namely to make an offering of it to a deity like Taweret, who might be petitioned to intervene in a case of sickness. Although the assertion of Rosalind and Jack Janssen that goat's meat was never used in offerings is generally true in so far as the formal temple ritual was concerned, this statement requires some qualification. In particular, the he-goat was the sort of offering that the small man might make to a deity as an act of private devotion. At Deir el-Medina there were chapels that functioned as places of popular worship, where an individual could present offerings to a local deity in conjunction with intercessory petitions for divine intervention. To what extent the sacrifice of a he-goat, possibly even as a burnt offering, may have involved a homeopathic symbolic destruction of some

⁵⁴ See Eugen Strouhal, Life of the Ancient Egyptians (London, 1992), p. 129.

⁵⁵ See Willliam C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10 (1951):

⁵⁶ See Hilary Wilson, Egyptian Food and Drink (Aylesbury, 1988), p. 47.

⁵⁷ See Hildegard von Deines and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter 6 (Berlin, 1959), pp. 116–17, 146, and 444, for references, to which add Papyrus Leiden I 348, recto 1, 4 (J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, OMRO 51 [1971], pl. 1 and p. 15).

⁵⁸ Egyptian Household Animals, p. 33.

⁵⁹ See Hermann Kees, *Ancient Egypt: A Cultural Topography*, ed. by T. G. H. James (London, 1961), p. 91; and Wolfgang Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im* 3. *und* 2. *Jahrtausend vor Chr.* (Leiden and Cologne, 1975), p. 210.

⁶⁰ See Hans Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (Berlin, 1952), p. 882; Helck, "Opfertier," LÄ IV, 595 with n. 12; and Lothar Stork, "Ziege," LÄ VI, 1401.

⁶¹ See Hermann Junker, "Das Brandopfer im Totenkult," in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 116–17; and Kees, "Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik," *NAWG* 1942, pp. 74–75.

⁶² See Ann H. Bomann, The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt: A Study of the Chapels in the Workmen's Village at El Amarna with Special Reference to Deir el Medina and Other Sites (London and New York, 1991), chap. 4, and pp. 69–76.

⁶³ See Ashraf Iskander Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, HÄB 27 (Hildesheim, 1987), pp. 194–96 and 215–17.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 226–28.

demonic Sethian power that may have been causing the lady's distress is difficult to say. $^{65}\,$

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⁶⁵ See Junker, "Die Schlacht- und Brandopfer und ihre Symbolik im Tempelkult der Spätzeit," ZÄS 48 (1911): 69–77, especially p. 75 for the burning of a goat; Bonnet, Reallexikon, p. 882; and Ricardo A. Caminos, The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, Analecta Orientalia 37 (Rome, 1958), p. 51.

Miscellanea Ptolemaica



CHRISTIANE ZIVIE-COCHE

ANS LES TEXTES DITS PTOLÉMAÏQUES, CERTAINS SIGNES ONT acquis des valeurs rares, ou qui semblent telles à leur lecteur moderne; valeurs dont la lecture a été mise en évidence par quelques occurrences seulement, au gré du déchiffrement de tel ou tel texte. Aussi est-ce une heureuse surprise de pouvoir confirmer ces lectures qui suscitaient parfois encore quelques doutes par de nouveaux exemples. Ils ont également l'intérêt, de par leur étalement dans le temps—des Lagides aux empereurs romains—et leur origine géographique, des sites parfois fort éloignés les uns des autres, de nous montrer que l'évolution de l'écriture s'est accomplie sur une période très longue et à travers une aire géographique qui couvre la quasi totalité de l'Egypte. Les quelques témoignages réunis ici en sont, me semble-t-il, une bonne démonstration.

1. § nh

Cette particularité graphique avait été signalée naguère par C. de Wit, "Some Values of Ptolemaic Signs," BIFAO 55 (1955), p. 116–17, sur la base d'exemples tirés d'Edfou et servant à écrire 'nh dans le nom de la plante 'nh-imy, \S valant à lui seul pour $\mathring{}$. Pour ôter les doutes qu'aurait pu susciter cette lecture, un recoupement indubitable s'imposait: l'épithète d'Osiris $Fn\underline{d}$ -'nh, écrit \S $\mathring{}$ $\mathring{}$ $\mathring{}$ $\mathring{}$ $\mathring{}$ $\mathring{}$ étant un idéogramme, accompagné de ses compléments phonétiques.

Dans les textes du temple de Deir Chelouit, quelques exemples datés du règne d'Hadrien dans le naos de l'édifice viennent confirmer cette lecture, née soit comme le propose de Wit de la similitude des signes en hiératique, soit d'une simple confusion entre des hiéroglyphes assez proches par leur forme.

Ces occurrences apparaissent essentiellement dans les textes d'une procession de génies économiques: DC **100**, 2; **111**, 3; **115**, 3; **117**, 3 et 5. Le mot est toujours écrit $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bigcirc \\ \bigcirc \end{array} \right.$ à l'exception de **117**,5, où on le rencontre

¹ C. Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit. Les inscriptions* (Le Caire, 1982–1986). Les textes seront cités sous la forme DC, suivi du nombre indiquant la scène ou le texte et du numéro de colonne ou de ligne.

sous la forme redondante $\begin{picture}(100,0) \put(0,0){\line(1,0){100}} \put(0,0){\line(1,0){10$

2. \(\int \) m

Dans le volume 1 des *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine,* (Montpellier, 1988), p. 271, la peau d'animal est répertoriée avec la valeur phonétique *m*, faisant référence à une inscription de Médamoud, publiée par E. Drioton. Il s'agit encore d'une procession géographique de nomes, datée du temps de Trajan. En fait, en lisant les textes de cet ensemble, on s'aperçoit que le signe est utilisé très fréquemment avec cette valeur, concurremment et indifféremment, semble-t-il, à , — ou . Sa lecture ne fait aucun doute et paraît être intégrée dans le corpus des signes des textes romains de ce temple. Il est difficile d'en vérifier la forme exacte sur les photographies publiées, étant donné leur petite taille et leur qualité insuffisante.

Un signe tout à fait similaire se rencontre à de très nombreuses reprises dans les textes d'Hadrien (naos) et d'Antonin (pronaos) du temple de Deir Chelouit, qui n'est pas très éloigné de Médamoud et dont le décor est pratiquement contemporain. Là aussi, il est employé en parallèle avec , co n', sans que l'on puisse expliquer le choix d'un signe plutôt que d'un autre. Je ne citerai que quelques exemples qui seront suffisamment parlants.

DC 73,14: $n \, ms \, \check{s}w \, \int s\check{s}t s = s$, "sans qu'existe un territoire(?) privé de ses mystères," en parlant d'Isis, avec un parallèle en DC 79,9, où m est écrit au moyen de =.

DC 138,6: Osiris-Bouchis est $wrm \ n \ \sqrt[3]{n}$, "image d'Atoum."

DC 147,10: paroles de Rê-Horakhty: di=i n.k $\bigcirc \P \bigcirc hr$ imyw=f Dsds hr pr im=f, "Je te donne Kenem avec ce qui est en elle, Djesdjes avec ce qui sort d'elle." Cette même graphie se retrouve à la colonne 8 dans le mot homonyme knm (shpr knm, "créer l'obscurité"). Déjà dans les textes du ler siècle de notre ère, gravés sur le propylône, on employait ce même signe avec la valeur m. Ainsi, DC 4,8 (Vespasien): \P smm=k, "dans ton poing;" DC 38,3: hr dw ks P Iwnw sm r-gs dst..., "sur la montagne

 $^{^2}$ Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1925). Les inscriptions, FIFAO 3 (1926), no. 166, col. 7, p. 76.

élevée dans Héliopolis du sud à proximité de la douat de..."

Changeant totalement de zone géographique et remontant dans le temps jusqu'à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque, c'est encore le même signe que nous repérons dans deux inscriptions gravées sur des statues de hauts fonctionnaires de Tanis, ayant exercé leur charge sous le règne de Ptolémée Aulète. L'un n'est autre que Panemerit qui a laissé plusieurs effigies à son nom, portant des textes autobiographiques. Le deuxième qui demeure anonyme, a fait sculpter une statue au vêtement drapé, retrouvée en 1991 au cours de la fouille d'un nouveau temple au centre du tell dans la zone dite de la "colonnade enterrée" et sur laquelle on lit également un fragment d'autobiographie très voisin et même, pour une part, similaire à celle de Panemerit. 4 Dans l'un et l'autre cas, seule la valeur m pour \mathcal{F} permet de rendre compréhensible deux éléments de phrase. Chez Panemerit, le propriétaire de la statue se vante d'avoir rajeuni ce qui était en ruine dans les diverses parties d'un temple dédié à un dieu dont le nom a disparu: srnp=î wšr nb \(\overline{\gamma} = sn. \) De même, sur l'autre statue, la première colonne du pilier dorsal débute avec une série d'épithètes laudatives: "le vénérable, excellent, distingué dans sa ville; *šps iķr tn=tw m niwt.f sis ks=f in* tsš=f... Il n'est possible de comprendre la dernière expression que comme "celui dont le nom est connu par les habitants (ceux qui sont dans) de son nome,"

√ valant même ici pour imy.

Nous passons ainsi d'une valeur peu connue et mal attestée à une série d'exemples qui, bien entendu, n'est nullement exhaustive. Il est à peu près sûr qu'une recherche plus complète en amènerait d'autres, provenant d'origines diverses et d'époques différentes, élargissant encore notre éventail. Il faut souligner également que des valeurs ptolémaïques très particulières se retrouvent aussi bien dans les textes de documents privés en hiéroglyphes, de moins en moins nombreux au fur et à mesure que l'on avance dans le temps, que sur des inscriptions pariétales. Cette communauté d'écriture n'est pas véritablement surprenante puisque le nombre d'individus capables de comprendre ou d'écrire des hiéroglyphes était extrêmement restreint. Il n'existe malheureusement pas encore d'étude systématique sur l'ensemble du considérable corpus de textes ptolémaïques. On pose parfois l'hypothèse

³ Statue Caire JE 67094 (D 88 de P. Montet): P. Montet, "Inscriptions de Basse Epoque trouvées à Tanis," *Kêmi* 8 (1946), p. 82–105, et plus particulièrement p. 97–98 pour le passage qui nous intéresse, et pl. XIII et XVI.

⁴ Voir C. Zivie-Coche, "La statue ptolémaïque Sân 91–200. Dans l'entourage de Panemerit," *Bulletin de la Société Française des Fouilles de Tanis* 7/2 (1994), p. 101–109 et pl. VIII; "Un compagnon de Panemerit," sous presse in *Cahiers de Tanis* 2.

de particularités d'écoles qui seraient limitées à certaines aires géographiques, mais nous n'avons pas véritablement de preuves pour avancer dans cette voie. L'exemple étudié, ainsi que le suivant iraient plutôt dans le sens inverse.

Un dernier point doit être évoqué, bien que je ne sois pas en mesure d'y apporter une réponse satisfaisante. Le signe en question a été classé sans hésitation par les auteurs des *Valeurs phonétiques* dans les "parties du corps des mammifères" comme peau d'animal (F 27 de la Sign-List de Gardiner). Néanmoins, les variantes paléographiques de Deir Chelouit, dont je ne puis être assurée qu'elles sont significatives étant donné les maladresses assez fréquentes dans la gravure, amènent à faire une autre hypothèse. Il pourrait s'agir d'une feuille de lotus avec sa tige,⁵ plus ou moins déformée. Quoi qu'il en soit de l'objet representé, si sa valeur phonétique ne fait pas le moindre doute, il n'est pas possible d'expliquer son acquisition par l'une des nombreuses voies qui permettent de donner une valeur nouvelle à un signe déjà connu. Au demeurant, il convient de le reconnaître, en dépit des efforts renouvelés des ptolémaïsants, nombre de valeurs résistent encore à toute tentative d'explication. Seul un parallèle clair avec un signe d'une lecture "classique" permet un déchiffrement non aléatoire, mais de raison inconnue.

3. 🖶 *dr*

Serge Sauneron, en traduisant certains textes d'Esna, avait signalé dans une note de commentaire qu'il fallait attribuer au signe , pièce d'étoffe et tissu plié, la valeur dr, dans deux exemples (Esna 331, 8 et 276, 17) qu'il avait pu éclairer par un parallèle, écrit de manière habituelle: [Si] × (Esna 260, 6), avec d pour t. Le verbe et variantes graphiques (cf. Wb. III, 473–74) signifie "chasser," "écarter," "repousser," et c'est bien effectivement ce sens qu'il possède dans les exemples présentés par Sauneron. On notera en passant qu'il faut le rajouter dans les Valeurs phonétiques III (1990), p. 642. Il convient de se demander, encore une fois, s'il est propre aux textes d'Esna, datant, pour les deux occurrences mentionnées, de Domitien et Trajan, ou si nous pouvons enrichir notre répertoire et, par conséquence, asseoir plus

 $^{^5}$ Signe qui offre différentes variantes graphiques: voir $\it Valeurs\ phonétiques\ II\ (1988),\ p.\ 410.$

⁶ On peut d'ailleurs assez facilement imaginer que les graveurs ont eu des hésitations entre des signes de formes voisines et qu'ils sont passés de l'un à l'autre, ayant oublié ou ignorant l'origine de la valeur phonétique.

 $^{^7}$ Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme, Esna V (Le Caire, 1962), p. 155, n.(i).

largement cette valeur dans l'espace et le temps.

Les textes de Deir Chelouit offrent trois passages qui ne peuvent se comprendre qu'en lisant $\stackrel{\leftarrow}{\rightleftharpoons}$, dr.

DC 23, 6 (Othon sur le propylône): $4 c \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}} \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}} dr [hs]yt$, "chasser le mal," dans la formule d'offrande de la coupe šs.

DC 98, 3 (naos, procession économique datant d'Hadrien): il est dit de la déesse Menket: $\frac{\times}{\text{min}} \underbrace{\overset{\times}{\text{sic}}} \underbrace{\overset{\times}{\text{sic}}} \bigcirc dr \, n = s \, knm(t)$, "l'obscurité est écartée pour elle." Une même graphie, un sens incontestable; l'époque est romaine; la localisation dans la région thébaine au nord d'Esna élargit un peu l'aire géographique.

Par ce que nous pourrions appeler un heureux hasard, mais qui n'est sans doute pas purement fortuit, le signe en question, avec la même lecture, se retrouve sur les deux statues de Tanis déjà citées, celle de Panemerit et celle de l'anonyme, propriétaire de Sân 91–200, datées de Ptolémée XII Aulète. Il s'agit dans ce cas de "chasser les étrangers," dr histyw, un thème attesté plusieurs fois dans les autobiographies tardives. Ainsi, nous remontons jusqu'à la deuxième moitié du premier siècle avant notre ère et nous nous déplaçons à l'autre extrémité de l'Egypte, ce qui donne à penser que la lecture dr pour ce signe était sans doute infiniment mieux représentée qu'elle ne nous apparaît et n'offrait pas de difficulté particulière pour les rares Egyptiens, lecteurs de ces textes

A titre d'hypothèse, je suggèrerai une explication permettant de comprendre comment ce signe en est arrivé à se lire de cette manière. Parmi les graphies signalées par le *Wb*. V, 473, on note, avec la remarque "fréquent," cerit au moyen du signe de la corde et de celui du bras armé. Le premier est le déterminatif usuel de x, pièce de tissu, *Wb*. V, 475. On peut facilement imaginer un glissement par confusion de l'un a l'autre, bien qu'il s'agisse seulement de deux homonymes, sans aucune relation sémantique; mais c'est un phénomène banal. Par ailleurs, Gardiner en commentant les emplois des signes dans sa grammaire, fait remarquer qu'à partir de la XIXe dynastie x (V 6) pouvait remplacer (S 28) comme déterminatif des termes liés à l'habillement.

⁸ Voir P. Montet, *loc. cit.*, p. 96 et pl. XIII et XVI.

⁹ C. Zivie-Coche, Cahiers de Tanis 2.

¹⁰ C. Zivie-Coche, loc. cit.

¹¹ A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 3ème éd. révisée (Londres, 1966), p. 522.

Ces trois exemples dont on ne peut plus considérer l'emploi comme exceptionnel, montrent combien est vaste encore le champ qui s'ouvre aux lecteurs des textes ptolémaïques, ne serait-ce que dans le domaine du déchiffrement et de l'acquisition des valeurs. Il est loisible de supposer qu'au prix de "lectures illimitées," peu à peu se multipliera le nombre des valeurs connues, se réduira celui des inconnues et des hapax, s'élucideront les raisons d'être de telle ou telle, en fonction des principes de l'écriture égyptienne.

A William Kelly Simpson, je dédie cette modeste contribution sur l'écriture, sujet qui l'a si souvent préoccupé, comme témoignage de mon admiration et de l'indéfectible gratitude que je lui conserve pour la générosité dont il a toujours fait preuve à mon endroit.



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Notes on Production

Articles for this publication were submitted in a variety of formats, including handwritten and typewritten manuscripts, word-processing files on 3.5 inch floppy diskettes (both IBM and Macintosh formats), and encoded email messages sent over the internet. All articles were either typed, scanned using OCR (optical character recognition) technology, or converted to the Macintosh platform, and then imported into the page layout software program used for the final design of the volumes (Adobe FrameMaker).

Several typefaces are used in the publication. These include digital (type 1) versions of Trump Mediaeval for the text (designed by Georg Trump and first issued in 1954), redesigned to contain diacriticals necessary for Egyptian transliteration; Syntax (designed by Hans Eduard Meier and first issued in 1969) for some illustration captions; Centaur swash italics (designed by Bruce Rogers in 1912–14, based on type cut by Nicolas Jenson in 1469) for the title display type; digital hieroglyphic fonts created by Cleo Huggins with customized additions by the editor, and a variety of Greek, Coptic and other fonts.

Photographs were scanned at low resolution, and edited on-screen (Adobe PhotoShop) for placement within digital book files during the design process; this image manipulation was then duplicated at high resolution by the printer. Line art was either scanned as received, or redrawn and retypeset using vector graphics software (Adobe Illustrator, Deneba Canvas).

After completely designed "galley" proofs were returned by the authors, the articles were converted to "postscript files" and output directly to negative film on a 2400 dpi (dots per inch) imagesetter. This process eliminated the need for traditional "camera-ready" mechanicals. Printing plates were created directly from these negative films, and from the high-resolution photographic scans that were stripped in manually.

800 copies were printed on 80 lb. Risco dull matte text by the Henry N. Sawyer Company, and the volumes were bound by Acme Bookbinding, both in Charlestown, Massachusetts.

Scholars from around the world have gathered here to contribute sixty-eight articles in honor of their friend and colleague, William Kelly Simpson, one of the most distinguished Egyptologists of his generation. The topics include archaeological expedition reports, art-historical essays, philological treatises, and historical analyses. The focus is on Egypt during 3,000 years of ancient pharaonic history, but Nubian and Aegean studies are also well represented. The volume contains 232 photographs, numerous line drawings, and a comprehensive bibliography of W. K. Simpson's Egyptological writings through 1996.

