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Editorial Decisions

Editors must make all kinds of decisions. When I became the editor of the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* I made two decisions that have proven to be mixed blessings at best: The Journal would be peer reviewed, and I would typeset it.

Typesetting

The typesetting decision has been a trade of a nicer looking journal for one that takes much more time to get out. Some journals have the benefit of professional typesetters; we have not. Typesetting itself can be very straightforward when an article has no charts, tables, illustrations, foreign characters or footnotes. Each of those poses its own challenges, particularly when they are combined. Very few articles have not posed challenges. This is contributed greatly to the time it takes to get the journal out. One can ask whether the aesthetic enhancements justify the increase in labor. At first I deemed they did, but I am convinced that such was a mistake. Style is, after all, of less importance than substance.

The Problem with Peer Review

Peer review is supposed to be an unalloyed good, but anyone who thinks so cannot have spent much time in the process.

In theory peer review works as follows: A submission is received and the editor sends the submission without the name attached to one or more reviewers, each of whom is an expert in that subject. The reviewers independently recommend whether to accept the submission or suggest revisions. The reviewers do not know who wrote the paper and the author does not know who the reviewers are. If the paper does not pass muster, the editor is relieved of the responsibility of rejecting a friend's paper.

In practice, however, there are numerous problems with peer review.

Since Egyptology must cover four thousand years of human history and every facet of a complex civilization, Egyptologists must specialize of necessity. While the pool of Egyptologists is not very large, the number of peers in some specialized areas can in some cases be numbered on the fingers of one hand. In such small specialties, any reviewer who cannot figure out who the author is within a couple of minutes probably does not know enough to review the piece, and the same is true of an author who cannot discover who the reviewer is. If, as is true for some specialties, none of the specialists agree, it will simply not be possible to publish anything in a peer reviewed journal.

Peer review can be manipulated for malicious purposes. Examples from other disciplines have gained some notoriety. Under such circumstances, peer review can actually impede progress in a discipline as it prevents publication of new ideas, or correction of mistakes.

Because peer review is mostly anonymous and unremunerated work, there is no incentive for a peer reviewer to invest time or effort in it. As a result, some peer reviews are perfunctory without much thought or effort. I am aware of one papyrus published in an ostensibly peer-reviewed journal where the author cannot possibly have even read the papyrus he was publishing, but none of the reviewers even noticed showing that they cannot have read it either. This publication has been cited numerous times showing that none of the scholars citing the publication had bothered to read the papyrus either. This is clearly a failure

of the review system.

As part of the peer review process, reviewers sometimes make suggestions to improve the article. These suggestions should improve the article. Sometimes, however, they do not improve the article. At other times they would have improved the article but the author has chosen to reject them.

Finally, one cannot edit a journal without stepping on various toes. I regret that I had to turn down many papers, including some written by friends. No personal slight was intended even if some was taken.

It is understandable why a freshly graduated student might be justifiably proud of themselves. It must be so wearisome to work with mere mortals. Mere mortals might not be overawed with a freshly graduated student's certifiable brilliance (just look at the diploma) and might actually make editorial suggestions or have the temerity to question the logic of the argument. I apologize to those who were offended at the prospect of working with mere mortals.

I am sorry for the inordinate delay in this issue. As one literary character expressed it, "I am afraid you have been long desiring my absence, nor have I any thing to plead in excuse of my stay."[1] When an editor can no longer bring the Journal in on time, it is time to leave. I wish Katja Goebs the best as she takes over the helm of the *JSSEA*. I also thank the authors for their longsuffering as their articles took longer than expected to come out. I also thank the reviewers who did their task voluntarily and anonymously. Thanks also to Lyn Green and Sally Katary for editorial assistance and without whose help this issue never would have seen the light of day. I express my gratitude to Christina Geisen, Ronald Leprohon, Ed Meltzer, Jean Revez, Vince (Vladmir) Tobin who voluntarily helped with various tasks. Melissa Campbell, Gabriele Cole furnished helpful assistance. Finally, Liam Cooney finished the arduous task of typesetting. Without their assistance, this issue would never have appeared.

John Gee

1 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, chapter 46.

UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT IN THE PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

JUAN JOSÉ CASTILLOS

Abstract:

The evolution of social complexity in the Nile Valley during the Predynastic Period is still and most likely will remain an open question for a long time. Over the last hundred years our understanding of this subject in Upper Egypt has become increasingly clear through the study of the cemeteries and settlements of this period. As to Lower Egypt, the amount of new knowledge from fieldwork during the last few decades has led some scholars to think that this region was in fact not far behind Upper Egypt in social complexity at the time and that earlier conceptions of a backward Lower Egypt should be revised. In this paper the old and the new evidence is considered in order to determine to what an extent such a drastic revision is warranted by the available data.

Resumé:

L'évolution de la diversification croissante de la vie sociale dans la vallée du Nil à l'époque pré-dynastique demeure l'objet de débats passionnés et le demeurera probablement encore pour longtemps. Au cours du dernier siècle, la connaissance que nous avons acquise sur ce sujet pourla Haute-Egypte s'est trouvée considérablement accrue par l'étude des cimetières et des implantations de l'époque. En ce qui concerne la Basse-Egypte, les résultats des chantiers archéologiques des quelques dernières décades autorisent des spécialistes à penser que cette région talonnait alors de peu la Haute-Egypte en matière de diversification sociale et qu'en conséquence, il conviendrait de réviser la théorie selon laquelle la Basse-Egypte était une région sous-développée. On étudiera dans cet article ce qui devrait permettre de déterminer dans quelle mesure une telle révision est justifiée.

Before I get into the subject of my communication, I would like to make some remarks that may clarify my approach.

First of all, we are dealing with the period immediately before the birth of a great civilization, and this brings forward the question of what is, in fact, a civilization. You will find perhaps as many definitions as scholars who have attempted to give a precise description of what is and what is not a civilization.

All I am going to say now is that in my opinion certain basic requirements for a civilization are a large number of people, permanently established and sharing the same territory, who have reached an advanced degree of social, economic, cultural and political complexity, often with the presence of important elements such as writing, not only for the administration, but for literary, religious and what we would call today scientific purposes.

Another matter is how desirable the stage of human development called civilization really is, whether it is the natural result of the progress of human societies and the highest level they can attain or instead the artificial result of groups of people that seek through what we call civilization to create and support a system that will enable them to thrive at the expense of the other members of such a society.

It is, after all, perhaps a common misconception to admire and appreciate the achievements of a given civilization as the expression of the genius, the values, the ideas and efforts and the prosperity of the people as a whole instead of the elite, for whom and under whose arbitrary rule all is conceived and for whose benefit all is done.

As a matter of fact, it is quite difficult to know whether the ancient Egyptian people of dynastic times were happier or more prosperous or healthier than the Badarians or the earlier hunter-gatherers who roamed the land for countless millennia, but our deeply ingrained idea of progress tends to see civilization as a highly desirable goal that always benefits all in the long run.

This attitude often also leads to a minimization of those with a simpler lifestyle, as opposed or antagonistic or incompatible with civilization, and thus to marginalize them and ignore their contribution to a nation's identity.

In the case of Uruguay, where I live, archaeology has verified the existence for thousands of years of native, pre-hispanic inhabitants and modern DNA studies that the native component in the ethnic nature of the country is more important than what had been previously accepted.

Nevertheless, and in spite of this reality, funds for prehistoric archaeology are hard to come by and the president of the country, a university professor and internationally respected scholar, has been quoted declaring that "the origin of Uruguayans can be found on the boats [that brought them mostly from Europe]".

Official interest lies mainly in historical archaeology and all that goes beyond that gets little more than token gestures, something made easier by the lack of native communities in the country nowadays, the earlier ones having been either largely exterminated in the nineteenth century or assimilated into the majority of European ancestry.

Although these comments may seem a digression from our subject today, as we will see, this may not be the case after all.

The relationship between Upper and Lower Egypt at the beginning of ancient Egyptian civilization has been for many years a subject of changing perceptions by Egyptologists.

At first the pharaonic traditions held sway over the historians and Lower Egypt was considered an important part of the country, even in its earliest times, where great cities could testify to the wealth and the prosperity of that part of ancient Egypt.

As time went by and the work of archaeologists in the Delta failed to find remains that could be dated to the dawn of Egyptian civilization, views shifted and were replaced by conceptions of a barren and swampy land, that was only inhabited late in the early development of the ancient Egyptian pharaonic state.

The discovery of settlements in places like Merimde and Maadi, at the edge of the Egyptian Delta, did little to change such perceptions.

On the other hand, a too literal reading of ancient Egyptian religious texts, the later pharaonic iconography and the concept of a dichotomy with their country being the result of the union of the two lands, seemed to imply that regardless of the lack of evidence at the time, Lower Egypt was the territory where a powerful early kingdom was established, that even had for a time extended its rule to the southern half of the country.

During the second half of the last century, and perhaps due to the difficulties that stood in the way of archaeological work in the Delta, the idea that the region could have been largely uninhab-

ited until dynastic times, and that the later literary or iconographic evidence to the contrary was perhaps the result of pushing back into the past a contemporary reality, went mostly unchallenged.

But in the last decades of that century a renewed interest and a number of discoveries in Lower Egypt, emphasizing the existence of inhabited centres in the region which had fluent, continued and complex links with Western Asia, as well as the realization that the Nile Valley was mostly a self-draining system, much less swampy than hitherto conceived, led to the changed perception that in fact Lower Egypt had played a more important role in the birth of ancient Egyptian civilization than the backwater many thought it had been at the time.

However, the great body of evidence that showed the growing importance and complexity of the Upper Egyptian polities, that later on would unify the country under their authority and pave the way for the beginning of the ancient Egyptian civilization, brought repeatedly into the academic literature even to the present day, the concept of an acculturation or assimilation of the less developed Lower Egyptian communities into a unified land, where the real power resided in the south and that some time before the First Dynasty brought about an expansion that first largely replaced its local culture by the southern one and then absorbed them into the unified kingdom.

It is often the case, and perhaps just the result of human nature, that archaeologists tend to exaggerate some aspects of the sites they work on, the importance of their finds and their relevance within the overall picture of ancient Egyptian civilization.

Perhaps this is part of the reason why some scholars who have recently worked in Lower Egypt adopt a dissenting view and underline the social complexity, the wealth and the strong identity of the northern polities, which even exerted some influence on the southern ones.

During informal discussions with some colleagues, after I pointed out the funerary evidence for the first stages of the Egyptian predynastic and compared the results from Upper Egypt with those of the northern part of the country, which showed an earlier appearance of social complexity in the south (Badarian and Naqada I) and more elaborate and richer burials then and later on for the Upper Egyptian elite, I was confronted with the statement that the predynastic Lower Egyptians could have expressed their social inequalities in other ways.

The question I immediately asked was where then were the monuments or any other pertinent evidence for such early Lower Egyptian parity, but did not obtain a satisfactory answer.

This brought to my memory some statements in the contemporary academic literature that deal with such situations.

For instance, it has been argued that "the absence of data for ranking is not evidence for the absence of ranking", and then, "conversely, some evidence for wealth or inequality is not, by itself, evidence for permanent inequality or ranking."[1]

Although the latter sounds more acceptable, the former is a rephrasing of the fashionable dictum that "absence of evidence is not evidence for absence".

In my opinion, this is a misconception expressed as such. I would agree with "absence of evidence is not *proof* of absence", which is why such a statement was perhaps first conceived, but if one painstakingly and thoroughly searches for something and does not find it, then it is reasonable to assume, until proven otherwise, that it is not there.

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1 K. Ames, "The archaeology of rank," in *Handbook of archaeological theories*, ed. R. Bentley, H. Maschner and C. Chippendale (Lanham, 2007), 508-509.

In other words, "absence of evidence, although not proof of absence, at least it is some degree of evidence for absence".

Suppose you lost something in a room and you have turned the room upside down looking for it, searching for hours with no results, you may reasonably conclude that it is just not there, so you can start looking elsewhere.

If someone after all that work comes and tells you "absence of evidence is not evidence for absence, so keep looking in this room", although technically correct in that the missing object might have escaped your attention, most probably this fellow will leave the room wearing your waste paper basket for a hat.

In our own field, if an archaeologist has been looking for a certain structure in a given area and after geophysical mapping and many test pits or trenches the structure could not be found, although it could have escaped detection and still be there, I am sure most colleagues would simply move on rather than doggedly going again and again over the same area.

There is a practical and an unrealistic way of doing things and I am sure most of us prefer the former to the latter.

Let us now concern ourselves with how Lower Egyptian communities were seen a few decades ago and how those views changed over time.

According to one author, "the small size of Omari houses and their distinctive separation from one another and the degree to which economic activities were self-contained within one's own yard suggest a pattern of residence that revolved about the small, nuclear family (father, mother and offspring) and reflect the basically egalitarian way of life of Predynastic Lower Egyptians that sets them apart from their more political and status-oriented neighbors to the south."[2]

Further on, "From a materialistic point of view, the closest contrast between Upper and Lower Egypt at this time lay between a growing mercantilism in the north and a conspicuously consuming, politically oriented society to the south. . . . From the start Maadi had charted a course to civilization more similar to that taken by contemporary societies in Mesopotamia and the Iranian Plateau than that which would soon be characteristic of Dynastic Egypt."[3]

According to others, "the focal point of social development towards the end of the predynastic times was undoubtedly in Upper Egypt. Its cultural unity, which is recognizable since the Naqada I, is not essentially an expression of this early, already existing political unity, but common traditions and ideological views cementing the social groups of this area."[4]

Although predynastic Lower Egypt was acknowledged as having been a region where enterprising communities carried out an active trade with Western Asia, in contrast with earlier views that saw it as a swampy and empty land, nothing on the other hand pointed to highly developed social stratification: "There is no evidence to support the once widely-held conjectures that in predynastic times the Nile Delta was either an uninhabited wasteland or the locale of a highly developed civilization trading by sea with the littoral of Syria and Palestine."[5]

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2 M. Hoffman, *Egypt before the pharaohs* (New York, 1979), 195.

3 Hoffman, *Egypt before the pharaohs*, 214.

4 E. Endelsfelder, "Social and economic development towards the end of the Predynastic Period in Egypt," in *Origin and early development of food-producing cultures in north-eastern Africa*, ed. L. Krzyzaniak and M. Kobusiewicz (Poznan, 1984), 99.

Nevertheless, as early as all that, there were scholars who did not support the idea of a backward Lower Egypt all through the predynastic, waiting to be "conquered" by the Upper Egyptian kings during the unification: "For Egyptian prehistory this means that there was never a real 'unification' in the sense of the final subjugation of the Delta and its neighbouring areas under the dominance of the King of Upper Egypt. . . . We should be much more prepared to accept the idea of a continuous cultural evolution in Egypt, which included the Delta as early as 3,300 BC. . . . The alleged 'cultural explosion' of Egypt in ca. 3,100 BC with the foundation of the state, 'discovery' of writing and canonization of arts did not take place. In Egypt too, the 'higher culture' developed in a long, organic process of evolution, which already in Nagada II and Nagada III covered the whole of Egypt, including the Nile Delta and found its end several generations before the fictitious unification of the Kingdom"[6]

At approximately the same time other voices also rejected the notion of a subjugation of Lower Egypt by the southern kings at the end of the Predynastic period: "I believe that both parts of Egypt grew together by trade and cultural exchange which made trading posts or conquests unnecessary. This came much later. It should be studied whether there ever existed an ethnic territorial expansion during the Late Predynastic Naqada expansion. This may be only an Egyptological idea based on archaic kingship evidence projected on prehistoric events."[7]

However, some felt the need to emphasize the expanding influence of the Upper Egyptian polities that in their opinion, in the end, absorbed or assimilated the Lower Egyptian ones, not without the use of violence: "Le Maadien, probablement issu d'un Néolithique local où El Omari pourrait bien se situer, semble ainsi avoir été absorbé par la poussé venue du Sud. . . . L'unification, replacée dans cette analyse, apparaît moins comme une conquête que comme une phénomène d'assimilation du Nord par le Sud; mais dans ce processus, la guerre constitue l'une des composants. Parce qu'elle est valorisante pour le vainqueur, elle sera exaltée plus que tous les autres 'ingrédients' de l'unification, au nombre desquels, durent compter les alliances et les mariages."[8]

Later on, the same author insisted on these remarks while discussing the results of more recent work in Lower Egypt: "This region of Egypt, into which the Naqada culture spread 3,500 years ago , had long before developed its own traditions (Maadi-Buto culture). It will be of major importance to investigate, if possible, the processus of acculturation resulting from the encounter and perhaps the mixing of the two cultural traditions of Egypt during the 4th millennium."[9]

The word 'acculturation' is usually understood as the modification of a primitive culture by contact with an advanced culture[10] or as it has been more recently defined, the process of systematic

5 B. Trigger, "The mainlines of socio-economic development in dynastic Egypt to the end of the Old Kingdom," in *Origin and early development of food-producing cultures in north-eastern Africa*, 102.

6 D. Wildung, "Terminal prehistory of the Nile Delta: Theses," in *Origin and early development of food-producing cultures in north-eastern Africa*, 269.

7 E. Köhler, "Evidence for interregional contacts between Late Prehistoric Lower and Upper Egypt: a view from Buto," in *Interregional contacts in the Later Prehistory of Northeastern Africa*, ed. L. Krzyzaniak, K. Kroeper and M. Kobusiewicz (Poznan, 1996), 220.

8 B. Midant-Reynes, *Préhistoire de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1992), 206, 229.

9 B. Midant-Reynes et al., "Kom el-Khilgan, a new site of the Predynastic Period in Lower Egypt, the 2002 campaign," in *Egypt at its origins*, ed. S. Hendrickx, R. Friedman, K. Cialowicz and M. Chlodnicki (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 485.

cultural change of a particular society carried out by an alien, dominant society.[11] Although this type of change can be reciprocal, it is very often assymetrical and the result is the partial or total absorption of one culture into another.

It is advisable to bear in mind the difference between acculturation and assimilation, which in the predynastic Egyptian context tend to be taken as synonymous.

Assimilation is rather the process by which the people on the receiving end of the relationship become integrated and enter the social positions, as well as acquire the political, economic and educational standards of the dominant culture.[12]

Can we speak of either of these phenomena to explain the cultural, and later political, unification of predynastic Egypt? That is one of the questions I will try to answer here.

The archaeological record of predynastic Egypt also indicates that violence expressed as wars played an important role in the evolution towards state formation and a politically unified country.[13] It still remains to be shown by physical anthropological and other evidence that such violence, perhaps more likely linked to the conflicts among the regional southern proto-kingdoms, took place in Lower Egypt as well as part of the penetration of Upper Egyptian culture into the north.

The study of Lower Egyptian predynastic cemeteries such as Minshat Abu Omar indicates that by Naqada IIc-d the Upper Egyptian Naqada culture had already largely replaced the local one, at least in the funerary context.[14]

At other Lower Egyptian locations such as Tell el-Farkha, the results having to do with the settlement there match those obtained for the Minshat Abu Omar cemetery, corroborating the approximate date for the change that led from Phase I Lower Egyptian pottery assemblages to a transitional Phase II and then a Phase III in which the Upper Egyptian pots had completely replaced the local ones.[15]

Since no clear evidence of widespread violence or warfare has been identified in Lower Egypt at the time of unification and the evidence points to a peaceful cultural transition, it would be reasonable to think that the effect of Upper Egyptian material on Lower Egyptian customs and traditions and the political influence of its more stratified communities led to a gradual absorption of Lower Egypt into the Upper Egyptian polity that emerged triumphant in the power struggles to secure dominance over its rivals.

It has been a constant in world history that when communities that have a relatively simple lifestyle come into contact with another that offers them cheaper, better goods, both for everyday use as for ornament and display, the local household and even to some extent specialized industries will invariably be ruined by the competition and will gradually be abandoned to a large extent in favour of the more attractive imports.

10 *The American Heritage Dictionary* (New York, 1976).

11 R. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts of Cultural Anthropology* (New York, 1991).

12 R. Thompson, Assimilation, in *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, ed. D. Levinson and M. Ember (New York, 1996), 112-115.

13 M. Campagno, "In the beginning was the war, conflict and the emergence of the Egyptian state," in *Egypt at its origins*, 689-703.

14 K. Kroeper, "Minshat Abu Omar, Aspects of the Analysis of a Cemetery," in *Egypt at its origins*, 878.

In many cases this has been the strategy of imperialist expanding economies that by means of this initial penetration, gain a foothold on regions where they will later on try to impose a more coercive political presence or even, domination.[16]

Although such changes could also be explained by migrations of Upper Egyptians who settled in Lower Egypt, a likely event due to similar and well attested permanent settlement of predynastic Egyptians in Palestine at the time, perhaps for a better control of the trade between the two regions, the widespread cultural change in Lower Egypt at the end of Naqada II, both in settlement and funerary contexts, can hardly be explained without some form of participation of the local population.

I have pointed out that the Lower Egyptian communities at least in the first stages of the predynastic, roughly contemporary with the Upper Egyptian Badarian and Naqada I periods, displayed lower inequality in their cemeteries at Heliopolis, Maadi and Wadi Digla as compared with their Upper Egyptian counterparts.[17]

It has also been pointed out that Lower Egypt at the time was probably not so densely populated as Upper Egypt and this may have contributed to shape the nature of the communities that lived there.[18]

A common denominator for the growth of social complexity and state formation in ancient Africa has been found to be as follows: "the population densities of such areas seem to have been rather higher than was usual in this generally thinly populated continent. All of the areas discussed had a strong subsistence base with a potential for producing a storable, transportable surplus. All the people concerned were agriculturalists, growing a range of food plants suited to the local environments and in all cases keeping livestock."[19]

The abundance of land, the low population density, the probable lack of a significant agricultural surplus and the simple lifestyle of these northern communities in the early stages of the Egyptian predynastic seem to have discouraged or offered little scope for the ambition of individuals which found more propitious economic and social conditions farther south.

I will now consider the contrary opinion of some scholars in the sense that in the Maadian Lower Egyptian culture pits, post-holes and mud-brick architectural elements were all present in the Naqada IC-IIB phase settlements, whereas mud-brick is not recognized in Upper Egypt until the Naqada IIC period, that the Maadian people were not just agriculturalists but also had an elite segment of society, during the Chalcolithic, that both Upper and Lower Egypt had a chieftain society, the neighbouring regions maintained a trade network, exchanged elite goods and engaged in peer polity competition, which led to dissemination of cultural values and religious beliefs.[20]

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15 A. Maczynska, "Pottery tradition at Tell el-Farkha," in *Egypt at its origins*, 438.

16 B. Southgate, History: What and Why?, London, 1996, 100-107.

17 J. J. Castillos, "Social stratification in early Egypt," *GM* 210 (2006).

18 R. Allen, "Agriculture and the Origins of the State in Ancient Egypt," *Explorations in Economic History* 34 (1997): 146.

19 G. Connah, *African civilizations, an archaeological perspective* (Cambridge, 2001), 292.

20 E. Köhler, "The Interaction between and the Roles of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Formation of the Egyptian State - Another Review," Origins 2 Conference, Toulouse, 2005, as quoted by G. Tassie.

All the above seems to be a very exaggerated view of Lower Egyptian accomplishments. For instance, the view of Maadi as a burgeoning Lower Egyptian town acting as a staging post for the movement of commodities between Western Asia and the Nile Valley has been described under the light of more recent archaeological work[21] as "somewhat overblown."[22]

The changes that took place in Lower Egypt during Naqada II were so dramatic that they have been described as "the almost total abandonment of an earlier cultural pattern and its associated forms of social practice."[23]

In order to understand them we should abandon obsolete and prejudiced views of some people as 'backward' or 'simple' as compared with more enterprising and innovative ones.

We should bear in mind that both the Lower and Upper Egyptian communities had lifestyles that satisfied the needs of their people and if different social structure and productive activities arose in them it was due to the different circumstances in each region. If these had been reversed, the expansion could as easily have been in the opposite direction.

Although assymetrical on the side of Upper Egypt, from where the stimulus for change emerged, there were no doubt contributions in both directions, even if the irruption of the southern culture in the north resulted overwhelming and irresistible to the receiving side.[24]

We should also perhaps try to avoid being deceived by the later pharaonic ideological dichotomy of prehistoric Lower and Upper Egyptian states that were united by the early kings and which from the time of Sethe to the middle of the last century encouraged so much fruitless and unfounded speculation.

21 For instance, J. Seeher, "Maadi: eine prädynastische Kulturgruppe zwischen Oberägypten und Palästina," *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 65 (1990): 123-156.

22 D. Wengrow, *The Archaeology or Early Egypt* (Cambridge, 2006), 84.

23 Wengrow, *The Archaeology or Early Egypt*, 215.

24 J. Berry, "Conceptual approaches to acculturation," in *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement and applied research*, ed. K. Chun, P. Organista and G. Marín (Washington, 2003), 17-37; F. Rudmin, "Debate in science: The case of acculturation," in *AnthroGlobe Journal* 2006; R. Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation," *American Historical Society*, 100 (April 1995).

Two Hypocephali and Some Other Ptolemaic Finds from Theban Tomb (Kampp) -43-

Tamás Mekis

Abstract:

The aim of this article is to discuss some Ptolemaic objects found by Zoltán Imre Fábián in Tomb -43- on El-Khokha hillock in Thebes during the 2009 excavation season. The study is a preliminary report and the excavations are still ongoing. The objects found in the tomb are of importance concerning Ptolemaic burials in Thebes, on El-Khokha. The objects come from the 3rd section of the sloping passage of the tomb originally carved in the New Kingdom. Since the beginning of the excavations in 1995, this has been the only material discovered from the Ptolemaic times in this upper part of the cemetery.

Among the objects described in this study, are two fragmentary hypocephali, fragments of cartonnage trappings, aprons, a foot panel, a *wesekh-en-bik* collar, a fragmentary mummy mask and the crown and horns of a black Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue.

I would recommend here to date these finds to the second half of the 3rd century BC. I will describe an interesting find of some cotton balls which came from among the mummy bandages in the aforementioned section of the sloping passage.

Résumé:

Plusieurs objets de l'époque ptolémaïque ont été découvert dans la tombe No -43- fondée au Nouvel Empire à Thèbes pendant la saison de fouilles dirigé par Z. I. Fábián, en 2009. La tombe se trouve sur le versant d'El-Kôkha, où de la 3ème section du *sloping passage* proviennent ces restes d'enterrement ptolémaïque, uniques dès le début des travaux sur cette partie supérieure du cimetière.

Parmi les objets ci-dessous publiés sont deux fragments d'hypocéphale, des pièces de cartonnage: une parure de jambes, l'enveloppe de pied, un collier *wesekh-en-bik*, un fragment d'un masque de momie, des cornes et de la couronne d'une statuette de Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris et, finalement des boules de coton trouvées parmi les bandages de momies.

Les pièces peuvent être datées de la seconde moitié du 3ème siècle av. J.-C.

Key words:

Thebes (El-Khokha), (Kampp) -43-, hypocephalus, apron, foot panel, mummy mask, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue, cotton balls

During the 2009 spring excavation season of the Theban Tomb -43-,[1] some Ptolemaic finds were identified in the sloping passage.[2] The excavations in the upper necropolis streets of El-Khokha led by Zoltán Fábián had not identified any Ptolemaic material since the beginning of the excavations.[3]

1 For date of the tomb see: Friederike Kampp, Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 644.

2 Zoltán I. Fábián, "A thébai El-Hoha domb déli lejtőjének feltárása Nefermenu TT184 számú sziklasírjának körzetében – 2009," *Orpheus Noster* 1 (2009): 5-32.

3 Zoltán I. Fábián, "Preliminary report on the first two seasons in Theban Tomb 184 (Nofermenu)," *SÄK* 24 (1997): 81-102; Zoltán I. Fábián, "Nefermenu (TT 184), April 2003," *ASAE* 79 (2005): 41-59; Zoltán I. Fábián, "Theban Tomb 184 (Nefermenu) and the Upper Section of the South Slope of El-Khokha Hillock – 2005,"*ActArchHung* 58 (2007): 1-42.

Figure 1. Reg. no. 2009.949 (photo and drawing by Z. I. Fábián)

The discovery in 2009, however, shows us that not only the New Kingdom tombs at the foot of the hill were reused for secondary burials in the Ptolemaic Period, but also the tombs higher up on the hillock of El-Khokha.[4] The finds were unearthed in the 3rd, wider section (2,2/2,6 x 2,4 m), at the south-eastern turn of the sloping passage of Tomb -43- which was separated by a mud brick wall from the expanding sloping passage turning to North-West. Some parts of the enclosing mud brick wall, which was plastered on the inner side, were burnt and preserved well above the accumulated debris level. There is a small entrance presumably carved by robbers on the South-Eastern wall opening from the neighbouring Middle Kingdom Saff tomb. A great number of fragmented mummy parts and bandages found in this section let us suppose that tomb robbers may have piled mummies here through the artificial entrance and tore them into pieces inside in their hunt for saleable

4 In general see: Nigel Strudwick, "Some aspects of the archaeology of the Theban necropolis in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods," in *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick, John H. Taylor, (London: British Museum 2003), 175-176. For cases see: TT 32: László Kákosy, Gábor Schreiber, "Use and Re-use. An Overview of the Post-Ramesside Burials in TT 32," in *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Nicole Kloth, Karl Martin, Eva Pardey (Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 2003), 203-209; Gábor Schreiber, Zsolt Vasáros, "A Theban tomb of the late Third Intermediate Period on el-Khokha," *ActArchHung* 56 (2005): 1-27; TT 183: Karl-Joachim Seyfried, "Report of Luxor (Khoha) Theban Tomb No. 183," *ASAE* 74 (1999): 10; Karl-Joachim Seyfried, "Fünfter Vorbericht über Arbeiten des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg in thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit," *MDAIK* 58 (2002): 413-423; TT400: Gábor Schreiber, "The Hellenistic and Roman Periods on el-Khokha" in *Hungarian Excavations in the Theban Necropolis. A Celebration of 102 Years of Fieldwork in Egypt. Catalogue for the Temporary Exhibition in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo November 6, 2009 – January 15, 2010*, ed. Tamás A. Bács, Zoltán I. Fábián, Gábor Schreiber, László Török, (Budapest: ELTE, 2009), 121-123.

Figure 1. Reg. no. 2009.949 (photo and drawing by Z. I. Fábián)

treasures.[5] In this rather disturbed and mixed context two fragmentary hypocephali, some pieces of cartonnages, and parts of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue were found which can certainly be dated to the Ptolemaic period. The excavations are ongoing, if our hypothesis is correct, further pieces of the intrusive burial will be unearthed during the forthcoming seasons. The objects described in the study, however, can contribute to the better understanding of elite burials in Thebes in the Ptolemaic era.

1. Hypocephalus (Reg. No. 2009.949) (Fig.1.)

The dimensions of the textile-based cartonnage with an oval form are 15 x 16 cm. In its present state of preservation, it consists of four small joining pieces; the fifth, larger one is missing. The background of the rim inscription is white, while the background of the central circular panel is yellow; all the other inscriptions and ornamenting figures on the hypocephalus are coloured black and the register dividing lines are all intense red.

Comparing the register system of this hypocephalus with that of the "classical" form (fig. 2.),[6] we can come to the conclusion that it basically differs from the so-called "standard" ones. Its pictorial

5 Fábián, "A thébai El-Hoha domb déli lejtőjének feltárása Nefermenu TT184 számú sziklasírjának körzetében – 2009," 18-27.

6 The "classical" or "standard" type is considered after Leiden AMS 62. For the numbers of divisions of registers see: Conradus Leemans, "Hypocéphale Égyptien du Musée Royal Néerlandais d'antiquités à Leide," in *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide*. 4e partie, (Leide: E. J. Brill, 1885), 89-128.

panel is totally unique in the corpus of hypocephali. The pictorial panel is reduced to only one, 3,5 cm wide strip in the middle of the disc, the rest is filled with lines of texts.

Two-thirds of the pictorial panel have survived. In the middle of it, as is common on hypocephali, there is a squatting mummified ram-headed deity. His body looks to the right, while on his neck there could be four heads, two of which look to the right and the others may have looked to the left. In his hand there is the united amulet of *ꜥnḫ*, *wꜣs* and *ḏd*. He is the emanation of Amun-Ra. On the right side of the pictorial panel, in front of the ram-headed deity there is an *ꜥḥm*-bird in its bark, which usually appears on "standard" discs in Register II, Section F. According to the label text, it is *(Ptah-Sokar-?)Osiris who is in front of the westerners. May he live forever!*[7]

Unfortunately, one third of the pictorial panel has not been preserved; yet, there is a tiny visible part of another boat on the left side of the ram-headed deity. It is presumably the prow of the solar bark. It can only be inferred who the passenger of this second boat could be. If we take the "standard" hypocephali as parallels, it is unlikely to be Khepri.[8]

Above the strip of the pictorial panel there are four lines of text, while the lower panel (turned with 180° as it is usual on "standard" hypocephali) there are three written lines. The rim inscription, based on the text typology of John Gee belongs to class D.[9] The text in the missing part of the hypocephalus under discussion can be reconstructed with certainty relying upon parallel texts,[10] even though the arrangement of the texts is relatively uncommon.

I only know of one parallel from the British Museum[11] on which the text occupies most of the horizontal registers leaving an empty place for only one pictorial panel. This parallel example is a good analogy from many viewpoints, since it shows a parallel to the hypocephalus from Tomb -43- not only in its construction, but also in its inscriptions.

In the following I suggest a tentative reading of the texts.[12] Because of the difficulties and corruptions of the texts the offered solution cannot be considered definitive.[13]

Texts of the disc Reg. no. 2009.949:

7 Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, V (Leuven, Paris, Dudley: Peeters, 2002), 783-786.

8 The solar cycle can be seen here. Although, considerable confusion can be noticed in the order of the representations of the pictorial panel, the meaning remains the same. It looks quite probable that the *ꜥḥm*-bird is the representation of the West, while on the other side *Ḥprj* probably represents the East. Amun-Ra sitting in the centre of the panel is the powerful god on the zenith. (See: Luca Miatello, "The Hypocephalus of Takerheb in Firenze and the Scheme of the Solar Cycle," *SÄK* 37 (2008): 285-287).

9 John Gee, "Non Round Hypocephali," in *Aegyptus et Pannonia* 3, ed. Hedvig Győry, (Budapest: Ibisz Bt., 2006), 47.

10 For analogies see: Turin 16353 (2319), 16352 (2320); 16350 (2322); Berlin ÄM 6900, 22715; Athens D 1018; Brussels E 6319, E 6320; London British Museum EA 8445, EA 37907 (BM 8445a), EA 37095 (papyrus based) (BM 8445a), EA 37330, EA 74908; Cairo T.r. 16.3.25.6 (S.r. 10689)(papyrus), JE 38355 (S.r. 10691); Louvre N 3524, N 3525 A (mixed text), N 3526-AF 3500; Salt 3329, N 3104, N 3181 (sub-group), N 3277 verso, E 26834; Boston MFA 02.766; Bonn L 879; Edinburgh A 1956-48 (Murray no. 121); Uppsala VM 0149; Charles Ede 1978, no. 15 (I would like to thank Dr. Edith Varga for her help in calling my attention to the piece); TT 157-1348 (I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Karl-Joachim Seyfried and Anja Hilbig for sending me photos of the piece).

11 BM 8445a = EA 37907 is donation of J. S. Tucker in 1858, bibliography: communication of Samuel Birch on hypocephalus, No 8445e, and 8445a in the British Museum, in *PSBA* VI (march 1884), 129-130; Carol Andrews, *Egyptian Mummies*, (London: British Museum, 2007[4]), 74.

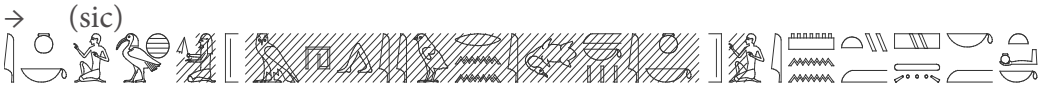
12 I would like to thank here the immense help of Gábor Takács for helping me with his grammatical interpretations.

13 Typology and translations of the rim inscriptons have already been offered by John Gee, "Non Round Hypocephali," 45-48.

Figure 2. Leiden AMS 62 hypocephalus "standard" or "classical" (after Leemans, "Hypocéphale Égyptien du Musée Royal Néerlandais d'antiquités à Leide," 129.)

Rim inscription:

→ (sic)



(sic) (sic) (sic) (sic)

Transliteration:

Jnk ȝḫ.w [*m hȝy.w*[a] *rnn*(*.w*)[b] *J-snḏ-m=k.w*[c] *Jnk*][d] *jmn nty m štȝ*[e]*=k mdj=k*[f] *jnk tm*/*dmḏ*[g] *n=k m ḏr.t=k*[h] *jj.w* {*wḏȝ.t*} < *rmy*>[i] *n-nt*[*y*] *m jȝw.t* / *jȝw.t-štȝy.*(*t*)[j]

Translation:

I am the blessed spirit [who went down / among the descents, rejoicing *Oh-the-fear-of-you* (3x). I am] the hidden one who is at your secret place with you. I am the one who unites to you with you those who come weeping for the one who is on the hill / "mysterious hill".

Notes:

[a] The *ȝ* is missing from the form. I suggest the reading as a perfective active participle form of *hȝj*, it is questionable whether the *w* is the ending of the perfective active participle or simply the sign of the plural.

[b] I suggest the imperfective active participle of the verb *rnn* = "rejoice".[14] I would exclude the reading *rn n* as the following expression is a vocative form which cannot be preceded by any preposition.

[c] For the full version of the abbreviation see N 3182 in the inner rim inscription:  . So far I have not managed to identify the name form.

[d] […] A supposed continuation of the text based on parallels.[15]

[e] *štȝ* = *Wb* IV, p. 551, II, a: refers to a secret place, which can in all likelihood be the tomb, the coffin or the *wedjat*-eye itself. [16]

[f] John Gee suggests the reading of *m-k* as a deictic particle with the translation "behold". In this case one would expect a dependent pronoun after the particle. I would also suggest here pairing the above expression with the analogous part of the next sentence *mdj=k, m dr.t=k* "with you", "in your hand" also in the meaning "with you".

[g] According to Gee, the text reads *dmnn*. He does not offer any particular interpretation on it. In my opinion, here we may have the alternation of *t*>*d*,[17] for this kind of spelling see: Louvre N 3526- AF 3500. However, the reading of the word is still problematic because the determinative D35 causes some more difficulties. Therefore, I would suggest two solutions, on the one hand the transitive verb form of *tm*= "to make full" [18] or the verb *dmḏ*= "unite".[19]

14 *Wb* II, 435,9.

15 London British Museum EA 8445, EA 37095, EA 37907 [8445 a (bis)], EA 37330; Boston MFA 02.766; Cairo JE 38355; Berlin ÄM 6900 (partly); Turin 16352 (2320), 16353 (2319), 16355 (2322); TT 157-1348 (end is missing); Louvre N 3104, N 3526, E 6195, E 3182, E 26834 A.

16 This passage can be brought in relation with the *ḏbȝty* type of hypocephali. According to Varga, *ḏbȝty* refers to the nocturnal form of the Sun god and concerning its translation she suggests "wrapped or enveloped" referring to somebody who is inside the coffin. (Edith Varga, "Le fragment d'un hypocéphale égyptien," *BMHBA* 31 (1968): 14). Yet, in the texts of another type of hypocephalus, we can find *ḥr.t*, the translation of which can also be "tomb" (*Wb* III, 143, 17).

17 François Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*, (Montpellier: Université de Montpellier, 1990), 191, 873.

18 See *Wb* V, 303; Penelope Wilson, "*Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*," (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 1143.

19 *Wb* V, 457, One can explain that D35 is a contamination of signs D46 and S23.

[h] *m ḏr.t=k* cf. ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ "with you".[20]

[i] Correctly  *rmy*.[21] It is a perfective passive participle; parallel texts show the form *ḥr rmy*.

[j] The reading of the group of signs is problematic. Gábor Takács suggests a correction by changing signs N37  with N18  , in this case, sign N18 could be the logogram in the word *jꜣw.*(*t*) (hill). It is probable that there is a contamination of the words *jꜣw.*(*t*) (hill) and *jw* (island) in the epoch, see *jꜣ.t-wꜥb.t* versus *jw-wꜥb.t* for comparison. After another interpretation of the group of signs, it is the unusually written form of Busiris:  (see Book of the Dead Chapter 149) referring to the fourth section of the Netherworld.[22] The sign  is a determinative and also a logogram. In the latter case, as a logogram, its phonetic value is *šty*.[23]

Text above the pictorial panel:

→

1. 

(sic)

2. 

(sic)

3. 

4.  [24]

Transliteration:

Jnk bꜣ wtṯ.w[a] *ḫpr*(*.w*)[b]
sjꜣ[c] *ḥr ḥw=k*[d] *wtṯ* / *ꜥ*[e]*ꜣ pꜣ bꜣ n nꜣ*[f] *nṯr*(*.w*) *m* [*ḏr.t=k*[g] *jr*(*.w*)[c]]
jr.t špsj.t[h] *tw*[i] *pw jm=f m* {*ḳkꜣ.t*}[j] [*ḥḥ=k pꜣ ḫft.yw jwty*][k]
jj(*.w*) *n=w stj ꜥꜣ wn m* […][l]

Translation:

I am the *ba* who begot the forms
who recognised (you) by your word, (the one) who begot the *ba* of the deities with you, who created

20 *Wb* V, 583. I thank Takács Gábor for the idea.

21 *Wb* II, 417,9. For analogies see: Turin 16353 (2319), 16352 (2320), 16350 (2322); London EA 37907 (BM 8445a), EA 37330; Boston MFA 02.766; Cairo JE 38355; Louvre E 6195, N 3104; TT 157 -1348; Uppsala VM 0149? (the disc is damaged at this part) and also Bonn L 879, Louvre E 26834 A (these last examples are hypocephali parts of the mummy mask from the top of the head. Both of them can probably be dated to the second part of the 3rd or to the first part of the 2nd century. See Luise Gestermann, "Gegrüßest seiest Du, Schöngesichtiger" - Zur Bonner Mumienmaske des Imhotep, in *„Le lotus qui sort de terre": Mélange offerts à Edith Varga*, ed. Hedvig Győry (Budapest: Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts, 2001), 110.

22 Henri L. M. Gauthier, *Dictionaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, (Le Caire: IFAO, 1925), 33.

23 Daumas, "*Valeurs phonétiques*," 463, 525.

24 This type of text usually appears in "standard" hypocephali on the right hand side of the four-ram-headed deity (see "classical" type Ia).

the noble eye, this is the one in him while you are seeking [the enemies to whom is not] approach. The great inundation who is [...]

Notes:

[a] The analogies of the form: Turin 16353 (2319), Louvre N 3104, N 3181, N 3524, N3526, Brussels E 6319 (Meux hypocephalus), Berlin ÄM 6900.

[b] *ḫpr*(*.w*) could be a substantive form with the meaning "forms". See analogies.[25]

[c] The reading of the sitting baboon is problematic. Therefore, I can accept two variants in the text: *sjȝ*;[26] and *jrj*. [27]

[d] Parallel texts show a great variety of forms, first is *ḥw* (Louvre N 3104, Turin 16352 (2320), 16353 (2319), TT 157-1348); and the other is *ḥknw (*for parallels see: Louvre N 3526-AF 3500, E 26834 A, Bonn L 879). For even further different forms see Louvre N 3524; Cairo JE 38355, London BM EA 37330, Edinburgh A 1956.48.

[e] the sign D52 is on the one hand is the logogram of the verb *wtt*, or on the other hand it can be explained after parallel texts as the verb ꜥȝꜥ (*Wb* I, 166, 17).[28]

[f] *nȝ* is the plural article, in the LP, it works as its singular forms.[29]

[g] *m ḏr.t=k* cf. NTOOT=K "with you".[30]

[h] There is confusion between the signs of A 237 and A 1217 (*Valeurs phonétiques*).

[i] *tw* is the feminine singular demonstrative in concordance with the *jr.t*.

[j] The text at this point differs from the related ones, probably it is a scribal mistake. Parallel texts show *ḥḥ*.[31]

[k] Reconstruction on the basis of parallel texts.[32]

[l] The continuation is highly uncertain.

The inscriptions below the pictorial panel:

(sic)

(sic) (sic)

Transliteration:

1. *h*(*ȝ*)[a] *mt=k*[b] *hȝj*[c] *jnk*
2. *ḏd*[d] *ntk pȝ thj j pr* ꜥ[e] *sgnn*[f]

25 Brussels E 6319 (with determinative A53); Turin 16352 (2320); Turin 16353 (2319); TT 157-1348 (with definite article).

26 *sjȝ ḥr* = recognise because of something (*Wb* IV, 30, 6).

27 Herman de Meulenaere, "Les valeurs du signe […] à la Basse Époque," *BIFAO* 54 (1954): 75.

28 With ꜥȝꜥ see: Turin 16352 (2320); Turin 16353 (2319); Louvre N 3104

29 *Wb* II, 199, II, b.

30 See n. 21.

31 *Wb* III, 151. For analogies see: Louvre N 3524; N 3526; 3104 (supposedly, but demaged) TT 157-1348; Turin 16352 (2320); Turin 16353 (2319)

32 Louvre N 3524; TT 157-1348; Turin 16352 (2320); Turin 16353 (2319)

3. *r kꜣ ḥḳꜣ.t*[g] *pꜣ nty ḥꜣ*[h] *ṯꜣty*[i] *ḏt*

Translation:

Oh, your death is the descent. I am
Osiris, you are the one who steps over. Oh the house, it is the house of the anointment to the *ka* of the majesty, the one who is behind you is the vizier forever.

Notes:

[a] The reading of the sign is probably *h*(*ꜣ*).[33]

[b] The expression begins with a bird, the head of which is damaged. In most of the cases an *m* appears here.[34]

[c] *Wb* I, 545 .

[d] The *djed*-pillar is in clear relation to Osiris, in some cases his name is written by the sign.[35]

[e] *Wb* I 159, 15.

[f] *sgnn* - *Wb* IV, p. 322.[36]

[g] Jan Quaegebeur found similar orthography on the hypocephalus of Hornedjitef (London, British Museum EA 8446) and on his other funerary equipment.[37]

[h] *ḥꜣ* with the meaning "behind".

[i] Can be an epithet of Osiris, Thoth and Haroeris.[38]

2. Hypocephalus (Reg. no. 2009.950) (Fig 3.)

The dimensions of the linen-based stuccoed cartonnage are 15 x 16 cm. In its colour it follows the earlier exemplar found in Tomb -43-. Its present state of preservation is rather poor; only a half-moon-shaped part of it survives. A notable part of the rim and of the central pictorial panel as well as the inscriptional panels was destroyed. The exact circumstances of this destruction would need further examination; at any rate, there are visible signs of carbonization on the textile. The reason for this may have been the result of hot resin, just like in many other cases used for mummification between the bandages, or more likely the tomb robbers who could have set the remains of the bodies and bandages on fire after having finished their looting. Answering this question more precisely will be possible if we put the whole material under closer observation in future seasons.

The composition of this disc is unique among the 140 known hypocephali. Because of its poor state of preservation, its interpretation is difficult. Clearly the remains of two strips of pictures are visible, which are registers III and IV of "standard" hypocephali. However, a really strange pattern of figures can be observed in the pictorial panel. The key figure of the four-ram-headed god of hy-

33 Daumas, "*Valeurs phonétiques*," 416, 435. I would like to express my thanks for the idea to John Gee.

34 Louvre N3524, N3526 –AF 3500, N 3104, E 26834 A; Turin 16353 (2319), 16352 (2320); Uppsala VM 0149; London BM EA 74908, EA 37907 (BM 8445a).

35 *Wb* V, 627. Leitz, *LGG* VII, 677-678.

36 with correct orthography see: Turin 16353 (2319), 16352 (2320), 16350 (2322), London BM EA 8445, EA 37907, EA 37330, EA 74908; Louvre N3526- AF 3500, with different form: Louvre N 3104, E 26834 A, Boston MFA 02.766, Cairo JE 38355; Athens D 1018; Edinburgh A 1956.48; Uppsala VM 0149.

37 (Jan Quaegebeur, "à la recherche du haut clergé thébain à l'époque gréco-romaine," in *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, ed. Sven P. Vleeming (Leyde, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995), 142-45, plate III/A -inner coffin of Hornedjitef; III/B canopic chest of Hornedjitef).

38 Leitz, *LGG* VII, 449.

Figure 3. Reg. no. 2009.950 (photo and drawing of Z. I. Fábián).

pocephali is missing from the disc. In contrast to the previous disc, this hypocephalus was drawn with much more delicate lining and meticulous care. It is worth mentioning that the registers of the pictorial panel look into the same direction. Accordingly, the disc does not follow the tradition of the opposite semi-circles of the "classical" discs.

As the first iconographic element of the upper strip of the pictorial panel, a naos is depicted with a falcon head on the top.[39] The naos is decorated with a ram head on either side just below the top and also three sketchy heads of snakes are visible further down on both sides. The reconstruction of the whole register is really problematic although various collections of images are available to be taken as parallels to this sequence of representations. On "standard" hypocephali, this naos is usually followed by a magical trigram of the Sun god (*srp.t, m3jw, srw*),[40] then the four sons of Horus standing in a row, behind them is the *ihet*-cow[41] who is the mother of Ra and the goddess *ih(i)t*

39 Analogies: Turin 16349 (2323); Louvre N 3104, Oxford Ashmolean 1982.1095; Vienna ÄS 253a/2; Pushkin No. I,1a 4865. For details on the naos see Dimitri Meeks, "Dieu masqué, dieu sans tête," *Archéo-Nil* bulletin 1 (mai 1991): 10.

40 Marie-Louise Ryhiner, "A Propos de Trigrammes Panthéistes" *RdÉ* 29 (1977): 125-137.

41 Inscriptions appearing around the cow on hypocephali: Turin 16353 (2319), 16349 (2323), Louvre E 26834A:  ; Marseille nº 617 (inv. no. 817), Bonn L 879, Moscow Pushkin nº 1, 1a 4866 (IG 3918), Berlin ÄM 7792:  ; Bologna B 2025 ; Brussels E 6320: ; recto of Walter Nash hypocephalus:  ; Uppsala VM 0149:  ; Oxford Ashmolean 1931.732: ; London BM EA 37908 ; Pennsylvania L-55-15D: ; Louvre N 3527, Mainz PJG 844 recto, Hermitage nº 8737: ; BM EA 73705 recto unreadable.

Figure 3. Reg. no. 2009.950 (photo and drawing of Z. I. Fábián).

with *wedjat*-eye on her head.[42] Finally, situated with its back to the scene there is a sitting god with his raised arm similar to the iconographical attribute of the god Min,[43] to whom Nehebkau offers the *wedjat*-eye.

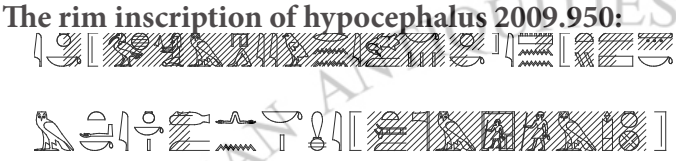
In the pictorial panel below, from the right to the left, there is a sitting baboon with a lunar disc on his head, then after a lacuna the solar bark appears with three visible figures of men on its deck. The middle one holds a was-scepter, therefore, he must be the nocturnal form of the Sun god. Behind and in front of him there is the crew. In the lost prow of the bark, which probably curved well above the lacuna, Horus might have stood killing the Apophis snake with his harpoon. All the rest of the scene is missing. In accordance with the classical scheme, the next element could have been the Sun god in the form of a child sitting on a mat. As usual, behind him there was the lunar bark with two baboons, one of which was sitting in the middle of a naos, while the other one was offering him the *wedjat*-eye. In this case, however, it is clearly visible that the lunar baboon is not sitting in his bark; moreover, its emphatic figure fills the whole width of the lower register of the pictorial panel.

42 Étienne M.-F. Ch. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 (1940): 388; Pierre P. Koemoth, "L'Atoum-serpent magicien de la stèle Metternich," *SÄK* 36 (2007) 143. According to Koemoth, the goddess with the sun disc in place of her head is the anthropomorphic form of the cow-goddess in front of her.

43 As Schreiber sees it, he is *Rs-wḏ3*. I am thankful to Schreiber for giving me the final version of his forthcoming article, "Crocodile gods on a late group of hypocephali, document presented at Tenth Internatonal Congress of Egyptologists, Rhodes in 2008. (for resume see *Tenth Internatonal Congress of Egyptologists. Abstracts of Papers,* ed. Panagiotis Kousoulis (Rhodes: University of the Aegean, 2008): 220-221).

Gábor Schreiber calls our attention to the complex meaning of these two scenes of the register. Here, in his view the cyclical order of the Sun and the Moon appears, "the transmission of divine rule from father to son", which in Theban context can be interpreted as Amun-Ra sitting in the Solar bark followed by his son Khonsu, thus creating the cosmic equilibrium expressed in the constant change of the day- and night-time.[44]

The rim inscription of hypocephalus 2009.950:



Transliteration:

Jnk [*ȝḫ m ḥȝj.w rnn J-snḏ-m=k.w*] *jnk Jmn nty m štȝ=k mdj=k jnk tm/dmḏ n=k mj* [*Jtm m ḥwt-sr wr*[a] *m Jwnw*][b]

Translation:

I am [the blessed spirit who went down / among the descents, rejoicing *Oh-the-fear-of-you* (3x)]. I am the hidden one who is at your secret place with you. I am the one who makes full/ unites to you as [Atum in the palace of the great noble in Heliopolis.]

Notes:

[a] *ḥw.t sr wr* [45] To the understanding of the passage, the article of Essam El-Banna is essential, "À propos des aspects héliopolitains d'Osiris," *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 101-126. We find the epithet "the great prince of the palace in Heliopolis" from the time of the Old Kingdom applied to Osiris and Atum as well.[46] Before the XXVII[th] dynasty, however, Osiris appears less frequently. The place *ḥwt sr wr* certainly refers to the temple of Ra in Heliopolis. According to El-Banna, from the time of the XXVII[th] dynasty Osiris was frequently addressed as master of the Great Palace of Heliopolis as Atum. But what happens in *ḥwt sr wr*? The answer is provided by a text of Dendera (el-Banna, doc.36, 115): « La première 'forme' du *ba* de Rê-Harakhti, Seigneur d'Héliopolis, est venue vers toi, ô Osiris. Tu es le grand prince dans Héliopolis, (celui) dont Atoum a réuni les membres, tu reposes auprès de Rê dans le Château du Phénix. ».[47] In funeral contexts, on hypocephali, the idea of the rebirth is emphasized. From the XXX[th] dynasty El-Banna quotes a sentence said by Isis to Osiris of the Metternich stela (doc. 31, 114), "tu es le grand Phénix né sur les saules dans le grand Châteu du Prince à Heliopolis".[48] The quotation identifies the rebirth of Osiris with the Phoenix in the temple of Ra. Thus, in conclusion, the *ḥwt sr wr* is simultaneously the tomb of Osiris and Ra (*LÄ* II, 351) and it is the place where these deities are reborn as is the Phoenix.

[b] It is a possible continuation on the basis of parallel texts. The sentence after *mj* is the last phrase in the longest inscriptions of this text type. However, in some cases, because of lack of place, it is

44 Schreiber, "Crocodile gods on a late group of hypocephali".

45 "Fürstenhaus in Heliopolis" *LÄ* II, 351-355 (*WB* III, 2; IV, 189, 8, 9); "Le tombeau d'Osiris" Dimitri Meeks, *Mythes et Legendes du Delta* (Le Caire: IFAO, 2006), 174; *Sr-wr* "Der große Fürst" *LGG* VI, 416, a, Bezeichnung des Osiris; c, Bezeichnung des Atum; *ḥwt-sr-wr-imy-Jwnw*, "Der große Fürst, der in Heliopolis ist" *LGG* VI 416-7, Bezeichnung des Atum; "Osiris/Atum is *sr* in *ḥwt sr* in Heliopolis." Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 883.

46 Pyr. § 622 a-b, §§ 1652-55.

47 Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah Description générale du grand temple de cette ville* (Paris : Librairie A. Franck, 1873), 43b.

48 Constantin E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele* (Kopenhagen : Ejnar Munksgaard, 1956), 44-45.

often omitted or, on the contrary, as in our exemplar it is the last phrase giving a frame to the text.

Text above register IV:

Transliteration:
J pr […]

Translation:
Oh, the house…

Text below register II:

Transliteration:
ḥ(*ȝ*) *mt=k ḥȝj.t* [*j*] *Jnk*[a]

Translation
Oh your death is the descent, I am

Note:
[a] The same observations are valid to this hypocephalus as to the other one.

Dating of hypocephali. Some general observation

It is worth recalling that hypocephali were all individualistic elements of the burial equipment, each individualised by means of coloration, text and scene selection.

This observation holds true for our examples as well. The context, the layout, the colour code of the two discs found in Tomb -43- however suggest that both were the products of the same workshop. Presumably, the owners were members of an Amun priestly family in Thebes. Concerning the dating of the discs, I can only say without any examination of the other funerary objects found close to the discs that they can be dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC with a possible extension to the first half of the 2nd. In former studies it has already been accepted that the pictorial elements of the hypocephali depicted facing in one direction are a good index for dating. Examples with such one-way depictions usually go back to the second half of the 3rd century.[49]

During the 3rd century, a great technical variety of types of the hypocephali seems to appear. The usage of yellow-on-black type discs date to the turn of the 3rd and 2nd centuries.[50] In connection with the discs painted with red and black outlines on a pale background this dating seems to be more or less also valid.

The earliest exemplars of yellow-on-black type probably appeared at the turn of the 4th-3rd cen-

49 Edith Varga, "Les travaux préliminaires de la monographie sur les hypocéphales," *AcOr (B)* XI (1961) : 246-247.

50 Tamás Mekis, "Données nouvelles sur les hypocéphales," *Kút* (2008/2): 34-80.

turies, together with the red-on-pale type. This hypothesis is based on the finds from TT32 since the tomb was used for secondary burials by a family of the *pallacide* of Amun for three generations from the end of the 4th century BC to the last quarter of the 3rd century BC.[51] A relatively large number of hypocephali, at least eight discs, came from TT32.[52] From among the eight cartonnage fragments, only two hypocephali have traces of genealogy. One of them belonged to a certain Nes-Min,[53] son of Ta-ker-heb and [Paheb].[54] The other presumably belonged to his sister (Ta)-hereret, whose mother's name only survived.[55] Among the rest of hypocephali a red-on-pale type can also be found.[56] Supposedly, this piece was produced in the 3rd century as it shows the "standard" division at least in three registers. Although there seems to be a mistake in the order of the registers (registers IV and II are changed). The rim inscription must have been quite different from that of the "standard" hypocephali since the word *šḏ.f* can be read on the only preserved piece of the rim and it does not appear often in the rim section.

In the Louvre there is another red-and-black painted exemplar which has three registers.[57] Unfortunately, we do not know the origin of the disc. Additionally, its text is damaged where the genealogy is written.[58] However, its division,[59] the order of the registers, the rim inscription, which is of the Osirian-type[60] and the lunar baboon in a separate, undivided register all indicate that the disc can also be paralleled to our examples.

Three hypocephali of the red-on-pale type are known from Zagreb.[61] All of them have invoca-

51 László Kákosy, *Dzsehutimesz sírja Thébában*, (Budapest: Pytheas, 1989), 103-104; Kákosy, Schreiber, "Use and Re-use. An Overview of the Post-Ramesside Burials in TT 32," 206-207; Gábor Schreiber, "Ptolemaic cartonnages from Thebes," in *Aegyptus et Pannonia* 3, ed. Hedvig Győry, (Budapest: Ibisz Bt., 2006), 229: reg. no. 85/338, 85/355 (from TT32, Thebes); Gábor Schreiber, *The Theban Necropolis from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolemaic Period. A Case Study: The Archeological Material from TT32,* Doctoral dissertation, Vol. 1–2, (Budapest, 2006), 153-262. This volume will be published soon under the title *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes III. Finds from the Ptolemaic Period to the Ottoman Period.*

52 Edith Varga, "Fragments d'hypocéphale de Thèbes (TT32)," in *Festschrift Arne Eggebrecht zum 65. Geburstag am 12. März 2000*, ed. Bettina Schmitz (Hildesheim: Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 2002), 117–124, Tafels 24–30.

53 *PP* IX, 83, 5569a. He was among others royal scribe between 305 and 264 BC in Thebes.

54 Schreiber, *The Theban Necropolis*, 193; Mekis, "Données nouvelles sur les hypocéphales," 41.

55 (*T3*)-*ḥrr.t* was probably the only daughter of *T3-kr-ḥb* and *P3-ḥb* who was buried in TT32 (see: Schreiber, "The Hellenistic and Roman Periods on el-Khokha," 124-125).

56 Reg. no. 85/286 a-b + 84/292. Came from chambers no XI and XII of TT 32, from the debris. Varga, "Fragments d'hypocéphale de Thèbes (TT32)," 119, Tafel 26 (Varga erroneously reconstructed the IVth register where the *ihet*-cow is present and not a *ba*-vessel; Schreiber, *The Theban Necropolis*, 193-194).

57 Louvre E18940 was given by the Musée Guimet to the Louvre in 1981. For the information I am thankful to Sylvie Guichard.

58 *P3-dj-Jmn-jpt*, Πετεμενωφις, (*PN* I, 122, 4; *DN* I, 282-83) son of *Ns-* ?.

59 Type III. Gee, "Non-round Hypocephali," 42.

60 Osirian-type is a collective notion for offering formulae, invocations to the gods of the cemetery, or simply a list of titles of *Osiris N*. See: Edith Varga, "L'apparition du CT 531 sur des masques de cartonnage à la Basse Époque," in *L' Égyptologie en 1979 Axes prioritaires de recherches. Second Congrès International de Égyptologues, Grenoble, 10-15 septembre 1979. Tomes 2*, (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982), 69.

61 Cat. no. 889, 890, 891. Janine Monnet-Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb. Catalogue raisonné des antiquités égyptiennes conservées au Musée Archéologique de Zagreb en Yugoslavie*, (Paris-Mouton-La Haye: Mouton & Co, 1970), 170-171; Igor Uranić, *Egyptian collection. Guide Archaeological Museum Zagreb*, (Zagreb, 2005), 30, no. 890; Igor Uranić, *Aegyptiaca Zagrabiensia. Egyptian Collection of the Archaeologycal Museum in Zagreb* (Zagreb: Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, 2007), 104-105; Mekis, "Données nouvelles sur les hypocéphales," 48; I am thankful to Igor Uranić for sending me his paper, "Three Hypocephali from Zagreb," in *Drevnij Egipet, Sbornik trudov associaciii po izučeniju drevnego Egipta MAAT* (Moscow, 2006), 146-150. Although Uranić states correctly that the three hypocephali belong to the members of the same family, in my opinion his dating method is not convincing. The names appearing on the hypocephalus are common not only in the Late Period, but also during the Ptolemaic era. Despite the fact that up to now I have not managed to identify any relating objects of the same family, I would suggest a later date for these hypocephali, probably the 3rd-2nd centuries instead of the 8th-4th centuries suggested by Uranić.

tions addressed to Anubis in the rim inscription and presumably all could have had three registers originally.[62]

There is one disc in Warsaw[63] with an Osirian-text and of the three register type.[64]

Two fragments found in the tombs B/B2 in the court of TT32 are also worth mentioning here because they came from the same context as a linen bandage inscribed with the name of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe II.[65]

One further exemplar of the red-on-pale type is known from Turin[66] the iconography of which is quite unique. Its text is one of the best examples of the fact that hypocephali could have been ready-made funerary accessories like the Book of the Dead papyri, cartonnages, stelae, ushabtis, etc. The gap reserved for the name of the deceased remained blank.[67]

It is worth examining our examples in more detail from this point of view as well. The statistics are really remarkable. Eleven discs with our text type (class D of Gee), which remained in a complete state of preservation, do not name the deceased in the rim.[68] It suggests that the formerly mentioned text type was the typical form of the funerary discs that could have been available ready-made.

3. A fragment of a cartonnage apron (Reg. no. 2009.980) (Fig. 4.)

In the 3rd section of the sloping passage of Tomb -43-, in the vicinity of the mummies an upper part of a cartonnage apron was also found.[69] Its material is stuccoed textile. In the present state of preservation its largest dimensions are 20 x 22.7 cm. The fragment shows the upper two registers of the cartonnage. In one of the registers a winged scarab can be seen emerging from between two lying mummified figures that symbolically represent the horizon. Above its wings there is an invocation to the two forms of the sun-god, Ra and Atum, arranged in columns.

On the left: On the right:

62 Type III. Gee, "Non-round Hypocephali," 42-43.

63 Warsaw Inv. no. 238102. Andrzej Niwiński, "Excavations in a Late Period priest's mummy at the National Museum Warsawa (1989)," in *Atti del VI Congresso Internzionale di Egittologia. Volume II*, (Turin: International Association of Egyptologists, 1993), 353; Mekis, "Données nouvelles sur les hypocéphales," *Kút* (2008/2), 49, 74.

64 Type III. Gee, "Non-round Hypocephali," 42.

65 Reg. nos. 1992/34 and 1992/108. László Kákosy, "Ninth preliminary report on the Hungarian excavation in Thebes, Tomb no. 32," *ActArchHung* 46, (1994): 28, fig. 8, 10; Gábor Schreiber, Zsolt Vasáros, "A Theban Tomb of the Late Third Intermediate Period on El-Koha" *ActArchHung* 56 (2005): 1-27; Schreiber, "Crocodile gods on a late group of hypocephali," (in press); Schreiber, "The Hellenistic and Roman Periods on el-Khokha," 127-128.

66 Turin 16349 (2323). Conradus Leemans, "Hypocéphale Égyptien du Musée Royal Néerlandais d'antiquités à Leide," « R » ; Francesco Rossi, Rodolfo V. Lanzone, *Catalogo generale dei musei di antichità* (Roma: Direzione di antichità e belle arti, 1881–1888), 328.

67 There are still four examples which belong to this group, two of them were presumably the products of the same (Abydenian?) workshop: Mainz PJG 844 recto, and Moscow Nº 1, 1a 4866 (IG 3918), their texts and layout are the same. Both are of the four-register-type (Type IV of Gee). There is a further example possibly from Abydos which has four registers and belongs to Varga's Osirian text type: London UC 16407 recto. The forth exemplar, Compiègne L.744.14, is in a quite poor condition.

68 Complete discs: Athens D 1018; London British Museum EA 8445, EA 37907 (BM 8445a), EA 37330; Louvre N 3524, N 3104, N 3181, E 26834 A; Boston MFA 02.766; Uppsala VM 0149, Brussels E 6319 (the name was addition). Fragmentary discs: London EA 37095 (BM 8445a - papyrus), Louvre E 6195, Charles Ede 1978, no. 15, Berlin ÄM 22715.

69 Cf. BM EA 6965 and the apron of the Warsaw mummy of Imen-hotep (MN 17329b). On the development of Theban cartonnages in general see: Schreiber, "Ptolemaic cartonnages," 227-246.

Figure 4. Reg. no. 2009.980 (photo and drawing by Z. I. Fábián).

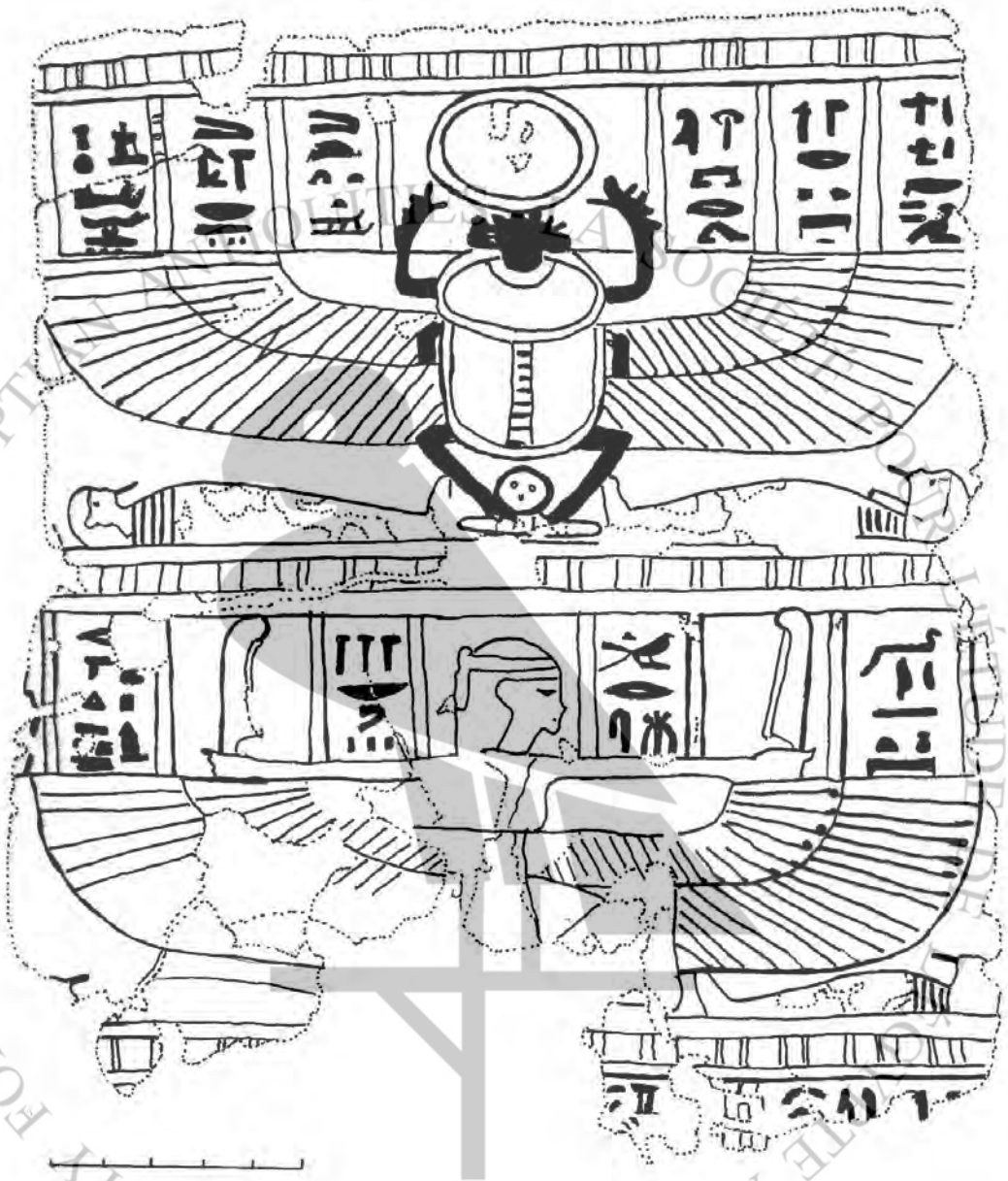
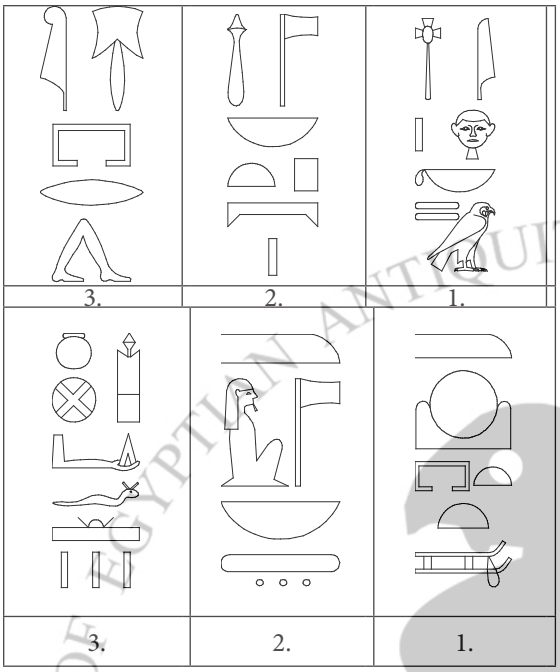


Figure 4. Reg. no. 2009.980 (photo and drawing by Z. I. Fábián).



Transliteration: Translation:

On the right:

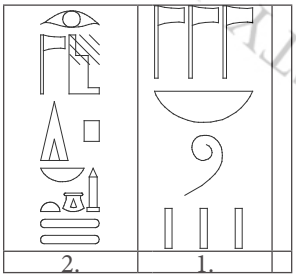
1. *Jnḏ ḥr=k Ḥr-ȝḫ.ty*	1. Hail to you *Horakhti*,
2. *nṯr ꜥȝ nb pt*	2. great god, lord of the sky,
3. *sȝb šw.t pr*	3. dappled of feathers who steps out

On the left:

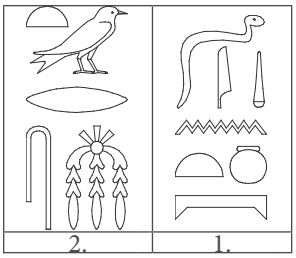
1. *m ȝḫ.t Jtm*	1. of the Horizon. Atum
2. *nb tȝ.<wj>*	2. the lord of the two lands
3. *Jwnw dj.f ḥtp.w*	3. of Heliopolis. He gives you offerings.

Below the register of the winged scarab, there is an abbreviated form of the Nut-formula (Elias 13D, part 1)[70] with the pictorial depiction of the winged goddess Nut.

On the left: On the right:



70 Jonathan P. Elias, *Coffin inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A study of text production and use in elite mortuary preparation*, (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1993), 609.



Transliteration: Translation:

On the right: ↑→

1. *Ḏd-mdw jn Nwt* 1. Saying by Nut,
2. *wr.t ms* 2. the Great who bore

On the left: ↑→

1. *nṯr.w nb.w* 1. every god,
2. *Wsjr* 2. and Osiris
3. *Pȝ-dj-Jmn-nb-nswt-tȝ.wy* 3. Pa-di-Imen-neb-nesut-taui

Unfortunately, the next register did not survive; only the label texts remained identifying Nephthys and Hapi. On the basis of analogies, Osiris probably was depicted in the middle as he is lying on the bier between the mourning forms of Isis and Nephthys and framed by the Four Sons of Horus. The lower portion of the apron must have consisted of a symmetrical scene. The axis may have been a vertical line of a text with an invocation to Anubis. As usual, the scenes on the sides of the axis could have been the standing figures of the four sons of Horus and /or Osiris with Isis and Nephthys behind him. The lowest part of the apron may have ended in a semi-circular band of rosette motifs similar to the *wesekh* collars consisting of floral and geometrical ornaments. Even though this reconstruction is hypothetical, we certainly know of several analogies from the collections of museums upon which our assumption can be based.[71]

The only name which appears on the cartonnage is  *Pȝ-dj-Jmn-nb-nsw.t-tȝ.wy* (*DN* I, 284,5; *PN* I, 122,6; *PN* II, 355). Without the titles and the genealogy, his personality is cloaked in mystery. Still, we can suppose that this *Petemestus* was the owner of one of the hypocephali.

Museum catalogues generally date this type of cartonnages to the Late Period or occasionally to the Ptolemaic Period. However, we can be sure about the exact dating of only one piece. It is an apron from Hermonthis and belongs to a priest of one of the Buchis bulls. In the text the name of Buchis is written in such a form that is first known from a stela from the 25th regnal year of Ptolemy VIII. Thus, 145 BC seems to be a *terminus post quem* indicating the age of the apron.[72] Here I would call the attention to one more case. The excavators of TT32 also found some small portions of cartonnage collars, aprons and footcases in tomb B and B2 in the court of TT32, in the same context where the two earlier mentioned hypocephali were discovered. These finds were well datable thanks to an inscribed bandage from the reign of Ptolemy IV (221-205 BC).[73]

71 See table 1 in the attachment.

72 Schreiber, "Ptolemaic Cartonnages," 238, note 51 with reference to: Myers, Fairman, "Excavations at Armant, 1929-31," 227-228, pl. LVI-LVII.

73 For the list of finds see: Schreiber, "The Theban Necropolis," 244-246; Schreiber, Vasáros, "A Theban tomb of the late Third Intermediate Period on el-Khokha," 24-25. Its is nothworthy that the pottery of the tombs also supported a date of the late 3rd early 2nd centuries. Gábor Schreiber, *Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic painted pottery from Thebes (4th–2nd c. BC)* (Budapest: ELTE, Institute of Archaeological Sciences, 2003), 61-62.

Figure 5. Reg. no. 2010.1062 (photo of Z. I. Fábián).

My last observation on aprons is in relation with a fragment from the Sigmund Freud Collection. The genealogy of this exemplar is interesting. The owner was *T3-Ḏḥwtj* who was presumably buried in the nome of Coptos.[74] Her father *Ḏḥwtj-rs*[75] and mother *T3-šrj.t-Ḥ ͨpj*[76] had very rare names. In the hypocephalus corpus there is an owner called *T3-šrj.t-Ḥ ͨpj* whose hypocephalus can be dated earliest to the second part of the 3rd century by stylistic criteria stated above.[77] Naturally, we cannot be certain about the exact identity of this person for we can only base our assumption on rare name forms.

Further smaller fragments

4. *Wesekh-en-bik* collar (Reg. no. 2010.1062) (Fig 5.)

Besides the fragment of the apron, some other smaller pieces of cartonnages were found in the debris in Tomb -43-. A part of a richly ornamented dark-on-light type *wesekh-en-bik* collar which

74 *sp3t nṯr.wy* Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne. Deuxième partie. To-chemâ : la Haute-Égypte* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1961), 76.

75 In certain readings *Ḏḥwtj-ͨn DN* I, 1304; on a block statue in the Auction Catalogue of New York and on the Edinburgh 212.27 block statue appears with the same name (after Herman De Meulenaere). Herman de Meulenaere, "La prosopographie thébaine de l'époque ptolémaïque à la lumière des sources hiéroglyphiques," in ed. Sven Peter Vleeming, *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, (Leyde, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995), 91.

76 *DN* I, 1140 Beleg 2; *PN* I, 369, 14: with reference to hypocephalus Ashmolean 1931.732 (88) (http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/ashmolean/pages/2005-mar-11%20472.htm (01.03.2010); Walter Llewellyn Nash, "*Notes on some Egyptian Antiquities (C. Know-Shaw Collection)*," *PSBA* 38 (1916): 35-36).

77 For general dating criteria see Mekis, "Données nouvelles sur les hypocéphales," *Kút* (2008/2): 40.

Figure 6. Reg. no.2010.2061a (photo of Z. I. Fábián)

might have belonged to a four-piece cartonnage was also discovered.[78] The falcon head (*bjk*) protruding from the cartonnage makes part of a complete strip with dark-on-the-red background. The collar preserved eight lines of geometrical and floral ornaments. An image of a lotus blossom in the centre surrounded by the rosette lines may once have been visible.

5. A fragment of a foot panel (Reg. no. 2010.1061a) (Fig.6.)

A small fragment was presumably part of a larger panel covering the foot. Two jackals lying on shrines facing each other were depicted on the panel. Only one side has been preserved. The label text identifies the jackal as Anubis. In front of him, once between the two animals, a *djed*-pillar stands. A similar, complete piece can be found in Copenhagen, attached to a mummy together with another small cartonnage panel of a winged scarab.[79]

6. A fragment of an axial naming strip (Reg. no. 2010.1061b) (Fig. 7.)

This strip was originally placed at the legs of the mummy. It is difficult to decide whether it was a part of an apron or not. If it was an apron, it is certain that it was not part of Reg. no. 2009.980 since its colour code is different. However, its colour code seems to be identical with the cartonnage of

78 For decription of this style, see Schreiber, „The Hellenistic and Roman Periods on el-Khokha," 126; Schreiber, "Ptolemaic Cartonnages," passim.

79 For a parallel see the trappings of Copenhagen AEIN 978 (Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt III. Coffins, Mummy Adornments and Mummies from the Third Intermediate, Late, Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (1080 BC – AD 400)*, 350-351), the cartonnage panels seemingly did not originally belong to the mummy.

Figure 7. Reg. no. 2010.1061b (photo of Z. I. Fábián).

the foot panel. Therefore, it is highly probable that there is a relation between the two pieces.

The preserved text makes part of the genealogy but unfortunately neither the name of the deceased/father nor the name of the mother survived. [80]

7. A fragment of a mask (Reg. no. 2009.951) (Fig.8.)

The last cartonnage element, which came from the chamber of tomb -43-, is a fragment of a

80 We can suppose that the first male name ends with ?-Montu. For an almost exact parallel see: Moscow, Pushkin No I,1a 4884 (IG 3336) Svetlana I. Hodjash, *The Way to Immortality. Monuments of ancient Egyptian art from the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts,* 51, no 64. This cartonnage strip and another panel in the Pushkin Museum No I, 1a 4346 (IG 3331) certainly belong to the same set. The owner, Nes-Min the son of Kap-ef-ha-Montu and Iset-weret, has a yellow-on-black style hypocephalus in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo (S.r. 10700, CG 9448) Mekis, "Données nouvelles sur les hypocéphales," 43-44. Comparing Copenhagen AEIN 978, Pushkin No I,1a 4884 (IG 3336), No I,1a 4246 (IG 331), Vienna ÄS 297/a 3,4 to our cartonnage strip and foot panel, we can come to the conclusion that these cartonnage trappings represent a different style from the well-known Theban four-piece cartonnages.

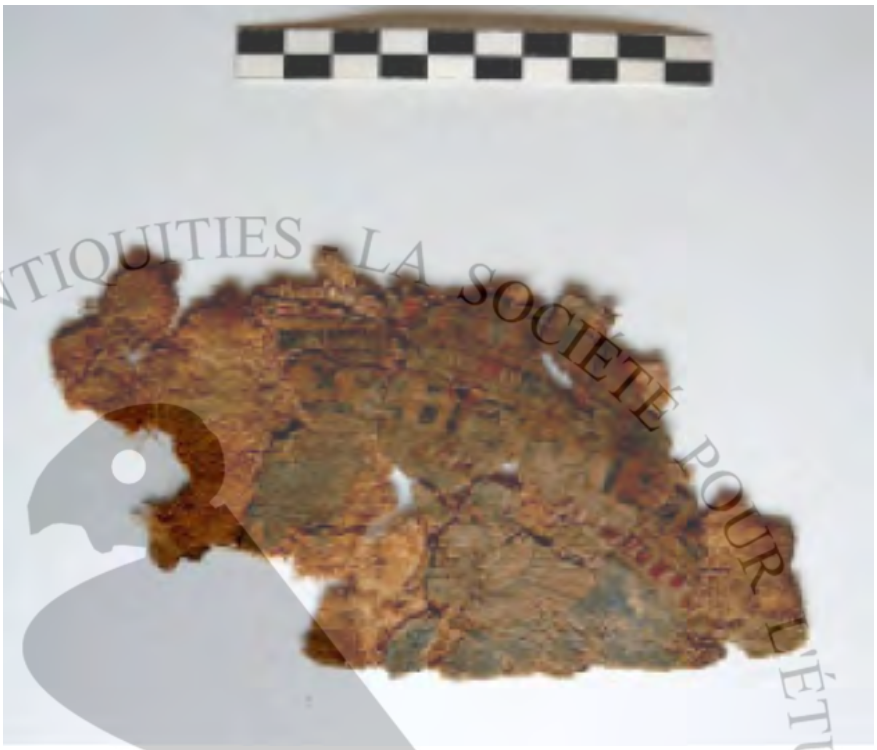


Figure 8. Reg. no. 2009.951 (photo and drawing of Z. I. Fábián)

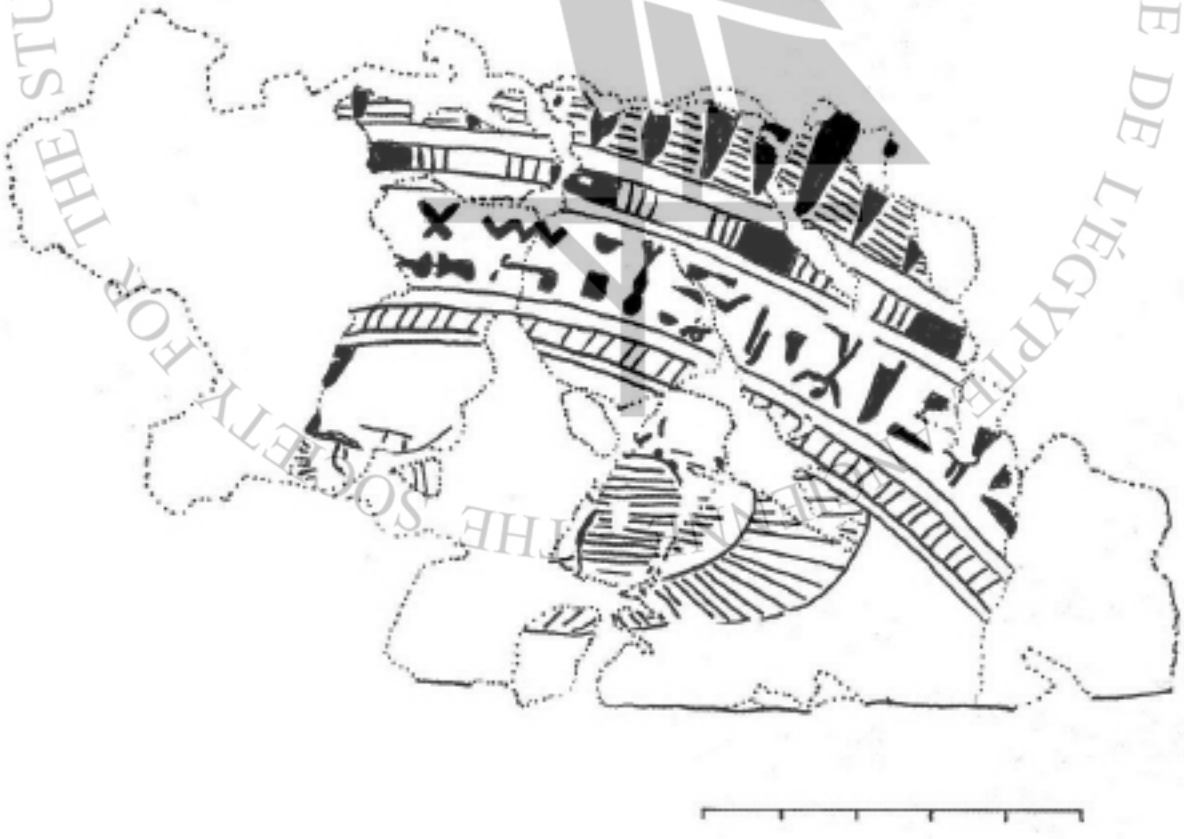
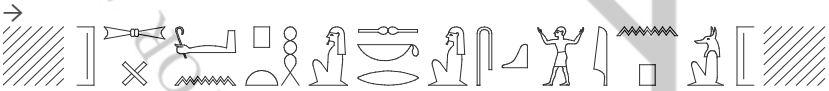


Figure 8. Reg. no. 2009.951 (photo and drawing of Z. I. Fábián)

As a parallel see Cairo T.r. 9.12.25.17 (photo of T. Mekis)

mummy mask that covered the frontal part of the top of the head. A short passage of the BD Chapter 151a[81] is readable in the stylized whitish-yellow hair-ribbon on the forehead.

→ 

Transliteration:

…] *ṯz.n Ptḥ-Skr sk3 Jnpw* […

Translation:

…] unify Ptah-Sokar, Anubis elevates (you) […

The frieze surrounding the top of the head contains a row of white and red quadrangles. Close to the top of the head a winged scarab in the black-on-yellow style is depicted on the turquoise blue background. Therefore, we can assume here that the whole part of the cartonnage forming the hair was painted blue and the face was probably gilded. In all likelihood, this gilding is the reason why the robbers tore the face off. The colouring of the mask follows the instructions of the BD Chapter

81 Varga, "L'apparition du CT 531 sur des masques de cartonnage à la Basse Époque," 69; Schreiber, "Ptolemaic Cartonnages," 234; Barbara Lüscher, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), passim.

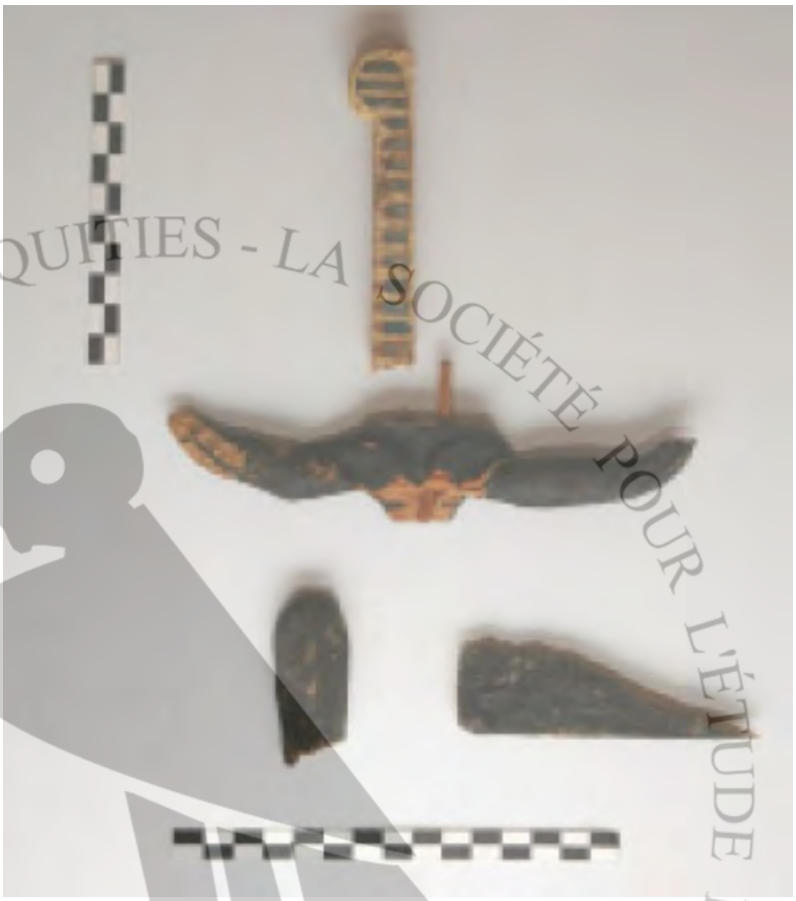


Figure 9. Reg. no. 2009.961 (photo of Z. I. Fábián)

171 which describes the appearance of a god.[82]

On the forehead under the ribbon there is a strip of red, blue and yellow quadrangles followed by another strip of red and white triangles which presumably symbolizes the crown of justification.[83]

8. Elements of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statue (Reg. no. 2009.961) (Fig. 9.)

I would end the list of paraphernalia found in the sloping passage of -43- with a bitumen coated ram horn and half of a *Shuty*-crown. The crown is painted yellow; the veins of the feather were drawn black. Its length is around 10 cm without the sun disc. This length agrees with the crowns of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues dated by M. J. Raven to the 30th dynasty or to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period (types IV D-E-F). To reach further conclusions, I would need finer pieces of remains since the discovered fragments are not sufficient enough to prove any questionable assumptions.[84]

82 Schreiber, "Ptolemaic Cartonnages," 234.

83 Elfriede Haslauer, «Ein Mumienmaske mit dem „Kranz der Rechtfertigung"» in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 6/7 (2004-5), 232-239.

84 Maarten J. Raven, "Papyrus-Sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues," *OMRO* 59-60 (1978-79), 266-271; Maarten Jan Raven, "The 30th dynasty Nespamedu Family," *OMRO* 61 (1980), 25-27, Pl. 2.

Figure 10. Cotton balls (Photo of T. Mekis)

Some questions on cotton balls (Fig. 10.)

While the study of the mummified remains must await another season, on quick examination of the bandages, which lack any inscriptions, my attention was caught by some interesting pieces. Among the thousands of small fragments of bandages in the chamber of Tomb -43-, some cotton balls were found mixed with the resin and resin coated textile strips. The case is not unique. In 1973 during the autopsy of the mummy PUM II some small cotton balls were also found.[85] Scholars have faced the dilemma whether the balls were left on the mummy during the 19th century transfer or the embalming priests used them. Previous research was not able to give a definite clear answer to the question.[86] In 1988, during an autopsy in Warsaw, Professor Niwiński found similar cotton balls.[87] Based upon the priestly titles of the mummy, the style of the coffin and the cartonnage, it was supposed that the group of finds is of Theban origin. A hypocephalus also belonged to the funerary set. Like our examples, it had red dividing lines between the rim and the central panel and probably had three registers. Its text type can be categorized into Varga's Osirian type. Niwiński, relying upon the style of the coffin and Varga's categorization, came to the conclusion that the whole funerary set can be dated to the 4th century BC. However, I suggest the later date for the coffin namely, the second part of the 3rd or the first part of the 2nd century. The style of the hypocephalus, the titles of the deceased and the similarity of the coffin to that of Hor-nedj-itef made me suppose a date highly

85 Rosalie A. David, Rick Archbold, Rick Archibald, *Conversation with Mummies. New Light on the Lives of Ancient Egyptians* (London: Harper Collins Illustrated, 2000) 93-94; Stuart J. Fleming, Bernard Fishman, David O'Connor, David Silverman, *The Egyptian Mummy. Secrets and Science* (Philadelphia: University Museum of Pennsylvania, 1980) 98–99; Aidan et al. Cockburn, "*Autopsy of an Egyptian Mummy*," in *Science* 187 nr. 4182 (28 March 1975): 1155–1160; Aidan Cockburn et al., *Mummies, Diseases, Ancient Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 52–70.

86 Eve Cockburn, "Cotton in Ancient Egypt: An unfinished story," in *Science in Egyptology. Proceedings of the 'Science in Egyptology' Symposia*, ed. Rosalie Ann David (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 469-473.

87 Niwiński, "Excavations in a Late Period priest's mummy at the National Museum Warsawa," 354; Andrzej Niwiński, "Some Unusual Amulets Found on the Late Period Mummies in Warsaw and Cracow," in *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Part 1. Studies Dedicated to Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, ed. Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, Harco Willems (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 180.

likely around the Early or Middle Ptolemaic period.

As for the problem of the cotton balls, I have to say in conclusion that their present Theban occurrence increases the probability of a new custom of using cotton balls for mummification during the Ptolemaic Period. Nevertheless, what the purpose of applying these cotton balls was still needs to be explained. On the one hand, in certain views, they could have been used as an amulet; on the other hand, the embalming priests could also have left them accidentally as a swab on the mummy. Be that as it may, as far as I know this is the third case where cotton balls on the mummy occurred.

If we recall that Radiocarbon dating (C14) determining the age of the bandages of PUM II to 170 ±70 BC, we can see that this approximate date perfectly corresponds with my suggested date of the excavated material.[88]

By the continuation of the excavations, we will hopefully be able to find more belongings of the Ptolemaic burial in -43-, which would provide us with the possibility of analysing their age more accurately. Of course, the greatest help for us would be if an expanded genealogy or a comprehensive title list came to light in the near future.

Table 1 – List of Theban-style-aprons

Inventory number	Name	Filiation (if any)	Bibliography
Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin Inv. Nr. 703	*Ḥr-sȝb* ?	*Ḥr-zȝ-ȝst* (PN I, 250,13; PN II, 378 *Tȝ-šrj.t-mḥy.t* (PN I, 369,4)	Renate Germer et al., *Berliner Mumiengeschichten. Ergebnisse eines multidisziplinären Forschungsprojektes*, Regensburg, 2009, 91-93.
Archeological Museum, Zagreb Inv. no. 667-1 (893)[1]	Anonym	-	Monnet-Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 172-173, no. 893. Uranić, *Aegyptiaca Zagrabiensia*, 102-103, Cat. no. 121.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris Inv. no. 162-1, 2, 3.	Inv. no. 162-3 *Pȝ-dj-[ȝs]t* (PN I, 121, 18; II, 355)	162-3 *Pȝ-dj-nȝ-nṯr.w* (PN I, 124,2)	Unpublished. Note: inv. no. 162-2 is similar to FAMSF 1925.157
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris Inv. no. 164	The name is damaged	The name is damaged	Unpublished.
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris Inv. no. 165	*Mȝj-rsy.t* (?)	*Tȝj-m-f*	Unpublished. Note: For the name of the mother see also: hypocephalus, Moscow No. 1,1a 4865

88 See n. 86.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris Inv. no. 168	[*P3*]-*hb* (?) (Φιβις) (PN I, 115, 4; DN 202)	*T3-n.t-Jšrw* (PN I, 358, 17; PN II, 395)	Note: With the same genealogy see the Book of the Dead papyrus Compiègne L. 744.1 to 744.9. Christine Papier-Lacostey, Luc Camino, *Collections Égyptiennes du Musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne* (Compiègne: Association des Amis des Musées, 2007), 276-277, no. 321
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris Inv. no. 169-2	Without a name		Unpublished.
British Museum EA 34262			Unpublished.
British Museum EA 6963-6969	Varia		Unpublished. Oliver H. Myers, Herbert W. Fairman, "Excavations at Armant, 1929-31," *JEA* 17, no. 3/4 (Nov. 1931), 227-228.[2]
Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen AEIN 978	Anonym		Mogens Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt III. Coffins, Mummy Adornments and Mummies from the Third Intermediate, Late, Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (1080 BC – AD 400)* (København: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 2001), 348-351.
Civico Museo Archeologico di Como Inv. ED 2	*T3-tḫj* (PN II, 326,18)	-	Maria Cristina Guidotti, Enrichetta Leospo, *La collezione egizia del Civico Museo Arceologico di Como* (Como: Musei Civici Como, 1994), 50-57, H8.
Civico Museo Archeologico di Como Inv. ED 4	-	-	Guidotti, Leospo, *La collezione egizia del Civico Museo Arceologico di Como*, 50-57, H9.
Civico Museo di Storia, Trieste the inv. no. is not known	*M3ʿ.t-p3-ʿnḫ*	*Ḥr-(m)-hb* (PN I, 248,7) *T3-šrj.t-Jmn* (PN I, 368, 10)	Marzia Vidulli Torlo, *La collezione egizia del Civico museo di storia ed arte di Trieste* (Trieste: Rotary Club Trieste, 1994), 66.[3]
Description de l'Égypte – Varia	Fragments without any name		*Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches. Antiquités*. Planches, Vol. II., Thèbes. Hypogées. Paris, 1809, Pl. 58, nr. 2, 10 ; Pl. 59, nr. 1, lower part of nr. 2.
Egyptian Museum of Cairo TR. 9.12.25.17[4]	*T3-rpt* (PN I, 364, 20)	*Ns-Tfnwt* (PN I, 179, 23) and *Ḥr-m-ḥb* (PN I, 248,7)	Akhmim Mummy Studies Consortium project no. AMSC 16.[5]

Freud Museum, London Inv. no. 4936	*T3 - Ḏ ḥ w t j* (PN I, 363, 14)	*Ḏ ḥ w t j - r s* (PN II, 334, 6) and *T3-šrj.t-Ḥ ʿpj* (PN I, 369, 14)	Lynn Gamwell, Richard Wells, *Sigmund Freud and Art. His personal collection of Antiquities* (Bringhamton, London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 74-75
Museo Egizio di Firenze, Florence Inv. no. 2158	*T3-jrw* ? (PN I 354, 4; PN II, 392) / *Ns-ḥr*(PN I 178, 5; PN II, 365)	*T 3 - r m t - B3stt* (PN I, 364, 23; DN I, 1071)	Guidotti, *Le mummie del Museo Egizio di Firenze*, 57, 15A.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, ÄS 297a/4	*P3-šrj-jḥ.t* (?) (DN I, 512)	*3st wr.t* (PN I, 4,1; DN I, 76-77)	Wilfried Seipel, *Götter Menschen Pharaonen 3500 Jahre ägyptische Kultur. Meisterwerke aus der Ägyptisch-Orientalistischen Museums Wien* (Speyer: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1993), 274, no. 198.
Louisiana Art and Science Museum, Baton Rouge, MG 64.1.1.a	-	-	Jonathan P. Elias, "Preliminary CT Scan Analysis of an Egyptian Mummy in the Louisiana Art and Science Museum, Baton Rouge," in *AMSC Research Report 16-1* (14 pp). (©Akhmim Mummy Studies Consortium)
Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta Inv. no. 1921.6	*Ḥr-z3-Jst* (PN I, 253, 13; PN II, 378, DN I, 835)	*Ḏd-Ḥr* (PN I, 411, 12; DN 1368-9) and Jr.t-jrw (PN I, 42, 10)	Peter Lacovara, Betsy Taesley Trope, *The Realm of Osiris, Mummies, Coffins, and Ancient Egyptian Funerary Arts in Michael C. Carlos Museum* (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2001), 57, no. 45.
Museo Archeologico, Milano E 1022	*T 3 - ḏ ḥ w t j* (PN I, 363, 14)	*T3-rs* (PN I, 365,6)	Lisa Giorgio, *La collezione egizia. Castelo Sforcesco*, (Milano: Comune di Milano, 1988), 64-65, fig. 29; Lisa Giorgio, *Museo Archeologico. Raccolta Egizia*, (Milano: Electa, 1979), 25, no. 54, Tavole 69-71).
Musée Dobrée, Nantes Inv. no. 56.2855	Owner, or father *Šm - J n ḥ r t* (Michelle Thirion, "Notes d'Onomastique", RdE 46 (1995), 185	Mother: 	*Description de l'Egypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches*. Antiquités. Planches, Vol. II., Thèbes. Hypogées. Paris, 1809, Pl. 58, nr. 5.

The Emergence of Royal Elements during the Reign of Den

Gary Milakovic

Abstract:
The appearance of the *sḫmty*-crown and the *nsw-bity* name should be taken as indications that the unification of Egypt was not completed until the reign of Den.

Résumé:
L'apparition de la *sḫmty*-couronne et le nom *nsw-bity* doivent être considérées comme des indications que l'unification de l'Egypte n'a pas été achevé avant le règne de Den.

Key words:
Den, *sḫmty*-crown, *nsw-bity* name, Upper and Lower Egypt, Appearance Festival, Sed Festival.

The Early Dynastic period is both one of the most important eras in Egyptian history and, at the same time, one of the least understood.

One of the most significant events of this period is the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt, a topic about which so many questions remain unanswered; who was the first to bring Upper and Lower Egypt under the rule of one leader? To what extent did this new ruler have control? When in time did this unification take place? How is the Narmer palette related?

Some of these questions may never be answered.

Inferences have been made, however, by using the Narmer Palette. While it isn't known whether or not the Narmer Palette represents one decisive battle or many, or even whether perhaps it represents a non-violent takeover with some aggressive public relations, it is generally accepted that following unification, state control of the two lands was extensive under the king.[1]

A group of objects from the reign of Den exists that may contradict this idea and offer a view into the political reality faced by kings during the early part of the First Dynasty. It may suggest that control following unification was neither complete, nor immediate and required direct intervention from the king and his propaganda machine to maintain. It seems as though true unification was an ongoing process that took many kings many reigns to complete and one of the high points of this process took place during the reign of Den.

This article is a modified version of a talk given at the SSEA Scholar's Colloquium in November 2003.

1 Kathryn A. Bard, "The Emergence of the Egyptian State (c. 3200-2686 BC)" in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt,* ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) , 68.

Iconography of a United Land

Den's reign, through innovations in iconography, seemed to emphasize that Upper and Lower Egypt were united through the king himself. As far as we know, it was during his reign that the dual *sḫmty* crown was first introduced[2] and it acted as a powerful visual symbol that represented a king's power over both Upper and Lower Egypt simultaneously. In taking the familiar images of the white crown and the red crown and uniting them into one, Den uses symbols that would have presumably been familiar to Egyptians both in the north and the south, and enhances his own status as king of both.

It seems a canny political move.

It took the unique royal icons from the two lands and recognized their importance as symbols because the two were combined, not altered. Even the translation of *sḫmty* seems to lend credibility to the idea that each of the crowns was recognized in the *sḫmty* form individually. "The two powerful ones,"[3] as it's been translated, recognizes that the crown is composed of two equal yet different halves and echoes the dual nature present in various aspects of ancient Egyptian history.

The dual nature of the united *sḫmty* crown is important. Two separate crowns coming together to form one and worn by a king who symbolically unites the north and south, binding these two separate forces into one through his kingship.

The first generally accepted appearance of the *sḫmty* crown is found on an ebony label found by Petrie at Abydos.[4] On the vertical register Den's name is clearly visible in the *serekh*, so there is no doubt that the label is from his reign. It is the upper most register on the right side of the label that is of primary interest. It shows the king, wearing the *sḫmty* crown, running the ceremonial lap during his sed-jubilee, being observed by a figure that, interestingly, also seems to be wearing the *sḫmty* crown.

That the first appearance of the *sḫmty* crown appears in this context is extremely significant. According to the Palermo Stone, Den's sed-jubilee occurred in year x+3 of his reign and its entry says simply "Sed Jubilee."[5] The Sed Festival was a feast that reconfirmed a kings right to rule after thirty years on the throne. Spencer notes that "[t]he appearance of the double crown in this scene is appropriate, since…the sed-festival reconfirmed the king's possession of the land to its furthest extent."[6] If that description is accurate then Den's appearance at his Sed Jubilee wearing the *sḫmty* crown is significant; he circles the Sed pillars while wearing the dual crown, reconfirming his possession of the land to its furthest extent, symbolically uniting Upper and Lower Egypt under his control.

It seems conspicuous that Den would introduce this innovation at this time in his reign, consid-

2 W.M.F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties* Vol.1, (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1900), plate XV. Some controversy exists over Den's ebony label being the first appearance of the dual crown. See Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 1999, 73, who refers to Legrain. «*Notes d'inspection*» in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* IV, 1903, 221 fig. 7.

3 I.E.S. Edwards, "The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, P. II, ed. I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, and N.G.C. Hammond, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 26.

4 Petrie, *Royal Tombs I,* 22.

5 J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. I, *The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1901), 59.

6 A.J. Spencer, *Early Egypt: The Rise of Civilisation in the Nile Valley,* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 65-66.

Figure 1. BM EA 32650 © Trustees of the British Museum

ering the Sed Festival took place thirty years after a king first assumes the throne. Why would it be necessary, at this time in particular?

Den wears the dual crown as he makes the ceremonial lap and he is observed by a raised figure that also wears the dual crown. Taken in isolation, any one of these things may not be suggestive of anything at all. However, when consideration is given to the context of the label, how the crown first appears, and in the context it first appears, it seems wholly purposeful.

The introduction of the *sḫmty* crown is the first in a group of innovations in royal iconography, titulary and ceremony that seem to suggest that even midway through the First Dynasty, kings were making an effort to solidify the union between Upper and Lower Egypt.

Divine Knot of the North and South

While the *sḫmty* crown exemplifies Den's attempts to unite Upper and Lower Egypt symbolically in the king through royal regalia and iconography, it isn't the only innovation that occurs during his reign that has that effect.

On the same label that depicts Den's Sed Festival and depicts perhaps the earliest attestation of the *sḫmty* crown, we also find the earliest attested example of the *nsw-bity* name. The use of the *nsw-bity* name is fundamental to the idea that Den, a king who ruled deep into the middle of the

First Dynasty, made innovations with the sole purpose of solidifying the unity of Upper and Lower Egypt in the person of the king.

The *nsw-bity* name has been translated variously as "He who belongs to the sedge and the bee,"[7] "Dual King," [8] and "king of the Two Lands."[9] Much in the same way that the *sḫmty* crown brought two symbols of the north and south together and united them to form a single royal crown, so too does the *nsw-bity* name bring together two symbols of the north and south and unite them.

Any of the preceding translations, though all slightly different, effectively mean same thing: king of Upper and Lower Egypt. But it's important to note that much like the *sḫmty* crown, the two elements of north and south are not consumed, with their characteristics in any way altered, but subsumed to form a greater and unified whole. The bee is representative of Upper Egypt, while the sedge is the representative of Lower Egypt and both are present as component symbols in the *nsw-bity* name.

It is no coincidence that this royal title is introduced during the reign of Den. The royal *nsw-bity* name recognizes the king's rule of both the north and the south. Two lands, ruled and joined together by a single king, and the control of those two lands forever recognized in, what was at the time, one of only two royal names.

Spencer rightly suggests that "the *nsw-bit* name…[is] the element of the royal titulary most frequently used in later texts."[10] I would suggest the later kings had some understanding of the importance of this symbolic unity in the *nsw-bity* name and embraced its use.

The introduction of the *nsw-bity* name is another innovation in the reign of Den that, on its own, may be seen as suggestive of nothing at all. However, combined with the introduction of the dual crown during the same period, the *nsw-bity* name is another example of Den's symbolic unification of Upper and Lower Egypt in the office of the king. It is not, however, the final piece of evidence from the reign of Den which suggests that true unification of Upper and Lower Egypt was a far from simple event, but was instead an ongoing process affected by kings throughout the First Dynasty.

Behold, the Great King

Both the introduction of the *sḫmty* crown and the *nsw-bity* name seem to illustrate that, during the reign of Den, a concerted effort was made to show the king as ruler of both Upper and Lower Egypt, two distinct halves of one important whole, symbolically unifying north and south in the office of the king. These weren't the only measures to take place during Den's reign that emphasized this idea.

Den continually reaffirmed his position as king of Upper and Lower Egypt through festivals of appearance, as attested on the Palermo stone.[11] These appearance festivals were called the "Appear-

7 I.E.S. Edwards, *The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt*, 26.

8 Spencer, *Early Egypt,* 59.

9 Peter A .Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 23.

10 Spencer, *Early Egypt,* 59.

11 Also found in the reigns of 'King Ninetjer,' Year 7 (appearance of the King of Upper Egypt); Year 9 (appearance of the King of Upper Egypt, appearance of the King of Lower Egypt); Year 11 (appearance of the King of Lower Egypt), Year 15 (appearance of the King of Lower Egypt); Year 17 (appearance of the King of Lower Egypt); Year 19 (appearance of the King of Lower Egypt); 'King W (name lost),' Year 13 (appearance of the King of Upper Egypt, appearance of the King of Lower Egypt); 'King X (name lost,)' Year 1 (appearance of the King of Upper Egypt, appearance of the King of Lower Egypt); Year 2 (appearance of the King of Upper Egypt, appearance of the King of Lower Egypt);

ance of the king of Upper Egypt"[12] and the "Appearance of the king of Lower Egypt"[13] respectively. Den was not the first king to hold a Festival of Appearance and so it was not an innovation of his own design (that distinction goes to Breasted's "King T"[14] whose true name is lost), but he was the first attested king to hold more than one.

Den first held the two appearance festivals in Year x+3 of his reign,[15] and it's worth noting that these two festivals took place in the same year that his Sed-Jubilee occurred. Following the two appearance festivals in Year x+3, the next instance of the festival happens nine years later in the Year x+12 of his reign. However, in this year the king only appears once in the "Appearance of the king of Lower Egypt."[16] The fourth appearance festival in Den's reign occurs in the Year x+14. The beginning of the entry is lost, but using the part that is still in tact, that being "of the king of Upper Egypt,"[17] we can assume that Breasted is correct in supplying [Appearance][18] in his translation and consider this as another example of the festival of appearance during the reign of Den.

Den's reign is followed on the Palermo stone by King Ninetjer of the Second Dynasty.[19] His reign is significant to this idea of a process of unification because though his reign was much later than that of Den, he too held a great number of Festivals of Appearance.

In Year 7 of Ninetjer's reign, he holds his first Appearance Festival of Upper Egypt.[20] The next time these festivals are attested in Ninetjer's reign is in Year 9. Both the appearance of the king of Upper Egypt and the king of Lower Egypt take place during this entry on the stone. Following these two points in his reign, Ninetjer holds these appearance festivals four times in the next ten years, each coming two years after the one previous, beginning in Year 11. What is interesting to note about the last four of Ninetjer's festivals, however, is that they are all the appearance of the king of Lower Egypt. It is impossible to gain insight into the purpose of holding only Lower Egyptian appearance festivals in the final years of Ninetjer's reign and can only speculate on what that might be. Could there have been some discord in Lower Egypt that necessitated the king's personal attention? There was a reason Ninetjer held these festivals and likely it was much for the same reasons as his past predecessor, Den. Spectacle can be a powerful motivational force and there is no doubt the ancient Egyptians were able use it as such throughout the centuries. It's likely that the use of these festivals was a calculated political move on the part of these rulers to emphasize and reaffirm their control over Upper and Lower Egypt.

The idea that the kings used the festivals of appearance to emphasize and symbolically reaffirm their rule over Upper and Lower Egypt may find support in an odd location: the rule of Shepsekaf, king of the Fourth Dynasty. An inscription from Year 1 of his reign seems to lend credibility to the idea:

Year 4 (appearance of the King of Upper Egypt, appearance of the King of Lower Egypt); 'King Shepseskaf' Year 1 (appearance of the King of Upper Egypt, appearance of the King of Lower Egypt).

12 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 59.
13 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 59.
14 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 58.
15 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 59.
16 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 60.
17 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 61.
18 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 61.
19 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 61.
20 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 61.

Appearance of the king of Upper Egypt.
Appearance of the king of Lower Egypt.
Union of the Two Lands.
The king worships the gods who united the Two Lands.[21]

In it, we find both examples of the festivals of appearance, but so too do we find "Union of the Two Lands." Were these festivals another example of a symbolic unification of north and south? Considering the festivals rose to prominence in a period of history when concerted efforts were being made to symbolically unite north and south in the office of the king, it doesn't seem a stretch to suggest that that was the case, especially considering the inscription from Shepsekaf's reign.

Another point to consider is the gods to whom Shepsekaf is directing his worship. Could it be argued that since kings were considered divine, Shepsekaf was actually worshipping those kings who participated in the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt? After all, Den was a very well-known king in later times. His reign is one of the longest attested on the Palermo stone and his tomb is the largest in Umm el-Qa'ab (5111 sq. ft.)[22] Emery said that "the reign of Udimu appears to have been the most prosperous of the whole 1st Dynasty"[23] and Edwards describes him as a king who "acquired a legendary reputation."[24]

Den was a king whose reign was marked by wealth and later fame, and the introduction of many long lasting symbols of unification through the office of the king. It is certainly possible, given the divine nature of ancient Egyptian kings and considering the context of Shepsekaf's inscription (two appearance festivals, union of the two lands), that some of that worship might have been directed to Den and the other kings who participated in the process of true unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.

We cannot say exactly what took place during the festivals of appearance in the time of Den or in the times of those kings that followed him, though Wengrow suggests they were of a "markedly public and visible character, making manifest the king's presence throughout the land."[25] It makes sense that this would have been the case. Embracing the idea of appearing before the people of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively must have appealed to Den, given his emphasis on showing a unified Egypt through his new, royal symbols. Would the kings have worn the appropriate regalia of Upper or Lower Egypt (depending on which festival was occurring and where) and toured through the land as king to ensure all the people recognized him as their king? It doesn't seem a stretch to make that suggestion.

Nor then would it seem a stretch that, when both festivals were held in the same year the king wears the regalia of Upper and Lower Egypt, the *sḫmty* crown; a visible and living reminder of a unified Egypt, and its unifying force, the king.

It is interesting to note that the Festivals of Appearance generally happened individually, not together. It seems as though when they happened together it was a special occasion, as we only have

21 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 67.

22 David O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2009) 150.

23 Walter B Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1961), page 88.

24 I.E.S. Edwards, *The Early Dynastic Period in Egypt*, 27.

25 David Wengrow, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformation in North-East Africa, 10,000-2650 BC,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 133.

one attested example per reign, and generally these examples occurs relatively early. For example, Den's dual festival occurred in Year x+3 and was the first Appearance Festival to take place in his reign. In the reign of Ninetjer, the dual festival was not first, but second, and occurred in Year 9 of his reign. Shepsekaf held his dual festival in Year 1 of his reign which is particularly significant because, as noted above, the 'Union of the Two Lands' also takes place in his inscription which may have been what the dual festivals morphed into: a symbolic reunification of Upper and Lower Egypt. The idea that they could become a symbolic reunification would make sense when you consider that these festivals first became well used in the reign of Den, a king who had some great focus on symbolically uniting Upper and Lower Egypt in the office of the king through iconography, title, and perhaps even ceremony.

These efforts must have been to some particular end or else they would all have not taken place in such a short period of time during the reign of Den. It seems clear there was a purpose and, given the focus on the symbolic unification of Upper and Lower Egypt that seems to occur in all of these innovations, that perhaps the process of Egyptian unification began with the Pre-Dynastic kings, reached a high point in the events of the Narmer palette, and continued to proceed through the reigns of his successors, notably Den.

Conclusion

Taken individually, these innovations could simply be taken as gradual steps in the development of Egyptian royal icon, title, and ceremony. However, when considered together, there must be a larger context to attribute to them. A crown that combines both the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt to form a dual crown worn by the king of the two lands; a royal title that emerged as one of the most important that combined symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt to represent the king of both Lands; and mysterious festivals that may have symbolically reaffirmed the position of the king and possibly symbolically united the two lands.

If true and complete unification of Upper and Lower Egypt had occurred prior to Den's reign, would all of these innovations have taken place so close together in time during the reign of one king? It certainly seems to be far too coincidental if that were the case. It's not a stretch to suggest that there might be some dissent following a conquest, be it cultural or military; such occurrences happen consistently throughout the world following the domination of one people by another.

One point that needs to be addressed is that which O'Connor raises, "[g]rand theories are proposed about early culture and kingship in Egypt…so far, these data are an inadequate foundation for the complex speculations built on them."[26] While it's true that it could simply be a coincidence that the innovations of symbolic unity took place during Den's reign and may be evidence of nothing, it seems unlikely. The *sḫmty* crown and the *nsw-bity* name are highly recognizable symbols used throughout the rest of ancient Egyptian history. Certainly there must have been some purpose to their introduction and, given the evidence presented, symbolic unification in the office of the king seems possible.

Much of this study is open to question. We cannot say for sure why the *sḫmty* crown was first introduced and worn by the king on a label that commemorated Den's Jubilee Year, but it seems plausible that as a symbol of unity, it was to show that the two lands were united in the office of the king.

So too the *nsw-bity* name, which in later periods became the central title of the five-fold royal

26 O'Connor, *Abydos,* 150.

titulary. It seems to correlate well with the idea of symbolic unification in the king and its appearance on the same label that introduces the *sḫmty* crown is, at the very least, exceedingly interesting.

Den popularized the festivals of appearance, but to what end we cannot say for sure. Were they the public spectacles that Wengrow suggests? It seems likely. What we can say without doubt, is that following his reign the festivals of appearance were held far more by the kings that followed him than by Den himself.[27] The festivals culminated in the reign of Shepsekaf when the dual ceremony was held, the two lands were united, and the gods who unified Egypt were celebrated.

We cannot know the reaction of Egyptians that may have been 'conquered' following the initial unification events depicted on the Narmer palette. But all the evidence from the reign of Den seems to demonstrate that he was trying to make a concerted effort to symbolically unite Upper and Lower Egypt through the office of the king. There must have been some political outcome Den was trying to affect through these innovations. What seems clear is that something was occurring during Den's reign that necessitated the introduction of these innovations. It's quite likely that the process of unification that began in the Pre-Dynastic period and which met a high point in the reign of Narmer was continued in a significant way by Den.

Den's legacy as a state-builder has yet to be fully recognized but his innovations and contributions to Egyptian unity cannot be overlooked. Den provided a foundation on which many kings built their monuments; their legacy owes much to his own.

27 I recognize that Den is reputed to have ruled for many years and not all of them are attested on the Palermo stone because it is damaged, so more examples could exist from Den's reign.

Le dieu et ses jambes
Sur deux titres sacerdotaux rares du Premier millénaire (Statue Caire JE 36992)

Frédéric Payraudeau

Abstract:

Publication of the statuette-cube Cairo JE 36992, belonging to a priest of Amon, Djedkhonsouiouefânkh son of Harsiésis. It is dedicated by his grandson Irethorrou, who wears the title of *ꜣṯw-nṯr*. The study of this title attested only at the end of the XXII[nd] up to the XXVI[th] dynasties allows to remind that it is different from another title written with the sign of the leg, *rdwy nṯr*, in use later (XXX[th] Dynasty and Ptolemaic Period).

Résumé:

Publication de la statuette-cube Caire JE 36992, appartenant à un prêtre d'Amon, Djedkhonsouiouefânkh fils d'Harsiésis. Elle est dédicacée par son petit-fils Irethorrou, qui porte le titre de *ꜣṯw-nṯr*. L'étude de ce titre attesté uniquement de la fin de la XXIIe dynastie à la XXVIe dynastie, permet de rappeler qu'il est différent d'un autre titre écrit avec le signe de la jambe, *rdwy nṯr*, d'usage plus tardif (XXXe dynastie et époque ptolémaïque).

Mots-clé

Statue, Titres, prosopographie, Époque saïte, Époque ptolémaïque, *ꜣṯw-nṯr*, *rdwy-nṯr*.

À l'occasion de l'étude d'une statue inédite de la cachette de Karnak Caire JE 36992, il n'a pas paru inutile de revenir sur la signification de deux titres sacerdotaux assez obscurs de la période tardive (*ꜣṯw-nṯr* et *rdwy nṯr*), souvent confondus[1]. Si on peut les rattacher à un culte précis, il est rare de pouvoir préciser les fonctions exactes de ces prêtres. L'objet enregistré au Journal d'entrée sous le numéro 36992[2] est une petite statuette-cube de schiste gris foncé, d'aspect

1 Cette enquête a fait l'objet d'une communication à l'Ifao le 5 novembre 2006, dans le cadre du séminaire de lexicographie dirigé par Dimitri Meeks, qui m'a encouragé à en publier les résultats et que je remercie pour ses conseils. Durant la rédaction de cet article, le texte hiéroglyphique de cette statuette a été donné sans traduction ni commentaire par Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil III. Die 25. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 514, n°52.295.

2 Elle porte le numéro (K)198 inscrit en jaune sur la perruque et est mentionnée, avec photographie, mais une mauvaise lecture des noms, dans Michel Azim & Gérard Reveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain* (Paris, 2004), I, 313 ; II, 247. Le numéro K198 est aussi donné à Caire JE 36992bis=CG42217 (voir l'exposé du problème sur la base Cachette de Karnak de l'IFAO à http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=178). Je tiens à remercier ici M[me] Wafa El-Sedeek, directrice du Musée égyptien du Caire, pour l'autorisation de publier cet objet, M[me] Sabbah Abdelrazik, conservatrice, dont l'aide a été précieuse, ainsi que Laurent Coulon (HiSoMa-CNRS) pour m'avoir permis de consulter les photographies de divers documents mentionnés dans cet article dans le cadre du programme « Cachette de Karnak » de l'Ifao. Les photographies et dessins sont de l'auteur.

assez frustre dont le style permet de la dater de la fin de Troisième période intermédiaire ou du début de l'époque saïte, sans guère plus de précision (FIGURE. 1)[3]. Le personnage est assis sur un petit coussin[4]. A l'avant est gravée une représentation de la barque de Sokar[5]. Sur chaque côté, on trouve des représentations du fétiche osirien d'Abydos sur une estrade[6]. Les textes se lisent presque sans problème de la façon suivante sur l'appui dorsal et sur le socle (FIG. 2).

Figure 1. La statue Caire JE 36992.

3 C'est la datation proposée par les fiches du *Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture*, reprise dans la base de données sur la *Cachette de Karnak* sur le site internet de l'IFAO = http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=171.

4 Élément qu'on retrouve sur des statues de l'époque koushite mais pas uniquement : Hermann De Meulenaere, *BiOr 60* (2003): 322 (8).

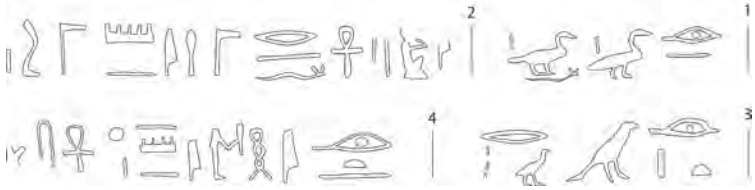
5 Sous une forme assez cursive et différente des représentations élaborées qu'on trouve sur beaucoup de statues des XXII[e] et XXV[e] dynasties, *i. e.* Caire JE 36998 et Caire TN 7/6/24/3 = Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Wiesbaden, 2002), II, pl. 13 et 19.

6 La forme en est, là aussi, très simplifiée telle que sur la statue Caire JE 37148 de la XXV[e] dynastie = Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften*, II, pl. 6 (n°4). Sur la vénération thébaine de l'Osiris d'Abydos : Laurent Coulon, « Les reliques d'Osiris en Égypte ancienne : données générales et particularismes thébains », dans *Les objets de la mémoire. Pour une approche comparatiste des reliques et de leur culte, éd.* Ph. Borgeaud & Y. Volokhine (Berne, 2005), 15-46.

Figure 2. Textes de la statue Caire JE 36992.

Pilier dorsal

Pourtour du socle



Appui dorsal :

ḥm-nṯr ỉmn m ỉpt-swt ḏd-ḫnsw-iw=f-ꜥnḫ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw sꜣ ḥm-nṯr ỉmn ḥr-sꜣ-ỉst mꜣꜥ-ḫrw sꜣ ḥm-nṯr ḏd-ḫnsw-iw=f-ꜥnḫ

« Le prophète d'Amon dans Karnak, Djedkhonsouiouefânkh, justifié, fils du prophète d'Amon Harsiésis, justifié, fils du prophète Djedkhonsouiouefânkh[7] ».

Pourtour du socle

ỉr n sꜣ n sꜣ=f ỉ sꜥnḫ rn=f ḥm-nṯr ỉmn ꜣṯw nṯr ỉrt-ḥr-r=w ỉr n iḫyt n ỉmn-Rꜥ ꜥnḫ=s

« Fait par le fils de sa fille pour faire vivre son nom, le prophète d'Amon, le *ꜣṯw nṯr*, Irethorrou[8], qu'a fait la chanteuse d'Amon, Ânkhes[9] ».

La statue a donc été dédiée à un prêtre nommé Djedkhonsouiouefânkh fils d'Harsiésis par son petit-fils Irethorrou, né d'une dame Ânkhes. Étrangement, le nom du père d'Irethorrou n'est pas donné, alors que c'est par ce père que le personnage se rattache à l'aïeul auquel il dédicace cette statuette.[10] Les personnages cités appartiennent à un rang modeste du clergé thébain, arborant le seul titre de *ḥm-nṯr* « *prophète d'Amon* », ce qui fait écho à la taille réduite du monument. Le petit-fils se signale donc parce qu'il porte, lui, un titre beaucoup plus rare, écrit avec le signe de la jambe (D56). Un certain nombre d'autres prêtres thébains sont connus pour avoir porté ce titre. Tous semblent avoir vécu à la Troisième période intermédiaire ou à la Basse Époque (FIG. 3).

Figure 3. Liste d'attestations du titre de *ꜣṯw nṯr*.

Notables	**Datation**	**Documents et graphies**
Ânkhpakhéred (i) fils de Pashedmout	Takélot II ?	Statue Caire GC 717[11] 
Nakhtefmout (D) fils de Ânkhpakhéred	Osorkon III ?	Cercueil Berlin 20136[12] 
Ânkhpakhéred (ii) fils de Nakhtefmout (D)	Fin XXII[e] dynastie ?	Cercueil Berlin 20136[13] 
Amenmès	VIII[e] siècle av. J.-C.	Statue Caire CG 48624 (JE 37150)[14] 

7 Le signe est de petite taille, mais la forme de la tête fait très vaguement penser à un faucon pour Khonsou et aucune autre solution n'est vraiment satisfaisante.

8 Hermann Ranke, *Die altägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), I, 42, 11.

9 Ranke, *Die altägyptischen Personennamen,* I, 67, 13.

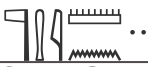
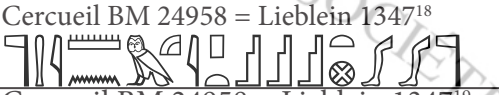
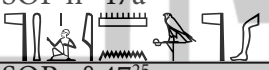
10 Pour d'autres exemples de statues dédicacées par des petits-fils du défunt : Bernard von Bothmer, « The Block Statue of Ankh-khonsu in Boston and Cairo », *MDAIK 37* (1981): 75-83, n. 25.

11 Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* II. *Die 22. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2007), 240-241 (n°25.47).

12 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* II, 390 (n°44.19).

13 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* II, 390 (n°44.19).

14 Jack A. Josephson & Mahmoud Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXV[th] and XXVI[th] Dynasties. CGC 48601-48649* (Le Caire, 1999), 54-58.

Amenhotep Fils d'Amenmès	VIII^e siècle av. J.-C.	Statue Caire CG 48624 (JE 37150)[15] 
Hor fils d'Amenhotep	VIII^e siècle av. J.-C.	Statue Caire CG 48624 (JE 37150)[16] 
Ânkhpakhéred fils de Nakhtefmout (B)	Fin VIII^e siècle av. J.-C.	Cercueil Berlin 8237 = Lieblein 2309[17]  Cercueil BM 24958 = Lieblein 1347[18] 
Ioufâa fils de Ânkh-pakhéred	Fin VIII^e siècle av. J.-C.	Cercueil BM 24958 = Lieblein 1347[19]  Cercueil Berlin 8237 = Lieblein 2309[20] 
Ioufâa *surnommé* Djedkhonsouioue-fânkh	Première moitié VII^e siècle av. J.-C.	Statue Caire JE 36991 = CG 48610[21] 
Irethorrou	VII^e siècle av. J.-C.	Statue Caire JE 36992, ici-même.
Pakharkhonsou	Deuxième moitié du VII^e siècle av. J.-C.	Statue Caire JE 36980[22] 
Pashéryenmout Fils de Montouemhat	Psammétique I^er	Statue Caire CG 72243[23]  SOP n° 47a[24] 
Montouemhat (B) Fils de Pashéryenmout	Psammétique I^er	SOP n° 47[25] 
Hor père de l'intendant Ânkhhor	Psammétique I^er	Tombe[26] 

15 Josephson & Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXV^th and XXVI^th Dynasties,* 54-58.

16 Josephson & Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXV^th and XXVI^th Dynasties,* 54-58.

17 Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit, III. Die 25. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 432-433 (n°52.159).

18 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* III, 433-434 (n°52.160).

19 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* III, 433-434 (n°52.160).

20 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* III, 432-433 (n°52.159).

21 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* III, 512-513 (n°52.293).

22 Günter Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie* (Vienne, 1978), 83-84.

23 Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers,* III (Le Caire 1914), 95-96.

24 Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, 31.

25 Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, 31.

26 Erhart Graefe, dans Manfred Bietak (éd.), *Das Grab des Anch-hor*, I (Vienne, 1978): 43 et 49.

Le titre *ỉtw-nṯr*, puisque c'est ainsi qu'il faut le lire, est inséré dans ces titulatures de prêtres. Il s'agit donc d'un titre sacerdotal, qui peut faire l'objet de graphies compactes en association avec d'autres titres :

 pour *ỉtw nṯr* seul.

 pour *ỉtw nṯr* et *it nṯr* « père du dieu ».

 pour *ḥm-nṯr* « *serviteur du dieu* » et *ỉtw nṯr*.

La lecture *ỉtw nṯr* s'est imposée depuis les travaux de Georges Posener[27]. Le mot *ỉtw*, connu dès l'Ancien Empire avait d'abord été lu *wꜥrtw*, sur le modèle de *wꜥrt* « *district administratif* »[28]. Posener a bien montré que la lecture *ỉtw* était plus plausible a partir des versions développées données par les textes d'envoûtement de Mirgissa. Dès l'Ancien Empire, le mot a deux significations liées l'une à l'autre. D'une part, il désigne des fonctionnaires civils ou militaires ayant des fonctions de surveillance, d'encadrement et d'approvisionnement[29]. Par exemple *ỉtw n ꜥt ḥqỉ* « *intendant de la table du souverain* » ou *ỉtw n niwt* « *administrateur de la ville* »[30]. Le mot doit donc être traduit différemment selon le contexte. On le trouve aussi dans le contexte des expéditions militaro-économiques menées dans les déserts orientaux[31]. Ce contexte militaire ne nous éloigne cependant pas de la fonction première d'encadrement, de surveillance et de formation.

D'autre part, le féminin (*ỉtyt*) semble avoir un sens proche de « nourrice »[32]. Les *ỉtywt* sont placées après les *mnꜥt* (« *nourricières* ») dans les représentations, notamment dans une représentation de la tombe de Djéhoutyhotep à El-Bersheh[33]. Ouadjyt, Nephthys, Hathor, Neith et bien entendu Isis peuvent être appelées *ỉtyt,* avec des épithètes : *ỉtyt nfrt* « *la belle nourrice* », *ỉtyt bnrt* « *la douce nourrice* »[34]. Le mot est souvent déterminé avec le signe de la femme allaitant l'enfant. Hathor de Dendera est, entre autres, *ỉtyt nfrt n sỉ=s ḥr* […] *šd ḥꜥ=f m ꜥnḫ-wỉs ḫnt Pr-ms-ḥr-sỉ-ỉst* « *la belle nourrice pour son fils […] qui nourrit son corps de lait dans le mammisi d'Harsiésis* »[35].

Par rapprochement entre *ỉtw* et *ỉtyt*, on est tenté d'attribuer aux premiers des fonctions nourricières, même s'il est bien évident que les fonctions d'un *ỉtw* ne peuvent pas être identiques à celle des *ỉtywt* pour des raisons physiologiques. Cependant, un sens plus large d' « éducateur » semble convenir. Le gouverneur de Hatnoub Néhéri se présente comme suit (graff. N° 16) : « J'étais comme les nourrices et les *ỉtyt*, pour celui qui venait à être malade jusqu'à ce qu'il soit guéri ». On voit bien qu'il ne s'agit pas uniquement de nourrir et d'allaiter, mais de façon plus large, de prendre soin de quelque uns (n'est-ce pas aussi le rôle d'un chef de troupe ?). On a donc tenté d'interpréter le titre comme « instructeur » et à penser que *ỉtw-nṯr* pourrait être

27 Georges Posener, « Sur la valeur phonétique *ỉṯ>ỉt* du signe  », *RdE 15* (1963): 127-128.

28 *Wb*. I, 287-288.

29 Voir toutes les variantes données par Henri Wild, « Quatre statuettes du Moyen Empire dans une collection privée de Suisse », *BIFAO 69* (1970): 117-121.

30 Dimitri Meeks, *Année lexicographique 2* (1978): 11

31 Ainsi à Hatnoub, plusieurs graffiti citent des *ỉtw* tel « *L'administrateur, le chef des troupes, Khouy* » : Rudolf Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (Hildesheim, 1964), n°5.

32 *Wb.* I, 23, 10 ; Meeks, *Année lexicographique 2* : 11. Voir aussi, avec la même racine, *ỉtt, « le lit (d'accouchement) » = Wb* I, 23, 11-12.

33 Percy E. Newberry & Willoughby G. Fraser, *El-Bersheh I. The Tomb Of Tehuti-Hetep* (Londres, 1894), pl. 30.

34 Christian Leitz (éd.), *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, I (Louvain, 2002), 87-89.

35 Sylvie Cauville, *Dendara* X, *Les chapelles osiriennes* (Le Caire, 1997), 207, 14-15.

une sorte d'éducateur princier (avec *nṯr* = roi)[36]. Cependant, des nourriciers des enfants royaux sont bien connus, mais le titre qu'ils portent est *mnᶜy* ou *šd nsw/nṯr*[37]. Par exemple, sous la XXVI^e^ dynastie saïte, le précepteur des enfants de Nékao II s'intitule *šd nsw mnᶜ bity* « nourricier du roi de Haute Égypte, précepteur du roi de Basse Égypte »[38]. Dans un seul cas, le titre *ꜣṯw* est mis en rapport avec une fonction d'éducateur. Sur une statue du Musée du Caire citée par W. Helck[39], un certain Kapouptah est *rḫ nswt mr st mnᶜt ḥrp ꜣṯywt, sbꜣ mswt nswt*, « Connu du roi dans le Palais, directeur de la nurserie, chef des *ꜣṯw*, éducateur des enfants royaux ». Inséré entre deux allusions à l'enfance et à son accompagnement, il est évident que *ꜣṯw* a un rapport avec l'éducation au sens large. Même si le rôle nourricier des *ꜣṯw* masculins reste mal attesté aux hautes époques, c'est bien dans cette direction que le titre *ꜣṯw nṯr* nous amène. Si on examine le reste de la titulature des *ꜣṯw nṯr*, un point commun se dégage rapidement : beaucoup de porteurs du titre sont en lien avec le culte d'un dieu-enfant. Amenmès est en plus de *ꜣṯw nṯr* chef des nourrices d'Horus l'Enfant, tout comme son petit-fils Hor. Nakhtefmout (D) est « chef des nourrices de Khonsou l'Enfant » et « chef des nourrices de Mout, maîtresse du ciel », titres qui doivent recouvrir les mêmes fonctions dans le culte du dieu-fils Khonsou. Enfin, Pashéryenmout, fils du fameux Montouemhat porte le titre de *ḥm-nṯr ḥr pꜣ ḥrd* « prophète d'Horus l'Enfant »[40]. Ce point commun semble donc nous orienter vers le culte des dieux-enfants, qui se développe justement à partir de la Troisième période intermédiaire, au moment où apparaît le titre de *ꜣṯw nṯr*[41]. Or, le premier porteur de ce titre, Ânkhpakhéred fils de Pashedmout, donne une version longue qui élimine tout doute, puisqu'il est *ḥm-nṯr n Ỉmn-Rᶜ nswt nṯrw mr mnᶜwt n Mwt nb(t) pt ꜣṯw-nṯr n sꜣ n šps*, « prophète d'Amon-Rê roi des dieux, chef des nourrices de Mout maîtresse du Ciel, père divin et *ꜣṯw-nṯr* du fils du Noble [42]». En définitive, le *ꜣṯw nṯr* serait donc une sorte de prêtre nourricier chargé des rites en rapport avec l'enfant divin de Karnak, c'est-à-dire avant tout Khonsou, mais aussi Harpocrate, puisque le culte osirien se développe dans et hors de l'enceinte de Karnak à cette même époque[43].

Si l'on considère la liste donnée ci-dessus, on en déduit d'une part que ce titre, comme beaucoup d'autres, a souvent été héréditaire dans les familles de prêtres thébains et que d'autre part, vu le faible nombre d'attestations, il a pu n'être porté que par un seul personnage à la fois. Il est cependant impossible de rapprocher Irethorrou, des autres porteurs du titre, l'absence du nom de son père étant un obstacle difficile à surmonter

36 Erhart Graefe, dans Manfred Bietak (éd.), *Das Grab des Anch-hor*, I (Vienne, 1978): 43 et 49.

37 Cf. Catharine H.. Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse, Royal Tutor, and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands* (Berkeley, 1990).

38 Caire CG 38236 = Karl Jansen-Winkeln, « Zu den Denkmälern des Erziehers Psametiks II », *MDAIK 52* (1996): 192-196.

39 Qui ne donne pas de numéro : Michel Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir à l'Ancien Empire* (Le Caire, 2005), II, 588 (n°232).

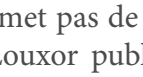
40 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* III, 491 (n° 52.254).

41 Helmut Brunner, « Götterkinder » in *LÄ* II (Wiesbaden, 1977), 648-651.

42 C'est-à-dire Khonsou, fils d'Amon.

43 Cf. Laurent Coulon, « Les reliques d'Osiris en Égypte ancienne : données générales et particularismes thébains », *in Les objets de la mémoire. Pour une approche comparatiste des reliques et de leur culte*, ed. Philippe Borgeaud, Youri Volokhine (Berne, 2005), 15-46 et Sylvie Cauville, « Karnak ou la quintessence de l'Égypte: transposition architecturale des doctrines politiques et des spéculations religieuses dans le domaine d'Amon-Rê-Osiris de Karnak », *BSFE* 172 (2008): 26-31.

dans cette recherche prosopographique. Le nom de sa mère, Ânkhes, est bien attesté durant la XXV^e^ dynastie, et ne permet pas de rapprochement[44]. Un graffito de Louxor publié par Vittmann évoque l'initiation comme prêtre d'un certain Pétaménophis, fils de Djedkhonsouiouefânkh, fils d'Harsiésis, fils de Djedkhonsouiouefânkh, etc, en l'an 3 du roi Tantamani (soit 662/661 avant J.-C)[45]. La fréquence élevée des deux anthroponymes dans l'onomastique thébaine de la Basse Époque et la localisation du texte à Louqsor ne permet aucune certitude quant à l'identification des ancêtres de Pétaménophis au propriétaire de notre statuette, Djedkhonsouiouefânkh fils d'Harsiésis fils de Djedkhonsiouiouefânkh. Le *floruit* d'Irethorrou pourrait alors se situer vers la motié du règne de Psammétique I^er^. En tout état de cause, Irethorrou aurait pu exercer sa fonction de *ỉ.tw nṯr* entre Ioufâa et Pashéryenmout, fils de Montouemhat, qui l'avait déjà abandonné à son propre fils Montouemhat (B) en l'an 14 de Psammétique I^er^ (=652 avant J.-C.).

Si on examine la liste des attestations (FIG. 3), on remarque les cas particuliers de Ioufâa et de son père Ânkhpakhéred dont le titre est orthographié différemment sur les deux documents les concernant :  mais aussi  . Se pose donc la question de savoir si le titre *ỉ.tw nṯr* peut être écrit avec les deux jambes au lieu d'une ou s'il s'agit là d'un titre différent qui se lirait *rdwy nṯr*.

La distinction entre les titres *ỉ.tw nṯr* et *rdwy nṯr* n'a été opérée que progressivement. En 1962, Zayed lisait toutes occurrences *ỉ.tw nṯr*[46], alors que De Meulenaere séparait bien les deux titres en 1994[47], sans toutefois se prononcer sur la valeur du second. Jansen-Winkeln distingue les deux titres[48], proposant une interprétation pour *rdwy nṯr* développée par Coenen[49] puis Coulon[50], mais El-Sayed traduit encore récemment ce même titre par « prêtre nourricier »[51].

De Meulenaere a pourtant démontré de manière péremptoire que le titre écrit avec les deux jambes doit être lu *rdwy nṯr*, en s'appuyant sur la statue Londres BM 48039 qui donne la graphie explicite,  . Une liste plus complète des graphies que celles dressées auparavant permet de confirmer qu'à part un exemple, le titre est écrit avec les deux jambes (FIG.

44 Cf. une Ânkhes de la famille de Besenmout : David A. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25* (Vienne, 2010), 211-213.

45 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit,* III, 246-247 (n°49.23).

46 Abdel Hamid Zayed, « Réflexions sur deux statuettes inédites de l'époque ptolémaïque », *ASAE 57* (1962): 146.

47 Herman De Meulenaere, « Recherches sur un *P3-wrm* thébain », in *The Unbroken Reed. Studies A. Shore* ed. Christopher Eyre (Londres, 1994), 218, n. (a).

48 Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 91-92 (1).

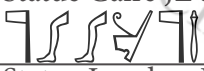
49 Marc Coenen, « The Dating of the Papyri Joseph Smith I, X, XI and Min Who Massacres His Enemies », in *Egyptian Religion. Studies J. Quaegebeur, II*, ed. Willy Clarysse (Louvain, 1998), 1105 et n. 15 ; id., « The Funerary Papyri of the Bodleian Library at Oxford », *JEA* 86 (2000): 90, n. (f).

50 Laurent Coulon, « Les sièges de prêtre d'époque tardive. À propos de trois documents thébains », *RdE 57* (2006): 19-20 (C).

51 Ramadan El-Sayed, « À la recherche des statues inédites de la Cachette de Karnak au Musée du Caire (III) *ASAE 80* (2006), 174 et « À la recherche des statues inédites de la Cachette de Karnak au Musée du Caire (IV) », *ASAE 81* (2007), 53-56.

4).

Figure 4. Liste d'attestations du titre de *rdwy nṯr*[52].

Personnages	**Datation**	**Documents**
Nesmin fils de Padiimen-nebnesouttaouy	XXX^e^ dynastie- Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire JE 37178[53] 
Nesmin fils de Padiimen-nebnesouttaouy	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue JE 37160[54] 
Ouserkhonsou	XXX^e^ dynastie- Époque ptolémaïque[55]	Statue Caire JE 37327[56] 
Ouahibrêkhou fils de Ouserkhonsou	XXX^e^ dynastie- Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Londres BM 48039[57] 
Ousirour/Hathat	XXX^e^ dynastie ou époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire JE 37843[58]  Statue Londres BM 54348[59] 
Horsaïset	XXX^e^ dynastie ou époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire JE 37149[60] 
Nesmin fils de Pourem	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue JE 37017[61] 
Pyred, père de Paiouhor	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue JE 37335[62] 

52 Il faut y ajouter les versions sur papyrus d'époque ptolémaïques (P. Louvre N 3158, P. Tübingen 2016, P. Bodleian Library Ms. Eg. C.2 (P), P. Joseph Smith I, X et XI), signalées par Coulon, *RdE 57* (2006): 19-20.

53 Zayed, *ASAE 57*: 146 et Gunter Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und Prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamten der 25. und 26. Dynastie* (Vienne, 1978), 126-127. Le même personnage est aussi propriétaire des statues Caire JE 37191 et Statue BM 41561 : Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*, 126-127 et Bernard von Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period. 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (New York, 1960), 20.

54 El-Sayed, *ASAE 80* (2006): 174-178, pl. 6-11 (Doc. 9).

55 Datation d'après Herman De Meulenaere, *BiOr 60* (2003): 322.

56 Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I, 34-41, II, 346-347. Le personnage est aussi propriétaire de Caire JE 37432 selon De Meulenaere, *BiOr 60* (2003): 322.

57 Michel Azim & Gérard Reveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain* (Paris, 2004), I, 315 (=JE 37356 par erreur) et II, 242.

58 Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*, II, 370-371.

59 Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*, II, 91.

60 Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I, 237-245 et II, 430–433 (n° 38).

61 De Meulenaere, « Recherches sur un *P3-wrm* thébain », 217-220.

62 Zayed, *ASAE 57*: 144-146. Le personage est aussi attesté sur la statue JE 37350 = Mohammed Abdelrahiem, « Ein weiterer Würfelhocker des Amunpropheten *Pw-jw-Ḥr* (Kairo JE 37350) » in *The Realm of the Pharaohs. Essays in honor of Tohfa Handoussa*, ed. Zahi Hawass et alii, I (Le Caire, 2008), 27-39.

Pyred fils de Paiouhor[63]	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire JE 37076[64] 
Padihorparê fils de Horkhébyt	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire TN 18/12/24/4[65] 
Padihorparê fils de Padihorparê (?)	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire SR 217[66] 
Neskhemenyou	Époque ptolémaïque	Siège de prêtre Louxor 807[67] 
Serdjéhouty	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire JE 37376[68] 
?	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire JE 47277[69] 
Serdjéhouty	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire JE 37376[68] 
?	Époque ptolémaïque	Statue Caire JE 47277[69] 

De plus, la mise en perspective chronologique de la documentation apporte une autre information qui écarte définitivement tout rapprochement avec le titre *3ṯw nṯr*, écrit avec une seule jambe. En effet, alors qu'on a constaté que les *3ṯw nṯr* sont généralement antérieurs ou contemporains du règne de Psammétique I^er^, les *rdwy nṯr* datent tous au plus tôt de la XXX^e^ dynastie et sont surtout attestés à l'époque ptolémaïque. Il existe donc un *hiatus* de plus de deux siècles entre l'usage de ces deux titres. Pour en revenir aux fonctions de *rdwy nṯr*, il a déjà été signalé qu'elles pourraient être en rapport avec le portage de la barque sacrée[70]. Ce sens est indiqué par le sens même du mot *rdwy*, les prêtres portant la statue divine pouvant alors à bon droit être qualifiés de « *jambes du dieu* ». Le rôle de ces personnages n'était pas seulement technique, mais aussi honorifique, le roi pouvant se trouver parmi les porteurs. Ceux-ci, en contact avec cette élite, étaient donc des personnages importants. De plus, lors des sorties oraculaires du dieu, ce sont eux qui faisaient osciller la barque dans le sens d'une décision divine, qui pouvait parfois n'être pas moins que la succession royale[71].

63 C'est le petit-fils du précédent.

64 Jean-Claude Goyon, *Trésors d'Égypte - La « Cachette » de Karnak* (Grenoble, 2004), 80-82; 133-134 (n° 22).

65 Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I, 254-257 ; II, 436-437; pl. 84-85 (Nr. 40).

66 Inédite. Copie personnelle, cf. la base de données de l'Ifao = *http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=1163.*

67 Coulon, *RdE 57* (2006): 18-21, pl. III.

68 El-Sayed, *ASAE 81* (2007), 53-58, 73-74 (doc. 11).

69 Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und Religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I, 93, n. 14.

70 Coenen, *JEA 86* (2000): 90, n. (f). et Coulon, *RdE 57* (2006): 19 (C). Le complément, *3ty* serait une épithète d'Amon en lien avec le nom de sa barque sacrée l'Ouserhat, qui s'orthographie parfois Ouserhaty.

71 On a à l'esprit le récit de la jeunesse de Thoutmosis III où la barque vient le désigner comme successeur de son père Thoutmosis II : *Urkunden* IV, 157-159 et 180-181.

Il est d'ailleurs assez bizarre que le titre exact de ces porteurs ait souvent varié. À l'époque ramesside, les personnages s'intitulent *rmn*, qui signifie à la fois « épaules » et « porteur »[72]. Dès le Nouvel Empire, les inscriptions signalent que ces porteurs de la barque sont avant tout des prêtres, le plus souvent des *wꜥb* « purs », qui portent aussi le titre de *šny* c'est à dire « *gardien* ». Le titre de *rmn* n'apparait pas systématiquement. Ainsi, Nespaherentahat, un prêtre important de la XXII[e] dynastie s'intitule sur sa statue (Caire CG 42189)[73]:

« le prêtre pur, gardien à l'avant du troisième brancard de droite du grand dieu, le prêtre pur qui accède au sanctuaire d'Amon, et qui entre dans l'Akh-menou dans la première équipe »

On a ici affaire à un personnage, qui, par ses fonctions de porteur, a été initié comme prêtre pur et à droit d'accéder au sanctuaire. Tout cela nous montre que les porteurs de la barque sacrée ont été désignés par des titres différents selon les périodes. Rien ne s'oppose donc à ce que *rdwy nṯr* soit leur désignation à partir de la XXX[e] dynastie et durant l'époque ptolémaïque. Quelques indices supplémentaires en ce sens sont apportés par l'iconographie des *rdwy nṯr*. Comme cela a déjà été remarqué[74], plusieurs porteurs de ce titre sont revêtus d'attributs propres aux porteurs de la barque divine (notamment l'étole)[75]. L'ensemble de ces données nous montrent en tout cas la forte probabilité que le titre de *rdwy nṯr* soit bien celui des porteurs de la barque du dieu à partir de la XXX[e] dynastie.

Cette excursion dans les méandres des fonctions sacerdotales tardives aura donc montré que dans le cas de *ỉṯw-nṯr* et *rdwy nṯr*, et malgré une certaine ressemblance graphique on a bien affaire à deux titres différents correspondant à des fonctions fort éloignée l'une de l'autre, le premier lié au culte des dieux enfants, l'autre au portage de la barque sacrée d'Amon. On aura aussi vu ce que les données iconographiques peuvent apporter à la compréhension des titres.

Reste le problème de Ioufâa et Ânkhpakhéred dont les titres inscrits sur les cercueils Berlin 8237 et cercueil BM 24958 sont indubitablement écrits avec les deux jambes (FIG. 3). D'un autre côté, ces deux notables sont bien datés de la fin du VIII[e] ou au début du VII[e] siècle[76]. Comme les premières attestations de *rdwy nṯr* ne sont pas antérieures à la XXX[e] dynastie, on doit supposer une erreur du scribe pour *ỉṯw-nṯr*.

72 *Wb*. II, 419, 19-420, 9.

73 Cf. Jean-Marie Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII° dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon* (Louvain, 1989), 255-263.

74 Laurent Coulon, *RdE 57*: 20-21 ; Goyon, *Trésors d'Égypte - La « Cachette » de Karnak*, 80-81.

75 Laurent Coulon, *RdE 57*: pl. 3 et Cl. Traunecker, *Coptos, hommes et dieux sur le parvis de Geb* (Louvain, 1992), 197-199 et §170 (38).

76 John H. Taylor, « A Priestly Family of the 25th Dynasty », CdE 59 (1984): 27-52.

Some Observations on the Route to the Afterlife from Late 18th Dynasty Royal Tombs

Peter Robinson

Abstract:

For much of the Dynastic Period, the Egyptians perceived that the afterlife was a geographical location distant from the world of the living. At some point after the moment of death, the deceased would undertake a journey towards the afterlife, and there spend an eternity in a destination with its own geographies and landscapes.

At different times throughout pharaonic history, and for different layers of society, these afterlife locations seem to have taken on a variety of forms. For some of the nobility, the route to the afterlife was a journey avoiding demonic entities and locations, with dangerous monsters and gateways barring the way. For the pharaoh himself, the route to the afterlife was often a cyclical journey between sunset and sunrise, wherein the pharaoh joined the sun god's entourage to do battle with the forces of chaos and disorder, in order to allow the new day to dawn on the horizon in the East.

This paper will look at the group of royal tombs from the Valley of the Kings dating from the reign of Amenophis III to that of Ramesses I, in order to identify what their decoration might tell us about the journey the pharaoh undertook to achieve eternal existence amongst the gods, and whether any significant patterns or detail of events and divinities encountered can be identified within the tombs' decorative schema that can help elucidate the landscapes of the late 18th Dynasty royal afterlife and how their geographies were perceived.

Résumé:

Durant l'essentiel de la période dynastique, les Egyptiens ont senti que l'au-delà était un lieu géographiquement éloigné du monde des vivants. A un certain moment après l'instant du décès, les morts entreprendraient un voyage vers l'au-delà, et là passeraient l'éternité dans une destination possédant ses propres géographies et paysages.

A différents moments de l'histoire des pharaons, et pour différentes couches de la société, ces lieux de l'au-delà semblent avoir pris des formes diverses. Pour une partie de la noblesse, le chemin vers l'au-delà était un voyage qui évitait les entités et les sites démoniaques, avec de dangereux monstres et des portails barrant la route. Pour le pharaon lui-même, le chemin vers l'au-delà était souvent un voyage cyclique entre le coucher et le lever du soleil, dans lequel le pharaon rejoignait l'entourage du dieu soleil pour combattre les forces du chaos et le désordre, afin de permettre à la nouvelle journée de se lever à l'horizon à l'est.

Cet article examinera le groupe des tombes royales de la Vallée des Rois datant du règne d'Amenophis III jusqu'à celui de Ramsès I, afin d'identifier ce que leurs décorations peuvent nous dire sur le voyage que le pharaon a entrepris pour accéder à l'éternité parmi les dieux, et si n'importe quel motif ou détail d'évènement ou de divinités découvert peut être identifié parmi le schéma décoratif des tombes qui peut aider à élucider les paysages de l'au-delà de la fin de la 18ème dynastie royale et comment leur géographies étaient perçues.

Key words

Valley of the Kings, Royal Tombs, Afterlife texts, divinities, New Kingdom, post-Amarna, anthropological models, ideas of the Afterlife

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Introduction

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the symbolism of scenes within ancient Egyptian tombs is more than just the mundane depictions of 'Daily Life', agricultural, industrial and domestic activities. From the Old Kingdom onwards, many tomb reliefs are, it appears, meticulously arranged so as to give spatial and temporal logic to the themes depicted. Images of fecund harvests and animal husbandry are arranged in cycles of birth, growing, harvesting and butchery, and followed by images of conspicuous consumption. Other reliefs hint at calendars and seasonality, and also present activities along cross-sections of the Nile Valley, arranged in a geographical progression. Finally, the depiction of whole swathes of geographical and meta-geographical lands hint at the depiction of the cosmos within the tomb, where the gods, as well as the tomb owner and his or her retainers, all play their part in recreating the universe for the benefit of the deceased for all eternity.[1]

This present study will address the images to be found in a number of royal tombs from the Valley of the Kings. The tombs that will be under scrutiny in this paper are those from the end of the 18th Dynasty, starting with KV22 – the tomb of Amenophis III, and ending with the first tomb of the 19th Dynasty, KV16, that of the short-reigned Ramesses I.

Most of these tombs cluster around the central core of the Valley of the Kings (**Figure 1**), although the tombs of Amenophis III and Ay are to be found, perhaps significantly, in the Western Valley. In addition, these tombs seem to share a number of characteristic decorative traits, and, since most accommodated the remains of short-ruling kings, we perhaps see the work of a number of 'schools' of artists working on a number of tombs.

These tombs also represent a change in design, from the dog-legged tombs that date to the beginning of the New Kingdom representing the tortuous route to the afterlife, to the later straightened long-axis of the Ramesside tombs, perhaps developed during the Amarna heresy. Rather than looking at the architecture of the tombs, which has been documented by others elsewhere,[2] this study will concentrate upon the reliefs to be found within these tombs, and what they tell us about the routes of the deceased kings into their personal afterlives. We will also be looking at the type of decoration to be found in the tombs, whether that represents journeys or locations, and how that can help with our interpretation of the ancients' concepts of time and space in the royal afterlife.

We know from later documents, such as the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV,[3] that there were specific names for individual rooms and corridors in the tomb. Each room had its own significant purpose, with the sequence of corridors and rooms suggesting a journey from the outside world, down into the Duat, culminating with 'the House of Gold', where the pharaoh was

1 An introduction to the analysis of daily life scenes in Old Kingdom private tombs can be found in René van Walsem, *Iconography of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs* (Leiden: Peeters, 2005). The tomb of Khnumhotep II is a well-documented example of a geographically laid out tomb, Janice Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan* (London: Kegan Paul, 1999). Examples of other Middle Kingdom tombs in Meir as models of the wider cosmos are cited by Judith Lustig, "Kinship, Gender and Age in Middle Kingdom Tomb Scenes and Texts," in *Anthropology & Egyptology: A Developing Dialogue*, ed. Judith Lustig (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 43-65.

2 For example, Richard H. Wilkinson, "Symbolic Orientation and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs and their Decoration", *JARCE* 31 (1994): 79-86.

3 Howard Carter, Alan H. Gardiner, "The tomb plan of Ramesses IV and the Turin plan of a Royal Tomb," *JEA* 4 (1917): 130-158

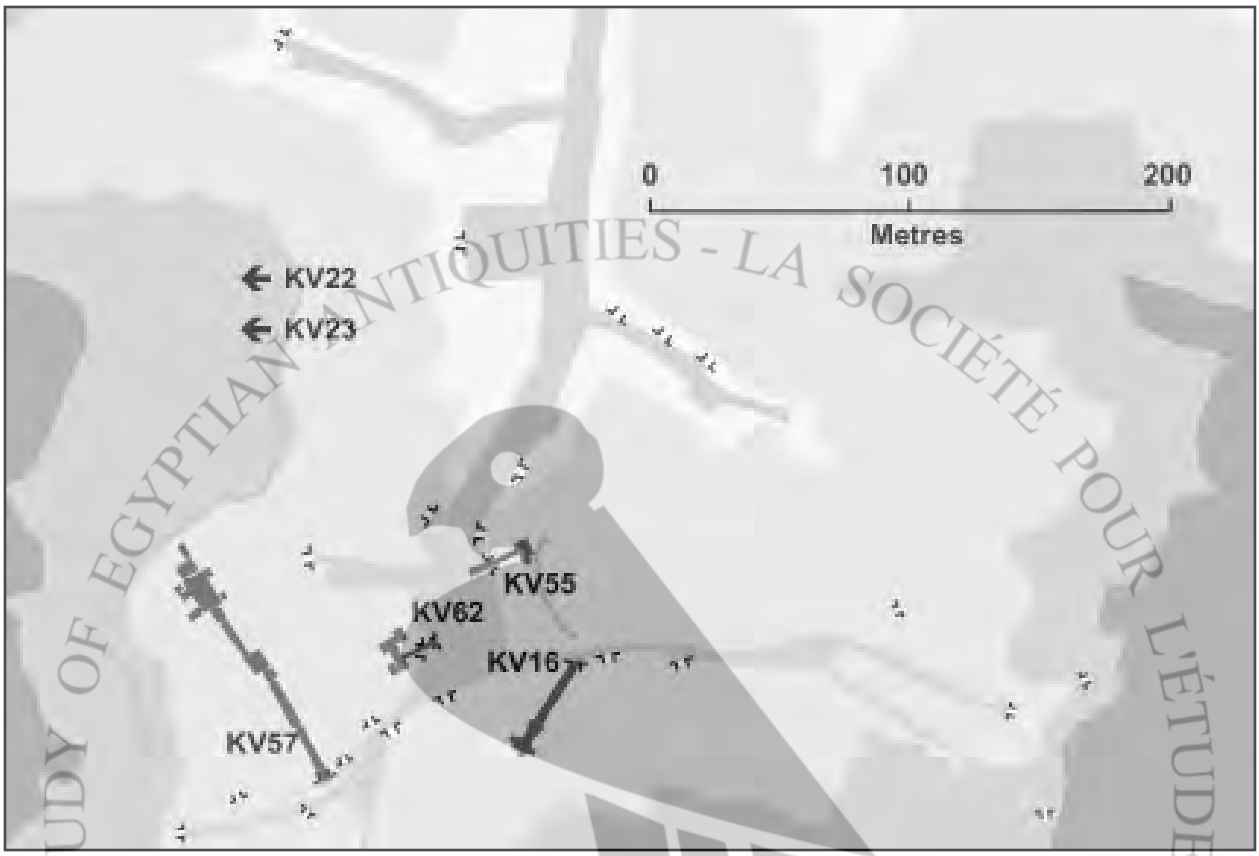

Figure 1. The Valley of the Kings.

able to join with the gods as a divine being.

In addition to the tomb being seen as a journey to the divine, the tomb itself, like royal and elite tombs from as early as the Old Kingdom,[4] exhibited cardinality, in which the 'virtual east' appears to have represented a link to the 'living world', whereas the 'virtual west' of the tomb lay in the world of the dead. In a number of royal tombs such as those of the post-Amarna New Kingdom, this cardinality had an influence on the themes and layout of the tomb decoration. In the discussion that follows, it is assumed that the 'ritual west' of the burial chamber is in the west (ie the realm of the dead) and 'east' is in the east (of the living world), whether these be real-world or virtual cardinalities. For each of the tombs under study, however, the accompanying illustrations incorporate a plan of the tomb, complete with an indication of 'true north' which shows that the geographical cardinal points of the compass may diverge from the ritual cardinality considerably. This suggests that the ritual world of the tomb may have formed its own microcosm, somewhat disconnected with 'real' geographical space, once the threshold of the tomb had been crossed.

Tomb Analysis

The following analysis will look at each of the tombs in the study in turn. Starting with that

4 James P. Allen, "Reading a Pyramid," in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, BdE 106 (Cairo: IFAO, 1994), 1:5-28.

of Amenophis III,[5] we see here the decoration from the Well chamber (from west to east) and the antechamber (from east to west) of the tomb (**Figure 2**). In the burial chamber itself, there are the texts of the Amduat, which is beyond the scope of this present paper and therefore will not be discussed in detail here.

In both the well chamber and the antechamber, Amenophis meets a series of gods in turn, with the implication that this is a journey to the afterlife. Amenophis enters from the 'east', heading in a westerly direction. The various gods encountered have a function related to the sky (Nut), the dead (Anubis, Osiris), or to the west (Hathor, Lady of the West). In addition to the main plan, showing the locations of each of these gods, and the key table in this and subsequent tomb plan illustrations, the plan of the whole of the tomb is given in inset, in order to locate the specific decorated sections within the greater tomb layout.

The 'journey' undertaken by Amenophis III to his Afterlife is clearly indicated when we consider the relative locations of each of the gods. The first divinities encountered by Amenophis, accompanied initially by the ka of his father, Tuthmosis IV, are Nut on the left wall and Hathor on the right. As Nut is a sky goddess,[6] could it be that Hathor here is appearing in her sky-role as a counterpart of Nut on the corridor wall opposite?[7] The divine encounters that subsequently follow on in the well chamber are matched on either wall. Anubis appears next, as officiate of the necropolis and guider of the deceased,[8] then leading Amenophis through to meet with the welcoming arms of the Lady of the West.[9] Finally, on the side walls, the most westerly of the gods encountered is Osiris, Lord of the West.[10] On the western-most wall of the chamber, the Lady of the West, Anubis and then Hathor are each encountered again, and here Hathor could well have fulfilled her role as goddess of the necropolis.

The antechamber of the tomb of Amenophis includes a similar sequence of encounters for Amenophis. Hathor, Nut, and the Lady of the West are each met in turn, followed by Anubis, then Hathor and culminating in the encounter with Osiris, before we enter the burial chamber with its depiction of the re-occurring cyclical text of the Amduat.

Skipping over the undecorated tomb of KV55, the next tomb, that of Tutankhamun, has an even more explicit encounter sequence.[11] Entering the only decorated room in the tomb, the burial chamber, from the 'ritual south', on our right hand we see the funeral scene in which the dead king in his coffin is dragged by the living attendants, from the world of the living in the east towards the necropolis, in a version of the Book of the Dead Spell 1.[12] Turning the corner, onto the northern wall of the burial chamber,

5 Bertha Porter & Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, I.2 Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1964), 549-550.

6 Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 160-161.

7 Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 140.

8 George Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London: Routledge, 2005), 27-28.

9 Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 143.

10 Hart, *Dictionary*, 116.

11 Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, 570-571.

12 The vignette of Book of the Dead Spell 1 regularly shows the mummy of the deceased upon a bier being drawn towards the tomb by a priest. The vignette then continues, showing elements of the tomb-side funeral, including the honouring of the deceased by the sem-priest; Raymond Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. C. Andrews (London: British Museum Press, 1972), 24-25. Elements of this vignette are included on the eastern and part of the northern wall of KV62.

Abbrev.	Divinity
K	Amenophis III
An	Anubis
Ha	Hathor
Nu	Nut
Os	Osiris
Tu	Tuthmosis (ka)
WH	Western Goddess

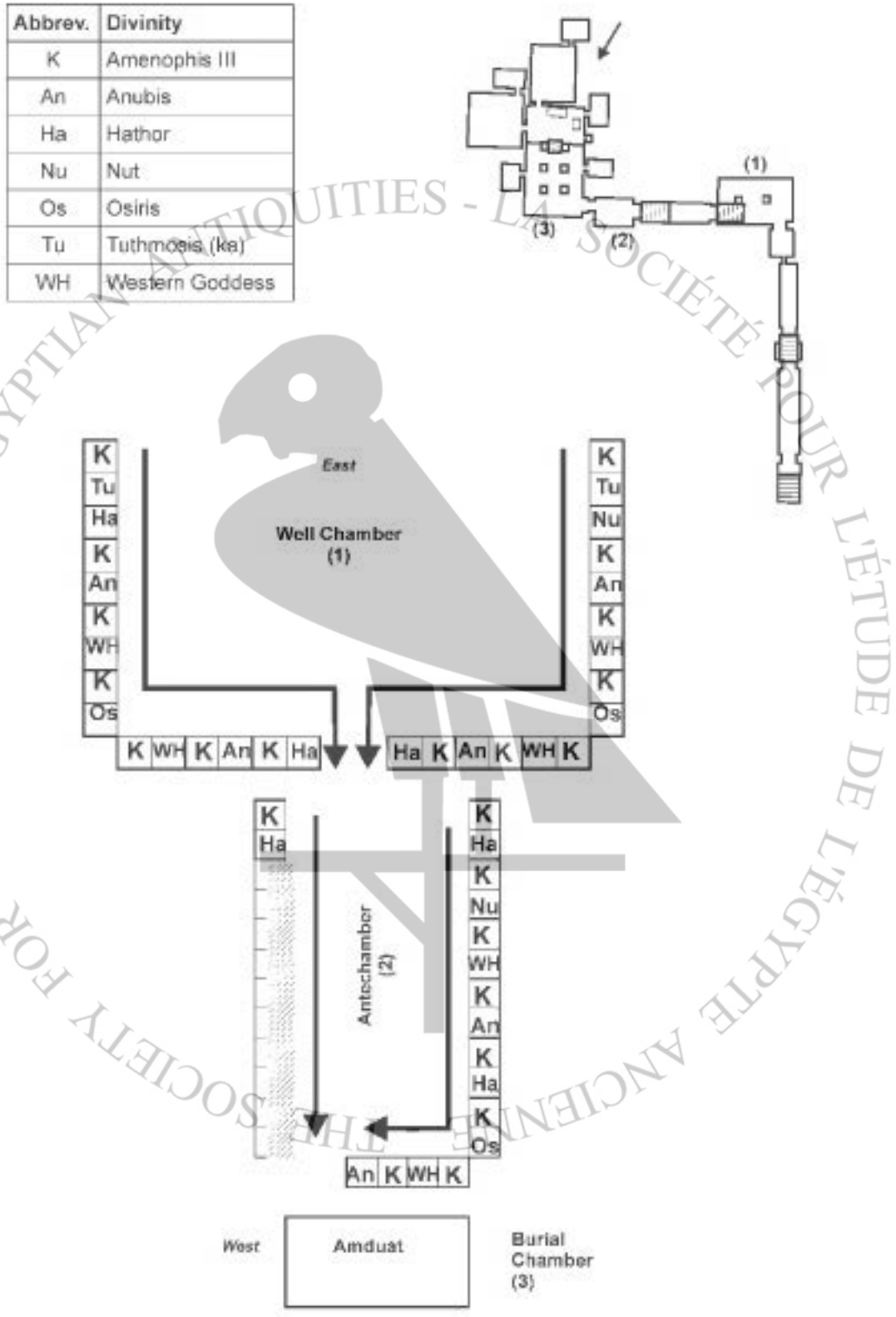

Figure 2. Decoration of KV 22, the tomb of Amenophis III.

there are three encounters between Tutankhamun and others. The first shows the succeeding king, Ay, on the eastern, living side of the scene, in the 'Opening of the Mouth ritual' with the mummy of Tutankhamun, here a 'great god'.[13] The next scene shows a revivified Tutankhamun, having been 'given life', meeting Nut, the lady of the sky. The goddess greets the dead king with arms held out and offering waters of *nini* as evidenced by the hieroglyphic symbols on her outstretched palms, before Tutankhamun heads ever westwards, with his ka, to meet Osiris, and finally crosses into Hour 1 of the Amduat, on the western-most wall of the burial chamber. This initial phase to the Amduat is indicated by the twelve baboons, regarded as 'those who open the doors for the Great Soul', the solar barque of the Khepri scarab, and the five standing deities named as *Maa*, *Nebt.uba*, *Heru*, *Ka.shu* and *Nehes*,[14] normally associated with another solar barque depicted in this hour. Thus we appear to progress from the world of the living in the east, first through a ritual of rebirth, and thence, via a skyward trajectory, to be met at the threshold of the afterlife by Osiris, Lord of the West. Having met Osiris, Tutankhamun's journey continues as he then joins with the immortals in the west-located afterlife.

Diagrammatically, we can see this journey laid out on the north wall of the burial chamber. Also of interest in KV62 is the southern wall of the chamber, which exhibits a similar journey into the afterlife, with Tutankhamun meeting first three 'Great Gods, Lords of the Duat',[15] followed by Isis. Like Nut on the opposite wall, Isis holds in her hands symbols of water, in a pose of greeting and offering *nini*. Tutankhamun is then led by Anubis, who again appears to act as a guide to the afterlife for the deceased, perhaps (as was his appearance in KV22, above), to the Lady of the West (**Figure 3**). Clearly this is also a progression from the 'living' entrance of the burial chamber towards the Duat in the west. The intact tomb of Tutankhamun also contained the nest of golden shrines surrounding his stone sarcophagus and coffins, of which the second shrine outwards from the sarcophagus (Cairo Museum, no. 1320) is perhaps the most interesting, for that incorporated a number of images and spells from the Book of the Dead, including some of the gateway images from Chapters 141 and 144, and sections from the Book of Gates and Hours 2 and 6 of the Amduat.[16]

KV23, the tomb of Tutankhamun's successor, Ay, was located in the Western Valley, close to the tomb of Amenophis III. Although it appears to have had a more conventional architectural layout than that of KV62, consisting of a burial chamber at the end of a series of longer, sloping corridors and (apparently unfinished) well-chamber, the only section that was decorated was that of the burial chamber. This room had some decoration similar in style to that of Tutankhamun's.[17] The baboons, divinities and barque of the Amduat's Hour 1 that greet the king at the entrance to the afterlife appear in the west, as in KV62, though the baboons appear arranged in a slightly different sequence. The living world funeral scene in the east, however, is replaced with images of a solar barque and the goddess

13 Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut.Ankh.Amun, II* (London: Cassell, 1927), 28.

14 Carter, *Tut.Ankh.Amun*, 29.

15 Carter, *Tut.Ankh.Amun*, 29.

16 Alexandre Piankoff & N. Rambova (eds.), *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-amon*, Bollingen 40/2 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1955): 93.

17 Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, 550-551; Nicholas Reeves & Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), 129.

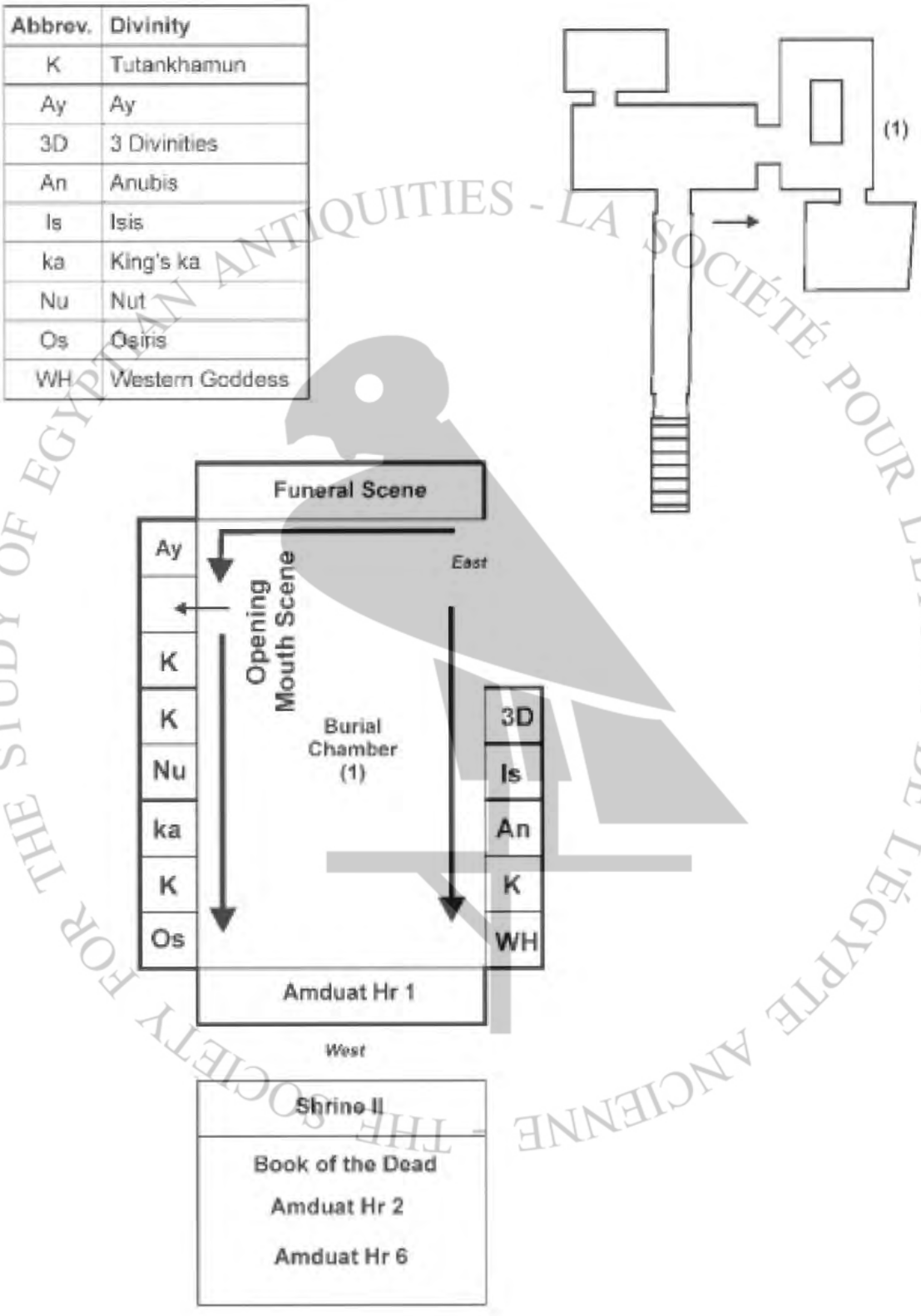

Figure 3: Decoration of KV 62, Tutankhamun's Tomb.

Nephthys who appears to have left this barque, followed by an image of the Day Barque.[18] Beneath these images were written the texts of Chapter 130 and part of Chapter 144 from the Book of the Dead, which are to be found also on the third of Tutankhamun's golden shrines in KV62 (Cairo Museum, no 1321).[19] Chapter 130 indicates within its rubric that it should be said over an image of the barque of Re, and further refers to drawings of a night barque and day barque placed to the left and right of Re's vessel.[20] The third shrine of Tutankhamun appears to show the night barque and day barque placed to the left and right of the solar 'Barque of Millions', although their relative positions, Piankoff has noted, are incorrectly assigned.[21]

Opposite the entrance to the burial chamber, a doorway-niche is surmounted by an image of the four sons of Horus, and then the divine sequence begins.

Meeting first the two sky goddesses, Hathor and then Nut, Ay and his ka encounter Hathor, Lady of the West. Finally, Ay meets with the Lord of the Underworld, Osiris-Wennefer before reaching the Amduat in the 'west'. On the opposite side of the chamber, on the 'northern' wall, a marsh hunt is depicted, rather than divine encounters. This might depict another, perhaps non-pharaonic, tradition incorporated into the tomb decoration (**Figure 4**) although Reeves and Wilkinson have suggested that this might parallel an image of hunting from the little golden shrine of Tutankhamun and statuettes found in KV62 of the king hunting.[22]

Ay's tomb was built close to that of Amenophis III and a tomb possibly begun for Akhenaten in the Western Valley. It was decorated in a style similar to that of Tutankhamun's, which might lead one to speculate that there was a plan to locate later 18th Dynasty tombs away from the main valley necropolis from the reign of Amenophis III. Ay's successor, Horemheb, returned to the central part of the main valley, however, in cutting his tomb, KV57. As well as returning to the central area of the main valley, however, Horemheb's tomb is marked by a change in style of the decoration of the tomb, suggesting a different generation of tomb painters now at work in the valley. The walls with decorated reliefs are given a blue-grey background, and the multi-coloured hieroglyphs carved and painted in a highly skilled fashion that make them stand out. In addition, the tomb is bigger than either of its two predecessors, and also has more space on the walls that is given over to decoration. Again, we return to images of gods of the hereafter, sky and the west depicted as greeting the king in the well chamber and antechamber, as well as reliefs in the burial chamber itself (**Figure 5**). The well chamber sees Horemheb first meeting Harsiesis and Isis before moving on to encountering Hathor, Lady of the West and then Osiris-Wennefer. A group of Horus, Anubis and Osiris then steer Horemheb along the back wall through the entrance to the next room.

In the well chamber, Harsiesis, as son and heir of Isis and Osiris, may be a perfect escort of the dead king as he progresses into the inner depths of the tomb and its burial chamber. Equally, of course, we may have a trinity of Isis, with the dead Horemheb playing the role of Osiris, and their son Harsiesis.[23] Hathor here personifies

18 H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991): 153-154.

19 Piankoff & Rambova, *Shrines*, 108-113.

20 Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 120.

21 Piankoff & Rambova, *Shrines*, 109, n. 31.

22 Reeves & Wilkinson, *Complete Valley of the Kings*, 129.

23 Hart, *Dictionary*, 71-72.

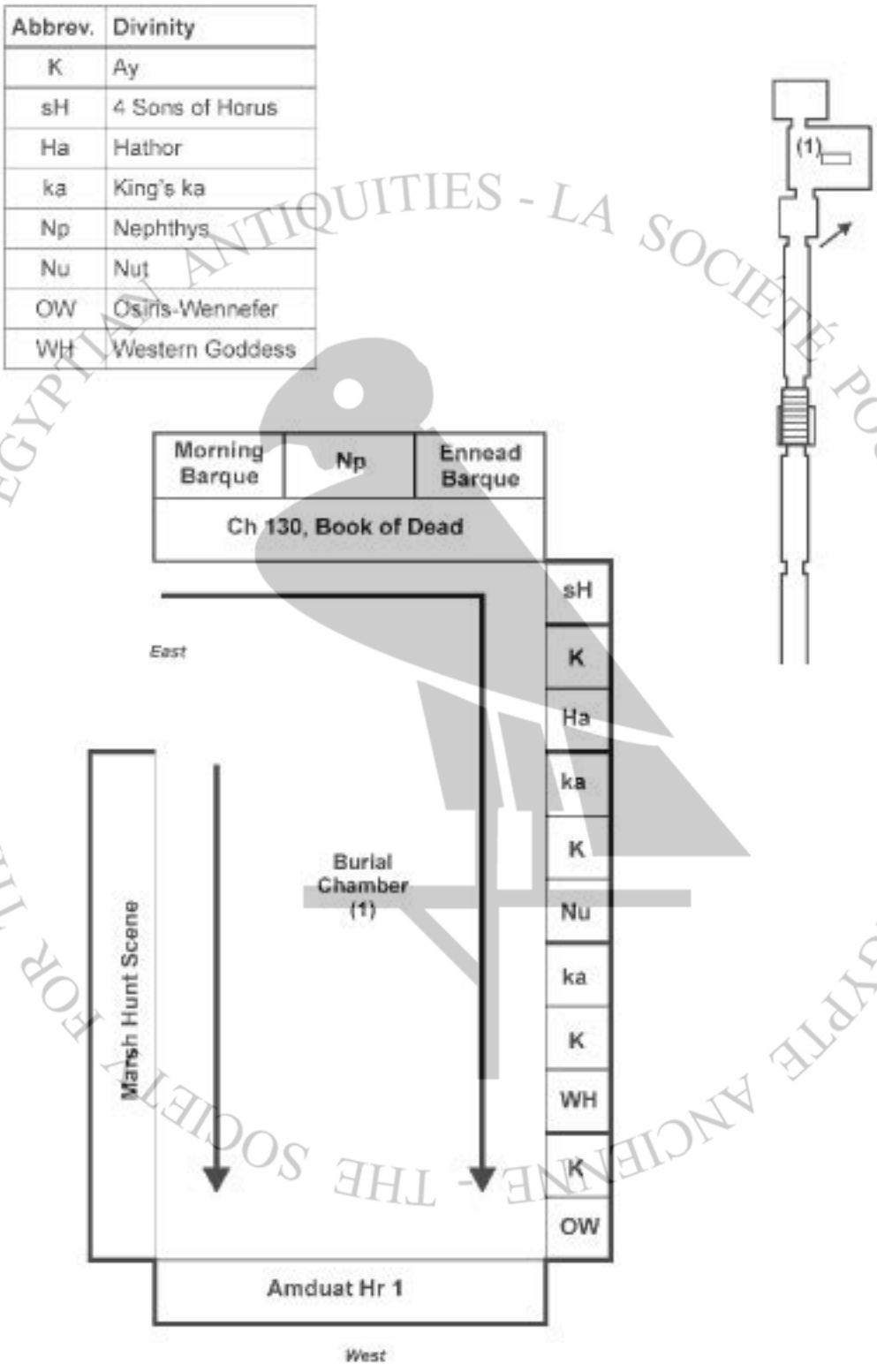

Figure 4. Decoration of KV 23, the Tomb of Ay.

the west, before Horemheb encounters the god Wennefer Osiris. Anubis again leads the king further westwards to Osiris and the exit from the well chamber.

In the antechamber, the sequences of gods are slightly different, though we see the same gods playing their parts in guiding and welcoming Horemheb into their ranks. In addition to the images of gods, however, this chamber and the burial chamber beyond contain a number of further items of note that appear to be innovations different from those earlier tombs of the 18th Dynasty so far encountered. Firstly, we see the use of the Book of Gates instead of the Amduat as a key text within the burial chamber.[24] It has been said that this text might well have a post-Amarna origin, since it first appears here in the tomb of Horemheb, before gaining popularity during the Ramesside Period.[25] Although similar to the Amduat in that it divides the nightly journey of the sun god into twelve hours, the text shows the king accompanying the sun god in his barque. The Book of Gates also shows the judgement hall of Osiris, and it is the first time that the pharaoh appears to be being held accountable within his tomb during the New Kingdom.

Returning to the tomb's antechamber, we see another set of motifs so far unused within the king's tomb's decorative schema during the New Kingdom. In the corners of the western wall of the antechamber, Horemheb encounters the symbolic images of the *djed* pillar (in the southwest) and the Isis knot, or *tyet*, (in the northwest). The representation of the *djed* pillar symbolically depicted a form of Osiris and in the device of the *djed* we might perhaps be seeing a form of Osiris in the west of the antechamber, close to the entrance to the burial chamber.[26] The wife of Osiris was Isis, who was associated symbolically with the *tyet* knot, and it may be a symbolic pairing of this god-goddess couple that the artists of the tomb were trying to depict in these particular images.

Later Ptolemaic Books of the Dead made invocations to the west, where the deceased invoked the spirit of Osiris-Khentiament as a *djed* pillar.[27] Spell 151 of the Book of the Dead, which depicted an idealised plan of the burial chamber of a tomb within a vignette, refers to the placing of a *djed* amulet to the west of the mummy.[28] Although Spells 155 and 156 as a significant spell pairing in the Book of the Dead refer to the use of a *djed* amulet and Isis knot amulet of appropriate materials being placed upon the mummy of the deceased,[29] they have more of a role of directly associated amuletic protection for the deceased than either the tomb paintings from KV57 or the magic brick in Spell 151, so we might well consider that in Horemheb's tomb, at least, the *djed* and *tyet* reliefs, being part of the tomb's decorative scheme, may have played a more locationally significant role.

The shorter reign of Horemheb's successor, Ramesses I, is undoubtedly reflected in the smaller size of his tomb, KV16. This tomb lies close to the central part of the Valley of the Kings, located between the tombs of Tutankha-

24 Reeves & Wilkinson, *Complete Valley of the Kings*, 37.

25 Erik Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, trans. David Lorton (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1999), 55-56.

26 Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 121.

27 Burkhard Backes, *Drei Totenpapyri aus einer thebanischen Werkstatt der Spätzeit (pBerlin P. 3158, pAberdeen ABDUA 84023, pBerlin, P. 3159)*, HAT 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009): 45-46.

28 Ann Macy Roth & Catharine H. Roehrig, "Magical Bricks and the Bricks of Birth," *JEA* 88 (2002): 121-139.

29 Rita Lucarelli, *The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2006), 138.

Abbrev.	Divinity	Abbrev.	Divinity
K	Horemheb	Os	Osiris
An	Anubis	OW	Wennefer-Osiris
Ho	Horus	Pt	Ptah
Hs	Harsiesis	WH	Western Goddess
Is	Isis	Dj	Djed Pillar
Ma	Ma'at	IK	Isis Knot
Nf	Nefertum	RA	Recumbent Anubis

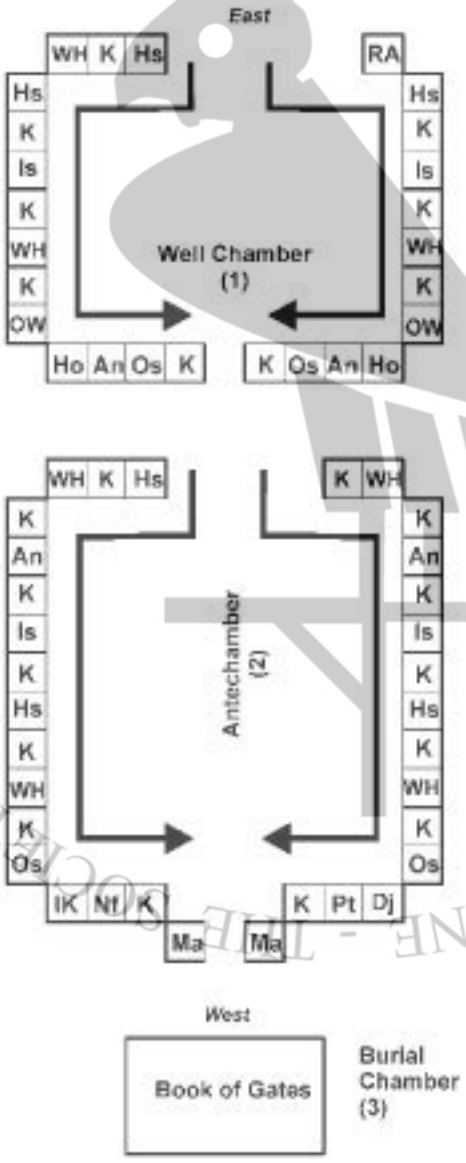

Figure 5. Decoration of KV 57, the Tomb of Horemheb.

mun and Horemheb, and situated close to KV55 and KV63. Decoration appears only in the burial chamber of Ramesses I's tomb, and here the same bright colour scheme and background grey-blue are used as in Horemheb's tomb, and it has been suggested that at least some of the same artists worked in both tombs.[30] Although the tomb decoration of KV16 is in the same style as that of his predecessor's tomb, perhaps due to the small size of the burial chamber, the decorative scheme is somewhat different to that of KV57 (**Figure 6**).

Much more emphasis is given over to extracts from afterlife texts of which the Book of the Gates seems to be the most significant. There are few encounters with divinities, however, with the only gods encountered on the way 'into' the only decorated section, the burial chamber, being Harsiesis and Anubis. The door jambs are guarded by Maat goddesses. The sequences of divinities that appeared on the western wall of Horemheb's antechamber, the *djed* pillar and Isis knot, Ptah and Nefertum, are now shifted to the rear, eastern wall of Ramesses' burial chamber.

On the far western wall there are images of the king amongst the souls of Nekhen and Pe, in the south-western corner and on the north western end, the king encounters the divinities Neith, Atum, and Harsiesis before meeting the central divine pair of Osiris to the north and Khepri to the south.

The decorative themes on the northern and southern walls of the burial chamber consist of images and texts from the Book of Gates, with Hour 2 appearing on the right-hand, 'northern' side, opposite which are images and texts from Hour 3.[31] Both these walls incorporate illustrations of barques in which the sun god is conveyed towards a variety of netherworld inhabitants, and also images of other groups of inhabitants that reside in these sections of the afterlife. These residents include a number of enemies of Osiris, amongst which the tortuously convoluted snake-god of chaos, Apophis, in Hour 2 and the serpent Hereret confined by the twelve goddesses of the hours, in Hour 3, are prominent.[32]

Clearly the decoration in the burial chamber of Ramesses' tomb is shared between images of the gods whom he expected to encounter either on the way to the afterlife or who would be present on his arrival, and also ritual texts depicting the mysteries of the afterlife here for Ramesses. This may be due to Ramesses' non-royal origins or for other reasons. The decorative elements common to both Ramesses' tomb and that of his predecessor are placed at the entrance to the burial chamber of KV16 (relocated in comparison to KV57 where they are at the western end of the antechamber), and the remaining three walls of the burial chamber are used mainly for descriptions of the netherworld based on the Book of Gates.

The nearby tomb of Tutankhamun contained a mass of ritual objects and the nest of four golden shrines within the virtually intact burial chamber. These objects, and especially the shrines, added significantly to the decorative material and space available for depictions of scenes of the afterlife and other divine themes. We also have traces of a golden shrine for Queen Tiye in the enigmatic tomb of KV55, and the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV depicts a number of golden rectangles drawn around the royal sarcophagus, which might indicate the presence of four golden shrines not unlike those in

30 Reeves & Wilkinson, *Complete Valley of the Kings*, 135.

31 Porter & Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, 534.

32 Alexandre Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Bollingen 40/1 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954), 152-154; 160-162.

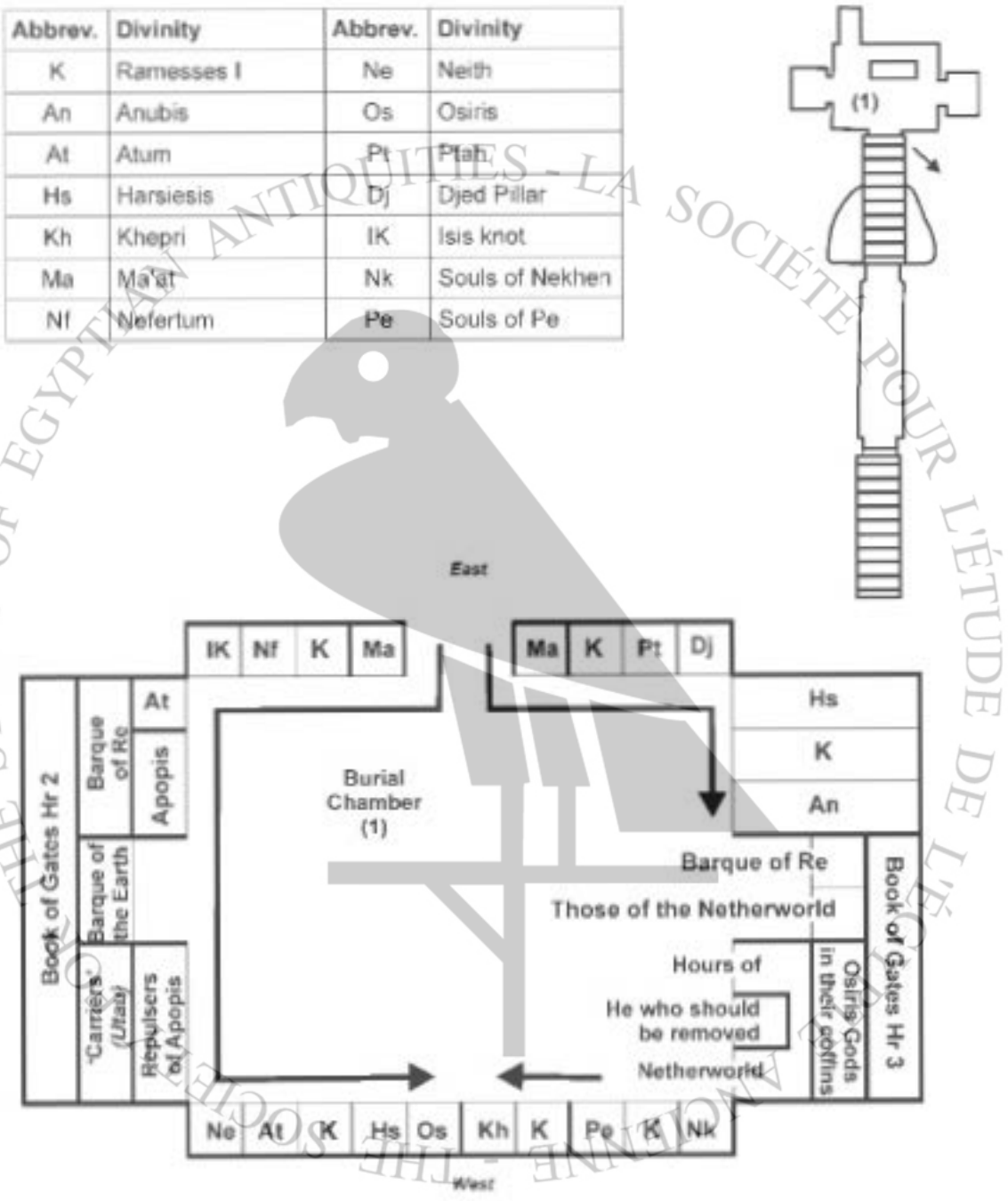

Figure 6: Decoration of KV 16, the Tomb of Ramesses I.

KV62.[33] We may be correct to assume therefore that shrines possibly formed part of the decorative repertoire in a number of royal tombs, at least with the resumption of royal burials in the Valley of the Kings after the Amarna heresy, even though most of the tombs were emptied of their contents in antiquity and no other traces of golden shrines appear to have survived. In KV16, however, the overly large granite sarcophagus of Ramesses I, combined with the small size of the burial chamber, perhaps meant that Ramesses' tomb did not include any golden shrines. Thus with a limited potential decorative space available, the builders of Ramesses' tomb only had use of the walls of the burial chamber for both depictions of divine encounters and the detailed scenes of the afterlife. This might therefore account for the limited inclusions of divine encounters, close to the entrance of the burial chamber, and the shifting of a number of those decorative elements common with Horemheb's tomb, to the eastern wall of the burial chamber.

Time and Place

The ancient Egyptians had conceptualised time into two formats. *Djet* represented the flow of linear time – typified by a mortal journey in which we are all born, we live and we die. Yet the cyclical time of *neheh*, of sunrise and sunset, the returning flood of the Nile and of the turning of the year, was also a significant and enduring temporal state well applicable to the afterlife.[34] Both states appear within the tomb of Tutankhamun, depicted as divine beings on the exterior of his outermost shrine.[35]

If the depiction of linear time could be understood as a journey, with a beginning, a route, and culminating in an end, then the tomb corridors leading westwards from the land of the living towards the afterlife in the larger tombs of Amenophis III and Horemheb are a perfect position for the encounters between the dead king on his way to the afterlife and various divinities, and accord well with the 'model' decorative programme of an 18th Dynasty Theban tomb where rites of passage were represented in the tomb's long corridor.[36] Furthermore, in these two royal tombs, the decoration on the walls of the burial chamber is devoted to depictions of aspects of *neheh*, with the inclusion of the Amduat in KV22 and the Book of Gates in KV57, both of which represent aspects of the recurring trials of the sun god as he travels through the hours of the night, each night, every night.

The smaller tombs in this study incorporate both linear and a subset of circular time in their decorative schemata upon the walls of their burial chambers. These tombs perhaps had fewer corridors or chambers deemed suitable for decorating with such linear reliefs. In the case of KV62, Tutankhamun's shrines include images of the divinities associated with both time scales, as well as aspects of both the journey to the afterlife (gateways, solar barques, etc.) and the landscapes of a recurrent afterlife (selections from the Amduat), and it is perhaps possible that any other royal tomb containing such shrines might well have included such images and themes on their shrine panels (**Figure 7**).

The Route to the Afterlife

If we can argue, as did the anthropologist Edmund Leach, that 'ritual occasions are concerned with movements… from one social sta-

33 Martha R. Bell, "An Armchair Excavation of KV55," *JARCE* 27 (1990): 97-137; Carter & Gardiner, *Tomb Plan*, 133.

34 Jan Assman, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithica & London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 371.

35 Piankoff, *Shrines*, 143-144, fig. 47.

36 Assman, *Death & Salvation*, 194.

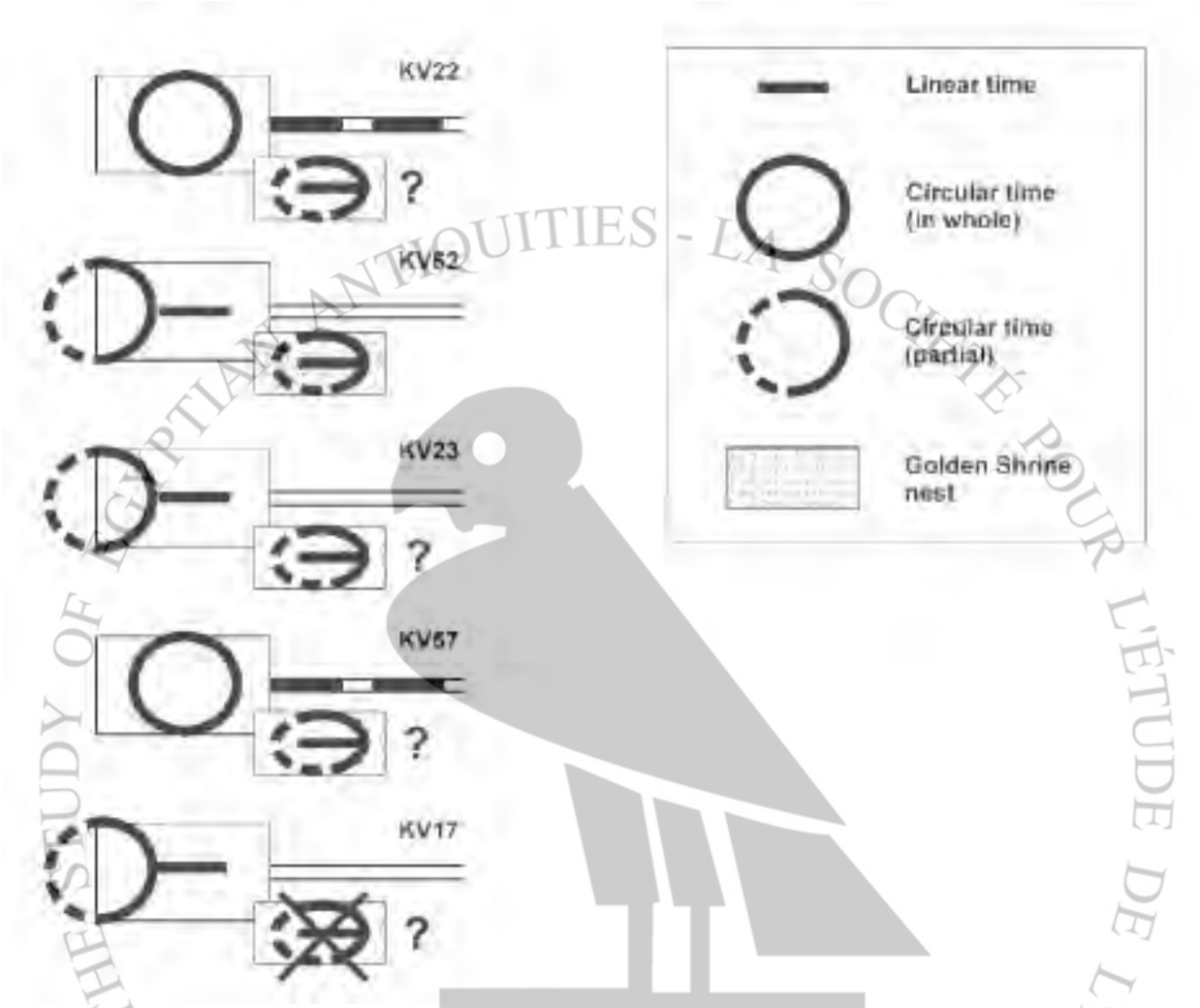

Figure 7. Models of time.

tus to another', then the crossing from the living world to the world of the dead, and its associated ritual activity of funeral and interment is typical of such a set of movements.[37] Leach proposed a model to explain the three different phases of such rites of passage (**Figure 8**). He suggested that such 'journeys' commence when the initiate is separated from his or her initial role, representing a way of 'removing' the initiate from 'normal' existence and placing them in 'abnormal time' (a 'rite of separation'). Leach's second stage is a period of 'social timelessness' in which the initiate is kept apart from others, and is said to be in a dangerous and sacred state. The third and final stage of Leach's model represents the period when the initiate is brought back into normality (through a 'rite of aggregation'). Leach recognised that many societies saw that death could represent the journey through some sort of gateway through to a future life.[38]

37 Edmund R. Leach, *Culture and Communication: the logic by which symbols are connected* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1976): 77.

38 Leach, *Culture and Communication*, 78.

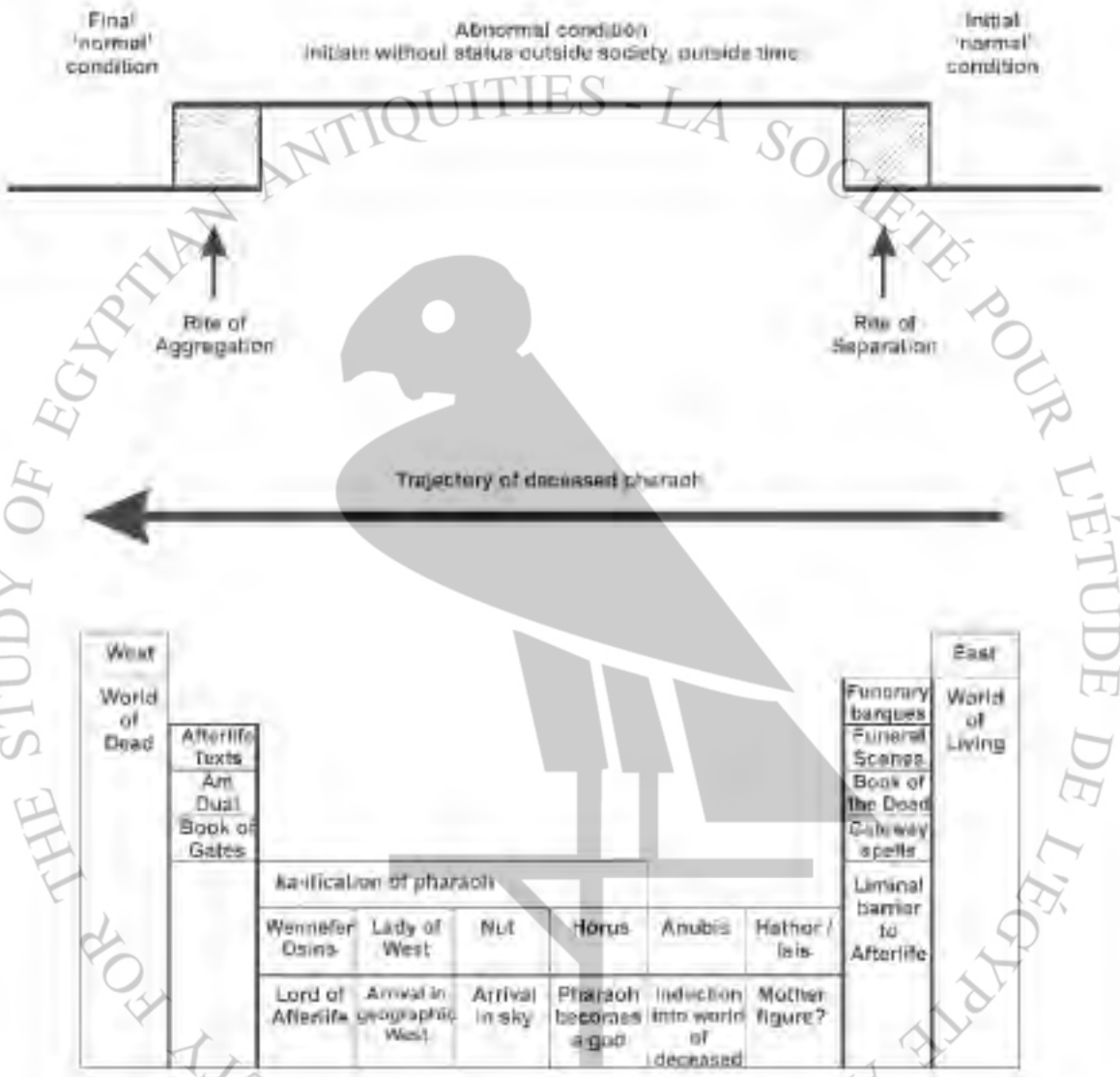

Figure 8. Divine Encounters

Leach's model can be applied easily to the journey from the living world to the afterlife of the pharaohs in the tombs that are the subject of this paper (**Figure 8**). Thus, as the dead king travels on his journey to the afterlife, he is first separated from the living in the east by crossing through portals, guarded, in the case of Tutankhamun's golden shrines, with demonic forces and the spells of Chapters 144 - 147 of the Book of the Dead (which, of course, are not exclusive to the pharaoh, but form part of the repertoire of many burials from the New Kingdom). Fu-

nerary scenes and barques carrying divinities help transfer the pharaoh on his way and complete his isolation from mortality so that he is now ready to enter a second stage of his journey.

In the tombs, this stage is marked by the divine encounters between pharaoh and gods. The vulnerable pharaoh is passed between divinities, who each appear to fulfil a specialised purpose or role on the journey. Thus Hathor and Isis, as 'mother' goddesses, greet the pharaoh on his entry into this stage of his journey. Anubis leads the pharaoh into the necropolis, fulfilling perhaps both his role as 'Lord of the Sacred Necropolis' and also as that god who calls the deceased pharaoh to join with the rest of the gods in their place in the sky.[39] As the pharaoh begins to be assimilated amongst the gods, his spirit begins to be split out into its individual parts with the *akh* and *ka* appearing in the tomb's reliefs. The pharaoh encounters Horus, son of Osiris, and his entry into the realm of the gods in the sky appears as Nut meets with the pharaoh. As the pharaoh approaches the end of his journey and is close to assimilation with the divine, he meets the divinities of the west, the Lady of the West, Osiris and Wennefer. His journey now almost complete, the pharaoh returns to a steady 'normal' state, crossing the threshold into the afterlife proper and this third stage of his journey is depicted in the burial chamber by the use of the cyclical texts of the Amduat and the Book of Gates.

The earliest references we have in the ancient Egyptian texts to a journey to the afterlife for the pharaoh occur in the Pyramid Texts. Amongst the many and varied formulae and utterances that create a network of closely related themes and ideas, we can discern that this journey represented a dangerous stage for the deceased. Thus the gods watch over the pharaoh as he passes:

> O Thoth, hasten and see whether the father is passing, *for it is dangerous to him*.[40]

Yet the gods greet the dead king into their number, as he joins them in the sky and becomes one of them:

> How lovely to see! How pleasing to behold!' say they, namely the gods, when this god ascends to the sky.[41]

and:

> I bring to you the gods who are in the sky, I assemble for you the gods who are on earth, that you may be with them and walk arm-in-arm with them.[42]

So the dangers of the journey into the afterlife for the dead king, as witnessed within the Pyramid Texts, appear to reflect the dangers of Leach's second stage, yet also show how this journey culminates with the gods accepting the deceased into their number, as 'normality' resumes, albeit with the pharaoh now transformed into a divine being.

If it is possible to apply an anthropological model of rites of passage to the journey to the afterlife, is it possible to attempt to model and locate this journey in the metaphysical world of the ancient Egyptian beliefs (**Figure 9**)? We can understand how the 'mortal' remains of pharaoh are transferred from the world of the living, via the processes of mummification, to

39 Pyramid Text Utterance 437.
40 Author's italics: Pyramid Text Utterance 542; Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 40-41.
41 Pyramid Text Utterance, 306.
42 Pyramid Text Utterance, 474.

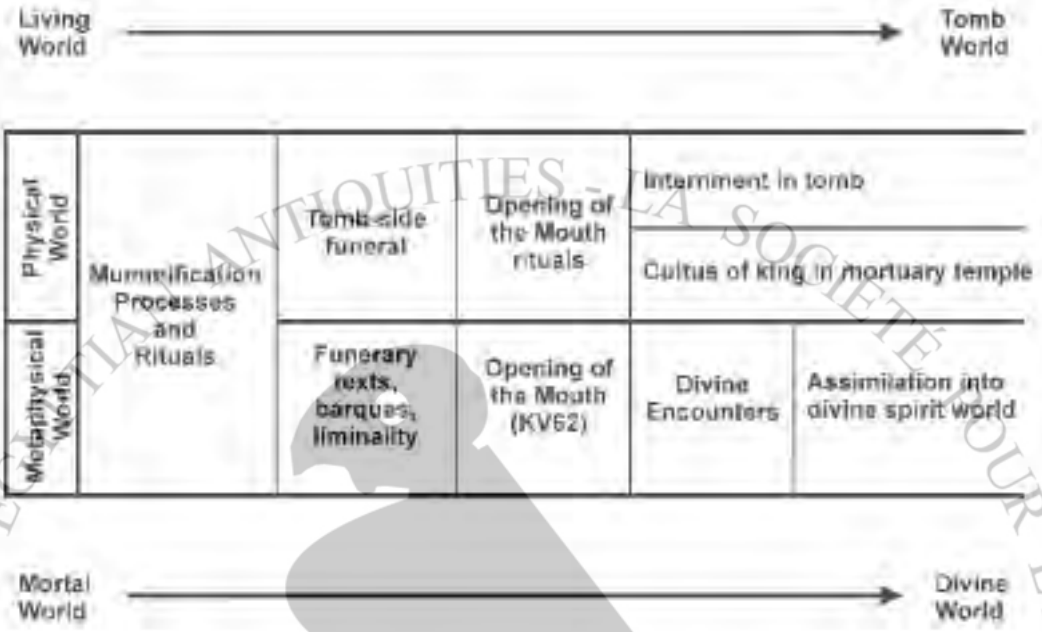

Figure 9. Post-mortem Trajectories.

the world of the tomb. The body of the deceased pharaoh is prepared for the afterlife and interment through mummification and ritual. According to the reliefs in KV62, we can speculate that the mummy would have been prepared for the funeral and taken to the necropolis before the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. The Coffin Texts show that other funerary rites could take place at the tomb side before the deceased was shut away for eternity within the tomb.[43] After the dead king is interred within his tomb, the celebration of his *cultus* takes place *post-mortem* in his mortuary temple.[44]

At the metaphysical level depicted in tomb reliefs, however, we can see how the now-dead king would have used the images upon the tomb walls and the objects buried within him in order to prepare for his journey. Shrines and reliefs would have given him knowledge of the afterlife spells that he would require, and shown depictions of guarded portals and landscapes that he was expected to traverse as he approached an eternal existence amongst the gods. Having begun his journey, he would have approached and been accompanied by a number of divinities, who would have guided him ever further to his goal of eternity in the west, at which point he would have become assimilated into the divine.

Conclusion

Although it has been noted that no two tombs in the Valley of the Kings are exactly alike, and

43 Coffin Text Spell, 60.

44 Gerhard Haeny, "New Kingdom 'Mortuary Temples' and 'Mansions of Millions of Years,'" in *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (London: I B Tauris, 1998), 86-126.

many contain unique features,[45] nonetheless there do appear to be certain commonalities of design and of decoration between many of the kings' tombs in the royal necropolis. The ways in which the royal tombs in this study have depicted the dead pharaoh's journey to the afterlife all seem to take a similar format, of divine encounters in which specific divinities occur at particular moments of the journey and indicating at which point in time each divinity imparts his or her own significance and characteristics to the encounter.

The journey the dead king took can be envisioned as a component of the afterlife controlled by linear time, and in those tombs that have the space, this is depicted upon the walls of the corridors and chambers outside the main burial chamber. Having reached his destination amongst the gods however, the form of time that the king experienced shifted to a cyclical vision of a continuing afterlife. Here, texts reflecting the recurring events of a divine eternity are depicted. This decoration is found exclusively within the burial chamber, reflecting, no doubt, the final resting place of the now-divine king within a desired eternal existence.

The smaller tombs in this study combine both the events of the linear and cyclical afterlives together within the burial chamber. The near-intact tomb of Tutankhamun, however, contained a series of golden shrines, which were each covered with a number of images, texts and themes that appeared on later tomb wall reliefs. It is possible, therefore, that one of the functions of these golden shrines was to act as additional space available for the depiction of these other texts, which otherwise could not have been fitted into the space in the tomb available for decoration. Another purpose of the shrines could have been to augment those texts already included within the tomb's decorative schema.

In the past, studies of the content of reliefs in the royal tombs have tended to concentrate on those texts in the burial chamber, their meanings and place in architectural and artistic canons. This paper has shown, it is hoped, that the images of divine encounters outside of the cyclical afterlife landscape have a progression that implied a logical sequence of a journey into the afterlife in the minds of the tomb illustrators. Furthermore, this sequence follows a pattern well-documented in other anthropological studies that indicate a rite of passage from one state—in the case of the pharaohs that of the living king—via a state of vulnerability, into a final and never-ending state of divine blessedness that occurred after the death and internment of the king.

45 Reeves & Wilkinson, *Complete Valley of the Kings*, 25.

A Sixth Shabti Jar Belonging to Hori

Caroline M. Rocheleau[1]

Abstract:

From the virtually unpublished collection of Egyptian art at the North Carolina Museum of Art comes a New Kingdom shabti jar that is strikingly similar to four vessels at the Cleveland Museum of Art and a fifth from a private collection in Germany.

Résumé:

Dans la collection égyptienne virtuellement inconnue du North Carolina Museum of Art se trouve une urne à chaouabti datée du Nouvel Empire qui ressemble étrangement aux quatre de la collection du Cleveland Museum of Art et une cinquième dans une collection privée allemande.

Keywords:

Shabti jar, Hori, wab-priest, lector priest, North Carolina Museum of Art, Cleveland Museum of Art, Tübingen

Introduction

The Egyptian collection at the North Carolina Museum of Art owes its richness, perhaps even its actual existence, to the generosity of the Hanes family of Winston-Salem, NC. Although small, with only 40 artefacts, the collection offers great insight into ancient Egyptian funerary traditions and beliefs. Amongst the funerary objects donated by Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Hanes or acquired through the James G. Hanes Fund we note the coffins of Djed Mut and Amunred,[2] an almost life-size ka-statue[3] and, in contrast to these imposing artefacts, a small ceramic vessel that once held shabtis (**see Figure 1**).

Description

Fashioned from Nile silt clay, this wheel-thrown vessel displays a squat carinated body, a very short neck and a flat base. Below the rounded lip of the rim, along the inner circumference, can be seen a small ledge upon which a now-missing lid once rested. In terms of measurements, the vessel is 22.2 cm tall with its widest point at the carina (23.9 cm in diameter).

1 I wish to express my gratitude to GlaxoSmithKline for their generous support over the years, making possible my research on the Egyptian collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art. Additional thanks must go to Mr. Dave Smart, Cleveland Museum of Art, for providing photos of the Cleveland jars for my study, as well as Ms. Dana Bisping-Isermann and Dr Dietrich Wildung for their help in contacting the owner of the Tübingen jar, who in turn kindly provided photos and additional information. I am also grateful to Dr Jackie Jay and Dr Coralie Gradel for their kind help with this article.

2 For details about the Inner Coffin of Djed Mut (G.73.8.4) and the Coffin of Amunred (G.73.8.5), see Caroline M. Rocheleau and John H. Taylor, 'Introducing the Coffins of the North Carolina Museum of Art' (working paper, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, NC, 2010); Caroline M. Rocheleau, *Systematic Catalogue of Ancient Egyptian Art in the Collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art*, in preparation, and (for Djed Mut only) *Handbook of the Collections* (Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 2010), 36-37.

3 For Figure of a Man (G.79.6.3), see *Handbook*, 24-25.

Figure 1. Egyptian, New Kingdom, Shabti Jar Belonging to Hori, Dynasty 19-20, circa 1295-1069 B.C.E., Nile silt clay, white slip, and black paint, H. 22.2 cm (8 3/4 in.), Gift of the James G. Hanes Memorial Fund, North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh.

The base is 11 cm in diameter, while the mouth is 10.8 cm. The lip has a thickness of 0.6 cm and the ledge is 0.75 cm wide.

The vessel's interior shows the telltale swirl of clay at the bottom and the horizontal striations that indicate it was thrown on a potter's wheel. The fabric is fine-textured and contains an organic temper that burnt during firing, leaving small losses on the exterior surface.[4] Micaceous inclusions up to 0.15 cm have also been noted. While the upper portion of the vessel is smooth despite the various losses, the exterior surface is rough from the carina to the base. Marks made with a serrated tool accentuate the roughness of this surface.

A white slip was sloppily applied on the exterior surface, leaving certain areas uncovered; splashes and white fingerprints are visible inside the vessel. Using the carina of the vessel as a baseline, four seated deities were drawn in black. The figures, which represent the four sons of Horus, are paired on either side of a single column of painted hieroglyphs. Imsety and Duamutef are on the left of the inscription, facing right, while Qebehsenuef and Hapy sit on the opposite side, facing their brothers. Each figure is depicted using swift brushstrokes, which became progressively lighter as the paint drained from the brush. All four figures are simply outlined, with heads and bodies drawn separately with a few strokes. Duamutef is the sole figure whose face is painted solid black, a little dot of white used to create his eye.

Function

Whereas the presence of the four sons of Horus—the traditional canopic deities—misled earlier scholars into identifying ceramic vessels of this type as canopic jars, this jar's pristine interior, devoid of residual exudate resulting from the presence of mummified organs, suggests a different usage. As a matter of fact, similar ceramic vessels excavated at Abydos,[5] Sedment, al-Amrah and Gurob were found to be filled with shabtis.[6] These ceramic shabti jars were used in lieu of wooden boxes, an object type that became popular during the reign of Amenhotep III.[7] The vessels typically held between six and twelve pottery shabtis and were generally of poor craftsmanship.[8] In spite of the fact that the NCMA jar (then known simply as 'vase') was devoid of such figurines when it was acquired in 1973, it seems highly likely that this was its original purpose.

Dating

The vessels excavated at the above-mentioned cemeteries originated from tombs dated to the New Kingdom. It was during the Ramesside period—late in Dynasty 19 and throughout Dynasty 20—that it was popular to store shabtis in ceramic jars topped with lids shaped like the heads of the four sons of Horus.[9] Once identified as a shabti jar, the NCMA vessel—originally thought to date to the Late Period—was redated to Dynasty 19-20.

4 Holes are sub-angular to well-rounded, both of high and low sphericity.

5 E.R. Ayrton, C.T. Currelly, and A.E.P. Weigall, *Abydos III* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904), 51 and plate XXIII, no. 2 (jar and shabtis) as well as nos. 1 and 3 (shabtis only).

6 Hans D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1977), 265.

7 John D. Cooney, "Some Late Egyptian Antiquities," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (September 1975, no. 7): 231; John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 126.

8 Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 127.

9 Schneider, *Shabtis*, 265.

Inscription

The inscription, which is read vertically from right to left, starts immediately below the lip. The hieroglyphs can be read easily almost all the way down the column. The last sign, faint from the brush running out of paint, is now for all intents and purposes erased. The hieroglyphs read as follows: *ḏd mdw in wsir wʿb ḫry-ḥbt ḥri*, "Words to be spoken by the Osiris wab-priest and lector priest Hori". Although the last sign is illegible, the seated man determinative, indicating a male name, is most likely the sign that follows the reed leaf seen below the Horus bird.[10] There was no space allotted for the traditional *mɜʿ ḫrw* that normally follows the deceased's name.

Whereas larger shabtis were inscribed with the so-called shabti spell (Coffin Texts, spell 472 or Book of the Dead, spell 6), smaller ones often bore a simple introductory inscription—the *sḫḏ wsir*[11] or the *ḏd mdw*[12] formula followed by the owner's name and titles. The inscription painted on the NCMA jar is an example of the latter. In contrast, canopic jars, with which shabti jars have been confused, normally bear an offering formula or, like the NCMA's own canopic jar, the invocation of a canopic deity: "Words to be spoken by Nephthys: Unite your limbs about (he) who is in you, delimit your protection about Imsety who is in you; /// overseer of the double granaries of the Pharaoh, l.p.h. in Upper and Lower Egypt, Qeni, true of voice, master who is venerated."[13] The presence of an inscription related to the shabti spell on the front of the jar further supports this vessel's function as a container for such figurines.

Comparison

Until recently, the Egyptian collection at the NCMA remained mostly unpublished and therefore virtually unknown to the Egyptological community.[14] Although small, the collection presents several objects of scholarly interest, notably the shabti jar featured in the present article. While the well-preserved jar is of moderate interest in and of itself, the fact that it appears to be the sixth vessel in a set belonging to the same man is noteworthy.

Similar jars were published in the Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogue of Egyptian Art a little over ten years ago.[15] These four New Kingdom vessels, simply labelled "shawabty jars with lids," share several features and undoubtedly were part of a set (see **Figures 2-5**). In shape, all four have the same squat body, flat base and short neck. Two of the jars have their original lids, atop which rests a recumbent jackal, whereas the other vessels have simple disk-shaped covers that are likely modern.[16] As far

10 The name Hori is listed in H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I: Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt: Verlag von J.J. Augustin, 1935), 251/8.

11 Lawrence M. Berman and Kenneth J. Bohač. *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1999), 363; Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 115.

12 Berman and Bohač, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, 363.

13 For details about the Canopic Jar with the Head of Imsety (GL.57.14.73), see Rocheleau, *Systematic Catalogue*.

14 New acquisitions were generally featured in the *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* or the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, often accompanied by a small black and white photograph. Occasionally, an artefact seen in the *Bulletin* or the *Gazette* would be briefly mentioned in a book: for example, the above-mentioned Inner Coffin of Djed Mut in Richard A. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII-XXV*. Iconography of religions, fasc. 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 28 and plate XLVI no. 2. However, only two artefacts—Reliefs from the Tomb of Khnumti (72.2.1 and 72.2.2), which are the sides of a late Sixth Dynasty stela-chapel—were the actual subject of an Egyptological article: William Kelly Simpson, "Two Egyptian Bas Reliefs of the Late Old Kingdom," *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 9/3 (1972), 4-13.

15 Berman and Bohač. *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, 363-365.

16 Berman and Bohač, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, 363.

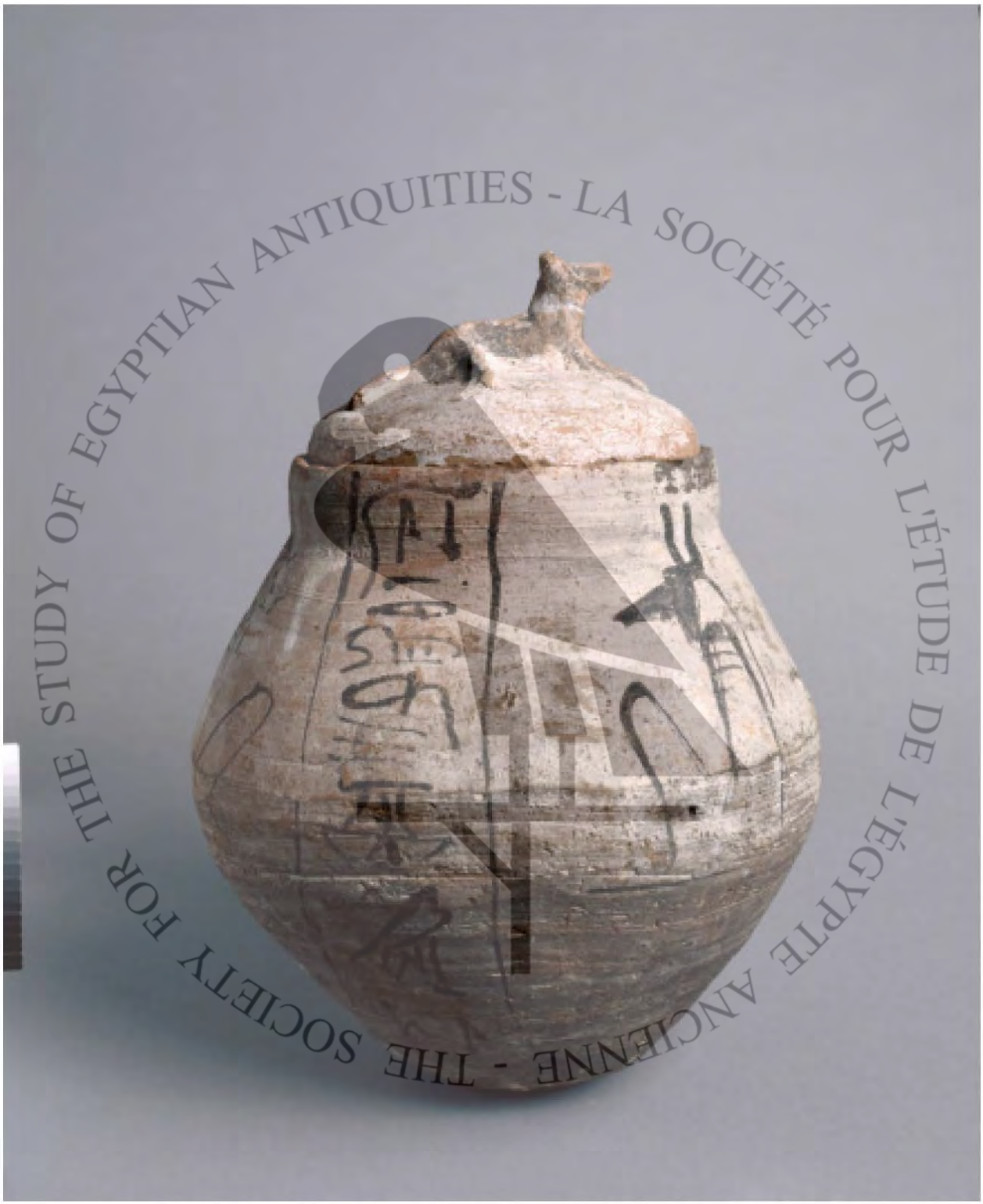

Figure 2. Shawabty Jar with Lid. Egypt, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19 (1295-1186 BC) - Dynasty 20 (1186-1069 BC). Nile silt ware, diameter 22.20 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1914.641.a, b.

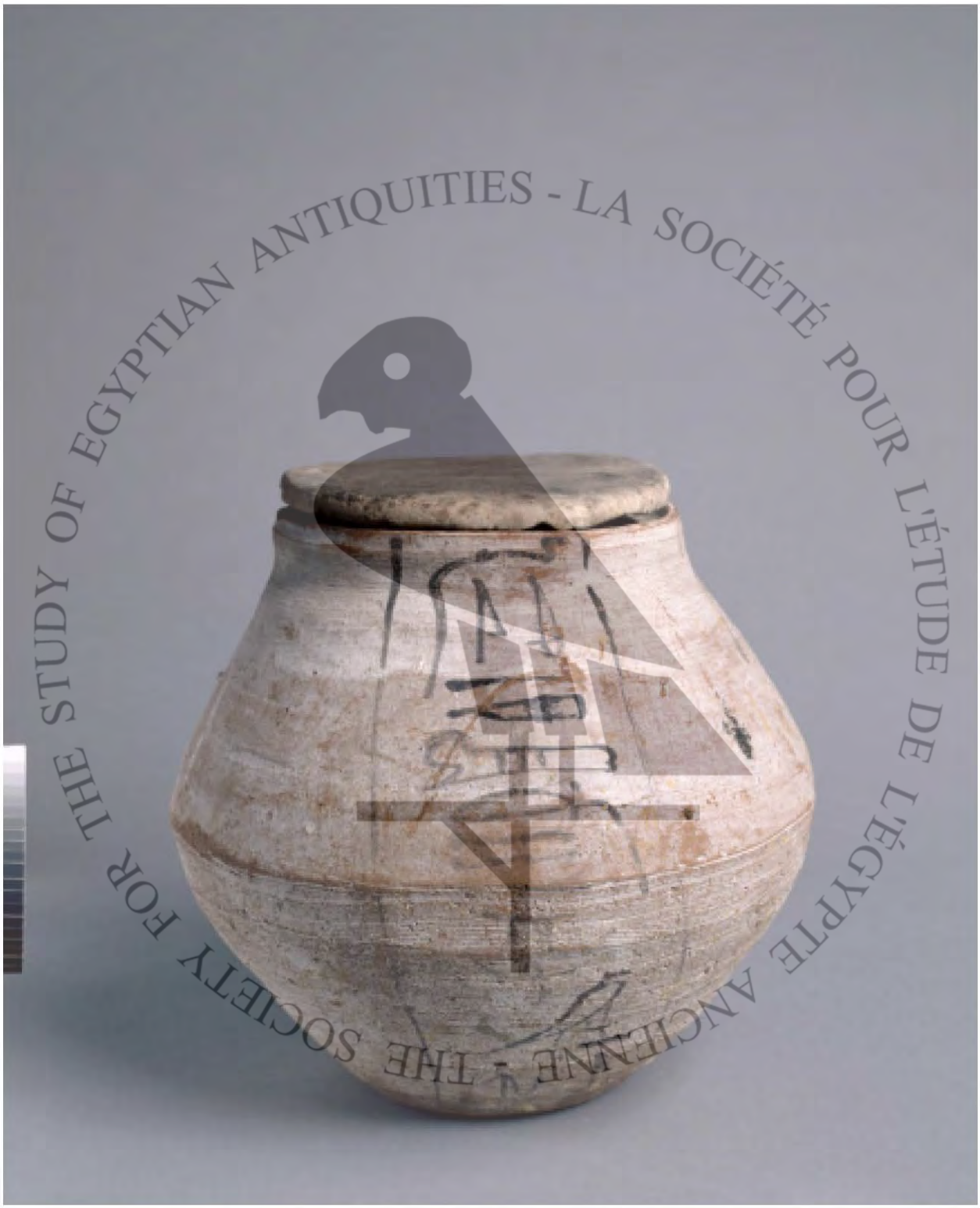

Figure 3. Shawabty Jar with Lid. Egypt, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19 (1295-1186 BC) - Dynasty 20 (1186-1069 BC). Nile silt ware, lid of limestone, diameter 23.50 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1914.642.a, b.

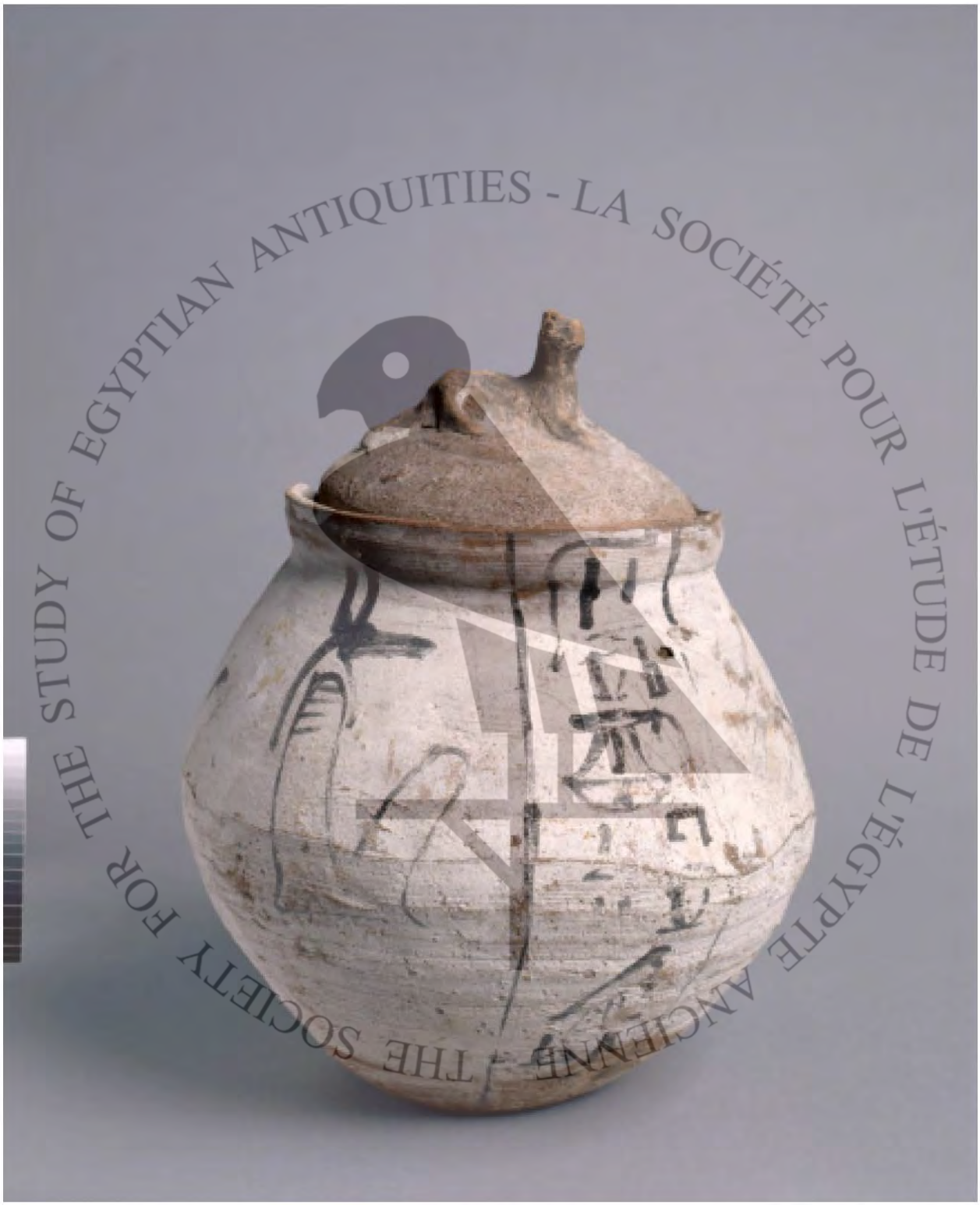

Figure 4. Shawabty Jar with Lid. Egypt, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19 (1295-1186 BC) - Dynasty 20 (1186-1069 BC). Nile silt ware, diameter 23.40 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1914.643.a, b.

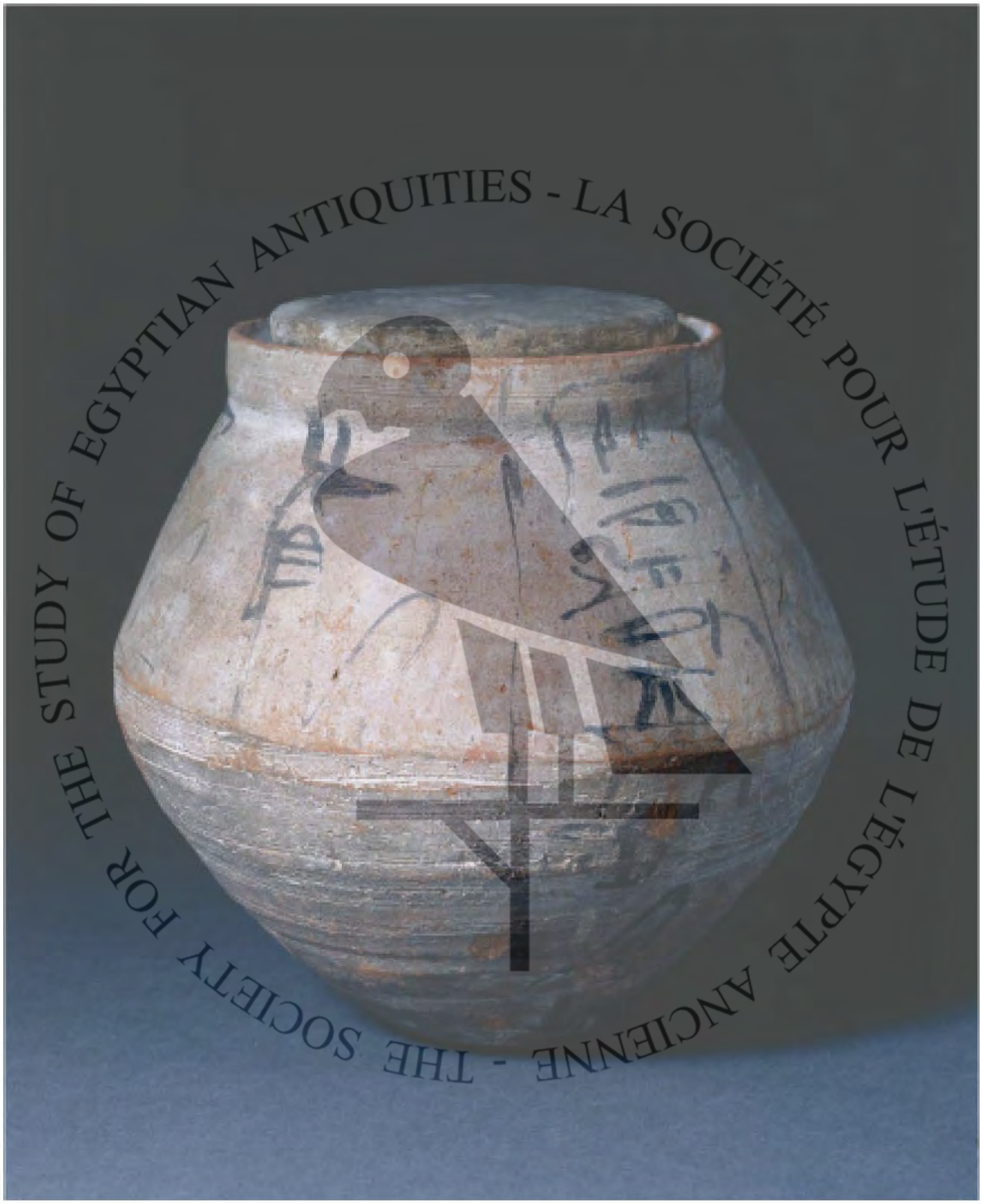

Figure 5. Shawabty Jar with Lid. Egypt, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19 (1295-1186 BC) - Dynasty 20 (1186-1069 BC). Nile silt ware; lid of limestone, diameter 22.70 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1914.829.a, b.

Figure 6. Shabti Jar from a Private Collection, Tübingen, Germany. (Courtesy of the owner.)

as decoration is concerned, the exterior surface is covered with a white slip on which a column of black hieroglyphs was painted. On three of the jars, the figures representing the four sons of Horus were drawn in black on either side of the inscription. In all four cases, the hieroglyphs refer to a man named Hori, who was wab-priest and lector priest.

Another similar jar dated to the Ramesside period and currently in a private collection in Tübingen, Germany, was exhibited in Munich at the occasion of the International Congress of Egyptologists in 1985 and published by Wildung and Schoske.[17] This fifth vessel was mentioned in the Cleveland catalogue as sharing the same characteristics—size, shape, white slip, black decorations as well as the same titles and name—and believed to be part of the set of shabti jars belonging to Hori (**see Figure 6**).[18]

When the photographs are displayed side by side, the pots look like copies of each other; the resemblance is striking. Indeed, a cursory glance gives the impression that the Raleigh shabti jar, the four Cleveland jars and the Tübingen ves-

17 Dietrich Wildung and Sylvia Schoske, *Entdeckungen. Ägyptische Kunst in Süddeutschland* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1986), 101-102, cat. no. 83.

18 Berman and Bohač, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, 364.

19 Berman and Bohač, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, 363.

sel are identical. Yet, a closer look reveals that there are small differences, specifically in the placements of the sons of Horus, the titles of the deceased and the spelling of certain words—including the name Osiris and that of the owner, Hori.

As has already been noted for the Cleveland pots, the placement of the four sons of Horus is slightly different from one vessel to another.[19] On the NCMA jar, the crouching deities were painted in the following order, from left to right: Imsety, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef and Hapy. In comparison, the figures on Cleveland 1914.641 as well as the German jar are placed in a slightly different order: Imsety, Hapy,[20] Duamutef and Qebehsenuef. This order is reversed on Cleveland 1914.643 and 1914.829—Qebehsenuef, Duamutef, Hapy and Imsety. As for the remaining Cleveland jar (1914.642), there are no figures painted on either side of the inscription.[21]

A comparison of the column of hieroglyphs on all six jars helped decipher the faded sign on the Raleigh jar. The NCMA inscription is identical to that of two Cleveland jars (1914.641 and 642), on which the hieroglyphs below the falcon sign are entirely legible: the male determinative can indeed be seen next to the previously mentioned reed leaf. Additional information about Hori's position can be gleaned from Cleveland 1914.643 and 1914.829, where our man is listed as 'lector priest of the temple of Thoth.'[22] The Tübingen jar also lists the temple of Thoth; however, the word lector priest is missing entirely and therefore the inscription refers to Hori as 'wab-priest of the temple of Thoth.'

Although presumably written by the same hand, the inscription nonetheless shows different spellings for certain words or names. The word wab-priest, for instance, is spelled in three different ways. On the Raleigh jar, the Tübingen jar and two of the Cleveland jars (1914.641 and 642) the word is written using a combination of the vase with water flowing (sign D60 without the leg D58) and the three water squiggles (N35). The water sign is absent on Cleveland 1914.829 and, on Cleveland 1914.643, the vase with flowing water is actually sitting atop W5, the sign used in the spelling of 'lector priest.' As for the name Osiris, it is spelled in two different ways: the eye (D4) and the portable seat (Q2) as seen on the NCMA vessel and three Cleveland jars (1914.641; 642; and 829) or alternatively Q1, the seat, and A40, the seated god determinative, as found on the German jar and the fourth Cleveland vessel (1914.643). With regards to Hori, the spelling of his name differs on the Tübingen jar, where the falcon with flagellum (G6) is used instead of G1, the Horus falcon found on the remaining five jars.

Conclusion

All of the minor differences distinguishing each jar from the other have logical explanations that do not prevent the six vessels from being considered a cohesive group. Although the four sons of Horus appear in different order on either side of the inscription on certain of the jars, this can be explained as a variation on the same theme. On all five vessels where the seated deities appear, the hand of a single draughtsman is visible in the swift and confident brushstrokes. The absence of deities on Cleveland 1914.642 might be justified by the need to complete the set quickly due to the demise of the owner. In

20 On the Tübingen jar, the figure of Hapy is badly drawn—it is missing the circle that represents the male baboon's mane and as a result Hapy greatly resembles Imsety. The figure has nonetheless been identified as Hapy by Wildung (Wildung and Schoske, *Entdeckungen*, 101), with whom the present author concurs.

21 Berman and Bohač, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, 363.

22 These fuller titles on the Cleveland jars were noted in Berman and Bohač, *Catalogue of Egyptian Art*, 363.

this case, the presence of the inscription identifying the deceased would take precedent over the depiction of the sons of Horus.

Minor differences in the inscriptions could be attributed to scribal errors—notably in the case of the missing *ḫry-ḥbt* on the German jar. However, it should be noted that in the three cases where the temple of Thoth is mentioned, there was space that needed to be filled: the lector priest is missing from the German jar, the water squiggles are missing from Cleveland 1914.826 and, on Cleveland 1914.643, the wab-priest and lector priest hieroglyphs were contracted into one sign. It is possible that by modifying the inscription on some of the jars, the scribe took the opportunity to provide additional information given to him about the owner, information that would not otherwise fit in such a limited space if written in its entirety. Only when taken as a set rather than individually can the inscriptions on these jars identify the owner by all his titles in full. As for the differences in spelling, they can be explained by the multiple combinations of hieroglyphs offered by the writing system itself, abundant during the New Kingdom.

Despite these differences, all six above-mentioned jars share more than enough fundamental characteristics in terms of manufacture, chirography, decoration and inscription to be considered part of a group. There is little doubt that the shabti jar at the North Carolina Museum of Art is the sixth vessel in the set that once belonged to the wab-priest and the lector priest at the temple of Thoth, Hori.

Gender Symbolism in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts

Vincent Arieh Tobin

Abstract:

Gender Symbolism in the Pyramid Texts is essential to a full understanding of the purpose of these texts. One key to understanding this symbolism lies in the figures of Geb and Nut. This balanced male/masculine and female/feminine pair served to connect the wider cosmic order and the political order and to stabilize the latter by creating the legitimacy of the earthly monarch, generating his immortality, and ensuring the legality of succession. Beyond this, the political order emerges naturally out of the wider cosmic order and becomes essentially an extension of it. Gender symbolism is further expressed through a relatively large variety of deities and symbols, many of which were drawn from early mythical traditions. In virtually all instances, the masculine/feminine and male/female pairing is equally balanced to symbolize the creative force of birth and new life. Such gender symbolism takes into account those actions which pertain specifically to the masculine and those which pertain to the feminine. The result is a fine balance in which neither masculine nor feminine predominates, but both are held in balance to provide a mythic justification and basis for the stability of both political and cosmic orders.

Resumé:

La symbolique des genres est un élément essentiel pour comprendre l'objectif recherché dans les Textes des Pyramides. On trouvera une clef de lecture de cette symbolique dans les figures de Geb et de Nout. Les bipolarités mâle/femelle et masculin/féminin servent de pont entre l'ordre cosmique et l'organisation politique et contribuent à offrir une stabilité à l'organisation politique en donnant une légitimité au monarque terrestre, en lui conférant un caractère d'immortalité et en assurant la légalité de la succession. En outre, l'organisation politique émerge naturellement de l'ordre cosmique dont elle devient essentiellement un prolongement. La symbolique des genres s'exprime par ailleurs au travers d'une assez grande variété de divinités et de symboles dont beaucoup proviennent de traditions mythologiques anciennes. Dans tous les cas de figures, les bipolarités masculin/féminin et mâle/femelle s'équilibrent pour symboliser la force créatrice de la naissance et de la vie nouvelle. Une telle symbolique des genres tient aussi compte des caractères spécifiques à chaque pôle. Il en résulte un état de fait où ni le pôle masculin ni le pôle féminin ne prédomine, mais où l'un et l'autre s'équilibrent pour fournir une justification mythique et un fondement à la stabilité de l'organisation politique et de l'ordre cosmique.

Keywords:

Geb, Nut, Egyptian myth, Egyptian religion, Old Kingdom, Atum, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Osiris, Pyramid Texts, Egyptian kingship, birth symbolism.

In considering the question of the nature and purpose of gender symbolism in the Egyptian Pyramid Texts, two very significant points must be kept in mind. The first point is that these texts are somewhat limited in their content and purpose, being, for the most part, not systematic expressions of orthodox dogma and doctrines of ancient Egyptian religion, but royal texts concerned with the legitimization of the office of kingship and the deification and immortality

of the deceased monarch.[1] The symbols through which these purposes were expressed were set forth and elucidated in the Pyramid Texts not in some random or haphazard fashion, but in the manner in which they were known to the Egyptians themselves, i.e., by mythic and ritualistic experience rather than by intellectual analysis. It may be quite safely assumed that the Egyptian myth-makers felt no need of explaining or justifying their use of the symbolism in which they expressed their concepts. They were surely fully conscious of their own understanding of their system of symbolism, and hence the nature of gender symbolism in the Pyramid Texts has to be deduced from its use within the Texts themselves. Most significantly, one must be careful to avoid any interpretation of Egyptian symbolism based on modern ideologies and to refrain from assessing it in terms of values and concepts which are extraneous to it. In a word, the Pyramid Texts must be interpreted from within the context of their own system and on the basis of their own signification.[2]

The second point to be stressed is that a distinction must be drawn between certain terms which are frequently taken as, and indeed often are, synonymous, but which nonetheless can legitimately be distinguished, even though the distinction may at times appear to be a fine one. The terms to which I refer are "female" and "feminine", and "male" and "masculine". For the purposes of the present study, I propose to use the term "female" solely in a physical sense and to reserve the term "feminine" for reference to actions or characteristics which are normally peculiar to the inner nature of female beings, i.e., to their femininity. The same distinction must also be made between the terms "male" and "masculine". Thus, for example, while maternity is a function which, in virtue of physical nature, belongs to the female, it is in itself not a solely female phenomenon, but more importantly a feminine one, i.e., it contains within itself not only the concept of a physical relationship between mother and offspring, but also a certain personal and spiritual relationship.[3] This

1 The legitimization of kingship and the deification of the deceased monarch are not separate and distinct goals in the Pyramid Texts, but are in effect two aspects of the same process. The Egyptian monarchy in general was given its mythic justification by the mythological "fact" that it had been established by divine action at the time of the creation of the universe. It is of paramount importance to understand that the monarchy had come into being not only through the will and word of the deity (Atum-Re according to the Heliopolitan system), but as a result of a specific activity, i.e., the deity's rising out of the primæval waters and sitting (enthroned as it were) on the primæval mound. The justification of the monarchy thus created appears to have applied to the wider and fuller abstract concept of kingship, the legitimacy and divinity of the individual ruler deriving from his association with the line of succession. This legitimacy, therefore, had to be ensured by proper and correct dynastic succession. Insofar, however, as monarchy was purported to be a divinely established office, the dynastic succession of any specific ruler could be guaranteed and justified only if that individual was seen as being in direct descent from the gods. Hence, the deification of the deceased monarch must have been a natural consideration due to the fact of his own inherited divinity. The deification of the dead monarch was a necessity also for the proper succession to the throne by the heir apparent who could become the new Horus only if he himself were directly descended from the gods, i.e., from Osiris, the personification of the dead king.

2 The study of myth is no easy task, due to the attitude which one must assume in approaching it. Insofar as a myth is not a simple story, it cannot be understood only through the written text or through its contents. One must rather approach and confront the living and vital force which is contained in and expressed through the myth. The myth must be taken as it is, in the context of the historical time of its creation, and on the quasi-sacramental level for which it was intended, i.e., in the context of the ritual situation in which the myth was originally narrated and/or enacted. Most significantly, one must be careful not to assess any given mythic system on the basis of ideologies which are exterior to it or on the basis of alien value systems. Egyptian myth must be experienced only as the Egyptians themselves experienced it; it must be seen as a living expression in its own time and context.

distinction is not a matter of "splitting hairs", but is rather intended to divorce a concept such as maternity from purely sexual connotations and to associate it even more closely with psychological features which are normally characteristic of the female and which, therefore, may themselves be classified as feminine. So too with regard to male beings, certain actions and functions appear to be natural to that particular gender. In terms of myth - and frequently also in terms of general activities - certain actions and functions are regarded as naturally pertaining mainly to the male gender. One observes this particularly in heroic myth where the male/masculine characters are usually portrayed in an active and self-assertive role.[4] This latter aspect of the male/masculine being is clearly seen in the sexual role of the male. (One must, of course, be careful not to place an excessive emphasis on sexual activity as a determining factor, sexual roles being essentially an expression, not a cause, of human gender division.) The male sexual function is normally more aggressive than that of the female due to the very basic fact of the physiognomy of the male. Such aggressiveness, however, is frequently also evident in the wider actions and functions of the male and appears to be the opposite, or perhaps better the complement, of the seemingly more passive sexual function of the female. This phenomenon may, of course, be explained solely on the basis of the male physical structure, i.e., greater physical strength. At the same time, however, it must be recognized that underlying the physical "maleness" of any given individual there is also a more abstract and less definable element of masculinity, an element which is essential to and creative of the psychological and spiritual structure of the male/masculine being.[5]

It is, furthermore, significant that gender symbolism and the expression of the divine powers under the form of specific masculine and feminine deities were quite possibly not part of the earliest religious experience of ancient Egypt. As one scholar has suggested, "it seems appropriate to speculate that the divine

3 For purposes of comparison, one may note that Greek mythology appears to have recognized that the relationships between parent and offspring were highly dependent upon the gender of the individuals involved. For example, the mother/son pairing of Oedipus and Jokasta - I refer here specifically to the drama of Sophocles - and the father/daughter pairing of Agamemnon and Elektra, especially in its treatment by Euripides, are quite distinct in their natures and psychological bases.

4 To illustrate this essential mark of heroic myth, one needs only to consider a few of the more famous mythological heroes who stand out in various traditions. For example, heroes like Gilgamesh, Achilles, Odysseus, Aeneas and - from Egyptian tradition - Horus are all strongly marked by their tendencies and even their need to strive and to accomplish as a result of both their physical abilities and their inner psychological structures.

5 The non-physical distinctions between masculine and feminine are apparently based on certain physiological factors and are, therefore, distinctions which can be neither ignored nor disregarded. In other words, such differences are realities and could not be eradicated without the obviously impossible alteration of male and female physiognomy. Such is evident in the different means whereby sexual activity is triggered in the male and in the female. (See J. L. McCary, *Human Sexuality*, [New York: 1973], 54: "Studies have shown that the physiological mechanisms controlling the sexual activity of male and female infrahuman mammals are different [...] In females, interest in and receptivity to sexual activity are the effect of hormonal influence on neural tissue, whereas in males sexual activity is triggered by the neural tissue itself, which depends upon hormonal action only to maintain its functioning.") Logic would clearly suggest that this distinction between the male and female mechanics of sexual arousal also implies a distinction between the masculine and feminine psychology of both sexual activities and wider actions and functions. Although it would be unreasonable to maintain that the ancient Egyptians had any understanding of the scientific mechanics of male and female sexual arousal and attitudes, it is not unreasonable to maintain that they would have been - perhaps even subconsciously - aware of the basic inner differentiation between the sexes.

was originally conceived of rather amorphously and that it gradually came to be envisioned in its relation to the world, that is, in relation to natural phenomena."[6] This suggestion implies an ability on the part of the earliest inhabitants of Egypt to recognize the existence of the divine power apart from any specific articulation of it. To put it very simply, the system of mythic symbols which developed along with the emerging Egyptian civilization and political system was in effect a valid expression of a more basic and mystic apprehension of the existence of the realm of the divine. In accordance with such a view, therefore, Egyptian myth and religion may rightly be considered a valid stage in the development of the human religious consciousness. The symbolic nature of Egyptian myth and, specifically, the symbolic nature of gender within that mythic structure become, therefore, all the more evident. Moreover, insofar as, to the Egyptian mentality, the world in which they lived was made up of living beings rather than lifeless objects,[7] an anthropomorphic expression of these beings was virtually the only manner in which they could be made accessible to the intellect. The traditional division, therefore, of Egyptian deities into masculine and feminine was a normal and natural expression based on the common Egyptian experience of life and society. Egyptian myth may thus be taken as expressive not only of concepts of deity but of concepts of the human personality as well.

One cannot with any degree of reason maintain that the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom had any conscious scientific knowledge of what has been expressed by modern theories of psychology. Hence it is highly unlikely that they would have been able to articulate such concepts in a rational and scientific manner. However, innate distinctions between male/masculine and female/feminine cannot completely escape detection. Such distinctions may be perceived and apprehended by instinct rather than by rational deduction, but this method of perception does not lessen the reality of the knowledge which results from it. Given that such a perception must have existed in the minds of the Egyptians, it is also logical to assume that it would have been articulated in whatever manner was possible for them. The most suitable and available means of articulating ideas of this nature was that of myth. While myth must, to a certain extent, be purposely and carefully constructed on the basis of human knowledge and perception, there is also what one might consider a degree of "natural" expression in myth. That is to say, the mythmakers of ancient Egypt - or of any other culture - were virtually bound to reveal their innate concepts and understandings of the universe through the symbols in which their myths were expressed. Such a revelation of their fundamental understanding would not have required any complex process of rationalization, but would have arisen easily and naturally from their manner of expression. Hence, it is not unreasonable to accept the theory that gender-based myth in the Pyramid Texts contains within itself the basic Egyptian understanding of the structure and function of the male/masculine and the female/feminine.

Myth in the Pyramid Texts, as already stated above, was primarily concerned with the legitimization of the office of the kingship and with the deification and immortality of the deceased monarch. Both of these purposes were dependent upon the concept of the innate divinity and

6 D.P. Silverman, "Divinities and Deities in Ancient Egypt," in *Religion in Ancient Egypt,* ed. B.E. Shafer (Cornell University Press: 1991), 12.

7 J.P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, (New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1988), 8.

eventual necessary transformation of the reigning monarch. Briefly stated, the general Old Kingdom mythic basis of the kingship, a basis which was probably evolved in conjunction with the gradual growth of the Upper Egyptian monarchy, appears to have been that the monarchy had been instituted by the gods, Atum-Re being the first King of Upper and Lower Egypt according to the theological system of Heliopolis. The kingship, in virtue of the divine origin attributed to it, eventually became eminently legitimate, in accordance with Ma'at, and had to be legally passed on to a legitimate heir, i.e., one who, due to his birth, was also divine. Such divinity through birth could only be a reality if the heir had actually been born of divine parentage. One fact, however, was surely evident to the Egyptians, and that was the obvious mortal nature of the earthly king. The king, like any other human being, was subject to death, and the problem created by death *vis-à-vis* the royal divinity and immortality had to be overcome if royal prestige was to be maintained. The solving of this problem was, therefore, one of the primary concerns of the royal mythic system.

In the Pyramid Texts two mythic patterns are evident as means whereby the problem of royal mortality was overcome. One of these is a pattern which can clearly be identified as male/masculine in nature, i.e., the mythic symbol of theomachy, divine conflict.[8] In this pattern, the overcoming of death, i.e., the resurrection of the monarch as Osiris, is to a great extent dependent upon the male/masculine strength of Horus. Here, the vindication of Osiris and the subsequent legitimization of his kingship is essentially the outcome of Horus' defeat of Seth. It takes very little imagination to realize that this pattern took its beginnings from actual historical events, i.e., the Wars of Unification during the first two Dynasties. The myth which grew out of these historical events, i.e., the Osiris/Seth/Horus conflict is in its details relatively complex and was possibly even familiar under the form an extended narrative myth. At the same time, in its basic essence, the myth of the Osiris/Seth/Horus conflict is eminently simple in its basic narrative and in the outcome of that narrative: the usurping enemy is overcome by the physical strength of the rightful and legitimate monarch,[9] the main mythic element involved being force or violence, an element normally associated with the male/masculine being. It could, moreover, be argued that a myth of this nature, totally male/masculine in essence, has replaced or supplanted older female/feminine

8 On the subject of theomachy in Old Kingdom myth, see V.A. Tobin, "Divine Conflict in the Pyramid Texts," *JARCE* 30 (1993), 93-110.

9 This is also the essential theme of Homer's *Iliad* and Vergil's *Aeneid*, the two main heroic epics which came out of the Greco-Roman world. In the *Iliad*, the climax of the conflict is reached in the combat between Achilles and Hector, while in the *Aeneid* a similar climax is seen in the confrontation between Aeneas and Turnus. In each case, the victory is won by the hero who is stronger and/or the chosen and favourite of the gods, and, in each case, the outcome is essentially a vindication of the conqueror. In these two epics from the Classical world, however, the final emphasis is placed on the concept of the hero and his strength, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the underlying assumption is that the righteousness of the outcome of the battle is dependent upon the strength and excellence of the conqueror. This is a logical conclusion, given the fact that both of these epics reflect a warrior society wherein all events are evaluated on the basis of the fighting strength of the hero. The Egyptian Osiris/Seth/Horus conflict, however, is not the outgrowth solely of a warrior society, although the theme itself may very well be the result of actual conflicts. The ultimate and final theme of the Osiris/Seth/Horus conflict is the vindication of a legal and divinely appointed kingship, and this vindication is basically the establishment of Ma'at. The main point to be noted here is that the Osiris/Seth/Horus conflict is not an heroic conflict in the Greco-Roman sense, but rather a mythic conflict whose signification lies beyond the heroic concept.

mythic patterns. Such an assessment may be to an extent correct, but it can be made only if one accepts the tenets of a particular trend in modern thinking, i.e., the systematic supplanting of feminine-oriented myth by male-oriented myth.[10] Such an approach to evaluating myth, however, is not totally valid when dealing with the traditions of an ancient culture or civilization, for each culture and civilization can be legitimately understood only by approaching it from within its own parameters. Moreover, the growth of masculine-based myth seems more likely to have been the result of historical events rather than an indication of a desire, conscious or unconscious, to supplant the feminine-based traditions.[11]

Despite the strong male/masculine predominance in the Osiris/Seth/Horus mythic pattern, however, the female/feminine elements are also very obvious. Isis and Nephthys, seemingly conjoined as an inseparable pair of symbols, play a highly significant role in the resurrection and revitalization of Osiris. For example, they mourn over the dead Osiris,[12] a seemingly integral element of the burial ritual; they find the king and protect him;[13] as a screecher and a kite they prevent Osiris from decaying;[14] they cleanse Osiris, pour a libation for him, gather his flesh and raise him;[15] they make him healthy[16] and nurse him;[17] finally, they are the means whereby the Osiris king ascends to the sky.[18] The insertion of the symbols Isis and Nephthys into this basically male/masculine mythic pattern was not accidental nor was it done as a token inclusion of feminine elements. Isis and Nephthys were brought into the resurrection myth of Osiris for

10 R.T. Rundle Clark (*Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* [London, 1959], 87) makes the very interesting suggestion that there had been in Pre-Dynastic Egypt a concept of a mother goddess which had been suppressed during the Old Kingdom. (An interesting parallel to this may be seen in the idea of the Mycenaean Greek male deities subordinating the older female deities of Minoan Crete and those of the non-Greek mainland.) A further indication of feminine myth and feminine-based society in Pre-Dynastic Egypt may be seen in the suggestion of Elise Baumgartel (*The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, 2nd edition [Oxford, 1955], 2:142) that the title of *niswt* may have been known during the Naqada I Period and that it may have originally been held by females. The logical implication of this is that the office of *niswt* was later taken over by the Dynastic male rulers and the feminine element suppressed. To speak of such a process in terms of the supplanting or suppression of older traditions, however, implies assessing ancient myth on the basis of modern ideologies. I refer specifically to modern feminist thinking. Value judgements of such a nature are not really legitimate when it comes to understanding Egyptian myth. Development in myth must rather be understood against its historical background and evolution. Historically, Egypt developed a monarchy which, of necessity, was male/masculine based, i.e., based on the need of physical strength for actual conquest. Feminine myth, therefore, would not have been suppressed in any hostile manner, but would have simply been subordinated in an orderly and logical manner to those mythic patterns which more accurately reflected the nature and needs of society.

11 There are in modern scholarship certain tendencies to interpret ancient myth and culture on the basis of an assumed struggle between masculine and feminine. Such tendencies, however, originate not from an authentic understanding of the ancient world and its cultures, but from preconceived notions which are based on emotion rather than on intellect. The unfortunate result is frequently a misinterpretation of ancient traditions by importing modern ideologies as the basis for evaluating them. In ancient Egypt it is quite apparent that a definite harmony and balance was perceived between masculine and feminine rather than a hostile and confrontational attitude.

12 *PT* 1280-1281.

13 *PT* 584a.

14 *PT* 1255-1258.

15 *PT* 1981.

16 *PT* 610c.

17 *PT* 371c.

18 *PT* 379c.

a number of essential reasons, one of these being the relationship of Isis to Osiris in the developed form of the myth. The most obvious reason for the inclusion of Isis and Nephthys within the myth, however, is that their presence provides the necessary balancing female/feminine counterpart to the male/masculine elements in the tradition.

The function of Isis in mourning over the dead Osiris—apart from being a reflection of the usual ritual mourning at the time of death—is comprehensible in that, in the fully developed myth, Isis is both sister and wife to Osiris. Indeed, mourning over Osiris appears to be one of the central functions of Isis in the Pyramid Texts and could legitimately be interpreted as a mythologization and ritualization of grief, a very natural emotion and psychological reaction at the time of death. As simplistic and basic as such reasoning may be, it must nevertheless be taken into consideration, bearing in mind the fact that myth can and must assume into itself virtually every aspect of human experience. However, it must also be realized that a marital relationship within a mythic context has in itself a specific reason for its existence, a reason which goes beyond the mere fictional aspect of giving Osiris a spouse. The intimate, and in fact double, connection between Isis and Osiris - double in that Isis is both sister and spouse - is best understood by seeing Isis as a personification of the power of the royal throne.[19] The symbol of Nephthys is also a personification of royal power, less specific and less concrete than that symbolized by Isis, but at the same time a very real complement to the Isis symbolism.[20] (In actual effect, I would suggest that Isis and Nephthys were two expressions of the one mythic concept, i.e., the tangible source of practical royal power.) If Isis and Nephthys be taken in this manner as political symbols, their close conjunction with Osiris, both in the myth of his resurrection and in his wider political signification, adds an important dimension to the interpretation of royal power as it is articulated in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. The Osiris/Seth/Horus symbolism is essentially a male/masculine pattern expressive of the aggressive masculinity of royal power. The feminization of this power in the figures of Isis and Nephthys, on the other hand, stresses its generative and nurturing aspect. Male and female, masculine and feminine, in this way are made to complement and balance one another. The femininity of royal power may be seen as a necessity for its actual existence, generation and growth, while its masculinity brings out its practical application in its forceful and aggressive operation. Viewed in this manner, masculine and feminine symbolism may be understood not as in a state of tension or polarity, but as two essential components of a single and integrated reality. This usage of feminine symbolism conjoined with the masculine is even more comprehensible when one takes into account the fact that it is based on one of the most obvious - and even the most central - significations of the female/feminine in the Pyramid Texts, its role as a symbol of motherhood and regeneration.[21]

The symbolism of motherhood within a mythic structure may at first glance appear to

19 The identification of Isis and the power of the throne is, of course, not universally accepted. However, given her name and its writing (), I find myself unconvinced by all arguments against this identification.

20 The actual name of Nephthys ( = *Nbt-ḥwt*, "Mistress of the [royal] domain") is, I believe, sufficient indication of her purely political nature. I have discussed these interpretations of the names of Isis and Nephthys in an earlier article, "Myth and Politics in the Old Kingdom of Egypt," *BiOr 49*/5-6 (1992): 615, 630.

be basic and fundamental, a primary means of expressing the concept of the generation and continuation of life. Such maternal symbolism can indeed stand by itself in any mythic pattern which attempts to give articulation solely to the phenomenon of regeneration. Thus, for example, the Greek - or more likely pre-Greek Minoan - symbol of Demeter was able to stand by itself as a mythic statement of the on-going production and generation of grain from the earth. Because of her specific role, Demeter was able to function as a personification of the force which gave birth to the grain. This function is quite clearly indicated in her name Δημήτηρ ("Corn Mother"), and in this regard, she appears as an authentic mother-goddess, although not so much a personification of "Mother Earth" as a symbol of the maternal and reproductive power inherent within the earth.[22] Since the essential force of Demeter was seen in her maternal function, paternal considerations were obviously not a necessity in this particular mythic pattern. The aggressive and violent aspect of the male/masculine figure of Hades entered the myth from an external source and for a purpose which was alien to the original signification of the myth, i.e., as an articulation of the annual death of nature and possibly also as a reflection of the conjunction of the Mycenaean male/masculine gods with the older pre-Greek female/feminine deities.[23] In its basic essence, however, the Demeter myth remains very much a feminine one, as is naturally the case in any mythic pattern which stresses the concept of a mother-goddess and her role in the continuation of natural life.[24]

This relatively simple and straightforward female/feminine symbolism was able to function in specific types of myth, particularly in myths which were concerned with the reproductive cycle of nature. When, however, the function of the myth eventually became more complex, the myth itself was also obliged to increase in complexity and to adopt new symbols which could redirect its signification in the necessary course. The movement away from an agricultural society to one based on a specific political structure required a corresponding development in the mythology which supported and justified the society and its political system. In ancient Egypt, this movement can be seen in the final establishment of the monarchy in the Archaic

21 Although female deities in the Pyramid Texts and in Egyptian religion in general are normally marked by feminine characteristics, one must be cautious not to draw too firm a distinction between the masculine and feminine as they are embodied in specific gods and goddesses. Deities who were female in form also had the ability to function in a masculine and aggressive manner, and this phenomenon may be taken as a further sign of the highly intricate integration of gender symbolism in Egyptian mythological expression. To see the masculine expressed in female deities, one need think only of Sekhmet ("the powerful one"), Neith, or Nekhbet and Wadjit, the protecting goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt. It cannot be denied that such deities must be seen as having a healthy dose of masculinity in their otherwise feminine structure.

22 The Egyptian Isis and the Greek Demeter contain a number of interesting points of contrast and comparison in their functions as mother. (See V.A. Tobin, "Isis and Demeter," *JARCE 28* (1991): 187-200.

23 Such an interpretation of the "intrusion" of Hades into the myth of Demeter serves as a good illustration of the manner in which political elements can be conjoined to nature elements in the construction of a particular myth without any significant alteration being brought about in the original essence of the earlier mythic pattern.

24 This predominance of the feminine in such myths does not absolutely and totally exclude male symbolism within the myth. It was not at all unusual for a mother-goddess to have a male lover or consort, but his function could rightly be assessed as a relatively passive one, i.e., that of fertilizing the Mother. The active aspect of the myth was, however, centred on the figure of the female/feminine deity who was seen as the actual source of the renewed life of nature. In the Greek Demeter traditions, Demeter herself had a number of liaisons with various males, none of whom ever became her official consort or husband. Thus, the focus of the myth was clearly centred on the goddess herself.

Period, an event which required, and eventually brought about, a radical change of expression in the realm of myth. The monarchy, requiring a masculine aggressivity, was of necessity male-based and hence required the adaptation of myth in order to accommodate the male/masculine principles which would support and legitimize the new order. Maternal symbolism, therefore, had to develop in such a way as to permit the articulation of the masculine within its essential structure. Male and female, masculine and feminine, had thus to be combined and the sexual symbolism within the myth had to be given a legal and legitimate position. In other words, official paternity now became a necessity for the establishment of the legitimacy of the offspring of the feminine deity. In this process, it was only a natural corollary that less emphasis should be placed on the obvious source of birth, i.e., the mother, and more emphasis placed on the actual legality of the birth itself.

Inseparable from the concept of motherhood is the action of birth-giving, the birth-giving being, as it were, the event which establishes and certifies the maternal relationship. The mother is she who has actually carried the child and given birth, an action which is female rather than strictly feminine in terms of its physical connotations. In the physiological function of purely physical birth, the more abstract and psychological feminine aspects are not particularly significant. It is, however, very significant that the same Egyptian verb, *msi*, is used of the male role in the begetting of the child, the father, the one who has begotten (*ms*) the child, being thus the male equivalent and counterpart of the female in the reproductive process. While the Egyptians were surely conscious of the sharp distinction between the two roles, male/masculine and female/feminine, the fact that both roles are contained in the same verbal root, *msi*,[25] indicates that the process of reproduction was not seen as belonging primarily to either sex, but was understood as a function in which male and female, masculine and feminine, were brought together in a fully complementary and balanced manner. To interpret the mythic symbol of birth-giving in a more integrated way, therefore, it may be suggested that the process indicated by the verb *msi* was not seen simply as a combination of paternal male begetting and maternal female bearing. The verb *msi* rather referred to the totality of a complex process of regeneration in which both male and female played a necessary role. This balance of masculine and feminine gender symbolism thus provides a single and complete unity in which the two separate entities function in a single combined action to produce a single result.

The Pyramid Texts, however, do not concentrate on birth symbolism for its own sake. Birth symbolism is used in the Pyramid Texts in order to accomplish their main focus and purpose, the revitalization of the monarch in the afterlife and the subsequent legitimization of the new Horus. The rebirth of the monarch is also frequently associated with resurrection and/or physical conquest, although the two mythic patterns, i.e., rebirth and resurrection were probably originally separate and were brought together only when the figure of Osiris was added to the official funerary traditions of the Old Kingdom.[26] However, resurrection in the Pyramid Texts is frequently dependent upon birth, and even

25 A consideration of the possible translations of the Egyptian verb *msi* (*Wb*. II, 137-140) suggests that its basic root meaning refers to the relationship between a parent, either male or female, and the offspring of that parent. The primary significance of the verb *msi*, therefore, would be the establishment of the legality of the birth of the individual, not the actual means (paternal begetting or maternal bearing) by which the individual came into existence.

physical conquest, i.e., the conquest of Seth by Horus and the subsequent vindication of Osiris, is a means of vindicating the rights pertaining to the victor in virtue of his birth. Birth symbolism, therefore, whether or not it is mentioned in specific instances, must be taken as fundamental and central to the myth and theology of the Pyramid Texts. The centrality of birth symbolism is further underscored by an important spatial factor in the actual construction of the pyramid. The ritual or mythic focal point of the pyramid was the sarcophagus which held the body of the king, and hence the texts associated with the sarcophagus may rightly be deemed to have held a central place of importance. If the latter assumption is not unwarranted, then one may further assume that the sarcophagus texts can supply an essential clue by which the wider corpus of Pyramid Text symbolism, both masculine and feminine, can be understood.

The sarcophagus texts focus on two principal symbols, even three, if one includes the figure of the deceased and reborn monarch. These two principal symbols are Geb and Nut, with the major emphasis being placed on Nut in her female/feminine maternal aspect. This feminine aspect of Nut - (and the stress here is placed on the term "feminine" rather than "female") - is given particular emphasis with regard to its creative function by the formula *ḏd mdw* at the very beginning of the Pyramid Texts. Nut in this case does not simply exist as a female/feminine principle, nor does she function passively as birth-giver. Her positive and active role is clearly defined in the fact that she initiates and performs the creative action par excellence of speaking, and her words are the means whereby the desired reality is effected. This reality is the occurrence of royal rebirth in the afterlife. Far more important than the birth itself, however, is the actual nature of that which is born. The words spoken by Nut articulate, and thus in mythic fashion make real, what may appear to be a very simple fact, namely that the monarch, in his aspect as Osiris, is the eldest son of Nut. (It should be noted in passing that the actual term "Osiris" [*Wsir*] is not used in the sarcophagus texts, probably with good reason.)[27] I would suggest, however, that the apparent simplicity of this statement masks a highly sophisticated and complex theological concept which is expressed here in mythological terminology and dependent upon the creative feminine aspect of Nut.

A key term in this concept is the word *s3*, "son", a term which naturally has birth connotations, but which, more importantly, has highly significant legalistic overtones in stressing the king's legitimacy as the rightful heir of the royal and divine power. This legitimacy as heir is even more sharply delineated by the use of the expressions *s3 smsw*, "eldest son", and *wp ḥt*, "opener of the womb", the latter expression giving, as it were, a graphic and specific expression of the former. Nut, therefore, who is also a personification of the sarcophagus, or who is symbolized by the sarcophagus in a quasi-sacramental manner, is, by her symbolic birth-giving, the source and creator of the royal afterlife.[28] This function could appear to be solely passive, if one thinks only in terms of physical

26 It is, of course, a matter of debate and even of speculation when the figure of Osiris actually entered the Egyptian religious tradition as an accepted and positive element in the pantheon. Although some scholars would see him as a very early part of accepted Egyptian tradition, my own tendency is to place his entry into the Egyptian pantheon at a fairly late date during the Old Kingdom.

27 I suspect that the symbolism of the rebirth of the monarch from Nut is part of the older mythic tradition of afterlife in the Pyramid Texts and that the formulae used in the sarcophagus texts predate the adoption of Osiris as part of the official tradition.

birth-giving, but the actively creative side of Nut's function is underscored by the expression *mrỉ pw ḥtp.n=ỉ ḥr=f*, "he is my beloved with whom I am content". The use of the terms *mrỉ* and *ḥtp.n=ỉ* here strongly indicate Nut's active, voluntary and emotional role in realizing royal legitimacy, and the phrase, *mrỉ pw ḥtp.n=ỉ ḥr=f*, thus becomes an expression of the central mythic action symbolized in the feminine maternal function of Nut.[29] Nut's maternity, therefore, depends primarily not only on the female function of physical birth-giving, but more importantly on the creative aspect of the spoken word which, in mythic fashion, articulates the reality in question. It is not insignificant, therefore, that Nut is described in Utterance 1 of the Pyramid Texts as "the greatly beneficent" (*3ḫt wrt*), for according to the sarcophagus texts, she is the source of all royal and divine power. This maternal symbolism of Nut is, moreover, extended in the Pyramid Texts beyond the scope of the specific and limited action. Utterance 548, for example, states that "Nut the Great lays her hands upon him [...] She suckles the King and does not wean him."[30] Here the symbolism of Nut's nursing the monarch is used, like the birth symbolism, not to lay emphasis on a specific action or moment, but to stress an ongoing relationship of dependence, i.e., that the divinity of the life of the reborn monarch is constantly renewed in virtue of the nature which he has inherited by his birth. Nut's failure or refusal to wean the monarch is, therefore, a symbolic statement that he constantly draws his divinity from her in an on-going generation, an acknowledgment of the eternal process through which he continually renews his divinity. It is in the continual and on-going aspect of this renewal that the femininity of Nut is especially essential to the signification of the myth.

The essential source of Nut's ability to function thus is the birth symbolism which appears as her primary function and characteristic, a characteristic which is essentially female/feminine. Birth symbolism, however, must be understood in the Pyramid Texts as going beyond the physical action of giving birth, the latter action being only a visible indication of the more basic and fundamental ability to function in a life-creating manner. This ability, expressed in the verb *msỉ*, is a function which is neither masculine nor feminine. Nor is it sufficient to say that the Pyramid Texts stress only the conjoining of masculine and feminine elements as a means of renewing life. The single verb, *msỉ*, which includes both the masculine and feminine functions, as has been discussed above, indicates that the real emphasis was placed on the singleness of the phenomenon and not on the respective roles of masculine and feminine. It is probably for this reason that Utterance 1 of the Pyramid Texts, wherein Nut speaks,[31] is

28 The titles  (*qrswt* = "Sarcophagus" "Coffin") and  (*ỉʿ* = "Tomb") given to Nut in *PT* 616d-f stress her significance as the place wherein the deceased king is actually interred. The symbolic meaning of this is obviously the concept of the king being placed within the body of Nut, his mother, so that he may come forth from her as the actual child born from her womb.

29 In any attempt to categorize the nature of birth symbolism, the terms "female" and "feminine" can easily create confusion. Birth is, of course, totally dependent upon the physical body of the actual birth-giver, i.e., she must be female. At the same time, the giving of birth also implies a certain more abstract feminine nature, the creative and regenerative function which actually goes beyond the physical, and the nurturing and caring which is inherent in the feminine maternal instinct. Nut speaks of the newly born monarch as *mrỉ pw ḥtp.n=ỉ ḥr=f* ("He is my beloved with whom I am content"), a formula which indicates not her *female* aspect but rather her *feminine* psychological nature. Both "female" and "feminine" are thus contained and combined in Nut's action of birth-giving.

30 *PT* 1344a-b.

balanced by Utterance 2, a speech by Geb,[32] a text which is unfortunately damaged, but which must surely have contained materials parallel to the words of Nut. Geb and Nut are thus shown in the beginning of the Pyramid Texts as the two balanced agents in the symbolic act of divine rebirth, equal participants in the single action which is expressed in the verb *msi*. That the sense of this verb is indeed single, is borne out by the manner - a combination of masturbation[33] and spitting[34] - in which Atum is said to have begotten Shu and Tefnut in Utterances 527 and 600 of the Pyramid Texts. This action of Atum should not be understood as a symbol of androgyny, but rather as an indication of the singleness of the life-creating ability. This ability in the Pyramid Texts - and in general - is not specifically feminine or masculine, although its most obvious and accessible symbol is that of maternity. The emphasis on the symbolism of Nut, therefore, was not an attempt to give prominence to either masculine or feminine, male or female. It was rather the use of a readily comprehensible symbol to express what the Egyptians must have seen as one of the chief mysteries of existence, i.e., the continuation and renewal of life even after death.

As a result of the birth symbolism connected with Nut in the sarcophagus texts, the dead and reborn monarch is declared legitimate in his position as supreme ruler, myth being used here for a very practical political purpose. Not only is the deceased king recognized now as Osiris, but, because of that recognition, his son and successor automatically gains recognition as Horus, the legal son of Osiris and, therefore, the rightful heir to the throne. As this latter purpose was one of the basic goals and aims of the Pyramid Texts, it is a fair assessment to say that the sarcophagus texts contain in embryo the basis of Pyramid Text theology and myth. We need not dwell further on the birth symbolism and its dual expression in Geb and Nut, but it is important to note at this point that the figure of Nut may be understood on several levels. On the most tangible level, Nut is the coffin or sarcophagus, an articulation which must not be taken in too simplistic a manner. In Utterance 364, it is stated that the deceased king has been given to his mother Nut "in her name of Sarcophagus (*qrswt*),"[35] and that she has embraced him "in her name of Coffin (*qrsw*)."[36] That "Sarcophagus" and "Coffin" are stated here as names of Nut implies not that Nut is a simple personification of the material sarcophagus, but rather that the latter, in a quasi-sacramental manner, functions as an effective symbol and embodiment of the life-giving power of the deity. This symbolic use of Nut is, however, fully dependent on the more abstract levels on which Nut may be viewed. Beyond the sarcophagus symbolism, Nut is a cosmic deity and, as general iconography illustrates, was expressed - still symbolically - on the second level, as the actual physical structure of the universe.[37] This level is also dependent upon the final level of Nut's mythic symbolism, the

31 "Words spoken by Nut, the greatly beneficent: '*N.* is my eldest son, the opener of my womb. He is my beloved, and I am content with him'" (*PT* 1a-b).

32 "Words spoken by Geb: '*N.* is the son of my body [...]" (*PT* 1c).

33 "He is Atum, the one who came into existence and masturbated at On" (*PT* 1248a).

34 "You spat out Shu, you spat out Tefnut" (*PT* 1652c).

35 *PT* 616d.

36 *PT* 616e.

level at which she is seen as a totally abstract divine life-force. Although it is difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend fully the Egyptian mentality on this point, I would suggest that at her highest level as a divine life-force, Nut is no longer female, but rather totally feminine, i.e., not an hypostatic goddess in physical form who performs certain specific functions, but rather a symbolic articulation and expression of the self-generating power of life which in itself is devoid of all sexual connotations.

An interpretation of the content of the Pyramid Texts in these terms implies an ability on the part of the ancient Egyptians to conceptualize in a highly abstract manner. This ability was in all likelihood a reality, but is less noticeable than, for example, the same ability among the Classical Greeks. The major lack (if indeed it was a lack) in Egyptian thought was not the absence of the ability for abstract conceptualization, but the absence of the ability for abstract articulation. Hence arose the need for the use of specific and concrete symbols which had naturally to be in familiar terminology. That the creative life-giving force was symbolized by the use of feminine imagery was no doubt a natural phenomenon, given the obvious central role of the female in the birth process. At the same time, the masculine element was seen also as a natural necessity, and hence the figure of Nut was balanced by her mythic male/masculine counterpart, Geb. It is, however, too much of an over-simplification to speak of "the interactions of the male and female principles"[38] in such matters. Geb and Nut do not simply interact in the process effected by the rituals of the Pyramid Texts, nor are they only the male and female elements which are conjoined in order to produce the desired result. It would be perhaps more accurate to say that Geb and Nut represent the masculine and feminine sides of the generative life-producing force, a force which is essentially single in its nature and is comprehended as containing a certain fullness and totality which can only be articulated by the inclusion of masculine and feminine in equal balance.

The central importance of the figure of Nut in an interpretation of gender symbolism in the Pyramid Texts arises from the fact that Nut as the mother of Osiris is, in the reality of the mythic experience, the direct source of the earthly monarchy. Within the internal structure of the integrated myth, she is the transition symbol from a celestial monarchy to a terrestrial one, linking the heavenly gods to the god incarnate in the reigning Horus. Nut thus becomes a significant focal point in the politicization of early Egyptian myth, retaining her own cosmic dimension,[39] and at the same time functioning as the means whereby the earthly political sphere becomes integrated into the wider cosmic order of the universe. Nut's symbolism,

37 Nut was, or at least became, the sky stretched out over the earth (Geb) in the form of an arch. This surely does not indicate that the Egyptians actually conceived of Nut as an anthropomorphic deity eternally holding this particular physical position. Such a conceptualization of Nut can only be regarded after a symbolic fashion as a means of articulating her essential living and divine nature as an integral part of the divinely created and generated cosmos. In virtue of this function, Nut may be understood as a mythic symbol *par excellence*, i.e., a static and unchanging symbol which, without any actual narrative or story, serves to give a comprehensible expression of an unchanging reality.

38 Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 17.

39 In an earlier study of Old Kingdom myth and its political significations (*BiOr* 49/5-6 (1992): 613), I assessed the Geb/Nut level of the Heliopolitan myth as follows: "The male/female pairing of Geb and Nut is [...] best explained not as a fertility symbol, but as one which articulated the fullness of the structured universe as a living cosmos." The key term here is the word "structured". Geb and Nut, who owe their existence to direct descent from Shu and Tefnut, contain within themselves a certain generative and reproductive symbolism. The fertility aspects of this symbolism are, however, broadened into a structured and cosmic dimension by the device of making the two deities into integral parts

however, cannot rest upon itself alone, but must be seen in the context of the wider mythic system to which she belongs. This context, reverting back to the figure of Atum and his creative action, contains within itself the foundation of the Egyptian concept of gender distinction and its significance. Atum, although obviously male with regard to his physical sexuality, is, in terms of his inner psychological structure, neither masculine nor feminine.[40] Atum is, in the final analysis, essentially undifferentiated and undefined with regard to gender, and his creative and generative power, although real and effective, is nevertheless basically potential and must be brought into reality through the emergence of Shu and Tefnut. The twins, Shu and Tefnut, were purposely defined in the myth as brother (*sn*) and sister (*snt*) in order to stress the total balance and equality which exist between them.[41] The fact that Tefnut is identified with Ma'at even further points to the Egyptian concept of the "rightness" of this masculine/feminine balance. Shu and Tefnut, as the first generated beings, provide an interesting parallel and point of comparison with the Hebraic tradition of the first created beings, Adam and Eve, a comparison which stresses both the essential differences and the points of contact between the Egyptian and Hebrew ways of thinking.[42]

One cannot justifiably speak of masculine symbolism and feminine symbolism in the Pyramid Texts as if the two were different systems reflective of differing means of expression. Femininity and masculinity are not kept separate and polarized in the Pyramid Texts, but are intricately intertwined through a number of dif-

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of the tangible physical order. This device further facilitates understanding even the first divine being, Atum, in a political light and connecting the creation of the kingship with his emergence from the primæval waters. Fertility concepts and political concepts are thus combined without any subordination of one to the other and without any subordination of female/feminine myth to a male/masculine system.

40 Although there is nothing specific in the Pyramid Texts which expressly states this ambiguous nature of Atum, the very figure of the deity is essentially without any kind of clear delineation. There are no myths which serve to define his character or personality in a graphic manner, and as a result Atum remains very much an undefined figure. His maleness, of course, is obvious in his act of masturbation, but, apart from that, one detects no indications which point either to clearly defined masculinity or femininity in Atum's personality.

41 The terms *sn* and *snt* are derived from the verb *sni*, a term which has the basic meaning of "to be like," "to resemble;" R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1991), 230.

42 The emergence of Shu and Tefnut in the Egyptian system is a matter of generation, while the parallel figures of Adam and Eve in the Hebrew tradition are created rather than begotten. Hebrew mythological expression sees the first beings as created rather than begotten because of the essential distinction which Hebrew thinking made between God and creation. Egyptian thinking was less emphatic about this distinction, and hence Shu and Tefnut are begotten from Atum by the particular "bi-sexual" or "auto-sexual" method recorded in Egyptian myth. Despite this difference, however, there is an important parallel between the two traditions. Shu and Tefnut, generated from Atum, are divine beings, expressions of deity, while in Hebrew thought man is created in the image of God. However, this creation in the image of God is inclusive of the concept of mankind as male and female. Here, as in the case of Shu and Tefnut, one must note both the balance and distinction between male and female. In both cases, this balance and distinction is neither secondary nor accidental, but essential for the fullness and completion of the beings who have emerged from the divine action. Male and female, masculine and feminine, are thus seen as complementary in both traditions and cannot, therefore, be separated in mythic thinking. Neither, moreover, is superior or inferior to the other. The following assessment of the Biblical tradition can equally be applied to the Egyptian tradition: "[...] the biblical story clearly shows that these two aspects of man are inseparable to such a degree that a male or female human being taken separately and viewed *in se* is not a perfect human being. There is, so to speak, only half a human in a being isolated from its complementary element" (P. Evdokimov, *Woman and the Salvation of the World*, trans. Anthony P. Gythiel], [Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1994], 139).

ferent although related symbols. The opening of the mouth, performed by Horus, may be regarded as a masculine action due not to the obvious fact that it is performed by a male deity, but due more to the highly aggressive nature of Horus, a god whose chief action is his male/masculine defeat of Seth. At the same time, the opening the mouth is a life-giving action and hence may be regarded as parallel to the opening of the womb, the latter also being a masculine action, at least in terms of its sexual connotations.[43] The result of the action of opening the womb, however, may be regarded as feminine insofar as it implies revitalization and the renewal of life. The symbolism of nursing also reflects the nourishing aspect normally associated with the female, and in Utterance 42 we see the act of nursing done by Isis,[44] an obviously feminine action. However, in Utterance 41 the breast of Horus is also a source of milk to the reborn monarch. Here, the male/masculine Horus and the female/feminine Isis are made parallel, not through the symbolism of a male deity performing a female action, but through that of a masculine deity performing a feminine function. This unusual symbol of Horus' nursing becomes more comprehensible when one recalls the very significant role which Horus plays in the resurrection of the king. Resurrection, not only in the Pyramid Texts but also in general Egyptian tradition, is frequently expressed in terms of rebirth.[45] Hence, Horus' role in resurrecting the dead monarch may be understood as the symbol of a masculine deity performing a function which in its life-giving nature is essentially feminine.[46] In a similar vein, it may be noted in passing that the Eye of Horus, grammatically feminine, is also feminine in function, i.e., life-giving, although the Eye is not itself actually female and is, moreover, associated with a male deity. The symbolism of the Eye of Horus, therefore, may be taken as an instance wherein masculinity (in the person of Horus) and femininity (in the function of the Eye) are carefully combined in order to produce the desired revitalization of the dead monarch. This combination of masculinity and femininity in the symbol of the Eye of Horus may, of course, be no more than accidental and due solely to the grammatical gender of the term *irt* (eye). However, it is also possible, and hopefully not too imaginative, to see it used as a purposeful device.

What is evident in the above is the acute Egyptian realization that, for the purposes of creativity and regeneration, neither the masculine nor the feminine is in itself sufficient. What was necessary was the absolute unity of masculine and feminine,[47] the two balanced

43 One might compare Horus' action of the opening of the mouth with the creative action of Atum. Horus' action, both aggressive and life-giving, is both masculine and feminine in nature. So also the aggressive act of Atum's masturbation results in his accomplishment of a feminine goal, i.e., the procreation of life.

44 *PT* 32b.

45 It may be noted as a matter of interest that the mythic device of combining resurrection and rebirth is also central and essential to the Christian tradition. This does not necessarily imply any influence from Egyptian thinking on Christian articulation, but it does point to a common mythic tendency in the combining of certain patterns of symbolism.

46 This concept of a masculine deity performing a feminine function is not common in myth, but other instances do exist. Zeus, for example, gives birth to Athena through his head and Athena has no mother, as she herself boasts in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. This, however, is not an instance of Zeus "usurping" a female role, but one in which a male/masculine deity performs a *feminine* function. Also in Old Testament theology, Yahweh is described as having both masculine and feminine attributes. These, however, are not separated, i.e., divided between male and female deities, but are combined in the one divine symbol which thus is able to signify the fullness of creativity.

and complementary aspects of all living beings, both divine and mortal. The Egyptian mentality would, no doubt, have been inclined to view later Roman culture as being marked by a serious lack, i.e., the fact that, due to the nature of the Roman state and Roman society in general, the Roman female enjoyed no real equality either in myth or in the social structure. So too, the Amarna system during the Nineteenth Dynasty would have been, in accordance with the traditional Egyptian mentality, weakened because of an almost total lack of the feminine in Amarna mythic expression. Although the Amarna system made use of certain feminine metaphors and expressions, the divine world of that system was devoid of actual feminine deities.[48]

Birth symbolism in the Pyramid Texts is most frequently expressed from the aspect of maternity and hence is normally associated with the feminine principle. This principle, however, is expressed in the various texts through a plurality of deities, and the mother of the king is given various identities. In Utterance 211, bearing and fostering are combined in Iat, a milk goddess, and a number of other female deities are mentioned at various spots in the texts. The mother/nurse of the king is identified as such goddesses as Ipy, the hippopotamus goddess,[49] the Great Wild Cow,[50] the Great Maiden who dwells in On,[51] the Two Great Ladies, first-born daughters of the King of Lower Egypt,[52] Bastet,[53] Selket,[54] and Isis and Nephthys, the latter two being very frequently mentioned in parallel.[55] The mention of the king's mother as "an unknown one" in Utterance 320[56] stresses the mystery of the source of divine/royal life, and even inanimate objects such as the White Crown and the Red Crown can be described in maternal terms.[57] The latter reference is, of course, a means of expressing the right of royal inheritance due to the nature of the monarch by his birth, i.e., a concrete political symbol inseparably combined with the more abstract symbolism of rightful inheritance through birth. Even the West is personified and described as the one who has born the king,[58] a clear reference to the royal immortality, but one which also associates divine immortality specifically with the figure of the rightful monarch.

47 This same point has been made in a context which is totally different from the subject matter under discussion, nevertheless the following statement applies remarkably well to the Egyptian concept: "In life, there is the eternal conflict between man and woman. Even within himself every human being is 'bi-sexual', and made up of psychic complementarities of the two different sexes." P. Evdokimov, *Woman and the Salvation of the World*, 159.

48 The feminine is to an extent present in the Amarna system through the usage of certain feminine allusions. For example, the Aten is described as both mother and father, and birth symbolism is also stressed in the fact of the Aten begetting himself and of Akhenaten being the bodily son of the Aten. One may note also the prominent role played by Nefertiti in the Amarna cult. However, these considerations do not play any significant role in the actual theology of the Amarna system, and hence it must be said that the feminine in Amarna symbolism was basically token. However, Amarna thinking was beginning to approach the theological and move away from the mythological. Akhenaten, in other words, was dealing with a methodology of articulation which was not yet part of the Egyptian mentality.

49 *PT* 381.

50 *PT* 388c, *PT* 729a.

51 *PT* 728a.

52 *PT* 804a.

53 *PT* 1111a.

54 *PT* 1427c.

55 "Isis conceived me, Nephthys begat me, and I sit on the great throne which the gods have created" (*PT* 1154).

56 *PT* 515c-d.

57 *PT* 910a-b, 911a-b.

58 *PT* 282b-c.

59 *PT* 167-162.

Although a number of plausible explanations could be given for this plurality of symbolism in the maternity of the king, the significant point is that the compilers of the Pyramid Texts did not attempt to restrict maternal imagery, probably in order to emphasize the totality and complexity of divine/royal power. Also obvious is the fact that maternal expressions were definitely intended to be taken in a symbolic manner, and thus it may be suggested that masculinity and femininity have in themselves relatively little significance as separate entities. The point to be noted is that the combination of masculinity and femininity was the most obvious source of life. Hence, the symbol for divine rebirth had ultimately to depend upon this combination.

Despite the strong emphasis placed on the actual phenomenon of birth-giving (a female/feminine phenomenon), the Pyramid Texts attempt to keep the balance of masculine and feminine in a prominent position. In the pedigree of Osiris, for example, in Utterance 219,[59] the ancestry of the king is traced back through the two cosmic couples, Geb and Nut, and Shu and Tefnut, to Atum, the undifferentiated masculine and feminine.[60] Furthermore, in Utterance 307, a text which stresses the Heliopolitan basis of the royal/divine prerogative, both parents are stressed separately and in parallel: "My mother is an Onite, my father is an Onite,"[61] the parental role of each one being obviously dependent on the other, and both being presented in parallel fashion. Masculine and feminine, as it were, act in concert, as they do in many of the mythic statements of the Pyramid Texts. Utterance 44, for example, states that Re is gracious to the king and that Night is gracious to the king,[62] i.e., two opposite phenomena of day and night. Also, in the same text, the Two Lords are conciliated on his behalf and the Two Ladies are said to be gracious. A similar balance is found in Utterance 217 where Seth and Nephthys along with Osiris and Isis proclaim the coming of the monarch,[63] the action of proclaiming indicating mythic articulation of the event, the creative force of the spoken word, an action not unlike that of Nut's dd mdw in the sarcophagus texts. A final example of male/female interaction is found in Utterance 422, where both Nut and Re take the hand of the king and guide him to his final destination, the throne of Osiris.[64] Although birth symbolism is absent from the latter examples, it must be born in mind that the deceased monarch wins his rightful place in the afterlife essentially in virtue of his birthright. From the point of view of Egyptian theology, therefore, it may be said that everything connected with the reign of the monarch, both in his earthly life and in the hereafter, is dependent upon the action of Nut, the chief symbol of the maternal connection of the king.[65]

Isis and Nephthys, both of whom have a certain, although limited, maternal function vis-à-vis the king, are essential in making the connec-

60 Atum's method of generation, a combination of masturbation and spitting, appears to have been an attempt to express both male and female sexuality in the one single divine being. From this combination of male and female in the sexuality of Atum it may be logically implied that the psychological nature of Atum was understood as containing the more abstract elements of masculine and feminine.

61 *PT* 482c.

62 *PT* 34a-b.

63 *PT* 153a-b and 155a-b.

64 *PT* 756-757.

65 The climactic position of the motherhood of Nut is well illustrated in Utterance 565 where the resurrected king proclaims: "This day is my birth, O gods./ I do not know my first mother whom I did know (once)./ It is Nut and Osiris who have given me birth" (*PT* 1428c-e). In this text, the king denies his mortal mother for he has now become deified, and the final instrument of his deification is the generative power of Nut.

tion between birth and resurrection. No matter how one is inclined to interpret Isis and Nephthys in general, their major role in the Pyramid Texts is in connection with the dead and resurrected monarch. Isis and Nephthys mourn the dead Osiris, find him and protect him, prevent him from decaying, cleanse him, pour a libation for him, gather his flesh, raise him, make him healthy, nurse him and accompany him in his ascent to the sky. Although the other chief symbols of resurrection - apart from the birth symbolism - in the Pyramid Texts are connected with masculine deities, especially Horus, the presence of Isis and Nephthys throughout the process appears to have been regarded as a necessity. The reasons for this, it may be suggested, are two-fold. First, the fact of resurrection depended upon the birth pedigree of the monarch, and hence, the female/feminine Isis and Nephthys functioned as symbols of the existence of that birth pedigree. Secondly, in order for the resurrection and rebirth process to be complete, both masculine and feminine had to be represented in order to signify the completeness and totality of life and rebirth. Here again, the nurturing feminine element is brought in as the complement to the more aggressive masculine element which comes out in a figure such as Horus or Thoth. Hence, the two chief symbols of rebirth found in the Pyramid Texts, the feminine birth symbolism and the masculine conquest symbolism, were used in such a manner so as to complement one another in order to express the totality and fullness of the royal/divine authority both in this world and in the afterlife.[66]

A further interpretation may be added to these two symbolic systems of justifying royal legitimacy, an interpretation which all the more brings out their distinctly complementary nature. Birth symbolism, both in the Pyramid Texts and in later Egyptian mythic expression, makes a definitive statement of the right of the monarch to rule in virtue of his divine origin, this divine origin being extended even to his physical existence. Birth symbolism, as it were, establishes his divine and regal essence, an essence which comes into being through the natural process of regeneration and which, therefore, cannot be questioned and needs no further justification. This divine/royal pedigree, passed on through the process of regeneration constitutes the "feminine" aspect of monarchy and functions as a statement of the innate potential of the monarch to assume royal authority. The male/masculine conquest symbolism, however, functions in the Pyramid Texts to prove the legal right of the monarch actually to rule in virtue of his own aggressive and physical accomplishments, i.e., the "masculine" aspect of the monarchy, the forceful fulfillment and accomplishment of what belongs to him in virtue of the right inherited by birth. Thus, what the king passively inherits, he actively claims through his own strength and action. The masculine and feminine are thus seen as supporting and fulfilling one another in an equal and balanced manner both in the earthly kingship and in the royal afterlife.[67]

66 It should be noted that in the Pyramid Texts feminine symbolism goes beyond the childbearing aspect of motherhood, although it still remains connected with the sexual action of copulation which in turns leads to the renewal of life. In Utterance 366 (*PT* 632). the king is described as copulating with Isis and placing his seed within her. This appears to reflect the custom of the king gaining his right to the throne by marriage with the throne princess. Although the monarch is the one who actually rules, he nevertheless obtains his right to rule from his spouse, and this right is, as it were, ratified by the performance of the sexual and generative action. It may be argued that in this particular text, Isis performs a feminine function by handing on the royal prerogative to her sexual partner, the king.

It is, moreover, not insignificant that the legitimization of royal authority is underscored by the two feminine symbols of Hathor and Ma'at. The name of Hathor, (*Ḥwt-Ḥr* = "Mansion of Horus") and its hieroglyphic writing, 5, seem to indicate that she was or became - at least in the political interpretation of myth - essentially a personification of the royal house. As a female/feminine deity, her main function was not so much to act as it was to be, and, as a symbol of the female/feminine regenerative force, Hathor, the royal house, gives rise to the male/masculine expression of monarchy, the king who both is and acts.

The symbol of Ma'at serves as a further means of justifying the legitimacy of royal action. Throughout the whole history of the Egyptian kingship, one of the chief marks of the king was the fact that he both ruled in accordance with Ma'at and maintained the cosmic order of Ma'at.[68] This was true even during the reign of the heretic Akhenaten, who seems to stress more than any other Egyptian ruler that he was one who "lives by Ma'at" (*ꜥnḫ m mɜꜥt*). The concept of Ma'at appears to have been originally an abstract idea which was later articulated in concrete form through the symbol of the feminine deity. (I would stress here the term feminine rather than female, for the orderly function of Ma'at was essentially creative although the deity herself seems to have had no overtones of sexuality either male or female.) The grammatical gender of the term Ma'at is, of course, feminine, and this may have been one of the reasons why its personification was in a feminine deity. At the same time, it also appears to be highly logical that a concept such as Ma'at (i.e., balance and order, the possibility of creative and positive action) should naturally be seen as a concept which is essentially feminine in nature. However, it must be noted that in the Pyramid Texts the concept of Ma'at does not appear as a central or highly developed one.

In conclusion, the rich, although sometimes confused, symbolism of the Pyramid Texts can to an extent be simplified by the realization that the feminine maternal symbolism of Nut provides the key to its interpretation. This symbolism of Nut's maternity does not apply only to the royal afterlife, but is even to some extent retroactive. The deified king is described in Utterance 571 as being in effect pre-existent,[69] and, because of the role of Nut as a cosmic mother, the king can be described in Utterance 589 as "the ka of all the gods."[70] A climax to the motherhood symbolism can be seen in Utterance 606 when the king is identified, through Nut, with Re: "You are Re who came forth from Nut who

67 A modern theological assessment of the role of masculine and feminine in this regard, although somewhat more abstract than would have appealed to the Egyptian mind, is highly relevant to the argument: "The maternal instinct is that of the source from which everything derives, the *Alpha*; the paternal instinct is that of the end toward which all things tend, the Omega;" P. Evdokimov, *Woman and the Salvation of the World*, 160. The same author also stresses the distinction which must be made between male and masculine on the one hand and female and feminine on the other: "A woman is not maternal because her body is able to give birth: it is from her maternal spirit that the corresponding physiological and anatomical capabilities are derived. Likewise man is more virile and physically stronger because in his spirit there is something that corresponds to the 'violence' of which the Gospel speaks" (P. Evdokimov, *Woman and the Salvation of the World*, 16). In other words, what is truly significant in human sexuality is not "male and female" but "masculine and feminine" from which male and female arise.

68 See H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 9.

69 "*N.* was begotten by his father Atum/ When the sky did not exist and when the earth did not exist,/ When men did not exist, when the gods had not been born, and when death did not exist" (*PT* 1466b-d).

70 *ṯwt kɜ n nṯrw nb* (*PT* 1609a).

bears Re every day; N. is borne every day like Re."[71] The essential purpose of Nut's maternal symbolism may be summarized by saying that she provides a cosmic dimension to the royal mythology, in balance to Isis who, as a personification of the throne, provides a political dimension. Nut and Isis are combined as symbols of motherhood in Utterance 609: "Your mother Nut has borne you in the West [...] your mother Isis has borne you in Chemmis."[72] The symbol of Isis is further particularly important as mother, sister and wife. She is mother to Horus, i.e., the throne which gives him his reality as king, and she is wife to Osiris, thus legitimizing the sonship of Horus. Furthermore, her position as sister to Osiris doubles the force of her legitimizing source, keeping the pedigree "pure" as it were. Moreover, Isis and Nephthys, in their role as sisters of Horus,[73] stress the essential identity between Osiris and Horus: both are expressions of the one kingship, Osiris being the dead Horus.[74] The final and ultimate purpose of feminine birth symbolism is seen in Utterance 703: "Your father is not from among mortals, and your mother is not from among mortals. This your mother is the great *ḥwrt*-serpent [...] who dwells in Nekheb."[75] In the final analysis, therefore, birth symbolism, centred around the goddess Nut, refers back to the institution of the particular political order which came into existence at the time of the Unification of Egypt. The religious symbolism of the Pyramid Texts was remarkably free from any sense of tension, conflict or polarity between masculine and feminine elements in myth. Rather, the two were seen as fully complementary and necessary elements for the articulation of the Old Kingdom understanding of the structure and function of the created universe and its processes, especially the processes and reality of the political order.

It would, however, be too narrow an interpretation to relate the whole of Pyramid Text myth solely to the political order. To be certain, the figure of Nut went a long way towards justifying the political system, and Nut, therefore, may be seen as the central pivot point of the whole early system, the mythic figure which gave it its distinctive character. However, the figure of Nut was dependent upon an even more basic mythic figure, Atum, later to become Atum-Re. The retention of Atum as the foundation symbol of the system assured that the myth of the Old Kingdom continued as an expression of a wider and even cosmic concept, a concept which provided a tightly knit and unified view of existence and in which the political order was given a climactic position. Atum had been the single principle from which all other existing beings had evolved. Strictly speaking, Atum was not in reality a creator deity, for he did not impose creation on the universe from an external position as did YHWH, the God of Hebrew tradition. Atum was rather a generative force which evolved and grew by the method of reproduction, thus making the created cosmos an integral part of the wider divine order, making it, in fact, the visible expression of that order. Atum, the beginning of all existence, was an absolute and single unity. From that unity came the diversity of the created order, but even that diversity was conceived

71 *PT* 1688b-c. In the same vein is *PT* 1835a-c: "His mother the sky daily bears him living like Re./ He rises with him in the East, and he sets with him in the West. His mother Nut is never free from him daily."

72 *PT* 1703a-c.

73 *PT* 1951.

74 There is not in this particular text, as R.O. Faulkner suggests (*The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969], 282, note 6) confusion between Horus and Osiris. It is rather a recognition of an identity of essence between Horus and Osiris, Osiris being none other than the deceased and glorified Horus.

75 *PT* 2203b-2204a.

as a single whole through the fine and delicate balance of the gender system which was responsible for its existence. The final synthesis of Old Kingdom thought, therefore, consisted of a system of symbolism which expressed in mythic, and to an extent mystical, fashion the total unity of all things, the divine, the cosmic and the political orders. The stability of this system was assured by the evenly balanced combination of the masculine and feminine genders.

Ahmose Sapair
Discussing the Identity of a Deified Prince

Bart van Assche

Abstract:

The 18th Dynasty prince Ahmose Sapair has already been the subject of various studies, usually centred on his parentage. As the views expressed in these studies mostly contradict one another, the issue has become increasingly confusing. This article provides a summary and discussion of the various theories concerning the prince's identity and parentage, in order to bring some clarity to the matter and facilitate further study.

Resumé:

Le prince Ahmose Sapair de la 18ème Dynastie a été le sujet de diverses études; la majorité se focalise sur son origine. Comme les points de vue dans ces études se contredisent, la question est devenue de plus en plus confue. Cet article offre un compte rendu des différentes théories et des discussions au sujet de l'identité et de l'origine du prince, avec l'intention d'éclairer la matière et de faciliter une étude plus profonde.

Key Words:

Ahmose Sapair, Seqenenre Tao, Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Ahmose-ankh, parentage, deified prince, DB 320, Louvre statue, age, royal ancestors, mortuary chapel, pyramidion, Dra Abu el-Naga, Thebes, Abydos, Chris Bennett, Claude Vandersleyen, Stephen Harvey, Aidan Dodson

Ahmose Sapair (alt. Sapairi or Sipair) was a royal prince, deified early on in the 18th Dynasty. As a subject of worship throughout the entire New Kingdom, Ahmose Sapair is last known to be mentioned on the 21st Dynasty coffin of Butehamun.[1] In total over 30 depictions, texts and artifacts have been found containing certain or highly probable references to the deified prince. A sequence of 5 centuries of worship and reverence, together with a relative abundance of objects to remember him by, actually makes for more than what most Ancient Egyptian kings have left to show for. The human existence of Ahmose Sapair however has been overshadowed by his deification. Many theories exist about the prince's exact identity, parentage and importance. The articles written by Claude Vandersleyen provide the most elaborate, well-documented and reliable studies available on the subject so far, although his conclusions are

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1 Inventory nr. 2236 in the Museo Egizio, Turin.

2 Claude Vandersleyen, "L'identité d'Ahmès Sapaïr," *SAK* 10 (1983): 311-324 and Claude Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr - fils de Séqénenré Djéhouty-Aa (17e dynastie) et la statue du Musée du Louvre E 15682* (Bruxelles: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne 8, Éditions Safran, 2005).

3 Chris Bennett, "Thutmosis I and Ahmes-Sapair," *GM* 141 (1994): 35-37.

not definite.[2] Another particularly noteworthy article was written by Chris Bennett,[3] offering the debate an interesting new point of view.

In the course of this text the main aspects of Ahmose Sapair's cult and the various theories concerning his identity are discussed. Although much is unknown about this deified prince, still much can be said.

A Youthful Prince

After having been moved from a now unknown tomb, the poor remains of a young boy were found in an 18th Dynasty replacement coffin at DB 320, the so-called Deir el-Bahari mummy cache. This coffin was put in place by 21st Dynasty priests and labeled "Sapair".[4] The mummy[5] found within was unwrapped in 1905 by Grafton Elliot Smith and assigned an age of 5 or 6, as the boy had a full set of deciduous teeth.[6] While this mummy is traditionally viewed as Ahmose Sapair's, it has been theorized by Chris Bennett that the 21st Dynasty priests might have made an error in identification.[7]

On the earliest certain depictions of Ahmose Sapair, dating from the 18th Dynasty, the features of Ahmose Sapair are rather unique and easily recognizable.[8] Depicted with puffy child-like cheeks, prominent lips carrying the hint of a smile and large eyes under arched eyebrows, the prince's face shows an almost surprised expression. Although these depictions obviously portray a young male, the hairstyle usually consists of a heavy round wig instead of the more traditional sidelock of youth, usually worn until around the age of 10. This could imply that the young prince was actually older than 10 at the time of his death. As such it would make for a strange fit to attribute the mummy of a mere 6 year old boy to Ahmose Sapair. Still, considering the fact that Ahmose Sapair was up till the 21st Dynasty known as a deified royal and even the subject of (albeit faded) reverence and worship, assigning the name of a known prince to one of only two child's mummies, re-buried in DB 320, might actually have been more of a conscious decision than one born out of carelessness or haste.[9]

Whether the remains of this approximately 6 year old boy should be attributed to the deified prince Ahmose Sapair or not, it does not need to come as a surprise to state that the latter died at a young age. Ahmose Sapair was consistently depicted as a young boy, no longer a child but not yet a man, from the start of his cult until the end of the New Kingdom, a fine 500 years later. The originally detailed appearance of Ahmose Sapair, as described before, was eventually replaced by a rather standard form of portrayal for a youthful person. At some time late in the 18th or early in the 19th Dynasty his prominent features disappeared and Ahmose Sapair began to be depicted wearing a traditional side-lock of youth. It has to be noted that in almost every depiction where Ahmose Sapair is wearing this

4 Inventory nr. CG 61007 in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo.

5 Inventory nr. CG 61064 in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo.

6 Grafton Elliot Smith, *Catalogue Géneral Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: The Royal Mummies* (Cairo : Imprimerie de L'institut Francais D'archéologie Orientale, 1912), 22-25.

7 Bennett, "Thutmosis I and Ahmes-Sapair," *GM* 141:35-37.

8 For instance on the otherwise rather crude stela of Kenres (inventory nr. CG 34004 in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo). See: Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, doc. 1a-1b.

9 While in the recent past several misidentifications of the mummies in DB 320 have been brought to light, it needs to be noted that these all concern adult remains. The existence of a few certain mistakes, made by the 21st Dynasty priests, can give cause to question their other actions. In a case so specific and almost unique as that of a child's re-burial in DB 320, the mathematical probability of a misidentification is however far smaller, even when what's left for posterity doesn't seem to match the expectations.

side-lock, the distinctive hair-style from his early depictions is actually still visible underneath, even when sometimes altered into a kind of skull-cap.[10] This could imply that the side-lock was merely used to emphasise the boy's youth. If the child's mummy from DB 320 was indeed misidentified during the 21st Dynasty, maybe then this was due to a lack of clarity concerning the prince's exact young age, already begun during the Ramesside period.

Chris Bennett's approach on Ahmose Sapair's identity basically consists of the DB 320 mummy having been mislabeled, the body therefore not having belonged to the prince himself. This would create an opportunity in which the true Ahmose Sapair might have had a higher age, becoming eligible as the otherwise unknown father of king Thutmose I. Although this theory provides an answer for the honors paid to his memory, it overlooks the constant manner of depicting Ahmose Sapair as a youngling, not prone to already have a household or children of his own. Furthermore, only one image is known in which Ahmose Sapair is shown in the company of Thutmose I.[11] If the status of Ahmose Sapair was in fact due to his dynastic importance, even when taking into account that proximity does not need to imply kinship, it would make for a strange turn of events never to see precisely this important element of the prince's identity reflected in any of his depictions or the texts he is mentioned in.

Although nothing is definite in Egyptology, much can be said in favor of Ahmose Sapair only having been a young boy at the time of his death. It needs to be questioned though why an obscure prince, who possibly died before even hitting puberty, eventually ended up becoming the subject of a long-lasting cult and why he earned such a prominent place in various group depictions of deified royals.

The Louvre Statue

The easily recognizable features from the earliest certain depictions of Ahmose Sapair are the same as those on one remarkable but older statue, probably found at Dra Abu el-Naga and now located at the Louvre.[12] This 1.035m tall statue is unique in its sort. Not only is it one of only few life-size statues from the late 17th Dynasty, but its quality is exceptionally high. The details of hair, dress and physical features are subtle, while traces of gilding remain visible on the limestone material. Furthermore, the text on this statue speaks of a profound (royal) family grief: the premature death of a young, beloved prince Ahmose. His father (king Seqenenre Tao) as well as his mother (queen Ahhotep) and two other female family members (both named Ahmose) lament the boy's death in strings of text, written down on the surface of the small throne on which the prince is seated. Such an obvious and dramatic royal expression of pain would only recur centuries later, when Akhenaten was shown lamenting the death of his daughter Meketaten in the Amarna royal tomb.

While Aidan Dodson mentions the portrayed prince as a further unattested individual,[13] the striking resemblance of the Louvre statue to (early) depictions of the deified Ahmose Sapair has led various scholars to believe that the prince Ahmose from the Louvre statue and the divine Ahmose Sapair were in fact one and the same. If so, quite a few elements of Ahmose Sapair's life

10 This can clearly be seen on the 19th century reproductions of his now badly damaged depiction in TT 359.

11 The stela of Sennefer, inventory nr. 1455 in the Museo Egizio, Turin.

12 Inventory nr. E 15682.

13 Aidan Dodson & Dyan Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 128-129.

would become clear. Besides showing the royal family expressing the humble emotion of grief, the Louvre statue also carries a rather unique declaration of paternity for an Egyptian prince: the mourned young boy is explicitly presented as the king's eldest son Ahmose (*s3 nsw smsw Ỉꜥḥms*). As the initial heir apparent of his father, king Seqenenre Tao, this prince Ahmose died at a young age and during a troublesome period, quite some time before the final expulsion of the Hyksos. Despite the exceptional iconographic similarities between the Louvre statue and the early depictions of Ahmose Sapair, a definite identification is hindered as the prince Ahmose of the Louvre statue is never specifically named "Sapair."[14]

The Epithet "Sapair"

This epithet "Sapair" is of a rare nature. Commonly *s3-p3-ir* is translated as "son of the one who acts/acted (the man of action)". While it goes without saying that some reserve would be advised, such a description would indeed fit a son of king Seqenenre Tao, the 17th Dynasty ruler who challenged the Hyksos forces and presumably died in battle. In early 18th Dynasty stelae a *s3 nsw Ỉꜥḥ-ms* is "named" (*ḏdw n=f* or *ḏdw=f*) "Sapair". This is a clear indication for "Sapair" having been a surname attributed to a prince Ahmose rather than an actual name on its own, although later sources often referred to Ahmose Sapair by "Sapair" alone. Why and when exactly this surname was used first is however impossible to state with certainty, leaving open the possibility that the epithet was only in use from a later date than that of the creation of the earlier mentioned Louvre statue. This uncertain dating of the epithet "Sapair" offers a possible excuse for its absence on this statue, still allowing it to be thought to represent Ahmose Sapair.

The epithet "Sapair" was used independently on a number of artifacts, mostly dating from the reign of Amenhotep III to the final years of the New Kingdom. The "prince Ahmose Sapair" seems to have gradually evolved into the "divinity Sapair", at the expense of the prince's identity. This is noticeable in the use of his name as well as with the titles he was given and how his original look was slowly replaced by a less individual set of features. This is most apparent in a wall painting from the tomb of Inherkhau (TT 359, dating from the reign of Ramesses IV) and a text fragment from the Papyrus Abbott (dating from the reign of Ramesses IX). In TT 359 "Sapair" is still depicted with a youthful appearance, but wearing an additional side-lock and holding the royal regalia of crook and flail. In the Papyrus Abbott, the report of an investigation into tomb robberies in the Theban region, "Ahmose Sapair" is even mentioned as a full-fledged king.

A Deified Prince

Both in the tomb decorations of Khabekhnet (TT 2 from the reign of Ramesses II)[15] and Inherkhau (TT 359 from the reign of Ramesses IV), Ahmose Sapair is shown as part of a series of royal individuals. Among mainly kings and queens a few princes and princesses are represented as well, of which most now have at least an equally vague identity as Ahmose Sapair. The latter's name however is the only one consistently left without an encircling cartouche. Khabekhnet was shown facing twenty-seven or more of these royals while

14 Christophe Barbotin nevertheless suggested a connection between the Louvre statue and the epithet "Sapair" through an indirect but typical Egyptian game of words. If read syllabically (as is done with foreign names), *s*(*3*)-*p*(*3*)-(*i*) *r* resembles the word *spr*. Roughly meaning "the solicited", according to Barbotin, this could refer to the nature of the Louvre statue as a subject of worship in later times. See: Christophe Barbotin, "Un intercesseur dynastique à l'aube du Nouvel Empire. La statue du prince Iâhmès," *La Revue des Musées de France, Revue du Louvre* 4 (2005): 26.

15 Part of the wall decoration of TT 2 is now located at the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin (ÄMP 1625).

Inherkhau and his wife appeared in front of twenty of them, the vast majority in both cases belonging to the late 17th and early 18th Dynasties. These royals are all shown seated on thrones, invariably placed on pedestals. This would indicate that not the actual kings, queens, princes and princesses are portrayed but rather their respective statuary.[16] Instead of showing commoners formally worshipping an abstract series of "royal ancestors", these wall paintings more likely represent true piety, expressed by the tomb owners in their lifetime (and possibly in their function) towards the cults of a number of deceased and deified royals.

The original seated statues on which these Ramesside depictions may have been based, would most likely have originated from the various chapels and memorial or mortuary temples in western Thebes. While no such temples or smaller chapels from the earliest stage of the New Kingdom have survived to this day,[17] these places of worship could clearly still have been intact, known, maintained and functioning throughout the Ramesside age. With that in mind, the depiction in these Ramesside tombs of a possible statue for the deified Ahmose Sapair makes for an interesting case.

Considering Ahmose Sapair's princely status, his cult statue would probably have originated from a chapel like that of prince Wadjmose, a son of king Thutmose I, near the later Ramesseum. The earlier discussed statue of a prince Ahmose at the Louvre is thus far however the only one (controversially) attributed to Ahmose Sapair and would make for a bad fit with the statue(s) possibly depicted in TT 2 and TT 359. As the Louvre statue was eventually ritually dismembered,[18] it would only be logical that it had once been an (ultimately disgraced) object of worship. Although the Ramesside tomb portrayals are stylized and generally lacking personal features, their additions of a side-lock and royal regalia to a representation of this particular statue would make for extra trappings, too elaborate even to Ancient Egyptian standards. While the Louvre statue seems to have been a cult object indeed, it was therefore probably not the one revered by Khabekhnet and Inherkhau.

With Ahmose Sapair's most likely young age at death, his deification and continued worship are remarkable. As various rather obscure New Kingdom royals were also depicted in the Ramesside tombs while they received considerably less attention elsewhere, it is not so much the deification of Ahmose Sapair itself that seems exceptional but rather the popularity of his worship. An explanation might be found in the exact identity of the prince who became the deity Sapair. This is basically why a researcher like Vandersleyen ties him to the tragic prince Ahmose, known from the Louvre statue. This is also why authors like Bennett and Dodson question his youthful age and see him as the otherwise unknown father of Thutmose I, worshipped in his capacity of having kept intact the bloodline of Egypt's ruling Dynasty.

The Companions of "Sapair"

If having had a chapel in western Thebes, Ahmose Sapair may or may not have been the sole subject of worship there.[19] In most of the surviving testimonies to his cult the deified prince is in any case shown in the company of a select group of other deified royals. Most frequent

16 Gay Robins, *Egyptian Statues* (Shire Publications 26, 2001), 31-44.

17 Gerhard Haeny, "New Kingdom Mortuary Temples and Mansions of Millions of Years," in *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 86-126.

18 Barbotin, "La statue du prince Iâhmès," *Revue du Louvre* 4:25-26.

19 It is possible that various deified royals shared a common focal point of worship. This idea has been brought up for instance by Steven Snape when dealing with the probable additional use of prince Wadjmose's memorial chapel for the cult of a prince Ramose. See Steven R. Snape, "Ramose Restored: A Royal Prince and His Mortuary Cult," *JEA* 71 (1985): 181-182.

and prominent among those are Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. A fine example of such a depiction with Amenhotep I can be found in TT 161, a tomb dating from the reign of Amenhotep III and belonging to Nakht, a gardener of the temple of Amun.[20] Above a false door, Nakht is shown offering to Amenhotep I and Ahmose Sapair who stands behind the king.[21] While Winlock[22] and Wente[23] concluded out of similar depictions that Ahmose Sapair might have been a son of Amenhotep I, such groupings of deified royals should not be considered as accurate genealogical documents. Ahmose Sapair had also been depicted in the company of princess Sitamun and queens Ahmose-Meryetamun and Ahhotep.[24] On one occasion he even figured on a stela in the company of kings Thutmose I, Thutmose II and Amenhotep II.[25] The reason for his presence among these royals would seem to come from their mutual divine status rather than from a close familial relationship.

Although pictorial proximity is not necessarily an indication of close family ties, there are still some interesting observations to be made regarding the cults of both Ahmose Sapair and Amenhotep I. Soon after the king's death both he and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari were deified and worshipped at Thebes. They were regarded as the patron-deities of Deir el-Medina, the settlement for the royal tomb workers, and their cult remained popular throughout the entire New Kingdom.[26] Both the longevity and spread of their worship compare well with the durability of Ahmose Sapair's cult, although the latter was obviously not depicted as frequently as the royal couple.

Next to Ahmose Sapair quite a few lesser known royal family members of the late 17th and early 18th Dynasty were deified as well,[27] while only a small number of later 18th Dynasty royals shared the same fate. Perhaps the historical significance and importance bestowed on these early deified royals (set against the background of the resurrection of Egypt as a powerful realm) might have become difficult to surpass by following generations. Of all those deified early royals (among others depicted in tombs TT 2 and TT 359) only the memory of Ahmose Sapair survived and thrived like that of Amenhotep I and his mother. Few traces of worship exist during the 18th Dynasty for those other lesser royals, while for the same period there is a relative abundance in tributes to Ahmose Sapair.[28] He appears to have been the only one of these princes and princesses whose devotion did not seem to need "reviving" during the Ramesside age. This might imply that the prince was given a higher degree of attention at the very time of his death and deification opposed to most other royal family members.

Only the worship of Ahmose Sapair as a deified royal seems to have been able to keep pace with that of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari. In the majority of joint depictions of Ahmose Sapa-

20 Lise Manniche, "The Tomb of Nakht, the Gardener, at Thebes (No. 161) as Copied by Robert Hay," *JEA* 72 (1986): 55-90.

21 Part of this relief is now located at the Musée Rodin in Paris.

22 Herbert E. Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes," *JEA* 10 (1924): 222.

23 Edward F. Wente, "Thutmose III's Accession and the Beginning of the New Kingdom," *JNES* 34 (1975): 271.

24 To make the context of these joint portrayals even harder to interpret, the exact identities (and number) of queens Ahmose-Meryetamun and Ahhotep are still an issue of debate.

25 The earlier mentioned stela of Sennefer, inventory nr. 1455 in the Museo Egizio, Turin.

26 Edward F. Wente, "Two Ramesside Stelas pertaining to the Cult of Amenophis I," *JNES* 22 (1963): 30-36.

27 For instance a rather anonymous princess like Ahmose-Henuttamehu or a prince like Binpu.

28 Robert J. Demarée, *The ȝḫ iḳr n Rʿ-Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: Egyptologische Uitgaven, 1983).

ir, he is also shown in the company of either one or both of these royals. It is an enticing thought to conclude that the prince was therefore related to Amenhotep I. Stating that Ahmose Sapair might then have been this particular King's Son would even be theoretically possible, although only a serious case of conjecture, as there is not even a single clear reference to Amenhotep I as ever having had an actual son.[29]

The exact starting point of Ahmose Sapair's cult is uncertain. The manner in which he was depicted only altered during or just before the 19th Dynasty. Before this time he can easily be distinguished on depictions dating back to the reigns of Amenhotep III and the earlier Thutmosid kings. It is harder to accurately date depictions of Ahmose Sapair as belonging prior to this time. In fact, no possible representations of the prince can be dated unequivocally to the time span between the carving of the Louvre statue (from the reign of Seqenenre Tao) and at least the reign of Amenhotep I. As there is no certainty concerning the dating of his earliest representations, his death and deification would seem able to have occurred during the reign of Amenhotep I. There is however at least one reason why such a "late" death might be impossible.[30]

While depictions of Ahmose Sapair cannot be dated conclusively to the period prior to the first Thutmosid rulers, there is a specific text fragment, most likely referring to the prince and written before the 22nd regnal year of king Ahmose.[31] Although it is now lost, a pyramidion was found in 1898-99 at Dra Abu el-Naga and described by the excavators.[32] The text on this piece of the superstructure of a tomb specifically named a *s3 nsw ỉʿḥ-ms p3 ir*. Whether or not this pyramidion belonged the actual tomb of Ahmose-Sapair. There is however only little doubt about the text fragment as holding a reference to the prince. That would place his death prior to the reign of Amenhotep I. As the latter started out as an infant king, a father-son relationship with Ahmose Sapair would have to be excluded.

Recent Developments

Next to the prince Ahmose known from the Louvre statue and a purely conjectural son of Amenhotep I, another candidate has been put forward to identify Ahmose Sapair as a King's Son. This would be another young prince Ahmose, a son of king Ahmose and traditionally named "Ahmose-ankh."[33] The timeframe and name of this young boy would seem to fit the

29 The absence of any mention of a son of Amenhotep I provides a solid reason for not even discussing the option, but does not entirely negate the possibility. Dodson made this abundantly clear, as even most kings left no trace of ever having been (mentioned as) a prince. Why this matter is still discussed here, is simply because some aspects of Ahmose Sapair's worship tie him to Amenhotep I. See: Aidan Dodson, "Crown Prince Djhutmose and the Royal Sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *JEA* 76 (1990): 87-97.

30 Basically there are two artefacts, contradicting a "late" death for Ahmose Sapair. One is the pyramidion discussed further on. Another is an intrusive (partial) ushabti, found by Carter and Carnarvon in 1912 at TT 15, the tomb of Tetiky. The sources on this particular object, however, are extremely scarce and indirect, making it virtually impossible to discuss. See: Vandersleyen, *Iahmès Sapaïr*, 41.

31 Daniel Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende* (Berlin: Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 31, 2007), 155-160.

32 The Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, P. E. Newberry, *Report on some excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9* (London, 1908), pl. XVII.8.

33 The name "Ahmose-ankh" is used here only to distinguish the young son of king Ahmose from various contemporaries with the same name. Among others, Vandersleyen made perfectly clear that the -ankh suffix is simply part of the text accompanying the prince's only certain mention, corresponding with the phrase "*di ʿnḫ ḏt*", accorded further on to his father king Ahmose. See: Claude Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Bruxelles: Monographies Reine Elisabeth, 1971), 194.

picture perfectly, but some reserve would be advised. The little prince figured on one contemporary artifact alone, king Ahmose's Donation Stela from Karnak, probably dating from around the middle of this king's reign. As can be made out of the stela's text, the King's Son "Ahmose-ankh" was his father's heir apparent. The prince is depicted as a very young boy, wearing the traditional side-lock of youth, in the company of his parents king Ahmose and queen Ahmose-Nefertari. This would be the only certain contemporary "family picture" of a contender for the identity of the deified prince Ahmose Sapair. Viewing "Ahmose-ankh" as the later "Sapair" surely is an attractive option. The same problem for a definite identification exists however as with the Louvre statue. He is simply not known to be named "Sapair".

It is nevertheless interesting to note that during the recent excavations at the Abydos pyramid temple complex of king Ahmose (under the auspices of Dr. Stephen P. Harvey) a number of fragments from Ramesside votive stelae were found. At least one of these shows a side-locked prince, probably in the company of other royal figures, similar to the depictions of Ahmose Sapair on Ramesside stelae from the Theban region.[34] Considering that these fragments were found in the funerary cult centre of king Ahmose, a possible reverence of Ahmose Sapair in Abydos would surely make "Ahmose-ankh" a worthy candidate for his identification.[35] King Ahmose's eldest son most probably died before his father's 22nd regnal year (when a debatable co-regency with Amenhotep I would have started), indicating that the former crown-prince only reached an age of about 10 at most. Although the connection between "Ahmose-ankh" and "Sapair" is as of yet fairly brittle, it remains a tantalizing option, deserving further study.

Conclusions: A Question Mark Prince

In the course of this article I have tried to summarize and discuss the main facts and fictions regarding the various aspects of Ahmose Sapair, the deity who was once a prince. I am clearly not the first to find this individual a fascinating enigma. Claude Vandersleyen made a compelling case in attributing the Louvre statue of a prince Ahmose, son of king Seqenenre Tao and queen Ahhotep, through striking iconographic similarities to the deified prince Ahmose Sapair. The main flaw in his theory is the actual absence of the epithet "Sapair" on this particular statue, although the epithet itself could have dated from a later point in time.

Chris Bennett on the other hand made a justified notion on the prominent presence of Ahmose Sapair on New Kingdom tables of deified royals, stating that the latter could have been more than a mere young prince without progeny and as such a candidate for the identification of the otherwise unknown father of king Thutmose I. Apart from being an excellent example of logical and theoretical thinking, no actual textual or graphic references exist to strengthen the claim that Ahmose Sapair might have grown old enough to start a family of his own. The identification by 21st Dynasty priests of the young boy's mummy from DB 320 as "Sapair" is indeed problematic and can be discussed. The consistently young appearance of Ahmose Sapair on the artifacts at hand however, ranging from the rise until the decline of the New King-

34 Excavation inventory nr. ATP 5101. See: Stephen P. Harvey, "New evidence at Abydos for Ahmose's funerary cult," *EgArch* 24 (2004): 5.

35 Stephen P. Harvey, "King Heqatawy: Notes on a Forgotten Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Name," in *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt - Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, ed. Zahi A. Hawass and Janet Richards (Cairo: Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2007), 343-356.

dom, weakens Bennett's theory. Nor is there any reliable direct link to be found between Ahmose Sapair and king Thutmose I, in order to support a consequent consanguinity. Bennett's remark on the prominence of this deified prince is justified nonetheless and might actually lead to consider another possibility.

The popularity of Ahmose Sapair's worship resembles that of king Amenhotep I and queen Ahmose-Nefertari. When depicted in the company of other deified royals this is also the couple he is most often shown with. This could give cause to re-evaluate the old theory of Ahmose Sapair as having been a possible, although never directly mentioned son of Amenhotep I. If the pyramidion found at Dra Abu el-Naga indeed carries a reference to Ahmose Sapair (or belongs to his original tomb), however, the prince would not fit into that time frame. Then another possible candidate for the original identity of Ahmose Sapair could better be found with "Ahmose-ankh," the young heir of king Ahmose. Although this is an enticing idea, there is still no direct material at hand to back up a strong enough claim of identification.

Although Ahmose Sapair was in all probability young at the time of his death and unable to have accomplished anything substantial, his remembrance still lasted for an impressive five centuries. While this was largely due to his deified status, the identity of the prince behind this divine mask must have played a role as well and has been a constant cause of debate. Next to having been tied to king Seqenenre Tao (through the Louvre statue and the nature of the epithet "Sapair") and king Amenhotep I (through the frequency of joint depictions), the King's Son Ahmose Sapair can also be connected to king Ahmose (through "Ahmose-ankh"). Basically, all three kings can be seen as more or less fitting the role of the father of prince Ahmose Sapair, although in every case there can be objections. It would seem that at least part of Ahmose Sapair's identity always remains the same, no matter the exact timeframe. In all probability he was a prematurely deceased eldest King's Son, once expected to be the future king. A definite identification of any 17th or 18th Dynasty royal prince as Ahmose Sapair, or even a sound fix on the exact time he lived in, is as of yet impossible. Each theory presented here has its strengths, its weaknesses and its share of followers. Although much can be said about this deified prince, still much is unknown.

Book Reviews

Kathryn A. Bard. *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford, Malden, and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2008. ISBN: 978-1-4051-1148-5. 400 pp + 154 drawings, plates, and maps. $37.95 US.

This volume is an excellent overview of Egyptology and Egyptian archaeology which any student beginning to pursue this field should find useful. The book is arranged chronologically and follows through the history and culture of ancient Egypt from the Predynastic to the Greco-Roman period. Although ancient Egyptian geography, language and the history of Egyptology are mentioned briefly, the real focus of the book is the archaeology, including specific sites covering both, older nineteenth and twentieth century excavations, as well as more recent investigations. This emphasis on archaeological material distinguishes the present volume from many other introductions to ancient Egypt.

The first three chapters of this book cover: the history of Egyptology and Egyptian archaeology, including its methods and theory (Chap. 1); language, the development of writing and Pharaonic chronology (Chap. 2); and the geography and environmental setting of the ancient landscape (Chap. 3). These three chapters provide an excellent introduction to the nature of the discipline itself and the historical context of its development.

The following seven chapters present the historical and archaeological data related to each of the main periods of ancient Egyptian chronology. Chapter 4 introduces the Palaeolithic and Neolithic origins of ancient Egyptian civilization, while Chapter 5 examines Egypt's Predynastic past. Particularly strong is Bard's discussion of the rise of complex society and the events that led to the unification of the Egyptian state, as she carefully establishes the interplay between the Lower Egyptian culture (Buto-Ma'adi) and the Upper Egypt culture (Naqada). Chapter 6 covers the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, including a look at the institution of kingship and the royal monuments that symbolized it, namely, the pyramids. The history, archaeology and culture of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period are discussed in Chapter 7. Here, Bard introduces the reader to Egypt's relationship with its neighbours, with emphasis being placed on Nubia and the Hyksos and discusses textual references (such as the Instruction of Amenemhat), which are an important component of this period. In Chapter 8, the architecture of palaces, temples, and tombs of the kings of the New Kingdom are examined and discussed. Five pages near the end of the chapter are dedicated to the workman's village and tombs at Deir el-Medina (pp. 256-260). Detailed overviews of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period are provided in Chapter 9, which also incorporates descriptions of specific archaeological sites, such as Tanis and Gebel Barkal. Finally, Chapter 10 introduces the reader to Greco-Roman Egypt and all its key historical and political figures and important city centers.

Each chapter begins with a brief and yet sufficient introduction that outlines the key points of the main text. Within each chapter itself, additional historical information is provided within boxed sections of text. These sections include further details of specific topics, such as the decipherment

of the Egyptian language (p. 33), state formation (p. 111), and the construction of the Great Pyramid at Giza (p. 140), which should quench the thirst of any historical enthusiast searching for more information about certain topics of ancient Egyptian culture.

This publication contains over 120 black and white images and illustrations of artifacts, monuments and sites, including a number of maps, which add a welcome visual dimension to the text. Included in the center of the book is a wonderful collection of glossy color plates, which depict the vibrant paint used to decorate ancient Egyptian tomb walls and statues, as well as the brilliance of the gold used to decorate jewellery and funerary objects so representative of ancient Egyptian culture as it is perceived by the world today. While these images provide a visual relief from the words of the text, what I find particularly useful are the detailed maps and line drawing reconstructions of archaeological site plans and monuments. These are extremely valuable to any student being educated in Egyptian archaeology.

As Bard points out in the Preface, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* is aimed at a specific audience, namely, undergraduate students in the incipient stages of learning about Egyptology and Egyptian archaeology. Bard compiled this book based upon her own course material used to teach classes on Egyptian archaeology at Boston University. With its simple and straightforward language, broad coverage, visual aids and glossary of terms, this book would be useful as a course textbook and would be a great companion to Ian Shaw's *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Since history and archaeology go hand in hand in the study of ancient Egypt, these books would supplement each other nicely. As an aide to teachers, there are also chapter summaries and discussion questions located at the back of the book. The extensive list of suggested further readings in English, as well as French, German and Italian is an excellent research tool for both undergraduates and advanced students wishing to learn more about specific periods and topics. Teachers and students alike will find this publication both easy to use and highly informative. Although there is a lot more that can be said about many of the sites presented in this text, this book is a good starting point for establishing a base knowledge of Egyptian archaeology.

Amber Hutchinson

Aidan Dodson. *Amarna Sunset: Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb, and the Egyptian Counter-Reformation*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2009. ISBN: 978-977-416-304-3. 230 pp. +101 drawings and plates. $24.95 US.

In *Amarna Sunset*, Aidan Dodson has produced a compact book chronicling the demise of the Eighteenth Dynasty from the reign of Akhenaten, through to the dynasty's final reign of Horemheb. The book is highly readable and is a worthy and useful summary of the political and religious machinations of these times aimed at expert and 'informed beginner' alike. The main theme throughout the book is that of the succession of the throne of Egypt from its height of power during the reign of Amenhotep III until the end of the reign of the Dynasty. It brings together the evidence from temple and tomb reliefs, documents from Armarna and Thebes, as well as evidence from beyond the Egyptian borders, in order to give the reader an insight into the royal family and events from these times. *Amarna Sunset* revises some of the older ideas of the relationships between

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some of the minor and the key family members and the main line of succession within the Amarna royal family, providing an accessible format for some of the recent key works on the subject, which are currently hidden away in academic books and journals. Thus Smenkhkare Neferneferuaten now is no longer a single person, a son of Akhenaten and sibling of Tutankhamun, but instead is 'promoted' to being a younger brother of Akhenaten, named Smenkhkare Ankherkheperure. The person Neferneferuaten, formerly believed to be Smenkhkare, has been identified as the former queen Nefertiti, who assumed the role as king following the deaths of Smenkhkare and Akhenaten, in order to help smooth the succession of the boy king Tutankhamun until he was able to rule by himself. The former supposed mother of Tutankhamun, Kiya, is also 'relegated' to being mother of an 'unnamed daughter' and Tutankhamun is now suggested to be the son of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. These ideas were originally suggested by others, such as James Allen[1] and Marc Gabolde[2], but Dodson has effectively produced a good synthesis of the various arguments and summarised a lot of the known evidence to progress this thesis. Of course, such hacking about of the royal lineage has also meant that Dodson's own book on Egyptian royal family trees is now in need of revision.[3]

The octavo size of the book means that it is a small and handy volume. This has the advantage that it will fit on almost any bookshelf. On the other hand, Dodson reproduces a number of key tomb and temple reliefs in discussing the Amarna succession (for example, the *Durbar* scenes from the tombs of Huya and Meryre at Amarna – Figure 10). These are necessarily small and cramped, and even the most powerful of magnifying glasses will have difficulty enlarging the often quite detailed images and hieroglyphs for the student's requirements. Fortunately, Dodson includes a very comprehensive bibliography and sources for his illustrations, so it should be possible for the reader to access the detail in these illustrations by consulting the original drawings and photographs quite easily within a suitably stocked academic library.

As this book is aimed at both the academic and the popular press, the text has not been broken up by citations or footnotes. This all adds to the general fluidity and legibility of the text. That said, the text does jump about a bit and leapfrog, given the attempt to discuss a number of contemporary event threads, from the royal family to the politics of neighbouring nations. Thus Chapter 2 deals with the final years of Akhenaten's reign, while Chapter 3 discusses the politics of the Levant and 'the Northern Problem' of Syria-Palestine, concluding with the letter from an Egyptian queen to Shuppiluliumash, king of the Hittites, seeking a suitable husband on the recent death of her royal spouse. Chapter 4 returns to discuss the appearance of Tutankhamun on Egypt's throne. Chapter 5 then discusses the 'Zananzash Affair' with the implications of the aforementioned Egyptian letter to the Hittites. Chapters 6 and 7 then return the reader back to Egypt, in order to discuss the origins of the Divine father Ay and Generalissimo Horemheb, respectively. The concluding chapter, "Sunset," effectively brings the reader towards the dawn of a new Dynasty and the accession of Rameses I and Seti I. References for each chapter are indicated by superscript numbers within the text, which lead on to the comprehensive set of end notes contained within 22 pages, following the concluding

1 James P. Allen, "The Amarna Succession", in *Causing his name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J Murnane,* Ed. Peter Brand and Louise Cooper (E.J. Brill Academic Publishers: Leiden, 2009), 9-20

2 Marc Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, (Lyon: Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Institut d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'antiquité, 1998).

3 Aidan Dodson and Dyan Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt: A Genealogical Sourcebook of the Pharaohs*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004)

chapter. An extensive scholarly bibliography of books and papers (23 pages), and four appendices complete the volume. Of these appendices, Appendix 1 is a "Chronology of Ancient Egypt." Why, oh why does a book such as this, about one specific period in Egyptian history that lasted just a century in length, require the need to tell us the full range of dates in Egyptian history, from the founding of the Egyptian State at the start of Dynasty 1 all the way until the end of the Roman Period in the 4th Century AD, some one and a half millennia later than the end of the book? The other appendices, however, are much more relevant. Appendix 2 consists of a "Relative Chronology of Egyptian and Foreign Kings of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Dynasties" and is useful to contextualise the reigns of the Amarnan pharaohs with those of the Hittites, Babylonians and Assyrians. Appendix 3, with its "Royal Names of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty" gives us the hieroglyphic and transliteration versions of the various royal names (Horus, Nebti, Golden Horus, Prenomen and Nomen) for each of the kings from Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten through to Horemheb, with variations over time and the names of Nefertiti thrown in for good measure. Finally, Appendix 4 is a revised, if still "Tentative Genealogy of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty."

As a summary of current thinking and evidence, Dodson has produced a book that will be an asset to any Amarna scholar's personal library. The book contains much valuable information, despite its size, and is the perfect introduction to the period for the Amarnan beginner, while its bibliography should enable the reader to follow further research, if they so wish. Although advances in the genetic analysis of selected members of the Amarna family are now beginning to indicate and confirm the links between family members, nonetheless, Dodson's synthesis goes a good way towards filling in the gaps between what is known from documentary sources and what can be extracted from other bio-forensic methods, given the scant physical remains that survive from the Amarna family and its non-bloodline relations.

Peter Robinson

Carolyn Graves-Brown, ed. *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: 'Don your wig for a joyful hour'* Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2008. ISBN 978-1-905125-24-1. 220 pp. + black and white photographs and drawings. $100.

In December 2005, staff of Swansea University's Egypt Centre braced themselves for their third annual Egyptological conference following extensive coverage in the most prestigious newspapers of the English-speaking world. The conference had sparked considerable attention not merely because its subject matter, Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt, is a guaranteed attention-grabber, but also because the press had become aware that considerable attention would be given to alternative views of sexuality, especially (male) homosexuality and so-called queer Egyptology. Once the red flags had been raised, the organizers strove to make the conference as "genuinely egalitarian" as possible (p. ix), including topics that would represent diverse groups and draw in professional Egyptologists and non-professionals alike in the spirit of true academic exchange and openness. These admirable sentiments were accompanied by some reservations about who should be included in the roster of speakers, on the realization that a topic of this popularity could draw any number of participants, including those from the 'fringe.' Indeed, this is a concern for all popular

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Egyptological symposia since Egyptology is a discipline that attracts all kinds of people, including those with no background whatsoever and personal agendas that often conflict with the interests of scholarly Egyptology.

It is fortunate indeed that this conference, the first international Egyptology conference ever to be held at Swansea, took place without headline-raising problems and that a collection of conference papers, running the gamut of possible topics, could be assembled for the Egyptological community in the present publication, three years later in 2008. Eleven contributions by professional Egyptologists and non-professionals alike comprise a slim volume of 220 pages that is generously illustrated with drawings and black and white photographs, though the latter are often too small or indistinct for the clear discerning of details. There are also extensive notes and bibliography provided throughout and a useful Index. This reader's preference for footnotes instead of endnotes is shared by many scholars who also prefer not to have to flip to the end of the chapter for references and discussion. All in all, *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: 'Don your wig for a joyful hour'* is an attractive little volume.

Carolyn Graves-Brown, the curator of the Egypt Centre at Swansea University, in her Introduction entitled "Gender, Sex and Loss of Innocence," gives the overview of the subject, emphasizing the unique way in which traditional approaches to Egyptology, including the philological and iconographic, are blended with novel discussions of the nature and history of views of material culture and Egyptology's belated coming of age in sex and gender studies in the more controversial arena of heteronormative versus queer Egyptology. Professor Graves-Brown discusses all of the papers published and some of the discussion these papers generated but emphasizes the debate concerning traditional heteronormative views of ancient Egyptian sexuality in the context of the by now famous (infamous?) case of the Old Kingdom tomb of Niankhkhmun and Khnumhotep unearthed at Sakkara in 1964. Her summaries of sex and gender studies in Egyptology embrace the work of such scholars as Meskell[4] and Montserrat,[5] known for drawing upon contemporary theory (specifically Foucault) in their analyses. Their work is not surprisingly discussed and criticized by some contributors. This is especially important since these scholars have no contribution in the present volume. Indeed, one would like to see articles by Meskell and Montserrat, especially in response to the drubbing they receive in some contexts. Many other authors are brought into the discussion for their contributions to various aspects of the broader topic, both in popular works and in scholarly contributions. One point well made by Graves-Brown concerns the criticism of Egyptology as "insular and inward-looking" and the charge of "lack of reflexivity" (p. xvi). These criticisms certainly pertain more to some topics than others, the bulk of the contributions being non-controversial, based on traditional approaches with an open eye for identifying features in the lives of women and in sexuality as a whole that were previously missed, treated superficially, or completely misinterpreted. Graves-Brown's Introduction is therefore a kind of apologia for the lateness in giving serious attention to these topics, looking optimistically to the future for more openness, "prefer[ring]

4 Lynn M. Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford and Malden, MA.: Blackwell, 1999); Lynn M. Meskell, "Re-em(bed)ding Sex: Domesticity, Sexuality, and Ritual in New Kingdom Egypt" in Robert A. Schmidt and Barbara L. Voss, eds. *Archaeologies of Sexuality* (London: Routledge 2000), 253-62; Lynn M. Meskell and Rosemary A. Joyce, Embodied Lives: *Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experience* (London: Routledge, 2003).

5 Dominic Montserrat, *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996).

novelty to a conservatism which follows from attempts to maximize coherence with other well-established theories" (p. xx).

Kathlyn M. Cooney's contribution entitled "The Problem of Female Rebirth in New Kingdom Egypt: The Fragmentation of the Female Individual in her Funerary Equipment" is an analysis of the problem created by the fact that rebirth into the Afterlife in ancient Egypt was perceived as the result of male sexual activity, requiring a sexual transformation for the Egyptian female in the tomb itself. Cooney draws upon the funerary equipment and practices from the New Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period for her evidence. She explores a variety of creative adaptations to the mythology of masculine sexualized regeneration - magical, liturgical, physical, and linguistic - from the identification of the woman with the god Osiris, beginning in the Old Kingdom, to the adaptation of the female's funerary equipment to provide gender flexibility and give her an androgynous appearance. The reliance upon gender ambiguity in the New Kingdom to permit transformation into the necessary masculine entity of creation and rebirth, preliminary for entry into the Afterlife, was accompanied by the creative and powerful process of fragmentation that retained for the deceased female her feminine gender and nature essential to her akh. This process of gender transformation and fragmentation is explained as the result of the woman's active place in society, a conclusion that seems at odds with the fact that the elaborate process created by men to enable women to get around the awkward reality of being born female was necessitated by the Egyptian male's own peculiar narrow view of sexual regeneration.

The second chapter, entitled "Queering Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt," by Thomas A. Dowson, is an enquiry into the continued prevalence of stereotypical heteronormative interpretation (embracing homophobia and heterosexuality) over the history of Egyptology in contrast to a more open "queer theory" approach that is "concerned with challenging normative thinking not only in the study of sex and gender, but also in heteronormative practice more widely" (p. 30). This discussion was sparked by Greg Reeder's research into the Sakkara tomb of Niankhkhmun and Khnumhotep and the ongoing debate about the possible homosexual relationship between the two men who were buried together in such a striking fashion. Dowson gives considerable space to a blistering criticism of Meskell[6] and her "queer fantasy of ancient Egypt" that he sees as an example of a disturbing misunderstanding of queer politics and Queer Theory. From general theory Dowson moves on to his central topic: the interpretation of evidence in the tomb of Niankhkhmun and Khnumhotep. Baines' ruling out a homosexual relationship between the two men,[7] suggested by the way they are depicted together in bas-reliefs, is criticized as "quite unconvincing and rather simplistic" (p. 35), the result of a discomfort with any interpretation that is not heteronormative. It is noted that Reeder's challenge[8] to the heterosexist interpretation of the tomb scenes follows upon Cherpion's work[9] in analyzing the depictions of 4th, 5th, and 6th dynasty tomb representations of husbands and wives. While Cherpion's work has not drawn wide attention or debate, Reeder's has, and Dowson believes that this difference in reaction shows up the "undeniable heterosexist bias

6 Lynn M. Meskell, "Consuming Bodies: Cultural Fantasies of Ancient Egypt," *Body and Society* 4:1 (1998), 63-76.

7 John Baines, "Egyptian Twins," *Orientalia* 54 (1985), 461-82.

8 Greg Reeder, "Same-sex, conjugal constructs, and the tomb of Niankhknum and Khnumhotep," *World Archaeology* 32:2 (2000), 193-208.

9 N. Cherpion, "Sentiment conjugal et figuration à l'Ancien Empire," *Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Kairo* 28 (1995), 34-45.

in archaeological interpretation of this particular tomb" (p. 40). Moreover, Dowson asserts that it is misinformed to accuse Reeder of manipulating the past in service to some present day pro-gay agenda. We have, in fact, fought this battle long ago when pioneering feminist-inspired archaeologies were seen as manipulations of the past to serve a particular (feminist) agenda. It would seem unnecessary today to have to argue over the legitimacy of alternate sexualities in a community of scholars who should be more in tune with their times.

At this point it is best to skip ahead several chapters and look at Greg Reeder's own contribution to this volume in Chapter 8, "Queer Egyptologies of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep," which logically should follow Dowson's chapter (and in turn be followed by Richard Parkinson's Chapter 7, "'Boasting about Hardness': Constructions of Middle Kingdom Masculinity") because of related content. Greg Reeder presents, in full, his approach to non-normative sexualities as he develops his argument for identifying the two 5th Dynasty manicurists as homosexual lovers despite the lack of clear textual evidence from the tomb or bodies to determine whether or not they might have been twins (a tall order even if the bodies did still exist in light of difficulties in recovering enough genetic material for such conclusions, viz. the nightmare of Amarna genealogies). He calls upon iconographical evidence to establish the existence of such deep affection between males of similar age and rank as to qualify as gay lovers. Drawing on evidence from Cherpion's study[10] of conjugal sentiment from 4th, 5th and 6th dynasty tomb representations, Reeder concludes that a comparable display of conjugal sentiment can be found in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, flatly rejecting the twinship argument of Baines[11] and even more strongly the conjoined twins interpretation of O'Connor (presented at the conference). Though the very same iconographic evidence can be interpreted more than one way, Reeder firmly believes that the tomb iconography reflects "at the very least a very deep affection and same-sex bonding" (p. 153). He finishes with the reasonable plea for openness to his interpretation of the Sakkara tomb in order to acknowledge "the possibility that same-sex desire existed just behind the façade currently constructed by dominant heteronormative Egyptologies" (p. 153).

Richard Parkinson's contribution to the volume examines masculinity in ancient Egypt by focussing mainly on Middle Kingdom literary texts, but also on evidence from a variety of reliefs and, in particular, the controversial iconographic evidence of the tomb of the two manicurists. He warns of the danger of projecting current Western conceptions of sexuality on the past as running the risk of "underestimating the alterity of the past" (p. 116), exemplified in the Christian mutilations of ancient Egyptian monuments (photographs blatantly block the view of Min's erection) and the Latinizing of the 32nd maxim of Ptahhotep. He uses the case of the Sakkara tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep as a strong case in point in exemplifying "how interpretations of ancient sexuality are contingent and fashioned within specific modern contexts, and demonstrates the complexity of assessing ancient cultural constructions of masculinity and same-sex desire" (p. 117). He points to the "ethos of aggressive masculinity" (p. 121) that can be seen in the early Middle Kingdom nomarchs' tombs that depict near naked men fighting and wrestling and acknowledges the celebration of aggressive masculinity in comparison with scornful weakness and passivity in representational art and the description of kings and heroes in official texts - the strong arm (*ḫpš*) conveying a powerful male image. In literature, Parkinson identifies male-male sex as a topic of anxiety and cultural

10 N. Cherpion, "Sentiment conjugal," *Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Kairo* 28 (1995), 34-45.

11 Baines, "Egyptian Twins," *Orientalia* 54 (1985), 461-82.

interest if not focus. "The Story of Sinuhe" is cited as providing a nuanced presentation of masculine values in a Middle Kingdom culture where masculinity was "not inherently single, stable or monolithic" (p. 126), Parkinson reasonably concludes with the idea that since it is difficult to assess to what degree ancient individuals were both different from and similar to us today, and the past was not nearly as monolithic or normative as was once thought, it is time "to explore readings and histories that are multiple rather than monolithic" (p. 133).

In "Power on Their Own: Gender and Social Roles in Provincial New Kingdom Egypt," Terence DuQuesne examines stelae from a New Kingdom cache of votive objects from Asyut (Salakhana) in Middle Egypt that provide much unparalleled socio-economic information on life in the Lycopolite nome, especially during the Ramesside Period. While most stelae were donated by males, a significant number belonged to women, including chantresses who, far from being socially homogeneous, came from various classes of society. The stela of the chantress Ta-iay (CM171) is especially noteworthy for its moving personal poetry. These stelae provide a valuable check on contemporary evidence from Deir el-Medina, an atypical but well-documented community on the Theban west bank near the Valley of the Kings. DuQuesne gives special attention to the superbly carved stela known as JE 47381 (CM004), dedicated by two soldiers who bore a very close relationship, perhaps reminiscent of the twins Suti and Hor from the time of Amenhotep III or even suggestive of a same-sex bond. DuQuesne concludes with a brief discussion of the possibility for the existence of diverse sexual preferences in ancient Egypt and the need for further detailed study of the more than 500 votive stelae from Salakhana.

The story of P. Turin 55001 is related by Jiři Janák and Hana Navrátilova in Chapter 4 entitled "People vs. P. Turin 55001". Long unpublished because of its controversial contents and imagery, the New Kingdom Turin Erotic Papyrus is described in detail but the authors' conclusions remain largely speculative because of the ambiguity of the papyrus' contents, both textual and iconographic. Witty, playful scenes with animals are contrasted with erotic scenes that bring to mind Far Eastern sex manuals. Most intriguing is the variety of audiences for which the papyrus may have been intended: a scribal workshop, literate persons, even women are suggested. The authors also contend that the papyrus was intended chiefly for entertainment and not for serious political or religious satire, though a kind of mockery is not excluded.

Renata Landgráfová discusses sexual metaphors in Egyptian poetry using Gricean pragmatics[12] in a chapter entitled "Breaches of Cooperative Rules: Metaphors and Parody in Ancient Egyptian Love Songs". Landgráfová identifies frequent violations of the Cooperative Principle of Grician analysis as evidence that a text is a parody. Analysis of Sebeknakhte's songs in P. Chester Beatty I/III is followed by an analysis of O. Deir el-Medina 1650, a collection of love-songs, which can be identified as parody because of the twisting of common motifs into their direct opposites. This chapter will no doubt send most readers in search of a copy of Grice's work to better understand the methodology.

In "Rules of Decorum and Expressions of Gender Fluidity in Tawosret's tomb", Heather Lee McCarthy discusses the design and decoration of the late 19th Dynasty tomb of Tawosret in the Valley of the Kings (KV 14), begun in Year 2 of Sety II and completed during Tawosret's sole reign. The tomb shows significant differences from other Ramesside royal tombs and "blurs the line between

12 Paul Grice, "Logic and Conversation" in Paul Grice, *Studies in the Way of Words* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 28-30.

royal tomb types" (p. 83). As work on the tomb progressed, Tawosret's status changed and therefore changes to the decorative scheme and content of funeral texts had to change as well. While essentially a tomb for a Ramesside ruler, the decorative program lacks some scenes traditionally depicted in a king's tomb. Thus, there is a combination of traditional 'kingly' scenes, vignettes from other Ramesside royal women's tombs, and 'modified kingly' scene types that recall Ramesside kings' tombs but depict Tawosret in classic queenly regalia. However, Tawosret's tomb resembles Ramesside royal women's tombs far less than it does Ramesside kings' tombs despite its commencement when she was just a *ḥmt nsw wrt*. Tawosret retains aspects of her female identity despite her eventual assumption of the mantle of kingship, which was ideologically masculine, in order to reflect both the androgyny of female kingship and to aid in her transformation and regeneration after death. McCarthy details the decorative scheme of the tombs of Ramesside kings, queens and princes in order to clarify where the decorative scheme of Tawosret's tomb fits. KV 14 is then described in detail, corridor by corridor, room by room. Grammatical and iconographic accommodations in design and decoration for a female king are identified that helped to convey the gender fluidity required for Tawosret's transition to the Afterlife.

In Chapter 9, entitled "Did women 'Do Things' in Ancient Egypt? (c. 2600-1050 BCE)", Carolyn Routledge questions the generally assumed female passivity and subordination in art by examining the sphere of reference of the term *irỉ ḫt* "to do things," first known in the Old Kingdom in reference to males who did things (a ritualized category of activities) that "originated in officially sanctioned activities promoting cosmic and social order" (p. 162), including cultic ritual, funerary rituals and official roles under royal command. The king is himself described as *nb irỉ-ḫt*, as in the case of Ramesses II who projected himself as the role model for proper behaviour and action among the male elite in a text from his Abydos temple. The avoidance of the term *irỉ-ḫt* in relation to women's activities is paralleled by recourse to alternate terms such as *irỉ irw* "to do doings" or "perform performances," in reference to various socially approved cultic and religious actions for women. Moreover, while women did not "do things," they might have things done for them, The lack of literacy of among the vast majority of women, even elite women, is a possible explanation for the avoidance of *irỉ ḫt* in relation to women's activities and suggests the existence of an "alabaster ceiling" or ideological barrier (p. 167-8) that reflects women's perceived inability to contribute to the creation and preservation of order. While the results here are by no means surprising, Routledge examines the alleged "passivity" of women from a new angle.

Racheli Shalomi-Hen has contributed a fascinating study of female divine classifiers, starting with the Pyramid Texts and private inscriptions in the Old Kingdom - when female divine names are hardly ever classified - following through with the development of female classifiers over the First Intermediate Period in the Coffin Texts, and into the New Kingdom Book of the Dead. The cobra for a divine female classifier in the Old Kingdom is connected to the adornment of the king's crown with the image of the cobra (the goddess Wadjet) and is the female counterpart of the royal-divine falcon on the standard. The use of an anthropomorphic female image as a divine classifier is found in the 4th Dynasty though the ordinary woman appears as a female human classifier as early as the 1st Dynasty. Shalomi-Hen proposes that the Osirian cult inspired the use of the ordinary human female as a divine classifier, though the seated bearded man also occurred for female divine names in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts - no doubt because of the similarity in form. The *nṯr*-pole classifier in the Coffin Texts (absent in the Book of the Dead) is

also discussed as a means of avoiding distinguishing shape or gender. The failure of more complex classifiers to endure (e.g., seated woman with queenly cobra on forehead) is explained as a failure to obey the principle of cognitive economy: the ability to convey an idea so precisely that it requires the least cognitive effort on the part of the viewer. The cobra appeared to follow the principle better than any other classifier and therefore was the choice of New Kingdom scribes.

Deborah Sweeney's contribution entitled "Gender Requests in New Kingdom Literature" takes the study of gender and language so familiar from the work of modern sociolinguists into Egypt's distant past where balanced data samples are out of the question since there are not only relatively few texts, but those that have been preserved are male-authored and intended largely for a male audience. She sees the trend in gender and language research in Egyptology as moving towards corpus-specific research to "avoid making the wider generalizations that characterized this branch of research at its inception" (p. 192-3). Sweeney focusses on request strategies and gender in fictional narratives from the New Kingdom where the phrasing of requests can be analyzed to show how different men and women might speak in different settings. She uses "The Story of the Two Brothers" to highlight the request strategies chosen by female characters in order to obtain the end they desired. Bata's wife uses deceptive "wheedling words" (as this reader wrote in 1994)[13] to make her request, but those words are intended to mask a much more serious and dangerous agenda and are therefore cleverly chosen. The point of the request was, after all, to get the desired result by any means possible. The cleverness of the woman and the misogyny of the text seem to go hand in hand. Clever women, with the exception of the doomed prince's extremely perceptive (foreign!) wife, do appear to have been feared, or at least mistrusted, by ancient Egyptian men, much like ancient Greek women were feared and mistrusted by their men but for different reasons. In contrast, the princess in "The Story of the Doomed Prince" uses the imperative to get her husband's attention to the danger at hand and is therefore seen as straightforward and non-manipulative. These two examples, Bata's wife and the princess, reveal different and quite opposite strategies in making requests. Therefore, Sweeney examines different ways of asking and draws up tables to show uses of the imperative, forms predicting the outcome of the requests, and more oblique formulations (p. 196-99) and tallies them based on the gender of the person making the request and also with attention to the rank of the person being addressed. In the end, it appears that women were no more polite in their requests than men and chose the style by the context just as men would do. Perhaps, in the final analysis, women were at a disadvantage and were obliged to work harder to accomplish the same end as men, proving that ancient Egypt was still, in the final analysis, very much a man's world.

In sum, *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt: 'Don your wig for a joyful hour'* is well worth the time and effort spent in considering both the data presented and the underlying ideas. This is certainly a book with subject matter that Egyptology, so late in the game, still seems to regard as controversial, but on the whole the book is not likely to raise eyebrows and simply represents the kind of hard slogging work Egyptologists do everyday: analyzing linguistic, iconographic, archaeological, and inscriptional evidence to take one more step forward in the long march to understanding the ancient Egyptian psyche.

Sally L.D. Katary

13 Sally L.D. Katary, "The Two Brothers as Folktale: Constructing the Social Context," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 24 (1994) [Papers Presented in Memory of Ronald J. Williams], 39-70.

Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, *Land und Leute am Nil nach demotischen Inschriften Papyri und Ostraka: Gesammelte Schriften* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 71, 2 vols.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009. ISBN 978-3-447-06011-0; xxiv + 1585 pp. €198.00.

Ursula Kaplony-Heckel has made a career of publishing hundreds of demotic texts in articles scattered through various publications. Fortunately, someone decided to gather these together in two handsome volumes and, even more fortunately, publish the articles correctly. Each of the original pages appears as in the original publication below a header giving the publication information and the pagination of the current volume so that one is able to find citations from the original publication. The only drawback to this approach is that occasionally the quality of the photographs suffers a bit. The work begins with a five page forward by Kaplony-Heckel giving an overall sense of her life's work. Seventy-one pages of indices by Rosamaria Brandt-Gumbaz and Jennifer Peppler round out the volume.

It would be a mistake to see this as the dry publication of demotic ostraca. By assembling various groups of ostraca either by type or by site, Kaplony-Heckel is able to piece together various facets of life along the Nile in the Greco-Roman period. This provides a useful point of comparison for earlier time periods. This is a useful collection that could serve as a model for other Gesammelte Schriften.

While the volume will primarily interest demotic specialists, this work deserves to be more widely known among all Egyptologists. Sadly, as Mark Smith noted, "A cynic might say that, as a method of disseminating an idea among the wider community of Egyptologists, publishing it in a note in a commentary in an edition of a demotic text is likely to be only marginally more effective than writing it on a piece of paper, putting the paper inside a bottle, and throwing the bottle into the ocean with the hope that a group of Egyptologists will sail past and find it."[14]

John Gee

James Patterson & Martin Dugard, *The Murder of King Tut. The Plot to Kill the Child King – A Nonfiction Thriller*. Little, Brown and Company/Hachette Book Group, New York, Boston, London, 2009. ISBN 978-0-316-03404-3; ix + 332 pp., 12 black and white maps and illustrations; hardcover, $26.99.

While I don't normally buy hardcover fiction, my curiosity couldn't resist the book under review, especially at a sale price. James Patterson, author of many thrillers and mysteries, tells us that he couldn't resist the mystery of Tut's premature death. He enlisted the collaboration of nonfiction author Martin Dugard, and, Patterson writes, "I don't think I've ever done more research for a book. . . . it's been total immersion in ancient Egypt" (pp. vii-viii). His enthusiasm is as disarming as his, or I should say their writing style is fast and engaging. To make a long story short, I think that for the Egyptologically informed reader, the book is unsatisfying and rather disappointing, though one can envision many worse ways of spending an idle afternoon or evening. The authors present three

14 Mark Smith, "Osiris NN or Osiris of NN?" in *Totenbuch-Forschungen. Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums 2005*, ed. Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro and Simone Stöhr (Weisebaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 325.

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parallel stories: the narrative of Tut's life and times in ancient Egypt, the life of Howard Carter and his career through the great discovery and up to his death, and, more briefly, the writing of the book itself.

I'm not going to detail the conspiracy theory developed by the authors; it would be extremely unsporting for the reviewer of a mystery to give that away. Surviving historical records present a limited number of major figures who must be manipulated on the novelist's, or for that matter historian's, chessboard. Perhaps not surprisingly, as an Egyptological reviewer who holds historical fiction to high standards of verisimilitude and literary quality, I'm going to focus on some points in which the authors' research seems to be shallow and where they occasionally make definite gaffes. Finally, I'll address the underlying problem of research and documentation (or lack thereof).

The authors understand the statement in Ineni's autobiography that he excavated Thutmose I's tomb with "no one seeing, no one hearing" to mean that he killed the entire work force. Though this was also claimed by Thomas Hoving in his muckraking book *Tutankhamun: The Untold Story*, Egyptologists are doubtless correct in seeing it only as a description of very tight security. Later in the novel, the tomb (supposedly) originally intended for Tut is being dug by petty criminals and POWs who will all be killed. Clearly the authors are unaware of Deir el-Medina, the documentation of generations of tomb workers (who were not killed off generation by generation), and the way such projects were actually managed.

Queen Tiye is described as knowing nothing of the world outside Thebes, while in reality she was involved in international politics.

Akhenaten is presented as a pacifist, a by now thoroughly discredited idea.[15]

The succession upon Akhenaten's death is completely fudged. Smenkhkare has already died (it isn't clarified whether he was actually king) and Nefertiti *de facto* rules the country, but she tells her daughter that in this day and age a woman can't be pharaoh. The question of the identity and status of Nefernefruaten-Mery-Waenre, Ankhetkheprure etc. is totally ignored.

Ankhesenamun's fateful first letter to Shuppiluliuma is written with pen and ink on papyrus, presumably in Egyptian, while it and other international missives were written on clay tablets in Akkadian. The second letter isn't portrayed as a letter at all, but a verbal message related to the messenger.

When Ankhesenamun (referred to by the nickname "Ankhe," or, even after Tut's death, "Ankhesenpaaten") enters Tut's tomb, she sees "murals depicting Tut's life" (p. 238), which one would not see in Tut's or any New Kingdom royal tomb (unless one counts the funeral).

Surprisingly, the authors seem inconsistent regarding the physical cause of death. I won't go into more detail here because I don't want to give those parts of the book away.

A chance remark seems to indicate that the authors think the ancient Egyptians drank whiskey. This is an anachronism. Their description of Horemheb as having a paunch, if based on the famous Metropolitan Museum statue (which is illustrated), falls into the trap of taking literally a conventionalized portrayal of a prosperous bureaucrat.

Altogether, the Howard Carter thread of the narrative seems better conceived and presented than the ancient one, or at least grates on me less, but there are several gaffes. The authors seem to treat Reis as a first name and Effendi as a last name, while even fairly minimal research should show

15 Schulman, Alan. "Hittites, Helmets & Amarna: Akhenaten's First Hittite War" in *The Akhenaten Temple Project Volume 2: Rwd-Mnw and Inscriptions*, ed. Donald Redford. (Toronto: Akhenaten Temple Project / University of Toronto, 1988), 53-79.

that they are titles - or a title and an honorific. Perhaps more seriously, Rex Engelbach is slighted as being without Egyptological credentials, while in real life he was probably the outstanding authority on ancient Egyptian building methods in his time, co-author with Somers Clarke of *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*.

So what are we to make of the vaunted research undertaken by these two very experienced authors? In one way it's hard to tell, because when it comes to sources they put very few of their cards on the table. One thing that strikes me is that they acknowledge no Egyptological consultant or resource person and it seems to me that such a consultant could have helped them a great deal in avoiding obvious oversights and navigating the vast amount of Egyptological and supposedly Egyptological information out there. Also, except for a few early 20th Century dig reports mentioned in the Carter narrative, they provide no references to actual publications (though they do mention R. G. Harrison's X-Ray studies of Tut). I was rather surprised to see no mention of the quite widely publicized and fairly recent book by Bob Brier, *The Murder of Tutankhamen: A True Story*.

As a final reflection, if one wants to read a novel about Tut and the people close to him which is beautifully written and very involving on the human level, although it's obviously dated and it lionizes Akhenaten and caricatures the traditional Egyptian religion, I still greatly prefer *The Lost Queen of Egypt* by Lucile Morrison over the new novel under review. In the Morrison book, by the way, he was also murdered. I loved that book when I was in high school and, when many years later I taught at Claremont, I met the author - then more than 90 years old and a Board member of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. I honestly don't know whether the Patterson-Dugard book will be able to fire the imagination and enthusiasm of a present-day reader the way Morrison's did mine. If so, they will have done something valuable after all.

Edmund S. Meltzer

Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara. Eds. Heiko Riemer, Frank Förster, Michael Herb & Nadja Pöllath. Köln: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2009. ISBN: 978-3-927688-36-0. 361p. €25.00

The reports in this volume form the 'Proceedings of an interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne', December 14-15, 2007 as 'Colloquium Africanum 4.' The contents are arranged in sections: I. "Introduction," II. "In the Desert and on the river's shore: Archaeozoological evidence from Late Palaeolithic to Pharaonic times," III. "Past and present: The distribution and behaviour of desert species," IV. "Protein and prestige: The hunt for desert mammals throughout time," and V. "In the realm of gods and concepts: Cultural reflections on desert animals in ancient Egypt" (sections numbered by reviewer).

A rationale is offered "The starting point of this workshop was the question if the ancient Egyptian depictions of desert hunts, and of desert animals kept in confinement and sacrificed in temples, can be understood as reflections of the reality." It is answered "The archaeozoological record from Egypt's Western Desert does little to answer this question. There are no obvious findings, no sites, and no evidence in the faunal material that proves that the ancient Egyptians captured large herds of desert animals that were then driven to the Nile Valley." (P. 104) The change for the main source of meat was from subsistence hunting to domestic stock during the Neolithic, ca. 3,500 BC.

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As a final reflection, if one wants to read a novel about Tut and the people close to him which is beautifully written and very involving on the human level, although it's obviously dated and it lionizes Akhenaten and caricatures the traditional Egyptian religion, I still greatly prefer *The Lost Queen of Egypt* by Lucile Morrison over the new novel under review. In the Morrison book, by the way, he was also murdered. I loved that book when I was in high school and, when many years later I taught at Claremont, I met the author - then more than 90 years old and a Board member of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. I honestly don't know whether the Patterson-Dugard book will be able to fire the imagination and enthusiasm of a present-day reader the way Morrison's did mine. If so, they will have done something valuable after all.

Edmund S. Meltzer

Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara. Eds. Heiko Riemer, Frank Förster, Michael Herb & Nadja Pöllath. Köln: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2009. ISBN: 978-3-927688-36-0. 361p. €25.00

The reports in this volume form the 'Proceedings of an interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne', December 14-15, 2007 as 'Colloquium Africanum 4.' The contents are arranged in sections: I. "Introduction," II. "In the Desert and on the river's shore: Archaeozoological evidence from Late Palaeolithic to Pharaonic times," III. "Past and present: The distribution and behaviour of desert species," IV. "Protein and prestige: The hunt for desert mammals throughout time," and V. "In the realm of gods and concepts: Cultural reflections on desert animals in ancient Egypt" (sections numbered by reviewer).

A rationale is offered "The starting point of this workshop was the question if the ancient Egyptian depictions of desert hunts, and of desert animals kept in confinement and sacrificed in temples, can be understood as reflections of the reality." It is answered "The archaeozoological record from Egypt's Western Desert does little to answer this question. There are no obvious findings, no sites, and no evidence in the faunal material that proves that the ancient Egyptians captured large herds of desert animals that were then driven to the Nile Valley." (P. 104) The change for the main source of meat was from subsistence hunting to domestic stock during the Neolithic, ca. 3,500 BC.

This volume will prove useful to anyone interested in the relations between the human exploiters of the present desert plains and oases and the essentially African veld-savanna fauna that was indigenous to northeast Africa from mid-Pleistocene to mid-Holocene. The papers are grouped in five sections (I-V) with 14 contributions (numbered 1-14) by 17 authors: 16 other scientists participated in the workshop.

The varied contents determines that each report has to be treated separately. This makes this review less coherent than a review of a volume focused on a tighter topic. Some of the papers are only loosely related to the volume's title.

The Foreword by John Newby, Director of the Sahara Conservation Fund, extols the virtues and benefits of cooperative and cross discipline researches, with particular relevance to the conservation and continuity of wildlife in the face of man's depredations in Northern Africa during the Quaternary change from a moist, mainly wooded, open forest, through stages of bushveld and savanna, to sahel and soudan grassveld/savanna, and finally to desert.

The Editors' Preface sets out the parameters for the Colloquium. Comparison of the known variety of game in the Sahara during Neolithic, Pharaonic, and Recent periods, its exploitation under the changing conditions of aridity, and the known palaeonto-, archaeozoo- and archaeological epigraphic records are noted. The editors consider the volume's contents to be heterogenous when compared with usual specialist volumes but, because of the interdisciplinary natures of many fields in environmental archaeology and palaeoecology, the variety is essential. In preparing the papers for publication, the matters involved in each talk have been amplified to reflect a more comprehensive treatment. (Papers numbered by reviewer, 1-14)

In the Introduction Michael Herb and Frank Förster outline the concepts and aims of the workshop, with its focus on the flow of energy, mainly as protein, from desert resources into settlements during what is termed the 'Pyramid Ages' (ca. 2600-1800 BC), essentially Old Kingdom times. It is divided into two sections.

The first section (I-1) 'From desert to town: The economic role of desert game in the Pyramid Ages of Ancient Egypt as inferred from historical sources c. 2600-1800 BC,' by Michael Herb, considers the ecology of the Western Desert in Pharaonic times.

Michael Herb uses the detailedly carved temple and tomb panels from 25 Nile Valley sites to show how the Pyramid Age Egyptians maintained and handled their domestic and wild stock. Living animals are almost always shown in side view whether standing, walking, attacking or copulating. They may be tethered to a peg in the ground, led by a leash and collar, unrestrained except by main force, or being hunted with bow and *tsjem*-dogs. Gazelle and oryx, butchered heads and forelimbs, and trussed carcases are shown and often listed. Lion, hyaena, fox, mongoose, hedgehog, hare, ostrich and other birds also occur. Some panels include the natural vegetation (trees, bushes, grasses, ground cover).

The second section (I-2) 'An outline of the workshop, its main objectives and the present proceedings', by Frank Förster, assesses the economic significance of desert and wild game animals in Old and Middle Kingdom times as inferred from tomb and temple decorations.

Frank Förster tries to answer questions such as, 'What do we know about the changing status and economic significance of Saharan wildlife from [the] prehistoric to [the] present day? How has the distribution of game populations and the behaviour of individual species been shaped by climatic developments and the impact of humans throughout millennia? To what extent can the

ancient Egyptian sources be regarded as reflecting the 'real' animal world of the past, and which other data (and scientific methods) can be used for corroboration? What lessons can be learned from the study of the past to aid the protection and conservation of to-day's species, which ... are increasingly endangered by man and many face extinction?' These and similar questions lay at the heart of the Cologne Workshop. Förster illuminates these questions by interpreting the evidence present in tomb and temple carved panels.

(II-1) "In the desert and on the river's shore." This section considers the available archaeozoological evidence and records of game in the Nile Valley and the Western Desert from Late Palaeolithic to Pharaonic times in two papers.

(II-2) 'Exploitation of desert and other wild game in ancient Egypt: The archaeozoological evidence from the Nile Valley,' by Veerle Linseele and Wim Van Neer.

The bone evidence for wild game found in Late Palaeolithic to New Kingdom sites in the Nile Valley is reviewed. (Reports in JSSEA are ignored, e.g., by Churcher for Dakhla.) Hartebeest, gazelle and aurochs were the main species recovered during this time period. Hartebeest and aurochs were essentially limited to the Nile Valley (*nec* Churcher's reports from Dakhla Oasis, but true for Kom Ombo). After the end of the Neolithic, cattle and goats took over supplying meat, though hunting persisted, especially by elite members of society or for ritual purposes. Desert populations declined from Old Kingdom times onwards, especially in Upper Egypt, and in Lower Egypt in Middle to New Kingdom times. Oryx, addax and ibex are rare in the archaeozoological record for all periods in the Nile Valley and the sparse bone evidence suggests that the iconographical tomb depictions bias the apparent faunal record.

This chapter is interesting but seems tangential to the focus of the symposium as it relies on information from the Late Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic of the Nile Valley (Kom Ombo is noted but neither Gaillard[16] nor Churcher[17] are cited!) The logic is that the number of bones of each animal mainly reflects the economic importance of each taxon and also the frequency of each taxon in the desert fauna. However, as hunting is considered to have been opportunistic, these are shaky grounds for all but the most general conclusions. The fates of the most common large animals are replacement of aurochs by domestic cattle, eventual extirpation of hartebeest about the turn of the 19th century, survival of relict populations of small gazelle, mainly Dorcas, to the present day in the beginning of the 21st century, and domestication for asses as donkeys. When ass/donkey is common, as at Kom Ombo in the Epipalaeolithic (ca. 7,000 BC), domestication may be suspected, as seemingly occurred in Sheikh Muftah time (ca. 2,500 BC) in Dakhla Oasis[18]

The period 8,500-5,300 BC lacks evidence of settlement in the Nile Valley, due perhaps to dense vegetation. After that date, human habitation is again evident in the Nile Valley, domestic stock is present and hunting is practiced during the Predynastic with varying evidence, and includes hippopotamus. The main difference between the Nile Valley and the oases in the available game for

16 Gaillard, C. "Contributions à l'étude de la faune préhistorique de l'Égypte." *Archives du Museum d'Histoire naturelle de Lyon* 14 (mémoire 3, 1934), 1-125.

17 Churcher, C.S. *Late Pleistocene Vertebrates from Archaeological Sites in the Plain of Kom Ombo, Upper Egypt*. [Life Sciences Contribution No. 38], (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1972).

18 Churcher, C.S., and M.R. Kleindienst. 2006. "A Pre-Dynastic ass (*Equus asinus*) from the Sheikh Muftah Cultural Horizon of the Dakhleh Oasis, Western Desert, Egypt", In *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa* [Studies in African Archaeology 9]. Eds. K. Kroeper, M. Chłodnicki and M. Kobusiewicz. (Poznan: Poznan Archaeology Museum, 2006), 425-435.

hunting is that the valley is like an elongate serpentine oasis with the desert game present along the west and east margins and hippos in the river itself.

The same pattern of distribution and frequency continues into the Dynastic period.

(II-3) 'The prehistoric gamebag: The archaeozoological record from sites in the Western Desert of Egypt,' by Nadja Pöllath.

Pöllath reviews the Holocene faunal sites in the Western Desert. This record is compared to the presumed wild fauna and reveals hunting preferences: the introduction of cattle herding ca. 3,500 BC and less emphasis on hunting game brings changes to the Neolithic sites' faunal spectrum towards more bovine remains. At the same time the progressive drying of the Sahara resulted in withdrawal of the population to the Nile valley and oases: opportunistic desert hunting continued for special animals.

The preferred desert animal species hunted were the scimitar-horned oryx, *Oryx dammah*; bubal hartebeest, *Alcelaphus buselaphus*; addax, *Addax nasomaculatus*; Dorcas gazelle, *Gazella dorcas*; Nubian ibex, *Capra ibex nubiana*; and, to a lesser degree, Barbary sheep, *Ammotragus lervia*. These animals were hunted and killed or captured, often with the aid of dogs as depicted in desert petroglyphs or tomb friezes, although with some licence.

Pöllath follows Kuper's[19] schematic for the human occupation of the Western Desert. Most evidence comes from 4,500 BC or earlier, though Dakhla Oasis' record continues into Old Kingdom time. Similar Kharga Oasis sites, are ignored. In all, 13 sites and 27 cultural horizons are considered and range from Djara in the northeast, the Great Sand Sea (Libyan Glass Area) in the west, Gilf Kebir (Wadi Bakht 83/22) in the southwest and Nabta Playa and Bir Kiseiba in the southeast. Pöllath notes that 19 vertebrate taxa are depicted in petroglyphs or tomb panels, of which nine are recorded as skeletal remains in the sites and another four at other sites. She lists the identified bone fragments by site and numbers of fragments (Tab. 3).

Pöllath concludes that small gazelle, Dorcas or slender-horned/rhim were mainly hunted, followed by Cape hare, dama gazelle and scimitar-horned oryx.

(III) "Past and Present." This section relates the histories of three types of hunted game: Barbary sheep, Saharan gazelles, and the Tora hartebeest.

(III-4) 'Historical ecology and biogeography. An example: The Barbary sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*) in Egypt,' by Nicolas Manlius.

Manlius considers the record of the Barbary sheep in Egypt because of its present relict state and its apparent widespread presence during Pharaonic times, when it was hunted as shown in tomb frescos. In 1800 it occurred in the Gebel Quatrani hills east of Cairo. Today it is effectively extirpated from Egypt, being restricted to Gebel Uweinat in the southwest and Gebel Elba in the southeast. It prefers rocky, broken ground and favours cliffs. It is characterized by its stout, wide sweeping arcuate horns, which make it easy to identify in petroglyphs.

Barbary sheep remains are scarce in excavated faunas, suggesting that it was always difficult to capture and supporting the idea that it was a prestige animal that the 'nobility' strove to hunt.

This is a concise paper but sheds little information on the Holocene Egyptian history of this sheep.

(III-5) 'Scope and behaviour of flight in Saharan gazelles: A remarkable change between 1850 AD and the present,' by Hubert Berke.

19 Kuper, R. "After 5000 BC: The Libyan Desert in transition." Comptes Rendus Palevol 5 (2006):409-419.

Berke reports and reviews the changes in flight patterns of Dorcas gazelles (*Gazella dorcas*) in the Sahara since the mid-19th century. Their behaviour changed from gathering in large herds and relative fearlessness in the presence of strange creatures - provided their escape distance was maintained - to being shot at without frightening the rest of the herd, to being widely dispersed, wary and easily alarmed into flight at the appearance of humans, even at great distances. They originally relied on their speed (80 km/h) to escape and perhaps numerousness and jinking tactics to confuse pursuing predators, but such tactics are ineffectual against hunters with rifles. Hence the sparseness of gazelle in the Sahara is as much a new defense tactic as the result of uncontrolled hunting with firearms.

This is a neat account of behavioural change that supports a generally plentiful gazelle population in the Western Desert during the Holocene and up to the mid-19th century.

(III-6) 'The present status of hartebeest subspecies (*Alcelaphus buselaphus* ssp.) with special focus on north-east Africa and the Tora hartebeest,' by Jens-Ove Heckel.

Heckel reviews the contemporary status of the Tora hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus tora*) in the bushveld along the Sudan-Ethiopia border. Some populations that existed in the early 20th century are now much reduced or extinct/extirpated due to over hunting and/or agricultural settlement on the Ethiopian side of the border. The establishment of two National Parks and two Nature Reserves give cause for some hope.

A hartebeest existed in Quaternary times throughout Egypt, appears to have persisted into New Kingdom times and - in much reduced numbers - near the oases in the Western Desert until perhaps the early 20th century. it is now extinct. (This population is lumped with *A. b. buselaphus* of the Maghreb and Libyan coast, but was likely a distinct subspecies.)

This mainly mammalagical paper considers hartebeests from sub-Saharan Africa which live outside the Eastern Sahara.

(IV) "Protein and Prestige" contains four accounts. Two on the Late Palaeolithic to Early Dynastic animal depictions in rock art, one on prehistoric game traps in the Eastern Sahara and one on wild animals in urban settings, based on evidence from Balat and Dakhla Oasis.

(IV-7) 'Animal representations in the Late Palaeolithic rock art of Qurta (Upper Egypt),' by Dirk Huyge & Salima Ikram.

Qurta is not in the Eastern Sahara. Comprising three Late Pleistocene rock sites in the northeast wall of the Plain of Kom Ombo, it is included because of its line petroglyphs of cattle in varied poses. They are identified as aurochsen and not domestic cattle. The Qurta rock art consists of 83% cattle/ bovids, hippopotami, gazelle, bubal hartebeeste, humans and birds and fish. The single hartebeeste is notable, when it is so numerous in the Late Pleistocene fauna from the Plain of Kom Ombo (e.g., 43.3%).[20]

The authors suggest that the petroglyphs may contain a hunting magic. However, no hunting scenes are offered in evidence and the cattle shown are generally relaxed (two probably lying down); one is without horns and possibly juvenile. They appear domesticated and the males are not typical aurochsen. Two small animals (Q1.4.1.11 & 4.1.12 in Fig. 6), have been identified as gazelle because of their small size and posteriorly pointing 'S-shaped' horns: but they could well be another small antelope, possibly oribi or klipspringer, based on their convex dorsa, short necks and legs. As far as I am aware, there is no extant antelope with an oribi- or duiker-like body, neck and legs that

20 Churcher, *Late Pleistocene Vertebrates*

possesses S-curved or lyrate horns, but the figures definitely show these characters.

The Qurta animals reflect the Nile Valley rather than a xeric desert fauna.

(IV-8) 'Prehistoric trap hunting in the eastern Saharan deserts: A re-evaluation of the game trap structures,' by Heiko Reimer.

Reimer considers layouts of game fences and 'kites' (fences with corrals), and the uses of snares. The fences are located in southwestern Egypt and adjacent Libya (Great Sand Sea and Gebel Uweinat), in Dungul Oasis and on the west bank of the Nile, both associated with present-day Lake Nasser. This distribution is interesting as none are known near the main western oases (Kharga, Dakhla, Abu Mingar, Bahariya, etc.). The stone lines may have been bases for fences of branches with the gaps being manned by armed hunters. This is possible as the land was better watered (and with bushes) ca. '9000 - 5000 BC'. Regenfeld 96/28 (Fig. 4) shows an acuate stone line, with return 'groin' lines on the concave side (to impede lateral movement of game?) and has gaps where game might be herded or attacked. Reimer discusses 'desert kites'(corrals at the end of parallel or flaring stone lines) interpreted as guides to drive game into enclosures, but such structures are unknown in the Sahara. Fences with gaps could be used either manned by hunters at the gaps or by snares to take individual animals. Cooperative hunts require many participants (both people and prey) and people appear to have been sparse in the Western Desert in the Late Pleistocene from the absence of 'kite' capture corrals.

Setting snares is economical in labour as traps only have to be attended every few days while kites require many game drivers. The game hunting techniques used in the Eastern Sahara indicates a sparse population and thus techniques differing from those in the near East even though the game was similar.

(IV-9) 'Late Dynastic/Early Dynastic rock art scenes of Barbary sheep hunting in Egypt's Western Desert. From capturing wild animals to the women of the Acacia House,' by Stan Hendrickx, Heiko Reimer, Frank Förster & John C. Darnell.

Hendrickx *et al.* report two new petroglyphs with Barbary sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*) from the Meri area (SW of Dakhla Oasis) and considers the evidence from the four petroglyphs in that area (Meri 06/12, 02/50, 95/5 and 'sito dei mufloni'). Radiocarbon dates have been obtained on charcoal of 4,190 $\pm$ 35 BP (charcoal) and 4,175 $\pm$ 30 BP (goat dung) from 02/50.

Today, this sheep is extirpated in the area of the petroglyphs southwest of Dakhla and no bone fragments have been found in the nearby Libyan Escarpment in a >20 years survey. Many petroglyphs involve hunting scenes with dogs attacking sheep and compare with similar petroglyphs elsewhere in Egypt or painted images on pottery or figurines. Barbary sheep are easily identified by their curved heavy horns, usually depicted simply as semicircular arcs.

Petroglyph 06/12, of two sheep and two dogs, was inserted among or carved over earlier scenes in which giraffe, different antelope, ostrich, other birds and possibly hyaena, appear in at least four styles, indicating that the panels were in existence before the sheep were added. Radiocarbon dating of associated materials can only suggest possible dates, but to which style of carving the dates might apply is a question.

I consider that one should be cautious in assuming that animals depicted were resident in the area at the time the images were created. There is the discrepancy between the lack of hartebeeste at Qurta and its abundance at Kom Ombo (see IV-7, above), and the presence of images of lion, elephant and a Pharaonic boat on isolated rock faces in the sand plain southwest of Mut. Obviously

the boat was drawn from memory as Dakhla's Palaeolake Kellis was not present in Pharaonic times!

(IV-10) 'Wild animals downtown: Evidence from Balat, Dakhla Oasis (end of the 3rd millennium BC),' by L Pantalacci & Joséphine Lesur-Gebremariam.

Animals are identified in letters, seals and tablets at Ain Asil, east of Balat, Dakhla Oasis. 15 are recognised from hard parts and include Barbary sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*), oryx (*Oryx dammah*), hippopotamus (*Hippopotamus amphibius*), porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*), garganey (*Anas querquedula*) and Nile mussel (*Chambardia rubens arcuata = Spathopsis r. arcuata*). Domestic stock are cattle, sheep/goat and donkey, and captured Dorcas gazelle, oryx and Barbary sheep, with hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus*) possibly mentioned on a tablet. NISPs for gazelle are 163, with 36 and 29 for oryx and Barbary sheep respectively, suggesting that these two species were hunted as herds. As sheep is unrecorded from Old Kingdom deposits at Ain el-Gazzareen in Western Dakhla (Pettman *et al*., n.d.), the sheep/goat (caprovin, NISP - 724) is probably goat (No record of the distinctively different horns or sheaths is noted). *Styli* made from a metapodial and a tibia are apparently similar to those recovered from the coeval site of Ain el-Gazzareen.

(V) "In the realm of gods and concepts" also contains four accounts. These papers are less concerned with material evidence and involve considerations of meaning and reality of an animal, detecting magic in animal petroglyphs, the conceptualization of animal food in Old Kingdom funerary foods, and the goddess of the desert animals. These papers present concepts that draw the previous accounts into a coherent framework.

(V-11) 'A desert zoo: An exploration of meaning and reality of animals in the rock art of Kharga Oasis,' by Salima Ikram.

This paper considers the intended significances and meanings of the animals shown in petroglyph rock art. From these depictions Ikram deduces the thoughts and beliefs of the later Holocene artists and attributes these to the general population of the Western Desert *ca*. 4,200-3,500 BC. The attitudes and locations of the depictions are also considered significant, whether because of accessibility, shelter (from sun or wind), or religious import of the site. The petroglyphs are evidence that animals once present in the areas are now extinct, with varying degrees of naturalism, e.g., oryx (*O. dammah*) in small groups. Petroglyphs may attract sympathetic magic for good fortune to both wild and domestic herds and hunters. Much of this involves speculation.

Gazelle appear to have been numerous and Barbary sheep may have been present

(V-12) 'Detecting magic in rock art: The case of the ancient Egyptian 'malignant ass", by Dirk Huyge.

Petroglyphs of asses have a straight or curved line issuing from the back of their heads and magical significance is suggested. The line extends backwards from between the ears (the poll) horizontally or curving up and backwards. It is suggested that these represent spears, arrows or throwing sticks. While it is possible to aim for the poll, it is not an easy target and is also a very resistant area, not easily damaged except by a heavy blow as by a poll axe.

The ancient Egyptian rational is that asses are malicious and evil, and are associated with the god Seth of the underworld. To stab or hurt an ass petroglyph renders it impotent, which is prudent, as a petroglyph has the same power as a living animal. Thus this removal of a demonic creature's powers may be prudent standard practice.

(V-13) 'On the yonder side of bread and beer: The conceptualisation of animal based food in funerary chapels of the Old Kingdom,' by Martin Fitzenreiter.

Animals and their uses during the Old Kingdom (2600-2200 BC) are shown in tomb panels, chiefly at Saqqara and Giza. Why were animals, including desert fauna, used for decorating funerary installations? Ritual animal usages, preparation as food and their conventional depictions, show these to be highly varied. A conceptual framework is proposed where association of animals from both banks of the Nile (ibex & gazelle), and between wild and domestic animals is normal: fish are not important in offering scenes.

This report could be titled 'Animals as food: evidence from tomb inceptions,' as it considers which animals are eaten and which are not. The significance of animals as food is stretched to the cultural uses and implications of food, and what is depicted is taken to reflect occurrences that happened during the tomb owner's life, possibly biased by what the owner wished to have shown for his own fame and for his afterlife.

Fitzenreiter remarks that many more animals are depicted than were probably consumed, e.g., carnivora (other than hyaenas) were likely avoided; other animals were not figured, e.g., crocodiles, donkeys or asses; and small mammals (e.g., rodents, hedgehogs, viverrids) are shown when they were likely not eaten. Similar selectivity is applied to fruits and vegetables as taxa noted in lists are not always depicted in the panel, even contiguous.

Fitzenreiter observes that artistic decorum requires that some animals are represented more often because of their prestige, e.g., game such as oryx, while others are reduced in images or omitted (e.g., cooked fish), and that desert or river hunting scenes illustrate the power and authority of the tomb owner which, in turn, informs modern viewers of the Old Kingdom faunal spectrum and aspects of behaviour and human treatment of animals, both domestic and wild.

(V-14) 'The animals of the desert and the return of the goddess,' by Joachim Friedrich Quack.

'The Demotic Myth of the Eye of the Sun', a.k.a. 'The Return of the Goddess', from the Roman Period (but originating in late Pharaonic times after 1,000 BC) relates a mythical adventure of the daughter of the sun-god Re, depicted as Hathor or Tefnut, and the son of Thoth, or sometimes Thoth himself. Quack notes that some pharaonic priests held Hathor to be goddess of the animals and savannas that preceded the Western Desert. Hathor, as goddess responsible for the well being of the animals of Egypt, is concerned with food chains, and thus with life, birth and death. Hathor is presented as the mother goddess of the animals.

The volume's focus suffers from the variety of its topics: it is hard to pull so varied and interesting reports into a coherent whole. The inclusion of Nile Valley and Delta tomb and temple decorative panels as reliable, comparable information on the desert fauna, and from which to judge the adequacy of the archaeozoological record, is likely introducing artistic and funerary bias and possibly unwise. As is noted by some authors, tomb inhabitants improve their images by making their records more impressive by increasing the number of game, including rare animals, or including animals that were perhaps not hunted. However, these records doing provide a fairly reliable bestiary as checked against skeletal recoveries and is the best that can be offered.

The varied topics with their catholic bibliographies make this volume a useful entré into environmental aspects of the Neolithic and Pharaonic Western Desert. The decision to omit information and references from the oases other than Kharga limits the volume's scope but use of the Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Archaeology and publications of the Dakhla Oasis Project will fill many of the gaps.

The volume is soft backed with a coloured cover. The type is a clear serif font and typographi-

cal errors are few. It is well illustrated with 5 coloured Figures, 156 black and white line drawings, shaded sketches and half-tone photographs, 14 tables, 19 maps, 4 charts and a Chronology Chart for Egypt. Various items require comment

Comments by Chapters: 1 - Mainly on Nile Valley. 2 - 'ovicaprine' with no identified horns or cores, bears considerably on the Nile Valley. 3 - The absence of petroglyphs of ass (*Asinus*) fragments in most sites is curious as wild ass is known to have inhabited the northern savannas of Egypt before they dried out (see Huyge, Chapter 12). P.104 states, "...from this region (Nile Valley) ... no faunal assemblages are known," but a generous one is known from Kom Ombo, see Gaillard[21] and Churcher.[22] P. 86, Fig. 5 confuses shades of grey for occupation stages, vegetation, sand sheets and heights of land, and refers readers to another publication[23] for a coloured key. P. 87, hartebeest are not as dependant on available water as are bovines (see Haekel 6). P. 91, "a single bone of a Barbary sheep" when Tab. 3 shows 9 specimens from 3 levels - so at least 3 individuals. 7 - P. 157, 'Nubia Formation Sandstone', NOT 'Nubian sandstone'. P. 170 - ichthyofauna (sp). 8 - Figs 4 and 5 have exchanged legends. Legends not accurate. 9 - Legends and explanations to the figures are weak and some are inaccurate. 10 - Legends incomplete or weak. Animals named or listed in Figs 2-5 are not interpreted which reduces their value. P. 250, Why do 163 bone pieces imply at least 8 individuals? How sure is the identification of garganey? The Nile mussel (*Chambardia rubens arcuata*) is a fluviatile taxon and may be imported from the Nile Valley: also it may be a misidentified *Etheria elliptica*. 11 - Why should seated giraffe be hamstrung when it is a normal resting posture? Fig.11 - "waterfowl in flight and at rest" - I see none that are in flight and most are crudely depicted ostriches. They are called "storks" in the text, but all their bills are too short. 13 - Tomb frescos and panels together may provide a better bestiary than a record of animal husbandry or dining. Most of the carved panels relate to the Nile Delta or Valley and not to the desert savanna or bushveld.

Rufus Churcher

Robert K. Ritner, Jr., *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, [Writings of the Ancient World 21] (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009). ISBN-13: 978-1-58983-174-2. xx + 622 pp. $59.95.

For twenty years, the Society of Biblical Literature's series, *Writings of the Ancient World* has made available affordable and accurate translations of ancient texts that prove invaluable to students and professionals, especially ancient historians and biblical scholars who might not be proficient in the various languages. This book continues that series with translations of a number of texts from the Libyan period - the Egyptian time period contemporary with the bulk of the biblical narrative. Professor Ritner is generally a capable scholar, but has been known to badly misread the texts that he was proportedly publishing,[24] so his translations and particularly his transliterations need to be checked against the original glyphs. The work under consideration shows that still to be the case.

21 Gaillard, "Contributions à l'étude de la faune préhistorique de l'Égypte," 1-125.

22 Churcher, *Late Pleistocene Vertebrates*,

23 Kuper, R., and S. Kroperlin. "Climate-controlled Holocene occupation in the Sahara: Motor of Africa's evolution." *Science* **313(2006)**: 803-807.

24 Kerry Muhlestein, "The Book of Breathings in Its Place," *FARMS Review* 17/2 (2005): 482-86.

cal errors are few. It is well illustrated with 5 coloured Figures, 156 black and white line drawings, shaded sketches and half-tone photographs, 14 tables, 19 maps, 4 charts and a Chronology Chart for Egypt. Various items require comment

Comments by Chapters: 1 - Mainly on Nile Valley. 2 - 'ovicaprine' with no identified horns or cores, bears considerably on the Nile Valley. 3 - The absence of petroglyphs of ass (*Asinus*) fragments in most sites is curious as wild ass is known to have inhabited the northern savannas of Egypt before they dried out (see Huyge, Chapter 12). P.104 states, "...from this region (Nile Valley) ... no faunal assemblages are known," but a generous one is known from Kom Ombo, see Gaillard[21] and Churcher.[22] P. 86, Fig. 5 confuses shades of grey for occupation stages, vegetation, sand sheets and heights of land, and refers readers to another publication[23] for a coloured key. P. 87, hartebeest are not as dependant on available water as are bovines (see Haekel 6). P. 91, "a single bone of a Barbary sheep" when Tab. 3 shows 9 specimens from 3 levels - so at least 3 individuals. 7 - P. 157, 'Nubia Formation Sandstone', NOT 'Nubian sandstone'. P. 170 - ichthyofauna (sp). 8 - Figs 4 and 5 have exchanged legends. Legends not accurate. 9 - Legends and explanations to the figures are weak and some are inaccurate. 10 - Legends incomplete or weak. Animals named or listed in Figs 2-5 are not interpreted which reduces their value. P. 250, Why do 163 bone pieces imply at least 8 individuals? How sure is the identification of garganey? The Nile mussel (*Chambardia rubens arcuata*) is a fluviatile taxon and may be imported from the Nile Valley: also it may be a misidentified *Etheria elliptica*. 11 - Why should seated giraffe be hamstrung when it is a normal resting posture? Fig.11 - "waterfowl in flight and at rest" - I see none that are in flight and most are crudely depicted ostriches. They are called "storks" in the text, but all their bills are too short. 13 - Tomb frescos and panels together may provide a better bestiary than a record of animal husbandry or dining. Most of the carved panels relate to the Nile Delta or Valley and not to the desert savanna or bushveld.

Rufus Churcher

Robert K. Ritner, Jr., *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, [Writings of the Ancient World 21] (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009). ISBN-13: 978-1-58983-174-2. xx + 622 pp. $59.95.

For twenty years, the Society of Biblical Literature's series, *Writings of the Ancient World* has made available affordable and accurate translations of ancient texts that prove invaluable to students and professionals, especially ancient historians and biblical scholars who might not be proficient in the various languages. This book continues that series with translations of a number of texts from the Libyan period - the Egyptian time period contemporary with the bulk of the biblical narrative. Professor Ritner is generally a capable scholar, but has been known to badly misread the texts that he was proportedly publishing,[24] so his translations and particularly his transliterations need to be checked against the original glyphs. The work under consideration shows that still to be the case.

21 Gaillard, "Contributions à l'étude de la faune préhistorique de l'Égypte," 1-125.

22 Churcher, *Late Pleistocene Vertebrates*,

23 Kuper, R., and S. Kroperlin. "Climate-controlled Holocene occupation in the Sahara: Motor of Africa's evolution." *Science* **313(2006)**: 803-807.

24 Kerry Muhlestein, "The Book of Breathings in Its Place," *FARMS Review* 17/2 (2005): 482-86.

Professor Ritner translates nearly three hundred texts in his anthology but numbers them rather oddly so that it seems as though there are only about two hundred. Most of this material is conveniently available in the more comprehensive work of Karl Jansen-Winkeln[25] and Olivier Perdu[26] neither of which does Ritner mention. Anyone who uses Ritner's work will want to have Jansen-Winkeln at his elbow. For example, Ritner's translation of the settlement text of Henuttawy (C) from the Tenth Pylon of Karnak (pp. 138-43) is missing significant portions of the text, which may be found in Jansen-Winkeln.[27]

The translations are adequate. Hyper-Polotskian translations often leave the impression that the text has been translated but not into English. The translator seems to have avoided the worst excesses of the Polotskians but the translations are still often awkward and mechanical. This is one of Ritner's few positive contributions to the field, one not written with the primary intent of attacking someone, and he seems thoroughly bored. It is disappointing that Ritner's considerable verbal gifts vanish when he is not writing vitriol.

Professor Ritner seems proud that his was the first Egyptological volume in the series *Writings of the Ancient World* to provide transliterations of the texts (p. 9). This would have been a real achievement if the transliterations were on the facing pages of the translations like those of the other volumes of the series. Alas, such was not the case. Five pages of straight transliteration (pp. 88-92, 349-53) followed by six or seven pages of translation (pp. 92-98, 353-58) becomes ludicrous besides useless. The pinnacle is ten pages of straight transliteration (pp. 468-77). Think of the paper and ink wasted on pages that will scarcely be read! Without them the volume would have been much shorter, and probably significantly less expensive. Inclusion of the transliterations might have been helpful if the transliterations were accurate. Ritner's transliterations are generally an idealized view of the text as though they were written in the correct Middle Egyptian of a thousand years previously. But they were not, so the text in the transliteration often does not reflect what is written the hieroglyphs, and Ritner's transliterations suppress or distort numerous features of the contemporary language. Throughout the book brackets are so commonly misplaced that it is a wonder that they were included at all.

The poor formatting can at least be explained by noting that Professor Ritner simply dumped material on Bob Buller who tried to pull together "a coherent manuscript" out of the mess that Ritner gave him (p. 10). Buller has spent an enormous amount of work on this volume and the fact that it is as good as it is says much to Buller's credit. Buller should be exonerated for the continuous type-setting problems such as not placing the transliterations and translations on facing pages, or the ubiquitous breaks of lines in the middle of the words. Professor Ritner should have caught some of those. It was simply beyond Buller's skill to make a silk purse out of the sow's ear that he had been given.

The book appears in print a decade out of date. Only four works in the bibliography date after 1999. At one point, Ritner says that a book that came out five years before his did was too late to be considered (p. 193). Ritner only lists it as "Wilson 2005" but does not include it in the bibliography and so leaves follow-up impossible. Several times Ritner says that the "dimensions [are] not given" (pp. 66-67) even though they are in a book that he lists in his bibliography (p. 601) and published by the Oriental Institute where he works, but apparently could not bother to use as a basis for the

25 *Inschriften der Spätzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007-2009)

26 *Recueil des inscriptions royales saïtes. Volume I: Psammétique I^er^* (Paris: Éditions Cybele, 2002)

27 Jansen-Wilkeln, *Inscriften der Spätzeit*, 1:177-82

inscriptions that he published from it.

The numerous historical errors will lead those who are not specialists on Third Intermediate Period studies astray. Here are a sampling:

- Ritner provides a helpful genealogy of Ankhefenkhonsu (p. 16) showing the High Priest Menkhepere (conventionally 1035-986 B.C.) ten generations apart from Sheshonq I (924-889 B.C.). This would mean that if Ritner has reconstructed the genealogy correctly, then for ten generations, the men in this genealogy were consistently having children at the average age of eleven. Either Ritner's reconstruction is incorrect or the chronology of the Third Intermediate Period needs to be expanded on the order of a century.

- Ritner often assigns rulers incorrectly. This is attributable to a number of reasons. Sometimes it simply reflects the uncertain nature of work on the Third Intermediate Period. Sometimes it reflects the inability or unwillingness to stay current in an active field. Sometimes it reflects carelessness. A few examples from the first seventy pages will suffice:

- An inscription of Sheshonq VIa (Janssen-Winkeln's VII) is attributed to Sheshonq I (p. 34).
- An unattributable inscription is attributed to Osorkon II (p. 36).
- An inscription of Petubastis I is attributed to Sheshonq III (p. 37).
- An inscription of Takeloth III is attributed to Osorkon III (p. 39).
- An inscription of Osorkon II is attributed to Osorkon III (p. 40).
- Inscriptions from different rulers are combined (p. 51).
- An inscription of Sheshonq IV is attributed to Osorkon III (p. 57).
- An inscription likely of Osorkon II is unattributed (p. 59).
- A unattributable inscription of early Dynasty 22 is attributed to Osorkon I (p. 61).

For this reason, Ritner's book needs to be used very carefully and everything should be double-checked.

While the Twenty-First through Twenty-Fourth Dynasties can properly be called the Libyan period, and there is certainly Libyan influence, Ritner has a tendency to see influence when it is not actually there. Two examples will suffice. Ritner labels one individual a "Libyan Dynast" and reads his name "*Pk-wꜣ-iw-šꜣ*(?)" (p. 79). He has misread the name, which is *Pkwꜣrꜣwr,* an odd spelling for the well-attested Egyptian name *Pꜣ-krr*. In one of the priestly annals, his insertion of the title "chief of the Ma" is simply his own invention surreptitiously inserted into a lacuna (p. 53).

The preceding has been a mere sample of the hundred of errors that plague the volume. There seems little point wasting paper by listing all of them.

In the end, this book constantly reminds the reader of Breasted's *Ancient Records*, a ground-breaking translation effort making many texts available for the first time in English, which unfortunately is out-of-date and in desperate need of revision. Breasted's work took at least half a century to achieve that feat, but Ritner's needed merely to roll off the press. While Egyptologists may find Professor Ritner's numerous mistakes amusing, no historian or biblical scholar should rely on his work. In that sense the volume defeats its purpose.

John Gee

Pamela Rose. *The Meroitic Temple Complex at Qasr Ibrim* [EES Excavation Memoir, no. 84]. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2007). ISBN 978-0-85698-184-5. 170 pp. $130.00 US.

This excavation report was written by the current field director of Qasr Ibrim. While excavations of the temple complex mainly occurred during the 1970s, this is the first book which presents all the information from multiple field seasons into a single volume. This report is the third EES Excavation Memoir published on the site of Qasr Ibrim in addition to multiple journal articles.

The introductory chapter provides the reader with an overview of Qasr Ibrim with specific attention paid to the Meroitic Temple Complex. Chapter 2 provides a chronology of the site which is used to date the temple complex and its features. The rest of the book is divided into three major parts. Part 1 outlines the archaeology and architecture of the temple, Part 2 discusses the painted decoration, and Part 3 presents the temple fittings and furniture. Each part is subsequently divided into chapters which enable the reader to easily find the desired information.

Part 1 is comprised of Chapters 3-10, in which the author describes the layout of the temple by taking the reader through a tour of the complex. In Chapter 3, the author provides descriptions of various points of access to the temple, one of which was by means of a ramp originating at the South Gate. There is evidence to suggest that entry into the Hypostyle Hall may have also been possible from Temple Street which may predate the Meroitic constructions (p. 10). In Chapter 4, the layout of the Forecourt is provided which is connected to the middle court, as described in Chapter 5. Walls are preserved on the eastern and southern sides located on the northern end of the central doorway. The western side of the forecourt is almost completely destroyed. The forecourt is connected to the middle court, which is described in the fifth chapter. In Chapter 6, the author describes the Hypostyle Hall which is connected to the middle court through a doorway in the south wall. Chapter 7 describes the Sanctuary Area which was located to the south of the Hypostyle Hall. An interesting feature in this area is the use of butterfly clamps to join the blocks, a feature not found in any other area of the temple complex (p. 26). The eighth chapter describes Room M2-2 which the author suggests may be the equivalent of the so-called throne room found in other Meroitic Amun temples. In Chapter 9, the author describes the Taharqa Temple. This chapter also includes a small sub-section on the Meroitic graffiti located within the temple written by J. Hallof. The final chapter in Part 1 discusses the Subsidiary Areas of the complex. This chapter emphasizes that building occurred during many periods of occupation dating from the Napatan period to the Roman period.

Part 2 includes Chapters 11-13 where the author describes the painted decoration found throughout the temple complex. In Chapter 11, the author discusses the *in situ* decoration which is located solely in Room M2-2. The decoration is poorly preserved and includes a frieze of members of the royal family, gods and prisoners. The twelfth chapter was written by Gillian Pyke who discussed the fragmentary wall plaster. The previously-excavated plaster fragments were found in the store room during the 2005 season. Pyke divides the material based on location and size of the fragments. She then describes in detail the elements of each piece including a discussion of the manufacturing technology. Pyke concludes her chapter with a discussion of her findings which include the composition of the scenes, the structures on which the fragments were found, and possible dates of the pieces based on iconographic elements. Chapter 13, the final chapter in Part 2, focuses on the painting on reused stone blocks. There are no decorated blocks remaining in the main portion of

the temple. However, based on *in situ* blocks in the middle court, the author proposes that blocks discovered throughout the site of similar size and having Meroitic decoration on them may have originally been in the temple complex (p. 69). The author divides the chapter into sections based on where the blocks were found and describes the decoration on them.

Part 3 is comprised of Chapters 14-17 and focuses on the temple fittings and furniture. In Chapter 14, the author presents the architectural elements which were scarce in the temple complex. Identifiable fragments, primarily columns and capitals, have been found throughout the site. These fragments, attributed to the Meroitic period, are believed to have been reused during later occupations. Chapter 15, written by David Edwards, concentrates on Meroitic stelae from Qasr Ibrim. In this chapter the author discusses four stelae, two from the temple complex, the Amanishakheto stele, and the 'Baptistry stele' (p. 76). In the first section of this chapter Edwards describes the stelae with regard to the material, size, decoration, and text. In each section a discussion on each stele is provided where the author provides parallels of other Meroitic stelae and their texts. This chapter also includes photographs and line drawings of the stelae. Chapter 16 focuses on the statuary found at the complex and has a contribution by Sally-Ann Ashton. The statues consist of representations of human figures manufactured primarily from black granite as well as sandstone lions. In Chapter 17, the other furnishings are presented. The items found were a mixture of stone elements, wooden structures, and items from foundation deposits and caches which were mostly made of various metals.

Chapter 18, written by Penelope Wilson on the Meroitic temple graffiti, is the longest chapter of this volume. The graffiti are classified into three groups based on the location: east wall and eastern portion of the south wall of the temple forecourt, floor and paving stones of the forecourt and pavement of the Podium, and reused blocks that presumably originated from the temple forecourt walls and floor (p. 105). Each group is presented in a separate section with a description of each graffito provided. The chapter concludes with a commentary on the types of graffiti as well as proposed dates. This chapter also includes an appendix which is a list of the paving graffiti and a description of the image. Additionally there are 34 figures and 18 plates used to illustrate the corpus of graffiti.

The concluding chapter is a discussion of the temple complex with regard to the structure, dedication, use, date, and wider context of the temple. The Meroitic temple complex might have reused a preexisting structure which could account for the different axis on which the temple sanctuary lies. The complex appears to have been dedicated to one or more forms of Amun and at one point there may have been an oracle of Amun at Qasr Ibrim (p. 164). The temple functioned as a pilgrimage site and attracted visitors from both the north and south. This complex most likely dates to the first century AD and may be a representation of Meroitic state control in Lower Nubia at this time (p. 166).

In addition to the figures accompanying the text, there are 8 pages of color plates which illustrate the features of the temple. Given that this book is a report on an archeological site, it is technical in nature and therefore not suited for non-scholars, however, interested scholars will find this book to be an excellent addition to the work done on the Meroitic Temple Complex at Qasr Ibrim.

Sarah M. Schellinger

Eugen Strouhal with contributions by Alena Nemeckova and Jan Silar, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun, IV, Human skeletal remains* [EES Excavation Memoir, no. 87]. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2008). ISBN 978-0-85698-188-3. 39 pp. + 25 plates + CD. $40.00 CDN.

This book is part of a series of reports on the findings from the tomb of Horemheb excavated by Geoffrey Martin at Saqqara. It presents the results of the author's analysis of the human skeletal remains, which he performed in 1976 and 1979. In an envelope in the back cover, there is provided a CD with 37 Microsoft Excel tables containing raw data of observations and measurements of the bones. They are meant to be viewed as the text is read. The skeletons are described in three groups, outlined below.

Part I describes the late 18th Dynasty burials from the subterranean system of shaft IV. From the beginning it would have been helpful to include a diagram of the tomb with the room number references used throughout the book. It is left to inference or reading of Professor Martin's separate report (Memoir no. 55) to assume that these are the deepest burials and probably the original owners of the tomb. Based on archaeological evidence, individual N1 is probably the consort of Horemheb, Queen Mutnodjmet, and rightfully is given the most attention. Some of the data are presented in point form, as if copied straight from rough notes, but the details are understandable to the physical anthropologist. When I blindly scored her pubic symphysis from the picture for age at death I agreed with Dr. Strouhal's estimate of 35-40 years. However, the skull of Mutnodjmet was reconstructed from 60 small fragments, so the measurements and the cranial index calculated from them probably should be considered suspect.

An interesting paragraph ties together the archaeological and biological evidence to give historical implications about the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The remainder of Part I describes 2 female skeletons, one of which may have been the first wife of Horemheb.

Part II details the age, sex and main pathological features of the scattered 18 Ramesside burials from the subterranean system of Shaft I.

Part III details the findings of the Late Period series from the subterranean systems of Shafts II and III and Chapels A, C and E. It begins with a similar description of seven more-or-less complete skeletons and continues with a very detailed demography of the remainder of the bones, which were scattered and disturbed. In the latter group, I question the validity of constructing life tables because, by the author's own admission, the age and sex distribution is unusual. For example, 60.7% of the adults are males. Also, only 18.5% (my calculation) were in the 0-6 year cohort, whereas in ancient populations this number is usually around 50%. This all means that this group of burials does not represent the population from which it originated. Although this proviso is discussed in the text, it seems risky to provide life tables that could mistakenly imply that the population is represented. (In fact, life tables are now used to reflect fertility, not mortality.) There are lots of numbers here, but what do they all tell us? The mean age at death of 23.0 years does not mean that the average Late Period person lived to be 23. The figures are related to this group only. To be fair, the author is quite aware of this and makes comparisons with his previous work on contemporary skeletons at Abusir only.

In the reconstruction of stature I would have omitted the calculations by the method of Duper-

tius and Haddon, since the Trotter and Gleser formulas are widely accepted now.

Dr. Strouhal is a very skilled, knowledgeable and careful paleopathologist and this is borne out in the "Paleopathology" sections. His detailed descriptions are supplemented with very good photographs and radiographs. One small error is the use of the term "callus" (p. 17) where the illustrations confirm that the words "new bone" or "ossification" should apply. On page 18 the term "tibial articular surface" should be "femoral articular surface" when referring to the patella. Perhaps a bit more speculation on the causes of some lesions, in the form of differential diagnoses, would have added more interest to an otherwise clinical description. For example, the humerus of E28 looks like a case of humeral varus to me. Finally, because teeth are well preserved, the paragraph on hypodonty (p. 21) will be valuable for genetic comparisons with other population studies. My nit-picking aside, the palaeopathology sections are probably the most interesting parts of the book.

Recently there has been a resurgence of interest among physical anthropologists in the study of epigenetic traits (often referred to as nonmetric traits), partly because DNA studies are not as fruitful as once hoped. The section on epigenetic traits and Table 21 are therefore very gratifying. However, the original traits by Berry and Berry have been modified since 1967 by various authors and the list continues to evolve with new discoveries. This leads me to the importance of curating and preserving bone collections such as this for the purpose of future study. Unfortunately there is no statement in the book about the storage and availability of this valuable collection.

Similarly, there has been a general de-emphasis on the study of craniometrics, but here there are 6 tables and 2 detailed pages discussing it. Close scrutiny of the tables reveals that a few of the measurements are seldom used by physical anthropologists today. That is because the landmarks sited are so vaguely defined and subjective in their location that large inter-observer errors render the measurements and indices unreliable for comparative purposes. Most physical anthropologists wishing to compare their material with this sample would likely choose a shorter list of more reliable measurements, but at least the data are present. In one sense, one cannot fault and perhaps should admire the extreme care and attention to detail in the craniometrics section. The documentation of these measurements proves a conviction to study the bones in great depth. However, the conclusions drawn from the complex calculations based on the suspect measurements must also be accepted with caution.

This leads to the point that the conclusions of the epigenetic and craniometric studies have produced an interesting apparent contradiction when comparing the Late Period Saqqara Horemheb and Abusir Ptahshepses population samples. The epigenetic study suggests that the two groups were "not linked together by an important amount of interbreeding" while the craniometric study concludes a "close relationship." The inconsistency is not fully discussed nor convincingly resolved in the final summary. Despite masses of data, our science is not perfect.

In the section on osteometrics, it had been made clear that sex was assigned to individual long bones of the "disarticulated and scattered" collection "by size, robusticity and development of muscular ridges." But not all males are robust and not all females are gracile, and there is always overlap. Since size was one of the criteria, it does not seem logical to give statistics comparing males and females, since the measurements were inherently used to differentiate them in the first place.

A lot of effort and print is devoted to cranioscopics and osteoscopics. Most physical anthropologists consider these studies traditional, subjective and of unproven value. But again, thoroughness is commendable. Here also, it is important to remember that these data were collected in 1979 and

research methods in bioarchaeology have changed considerably since then. Even the meaning of the word "osteoscopics" has changed.

Part IV: "Histology" is interesting but unfortunately is unable to add much knowledge.

In regards to the CD, on the surface this is a fine way to provide huge amounts of data for the serious physical anthropologist that wishes to use them for comparative purposes. However, one must worry about recent opinions that electronic data stored on discs may have a finite lifespan because of deterioration. Will copies of this in libraries still be readable 100 years from now? Some of these tables tend to be confusing, hard to follow and some are perhaps understood only by the authors. For example, Table 1 is encoded with numbers, the key for which we are referred to Tables 22-27. This forces one to either print the tables or flip back and forth between screens. Still, I admire the attention to detail and the provision of these raw data in a way that saves on printing costs.

Although this book is not exactly bedside reading, it is a vital document for the preservation of bioarchaeological knowledge gleaned from one of the most important tombs excavated in recent times, especially if the bones are no longer available for future study.

Peter Sheldrick

Studies on War in the Ancient Near East. Edited by Jordi Vidal. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010). ISBN: 978-3-86835-035-7. 198 pp. USD $102.00.

The present volume is a fine collection of essays on current research on the topic of warfare in the ancient Near East. Wide in its scope, it covers topics from the Egyptian Predynastic (c.3100 BCE) to the Neo-Babylonian empire (626 – 539 BCE). The aim of this book is not to draw together a series of essays into one comprehensive whole but rather to present the latest research that is being done on topics under the *Warfare* heading. It is a great presentation of what current scholars are working on and it shows an effort to foster collaboration of the major fields in ancient Near Eastern research.

Vidal opens the volume with a summation of how warfare studies has undergone a resurgence recently and that the topic was largely marginalized during the mid-20th century. Although, he does concede that important, major works were produced in the 1960s and 1970s, it wasn't until the 1990s that subject of warfare underwent, "a true proliferation" (pg. 2). This introduction assists the reader into the subject of ancient warfare studies without bogging itself down in the minute details of its history of scholarship. The first chapter, by Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, "War in Old Kingdom Egypt (2686 – 2125 BCE)" is very valuable to anyone trying to do research into the origins of warfare in ancient Egypt. This chapter becomes that much more valuable when one considers that scholarship has tended to be focused on the New Kingdom (1550 – 1069 BCE) due to the large amount of information left behind. Interestingly, Garcia puts the emphasis on logistical supply of early polities making it possible to extend their influence beyond their immediate environs.

Aaron A. Burke's section, titled "Canaan under Siege: The History and Archaeology of Egypt's War in Canaan during the Early Eighteenth Dynasty", is another invaluable chapter to the Egyptian researcher. Burke's analysis of the Egyptian 'conquest' of Canaan in the early 18th dynasty starts off with a summation of traditional views of the Canaanite Middle Bronze Age (2200 – 1600 BCE) to

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the Late Bronze Age (1600 – 1200 BCE) in light of the transition between these two periods. Burke points out that one cannot speak of annual campaigns in the early 18th dynasty until the reign of Thutmose III, as the evidence for other ruler's campaigns are sparse and infrequent so far. Furthermore, Burke also adds that a systematic objective to subjugate the Canaanites may not have been present in Egyptian imperial ideology, even though many scholars, in light of events of the 19th Dynasty, have taken this leap of faith to do so. Throughout his chapter, Burke notes the different perspectives of various archaeologists in their interpretation of destruction levels at sites in southern Canaan and how some of these analyses have not been seriously called into question as being woven into the mosaic of the early 18th dynasty.

Making the jump to Turkey, Trevor R. Byrce's "The Hittites at War" provides a great overview of the Hittite empire and how its military forces conducted battles and sieges. The subsections on the composition of the military, the command structure and diplomacy are bound to assist any researcher unfamiliar with the history of the area. Jordi Vidal's, "Sutean Warfare in the Amarna Letters," is another important chapter in this volume, as it illustrates first the nebulousness of the term to mean either an ethnic group or a tribe and/or a group of pastoral nomadic peoples. For their armaments, Vidal defaults to artistic scenes from Egypt displaying Shasu bedouins armed with lances, fenestrated axes, swords and maces. Vidal views the Suteans as being a force that would engage the enemy in guerilla tactics.

There are many more chapters in this volume that would be of interest to scholars researching topics that occur later in the timeline, but I think the point has been made clear. This volume is a valuable resource to researchers in ancient warfare studies. Although the subject of 'collaboration' in some volumes is an almost laughable enterprise, this volume does it by not forcing a connection from topic to topic – it allows the authors to present their current research alongside one another and it is up to the reader to connect the similar themes between them. All in all, this book is done very well. If there is one drawback though, it would be the high price for such a short volume. One can only speculate that the publisher has intended this volume to be purchased by institutions and not individuals, which might hurt its impact upon scholarly circles.

Nicholas Wernick